# THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND RESEARCH THE "1st DECEMBER, 1918" THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBA IULIA THE FACULTY OF HISTORY AND PHILOLOGY THE DOCTORAL SCHOOL OF PHILOLOGY



# DOCTOR'S DEGREE SUMMARY

PhD supervisor: Prof. univ. Dr. POPA MIRCEA

> PhD student: SABOU (ȚUCULETE) MARINELA VIORICA

Alba Iulia 2020

# THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND RESEARCH THE "1st DECEMBER, 1918" THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBA IULIA THE FACULTY OF HISTORY AND PHILOLOGY THE DOCTORAL SCHOOL OF PHILOLOGY



## THESIS – VIRGIL IERUNCA – MONOGRAPHIC STUDY - SUMMARY -

PhD supervisor: Prof. univ. Dr. POPA MIRCEA

> PhD student: SABOU (ȚUCULETE) MARINELA VIORICA

Alba Iulia 2020

## Content

Introduction	_7
CHAPTER 1. THE MEANING OF EXISTENCE	_12
1.1. The Avatars of exile - The case of Virgil Ierunca	12
1.2. Hypostasis from Valcea	_20
1.3. The childhood, an unspeakable grace	_24
1.4. The High School – the Affinity for French literature	_25
1.5. A teenage love	_29
1.6. The student life and the first publicity attempts	_31
1.7. The years before the departure	_33
1.8. The profile of the intellectual, a prisoner between two worlds	_35
1.9. The joy of meeting, the soul mate	_40
1.10. The house in Paris	_43
1.11. The case of Arthur	_44
1.12. The meeting of the ancestral land	_48
CHAPTER 2. THE LITERARY ITINERARY	_53
2.1. The poetry as a poetic refinement	_53
2.1.1. The paradigms of the confession	_53
2.1.2. The lyrical universe	_57
2.1.3. The time fights with the limit	_60
2.1.4. The exile, a space of breaking off	_66
2.1.5. The return to the matrix space	69
2.1.6. The purpose of the poet and the world	_70
2.1.7. The history in the sphere of spirituality	_73
2.1.8. The divinity and the unbearable consciousness of loneliness	_74
2.1.9. Life and love, reservoirs of existence	_75
2.2. The translator and the self-construction through literary neighbours	_78
2.2.1. Close to Hölderlin through the verses of his contemporary	, Pierr
Emmanuel	_79
2.2.2. Fascinated by the creation of Pierre Jean Jouve	_84
2.2.3. The foray into the creation of contemporary French writers _	_88
2.2.4. The reception of Blaga's lyricism in the consciousness of the	Frenc
reader	91

2.3. The Romanian gulag literature	94
2.3.1. The place of toument	97
2.3.2. A document book of incrimination	98
2.3.3. The genesis of <i>Pitești Phenomenon</i> volume	101
2.3.4. The re-education in the Stalinist and Chinese regimes _	103
2.3.5. The totalitarian experience as a recourse to memory	105
2.3.6. The gross of re-education	107
2.3.7. The authenticity and the truth as aesthetic values	108
2.3.8. The prosecution process	111
2.3.9. A Protestant Literature as a Historical Testimony	115
CHAPTER 3. DIARISTICS AND SELF-CONFESSIVE TECHNIQUES	120
3.1. The diary, a paralytic species	120
3.2. Virgil Ierunca's diary - The years have passed	125
3.3. The diary of exile and the paradigm of the animus	130
3.3.1. The existential problems	131
3.3.2. The love for Romanian writing	132
3.3.3. The books as the fullness of the soul	133
3.3.4. The performances, the concerts, the theater, the music _	135
3.3.5. Life in Paris	136
3.3.6. Echoes from home	137
3.3.7. Regrets and grievances	138
3.3.8. Plans and projects	
3.4. The journal, a workshop of Romanian culture, creation and diasp	pora _140
3.4.1. Literary meetings and portraits	141
3.4.2. Literary correspondence	145
3.4.3. Jobs	146
3.4.4. Criticism, debates and conferences	147
3.4.5. Political and literary attitudes	149
3.4.6. Working on magazines	150
3.4.7. 1960Journal, a balance compensation	

\_\_\_\_158

4.1. The critical act and its mission	158
4.2. Stylistic features of criticism - On the contrary	161
4.3. A stinging polemicist	163
4.4. The sanctioning communist morals	166
4.5. The disease of the communist time	173
4.6. The party Rattles	173
4.7. Between criticism and irony	178
4.8. Second-hand writings	180
4.9. The Pact with the Political Regime - The Anthology of Shame	183
CHAPTER 5. THE OMNISCENT AND THE OMNIPRESENT ESSAYI	ST192
5.1. The artist's essay and valences	192
5.1.1. The hypostasis of the free essayist	194
5.1.2. The essay as a discourse of the artistic value - Subjection	ct and predicat
	197
5.1.3. Virgil Ierunca and the vocation of the friendship	198
5.1.4. The art of literary portraiture	201
5.1.5. The literary chronicler	204
5.1.6. The essay studies on some writers from the country	206
5.1.7. The essay analyzes on some writers in exile	207
5.1.8. Presentations at someone's death	211
5.2. The essay as an identity digression - <i>Romanian</i>	215
5.2.1. The evocative cultural essay	
5.2.2. The essay and the radiography of the past	220
5.2.3. The polemical literary essay	220
5.2.4. The essay and the age of the evil domination	222
5.2.5. The cultural essay and the spectrum of values	225
5.3. The essay as fidelity to forgetfulness - <i>The sign of wonder</i>	226
5.3.1. The embossed cultural portraits	226
5.3.2. Te marginalized intellectuals	229
5.3.3. Through the metaphors of the poems	231
5.3.4. The advocacy for the cultural axiology	234
5.4. The essayist and the forms of the linguistic expression	238

CHAPTER 6. THE PUBLICATION PAGES	240
6.1. The Romanian publishing itinerary	242
6.1.1. Albatross	242
6.1.2. The Time	243
6.1.3. The Weather	245
6.1.4. The journal of the Royal Foundations	250
6.1.5. Victoria	251
6.1.6. <i>The World</i>	252
6.1.7. The free Romania	257
6.1.8. <i>Agora</i>	257
6.1.9. The spark of youth	257
6.1.10. The CFR Social life	257
6.1.11. The Youth	257
6.2. The journalistic approach in exile	258
6.2.1. The Evening Star	270
6.2.2. The Limits	259
6.2.3. The Book of longing	260
6.2.4. The word in exile	261
6.2.5. <i>Destiny</i>	262
6.2.6. The Romanian human being	262
6.2.7. <i>Ethos</i>	263
6.2.8. The Romanian Union	264
6.2.9. The Magazine of Romanian Writers	264
6.3. Articles signed after the fall of the communist regime in the c	ountry of longing
	265
6.3.1. Emmanuel Lévinas (1996)	265
6.3.2. Petre Țuțea (1992)	266
6.3.3. Dinu Pillat's seasons (1996)	266
6.3.4. Memories about Ghiță Ionescu (1996)	267
6.3.5. The Witness Wall (1996)	267
6.3.6. The blaming of the intransigence (1993)	268
6.4. Virgil Ierunca in interviews	268
6.4.1. The Exile and eternal Romania	268
6.4.2. The writers' conviction and their conscience	270

