

CSP-2

A BIOGRAPHY OF MIRCEA ELIADE'S
SPIRITUAL AND INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT
FROM 1917 TO 1940

by

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Thesis presented to the School of Graduate
Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Ph.D. in Religious Studies

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I also acknowledge, without naming, a Romanian friend who helped me in Romania to find and procure most of the original volumes of Eliade's work before 1940.

Finally, I express my admiration for Mircea Eliade himself, who clarified certain points of the thesis and corrected the bibliography where necessary.

CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

Dennis A. Doeing was born July 23, 1945, in Niagara Falls, New York. He received the Bachelor of Arts degree in Philosophy from Immaculate Conception Seminary, Conception, Missouri, in 1968. He received the Master of Arts degree in Mission Studies from the University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Ontario, in 1970. The title of his thesis was "Symbol, The Transmission of Religion". He also studied at the Gregorian University, Rome, Italy.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	page
CODE	vi
BIOGRAPHICAL DATA	x
INTRODUCTION	xii
I. ADOLESCENCE 1917-1924	1
1. Romania	1
2. <u>Lycée</u>	8
3. Nostalgia	16
II. SPIRITUAL ITINERARY 1925-1928	22
1. University and Travels	22
2. The New Man	33
3. Complexity of the Spirit	38
4. A Synthetic Method	44
5. Adventure and the Absolute	54
6. The Hostility of Time	60
III. INDIAN ADVENTURE 1929-1931	65
1. Impressions and Attitudes	67
2. Personality Crises	83
3. Self and Universals	91
4. Yoga Techniques of Synthesis	99
A. Negation and Coincidence	107
B. Homologation and Unification	109
C. Transcendence and Transformation	111
5. Indian Education	112
6. The Passing of Time	117
IV. EDUCATOR 1932-1934	124
1. Activities and Publications	125
2. The Tragedy of Impersonality	132
3. A New Humanism	137
4. A New and Creative Method	143
5. Techniques of the New Method	148
6. Lost Time	151

TABLE OF CONTENTS

v

V. "SCIENCE" OF RELIGION 1935-1940	156
1. Pursuits and Controversy	157
2. The Human Condition	164
3. The Imitation of Great Models	169
4. A Revolutionary Method	182
5. Structure of the Revolutionary Method	188
A. Traits and Archetypes	190
B. Rituals and Myths	198
C. Signs and Symbols	204
6. A Study of Time	209
VI. RECAPITULATION: ADVENT OF THE NEW MAN	216
1. Religion, Science, and the New Man	216
2. The New Man and the History of Science	225
3. The Threshold of Time	233
CONCLUSION	239
BIBLIOGRAPHY	245

CODE

Note that code letters which are followed only by title, place of publication, and date refer to periodicals in which Eliade's articles appear. A particular article in question, that is from the text of the dissertation, can be found in the BIBLIOGRAPHY by looking in section B. ARTICLES BY ELIADE under the date of the periodical and then its title, as indicated by the code letters.

Most of the other code letters refer to Eliade's books which can be found in section A. BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS BY ELIADE under the date of the book and then its title, as indicated by the code letters.

The few remaining code letters refer to works which are located in other appropriate sections of the BIBLIOGRAPHY.

- A Amintiri: I. Mansarda (Colecția Destin) Madrid, Destin, 1966, 176 pp.
- AA Alchimia Asiatică, Bucharest, Cultura Poporului, 1935, 76 pp.
- AL Adevărul Literar și Artistic, Bucharest, 1926-7.
- AR Arena, London, 1963 [see 1953].
- AZ Azi, Bucharest, 1932-4.
- B Buletinul Bibliotecii Române, Freiburg, 1955.
- C Cuvântul, Bucharest, 1926-34, 1938.
- CA Cosmologie și alchimie babiloniană, Bucharest, Vreimea, 1937, 135 pp.

- CD Caete de Dor, Paris, 1953-5, 1960.
- CL Comentarii la Legenda Mesterului Manole, Bucharest, Publicom, 1943, 144 pp.
- CO Comprendre, Paris, 1951.
- CR Criterion, Bucharest, 1935.
- CS Cuvântul Studențesc, Bucharest, 1927, 1936.
- DI Discobolul, Bucharest, 1933.
- F Fragmentarium, Bucharest, Vreamea, 1939, 160 pp.
- FA Familia, Bucharest, 1934-6.
- FR Ființa Românească, Paris, 1966.
- G Gândirea, Bucharest, 1927-30.
- GE Godel, R., Essais sur l'expérience libératrice, pref. by M. Eliade (Les Essais, 54) Paris, Gallimard, 1952, 342 pp.
- HS Hașdeu, B.P., Scriseri literare, morale și politice, ed. with notes by M. Eliade, Bucharest, Fundația Regală pentru Literatură și Artă, 1937, 2 vols.
- I India, Bucharest, Cugetarea, 2nd ed., 1935, 280 pp.
- IA Isabel și apele Diavolului, Bucharest, Naționala Ciornei, 1930, 237 pp.
- IE Insula lui Euthanasius, Bucharest, Fundația Regală pentru Literatură și Artă, 1943, 381 pp.
- IR Ionescu, N., Roza Vânturilor, ed. with afterword by M. Eliade, Bucharest, Cultura Națională, 1936, 450 pp.
- J Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta, 1937.
- L Lumina ce se stinge, Bucharest, Cartea Românească, 1934, 415 pp.
- M unpub. Romanian manuscript, written c. 1970. A sequel (chapter 10) to Amintiri (A).

- MD Myths, Dreams and Mysteries, trans. by P. Mairet, London, Collins Fontana Library ed., 1968, 256 pp.
- MG "La méthode de Roger Godel," in Roger Godel, de l'humanisme à l'humain, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1963, pp. 99-105.
- MM Mesterul Manole, Bucharest, 1939.
- MR Mitul Reintegrării, Bucharest, Vremea, 1942, 109 pp.
- O Oceanografie, Bucharest, Cultura Poporului, 1934, 304 pp.
- OR Os Romanos, Latinos do Oriente, trans. by E. Navarro (Collecção Gládio, 12) Lisbon, Livraria Classica, 1943, 95 pp.
- Q The Quest, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1969, 180 pp.
- R Revista Fundațiilor Regale, Bucharest, 1934-40.
- RL România Literară, Bucharest, 1933.
- RR Ricerche Religiose, Rome, 1930, 1932.
- RU Revista Universitară, Bucharest, 1926.
- S Shamanism. Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy, trans. by W.R. Trask (Bollingen Series, 76) N.Y., Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964, 634 pp.
- SA Santier, Bucharest, Cugetarea, 1935, 277 pp.
- SO Soliloquii, Bucharest, Carte cu Semne, 1932, 83 pp.
- TO The Two and the One, trans. by J.M. Cohen, N.Y., Harper Torchbook ed., 1969, 223 pp.
- TT Two Tales of the Occult, trans. by W.A. Coates, N.Y., Herder, 1970, 130 pp.
- U Universul Literar, Bucharest, 1926-7, 1939-40.
- V Vremea, Bucharest, 1932-8.
- VL Viața Literară, Bucharest, 1927-9, 1931-2, 1934-5, 1937.

- Y Yoga. Immortality and Freedom, trans. by W.R. Trask (Bollingen Series, 56) Princeton, Princeton University Press, rev. 2nd ed., 1969, 536 pp.
- YE Yoga. Essai sur les origines de la mystique indienne, trans. by M.S. Rivain, Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1936, 346 pp.
- Z Zalmoxis, Bucharest, 1938-40.
- ZG De Zalmoxis à Gengis-Khan, Paris, Payot, 1970, 252 pp.
- ZS Ziarul științelor populare, Bucharest, 1921-5.

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON MIRCEA ELIADE

UP TO 1940

- 1907 March 9, born in Bucharest, Romania. Father's original name: Gheorghe Ieremia. Family moves to village Râmnicul-Sărat.
- 1914 Family moves back to Bucharest.
- 1917 Enters the lycée in Bucharest.
- 1919 Writes first series of short stories: Nuvele și povestiri (unpub.).
- 1921 Begins first autobiographical journal: Jurnalul (unpub.). First published articles on entomology in Ziarul științelor populare.
- 1922 Begins first novels: Memoriile unui soldat de plumb (unpub.) and Romanul adolescentului miop (parts pub.).
- 1924 Discovers works of Frazer. Articles on Orientalism and occultism published.
- 1925 Enters the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy of the University of Bucharest. Nae Ionescu is his teacher.
- 1926 Writes controversial articles on N. Iorga and resigns from school magazine. Joins Ionescu on the staff of public newspaper Cuvântul.
- 1927 Tours Italy for three weeks, visiting scholars. Publishes series of articles entitled "Itinerariu Spiritual".
- 1928 Studies in Italy for three months. Researches and writes Master's thesis on the Italian Renaissance. Receives scholarship from a maharaja to study in India.
- 1929 Begins three year adventure in India. Studies Yoga under S. Dasgupta at the University of Calcutta. Visits R. Tagore. Completes first published novel: Isabel și apele Diavolului.
- 1930 University closes because of civil war. Lives in Dasgupta's residence and has misunderstanding with him over his daughter, Maitreyi. Retreats to monasteries where he practices Yoga.

- 1931 Disillusioned with India, his gurus, and young girl named Jenny. Returns to Romania.
- 1932 Submits doctoral dissertation on Yoga to the University of Bucharest. Studies folklore. Begins publishing in newspaper Vremea.
- 1933 Appointed Assistant Professor under Nae Ionescu who held chair of Metaphysics and Logic at the University of Bucharest. Publishes acclaimed novel: Maitreya.
- 1934 Begins to publish in Revista Fundațiilor Regale.
- c. 1935 Begins to formulate terms for a scientific study of religion.
- 1936 Publishes doctoral dissertation on Yoga which is accredited by leading scholars.
- 1937 Accused of pornography and fined by Minister of National Education. Faculty and students rally on his behalf.
- 1938 Founds periodical in the History of Religions: Zalmoxis.
- 1940 Accepts position as cultural attaché for the Romanian legation in London. Will not return to Romania except for brief visit in 1942.

INTRODUCTION

Because of his scholarship, Mircea Eliade's work in the History of Religions cannot be ignored. By the same token, it cannot be taken for granted. Yet few of his contemporaries have given an extensive evaluation of his work.¹ Most scholars seem to either accept or reject the conclusions of his work without appraising his method.

The question of Eliade's method, if he has an identifiable method, poses the problem of this dissertation. Part of that problem is the issue of whether the conclusions of his work are the results of a critical study of the phenomena or whether they are the products of his own imagination.

1. D. Rasmussen, "Mircea Eliade: Structural Hermeneutics and Philosophy," Philosophy Today (1968) 12:138-46, provides excellent insights into Eliade's work but they are only introductory. R.D. Baird, "Normative Elements in Eliade's Phenomenology of Symbolism," Union Seminary Quarterly Review (1970) 25:211-34, offers a criticism of Eliade's ontological point of departure but fails to follow through the rest of his hermeneutics. D. Allen, "Mircea Eliade's Phenomenological Analysis of Religious Experience," The Journal of Religion (1972) 52:170-86, presents mainly Eliade's own conclusions. Some recent doctoral dissertations have tried to be more comprehensive: see S.O. Yarian, "Mircea Eliade and a 'New Humanism'," Brown University, 1970, 229 pp.; J.A. Saliba, "The Concept of 'Homo Religiosus' in the Works of Mircea Eliade: An Anthropological Evaluation for Religious Studies," Catholic University, 1971, 333 pp.; cf. G.R. Welbon, "Some Remarks on the Work of Mircea Eliade," Acta Philosophica et Theologica (1964) 2:465-92. In a personal interview, Eliade indicated the most complete study of his work as a historian of religions was by F. Ricardi, "L'interpretazione del sacro nell'opera di M. Eliade," Rivista di Filosofia Neo-scolastica (1969) 61:509-35 and (1970) 62:133-62.

The air of uncertainty which apparently surrounds Eliade's work seems to be a problem of the History of Religions in general. Indeed, it may be wondered if a scientific study of religion is possible at all.² The term "History of Religions" itself poses a difficulty, mostly as a consequence of the compromise between the different perspectives of historians and phenomenologists.³ Although Eliade is known as a historian of religions, in practice he may well be a phenomenologist of religion.

While the scope of this dissertation does not extend to the question of the scientific possibility or validity of Eliade's interpretation of religious phenomena, it does examine his interpretation of phenomena in the light of his own spiritual and intellectual development. It seems that he arrives at an interpretation of phenomena not only from a study of the phenomena themselves but also from factors in his own background and development which lend support to such an interpretation.

2. H. Penner and E. Yonan, "Is a Science of Religion Possible?" The Journal of Religion (1972) 52:107-33.

3. See, for instance, G. van der Leeuw, Religion in Essence and Manifestation, N.Y., Harper and Row, 1963, v. 2, pp. 676-7, 686; C.J. Bleeker, The Sacred Bridge. Researches into the Nature and Structure of Religion, Leiden, Brill, 1963, pp. 1-3, 12; J. Wach, The Comparative Study of Religion, N.Y., Columbia University Press, 1958, pp. 21-2; J.M. Kitagawa (ed.), The History of Religions. Essays on the Problem of Understanding, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1967, pp. 42-3; R. Pettazzoni, "History and Phenomenology in the Science of Religion," in Studies in the History of Religions (Supplement to Numen, 1) Leiden, Brill, 1954, pp. 216-9; M. Dhavamony, "The History of Religions and Theology," Gregorianum (1969) 50:806-14.

The purpose of this dissertation, therefore, is to elucidate the motives and insights in Eliade's life which influenced his interpretation of religious phenomena. An attempt is made to delineate the spiritual matters of his life which affected his scientific study of religion.

The dissertation is mainly expository in nature in the sense that it tries to disclose Eliade's own notions about a scientific study of religion which seem to have grown to a large extent out of his reflections on his own spiritual and intellectual development. It employs a biographical method which offers an introductory review of Eliade's adult memories regarding his adolescence and Romanian background (CHAPTER I); which presents in depth a chronological account of his experiences and ideas from adolescence through 1940, as he currently related them (CHAPTERS II-V); and which gives a general overview of his total development up to 1940 in light of the goal of his lifelong pursuit of religion (CHAPTER VI). The biography proceeds only up to 1940 since by then, the time of his exile from Romania, he had already formulated the basic notions of his scientific study of religion which he would clarify and develop further as a historian of religions today.⁴

4. See below, p. 157. Eliade's international reputation as a historian of religions was due mostly to his book Traité d'histoire des religions, published in 1949. The major part of this work, however, was based on his lectures at the University of Bucharest prior to 1940; cf. below, p. 139.

Specifically, CHAPTER I deals with Eliade's earliest impressions as a Romanian and as a student in the lycée. His impressions during that period of adolescence return to him again under the form of nostalgia in later periods of his development. Eliade's nostalgia may be described as his repeated desire to return to his ancestral origins, to move from the troubled times of the present back into the glory of Romania's past, and to become as an adult what he had once envisioned as a youth.

CHAPTER II presents Eliade's hope for the future -- that is for his own development and for the development of his peers -- through the guidelines which he laid out in his own "Spiritual Itinerary". He encouraged his generation to reject the old generation for its corruption and to look forward to an energetic new generation and to a New Man. That New Man, like Faust, would be strong-willed and adventurous in all that he did.

CHAPTER III relates Eliade's adventure in India. His three years there were perhaps the most formative of his life. He experienced the contrasts of India and he faced many crucial problems of his own. He became familiar with ancient Indian manuscripts. At the University of Calcutta he studied Yoga as an object of knowledge, and in the monasteries of the Himalayas he practiced Yoga as a means toward spiritual health. He wrote a doctoral dissertation on Yoga which is examined in detail for its spiritual, as well as intellectual, content.

CHAPTER IV describes his return to Romania where, at the University of Bucharest, he became an educator in the field of religious studies. While it reviews his major activities, it also discusses his understanding of knowledge and his perception of past experiences. It gives his general formulation of what a scientific study of religion meant to him.

CHAPTER V takes a closer look at Eliade's "science" of religion as he conceived it in his last years as a teacher at the University of Bucharest when he became involved in a great deal of controversy. It organizes at length the specific terms of his study in order to show the structure of his science of religion. His science of religion is a formulation of notions which he had apparently acquired in the course of his life and which are fundamental concepts of his work in the History of Religions today.

CHAPTER VI recapitulates Eliade's pursuit of the New Man from adolescence to 1940. It portrays the New Man as the epitome of his spiritual and intellectual development, and as the ultimate objective of his scientific study of religion.

A CONCLUSION is finally given which states the thesis and which offers suggestions for further research.

Besides being an exposition, this dissertation may be viewed also as a commentary. It tries to establish Eliade's reflections not only in a chronological order, as he presented them, but also in a coherent fashion, so the reader may understand them. CHAPTERS II-V, for instance, are divided according to what may be

considered the decisive stages of Eliade's development. In the case of each of these chapters, Eliade's observations of his current life situation are provided first; then his interpretations of the facts and events of his life as they spiritually and intellectually affected him are presented; then also the insights which he gained for a scientific study of religion are given; and finally, his notions about "time" are examined because of their peculiar relation to each stage of his development and because of their effect on his repeated sense of nostalgia. Throughout all the chapters of the dissertation, certain persons are named whose ideas seem to have made an impression on his general outlook on things and on his approach to the scientific study of religion. As much as possible, the focus is on Eliade's changing notion of "method" in the study of religion. Also, his literary writings are reviewed briefly in comparison to his scientific works.

Since the dissertation is primarily expository in nature, it is extensively documented. The sources used are almost exclusively Eliade's own writings. In fact, one of the distinct features of the dissertation is its documentation. There has been no research other than this which has so comprehensively explored his writings before 1940. The reason for this deficiency is that the majority of his documents before 1940 are located nowhere in North America or Western Europe other than Eliade's personal library and my own. If some of his works are located in libraries, they seem invariably difficult to obtain.

All references from primary sources (i.e., from Eliade's writings) are abbreviated in the form of code letters and are integrated by the use of parentheses into the text of the dissertation for the sake of simplicity and efficiency. An alphabetical list of these code letters is found at the beginning of the dissertation, immediately following the TABLE OF CONTENTS. The entire CODE is the result of a thorough reading and comparison of almost all of Eliade's works before 1940 and after. The CODE, therefore, is a product of a BIBLIOGRAPHY, nearly complete up to 1940, which is given at the end of the dissertation. The CODE itself is critical in the sense that it offers references to works which have been judged to be the most important and to publications which have been observed to be the most inclusive (for instance, many of Eliade's significant articles were reproduced in a number of his books; mainly the latter are included in the CODE).

Secondary sources, explanation of terms, personal remarks, and other pertinent information are footnoted. All English translations from the Romanian are my own and appear in the text, while the original Romanian is footnoted. The typography of the original Romanian has been preserved as much as possible.

CHAPTER I

ADOLESCENCE 1917-1924

Before entering into a biography of Mircea Eliade's spiritual and intellectual development, it is helpful as a preparation to review some of his memories regarding his past, especially those concerning his Romanian heritage and his early adolescent experiences, as they are recorded in his works from later periods.

1. Romania

The effect of nationality in the life and thinking of Eliade, a Romanian by birth, cannot be underestimated. Both as a maturing young man, and as an adult, Eliade's memories betray nostalgia for his origin, his homeland, for Romania's way of seeing and understanding things. Romania, and all that Romania represented for Eliade, may provide an initial insight to his total development.

The point of departure, consequently, is to give Eliade's recollections of Romania insofar as they have impinged upon his development. These recollections, as they are evidenced in a variety of works, may be seen as lasting impressions of a man who has suffered deep spiritual crises and who has ventured through immense cultural and political differences. Romania's influences upon Eliade may also give the first clues to his quest as a historian of religions.

Eliade's Romanian background appears to be very stormy. Born in Bucharest on March 9, 1907, he witnessed, as a boy, the effects of World War I, such as the bombings and the occupation of his country by foreign troops. Of all the problems brought about by war, as a youth he most detested the utopian and agnostic convictions of the older generation, and he held them responsible for the pervasive temptations and lack of spirit of the age (A 148-9). Eliade refused to become skeptical because of the general turmoil of things, however. He rather accepted the fact of war and he looked to the war as a possible way of purification and renovation of his country's spirit. Unlike most nations, Romania had endured and survived through centuries of social and military crises. For Eliade, the fundamental characteristic of Romania's history was clear: ever since the invasion of the Romans her people had preserved her culture intact while they had assimilated the qualities of her would-be conquerors (OR 67, 75ff.). It was a miracle, thought Eliade, that his country had so long endured such mistreatments, and that its people had even prospered through their many sufferings and victimizations (CL 132-3; F 124-6).

In later years, as a scholar, and with World War II imminent, Eliade continued to defend Romania's spiritual legacy and her strength in the face of opposition. Although there were powerful political factions in Romania at the time, he argued that Romania had a strong tradition of spiritual harmony

and integrity. Foreign influences, while they might attempt to control the government, could never capture the mind and heart of the people. In the midst of internal strife, and out of the struggle of foreign oppression, the lesson of Romania would come to light: no invader or occupying force could change the ethos of her people or her sense of national identity (V 382:3; 403:3). Romania has, as Eliade saw it, a "historic mission": throughout all her history she has retained an original and primordial structure whose glory preceded that of Rome (HS lxxv). With all her assimilations and in her own cultural creations she has remained eternal -- in a sense, outside of history -- and this is the value of her mission (CS 11, 2:3; V 409:3).

Perhaps only a fellow Romanian can know and fully appreciate Eliade's concept of "historic mission" which appears to contain ahistorical values. Nevertheless, one may suggest, for understanding this notion, the latin temperament which Romania has preserved in her language and style of life despite her geographical proximity to Slavic and Asian nations. One may further suggest the Christian orthodoxy which Romania has championed in view of Greek, Russian, and Byzantine horizons. Throughout her endeavors, she has also continued her own popular customs and beliefs in a rich folkloric tradition (CO 117-21; OR 68). Altogether, Romania has preserved and exhibited a peculiar unity of people, language, and religious life (IE 155-8; V 430:3).

Eliade did not regret that Romania had no Renaissance similar to that of most of Europe. Rather, he cherished the glory of Romania's Middle Ages and the prehistory of her folkloric tradition (F 37-8). He even believed that possibly some parts of Romania had preserved intact an identifiable and singular "mental structure" through two thousand years or more of history. In other words, Romania's popular life had been subject to evolution but resisted changes promoted by the fortunes of history because the metaphysical values associated with her tradition had not become degraded (C 3127:2).

According to Eliade, this tradition of metaphysical and prehistoric values, by which Romania preserved herself from history, can be grasped from the perspective of either her intellectuals or her peasants, the two greatest resources of Romania's culture (V 403:3). Although a Romanian intellectual himself, Eliade saw that Romania's simplest peasant feels united with the peasantry of Europe and Asia. This is the result not only of geographical location of the Romanian peasant, but also because the roots of his spirit stretch back to prehistoric times, and these roots are constantly rediscovered and revalorized in the course of history (B 54). "So a peasant seems to me more real -- in whose consciousness all 'truths' harmonize themselves in a global intuition of the cosmos and of existence..." (O 222; cf. IE 322-3).¹

In view of Eliade's love for the Romanian peasant, it is understandable that he disliked European intellectuals who were interested primarily in the evolution of cultures, and who considered Romania unimportant because of her lack of any measurable historical development. Eliade regarded Romania as an extremely valuable subject for inquiry precisely because she had preserved her prehistory from deterioration. Almost all European histories, in his view, had become degraded and adulterized. They had lost their original ontological values, their early spiritual symbols, and their primordial glory (F 38-40; cf. B 52-4). Consequently, he believed that when modern historicism becomes obsolete and when western cultures recapture their interest in symbolic and pre-alphabetic thought, Romania will stand out as superior to all (CA 10). Despite her apparently tragic situation, therefore, Romania has remained quite unique among western nations. Her interior suffering and obstinacy in the face of dominating forces have made possible her access to a universality and to certain truths which other nations had forgotten or found impossible to maintain.

Specifically, for Eliade, Romania's mission "is to make history, but not to make it politically. To make history means

1. "Deaceia mi se pare mai real un țăran -- în conștiința căruia toate 'adevărurile' se armonizează într'o intuiție globală a lumii și a existenței...." This appreciation for the Romanian peasant came in the last year of Eliade's stay in India (M 33-5). Cf. C.H. Long, "Recent Developments in the History of Religions Field," The Divinity School News (1959) 26:9.

to create a 'new man' with another sense of existence" (V 477:3).² That "other" sense consists in universal ontological values set within the context of an existence of suffering and necessary renewal. This renewal emerges not only through continual assimilation of the values of others but also through a repeated recreation or return to Romania's glorious primordial past. The obsession of Romania for the past, and for the universal, does not find its fulfillment in party factions nor through forms of specialization, according to Eliade. Romania can bring about a new man only through cosmocentric, organic, and polytechnical approaches to reality (V 501:10-1). She can give new meaning to mankind through the ways and means of understanding her own authentic and unadulterated existence.

It appears evident, therefore, that in trying to resolve the difficulties in Romania brought about by World War II, Eliade was less concerned with the political reshaping of that country than with the regaining of her traditional and primordial values. Yet ironically, when the end of the war was nearing, he found himself in political exile. The last time he had been in Romania was in 1942,³ and one year later he published a brief history of

2. "... este de a face istorie, iar nu de a face politică. Și a face istorie înseamnă a crea un 'om nou', cu un alt sens al existenței."

3. To emphasize the importance of Eliade's concern for the traditional values of Romania's past, one may cite, for instance, his comment that the Bucharest portrayed in Pe strada Mântuleasa, published in 1968, though legendary, was "truer"

the Romanian people entitled Os Romenos. Latinos do Oriente (OR). This work focused on some of the great leaders of Romania's tradition. It depicted them not as political manipulators but as heroes and protectors of Romanian culture in ages of similar unrest and intolerance. By the time of its publication, this book must have seemed to Eliade personally like a memoir or keepsake of an abandoned people, or an omen of a new age.

While in exile Eliade continued to believe that Romania's people live on in polemic tensions which were similar to those endured in the past. Romania's character could be described as a polarity of contrary historical influences and tendencies which revolve around an ecumenical vision of life. As her tensions expand, there results a greater synthesis of her values on a number of levels of reality (AR 16-25; e.g. ZG 241-6).

The Romania which Eliade knew and loved, as part of his background, serves as an introduction to his spiritual development and to his work as a historian of religions. Eliade was deeply rooted in the culture and heritage of Romania and these roots appear repeatedly under various forms, for example, in the way he judges and appropriates his own personal experiences, or in the way he understands history. It is suggested that, for Eliade, history (and in a sense his own development) is discerned

than that Bucharest which he had visited for the last time in 1942 (CD 8:16).

as a vital unfolding of ontological values in whatever context -- be it war, the anxieties of a generation, the sufferings of spiritual growth and synthesis. Eliade has taken up Romania's mission and this seems to have permeated the entire man and his work. One meaning, therefore, of Eliade's lifework is to live Romania's vision, to fulfill her quest.

2. Lycée

To document⁴ Eliade's adolescence, in light of his Romanian background, it is useful to recount his formal, as well as informal, educational experiences. Some of Eliade's teachers, and especially his readings during this early stage of his life, could be considered important influences in the cultivation of his spiritual and intellectual interests.

Eliade began lycée in September, 1917, at the age of ten. Although he had been excited at the prospect, he did not find school very pleasant. He was often bored. Frequently he was interested in things other than those which were being taught in the classroom. In short, he was a typical young student. Of all his subjects, he liked natural science the best, especially

4. Most references are taken from Eliade's autobiography, Amintiri (A), published in 1966, as well as from school journals and other periodicals published during this early stage of his life. The following material is highly condensed, however, since these are impressions of Eliade offered here mostly as indications of a trend in his interests which would be nurtured later in his university and professional years.

entomology. His favorite teacher, Nicolaie Moisescu, explained, among other things, theories of the cosmos and the use of the microscope. Under Moisescu, Eliade became aware that there were natural laws which structure and govern the entire universe down to the smallest insect (A 45-6). Darwin's Origin of Species particularly intrigued him at this time, even though years later he would reject its evolutionary thesis. This preoccupation with the study of insects and the wonders of nature constitute material for Eliade's first published essays, from 1921 to 1924, in Ziarul stiintelor populare (cf. bibliog.).

Eliade was so taken up with collecting and classifying insects that he devoted little attention to his other subjects. In fact, that first year at the lycée he did very poorly in German, French, and Romanian. Like most of the students in his class, he disliked Germans and so he would not study the language. Josif Frollo, his French instructor, did not pass him because he refused to learn grammar (A 47). His teacher of Romanian and also the principal of the school, D. Nanul, failed him for disciplinary reasons (A 48-9).

Eliade's second year at the lycée proved to be less disastrous. With reassurances from his parents, and with encouragements from his new teachers, he managed to pass all his subjects. But he continued to complain about his classes and he rejected the requirement of having to study from textbooks (cf. A 51-61).

In 1919, soon after his entrance into the third year of lycée, Eliade's interests changed. At one point he thought that perhaps his vocation was to become a chemist (A 62), but while working in the laboratory he developed a passion for alchemy. Although at the time he was unfamiliar with Jung's work, Eliade recorded later that

alchemy was not a rudimentary chemistry, or pre-chemistry, but a spiritual technique, seeking something other than knowledge and the conquest of Matter, rather pursuing essentially the transmutation of man, his "salvation" or liberation (A 65; cf. ZS 25, 52: 588-9).⁵

Alchemy became for him an engagement, a concentration of spirit over matter, a search for something more than the ordinary. Alchemy was the work of the imagination and not a delusion. His original researches on alchemy can be found in Ziarul științelor populare, 1924. In 1935 and after, he published scientific treatises on this subject (cf. bibliog.).

Besides entomology and alchemy there developed other notable interests, such as his fondness for music and the piano (A 27-9, 78-80), and his adventures as a Boy Scout (A 82-3, 87-8, 99-105). Also, his interests were as extensive as his readings. Since the age of five he had been fascinated by books and by the time he reached the lycée he frequently and habitually visited libraries.

5. "... alchimia nu era o chimie rudimentară, o pre-chimie, ci o tehnică spirituală, urmărind cu titlul altceva decât cunoașterea și cucerirea Materiei; urmărind, în fond, transmutarea omului, 'mâniuirea' sau eliberarea lui."

In his last years at the lycée, he read many foreign biographies and exotic works. He was impressed by Nietzsche, for example (A97). His liking for foreign literature indicates a preference for those works which were personal, dynamic, and thought provoking. He disliked any form of rigidity or schematic presentation. Scientific manuals, like the grammar of his language courses, discouraged him. If there was something that he was forced to do, he recalled, he soon lost interest in it (A 50, 111). On the other hand, his outside readings kept him intellectually alert. He even tried to read a book a day, and by the end of lycée his personal library numbered over a thousand volumes (A 71, 107). A book to Eliade was not simply a collection of facts and ideas; it was a universe all its own. He explained this to his grandmother one summer when she wanted him to read to her. He told her that a great work cannot be understood by listening to sentences and fragments, but by reading between the lines (A 7). Books, as one might surmise, were his most valued possessions.

Throughout lycée he kept his library in the attic of his house. Each addition was carefully paged through and catalogued. Often he invited his friends and classmates to this secret enclave. Immersed in a world of books, they talked about exciting visions and provocative events. Each author presented a destiny. Each book occasioned the possibility of a journey to a faraway horizon. Here, Eliade and his friends were safe from the materialistic concerns and ideas of his father's generation. They were youths who

were romantic by nature, idealists of a new generation. Reading and discussion for them were roads toward greater knowledge, avenues of freedom, crossroads between complacency and decision. They, and Eliade especially, decided to ostracize the tenets of the older generation, and to build a better world, one that was based on truth and discretion. They felt deep love for Romania, and they projected their spirit beyond her limited frontiers to the universal quest of her forefathers.

It is not unusual, then, that among the writers whom Eliade prized most in his early years of lycée were the great Romanian poets Mihai Eminescu and Bogdan Haşdeu. He considered them universal men as well as protectors of Romanian culture (cf. AR 17). Eminescu wrote about Oriental, fantastic, and paradisiac experiences. His writings probably inspired Eliade to take up the study of Orientalism and occultism, topics on which he began to publish in various periodicals in 1925 and 1926 (cf. bibliog.). Haşdeu, on the other hand, stimulated Eliade toward the philosophy of cultures and toward transcendental, mystical experiences. These are also found in Eliade's publications shortly after lycée. The central themes contained in the works of Haşdeu continue to inspire Eliade even today (A 82).

Eliade also took up the study of Tolstoi, Balzac, and Voltaire. Though he did not claim to understand all that they said, he was amazed by the vastness and diversity of their thought.

Voltaire, for example, seemed to him an encyclopedic genius, a polygraph with a universal vision (A 80-1).

The best indicator of Eliade's personality during this period lies in a book by the Italian Giovanni Papini, entitled Un uomo finito (cf. VL 2, 65:1-2). Eliade read this book in 1923, when it had been translated into Romanian, and he used it as a guideline through which to evaluate his past and future experiences. In fact, he was so enthused about this work that it served as a motivation for parts of his own writing, Romanul adolescentului miop, which he began in 1922 and abandoned in 1925 (A 94-5).⁶

It is important to note that in his last year of lycée, 1924, Eliade discovered R. Pettazzoni's work I Misteri. He also read French translations of Frazer's The Golden Bough and Folklore of the Old Testament. All through lycée Eliade's interests had passed from particular sciences to the more general philosophy of cultures and religions; now he began to investigate the religions and customs of the ancient Orient with great ardor and persistence. It was also at this time that he began to study on his own the languages of Hebrew, Persian, and Sanskrit (A 97-8).

In addition to his outside readings and studies, Eliade developed a taste for writing. In fact, whatever he observed

6. Un uomo finito, as well as other works by Papini, also inspired a series of Eliade's articles published in 1927, entitled "Itinerariu Spiritual"; cf. below, pp. 38-54.

and imagined he tended to write and reflect upon. For instance, as a boy growing up in Bucharest during the war, he described in a notebook the episodes of the bombings and the German soldiers he met, as well as the fantastic visions he had of a "secret army" ready to protect Romania (A 30-6, 42). As early as 1919, he wrote a moving essay on his summer activities which, he recalled, transported him to "another space, somewhere near me, right in front of me, a space in which unfolded events which I had to retell" (A 58).⁷ In the spring of that year he began to write a series of fantastic stories about strange and mysterious happenings, which he named Nuvele și povestiri (A 59). Then in 1922 and 1923 he composed a small novel entitled Memoriile unui soldat de plumb in which he set out to give the entire history of the cosmos, from the origin of the galaxies to the appearance of man (A 75-6). All through the latter part of lycée, moreover, Eliade kept a journal in which he recorded events at school and subjects of conversations. Many of these entries were copied in Romanul adolescentului miop (cf. A 72-3). This work, according to his intention, was supposed to be an autobiographical novel about exemplary youth (A 89-91), but only parts were published and the original was lost together with many other writings of this time.

7. "... un alt spațiu, undeva aproape de mine, chiar în fața mea, spațiul în care se desfășurau întâmplările pe care aveam să le povestesc."

The extent of Eliade's imagination seemed to be restricted to no bounds. By the time of his baccalaureate exam, he had developed a spiritual exercise which enabled him to deal with almost any problem. If something personal worried him, or if he did not understand something about his generation, he would retreat to his attic where he would lie in bed with his eyes closed and concentrate on imaginary universes, such as the exotic worlds of some books that he had read, or the ancient civilizations like Egypt or Vedic India which he had studied. After awhile, as he said, "I had become entirely and fully present in one of those extraterrestrial or lost worlds; I began then to live there, to move in a scenery that seemed to me completely and truly real..." (A 111).⁸

In conclusion, Eliade's personal development shows a contrast of sorts. Never satisfied with the surface aspects of things, he constantly searched for the deeper meaning, the spiritual fate or destiny of things. His observations usually led to wonderment, and to questions concerning the why, the how, and the truth of the greater world around him. Never merely questioning or wondering, he indicated a deep desire to affect things, to change the world, to actualize the potentialities of his own generation of peers. Rejecting the sterility of the older generation, or the

8. "... devenisem cu totul și cu totul prezent într'una din lumile acelea abolite sau extraterestre; începeam atunci să trăiesc acolo, să mă misc într'un peisagiu care-mi apărea ca singurul cu adevărat real...."

formality of a classroom, young Eliade imagined Promethean undertakings. If he wanted to find the laws of nature, it was always through some grandiose, cosmic scheme. If he wanted to measure the elements of matter, it was by some magical, secret formula. If he felt creative in writing or discussion, it was according to some exotic or esteemed master whom he had read. The occult, the unusual, his personal possessions and thoughts -- these conspired to enrich his horizons for the universal, the new, the eternal. Eliade continued to admire Romania's great poets and mystics, and he saw in them a lasting tradition, a solace for both troubled times and the future that lay ahead. And yet, he extended his visions far beyond Romania's immediate horizons to the imaginary frontiers of his own spirit.

3. Nostalgia

Eliade's memories of Romania, and his recollections concerning his adolescence, do not simply represent biographical facts of his past. Whatever he has retained over the years are memories not only of what he once was but they are also aspirations of what, at one time, he might have possibly become. Indeed, there appears to be a certain idiosyncrasy about Eliade's recollection of former events, and that is his peculiar nostalgia for the past. An awareness of Eliade's anxiety over the past, and his desire to return to the past, is necessary for a deeper understanding of the facts of his past, or at least of

how those past events most strikingly affected his future development.

As a youth enduring the tragic circumstances of life around him, Eliade tried to find meaning in all his suffering. He reacted strongly against the forms of brutality and inauthenticity of his time, and as he grew older he looked to the glory of Romania's primordial tradition. From this tradition, he imagined for his generation a new kind of existence which would be universal and ecumenical in scope and which, in a sense, would recapture the ontological values of old. In other words, he saw a future existence whose values were rooted in the past. This past was not one located at some point of history. It was rather a fantastic past preserved in the ethos of the Romanian people.

From a personal point of view, Eliade was not the type to flee from the actual troubles of the time, yet he was himself troubled by the effects of war and the apathy of the age. If his family moved to the countryside to escape bombardment, he was relieved. If after school he retreated to his attic or to some public library, he felt secure. In typical adolescent fashion, he found himself struggling between his hopes and his fears, his expectations and his experiences, his excitements and his disillusionments. So he lived the contraries of his existence. Yet overall he felt a strange and inexpressible force moving him, guiding his life. This power that he sensed stemmed from the

glory of the tradition that was his, and from the unity of the future world which he envisioned. The young Eliade, though troubled, seemed very confident.

Eliade's ambivalent attitude is illustrated by the work which he considered as an expression of his own youth, Romanul adolescentului miop. Here he tried to show how adolescence was very strenuous for him and his close friends because of the problems of the age; yet their adolescence constituted a "new spiritual phenomenon" to be prolonged and interpreted with care (A 91-4). Adolescence, even if it appeared to be filled with physiological and emotional crises, was for Eliade a period of great intellectual discoveries (A 95).

Reflecting years later upon his youth, he admitted the naiveté of his idealism (O 162-5). Still he thought that this idealism was a necessary part of the experiences of youth, which follows whatever fascinates. From a more mature perspective, however, that seemed to be an enigma, since he felt that youth is neither organic nor real, but only fragmentary and mediocre. That is, time and events pass too quickly for youth. So Eliade saw his idealism mixed with a kind of melancholia to return to lost experiences. For instance, in his last year of lycée, he longed to revisit the town of Râmnicul-Sărat where his father, an officer in the Romanian army, had been stationed and where he had once lived as a child. There time was suspended and secrets were disclosed (A 9-10). This melancholia he attributed to his

Moldavian ancestry (A 19),⁹ and it is best expressed in his own words:

for example, the sentiment of the "past", this simple fact that things which once were no more are, they have "passed", like my childhood, or the youth of my father; the sentiment that I have had at hand possibilities which I have not fulfilled, and now it is too late, all is irreparable. Or the regret that I had not grown up in the country, that I did not know, as a child, the life of the village, which seemed to me the only truth, but that now I am definitely torn away from that idyllic world (A 84).¹⁰

So along with his confidence and idealism he encountered moments of extreme sadness. He understood that for everything gained something was lost. For every vision there was a reckoning. Whether an event passed too quickly in the world about him, or whether an evening was suspended when reading in his attic library, he sensed a peculiar feature of his life: the dissipation of time. This expenditure was disheartening. Like a misplaced book of some great author, or like a stolen work of art, this expenditure meant some lost truth, personal as well as cosmic. Dissipated time meant lost reality, and this demanded something

9. Cf. D. Micu, "Introducere" to M. Eliade's Maitreyi. Nuntă în Cer, Bucharest, Editura pentru Literatură, 1969, pp. xi-iii.

10. "... bunăoară, sentimentul 'trecutului', acest simplu fapt că au fost lucruri care nu mai sunt, că au 'trecut', asemenea copilăriei mele, sau cea a tatălui meu; sentimentul că am avut la îndemână posibilități pe care nu le-am împlinit, și că acum e prea târziu, că totul e ireparabil. Sau regretul că n'am fost crescut la țară, că n'am cunoscut, copil, viața satului, care mi se părea singura adevărată, că acum sunt definitiv rupt de lumea aceasta idilică."

exceptional: a new existence or at least a renovation of the old.

In other words, having realized that certain things were forever lost, Eliade thought that the present as such was unfulfilled. This created in him a nostalgia to return to past events and possibilities in order to make his life, his sense of existence, more complete. Such a full existence would be a new existence, totally different from the present and not unlike the past. He felt that this was Destiny's call. It would be an authentic existence where man was spiritually united with the cosmos.

Eliade's anxiety over these deliberations went unresolved for many years to come. Although he wanted to return to the past in order to forge his way into the future, he repeatedly felt his idealistic hopes and his nostalgic visions betraying him. The present, moreover, was always too much of an actuality. But he did not withdraw from reality. To overcome the fantasies of youth, and also to overcome the apathy of the age, he endeavored to join his idealism with a breadth of experience. He desired to take up all possibilities and he tried desperately to assimilate the many truths which he discovered. He looked forward to the attainment of an ecumenical reality in which there would be a continuity to life and a duration of events. Consequently, the questions which, to the young Eliade, required solutions were: Could he continue to endure the multiple tragedies of his existence, or would he again lapse into lost time? And if he gained the future,

would he retain all the things of his past by so enduring? The relationship of time with the passing and fulfillment of events began to play an important role in Eliade's total understanding of things.

CHAPTER II

SPIRITUAL ITINERARY 1925-1928

In view of Eliade's adolescent hopes and interests, as uncovered by references to his nostalgic memories, a biography, properly speaking, of his spiritual and intellectual development may now be given. In this chapter, as in succeeding chapters, first the circumstances and influences on Eliade's life are reviewed in chronological order mostly from manuscripts and publications of his at the time. Then his own reflections about the various contexts, events, and personages in the way they helped to shape his existence are elucidated from the same documentation. The attempt is always made to demonstrate the process (or development) of Eliade's reflection on these matters, and to delineate his increasing awareness of his own spiritual and intellectual possibilities, as well as achievements.

1. University and Travels

One may discern the influences on Eliade's spirit and thought since his years at the lycée by a look into his life as a university student. At the University of Bucharest, from 1925 to 1928, Eliade came across certain professors whose ideas greatly affected his own. Moreover, his outside readings attracted him to a number of Romanian authors and to many foreign writers whom he learned to admire. His research for a licentiate thesis prompted him to

travel to Italy where he met famed Italian scholars who discussed important issues with him and who directed him in his scientific study. Eliade's university years were productive in many ways, and they may be taken as the period of his life in which he started to openly formulate his spiritual and intellectual concerns.

One of his first professors when he entered university in 1925 was P.P. Negulescu. Negulescu's approach to knowledge was to show the dependence of philosophical thought upon the discoveries and progress of the natural, physical sciences. According to him, metaphysics alone was speculation out of contact with reality. Eliade was disturbed by Negulescu's approach and he completely disagreed with his conclusions (A 113-4). For instance, he felt that Negulescu did not read monographs and other articles by specialists and that he taught only from an acquaintance with textbooks. The young Eliade was also displeased with Negulescu's manner of teaching. He found him to be rigid, calculating, and meticulous in his presentation. Any interruption of class such as a question or a suggestion by a student was considered completely out of line. Whether or not Negulescu's style of teaching was in any way an indication of the value of the content of his classes, Eliade liked neither.

