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Constantin Noica

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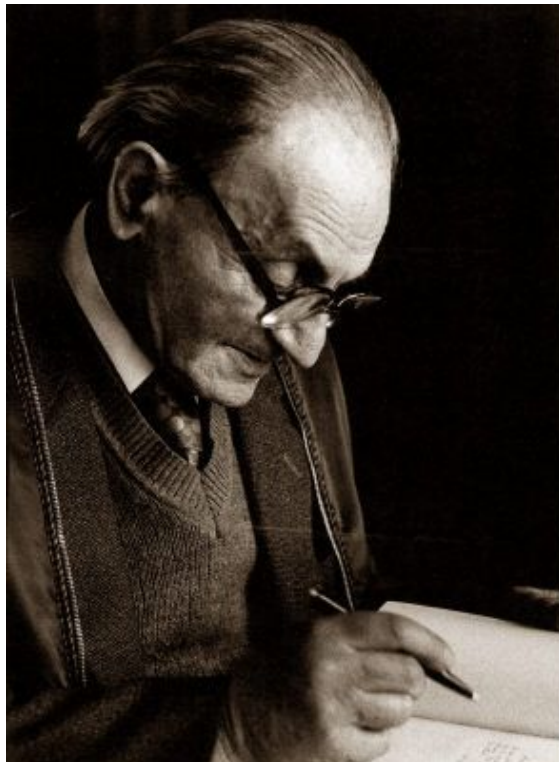


arguments

CONSTANTIN NOICA

vademecum

Bucharest – Ithaca, NY – Nijmegen – Vienna
2003






Foreword

Although [privately] intended long ago, this *Bio-bibliographical* survey of CONSTANTIN NOICA (1909–1987) has never been an actual *project*, beforehand: it has emerged naturally from a few recent contributions of two PhD students of Prof. GABRIEL LIICEANU at the University of Bucharest – LAURA PAMFIL and SORIN LAVRIC –, both of them currently engaged, and independently so, in a “thematic” study of NOICA’s *ontology*.

The editorial board of ARGUMENTS, as well as the main editor of the ÉQUIVALENCES host-library, have estimated the expertise of the young [PhD] students to be (qualitatively) far beyond usual expectations (judging by common [Western] academic standards), whence also the decision to display – in a kind of privileged preview, for our philosophically motivated readers – some of their academic projects.

Technically speaking, the *survey* following next is the result of an editorial meltdown, with ultimate [technical and other kind of] responsibilities assumed *only* by the main editor of this serial publication (sc. ADRIAN REZUŞ, Nijmegen, The Netherlands).

In spite of a substantial amount of *private* information – documenting NOICA’s [philosophical & other kind of] whereabouts, now and then – he was able to put together along the years, the [main] editor of this survey could have never attained the degree of objective *distance & accuracy* he was actually intending to, without the



– otherwise unexpected – contribution of his young helpers. Other (implicit) debts have been (explicitly) mentioned in the editorial notes.*

One should also mention, in the end, the indirect editorial debts to an old *connoisseur* of the subject matter, GABRIEL LIICEANU, a rather useful source to read & peruse *carefully* – on NOICA matters –, in absence of *subjectively* more *distant* ones.

ADRIAN REZUȘ

Nijmegen

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Constantin Noica

Werke, auch Wege (1934–1987) [1931–1990]

[...] tocmai pentru că NOICA
s-a înscris în linia tradiției filosofice categoriale și
s-a format prin studiul expres al categoriilor
în istoria gândirii occidentale [...]
el este ultimul filosof tradiționalist al lumii
GABRIEL LIICEANU, 27 septembrie 2001
in: *Ușa interzisă* [86] (2002), p. 136¹

¹“NOICA is the last traditionalist philosopher of the world [...], just because his [search is] inscribed in the philosophical categorial tradition and [because] his work grew out from an explicit study of the categories in the history of Western thinking.” (*The Forbidden Door*, September 27, 2001)




Certainly CONSTANTIN NOICA was not the “Philosopher” [CONSTANTIN NOICA] – or else the “Old Man” of the late seventies and the early eighties² – from the very beginning, and the “Nicasian”³ way of thinking was not “Nicasian” all of a sudden.

In retrospect, the student of his works is able to distinguish among several *stages* in the development of his thinking.

NOICA’s ways – *Wege* – are actually inscribed in his *works*: in his case, [*die*] *Werke*

²Romanian: “Bătrînul”, a usual appellation emerging first in print in the Păltiniș records (cf. [66]). Otherwise, C. NOICA was distantly referred to – in formal / polite Romanian – as “Domnul Noica” [Mr. Noica] by the younger generation around him, in contrast with the more familiar nickname / diminutive “Dinu [Noica]”, commonly used by his older friends (E. M. CIORAN, ALEXANDRU PALEOLOGU, etc.). The outsiders used also, colloquially, the polite Romanian prefix “Domnul[e] Profesor” to his name – an analogue of the endemic / popular Italian “dottor[e]”, more or less –, mentioning a title / profession he never had, actually: NOICA has never been involved in teaching – in any institutional sense of the word: University, high school, or elementary level – anything whatsoever, during all his life. Moreover, in full honesty, nobody – among his friends and / or “pupils” – can claim [s]he has actually “learned” something specific from him. Incidentally, this should be also in agreement with NOICA’s early “dream”, [150] (1940), about founding a “school where there is nothing to learn”: *Visez la o școală în care să nu se predea la drept vorbind nimic*. [“I am dreaming of a school where nothing is taught, in the end.”] (cf. [251], page 7). [n.ed.]

³A Latinized *adjectival* form, for / from “Noica”, suggested apparently – and / or, at least agreed, in principle, upon – by C. NOICA himself (for a reliable witness, cf., e.g., the notes of MIHAI NASTA – a Classics scholar –, in [95]). The would-be alternative form “noicist” [in colloquial Romanian] is likely to be avoided in philosophical contexts, as there is no specific “-ism” to be associated with NOICA’s name, unless we intend to refer – and pejoratively so – to occasional [unwanted] epigonal echoes, as, e.g., the “proto-chronistic followers”, reviewed already during the early nineties by KATHERINE VERDERY in her monograph [351] (Romanian version in [352]). [n.ed.]



[sind] auch Wege⁴, since – as he repeatedly used to say –, he had “[...] no biography, [...] only works [books]”.

A possible *thematic, interpretative* classification of NOICA’s philosophical output (original monographs: books mainly) has been recently suggested by LAURA PAMFIL in her PhD Dissertation [University of Bucharest, forthcoming]. We found useful to summarize the main points of her attempt, as a would-be *guide for a subsequent study* of NOICA’s *philosophical work*.

I *the formation stage* (1934–1943):

history of philosophy [to and including KANT], readings in the light of “[the possibility of] something new”; statement of *personal positions* in *Mathesis* (1934) and *De caelo* (1937), and first insights into future ontological orientations

1934 *Mathesis* sau *Bucuriile simple* [108]:

a personal position

1936 *Concepte deschise în istoria filosofiei la Descartes, Leibniz și Kant*⁵ [115]:

dead ends / blind alleys of [and closing points in] rationalism, and an exit via KANT

1937 *De Caelo, Încercare în jurul cunoașterii și individului* [120]:

a personal position

1937 *Viața și filosofia lui Descartes* [131]:

closing points in rationalism

⁴Cf. HEIDEGGER’s opposite *Selbstinterpretation*-claim, also chosen as a motto for his *Gesamtausgabe* [“letzter Hand”]: *Wege, nicht Werke*. [n.ed.]

⁵Cf. also his Master thesis [*thèse de licence*] on *Problema lucrului în sine la Kant* [The problem of the *Ding an sich* in Kant] (Bucharest 1931). [LP] — Otherwise, KrV is known to be one of the first thorough philosophical readings of C. NOICA – apparently since he was aged 18, already –, while KANT was a kind of long-term obsession for him.⁰ [n.ed.]



1940 *Schiță pentru istoria lui «Cum e cu putință ceva nou»* [151]⁶:

search for a mediation between empirism (“external”) and rationalism (“internal”);
“something new” is made possible by means of “dialectics” (no HEGEL yet)

1943 *Două introduceri și o trecere spre idealism* [156]:

the discovery of KANT (the synthetic apriori judgements);
KANT opens (!) a way to “dialectics” and to a “Logic of Reason”, i.e., a possible way
out from the dilemma “internal” (rationalism) vs “external” (empirism)

II the “Romanian” stage (1944–1978):

steps towards a “national ontology” (first echoes / influences from HEGEL and HEIDEGGER⁷)

1944 *Jurnal filosofic* [150]:

a personal orientation

1944 *Pagini despre sufletul românesc* [164]:

first steps to a “national ontology”

1952–1953 *«Fenomenologia spiritului» de G. W. F. Hegel istorisită de Constantin Noica* [166]:

first HEGEL investigation (1952–1953, in print: 1962)

1969 *Douăzeci și șapte trepte ale realului* [172]:

(renewed) interest in categories⁸

⁶PhD Dissertation, Bucharest (May 1940). [LP]

⁷Possible suggestions from [the later] HEIDEGGER: the discovery of the language – Romanian – as a “thinker” (!), whence also the search for a would-be *system* of “Romanian philosophical apophantics” (‹rostire filosofică românească›, where ‹rostire›, “uttering”, should be also understood as a ‹punere în rost, rostuire›, “ordering”, *mise-en-ordre*, revealing an implicit systematic categorial structure, etc.). [n.ed.]

⁸*De aici importanța cărțulei lui [...] [172], studiu dedicat istoriei categoriilor și mărturie a intrării sale în filozofie pe această «poartă clasică.»* [“Whence the importance of his booklet [...] [172], a study dedicated to the history of categories, [and] a witness of his ‘entering into’ philosophy through





- 1969 *Lysis, cu un eseu despre înțelesul grec al dragostei despre oameni și lucruri* [174]:
(reading PLATO, once more) ethics as a disclosure for ontology
- 1970 *Rostirea filozofică românească* [180]:
the meaning of language for ontology, a first approach
- 1973 *Creație și frumos în rostirea românească* [192]:
the meaning of language for ontology, refinements in view of a “national ontology”
- 1975 *Eminescu sau Gânduri despre omul deplin al culturii românești* [202]:
a Romanian “Opening into [the] Universal”
- 1976 *Despărțirea de Goethe* [204]:
first steps towards a “general ontology”
- 1978 *Sentimentul românesc al ființei* [209]:
the “national ontology”

III the “Hegelian” stage (1978–1986):

ontology and logic (both Hegelian, in essence)

- 1978 *Spiritul românesc în cumpătul vremii, Șase maladii ale spiritului contemporan* [210]:
a first attempt to a Philosophy of Mind, on HEGEL’s pattern
(“jelly-like” stage of the [Hegelian] ontology)
- 1980 *Povestiri despre om* [216]:
hermeneutic revisions of HEGEL’s *Phänomenologie*
- 1981 *Devenirea întru ființă* [217], i.e.,
1 *Încercare asupra filozofiei tradiționale* & 2 *Tratat de ontologie*:
the “ontological model” in its mature form
- 1984 *Trei introduceri la Devenirea întru ființă* [230]:
complements to the “ontological model”

this ‘classical door’.] (G. LIICEANU, September 27, 2001, in: [86], loc. cit.) [n.ed.]



- 1986 *Scrisori despre logica lui Hermes* [234]:
an attempt to the foundation of a speculative logic, on HEGEL's pattern

IV *posthumous publications* (1988–1990):

- 1988 *De dignitate Europae* [246]:
(a German version of *Modelul cultural european* [262], in print: 1993):
the “ontological model”, as applied to the “[Western] European Mind”
(suggestions for a political philosophy)
- 1990 *Rugați-vă pentru fratele Alexandru* [252]:
retrospect: an account of the prison years (dated 1965)⁹
- 1990 *Jurnal de idei* [250]:
retrospect: a philosophical diary (1958–1987, with interruptions)

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Stuttgart

September-October 2003

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⁹To be read / understood – pace the historical “detail” – in the light of [210], likely. [n.ed.]




Constantin Noica

A Selective Bibliography (1929–2003)

...vita sine cultura quasi imago mortis [est...]

CONSTANTIN NOICA, *in conversations*






This *selective* bibliography – based, initially, on the references included in the PhD Dissertation of LAURA PAMFIL [University of Bucharest, forthcoming] – is meant to supply a *first systematic guide* to the *philosophical* publications of CONSTANTIN NOICA.

As a rule, the “monographs” – i.e., items issued in book-form –, most of the translations and the editions of philosophical texts due to NOICA and his collaborators (especially those containing comments or notes by his hand) have been listed in detail. Nearly all (more recent) reprints have been identified, by the same token.

The editors have also included in the list a large number of papers and essays (by C. NOICA) with a philosophical character, published in (philosophical) serials and in collective volumes (in Romania and abroad), as well as the relevant secondary literature. (The latter two categories of entries are rather selective. So, for instance, NOICA-items appearing first in [Romanian] literary and / or cultural publications and reprinted subsequently in volumes have been ignored.)

Most of NOICA’s occasional papers and essays with a literary, political, or – generally speaking – a non-philosophical character, scattered through Romanian periodicals (1927–1987) can be conveniently retrieved from [249] (1934–1987, ed. by MIRCEA HANDOCA, in 1989 [actually published in 1990]) and the recent *Humanitas*-editions prepared by MARIN DIACONU [266] (1927–1929, published in 1994), [275] (1930–1934, published in 1996), and [285] (1929–1947, published in 1998). See also [256] (ed. by GABRIEL LIICEANU and MARIN DIACONU, in 1992) and [255], [258] (both published in 1992), [289] (radio-conferences, 1936–1943, published in 2000). A first systematic attempt to identify this kind of output is due to MIRCEA HANDOCA (in [249], pp.