6.4.3. The converting to Romania	_272
6.4.4. To serve art in the name of the truth	273
6.4.5. The Literature of the exile and the discernment of the values	274
6.5. The voice behind the radio waves	276
6.6. The Epistolary writing as a deictic and symbolic cutout	282
6.7. Virgil Ierunca in the mirrors of the criticism	285
CONCLUSIONS	295
BIBLIOGRAPHY	298
ANNEXES	317

**Keywords**: poems of exile, The Romanianism, the devil's laboratory, the communist reeducation, diarism, controversy, the pamphlet essayist, the marginalized writers, the mirrors of criticism, the magazine founder, the Free Europe.

#### **Summary**

The pendant of our exegetical approach, entitled Virgil Ierunca – The Monographic study, is based on the desire to bring to light not only the true leaders of the Romanian exile, Eliade, Ionescu, Cioran, but also other creators of literature and magazine founders who deserve to be mentioned in the consciousness of today's reader. This is how I came to the complex personality of the writer from Vâlcea, Virgil Ierunca, and the commemoration of the centenary, this year, turns my doctoral work into a well deserved reward for everything he gave to the nation, pleading for pages of the Romanianism.

The exegesis which we propose is structured in six chapters and in its content we tried to trace the defining elements of the man, the critic, the essayist, the pamphlet, the diarist, the poet, the translator, the anthologist and the publicist from Vâlcea, outlining a synthetic literary portrait, by the dissociation of the information, the comparison and the insistence on those lesser known or marginalized facets of the writer in exile. Our monographic research is based on the finding that a writer's investigation is based on multiple researches, on the careful collection and on the processing of materials, on the research of all documents, in order to dispel prejudices, offering objective and detailed reconstructions,through the help of the punctiliousness and the balance of value.

We focused on emphasizing some unknown sides which were not sufficiently analyzed so far. It is not only about the Parisian literary world, but also about the activity carried out before he was forced to choose the path of the exile, as his work was still too little known by literature lovers. The purpose of the work is a recovering and an integrating one, to rectify erroneous data, to dispel

prejudices, to fill some information gaps, our material can be used in order to establish a future national fund of Romanian exile.

Firstly ,we analyzed The Meaning of the author's existence and then we outlined the relevant stages which were very important axes in its development. He was exiled in 1947. Coming from a family of farmers from Vâlcea, he lived his childhood in his native village and graduated the school with very good grades, which means he was a great student. He knew the thrills of love, but also the sympathy or the admiration for his formative teachers, a good example in this sense being Lucian Bădescu, the teacher who instilled his love for French literature. The high school was related to the term giving up, because, although he entered a military high school, he gave up to choose a civilian high school where he could discover his vocation as a future man of letters. In the years before his departure, he enjoyed much appreciation for his fine and superior intellectualism. He received a scholarship from the French government and left the country, being on his way to freedom and trying to live his own life. In Paris, his destiny intertwined with Monica Lovinescu, following the same path of the fight against the communist imposture. The house in Paris is the clear proof of the constant and common preoccupations of the two spouses, dressed in volumes, writings and valuable records, which was repatriated and donated to the Romanian state as a valuable treasure. The urns of the famous critic were brought and deposited together with those of Lovinescu's family. Because he denounced the communist ideology and the uniformity of the way of thinking and of the existence, Virgil Ierunca became a targeted attention of the Security, registered under the name of operation Artur, the Flee legionary or Lădeșteanu's case.

Then I went on the less approached and the known path, that of a unique poet, in the chapter The Lyrical Refinement, a part that demonstrates a different attitude of the poet in relation to the world and the universe. Like Ovid, exiled at Pontus Euxinus, the poet Virgil Ierunca reveals the context, the hypostasis of the exile, with doubts, sensibilities, emotional turmoil, the inconstancy, the confusion, the returns to people and spaces of longing, the searches and the ecstatic feelings. The time in battle with the limit and exile, the space of rupture, are the two themes that absorb the poet's human being and load it with the fire of creation, appealing to the revealing metaphor, to symbols of extinction, to the feeling of alienation, the incurable melancholy and the endless wandering. In long or very short verses, I found a wandering poetic self, located on the winding roads, at locked doors, in the labyrinth of darkness, where only words illuminate and give meaning to existence.

The Interpretations chapter of the volume of poems revealed to us the double preoccupation of Virgil Ierunca, that of translator, an expression that comes from the solid and increased attention to French and Romanian literature, from the attraction to the sensitive thrill of

the poetry. The translator of the poetry facilitated our access to the free verses of Pierre Emmanuel, in a Song of Hölderlin, using modern ways of expression, so that the beauty of creation meant to be a triumphant ascension in the sign of accents, and Hölderlin is a kind of demiurge who controls the sublime play on the words. Yves Bonnefoy or Pierre Oster capture the attention of the Romanian poet through the existential questions subtly transposed into lyrical discourses, through the uneasiness of people who think about what is happening around them or to artists who have lost their words, being a setback for the translator in his own existence. Being inspired by René Char writer he interpreted some thoughts, being attracted by their depth and morality, an exercise of sifting and sorting the values of existence and humanity. I detected a great admiration for the poems of Lucian Blaga that he wanted to make known in French literature, being aware of the huge personality of the author of the corolla of wonders of the world, verses in which the exercises of artistic procedures are so rigorously elaborated that they open a new horizon with therapeutic effect.

In the process of knowing the creation of the writer from Vâlcea, in the subchapter Literature of the Romanian gulag, I analyzed the volume Piteşti Phenomenon, a document book, which, from a hermeneutical point of view, provides historical, legal, political and literary documents of a prison topos that seems to be an antechamber of death. Although it would seem in the realm of the fiction, the thing which shocked us was the implementation of the re-education program. Made up of documents received from the country, the book is so well done that the boundary between the reality and the fiction cannot be easily detected. The pen of subjectivity is identified when he tries to probe the mental state of the victims, the transformations that detainees felt, because the writer can only intuit their consequences, he is not a victim of imprisonment. It has not only got the quality of authenticity through first-hand documents, but it is also a parable of Procust's Bed imposed by the communists, a sadistic training to which the people of Romanian culture were subjected. Through this book, Ierunca had the courage to enter the laboratory of the communist devil, to become his historian and to be like a late revenge of the destiny of some detainees who lost their lives or were marked for the rest of their lives by the Romanian gulag concentration camp.