In contrast to Negulescu, Nae Ionescu, professor of Logic and Metaphysics, was greatly admired by Eliade. The first lecture which Eliade attended dealt with Faust and the problem of salvation. In this case, as in subsequent lectures, Ionescu presented the

facts, offered a number of interpretations, and then requested through questions and discussion the students' own reflections on the matter. Ionescu's style was vibrant, expressive, explosive. While he spoke, his hands modulated his thoughts by underlining the nuances and difficulties of his words. Always he would change his format according to whatever came to his mind at the moment. Eliade felt that he could speak with Ionescu about almost anything, and he was sure that he had learned from Ionescu truths which could never be found in a textbook (A 116).

Eliade apparently thought enough of Ionescu, and retained a sufficient amount of his teaching, to summarize his major ideas. According to Eliade, Ionescu was a man who knew the tragedy of existence but whose heroic sense accepted and pursued each moment, each opportunity of existence. Existence was a challenge and an adventure for Ionescu and, like any hero, he searched for fulfillment in life by trying to achieve an outstanding goal within the context of continual sufferings and inconsistencies presented by existence. His goal was that of a new type of man. This new man would value existence not simply by the many tragic circumstances of life, but by the dramatic effort he put into life in order to endure such limitations. As formulated by Ionescu, this comprised two poles of orientation: the first, "sympathy", or knowledge of oneself and others in the particular circumstances of life, which was countered by the second, "soteriology", or the building of the new and eternal man. Together they required a type of Socratic

method which was, on the one hand, personal, authentic, and compassionate in dealing with oneself and others, and on the other hand, upsetting, stimulating, and directive in accomplishing the new man (cf. A 116; CD 8:26-7; IR 421-4).

For Ionescu, the New Man was ultimately an ontological and universal Being.¹ One could achieve such a Being in the following manner. Knowledge of the self is a prerequisite for metaphysics and is to be discovered through experience. In other words, an individual begins by looking into himself through the glasses of his own historicity, that is through the circumstances of his own life. He thus becomes sympathetic with himself in his own tragic condition and adopts a soteriological goal. However, an individual does not remain within himself; he proceeds to go outside of himself. This is because, while he appropriates his own experiences, his own historicity, he also utilizes and expresses his experiences in ways which will help him to learn about the situation and experiences of others. The more he learns about the experiences of others, the more he nears a soteriology since he becomes interiorly a New Man, yet through an external and universal sympathy which is history. Such notions, Eliade felt, constitute "not a system of philosophy -- but a philosophy; that is a method of having known

1. The words "New Man" are capitalized here, as well as below, in order to indicate their ontological significance. They also serve as a name for that Being who is expected.

reality and a technique of formulating that knowledge" (IR 441; cf. O 201; R 2, 3:660).²

An important point concerning Ionescu's thought was his insistence that any man, as he approaches the status of the New Man, must deal with the laws and limitations of his own being. Yet man, as such, is not determined by those limitations. A man creates something new to the measure that he participates in his proper life, which includes that which has preceded him and rules him, but which has ontological value in itself. Finally, when a man goes beyond himself, that is when he sees and engages in the ontological value of others besides himself, he is then free to express or formulate those laws under the approbation of God or Destiny (cf. IR 443).

This discussion of Ionescu's thought, as introduced here, resembles very much the orientation and terminology of Eliade's own "Spiritual Itinerary" which was to be published in 1927. Similar categories of thought appear again and again in the course of Eliade's life. It seems, from such similarities, that Eliade tried to imitate Ionescu's way of expressing truths about the nature and condition of man.

Another person who influenced Eliade during these early university years, and whose ideas would return as Eliade's own, was

2. "Nu un sistem de filozofie -- ci o filozofie; adică o metodă de a cunoaște realitatea și o tehnică de a formula această cunoaștere."

Lucian Blaga. Blaga was a well-known Romanian philosopher and a prolific writer. In 1926, Eliade read Blaga's Fenomenul originar which concluded that there was a unity of elements both in nature and in all cultures. In other words, Blaga thought that he had discovered fundamental, universal structures of reality which continue throughout the course of history as, in a similar fashion, the universal structure of gravity permeates the entire material universe (A 128).

For his method, Blaga employed ethnographic and Oriental documents through which he demonstrated the existence of unique spiritual traditions. Among those traditions he uncovered certain structures which were like, as Eliade called them, "symphonic constructions". Blaga viewed each "construction" not as a system based on one theory or explanation. Rather, he saw that each had the quality of a symphony, or a building formed out of all its parts (IE 188-9). He felt that each construction was an organic whole which developed throughout history, unfolding itself in particular customs, that is in specific traditions. Romania's tradition appeared to be a particularly good example. Although constantly thwarted by a history of subjugation under influences of foreign powers, Romania's culture repeatedly witnessed autochthonous revolutions along the lines of her popular ancient customs (cf. CA 8).

Still another major figure during this period of Eliade's life was the famous Romanian historian, Nicolae Iorga. While Ionescu developed a metaphysics which he applied to the historical

and literary worlds, professor Iorga was a polygraph who synthesized historical materials with certain metaphysical intuitions. Eliade wanted to imitate Iorga because he considered him to be a model of the universal man (A 131). But Eliade had a strange relationship with this reputed scholar.

Together with a few other students, Eliade had initiated a periodical called Revista Universitară. In the third issue, he published an article criticizing the first volume of Iorga's Essai de synthèse de l'histoire universelle. Eliade said that Iorga had not consulted the books he cited, ignored recent bibliographies, and did not adequately treat the problem of Oriental and ancient historiography (RU 3:85-90; cf. A 129-30). These were, of course, extremely bold statements for a young student to make about Romania's foremost historian. Iorga complained to the University. As a consequence, Eliade resigned from Revista Universitară. Shortly thereafter, P. Șeicaru, a reporter for the widely read newspaper Cuvântul, wrote an editorial supporting Eliade (C 434:2). This encouraged Eliade to write a letter to Cuvântul, defending his position on Iorga and declaiming his critics (C 450:2). As it happened, Eliade was soon on the staff of Cuvântul (cf. A 131-2).

In the latter part of 1926, he began his writing for this newspaper with a series on Iorga. The purpose of the series was critical: to praise Iorga's polygraphic vision and also to disclose points of deficiency regarding his method. The latter was not necessarily derogatory; it was intended to emphasize Iorga's

asystematic approach (cf. C 604:2; 701:1-2; 704:1-2). After only three articles, however, Cuvântul decided that Eliade should write on another subject. His professor Nae Ionescu, who was also on the staff of Cuvântul (and who became its director in 1928), supported Eliade's basic assumptions, but he felt that they needed much elaboration which a daily newspaper could not justify (A 135-6).

The articles were thus terminated. Yet Eliade's criticism of the thought and method of Iorga had indirectly provided him with an opportunity to become recognized, both by professors and by the public, as a controversial and persistent individual. It also gave him the chance to begin writing for a living, to express with associates and before others the ideas which he was still studying and perfecting. He continued to publish in Cuvântul until 1938.

So in his first years at the University, 1925 and 1926, there were certain Romanians whom Eliade regarded for their character and scholarship: namely Ionescu, Blaga, and Iorga. While each of these scholars took a different approach to the study of cultures, nevertheless they had something in common. The three of them greatly loved Romania's cultural tradition, and they manifested an ecumenical, universal vision of all cultures and history in general. Their synthetic visions discovered unity and metaphysical truth in whatever they examined. One detects this same metaphysical thirst in Eliade during this time, and it will emerge later as his point of departure in the History of Religions.

In fact, by the end of 1926, Eliade had read with fervor works by Bacon, Malebranche, Kant, and Balzac. By then also he had discovered Salomon Reinach's volumes of Cultes, mythes et religions (A 124).

In terms of other influences, the following year, 1927, finds Eliade becoming acquainted with a number of Italian scholars. The occasion was in the spring when he went for three weeks on a tour of Italy. In Florence he visited Papini, whose works he idolized, and they became close friends (cf. A 138-9; C 661:1-2; U 43, 19:291-2; VL 2, 65:1-2). In Naples he spoke with Vittorio Macchioro (cf. A 141-3; C 778:1-2). In Rome he saw, among others, Giovanni Gentile, Alfredo Panzini, and Ernesto Buonaiuti -- writers with whom he had already been in correspondence. Eliade acquired a great respect for Buonaiuti (cf. A 140-1; C 670:1; 1112:1) and later, in 1930 and 1932, they collaborated on a few articles in the periodical Ricerche Religiose (cf. RR 6:200-21; 8:486-504).

Association with these scholars so impressed Eliade that, when he returned to Romania, he began to study the Italian Renaissance as preparation for a licentiate thesis. After a certain amount of research on the subject, he decided to make a comparative history of Renaissance philosophies. He soon became aware, however, that a number of primary sources required for his thesis were unobtainable in Bucharest. So in 1928 he again went to Italy, for a period of three months, in order to acquire the material he needed (cf. A 161-2). He spent most of this time in the university

library of Rome and also in the library of G. Tucci, making notes and taking down extracts of various works. He also revisited the scholars whom he had encountered on his previous visit to Italy (cf. A 161-2; C 1078:1-2). These men possessed firsthand knowledge of Italian tradition, and each of them offered Eliade the opportunity for a full discussion of aspects about the Renaissance which his fragmentary notes could only approximate.

Eliade presented his thesis to the University of Bucharest in the fall of 1928. It dealt principally with the philosophies of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Giordano Bruno, and Tommaso Campanella. As Eliade commented,

Without realizing it, I began to balance, through a serious study of neo-pagan immanentism, pantheism, and "philosophy of Nature", my passion for transcendence, mysticism, and Oriental spirituality... I also rediscovered, in the whole of the Italian Renaissance, a belief in the unlimited possibilities of man, a concept of creative liberty, and an almost luciferic gigantism -- that is, all the obsessions of my youth (A 144-5).³

In the Italian Renaissance, Eliade found another model for the universal man (CD 13:28-9).

3. "Fără să-mi dau seama, încercam să echilibrez, printr'un studiu serios al imanentismului neo-păgân, al panteismului și al 'filozofiei Naturei', pasiunea mea pentru transcendență, mistică și spiritualitatea orientală... Regăseam deasemenea, în întreaga Renaștere italiană, credința în posibilitățile ilimitate ale omului, conceptul de libertate creatoare și un gigantism aproape luciferic, -- adică toate obsesiile tinereții mele."

The content of Eliade's thesis represented only a small part of all the material he had collected on the Renaissance and on Italian culture in general. Most of his researches, including his conversations with Italian scholars and his reflections on various incidences of his travels in Italy, were published as essays in Cuvântul in 1927 and 1928 (cf. bibliog.).⁴ From an examination of these essays, it seems evident that Eliade also found in Italy sources on alchemy and magic, as well as works dealing with primitive religion and Oriental philosophy (cf. A 144, 162). For instance, besides praising E. Buonaiuti's Origini dell'ascetismo cristiano (A 140) and C. Formichi's Il pensiero religiose nell'India prima del Buddha (C 617:1-2; cf. A 163; AL 348:7), he also acclaimed the works of R. Pettazzoni (AL 348:7; cf. A 121). He elaborated V. Macchioro's Teoria generale della religione come esperienza (C 619:1-2). He criticized R. Steiner and his publications for the Anthroposophic Society (C 734:1-2). He outlined the main points of Sir J. Woodroffe's The Garland of Letters (C 1155:2). He endorsed G. Sarton's Introduction to the History of Science in which the different scientific methods evidenced through history are brought together and evaluated for a new humanism (C 1278:1-2). And he also read A History of Indian Philosophy by S. Dasgupta (A 163).

4. Certain essays, in which Eliade reproduced some anti-fascist statements by Macchioro and Buonaiuti, reflected his political naïvety at the time. He confessed that he didn't know what a dictatorship meant (A 141-3).

Eliade's particular study of Italian culture, therefore, may be seen as a manifestation of his interest in many cultures and as an attestation of his concern for universality. He read a wide range of foreign literary and scientific works in which he perceived different expressions of cosmic truths. For example, besides the writings of Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo, he explored the works of men like Novalis and Kierkegaard. He studied the neo-Thomistic philosophy of Maritain and Gilson as well as the theological works of Origen (A 144). His commentaries on these, and on others of his voluminous readings and researches, exposed in a very generic way the eternal values which he discerned in such great minds and in such outstanding traditions. These persons and worlds he encountered were not only new discoveries for him; they also appeared to him as somehow reflections of his own youth and development. With all this new material, he even began to write an autobiographical novel, Gaudeamus, which is lost however (A 157-60). Altogether, Eliade's approach to his studies took on a synthetic outlook and this outlook started to take form in his concepts and publications regarding the New Man.

2. The New Man

The above presentation of the major influences on Eliade's thought and spiritual development during his university years leads naturally to the question of his own consciousness and expression of these matters. Very well aware of the problems of the age, he was extremely anxious over the needs and possibilities of the generation of young Romanians, and in this anxiety he was also concerned

about his own spiritual growth and security. Eliade tried to encourage his generation to recover the values which were traditionally Romanian. Furthermore, he suggested that these values were universal and ecumenical in scope. From an examination of the documents by which he so exhorted his generation, it is possible to elucidate his own spiritual struggles and accomplishments.

In 1926, with his first article on N. Iorga in Cuvântul (C 604:2), Eliade characterized his generation⁵ by its concern for the natural, physical sciences and its antagonism of things spiritual. While science in general is profitable, he acknowledged, and while youth should admire Iorga, nevertheless they should not be content to accept the view of this historian. In order to become a "new generation", they should also try to discipline themselves in something other than history, such as the study of religion. In a subsequent article (C 619:1), Eliade insisted that the study of religion is such that it opposes rational argumentation and the opinion which holds that science and the spiritual exist on mutually exclusive planes. He illustrated this by pointing out that the external data observed by science imply

5. The style and temperament of Eliade's publications were typical of most publications during this era in Romania. Consisting of commentaries on books and debates on various topics, these articles declared openly, and almost aggressively, the recurrent problems of his generation. The word "generation" itself was the marshalling formula for most writers at the time. Cf. Micu, "Introducere," p. x; and M. Vulcănescu, "Generație," Criterion (1934) 1, 3-4:3-6.

that there are also internal states of consciousness. (Various rituals, for instance, are concrete actualizations of experiences and attitudes of the spirit). What is needed, he concluded elsewhere, is a polygraphic and asystematic approach, like that of Iorga, but one which is not implemented under the auspices of science alone. Knowledge, according to Eliade, refers as much to the spiritual world as to the physical and historical worlds. There should be a way, therefore, by which it is possible to reconstruct reality, as "an extensive synthesis of the Universe and consciousness, an organic integration of all planes and essences..." (C 704:1).⁶

Eliade understood that the study of religion, as a mode of scientific inquiry, would be unfeasible without a comparison of a great number of legends, myths, and rituals taken from various times and places. While comparison is required, nevertheless he felt that comparison alone is insufficient since it deals only with the material aspects of things. In order to uncover the originality and development of religious data, it is also necessary to investigate the spiritual aspects of the phenomena, such as their inherent mystical and metaphysical qualities. In his view, these values could not be reduced to rationalistic explanations like those of Reinach or to sociological interpretations like those of Durkheim. Nor could they be found in the theories of origin

6. "... largă sinteză a Universului și a conștiinței, integrare organică a tuturor planurilor și esențelor...."

proposed by scholars like Frazer, Lang, and Van Gennep. Eliade felt that these older generation scientists had introduced their own personal, subjective values into a study which should have been objective and realistic. They had confused the historical (or sociological, psychological, etc.) data, which are external manifestations of religious phenomena, with the spiritual content of those phenomena (C 786:1-2; cf. C 670:1).

Eliade's critical appeals for a "new generation" reveal a dissatisfaction with the reductionistic claims of the particular sciences of his day. These sciences -- the History of Religions included -- were too divisive and too positivistic for him in the way they attempted to measure and account for reality. From the viewpoint of metaphysics, he saw an inexplicable unity to life and the world about him. As the reality of the world should not be fragmentized, neither should a science which studies that reality. Eliade thought that science in general must express itself in relation to the organic complexity of the real. "Science cannot be other than encyclopedic, extensive, coherent, organic" (C 773:1).⁷

While Eliade was admonishing his generation for their over-specialized interests and for their materialistic, rationalistic temperament, he was trying to discipline his own interests and temperament in a broader and more spiritual perspective. Among his readings he came across a book by J. Payot, translated as

7. "Știința nu poate fi decât enciclopedică, vastă, coerentă, organică."

Educația Voinței, which convinced him that man could accomplish anything, provided that he knew how to control his will. Eliade accepted the challenge. In order to overcome the circumstances of his existence, he began doing whatever was contrary to what was considered to be the normal mode of behavior. He resisted current trends and fashions. He adopted what was strange, different, and unusual. He no longer considered himself circumscribed in any way by his Romanian birth, but used Romania's heritage as an avenue into other cultures. He even changed his sleeping habits, gradually reducing the hours of sleep needed at night to three or four. This gave him the time for more reading, and the contemplation of a more spiritual universe (A 125-6).

Eliade understood his "Faustian ambition", as he later called it, as an heroic attempt to overcome the human condition and so achieve absolute liberty (A 125). If the older generation was corrupt, and if the present generation was as yet complacent, nevertheless he continued to look forward to a New Man (C 624:3).⁸ Such a man, like Faust, would be virile and dynamic, and would not retreat before the problems and complexities of human existence. He would be conscious of the multiple forces of his own spirit by which he could take hold of reality and become enthusiastic in his struggle (C 667:2).

8. Eliade probably perceived the New Man as an essentially free and universal Being, similar to the view held by his professor, Nae Ionescu (cf. above, pp. 24-5).

The New Man, while the dominant symbol of Eliade's Faustian pursuit, was also the epitome of a new generation. The New Man would be neither overly cautious nor overly calculating, as though concerned with only the physical limitations of things. Rather, he would be aggressive and forward minded, concerned primarily with spiritual unity and the unlimited possibilities of life and the world around him. He would vanquish the facets of reality as he would control the forces of his own spirit.

3. Complexity of the Spirit

In 1927, a series of articles entitled "Itinerariu Spiritual" appeared in Cuvântul, illustrating Eliade's quest for the New Man. These articles are especially important. They reveal, as an articulation of his own spiritual itinerary,⁹ Eliade's thought in full process of formation. They also witness his earliest concern for "method" which, at the time, he considered as any means of accomplishing the New Man.¹⁰ That is, method may be conceived as any

9. Eliade's notion of "spiritual itinerary" is difficult to ascertain in few words. He had certain spiritual goals in mind -- a new generation, the New Man, his own spiritual growth and well-being -- and he was confident about achieving those objectives by force of his own will, in light of the circumstances of the age. His "itinerary" could be described as a deliberate attempt on his part to outline in explicit directives the future course of his generation in view of accomplishing the New Man.

10. It is impossible to say precisely what Eliade meant by "method" at this stage of his development. The notion of method, however, preoccupied him. He changed and clarified his notion of method in subsequent years, as following chapters will bring out.

mode of activating and formulating the many possibilities of the spirit in order to achieve metaphysical truth and unity.

Eliade introduced his spiritual itinerary by reexamining the temptations and crises through which he and his generation were passing. These included war, the progress of technical sciences and industry, the search for totalitarian forms of justice and peace, the prestige of rationalism and agnosticism, the pseudo-religious experiences proclaimed by psychoanalysis, theosophy, and Oriental gnosis and, finally, historicism. He also inquired into the potential vitality of his generation. All in all, Eliade saw his age as an inevitable flux of contradictions. Yet these contradictions, he felt, were necessary because they stemmed from life. They were productive insofar as they were paths which led to the integration of life and consciousness. So he did not dismay at the confusion apparent in his generation but, as one reliable method, tried to discover and elaborate "the configuration of each generation, the neuralgic zone of its collective conscience, the imperative and means of its creativity" (C 857:1; cf. A 148-9; VL 3, 87:1).¹¹

Although Eliade did not define the above terms by which he introduced his itinerary, a general dialectic may be detected. Apparently, he had a vitalistic notion of reality. This made it

11. "... configurația fiecărei generații, zona nevralgică a conștiinței colective, imperativul și mijloacele sale de creație."

seem that life, and the spirit as well, while full of contradictions and inconsistencies, is not thereby destroyed. Instead, life progresses as reality itself progresses. Eventually, life and the spirit are resolved in an organic growth and synthesis because reality itself is vital and whole. At least it is certain that Eliade rejected any vision of reality which saw only one particular perspective and ascribed absolute value to it -- a difficulty with the natural sciences and pseudo-sciences of his day. He felt that these types of sciences sought a form of knowledge which, in a sense, was divorced from life and reality. In other words, these sciences saw no organic unity or progression in what they studied, nor did they care to look for such a unity. At most they isolated the facts of life from their original context and then separated the facts from each other to find positivistic, non-contradictory explanations of the cause and relationship of those same facts. In Eliade's view, these rationalizations misrepresented life as it is actually lived and so were not true to reality. In contradistinction to these rationalizations, his understanding of reality may be compared to the organic complexity of his own life and spirit:

So for us the inward life is very violent, diverse, protean, tortured. In us triumphs the Spirit. We have realized that life, which merits suffering, is to concretize, to live, to actualize the Spirit.

The Spirit -- as far as we understand it -- is not something Hegelian. It is not simply the "ideal" of sentimental contemporaries. It is a consciousness of a life which needs to live, to appropriate, and to be educated with care. It is the obsession with spiritual values which need differentiation, trimming, and dissemination (C 857:1).12

Eliade's insight into the organic complexity of reality, as well as his reflection on the organic complexity of the spirit, provides a clue as to how he intended to deal with his generation. He felt that if the youth of his generation were to overcome the contradictions of the age, and if they were to achieve a unity and identity of their own as a "new generation", they too must become aware of the integrity of their life-surroundings and of the authenticity of their own spiritual endeavors. While he was confident that the spirit, like reality, was essentially vital and whole, nevertheless he thought that it needed to be differentiated in order to become fulfilled. His generation, on the other hand, which he felt had become stagnant and even repressive in regard to spiritual matters, needed to be stimulated in order to become more ecumenical.

These ideas about the spirit becoming more "differentiated" and his generation becoming more "ecumenical" may be clarified by an examination of Eliade's repeated use of the term "planes of the spirit". In the beginning of his itinerary, and throughout it, this expression¹³ seems to be a formula for his theory of knowledge

12. "Deacea pentru noi, -- viața lăuntrică e etât de cruntă, de diversă, de proteică, de chinuitoare. In noi, izbândește Spiritul. Noi am înțeles că viața își merită suferințele -- e pentru a concretiza, a viețui, a actualiza Spiritul.

Spiritul -- a a cum îl înțelegem noi -- nu e cel hegelian. Și nu e nici 'idealul' jurilor sentimentali. E conștiința unei vieți care trebuie viețuită, absorbită, educată cu atenție. Obsesia valorilor spirituale cari trebuiesc diferențiate, și tăiate, și răspândite."

-- that is his understanding of how the spirit attains knowledge of reality and of how his generation acquires that knowledge as a definite means toward its own renewal.

As in his first article on Iorga a year earlier (cf. above, p. 34), Eliade indicated in his itinerary that the spirit should not accept positive science as the only valid mode of knowledge, thus limiting itself to one particular and unqualified perspective, to the exclusion of religion. The spirit should open itself to the fact that science and religion do not exist on mutually exclusive planes, thus ruling out positivism altogether. In a sense, then, science, as one mode of knowledge, is modified according to its relation with religion, another mode of knowledge. Science as a method is not negated; it is only put in proportion with religion (or metaphysics as the case may be) and its absolute claim to knowledge is abrogated. When the spirit becomes conscious of this proportion, that is when it considers the reciprocity of science and religion, it realizes that science and religion are synthetically, though distinctly, related. The spirit, then, through its single awareness of the mutual need for science and religion in attaining knowledge of the absolute (i.e., complete reality), itself becomes diversified. There develop "planes of the spirit" which are not exclusive even though they are evidently

13. The expressions "planes of the spirit" and "planes of reality" appear earlier than the publication of "Itinerariu Spiritual" (cf. C 712:2; 734:1-2; 829:1-2).

distinguished from one another. Hence a logician can also be a mystic. A historian can also be a metaphysician. These planes of the spirit, which appear to be different attitudes or dispositions of consciousness, function as other spiritual universes. Like different organisms of the same body of knowledge, they follow different values and methods of knowledge (C 857:1-2; e.g. symphony VL 3, 87:1).

Striving after knowledge of reality, therefore, the spirit exercises different planes -- such as the intellect, the will, mystical experience, etc. -- and employs various methods proper to those planes. Because of its nature, it cannot accept simply the immediate data of reality. The spirit, as an organic complexity, "sympathizes" with the complex and synthetic nature of reality (cf. C 734:1-2).

Certain comparisons may now be drawn. Just as Eliade believed in the fundamental unity of reality while he recognized its complexity, so he also believed in the fundamental unity of knowledge even though he understood that there were different methods of reaching that knowledge. He thought that there was a correlation between the numerous levels of reality and the multiple planes of the spirit. In a similar fashion, he attributed to his generation an inherent unity and will to live throughout the apparent contradictions and acquired experiences of a lifetime (cf. C 874:2).

There was a continuum to his own existence: in the context of the world around him, especially in view of the sufferings and

inconsistencies of his generation, the young Eliade put forth the spiritual itinerary of his life, expressed boldly and with determination, in a quest for greater knowledge and freedom. While looking ahead to the New Man, he was deeply concerned with methods of obtaining knowledge which would help him to overcome his condition and so lead him to an absolute existence. His itinerary may be likened to a spiritual thread which spins off into other universes and returns to coil in upon itself for its own reflection. Such reflection, as produced, is for the purpose of meditation, control of the will, and the conquering of circumstances.¹⁴

Ultimately, for Eliade, all the things he envisioned would be accomplished by the New Man. The New Man would succeed in controlling spiritual tensions and would transcend the conflicts of life. By his will, he would become fully conscious of the forces of his spirit and he would assume the absolute values of reality. As the New Man matured, the planes of his spirit would achieve a "spiritual equilibrium", that is a synthesis of the personality (cf. C 857:2; 862:1-2). Then he would also become a universal man, because reality would reveal its fullness to him.

4. A Synthetic Method

Since the prospects of Eliade's itinerary included the spiritual growth and well-being of his generation, it was implied

14. Eliade's anxiety in regard to his spiritual life and the circumstances of the world around him could easily be called

that every personality must undergo the situations and crises of development. Every personality should seek an equilibrium of the different, but related, planes of the spirit. To attain such an equilibrium necessitated not a positive systematics, according to Eliade, since all the planes of one's spirit could not be reduced to the purely logical. The life of the personality, moreover, was full of contradictions. What everyone needed was a synthetic method which was broad and extensive in scope, one which would deal with the many experiences of life as well as with the various modes of obtaining knowledge.

No one could do without a method. As he put it, "It is not necessary to understand 'method' in the sphere of notions referring to 'methodical'. Even the worst enemy of methods has a method" (C 860:1).¹⁵ Eliade interpreted method, therefore, not as a standardized rule or single mode of operation. Method for him was a way of coping with the fluctuations of consciousness and could be applied to new discoveries in the life of the personality (C 867:2).

In the remaining portions of "Itinerariu Spiritual", Eliade set out to uncover possible methods which would help to synthesize the personality and so give access to the New Man. Among those which he examined, two may be isolated. The first was the so-called

an "existential" anxiety. However, this anxiety was formulated in terms of an era which preceded the vogue of Existentialism.

15. "Nu trebuie să înțelegem 'metoda' în sfera noțiunii de 'metodic'. Chiar cel mai crâncen dușman al metodelor, are o metodă."

Don Juan dilettantish approach which intensifies life by its own passion. As a method, it is involved with the fascinations and perversions of encounters. Assuming a pluralistic sympathy toward all, it looks for originality in paradox without the need for a hierarchy or moral law. The second was the strict historical approach which recognizes only intelligence. It immobilizes facts and dissociates them in order to discern origin in time. In the end, it obliterates the multiple worlds of the spirit and results in exclusive causality (C 860:1-2; 790:1; 829:1-2).

Evaluating these two methods, Eliade saw in dilettantism¹⁶ a tendency toward universal synthesis because the dilettante usurps the full value of every experience. But the dilettante contacts the world only in its plastic and immediate impressions, and so has little interest in abstraction. On the other hand, the historian lacks any universal synthesis. Furthermore, the historian has no immediate contact with reality. At best he imagines a series of concepts interwoven with historical facts. That is, he posits such concepts as "race", "class", "role relationship", and the like to identify and explain historical events. The historian's explanations of causality are extremely positivistic, and so he places too much emphasis on abstraction.

16. Eliade was deceived toward the end of lycée by Les Grands Initiés, by Schuré. He believed that this was a scholarly work and was shocked when he found out that certain quotations were inventions of the author. Ever since this encounter with dilettantism, he took care to avoid similar works and to go to primary sources, or at least to recognized authorities (A 79; CD 7:2).

So Eliade recognized the need for a certain amount of abstraction, more however than the dilettante offered. He also held that this abstraction should be based on historical events, even though he rejected the historian's positivistic view. For Eliade, truth was found in a direct contemplation of facts, which included a search for their synthetic correspondence. Truth was not found by means of blind experiences alone or by a probe of their chronological causality. "We understand history as a philosophy of history" (C 862:1).¹⁷ Only history which was a "dynamic phenomenon of the spirit" served as an instructive method for Eliade (C 883:1).

Between these two extremes, dilettantism and historicism, Eliade finally determined that what was required was a comprehensive approach to life's experiences. Experiences, as factual events, must be synthesized by some form of metaphysical vision or abstraction. This vision he established as intuition. He considered intuition as a primary mode of knowledge. Actually, it is a synthesizing factor in any form of knowledge, be it scientific or philosophical. The following passage illustrates this well:

I will clarify the content of the notion of intuition in this case. It is an anticipation of facts, as a leap made in the dark, closing the circle of a complex of relationships... Solutions found intuitively close a system, or create another. What is more authentic, more pure, more valuable in science -- as much with what is deductive as what is inductive -- results from intuition. The more triumphant experimental discoveries have been carried out not with the aid of a great number

17. "Și noi înțelegem istoria ca o filosofie a istoriei." Here Eliade referred to Vico and Spengler. Along these lines of orientation, he also mentioned the names of Dilthey, Kierkegaard, Heidegger, and H. Massis (C 883:1). Eliade received this Lebensphilosophie through Ionescu.

of observations and experiences arranged inductively, but with the light of intuition. This does not mean that the experimental method, well founded on induction, is useless or false. But only that science, as it can grasp (know) reality, needs to rise occasionally beyond itself and to run ahead of itself. Mirroring immediate reality, it can never come to science, generally speaking.

Intuition, as it "theoretically" anticipates facts, as it suddenly lights up one of a dozen confused sentiments and judgements, is a productive method in science. And it is an inevitable method in the work of philosophical dilettantism (C 862:2).¹⁸

18. "Precizăm conținutul noțiunii de intuiție -- în acest caz. E anticiparea faptelor, saltul făcut deasupra golurilor, închiderea circuitului unui complex de raporturi... Soluții găsite intuitiv închid un sistem, sau creiază altul. Ceeace e mai autentic, mai pur, mai prețios în știință -- atât în cele deductive, cât și în cele inductive -- se datorește intuiției. Cele mai trâmbițate descoperiri experimentale nu s'au săvârșit cu ajutorul unui imens număr de observații și experiențe dispuse inductiv -- ci cu lumina intuiției. Ceeace nu înseamnă că metoda experimentală, întemeiată pe inducție, e inutilă, sau falsă. Ci numai că știința, ca să poată cuprinde (cunoaște) realitatea -- trebuie să se ridice, câteodată, deasupra ei și să alerge înaintea ei. Oglindind realitatea imediată -- nu va putea ajunge niciodată știința, adică generală.

Intuiția -- ca anticipare 'teoretică' asupra faptelor, ca luminare subită al unui tot confuz de sentimente și judecăți -- e un metod fecund în știință. Și e un metod inevitabil în munca dilettantismului filosofic."

S. Cioculescu, in "Un 'Itinerariu Spiritual'," Viața Literară (1928) 3, 86:1, summarized Eliade's itinerary and said that he "pune intuiția în știință înaintea metodei experimentale" Eliade disagreed with this particular phrase and clarified it: "Analizând dinamica descoperirilor științifice, am dovedit că însăși această 'metodă experimentală' e intuitivă: că inducția pură e imposibilă și chiar absurdă; că nu există o metodă care duce la descoperiri, ci numai o metodă care verifică descoperirile și le face accesibile publicului," in "Sensul 'Itinerariului spiritual'," Ibid. (1928) 3, 87:1-2.

Eliade saw intelligence, which proceeds from facts and seeks objective truth, as only one instrument of knowledge; the other was passion, which interiorly consumes itself. Passion frees the personality to undergo new and enlightening experiences. It drives the personality to investigate all possibilities. While passion sustains new visions, it jealously guards old truths. Passion, therefore, stimulates the intelligence. Together, they should produce arguments which would persuade the scientific world (C 860:2). Passion and intelligence, so described, constitute a single grand method of knowledge which Eliade called "scientific romanticism" (C 867:1).¹⁹ This synthetic method is not an explanation or outline of something, as one would find in a manual; rather, it is a creation of the personality in the face of unresolved problems. In itself, it has the versatility of enthusiastic, anticipatory leaps into the darkness, namely intuition, and is also related to new discoveries.²⁰

Toward the end of his itinerary Eliade switched the focus of his attention. Having secured scientific romanticism as the

19. Eliade's use of the term "scientific" -- here as well as below -- refers not to the natural and physical sciences, and certainly not to strict empiricism; it pertains to the sense of the German word, Geisteswissenschaft, that is a history and study of the human spirit, especially through intuition (cf. above, p. 47 n.17).

The term "romanticism" should be understood in the sense of living out the many possibilities of one's existence, of fulfilling all the attitudes of one's spirit, even of revolting against the established "classical" norms of society (cf. A 154-5).

20. "Înțelegem metoda aplicată în descoperiri, iar nu acea în expunerea, în manuale, când se confundă cu tehnica. În fața unei mari și inedite probleme, ea e totdeauna creația personalității" (C 867:2; e.g. Hașdeu C 835:2).

central method of knowledge, he then applied this method directly to experiences. He did this because he felt that knowledge alone was insufficient for understanding.²¹ Understanding requires also experiences.²² Knowledge, in the form of thinking and passion, only establishes the possibility of a reality on its own level and pursues the truth of that reality. However, when knowledge is applied to experiences, that reality is truly actualized and other realities, on other levels, can be better perceived and synthesized (cf. C 874:1-2; 964:1).

This may be illustrated by examples provided by Eliade. Religion can be grasped by using a function extraneous to itself: reason. Such reason could include logic, forms of dogmatic or theological belief, even law. Now each of these has its own plane which, according to Eliade, exists as a subjective attitude (or construction) of the spirit. While these are beneficial in the comprehension of religion, there is a less roundabout way to achieve the same end, namely mystical experience. Although it is irrational, mysticism has a transcendent plane which is also mental, but which may be said to exist insofar as it is so experienced.

21. "Chiar cunoscând nu înțelegem" (C 911:1). This was formulated later in Oceanografie (1934) as the difference between "gândire" and "înțelegere", cf. below, pp. 128-9.

22. "In credința mea deatunci, 'experiențele' acestea nu erau menite să încurajeze diletantismul sau anarhia spirituală. Ele ni se impuneau printr'o fatalitate istorică. Eram prima generație românească necondiționată în prealabil de un obiectiv istoric de realizat" (A 149).

Mysticism, as a transcendent experience, is both present and stimulating to the personality. In fact, he felt, mystical experience is almost necessitated as an outgrowth of the various rational and affective planes of the spirit, and it is needed for the integration of the personality (C 911:1; 964:1). Mystical experience, precisely because it is intuitive, is a prerequisite for spiritual equilibrium and the nisus formativus of religion (C 885:2). Once this is grasped, it then becomes possible to understand the didactica of religion, such as customs, dogmas, art forms, rituals, etc. These latter endeavor to lead the believer to a transcendent plane, to actualize through meditation an experience of the mystical (cf. C 889:2).²³ Eliade employed a similar argument for the religious experience (cf. G 7, 12:355-6).

In view of clarifying the progress of his thought, and of arriving at some conclusions, Eliade's entire spiritual itinerary may now be summarized. While confronting the contradictions of his generation, he became intensely aware of the different responses of his own spirit. He tried to control his will in order to attain

23. So Eliade concluded "Itinerariu Spiritual" with a plea for orthodoxy: "Conștiința, funcționând pe toate planurile și cu toate ramificațiile, își găsește firesc echilibrul în ortodoxie... Ortodoxia e, pentru noi, Creștinismul autentic, care trebuie actualizat în proaspete și calde fapte sufletești... Viața creștină înseamnă siguranța valorii sufletești și-a permanenței acestei valori. Așa dar optimism, încredere, drum-drept, rodnicie" (C 924:1; cf. A 149-50). Eliade was raised in the Orthodox Church of Romania, but later he ascribed his discovery of orthodoxy to Ignatius of Loyola, N. Ionescu, M. Vulcănescu, and virility (SA 235).

an equilibrium within the differentiation of his personality. He adopted a behavior motif which was contrary to social norms, and he utilized a method which included passionate, intellectual, and intuitive techniques. He encouraged his generation to follow the same procedure so that they too might become ecumenical and steadfast in scope.

More specifically, after examining the extremes of dilettantism and historicism, Eliade concluded that neither intellect nor passion alone was sufficient. Neither could fulfill the aspirations of the spirit, neither could satisfy the needs of his generation. This was because each exists on only one plane of the spirit and each gives only a partial understanding of reality. However, when the two are combined with the synthetic catalyst of intuition, a metaphysical vision of reality is introduced into the spirit. This is not a partial vision as in a series of separate thoughts or impressions; it is a complete vision, a dynamic phenomenology of the spirit. Only in this way can the personality grasp its life situation and the will seize each opportunity for advancement.

The validity of science and philosophy as mutual modes of knowledge is rendered through intuition. These forms of knowledge, however, must also be related to real experiences. One's experiences may be described as a phenomenology of the spirit which is in direct contact with reality. Experiences entail intuition, and they can be better understood when intellect and passion (or

science and philosophy) are applied to them. Together, intellect and passion can be used as instruments by the will to persuade others and to effect the development of one's own personality. Intellect and passion, alone, have little value in themselves. Only when they are animated by intuition, and only when they are applied to experiences, do they receive value. They become valuable because they serve as a means for achieving the New Man.

In general, therefore, a definite development stands out in Eliade's itinerary. First there are the contradictions of his generation and the contraries of his own spirit. These may be reduced to the dialectics of intellect and passion, history and dilettantism, science and philosophy. These dialectics in turn are resolved by a synthesis of intuition with experiences, the will with the events of reality, and romanticism with scientific discoveries. Altogether, the sequence constitutes one grand method toward the perception and attainment of absolute, universal reality.

Besides the dialectical and synthetical currents of Eliade's itinerary, a spiral effect may also be detected. Arising from experiences, intuition guides the passion and intellect in a general search for knowledge. The will, in turn, applies passion and intellect to contemporary events as a knowledgeable method for better appropriating experiences. In the relation of this method (passion and intellect) to experienced events, it becomes increasingly clearer not only that intuition is fundamental to all forms of knowledge, but also that every experience or event -- as it is

authentically and fully lived out -- contains the seeds for further knowledge and development. By way of argument (or persuasion), there should result more knowledge, even to an absolute degree. Absolute, universal knowledge, when attained, is recognized as metaphysical since it has been learned through real experiences all along. Universal knowledge, therefore, deals not only with questions about the New Man; in a sense it is the New Man. It is the New Man who has become so through the real trials of his generation and through the spiritual efforts of his own personality.

5. Adventure and the Absolute

In 1928, Eliade developed some of the ideas which he had already put forth in his spiritual itinerary the previous year. He knew that, if the broad spiritual goals which he had presented were to be achieved, then every member of his generation, each personality, must live according to those goals and must implement the spiritual means of their accomplishment. For Eliade, there was no future for ideas which were not incorporated into the personality, and which were not actualized in the circumstances and limitations of one's life.

In one article (C 982:1) he gave the following account. The personality grows out of affective experiences in life and cannot come to know anything except through experiences. Yet the personality reflects on its experiences and imagines a mosaic of truth without organic unity. Contradiction of experiences and a

variety of opinions result in a polyvalence of consciousness, that is different attitudes, passions, and ways of approaching reality. Now a dilettante remains mediocre toward the complexity of his spirit and in the end considers all things banal, while a virile man admits the complexity of his spirit and consumes mediocrity in his own authentic development. Unlike the dilettante, the virile man understands that there is a hierarchy of values, beginning with the plane of the physical and reaching to the plane of the mystical. The virile man is not satisfied with the plastic impressions of the dilettante, but manages to go beyond them to higher, more valuable, and more mature planes of his spirit because of the hierarchical structure which he initially envisioned.

There are a number of planes, but the religious plane -- in this case mysticism -- is the ultimate plane. It is neither derived from the others, nor can it be assimilated into the others. It is irreducible (C 1280:1).

In another article (VL 3, 93:1-2) Eliade remarked again about the polyvalence of consciousness and its need for synthesis. He said that between the various planes of the spirit there is no continuity, no connecting axis of development. There exists no evolution from the physiological to higher human values. Rather, he supported Kierkegaard's "qualitative leap", which he thought describes the difference of planes, and Otto's presence of the irrational "numinous" which he identified as a transcendent and absolute plane. The virile man, then, is an adventurer who takes

into account the unique planes of his spirit and who lives through the multiple experiences of reality. At the same time, the virile man perceives that an Absolute is required in all that he does or tries to do. Whatever is on an absolute plane is a reality in itself as well as being the ultimate reality he aspires to and experiences. These conclusions were reinforced and repeated elsewhere:

Existence can disclose two meanings, two points of support, two sources: the absolute or adventure...

In adventure nostalgias and efforts towards the absolute are evident. The act of adventure itself is a leap into the darkness, with an unconfirmed hope of reaching a transcendence. Adventure is the point of coincidence of two necessities: to remain yourself, to become another (C 1271:1).²⁴

The duality of adventure and the Absolute in relation to the polyvalence of consciousness may be clarified by the notion of virility which Eliade employs. He had borrowed the notion of virility from Papini's work, Maschilità, and understood it to be a mode of being in the world as an instrument of knowledge. In one of his most popular articles of 1928, entitled "Apologia virilității", he compared it to a Christian renewal, that is an effective modification of one's attitudes towards life, a passing through such change, and a final transformation. Or, in his own

24. "Existența își poate descoperi două sensuri, două puncte de sprijin, două izvoare: absolutul sau aventura..."

In aventură se recunosc nostalgiile și eforturile către absolut. Însăși, actul aventurii e un salt în întuneric, cu nemărturisita nădejde a coprinderii unui transcendent. Aventura e punctul de incidență a două necesități: a rămâne tu însuși, a deveni celalt."

words, "Virility is a dynamic phenomenology, a successive stream of attitudes in the face of reality, the spirit, and God" (G 8, 8-9:353).²⁵ Later, however, Eliade qualified this statement, saying that what he had really meant at the time was what he discovered in India a few years subsequently. Virility is as Mahāyāna expresses, "vajra", which he understood as "pure consciousness" (A 151).

This changing usage of the term "virility" is evident elsewhere. For example, "The essence of virility is the living of the absolute in flesh or in the spirit, in the world or in vision" (C 1253:1),²⁶ such that not to live in the Absolute results in skepticism (C 1213:1). Yet "To live in permanent danger, this is the command of virility" (G 8, 8-9:357).²⁷ Therefore, it seems that virility meant at least two things for Eliade: 1) to live as an adventurer through the dangers of a polyvalent consciousness, which has different experiences and attitudes, and 2) to live in the Absolute, a pure consciousness which is a synthesis of all experiences and attitudes.²⁸

25. "Virilitatea e o fenomenologie dinamică, un șir curgător de atitudini în fața realității, a sufletului, a lui Dumnezeu."

26. "Esența virilității e trăirea absolutului -- în carne sau în duh, în lume sau în viziune."

27. "A trăi în permanentă primejdie -- aceasta e porunca virilității."

28. A similar formula appeared in an article in 1927 which dealt with two major categories of the planes of the spirit: "unul

The argument of "Apologia virilității" verifies this. Eliade stated that the virile man is one who lives through the conflicts and crises of both his spirit and flesh. Through these contradictions his personality unfolds into its polyvalent consciousness. Yet the personality also reaches points of synthesis provided it has disciplined itself with perseverance. Each point of synthesis is only partial, however, since it must pass through other attitudes to a synthesis of the whole.