178–332).¹⁰

So-called “posthumous” publications and a few *inedita* are included in [250] (ed. by THOMAS KLEININGER, GABRIEL LIICEANU, ANDREI PLEȘU and SORIN VIERU, in 1990 – some excerpts, for a wider audience, can be found in [260]), in [252] (first published in 1990, too) and in [282] (published in 1997).

The translations *from* the works of CONSTANTIN NOICA are rather scarce in print. Actually, with the exception of [246] – first published in German (Bucharest, 1988) –, and [292] – published first in French¹¹ – only [210] (1978) and [252] (1990) seem to have drawn, so far, the attention of the public abroad (in France¹², Italy¹³, Poland¹⁴, Brazil¹⁵, and, incidentally, in Mexico¹⁶). Two Hungarian translations of somewhat

¹⁰See also the notes of MARIN DIACONU to his editions, [266] (1994), [275] (1996), and [285] (1998): a valuable research tool for the student of NOICA’s huge journalistic output (more than 500 entries in print for the period 1927–1947), and, possibly, [25], [27].

¹¹By E. M. CIORAN: *Lettre à un ami lointain*, in *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, Paris 1957; cf. the reprint [292], Critérion, Paris 1991, containing also CIORAN’s answer, and possibly E. M. CIORAN *Histoire et utopie*, Gallimard, Paris [1960, 1974, 1977, 1988, 1996, etc.]. There is also an Italian translation of the exchange, [293], by ROBERTA FERRARA (ed. by LORENZO RENZI, 1993).


¹²For a French translation of [210], cf. [254].

¹³With translations of [210] and [252] by MARCO CUGNO; cf. [263] (1993) and [264] (1994), resp.

¹⁴With a translation of [210]. by IRENEUSZ KANIA; cf. [283] (1997).

¹⁵With a recent [Brazilian–] Portuguese translation of [210] by FERNANDO KLABIN and ELENA SBURLEA; cf. [288].

¹⁶Cf., e.g., [291], a partial Spanish translation of [210] by ANTONIO ARMONÍA, published in *La Jornada semanal – suplemento cultural* (México), the weekly supplement of the newspaper *La Jornada* (nr. 358, of January 13, 2002 and 359, of January 20, 2002). The text is accompanied by an introduction, [21], due to the Italian translator of [210], MARCO CUGNO.



older NOICA-books have been also published recently (1996)¹⁷.

The bibliographical comments, the crossreferences, and the translation of the [Romanian] titles have been supplied by the editors.

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¹⁷Cf. e.g., [276] [*Mathesis*, original edition: 1934], [274] [*De caelo*, original edition: 1937], with introductory essays by PAPP LÁSZLÓ; both were issued, as a matter of fact, in Romania (Nagyvárad = “Oradea [Mare]”).




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Historical and general intellectual background to Romania: the point of view of an expert in Romanian intellectual history and, essentially, Romanian contemporary literature (formerly a Professor of Romanian studies at the University of Amsterdam [UvA], Faculty of Letters, Department of French & Romanian [sic]), the Editor in Chief of the *International Journal of Rumanian Studies* (Amsterdam), close to MIRCEA ELIADE and a fine connoisseur of his work, etc.

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For a Romanian version, see [3] (Litera, Bucharest 1994) or the revised reprint [4] (Polirom, Jassy 1999).

- 
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Historical background. Cf. also the revised edition [4] (Polirom, Jassy 1999).

- [4] —, **Civitas imaginalis**, *Istorie și utopie în cultura română*, Editura Polirom, Iași, 1999.

A revised version of [3], with a postscript (1999): «ediția a II-a revăzută, cu un Post-scriptum din 1999».

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A revised and augmented Romanian version of the Preface to [83], pp. vii–xxiv, translated by DAN MATEESCU. Published in: *LA&I*, an appendix to *Cotidianul* (Bucharest), “Supliment cultural, Serie Nouă, Nr. 34 (290), anul VIII, 29 septembrie 2003, 16 pagini”: «Jurnalul de la Păltiniș – după douăzeci de ani». [Footnotes truncated “substantially”, due to lack of space!] «Acest text a fost scris în engleză în 2000, pe când eram *Fellow* la *Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences*, Stanford, [CA] [...]. Textul englez a apărut ca prefață la [cartea lui] GABRIEL LICEANU, *The Păltiniș Diary. A Paideic Model in Humanist Culture*, [...] tradusă de James Christian Brown, Budapesta – New York, Central European University Press, 2000, (i.e., [83]), pp. vii–xxiv. A mai apărut în traducere



poloneză (cf. [84]). COSTICĂ BRĂDĂȚAN a inițiat traducerea în română, realizată [...] de DAN MATEESCU. [...] Versiunea românească, cu mici[...] adăugiri, a apărut în efemerida *Studii culturale*, dirijată de NICOLAE MANOLESCU, la Fundația Culturală Română (nr. 1, 2000, pp. 61–81); prezenta versiune, în care am intervenit punctual [...], va fi reluată în cartea mea *Efecte secundare. Istorie, cultură, politică*, Ed[itura] Polirom, Iași, 2003.»

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A review of [82].

- [8] BOIA, LUCIAN, **Jocul cu trecutul**, *istoria între adevăr și ficțiune* [The Game with the Past – History between Truth and Myth], Humanitas, București, 1998, [*Istorie*].

Historical background to Romania and her past (the author is a professional historian).

- [9] —, ed., **Miturile comunismului românesc** [The Myths of the Romanian Communism], Editura Nemira, București, 1998, [*Societatea politică*].



Historical background (to post-war Romania).

- [10] —, **Două secole de mitologie națională** [Two Centuries of National Mythology], Humanitas, București, 1999, [*Istorie*].

Historical background (to Romanian patriotism).


- [11] —, **Romania, Borderland of Europe**, Reaktion Books, London, 2001.

Historical background (to Romania, in general!). Romanian national mythomania explained away (by a kind of Romanian [neo-] mythomaniac, in fact, new / recent European dimension[s] included): a balanced, illuminated view, echoing, more or less, the current standpoint of an *informed* average Romanian patriot on his [beloved] country, someone who is [going to be] the friend of everybody. (In short: “Cool!”, as they use to say, now and then, the other side of the ocean. The old-fashioned, “continental” Europe doesn’t seem to like very much this kind of [new] people, however.) Romanian translation in [12].

- [12] —, **România, țară de frontieră a Europei**, Humanitas, București, 2002, [*Istorie*].

A Romanian version of [11], slightly updated (in Notes), with a “Preface to the Romanian edition” (page 5). General historical background.

- [13] BORBÉLY, ȘTEFAN, *Jurnalul de la Păltiniș* [The Păltiniș Diary], **Echinox**, 30 (10–11–12), 1998.

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- [14] BRĂDĂȚAN, COSTICĂ, **O introducere la istoria filosofiei românești în secolul XX** [An Introduction to the History of Romanian Philosophy in the Twentieth Century], Editura Fundației Culturale Române, București, 2000.

An introductory essay, as announced in the title: this is, in essence, a representative collection – “collage” – of quotes, on / about people interested in philosophy, in Romania, during the former century (for, in fact, there is no “history of Romanian philosophy in the xx-th century”, nor in any other century for that matter), with, now and then, perspicuous footnote-like remarks stemming from the author himself. Otherwise, the booklet assumes a deep familiarity with the “Romanian context” – perennial and / or otherwise –, so it is also, more or less, useless for the average Western reader, say, interested in philosophy (the historical details can be retrieved from the copious references of the book, nevertheless). On NOICA’s whereabouts, see, especially, chapters **3** *O generație de aur cu (z)garda de fier* [A Iron-Guarded Generation], **5** *Filosofie și underground* [Philosophy and underground], and **6** *Păltiniș vs București*: an attempt to a critical reading of the “NOICA-episodes” in the context of the last century Romania. (Apparently, the author has in mind a radical revision of the text. For a digest, cf. also [15] [October 2003].)

- [15] —, *Filosofia în România secolului XX: Constantin Noica* [Philosophy in Twentieth Century Romania – Constantin Noica], **arguments**, **2**, 2003, pp. 1–102 [separatum].

A revised and condensed version of the “NOICA-chapters” [**3**, **5**, and **6**] from [14] (2000). To appear also in print elsewhere, in expanded form.

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Aldine: a Supplement of the newspaper *România liberă* (Bucharest).

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- [18] COMARNESCU, PETRU, *Două moduri de cercetări filosofice la d[om]nii Al. Claudian și Constantin Noica* [Two kinds of philosophical research to Mr. Al. Claudian and Mr. Constantin Noica], **Revista Fundațiilor Regale** (București), **12**, 1936.
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Cf. also [264] and the introduction to the Spanish translation [291].

- [21] —, *Constantin Noica: la cuarta vía*, in: **La Jornada Semanal suplemento cultural** nr. **358** (January 13, 2002), México, 2002, «La Jornada».

Introduction to [291], translated [from Italian] by ALFONSO HERRERA SALCEDO T.. Cf. also **sem-cugno** [January 13, 2002]. (*La Jornada semanal* is the weekly



[Sunday- / literary-cultural] supplement of the newspaper *La Jornada* (México);
cf. also *La Jornada Virtu@l*, online at www.jornada.unam.mx.)

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- [25] DUR, ION, **Noica, între dandysm și mitul școlii** [Noica – Between Dandysm and the Myth of the School], Editura Eminescu, București, 1994.

148 pp.

- [26] —, **De la Eminescu la Cioran** [From Eminescu to Cioran], Editura Scrisul Românesc, Craiova, 1996.



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- [27] —, **Noica, portretul gazetarului la tinerețe** [Noica – The Portrait of the Journalist as a Young Man], Editura Saeculum, Sibiu, 1999.

272 pp.

- [28] ELIADE, MIRCEA, *Trepte pentru Mircea Vulcănescu* [Stairs for Mircea Vulcănescu], **Prodromos**, 1968.


Dated: Chicago, November 1967. Reprinted [partially] in *Sud-Est, Artă, Cultură Civilizație* (Chișinău), 1 (1991), pp. 62–79.

- [29] FAY, ȘTEFAN J., **Sokrateion, sau Mărturie pentru om** [Sokrateion, or: Witness for the Man], Humanitas, București, 1991.

Historical background (a personal account): a Memoir on the Man [= MIRCEA VULCĂNESCU] – biographical details –, written in the form of a letter for his daughters, SANDRA [DE HILLERIN] and MARIA [= MĂRIUCA VULCĂNESCU], dated Bucharest, 1983–1984 (cf. also the editorial notes to [363] and [364]). Second revised edition published in [30].


- [30] —, **Sokrateion, Mărturie despre Mircea Vulcănescu** [Sokrateion – Witness for Mircea Vulcănescu], Humanitas, București, 1998.

A revised, augmented version of [29]: «ediția a II-a, cu adăugiri.»

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- [31] FLONTA, MIRCEA, *Cultură filosofică și gândire filosofică* [Philosophical culture and philosophical thinking], **Revista de filosofie** (București), **44** (1–2), [ianuarie-aprilie], 1997, pp. 5–16.
- [32] —, *Între gând propriu și sistem* [Between personal thought and system], **Revista de filosofie** (București), **44** (4), [iulie-august], 1997, pp. 355–380.
- [33] —, **Cum să recunoaștem pasărea Minervei? Reflecții asupra percepției filosofiei în cultura românească** [How Do We Recognize the Owl of Minerva? – Reflections on the Perception of Philosophy in Romanian Culture], Editura Fundației Culturale Române, București, 1998.

General intellectual background on issues philosophical (“the idea of philosophy”!) in Romania.

- [34] —, *Speculația ontologică în slujba crezului național? Despre o nouă piesă a dosarului Constantin Noica* [The ontological speculation serving the national credo – On a new piece in the Noica-file], **Krisis** (București), **6** (10), 2000 [forthcoming].
- [35] FRUNZETTI, ION, *Filosofia d[omnu]lui C. Noica* [The Philosophy of Mr. C. Noica], **Revista Fundațiilor Regale** (București), **12**, 1940.
- [36] —, *Observații asupra lucrării d[omnu]lui C. Noica: Schiță pentru istoria lui «Cum e cu puțință ceva nou»*, **Revista Fundațiilor Regale** (București), **2**, 1941.



A review of [151].

- [37] GRĂDINARU, MIHAIL, **Noica, modelul ontologic** [Noica – The Ontological Model], Editura Septentrion, Iași, 1994.


273 pp.

- [38] HANDOCA, MIRCEA, [Constantin Noica] *Bibliografie selectivă* [A selective bibliography], in: CONSTANTIN NOICA **Istoricitate și eternitate – Repere pentru o istorie a culturii românești** [Historicity and Eternity – Landmarks for a Romanian Cultural History], Handoca, Mircea, ed., București, 1989, Capricorn, pp. 277–332.

A partial NOICA-bibliography (1927–1988): 816 entries [and 15 “radio-conferences”]. Cf. the anthology [249]. See also *Revista de filosofie* (Bucharest), 35 (2) [March–April], 1988, pp. 219–223 [MARIN DIACONU].

- [39] —, *Publicistica literară a lui Constantin Noica* [The literary publications of Constantin Noica], in: CONSTANTIN NOICA **Istoricitate și eternitate – Repere pentru o istorie a culturii românești** [Historicity and Eternity – Landmarks for a Romanian Cultural History], Handoca, Mircea, ed., București, 1989, Capricorn, pp. 5–17.

Introduction to [249].

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- [40] —, ed., **CONSTANTIN NOICA Comentat de Mircea Handoca** [Constantin Noica – Comments by Mircea Handoca], Editura Recif, București, 1994, [*Scriitori români comentați* 7].