I also discovered in the Diaristics and self-confessional techniques section, another component which is responsible for the valorizing aspect of the writer, a form of marginalized expression, at the frontier of literature, being considered a mixture of ideas, of yesterday and today. Because it does not always have a literary mission, the diary gains interest if it is published and if its author has a subtle ability to capture the real, the flight of time, the inner struggle or the plans for the future. To drive away the longing for Romania, Virgil Ierunca resorted to the intimate

diary, keeping in only the years 1949, 1950, 1951 and 1960, in its yellowed pages. His diary has not only documentary qualities, but also cultural, formative and in accordance with the regime of the immediate note, a rather poet's diary. Considered by himself the work of a clerk, the notes from the diary were collected in the volume The Past years ..., Excerpts from the diary, Greetings and accents, Lost letters, like a shield against the forgetfullness, all the activities of the Parisian cultural and literary life, the atmosphere of the Romanian exile, the meetings between the people of culture, the living of the exiles loaded with many shortcomings, the pleasure of reading, important events and the irrepressible longing for Romania.

On adoptive lands he discovers the intense feeling of the friendship, so in many pages I found indirect mini-portraits of prominent personalities of exile: Mircea Eliade, Emil Cioran, Eugen Ionesco, Paul Celan, Mihai Fărcășanu, Lucian Bădescu, Ion Pârvulescu, Basil Munteanu, Alexandru Busuioc, Horia Ventilation and the list goes on. In addition to recording books as full of the soul, ordinary days when the seasons, the sun, Sundays, all seem different from those in Bucharest, I noticed that his diary, reconstitutes the superhuman attempts of writers to publish the cultural magazines in the West, to preserve Romanianism and to fight against the evil established by communism. True workshops of Romanian culture, creation and diaspora, through their content, the newspaper pages try to appeal to forgetfulness, truth and authentic testimony, a just and unforgiving mirror of Romania seen in Romanian literary circles, bringing the lost landscape of exile.

In the fourth chapter, I best exposed the orientation of the author of literary criticism, dedicated to the fiery, polemical, solemn and ironic circle, and for this reason his writings go beyond the idea of simple review or chronicle, becoming Romanian cultural events through detailed analysis, well-motivated. The volume On the contrary combines controversial texts which were transmitted to The Free Europe, having as characters important writers who fell under the clutches of the party opportunism, falsifying the history, bowing to the power. Producing true literary justice, the critic discovers the weaknesses of the works, of the authors and also he comments on them and educates the writers.

Writers such as Şerban Cioculescu, Vladimir Streinu and Adrian Maniu, who he says they should have chosen the silence, young writers or the plagiarism case of Eugen Barbu, are passed through his critics.

A classification of writers by characteristic phrases does not escape its critical magnifying glass: Thee Stalinists, the pseudo-writers, the new people, the corrupt juniors, the right-wing extremists and the patriotic communism.

The chapter ends with the analysis of the lines from the work The Anthology of Shame, a column held by Virgil Ierunca during the exile that followed the slips and compromises of the Romanian intellectuals, edited by two researchers from the National Institute for the Memory of Romanian Exile. The author identified several categories of actors: the servile members of the regime in the field of literature, theater and art; the category of praises brought to the Romanian Communist Party and to Nicolae Ceauşescu; speeches dedicated to Ceausescu leader; the praise of the achievements of Elena Ceausescu, the Red Army and Lenin; the definitions of the Golden Age, and the last classification concerns the school and the youth. The hypostasis of an anthologist emphasizes the offensive and polemical spirit, the criticism being for him a duty, an attempt to develop with an exact address, in the name of the holy Romanian truth.

The fifth chapter is complex, because the essay writings are the pieces of resistance of the writer from Vâlcea. Considered by many theorists as an intellectual adventure, the essay is a way of expression extremely present in the writers in exile. Barometers of turbulent times, the essays of the critic from Valcea are cultural and literary approaches from the postwar period, in the content of which I noticed the side of the wise moralist, with ironic accents, built on lucidity, erudition and common sense that start from a recovering motivation. He turns his sentences into a play on words in which the trophy is just the truth. The volume The Subject and the predicate blended essay texts, dated between 1960 and 1991, proposing literary chronicles, obituaries, evocations, studies on Romanian writers in exile and in the country, portrait sketches that invite a re-evaluation of the shadows of the past. Reference names are mentioned such as: Mircea Vulcănescu, Constantin Noica, Alexandru Busuioceanu, Mircea Eliade, Lucian Bădescu, Dinu Pillat, Ioan Cuşa, Mihai Cismărescu, Mihai Fărcășanu, Paul Sterian, Virgil Mazilescu, Ștefan Augustin Doinas, Ana Blandiana, Mihai Ursachi Ana Tăușan, Gabriel Liiceanu, Sașa Pană, Mircea Grigorescu, Gheorghe Grigurcu, Nicolae Manolescu, Mircea Zaciu, N. Steihhardt, Paul Celan and the examples can continue, mini-portraits and literary destinies fractured by the cloak of history, without which a literature of exile cannot be possible, the role of the critic is to illuminate some unknown or marginalized aspects of their creation.

In the subchapter The Essay as an identity digression we found that the Romanian volume is the confession of an intellectual in which he makes a documentary about the Turkishization of some Romanian writers, but also the profile of others who kept their conscience with dignity, preferring the coldness of prisons or penance of silence. The essayist justifies his process and divides the writers into several categories: the sinners out of frivolity, the sinners out of so-called revolutionary inertia, the sinners out of fear of upset their past, the collaborators with shyness and distance, the professional opportunists and the system officials. He analyzes the activity of some

people of culture, such as Constantin Brâncuşi or George Enescu, but also the political situation of the time, starting with Russia and continuing with Western Europe.

The subchapter entitled The essay as fidelity to oblivion exposes with competence and professional meticulousness other important portraits from the Romanian literary and cultural landscape, which the essayist inspects with his objective eyes: Dan Botta, Father Dumitru Stăniloaie, Alexandru Busuioceanu, Vlad Georgescu, Mircea Eliade, Daniel Barbu, Alexandru George, Mihai Zamfir, Ion Vinea, Octav Şuluţiu, Margareta Sterian, N. Steinhardt, Ion Biberi, Pericle Martinescu or Petre Stoica. I noticed that, on the same line of reconsidering the works of some marginalized writers, Virgil Ierunca made a deep analysis of their creations, proving a real knowledge of the literary creativity.

I forgot mentioning the side of the publications before his leaving for Paris, through the intervention in the chapter The Publication pages, The Romanian publishing itinerary, and I noticed the writer's tendency towards polemical iridescence, towards the practice of parallelism, the convergences, the interferences, the relations, the affinities for French writers or other immersions in the francophone space, in articles that attracted his fair appreciation, but also the disgrace of others.