In each spirit the conflict flesh-spirit is resolved differently, there is crystalized another vision, forces are equilibrated on another framework. And this is because the foundation of the personality always discovers its own proper experiences, which have not been repeated identically in any other consciousness... All syntheses need to advance through a new synthesis. The virile spirituality is tormented by an intense dynamism. Tranquility itself must be passed over (G 8, 8-9:358-9).²⁹

Finally, the personality reaches a conclusive synthesis of virility's dangerous living. The personality is then recognized as a spiritual organism whose ultimate life transcends all other planes. It has a "superlife" (G 8, 8-9:358).

complex și polivalent -- altul irațional, transcendent, divin" (G 7, 12:355).

29. "În fiecare suflet se soluționează altfel conflictul carne-duh, se cristalizează o altă viziune, se echilibrează forțele pe alt schelet. Și aceasta, pentru că la temelia personalității se află întotdeauna experiențe proprii, care nu s'au repetat identic în nici o altă conștiință... Toate sintezele trebuie să întrecute printr'o nouă sinteză. Spiritualitatea virilă e torturată de un intens dinamism. Tăcerea însăși trebuie întrecută."

It appears that the virile man for Eliade was the heroic forerunner of the New Man. In the trials and efforts of his life, the virile man anticipates the absolute, ontological existence of the New Man. He recognizes that any external change in life's realities demands also an internal change of the spirit. If the spirit reorientates itself, then new attitudes are engendered. Also new methods would be sought for a new, and total, knowledge. "In order to secure an illusive equilibrium -- which he considers even absolute -- man projects the needs of the spirit, objectivizing them. He then applies himself to conform to the object, to discover methods for a perfect knowledge" (C 1271:1).³⁰

It would be incorrect to dismiss Eliade simply as an idealist in his quest or a subjectivist in his approach. He flatly rejected Hegelianism and, instead, proclaimed to be a follower of Faust. His "Faustian pursuit" could be described as a spiritual struggle to overcome the human condition. His approach was to control his own personality and to command the destiny of his generation. Insights which arose in the many attitudes of his spirit required direction from transcendent religious experiences, and were to be effected by the powers of the will. This was in order to achieve a perfect understanding of truth and to actually become that truth metaphysically.

30. "Ca să-și asigure un iluzoriu echilibru -- pe care îl socotește chiar absolut -- omul proiectează în afară cerințele sufletului, obiectivându-le. Iși va da atunci silința să se conformeze obiectului, să descopere metode pentru o perfectă cunoaștere."

Eliade's inquiry into method was an attempt to integrate the spiritual with the scientific, the passionate with the intellectual, the intuitional with the rational. If Eliade appears to be a subjectivist, it is because he wanted to stress the proper scale both for the objective of his quest and for the commencement of his method. This proper scale was absolute and religious -- a spiritual equilibrium which could synthesize all experiences and all attitudes. What this means may be more precisely determined from the practices of Eliade's life and from the techniques of his work.

6. The Hostility of Time

In general, Eliade's spiritual itinerary may be interpreted as a personal projection of his own anxieties and growing pains in an age which, although apathetic toward religious values, was full of metaphysical possibilities in his view. The many problems and opportunities afforded by his generation came to life in his adventure before the Absolute, and resounded again in the crucial reorganizations of his personality.

Of all the apprehensions and revisions of consciousness reflected in his spiritual itinerary, and in his real adventure, his concern for the future most vividly emerges. He appealed to his generation to consider their goals and to recognize the fact that the future as such could not be fulfilled if the potentials and opportunities of the present were not carried out, or if they went

undetected. Unlike the reversible terms of algebra, the terms of life, as experienced and perceived, were irreversible and irrevocable (C 876:1-2). There was no turning back to the advantages of past probabilities, and what was lost now could never be regained at a later date. The events of the age, the moments of the spirit, were vital, and they retained a quality of immediacy about them.

Although at times Eliade himself had nostalgic yearnings to retreat to the fantasies of his adolescence (cf. C 931:1), nevertheless he tried to face the contemporary situation with the vigor and enthusiasm of a hero who readily accepts any challenge, who is always prepared to wage any battle. He felt that if he could overcome the problems and complexities of the age, then he could lead his generation to a greater awareness of truth, to a fuller sense of life, and to a unity in their achievements as personalities so vastly different. Each personality, each road of existence, was so uniquely challenging to Eliade, yet he still envisioned the diversity of their contributions as expressions of a single identity, as manifestations of a single hope: the coming of the New Man.

Eliade anticipated the New Man in every important event; he encountered him in every authentic adventure; he recognized him in every virile personality. The New Man represented for Eliade the ontological significance of all events, the transcendent value of all adventures, and the total equilibrium of all spiritual attitudes and operations.

In the New Year's issue of Cuvântul for 1928, Eliade published an article entitled "Anno Domini" (C 973:3) in which he asked his generation to imagine that year 1928 as the final time left before the destruction of the world. In his vision of impending catastrophe, he encouraged them to do all the things, in the remaining twelve months, which they had desired to do in a lifetime. He confessed that he was himself terrified by the notion of time, history, and the passing of things. He felt it necessary to do something then, while it was still possible, or nothing would be done at all. If he and his generation did not act immediately, in order to defeat time, then there would be no human achievement at the end of time. All would be lost. There would be no future for mankind (cf. A 153; CD 7:12). As he later recalled, "My fear was... that Time is hostile, in the sense that for what we have to accomplish we have so little time available; that therefore we should not waste it in vain" (A 153).³¹

As much as he tried to deal with the present, Eliade could not rid himself of nostalgic wishes. In a number of other articles published that year, 1928, he indicated that his life was a paradox of historical events and adolescent visions (cf. C 1168:2). He saw his existence as a mad interchange of melancholic thoughts about the past which translated themselves into heroic actions for

31. "Teama mea era... că Timpul ne e potrivnic, în sensul că, pentru ce avem de făcut, dispunem de prea puțin timp; că, deci nu trebuie să-l risipim zadarnic."

the future, and vice versa (C 1027:3; cf. A 172). He believed that, while his ideals were necessary for the synthesis of experiences and often sprung from his nostalgia, "Heroism properly speaking is not completed with desires or nostalgias. Heroes are those who actualize continually and intensely a life which surpasses us' (G 8, 1:31-2).³²

Eliade was spiritually overwhelmed by the two extremes of nostalgia and heroism. In another article of 1928, "Impotriva Moldovei" (C 1021:1-2), he unleashed an emotional polemic against his Moldavian ancestors, from whom he believed he had inherited the moods of melancholia and nostalgia (cf. A 20). With the same belief, he wrote "Apologia virilității" that year (G 8-9:352-9; cf. A 85).

It is difficult to give a complete picture of Eliade's obsession with time. On the one hand, he sensed that there was a relationship and development of values in time -- that is the past of his adolescence, the present of his generation, and the future of the New Man. He tried constantly to renew and strengthen those values. On the other hand, he feared the looming decay and destruction of all that he had known, experienced, and hoped for. He did not understand the ultimate reason for death, the passing of things, the opportunities which were never fulfilled and forever lost. But

32. "Eroismul propriu zis nu se împlinește cu doruri sau nostalgii. Eroi sunt cei ce actualizează continuu și intens o viață care ne depășește."

he continued to cherish life. Adventure and heroism became his answer to death, or at least his response to the dilemma of time.

CHAPTER III

INDIAN ADVENTURE 1929-1931

In spring of 1928 Eliade read Surendranath Dasgupta's first volume of A History of Indian Philosophy which mentions the name of Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi of Kasimbazar as a patron of cultural and educational works in Bengal. Eliade wrote to the Maharaja asking him for a bursary in order to study Indian philosophy under Dasgupta. After three months, the Maharaja answered Eliade by offering him a five year scholarship to the University of Calcutta with Dasgupta as his director (A 163).

Eliade's experiences of India during his life there from 1929 to 1931, and the knowledge he gained during that period, may be examined biographically in view of demonstrating the effect India had upon his spiritual and intellectual development. In the context of India's culture, whose values were quite different from those of his generation, Eliade became apprehensive over notable changes in his own personality. He also discovered in India new ways of attaining a spiritual equilibrium and of reaching the Absolute. Furthermore, an account of his reflections on these matters may provide a better understanding of the relationship of various aspects of his consciousness -- particularly his "spiritual" and "intellectual" frames of reference, including his continued obsession with time.

The story of Eliade's sojourn in India is essentially related in his publications in Cuvântul from the beginning of 1929 through the end of 1931, and later. Most of these articles are reproduced in his book entitled India (1934), which may be looked upon as a technical journal, that is a detailed account or a running commentary of the facts and happenings which impressed him. It reads like a reporter's notebook. Şantier (1935) may be seen as his more intimate journal of the same adventure. It could be taken as a companion to India. Eliade even identified Şantier as an "indirect novel", told in the first person, of the important characters and events in the life of a student.¹ Then there is a little book called Soliloquii (1932) in which some of Eliade's earliest philosophical formulations are put forth.² It portrays an unusual mixture of Western and Eastern influences, and it also reads like a journal. Being very abstract, it stresses such notions as "truth", "mystery", the "fantastic", etc. Together, these three journals³

1. Eliade's notion of "novel" was not fiction but rather an unfolding of lived experiences, a creation of the personality, and so happened to be autobiographical. Facts become adventures (cf. SA 5-9). Almost all of Eliade's novels have autobiographical details. See Micu, "Introducere," pp. xvii-ix. Cf. S. Alexandrescu, "Dialectica fantasticului," in Eliade's La Tigâncii, Bucharest, Editura pentru Literatură, 1969, p. xxv; and V. Ierunca, "The Literary Work of Mircea Eliade," in J.M. Kitagawa and C.H. Long (eds.), Myths and Symbols, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1969, pp. 360-1.

2. However, Eliade did not want to call it "philosophy". It was rather "numai efortul de a înţelege metodele şi de a judecă rezultatele" (SO 11 n.1).

give a good record of the profound impact that India made on him during these three years and for the years that followed.

1. Impressions and Attitudes

In view of delineating Eliade's experiences and concerns while in India, one may examine his general impressions of India, including his personal attitudes towards the events of his travels, studies, and writings there as they occurred.

On November twentieth, 1928, Eliade set sail from Romania. He landed at the port of Colombo in Ceylon in December. From Colombo he traveled to Rameshwaram on India's southern tip, where he became excited over the size of a great temple which he saw as a symbol of a new adventure (I 23-5). The rest of the month he journeyed north through Madras along the coast to Calcutta, arriving there in January, 1929. He took a room in a boarding house at 82 Ripon Street in the central part of the city.

Soon after he settled down, Eliade began his studies at the University of Calcutta under the directorship of Dasgupta. For the first four months he studied mostly Sanskrit and Indian philosophy. Besides attending Dasgupta's lectures on Vedānta and Sāṃkhya, Eliade

3. In 1928 Eliade also started a private journal, Jurnalul. This diary was continued almost uninterrupted even until today. Translated fragments of it from 1945 to 1969 were recently published as Fragments d'un journal, Paris, Gallimard, 1973, 571 pp.

Eliade also has an unpublished manuscript (M) about his memories of India which he has written recently and which will likely appear as an addition to an English translation of Amintiri (A) now in preparation by Mac Linscott Ricketts.

had frequent meetings with him. He also liked discussions with Stella Kramrish who was an authority on the history of Indian art (cf. SA 36-7, 59-60). Eliade spent many hours in libraries and he also visited museums, temples, and monasteries. He was mainly interested in manuscripts, and his passion for Sanskrit grew to such an extent that deciphering a text was, he admitted, like a ritual to him (SA 24, 198-9). Altogether, his studies, discussions, and readings were very rewarding, and he seemed quite pleased with his decision to come to India.

The first parts of his journals show that he started to sense a quality of beauty and unity about India. Initially, just about everything -- the food, the land, the buildings -- was foreign to him. But in trying to adapt to India's culture, he began to appreciate the surroundings more. He became intrigued by the myriad of shapes, colors, and sounds of Calcutta. On his trips outside the city, he was fascinated particularly by the jungle with its variety of animals and flora. He felt a charm about the language and the people he came in contact with, and he learned that religion was an integral part of society. For instance, he saw that although there was no Church to guard and legislate in India, ancient traditions continued to preserve her religious heritage. These traditions included the popular customs, the institutions of family and caste, and a certain metaphysical vision of life which could be imitated and eventually altered according to one's choice (SA 87-8). Then there were days of feasting and dancing, and other

days of quiet serenity. Monasteries, which were reclusions from the crowds, were also sanctuaries for the gods. Swamis, with their disciples, practiced their own forms of deliverance. The distinction of caste, the many gods, the number of customs, the diversity of swamis -- all appeared to be related though in some strange way they remained uniquely different to him.

Besides the unity of India, therefore, Eliade also perceived the contrasts characteristic of India. He was especially disturbed by the suffering of the people. Famine and epidemic killed thousands upon thousands, while others endured. The unbearable heat of one season changed to the intolerable monsoon of another. Bitterness persisted between Hindu and Muslim. Europeans controlled the country. The poor and the repressed lived and died in the streets. Yet in all this suffering he detected a sense of peace.

As time progressed, Eliade's feelings became more pronounced. He indicated that the continual heat made him want to flee, to hide, but the rain soon cooled him, changed him, and drew out of him a desire to return to the earth (SA 53). The river Ganges became for him -- as it was to all Indians -- a holy Mother, on whose banks differences of sex and caste, of color and belief, were dissolved (I 49-50). A little later, when he visited Bengal in the spring of 1929, he admitted that Darjeeling was too "civilized" for him, it was too European with its exclusive hotels and specialists of botany (I 122-4, 127-9). He preferred rather the Buddhist monastery of Zok-Chen-Pa where he became engrossed in a world of religious

vestments and manuscripts (I 141-7), or nearby Lebong, where he participated in an authentic Lamaistic funeral ritual (I 134-40). But the best illustration of Eliade's feelings was when he went a short distance from Siliguri to Kurseong, where the Himalayas rise abruptly. Grassy plains there suddenly elevate to become tall mountain peaks and the temperature drops considerably. Eliade commented in his journal:

Whenever there is a sudden shift of climate -- physical or spiritual -- I am overwhelmed by so many strange sensations and thoughts, that I have to make a serious effort to rediscover for myself orbits and centers of equilibrium. In such times, revisions of consciousness please me (I 117).⁴

By August 1929 Eliade had accustomed himself favorably to India and particularly to his situation in Calcutta. Among his associations, he made many personal friends both at the University and at the boarding house where he stayed. His readings in Indian philosophy kept him very busy and his studies in Sanskrit progressed well. English was no longer difficult for him as it had been in his first classes, so he could follow Dasgupta's lectures with more concentration than before. By now he had visited numerous places, and he recorded in his journal some of the more important discussions he had with friends and scholars (e.g. visit with Tucci SA 78-81). He also finished writing his first major novel,

4. "De câte ori schimb brusc clima -- fizică sau spirituală -- mă năpădesc atâtea senzații și gânduri streine, încât trebuie să fac serioase eforturi ca să-mi regăsesc orbita și centrele de echilibru. În asemenea ceasuri, mă desfată revizuirile de conștiință."

which was begun in April, Isabel și apele Diavolului (1930). This novel, while not strictly autobiographical, reflects much of Eliade's own temperament at the time: it is confused and unfulfilled, but profoundly dramatic, creating an atmosphere without logical construction.⁵

One of the most memorable persons Eliade met was Dasgupta's friend, Rabindranath Tagore. In the fall of 1929, Dasgupta and Eliade drove from Calcutta to Shantiniketan in Bengal to see him (cf. I 236-46; SA 92-104). Tagore was known as a great poet, mystic, and intellectual. Eliade had many notions of his own about him: organizer, Don Juan, man of the Renaissance. What astonished Eliade after only ten minutes of talking with Tagore was what he felt to be the integrity and the indispensibility of the man. The world needed a man like this, one who was so outstanding in everything he did and who lived so elegantly. Later, in March of 1930, Eliade revisited Tagore. They talked about the contrasts and sufferings of India, her ancient traditions, her love for nature and the cosmos, her education in what was organic and authentic. According to Tagore, education in India was not a rigid system; it was rather a way to resist dogmatism and sterility of the spirit, a way to

5. M. Sebastian, România Literară (1932) 1, 25:3. Cf. M 20; SA 60ff.; Micu, "Introducere," p. xvii; and M. Vulcănescu, "Carte pentru 'Isabel'," Cuvântul (1930) 1951:1-2: "Pe acest plan, al spiritualului, nu mai are priză distincția aristotelică dintre 'actualitate' și 'virtualitate', planul spiritualului depășind deopotrivă și împreunând, existența ca fapt și existența ca posibilitate. Existența spirituală unește prin natura ei, 'ontologic', existența cu esența."

achieve spiritual synthesis and happiness. Eliade wrote in his journal a portion of Tagore's conversation with him:

Friend, I am only a poet, but an Indian poet. I can offer you no system, nor explanations... Spiritual life is innocence and liberty, it is drama and ecstasy ... We in India repeat constantly: let us realize such and such an idea, let us realize such and such a spiritual state... At most in Europe there is a nostalgia among a certain class of men, with good intentions, but with realization non-existent... knowledge of self and love of nature. These two instincts, which for me are the great responsibilities of a full life, are for the most part ignored in European education... You believe that truth is invariably solemn, that happiness is frivolous, as though dance and song were inconsistent with a scientific education. Puritanical errors, persisting even after puritanism has disappeared. For me, all these aspects integrate one with the other, because each expresses a rhythm and happiness of life, like the goddess who sings and weeps in each drop of dew, in each blade of grass, in each thought and fact of ours... Only in India, through my Indian consciousness, which I have deepened and explored for sixty years, am I able to find Unity, Man, Life, and God (I 249-56).⁶

6. "Prietene, eu nu sunt decât un poet, dar un poet indian. Eu nu-ți pot da sistem, nici explicații... Viața spirituală e inocentă și e libertate, e dramă și extaz... Noi spunem mereu: să realizăm cutare și cutare idee, să realizăm cutare sau cutare stare sufletească... Cel mult dacă e o nostalgie la o anumită clasă de oameni, cu intenții bune, dar cu realizări inexistente ... cunoașterea de sine și iubirea naturii. Aceste două instincte, cari pentru mine sunt marile datorii ale unei vieți pline, sunt cu totul ignorate în educația europeană... Voi credeți că adevărul e întotdeauna solemn, că bucuria e frivolă, iar dansul și cântecul inconsistente cu o educație științifică. Erori puritanice, vii, chiar după ce puritanismul a dispărut. Pentru mine, toate aspectele acestea se integrează unul în altul, căci fiecare exprimă ritmul și bucuria vieții, zeița care cântă și plânge în fiecare boabă de rouă, în fiecare fir de iarbă, în fiecare gând și faptă de-a noastră... Și numai prin India, prin conștiința mea indiană, pe care o adâncesc și o cercetez de saizeci de ani, pot găsi eu Unitatea, Omul, Vieța, pe Dumnezeu."

In the car on the way to Shantiniketan that time to see Tagore, Eliade reached an agreement with Dasgupta that the object of his dissertation should be something on Yoga. Dasgupta also promised Eliade that, as his guru, he would initiate him into the practice of Yoga (SA 92-3). In the months that followed, however, Dasgupta taught Eliade only the history of the doctrines of Yoga, in Vedānta and Buddhism for example, whereas Eliade's interest lay more in popular Yoga, such as Tantrism, and the particular legends associated with that tradition. By the end of 1929, Dasgupta finally agreed to Eliade's preference and permitted him access to materials on Tantrism, but didn't offer Eliade the steps of initiation which he had promised.

On January second, 1930, Eliade moved from the boarding house on Ripon Street to Dasgupta's residence in the suburb of Bhowanipore (SA 151-2). This enabled him to study under Dasgupta's more immediate supervision, and it also allowed him convenient access to Dasgupta's library. Dasgupta's family welcomed him to eat regularly with them and in general treated him like a son. Eliade confessed years later that it was then, when he was accepted into the Dasgupta household, that he no longer felt like a visitor to a foreign land, but had come to feel completely at home in India (M 2-3).

Toward the end of January, for purposes of both pleasure and research, he traveled northwest from Calcutta to major cities along the Ganges. In Allahabad, for instance, he witnessed the Kumbh-melā (a large parade of ascetics and yogins held once every twelve years).

In Benares, he studied the manuscript collection at Sanskrit College. He continued on to Jaipur, Bikaner, and Udaipur west of Delhi. Complete details of the trip are described in his journal (I 48-102). As he later recalled, it was during this trip that he began to understand the "secrets" of India's landscape and style of life (M 3).

In April, shortly after his return to Calcutta, a civil war broke out between Hindus and Muslims (cf. I 271-9; SA 155-74). The arrest of Mahatma Gandhi in May spurred further agitation between Hindus and Europeans. Because of student unrest, the University of Calcutta was closed and several of Eliade's former classmates were taken away by police. Dasgupta warned Eliade about going too close to the University, and did not want him walking in the inner city. Among other reasons, Dasgupta was afraid that Eliade -- who at the time was very sympathetic toward indigenous problems -- would become involved in some form of demonstration, and might even be harmed physically.

In order to keep him out of trouble, Dasgupta intensified Eliade's studies and gave him some of his personal work to do, such as preparing an index for the second volume of A History of Indian Philosophy. Eliade felt that his own aptitude for study and his skill in research increased now that he was free from the classroom situation and could work directly with Dasgupta (M 5-6).

The political disturbances in Calcutta and in other parts of the country had quieted by summer, and so Eliade wanted to again

travel. Dasgupta insisted that he continue to stay with him in Bhowanipore, however. It was during this summer that Eliade began to write Lumina ce se stinge (1934), a novel which contains a combination of Indian and European elements. Besides references to magic and Tantrism, the character Manoil, for example, invokes Nietzsche, Gide, Zarathustra, and Shiva to overcome the bonds of promiscuity and so find a calm and transcendent existence (L 335-51; cf. M 6-9, 20-1, 24). As a whole, this novel appears as a chaos of thoughts in an attempt to produce an epic initiation into the secrets of Indian spirituality.⁷

It was also the summer of 1930 that Eliade put into practice, so to speak, some notions about Tantrism which he had been studying and writing about. Living with the Dasgupta family, he became strongly attracted -- both spiritually and physically -- to Dasgupta's daughter, Maitreyi.⁸ Their affair (cf. SA 231, 234-5 et passim) went unnoticed by Dasgupta apparently until September of that year, when Eliade was forced to leave Dasgupta's premises (cf. M 9). This turn of events greatly disturbed Eliade, and only years later did he try to explain the root of the problem which had emerged between him and Dasgupta:

I suffered terribly because I knew that, along with the friendship of the Dasgupta family, I had lost India entirely. This misunderstanding had arisen from my desire

7. Micu, "Introducere," p. xxv.

8. "Maitreyi" is also the name of a novel about love which Eliade published, that is Maitreyi (1934).

to identify myself with India, to become truly "Indian". That India which I had begun to know, which I dreamed about and which I so loved, was permanently forbidden to me (M 10).⁹

In response to the banishment imposed on him by Dasgupta, and in order to rediscover a life for himself in India, Eliade went into exile. He immediately left Bhowanipore and again traveled west, this time to a region in the Himalayas northeast of Delhi. He stayed there in the monasteries of Hardwār, Rishikesh, and Svargashram from September 1930 to March 1931 (cf. I 165-98; M 11-29; Y 57 n.24).

Eliade found the lifestyle in these monasteries very austere -- quite unlike what he had become accustomed to in Bhowanipore. Two conditions were required of the monks: they had to renounce the eating of meat and fish, and they had to reject distinctive clothing and attachment to material things.¹⁰ Within these limitations, the monks appeared to have a spiritual freedom to do and think as they pleased. In Svargashram, for instance, rules of ritual

9. "Sufeream cumplit, pentru că înțelesesem că, odată cu prietenia familiei Dasgupta, pierdusem India întreagă. Acel malentendu pornise din dorința mea de a mă identifica cu India, de a deveni cu adevărat 'indian'. Această Indie pe care începusem s-o cunosc, la care visasem și pe care atâta o iubisem, mi era definitiv interzisă."

10. According to Eliade, such renunciation led to a great conquest: that is a return to conditions of life more primitive and a "réintégration dans la matrice universelle sous la forme du dépouillement le plus complet, à tous méthodes de l'ascétisme indou," Paru (1948) 46:50-2.

observance were prescribed, but not imposed. Swami Shivananda believed in Sādhana, Swami Advaitananda gave credence to Śaṅkara with a mixture of Bergsonian and English philosophy, and Swami Narayan lived by the word "OM". Each swami was sincere about his own beliefs and also tolerated the beliefs of others. Moreover, each practiced his own form of Yoga as a discipline toward health and meditation (I 185-7, 192-6).

Eliade's wish was to adopt the way of a hermit. Swami Shivananda agreed to be his guru and provided him with a kutiar (a solitary hut), one of many in Svargashram. A hundred feet or so from the doorstep of his kutiar, Eliade viewed the flow of the Ganges. Outside the window, he heard the cries of the animals in the jungle. In this context, close to nature and alone with himself, he found time for relaxation and reflection.

As time passed he began to identify with his novel way of life. Wearing an alb and eating vegetables, he slept only a few hours a day. He advanced in exercises of Yoga under Swami Shivananda's guidance. He eventually visited the hermits of other kutiars and talked with them about the qualities of the spirit (I 199-206; cf. M 17-9). Each day he read Sanskrit texts and his meditation on them led him to new discoveries (M 17, 27). In general, he felt as though he was a neophyte passing through a great initiation, a spiritual rebirth (CD 8:27-8). He thought that he was entering a "world" of India completely new to him, in fact, one which was totally opposite of that which he had left behind in

Calcutta. This "world" was a form of existence which appeared to him extraordinary, but well within his reach. As he recalled many years later,

I started... to understand the meaning of the events which had provoked my break-up with Dasgupta. If "historical" India was forbidden to me, the road to "eternal" India was now opened to me. I realized likewise that it was necessary to know passion, drama, suffering before renouncing the "historical" dimension of existence and making my way toward a trans-historical, atemporal, paradigmatic dimension, in which tensions and conflicts are annulled by themselves (M 14).¹¹

During the following months at Svargashram, he not only continued his practice of Yoga and his meditation on Sanskrit texts, but he also wrote parts of his dissertation on Yoga employing reference material from those same texts. He wrote, in fact, two "comparative" sections of his dissertation, one which dealt with the relationship of Yoga and Tantrism, and the other which dealt with the relationship of Yoga and alchemy (he had written the "historical" sections concerning the doctrines of Yoga when he was at Bhowanipore studying under Dasgupta).¹²

11. "Incepeam... să înțeleg sensul întâmplărilor care provocasură ruptura mea de Dasgupta. Dacă India 'istorică' îmi era interzisă, mi se deschideam acum calea către India 'eternă'. Mi-am dat seama deasemenea că trebuia să cunosc pasiunea, drama, suferința, înainte de a renunța la dimensiunea 'istorică' a existenței și a-mi face drum către o dimensiune trans-istorică, atemporală, paradigmatică, în care tensiunile și conflictele se anulează dela sine."

12. The entire dissertation was published in revised and retranslated form as Yoga, Essai sur les origines de la mystique indienne (1936). For the comparative sections, see YE 199-275; cf. Y 200-92. Most of Eliade's scientific writings on Yoga have been combined, revised, and retranslated in later volumes; cf. bibliog. See also below, p. 100 n.29.

In January, 1931, Eliade's life of solitude took an ironic twist. Although he had originally come to Svargashram in order to escape the entanglements of love, he now found himself drawn into another affair. This time it was with Jenny, a young woman who had come to Svargashram from Johannesburg in search of the "Absolute" (M 23-8; SA 177 et passim). They visited each other's kutiar often, sometimes staying up all night while discussing problems related to Sāṃkhya and Vedānta. Eventually they began the preliminary exercises of Tantrism together, such as ritual nudity. As they proceeded beyond preliminaries, Eliade again felt himself being initiated into something new. He was worried, however, that he and Jenny had not consulted a guru, which was a necessary precaution in India for any form of initiation, especially an initiation into the secrets of Tantrism. These private experiences with Jenny, and the anxiety of having neglected to follow the advice of a guru, forced Eliade, in March, to finally leave Jenny, as well as the monastic life. As he recalled years later,

This time a young girl embodied a mystery which I did not know how to decipher... I had failed my "adoption" by Dasgupta and so lost "historical" India. And now, as soon as Swami Shivananda's back was turned, I lost also the chance to become integrated into "eternal", trans-historical India (M 28).¹³

13. "De data aceasta, o fată tânără întrupase o taină pe care nu știusese să o descifrez... Ratasem 'adoptarea' mea de către Dasgupta și, deci, India 'istorică'. Iar acum în urmă, îndată după plecarea lui Swamy Shivananda, pierdusem și șansa de a mă integra Indiei 'eterne', transistorice."

Eliade returned to the boarding house on Ripon Street in Calcutta. Immediately upon his arrival, he immersed himself entirely in his dissertation, trying desperately to complete the comparative sections of his work. His daily schedule consisted of research at the Imperial Library of Calcutta in the morning (SA 231) and study at the Library of the Asiatic Society in the afternoon. In the evening he wrote. He developed a close friendship with Van Manen, the director of the Asiatic Society. Van Manen encouraged him to learn Tibetan and gave him suggestions as to the importance and the location of certain texts (cf. M 31, 36, 41; SA 177-8 et passim).

By summer, 1931, Eliade was disgusted with his work and he was depressed about his experiences of India as a whole. The writing of the dissertation bored him because he felt that it did not represent the true drama and tragedy of his years in India. He saw his scientific writings as a collection of

Simple dry notations, which do not say anything of my agony in Calcutta and of the heroism with which I struggle. Oh, yes! I have led a heroic life these last days. I have been depressed to death reading and thinking the writings of D. Dasgupta. All at once I have seen myself not only alone, but surrounded by men who hate me, who detest me, who, if they could, would poison me or blind me. And my spirit, still unhealed from love, is powerless to replenish its forces. Without even a goal in view, so I am. I ask myself what good is Sanskrit, for example. Becoming an Orientalist is a petty ideal, and yet I have devoted three years of work and enthusiasm (SA 223).¹⁴

14. "Simple însemnări searbede, cari nu spun nimic din agonia mea la Calcutta și din eroismul cu care lupt. Pentru că, da!

In order to overcome his depression, and in view of writing something which he thought would be a more authentic expression of his situation in India, he decided to compose a novel, which he intended to call "Victorii" (SA 224-6). He began by taking excerpts from his own journal (cf. SA 227-8). The characters of the novel, Petru and Pavel, were symbols for Eliade of a "new generation", similar to the one which he had proposed in his "spiritual itinerary" four years earlier (M 38). He was not satisfied with the general tenor of the novel, however, and so destroyed most of it, incorporating only about sixty pages in another novel, Intoarcerea din rai (1934), which was completed in 1933. The structure of this latter novel resembles Aldous Huxley's Point Counterpoint, a ploy of different ideological tensions. As one popular critic wrote at the time of its publication, "Anxiety is what Mr. Eliade understands by authenticity, an endless looking into oneself, a becoming in stages and a continual masquerade of autobiography, in the multiple sense of ideology, anecdote, and subjective experience."¹⁵

am dus o viață eroică în aceste ultime zile. Am fost abătut de moarte citind și gândind scrisoarea lui D. M'am văzut dintr'odată nu numai singur, ci înconjurat de oameni cari mă urăsc, cari mă detestă, cari, dacă ar putea, m'ar ucide sau m'ar orbi. Iar sufletul meu, nevindecat încă de dragoste, e neputincios să-mi împropăteze forțele. Fără nici un țel, așa sunt. Mă întreb la ce bun -- sanskrită, de pildă. Orientalistica e un ideal meschin, și totuși i-am închinat trei ani de muncă și entuziasm."

15. P. Constantinescu, Vremea (1934) 328:7: "Teamă ne este că d. Eliade înțelege prin autenticitate, perpetuă căutare de sine, devenire în etape și continuă travestire a autobiografiei, în sensul multiplu de ideologie, anecdotică și experiență subiectivă."

Eliade's sojourn in India, as recorded in his journals and as indicated in his novels, has been a combination of contrary, often disordered, impressions. From all these impressions, there seems to have conspired in him a growing attitude of disillusionment with India and with his own desire to become "Indian". Yet, when he finally left India in December, 1931, he was not a frustrated and disappointed man. Just a few months before his departure, he had become a disciple of a young Indian mentor who calmed his spirit and who guessed all the trials and temptations through which he had passed (SA 252; cf. M 39-40).

Although Eliade's Indian adventure was concluded, the effects of this adventure cannot be measured simply by his general impressions and attitudes of India as such. C.H. Long interprets Eliade's stay in India as his initiation into the study of the History of Religions.¹⁶ Certainly India exerted a great influence on Eliade's spiritual and intellectual outlook on things. In order to better understand the more significant consequences of this adventure, it is necessary to look deeper into the questions of his personality, and to go into his own reflections at the time on how these impressions and attitudes of India most affected his own development.

16. Long, "Recent Developments," p. 9. Cf. J.A. Vázquez, "Para una biobibliografía de Mircea Eliade," Universidad (1964) 59:360.

2. Personality Crises

From an examination of his writings of 1927 and 1928, it appeared that Eliade had come to India with the conviction that his adventure would result in personal growth and synthesis. He wanted then to develop, through the various experiences and attitudes of life, a spiritual equilibrium which included a transcendent degree of consciousness. What emerged from his actual adventure in India, as revealed in his writings of 1929 through 1931, were impressions of India as a land of many contrasts, a people of diversified backgrounds and religious beliefs, and a culture with many secrets and traditions. At first Eliade was elated with India, especially with her poets and mystics, but later became confused and discouraged, particularly with the gurus whom he had tried to follow. He often underwent fits of sadness and depression, yet occasionally found personal points of synthesis. These moments of synthesis, of revisions of consciousness, though exceptional, gave Eliade strength to endure life in India. Suffering and endurance, it seems, were the handmaids of his spiritual growth there.

Eliade was not unaware of the contrasts evident in his experiences. If he was perplexed by the seemingly contradictory attitudes of his mind, he was still confident that he could survive them. It was not long hence that he had projected his anxieties into a spiritual itinerary to be fulfilled not without difficulty. But the difficulties he encountered in India were far beyond what he

had anticipated. He did not foresee that his impressions of India would turn back upon himself as a type of cultural shock. To write a spiritual itinerary was one thing; to live that itinerary in a foreign culture was yet another. He could not express his anxieties to the Indian youth as he had done in Romania to his own generation. The Indian platform was not a public forum; it was rather the seat of personal wisdom. There existed no appetite of a Faustian ambition in India; rather there was renunciation and the practice of silent meditation. The whole of India appeared to carry this mystery of silence and everyman, including Eliade, was forced to resign himself to suffering and her way of endurance. India was inexpressibly overwhelming, and it seemed necessary to abide by her demands.

In order to elucidate Eliade's suffering and his effort of endurance throughout his stay in India, one may review the moments of spiritual crises and syntheses through which he passed. This will serve also as a means of illustrating his spiritual and intellectual development.

A few months after his arrival, Eliade became so perplexed by his impressions of India that his first major spiritual crisis ensued. As he stated,

I lost points of contact with my reality. Life and the world appeared differently to me then, contrary to my understanding and feeling. I said to myself: "If all is adventure for one who does not yet live the Absolute, then it is necessary to embrace adventure with all sincerity, with all plentitude, without reticence or preparation. It is necessary to smoke opium, to live in

adultery, to be concerned with nothing except pleasures and as many pastimes as possible."... What I lost were not my spiritual functions, but their significance (SA 29-30).¹⁷

In order to regain the veritable meaning of his spiritual life, Eliade decided that he should reject adventure with the same determination by which he had first thought to accept it. So, as subsequently happened (cf. above, pp. 76ff.), he imagined himself as a monk secluded in some distant monastery where existence was serene and humble and where he could write freely about his meditations and experiences (SA 31).

Although at the time he tried to picture what it would be like to live in a monastery, he knew that he could not actually withdraw to one until he had become competent in Sanskrit. Yet his studies of Sanskrit grammar were tedious and increasingly boring. He was also required at the time to attend university lectures, which he would have preferred to dismiss as unnecessary. Instead of being absorbed in the simplicity of a monastic life, Eliade found himself embedded in the problematics of his studies. He also saw himself becoming involved in the personal affairs of others at

17. "Dar pierdeam punctele de contact cu realitatea mea. Lumea și viața mi se arătau altfel ca până atunci, opuse înțelegerei și simțirii mele. Imi spuneam: 'Dacă totul e aventură pentru cel ce nu viețuiește Absolutul, trebuie să îmbrățișeze aventura cu toată sinceritatea, cu toată plenitudinea, fără reticențe și adaptări. Trebuie să fumeze opium, să trăiască în adulter, să nu se preocupe decât de plăceri și de un cât mai variat passe-temps.'... Ceeace pierdeam eu nu erau funcțiunile mele spirituale -- ci semnificația lor."

the University and at the boarding house where he was residing. His companions and he engaged in numerous "pleasures and pastimes". They roamed Calcutta by night, visited places where opium was smoked, and occasionally became drunk and rowdy (SA 40 et passim).

As he became more and more worried about his promiscuous behavior, Eliade started to look upon his rudimentary practice of Yoga as a means of possibly overcoming his inclination toward sensuality and adventure. Since he knew that he could not yet enter a monastery in order to escape the temptations of the flesh, he thought that through Yoga he could at least begin to purify his body and to take control of his consciousness. Through Yoga he could learn to live in an atmosphere of renunciation where "inward realization" could be achieved (SA 52-3).¹⁸

It seems, therefore, that the circumstances of Eliade's life in India, which brought about his first major crisis, also provided its possible solution. On the one hand, his adventure in this country which was foreign to him became the object of renunciation for his private spirit in view of attaining an Absolute. On the other hand, his practice of Yoga became the means of renunciation and his way of trying to identify with India.

Eliade's Yoga exercises did not completely dispel his thirst for adventure, however. No matter how much he endeavored to control

18. Eliade said that his interest in Yoga at this time was traceable to his Faustian ambition and control of the will which he practiced after lycée (A 125).

himself, he frequently returned to his adventurous ways. By the end of June, 1929, he recognized that a permanent conflict had arisen, moreover, between his attraction for adventure and his pursuit of the scientific study of Yoga. The former was dynamic and alive -- that was Calcutta, his friends, his own passion. The latter required perserverance -- the library, his room, his own intelligence. As he remarked,

My "ideal" a week ago (science, orientalism)... seems distant, foreign, cool, mimical to me... Today, again, I want to cultivate extremes..., contradiction, the fantastic, vice... Yet I believe that I have not loved anything in the world with more fervor than this science which today seems so indifferent to me (SA 68; cf. SA 84-5, 109-10, 118-9).¹⁹

This dichotomy which Eliade felt between life's adventure and a scientific study of Yoga was not unlike the opposition which he perceived between life's adventure and the practice of Yoga. In both cases, adventure posed a threat to the particular goal he had in mind, which was scientific knowledge on the one hand and inward realization on the other. It wasn't until the autumn of 1929, as a result of his conversation with Tagore (cf. above, pp. 71-2) that the threat of adventure was, for a while, abated. Eliade confessed, after having talked things over with Tagore, that he felt full of life and activity, yet he was calm and perfectly happy. He

19. "'Idealul' meu de acum o săptămână (ştiinţa, orientalismul)... mi se pare depărtat, strein, rece, împrumutat... Astăzi vreau să cultiv, iarăş, extremele..., contradicţie, fantastic, viciu... Cred că n'am iubit nimic pe lume cu mai multă feroare decât această ştiinţă care astăzi îmi apare atât de indiferentă."

admitted that he had never known such joy before and that suddenly it had become easy for him to study Sanskrit texts and to renounce such things as cigars, coffee, the cinema, novels, sex, etc. (SA 105-6).

Apparently, Eliade's adventure in India seemed to him at first incongruous with his Yoga exercises and with his scientific understanding of what Indian Yoga should be, or at least what it professed to be, according to the great philosophical traditions which he was then studying under Dasgupta. And there is no evidence that he saw at the time a connexion between his practice of Yoga and the philosophical traditions themselves. In fact, Eliade tried to practice a popular form of Yoga which he thought was quite different from philosophical forms of Yoga. It took a poet like Tagore to convince him that the object of his scientific inquiry was not what he had learned from manuals, lectures, or from Sanskrit grammar. Rather, the mystery of India was to be found through an "Indian consciousness", which could be achieved by the practice of Yoga, and wherein the object of one's scientific study should become a part of oneself. Eliade's meditation on his research of Shiva and Indian alchemy later that year seems to reinforce this conclusion. As he worded it,

There are days when I feel my mind, heart, and body whole, as a strange factory in which there concentrates opposite substances, harvested from the air, from trees, from books -- substances which are continuously forged, assimilated. It is an exhilarating sentiment, all this assimilation, all this alchemy, which I divine in my flesh

and in my mind. I do not know how to express more precisely, without using lyrics, this immense sustenance of my entire being. As though I had a thousand mouths and a thousand arms, which reap all, gather all, and consume all -- and transform all these substances, which are foreign to me, into a blood and an intelligence which are mine (SA 119).²⁰

Thus a certain development may be detected in Eliade's spiritual understanding of himself and of his place in India his first year there. In the beginning, during his initial travels through India and during his first few months in Calcutta, he eagerly took in all that he could of life in India. After some time, however, in order to overcome the flood of his passions and to control the occasions of his promiscuous behavior, he conceived of himself existing in a private world separated from the circumstances and events of Calcutta. His resolution to conduct himself according to the meditative and imaginative world of the inward spirit was fostered by his practice of Yoga and his study of Sanskrit texts.

While the tendency of Eliade's development appears at first to be a rejection of life's externals for the sake of promoting (or preserving) an internal world of the spirit, nevertheless his

20. "Sunt zile când îmi simt creierul, inima, trupul întreg, ca o uzină stranie în care se adună substanțe vrăjmașe, culese din văzduh, din arbori, din cărți -- substanțe cari sunt neconținut prefăcute, asimilate. Este un sentiment exilicant, toată această asimilare, toată această alchimie pe care o ghicesc în carnea și în creierul meu. Nu știu cum să exprim mai precis, fără nimic liric, alimentarea aceasta uriașă a întregii mele ființe. Parcă aş avea mii de guri și mii de brațe, cari culeg totul, adună totul, mestecă totul -- și transformă toate aceste substanțe, streine mie, într'un sânge și o inteligență care sunt ale mele."

practice of Yoga and his study of texts should not be considered as modes of a purely subjective attitude. His exercise of the rudiments of Yoga, even without a guru, was an attempt to deal precisely with the influence of external factors upon him, as well as a means by which to control his recurring desires for promiscuous adventure. His study of Sanskrit texts, which was like a ritual to him, could indeed be viewed as his initiation into the History of Religions, even though he used them also for purposes of meditation. Both the practice of Yoga and the study of texts served as a preparation for his doctoral dissertation, and this in itself could be considered as an objective inquiry. Finally, he wanted to identify with an "Indian consciousness" which was something that he knew lay beyond his own egotistical attitudes and ideals.

Whatever direction one may detect in Eliade's spiritual development during his first year in India, his journals show that in the following two years there he received many new impressions and he often reverted to his indiscriminate ways. Further spiritual crises arose as, for instance, his rejection by Dasgupta because of their disagreement over the study of Tantrism and its practice (cf. above, pp. 75-6, 78). In those remaining years in India, Eliade became firmly convinced that a continual tension existed between his wish to fulfill his spirit, toward realization of an Indian consciousness, and his love for adventure. Even his subsequent stay in a monastery, which he had so often imagined and looked forward to, resulted in a spiritual upheaval because of his failure to control his actions

(cf. above, p. 79). In the end, he found no resolution to the apparent discord which had emerged between his adventure and his spiritual exercises, and between his adventure and his scientific studies (SA 209-10). Eliade saw, finally, that a contention had evolved even between his public modes of expression, that is between his scientific writings and his novels (SA 224-5; CD 7:8-9; cf. above, p. 81).

While it seems that Eliade found temporary solutions to his spiritual crises, he felt in the long run an insatiable dualism obsessing him. For every thought, a contrary thought, exactly opposite, haunted him (SA 200).²¹

3. Self and Universals

Before his trip to India, in his publications of 1928, Eliade had placed great emphasis on the uniquely creative qualities of every personality -- including his own -- in search of a virile and adventurous existence. However, the adventurous activities of his life throughout his stay in India seemed to generate many personality crises. Even his dedication to virility turned to actions of vice.²² He never completely overcame the contrary thoughts and the contradictory attitudes of his spirit. In fact, these contrasts of his

21. Eliade later said that all reality is dualistic (IE 321). Cf. E. Cioran, "Beginnings of a Friendship," in Kitagawa and Long, Myths and Symbols, pp. 407-8.