- [41] IANOȘI, ION, **O istorie a filosofiei românești în relația ei cu literatura** [A History of Romanian Philosophy in Her Relation to Literature], Editura Biblioteca Apostrof, Cluj [-Napoca], 1996.


The “history” of Romanian philosophy written from the standpoint of a *littérateur*, expert in and docent of (philosophical) aesthetics (University of Bucharest), etc. For the share of the author (actually, the main [official] referee of [89], in 1987, for the Publishing House Cartea Românească, Bucharest) to the “Păltiniș-complex”, see, e.g., [89], pp. 253–299 (containing an exchange with the main “editor” of the book, GABRIEL LIICEANU).

- [42] —, ed., **Dicționarul operelor filosofice românești** [A Dictionary of Romanian Philosophical Works], Humanitas, București, 1997.

General background (to philosophical Romania).

- [43] —, **Constantin Noica între construcție și expresie** [Constantin Noica between Construction and Expression], Editura științifică, București, 1998.

- [44] IERUNCA, VIRGIL, *Gabriel Liiceanu și «Jurnalul de la Păltiniș»* [Gabriel Liiceanu and the ‘Păltiniș Diary’], in: VIRGIL IERUNCA **Subiect și predicat** [Subject and Predicate], București, 1993, Humanitas, pp. 159–173.



An early review of [66], dated January 1984, summarizing, more or less, the point of view of the “Romanians abroad” – the emigrants – on the book [and its subject-matter]. Inevitably, this review had a larger audience, than other ones (via *Radio Free Europe*, etc.)

- [45] —, *Întoarcerea lui Constantin Noica* [C. Noica’s coming back], in: VIRGIL IERUNCA **Subiect și predicat** [Subject and Predicate], București, 1993, Humanitas, p. 18.

Note dated March 1967.

- [46] —, *La moartea lui Constantin Noica* [C. Noica: obituary], in: VIRGIL IERUNCA **Subiect și predicat** [Subject and Predicate], București, 1993, Humanitas, pp. 19–23.


Obituary CONSTANTIN NOICA, dated December 1987.

- [47] —, *Mircea Vulcănescu, domn creștin* [Mircea Vulcănescu, Christian Prince], in: VIRGIL IERUNCA **Subiect și predicat** [Subject and Predicate], București, 1993, Humanitas, pp. 9–14.

Note on MIRCEA VULCĂNESCU, dated September 1967.

- [48] —, *Părintele risipitor* [The prodigal father], in: VIRGIL IERUNCA **Subiect și predicat** [Subject and Predicate], București, 1993, Humanitas, pp. 14–17.

Note (on MIRCEA VULCĂNESCU), dated September 1983, from *Ethos* (Paris) 4, 1983.



[49] IOAN, PETRU, *Logică și ontologie* [Logic and ontology], **Revista de filosofie** (București), **29** (5), 1982.

[50] IONESCU, CORNEL-MIHAI, *Cercul lui Hermes* [The circle of Hermes], **Revista de filosofie** (București), **44** (4), [iulie-august], 1997, pp. 389–399.

Cf. also [same title in] *Viața Românească*, nr. 11–12 (1994).

[51] JOJA, ATHANASE, ed., **Recherches sur l’Organon**, Editions de l’Académie de la République Socialiste de Roumanie, Bucarest, 1971.

A collection of “Romanian contributions” to the understanding of the *Organon*, “edited by” [«sous la direction de»] ATHANASE JOJA, the acting [and the only, ever] Director of the Bucharest “Logic Center” (1965–1975): iv + 174 pp. Cf. also [203], [206], [311].

[52] KARNOOUEH, CLAUDE, **L’Invention du peuple. Chroniques de Roumanie**, essai, Arcantère, Paris, 1990.

Historical background to (recent) Romania: the standpoint of an ethnologist (France).

[53] —, **Consensus et dissensions en Roumanie**, *Un pays en quête d’une société civile*, Acratie, Mauléon, 1991, [*Les cahiers d’Iztok 1*].

Historical background to (recent) Romania: the standpoint of a French ethnologist.

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- [54] —, **Românii. Tipologie și mentalități** [The Romanians – Typology and Mentalities], traducere din franceză de Carmen Stoean, Humanitas, București, 1994, [*Națiuni / Mentalități*].

Historical background to Romania: the standpoint of a French ethnologist.


- [55] —, **Postcommunisme fin de siècle, Essai sur l'Europe du XXI^e siècle**, L'Harmattan, Paris & Montréal (Québec), 2000, [*Aujourd'hui l'Europe*].

Historical background (to “post-communist” Europe, i.e., in [very] recent times [after the fall of the Berlin Wall]): a broader viewpoint from France, in occasional contributions: «recueil de textes initialement parus dans diverses revues, 1993–1998.»

- [56] LAIGNEL-LAVASTINE, ALEXANDRA, **La Philosophie nationaliste roumaine** *Une figure emblématique : Constantin Noïca (1909–1987)*, [unpublished] Université Paris IV, Paris, 1996, [*Thèse de doctorat (nouveau style)*].

PhD Dissertation [philosophy], University Paris IV [typoscript, two vols., 518 f.] of ALEXANDRA CARREAU HUREZEANU «alias ALEXANDRA LAIGNEL-LAVASTINE». Bibliographic record from SUDOC (France). Cf. also the Romanian version, published in [59].

- [57] —, *From the first Constantin Noïca to the second: break or continuity?*, in: **Culture and the Politics of Identity in Modern Romania**, 1998.




«Communication au colloque international *Culture and the Politics of Identity in Modern Romania*, organisé par le département d'histoire de l'Université de Pittsburgh et le *Journal of the History of Ideas*, à Bucarest, les 27–30 mai 1998.»

- [58] —, **Jan Patocka**, *L'Esprit de la dissidence*, L'Harmattan, Paris, 1998, [*Le bien commun*].
- [59] —, **Naționalism și filozofie. Paradoxul Noica** [Nationalism and Philosophy – The Noica Paradox], Humanitas, București, 1998.

Originally a PhD dissertation defended at the University Paris IV; cf. [56]. Translation by EMANOIL MARCU.

- [60] —, **Cioran, Eliade, Ionesco**. *L'Oubli du fascisme : trois intellectuels roumains dans la tourmente du siècle*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 2002, [*Perspectives critiques*].
- [61] —, **Nationalisme et modernité en Europe de l'Est**, *L'Ontologie ethnique de Constantin Noica* (1909–1987), L'Harmattan, Paris & Montréal (Québec), 2003 [forthcoming].
- [62] LATES, TITUS, *Sistemul rostirii filosofice românești la C. Noica* [Noica's system of Romanian philosophical apophantics], **Revista de filosofie** (București), **44** (4), [iulie-august], 1997, pp. 409–422.
- [63] LAVRIC, SORIN, *Viața lui Noica*, **arguments**, **2**, 2003, pp. 1–28 [separatum].



To appear in print elsewhere.


- [64] —, *Ethosul neutralității și ethosul orientării* [The ethos of neutrality and the ethos of orientation], **Revista de filosofie** (București), [forthcoming].

Paper reporting work in progress on the author's PhD Dissertation [65] (University of Bucharest). Cf. also ARGUMENTS 1, 2003, for a preprint.

- [65] —, **Ontologia lui Constantin Noica** [The Ontology of Constantin Noica], Faculty of Philosophy, University of Bucharest, [forthcoming], [*PhD Dissertation*].

- [66] LIICEANU, GABRIEL, **Jurnalul de la Păltiniș – Un model paideic în cultura umanistă** [The Păltiniș Diary – A Paideic Model in the Humanities], Cartea Românească, București, 1983.

A remarkable philosophical portrait of CONSTANTIN NOICA, written in the form of a *private diary* of the author, running from March, 1977 to July, 1981. (After its publication, the booklet has been commented upon, in correspondence, by the persons mentioned in the text – including CONSTANTIN NOICA and the author himself –, and the outcome has been eventually *edited* and published as [89].) On-line version of the original edition (1983) also available in the electronic archives ÉQUIVALENCES (2001). Reprints, with (later) additions: Humanitas, Bucharest [73] ²1991 and [78] ³1996. Translations (of the revised edition[s]): [82] [French] and [83] [English]. There is also a recent [2001] Polish translation in print, cf. [84].

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- [67] —, *Constantin Noica peut se tenir pour un homme heureux*, **International Journal of Rumanian Studies** (Amsterdam), 4 (2), 1984–1986, pp. 7–13.

IJRS (ed. by SORIN ALEXANDRESCU), Special issue *Philosophie de Constantin Noica*. A French version of [66], pp. 229–237, translated by ALAIN PARUIT (Paris).

- [68] —, *Filosofia și paradigma feminină a auditoriului* [The philosophy and the SHE-paradigm of the listener], **Viața românească**, 7, 1985, pp. 55–69.

With a *Postscript* by CONSTANTIN NOICA, p. 70.

- [69] —, *The limit and reaching beyond. A philosophical-philological investigation*, **Annalecta Husserliana**, 27, 1989, pp. 487–505.


A revised version of this paper appears as *Semantismeale radicalului *per și complexul peratologic*, in the *Appendix* of [74] [Annex I]. French translation in [79].

- [70] —, *Adsum? Modelul cultural Noica și urgențele istoriei* [Adsum? The cultural model of Noica and the emergencies of history], [**Revista**] 22, 45, 1990.

Cf. also [135].

- [71] —, *Heidegger, Kuntswerk und die Grenze*, **Mesotes** (Wien), [Supplementband], 1991, pp. 166–171.

“Mesotes (Vienna), Supplementband MARTIN HEIDEGGER. *Beiträge des Symposions «Tendenzen und Ergebnisse der Heidegger-Forschung in Ost- und Mitteleuropa»*, hrsg. von M. FÜRST, N. HOLMER, TH. HÜBEL und H. VETTER, Wien,



1991.” A Romanian version of this paper appears also in the *Appendix* to [74], as *Annex III*. French translation in [79].

- [72] —, *În loc de prefață: Ce înseamnă a fi european în Estul postbelic?* [In stead of a preface: What means ‘Being an European’ in the East, after the Second World War?], in: GABRIEL LIICEANU **Jurnalul de la Păltiniș**. *Un model paideic în cultura umanistă*, București, 1991, Humanitas, pp. 5–16.

An additional introduction (1991) to [66], auto-biographical in essence, around the Meeting(s) with CONSTANTIN NOICA. Text of a conference held in Luxemburg, September, 1990. A late echo / rehearsal of [155], etc.


- [73] —, **Jurnalul de la Păltiniș**. *Un model paideic în cultura umanistă*, Humanitas, București, 1991.

A reprint of [66], with a new “substitute of preface” [72]. “First edition” Humanitas.

- [74] —, **Despre limită** [On the Limit], Humanitas, București, 1994, [Eseistică].

The *Appendix* includes also slightly revised Romanian versions of [69] and [71], as *Anexe*. Reprinted as [80], Humanitas, Bucharest ²1997. French translation: [79].

- [75] —, *Adaos la o biografie – Două opriri pe drumul lui Noica* [Addendum to a biography: two stations on Noica’s way], in: GABRIEL LIICEANU **Jurnalul de la Păltiniș**. *Un model paideic în cultura umanistă*, București, 1996, Humanitas, pp. 287–301.



Two additional biographical notes on CONSTANTIN NOICA: *Arestarea* [The Arrest] (1958), pp. 287–292, and *Sfârșitul* [The End] (1987), pp. 292–301.

- [76] —, **Cearta cu filozofia**, *Eseuri* [Dissenting to Philosophy, Essays], Humanitas, București, 1996, [*Eseistică*].

First edition. Reprinted as [81], Humanitas, Bucharest ²1998.

- [77] —, *Despre locul optim al dezvăluirii* [The optimal place of revelation], in: GABRIEL LIICEANU **Apel către lichele**, *ediție adusă la zi* [A Call to Rascals, an updated edition], București, 1996, Humanitas, pp. 151–154.

Around NOICA's "political" papers (*Buna-Vestire*, Bucharest, 1940, [136]), and the publication of [358].


- [78] —, **Jurnalul de la Păltiniș**. *Un model paideic în cultura umanistă*, cu un Adaos din 1996, Humanitas, București, 1996, [*Eseiști români*].

A reprint of [66], resp. [73], with a late addition [75] (1996). "Second edition" Humanitas.

- [79] —, **De la limite**. *Petit traité à l'usage des orgueilleux*, tr[aduction] par Alexandra Laignel-Lavastine, Éditions Michalon, Paris, 1997.

A French translation of [74], with a [French] subtitle *à l'usage des français*.

- [80] —, **Despre limită** [On the Limit], Humanitas, București, 1997, [*Eseiști români*].



The second edition of [74].

- [81] —, **Cearta cu filozofia**, *Eseuri*, Humanitas, București, 1998, [*Esești români*].

A reprint of [76].

- [82] —, **Le Journal de Păltiniș**. *Recit d'une formation spirituelle et philosophique*, tr[aduction] par Marie-France Ionesco, Éditions de La Découverte, Paris, 1999, [*Armillaire*].

A French translation of (the revised edition of) [66], with Notes, by MARIE-FRANCE IONESCO. Reviews in: *La Croix* (June 12, 1999), *Télérama* (May 26, 1999), *Esprit* (May 1999, by FRÉDÉRIC MARTEL) *Commentaire* (vol. 22, nr. 87, Winter 1999, by ALAIN BESANÇON, cf. [7]), etc.


- [83] —, **The Păltiniș Diary**. *A Paideic Model in Humanist Culture*, tr[anslation] by James Christian Brown, Central European University Press, Budapest & New York, NY, 2000, [*Central European Library of Ideas*].

An English translation of (the revised edition of) [66]. [ISBN 963-911688-2 (cloth):
^R2001; ISBN 963-911689-0 (paperback): ^R2001] [xxxii + 227 pp.]