In his rich journalistic activity it can be also mentioned the periodicals in which he was either employed or only a collaborator: Albatross, The Time, The Weather, The Royal Foundation Magazine, Victoria, The World, Agora, The Spark of Youth, The Social Life CFR or The Youth. We took care to rummage through the corners of the time and to analyze some of these articles, some fragments of the past, discovering the bibliophile Virgil Ierunca, in whose field is consolidated his entire solid cultural personality. The Publicist approach from exile presented Virgil Ierunca as an editor, an editorial secretary or an essayist who promotes the values and makes radiographs of the collaborationism of intellectuals from the country and from exile, through the contribution to Romanian language magazines from abroad, publications published by most of the times, from own sources: The Evening Star, The Book of the longing ,The word in exile, The Destiny ,The Romanian human being ,The Romanian Union ,The Magazine of Romanian Writers, The Limits.

The title of the articles after the fall of the communist regime synthesizes the entire dimension of the critic from the pioneering period to the fully formed one, through which he finds the essential that individualizes a work and analyzes it from this perspective. An important aspect is the side of the interviews offered, which reveals the defining signals of his critical ideas and comments. We should mention the considerations he makes regarding the philosopher Emmanuel Lévinas, Petre Ţuţea, for whom the risk was the color of the existence, the file of the conviction

of Dinu Pillat, the sociologist political scientist living far from Romania, the diary pages of Florence Albu, who did not enjoy the appreciation of the critics, the destiny of Albatros magazine, which he worked with the help of Geo Bogza and whose works face time. From the interviews offered after '89 we find other aspects: he confessed to Octavian Paler that he missed Romania's absence, and her reunion after 40 years was a therapeutic journey; Elena Ştefoi had the idea that we should not forget the past; he told Alexandru Cistelecan that notoriety is beyond his wishes; Gabriel Liiceanu stressed the importance of art and creation to serve the truth; he explained to Liviu Aionesei the important role of the intellectuals of all times in the smooth running of the society, and he reminded Vasile Gogea about the internal and external exile to which the writers were subjected.

Another aspect that had to be imperatively detailed was that of the literary critic, at the radio microphone of the Free Europe, which was very important for the Romanian cultural heritage, because the literature in the country lived in the cult of the word spoken and written by him, because his chronicle literary raises or abolishes a writer. In these radio shows, Virgil Ierunca captures a difficult period of Romania, from 1949 to 1989, and presents "the metaphorical democracy" and the great names of writers who adhered to the communist ideology. At the same time, the life of both the Parisian circles and the Romanian exile is closely followed, because it gave birth to some first-rate personalities: Mircea Eliade, Emil Cioran, Vintilă Horea, Al. Busuioceanu, who tries to tell the truth far from the country and to create a national literature of great aesthetic quality.

The group of Romanian intellectuals around Virgil Ierunca lived the exile as a borderline situation, of some people trapped in the net of the destiny, divided between the homeland left behind as a hope and the unforeseen existential present. In the subchapter Epistolary writing as a deistic and symbolic cut-out, we presented the content of several letters received by Virgil Ierunca from Mihai Fărcășanu, Alexandru Busuioceanu, Constantin Vișoianu, Gabriel Liiceanu, HRPatapievici, Mircea Eliade, Lucian Bădescu, Mihail Andricu, Horia Stamatu, all having as subject the good collaboration between them and the attempts to bring real services to the Romanian culture. The correspondence between Professor Mircea Popa and the Parisian critic underlines the increased interest of the two writers in laying the foundations of the literature of the generation of anti-communist resistance.

Presented in the country as subversive, Virgil Ierunca adopted the technique of stabbing the opponent in words, managing to withstand a totalitarian regime based on lies and terror, so In the mirrors of criticism, Virgil Ierunca appears different. Some contemporaries praised him, others considered him a partisan and dependent on the options of a small literary group in Bucharest.

What is certain is the fact that through his efforts he signed an appeal for the freedom of cultural life in Romania. He made the pamphlet a favorite space of aesthetics, and the controversy of ideas an existential urgency. His daily voice made the Romanians not to lose hope andto survive a troubled historical time.

The conclusions we reached were that Virgil Ierunca's writings are summarized in several attributes: the reality, the utility, the value, the recovery, the dignity, the gravity and the uniqueness. All the works signed by the critic from Vâlcea have an indisputable value, because they followed the tragedy of post-war Romania, tried to coagulate the Romanian exile and sign a file for the archives of the future, a file that must always remain open in the consciousness of those who will follow, broadening dissidents horizons and internationalizing Romania's problems. The innovative character of the thesis consists in approaching the creative personality of the poet, critic and writer Virgil Ierunca, identifying the cultural imaginary in his works, illustrating the writer's conception of the importance of writing as an artistic act, but also outlining the defining elements of his style.

We conclude that in this exegetical work we followed the way in which the biographical approach to exile paved the way for the discovery of the poetic, the essayistic, the pamphlet vocation in a controlled political and a literary climate, in a recuperative approach of everything that meant the meaning of existence, the avatars exile, the birth, the schooling, childhood, the first journalistic attempts, life in Paris, in a profile of the intellectual here and there, but also the pursuit under the watchful eye of the Securitiy. Being structured in six chapters, the thesis develops a systematic and comparative analysis of the way in which the work of the writer was reflected in the Romanian literature and in the critical consciousness in order to detach the coherent elements.

Approaching almost all levels, we managed to systematize these hypostases of Virgil Ierunca's personality, having in the back, the connection to a vast bibliographic and documentary materials. Demonstrating a vast knowledge of the ancient and modern literature, betraying his broad vision of the French and Romanian postwar literary world, having a correct perception of the events and phenomena of the era in such diverse fields, managing to maintain the names of forbidden intellectuals, for the understanding of the destiny of culture and of Romania, in which he took part, Virgil Ierunca remains a book always open for new research, and what he writes urges us to read, but especially to meditate. We can certainly place him in the status of an important post-war critic of Romanian literature and culture, a moral landmark for those around him, the knowledgeable and uncompromising voice of the Radio Free Europe that offered a purifying grid and a sword of value.

#### **BIBLIOGRAFIE**

#### I. OPERA

#### a. În volume (cronologic)

- 1. Fenomenul Pitești, prefață de François Furet, București, Editura Humanitas, 1990.
- 2. Subiect și predicat, București, Editura Humanitas, 1993.
- 3. Dimpotrivă, Polemici, București, Editura Humanitas, 1994.
- 4. Semnul mirării, București, Editura Humanitas, 1995.
- 5. Trecut-au anii ..., Fragmente de jurnal. Întâmpinări și accente. Scrisori nepierdute, București, Editura Humanitas, 2000.
- 6. Poeme de exil urmate de Tălmăciri, București, Editura Humanitas, 2001.
- 7. Românește, București, Editura Humanitas, 2005.
- 8. *Antologia ruşinii*, editori Nicolae Merişanu, Dan Taloş, Bucureşti, Editura Humanitas, 2009.