22. However, he never gave up the ideal of virility; cf. "purity" and "liberty" (SO 23-43).

personality intensified while he was in India. He suffered much because of them.

Evidently, Eliade was aware of his predicament and he sought a truth which exceeded the limitations and dualistic character of his personality. It is likely that, by seeking to achieve an "Indian consciousness", he tried to extend beyond his ego to the realm of the "Self", which is the subject of Indian philosophy in general and of Yoga practices in particular.²³

It would be extremely difficult to determine if Eliade ever actually reached an "Indian consciousness" or a comprehension of the "Self" through his private meditations and Yoga exercises. However, the fact that he did meditate, practice, and study scientifically these matters encourages one to investigate the insights and means by which he tried to achieve such goals.

Shortly after his arrival in India, in 1929, Eliade said that it would be tiring and useless for him to try to understand each man in part. He must rather understand the whole cosmos and all men together (SA 41). Yet in the course of his studies at the University of Calcutta he remarked that philosophy and science, as functions of the mind, were inhuman because their concern was only for what was general and necessary -- they did not cope with the particular

23. No attempt is made here to define the "Self" (if indeed it can be defined or described as such) as no attempt has been made to define an "Indian consciousness". The terms are used in reference to the goals of his spiritual development which he envisioned at the time. Both of these goals had been suggested to him by Tagore; cf. above, p. 72.

and contradictory ways of human drama. And because they were inhuman, they were therefore incompetent (SA 66).

It appears that Eliade sought a universal understanding of reality -- apart from an investigation of individual things -- wherein the particular truths of life, even if contradictory, could be integrated. He disliked any study which omitted, or negated, the particular truths of human life and of human culture. This is probably why he was dissatisfied with Dasgupta's original advice that he should restrict his doctoral dissertation to a scientific study of Yoga philosophies. In his dissertation Eliade tried to integrate popular Yoga beliefs and practices, which in fact seemed to him to be contradictory in many cases and also contrary to the general norms of the philosophical traditions (cf. below, pp. 102-4). He even felt it necessary that he himself put into practice the Yoga which he was studying and that he meditate on the texts which served as material for his research.

As he progressed in his study and exercise of Yoga, Eliade came accross materials and insights which were totally new discoveries for him. At times he felt his spirit being transformed by a certain text before him. In a particular state of meditation he experienced truths which lay completely beyond his previous knowledge. In fact, each day of research seemed to him a different and more developed stage of knowledge. While his consciousness stimulated him to construct planes of investigation as vast and as impersonal as possible, he felt that he, personally, was becoming

lost in his own development (SA 110). That is, by studying and practicing Yoga he was losing a sense of his own personal identity and was becoming more attuned to the universal values around him.²⁴

Although he often returned to his egotistical desires and his adventurous ways, this feeling of becoming lost in his study and exercise of Yoga continued with him even to his last months in India. In a sense, he felt as though he were "going out of" himself, as though he were "stepping out of" the dramatic contradictions and personality crises of his life in India in order to find an ultimate, universal, and fixed reality.

I would want to become at every moment another, to bathe myself everyday in other waters, never to repeat anything, to remember nothing, to continue nothing. But I would want, at the same time, to be able to find a fixed point from where neither experience nor argument could displace me; or a static vision, a direct contemplation -- without intervening experiences -- and a universal (oh, especially a universal!) -- an absolute (SA 219).²⁵

Thus there seems to be at least two complementary orientations to Eliade's association with Yoga. On the one hand, in his

24. Cf. the fantastic account in Eliade's novel, Secretul Doctorului Honigberger (1940).

25. "... aș vrea să fiu în fiecare ceas altul, să mă scald în fiecare zi în alte ape, să nu repet niciodată nimic, să nu-mi amintesc nimic, să nu continui nimic. Dar aș vrea, în acelaș timp, să pot găsi un punct fix de unde nici o experiență și nici un raționament să nu mă poată deplasa; o viziune statică, o contemplație directă -- fără mijlocirea experienței -- și universală (oh, mai ales universală!) -- un absolut."

It is possible for adventure and the Absolute to be reconciled. Certain particulars do have universal quality. Love, for example, even though it passes, is an absolute revelation of its own kind. Or the Himalayas, once seen, continue to orientate and exist (SO 63-4).

scientific study of Yoga, he became less concerned with individual facts and traditions and more concerned with particular discoveries and revelations which would lead to universal knowledge. On the other hand, through his practice of Yoga, he continually sought truths which were less personal, less dramatic, and which he thought could bring him to a point of absolute reality.

Eliade studied and practiced Yoga not simply for esoteric reasons or for the purpose of completing his dissertation. His study and practice of Yoga pertained directly to his own spiritual development in view of better understanding himself, his situation in India, and his relationship to the universe as a whole. He looked for a resolution to the dualisms of his personality, and to the contrasts of India, not by avoiding their reality, but rather by proceeding on to more ecumenical and affirmative levels of reality which he discerned through the study and practice of Yoga. The more universal the level of reality seemed to him, the more synthetic and progressive it was for equilibrium of his spirit and for his total understanding of things. In his development, Eliade himself reached a remarkable moment of decision:

I believe that any man has found himself, at least some time in the history of his formation, in the face of this dilemma: of existing in himself, or of existing in reality; of realizing himself inwardly, by the maximum intensification of instincts and personal thoughts, or of realizing himself by attachment and submission to outside laws, by participation more completely in reality (SO 13; cf. O 177).²⁶

What Eliade was confessing may be interpreted as the ultimate paradox of man. Man has a desire to transcend himself, to pass over into another, to overcome his individuality, yet he always remains himself (SO 47; cf. C 1271:1; O 31). He is also conditioned to creation and he creates, but in so doing transcends creation (SO 49). Just as every religious experience is over and above ("deasupra") any human act, and yet it belongs to ("în") every human act (SO 78). This, incidently, may be seen as the first indication of hierophany in Eliade's writings and it is a fundamental concept in his History of Religions.

To be able to deal with the above paradox one must achieve a high degree of self awareness, as Eliade apparently did at this point of decision. Such an awareness, according to Eliade, implies that the rhythms of the universe have been harmonized by the spirit in an ascending hierarchical order (SO 74-5; cf. O 221-5). Man himself is a complex of planes and a series of hierarchies corresponding to those of the universe. These planes and hierarchies both of the universe and of man's spirit must be synthesized and passed through (SO 75). This must be done ontologically as well as spiritually. So Eliade, confronted by a seemingly ultimate paradox, perceived an answer: both the cosmos and man are alive. "It

26. "Cred că orice om s'a aflat, cel puțin odată în istoria formației sale, în fața acestei dileme: a fi el însuși, sau a fi în adevăr; a se realiza dinlăuntru, prin maximalizarea instinctelor și gândirii proprii, sau a se realiza prin atașare și submitere legii din afară, prin participarea tot mai completă la adevăr."

can be said then that there exists a structural correspondence between the constitution and spirit of man, on the one part, and between the life and spirit of the cosmos on the other part (SO 53).²⁷ If it is correct that such a correspondence exists, then it should be possible for a man to transcend himself to universal and cosmic reality, and still retain his particular selfhood.

The laws outside the personality to which Eliade determined to subject himself were the planes and hierarchies of the universe, as reflected in the recesses of his own spirit. But the terminology of these synthetic insights seems inextricably vague. What did he mean by "planes and hierarchies", or by "structural correspondence"? In order to help clarify these notions, one may refer to the description of his "planes of the spirit" set forth in his spiritual itinerary of 1927 (cf. above, pp. 41-3). Or, one may inquire in what way he, while in India, tried to achieve such insights, in order that one might see if a description of the means might provide an understanding of the terms.

An apparent means by which he tried to achieve these goals of spiritual synthesis was something about India which he had learned and formulated in the autumn of 1929: that India's vision is to imitate a transcendent God through anthropomorphic models. These models may be civic and esthetic as well as religious, but

27. "S'ar putea spune atunci ca exista o structurala corespondenta între constituția și sufletul omului, pe deoparte, viața și sufletul universului de cealaltă parte."

they are always expressed and followed within human limitations. Moreover, they always preserve, at least in their intention, the coincidence of God and man (SA 85-6; cf. RR 8:495).

Before he left India, Eliade was completely convinced of these ideas. Model and imitation became for him a way of integrating all things and a way of passing through all planes and hierarchies of consciousness. He, himself, illustrated this well:

What is the greatest responsibility of man is that first model of his God: to cosmicize himself. It is true that only God can create; but any man is capable of ordering, rhythmizing, and actualizing this creation. Growth and fulfillment are impossible except by becoming cosmic. The way signifies nothing else than a rediscovery of a rhythm which can be harmonized with all that is concrete and unique outside of us, like how a dance harmonizes with music originating outside of us; it is a sense which amplifies the value of our experiences, which can initiate a hierarchy within an anarchy of consciousness, yet without suppressing or repressing any amounts of this consciousness. To suppress, to repress, to ignore or to denounce, signify nothing. The other way is more attractive: to integrate all these chaotic experiences, to systematize them organically, to cosmicize them (SO 18).²⁸

28. "Cea dintâi datorie a omului e cea dintâi pildă a lui Dumnezeu: cosmizarea sa. E adevărat că numai Dumnezeu poate crea; dar orice om e capabil de a ordona, ritmă și însufleți această creație. Creșterea și împlinirea nu sunt posibile decât prin cosmizare. Calea nu înseamnă decât redescoperirea ritmului care ne poate armoniza cu tot ce este concret și unic înafara noastră, precum dansul ne armonizează cu muzica izvorâtă înafară de noi; e sensul care amplifică valoarea experienței noastre, care poate instaura o ierarhie în anarhia conștiinței fără a suprima sau refula, totuși, câțimi din acea conștiință. A suprima, a refula, a ignora sau a renunța, nu înseamnă nimic. Cealaltă cale e ispititoare: a integra toate aceste experiențe haotice, a le rânduî organic, a le cosmiza."

Another means by which Eliade attempted to accomplish such goals was through the appreciation and use of symbols. Transcending one's personality to a participation in supra-individual life, he maintained, creates a thirst for the fantastic, for symbol (SO 55). Through symbols, man's life and the world about him may be transformed into meanings and interpretations (O 48). Symbols are thus ontologically grounded and spiritually significant. Symbols have particular and universal qualities as well. Symbols, then, could be the key to much of Eliade's development, to remain himself and to become another. They were also an object of his study and practice of Yoga in his search for universal, impersonal truth.

The more obvious means by which Eliade tried to fulfill the goals of spiritual synthesis was through the physical and mental techniques of Yoga itself. His study of Yoga informed him of numerous techniques which would enable him to achieve a cosmic existence and consciousness, and his practice of Yoga helped him to master those same techniques. It would be useful, therefore, to examine those techniques inasmuch as they tend to illuminate the motifs of synthesis with which he was concerned.

4. Yoga Techniques of Synthesis

The various techniques of Yoga which Eliade studied and apparently practiced can be found in his doctoral dissertation, which was completed in 1932 and published in 1936.²⁹ While this dissertation may be looked upon as a scientific, critical study,³⁰ it still

seems that his interest in scientific study as such was to some degree an answer to his need for universals in his quest for spiritual equilibrium. His study as a whole, including his research on the various techniques of Yoga, cannot be divorced from his spiritual encounter of India, nor from the spiritual crises of his own personality.

Eliade's dissertation, which may be recognized as a scientific study, could as easily be called a philosophical study, as evidence will show. Seen as either a scientific or a philosophical work, it cannot be limited to strict positive analysis. It entails rather Eliade's passionate experiences and intellectual knowledge of India's culture -- namely, his intuitions³¹ -- especially of that form of India's culture called Yoga. Therefore, besides being a "science" or a "philosophy", his work on Yoga could also be interpreted as a "spiritual endeavor" on his part.

29. References for this section are taken mostly from Yoga, Essai sur les origines de la mystique indienne (1936) which is a retranslated and revised publication of Eliade's dissertation written in Calcutta. This book contains material from a number of articles published by Eliade on Yoga from 1930 to 1936. It also contains a part of Alchimia Asiatică (1935) which itself is the compilation of research done in India. However, since Yoga, Essai sur les origines de la mystique indienne is a second translation from the original English manuscript, cross references are added, where applicable, to a later English edition, Yoga, Immortality and Freedom (1969).

30. It was identified as scientific by leading scholars; cf. below, pp. 162-3.

31. Eliade's own understanding of the relationship of passion, intellect, and intuition in science and philosophy is given above, pp. 46-9.

A thorough account of Eliade's research on Yoga need not be given here.³² In order to understand the techniques of synthesis offered by Yoga, however, the general scope and findings of his work are presented.

In delineating the extent of his inquiry, Eliade posited at least three types of Indian religiosity which were fundamental to Indian culture: the pre-Aryan popular traditions such as the Dravidian heritage, the Brahmanic orthodox traditions which were based on Indo-Aryan influences, and Yoga. On the one hand, the popular pre-Aryan traditions were distinctively devotional, characterized by local cults for local gods. They emphasized a great deal of personal mysticism. On the other hand, the Brahmanic schools, with their Vedic ritual texts, appeared to be typically sacrificial, magical, and juridical. They were intrinsically anti-mystical. Yoga, situated somewhere in between these two extremes, comprised numerous techniques of meditation and mystical physiology, that is it contained elements of both pre-Aryan and Indo-Aryan traditions (R 3, 1:149-52; cf. Y 357-60).

In order to determine the relationship of Yoga to popular and Vedic traditions, Eliade compared the latter two in their historical development. He recognized that for years the Indo-Aryan traditions had assimilated the aboriginal popular cults.

32. To date there has been no authoritative study of Eliade's work on Yoga or alchemy.

Therefore, India's religion could be called a syncretism of the two. Nevertheless, Brahmanism has always remained to some extent removed from the populace. The popular local traditions, moreover, have continuously reacted against Brahmanism. That is, throughout India's religious history, popular traditions have given rise to numerous reforms, sects, and techniques of attaining mysticism which, in effect, were reactions against the abstract structures (ritual, juridical, etc.) of Brahmanism. This popular pre-Aryan resistance Eliade termed the "autochthonous substrata"³³ of India's religion, and he claimed that it could be found in all stages of India's history (R 3, 1:153; cf. Y 341, 360; YE 9, 297, 301). Such resistance, although not always easily detected on the surface, was an essential feature of India's history.

Thus India's religious history could be said to be the result of two contrary processes: assimilation by dominant Indo-Aryan influences and reaction by popular pre-Aryan elements. This, however, no longer constituted a historical problem for Eliade. Once he had established that in fact assimilation and reaction had taken place, for him the question remained as to why such a people had so reacted. For him this became a problem of the philosophy of culture (R 3, 1:152).

Turning his attention to this philosophical problem, he discovered in all the different autochthonous reactions what seemed

³³. This theory of Eliade's about Indian culture resembles L. Blaga's theory about Romanian culture (M 33-5; cf. above, p. 27).

to be a return to more concrete modes of behavior. "Tendency toward the concrete signifies, for us, the revolt of the autochthonous foundation in India" (R 3, 1:171; cf. J 188-9; Y 360; YE 300).³⁴ This tendency, as a reaction against abstract and juridical forms, was a recurrent trend toward more personalized religious experience and more concrete forms and techniques of attaining that experience. Among the populace this tendency was manifested by their endless devotional practices and by the proliferation of local gods. Among the elite it was witnessed by the multiplication of physiological techniques of meditation (R 3, 1:171; YE 284, 300).

Likewise, Eliade saw a tendency toward the concrete in all forms of Yoga throughout all points of history. Yoga, he felt, consisted of a variety of ascetic and meditative techniques for the concrete realization of the mystical state of ecstasy (YE 5, 7-8).³⁵ Both Yoga and pre-Aryan traditions, therefore, had an

34. "Tendința către concret înseamnă, pentru noi, revolta fondului autohton din India."

35. In 1936 Eliade defined Yoga as a "technique de l'extase" (YE 5; cf. YE 7, 44, 300). "Extase" was further described as "'méditation sans contenu sensoriel'" (YE 74). This was equivalent to the state of samādhi (YE 90), which was "la connaissance 'extatique'" wherein an object could be grasped immediately and without categories of imagination, that is an object which resembles or reveals itself in itself (YE 91-2; cf. Y 77, 82). This 1936 edition, however, was a second translation from the original English. In the first published articles, from 1930 to 1936 in Romanian and Italian, the term "extase" does not appear (cf. RR 6:215; 8:490-2; R 3, 1). Furthermore, in the 1969 English revised edition, he stated that "Yoga is not a technique of ecstasy; on the contrary, it attempts to realize absolute concentration in order to attain

"experimental structure" (R 3, 1:171). That is, both Yoga and pre-Aryan traditions used concrete techniques in order to achieve mystical states of consciousness. Moreover, the process of assimilation and reaction of Yoga in the context of Indo-Aryan dominance was similar to the process of assimilation and reaction of the pre-Aryan, autochthonous traditions within the same context (YE 9, 284). So Eliade concluded that Yoga was an aboriginal, non-Aryan archaism and a reaction to Indo-Aryan influences (YE 5, 9, 276; cf. Y 359-61).

In general, he understood Yoga to comprise techniques aiming toward spiritual equilibrium which resulted in the realization of cosmic consciousness. In other words, he saw it as both a science and a philosophy. If Yoga were considered as a science, it was because it used techniques which, through various levels of the spirit, led man to his ultimate end. If Yoga were considered as a philosophy, it was because it sought out the metaphysical nature of the spirit and tried to emancipate man from the limitations of human existence. It was not to be viewed as a science in the sense of being a theoretical speculation of the objective world. It was not to be viewed as a philosophy which was generally systematic and deducible (RR 6:200-1).

Specifically, Eliade distinguished between two basic types of Yoga: popular Yoga which was an archaic technique stressing

enstasis" (Y 361). Samādhi is "'stasis'" (Y 76). Ecstasy is more characteristic of shamanism (Y 339; cf. S).

mystical experience, and Sāṃkhya which was a classical technique stressing metaphysical knowledge. Both were similar in many respects. For example, both saw the world as the origin of suffering and ignorance, and both tried to liberate the spirit by the control of psycho-mental states of consciousness. Their difference was mainly one of method. Sāṃkhya sought deliverance of the spirit in contemplation through gnosis while popular Yoga sought deliverance in meditation through asceticism (YE 17-8, 307; cf. Y 4, 7, 14-5). Both displayed a tendency toward the concrete -- toward practice, realization, and experience -- but Sāṃkhya could be called a "philosophy" while popular Yoga remained a "science" or technique (J 188).³⁶

36. "Grâce à Patañjali, le Yoga, d'une technique mystique traditionnelle qu'il était, se transforme en une darśana, c'est-à-dire en une 'philosophie'" (YE 4; cf. Y 7).

The difference between the Yoga of Patañjali and Sāṃkhya is discernible mostly in their forms of spiritual deliverance. For Sāṃkhya, ultimate knowledge consists, as Eliade said, in an "awakening". This is a "revelation" which is not based on the experiences of passion or intellect. Although techniques of the intellect are used as means of attaining deliverance, nevertheless the final knowledge obtained is not the pseudo-knowledge of intelligence. It is rather an absolute knowledge which surpasses all forms of psycho-mental activity. It is a knowledge of ultimate reality, a metaphysics which is also a soteriology (YE 39-40; cf. Y 13, 26-30, 79, 93). It is therefore gnosis. On the other hand, the Yoga of Patañjali also uses the intellect as a means of attaining deliverance, but it stresses more the use of asceticism. Gnosis alone cannot lead to final liberation as in the case of Sāṃkhya; physiological techniques are also required. As a result, deliverance in the Yoga of Patañjali is not merely an absolute knowledge; it is more an ultimate experience or state of being (YE 43-4; cf. Y 36, 79, 82).

It is not necessary here to enumerate all the doctrines of Yoga (cf. YE 15-64; Y 3-46) or to describe in detail the many techniques of attaining deliverance (cf. YE 75-90; Y 47-100). Although the techniques of deliverance in Yoga differ, nevertheless nearly all remain concrete and real. Also, in almost every type of Yoga, life is perceived as a continual change and mutation, that is as a series of dramatic forms of death. Creation itself is experienced as as a never-ending passage and recreation. Human existence, therefore, is not considered to be free, real, autonomous; it is seen rather as tragic and illusory. The individual personality, which consists of numerous psycho-mental attitudes created by the changing of existence, is a vehicle of suffering and ignorance. It too is illusory. The purpose of Yoga is to free the spirit from the limitations of existence, to free the spirit from the individual personality, in order to attain a non-illusory, universal existence (YE 44; cf. Y 35, 363).³⁷ In order to better understand the purpose

37. In fact, the techniques for the final liberation of the spirit are unlimited in Yoga. Likewise, there are infinite states of consciousness which Yoga tries to overcome. According to Eliade, these states can be reduced to three major categories: 1) false experiences such as dreams, incorrect perceptions, etc., 2) normal, daily experiences which are routine and conditional, and 3) supra-sensible, extra-rational experiences such as **insight**. Corresponding to these three "experiences" are three "sciences": 1) the theory of knowledge and logic, 2) psychological and meditative techniques, and 3) metaphysics and soteriology. In such a classification it is possible that experiences which are valid logically or even psychologically can be invalid metaphysically, and hence false. It is also possible that psychological techniques can effectively lead from false knowledge to metaphysical truth. The aim of Yoga is the destruction of illusory and normal experiences,

of Yoga, it is helpful to review in general how it may be accomplished.

A. Negation and Coincidence -- It is assumed that Yoga tries to liberate the spirit from change, the illusion of death and becoming, and thus reach an autonomous and unified state, which is esse (IE 69-70; cf. YE 308-9). However, if the world and human existence are illusory, and if the ontological significance of the spirit is to be reached, then it must be denied that there is a regulatory bond between the spirit and worldly existence (esse is incompatible with non-esse). There is a discord between man and creation, that is a creation which is manifested either as the passage of forms or else as the changing of mental attitudes. The spirit of man is not the same as the world or even his own personality. The human condition, therefore, and especially the individual personality, must be destroyed. But destruction, in this sense, is not a doing away with reality, since the personality and worldly existence are in fact non-esse. It means rather a denial of the putative reality of the personality and worldly existence. The problem of illusion is not solved; it is overcome because it is denied. This is the negation of non-esse, a prerequisite way for approaching esse (IE 73-8; cf. Y 34-5).

The negation of non-esse, the illusory world of the personality, is for the purpose of attaining esse, the absolute

which make up the personality, in order to attain samādhi, which is beyond the personality (YE 65-7; cf. Y 36-7).

metaphysical significance of the spirit. While negation of the world of the personality is necessary theoretically, according to contemplation and knowledge, nevertheless through the use of meditative and ascetic techniques it is possible for non-esse to coincide with esse. That is, physiological and psycho-mental attitudes of the spirit, which are known to be illusory, can paradoxically correspond to ultimate reality. For example, in the Vedic perspective, the left hand of a man corresponds to the right hand of a god. The idea of a broken object on earth corresponds to an integral object in an absolute existence. The coincidence of non-esse and esse is therefore a correspondence of contraries. It is like man in imitation of God (RR 8:490-6; cf. Y 96). This does not mean that certain positions of the body are identical with universal reality such as the cosmos as a whole. Nor does it mean that certain attitudes of the spirit are identified as absolute reality as the spirit itself. Rather, they are to be seen as contraries employed in order to indicate and reach such a universal cosmos or absolute spirit. For instance, Yoga practices suppression of the respiratory rhythm until that rhythm becomes significantly static. So while there is a negation of the worldly existence of change (symbolized by control of the respiratory rhythm), nevertheless worldly existence coincides with its contrary, which is unchanging absolute existence (symbolized by static breathing). Both negation and coincidence are implied in the same act (IE 78-9; cf. Y 94-5).

Generally, therefore, Yoga tries to suspend all attitudes of consciousness created by physiological or psycho-mental flux. It tries to realize the state of absolute purity, for instance, which is the contrary of life's continual adventure and procreation. It does this not only through the control and suppression of inferior states but also by the realization and synthesis of contrary states.

B. Homologation and Unification -- The human condition is characterized by changing biological, psychological, and mental automatisms. This condition is reversed by the controlled negation of any form of automatism and by the coincidence of any biological, psychological, or mental differences. As a result, biological states are unified, psychological states are unified, and mental states are unified. Altogether there is a homologation between biological, psychological, and mental states. This is equivalent to a unification of the entire spirit. It also symbolizes a unification of the total cosmos. The end result is a unification of the Spirit and the Cosmos.

In more explicit terms, Yoga's unification of the body by means of correct posture techniques (which includes suppression as well as coincidence of contrary positions) is equivalent to the unification of the cosmos. That is, it symbolizes a worldly life of contradictions which no more exists in dead and illusive forms, but which has been transformed into an absolute and unified existence, the Cosmos. Likewise, the attainment of a unified breath through

correct breathing techniques (which includes the suppression as well as the coincidence of contrary "breaths") is equivalent to the unification of the spirit. That is, it symbolizes a flux of contradictory and illusory states of consciousness which are equilibrated and suspended, and are thus transformed into the Spirit (cf. J 190, 203).

Together, unification of the body symbolizes unification of the Cosmos, and unification of the breath symbolizes unification of the Spirit. Now this symbolization is not simply knowledge, or gnosis, at least for the Yoga of Patañjali; it is a symbolization with metaphysical significance. There is definitely a unification of the Cosmos and it is really related to the unification experienced in the body. Likewise, there is definitely a unification of the Spirit and it is really related to the unification experienced in the breath. In each case, this real, but disproportionate, relation Eliade termed "homology" or "homologation" (cf. IE 81-2; J; Y 38-9, 96-7).

To carry the argument further, when all aspects of the body and the spirit are harmonized -- through suppression and coincidence of physical, psychological, and mental states -- a unification of the Spirit and the Cosmos results. On the one hand, the personality (the changing of states) is destroyed; only the universal Spirit remains. On the other hand, creation (the changing of forms) is destroyed; only an absolute existence, that is the Cosmos, remains. Spirit and Cosmos comprise the only remaining reality.

Altogether, therefore, there is a unification of the hierarchical planes of the Spirit and there is a unification of the hierarchical levels of the Cosmos. This is equivalent to a homology between these planes, and to a homology between these levels. This also results in a grand homology between the planes of the Spirit and the levels of the Cosmos. In this grand homology, which is both real and significant, the Spirit and the Cosmos are unified. Put in other terms, man is cosmicized. He has cosmicized himself through the techniques of attaining this grand homology. He has realized the rhythm and perfect harmony of all being. In sum, "The 'unification' and the 'homologation' aim at making an end of the biological and mental chaos of man, at transforming Chaos into Cosmos" (J 203).

C. Transcendence and Transformation -- According to Eliade, the homologation and cosmicization of the Spirit are not the ultimate aims of Yoga. They are rather intermediary stages. They are the consequences of technical phases toward reaching samādhi. Homology alone cannot liberate man, nor is cosmicization itself a state of absolute liberty. Homology implies similarity and proportion, not totality. A cosmic man is still one bound to certain cosmic rhythms and dimensions. Only samādhi is true freedom.

Samādhi, the final aim of Yoga, is inexpressible. It is, strictly speaking, beyond any knowledge or experience. It is a supreme state of the spirit, as well as the Spirit itself. It is Self. While it is the negation of all individuality, it is complete

autonomy. While it is absolute emptiness (non-esse), it is total reality (esse). It is the real coincidence of all contraries, the primordial unity of all duality. By reaching samādhi the Cosmos and all cosmic states of the spirit are transcended. This, at last, is a final passage and a final transformation (cf. IE 82; R 3, 1: 153; Y 97-9).

5. Indian Education

Eliade's study of Yoga techniques, some of which he employed in view of attaining a spiritual synthesis, rests upon his research of quite a number of Indian texts and manuscripts. Apparently, he looked upon those texts not simply as historical collections of Indian traditions or as reflections of Indian values. Besides studying the texts critically, he also meditated on them. He discerned in them truths by which he could not only resolve his own spiritual tensions but by which he could also identify with India and with the cosmos as a whole.

The terminology of the findings of Eliade's study -- and indeed the logic behind the Yoga techniques themselves -- is difficult to grasp by Western standards. It cannot be assumed that the conclusions of his dissertation, as he presented them, are the result of a study of Eastern texts from the philological and other approaches of the West. The general perspectives from which he studied the texts, and which influenced his selection and interpretation of them, were due largely to the teachings of Dasgupta, his

professor at the University, and to the discussions with his friend Van Manen, director of the Asiatic Society. Perspectives for study also grew out of conversations with the poet Tagore which dealt precisely with the topic of Indian education regarding the modes of obtaining knowledge (cf. above, pp. 71-2).

Since Eliade studied Eastern texts within the context of India and under the direction of Indian masters, it would be well to briefly point out some of the fundamental characteristics of Indian modes of study and of her manner of education as Eliade knew them.

Even before his arrival in India, Eliade had been aware of the differences between European and Indian mentality. According to him, Europeans were naïve to think that the Oriental mind was confused because theirs seemed to be very logical. While it was evident, he asserted, that the Occidental mind takes pride in the fact that it functions through logic and reason, this in no way makes it superior to the Oriental mind which fosters contemplation and metaphysical speculation. The Occident has mostly an awareness of physical facts and observable reality, while the Orient has a deep interior life which stresses mysticism. A feeling of communication and oneness with nature allows the Oriental to experiment with all things according to his own unique way of meditation, whereas in the Occident, the ego is distinguished from the object, and consequently the same positivistic attitude can be assumed by anyone. Furthermore, Oriental life -- including political, social,

and cultural institutions -- is founded on a variety of continuous religious traditions, whereas the Occident has established an official religion based on superficial developments of a social consciousness and the notion of Church (C 625:1; cf. IE 266-9; Y xiii-vi).

While in India, Eliade decried the prejudicial and proselytistic attitudes of the West (G 10, 1-2:34-5; cf. I 6-8, 124). Instead, he adopted the Oriental belief in the ability of man to know and live the reality of cosmic truths through inward realization (SA 52). India's humanism, long-suffering, psychological and speculative traditions nourished an integral life where the transcendent principle is not confused with changing mental attitudes. India's contribution to life and understanding consists of a wisdom which surpasses ordinary experiences. This wisdom allows facts to become symbols, by way of ecstasy (G 10, 1-2:37-41).

Eliade took the position that India has no concept of history in the sense of causation or chronological sequence. Hence it is impossible for her documents to be analyzed by the historical and philological methods of the West. The West, he thought, ignores the religious experiences of India's ancient traditions, and the West itself is too positivistic (C 1190:1-2; cf. Y 17-8; YE 33-5, 42, 52-3). Its rational methods search for causes and chronology in the study of facts, or in the study of a series of documents, but fail to study each text in itself for its spiritual meaning. Philology actually "confuses the means with the scope, the instrument with

the construction, the material with its significance" (G 9, 3: 104).³⁸ In other words, the mental perspective employed is not the proper measure of the phenomenon to be studied. According to Eliade, philology should study "spiritual facts" which are organically related, like the different parts of a body or of a house. This, then, appears to be the problem with the Western method of philology: it investigates in fragments the spirit, which essentially cannot be fragmented.

Eliade's notions about philology were based upon his respect for Indian traditions and their preservation of documents as spiritual texts. He thought that Indian education generally teaches to meditate on a text, not analyze its rational content (C 617:2; cf. IE 315-9). This is characteristic of India's entire culture. "Here in India there does not exist a hiatus between doctrine and life... The pre-eminence of spirituality is real and universal. The spiritual is experimented, it is not discussed" (C 1393:1-2; cf. RR 6:212 n.1).³⁹

38. "Filologia... confundă mijlocul cu scopul, instrumentul cu construcția, materialul cu semnificația lui."

39. "Aici nu există hiatus între doctrină și viață... Primatul spiritualității e real și universal. Spiritualul se experimentează, nu se discută." These words are echoed elsewhere: "Nu exista, pentru mine, hiatus între lume și mit, nu există dialectica. Obiectele erau obiecte și, în același timp, simboluri, semnificații, îndemnuri probe, lupte, idei" (IA 97). "In antiquity there was no hiatus between mythology and history: historical personages endeavored to imitate their archetypes, the gods and mythical heroes" (MD 32).

Eliade's notions about philology were, naturally enough, based also upon his own idea of history, which could be compared to his awareness of the development of his own spirit. In other words, he saw his mental perception of events related to the process of the unfolding and synthesis of the attitudes of his spirit. Likewise, history for him was a spiritual process: "In order to write history, it is necessary to know what is history, to sense and recognize the continual creation of a spirit which realizes itself auto-affirming itself" (G 9, 3:104).⁴⁰

It is, then, quite apparent why studying a text in Sanskrit was almost a ritual for him.

So it seems that Eliade's education in India provided him with perspectives and ways of understanding which were very different from those he had acquired in Romania. Each of these two cultures maintained views of the world and of human existence which were distinct. The concern of the West, as he knew in Romania, was mostly with the knowledge and production of things; the concern of the East, as he learned in India, was predominantly with the knowledge and control of Self. Eliade's perspectives broadened to new horizons such as the ancient secrets of Indian traditions which should be discovered only through the direction of a guru and which should be studied with the aid of meditation. Yet even with his

40. "Ca să poți scrie istorie, trebuie să știi ce e istoria, să simți și să cunoști continua creație a spiritului care se realizează auto-afirmându-se."

broadened perspectives, he continued his criticisms of rationalism and formalism which he had first expressed to his Romanian generation back in lycée. In light of the perspectives he had gained in India, he now saw the faults in the thinking of his generation as outgrowths of the main educational and scientific currents of the whole Western tradition.

6. The Passing of Time

For the three years that Eliade spent in India, he was frightened by time, the recurring obsession from lycée days. In the course of his development he felt that everything around him was changing, everything was passing (cf. IA 112; L 338-9; SA 28, 185).

Time, Time torments me to the brink of neurasthenia. Why can't I find points stable, absolute, eternal? When I become conscious of time which flows without any power of being able to stop it, I am terrified. It seems that either I am becoming mad, or I need to accomplish, urgently, a great action (SA 30).⁴¹

This preoccupation with time⁴² forced Eliade into various quandaries of the spirit. He saw his life being shaped by factors

41. "Timpul, Timpul -- mă obsedează până la neurastenie. De ce nu pot găsi puncte stabile, absolute, eterne? Când capăt conștiința timpului care curge fără ca vreo putere să-l poată opri -- mă cutremur. Mi se pare că ori înebunesc -- ori trebuie să fac, urgent, o faptă mare."

42. One of Eliade's favorite books while in India was L. Sterne's Tristram Shandy. This novel, like Eliade's own journals, consists of a description of fascinating and seemingly unrelated events in its unconventional use of time.

which were either formal and dogmatic, or else dynamic and precarious. The Absolute attracted him at one moment, adventure beckoned him at another. The process of becoming was a constant struggle between the two. His consciousness of time, in fact, was brought about by his awareness of the struggle of becoming (cf. C 1406:1). It took a supreme spiritual effort on his part, he asserted, to continuously reaffirm the metaphysical and religious qualities of his life, as it passed and as it changed in the course of development (C 1373:1).

Eliade thought that existence itself was full of change, that is the appearance and passing of things. On the one hand, existence seemed to him to be a continual process of creation and revelation, such that nothing could be properly judged until it had actually happened (C 1406:2). So he rejected forms of reason and argumentation which isolated things from their particular context in trying to predict or explain them (C 1412:1). On the other hand, existence seemed to be a process of particular actions which were either assimilated or annulled. Change by the assimilation of actions resulted in memory; change by the dissolution of actions resulted in death. Existence, however, precisely because it was creative and revelatory, could not be reduced to memory or death. There was more to existence than dead forms and lost memories. The opposite of death was life, and with life there were some things which were preserved not simply by memory. For him, these were love, contemplation, and the religious experience. Such experiences actually

nourished life and sustained it. They even answered the question of death. They had the ability to transform dead forms into living ones, even with nostalgia (SA 233). According to Eliade, one who loved and suffered was a philosopher, whether he knew it or not.⁴³

Eliade was also sensitive to moments in life and existence which were, as he called them, "extra-philosophic" as well as "extra-scientific". These were moments of radical change, when one was thrown abruptly into paradox and contradiction. Such moments, even after they had happened, refused to be understood by any discipline or rigid continuity of thought (C 1412:2).

While Eliade was usually conscious of the process of his own becoming, and of the changing existence of the world around him, over the span of his years in India he fell into a lapse of memory which made him depressed and even indifferent to the order of events. For example, when he had first come to India, he said that his adventure would either annul or transfigure his spirit, according to his polemics of 1927 and 1928 (SA 128). It was up to him. By the end of his adventure, however, he found that he had forgotten what he had said in those years. He didn't remember the specific contents of his articles, and he vaguely recalled past events. He was worried that in the future he would perhaps forget India and his intimate experiences there (SA 208-10; cf. I 247; L 339; SA 235-6).

43. "'... chiar aceia cari cred că nu fac filosofie, sunt totuș filosofi. D-ta n'ai iubit, nu ai suferit? Ei bine, asta înseamnă că ai făcut filosofie!'" (SA 266).

In certain instances, he actually became apathetic toward all that had happened to him while in India (cf. SA 236-7) and toward his own writings during that period (cf. SA 272). In other instances, he felt that his spiritual equilibrium had become disorganized and threatened to such an extent that he accepted the relativity of all values with concern for none (SA 244; cf. M 37-8). Because his memory had lapsed, therefore, Eliade knew that time had not only passed, but in a sense it had also been lost.

Since he could not recollect the past, he became dreadful of the present in a way he would never have before imagined. Now in his becoming, of which he was still conscious, he perceived gaps, breaks, points (even years) of discontinuity. He could not mentally trace the total sequence of his development, nor all the reasons why he was the way he was at the moment. Eliade's terror of the present passing of things, therefore, was reinforced by his sense of a rupture from the past, that is from the beginnings and the previous opportunities and accomplishments of his existence.

Eliade's fear of time, as well as his anxiety over a failing memory, was occasionally resolved by his sentiment of nostalgia. Nostalgia momentarily filled his mental gaps. Through nostalgia he could temporarily rediscover his origins, including the values which he had once relied on.

Eliade's fear of time was also resolved to some degree by his expectation of the coming of the New Man. He interpreted the passing of events, and a fading memory, not simply as a series of

dead, or dying, forms. Contemporary events, together with nostalgias, appeared to him as foreshadows of the New Man, as pre-figurations of a new age in which such a man would emerge (cf. SA 250, 254-5).

The sum of Eliade's Indian adventure consisted of experienced contrasts, a desire for equilibrium, spiritual ways toward synthesis. He understood that life itself was a way of growth, a road progressively ascending, leading through many experiences, advancing many attitudes and opportunities, but still only one road to the exclusion of others (SO 15-6). Whenever he passed beyond a plane of his spirit through a revision of his consciousness, he was afraid that he would lose points of contact with that plane. Whenever he tried to promote his existence through some action, he was worried that the action would become mediocre when compared to many other possible ones. In each revision of consciousness, in each new plane of the spirit, he tried not to overlook or to take for granted the planes which preceded. In each act, he was careful not to use banal forms which could lead to sterility and death. Love, contemplation, and the religious experience provided him with absolute directives by which to maintain life and to relive memories. In love, one could endure, even for another. In contemplation, all planes of the spirit were revived, and the cosmos attained. In the religious experience, archaic models were made present, and used to remake all things.

One may say, in conclusion, that throughout Eliade's adventure in India he tried to discover ways to attain the Absolute. While he attempted to reconcile the various planes of his spirit, by using some of the Yoga techniques which he studied, his adventure at the same time opened up new levels of inquiry which reached beyond himself, beyond his own personality. He discovered the objective plane of science, that is the plane of impersonality and universals. This was typically Western. He also discovered that the Absolute, which he had first envisioned very personally in his spiritual itinerary years earlier, took on a sort of non-individual, universalistic perspective. This was altogether Eastern. He remained himself, yet he became another. So his religious experience was immanent and yet transcendent. He recognized the paradox of hierophany in his own development, and saw the construction of the world in its cosmic and hierarchical dimensions. He found a coherent cosmology. He also discovered that through symbol he could imitate the model of God, and transcend any limited concept about himself.

Finally, Eliade discovered that the scientific study of Yoga and the practice of Yoga were complementary. Only together were they able to afford him the means of achieving spiritual synthesis and of attaining cosmic reality. He understood that the realization of values worked out through concrete techniques was as important for him as the knowledge of reality furnished through the intellect and passion (cf. YE 6-7, 309). In other words, Yoga, the object of

his scientific study, was both a science and a philosophy for him. He understood Yoga as ways of achieving universal truths and as a means of living those truths in maximum concrete existence.

Eliade's adventure in India, and his quest to fulfill all that he had envisioned, constantly remained a race with time. This was not time in the chronological sense, but rather the changing of existence. Life passed too quickly. Possibilities were continually lost. Absolute directives, points of synthesis and renewal, the continuity of memory and existence, contact with a reality which transcends death and nostalgia -- these were necessary in order to endure. For Eliade looked to the future and to the New Man of super-human qualities.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATOR 1932-1934

After three years of travel and study in India, Eliade returned to Romania, arriving in Bucharest on Christmas Eve, 1931. His family welcomed him, and his close friends -- who were now young adults and aspiring leaders of his generation -- were glad to see him. Eliade himself rejoiced over this reunion and realized then that Romania was truly his "home". In fact, as he reflected upon his adventure in India, he saw that his desire to go there and to adopt the Indian way of life had been based upon a delusion. That is, he interpreted the reason for his attraction to India as a naïve attempt on his part to renounce his Western education in view of discovering an exotic universe. While it was true that he had learned a great deal from India, especially from her Eastern modes of education, he knew from hindsight that he could never renounce his Western education, nor could he ever forget Romania. He was thoroughly convinced that his return to Romania had been necessary in order to renew his opportunities for a creative existence and in order to fulfill the potentials of his spirit (M 28-9).

The renewal of Eliade's spirit may be discerned in his accomplishments as products of both Western and Eastern modes of education. These accomplishments are most vividly apparent in his activities and publications related to his own role as an educator. His

first years of teaching, that is 1933 and 1934 at the University of Bucharest, together with his many writings for students and for the general public during that time, attest to the vitality of his spirit and to the respect and recognition that he gained. Eliade himself became very conscious of the difficulties of being an educator and of the questions regarding forms of knowledge and the attainment of understanding. In light of a presentation of his new (or renewed) identity, it therefore seems appropriate to further elucidate the problems and requirements of understanding as he then professed them.

1. Activities and Publications

Because a number of articles of his had been published in Bucharest all the while he was in India, Eliade's return created quite a sensation. One critic accused him of being an incorrigible romantic.¹ Others described him as a sincere and authentic member of his generation, similar to E. Cioran, M. Vulcănescu, M. Sebastian, etc.² He was taken to be a reporter, a philosopher, even a historian comparable to Hașdeu or Iorga.³ Still others were deeply concerned

1. Jerome, "Revista Revistelor," România Literară (1932) 1, 4:4.

2. V. Damaschin, "Esseul, meditația, literatură actuală," România Literară (1933) 2, 83:4. Cf. M. Ilovica, "Cunoașterea experiențialist-ontologică," Ibid. (1933) 2, 57:2.

3. G. Bogza, "Cu d. Mircea Eliade de vorbă despre reportaj," Vreamea (1934) 335:5. P. Comarnescu, "Epistemologia dragostii la Mircea Eliade," România Literară (1933) 2, 81:1-2. Vulcănescu, "Generație," pp. 3-4.

with his literary talent.⁴ Eliade himself confessed that he had two projects underway: literature and science. The former, he said, was only provisional; his main interest lay in the scientific study of cultures, the philosophy of religions in particular.⁵

In view of examining Eliade's scientific undertakings, it should be noted that by the time of his return to Romania his dissertation on Yoga was nearly completed. He had originally written it in English so that it would have been presentable to the University of Calcutta, but it was never submitted there because of the closing of the University and also because of the disagreement he had with Dasgupta. Shortly after his arrival in Bucharest, therefore, he began translating his dissertation into Romanian. He was allowed to submit it to the University of Bucharest and it was accepted.

Nae Ionescu, Eliade's former instructor at the University of Bucharest and one of the first collaborators with him in the newspaper Cuvântul, was very instrumental in helping Eliade to submit his thesis and also in providing him with a teaching position upon acceptance of the work. In fact, Eliade was appointed Assistant Professor under Ionescu who, besides being the director of Cuvântul at the time, held the chair of Metaphysics and Logic at the University.

4. V. Christian, "Maitreyi de Mircea Eliade," România Literară (1933) 2, 63:1-2. Cf. P. Manoliu, "Cu Papini, Unamuno și Maitreyi despre Mircea Eliade," Ibid. (1933) 2, 67:3.