- [84] —, **Dziennik z Păltinișu**. *Pajdeja jako model w kulturze humanistycznej* Przekład Ireneusz Kania [The Păltiniș Diary – A Paideic Model in Humanist Culture. Translated by IRENEUSZ KANIA] [Polish], Wydawnictwo Pogranicze, Sejny, 2001, [*Meridian*].



A Polish translation of (the revised ed. of) [66]. («Pogranicze, Sejny 2001, s. 292. Seria «Meridian» pod redakcją KRZYSZTOFA CZYŻEWSKIEGO.» [ISBN 83-86872-26-8] Published by *Fundacja Pogranicze*.) See e.g. www.pogranicze.sejny.pl [anonymous rev. appended: *Tygodnik Powszechny* (dated 14.04.2002)], and the on-line reviews: *Masło i deficyt idei* (2.05.2002), by ANNA KANIECKA-MAZUREK, *Rumuńska Kastalia*, by EDWIN BENDYK [both at *Polityka – czytelnia*: <http://czytelnia.onet.pl>], *Recenzja Piotra Huniewicza*, by PIOTR HUNIEWICZ, etc. There are many other reviews in Polish – see e.g., in print: ANNA KANIECKA-MAZUREK: *Rumuńska Kastalia, masło i ewolucja antropologiczna (Recenzje, omówienia, przeglądy*: G. LIICEANU *Dziennik z Păltinișu*), in: *Pogranicza*, Nr. 4 (39) 2002, p.138 et sq. [issue dated: «15 lipca 2002»] –, and the author has noted himself in print, cf. [86], the vivid debates around this rather old booklet of his, in Poland. (Actually, the interests in Romanian philosophers seems to be larger than expected, in Poland; in particular, according to the anonymous reviewer mentioned above, IRENEUSZ KANIA has also translated texts by CONSTANTIN NOICA, into Polish: «Z języka rumuńskiego przełożył IRENEUSZ KANIA, któremu zawdzięczamy też jedyną jak dotąd po polsku książkę samego NOIKI: «Sześć chorób ducha współczesnego», wyd. Oficyna Literacka, 1997.» The item referred to here is [210] (*Spiritul românesc în cumpătul vremii – Șase maladii ale spiritului contemporan* [Editura] Univers, București 1978 [Colecția Eseiuri], 166 pp., i.e., the Polish title – *Six Maladies of the Contemporary Mind* – is, in fact, a sub-title of the Romanian original), and the full library-reference should rather be as in [283] (CONSTANTIN NOICA *Sześć chorób ducha współczesnego*, Oficyna Literacka, Kraków 1997 [Szara Seria], 178 + [1] s. [ISBN 83-7124-077-5]). At the pub-



lisher's site [<http://www.krakow.pl/>] one can also find a detailed bio-bibliography of **IRENEUSZ KANIA** [b. 1940], including a list of authors he translated into Polish [as it turns out, he translated also from MIRCEA ELIADE and E. M. CIORAN, as well].) With a Preface by SORIN ANTOHI (cf. also [5] for a revised Romanian version).

- [85] —, *Provocarea lui Noica* [Noica's challenge], in: GABRIEL LIICEANU **Declarație de iubire** [Love Affairs], București, 2001, Humanitas, pp. 59–76.


Text of a conference held in Sibiu, July 24, 1999, commemorating the 90th birthday of CONSTANTIN NOICA.

- [86] —, **Ușa interzisă** [The Forbidden Door], Humanitas, București, 2002.

Another *personal diary*, running from May 3, 2001 to October 21, 2002. Scattered details on the HEIDEGGER-involvement of CONSTANTIN NOICA and some other Romanian philosophers, including a few younger graduate students in *Heideggeriana*, and translators of HEIDEGGER-texts (as, e.g., CĂTĂLIN CIOABĂ, SORIN LAVIC, BOGDAN MINCĂ *et al.*), on NOICA's "cultural model", etc.

- [87] —, *După douăzeci de ani* [After twenty years], **LA&I – Litere, Arte, Idei**, 8, Nr. 34 (290) [29 septembrie 2003], 2003, p. 3.

Published in: *LA&I*, an appendix to *Cotidianul* (Bucharest), "Supliment cultural, Serie Nouă, Nr. 34 (290), anul VIII, 29 septembrie 2003, 16 pagini": «Jurnalul de la Păltiniș – după douăzeci de ani».

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- [88] LIICEANU, GABRIEL AND KLEININGER, THOMAS, *Heideggers Rezeption in Rumänien (1931–1987)*, **Studia Phænomenologica**, 1 (1–2), 2001, pp. 25–43.

Apparently, a reprint from *Concordia (Internationale Zeitschrift für Philosophie)*, 16, 1989. The paper includes also a few biographical details on CONSTANTIN NOICA.

- [89] LIICEANU *et al.* (eds.), GABRIEL, **Epistolar** [Correspondence], Cartea Românească, București, 1988.

An exchange of letters containing conversational – and oft picturesque – details on episodes appearing in [66] and, in general, on the [philosophical] whereabouts of CONSTANTIN NOICA. Reprint: Humanitas, Bucharest [90] ²1996.

- [90] —, **Epistolar** [Correspondence], Humanitas, București, 1996.


A slightly revised edition [«ediția a doua, revăzută și adăugită»] of [89].

- [91] MORARU, CORNEL, **Constantin Noica**, Editura Aula, Brașov, 2002, [*Canon*].

«Monografie»: 112 pp.

- [92] MUNGIU, ALINA, **Românii după '89, Istoria unei neînțelegeri** [The Romanians after '89 – The History of a Misunderstanding], Humanitas, București, 1995, [*Societatea civilă*].

Historical and ideological background to post-1989 Romania. On NOICA, see, e.g., *Sindromul fratelui Alexandru* [The Brother Alexander syndrome], pp. 276–279.

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- [93] MUTTI, CLAUDIO, **Les Plumes de l'archange**, *Quatre intellectuels roumains face à la Garde de fer : Nae Ionescu, Mircea Eliade, Emil Cioran, Constantin Noïca*, trad. de l'italien par Philippe Baillet, Éd. Hérode, Châlon-sur-Saône, 1993, [*Les deux étendards*].

Historical background. On NICOLAE [NAE] IONESCU, MIRCEA ELIADE, EMIL [= E. M.] CIORAN, CONSTANTIN NOICA, and the extreme right organization / party, the "Iron Guard". For a Romanian version, more or less, see, e.g., [94].

- [94] —, **Penele Arhanghelului**, *Intellectualii români și Garda de Fier (Nae Ionescu, Mircea Eliade, Emil Cioran, Constantin Noica, Vasile Lovinescu)* [The Romanian Intellectuals and the Iron Guard], cu o prefață de Philippe Baillet, traducere de Florin Dumitrescu, ediție îngrijită și postfață de Răzvan Codrescu, Editura Anastasia, București, 1997.

Essentially, a Romanian version of [93], with a Preface by PHILIPPE BAILLET and a Postface by the Romanian [issue] editor (RĂZVAN CODRESCU).

- [95] NASTA, MIHAÏ, *Un departagement des termes dans l'ontologie de Constantin Noïca*, **International Journal of Rumanian Studies** (Amsterdam), 4 (2), 1984–1986, pp. 23–52.

IJRS (ed. by SORIN ALEXANDRESCU), Special issue *Philosophie de Constantin Noïca*. Revised version reprinted in ARGUMENTS 2, 2003 [this issue].

- [96] NEMOIANU, VIRGIL, *Mihai Șora and the traditions of Romanian philosophy*, **Review of Metaphysics**, 43 (3) [March], 1990, pp. 591–605.



Revised Romanian version in [98].

- [97] —, **Arhipelag interior. Eseuri memorialistice (1940–1975)** [Inner Archipelago – Essays and Memoirs (1940–1975)], Editura Amarcord, Timișoara, 1994.

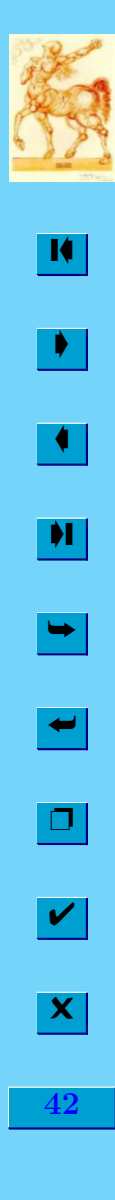
Historical background (to Romania, 1940–1975): the personal standpoint of a former Romanian citizen earning his life, in recent times – as a University professor –, in the United States [Washington, DC].

- [98] —, *Mihai Șora și tradițiile filosofiei românești* [Mihai Șora and the traditions of Romanian philosophy], in: MIHAI ȘORA **Despre dialogul interior, Fragment dintr-o antropologie filosofică** [On Inner Dialogue, Bits of a Philosophical Anthropology], București, 1995, Humanitas, pp. 219–242.


A revised Romanian version of [96], appended as a “Postface” to the Romanian translation of MIHAI ȘORA *Du Dialogue intérieur, Fragment d’une Anthropologie métaphysique*, Gallimard, Paris 1948 [with a Preface dated November 20, 1945; translation by MONA ANTOHI and SORIN ANTOHI, Romanian text revised by the author].

- [99] —, **România și liberalismele ei, Atracții și împotriviri** [Romania and Her Liberalisms – Temptations and Oppositions], Editura Fundației Culturale Române, București, 2000.

Historical background (to “liberal” Romania).

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- [100] NIȚĂ, ADRIAN, *Reabilitarea individualului* [Rehabilitating the Individual], **Revista de filosofie** (București), **44** (4), [iulie-august], 1997, pp. 401–407.
- [101] NOICA, CONSTANTIN, *Problema echilibrului spiritual* [The problem of the spiritual balance], **Acțiune și reacțiune**, **1**, 1929, pp. 43–62.
- [102] —, *Eric Adickes: Kantslehre der doppelten Affektion unseres Ich als Schlüssel zu seiner Erkenntnistheorie*, **Revista de filosofie**, **16** (3–4) [iulie-decembrie], 1931, pp. 377–379.
- [103] —, *Reinhard Kynast: Logik und Erkenntnistheorie der Gegenwart*, **Revista de filosofie**, **16** (3–4) [iulie-decembrie], 1931, pp. 379–381.
- [104] —, *Tudor Vianu: Artă și frumosul* [Tudor Vianu – The art and the beautiful], **Revista de filosofie**, **16** (3–4) [iulie-decembrie], 1931, pp. 347–348.
- [105] —, *Considerațiune împotriva istoricismului* [A note against historicism], **Gândirea**, **12** (3) [martie], 1933, pp. 114–115.
- [106] —, *Edmund Husserl: Méditations cartésiennes, Introduction à la phénoménologie*, **Revista de filosofie**, **18** (2) [aprilie-iunie], 1933, pp. 261–263.
- [107] —, *Drama limbii românești* [The mis-chance of the Romanian language], **Credința**, **2** (237) [16 septembrie], 1934, p. 3.

Apparently, this is the first [public] item in a long-term NOICA concern. Cf. also [122], [155], etc. and, possibly, E. M. CIORAN's *Tragedia culturilor mici* [The



tragedy of small cultures] (= Chapter I in: *Schimbarea la față a României* [The Transfiguration of Romania], Vremea, Bucharest 1939, ^R1941 [dating of 1935–1936]; revised, “definitive” edition: Humanitas, Bucharest ²1990). For a late / recent echo see also LIICEANU’s [Luxemburg 1991] addendum, [72], to [66].

- [108] —, **Mathesis sau bucuriile simple** [Mathesis, or: The Simple Joys], Fundația pentru literatură și artă, București, 1934, [*Operele premiate ale scriitorilor tineri români*].

First edition: 81 pp. On-line version of the original edition (1934) also available in the electronic archives ÉQUIVALENCES (2001). Humanitas reprint in [257] (1992). Hungarian translation in [276] (1996).

- [109] —, *Moartea omului de mâine* [The death of the man of tomorrow], **Criterion**, 1 (1) [15 octombrie], 1934, p. 5.
- [110] —, *Un filosof original: Lucian Blaga* [Lucian Blaga – an original philosopher], **Revista Fundațiilor Regale** (București), 1 (12) [decembrie], 1934, pp. 687–691.

Reprint in [249], pp. 130–137 [as *Un filosof original*].

- [111] —, *Ideea de știință universală la Descartes* [The idea of universal science in Descartes], **Revista de filosofie**, 20 (1) [ianuarie-martie], 1935, pp. 67–87.
- [112] —, *Reflecții asupra psihologiei românești*, **Revista Fundațiilor Regale** (București), 2 (4) [aprilie], 1935, pp. 206–212.

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- [113] —, (tr.) RENÉ DESCARTES **Regulae ad directionem ingenii**, Braşov, 1935.

With an introduction and notes, by the translator. For a reprint see [259].

- [114] —, *Un nouă traducere din Kant* [A new translation from Kant], **Revista Fundaţiilor Regale** (Bucureşti), **2** (7) [iulie], 1935, pp. 224–229.

- [115] —, **Concepte deschise în istoria filozofiei la Descartes, Leibniz şi Kant** [Open Concepts in the History of Philosophy: Descartes, Leibniz, Kant], Editura «Bucovina» I. E. Torouţiu, Bucureşti, 1936.


First edition: 120 pp. Humanitas reprint in [269] (1995).

- [116] —, *Cunoaşterea spornică* [The efficient knowledge], **Revista Fundaţiilor Regale** (Bucureşti), **3** (10) [octombrie], 1936, pp. 159–169.

- [117] —, *Filosofia lui Ştefan Lupaşcu* [The philosophy of Ştefan Lupaşcu], **Revista Fundaţiilor Regale** (Bucureşti), **3** (5) [mai], 1936, pp. 440–449.