#### b. În periodice (cronologic)

- 1. Negrii, poezia și sgârie norii, în Timpul, anul V, nr. 2158, 15 mai 1943, p. 2.
- 2. Omul din bibliotecă, în Timpul, anul V, nr. 2330, 4 nov., 1943, p. 2.
- 3. Efort și modestie, în Timpul, anul V, nr. 2353, 17 dec., 1943, p. 2.
- 4. Arghezi contra Gutenberg, în Timpul, anul V, nr. 2259, 25 aug, 1943, p. 2.
- 5. Romanul și Arta, Caiet francez, în Vremea, februarie, 1943, p. 8.
- 6. Henri Mondor, Caiet francez, în Vremea, martie, 1943, p. 9.
- 7. Pius Servien, Caiet francez, în Vremea, martie, 1943, p. 9.
- 8. Confluences și problemele romanului, în Revista Fundațiilor Regale, martie, 1945.
- 9. Poezie și progres, în Revista Fundațiilor Regale, octombrie, 1945.
- 10. Paul Eluard, Poesie ininterrompue, în Revista Fundațiilor Regale, mai, 1946.
- 11. Raporturile dintre poezie și istorie, în Lumea, februarie, 1946.
- 12. Relism și artă, în România literară, martie, 1945.
- 13. Pe câmpiile Belorusiei și Poloniei, în România literară, septembrie, 1945.
- 14. Trebuința spectacolului, în Scânteia tineretului, aprilie, 1945.
- 15. Eroul Europei, în Scânteia tineretului, aprilie, 1945.
- 16. Paul Valéry și poezia tânără, în Tinerețea, nr. 11, 1945.
- 17. *Caete de dor, Metafizică și poezie*, volumul I, (nr. 1-4, 1951, Paris), ediție critică, În loc de prefață un interviu cu Virgil Ierunca, București, Editura *Jurnalul literar*, 2000.
- 18. Emmanuel Lévinas, în România literară, martie, 1996.
- 19. Petre Tuțea, în Meridian, ianuarie-aprilie, 1992.
- 20. Anotimpurile lui Dinu Pillat, în România literară, aprilie, 1996.

- 21. Amintiri despre Ghiță Ionescu, în România literară, iulie, 1996.
- 22. Zidul martor, în România literară, mai, 1996.
- 23. Destinul albatrosului, în România literară, septembrie, 1997.
- 24. Agonia iluziei totalitare, în România literară, septembrie, 1996.

#### II. REFERINȚE CRITICE

#### a. În volum (alfabetic):

- 1. Albu, Mihaela, Anghelescu, Dan, *Necunoscutul scriitor Virgil Ierunca*, prefață: Libuše Valentová, Craiova, Editura Caius, 2020.
- 2. Albu, Mihaela (coordonator), *Întoarcerea la Ithaca*, *Cultura română în exil și în afara granițelor*, Craiova, Editura Universitaria, 2010.
- 3. Arendt, Hannah, *Originile totalitarismului*, Ediția a III-a, traducere din engleză de Ion Dur și Mircea Ivănescu, București, Editura Humanitas, 2014.
- 4. Behring, Eva, *Scriitori din exil 1945-1989*. *O perspectivă istorico-literară*, traducerea din limba germană de Tatiana Petrache și Lucia Nicolau, București, Editura Fundației Culturale Române, 2001.
- 5. Blaga, Lucian, *Impasurile destinului creator*, *Geneza metaforei și sensul culturii*, București, Editura Humaniras, 1994.
- 6. Boldea, Iulian, *De la modernism la postmodernism*, Târgu Mureș, Editura Universității "Petru Maior", 2011.
- 7. Boldea, Iulian, *Critici români contemporani*, *Colecția Studii*, Târgu Mureș, Editura Universității "Petru Maior", 2011.
- 8. Braga, Corin, De la arhietip la anarhetip, București, Editura Polirom, 2006.
- 9. Braga, Mircea, Teorie și metodă, Eseu despre izvoarele aventurii metodologice moderne, Sibiu, Editura Imago, 2002.
- Buzași, Ion, *Poezia religioasă românească*, Antologie, Editura Dacia, Cluj-Napoca,
   2003.
- 11. Călinescu, George, *Istoria literaturii române de la origini până în prezent*, Ediția a doua, revăzută și adăugită, ediție și prefață de Alexandru Piru, București, Editura Minerva, 1988.
- 12. Cesereanu, Ruxandra, *Călătorie spre centrul infernului*. *Gulagul în conștiința românească*, București, Editura Fundației Culturale Române, 1998.
- 13. Chihaia, Pavel, *Scrieri din țară și din exil, cultura română și cultura europeană*, București, Editura Paideia, 2007.

- 14. Cistelecan, Alexandru, Violon d'igres, în Al doilea top, Brașov, Editura Aula, 2004.
- 15. Firan, Florea, Popa, M. Constantin, *Literatura diasporei*, Antologie comentată, Craiova, Editura Poesis, 1994.
- 16. Glodeanu Gheorghe, *Incursiuni în literatura disporei și a disidenței*, București, Editura Libra, 1999.
- 17. Havriliuc, Nicolae, *Virgil Ierunca o mărime românească a lucidității*, în Nicolae Havriliuc *Imperfecțiunea evenimentului*, București, Padora, 1993.
- 18. Indrieș, Alexandra, *Polifonia persoanei*, Timișoara, Editura Facla, 1986.
- 19. Institutul Național pentru Memoria Exilului Românesc, *Din viața exilului românesc* (1954-1968), Antologie, studiu introductiv, note și comentarii de Georgeta Filitti, București, Editura Fundației Culturale *Gheorghe Marin Speteanu*, 2008.
- 20. Institutul Național pentru Memoria Exilului Românesc, *Cazul "Artur" și exilul românesc, Ion Caraion în documente din Arhiva CNSAS*, Ediție de Delia Roxana Cornea, Dumitru Dobre, București, Editura Pro Historia, 2006.
- 21. Liiceanu, Gabriel, *Declarație de iubire*, Ediție revăzută și adăugită, București, Editura Humanitas, 2000.
- 22. Manolescu, Nicolae, Despre poezie, București, Editura Cartea Românească, 1987.
- 23. Manolescu, Florin, *Enciclopedia exilului literar românesc 1945-1989*, Scriitori, reviste, instituții, publicații, București, Editura Compania, 2003.
- 24. Manolescu, Nicolae, *Istoria critică a literaturii române, 5 secole de literatură*, Pitești, Editura Paralela 45, 2008.
- 25. Manolescu, Nicolae, *Istoria literaturii române pe înțelesul celor care citesc*, Pitești, Editura Paralela 45, 2014.
- 26. Muşina, Alexandru, Eseu asupra poeziei moderne, Chişinău, Editura Cartier, 1977.
- 27. Negoițescu, Ion, *Scriitori contemporani*, Ediție îngrijită de Dan Damaschian, Cluj, Editura Dacia, 1994.
- 28. Nițescu, Marin, *Sub zodia proletcultismului. Dialectica puterii*, București, Editura Humanitas, 1995, p. 139.
- 29. Pamfil, Alina, Eseul o formă a neliniștii, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Dacia, 2000.
- 30. Pelin, Mihai, *Opisul emigrației politice*, *Destine în 1222 de fișe alcătuite pe baza dosarelor din arhivele Securității*, București, Editura Compania, 2002.
- 31. Popa, Mircea, *Reîntoarcerea la Ithaca*, *scriitori români din exil*, București, Editura Globus, 1998.