5. G. Preda, "Viața indiană, De vorbă cu D-nul Mircea Eliade," Viața Literară (1933) 8, 145:1-2. Cf. G. Uscatescu, "Time and Destiny in the Novels of Mircea Eliade," in Kitagawa and Long, Myths and Symbols, p. 398; and Ierunca, "The Literary Work," pp. 345-7

Eliade began teaching in the fields of Comparative Religions and Indian Philosophy. His first course dealt with the problem of evil and salvation in Asiatic religions. In addition, he gave lectures on Hindu metaphysics and a seminar on the concept of causality in medieval Buddhist logic.

Eliade's taste for scientific study, which he had acquired as an outgrowth of his personality while in India, now appeared to be ready for seasoning as an academic discipline in itself within a career of university teaching. He was able to express more clearly what science, as a philosophy of cultures, meant to him. And he tried to educate his students to an awareness that there were ontological values and methods of understanding those values which could be appropriated by anyone.

Eliade's scientific study, as apparent in his teaching at the time, may be viewed not solely as an academic pursuit. Indeed, he had an inner need, one could say a spiritual drive, to communicate to the youth of the age the values which he himself had intuited, and to convey to that generation the truths which he himself had learned as a former member of his own generation of young Romanians and as an adventurer in India. Certainly he did not dissociate science from life, as though a scientific study could be achieved simply through the use of manuals and through classroom presentations. Science for him was a study of universal truths which, while grasped and animated by the spirit, extended beyond the limitations of any personality or specific mode of

instruction. Science was a study of the fullness of existence, especially a study of the actual ways by which human existence could be concretely "lived out", as evidenced by the various manifestations of different cultural traditions.

Eliade's scientific publications which were written during his first few years of teaching illustrate very well the spiritual implications behind his role as educator. He wrote critical essays on the life and thought of various scholars, and he also produced scientific articles dealing with a wide range of subjects including magic, Yoga, alchemy, and folklore. Most of his articles appeared in the popular newspaper, Cuvântul, and in another newspaper, Vremea. A selection of these articles, as reproduced from the two newspapers, can be found in Eliade's book Oceanografie (1934), as well as some in Insula lui Euthanasius (1943).

Oceanografie is particularly significant in that it indicates a crucial development of Eliade's thought. Although the articles in it were not arranged according to a progression or evolution of thought, nevertheless in the introduction to this work Eliade disclosed his reflections on the difference between thinking ("gândire") and understanding ("înțelegere"). He considered thinking, with all its mistakes, as characteristic of youth, while he looked upon understanding, in its wisdom, as characteristic of maturity (O 5ff. Cf. below, pp. 144-5). Throughout Oceanografie Eliade reproved the individualism and egotism of his youthful spiritual itinerary on the one hand and, on the other, evaluated the experiences of his Indian

adventure. His itinerary and his adventure formulated themselves into deeper and more extensive explorations of his own mind (hence the title). Oceanografie, therefore, may be seen as a spiritual autobiography which portrays the crises of a young man reaching maturity.⁶ It deals with what Eliade thought were impersonal, universal truths and it is presented in an unconventional style. That is, it is a collection of articles concerning a number of topics and it is not systematic. The relationship of the articles, as well as the conclusions put forth in them, could be called a "spectral analysis", similar to the polygraphic manner of L. Blaga or V. Pârvan.⁷

Eliade's other major activity, which may be considered as a complement to his scientific publications, was literature. While he had previously become aware of a tension which existed between his scientific and literary writings as the result of his personality crises in India (cf. above, p. 91), upon his reabsorption into the life context of Romania he felt a need for the coexistence of the two forms of writing in his efforts toward spiritual equilibrium. His colleagues at the University and scholars with whom he had been in correspondence undoubtedly took an interest in his scientific writings, but most of his close friends were literary writers, and

6. P. Martinescu, "O autobiografie spirituală: Oceanografie," Familia (1935) 2, 2:105-8.

7. P. Constantinescu, Vreamea (1935) 381:7.

publishers at the time preferred novels to scientific and philosophical works (CD 7:8).

Eliade's literary writings were just as diversified as his scientific writings. He continued to publish the descriptive reports on India. He wrote a number of critiques about current books and public personalities. He initiated editorials on controversial subjects. He finished his novel Intoarcerea din rai (1934), so that by 1933 he began writing its sequel, Huliganii (1935). He also translated a work by T.E. Lawrence as Revolta în desert (1934). And he began coalescing numerous articles of Ionescu. These appeared in Roza Vânturilor (1936).

Eliade's novel Maitreyi, which was probably written shortly after his return from India and published in 1933, deserves special attention. It was considered by critics as his finest work and one of the most outstanding in Romania's literary history.⁸ It was read widely, and because of its success Eliade was identified as a "popular writer" (CD 7:2; FR 50-1). The book is a love story, a kind of journal of the discovery of love. Set in India, it reads like a confession of unedited and irreversible events in the lives of two lovers who are searching for an absolute existence. The main characters, Allan and Maitreyi, pass through various levels of love to an interchange of their beings and an integration into

8. See reviews by M. Sebastian, România Literară (1933) 2, 64:3; P. Constantinescu, Vremea (1933) 288:7; etc. Cf. Micu, "Introducere," pp. xxvii-xxxii.

the Cosmos. In the end, Allan and Maitreyi are no longer themselves, they are no longer limited to their individual and historical existences. They are united and rise above the human condition to a celestial rhythm and ceremony. Nuntă în Cer (1939), a sequel to Maitreyi, describes a preparation and ritual for marriage in heaven.

Thus it seems that both Eliade's scientific and literary writings during his first years as an educator were previews of his lifework ahead. Having studied and adventured in India, his return to Romania furnished the opportunity for deep reflection and spiritual synthesis. It also renewed the contact and direct dialogue with his generation which he had desperately lacked in India. His writings, consequently, were more mature and more integral, and they covered a variety of interests. A large segment of the populace became familiar with his works and he gained respect from many professors and critics who knew him. As an educator, and as a writer, Eliade appeared to be on his way to becoming a polygraph.

It could be said that Eliade's literary writings dramatized many of the impersonal truths which he had discovered in the scientific study of cultures. While his scientific works inspected closely the thoughts of scholars and scrutinized the methods of his own understanding of universal truths, his literary productions, it seems, actualized and achieved those truths, at least in his own imagination and in the world of popular thought. Both his literature

and his science reflected much the same content -- only their style and temperament were different.

2. The Tragedy of Impersonality

Although Eliade's return to Romania resulted in his becoming a teacher and a well-known writer, his return also posed a serious problem for him. He had originally left Romania because he was disappointed in Western modes of education and because he was enchanted by the exotic East. Yet after three years in India he left there also in hope of recovering himself and in view of renewing his spirit. Upon his return to Romania he felt fortunate to be "home", but he also felt, to a certain extent, detached, even divorced, from the Romania which he had once known and departed.

Eliade's teaching and writings after his return to Romania reflect his departure from Romania. Consequently, his anxiety over this absence should be investigated in relation to his role as an educator within that culture.

In an article entitled "Spiritualitate 1932" (C 2766:1), he again discussed the characteristic difficulties of his generation. He reemphasized his praise for Romania and he reaffirmed his battle against all forms of deception and sterility to which the youth of his country had been subjected. He promised that he would continue to suffer on their behalf, and would experiment with many different means of liberating the spirit.

Apparently Eliade had not given up his quest for the New Man nor his search for a new generation.⁹ But his style had changed considerably. In "Spiritualitate 1932" and in subsequent articles, he no longer spoke with the forceful manifestos of 1927 and 1928; he engaged less in the passionate polemics of his Indian adventure. Rather, he said that his writings had become more impersonal (O 6). At one point he even admitted that he was overburdened by investigations into spiritual matters, and consequently sought a science which was completely indifferent (O 227-30). This was the first public indication of such a tendency, though it had appeared previously in his private journal of India which had not yet been published (cf. above, p. 87).

In order to understand what Eliade meant by "impersonal" in this context, it is helpful to trace his own reflections regarding the term. According to him, the personality plans an itinerary for spiritual action and resistance in the face of life in view of attaining the Absolute. The personality finds, however, that it must continually struggle through the ascents and descents of its limited, historical existence. In the course of events, there results delusion and catastrophe for the personality. Because of its involvement in history, in adventure, the personality itself becomes degraded and demoralized. Yet if a man's personality goes beyond itself, that is if he attempts to depersonalize himself beyond the

9. Cf. Cioran, "Beginnings," p. 407.

scope of history and adventure, then his spirit encounters little struggle or resistance. His spirit becomes free to approach the Absolute. While it is then possible for his depersonalized spirit to attain the Absolute, this possibility appears to be tragic. Tragedy is something that surpasses catastrophe, that is the experience of change and suffering in life. A tragic man¹⁰ is one who has rejected his own personality, his own life adventure, perhaps even his own country, in order that his spirit might grasp the Absolute at all cost. So he is totally dedicated to the universal and impersonal qualities of the Absolute. Being absorbed in the Absolute, so to speak, he loses his own human qualities:

Tragedy stands as an absolute over any experience, or suffering, or struggle, or victory -- because concentrated in its center is the most reality that is given us to know. Indeed it becomes ontology. Only this can be said about tragedy: it is /sic/... Tragic knowledge imitates the gesture of a superhuman nature, which theology has called angelic, which I have named impersonal (O 39).¹¹

10. Eliade cited his friend E. Cioran as a tragic person since he macerates himself with paradox and bereavements almost to the point of dissolution. This is an ascetic function for Cioran and so becomes real for him. But Eliade added that Cioran could use moments of love and communion to overcome his depression (F 29-30).

11. "Ori tragedia se află absolut deasupra oricărei experiențe, sau suferințe, sau lupte, sau victorii -- pentru că în-nucleiază în miezul ei cea mai multă realitate din cât ne e dat să cunoaștem. Ea ajunge deadreptul ontologie. Se poate spune despre tragedie numai atât: că este... Cunoașterea tragică imită gestul unei naturi supra umane, pe care teologia o va numi angelică, pe care eu o numesc impersonală."

Tragedy is unexplainable, untranslatable, and a mystery. The most one can do is accept tragedy. The more authentically and intensely one accepts tragedy, the more real it is for him.

It seems, therefore, that for Eliade it was possible for any man to surpass himself, so that the truth of his experiences would be no longer personal and dramatic, but would become impersonal and tragic. Eliade himself had gone beyond his own personality in the discovery of universals through the use of science and through the application of Yoga techniques. Now he implied that man's very spirit is even beyond itself, that it has the ability to exist to some degree on an absolute and transcendent plane. This does not deny, however, that concrete experiences are still the basic mode of knowledge and that anything outside of them is absurd (cf. SA 219-20). It rather emphasizes that only mystery, which is a direct encounter with the universal Absolute, can be factual and transcendent (cf. AZ 1, 1:2; SO 9, 13). Importance is placed less on the fundamental quality of experiences in themselves and more on the ultimate reality to which those experiences lead and which far surpasses the truth of those experiences. This raises a difficulty, however, of which Eliade was quite aware:

The paradox of any philosophy -- activity by excellence universal and impersonal -- is that it can always be reduced to a precise, concrete, and personal experience. And if a philosophy does not have this concrete and personal preimplication behind it, it is not worth two cents. It is, then, only an elegant system, that is an exercise realized according to all the philosophical rules, scholarly and professional. But it is not philosophy, that is unity of life, spiritual organism.

The paradox of which I speak is the following: philosophies, having at their base experiences, happenings, events -- that is realities outside the axes of the spirit -- are nevertheless perfect spiritual creations, with universal value (O 262).¹²

If one examines the above passage closely, one can detect further aspects of Eliade's thought regarding impersonality and tragedy. From the text it seems that human existence is ultimately unexplainable by the particular events of life, which are catastrophic, since it contains a mystery which far surpasses those events. Yet human existence cannot be divorced from such catastrophic events and experiences, even if the personality wishes to do so. So human life is tragic. Life is tragic, in other words, because the mystery of life is grounded in impersonal truths which must be lived out through personal, catastrophic experiences. Consequently, the spirit's understanding of things is also tragic insofar as it is a reflection of impersonal, absolute truths which are necessarily related to concrete, human experiences. So a philosophy of life, which itself is a spiritual creation, concerns

12. "Paradoxul oricărei filozofii -- activitate prin excelență universală și impersonală -- este că se poate reduce întotdeauna la o experiență precisă, concretă, personală. Iar dacă o filozofie nu are și această preimplicare concretă și personală înapoia ei -- nu face doi bani. Este, atunci, numai un frumos sistem, adică o încercare realizată după toate regulile filozofice, școlărește sau profesoral. Dar nu e filozofie, adică unitate vie, organism spiritual.

Paradoxul de care vorbeam e următorul: filozofiile, deși au la baza lor experiențe, întâmplări, evenimente -- deci realități din afara axelor spiritului -- sunt totuși creații perfect spirituale, de valoare universală."

the truth of human existence which includes both the catastrophies of life and the tragedies of life. The truth of any individual human existence, however, is irreducible to the personal experiences of that individual for the reason that it is impersonally, universally, and ontologically tragic. Tragedy is the epitome of all men. It is a spiritual reality which every man must necessarily live and try to understand, even though it is paradoxical.

On the one hand, therefore, Eliade seemed to think that the spirit which becomes depersonalized in the course of time, by rejecting the events of its own history, can attain an absolute existence, but such an absolute existence is devoid of human qualities and so it is ultimately tragic. On the other hand, the spirit, being depersonalized, grasps the superhuman qualities of an absolute existence, yet understands them within the fundamental experiences of human events. So life is tragic. Both human life and absolute existence are tragic. Human actions, therefore, imitate superhuman values. If this is the case, then the ultimate quality of authentic human actions may be interpreted as universal and impersonal.

3. A New Humanism

Eliade treated the same matter of impersonality in another manner. He said that ever since the Renaissance man has turned from a spiritual relationship with God and has become concerned with general notions about nature. Post-Renaissance man viewed

nature from an abstract perspective as a concrete reality in itself. Instead of imitating God and creation, he deduced laws and produced facts which were material, relative, and often heretical. Eliade, however, believed that one could not determine whether these facts devised by post-Renaissance man were true or false inasmuch as there were no longer absolute criteria by which they could be judged. The metaphysical values of the past, which had always acted as valid criteria, and which had even served as helpful models, had been lost. Only a pseudo-knowledge remained.

Much of this becomes clearer through Eliade's own description of nature and the ways he saw for comprehending nature. According to him, there is no such thing as an individual existing alone in the world. Also, there is no purely abstract knowledge about the world. Nature rather appears to be an arena of adventure and change, a succession of individual forms and existences. Yet, at the same time, nature reveals itself as a "cosmic web". That is, while all things change, they remain, nevertheless, connected and related in some way. In order to understand nature, it is not enough to know about the changeable things of nature. One must see how those things are related and what connects them. So instead of an objectivism typical of post-Renaissance man which tries to deductively (and inductively) formulate abstract laws in order to explain the change and succession of things, Eliade advanced a subjectivism of the kind promoted by Goethe. Goethe's personality itself appears as a succession of contraries and syntheses, yet

his spirit contains direct visions of the world and of the mysteries of life. In change, the philosophy of Goethe sees the complexities and qualitative differences of reality, which are quite unlike the mathematical uniformities of objectivism. But Goethe's way is not the only way. Somewhere between the objectivity evidenced after the Renaissance and the subjectivity manifested by Goethe, Eliade perceived a third way. This is the preferred way of "science". Scientific study does not limit itself to abstract mathematical formulations about reality. Moreover, it extends beyond personal experiences and insights in comprehending reality. One scientific approach, for instance, is to assemble all analogous phenomena and express their organic unity by comparing the relation of their forms, or types (C 2486:3). Such types could be viewed as impersonal "models", that is as primary examples by which pre-Renaissance man imitated God and creation. This scientific approach appears to be the method of Eliade's work Traité d'histoire des religions, published in 1949, which is based upon his lectures given at the University during these early years and following years of teaching.

In general, therefore, it seems that Eliade rejected the humanism of post-Renaissance man and, while he respected India's humanism, he strongly favored a new humanism of the kind which he had advocated in 1928 and which he consistently supported thereafter, namely the synthesis of scientific and philosophical efforts (C 2980:1-2; cf. C 1278:1-2; CD 7:1; IE 164-9; above, pp. 52-3). Such a new

humanism would try to unite all forms of culture in an organic whole. It would not result, however, in a syncretism or Alexandrianism. It would be an attempt to understand each culture as a kind of organism. Altogether, these organisms themselves would constitute a body of knowledge and would lead to a coordination of methods of understanding (R 2, 1:119-20; cf. IE 167-9). Such a new humanism would be in effect a new classicism, in other words a return of the New Man to the metaphysical values of reality, that is to an awareness of the fantastic qualities of symbols and of popular, associate traditions (cf. DI 9:4).

Eliade, in trying to promote a new humanism, was extremely concerned over the lack of comprehensibility of symbols in his age. He felt that many Romanian intellectuals, especially, no longer perceived the fantastic qualities of symbols of the present or of the past and so they could not understand how these fantastic qualities could be actualized and lived out in collective traditions. They were not conscious of the universal nature of symbols and of such traditions. Eliade apparently thought that authentic living symbols, which normally had a fantastic and cosmic relation with reality for pre-Renaissance man, had been replaced, for those around him, by arbitrary facts which in his opinion were only personal notions about reality. So he suggested that, for many, there existed a pseudo-union of the mind and reality, but in actuality there was no true understanding of reality. For Eliade, a fact can lead to understanding only when it retains a symbolic dimension,

when it "is a concrete, although supernatural, contact of the intellect with reality as it is; contact which is a revelation, which transcends experience because it creates, through its simple actualization, new forms and new instruments of assimilation of reality" (AZ 1, 1:2).¹³ Facts which are symbols instead of arbitrary personal notions allow a man access to other realities beyond his personality, to such viable things as society, institutions, and culture. They permit him to participate in a hierarchy of values and to integrate into associate life (AZ 1, 1:1-8; C 2599:1).

It is not surprising, then, that at this time Eliade gravitated to the study of folklore, which deals precisely with associate traditions. He believed that an individual, personal effort could not achieve an authentic, fantastic experience of reality; only folklore could (C 2599:1; 3036:1; IE 371-3). More specifically, an individual's fantastic experience is fragmented and cannot attain global and essential reality without a great deal of difficulty. Only a collective, associate experience can easily do this and such experiences are most readily available in folklore: "The fantastic presence in an individual is neurosis; the fantastic presence in a collectivity is folklore" (RL 2, 84:1).¹⁴

13. "Dimpotrivă, faptul poate conduce la cunoaștere. El e un contact concret, deși suprafiresc, al intelectului cu realitatea așa cum e; contact care e o revelație, care transcende experiența pentru că creează, prin simpla lui actualizare, forme noi și instrumente de asimilare a realului."

In conclusion, Eliade's inquiry about a new humanism in his early years as an educator may be seen as a renewal and as an elaboration of his ideal of a new humanism which he had first discovered in former years as a student. In his inquiry, he still presupposed that the spirit continues in search of the Absolute. Yet he no longer believed that the spirit can attain the Absolute through Faustian ambition alone or simply by means of an investigation into the status and products of the mind. Such ambitions result only in catastrophe and are ultimately tragic. The spirit, rather, must accept the tragedy of its development toward impersonality and must try to understand existence: 1) within a collectivity which reaches beyond the individual, 2) through symbols, which create and assimilate fantastic experiences with reality, and 3) by scientific study which is a necessary tool for understanding the collective and symbolic quality of reality. (This science includes the paradox of philosophy). Altogether, the result is a collective, fantastic, and creative understanding on the part of the spirit and this understanding is characteristic of the New Man -- it is no longer individual, it is universal. Being a cosmic understanding, it has its own planes and hierarchy

14. "Prezența fantastică într'un ins este nevroză; prezența fantastică într'o colectivitate este folclor." Cf. M. Popescu, "Eliade and Folklore," in Kitagawa and Long, Myths and Symbols, pp. 81-90. Unfortunately, this latter article does not contain references to Eliade's earliest works on folklore. See below, pp. 158-60. For a clarification of the term "fantastic", see footnote 19 below, p. 149.

of values. In a sense, this understanding on the part of the spirit is eternal: while new it is also old. Its novelty is based upon the metaphysical qualities of the past. Its antiquity is maintained through symbols and folkloric traditions.

4. A New and Creative Method

Eliade's study of symbols and folkloric traditions as a means of understanding should not be considered as a science in the strict sense. His notion of science, as it leads to understanding, must be qualified. Science, for him, did not consist solely in the measurement of things or in the manipulation of facts invented by the mind. In general terms, he accepted science as an instrument for achieving a new humanism, which could be considered as a spiritual goal in itself. Consequently, he looked for a description of science which was not limited to the categorical objectivisms (and subjectivisms) of the West. Influenced by Eastern theories of knowledge, he envisioned a science which would be in some way a synthesis of various techniques. Such a science would also contain philosophy, which he perceived upon his return to Romania as the fullness of life, experiential as well as spiritual.

In attempting to formulate, or at least elucidate, the nature of such a science, in light of the perspectives which he had gained over the years, Eliade thought that there was demanded a totally new and more inclusive method for science than existing methods.

His lengthy statement below illustrates both the necessity and the characteristics of this method:

It is of capital urgency to perfect a method of thinking parallel to the material of observation, which grows day after day and in all branches of knowledge. In history and in philology, I have the impression that effort of growth in completing methods of thought is non-existent. All the more facts are collected, they are explained by all the more points of view -- but where is the progress of their thought?...

Systems of thought do not disappear by criticism or by discussion, but they fall eventually by creation of another system of thought. The former was perhaps logical, coherent, and demonstrable. Men saw perfectly with that system. If they had come up against critics, they would not have weakened. History of knowledge teaches this important fact: only a new creation, a new method, can have results -- not criticism of the old. Men need to see differently... Reform will be achieved by creation of a new method, more ample and more justifiable, by which men can see and understand much more than by current methods (SO 78, 80; cf. F 46-8; Z 1:126; "superhuman philosophy" SO 17-8).¹⁵

Clearly the outstanding features of this method are its synthetic and creative qualities, but what precisely did Eliade mean by such a method? There are indications in his writings

15. "Capital și urgent e perfecționarea metodei de gândire paralel cu materialul de observații, care crește zi după zi și în toate ramurile cunoașterii. În istorie și în filologie, ai impresia că efortul de creștere, de rotunjire a metodelor gândirii e inexistent. Se adună tot mai multe fapte, ele sunt expuse din tot mai multe puncte de vedere -- dar care e progresul gândirii lor?..."

Sistemele de gândire nu dispar prin critică sau prin discuții, ci cad odată cu creația altui sistem de gândire. Și primul eră, însă, logic, coerent și demonstrabil. Oamenii vedeau perfect cu acel sistem. Dacă a întâmpinat critici, ele nu l-au putut zdruncina. Istoria științelor ne învață acest important fapt: că numai o nouă creație, o nouă metodă, poate avea rezultat -- iar nu critica celor vechi. Oamenii trebuie să vadă altfel... Reforma se va împlini prin creiarea unei noi metode, mai ample și mai justifiabile, prin care oamenii să poată vedea și înțelege mai mult decât prin metodele actuale."

that he perhaps had in mind darśana, which in Indian philosophy refers to that by which something can be seen (SA 89-90). Or perhaps he meant man's faculty for seeing and intuiting events (SA 178). Maybe it was phenomenology, which describes the unseen by the seen (O 266). Whatever the case, Eliade believed that there was a difference between thinking and understanding. Thinking seeks knowledge by a reflection on individual facts and events. On the other hand, understanding begins to function when it considers the economy of knowledge by assimilating all facts on all planes, and not by confusing planes (V 372:9). Also, "Validity of understanding does not consist only in its functional perfection, but above all in its application to the necessary object" (O 16).¹⁶ Understanding is based on thinking of course, but understanding exceeds the exigencies and limitations of thinking. Understanding is not paralyzed by its own history, by its own rules, by its own system. Understanding employs a method which tends always toward the new, adequately adapting its perspectives and tools of knowing (cf. O 41, 44, 66). If understanding is to be valid and complete, its method requires symbolic judgements and intuitions (O 16-7), since to "see", for Eliade, was to begin to understand the metaphysical values of symbols and associate traditions (cf. F 47).

16. "Validitatea inteligenței nu constă numai în perfecta ei funcționare -- ci mai ales în aplicarea ei la obiectul necesar."

One method which appeared to meet all of these specifications was the "sympathy-soteriology" method of N. Ionescu. Eliade had been previously exposed to this dynamic method when Ionescu was his teacher (cf. above, pp. 24-6). At the present time he was collaborating with Ionescu at the University and on the staff of Cuvântul. He was also editing a number of Ionescu's articles, to appear in Roza Vânturilor (1936). With certain modifications, Eliade accepted Ionescu's method as his own and described it as follows: It sees the harmony of all existence. It attempts to liberate the spirit but also tries to unite the spirit with the world. First, the personality passes outside of itself by losing its own limitations in view of certain absolute objectives which are both immanent and transcendent. This does not happen automatically. It demands a continual effort of renunciation, which allows one to become lost in the world in order to become free. In other words, every experience should coincide with a term exterior to consciousness, and at the same time it should be a "going beyond it". This requires renunciation of the personality or any fact not in themselves -- since these must actualize the real symbolically -- but a renunciation of the limitations of the fact and a renunciation of the personality's individuality. Secondly, the spirit, which is now free and in the world, experiments with all forms of facts within the harmony of existence in order to find their organic unity and hierarchy (AZ 3, 4:1183-5; cf. O 69).

That which differentiates us is a sense of values, a hierarchy. This global understanding of things, which knows how to map order, also knows how to cosmicize chaos about us, knows how to organize values as they ought to be, observing them all and yet preserving them in view of their proper functions. A perfect man, that is a man entirely free, is one who can "function" on all planes of reality, who can react to all stimuli (biological, ethical, esthetical, rational) and who can have active valences for all that is alive and efficient around him. One who thinks everyday only on art, politics, work, or love is a monster, admirable, magnificent, but only a monster. For him there no longer exists hierarchy, he doesn't know that reality and life are a whole which must be experienced on several planes (O 64-5; cf. O 221-5; SO 17).¹⁷

This method suggested by Eliade is apparently polyvalent. It seems polyvalent not only because of its symbolic and cosmological qualities, but also because it acts to reconcile the resources of various disciplines. Moreover, it appears to be an attempt to resolve the paradoxes of Eliade's own development, as well as those of his generation. This method demands a kaleidoscopic approach to all possibilities and yet a renunciation of any one limited possibility. All possibilities are to be investigated and no one possibility or mode of investigation is to take complete priority.

17. "Ceia ce ne deosibește pe noi este simțul valorilor, ierarhia. Acea înțelegere globală a lucrurilor, care știe să vadă ordinea, știe să cosmizeze haosul din jurul nostru, știe să orânduiască valorile așa cum trebuie, respectându-le pe toate dar păstrându-le pentru justa lor funcțiune. Un om perfect, adică un om cu desăvârșire liber, este acela care poate 'funcționa' pe toate planurile realității, reacționează la toate stimulile (biologice, etice, estetice, raționacitive) și are valențe active pentru tot ce e viu și eficient din jurul lui. Unul care nu gândește toată ziua decât artă, politică, pâine sau dragoste -- este un monstru, admirabil, magnific, dar numai un monstru. Pentru el nu mai există ierarhie, nu știe că realitatea și viața e un tot care trebuie experimentat pe mai multe planuri."

This new method must be polyvalent since it results from a process of thinking which itself is polyvalent. Systems of truth always change, according to Eliade (cf. O 65, 81, 173, 220-1; SO 71, 80). So, while in India, for every thought he had a contrary thought, now he tried "to accept a 'truth' through an act of thinking, and then to reject it, resorting to another form of thinking" (O 82).¹⁸ Such renunciation ought to lead to a spiritual balance and happiness, a state where nothing can be added or subtracted. This state is polyvalent and, like tragedy, it simply is (O 88).

5. Techniques of the New Method

It would be very difficult to try to describe Eliade's new method in more explicit terms than those which he himself offered. An attempt may be made, however, to organize -- at least in summary fashion -- the techniques which he employed in his new method. He was convinced that techniques are necessary for understanding since understanding is not only thought and expressed, it is also made (O 187).

The techniques comprise a number of steps: 1) One must live life as it is, considering life as it reveals itself. Here one refrains from fabricating any personal point of view about life. 2) One learns to depersonalize himself by projecting his imagination

18. "... să accept un 'adevăr' printr'un act de gândire, și apoi să-l resping recurgând la altfel de gândire."

onto the plane of the fantastic.¹⁹ This avoids premature abstract synthesis. 3) One tries not to dwell on himself or his actions, but tries to approach another life which is fuller and more human. 4) One never renounces himself for another man, no matter how great he may be; one renounces himself for the sake of specific ideas and concrete things. 5) One creates for himself an impersonal memory, preserving not the theories and sentiments about facts, but preserving the facts themselves, the "gestures of life". 6) One tries to ignore the effects of change and becoming, including fantasies and the regrets over the passing of time. Instead, one conceives of life as a total event with a continuation of the spirit and its relationships. 7) One is aware that passing from one thing to another thing, or from one state of the spirit to another state, is typical of the individual; but he also realizes that the things of one individual can be shared with the things of another individual, as a collectivity. 8) Finally, one should conceive of an eternity other than history or time (O 188-92).

Associated with each of the above steps are four operations, or "tactics": 1) Suffering endures not only dramatic experiences but also the mediocre, the monotony of life. Through suffering one tries to go beyond himself, but always returns to the self

19. Eliade held that the imagination is the faculty in man which is unlimited, which allows him to go beyond himself to reach a collective universal. This imagination manifests itself best in collective traditions, especially folklore (O 270-3). The "fantastic" is that part of the imagination which is not "fantasy" or "fancy", but which "sees" or "makes visible" (phantazein in Greek) sacred and extraordinary qualities in a world of seemingly profane and ordinary events (cf. below, pp. 160-1).

(O 30-2, 86, 234, 252-3). 2) Imitation creates after many great models. One does not conform to a model as such, but imitates the fact or living gesture which made it great, and then interprets and readjusts it (O 260-1; imitating God SA 85-6; SO 18). 3) Negation renounces the limitations of one life or fact for another more vast and fertile life. Through negation, one actually affirms contraries to given viewpoints, and then organizes those various stimulating opinions into a whole as a coherent judgement of the cosmos for a conduct of life (O 283, 246-9). 4) Experimentation deals with different planes of life and species of thought as, for example, is evident in Dostoevsky (O 81, 105, 260-1). One must experiment with everything in order to understand the ultimate values of life and in order to attain the New Man (O 70). Examples which Eliade gave are experimentation with time (O 52-5), experimentation with memory and attention (O 59-60), experimentation with dream-states and other mental universes (O 58, 61), Yoga experimentation with techniques of suspension of body consciousness (O 80-1), experimentation with sex, decor, friends, etc. (cf. O 129-31, 237-8, 127) and, lastly, experimentation with death (O 91-4).

Finally, there are a number of attitudes: enthusiasm which is not hampered by mistakes (O 72-7); sincerity which values existence and reaches out to another (O 157-60); authenticity which protects against egotism and false originality (O 174-8); and happiness which is like God in its collaboration with creation (O 186).

All of these steps, tactics, and attitudes which lead to understanding may also be taken as good indications of Eliade's own spiritual development since his itinerary of 1927.

At this point a résumé of Eliade's insights regarding the attainment of understanding may be useful. He thought, on the one hand, that one who sincerely and authentically lives the circumstances of his existence would probably find that his personal existence is catastrophic because he must necessarily suffer the perplexity of contrary experiences. He thought, on the other hand, that one could actualize, through the use of various techniques, integral and superhuman qualities on the level of an impersonal and tragic existence. Between these two poles of personal and impersonal existence, one could imitate all things for their positive, creative values and one could negate all things in regard to their limited, uncreative values. Altogether, one's experiences and techniques would constitute a process -- not a system which could be justified by argument (0 11). Such a process would be realized, lived out, as a way of thinking and acting which leads to understanding. If it leads to understanding, then it is justified. If it does not lead to understanding, then it is inauthentic and ultimately inhuman.

6. Lost Time

Of all his experiments, Eliade was most preoccupied with that of time. He felt that his contemporaries, including the

younger generation, consumed and squandered their time, and they wasted his time by their selfishness. The reason for this state of affairs, he thought, was that modern distractions (such as the automobile, the cinema, etc.) confuse time by exteriorizing attention to an automated and stereotyped way of thinking. As a result, some people have no sense of the past, no appreciation of the things which have been worked for and which have become customary. Rather, they take everything for granted. They pass their lives in a vacuum, without any sense of duration or direction. Others are so concerned about themselves, with their petty nostalgias, that there is no fulfillment in life for them. They fail to recollect the more worthwhile needs of the present, and so divorce themselves from society. They live in the memory of dead images which can no more be restored (O 50-4).

Then there are certain intellectuals, some of whom neither preserve nor waste but simply eliminate time. Their mathematical theories and formulas exclude references to time, change, and becoming. They deal directly with dead forms, abstract things which are neither living nor organic. Other intellectuals, Eliade felt, such as historians, do not eliminate time, they falsify time. They make time which is dramatic and valuable into something which is causal and metrical. Duration and direction are only the succession of related events for them. In the end, time appears to them as an evolution of connected moments instead of a tradition of goals and accomplishments.

Eliade's aversion to the waste and ignorance of his generation, regarding time, engendered an anxiety in him which he found difficult to cope with. He was tormented by the passing of events which went unheeded by his generation. He tried to encourage them to take hold of life's possibilities, but they were not interested. He asked them to remember Romania's primordial values and her living traditions, but they did not listen. He attempted to reveal India's mystical secrets, but few understood. His generation acted blindly, without purpose and, worse yet, according to some latest fashion or adventure. He, an educator, could not control their frivolities and inconsistencies. Indeed, he felt himself sometimes losing touch with reality. Points of synthesis and union in the world about him at moments seemed almost at a loss. Everyone was in a rush and he was outdoing himself. Waves and storms of controversy persisted everywhere and he was no better off.

In reaction to his generation's disregard for time, and in effort to settle his own anxiety, Eliade searched for lost time, a fantastic time which suspends egotistical certitudes and which releases one's attention to eternal values which lie hidden behind the passing of events. In fact, he felt that if he did not meditate on lost time, and if he did not renounce the modern notions of time, then all his own thoughts and actions would turn into cadavers of banality (0 33). They would simply become dissipated in the present and lose their true significance. By

returning to the beginning of things -- by stopping history²⁰ -- all could again become free from distraction and corruption. Original glory and plentitude would be recovered. Mysteries and metaphysical values would be disclosed. And he would feel comfortable in a world full of life and meaning (cf. C 2759:3, 6).

Eliade's meditation on lost time, however, ushered in a feeling of melancholia, the same sentiment which had haunted him in earlier years. On some occasions he sensed that everything was passing through death, through irreversible and decisive changes which could no more be fully regained (O 90-3; RL 2, 84:1). He found how difficult it was to recover what was lost. So while he wanted to restore the values of the past, and while he consistently tried to return to a fuller life, he nevertheless repeatedly slipped into the present passing of things. On other occasions he was tragically aware that, even if he could not recapture the past, only an effort of endurance on his part would make present life meaningful. For him the world should be alive, existence should be full of expectations and surprises. So he tried to suppress his nostalgic memories and regrets. Instead of wasting time and being distracted by it, and instead of recalling the past, Eliade chose to ignore time as best he could (O 191).

20. The Romanian peasants, Eliade pointed out in a personal interview, have a long-standing practice of "sabotaging history". That is, they unwillingly go along with the progress of history by quietly resisting the dominant political and cultural forces. For example, they buy a newspaper because it is expected of them, but they refuse to read it. Instead, they wrap their fish in it.

He looked once again for the New Man, that timeless being whose experience and understanding takes hold of reality as it is.

In conclusion, it seems that in his first few years as an educator, Eliade's preoccupation with the effects of time was not unrelated to his major activity which was science. His notion of science certainly needs to be qualified. He interpreted science as an instrument for the understanding of universal and timeless truths, even to the degree of a philosophy concerning the ultimate values and fullness of life. Yet such a science remains dependent upon concrete experiences and pertains to the exigencies, as well as to the mysteries, of human events. This science is polyvalent with its many techniques and experimentations, especially its experimentation with time. As a science, it can be classified neither as objectivism nor as subjectivism; rather, as an outgrowth of the personality and as a necessary tool of understanding, it seeks impersonal truths and the realization of collective fantastic experiences. This science cannot be divorced from life by some modern distraction or by some arbitrary abstraction. It is not a stereotyped, systematic, or argumentative rationale. This science, as a philosophy of cultures (i.e., collective traditions), tries to synthesize all forms of knowledge and methods of understanding for the purpose of a new humanism, which is a creative human endeavor. Science, as Eliade interpreted it, is not only a means of achieving understanding; it is also a soteriology for accomplishing the New Man.

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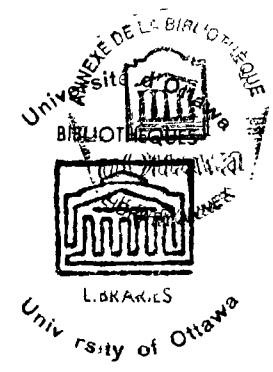
A BIOGRAPHY OF MIRCEA ELIADE'S
SPIRITUAL AND INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT
FROM 1917 TO 1940

by

Dennis A. Doeing

Thesis presented to the School of Graduate
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CHAPTER V

"SCIENCE" OF RELIGION 1935-1940

Reflecting on Eliade's total development thus far, there appears to be a dilemma and this dilemma may be expressed as follows: the only way he saw to synthesize the states of his spirit in relation to the world about him, in search of the Absolute, was to go beyond his own personality to the level of universals and collectivity, hoping that what he discovered could be reintegrated into his own concrete life experiences, as well as those of his generation.

Evidently, his main means of dealing with the dilemma was through the study and use of "science". He perceived science as basically an inquiry into collective traditions for the purpose of understanding absolute, universal truths and thus reaching a spiritual fulfillment. He held that science, as it presents itself, is not concerned with the limitations of an individual fact, truth, or theory. Rather, it takes a number of particular facts which have been discovered in a collective context through various techniques and it tries to find the organic unity and the metaphysical values of those facts. He interpreted science in the practical mode as a human endeavor which, when rightly utilized, leads to a new humanism.

In view of determining the exact nature of Eliade's "science", one may examine in detail his scientific study of religion as he

formulated it in his teaching and publications from 1935 to 1940. A determination of Eliade's scientific study of religion during this time is indispensable for an understanding of the work of Eliade the recognized historian of religions today. Eliade frankly affirmed, as late as 1966, that the notions contained in his study of religion during these last years of teaching at the University of Bucharest form the nucleus of ideas which he developed later in most of his scientific works published after 1946 (FR 51).

Eliade's "science" of religion may be examined according to at least three different perspectives: from the position of his own pursuits and popularity; in view of the aims of some great scholars whom he admired; and in light of the general objects of his study of religion, namely alchemy and folklore.

1. Pursuits and Controversy

As an educator, Eliade continued to teach in the Department of Metaphysics and Logic under Nae Ionescu. Most of his efforts as educator, consequently, were taken up with philosophical problems. For example, in 1935 he offered a course which dealt with the question of worldviews according to the morphology of rituals and myths from different cultural traditions. In 1936 he gave lectures on the ontological significance of numerous practices and beliefs of Buddhism. In his classes of 1937 he investigated the origins of the notion of eschatology. He reviewed in 1938 the values of perfection evidenced in the art and life-style of ancient

Greece. In 1939 and 1940 he treated such topics as polarity and androgyne in Eastern and Western mythologies, and he discussed what he thought to be the cosmological and soteriological functions of particular Romanian legends.

A substantial part of Eliade's teaching, which was concerned mostly with philosophical problems, was reflected in the content of a number of his scientific publications. For instance, his books Alchimia Asiatică (1935), Yoga. Essai sur les origines de la mystique indienne (1936), and Cosmologie și alchimie babiloniană (1937), all of which were due largely to a revision of work previously begun in India, provided basic material for some of his courses. Other books of his, such as Mitul Reintegrării (1942)¹ and Comentarii la Legenda Mesterului Manole (1943), were direct products of his teaching. While these latter were little known outside of Romania at the time, they contain fundamental concepts of his scientific study of religion which appear to be formulated better in his later and well-known book, Traité d'histoire des religions (1949). There is also Zalmoxis (1938 to 1942), a periodical which he founded for the purpose of the scientific study and teaching of religion, and in which he collaborated with a

1. Mitul Reintegrării is a collection of articles which Eliade published in Universul Literar in 1939 and 1940 (cf. bibliog.).

number of internationally known scholars (e.g., R. Pettazzoni, C. Hentze, G. Dumézil, etc.).

Eliade's pursuits were not limited to those of teacher and scientist. He became known as a polygraph through a number of other publications in which he revealed his wide variety of interests. For example, he collected and edited the writings of the poet and historian, B.P. Hașdeu, in a work entitled Scrieri literare, morale și politice (1937).² He made translations such as the one of P. Buck's Fighting Angel, called Inger Luptător (1939). He composed essays which consisted mostly of criticisms of the ideas of such men as B. Shaw, G.K. Chesterton, A. Gide, Papini, and others of literary genius. He reviewed the works of A. Boissier, R. Otto, R. Pettazzoni, A. Coomaraswamy, and other scientific scholars. He wrote his own literary and scientific articles. Almost all of his essays, reviews, and articles were published either in Vremea, which was discontinued in 1938, in Revista Fundațiilor Regale, up to 1940, or in Cuvântul, which had discontinued in 1934 but resumed again in 1938. The majority of the articles, together with some of his more personal writings, were reprinted in two of his books: Fragmentarium (1939) and Insula lui Euthanasius (1943). It is noteworthy that Eliade introduced Fragmentarium as a collection of essays which

2. See D. Murărașu's criticism of Eliade's edition: Hașdeu. Ediția Mircea Eliade, Bucharest, Tiparul Universitar, 1938, 67 pp. And Eliade's reply: "'Jos Farsa!'" (C 3155:3 and 3161:3; cf. FR 61-2). Even today Eliade's edition is considered by many Romanians as one of the most authoritative works on the subject.

illustrated points of union between his literary creations and his more theoretical, scientific productions (F 6). The same could be said about Insula lui Euthanasius.

In addition, Eliade published a number of novels and the coincidence of the literary and the scientific is apparent in them also. For instance, Domnișoara Christina (1936) is a novel based directly on Romanian folklore (CD 7:9).³ The novel Sarpele (1937) contains references to the sacred and the fantastic which he developed elsewhere in his *History of Religions* (CD 7:9-10; FR 64).⁴ Nunță în Cer (1939) corresponds to certain personal experiences, and Secretul Doctorului Honigberger (1940), another fantastic novel, is directly related to his scientific research in India (CD 7:9). The important characters and events in many of Eliade's novels are historical even though they take on mythological traits -- a mélange of the real and the fictitious (TT ix). "Each tale creates its own proper universe, and the creation of such imaginary universes through literary means can be compared with mythological processes" (TT xii).

Soren Alexandrescu, a distinguished Romanian author and also a relative of Eliade, believes that most of Eliade's fantastic literature can be set within the context of his *History of Religions*, in the same sense that the fantastic quality which emerges in his literature seems to develop out of events which are usually

3. Cf. Alexandrescu, "Dialectica," pp. viii-xvii.

4. Cf. Uscatescu, "Time and Destiny," p. 402.

considered to be positivistic, scientific, and extremely indifferent to mystery.⁵

While Eliade became known as a polygraph, the coincidence (or confusion) of his literary and scientific talent resulted in a scandal. In June, 1937, after some public unrest over excerpts of Eliade's writings published in local newspapers, the Minister of National Education released an official communiqué which accused Eliade of promoting pornography, especially for his novel Domnișoara Christina which had appeared in 1936 (cf. FR 59-60, 64-5; V 491:5). Eliade's Yoga. Essai sur les origines de la mystique indienne was also published in 1936. Though the latter was intended to be scientific, and was so accepted by the University years earlier as a doctoral thesis, it too contained, like many of his novels, ingredients of Indian eroticism. Even as far back as 1930 M. Vulcănescu had warned that Eliade's first novel, Isabel și apele Diavolului, which was based on Indian love, could be interpreted as pornography.⁶ Although love in India is sometimes expressed in terms of adultery instead of marriage, Eliade considered those terms as manifestations of metaphysical values which had a religious function (CD 8:25-7).