- [118] —, (tr.) IMMANUEL KANT **Despre forma şi principiile lumii sensibile şi ale celei inteligibile** [*De mundi sensibilis atque intelligibilis forma et principiiis*], Tipografia «Bucovina», Bucureşti, 1936.

A [Romanian] translation of KANT's Inaugural Dissertation (*De mundi sensibilis atque intelligibilis forma et principiiis, Diss. pro loco professionis*, Regiomonti 1770), with an Introduction by the translator.^{3a}



[119] —, *Cum se scrie o monografie filosofică* [How do we write a philosophical monograph], **Revista Fundațiilor Regale** (București), **7** (11) [noiembrie], 1937, pp. 426–430.

[120] —, **De Caelo. Încercare în jurul cunoașterii și individului** [Essay around the Knowledge and the Individual], Vremea, București, 1937.

First edition: 188 pp. Humanitas reprint in [261] (1993). Hungarian translation in [274] (1996).

[121] —, *Descartes*, in: **Istoria filosofiei moderne**, vol. **1**, *De la renaștere și pînă la Kant*, București, 1937, [Omăgiu prof. Ion Petrovici], pp. 185–225.


[122] —, *Destin de cultură mică* [The fate of a small culture], **Vremea**, **10** (515) [28 noiembrie], 1937, p. 4.

Cf. also [107], [155], etc.

[123] —, *Individ și cunoaștere spornică* [Individual man and efficient knowledge], **Revista Fundațiilor Regale** (București), **4** (5) [mai], 1937, p. 371.

[124] —, *Individul contemporan și masele* [The contemporary individual man and the mob], **Vremea**, **10** (488) [23 mai], 1937, p. 8.

[125] —, *Isaia Feier, Aspecte din filosofia lui Leibniz* [Isaia Feier – Aspects of Leibniz' philosophy], **Revista de filosofie**, **22** (4) [octombrie-decembrie], 1937, pp. 471–475.


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- [126] —, *Kant văzut de profesorul Petrovici* [Kant as seen by Prof. Petrovici], **Revista Fundațiilor Regale** (București), 4 (3) [martie], 1937, pp. 675–783.
- [127] —, *Leibniz*, in: **Istoria filosofiei moderne**, vol. 1, *De la renaștere și până la Kant*, București, 1937, [Omagiu prof. Ion Petrovici], pp. 517–522.
- [128] —, *Pentru înțelegerea fenomenului românesc* [For an understanding of the Romanian complex], **Vremea**, 10 (503) [5 septembrie], 1937, p. 10.
- [129] —, *Pentru o reabilitare a individualului* [Rehabilitating the Individual], **Gând românesc**, 5 (2–3) [februarie-martie], 1937, pp. 73–80.
- [130] —, (tr.) RENÉ DESCARTES **Meditationes de prima philosophia**, Tipografia «Bucovina», București, 1937.

«În românește după textul original, cu un rezumat punct cu punct, al întîmpinărilor și răspunsurilor, precum și cu un indice de CONSTANTIN NOICA.» For a reprint see [259] (1992).

- [131] —, **Viața și filosofia lui René Descartes** [René Descartes: Life and Philosophy], Editura Librăriei «Universală» Alcalay & Co., București, 1937, [Biblioteca pentru toți 1495–1497].

First edition: vi + 99 pp. For a reprint see [259] (1992).

- [132] —, *Des-cifrare, des-tăinuire* [De-ciphering, dis-closing secrets], **Gând românesc**, 6 (5–12) [mai-decembrie], 1938, pp. 275–280.

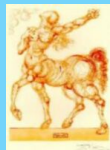
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- [133] —, *Filosofia d[omnu]lui Lucian Blaga după «Trilogia culturii»* [The philosophy of Mr. Lucian Blaga after the ‘Trilogy of Culture’, **Revista Fundațiilor Regale** (București), **5** (2) [february], 1938, pp. 388–404.

Reprint in [249], pp. 146–169 [as *După «Trilogia culturii»*].

- [134] —, *Încercare despre filosofia însăși* [Essay on philosophy itself], **Revista Fundațiilor Regale** (București), **6** (8) [august], 1939, pp. 399–410.
- [135] —, ed., [0] **Ad Sum**, [Constantin Noica], 19 Strada Spătar Cantacuzino, Sinaia, 1940.

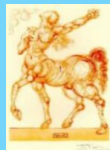
A journal with a single issue in print (1/1940) and with, as a single editor («redactor unic») CONSTANTIN NOICA, as well as with a single contributor (the editor himself). Herein a few manifestoes: *Sunt de față, Veac de colectivități, așadar veac de elită, Veac al omului viu, Gânduri despre marea trecere, Spiritualitate și moarte, Intelligentia quae non intelligit sau moartea spirituală a timpului nostru prin primatul auxiliarului, Însemnări. Pentru ce ce vor să fie de față, O simplă lămurire. Neagoe Basarab și treptele inerției* [a reprint from *Universul literar* (Bucharest)], *Împotriva Elveției, Forțele de inerție, Lauda umbrelor, Tolstoi despre lumea de azi, Împăcarea cu istoria, Partea legendei, Pelagius și România*. The first one (*Sunt de față*) counts also – in retrospect – as a “premonitory” legionary manifesto [in view of the “events” of September 3–5, 1940!]. For a rather different reading see, e.g., [70].

- [136] —, ed., [1] **Buna-Vestire** [The Good News], [Imprimeria «Eminescu»], București, 1940.




Buna-Vestire, «ziar liber de luptă și doctrină românească» [“a free newspaper for Romanian struggle and doctrine”] (sic), a publication of the legionary organization *The Iron Guard*: new series, re-issued from September 8, 1940 to January 23, 1941, with CONSTANTIN NOICA as an editor-in-chief («prim redactor»), during the months of September and October, 1940. Editorial staff, for the new variant: «Director: GRIGORE MANOILESCU. Secretar de redacție [technical editor]: VALERIU OLANIUC. Redactori [editors]: CHRISTIAN PETRESCU, ION STOENESCU, HORIA STAMATU, ȘTEFAN ION GHEORGHE, LUCA POPOVICI, RADU GYR, MIRCEA STREINUL, ALEXANDRU ALEXIANU, DEMETRIE SONTZU. Administrația ziarului [administration]: NICOLAE ILIESCU, ALEXANDRU LIVEZEANU și VASILE DOVA.» The newspaper has been forbidden by ION ANTONESCU, in January 1941. The publication had two versions, one for the capital and the other one for the province. The September-October issues contain 19 [more or less programmatic and / or polemic] contributions by CONSTANTIN NOICA; cf. items [137] (September 8) through [149] (October 11), for a selection.^{6*}

- [137] —, [1][0908] *Credo*, **Buna-Vestire**, 4 [n.s.] (1) [8 septembrie], 1940.
- [138] —, [1][0912] *Ești necinstit sufletește* [You are dishonest in your soul], **Buna-Vestire**, 4 [n.s.] (4) [12 septembrie], 1940.
- [139] —, [1][0915] *Și viața fără de moarte* [And the life without death], **Buna-Vestire**, 4 [n.s.] (7) [15 septembrie], 1940.
- [140] —, [1][0917] *Anul I, ziua întâi* [Year 1, day 1], **Buna-Vestire**, 4 [n.s.] (8) [17 septembrie], 1940.



- [141] —, [1][0918] *Pentru cel care nu înțelege* [For the one who doesn't understand], **Buna-Vestire**, 4 [n.s.] (9) [18 septembrie], 1940.
- [142] —, [1][0919] *Ierusalime, Ierusalime...* [Jerusalem, Jerusalem...], **Buna-Vestire**, 4 [n.s.] (10) [19 septembrie], 1940.
- [143] —, [1][0920] *10001*, **Buna-Vestire**, 4 [n.s.] (11) [20 septembrie], 1940.
- [144] —, [1][0921] *Nae Ionescu*, **Buna-Vestire**, 4 [n.s.] (12) [21 septembrie], 1940.
- [145] —, [1][0924] *Sufletul cetății* [The soul of the city], **Buna-Vestire**, 4 [n.s.] (14) [24 septembrie], 1940.
- [146] —, [1][0928] *Nu sîntem contemporani* [We aren't contemporaries], **Buna-Vestire**, 4 [n.s.] (18) [28 septembrie], 1940.
- [147] —, [1][1004] *Sînteți sub har* [Blessed you are], **Buna-Vestire**, 4 [n.s.] (23) [4 octombrie], 1940.
- [148] —, [1][1006] *Întîlnirea de la 6 octombrie* [The Meeting of October 6], **Buna-Vestire**, 4 [n.s.] (25) [6 octombrie], 1940.
- [149] —, [1][1011] *Limpeziri pentru o Românie legionară* [Clarifications for a legionary Romania], **Buna-Vestire**, 4 [n.s.] (29) [11 octombrie], 1940.

Text of a radio-conference, held on October 5, 1940.

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- [150] —, **Jurnal filozofic** [A Philosophical Diary], Editura Publicom, București, 1940, [*Luceafărul*].

First edition: 123 pp. Humanitas reprints [251] (1990, 1999).

- [151] —, **Schiță pentru istoria lui «Cum e cu puțință ceva nou»** [A Sketchy Historical Endeavor on the Question: ‘How Is It Possible Something New?’], Editura «Bucovina» I. E. Torouțiu, București, 1940.

First edition: xix + 322 pp. Originally presented as the author’s (doctoral) thesis.

The publisher was, in fact, Institutul de Arte Grafice «Bucovina», București.

Anastatic reprint (Iași): [265] (1994). Humanitas reprint: [271] (1995).

- [152] —, *Șantierul vieții în gândirea lui Kolbenheyer* [The building site of life in Kolbenheyer’s thinking], **Revista Fundațiilor Regale** (București), 9 [decembrie], 1942, pp. 462–464.

ERWIN GUIDO KOLBENHEYER (1878–1962)⁸.

- [153] —, *Omul teoretic și omul politic în filosofia lui Baeumler* [The theoretical and the political man in Baeumler’s philosophy], **Revista Fundațiilor Regale** (București), 9 [noiembrie], 1942, pp. 361–368.

ALFRED BAEUMLER (1887–1968)⁷.

- [154] —, *Unu și multiplu* [The One and the Multiple], in: **Isvoare de filosofie** 1, culegere de studii și texte, Floru, Constantin, Noica, Constantin, and



Vulcănescu, Mircea, eds., București, 1942, Editura «Bucovina» I. E. Torouțiu, pp. 233–241.

The paper appears in the section *Dicționar metafizic*. Reprinted in *Opinia studentească* (Bucharest), 7–8, 1984, and 1–2, 1985. Cf. also [168] (1967) and [207] (1977).


- [155] —, *Ce e etern și ce e istoric în cultura românească* [What is eternal and what is historical in the Romanian culture], **Revista Fundațiilor Regale** (București), 10 (9) [septembrie], 1943, pp. 527–541.

Initially a conference held in Berlin (June 1943): *Die innere Spannung der kleinen Kulturen* (on the *ad hoc* “Romanian” trio NEAGOE BASARAB, DIMITRIE CAN-TEMIR, and LUCIAN BLAGA). Reprinted in [249], pp. 20–40.

- [156] —, **Două introduceri și o trecere spre idealism, cu traducerea primei introduceri kantiene a «Criticei judecării»** [Two Introductions and a Passage to Idealism, with a translation of the first Kantian Introduction to **KUk**], Fundația Regală pentru Literatură și Artă, București, 1943.

First edition: viii + 192 pp. For the translation, see [163].

- [157] —, *Însemnătatea editării integrale a opusului postum kantian* [The importance of a complete edition of Kant’s **Opus postumum**], in: **Isvoare de filosofie 2**, culegere de studii și texte, Floru, Constantin, Noica, Constantin, and Vulcănescu, Mircea, eds., București, 1943, Editura «Bucovina» I. E. Torouțiu, pp. 243–246.

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- [158] —, *Nae Ionescu și spiritul de școală* [Nae Ionescu and the school-tradition], **Convorbiri literare**, 5–6 (mai-iunie), 1943.
- [159] —, *Notă despre principiul contradicției* [Note on the principle of contradiction], in: **Isvoare de filosofie 2**, culegere de studii și texte, Floru, Constantin, Noica, Constantin, and Vulcănescu, Mircea, eds., București, 1943, Editura «Bucovina» I. E. Torouțiu, pp. 205–209.
- [160] —, *Pentru o altă istorie a gândirii românești; în marginea învățăturilor lui Neogoe Basarab* [For another history of Romanian thought: marginalia to the teachings of Neogoe Basarab], **Saeculum**, 1 (2) [martie-aprilie], 1943, pp. 38–57.

NEAGOE BASARAB (Prince of Wallachia 1512–1521, d. 1527).^{6f} Cf. also [155].

- [161] —, (tr.) DOMINICUS GUNDISSALINUS **De unitate**, traducere de Constantin Noica, in: **Isvoare de filosofie 2**, culegere de studii și texte, Floru, Constantin, Noica, Constantin, and Vulcănescu, Mircea, eds., București, 1943, Editura «Bucovina» I. E. Torouțiu, pp. 102–115.

A Romanian translation of DOMINICUS GUNDISALVUS [XIIth Century] *De unitate*, a small treatise attributed traditionally to BOETHIUS.^{6d}

- [162] —, (tr.) [G. W. F] HEGEL **Diferența dintre sistemul lui Fichte și cel al lui Schelling** [*Differenz des Fichte'schen und Schelling'schen Systems der Philosophie*], traducere de Constantin Noica, in: **Isvoare de filosofie 2**, culegere de studii și texte, Floru, Constantin, Noica, Constantin, and



Vulcănescu, Mircea, eds., București, 1943, Editura «Bucovina» I. E. Torouțiu, pp. 116–204.