- 32. Popa, Mircea, *Istoria presei literare românești din Transilvania*, *de la începuturi până în 1918*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Dacia, 1980.
- 33. Richeur, Paul, Eseuri de hermeneutică, București, Editura Humanitas, 1995.
- 34. Rusu, Liviu, *Eseu despre creație artistică*. *Contribuție la o estetică dinamică*, traducere din franceză de Cristina Rusu, Studiu introductiv de Marian Papahagi, București, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1989.
- 35. Sf. Augustin, *Confesiuni*, traducere de Eugen Munteanu, București, Editura Nemira, 2009.
- 36. Simion, Eugen, *Ficțiunea jurnalului intim*, vol. I, *Există o poetică a jurnalului?*, București, Editura Tracus Arte, 2018.
- 37. Simion, Eugen, (coordonator), Gligor, Andrei, *Cronologia vieții literare românești*, Periada postbelică, I, 1944-1945, Academia Română, București, Editura Muzeul Literaturii române, 2010.
- 38. Tismăneanu, Vladimir, *Diavolul în istorie*, *comunism, fascism și câteva lecții ale secolului XX*, Traducere din limba engleză și indice de Marius Stan, București, Editura Humanitas, 2013.
- 39. Vlăduțescu, Gheorghe, *Filosofia legendelor cosmogonice românești*, București, Editura Minerva, 1982.
- 40. Zamfirescu, Dinu, *Şi noi am condamnat comunismul. Din exilul parizian*, Bucureşti, Editura Paidea, 2008.

### **b.** În periodice (alfabetic):

- 1. Achim, George, Lacrimi pentru o ... Bibliotecă, în Calende, 3, nr 4, 1993, p. 19.
- 2. Alui Gheorghe, Adrian, *Cronica unei "întâlniri admirabile"*. *Virgil Ierunca și Monica Lovinescu la Piatra Neamt*, în *Convorbiri literare*, 140, nr. 10, 2006, p. 8-9.
- 3. Alui Gheorghe, Adrian, *Datoria intelectualului este să spună adevărul*, [Un dialog între Virgil Ierunca, Monica Lovinescu și Gabriel Liiceanu, 14 septembrie, Piatra Neamt, Teatrul Tineretului], în *Convorbiri literare*, 140, nr. 10, 2006, p. 10-19.
- 4. Baltă, Nicolae, *Exilul și neuitarea*, [Virgil Ierunca, *Românește*], în *Contrapunct*, nr. 36, septembrie 1991, p. 4-5.
- 5. Boldea, Iulian, *Memorie și adevăr*, [Virgil Ierunca, *Trecut-au anii ...*, București, Humanitas, 2000], în *Vatra*, nr. 9, 2000, p. 65-66.
- 6. Boldea, Iulian, *Virgil Ierunca sau sentimentul românesc al exilului*, în *România literară*, 36, nr. 1, 2003, p. 12-13.
- 7. Borcea, Tudor, *Genocidul sufletelor*, în Cotidianul *Ziua*, februarie 2008, p. 7.

- 8. Buzera, Ion, *Panteonul imposturii*, [Virgil Ierunca, *Românește*], în *Ramuri*, nr. 9, septembrie 1991, p. 4.
- 9. Cistelecan, Alexandru, Exil și critică, în Vatra, 24, nr. 4, 1994, p. 12, 18.
- 10. Corbea, Ileana, *Dialoguri esențiale cu Virgil Ierunca într-o convorbire despre literatura exilului și revistele ei*, [Interviu cu Virgil Ierunca], în *Jurnalul literar*, 9, nr. 21-24, 1998, p. 1,12.
- 11. Corbea, Ileana, Florescu, Nicolae, *Cu Monica Lovinescu și Virgil Ierunca recapitulând* exilul fără anecdote, în Ileana Corbea, Nicolae Florescu *Resemnarea cavalerilor*, *Reevaluări critice și memorialistice ale literaturii exilului*, București, Jurnalul literar, 2002, p. 88.
- 12. Cristea, Dan, *Jurnalul de exil al tânărului Ierunca*, [Dan Cristea, *Autorul și ficțiunile eului*, București, Editura Cartea Românească, 2004, p. 39], în *Revista 22*, anul XI, nr. 40 (553), octombrie 2000, p. 5.
- 13. Cubleşan, Constantin, *Dimpotrivă?*, [Virgil Iereunca, *Dimpotrivă*, Bucureşti, Humanitas, 1994], în *Tribuna*, 7, nr. 8, 1995, p. 1-2.
- 14. Cărtărescu, Mircea, Etaloane ale demnității, în Calende, 3, nr. 4, 1993, p. 16.
- 15. Deciu, Andreea, *Dezonoarea moștenită*, [Virgil Ierunca, *Dimpotrivă. Polemici*, București, Humanitas, 1994], în *România literară*, 27, nr. 40, 1994, p. 5.
- 16. Dimisianu, Gabriel, *Cărți despre gulagul românesc*, [Virgil Ierunca, *Fenomenul Pitești*, București, Humanitas, 1990; Paul Goma, *Gherla*, București, Humanitas, 1990], în *Caiete critice*, nr. 1, ianuarie 1991, p. 8-10.
- 17. Firan, Florea, Virgil Ierunca, în Scrisul Românesc, 8, nr. 8, 2010, p. 1-3.
- 18. Firan, Florea, *Virgil Ierunca*, [Recuperarea diaporei], în *Curtea de la Arge*ş, 2, nr. 8, 2011, p. 20.
- 19. Glodeanu, Gheorghe, Un jurnal de exil (I), în Nord Literar, 7, nr. 9, 2009, p. 3.
- 20. Glodeanu, Gheorghe, Un jurnal de exil (II), în Nord Literar, 7, nr. 11-12, 2009, p. 3.
- 21. Gogea, Vasile, *Al doilea exil*, [Convorbire cu Monica Lovinescu și Virgil Ierunca, traducere de Angela Tudorii], în *Astra*, 15, nr. 5, 1990, p. 1-3.
- 22. Grigurcu, Gheorghe, *Monica Lovinescu-Virgil Ierunca*, [Convorbiri "Calende"], în *Calende*, 3, nr. 4, 1993, p. 10-14.
- 23. Jela, Doina, *Memorialistică*, [Virgil Ierunca, *Fenomenul Pitești*, Editura Humanitas, 1991], în *Tomis*, nr. 1, 1992, p. 8.
- 24. Jela, Doina, *Un surâs pentru Virgil Ierunca*, *la aniversară*, în *Tomis*, nr. 8, 2006, p. 22-23.