5. Alexandrescu, "Dialectica," pp. vii-i. G. Spaltman also draws a parallel between Eliade's literary and scientific works in "Authenticity and Experience of Time," in Kitagawa and Long, Myths and Symbols, pp. 371-5. However, in 1949 Eliade wrote in his Journal that he could not exist in the literary and the scientific worlds simultaneously. One is imaginative, the other critical (CD 9:11; cf. CD 7:10-1).

6. Vulcănescu, "Carte pentru 'Isabel'," p. 2.

At the time when Eliade's works were being declared unfit for public consumption because they were considered pornographic, the works of other writers, friends of Eliade, were being accused of the same thing.⁷ This dramatic situation encouraged quite a number of articles and editorials to appear, some against, but most in favor of Eliade and his companions (cf. bibliog. of 1937). The Society of Romanian Writers, the entire staff of Vreimea, and almost everyone on the University Faculty supported Eliade, including a list of over four hundred students (V 492:9-10; 493:2; cf. FR 65-6). In defense of Eliade, Ionescu even mentioned Dasgupta

7. Z. Stancu, "Spre deplina pedepsire a pornografilor," Reporter (1937) 5, 15:1-2. Apparently political motives were involved: certain influential nationalists did not like the political philosophy of Nae Ionescu and his associates (cf. FR 48, 51, 66).

Until 1934, King Carol II had tolerated legionary and socialist movements in Romania. After the assassination of the Liberal Government's Prime Minister in December, 1933, Carol retaliated against the Legionaries (Iron Guard) and suppressed periodicals which appeared to sympathize with them. Two such periodicals, Cuvântul and Gândirea, were inspired by Nae Ionescu and a number of young intellectuals, including Eliade. Cuvântul's stand against socialist, as well as current democratic, forms of government should not be interpreted as being therefore aligned with fascism. Fascism, as well as Nazism, were largely external influences on Romania during the thirties. Internally, the Romanian political situation consisted of several factions: The liberals, or the "right", were the most orientated toward the West, especially toward French existential writers. The socialists, on the other extreme, the "left", followed the revolutionary teachings of Marx and Lenin. Somewhere "in between" were the conservatives, labeled "bourgeoisie" (or as Eliade's generation called them: the "older generation") and, on the other hand, the reactionaries, such as the Iron Guard and such as Ionescu's followers.

In 1937 the "right" and "left" became very restless. Legionaries could not be repressed and even grew in popular support such that they gained electoral success in December, 1937. Carol dissolved parliament and announced new elections for March, 1938. He then canceled those elections and set up a dictatorship with A. Călinescu as Minister of Interior and Antonescu as Secretary of Defense. This Carlist Regime, from 1938 to 1940, campaigned against the Legionaries, imprisoning many of their leaders. In 1939 the

as saying that Mircea Eliade had been his most gifted and industrious foreign student, and that he could become an excellent Indianist (V 492:8). Eliade himself did not hesitate to add, in a revision of his original 1936 edition, that Yoga was well accepted by noted Indianists, such as L. de la Vallée Poussin, J. Przyluski, H. Zimmer, and V. Papesso (Y xxi; cf. FR 47-8). Others, who had previously communicated with Eliade, also supported his work as scientifically sound. These names included E. Buonaiuti, C. Hentze, R. Pettazzoni, G. Tucci, and A. Coomaraswamy (V 491:5).

There seems to be only one critic at the time who reproached Eliade's work, Yoga, as being scientifically unsound. He said that

Legionary Movement turned to full scale revolution and in September, 1940, with Carol abdicating, took power as the National Legionary Regime. Legionaries retained power only until January, 1941, when, with the aid of Hitler Germany, Antonescu began to terrorize them. Eliade left Romania in 1940 a few weeks after Ionescu's death.

Ionescu could be identified as a theoretician for the Legionary Movement. While Eliade greatly admired Ionescu, and learned much from his philosophical thought, nevertheless Eliade did not have the same political ideals as Ionescu. In fact, Eliade considered himself an apolitical person. That is, he did not affiliate with any political camp inside or outside of Romania. He did react against the positivistic ideology of socialists, against the provincial attitude of Romanians who looked to France, Germany, or to Italy, and against any sterility and complacency of his own. Eliade's "political philosophy" (if one wished to call it that upon retrospect) during this time may be summarized as follows: He was an irrationalist, in the sense that he was not convinced of any one-sided argument or ideal, especially one which gave utopian assurances of achievement through material or "historical" means. He believed in the "primacy of the spiritual over the political" (O 245-6; cf. O 205-6, 264-5; and above, pp. 5-6). As always, he criticized the egotistical and artificial forms of the spirit of the older generation. He rejected the spirit of French nihilism and the spirit of the Oxford Group Movement as being applicable to the Romanian situation. Rather he upheld the autochthonous structure of Romania's spirit, as witnessed in her folkloric and orthodox tradition, which consists of a quest for universal values and which exercises peaceful resistance (even sabotage) before dominant political and provincial forces. Compare with M. de Unamuno (C 2700:1; O 174, 180; IE 257-64, 367).

Eliade used authorities who had little firsthand knowledge of Yoga, that his explanations were very obscure and not warranted by the facts he presented, that he contradicted himself, that his overall presentation was confusing, and that there were many typographical errors in the text.⁸ Although Eliade had never read this critique, in his revision of Yoga many years later, he recognized some of these difficulties (cf. Y xx-i).

So his thesis on Yoga, something which he had also practiced and meditated on in his own life, was generally accepted as scientific by his friends and colleagues and by well-known scholars. But it was accepted, strangely enough, not only for its scientific merit, but also in relation to the literary talent and in defense of the personality and integrity of Eliade himself.

Eliade's multiple pursuits, and the controversy which had arisen out of them, were indicative of the man himself. Because he appeared to be a polygraph, and because he did not clearly and systematically distinguish between the different modes of his thought, his works were misunderstood by some. This misunderstanding was reminiscent of the one in which he had become involved over the works of the polygraph, N. Iorga, many years earlier (cf. above, pp. 28-9).

8. A. Dumitriu, Revista de Filosofie (1937) 12, 2:229-36. In 1939 Dumitriu was appointed by A. Călinescu, the new Minister of Interior, to the chair of Logic at the University, replacing Ionescu! Eliade called Dumitriu a "fanatic" (FR 49). Dumitriu knew little English and no Sanskrit and so Eliade felt that his criticism was unjustified.

2. The Human Condition

The recognition that Eliade gained as a "scientist" and his popularity as a writer do not sufficiently characterize the qualities of his spirit or the ambitions that he had in mind. On the contrary, Eliade shied from personal praise and publicity. He did not want to be the central figure in a controversy which mostly stemmed from political factors. Yet his close friends had been implicated along with him, and his colleagues at the University as well as his associates on the staff of Vremea had rallied on his behalf. Eliade, in fact, found himself as a representative of his generation⁹ and as an example of particular social forces at work. His publications were more than personal productions; they were, in effect, instruments of collective change.

In view of his social situation, more than a year before the scandal erupted Eliade admitted that the publications of his youthful itinerary of 1927 had been somewhat excessive. He pointed out that he, like any young man until about the age of thirty, had his own personal ideals and worked with information and experiences according to those ideals, especially toward promoting goals for his generation. However, now that he was approaching thirty, he understood that the absolute goals which he had envisioned could not be fulfilled by himself or by his generation

9. Cf. M. Popescu, "O mare prezență românească în exil: Mircea Eliade," Revista Scriitorilor Români (1966) 5:138.

unless they were realistic to the human condition, that is unless they were worked out within the context of human life and society. He saw that life itself does not proceed outside the parameter of social realities -- which includes death and deformation -- yet he was amazed that life still proceeds (V 399:3).

Eliade recalled later, after the scandal, that he no longer felt free "to do as he wished", the characteristic attitude behind his anti-social behavior as a young man. Rather, he felt compelled "to make culture" by adapting to the social needs and opportunities of the age (FR 66).

In one of his articles of 1936 entitled "Cultură și Creație", it is evident how he intended "to make culture". First, he emphasized that he strongly rejected any form of sterility in life, whether it be personal or collective. He then assured his generation that, in order to be true to the human condition, he would imitate the "gesture of creation". He interpreted the gesture of creation not simply as an artistic or scientific production; "To create [also] means to give a sense of existence, to reconcile yourself with God and with the World, to accept reality" (CS 11, 2: 3).¹⁰ He felt that his role as an intellectual was to decipher¹¹

10. "A creia înseamnă a da un sens existenței, a te împăca cu Dumnezeu și cu Lumea, a accepta realitatea."

11. The intelligence "deciphers" by applying itself to the correct object, not in order to know absolutely everything about the object, but in order not to confuse planes, and to organize and cosmicize the object as much as possible (V 372:9; cf. FA 2, 4:3-7).

the ultimate values of contemporary events. The deciphering of those values, and so the giving of a current sense of existence, was a creative and constructive act for him since he thought that history as such preserves only the meanings and values of existence, and not the actual events themselves (CS 11, 2:4).

Eliade believed that such a creative act is the most outstanding feature of all human enterprises (V 501:10). His notion of creation, in other words, referred to that act which results in a spiritual equilibrium and which any man can achieve, willfully or not, by acceptance of the values within the perimeter of collective life (CR 2, 6-7:1).

A virtue which serves to enhance an act of creation, he suggested, is authenticity. Authenticity allows one to participate in collective life and it is consistent with the human condition. In the case of a creative act, authenticity requires more than a person's spiritual honesty. Authenticity must establish contact with the reality of one's situation, avoiding any kind of individual passion or positive abstraction (F 152). Such a creative authenticity is a spiritually fertile, organic, and stylistic endeavor (F 81-2). It carries a collective quality which is in accord with the collective creations occurring within the history of the human spirit (F 141). Authenticity, therefore, is not just honesty with oneself; it appears to be also a sincere project to be undertaken in union with all men.

Together with authenticity in promoting a creative act, he supported the need for contemplation. While he rejected dreams, reveries, and fantasies as representations of collective realities, he saw contemplation as something which not only restores spiritual equilibrium and gives a sense of existence beyond sensations, but which also understands concrete reality and experiments with it in a social context (FA 2, 5-6:27-31; 2, 7-8:62-5). Contemplation in suffering caused by the social realities of life is the supreme verification of the creative nature of man and is the epitome of the human situation (F 124).

In light of what has been said, Eliade's pursuits, especially his publications throughout this period of his life, took on a double character. They seemed to be instruments for attaining knowledge of universal truths and for understanding those truths as collective creations. They also seemed to be a means of sincerely experimenting with and honestly formulating ultimate reality within a social milieu. As authentic material for contemplation, his pursuits provided him with ways of achieving spiritual fulfillment in accordance with the human condition. For instance, he recovered in his readings past forgotten intuitions by which he could renew his sense of reality (F 8). And he contemplated his writings as a primordial function of recalling the limitations of individuality in the vastness of collective experience (F 78).

If Eliade conceived of his pursuits as creative actions, that is if he contemplated his activities as authentic ways of

"making culture" within contemporary society, then it is understandable why he viewed the controversy which had arisen out of his actions as a by-product of social circumstances.

Specifically, Eliade was taken aback by the fact that a number of Romanian nationalists, who had accused him of pornography, had also attacked his book Yoga. Essai sur les origines de la mystique indienne as lacking a "Romanian reality" (CD 7:4-5; FR 48). He felt, on the contrary, that the popular pre-Aryan traditions of India, as depicted in Yoga, were similar, at least in their autochthonous base, to popular Romanian folklore (cf. above, p. 102). Consequently, he thought that the condition of Romania could not be limited to "local", "provincial", or "national" concerns. The current condition of Romania could be traced to the peasant culture and to past folk creations which, despite their overt variations in Romania and in other countries in southeastern Europe and Asia, remained fundamentally the same. That is, they retained a universal mode of existence and of being creative in the world (CD 7:5; M 34-5).

So in Eliade's opinion, all nationalists who encouraged "provincialism", whether they accused him of pornography or not, were in a sense out of touch with the "fenomen originar" of Romania. That is, those contemporaries had little sense of Romania's proto-history and they did not know how to study her culture outside of the perspective of their own historical categories (F 34-40). The culture of Romania, he thought, could not

be fully understood by categories of an historical inquiry since her collective traditions had always resisted the local changes encouraged or occasioned by history (C 3127:2; V 406:6). He believed that the present condition of Romania had not been made by history; rather, Romania's present condition was such that it could "make history" by creating a New Man who would be a Universal Man, cosmocentric and polytechnical in his approach to reality (V 477:3; cf. V 382:3; 403:3; and 501:10-1).

3. The Imitation of Great Models

While Eliade minimized the importance of the ideas of those nationalists who understood the condition of Romania strictly from a provincial perspective, he greatly admired the thoughts of those leaders of Romania who, though certainly concerned with her national interests, saw a universal quality about Romania and so extended their investigations of Romania's culture beyond her limited frontiers to the horizons of the universal values implicit in other cultures as well. In fact, in his attempt to imitate the "gesture of creation" and to "make culture", Eliade emulated the works of those Romanians (as well as others) whom he considered to be, by virtue of their ecumenical study and leadership, models to be followed.

More specifically, Eliade and some of his associates formed a literary group which they called "Criterion". The members of the group, especially active from 1935 to 1937, were mostly former

students of Ionescu, such as E. Cioran, M. Vulcănescu, C. Noica, etc. The group professed "neutralism", encouraging a free dialogue among men of opposite ideological beliefs (CD 7:12). In their own understanding of the tragic history and circumstances of Romania, the group generally tried to defend the great intellectual creations of Romania, especially those of Hașdeu, Eminescu, Pârvan, Ionescu, and Blaga. They felt that each of these scholars had outstanding background and insights into Romanian peasant life and each had the skill to make the universal spirit of the peasants accessible to the general public (cf. CS 11, 2:3; V 403:3). The group regarded the artist, C. Brâncuși, as a superb model since he had descended directly from ancient peasant tradition, yet he also had traveled to Paris where he became one of the avant-garde of Western Europe. Brâncuși expressed in his work, which became very popular, the universal spiritual values of the peasant tradition. In this sense the group thought that Brâncuși had overcome the provincialism of being "only" Romanian or of being persuaded "solely" by French connections. The greatness of Brâncuși was that he had achieved the extraordinary feat of translating into modern terms what was authentically and universally archaic among many cultures.

Undoubtedly Eliade's own study of cultures was nourished by the ideas of many Orientalists and historians of religions whom he had read or encountered at one time or another in his search for

universal truths. But since he now understood that universal truths ought to be grasped within the context of the human condition, especially within the circumstances of his life in Romania, it seems that he borrowed and adapted for his scientific study some of the ideas of certain Romanians and others whom he considered to be distinctive models of the New Man. One may delineate, therefore, in general terms, the thoughts of a few of those men whom Eliade imitated in order to determine to what extent their ideas influenced his own spiritual outlook on things and which of their notions were incorporated into his "science" of religion.

B.P. Hașdeu, whose writings Eliade had been editing at the time, held a view of the cosmos which can be detected in Eliade's own spiritual development as well as in his scientific study of religion. Indeed, ever since the days of lycée, the insights of Hașdeu had continued to inspire Eliade's imagination toward the fantastic, universal qualities of reality (cf. above, p. 12). He characterized Hașdeu as a romantic with a thirst for synthesis in his understanding of cultures. That is, Hașdeu saw a universe of harmony through his vision of symbols on all levels of existence and in all forms of culture. Like a magic web, the world for him was full of values which were related in hierarchical patterns and episodes and which overlapped and interweaved at certain points of synthesis. These points of synthesis were creative in the sense that they enabled man to become aware of his position in the Cosmos (HS xli-ii).

In this sense Hașdeu can be called a "romantic": in the sense that he was overwhelmed by a magical intuition of the Cosmos and of history. That is, he found "correspondences" and "harmonies" among all orders of existence, and he believed that he could see "origins", beginnings, those abysmal moments in which peoples were born, in which legends were created, and in which historical consciousness was brought to light (HS xliii).¹²

Hașdeu had a sympathy for the archaic, the primordial, which he interpreted as the creative force behind most human endeavors. According to him, man becomes conscious of himself in the world and in history by looking into the eternal values of the past. Consequently, Hașdeu viewed man's legends as creative productions by particular peoples and cultures within history who had a desire for the eternal and who had a need to express that desire in the context of daily living. A particular people's legends gave significance to their particular life situation by giving them access to the universal. The universal for them included a feeling of cosmic wholeness wherein all things were in some way related, and this relation could be invoked and realized through the "magical" performance of their legends. By recitation and ritual enactment of their legends, a particular people could renew themselves in the Cosmos and could become a part of the cosmic process wherein all things correlated one with the other in rhythmic

12. "In acest sens poate fi numit Hașdeu 'romantic': în sensul că era copleșit de o intuiție magică a Lumii și a istoriei. Adică, găsea 'corespondențe' și 'armonii' între toate ordinele existenței -- și credea că poate vedea 'originile', începuturile, momentele acelea abisale în care se nașteau neamurile, se creiau legendele și se lumina conștiința istorică."

harmony. So, while Hașdeu upheld the autonomy and organic unity of each ethnic group, he understood that a people's legends preserved, at least implicitly, some primordial values which were representative of all men collectively speaking, no matter to what group they belonged (HS lxxv).

Eliade thought that Hașdeu employed many methods of understanding and avoided any unilateral explanation, since nothing was exclusively material to him, nothing was exclusively spiritual. Had he continued in this line of thought, Eliade remarked, he would have probably surmised a "theory of planes of reality" (HS lxxix).

The ideas of M. Eminescu also played a significant role in forming Eliade's spiritual and intellectual outlook since the days of lycée. Eminescu too was characterized by Eliade as a romantic interested in primordial, paradisiac experiences. These defined man's position in the Cosmos. Eminescu envisioned a transcendent, absolute reality which was manifested by symbols which had metaphysical and cosmological values. In his writings Eminescu always employed symbols within the context of suffering and death. Yet he wrote in such a way that the symbols he employed found meaning on many levels of reality. That is, he organized symbols in the logic and coherence of their own revelatory function, their own universality, so that in the context of death there emerged from them an awareness of becoming. Symbols represented for him individual forms which were open to corruption and death but which,

collectively, conspired to enrich the Cosmos and served as creative expressions of the lives of many cultures. "It is not, of course, a question of personal 'symbolism'.... But of ecumenical, universal symbolism, easily recognized in many cultures and productive on many levels (myth, architectonics, ritual, iconography, etc.)" (IE 17).¹³

Nae Ionescu, who was one of Eliade's first instructors at the University of Bucharest and who later directed Eliade as a teacher there himself, greatly influenced him in his general approach and manner of education. Ionescu thought that there were metaphysical values to life which were repeated throughout history and which, by one means or another, came to fore in every culture. Every culture, he held, in its own peculiar way, displayed a sympathetic struggle with the specific conditions of its life, that is with the tragic forms of its limited existence. Yet every culture had in its possession certain soteriological techniques and functions by which it could universalize itself and so enable each of its participants to attain maximum existence in the Cosmos. This "sympathy-soteriology" theory of Ionescu has already been reviewed (cf. above, pp. 24-6, 146-7). As a theory, it indicated the process of how any particular culture, whatever its character or point in

13. "Nu e vorba, fireşte, de un 'symbolism' personal.... Ci de simbolismul ecumenic, universal, uşor de recunoscut în mai multe culturi şi fecund pe mai multe niveluri (mit, arhitectonică, ritual, iconografie, etc.)."

history, lived out its existence according to previous, even primordial, models and norms. It also showed how such a culture, as it was being lived out, was maintained for soteriological reasons in view of building a new, even superhuman, model of man himself. That would be the man of total reality, the New Man. In the end, there would result a more universal and a more inclusive formulation of existence for that culture.

Also, the work of L. Blaga continued to shape some of Eliade's ideas since he was a student at the University. On the one hand, Blaga reasoned that there were fundamental, universal structures of reality which occurred throughout the course of history and which could be found in every culture. On the other hand, he thought that each culture as such was a unique, particular tradition which unfolded within history according to its own organic system. While a cultural system unfolded itself by living out its unique creative potentials, and while it adapted to its condition by assimilating the values of other cultures in certain instances, there appeared occasionally in its existence autochthonous revolutions, which consisted of that culture's reorganization by a return to fundamental values and by a revitalization of its unique creative potentials (cf. above, p. 27).

Eliade was impressed by one of Blaga's books published in 1937, entitled Geneza metaforei și sensul culturii. In this work Blaga stressed the fact that a culture was not the type of a system which was based on only one controlling factor or dominant element.

A culture was an organic system which resembled a symphonic construction. Like a musical symphony it was always played out, that is lived out through its many dramatic leitmotives. Like a symphony the organization of its parts depended on a harmony of the whole. Consequently, a cultural system, for Blaga, could not be reduced to the graphical and biological categories proposed by Frobenius and Spengler. The unity and preservation of a whole culture, or even a motif of that culture, was due primarily to metaphysical reasons (IE 188-92; cf. ZG 226-7).

To these notions Blaga added that any culture represented a particular mode of existence of man in the Cosmos, and this mode always took some limited form of an absolute mystery. Ideally, the unlimited form of mystery was the maximum mode of existence in the Cosmos. Although many cultures believed that they had the ideal form of mystery, and so strived after maximum existence, nevertheless each had in fact a limited form of mystery, and so could complete only a modified existence. Blaga referred to the specific way in which a culture tried to achieve maximum existence, actually through a modified existence, as that culture's "style". To some degree each culture was impotent in its "style" when it came to achieving for itself an absolute mystery, that is a total existence. In this sense he indicated that every culture was a "fall". Each culture, therefore, required a particular revelation of some sort and each culture had to adhere to that revelation through the many struggles and hardships of attaining its goal. In other words, it

was necessary for each culture to try to transcend itself by a revealed truth beyond itself and yet each culture was bound to its own style of existence. This was the paradox of being human. It was a totally unique paradox of being in the world -- almost a mystery of its own, an ontological value in itself. As Eliade commented on some of these concepts,

That which constitutes the "fall" of man, constitutes, at the same time, his greatness. Since, if man had renounced the effort of revealing to himself mysteries, and if he had been satisfied to live only for self-preservation and security, he would have renounced, because of this, his nature as a man. The distinction of man in the Universe is due precisely to this permanent trial of his of revealing to himself mysteries. This trial is qualitatively different from any other gesture of man. It is not only a new gesture in the Universe, but it is also a unique gesture, which carries with it an ontological mutation (IE 193; cf. V 501:10).¹⁴

An ontological mutation was similar to a biological mutation, but on a completely different plane. It could be described as a limited mode of existence which suddenly took on an absolute meaning, or as a cultural style which became ultimately valuable. Such an ontological mutation was a guarantee of a renewable equilibrium of that culture and the Cosmos.

14. "Ceea ce constituie 'căderea' omului, constituie, în același timp, măreția lui. Pentrucă, dacă omul ar renunța la încercarea de a-și revela misterele, dacă s'ar mulțumi să trăiască numai întru autoconservare și securitate, ar renunța, prin aceasta, la firea lui de om. Singularizarea omului în Univers se datorește tocmai acestei încercări permanente a sa de a-și revela misterele. Încercarea aceasta se deosebește calitativ de orice alt gest al omului. Și nu este numai un gest nou în Univers, ci un gest unic, care aduce după sine o mutațiune ontologică."

Altogether, therefore, Blaga understood that there were revealed forms of absolute mystery which stimulated and preserved a culture's efforts in the specific conditions of its existence. At the same time, he thought that any culture, which was a limited form and even a corruption of a full existence, was also a triumph of life and an accomplishment of man (IE 194). Blaga's work appeared to be mainly concerned with ontological rather than historical problems. He extracted a cultural style from a series of historical facts and then accorded a metaphysical validity to that style. In the end, as Eliade pointed out, the total significance of Blaga's research was evident: a culture possibly could be catalogued by history but it could be understood only by metaphysics (IE 195).

Ever since his first travels to Italy in 1927, Eliade kept in touch with G. Papini and followed the development of his life and thought. In Eliade's review of the first volume of Papini's Storia della letteratura italiana, published in 1937, he praised it as a masterful work and pointed out that Papini's method of interpreting symbols was profound and far-reaching in scope. Not only did Papini accurately determine the relationships between persons and events within the history of Italian literature, but he also established meaningful homologies between the various levels of existence, such as between history, art, the Cosmos, etc. As a result, Papini's work appeared to Eliade to be neither historiographical nor philosophical pedantry; it was rather a synthetic

presentation of the history of Italian literature as perceived from the deeper and broader understanding of the literary genius himself. The Italian Papini, a writer of such extensive knowledge and creative ability, provided a firsthand account of the metaphysical and esthetical reasons for the creative development of Italian literature. So Eliade thought that Papini captured the fundamental values of the Italian spirit (IE 287-8).

Eliade had become familiar with A. Coomaraswamy's study of the history of Oriental art during his sojourn in India. He read Coomaraswamy's Elements of Buddhist Iconography, published in 1935, with great interest. According to Eliade, Coomaraswamy in this work never appeared to be satisfied with the rationalistic methods of philologists whose aim was to explain Oriental modes of thought and expression. Rather, Coomaraswamy felt that their spirit of investigation, which was supposed to be critical and objective, resulted in nothing less than an anti-metaphysical positivism and confusionism. In Elements of Buddhist Iconography, he made it clear that Oriental art could not be judged by Western standards or interpreted by Western categories alone. Although he himself used historical methods when studying Oriental texts, he nevertheless assured that these methods could not in themselves explain all the phenomena in question. Together with the use of historical methods, Coomaraswamy tried to discover and interpret the metaphysical tradition of the Vedas and associated art forms. He tried to find a tradition of ontological and esthetical values, not a chronological series of forms (IE 265-9).

It was Coomaraswamy's belief, according to Eliade, that in art, as well as in science, truths of a personal nature were inappropriate. Art should rather express collective truths. While Coomaraswamy thought that a history of personal art forms could certainly be written, what he preferred was an understanding of the metaphysical tradition which consisted of the principles and context behind the creation of those forms. The result of his work, at least for Eliade, was the rediscovery of principles long forgotten in Europe. These principles dealt with the function of symbols, the ontological values of myth and art, and the unity of metaphysical traditions (IE 270-5).

Eliade regarded the work of Paul Mus, Barabudur, published also in 1935, as a study which was very akin to his own. He thought that Mus, through his analysis of the cosmological symbolism of the temple, had revolutionized previous points of view about Buddhist iconography. Barabudur was not simply "plastic" as though a pillar or a statue, nor could its significance be understood by philological methods alone; the temple was a representation of Asian values, as a "magical" symbolism which could transport one through various levels of the Cosmos to the attainment of Buddhahood. It had numerous cosmological and soteriological functions: Not only was it a funeral monument representing the mystical body and cosmic dimensions of Buddha made visible through architectonics; it also represented the human body as a type of microcosmos, providing a post-mortem itinerary on a macrocosmic scale. It functioned

as an imago mundi, as well as an axis mundi, providing entrance into absolute life. As the Center of the universe, Barabudur established a sacred space and time different from the profane, such as strict geography and chronology. It constituted a homology between the human and the divine, as a reintegration and unification of man into primordial Cosmos. Eliade felt that Mus had confirmed his own hypothesis, that is the analytic structure of symbols among prealphabetic societies. In other words, symbols have the ability to express many meanings simultaneously, and on many levels, without a degradation of their particular characteristics (IE 50-68).

In conclusion, Eliade was aware of the influences which certain scholars exerted upon his life and way of thinking. He did not view their influences as means of obstructive, coercive, or provincial restraint. Within the limitations of his own development and in light of what he knew about the human condition, he accepted the leadership of those men whom he considered to be models of the New Man in order to imitate the creative aspects of their work. He adopted many of their ideas by trying to synthesize their ideas in his own authentic understanding of things. His scientific study, consequently, appears not only to be an outgrowth of his personality in search of collective universal truths, but seems also to be the result of an imitation of the minds of other persons whom he thought had themselves achieved a somewhat universal quality of understanding.

What may be accepted as his own creative and synthetic approach, Eliade's scientific study dealt with history as something which repeats itself according to precedent, even primordial, models. That is, his study assumed that every culture lives out its existence according to given norms and in imitation of the universal men and events of its tradition. His study also supposed that a tradition is ultimately concerned with the metaphysical values of life, because a tradition reflects a people's quest for cosmic existence as determined by the circumference of their human condition and as set down by the specific formulations of their understanding of reality. The human condition of any tradition is the dramatic and necessarily tragic series of events in its own life. The specific formulations of that tradition are the organic systems of particular customs, myths, and symbols which express the hierarchy and patterns of cosmic life pertaining to that tradition.

What Eliade thought important for the scientific study of religion was not so much a history of various cultural forms but more so a metaphysics of those forms. A culture's customs, myths, and symbols -- as a tradition of forms -- ultimately transcend the confines of a historical existence since they lead to the mystery of a cosmic existence. A culture's customs, myths, and symbols provide cosmological perspectives and can be employed as soteriological techniques by which to perceive, as well as gain, cosmic primordial values.

Eliade could be called, on the one hand, a "romantic" like Hașdeu or Eminescu in his study of religion for the following reasons: First, his interest lay in fantastic, primordial values which he thought could be detected throughout history. Second, the whole Cosmos appeared to him to consist of many planes of reality with numerous nuances and levels of meaning. Third, his inquiry into the customs, myths, and symbols of various cultures was for the purpose of elucidating the organic hierarchies and patterns of cosmic existence, as well as the multiple soteriological techniques of achieving that existence.

Eliade could be called, on the other hand, a "scientist" in his study of religion: First, his study was one of universal, collective truths. These were formulated by ecumenical, non-personal symbols and by customs and myths which he conceived as collective dramatizations of symbols. Second, he accepted the methods of a strictly historical approach as beneficial, although incomplete, tools for understanding the metaphysical traditions by which history is lived. Third, he did not limit himself to one type of evidence, technique, or explanation of the matter but instead was polygraphic, employing many techniques and synthesizing his many findings for an understanding of the whole.

Altogether, therefore, it could be said that Eliade's study of religion contained both romantic and scientific aspects. This should not be taken as a contradiction. It seems rather to be an expression of the union of both intuitive and logical operations

(cf. "scientific romanticism" above, p. 49). The apparent contradiction stems from the fact that the precise object of his scientific study of religion was the fantastic and metaphysical values of traditions, not their scientific and historical values. This poses a hermeneutical problem which is explored below in greater detail.

4. A Revolutionary Method

Since Eliade's scientific study of religion dealt with the metaphysical values of given traditions -- that is traditions within history wherein universal truths were lived out in particular styles of life, in particular modes of being -- the question arises as to the exact scientific nature of his study.

Eliade himself, in view of delineating the scientific character of his approach, examined two possible ways of understanding metaphysical values. These two ways were metaphysics and religion.

Without specifying what he meant by the terms, he said that "metaphysics" could be broken down into at least two methods: 1) the Socratic method which, through the techniques of spiritual dialectics, understands reality by the truths of an ontological order which are "seen" and "remembered"; and 2) the method of Sāṃkhya-Yoga which, through actual physio-mental techniques, understands reality by the truths of an ontological order which are "envisioned" and "realized" (F 98-9; cf. Ionescu's Socratic method above, pp. 25-6; and Sāṃkhya-Yoga above, p. 105).

In the case of "religion", he indicated at least two methods also: 1) the practice of religion which, through various spiritual states, understands reality by the truths of a sacred order which are "believed" and "lived out" ritually (F 87-8); and 2) the scientific study of religion which, through various experimental techniques, understands reality by the truths of a sacred order which are "intuited" and well "formulated".

For both of the methods employed by metaphysics, truths are discovered first within the spirit of man, according to Eliade. Somehow a man's spirit sees or envisions the truths of reality even as he remembers or realizes those truths collectively. This is not a matter of sequence in the sense of cause or chronology; it is a matter of eventuality. The truths of an ontological order which are experienced always pertain of course to reality, but they are also always coincidental to the spirit. Consequently, the spirit no longer retains its personal characteristics; it takes on the quality of a cosmic reality, consisting of universal truths itself.

For the practice of religion, however, truths are discovered first in the ganz Anderem, that which is beyond the spirit, namely the Sacred. The spirit, both individually and collectively, accepts the autonomy of sacred truths. Yet these truths must be contemplated by the spirit on their own plane of reality, and they can be understood only by the spirit which also practices them.

Hence only believers can understand the truths of their beliefs, only mystics can judge the values of mysticism. "It is necessary to be, in one case as another, qualitative; not to confuse planes, not to become profane. In other words, it is necessary to believe in the existence of the reality which one judges, and in its spiritual autonomy" (F 88).¹⁵ An act which confuses planes is a profane act; while an act which passes from a profane plane, such as the personality or history, to a sacred plane, such as the contemplation of autonomous truths, is a sacred and religious act (F 86-8, 99).

Metaphysics and the practice of religion, therefore, are closely related and can be employed in a similar fashion. Both approach universals, the Absolute, truths beyond the personality -- but one seems to begin and end within (or as) the spirit while the other seems to begin and end outside (other than) the spirit. Nevertheless, in both instances the "real" is equivalent to the "sacred", and vice versa. No matter what significance these words may have had for the personality in its development and no matter what meaning they may have assumed in the course of history, as words they are complementary (cf. J 188; V 500:5).

In light of the above description of metaphysics and the practice of religion, focus may now be centered on the scientific

15. "Trebuie să fii -- și într'un caz și în celălalt -- calificat; să nu confuzi planurile, să nu fii profan. Cu alte cuvinte, trebuie să crezi în existența realității pe care o judeci, și în autonomia ei spirituală."

study of religion. The latter deals especially with a collectivity in approaching the same objectives as those of metaphysics and the practice of religion. It begins and ends on impersonal considerations, but in no way can it be called positivism. The study of religion which Eliade proposed is, as he expressed, a "revolutionary method" (CA 6, 11). It is not a science in the European sense of natural science, which seeks a strict scientific knowledge of truths obtained through exact observation and rigorous experimentation. The science which Eliade advocated seeks an understanding of truths of a metaphysical and religious nature acquired through some degree of observation, but also through intuition and experimentation with life's circumstances. It would be "unscientific", he said, to use a rigorous science to interpret the traditions of peoples who did not use rigorous science. He chose as the object of his study, rather, the fantastic and metaphysical traditions of peoples precisely because peoples of the past understood themselves in that way. Throughout the past, up until the last century, traditions contained various cosmological perspectives and soteriological techniques which for the people of those traditions served as types of science, but certainly not the empirical science constituted by modern standards. So Eliade felt that, in order to be scientific, he should study the history of those traditional types of science as one would study the history of cultural creations, such as art forms (CA 16-20; cf. AA 7-9; V 478:11).

For instance, if one wants to study alchemy, one should not study it as a chemistry or pre-chemistry, as a type of rigorous empirical science according to today's conviction; rather, one should study it as a mystical, metaphysical, and soteriological technique as indeed it was (AA 9, 25, 58, 63; CA 6, 17; CD 7:1). Alchemy and chemistry have completely different "mental structures" and so have to be studied scientifically from different perspectives (AA 68-9). The study of alchemy from the rigorous scientific perspective of chemistry would be a mistake, if one limited it to only that. One should rather judge the perspective of the alchemist, through intuition or by other means, and experiment with truths within the range of the discipline of alchemy.

The same could be said about Yoga. One's study of Yoga should not be restricted to an investigation of Yoga as empirical positions for body control. One's study should include an inquiry into Yoga as spiritual and concrete techniques for complete liberation (YE 254, 273).

Likewise, folklore cannot be fully grasped by a rigorous inspection of its history alone. One should study documents, as well as other forms of expression, in view of the structure of the specific mentality that created them. A folkloric mentality is concerned with collective fantastic experiences, not with chronological and empirical data (cf. F 1-2; and above, p. 141). These experiences involve truths of a metaphysical and religious nature which are integrally lived out in the context of daily life. By

a study of folkloric and ethnographic material, one should be able, Eliade thought, to formulate, that is to discover and elucidate, the structure and limitations of all human knowledge (IE 30).

In sum, it appears that metaphysics and the practice of religion were two ways for Eliade by which universal, collective truths could be understood and realized within the conditions of life. In the complementary relationship of metaphysics and the practice of religion, what was absolutely real seemed to be totally sacred and what was in any way sacred seemed to lead ultimately to the real. A thematic, scientific reflection on such truths which were lived could not be, for him, a study of some other truths which were only conjectural, such as those which result from a positivistic or strictly empirical way of thinking. Even if it could be said that these latter ways of thinking pertain to "truths", such truths would be of a different order and of a different age than the truths of Eliade's study. To be as scientific as possible, that is to be as critical as possible, Eliade did not take the object of his study to be notions of modern science since in fact those were not representative of the object of past traditions. Eliade saw that the proper object of past traditions consisted of metaphysical and religious notions and so he took them as the object of his own study.

Consequently, regarding Eliade's method of study, any strictly historical or philological approach of the rigorous scientific type was to some degree useful, but certainly inadequate, for a complete

understanding of Oriental and folkloric material. He felt that in the end it was impossible for a strict scientific method to apprehend the proper metaphysical and religious values of traditions evidenced by documents and by other forms of creative expression. His method was in one sense "scientific", in another sense "romantic" (cf. above, pp. 181-2). It was both a "science" and a "philosophy" (cf. above, pp. 52-3, 139, 155). Since the object of his study pertained to the metaphysical and religious traditions of the past, his scientific method, in order to produce a complete study, employed metaphysical and religious insights, at least to some extent. How Eliade came by those insights is another matter altogether.

5. Structure of the Revolutionary Method

If the method of Eliade's scientific study of religion is taken to be revolutionary, at least when compared to the rigorous quality of modern Western scientific methods, then it seems appropriate to inquire into the structure of his revolutionary method as he perceived it, in order to ascertain the exact content and operative characteristics of his study.

In general terms, Eliade felt that many frivolous superstitions and aberrant forms of expression had occurred throughout the course of history. He thought that this was the case not only in the history of folkloric traditions but also in the discipline of the History of Religions itself. It would be an impossible

task, from his view, to trace the history of all those forms or to try to understand each form in particular. What appeared to him to be more important in the study of history was an understanding of that which stands above history, such as a "Principle" (F 89-90). According to Eliade, Principles are eternally valuable because they have remained throughout history as primordial intuitions of transcendent values which serve as norms for a conduct of life, as well as for a study of religion. In his work on "La Mandragore", for example, he planned, as a valid method, to separate Principles from ordinary superstitions of history. Once isolated, their primordial values and logic as symbols would become clear (F 90; cf. Z 3:3-38; ZG 198-217). In this way he could "demonstrate the universality of metaphysical traditions and the unity of symbolism of early human civilizations" (IE 52).¹⁶

In other words, for Eliade, a study of history required more than a knowledge of historical data based upon the organization of specific facts and the classification of related documents. The data of history, even if known, appeared to him to be always fragmentary, such that an understanding of the data required a search for what was archaic and permanent among facts which presented themselves as secondary and local. This understanding entailed a knowledge of the History of Religions in general as well as a

16. "... să demonstreze universalitatea tradițiilor metafizice și unitatea simbolismului primelor civilizații umane."

comprehension of the metaphysical intentions implied in the particular customs, myths, and symbols of the various traditions under study (CL 6). He believed that a particular folkloric creation -- whatever form it takes -- carries within itself a "mental universe" in the same sense that a piece of broken mirror reflects an identical world as when it was whole (CL 17).

Customs, myths, and symbols were the three major subject areas which Eliade covered in his study. While each came within the confines of his study, he studied each on a different plane, that is from a different level of inquiry. What comprises those areas and what constitutes the relationship of those levels are two fundamental questions pertaining to Eliade's total effort as a historian of religions. An outline of each of the areas (levels) is presented below as an elucidation of the fundamental structure and concepts of his method.

A. Traits and Archetypes -- In his study of particular customs, Eliade normally did not use the terms "superstitions" and "Principles". Instead of superstitions he proposed "trăite", by which he meant lives or manners of living, and which could be translated as "traits" (in French "choses vécues"). For Principles he suggested "arhetipuri", or "archetypes".

He thought that traits were ideas or actions which usually change within the course of history but are held to be stable and customary by a people of any given moment of history. Traits usually do not live on in the same form through the passing of

time but they "unfold" as they are lived out within a tradition. That is, they manifest in the life of a people the expectations, sufferings, and other consequences already implied in them (MR 49, 56). Archetypes seem to be more complicated. They should not be confused with Jung's use of the term (cf. CL 87). Archetypes, according to Eliade, are cosmological principles, structures, or laws which enable a collective folkloric mentality to create. More precisely, they are impersonal universal models which a popular memory imitates in its quest for ultimate reality (CL 22-7).

In the following example, he illustrated the distinction between traits and archetypes. The traits of Mitra and Varuṇa, in Vedic mythology, were characterized by the paradox of light and darkness, the manifest and the non-manifest, the seen and the unseen. Together they expressed the mystery of divine bi-unity. In Vedic times people lived their lives according to those particular traits as an imitation of the mythical qualities of Mitra and Varuṇa. In a much later age, however, people lived according to other particular traits by the imitation of something else. In the Upanishads, for instance, the same mystery of bi-unity was formulated by the contrary characteristics of Brahman: superior and inferior, high and low, etc. So for Eliade there appeared to be a change of particular language and traits. There appeared to be a development from mythological images associated with Mitra and Varuṇa to a dialectical terminology identifying Brahman. However, there seemed to be no evolution of the metaphysical principle, or

archetype, of divine bi-unity. The notion of bi-unity did not change and, in fact, throughout its particular forms of expression, remained a universal model. As a universal model, it was interpreted by Eliade as an ultimate structure or law by which the different traits were created and lived out (MR 47-9).

He also provided the following analogy. Modern European thought, which appears on the surface to be exact, uses particular models in a similar fashion as did primitive thought. For instance, the modern follows such constructs as "atom", "gravity", and "calculus"; whereas the primitive patterned his life after examples of such notions as "energy", "motion", and "spiral". The main difference between the models of the modern and the models of the primitive, it seemed to Eliade, is that the primitive models were preserved not as strict scientific laws in the modern sense, but as "rules" or "norms" of their own quality. The difference between the two is due to the fact that the primitive models are found in another context and that they are validated on another level of existence, that is by other human experiences. Basically, however, primitive models and scientific models are comparable (CL 137-8; cf. F 31-2). As far as religion is concerned,

Believers of respective religions had a single obligation: to interpret correctly the law, to understand reality in conformity with its proper mode of being. A thing is to the extent that it is understood exactly in the modality of its being. They are not too far from the Occidental scientific method which asks you to understand reality correctly; with the difference that the criterion of "correctness" is no more the same. Mental evolution of humanity is marked by these changes

of "criterion", by these passings from one "norm" to another, which modify the way of looking at the world and of evaluating it. Nevertheless, from the structural and functional point of view, all these formulas of "norm", from tao to modern scientific law, are homologable (CL 138).¹⁷

Applying these insights to his own scientific study, Eliade felt that the outstanding feature of documents rests not in their history or genre. Rather, he saw documents primarily as creative productions and so looked for the spiritual sense and the metaphysical structure behind them (CL 6-7; cf. Z 2:66-8). In his view, the meaning of a document can be understood according to how much that document has preserved, within its tradition, its primordial metaphysical values, rather than from its history or lexical variations (MR 60). This is not a question of whether a certain archetype or cosmological principle has been transmitted through a given document; it is the fact that any folkloric creation realizes itself according to the structure in which at least some metaphysical principles are implied (CL 23).

17. "Credincioşii religiilor respective aveau o singură obligaţie: să interpreteze just legea, să înţeleagă realitatea în conformitate cu propriul său mod de a fi. Un lucru este în măsura în care i se înţelege exact modalitatea sa de a fi. Nu suntem prea departe de metoda ştiinţifică occidentală, care îţi cere să înţelegi just realitatea; cu deosebire că criteriul 'justului' nu mai e acelaş. Evoluţia mentală a umanităţii este marcată de aceste schimbări ale 'criteriului', de aceste treceri dela o 'normă' la alta, care modifică felul de a privi lumea şi de a o valorifica. Totuşi, din punct de vedere structural şi funcţional, toate aceste formule ale 'normei' dela tao la legea ştiinţifică modernă, sunt omologabile."

It is understandable then why Eliade was not enthusiastic about modern explanations of causes or origins concerning phenomena popular with the primitive such as levitation, miracles, and the like. He accepted the a priori reality of those facts because the primitive believed them. The primitive, even though his spirit seemed to be full of the fantastic, generally encountered such phenomena first in his concrete life experiences. He experienced those phenomena as metapsychic realities, as norms to him, and he preserved them as such within his folkloric traditions with certain fantastic alterations. This is not unlike the modern who experiences and believes such things as "gravity" and "electricity", and preserves them in his equations and generators in view of bettering his materialistic prosperity (IE 34-46).