A Romanian translation of *Differenz des Fichte'schen und Schelling'schen Systems der Philosophie in Beziehung auf Reinhold's Beyträge zur leichtern Übersicht des Zustands der Philosophie zu Anfang des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, 1stes Heft*, von GEORG WILHELM FRIEDRICH HEGEL, *der Weltweisheit Doktor [sic]*, Jena 1801.^{6e}


- [163] —, (tr.) IMMANUEL KANT **Prima introducere a «Criticii facultății de judecare»** [The First Introduction to KUK], Fundația Regală pentru Literatură și Artă, București, 1943.

Cf. [156].

- [164] —, **Pagini despre sufletul românesc** [Pages on the Romanian Soul], Editura Publicom, București, 1944, [Luceafărul].

First edition: 127 pp. Humanitas reprint in [253] (1991).

- [165] —, *Înțelesul materialului la Goethe* [On the meaning of ‘material’ in Goethe], **Simetria**, Caiete de artă și critică, 8, 1947, pp. 33–42.
- [166] —, **Fenomenologia spiritului de G. W. F. Hegel istorisită de Constantin Noica**, cu o prefață de Octavian Buhociu [Hegel's Phenomenology: A Story Told by Constantin Noica], Centre Roumain de Recherches, Paris, 1962.



First published in France, as an issue of **Semne** (Paris), by the *Centre Roumain de Recherches*, pp. 1–115. «Second part» of [216] (1980).

- [167] —, (tr.) [PORPHYRIUS] [**Eisagoge**] – «*Isagoga*» lui *Porfir*, **Revista de filozofie** (București), **13** (3) [martie], 1966, pp. 405–421.

«Prezentare și traducere de C[ONSTANTIN] NOICA.»

- [168] —, *La version moderne de l'un et du multiple*, **Revue Roumaine de Sciences Sociales** (Philosophie et logique), **11** (1) [janvier], 1967, pp. 33–38.

Cf. also [154].

- [169] —, *Pentru o interpretare a categoriilor lui Aristotel* [For an interpretation of Aristotle's categories], **Probleme de logică**, **1**, 1968.

- [170] —, ed., **PLATON Dialoguri** [Dialogues], Editura pentru literatură universală, București, 1968.

Translations by CEZAR PAPACOSTEA [*Apology*, *Meno*, *Gorgias*, *Symposium*, *Phaedo*], revised by CONSTANTIN NOICA, “with two new translations” [*Charmides*, *The VIIth Letter*] and a *Life of Plato*, by the editor.

- [171] —, (tr.) PROFIR [PORPHYRIUS], DEXIP[PUS] & AMMONIUS **Comentarii la «Categoriile» lui Aristotel**, însoțite de textul comentat, [Comments to Aristotle's 'Categories'] traducere, cuvînt înainte și note, Editura Academiei R.S.R., București, 1968.



With an Introduction and Notes by the translator.

- [172] —, **Douăzeci și șapte trepte ale realului** [27 Stairs of the Real], Editura științifică, București, 1969.

First edition: 120 pp.


- [173] —, *En souvenir d'Aram Frenkian*, **Revue Roumaine de Sciences Sociales** (Philosophie et logique), **13** (2) [avril-juin], 1969, pp. 215–219.

ARAM M. FRENKIAN (1898–1963).^{14c}

- [174] —, ed., (tr.) PLATON **Lysis**, *cu un eseu despre înțelesul grec al dragostei despre oameni și lucruri* [Plato's **Lysis**, With an Essay on the Greek Meaning of Love for Humans and Things], Editura pentru literatură universală, București, 1969, [*Eseuri*].

First edition: 144 pp. Contains also a *Foreword*, pp. 5–11, and a translation of PLATO's *Lysis* [by CONSTANTIN NOICA], pp. 13–41. With a Postface by T. PAPADOPOL, pp. 139–143. Cf. also [278] for a reprint [with a different translator]. "Interpretation" reprinted also in [295], **2** (1978), pp. 165–212.

- [175] —, *Comentarii moderne la «Despre interpretare»* [Modern comments on 'On Interpretation'], **Probleme de logică**, **2**, 1970.
- [176] —, *În marginea unei ediții a «Topicelor» lui Aristotel* [Marginalia on an edition of Aristotle's 'Topics'], **Studii clasice** (București), **12**, 1970, pp. 141–143.

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- [177] —, *Le principe de la connexion nécessaire*, **Revue Roumaine de Sciences Sociales** (Philosophie et logique), **14** (2) [avril-juin], 1970, pp. 147–156.
- [178] —, *Le quatre temps de l'acte dialectique*, **Revue Roumaine de Sciences Sociales** (Philosophie et logique), **14** (3) [juillet-septembre], 1970, pp. 239–247.
- [179] —, *The Notebooks of Eminescu and the Notebooks of Valéry*, **Romanian Review**, **24** (3) [July-September], 1970, pp. 94–99.
- [180] —, **Rostirea filozofică românească** [The Romanian Philosophical Apophantics], Editura științifică, București, 1970.

First edition: 277 pp. Reprinted in [239] (1987).

- [181] —, (tr.) PLATON *Hippias Maior*, in: **Artele poetice în antichitate** [The Poetic Arts in Antiquity], București, 1970, Editura Univers.


A partial translation, without the introductory pages, 281a–286b [summary only].

- [182] —, (tr.) PLATON *Ion*, in: **Artele poetice în antichitate** [The Poetic Arts in Antiquity], București, 1970, Editura Univers.
- [183] —, (tr.) THÉOPHILE CORYDALÉE **Œuvres philosophiques I Introduction à la logique, II Commentaires à la Métaphysique**, Association Internationale d'Etudes du Sud-Est Européen – Comité national roumain, Bucarest, 1970–1973.

Two vols. in 8° [Greek text and French translation]: «**1**: *Prooimion eis logikên*, Texte établi par Athanase Papadopoulos, précédé par une étude de Cléobule Tsourkas, traduit et présenté par C. Noïca. **2**: *Metafusikê Aristotelous*, Texte établi par T. Iliopulos. Introduction et traduction de C. Noïca.» Cf. also [193].

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(*Platon și platonismul*, **1**, pp. ix–cviii). Editorial introduction by PETRU CREȚIA
(*Platon în românește*, **2**, pp. v–viii [sic]). *Notă asupra ediției* [**1**, v–vi], by the
editors, and contributed Introductions [“interpretations”] and / or notes by CON-
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pp. 353–371], *Euthydemus* [**3**, pp. 7–28], *Cratylus* [**3**, pp. 139–235], *Phaedo* [**4**, pp.
11–28], *Phaedrus* [**4**, pp. 343–363], *The Republic* [**5**, *Cuvînt prevenitor*, pp. 5–16],
Parmenides [**6**], and *The Sophist* [**6**]. (Translators: FRANCISCA BĂLTĂCEANU [1,2],

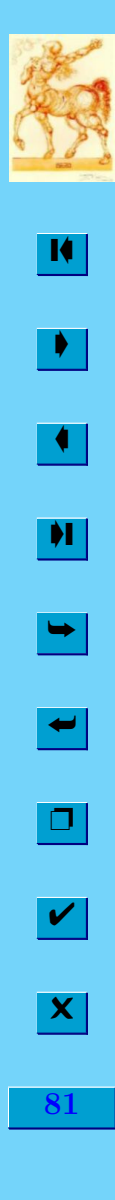
ALEXANDRU CIZEK [2], ANDREI CORNEA [5,7], PETRU CREȚIA [1,2,4,7], MARTA GUȚU [1], GABRIEL LIICEANU [2,3,4], LIANA LUPAȘ [2], ȘERBAN MIRONESCU [1], SIMINA NOICA [1,3,5], CĂTĂLIN PARTENIE [7], MANUELA POPESCU [2], DAN SLUȘANSCHI [1,2], NICOLAE ȘERBAN-TANAȘOCA [2], and SORIN VIERU [1,6].) [Last volume, **7**, not directly contributed to by C. NOICA.]

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Text of 1979–1980 [a typescript of 67 pages!]. Cf., e.g., [66], (*sub* «Luni, 21 ianuarie 1980» [Monday, January 21, 1980]), pp. 107 *et sq.* and, possibly, [89], Annex, pp. 305–317, as well as [318], *passim*. On-line version (apparently revised) in *Amicus Plato sau: «Despărțirea de Noica»*, with an Introduction (*Filozoful călare* [The philosopher on a horse], dated March 2003) by TOADER PALEOLOGU, edited by DELIA MARIA OPREA, with the assistance of IULIA POPOVICI, Editura LiterNet, Bucharest 2003 [ISBN: 973-8475-07-4], 64 pp.

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- [333] POPA, GRIGORE, *Constantin Noica: Mathesis sau bucuriile simple*, **Pagini literare**, 3–4, 1934.

A review of [108].

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- [334] RĂDULESCU-MOTRU, CONSTANTIN, *C. Noica: Concepte deschise în istoria filosofiei la Descartes, Leibniz și Kant*, **Analele Academiei Române, Dezbatere**, 1935–1936.

A review of [115].


- [335] SEBASTIAN, MIHAIL, **De două mii de ani...** [Two Millenia Away...] cu o prefață de Nae Ionescu & **Cum am devenit huligan** [My Carrier as a Hooligan], Humanitas, București, 1990.

MIHAIL SEBASTIAN (1907–1945). Historical background (to Romania, during the thirties). A composite edition [ISBN: 973-280199-9] [334 pp.]: *De două mii de ani...* Bucharest 1934, also: Arania, Brașov [s.d.] [226 pp.], etc. (a novel; actually confessions of a Jewish writer, with a Preface [in ed. 1934, pp. v-xxxii], by his [antisemite] teacher, NICOLAE [= NAE] IONESCU^{2a}; the Preface has been also published separately [facsimile], as: NAE IONESCU *Prefață*, in: *Criterion* (Madrid), 1979 [31 pp.]), together with *Cum am devenit huligan*. Reprint [of the composite] by Hasefer, Bucharest 2000 [ISBN: 973-96819-5-6] [358 pp.]

- [336] —, **Jurnal 1935–1944** [Diary (1935–1944)], text îngrijit de Gabriela Omăt, prefață și note de Leon Volovici, Humanitas, București, 1996.

Historical background (Romania, 1935–1944): a (relevant) personal viewpoint.

- [337] —, **Seit zweitausend Jahren** (Roman), Igel Verlag, Paderborn etc., 1997.



Historical background (to Romania, during the thirties). A German translation of *De două mii de ani...* [Two Millenia Away...] (cf. [335]), «mit einem Nachwort und einer Dokumentation hrsg. von DANIEL RHEIN».

- [338] —, **Journal 1935–1944**, Stock, Paris, 1998, [*Nouveau cabinet cosmopolite*].

Historical background (Romania, 1935–1944). A French translation of [336] «traduit du roumain par ALAIN PARUIT, préface d'EDGAR REICHMANN».


- [339] —, **Journal 1935–1944**, Ivan R. Dee, Chicago, 2000.

Historical background (Romania, 1935–1944). An English translation of [336] [the Romanian ed. by Gabriela Omăt and Leon Volovici], by PATRICK CAMILLER, with an Introduction and Notes by RADU IOANID (xxv + 641 pp.) [ISBN 1-566-63326-5]. UK edition: Heinemann, London 2001 [ISBN: 0-434-00967-9].

- [340] SIMION, EUGEN, *Îndârjirile filosofului* [The philosopher's perserverances], **Ro-mânia literară**, 1983 [October 10].

One of the first reviews of [66] to appear in Romania in print, and, by the same token, a dissenting reaction to CONSTANTIN NOICA, coming from a literary critic, expert in [the history of] Romanian literature, mainly, and an invariant figure of the Romanian [literary] establishment (before, as well as after December 1989; currently also the president of the Romanian Academy, etc.). Reprinted in [89], pp. 318–323, [90], pp. 331–335, etc.

- [341] STEINHARDT, NICU, **Jurnalul fericirii**, Editura Dacia, Cluj [-Napoca], 1991.



Historical background (to post-war Romania: memoirs from prison). Other editions: ²1992 [reprints 1994, 1995], ³1997, etc. French translation in [342].

- [342] —, **Journal de la félicité**, Arcantère, Paris, 1996, [*Collection UNESCO d'œuvres représentatives*].

Historical background (to post-war Romania: memoirs from prison). A French translation of [341] («trad[uction] du roumain par MARILY LE NEAR, préface [par] OLIVIER CLÉMENT»).


- [343] STEINHARDT, NICU [NICOLAE], **În genul lui Cioran, Noica, Eliade** [*À la manière de Cioran, Noica & Eliade*], Humanitas, București, 1996, [*Eseistică*].

Essays signed ANTISTHIUS, sc. NICU STEINHARDT [resp. NICOLAE NICULESCU, NICOLAE DELAROHIA, etc.] (1912–1989). For a comprehensive bio-bibliography, and the specific connection to CONSTANTIN NOICA see, e.g., [Nicu Steinhardt](#). With a Postface by DAN C. MIHĂILESCU.

- [344] SURDU, ALEXANDRU, **Vocații filosofice românești** [Romanian Philosophical Vocations], Editura Academiei Române, București, 1995.

Herein: *Sistemul rostirii filosofice românești al lui Constantin Noica*, *Constantin Noica și întrebarea despre ființă*, and *Întrebarea cu trei introduceri la Constantin Noica*.

- [345] —, *Evocare* [Recollections], **Revista de filosofie** (București), 44 (4), [iulie-august], 1997, pp. 353–354.

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- [346] TONOIU, VASILE, *Constantin Noica: Devenirea într-o ființă*, **Revista de filosofie** (București), **82** (5), 1982.

A review of [217].