- 25. Lefter, Ion Bogdan, *Vocea și chipul*, [Virgil Ierunca *Fenomenul Pitești*], în *Contrapunct*, 1, nr. 15, 1990, p. 5.
- 26. Liiceanu, Gabriel, *Prefață la o întâlnire*, în 22, [Douăzeci și doi], 4, nr. 37, 1993, p. 15.
- 27. Manolescu, Nicolae, La aniversară, în România literară, 28, nr. 31, 1995, p. 1.
- 28. Manolescu, Nicolae, *Crimă și pedeapsă*, [Virgil Ierunca, *Fenomenul Pitești*], în *România literară*, 24, nr. 3, ianuarie 1991, p. 9.
- 29. Manolescu, Nicolae, *Istoria nu uită, Dimpotrivă*, [Virgil Ierunca, *Dimpotrivă*. *Polemici*, București, Humanitas, 1994], în *România literară*, 27, nr. 40, 1994, p. 4.
- 30. Mănescu, Alexandra Florina, *Date inedite în biografia lui Virgil Ierunca, școlaritatea scriitorului*, în *România literară*, nr. 27/28, 2017, p. 14-15.
- 31. Mănescu, Alexandra Florina, *Date inedite în biografia lui Virgil Ierunca, Precizări genealogice și onomastice*, în *România literară*, nr. 23/26, mai 2017, p. 15-16.
- 32. Mihăilescu, Dan, *Urna Monica și urna Virgil în sfârșit acasă*, în *Idei în Dialog*, 5, nr. 6, 2008, p. 7-8, 10.
- 33. Moraru, Cornel, *Fenomenul Pitești*, [Virgil Ierunca *Fenomenul Pitești*], în *Vatra*, 20, nr. 10 (235), 1990, p. 5.
- 34. Moraru, Cornel, *Jurnal din exil*, [Virgil Ierunca, *Trecut-au anii ..., fragmente de jurnal, întâmpinări și accente, scrisori nepierdute*, București, Humanitas, 2000], în *Vatra*, nr. 9, 2000, p. 63-65.
- 35. Niculescu, Alexandra, *Virgil Ierunca. Sub semnul libertății*, în *România literară*, 33, nr. 32, 2000, p. 12.
- 36. Niculescu, Alexandru, *La aniversară*, în *România literară*, 34, nr. 32, 2001, p. 11.
- 37. Opăriuc, Loredana, *Virgil Ierunca Poeme din exil*, în *Convorbiri literare*, 140, nr. 10, 2006, p. 78-79.
- 38. Paleologu, Alexandru, *Lecția de onestitate și demnitate. Cu Virgil Ierunca prin veac,* în *Cuvântul*, 6, nr. 8, 2000, p. 8.
- 39. Paler, Octavian, "Am trăit bolnav de absență" Dialog cu Virgil Ierunca, în România literară, 23, nr. 6, 1990, p. 5.
- 40. Paler, Octavian, *Virgil Ierunca: Icoana României de altădată*, [Interviu publicat în *România liberă*, februarie 1990], în 22 [*Douăzeci și doi*], 17, nr. 865, 2006, Suplimentul Bucureștiului Cultural, 6, nr. 18, 2006, p. 5.
- 41. Pantea, Aurel, *Virgil Ierunca. Un critic al actualității*, [Virgil Ierunca, *Semnul mirării*, București, Humanitas, 1995], în *Vatra*, 26, nr. 4, 1996, p. 8-9.

- 42. Patapievici, Horia-Roman, *Martorii adevărului*, [În memoria Monicăi Lovinescu și a lui Virgil Ierunca], în *Idei în Dialog*, 5, nr. 5, 2008, p. 55.
- 43. Podoabă, Virgil, *Doi eseiști de excepție: Ion Vianu și Virgil Ierunca*, [Articolul este semnat cu inițialele V. P.], în *Vatra*, 23, nr. 4, 1993, p. 20.
- 44. Popa, Mircea, *Virgil Ierunca sau poezia ca jurnal interior*, [Virgil Ierunca, *Trecut-au anii* ..., București, Humanitas, 2000], în *Steaua*, 53, nr. 2-3, 2002, p. 56-57.
- 45. Spridon, Monica, *Gramatica demnității*, [Virgil Ierunca, *Subiect și Predicat*, București, Humanitas, 1993], în *România literară*, 26, nr. 44, 1993, p. 11.
- 46. Stoiciu, Liviu Ioan, *Au reușit să formeze o adevărată școală a regăsirii de sine*, în *Calende*, 3, nr. 4, 1993, p. 19.
- 47. Ştefănescu, Alexandru, *Adevărul, tot adevărul și numai adevărul,* [Virgil Ierunca, *Românește*], în *România literară*, 24, nr. 36, septembrie 1991, p. 11.
- 48. Ștefănescu, Alexandru, *O baie de adevăr*, [Virgil Ierunca, *Dimpotrivă. Polemici*, București, Humanitas, 1994], în *România literară*, 27, nr. 40, 1994, p. 4.
- 49. Ștefănescu, Alexandru, *Purtător de cuvânt al celor care nu aveau voie să vorbească*, [In memoriam], în *România literară*, 39, nr. 40, 2006, p. 6.
- 50. Ștefănescu, Alexandru, Noi definiții critice, în România literară, 44, nr. 33, 2012, p. 5.
- 51. Tismăneanu, Vladimir, Lecția de onestitate și demnitate, Virgil Ierunca și onoarea culturii românești, în Cuvântul 6, nr. 8, 2000, p. 8-9.
- 52. Țepeneag, Dumitru, *Canonul literar și exilul*, în *Contemporanul ideea europeană*, 11, nr. 6, 2001, p. 4.
- 53. Țuculescu, Radu, *Trialog în perioada vacarmului*, [Vasile Gogea, *Voci în vacarm: un dialog cu Monica Lovinescu și Virgil Ierunca*, Cluj-Napoca, Eikon, 2010], în *Tribuna*, 10, nr. 202, 2011, p. 29.
- 54. Ulici, Laurențiu, Avatarii lui Ovidiu. Observații statistice despre exilul literar românesc, în Luceafărul, nr. 5, 1994.
- 55. Urian, Tudorel, Cuplul mitic al culturii române, în Cuvântul, 6, nr. 8, 2000, p. 1.
- 56. Valentová, Libuše, *Domnul acela elegant*, în 22 [*Douăzeci și doi*], 17, nr. 865, 2006, p. 6-7.