Eliade's reluctance to choose one of the many sets of modern laws (history, sociology, psychology, etc.) for his interpretation of folkloric traditions points to the impersonality of his study. His study was based on primitive rather than modern beliefs. That is, his study dealt with the collective models and norms of the primitive and, consequently, with the "world" of the primitive, without immediate concern for validity (CL 17-8; cf. CD 7:3). These models and norms served as indications to him of the primitive's spirit and place in the Cosmos. Whether that spirit or position could be called valid by modern standards was a question which was irrelevant to his inquiry.

Eliade thought that models and norms, as the object of his study, needed only to be demonstrated, elaborated, formulated. Like classicism, they needed only a commentary, not personal analysis or argument (cf. F 31). So his book, with the title Comentarii la Legenda Mesterului Manole (1943), was a companion to help clarify other material on the Legend of Master Manole which he planned to present in his review Zalmoxis, but which was not published until 1957 (cf. CL 5; ZG 162-85). His basic approach of demonstration also applies to Mitul Reintegrării (1942), which begins "Comentarii..." (MR 9). Even Traité d'histoire des religions (1949) may be considered in most part a commentary. The purpose of a commentary is to elucidate the various archetypes, cosmologies, and symbols of particular traditions in order to see their primordial and eternal values. These values, in most cases, are implicit, and so require a commentary to make them explicit.

In his commentaries on a number of traditions, Eliade uncovered similarities and differences among those traditions. The similarities he ascribed to fundamental archetypes. The differences he attributed both to the unique traits of particular traditions and to the change and development of the norms associated with those traits within the course of history. In other words, traits which were creatively produced and lived out in particular traditions differ as norms from age to age and from one locality to another. They even appear to transform and evolve. For instance, he found that the traits of the agricultural society

replaced the traits of the nomadic society mostly because of a radical change of norms. This change included a complete mental revolution as well since agricultural man saw the world differently when he accorded his actions to new norms (CA 11-2; F 43). That is, another Cosmos was revealed to agricultural man and, consequently, agricultural man was liberated spiritually as well as concretely from his nomadic existence. Another change of norms occurred, for instance, in the transition from alchemy to chemistry. Subsequently,

Each fundamental period of the history of humanity has eased the penetration of man into other cosmic levels. Each new alteration in the human structure means, in a certain sense, also a new fructification of conscience -- as man acquired new zones of experience and discovered analogies between levels of reality which were very different from one another (Z 1:106; cf. IE 100-25).

Essentially, however, Eliade held no evolution. A number of reasons may be given: 1) He thought that, in the process of history, what survive are not particular norms, traits, and events but rather impersonal categories and types -- which are reducible to archetypes. That is, with the passing of time, things in a religious context lose their specific and contingent characteristics and assume fantastic and mythical qualities, since these latter are what collective popular thought remembers and cherishes (C 3182:3; 3183:2-3; CL 24-5; Z 2:70-1, 78). Persons, things, and events lose their historicity and so cannot be detected by strict historical methods. What was more profitable, according to Eliade,

was a search for archaic models. 2) He also thought that many archaic models continue to exist or reappear within the course of history. The recurrence of models is possible because every authentic collective creation has behind it some metaphysical structure or archetype.

Models transmitted by archaic spirituality do not disappear, however, they do not lose their capacity for reactualization: and this is so for the simple reason that they are archetypal intuitions, primordial ecumenical visions, which were revealed to man as soon as he became conscious of his position in the Cosmos (CL 140).¹⁸

For example, the Legend of Master Manole appears to be an involuntary rediscovery of a very ancient metaphysics (CL 48). The character of Mephistopheles in the epic writings of Goethe seems to be a dramatic portrayal of divine primordial polarity (MR 9-16).

3) Finally, he thought that more often than not there is a dissolution of original models or archetypes within the course of history. In other words, primordial intuitions, expressed from the beginning by metaphysical symbols, become degraded (CL 80-1; MR 56-9). There results a decomposition of the fantastic (MM 1, 5-6:18; Z 2:68, 71). For example, the primitive metaphysical perception of the universe has given way to the modern positivistic perception of the universe (F 22-3; MR 75; Z 1:106). Such a

18. "Modelele transmise de spiritualitatea arhaică nu dispar, însă, nu-și pierd capacitatea de reactualizare: și aceasta, pentru simplul motiv că ele sunt intuiții arhetipale, viziuni primordiale ecumenice, pe care omul și le-a revelat îndată ce a luat conștiință de poziția sa în Cosmos."

change may be interpreted as corrupt history (IE 134). So, while much of folklore might have its origin in the historical degradation of existing myths and symbols, nevertheless its creative qualities rest on archetypes which continue to be productive even within the context of degradation (CL 141-2).

In sum, the collective creations of popular traditions come from the process of two extremes: from the direction of primordial principles, archetypes, and symbols which recur throughout history; and from the direction of historical norms, traits, and events whose significance is either a typifying and categorizing of the primordial or else a degradation of the primordial (cf. Z 2:71).

B. Rituals and Myths -- The traits and archetypes which reveal the metaphysical values of particular traditions are evidenced in the rituals and myths of those traditions. Eliade viewed rituals and myths as the unique religious expressions of those traditions. Each particular tradition, he thought, has its own group of rituals and myths, that is its own set of creative productions, in which metaphysical values are formulated according to the understanding of that tradition. In his judgement, the rituals and myths of a particular tradition, since they are formulations of metaphysical values, also have universal qualities as do traits and archetypes. The distinction between the nature of rituals and myths and the nature of traits and archetypes is mainly one of scale. It could be said that rituals and myths are complicated expressions which act as formulas for what traits and archetypes

simply reveal. Most rituals, as well as myths, consist of organic systems of specific traits and archetypes. Yet even on a grander scale, a ritual and/or myth as a whole can act as an archetype, as a model to be followed.

Indeed, Eliade thought that rituals and myths of a particular people are so structured, as formulas of metaphysical values, that they should be considered as cosmological models. In other words, the rituals and myths are collective productions which result from the specific needs, insights, and life situation of a people and they reflect the cosmic norms which those people believe and by which they live. Certainly the rituals and myths are not arbitrary personal concoctions to be exercised carelessly or without proper understanding (cf. IE 372-3). Proper understanding is determined precisely by the rituals and myths as cosmic formulas and the careful imitation and preservation of those formulas determines the welfare of the life of the people (cf. MR 105-7). The exact cosmological structure or theory behind the formulas need only be implicit since, as a whole, the rituals and myths are coherent to the people who practically adhere to them (CL 18-9).

Eliade did not try to decipher rituals and myths by their historical causes. Rather, he attempted to "reconstitute" the coherency, the implied structure or theory, of rituals and myths according to their qualities as collective creations (CL 21, 27, 29 n.25).

Reconstitution is, for lack of a better term, one having a sense referring only to our operation, not to the theory in itself, which is implied in any belief, custom, etc. and which requires nothing other than to be revealed, manifested, explicated.... I am allowed to use all kinds of archaic documents, including ballads and superstitions, ethnographic facts, mystical techniques, and profane customs. This does not mean that all are found on the same plane, or that they have equal value (CL 20).¹⁹

When reconstituting the theory of a primitive myth, for instance, Eliade thought it necessary, among other techniques, to "reintegrate" the myth into the world of which it was once a part in order to show its full complexity and coherence. He felt that such simple explanations as animism, pantheism, immanentism, and the like are inadequate descriptions of the primitive's world. In fact, these are not descriptions of the primitive's world at all, but are rather the theories of modern scientists. The primitive understood the world by the norms of his myth, and those norms reflected the world in cosmic proportions. The primitive "recognizes himself as such, as a man, to the degree in which he also identifies functions in the Cosmos" (CL 105).²⁰

19. "Reconstituirea este, de altfel un termen impropriu, el având un sens referit numai la operația noastră, nu la teoria în sine, care e implicată în orice credință, obicei, etc. și care nu cere altceva decât să fie revelată, manifestată, explicitată ne-am îngăduit să folosim tot felul de documente arhaice, dela balade și superstiții, la fapte etnografice, tehnici-mistice și obiceiuri profane. Asta nu înseamnă însă că toate se află pe acelaș plan, sau că au o valoare egală."

20. "... se recunoștea ca atare, om, în măsura în care își identifica funcțiunile în Cosmos."

The primitive sees existence in anthropocosmic terms. Through myth his life and the world about him take on many forms and are related on many cosmic levels (CL 106, 115, 118; F 55; e.g. Yoga J; agriculture MR 18-23).

More specifically, the primitive lives out his life in a dramatic and integral way, on all levels of reality, from the biological to the spiritual, through such organic functions as birth, sex, passion, suffering, and death (CL 104-5; Z 1:95 passim). He is also one with life around him and he sees all creatures existing in perfect harmony with Being (F 49-50). Consequently, the many facets of his life and the many aspects of the world are understood to have homologous values both in their dramatic relations and in their cosmic proportions. This understanding on the part of the primitive is not the result of an abstract synthesis of reality, but of vast intuitions of reality, as experienced within the concreteness of life and as prescribed by the norms of his myth (MR 22-3). As a cosmological model, his myth is contemporaneous to his human condition and so he has no intention of history as a chronological order of causes and events (Z 1:95-6).

Eliade metaphorically summarized his explication of the cosmological structure of rituals and myths by saying that a single belief, and especially a complete theory, contained in any ritual or myth presupposes the existence of a magical "web" or "sympathy" by which human life and cosmic levels are held together in organic, analogous, and symmetrical unity (CL 18-9; cf. MR 10).

Eliade's study of the cosmological structure of rituals and myths led him to an inquiry into the soteriological function of rituals and myths. He recognized that the implicit theories and the explicit norms contained in rituals and myths must be realized, that is "lived out" according to their full potential and obligation:

The truth is that wherever documents help to identify the presence of popular strata, we meet the same tendency toward the concrete, that is the organic need of each popular community to experience metaphysical and cosmological schemes, to "live out" ideas (IE 123; cf. above, pp. 103-4).²¹

In his attempt to decipher the soteriological function of rituals and myths, he examined them in respect to their complementary role as cosmological models. From one point of view, he saw that myths serve as impersonal models for rituals in the sense that they provide the cosmic, ideational foundations for rituals. From another point of view, he saw that myths themselves are realized in the concrete by the enactment of rituals which serve as impersonal models for behavior in the Cosmos appropriate to the myths. Together, rituals and myths, as they are followed, lead to absolute reality, yet they are always lived out within the concrete circumstances of existence. Together, they establish a regulative

21. "Adevărul este că pretutindeni unde documentele ne ajută să identificăm prezența straturilor populare, întâlnim aceeași tendință spre concret, adică nevoia organică a oricărei comunități populare de a experimenta schemele metafizice și cosmologice, de a 'trăi' ideile."

pattern of a people's active participation in absolute reality (MR 98-9, 105).

An authentic religious act, consequently, is one which is performed according to a certain mythological norm or theory and which is repeated on a regular ritual basis. Such an act both expresses and maintains harmony between mythical norms and cosmic rhythms. It manifests a homology between the various cosmic levels of reality and it permits man to pass through those levels to a point of maximum existence. The primitive, especially, who is familiar with almost all cosmic forces and levels, knows, through the enactment of his rituals and myths, how to influence those forces and how to penetrate those levels (MR 28; e.g. CL 97-8). The effect of his actions, according to Eliade, seems to be a re-making of cosmic unity and a reintegration of man into his rightful position in the Cosmos (CL 16; MR 62). This appears to be equivalent to a return to primordial integrity, that is a reintegration into Creation and a restoration of authentic human values (CL 56-7, 82; e.g. India IE 76-7; MR 36-9). The end result could be called a "unification" which has sacred and metaphysical worth (MR 63; cf. "totalization" IE 65; MR 20-6, 37-42; and above, pp. 109-11). To the primitive way of understanding, this "unification" is extremely real (CL 83, 89, 98, 121).

Thus Eliade interpreted the Legend of Master Manole as a cosmogonic myth with a soteriological function (CL 96-8). He researched alchemy as both a cosmological science and a soteriological

technique (V 478:11; Z 1:125; cf. above, p. 186). He reasoned that nearly all Indian philosophies are based on a metaphysical knowledge -- implying cosmology -- and a soteriological logics (IE 75-6; cf. above, pp. 106, 186). He was fully convinced that these and other archaic cosmologies and soteriologies retain just as much validity for understanding the world and for living in it as do the theories and discoveries of modern man (F 54-5).

Eliade was not unaware that rituals and myths, as cosmological and soteriological systems, change throughout history, but he concluded that their substance remains the same (CL 121). Whatever form they take, they continue to satisfy man's ontological thirst and his need to surpass himself. From one perspective, then, any law or theory found in history is basically the result of man's intuition and formulation of the Cosmos as a whole (Z 1:101). From another perspective, the action by which man conforms to that law or theory is the ultimate means of his total integration into the Cosmos. The Cosmos, therefore, together with man's intuitions and realizations regarding it, is the key to a completely human, even superhuman, existence. Whatever man thinks or does in the course of history -- provided that he thinks and does it according to his myths and rituals -- is both a "gesture" and a "theophany" (CL 72; cf. above, p. 165).

C. Signs and Symbols -- Eliade's concept of signs and symbols may be examined in light of his understanding of rituals and myths. Signs and symbols, he thought, have little power to express

whatever values they might have unless they are accepted as objects of participation in the life of a people, that is unless they are accredited in some way to the ritual and mythical creations of a people (F 61). On the one hand, the types of signs and symbols and the values associated with them vary from age to age, and from one tradition to another, because of the divergent and uniquely creative character of the rituals and myths of each of those traditions. On the other hand, evidence (historical or other) of the rituals and myths of a tradition cannot be properly understood outside of the zone of particular symbolic qualities of those rituals and myths (cf. F 37).

Eliade viewed rituals and myths as coherent systems of signs and symbols. Their coherency rests not on the purely rational aspects of the signs and symbols. Signs and symbols have inherent intuitive properties and are organized in a dramatic and integral way according to the structure of the rituals and myths (cf. IE 18). The meaning (or meanings) of any given sign or symbol is derived partially from the properties of that sign or symbol and partially from a consistent cosmology as determined by the rituals and myths (IE 133). Whatever is expressed by a sign or symbol, therefore, has a metaphysical significance. It refers to a system of coherent affirmations pertaining to real life situations and to ultimate reality (IE 128).

For instance, a symbol of construction, whatever historical form it takes, such as a pillar, a pyramid, a temple, or a monastery,

usually has some ritual and myth associated with it, especially in the very act of its construction. Any such symbol of construction could be termed, as Eliade put it, a symbolism of the Center since it reveals an "'absolute reality' (which is opposed to 'becoming', to profane, unconsecrated, illusory life, in which men live the greater part of their existence)..." (IE 22; cf. IE 50-8).²² Symbolisms of the Center which are found typically in primitive rituals and myths are mountains, trees, islands, rivers, and such. Like the symbols of construction, these natural symbols have the role of establishing man's place in the Cosmos and of homologizing cosmic levels in micro and macro proportions (cf. IE 14, 61-5, 85, 126-34).

Eliade's understanding of the metaphysical significance of signs and symbols included more than a comprehension of their cosmological structure. It also comprised his insights into their soteriological function. He thought that signs and symbols, like rituals and myths, are "revealed". That is, they are given, they precede man, and they are immediately experienced as extrarational entities (IE 17-8, 67). Any primitive, even if he is considered to be ignorant, directly perceives the values that signs and symbols convey (IE 104). Yet signs and symbols should not be viewed as objects which lead to personal a priori judgements (F 53).

22. "...'realitate absolută' (care se opune 'devenirii', vieții profane, neconsacrate, iluzorii, în care trăiesc oamenii aproape întreaga lor viață)...."

Signs and symbols are essentially non-personal objects of participation since they are associated with the collective creations of a tradition and since they are considered cosmic in origin by that tradition. Furthermore, signs and symbols, as experienced and as enacted within the context of a tradition, enable a person to go out of himself and to integrate into the organic life of the community (V 501:10; e.g. F 91). They also permit the community to pass beyond itself through various levels of the Cosmos to the attainment of universal existence.

The soteriological function of signs and symbols, therefore, consists in their ability to unify and to totalize the Cosmos and so give it a sacred character, such that the individual, as well as the community, can be reintegrated into the Whole. This Whole, according to Eliade, is not perceived as something abstract; it is grasped, rather, as a simultaneous unity of all the concrete details, specific properties, and special nuances of signs and symbols as they are normally experienced and lived within a tradition (cf. IE 58, 65-8, 91, 104).

Eliade's inquiry into the history of signs and symbols among various traditions follows upon his considerations of their metaphysical significance for each tradition. He believed that each tradition cultivates and appropriates the metaphysical sense of signs and symbols differently. For example, in a primitive tradition, signs and symbols are experienced as immediate and ecumenical manifestations of cosmic, absolute truths. In the Hebrew tradition,

they are experienced as prophetic and historical revelations of a transcendent, national God. The Greek tradition sees signs and symbols as human and artistic representations of pure, unadulterated forms. One segment of the Christian tradition, as inspired by Gioacchino da Fiore, accepts them as secret and timely indications of a universal, trinitarian Spirit. Another segment of the same tradition, as promoted by missionaries, rejects certain signs and symbols as scandalous idols of an evil, fallen Angel. Moderns, finally, view them as psychological and mathematical formulas for the control and manufacture of almost anything (F 155-7; IE 127-8).

Eliade felt that the contemporary age, if it could truly be called a tradition, has lost the metaphysical significance of signs and symbols (F 55-6; IE 371-2). When the modern inquires about the meaning of some form, he reaches into what Eliade called "subhuman levels" (such as materialism, Freudianism, Marxism, etc.). While this appears to be a radically new interpretation of forms, it also seems to be a confusion of planes which results ultimately in a sterility of the spirit (F 158). In other words, modern man tries to understand signs and symbols not as they should be understood in themselves, that is in their full autonomy and organic unity; rather, he considers them from his own personal opinion or theory as though they were separate and distinct forms which are determined by a series of other forms or by some inextricable force (such as gravity, the Oedipus Complex, alienation, etc.). In the end there remains only positivism, individualism, and

historicism for modern man and no spiritual grasp of reality itself (F 36).

6. A Study of Time

The striking dichotomy between traditional and modern modes of understanding raises a question about the contemporary intelligibility of Eliade's scientific study of religion. His scientific study appears to be structured according to the levels and relationships of certain areas of study rather than by some particular modern "method". He took the areas of his study to be traditional in character and metaphysical in nature. These areas consist of a number of forms which he termed, respectively, as traits and archetypes, rituals and myths, and signs and symbols. Since he did not define his terms by precise modern standards and since he did not explain them by strict rational categories of thought, the forms themselves, as well as the levels on which they exist and operate, seem extremely elusive to the modern eye. This problem with Eliade's science seems to increase when perspective is focused on the history and change of those metaphysical forms.

There is evidence in his writings, however, of a thread which seems to sew together the organs and limbs of his science, and which might make it comprehensible to contemporary society. That thread is Eliade's preoccupation with time, both in his own spiritual life and in his scientific study.

From the spiritual viewpoint, he saw that it was foolish to become anxious and confused over the things which he had or had not experienced in the course of life. Memories of the past, he felt, result only in melancholia since they are impossible to be relived. What was lost could not be regained and could certainly never be fulfilled. So instead of worrying about his personal past, he meditated on the impersonal aspects of the spirit. He compared this state of the spirit to the condition of an anonymous traveler who continually comes upon new visions, new discoveries, and who finds immediate and irreversible qualities to the events around him. The spirit releases potentials of imagination such that it renounces the personality and goes beyond limited memories to a participation in the cosmic and fantastic moments of life (F 74-7).

From the viewpoint of his scientific study, Eliade observed that the modern difficulty of understanding the metaphysical traditions of the past is due primarily to a loss of the fantastic. Contemporary society, he learned, has little imagination for the fantastic because of its egotistical and individualistic attitudes toward life. It is no wonder, he thought, that the world is explained today by inanimate physical and chemical laws instead of by the energetic techniques of alchemy. Modern laws have "decomposed" the fantastic in this case such that the original sense of alchemy is lost (CA 18; cf. V 478:11). In a similar fashion, the past itself is explained today by historical methods which try to trace the past as though it were an order of events when in fact

the notion of history as such is a creation of the modern mind (F 92-3, 108-9). Consequently, according to Eliade, historical methods neglect to examine the metaphysical values and the creative potentials of the past. Historical methods have lost perspective of the "fenomene originare" -- that is the fantastic and ahistorical qualities of the past (F 36-7). "'Decomposition of the fantastic' is completed to the measure in which original significances -- created and nourished by a strong metaphysical intuition -- are lost" (MM 18-9).²³

Modern positivism, especially under the guise of historicism, includes not only a "degradation" of the mysterious qualities of life (F 22-3); it entails also a "fall" into history itself (F 158; CD 7:10-2). In other words, Eliade thought that contemporary man, by his overconcern for history, is absorbed into history, and this constitutes a departure from his true origins, that is from the paradisiac values of life (IE 15). Ironically, history indicates that the first historians of religions, who were influenced by popular theories of evolution, believed that it was the primitive, ahistorical man who was "inferior" or "degraded" (IE 126-7).

In Eliade's judgement, therefore, a scholar begins to understand the absolute, universal, and impersonal origins of man only by a return to the study of archetypal, mythical, and symbolic

23. "'Descompunerea fantasticului' se împlineste în măsura în care semnificațiile originare -- create și alimentate de o puternică intuiție metafizică -- se pierd."

traditions of man. Such traditions manifest the origins of man. They stand above time in the sense that they are not determined by the passing of events but instead portend the primordial and eternal significances of human events (cf. F 89; IE 132-4).

It may be concluded that Eliade's scientific study of religion was not a historical study in the strict sense, nor a study of historical forms as such. The traditional forms of his study (i.e., traits and archetypes, rituals and myths, signs and symbols) seem to retain a timeless quality in whatever culture or point of history they are examined because they serve as unique creative expressions of ultimate human values and because they act as universal models toward the achievement of absolute reality for each of the traditions in question.

Instead of a history of forms, Eliade's scientific study apparently dealt with the cosmological structure and soteriological function of forms. The forms are so structured that no single kind of form can be reduced to the cause or chronology of any other kind, since each exists on a different plane in the sense that each reveals a different level of the Cosmos. The forms function in such a way that each has a mutual relationship with the other yet all are related as a whole for the fulfillment of a tradition in its quest for ultimate existence. According to the terms of his study, the quest for ultimate existence pertains to the integral "living out" of traditional forms which results in a dramatic "passing through" the levels of the Cosmos.

Although Eliade's study may not be regarded as history in the strict sense, it nevertheless took into account the change and development of traditional forms once it had established the metaphysical worth -- that is the cosmological and soteriological merit -- of those forms. Such a change of forms, or development of their meanings, is determined not exclusively by the specific causes or modifications brought about by the passing of time (such as diffusion, assimilation, etc.). Rather, such change rests mostly in the shifts which occur in the cosmological and soteriological perspectives of various traditions. These shifts and subsequent transformations of perspectives testify to the unique creative qualities of each tradition.

Eliade's science itself may be considered revolutionary by today's standards since the object of his study appears to be viewed from the standards of past traditions. In other words, his study treated the structural and categorical aspects of traditions from their perspectives rather than from modern ones. In connection with this, it seems that his approach to the object of his study was impersonal in character. That is, his approach consisted not in an explanation of the matter by adherence to a choice of rules supported by some modern law, but consisted instead in an elucidation of the matter by a commentary on the traditional forms which were already given and which constituted popular models or "laws". In short, his science did not confuse a modern "method" of study with the traditional "object" of study.

Even though Eliade's scientific approach may be interpreted as revolutionary and impersonal, it was still an outgrowth of his personality in search of the Absolute and in view of attaining his own spiritual equilibrium. It is likely, then, that his scientific approach, which embraced a revolutionary and impersonal perspective, served as a general orientation for his goal of the Absolute and for his need of equilibrium. In the line of this possibility, an implication emerges which seems to personify his total science of religion. That implication, which is quite involved, may be worded as follows: if the approach of Eliade's science is taken to be revolutionary and impersonal in character because it employed a perspective similar to the perspectives of popular traditions -- which perspectives were cosmological and soteriological in nature -- and if that intellectual perspective of his science served as a spiritual orientation in his quest for the Absolute and for equilibrium, then it seems that his science as a whole provided him with a cosmological vision of the Absolute and that his science as a whole functioned as a soteriology for his own fulfillment. If such were the case, then his science was not only an objective study of religion; it was also a creative and religious achievement for him.

Eliade's science, as it stands, does not appear to be a study based upon his own personal views which are then used to explain collective and traditional modes of thought. Eliade's science presents itself as a study of collective truths which he thought

could be found universally even though they are discovered first within particular traditions. In the process of his study, those truths finally become, personally for Eliade, a matter of contemplation and experience. Science appropriated in this light leads to the New Man, or to a new humanism.

CHAPTER VI

RECAPITULATION: ADVENT OF THE NEW MAN

An overview of Eliade's lifelong pursuit of religion may be useful as an aid to understanding his overall spiritual and intellectual development. A presentation of such an overview, however, lies outside the domain of biography, strictly speaking, since it is primarily concerned with the general character and with the recurrent qualities of his pursuit rather than with the actual sequence and stages of his development. The following offers a profile of Eliade insofar as it provides a recapitulation of some of the more typical traits which are contained in his biography either as influences or as products of his concern for religion.

1. Religion, Science, and the New Man

Ever since his adolescence, particularly from the latter years of lycée, Eliade was interested in religion. His interest in religion, however, was not limited to the classroom situation nor to Sunday liturgical observances. In fact, throughout lycée he had little use for textbooks which dealt with religion in a systematic fashion, and he personally disliked the ritual formalism of Orthodoxy. In his many readings outside the classroom, especially within the private surroundings of his own attic library, he

studied monographs and other accounts of ancient religions, such as those of Egypt, Babylonia, Greece, and the Orient. It was his initial curiosity in ancient religions and the knowledge he gained about them, together with the inspiration he received from the great Romanians M. Eminescu and B.P. Haşdeu, that encouraged him to study the religious traditions of his homeland Romania. It seems that his study of religion as a whole served not only as a window for his vision of exotic and exciting universes; it served also as a mirror for his reflection on the familiar yet intriguing world of his own origins. His study of religion functioned both as a spectrum and as a prism for his imaginative undertakings.

During the years as a student at the University of Bucharest, his interest in religion was undoubtedly nourished by accumulative readings, by his travels, and by his study of world religions under the stimulative guidance of Nae Ionescu. It was also motivated by his own Faustian ambition, by his intimate mystical experiences, and by his exhortation of his generation to recover the values of Romania's religious heritage. Consequently, there seems to be added to the imaginative basis of his inquiry into religion an awareness of the metaphysical nature of religion, as taught by scholars like Ionescu and as transpired in his own mystical states. His inquiry seems to be further supplemented by a desire for his generation to learn to live in a genuine and useful manner the many qualities of religion which he had been discovering.

The religious qualities which Eliade perceived and which he wanted to actualize, as part of the Romanian heritage, were not matters of belief in the tenets of the older generation or of adherence to the practices of that generation. He viewed his father's generation as a grand perpetuator of war, replete with corruption and imbued with sterility. In the hope of emerging from the chaos of the times, he rejected what he considered to be the impotent machinations of a dead generation and he tried to promote some creative achievements of a new generation of young Romanians. He attempted to persuade his peers of their creative potentials by appealing to the information, insights, and experiences of religion which he personally had acquired. The range of his appeal extended to the traditions of their forefathers and to the features of world religions as well. The total thrust of his effort to bring about a new generation seems to be due to his conviction that he had grasped the primordial and universal values of religion, which he felt were authentically Romanian. Those values, arising from ancestry, expressed the current needs of his generation, and became the ominous goals of the future.

Eliade's quest for a new generation, which was presented in the 1927 publication of his ambitious "Spiritual Itinerary", was epitomized by the New Man whom he anticipated. He expected that, by recovering the primordial and universal values of Romania's religious heritage, he and his generation could restore their spiritual equilibrium and could reach the Absolute. In the exuberance

of their creative activities, a New Man would ensue. It appears that Eliade's concern for religion has always been associated with the prospect of the New Man -- whether in the early period of his life as a student when he envisioned that the New Man would issue from a young generation, or whether later in his life as a scholar when he reaffirmed his belief that a new humanism would result from the integral progress of the sciences.¹

It was during his absence from Romania, upon his sojourn in India, that he underwent strong revisions of consciousness. His role as an instigator of his generation changed to one of adventurer in a strange and foreign land. Instead of assuring, idealistically, the fulfillment of the spirit with the coming of the New Man, he found himself faced with overwhelming circumstances and with the unanswerable question of suffering. The physical and spiritual characteristics of India were not conducive to the type of personalized equilibrium and fulfillment of a group itinerary; they were rather congenial to everyman's endurance of contrasts and to the lone search of Self.

From his studies at the University of Calcutta and from his independent research under the direction of prominent Indian

1. Eliade first accepted the forecast of a new humanism as a product of the cooperative effort of scientific disciplines upon reading G. Sarton's volumes in his last years of university (cf. above, pp. 32ff., 137-43). Not long ago he predicted the same conclusion for a complementary hermeneutics among methods in the History of Religions, that is Religionswissenschaft (For instance, cf. Q 1-11; TO 12-5).

scholars such as S. Dasgupta and R. Tagore, Eliade acquired techniques of obtaining knowledge which were quite different from those which he had learned in Romania. Above all, he discerned that the scientific study of religion could not be removed from the meditation and practice of religion, as demonstrated by his mutual study and exercise of Yoga.

His sojourn in India -- during which he was adventurer, researcher, student, disciple, and yogin -- may certainly be interpreted as the occasion of his initiation into the History of Religions. There he gained not only a firsthand acquaintance with the works of Indianists and with the culture of India as a whole; he also took the opportunity to study directly from ancient manuscripts even within the monastic context in which they were preserved. Eliade investigated, in a scientific manner,² ancient documents of the Orient, and he wrote and eventually published as a product of his inquiry a dissertation which was accredited by leading scholars within the general field of the History of Religions.

It seems that his three years of suffering in India, which involved a revolution of his personality and of his general outlook on things, put him in touch, so to speak, with the most basic needs and with the most valuable goals of his spiritual and intellectual development. Before he left India to return to Romania, he felt

2. One may say as well "in a ritualistic manner"; see above, pp. 68, 77, 116.

that, at least some time during his stay in India, he had come in contact with the ancient secrets of life and happiness. In his contemplation, and in his study and exercise of Yoga, he approached what he considered to be a cosmic existence. One may say he neared the status of the universal Absolute. By the end of his Indian adventure, he had not given up hope in the New Man. It appears that he regarded his experiences as indications, as even prefigurations, of the New Man. And he sensed the dawn of a new age in which the horizons of the Orient and of the Occident would converge.

When he returned to Romania with the knowledge and values of India with him, Eliade reentered the sphere of Western influences which resulted in a renewal of his spirit. With remarkable fervor, in the responsible position of educator at the University of Bucharest, he again encouraged his generation, and the then younger generation, to look for the New Man, that is to develop a new humanism, by following the primordial and universal values of their forefathers (which he compared to the primordial and universal values of India and of folkloric traditions throughout southeastern Europe).

In his work with colleagues and with students, he expressed the distinction between "thinking", which is the manner of youth, and "understanding", which is the mode of maturity. He held that thinking naturally leads to understanding in the authentic development of one's spirit, yet only when one has reached a certain level of maturity can one become a New Man since only then is one able to

perceive the metaphysical and religious values of life, which are the keys to understanding. He applied the same line of reasoning to the growth of a whole generation.

Eliade believed at the time that his own spirit had recently passed from "thinking" to "understanding". Confident of himself, he began to explicitly formulate what the scientific study of religion meant to him, and what the objects and objectives of such a research were as a discipline. In his judgement, a scientific study of religion should be impersonal as well as creative in character, and should be polyvalent as well as synthetic in scope. These qualities which he proposed for a scientific study were not unlike the qualities which he envisioned for the New Man and which he fostered for his own spiritual welfare.

For the remainder of his years as an educator at the University, it becomes apparent that his science of religion, as he further developed and formulated it, had been all along an outgrowth of his personality, even from his earliest ambition to achieve the New Man. He knew conclusively that science could not limit itself to the personal and particular nature of experiences -- as a type of Faustian determination -- but needed to incorporate the impersonal and ecumenical qualities of experiences. These qualities, as he then discovered, must be compatible with the human condition and should not be subservient to the egocentric goals of one man or of a single generation. He saw that these qualities, as the object of his science, rest properly in the context of collective traditions.

The fact that Eliade's science of religion dealt with collective traditions as its object does not mean that there was a loss of the imaginative basis and objective of his inquiry. On the contrary, the formulation of his science concerned itself precisely with the fantastic values of the past, as evidenced in collective traditions, and that formulation was strengthened by his hope that science in general -- as a synthesis of all formulations -- might result in a fabulous new humanism for the future. This approach to understanding, he pointed out, was revolutionary: it did not simply think in historical categories; it tried to comprehend history according to metaphysical factors and it tried to "make history", especially by creating a New Man.

Eliade maintained that the development of a new humanism, or the creation of the New Man, which he accepted as the proper objective of science in general, could not be achieved by a partisan outlook or by adherence to a single set of modern scientific laws. Science in general, as the functioning of many sciences, must take into consideration the metaphysical and religious values of the past if it is to accomplish its objective. On the one hand, therefore, it appears that a science of religion according to Eliade was necessary for the attainment of understanding within science in general. On the other hand, it also seems that his particular formulation of the science of religion served as his mode of arriving at an understanding of science itself as a general and integral endeavor.

The effect that his formulation of the science of religion had upon his comprehension of science in general may be clarified by a closer look at the objective which he held for science in general, namely the New Man. It is evident that he described (or prescribed) the New Man as an archetypal and polytechnical being. In other words, he characterized the objective of science in general through the use of what he considered to be religious and metaphysical terms.

There is also the possibility that, besides his science of religion being the key to his understanding of science in general, his science of religion was in itself a religious achievement for him. The New Man of cosmic proportions whom he expected may be taken as the soteriological fulfillment of all scientific inquiry, especially that of his own.

Indeed, whether engaged in the scientific study of religion as a young man or whether formulating his science of religion as an adult, Eliade imitated the ideas of men whom he believed to be examples of the New Man (such as Hașdeu, Ionescu, Tagore, etc.). Throughout his spiritual and intellectual development -- from youth to maturity -- he not only looked forward to the New Man, he also followed models of the New Man. The New Man may be regarded, therefore, not only as the objective of his science of religion and of science in general; the New Man may be designated as both the drive and the instrument behind his science of religion. To arrive, finally, after many years of study, at an intellectual formulation

of a science of religion which he thought could help achieve the New Man, through the mutual effort of all scientists, must have been in itself a great satisfaction and reward for him in his own spiritual quest for the New Man.

So the New Man appears to be the ultimate goal of Eliade's spiritual and intellectual development. The New Man also appears to be the main influential or causal factor in the very unfolding and expression of his development. The same New Man seems to be the objective of his science of religion, as he studied and as he formulated it. Furthermore, the qualities of the New Man seem to be contained in the object of his science of religion, which was collective traditions. The qualities of the New Man which he observed in collective traditions were not unlike the qualities of the New Man which he intuited in his own contemplative states and aspirations.

2. The New Man and the History of Science

Throughout the course of his development, Eliade discerned examples of the New Man around him in some of his teachers, in contemporary writers, gurus, poets, extraordinary friends, etc. He borrowed and adapted their ideas for his science of religion. He further modeled his science of religion after what he thought to be the standards of ancient traditions. Through his science of religion, he found that history was due to the change and development of primitive perspectives, and he discovered that history

imitates, or repeats, such things as archetypes and primitive symbols. He also disclosed certain historical figures who, by virtue of their universal qualities, appeared to him to be typical of the New Man.

Each example of the New Man which Eliade uncovered in history was indicative of a new age to come. For instance, Socrates, one of the earliest historical figures of the New Man, preceded the Alexandrian epoch. Some of the others he listed were the prophets before the birth of Christ, Gioacchino da Fiore in the period prior to the Renaissance, Rousseau previous to the French Revolution, and Dostoevsky before the time of the Russian Revolution (O 203; V 418:6; e.g. G. da Fiore IE 356-64). Although Eliade could not identify the New Man for his own time, he still sensed and awaited him (O 202; cf. above, pp. 170-9).

Eliade interpreted the ages which were distinguished by examples of the New Man as the most important stages through which the history of civilizations proceeded. In the history of Western civilizations at least,³ he thought that there occurred certain times and places in which new perspectives of the cosmos and new levels of existence were attained. The metaphysical values which were associated with each unique stage of history were already foreshadowed by the New Man who anticipated that stage, while the

3. Perhaps with the exception of Romania; cf. above, p. 4.

stage itself entailed a creative unfolding, a concrete "living out", and likely a definite formulation of those metaphysical values.

What was of special interest to him as a Romanian and as a scientist was the history of European science. A picture of the overall worth and an outline of the particular stages of the history of European science may be constructed from a few of his works.

As early as 1928, shortly before his trip to India, Eliade delineated the general benefits of an awareness of the history of European science: 1) it dissolves the self-assurances of purely modern perspectives since it perceives that every discipline develops in the light of its own history; 2) it reveals the relativity of any dogmatic or strict scientific formula because it sees that each people and each epoch of history follows its own metaphysics, laws, and norms of behavior; 3) it both stimulates and guides new discoveries, as well as new hypotheses; 4) it provides continuity and coherence for science in general because it realizes that the same scientific spirit remains and similar methods of inquiry recur; and finally 5) it retains a sensitivity to the osmotic processes between scientific study and philosophical study (C 1174:1).

In the years immediately following his trip to India, he described a number of stages in the history of European science and he gave some more examples of the New Man: Leonardo da Vinci, Copernicus, and Galileo introduced unified cosmic theories in order to correlate a wide variety of natural phenomena (O 81).

Dealing with human phenomena, Pascal made a distinction between the passionate and the intellectual zones of the spirit. That is, out of the daily events of passion he extracted universal spiritual values by which human experiences could be easily understood. The experiences of man took on spiritual values of their own and became, themselves, objects of knowledge. This resulted in a vision of nature, and the things of nature, as mysterious and eternal events with spiritual and human significance (O 262-3). In the 18th century, natural science became individualized into esotericism on the one hand, while mystery became individualized into superstition on the other (IE 331). Natural phenomena became so characterized by their physical qualities only that their spiritual values became distinct and even obscure. Then Kant introduced a theory of knowledge as the primary factor in any scientific or philosophical study (O 286-7). This disturbed the prevalent sciences and philosophies at the time which postulated either exclusive physical or spiritual order to the universe. Order was rendered rather as a pure universal, appropriate to everyman according to his categories of consciousness and memory (O 60-1). The 19th century went further to foster individuality by a priori excluding mystery and miracle from nature and history, thus purposely establishing a strict historical method. In fact, its positivism completely isolated it from the world of spiritual values (F 34-7, 92-4, 105-9). This disjunction of the historical and the spiritual resulted in a confusion of levels of reality, and so profaned the cosmos and man's

relation to it (F 88-9, 158). Then men like Kierkegaard, Dostoevsky, and Heidegger revolted against rational argumentation and the sterility of values. They practiced instead certain experimental methods which were not unlike those of positive science but which dealt properly with the spiritual values of existence, that is of man living in the world (O 260).⁴ Finally, many modern scientists find their spiritual life devoid of absolute values and perceive the cosmos as problematic (O 286).

So for Eliade the history of European science showed a marked development which began with a general attempt to comprehend the primordial and eternal order of the universe, including the spiritual significance of events, which then passed through a critical reflection on the different ways of humanly knowing and valuing that order, and which concluded in an array of specialized methods to cope with separate orders of the universe as devised by the different modes of knowledge. When the world and human understanding of the world began to be distinguished between what was called "objective" and what was called "superstitious", that is between what was termed "real" and what was suggested as "illusory", then Eliade thought that the world had lost its sacred and totally cosmic quality. Facts and events had lost their intrinsic spiritual significance. He also felt that the elimination of the spiritual value of reality

4. Eliade also noted that Dostoevsky and Heidegger, as well as Pascal and Nietzsche, were the few who have been able to penetrate the structure of Romanian thought (O 196).

had itself been a value judgement which gave birth to positivism, the strict quantification and logical analysis of reality. In the case of positivism, a certain knowledge of the real apparently became more important than the real itself, and actually profaned the real. Knowledge, then esteemed, took on many modes of operation. Many methods were invented and developed which proposed to understand the truth of reality. This claim on the part of modern methods appeared to be an inconsistency for Eliade. In fact, he considered it as a contradiction because it was not in keeping with the history of European science which shows that the ultimate truth of reality -- the cosmic value of reality -- has been degraded by the growth of such specialized methods.

Eliade was not completely against particular scientific methods and the discoveries of specialists as such. He rather disagreed with the philosophical implications behind their objectives. From his viewpoint, the history of European science, if accepted as the enrichment of experimental techniques, is an asset to greater appreciation and understanding of the world, but if such methods are held to the responsibility of determining the values of reality or of "explaining away" reality, because of their positivistic temper, then those methods are divorced from life and they are philosophically corrupt. Methods must be continually applied to life circumstances as well as to human values which contribute to a meaningful world. Without a meaningful world an understanding of it is impossible.

It seems that Eliade was unwilling to admit that the meaning of the world -- at least for the West -- has changed, that quantity itself can have meaning, or that measurement and manipulation of reality can have human repercussions, and perhaps can create new human values. In fact, Eliade would rather have seen modern European methods of experimentation return to the philosophical visions of the past, or to the philosophical visions evident in the history of Indian systems of thought. The following lengthy passage, which he wrote while he was in India, illustrates the parallelism which he detected between the history of European science and the history of Indian philosophy. He repudiated the history of European philosophy.

The development and maturity of Indian philosophical systems resembles the history of European science, but not the history of European philosophy. The thoughtful Indian works on given problems, he does not invent the problems; he completes, he perfects, he defends the system in which he performs a part, applying to the point those writings of his master. In Europe, on the other hand, everyone creates his own system, trying to annul predecessors, searching at any price for a new problem, never encountered before, or a point of view unedited, "original", personal. I am acquainted with the causes of this personalism which characterizes European philosophy, which is not a technique, but a discourse.

It is worth noting the technical, scientific character of Indian "philosophy". Like the growth of scientific ideas and practices in Europe, Indian philosophy presents a perfect continuum; each philosopher departs from the point left by his master or predecessor, recovers the way back, stabilizes conquered positions, and then passes further on along those same lines of thought (SA 88-9; cf. C 1393:1-2).⁵

The techniques of Indian philosophy may be viewed as analogous to European experimental methods in the sense that both are

active engagements in the "laboratory of life" wherein the conditions of human existence and creativity are uncovered and controlled. Like European methods, Indian techniques deal with the conditions of man not by explaining those conditions away but by identifying them and by experimenting with them as much as possible (cf. GE 8-9). The difference between Indian techniques and European methods rests mostly in the objectives which stand behind them. Indian techniques try to overcome the limitations of human conditions for the sake of attaining "absolute" truths, and in so doing retain fundamental human values. European methods try to master the limitations of human conditions for the sake of achieving "objective" truths, and in so doing lose fundamental human values.

What conclusions may be drawn from this very brief comparison of the history of these disciplines? Eliade certainly respected the worth of scientific methods, but only when science is grasped

5. "Desfășurarea și maturitatea sistemelor filosofice indiene se aseamănă istoriei științelor europene, iar nu istoriei filosofiei europene. Gânditorul indian lucrează pe probleme date, nu inventează cel problemele; completează, perfecționează, apără sistemul din care face parte, punând la punct cele scrise de maestrul său. În Europa, dimpotrivă, fiecare își creiază sistemul său, încercând anularea predecesorilor, căutând cu orice preț o problemă nouă, nemai întâlnită până atunci, sau un punct de vedere inedit, 'original', personal. Se cunosc cauzele acestui personalism ce caracterizează filosofia europeană; care nu e o tehnică, ci un discurs.