- [347] TĂNASE, STELIAN, **Anatomia mistificării**, *Procesul Noica-Pillat* [The Anatomy of Mystification – The Noica-Pillat Trial], Humanitas, București, 1997, [Document].

Historical background: Romania 1944–1989.


- [348] —, **Elite și societate**, *Guvernarea Gheorghiu-Dej 1948–1965* [Élites and Society – The Gheorghiu-Dej Ruling (1948–1965)], Humanitas, București, 1999, [Procesul comunismului].

Historical background (to Romania, 1948–1965).

- [349] VEIGA, FRANCISCO, **La mística del ultranacionalismo: Historia de la Guardia de Hierro, Rumania, 1919–1941**, Bellaterra, [University of] Barcelona, 1989, [Publicacions de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona].

[ISBN: 84-7488-497-7]: 287 pp. Historical background (to Romania and the *Iron Guard*). For a Romanian translation see [350].

- [350] —, **Istoria Gărzii de Fier, 1919–1941**, *Mistica ultranaționalismului* [A History of the Iron Guard – The Mystics of Ultra-nationalism], traducere din spaniolă de M. Ștefănescu, Humanitas, București, 1993, [Istorie].



Historical background (to Romania and the *Iron Guard*). A translation of [349].

“First edition [Humanitas]”. Reprint: ²1995.

- [351] VERDERY, KATHERINE, **National Ideology under Socialism, Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceaușescu’s Romania**, University of California Press, Berkeley, CA [etc.], 1991, [*Societies and Culture in East-Central Europe* 7].

[ISBN: 0-520-07216-2] [xvi + 406 pp.] One of the first Western attempts to evaluate the NOICA “effect” in Romania, written by an ethnologist. See, especially, Chapter 6: *The ‘School’ of Philosopher Constantin Noica* (text available in a preliminary draft since January 1989). Romanian version in [352].

- [352] —, **Compromis și rezistență, Cultura română sub Ceaușescu** [Compromise and Resistance – Romanian Culture under Ceaușescu], traducere din engleză de Mona Antohi și Sorin Antohi, Humanitas, București, 1994, [*Istorie*].


Cf. [351].

- [353] VIERU, SORIN, *Rostirea filozofică și zeflemeaua caragialescă* [Philosophical apophantics and Caragiale-like derision], **Arc**, **14–15–16**, 1995.

- [354] —, *În căutarea marilor începuturi* [Searching for the great beginnings], **Revista de filosofie** (București), **44** (4), [iulie-august], 1997, pp. 387–388.

Cf. also [same title] in: *Viața românească*, **12** (1987).

- [355] —, *Etica lui Noica* [Noica’s ethics], **Krisis** (București), **6** (10), 2000 [forthcoming].



Cf. also [356], for a revised version.

- [356] —, *Reperul etic în gândirea lui Noica* [The ethical landmark in Noica's thinking], [Revista] 22, 13 (49/665) [3–9 decembrie], 2002, pp. 33–35.


See also [Revista] 22, vol. 14 (692), 2003 [of June 10–16: sub MIRCEA MARTIN, headings], vol. 14 (697), 2003 [GABRIEL LICEANU, GABRIELA ADAMEȘTEANU], etc. Revised version reprinted in ARGUMENTS 2, 2003 [this issue].

- [357] —, *În dialog cu H.-R. Patapievici: Totul e povestea omului* [Interview with H.-R. Patapievici: The story of man is everything], LA&I – Litere, Arte, Idei, 8, Nr. 34 (290) [29 septembrie 2003], 2003, pp. 6–7.

Published in: LA&I, an appendix to *Cotidianul* (Bucharest), “Supliment cultural, Serie Nouă, Nr. 34 (290), anul VIII, 29 septembrie 2003, 16 pagini”: «Jurnalul de la Păltiniș – după douăzeci de ani». A [truncated!] interview with H.-R. PATAPIEVICI, dated: Bucharest, GDS, October 2, 2002. Revised version reprinted in ARGUMENTS 2, 2003 [this issue].

- [358] VOLOVICI, LEON, **Ideologia naționalistă și «problema evreiască» în România anilor '30** [Nationalistic Ideology and the ‘Jewish Problem’ in Romania, during the Thirties], Humanitas, București, 1995.

Historical background (to Romania, during the thirties).

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- [359] VULCĂNESCU, MIRCEA, *Dimensiunea românească a existenței – Schiță fenomenologică* [The Romanian Dimension of Being – A Phenomenological Outline], **Viața românească**, *Caiete critice*, **1–2**, 1983, pp. 169–185.

A reprint of [300] from [299], **2**. Cf. also [360] (1–2, ^R1991), [361] (3, ^R1991), and [364].

- [360] —, *Dimensiunea românească a existenței I–II* [The Romanian Dimension of Being], **Sud-Est**, *Artă, Cultură, Civilizație* (Chișinău), **1**, 1991, pp. 61–75, 75–86.

A reprint of [300] (part i and ii, dated 1940–1944), from [299], **2**. Cf. also [359] (^R1983), and [364] (1996).

- [361] —, *Dimensiunea românească a existenței III* [The Romanian Dimension of Being], **Sud-Est**, *Artă, Cultură, Civilizație* (Chișinău), **2** (4), 1991, pp. 46–67.

A reprint of [300] (part iii, dated 1940–1944), from [299], **2**. Cf. also [359] (^R1983), and [364] (1996).

- [362] —, **Nae Ionescu, așa cum l-am cunoscut** [Nae Ionescu, As I Knew Him], Humanitas, București, 1992.

Edition by ALEXANDRU BADEA.

- [363] —, **Ultimul cuvânt** [The Last Word], Humanitas, București, 1992.



The Last Word of MIRCEA VULCĂNESCU before the Court of Appeal of Bucharest, January 15, 1948. Cf. also *Ethos* (Paris) 4, 1983 and, possibly, [48]. Edition by MARIN DIACONU.

- [364] —, **Dimensiunea românească a existenței I–III** [The Romanian Dimension of Being], selecția textelor, note și comentarii de Marin Diaconu și Zaharia Balica, Editura Eminescu, București, 1996.

An anthology in three volumes: **1** *Pentru o nouă spiritualitate filosofică*; **2** *Chipuri spirituale*; **3** *Către ființa spiritualității românești*, edited [text-selection], with notes and comments by MARIN DIACONU and ZAHARIA BALICA. The *Foreword* (*Cuvânt înainte* [273], by CONSTANTIN NOICA) is also translated [in English, French and German] at the end of vol. **3**.





Constantin Noica

A Chronology (1909–1987 [1909–1990])

...I have no biography. I have only books.

C. NOICA, *in conversation with G. LIICEANU*,
([66], page 14)






This bare chronological list of events is meant to be a mere auxiliary tool for the understanding of NOICA's work, in its "natural" context; it is by no means intended to be *a substitute for a biography*.

Unless otherwise stated explicitly, most of the biographical data appearing below are extracted from notes recording early conversations of one of the editors with CONSTANTIN NOICA himself. Some details have been also checked against other sources, including a recent essay, in Romanian (*Viața lui Noica* [The Life of Noica], 2003), by SORIN LAVRIC (Bucharest), and a set of notes extracted from the forthcoming PhD Dissertation of LAURA PAMFIL (Stuttgart / Bucharest), on the development of NOICA's thinking (*Etapele gândirii lui Constantin Noica*, 2003; cf. also the first section of this survey).

équivalences / arguments

Bucharest – Ithaca, NY – Nijmegen – Vienna,
September-October 2003



1909 CONSTANTIN NOICA b. on July 12 (actually 25), in Vitănești (the district [“județul”] Teleorman), as the third son (among the eleven children) of CLEMENTA and GRIGORE NOICA, a rich – yet “second hand” – Romanian landlord [estate estimated to about “3,500 pogoane”¹]

1920-1924 “Gymnasium” [Romanian-style] in Bucharest, at “Dimitrie Cantemir”

1924–1928 high school in Bucharest, at “Spiru Haret” (among the teachers: DAN BARBILIAN², mathematics, in 1927; among the colleagues: MIRCEA ELIADE)

1927 literary début in *Vlăstarul*, the “Spiru Haret” high school journal

1928–1931 student at the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy, University of Bucharest (among the professors: NAE [NICOLAE] IONESCU^{2a}, among the colleagues: E. M. CIORAN^{2b})

1929–1930 co-editor of the cultural journal *Acțiune și reacțiune*, *Caiete semestriale de sinteză națională* [Action and Reaction – Semestrial Notebooks for National Synthesis] (sic), with only two issues in print (1/1929, 2/1930), [294], together with PETRU COMAR-NESCU, ION JIANU, and MIHAIL POLIHRONIADÉ

1931 *thèse de licence* (Philosophy, University of Bucharest): *Problema lucrului în sine la Kant* [The Problem of the *Ding an sich* in Kant] (cf. [88], fn 28)

1931–1932 military service, in the mountains corps, at Sinaia

1932–1934 librarian at the University of Bucharest (at the Library of the Seminar for History of Philosophy);



- ★ member of the literary-cultural group *Criterion*, together with his close friends HAIG ACTERIAN, E. M. CIORAN, MIRCEA ELIADE, MIHAIL POLIHRONIADE (other members of the group: ARȘAVIR ACTERIAN, DAN BOTTA, RADU GYR, TRAIAN HERSENI, VINTILĂ HORIA, P. P. PANAITESCU, MARIETTA SADOVA, PETRE ȚUȚEA, etc., nearly all of them soon to embrace the legionary “cause”: MIHAIL POLIHRONIADE in 1932, E. M. CIORAN in November 1933, MIRCEA ELIADE around 1936, etc.)

1933–1934 (academic / university year) vague mathematics studies (first year, undergraduate level) at the University of Bucharest (among the professors: DAN BARBILIAN, again^{2c});

- ★ (December 1933 – December 1934) regular collaborator to *Credința* [from vol. i, nr 1, December 1933 to vol. ii, nr. 314]

1934 marriage with WENDY MUSTON, a British citizen (to circumvent some other family plans, of Mr. NOICA Sr.); the young NOICA family moves to Sinaia;


- ★ a philosophical début [with a book – actually, a booklet –, in print]: *Mathesis sau bucuriile simple* [Mathesis, or: The Simple Joys] [108]

1934–1938 C.N. lives in Sinaia, with his [English] wife WENDY NOICA

1934–1936 C.N. publishes a first series of [Romanian] translations from English, some of them in collaboration with WENDY NOICA³

1935 C.N. becomes ill of renal tuberculosis (with, as a result, the loss of a kidney);

- ★ a first DESCARTES intermezzo: a Romanian translation of RENÉ DESCARTES *Regulae ad directionem ingenii* in print [113]



1936 in print:


a Romanian translation of IMMANUEL KANT *Despre forma și principiile lumii sensibile și ale celei inteligibile* [On the Form and the Principles of the Sensible and Intelligible Worlds], [118], and

- ★ a book *Concepte deschise în istoria filozofiei la Descartes, Leibniz și Kant* [Open Concepts in the History of Philosophy: Descartes, Leibniz, Kant], [115];
- ★ (October 14) a first radio-conference on *The anniversary of Descartes* (in a series of 21 talks, delivered during 1936–1943; cf., e.g. [255])

1937 a second DESCARTES intermezzo: a Romanian translation of RENÉ DESCARTES *Meditationes de prima philosophia*, [130], and

- ★ the booklet *Viața și filosofia lui René Descartes* [René Descartes: Life and Philosophy], [131];
- ★ in print: in the same year,
a new book *De Caelo, Încercare în jurul cunoașterii și individului* [Essay around the Knowledge and the Individual], [120], and
- ★ two papers, on DESCARTES [121] and LEIBNIZ [127], written for *Istoria filosofiei moderne, 1, De la renaștere și până la Kant* [The History of Romanian Philosophy 1: From Renaissance to Kant];
- ★ (December 2) another radio-conference: *Încotro merge spiritul contemporan?* [The direction of the contemporary mind]

1937–1938 another series of [Romanian] translations from English⁴



1938–1939 sojourn (for studies) in Paris, with a grant from the French government (from Spring 1938 to Spring 1939[?]), together with MIRCEA ELIADE and E. M. CIORAN

1938 (January–October) more (7) radio-conferences (talks about *The contemporary man and the future* [January 20], *The philosophy of nationalism* [February 5], *The theme of resurrection in philosophy* [April 20], *The feminine mind: factor of progress* [October 29], etc.);

- ★ (November) the assassination of CORNELIU ZELEA CODREANU, the charismatic leader of the *Iron Guard* (by [indirect] order of King CHARLES II); personal reaction: C.N. adheres openly [from Paris] to the Iron Guard

1940–1941 a first German intermezzo: C.N. is in Berlin (from October 1940 to Spring 1941), as a “referee for philosophy at the Romanian-German Institute” (“refereeing” position formally maintained apparently till 1944)

1940 a new original booklet *Jurnal filozofic* [A Philosophical Diary], [150], in print;

- ★ (January–August) five other radio-conferences (with talks about *Portraits of classical philosophers* [January 4], *What is Humanism?* [May 25], *The place of Transylvannia in the Romanian spirituality* [August 23], etc.);
- ★ (May) PhD at the University of Bucharest, with the Dissertation: *Schiță pentru istoria lui «Cum e cu putință ceva nou»* [A Sketchy Historical Endeavor on the Question: ‘How Is It Possible Something New?’], in print as: [151];
- ★ (August) editor of *Ad Sum* (a journal with a single issue [dated: Sinaia, August 8; printed actually in Bucharest], 4 pages in print, written entirely by the editor, and containing a few personal manifestoes⁵);

- ★ (September 3–6) “rebeliunea legionară”, i.e., the *Iron Guard* seizes the power in Romania (for a few months);
- ★ (September-October) C.N. becomes editor in chief [«prim-redactor»] of the newspaper *Buna-Vestire* [The Good News]⁶, a publication of the legionary party [the *Iron Guard*]^{6*}
- ★ (the evening of October 5) another radio-conference *Limpeziri pentru o Românie legionară* [Clarifications for a legionary Romania] (published also in *Buna-Vestie*, of October 11, [149]), actually a kind of legionary manifesto, calling to “political action”;
- ★ (November 27) the assassination of NICOLAE IORGA by the *Iron Guard* (no public reaction from C.N.)