### III. BIBLIOGRAFIE GENERALĂ:

#### a. Dicționare:

1. Academia Română, *Dicționarul general al literaturii române*, București, Editura Univers Enciclopedic, 2005.

- 2. Chevalier, Jean, Gheerbrant, Alain, *Dicționar de simboluri*, *Mituri*, *vise*, *obiceiuri*, *gesturi*, *forme*, *figuri*, *culori*, *numere*, volumul I (A-D), II (E-O), III (P-Z), București, Editura Artemis, 1995.
- 3. Evseev, Ivan, *Dicționar de simboluri și arhetipuri culturale*, Ediția a II-a revăzută și adăugită, Timișoara, Editura Amarcord, 2001.
- 4. Hangiu, Ion, *Dicționarul presei românești* (1790-2000), ediția a III-a, București, Editura Institutului Cultural Român, 2004.
- 5. Zaciu, Mircea, Papahagi, Marian, Sasu Aurel, *Dicționarul scriitorilor români, D-L*, București, Editura Fundației Culturale Române, 1998.

#### b. Articole

#### • publicate și citate de studenta doctorandă:

- Marinela Sabou (Ţuculete), Literatura exilului. Cazul Virgil Ierunca, în Journal of romanian literary studies, ISSUE no. 13/2018, THE LITERATURE OF EXILE. VIRGIL IERUNCA'S CASE, <a href="https://old.upm.ro/jrls/JRLS-13/Rls%2013%2091.pdf">https://old.upm.ro/jrls/JRLS-13/Rls%2013%2091.pdf</a>, accesat în data de 4.07.2020.
- 2. Marinela Sabou (Țuculete), *Poezia lui Virgil Ierunca Ierunca stihuri ale sufletului rătăcitor*, în *Conferința Internațională Literature*, *Discourse and Multiculturale Dialogue*, Ediția 7/2019, Issue no. 19, pp. 1122-1131, <a href="https://old.upm.ro/jrls/JRLS-19/Volume-19.pdf">https://old.upm.ro/jrls/JRLS-19/Volume-19.pdf</a>, accesat în data de 4.07.2020.
- 3. Marinela Sabou (Țuculete), Virgil Ierunca și încercarea de regăsire a eului creator, în Conferința Multiculturalism trough the lenses of literary discourse, Issue no. 978-606-8624-09-9, pp.742-748, <a href="https://old.upm.ro/ldmd/LDMD-07/LDMD-07%20Lit.pdf">https://old.upm.ro/ldmd/LDMD-07/LDMD-07%20Lit.pdf</a>, accesat în data de 4.07.2020.
- 4. Marinela Sabou (Ţuculete), Virgil Ierunca şi demersul analitic al poeziei în Subiect şi predicat, în Conferința Internațională Identities in Globalisation. Intercultural Perspectives, volumul 7, 2020, Arhipelag 21, ISBN 978-606-8624-105, pp. 370-376, <a href="https://old.upm.ro/gidni/GIDNI-07/GIDNI%2007%20Literature.pdf">https://old.upm.ro/gidni/GIDNI-07/GIDNI%2007%20Literature.pdf</a>, accesat în data de 18.07.2020.
- 5. Marinela Sabou (Țuculete), *Românește, confesiunea unui intelectual*, în Journal Of Romanian Literary Studies, Issue no 2248-3004. pp. <a href="https://old.upm.ro/jrls/JRLS-16/Volume-16.pdf">https://old.upm.ro/jrls/JRLS-16/Volume-16.pdf</a>, accesat în 07.07.2020.
- 6. Marinela Sabou (Țuculete), *Forme ale imaginarului cultural în opera lui Virgil Ierunca*, în *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Philologica*, Issue nr. 3, 19/2018, pp. 125-134, https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=756271, accesat în data de 07.07.2020.

#### • preluate de pe internet

- Ion Simuţ, Literatura subversivă, în *România literară*, nr. 18/2008, 09.05.2008, www.romlit.ro, accesat în 09.07.2020.
- Anarela Meseşan (Chiş), Exilul românesc din perioada comunistă, reflectat în fondul bibliotecii de la Paris aparținând cuplului Monica Lovinescu-Virgil Ierunca, <a href="https://www.scribd.com/document/330952855/exilul-romanesc-teza-oradea-pdf">https://www.scribd.com/document/330952855/exilul-romanesc-teza-oradea-pdf</a>, accesat în data de 17.07.2020.
- 3. Horia Roman Patapievici, Vasile Popovici, Ioan Stanomir, Monica Lovinescu şi Virgil Ierunca, Sfârşitul exilului, Revista 22, 30.04.2008, <a href="https://revista22.ro/dosar/monica-lovinescu-si-virgil-ierunca-sfarsitul-exilului">https://revista22.ro/dosar/monica-lovinescu-si-virgil-ierunca-sfarsitul-exilului</a>, accesat în data de 28.05.2018.
- 4. Monitorul de Suceava, *Urnele funerare ale Monicăi Lovinescu și Virgil Ierunca au ajuns la Fălticeni*, <a href="https://www.monitorulsv.ro/Local/2008-05-17/Urnele-funerare-ale-Monicai-Lovinescu-si-Virgil-Ierunca-au-ajuns-la-Falticeni">https://www.monitorulsv.ro/Local/2008-05-17/Urnele-funerare-ale-Monicai-Lovinescu-si-Virgil-Ierunca-au-ajuns-la-Falticeni</a>, accesat în data de 17.07.2020.
- 5. Doina Jela, *Povești din biblioteca Monica Lovinescu-Virgil Ierunca*, <a href="https://www.lapunkt.ro/2018/03/povesti-din-biblioteca-monica-lovinescu-virgilierunca/">https://www.lapunkt.ro/2018/03/povesti-din-biblioteca-monica-lovinescu-virgilierunca/</a>, accesat astăzi 09.07.2020.
- 6. Vladimir Tismăneanu, *Datoria neuitării*, Arhiva Monica Lovinescu-Virgil Ierunca, la IICCMER, 15.09.2011, <a href="http://www.contributors.ro/cultura/datoria-neuitarii-arhiva-monica-lovinescu-virgil-ierunca-la-iiccmer">http://www.contributors.ro/cultura/datoria-neuitarii-arhiva-monica-lovinescu-virgil-ierunca-la-iiccmer</a>, accesat in data de 09.07.2020.