E vrednic de remarcat caracterul tehnic, științific, al 'filosofiei' indiene. Asemenea creșterii ideilor și practicilor științifice în Europa, filosofia indiană prezintă un perfect continuum; fiecare filosof pleacă de la punctul unde a rămas maestrul sau predecesorul său, reface drumul îndărăt, stabilizează pozițiile cucerite, și trece mai departe, pe aceeași linie de gândire, însă."

from the viewpoint of its own development and especially when it is applied to the right objective. That objective is the New Man anticipated in the West or it is the Absolute envisioned in the East. Science, for Eliade, constitutes a number of ways of investigating eternal human values within the context of particular human conditions, that is within the circumstances of history and progress. Even though at times science becomes degraded into a simple logic or discourse, nevertheless in the long run it continues to follow old patterns while it never ceases to create new insights and world perspectives. In the end, there is no room in science for individual, personal criteria, but there is plenty of opportunity for experimentation and discovery. These experiments and discoveries must be related to collective human needs and desires. In brief, they must help man go beyond himself, while yet preserving all that he has known and cherished. It is this "passing over the threshold" that so typifies the entire history of the European scientific spirit (0 259).

3. The Threshold of Time

Eliade believed that, at some point in the future, science in general would arrive at a new humanism. The advent of the New Man was mostly a question of synthesizing the many methods of science in a metaphysical perception of the universe which included a reflection of man's place and development in the universe. So the current task of science was of enormous consequence for Eliade.

The fact of being a scientist, that is of experimenting with the universe and of creating a New Man, was for him like participating in a great action. It was like being engaged in a momentous decision which, conclusively, would affect the whole of humanity. There was no interval in his mind between what could happen and what had to be done, at all cost, then and there. In other words, he felt an immediate necessity to the task of science such that the task could not be put off until tomorrow.

His need to take up science, together with his understanding of the history of science, which were both motivated by the coming of the New Man, seem to contain notions about time which may be detected throughout his own development. In every stage of his spiritual and intellectual growth, Eliade was so preoccupied with the sense of time, and he was so anxious over the effects of time, that time appears to be almost a demonic force behind his maturation. As a youth and as an adult, he was so possessed by time that his quest for the New Man seems to be marked with a sign of madness. A review of some of his notions and experiences regarding time, therefore, may help to illustrate something more about the New Man.

The attributes of Eliade's sense of time, at whatever period in his life, were inseparable from the values of his imagination. He felt that his spirit was never completely limited by the circumstances of the age, by the location of his adventure, or by the duties of his role as an educator. To overcome such forms of restraint, he laid out an itinerary, he took to the road of a hero,

he retreated to the memory of his ancestors and to the fantastic worlds he had once envisioned as a child. In his approach to maturity, he began to understand that even within the human condition there is plenty of opportunity for creative achievement. Even within a restrictive formulation of a science of religion there is enough room for creative intuition. He always tried to become intensely aware of the current qualities of his existence, and he tried desperately to follow the models of existence which he felt were needed for the present as such to be fulfilled.

Of course he did not perceive the unfolding and the completion of time as a process based upon a unified series of causes and effects. Nor did he conceive the advance of time as a congruent sequence of events or as an ascending consistency of logical meanings attributed to those events. Each event which seemed to him in any way significant carried with it at least some primordial, universal, and archetypal qualities. The events and effects of time, which altogether one might call "history", manifested for Eliade ahistorical and eternal values. He saw that the qualities of events were made up of fantastic moments, or of traditions of fantastic moments, wherein cosmic values were experienced and "lived out" in very human ways.

Apparently Eliade thought that everyman must pass through what one might call "history". By that he meant that each man, like himself, must develop through the unique circumstances and opportunities of his existence and that each man must learn to

endure the tragedies which are common to the existence of all men. Such tragedies include lost opportunities, the irreversibility of events, melancholia, death, and most of all, the degradation of values. What is said about the life of everyman regarding "history" can also be said about the life of a generation, the life of a tradition, a whole civilization, and so on.

No man (or generation, or tradition, etc.) can completely pass through what one might call "history" unless that man is willing to pass over the threshold of his own limitations and unless he is willing to ultimately transcend even the tragedies of humanity in a quest for the Absolute. He must take a leap into the darkness, as a form of venture into the unknown, for the sake of intuiting something beyond himself and for the sake of acquiring the skill of appropriating for himself the object of his intuition through his own experiences. This passing over the threshold, so to speak, entails no chronological continuity. Rather, it may be viewed as a break from the ordinary sequence of events, as a "stopping history" or as a "stepping out of history" by means of a return to the primordial creation of things. If man does not take his step over the threshold of time,⁶ then he "falls into history", that is he loses hold of the creative values of his life and he

6. Perhaps a recent and vivid example of this was astronaut Neil Armstrong's moonwalk and his now famous statement: "That's one small step for a man, one giant leap for mankind." The immediate purpose of the walk was to collect rocks billions of years old which would indicate the origins of the earth.

loses touch with the cosmic world in which he lives. He plunges into a vacuum of meaning, only to measure the endless dissolution of all that he is and of all that he represents.

Eliade's contemporaries seemed to him to be indeed "falling into history". Modern man persists to be so preoccupied with "history" as the record and as the passing of events that he no longer lives in "history" in the sense of passing through "history". "History" itself passes him by and surrounds him with a web of captivity. The modern, in other words, appears bound by the conspiracies of the very thing he set out to observe. He seems subservient to an object which he intended to be an instrument of his own measurement. "History" is now an entanglement of facts and figures in which man finds himself lost. The proper perspective of man is lost -- that perspective being the totally religious nature of man (homo religiosus). Some men are not even aware of this nature anymore.

So for the present, it was imperative for Eliade that man exercise his creative abilities to the fullest extent of his power. Man must "make history", that is he must create a current sense of existence which remembers mainly the accomplishments of the past and which looks along those lines to discover new feats for the future. The goals do not change that much; they are to transcend the limitations of his existence and to fulfill his nature as a man.

The New Man is the totally religious man. But being religious he is no less human. His religious superiority is of the type which

has proven itself, which has not become discouraged over the past failures of mankind and which has not become trapped in the intricate delusions of "history". The New Man is as great as his own development and he is as human as the tradition and ancestry from which he comes. Yet in all that he is, he is still more. He is Another. The latter cannot be explained; it can only be achieved through the implementation of the many techniques which he has learned. These techniques comprise his science, which is uniquely his art. One of the most profitable techniques, at least for Eliade, was experimentation with time itself: that is with death and deformation, the passing of things, the chaotic and fantastic points of life, recreation, and so on. This form of experimentation may be viewed as a mode of existential discovery in the sense that it deals with the life of man in order to uncover the ultimate meaning that man attributes to his life and to the world around him.

CONCLUSION

The notions and objectives of Eliade's work today as a renowned historian of religions are traceable for the most part to those notions and objectives of his science of religion which he had formulated before 1940. In that period prior to World War II, he organized, in a formal fashion, his approach to the study of religion. He synthesized and expressed, in what may be accepted as scientific terms, his thoughts about religion. This synthesis included ideas of his own as well as the ideas of other men which had been influential in his own spiritual and intellectual development. There is no indication that those ideas about religion which he adopted and modified for his science of religion were strictly rational, or that they were synthesized in some purely logical manner, or that their formulation constituted a system or a science of religion which can be verified by today's standards.

This dissertation has attempted to elucidate Eliade's notions regarding religion as he first acquired them, as he further studied them, and as he finally formulated them. He first learned about matters of religion through his own experiences and imagination. He studied religion as an object of knowledge and he submitted that knowledge to the practice and contemplation of religion as well. He formulated a science of religion as a means of understanding reality and also as an instrument for actually achieving the New Man. The science of religion, in other words, was not primarily

an abstract or academic pursuit for Eliade. As far as he was concerned, the science of religion consisted of a quest which affected his entire life and the whole of humanity. The science of religion, as he delineated it, was as much a vocalization of his own need for spiritual equilibrium as it was an expression of his intellectual understanding of things.

So the purpose of this dissertation has been to point out the indissoluble bond between the spiritual and the intellectual spheres of Eliade's development. Its goal has been to unravel the spiritual thread that gives coherence to his science of religion. The thesis which it has tried to demonstrate is the necessity of knowing the personal beliefs and experiences of Eliade's past in order to be able to fully appreciate, and comprehend, his work as a historian of religions today. The experiences of his personal life, and especially the spiritual insights which occurred to him along the way, appear to have greatly influenced his current scientific study of religion, even though he has refined and clarified that study many times over.

As a final conclusion, a résumé is provided of a few of the most fundamental spiritual qualities of Eliade's science of religion which this dissertation seems to have uncovered. No implication is made that these spiritual qualities remain as the only conclusive qualities of his scientific study of religion today.

Eliade perceived the imagination as an unlimited faculty of the spirit. He was originally motivated to the study of religion

by his own imagination, in the form of a vision of exotic universes. In his approach to the study of religion, he synthesized philosophical and scientific methods by means of the imagination, as the seat of intuition. He detected the sacred in the profane, the extraordinary within the ordinary, also through the imagination, as any carrier of the fantastic. He chose the imagination as the object of his study, in the form of collective fantastic traditions. He saw the advent of the New Man not only as the fulfillment of his own imaginative undertakings, but also as the objective of collective traditions and of the history of science in general.

Briefly, therefore, the qualities of the imagination constitute not only Eliade's personal insights but also the means, object, and objective of his scientific study of religion. Yet such qualities appear under different forms, and it is not suggested that one form of the imagination is the cause of another or that one can be reduced to another. While there certainly appears to be a development of the qualities of his own imagination, and while similar qualities of the imagination seem to be formulated in his science of religion, nevertheless such qualities, as finally formulated, exist on their own "plane" of reference, at least according to Eliade's understanding.

A great deal of research is still required in order to clarify Eliade's central but elusive notions of "planes of the spirit" and "planes of reality". Hopefully such additional research would

help to evaluate the imaginative forms of his scientific study of religion. The limited research of this dissertation, which has attempted primarily to elucidate Eliade's reflection of himself and his understanding of things, finds it inappropriate to assess the imaginative forms of his scientific study by values other than his own. It is especially difficult to judge Eliade's scientific study of religion by modern standards since these criteria of evaluation are foreign, and even contradictory, to his own critical understanding of the nature of a scientific study of religion.

It is not enough to say that Eliade's scientific study of religion is based on formulations of the imagination alone. The formulations of his study are also derived precisely from his critical understanding of things, which is evidenced by his very notions of "understanding" as distinct from "knowledge". In fact, the counterpart of Eliade's imagination seems to be his critical awareness of the world around him, including the problems of the world and his own maturation within it. He showed a perennial dissatisfaction with the restricted circumstances of his existence, and he never seemed to be content with a single thought, theory, or conclusion to any of his studies. Rather, he adopted contraries in his various life-styles and he studied contraries as different modes of attaining understanding. His science of religion, consequently, may not be reduced to a purely imaginative level, nor to a purely logical level, nor to any other level for that matter. Although his science of religion employs numerous methods and techniques in

its practical application, it may not be described as "methodical" or completely "systematic" in and of itself. Rather, its coherency seems to rest on both polyvalent and synthetic qualities, which are also the qualities of the spirit in the face of life.

The thesis itself is supported by the weight of the bibliographical material it has assembled. Much of Eliade's writing appears to be a critical appraisal of his contemporaries as well as a reflective critique of his own spiritual development. Ever since his adolescence, he wrote autobiographical articles and journals in which he discussed the events of the age and in which, as part of his interpretation of those events, he recorded the imaginative visions and delusions of his spirit. He composed novels and short stories in which he used autobiographical data which he arranged in his own imaginative style, such that out of seemingly ordinary events emerged the fantastic. He formulated scientific works (i.e., works in the History of Religions) as commentaries on the fantastic qualities of collective traditions, especially from his own Romanian ancestry, and he contemplated and experimented with those qualities in his own life. Altogether, it seems that he witnessed a parallelism, or a "homology", between the development of his spirit, the unfolding of his generation or of a tradition, and the general progress of history (the history of science, the history of religions, etc.).

In each case, whether it be the development of his own spirit, the existence of a tradition, or history itself, the New Man is

imagined and anticipated as he is actually being completed and "lived out". The New Man is a totally fantastic and a totally real Being.

It is not an oversimplification to conclude that the bulk of Eliade's inquiries, insights, and formulations -- both as a person and as a scientist -- point to the New Man. If the notion of the New Man is accepted as the epitome of Eliade's spiritual life and of his scientific endeavors, at least up to 1940, then there is still much to be done to see if he has resolved (or achieved) that notion since 1940. In what ways, for instance, has he promoted and accomplished the New Man since then? How does he depict the New Man in his more recent works, and is this characterization in keeping with the qualities of the New Man which he anticipated before 1940? Investigation into such questions could further demonstrate the dependency of knowing Eliade's spiritual quest in order to comprehend his scientific study of religion.

The question of Eliade's method, which needs to be answered, must rest on a judgemental basis. Eliade himself thought that no one could do without a method, but he has never explicitly and systematically presented his method as such. In this sense, he had no strict methodology -- for the logos of his study cannot be stated in so many words. Throughout his life, at least up to 1940, he made use of many methods, depending on what he felt was appropriate to his insights and the circumstances of the object he studied at any given time. It does not seem possible to separate

his notions (and his terminology) behind those particular methods from his actual application of the methods, either to the object of study or/and especially in his own spiritual development. This raises the broader problem of hermeneutics, especially if one considers Eliade's orientation in the scientific study of religion to be "revolutionary".

It seems that most of Eliade's interpretations reflect his romantic roots. He was a neo-romantic, a philosopher of history after the style of Vico, Dilthey, Spengler, and others. Yet his thought cannot be limited to these horizons. The knowledge he gained in India reinforced his romantic designs, especially his sense of the eternal in history, though India's educational values were certainly not "romantic" in the Western sense of the word. India gave Eliade an "existential" basis for his scientific inquiry not only because it provided a context for him to apply and to "live out" his bookish knowledge and his romantic inclinations, but also because it offered a particular cultural milieu, and the actual texts of that ancient tradition, by which he could properly interpret what was then the object of his study, namely Yoga.

After his return to Romania, Eliade's quest remained that of the Absolute, the universal, whatever the social or political demands to the contrary. Certain romantic tendencies were reflected on a broad cultural spectrum in that era between the two World Wars (as evidenced by other neo-romantics: W. Otto, J. de Vries, G. van der Leeuw, etc.). Yet Eliade's romantic thirst was

uniquely Romanian, stemming from his desire to imitate such great Romanians as Hașdeu, Eminescu, Blaga, and arising from the Romanian peasant tradition itself, from which he was a third generation descendant. It is the latter romantic roots, those of Romania, which engendered in him nostalgia and the obsession with "time".

While Eliade's interpretations reflect definite romantic passions, his interpretations also appear to approach religious phenomena in the mode of being of those phenomena. At repeated instances, up to 1940, he referred to phenomenology (apparently without dependence upon Husserl) as either a manner of comprehension and study, or as a means of living out one's life in the limitations and possibilities of one's surroundings. He strongly reacted against forms of rationalism and reductionism which attempted to explain phenomena by measures artificial or foreign to the nature of the phenomena. He was not content simply with immediate data, but thought he could "see" the qualities of phenomena and tried to apply those insights to concrete experiences. That is, he "experimented" with many phenomena in as many ways possible.

A type of phenomenology may be detected in the structure of archetypes, myths, and symbols which he began to formulate around 1935, but, since such a phenomenology was only in the making, it would not be the place here to elaborate on it. The constitution of Eliade's phenomenology in the History of Religions -- if further research indicates that this is indeed the case -- must be compared, or "checked", with his later scientific works.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Mircea Eliade's writings from adolescence to 1940 have been difficult to compile. There are no indexes referring to his published works before 1940 and most of his unpublished works before then are lost. A few bibliographies of his works have appeared since then but they fail to list clearly and exactly his early writings.¹ Besides being incomplete, existing bibliographies contain a number of technical errors. They are neither annotated nor critical. In fact, they are even confusing since they list selections of Eliade's works without showing that many of the selections are collections, revisions, and translations of earlier publications.

The BIBLIOGRAPHY presented below has tried to eliminate the error, duplication, and confusion apparent in other bibliographies. It is the most complete and critical bibliography of Mircea Eliade's works up to 1940 and after.

1. J.A. Vázquez, "Para una biobibliografía de Mircea Eliade," Universidad (1964) 59:357-74, contains only a small part of his early writings and has major errors in it. A booklet by A. Pritchard and D.E. Fitch, Mircea Eliade. A Check-List of His Publications in the History of Religions, Santa Barbara, University of California Library, 1968, 50 pp., has a limited distribution and is also incomplete. The latter has been revised and updated by R. Hecht and M.G. Bradford as Mircea Eliade. A Bibliography, Santa Barbara, University of California Library and the Institute of Religious Studies, 1974, 22 pp. It too is limited and incomplete. The most extensive is "Bibliography of Mircea Eliade" in J.M. Kitagawa and C.H. Long (eds.), Myths and Symbols. Studies in Honor of Mircea Eliade, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1969, pp. 417-33. However, it omits articles of a personal and literary nature and it offers no critical studies on Eliade before 1940. In parts of his autobiography, Amintiri (A), Eliade mentions some of his early writings and names a number of the periodicals in which he published.

While Eliade's works before 1940 have been difficult to compile, they have been more difficult to actually obtain. Most of them are not located in the libraries of North America or Western Europe, but can be found only in the Biblioteca Academiei R.S. România in Bucharest. Special permission from the Romanian government and from the Director of the Academy is required in order to research in this library. Eliade's works themselves normally may not be taken from the library and certain ones, such as some of his newspaper articles, are deteriorated and partially destroyed. A limited amount of excerpts of his books may be micro-filmed, but at great time and expense to the researcher because of the library's lack of equipment. The purchase and exportation of Eliade's works published before 1940 is officially prohibited by the government.

Almost all of the original works of Eliade before 1940 and after which are listed in the BIBLIOGRAPHY and which are obtainable have been consulted in the research of this dissertation. His original works before 1940 which have not been consulted are designated by an asterisk.

For the sake of clarity, the BIBLIOGRAPHY is organized into seven sections as follows.

- A. BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS BY ELIADE
- B. ARTICLES BY ELIADE
- C. WORKS FOUNDED, EDITED, COLLABORATED,
OR TRANSLATED BY ELIADE

- D. WORKS PREFACED OR REVIEWED BY ELIADE
- E. CRITICAL STUDIES ON ELIADE
- F. CRITICAL REVIEWS OF ELIADE'S WORKS
- G. ADDENDA

Items in each section are listed according to their earliest date of publication, or to the date of their original writing if unpublished, alphabetically within each year. Critical remarks -- those pertaining to collections, revisions, and translations of certain documents -- are added where necessary to the earliest listing of those documents. Each section might vary somewhat in this regard. For instance, in section A. BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS BY ELIADE, French, German, and English translations of works are listed under the date of the original work, which is usually in Romanian. Each of the translations is then listed again, with full bibliographical details, under its own date of publication. However, in section B. ARTICLES BY ELIADE, translations are listed, with full bibliographical details, only under the date of the original work translated. In both sections, a publication in a language other than French, German, or English is listed only if it was originally published in that other language.

Alphabetical listings also vary in each section. For example, in section A, items are listed alphabetically within each year according to the title of the book or manuscript. In sections B and E, items are listed alphabetically within each year according to the title of the periodical in which an article appears. (This latter

format has been adopted as an aid to research since most of the articles within each year before 1940 appear mainly in a certain few periodicals of that year). In section F, items are listed alphabetically under the year of the book reviewed according to the title of the periodical in which the book is reviewed.

A. BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS BY ELIADE

- * Nuvele si povestiri, unpub. series of short stories, written in 1919.
- * Călătoria celor cinci cărăbuși în țara furnicilor roșii, unpub., written in 1921-2.
- * Jurnalul, unpub. record of events at school, 1921-2. Parts contained in Eliade's Romanul adolescentului miop (1922-5).
- * Memoriile unui soldat de plumb, unpub. novel of universal history, written in 1922-3.
- * Romanul adolescentului miop, autobiog. novel of exemplar youth, written from 1922-5. Parts pub. as arts. from 1925-7.
- * Istorie a descifrării hieroglifelor, unpub., written in 1923.
- * Gaudeamus, autobiog. novel written in 1927-8. Part pub. as art. in 1928.

- Jurnalul, autobiog. journal written from 1928 to date. Parts pub. as arts. from 1953-. Parts from 1945 to 1969 trans. into French as Fragments d'un journal (1973).

- Isabel si apele Diavolului, Bucharest, Naționala Ciornei, 1930, 237 pp. Novel written in Calcutta, 1929.

- Soliloquii, Bucharest, Carte cu Semne, 1932, 83 pp. Coll. of personal essays written from 1928-32.

- Intr'o mănăstire din Himalaya, Bucharest, Cartea Românească, 1933, 32 pp. Contains autobiog. arts. pub. in 1931-2. Rev. in Eliade's India (1934) pp. 165-98, 214-9.

- Maitrevi, Bucharest, Cultura Națională, 1933, 266 pp. Novel of Indian love, written in 1931-2. Contd. by Eliade's Nuntă în Cer (1939). Parts pub. as arts. in 1933. Reprinted in Eliade's Maitrevi. Nuntă în Cer (1969) pp. 1-158. Ger. trans.: Das Mädchen Maitrevi (1948). French trans.: La Nuit Bengali (1950). Eng. trans. by M.P. Stevenson unpub.

- India, Bucharest, Cugetarea, 1934, 280 pp. 2nd ed. with new pref., Cugetarea, 1935, 280 pp. Contains autobiog. arts. pub. from 1929-33. Part is a revision of Intr'o mănăstire din Himalaya (1933).

Intoarcerea din rai, Bucharest, Naționala Ciornei, 1934, 419 pp.
Rev. 2nd ed., Bucharest, Cugetarea, 1943, 392 pp. Novel
written from 1931-3, contd. by Eliade's Huliganii (1935).
Parts pub. as arts. from 1932-4.

Lumina ce se stinge, Bucharest, Cartea Românească, 1934, 415 pp.
Novel written in Calcutta, 1930-1. Part pub. as a serial
in Cuvântul, 1931.

Oceanografie, Bucharest, Cultura Poporului, 1934, 304 pp. Con-
tains arts. pub. from 1932-4.

Alchimia Asiatică, Bucharest, Cultura Poporului, 1935, 76 pp.
Researched from 1925-32. Parts pub. as arts. from 1933-5.
Part in French in Eliade's Yoga, Essai sur les origines
(1936) chap. 8 /which has rev. French and Eng. pub./.
Material also in Eliade's Forgerons et alchimistes (1956)
/which has Eng. and Ger. trans./.

Huliganii, Bucharest, Naționala Ciornei, 1935, 2 vols. 3rd ed.,
Bucharest, Cugetarea, 1943, 457 pp. Novel continuing
Intoarcerea din rai (1934).

Santier, Bucharest, Cugetarea, 1935, 277 pp. Autobiog. journal
("indirect novel") written from 1928-31. Parts pub. as
arts. from 1932-4.

Domnișoara Christina, Bucharest, Cultura Națională, 1936, 236 pp.
Novel based on Romanian folklore. Reprinted in Eliade's
La Tigănci (1969) pp. 1-144. Eng. trans. by M.P. Stevenson
unpub.

* Viață Nouă, unfinished, unpub. novel written from 1936-41. Con-
tinues Huliganii (1935).

Yoga, Essai sur les origines de la mystique indienne, Paris,
Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, and Bucharest,
Fundăția pentru Literatură și Artă "Regele Carol II", 1936,
346 pp. Originally written in Eng. in 1931 and trans. and
enl. into Romanian by Eliade in 1932, from which it was
retrans. into French by M.S. Rivain. Based on doctoral
research at the University of Calcutta, 1929-31. Material
contained in arts. pub. from 1930-7. Also contains trans.
parts of Alchimia Asiatică (1935). Parts rev. and re-
written as Eliade's Techniques du Yoga (1948) and Patañjali
et le Yoga (1962) /which has Eng. trans. Patañjali and Yoga
(1969)/. Fully rev. and rewritten as Eliade's Le Yoga,
Immortalité et liberté (1954) /which has Ger. trans. and
Eng. trans. and revision/.

- Cosmologie și alchimie babiloniană, Bucharest, Vreemea, 1937, 135 pp. Part pub. as arts. in 1937. Another part rev., enl., and pub. in Eng. as Eliade's Metallurgy, Magic and Alchemy (1938) [which is equiv. to Zalmoxis (1938) 1:85-129]. Material also contained in Forgerons et alchimistes (1956) [which has Eng. and Ger. trans.].
- Sarpele, Bucharest, Naționala Ciornei, 1937, 252 pp. Novel written in 1935. Reprinted in La Tigănci (1969) pp. 145-247. Ger. trans.: Andronic und die Schlange (1949). Eng. trans. by M.L. Ricketts unpub.
- Metallurgy, Magic and Alchemy (Cahiers de Zalmoxis, 1) Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1938, 48 pp. Pub. also as art. in Zalmoxis (1938) 1:85-129. Rev. and enl. Eng. pub. of part of Cosmologie și alchimie babiloniană (1937).
- * Mitologiile Morții, unfinished, unpub., began in 1938.
- Fragmentarium, Bucharest, Vreemea, 1939, 160 pp. Contains arts. pub. from 1935-9.
- Nuntă în Cer, Bucharest, Cugetarea, 1939, 280 pp. Novel continuing Maitrevi (1933). Part pub. as art. in 1938. Reprinted in Maitrevi. Nuntă în Cer (1969) pp. 159-313.
- Secretul Doctorului Honigberger (Contains Nopti la Serampore) Bucharest, Socec, 1940, 189 pp. Two short stories. Pub. also as "Tărâmul Nevăzut" in Revista Fundațiilor Regale (1940) 7, nos. 3:506-27; 4:34-54. Reprinted in La Tigănci (1969) pp. 249-352. Ger. trans.: Nächte in Serampore (1953) [which is trans. into French as Minuit à Serampore (1956)]. Eng. trans.: Two Tales of the Occult (1970).
- * Apocalips, unfinished, unpub. novel written from 1942-4.
- Mitul Reintegrării, Bucharest, Vreemea, 1942, 109 pp. Contains arts. pub. in 1939-40.
- Salazar și revoluția în Portugalia, Bucharest, Gorjan, 1942, 247 pp.
- Comentarii la Legenda Mesterului Manole, Bucharest, Publicom, 1943, 144 pp. Based on lectures given at the University of Bucharest, 1936-7.
- Insula lui Euthanasius, Bucharest, Fundația Regală pentru Literatură și Artă, 1943, 381 pp. Contains arts. pub. from 1934-9.

Os Romenos, Latinos do Oriente, trans. of orig. French manuscript by E. Navarro (Collecção Gládio, 12) Lisbon, Livraria Clássica Editora, 1943, 95 pp. Pub. also as Los Rumanos. Breviario Historico, Madrid, Instituto Rumano de Cultura, 1943, 95 pp.

* Adventura spirituală, unpub. play, written in 1946.

Das Mädchen Maitreyi, trans. of Maitreyi (1933) by G. Spaltmann, Munich, Nymphenburger Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1948, 227 pp.

Techniques du Yoga (Collection la Montagne Sainte-Geneviève) Paris, Gallimard, 1948, 266 pp. Rev. part of Yoga. Essai sur les origines (1936). Ext. repub. as Patañjali et le Yoga (1962). Fully rev. and enl. as Le Yoga. Immortalité et liberté (1954) [which has Ger. trans. and Eng. trans. and revision].

Andronic und die Schlange, trans. of Sarpele (1937) by G. Spaltmann, Munich, Nymphenburger Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1949, 152 pp.

Le Mythe de l'éternel retour. Archétypes et répétition (Les Essais, 34) Paris, Gallimard, 1949, 254 pp. Rev. and enl. ed. (Collection Idées, 191) Paris, Gallimard, 1969, 187 pp. Began in 1945. Ger. trans.: Der Mythos der ewigen Wiederkehr (1953) [which is reprinted as Kosmos und Geschichte (1966)]. Rev. Eng. trans.: The Myth of the Eternal Return (1955) [which is reprinted as Cosmos and History (1959)].

Traité d'histoire des religions, pref. by G. Dumézil, Paris, Payot, 1949, 405 pp. Rev. ed. (Bibliothèque Scientifique) Paris, Payot, 1964, 393 pp. Based on lectures given at the University of Bucharest, pre 1940, and on lectures at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes of the Sorbonne, 1946-8. Ger. trans.: Die Religionen und das Heilige (1954). Rev. Eng. trans.: Patterns in Comparative Religion (1958).

La Nuit Bengali, trans. of Maitreyi (1933) by A. Guillermou (Collection la Méridienne) Paris, Gallimard, 1950, 260 pp.

Le Chamanisme et les techniques archaïques de l'extase, Paris, Payot, 1951, 447 pp. Rev. and enl. ed. (Bibliothèque Scientifique) Paris, Payot, 1968, 405 pp. Based on lectures and arts. from 1946-51. Ger. trans.: Schamanismus und archaische Ekstasetechnik (1957). Rev. and enl. Eng. trans.: Shamanism. Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy (1964).

Iphigenia, Valle Hermoso, Cartea Pribegiei, 1951, 172 pp. A play, written in 1939. Also pub. in Manuscriptum (1974) 5, 14: 27-57.

- Images et symboles. Essais sur le symbolisme magico-religieux (Les Essais, 60) Paris, Gallimard, 1952, 240 pp. Contains arts. pub. from 1939-51. Ger. trans.: Ewige Bilder und Sinnbilder (1958). Eng. trans.: Images and Symbols (1961).
- Der Mythos der ewigen Wiederkehr, trans. of Le Mythe de l'éternel retour (1949) by G. Spaltmann, Düsseldorf, Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1953, 252 pp. Reprinted as Kosmos und Geschichte (1966).
- Nächte in Serampore, trans. of Secretul Doctorului Honigberger (1940) by G. Spaltmann, Munich-Planegg, Otto-Wilhelm-Barth-Verlag, 1953, 178 pp.
- Die Religionen und das Heilige. Elemente der Religionsgeschichte, trans. of Traité d'histoire des religions (1949) by M. Rassem and I. Köck, Salzburg and Munich, Otto Müller Verlag, 1954, 601 pp.
- Le Yoga. Immortalité et liberté (Bibliothèque Scientifique) Paris, Payot, 1954, 427 pp. Rev. ed. (Petite Bibliothèque, 120) Paris, Payot, 1968, 448 pp. Full revision of Yoga. Essai sur les origines (1936). Contains trans. parts of Alchimia Asiatică (1935). Also contains revision of Techniques du Yoga (1948) and of Patañjali et le Yoga (1962). Eng. trans.: Yoga. Immortality and Freedom (1958) /rev. 2nd ed., 1969/. Ger. trans.: Yoga. Unsterblichkeit und Freiheit (1960).
- Forêt interdite, trans. of Romanian manuscript by A. Guillermou (Du Monde Entier, 160) Paris, Gallimard, 1955, 640 pp. Novel written from 1949-54. Manuscript pub. as Noaptea de Sânziene (1971) /which has unpub. Eng. trans./.
- The Myth of the Eternal Return, rev. and enl. trans. of Le Mythe de l'éternel retour (1949) by W.R. Trask (Bollingen Series, 46) N.Y., Pantheon Books, 1954, and London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955, 208 pp. Pub. also in Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1971. Reprinted as Cosmos and History (1959).
- Forgerons et alchimistes (Collection Homo Sapiens) Paris, Flammarion, 1956, 212 pp. Based on parts of Alchimia Asiatică (1935), Cosmologie și alchimie babiloniană (1937), and Metallurgy. Magic and Alchemy (1938). Ger. trans.: Schmiede und Alchemisten (1960). Eng. trans.: The Forge and the Crucible (1962).

- Minuit à Serampore, trans. of Nächte in Serampore (1953) by A.M. Schmidt /which is a trans. of Secretul Doctorului Honigberger (1940)/ Paris, Librairie Stock, 1956, 244 pp.
- Das Heilige und das Profane, vom Wesen des Religiösen, trans. of orig. French manuscript by E. Grassi (Rowohlt Deutsche Enzyklopädie, 31) Hamburg, Rowohlt Taschenbuchverlag, 1957, 154 pp. Eng. trans. of orig. manuscript: The Sacred and the Profane (1959). French pub.: Le Sacré et le profane (1965).
- Mythes, rêves et mystères (Les Essais, 84) Paris, Gallimard, 1957, 312 pp. 2nd ed. (Collection Idées, 271) Paris, Gallimard, 1972, 279 pp. Contains arts. pub. from 1948-56. Eng. trans.: Myths, Dreams and Mysteries (1960). Ger. trans.: Mythen, Träume und Mysterien (1961).
- Schamanismus und archaische Ekstasetechnik, trans. of Le Chamanisme (1951) by I. Köck, Zürich and Stuttgart, Rascher Verlag, 1957, 472 pp.
- Birth and Rebirth. The Religious Meaning of Initiation in Human Culture, trans. of Eliade's Naissances mystiques (1959) by W.R. Trask, N.Y., Harper and Brothers, and London, Harvill Press, 1958, 190 pp. Reprinted as Rites and Symbols of Initiation (1965).
- Ewige Bilder und Sinnbilder, trans. of Images et symboles (1952) by T. Sapper, Olten and Freiburg, Walter Verlag, 1958, 264 pp.
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- Yoga, Immortality and Freedom, trans. of Le Yoga. Immortalité et liberté (1954) by W.R. Trask (Bollingen Series, 56) N.Y. and London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958, 552 pp. Rev. and enl. 2nd ed., Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1969, 536 pp. N.Y., Pantheon Books ed., 1970. Contains full Eng. revision of Yoga, Essai sur les origines (1936), Techniques du Yoga (1948), and Patañjali et le Yoga (1962) /which is trans. as Patanjali and Yoga (1969)/.
- Cosmos and History, reprint with new pref. of The Myth of the Eternal Return (1955) /which is a trans. of Le Mythe de l'éternel retour (1949)/ N.Y., Harper Torchbooks, 1959, 176 pp.

- Naissances mystiques. Essais sur quelques types d'initiation (Les Essais, 92) Paris, Gallimard, 1959, 276 pp. Based on Haskell Lectures at the University of Chicago, 1956. Eng. trans.: Birth and Rebirth (1958) /which is reprinted as Rites and Symbols of Initiation (1965)/. Ger. trans.: Das Mysterium der Wiedergeburt (1961).
- The Sacred and the Profane. The Nature of Religion, trans. of orig. French manuscript by W.R. Trask, N.Y., Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1959, and N.Y., Harper and Row, 1961, 256 pp. Paperback ed., 1968. Ger. pub.: Das Heilige und das Profane (1957). French pub.: Le Sacré et le profane (1965).
- Myths. Dreams and Mysteries, trans. of Mythes, rêves et mystères (1957) by P. Mairet, with foreword, N.Y., Harper and Row, and London, Harvill Press, 1960, 256 pp. Harper Torchbook ed., 1967. Repub. in London, Collins Fontana Library, 1968, 256 pp.
- Schmiede und Alchemisten, trans. of Forgerons et alchimistes (1956) by E. von Pelet, Stuttgart, Ernst Klett Verlag, 1960, 249 pp.
- Yoga. Unsterblichkeit und Freiheit, trans. of Le Yoga. Immortalité et liberté (1954) by I. Köck, Zürich and Stuttgart, Rascher Verlag, 1960, 515 pp.
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- Mythen. Träume und Mysterien, trans. of Mythes, rêves et mystères (1957) by M. Benedikt and M. Vereno, Salzburg, Otto Müller Verlag, 1961, 344 pp.
- The Forge and the Crucible, trans. of Forgerons et alchimistes (1956) by S. Corrin, N.Y., Harper and Brothers, and London, Ridder and Co., 1962, 208 pp. Harper Torchbook ed., 1971, 230 pp.

- Méphistophélès et l'Androgyne (Les Essais, 103) Paris, Gallimard, 1962, 280 pp. Contains Eranos Lectures pub. as arts. from 1958-61. Eng. trans.: Mephistopheles and the Androgyne (1965) [which is also pub. as The Two and the One (1965)].
- Patañjali et le Yoga (Collection Maîtres Spirituels, 27) Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1962, 189 pp. Rev. ext. of Techniques du Yoga (1948) [which is a rev. part of Yoga, Essai sur les origines (1936)]. Parts also contained in Le Yoga, Immortalité et liberté (1954) [which has Ger. trans. and Eng. trans. and revision]. Eng. trans.: Patanjali and Yoga (1969).
- Aspects du mythe (Collection Idées, 32) Paris, Gallimard, 1963, 250 pp. Contains arts. pub. from 1956-64. Eng. trans.: Myth and Reality (1963).
- Myth and Reality, trans. of Aspects du mythe (1963) by W.R. Trask (World Perspective, 31) N.Y., Harper and Row, 1963, and London, George Allen and Unwin, 1964, 204 pp. Harper Torchbook ed., 1968.
- Nuvele (Colecția Destin) Madrid, Destin, 1963, 151 pp. Contains the following short stories with their dates of composition: "Un om mare" (1945), "Douăsprezece mii de capete de vite" (1952), "Fata căpitanului" (1955), "Ghicitor în pietre" (1959), "La Țigănci" (1959), "O fotografie veche de 14 ani" (1959). With exception of the last, these are repub. in La Țigănci și alte povestiri (1969). The first two stories are trans. into Eng. by E. Tappe in Eliade and Niculescu's Fantastic Tales (1969). "La Țigănci" is trans. into French by A. Guillermou in La Revue de Paris (Dec. 1966) pp. 29-58; and into Eng. by W.A. Coates in Denver Review (1973) 8, 2:13-58. Eng. trans. of the remainder by M.L. Ricketts and M.P. Stevenson unpub.
- Shamanism. Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy, rev. and enl. trans. of Le Chamanisme (1951) by W.R. Trask (Bollingen Series, 76) N.Y., Pantheon Books, and London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964, 634 pp. Pub. also in Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1970.
- Mephistopheles and the Androgyne. Studies in Religious Myth and Symbol, trans. of Méphistophélès et l'Androgyne (1962) by J.M. Cohen, N.Y., Sheed and Ward, 1965, 223 pp. Pub. also as The Two and the One, N.Y., Harper and Row, and London, Harvill Press, 1965, 223 pp. Harper Torchbook ed., 1969.

- Rites and Symbols of Initiation, reprint of Birth and Rebirth (1958) /which is a trans. of Naissances mystiques (1959)/ N.Y., Harper Torchbooks, 1965, 175 pp.
- Le Sacré et le profane (Collection Idées, 76) Paris, Gallimard, 1965, 187 pp. Ger. pub.: Das Heilige und das Profane (1957). Eng. pub.: The Sacred and the Profane (1959).
- Amintiri: I. Mansarda (Colecția Destin) Madrid, Destin, 1966, 176 pp. Autobiog. memoirs, 1907-28. Parts pub. as arts. in 1963-4. Sequel (chap. 9) pub. as "India la douăzeci de ani," Ființa Românească (1964) 2:27-46. Another sequel (chap. 10) untitled, unpub. manuscript. Eng. trans., including both sequels, by M.L. Ricketts unpub.
- Kosmos und Geschichte, reprint of Der Mythos der ewigen Wiederkehr (1953) /which is a trans. of Le Mythe de l'éternel retour (1949)/ (Rowohlt Deutsche Enzyklopädie, 260) Hamburg, Rowohlt Taschenbuchverlag, 1966, 148 pp.
- From Primitives to Zen. A Thematic Sourcebook of the History of Religions, N.Y., Harper and Row, and London, Collins, 1967, 670 pp. Reprinted into four paperbacks: Death, Afterlife, and Eschatology (1974), From Medicine Men to Muhammad (1974), Gods, Goddesses, and Myths of Creation (1974), and Man and the Sacred (1974).
- Pe strada Mântuleasa, Paris, Caietele Inorogului, II, 1968, 129 pp. Short story written from 1955-67. Ger. trans.: Auf der Mântuleasastrasse (1972). Eng. trans. by E. Tappe unpub.
- Maitrevi. Nuntă în Cer, intro. by D. Micu, Bucharest, Editura pentru Literatură, 1969, 315 pp. Contains Maitrevi (1933) and Nuntă în Cer (1939).
- Patanjali and Yoga, trans. of Patañjali et le Yoga (1962) by C.L. Markmann, N.Y., Funk and Wagnalls, 1969, 216 pp. Parts contained in Yoga, Immortality and Freedom (1958).
- The Quest. History and Meaning in Religion, Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 1969, 180 pp. Contains arts. pub. from 1961-8. French pub.: La Nostalgie des origines (1971). Ger. trans.: Die Sehnsucht nach dem Ursprung (1973).

La Tigănci și alte povestiri, intro. by S. Alexandrescu, Bucharest, Editura pentru Literatură, 1969, 525 pp. Contains Eliade's Domnișoara Christina (1936), Sarpele (1937), Secretul Doctorului Honigberger (1940), the short stories in Nuvele (1963), and two additional short stories: "Podul" written in 1963, and "Adio!" written in 1964 [which have Eng. trans. by M.L. Ricketts and M.P. Stevenson unpub.].

Two Tales of the Occult, trans. of Secretul Doctorului Honigberger (1940) by W.A. Coates, N.Y., Herder, 1970, 130 pp.

De Zalmoxis à Gengis-Khan. Etudes comparatives sur les religions et le folklore de la Dacie et de l'Europe Orientale (Bibliothèque Historique) Paris, Payot, 1970, 252 pp. Contains arts. pub. from 1938-70. Eng. trans.: Zalmoxis, The Vanishing God (1972).

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Religions australiennes: I. Religions primitives, trans. of Eliade's Australian Religions (1973) by L. Jospin (Petite Bibliothèque, 206) Paris, Payot, 1972, 200 pp.

Zalmoxis. The Vanishing God. Comparative Studies in the Religions and Folklore of Dacia and Eastern Europe, trans. of De Zalmoxis à Gengis-Khan (1970) by W.R. Trask, Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 1972, 260 pp.

Australian Religions. An Introduction, with foreword by V. Turner (Symbol, Myth, and Ritual Series) Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 1973, 205 pp. Based on course given at the University of Chicago in 1964. Contains arts. pub. from 1966-8. French trans.: Religions australiennes (1972).

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109 pp. Reprint of Eliade's From Primitives to Zen (1967)
chap. 4.

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Gods, Goddesses, and Myths of Creation, N.Y., Harper and Row, 1974,
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ADDENDA

(contents incomplete or unverified)

A. BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS BY ELIADE

Caracterul calitativ al fiziceii indiene, unpub., written in 1930-1.

1241, unpub., unfinished journal, began c. 1941.

Oameni și pietre, unpub. play, written c. 1941.

La Labvrinthe, unpub., unfinished, began c. 1950?

Uniforme de General, unpub. short story, written in 1971.

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ABSTRACT

Mircea Eliade has never defined nor systematically presented his method in the History of Religions. This dissertation is a biographical study of the spiritual and intellectual development of Eliade from adolescence to 1940 in view of determining the influences and effects of that development upon his scientific study of religion, particularly upon his "method" in the History of Religions. The study extends to 1940 only since by then he had arrived at basic notions for a scientific study of religion which are fundamental to his work in the History of Religions today.

Chapter I offers an introductory review of Eliade's adult memories regarding his adolescence and Romanian background. He repeatedly yearned to return to the visions of his youth and to the glory of Romania's past, and this nostalgia manifests itself as his problem with "time" which recurs throughout his development and in his scientific study of religion, as evidenced in the chronological chapters of the dissertation. Chapters II-V are the chronological account of his experiences and ideas from adolescence through 1940 as he currently related them through numerous personal writings and publications. This account examines the qualities of his first interests in religion; it investigates his attitudes and activities as a student in the lycée and at the University of Bucharest which led to his knowledge and scientific pursuit of religion; it relates his sojourn in India and his interpretation of events there,

ABSTRACT

including his research and practice of Yoga; it describes his return to Romania whereupon he was recognized as both a scientific and literary writer, and where he accepted a position as an educator in the field of religious studies; it illuminates the role of a scientific study of religion in his distinction between knowledge and understanding, while it delineates the structure of that scientific study as he formulated it shortly before 1940. Finally, chapter VI gives a general overview of his total development up to 1940 as a recapitulation of the goal of his lifelong pursuit of religion: namely, the quest for the New Man, the development of a "new humanism".

Eliade's formulation of a scientific study of religion was a creative synthesis of concepts and techniques which were formative in his own growth toward spiritual fulfillment and in his reaction against the rationalistic temperament of the "times". His synthetic "method" was not strictly rational nor systematic in itself. It cannot be verified by today's standards. His method was "revolutionary" in the sense that the object, objective, and means of his scientific study of religion contained qualities of the imagination which were operative on different "planes of the spirit". Such planes included his own personal nostalgias and insights, the brilliance of great minds whom he tried to imitate, the secrets of Yoga and the attainment of samādhi, the content of myths and rituals of primitive collective traditions, the inventive discoveries of history, his expectation of the coming of the New Man. Imagination was verified by experiences, the moments in a life or a tradition which passes.