1941 (May) another radio-conference on *Extazul religios* [The religious ecstasy];

- ★ (Spring) C.N. is mobilized (to be soon found unfit for military service, in view of the missing kidney)

1942 (January) the son, RĂZVAN, is born;

- ★ (November-December) a second German intermezzo (likely an echo of the Berlin “refereeing”-activities), with a paper on the political philosophy of ALFRED BAEUMLER (1887–1968) (one of the most authoritative philosophers of the German “establishment” of those times)⁷, [153], published in *Revista Fundațiilor Regale*, Bucharest (November 1942), followed by a note on ERWIN GUIDO KOLBENHEYER (1878–1962)⁸ [152], published in the same journal (December 1942);

- ★ (December) the earliest *first-hand public records* about MARTIN HEIDEGGER in Romania, due to WALTER BIEMEL⁹, who publishes a Romanian translation of a fragment from HEIDEGGER's *Hölderlin und das Wesen der Dichtung*¹⁰, describing the atmosphere of the private doctoral seminars held by HEIDEGGER [^{10a}]

1942–1944 at least three Romanian (doctoral) students are attending HEIDEGGER's lectures and seminars in Freiburg i.B., viz. WALTER BIEMEL (then still a Romanian citizen), ALEXANDRU DRAGOMIR, and OCTAVIAN VUIA¹¹ [^{11a}]; during this period, both WALTER BIEMEL and ALEXANDRU DRAGOMIR were, in fact, preparing PhD Dissertations at the *Albert-Ludwigs-Universität*, in Freiburg im Breisgau, with MARTIN HEIDEGGER as a *Doktorvater*¹²; neither of the theses was actually defended, however, due to improper circumstances¹³;

- ★ C.N. is a co-editor (with CONSTANTIN FLORU, and MIRCEA VULCĂNESCU) of the journal ["yearbook"] *Isvoare de filosofie 1, culegere de studii și texte* [Philosophical Sources] (Bucharest, 2 issues in print: 1/1942, 2/1943; cf. [299]), containing several personal contributions (translations, [co-] editions and articles); as well as

- ★ of NAE IONESCU's lectures: *Metafizica 1–2* [Metaphysics 1–2], [298] (1942), and [302] (1944);

- ★ more occasional translations in print (1942–1943): three *Bilderkreis*-albums (from Herder, Freiburg i.B., published in Freiburg i.B.)^{6a}, a book by FRANZ-OTTO WREDE (Bucharest), from German^{6b}, and a joint translation (Bucharest), from English^{6c}

1943 (June) last German intermezzo, with a lecture (held in Berlin) on *Die innere Spannung der kleinen Kulturen*, cf. [155]; and



★ (about the same time:) apparently, C.N. meets also (privately, in Germany, cf., e.g., [88], fn 28) EDUARD SPRANGER (1882–1963) and MARTIN HEIDEGGER (1889–1976);

★ (Autumn) C.N. candidates for a Lecturer [“conferențiar”] position at the Chair of History of Philosophy and Culture, University of Bucharest (not selected)

1944–1946 C.N. builds for himself a Summer resort in Pădurea Andronache [the Andronache Woods]

1944 the daughter, DINA, is born;

★ in print: yet another “Romanian” booklet *Pagini despre sufletul românesc* [Pages on the Romanian Soul], [164];

★ (Summer) C.N. in military service: working as a translator in the American prison camp of Timiș;

★ (August 23) Romania changes sides in the war;


★ (September) C.N. in military service (continued): this time as a translator in the German prison camp of Craiova;

★ (by the end of the year) after demobilization: C.N. is back to Sinaia

1945 the agrarian reform: the NOICAS loose a significant part of their lands

1945–1946 alternating sojourns at the Summer resort in the Andronache Woods and at the Chiriacu estate (meetings – in the Andronache house – with MIRCEA VULCĂNESCU, ALEXANDRU DRAGOMIR, MIHAI RĂDULESCU *et al.*)





1946 the father (GRIGORE NOICA) dies; in consequence, C.N. inherits (a part of) the Chiriacu estate – only 50 ha., apparently –, near Alexandria (later on, he claimed, in conversation, the administration of the lands – rather small in size, in contrast with the family property before 1945 – was quite embarrassing for him);

★ C.N. “denounces” himself to the *People’s Tribunal* of Bucharest as an ex-member of the *Iron Guard* and as a landlord (*sic*)

1947 C.N. divorces WENDY NOICA (she will, however, remain in Romania until 1955, living from expedients, English lessons, etc.; cf. [78], p. 290)

1948 expropriation of the remaining NOICA-estate (last bits of Chiriacu)

1949 (May) C.N. banished to Cîmpulung-Muscel (a provincial town, in the south of the country)

1949 (June 25) [on his 40th anniversary, in Cîmpulung-Muscel], he first meets MARIANA NICOLAIDE, later to become his [second] wife (cf. [78], p. 289)

1949–1958 sojourn in Cîmpulung-Muscel (with assigned residence); here, frequent meetings with his Bucharest friends: ARȘAVIR ACTERIAN, ALEXANDRU PALEOLOGU, MIHAI RĂDULESCU, NICU STEINHARDT

1951–1953 (dating from the Cîmpulung-Muscel period:)

Manuscrisele de la Cîmpulung, Reflecții despre țărănime și burghezie [The Manuscripts of Cîmpulung – Reflections on Peasantry and Bourgeoisie] (1951–1953), published posthumously as [282], and

- ★ a first (ms) version of the interpretation of HEGEL's *Phänomenologie* (Cîmpulung-Muscel, 1952–1953; sent later to his Paris-friends and eventually published as [166], in 1962), as well as
- ★ a first draft of *Despărțirea de Goethe* [Farewell from Goethe] (Cîmpulung-Muscel, around 1952), [204] (in print: 1976)

1953 marriage with MARIANA NICOLAIDE

1955 WENDY [MUSTON] leaves, finally, the country

1957 an epistolary exchange with E. M. CIORAN (NOICA's answer to CIORAN's *Lettre à un ami lointain*, in: *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, Paris; cf. [292])

1958 (December 11–12) C.N. is arrested (see [75]: *Arestarea* (1958), pp. 287–292 [esp., pp. 289–290]; for the “trial”, cf., e.g., [347], [317], [318], etc.), and sentenced afterwards to 25 years (*sic*) of prison


1958–1964 time in (the Jilava) prison (cf., e.g., [252]);

- ★ by the end of the detention-period, C.N. reads MARX *Das Kapital*

1962 a first interpretation of HEGEL's *Phänomenologie*, [166], in print – “illegally”, abroad –, as a separate issue of the journal *Semne*¹⁴ (Paris)

1964 C.N. is freed (17 years earlier) from prison (actually, together with many others, about the same time, 1964–1965; i.e. no special favor!)

1965 C.N. moves to Bucharest (in a modest apartment on the “Ornamentului”-Street);

- 
- ★ (around August) deal with the “liberal[ized]” Ceaușescu-régime: no “illegal” publications abroad any more, against “fully authorized” publication of his works in Romania (including “authorized” translations abroad)^{14a}

1965–1975 C.N. is formally hired (1965) as a “researcher” at the “Logic Center”, of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest (director ATHANASE JOJA)^{14b}

1966 a first “début” in print (under the new rulers), with a translation of PORPHYRIUS *Eisagoge*, [167]

1967–1969 samples of the book *Rostirea filozofică românească* [The Romanian Philosophical Apophantics / Utterings], [180] (in print: 1970), published in various literary (and other) Romanian journals

1968 in print:

translations of ARISTOTLE’s *Categories* with the comments of PORPHYRIUS, DEXIPPUS, and AMMONIUS [171], and

- ★ an edition of a few *Dialogues* of PLATO, in Romanian translation, [170] (actually older “translations by CEZAR PAPACOSTEA [*Apology*, *Meno*, *Gorgias*, *Symposium*, *Phaedo*], revised by C.N., with two new translations [*Charmides*, *The VIIIth Letter*] and a *Life of Plato*, by the editor.”)

1969–1970 (December 1969 to May 1970) a “new interpretation” of HEGEL’s *Phänomenologie* – presented as “a novel of ideas” [«un roman de idei»] – largely excerpted in the Romanian literary weekly *România literară*; the full text will eventually appear as a separate volume, ten years later, in [216] (1980), together with the former “interpretation” (1952–1953), published “ilegally” in Paris, [166] (1962)

1969 in print:

a new philosophical booklet *Douăzeci și șapte trepte ale realului* [27 Stairs of the Real], [172], and

★ another Romanian translation from PLATO: *Lysis* [174] (with an appended essay)

1970 in print:

a [French] translation of THEOPHILOS KORYDALAEOS *Prooimion eis logikên* [Introduction to logic], [183], together with

★ two new translation from PLATO: *Ion* [182], and *Hippias Maior* [181], and

★ a first original book, on “Philosophical Romanian”: *Rostirea filozofică românească* [The Romanian Philosophical Apophantics / Utterings], [180] (copiously excerpted previously, from June 1967 to December 1969, in various literary – and other kind of – Romanian [tabloid-like] serial publications)

1971 a [Romanian] translation of ARISTOTLE’s *On Interpretation*, with the comments of AMMONIUS and STEPHANUS PHILOSOPHUS, [188], in print

1972 a [Romanian] translation of ARISTOTLE’s *Parva naturalia* [305], in print (in collaboration with ȘERBAN MIRONESCU);

★ (April-July) THEOPHILOS KORYDALAEOS is largely advertised by C.N. in the Romanian *literary* press (the Romanian literary weekly *Convorbiri literare*: publishes a serial of six talks bearing the title *A new page in the history of the European mind: The meaning of Theophilos Koridaleos’ work* [sic]); cf. also [193] (French version);

- ★ (May–July) a short trip (six weeks) to England and France (Paris), meeting WENDY MUSTON, and their son RĂZVAN NOICA [= monk RAFAIL], as well as some old and new friends (cf. [250], pp. 171–184 [§§ 39–93]);

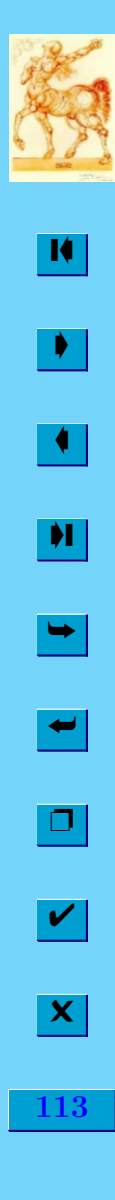
1973 in print:

- a [French] translation of THEOPHILOS KORYDALAEOS *Metafusikê Aristotelous* [The Metaphysics of Aristotle], [183], as well as
- ★ a second original book on “Philosophical Romanian” *Creație și frumos în rostirea românească* [Creation and Beauty in Romanian Apophantics / Utterings], [192];
- ★ (February to September 1973) a forthcoming book about GOETHE [204] (1976, first draft dating from around 1952) excerpted again in the Romanian literary press (a second GOETHE serial – a kind of extended advertizing, in fact – will also precede the actual publication of the book, during April–June 1976)

1974 a commented [Romanian] translation of HERMAN DIELS and WALTHER KRANZ (eds.) *Die Vorsokratiker*, [306], (together with SIMINA NOICA, only a first part in print [likely due to the retirement from the “Logic Center”, 1975]);

- ★ C.N. moves (within Bucharest) in the “Drumul Taberei” quarter

1974–1993 the first comprehensive edition of Romanian translations from PLATO [Opere I–VII, a project in ten volumes] by PETRU CREȚIA, a Classics scholar (1927–1997), and CONSTANTIN NOICA (eds.), with, as a rule, exegetical introductory texts [“interpretations”] by C.N. himself [295]: **1** (1974, ²1975), **2** (1976), **3** (1978), **4** (1983), **5** (1986), **6** (1989), **7** (1993)¹⁵ [last volume, **7**, not directly contributed to by C. NOICA]



1975 in print:

an edition of MIHAI EMINESCU's translations from KANT's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, in: *Lecturi kantiene* [310] (with ALEXANDRU SURDU), as well as

- ★ a EMINESCU-eulogy: *Eminescu sau Gînduri despre omul deplin al culturii românești* [Eminescu, or: Thoughts on the Complete Man of Romanian Culture], [202];
- ★ (same year:) C.N. retires from the “Logic Center” and moves to Păltiniș

1976 in print:

Despărțirea de Goethe [Farewell from Goethe], [204] (excerpted once more, in the literary press, February-June, just before its publication), and

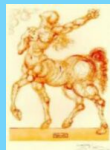
- ★ a small monograph, on BRÂNCUȘI, [303] (in collaboration with IONEL JIANU)

1978 in print:

a third book on “Philosophical Romanian” *Sentimentul românesc al ființei* [The Romanian Feeling of Being], [209] (also copiously excerpted before, during 1970–1976, in Romanian *literary* journals; in this case, *Steaua*, mainly), and

- ★ a “programmatic” book: *Spiritul românesc în cumpătul vremii, Șase maladii ale spiritului contemporan* [The Romanian Mind in the Balance of Time – Six Infirmities of the Contemporary Mind], [210]; actually his first work to be also largely known abroad (with, so far, translations in French [254], 1991, ^R1993, in Italian [263], 1993, in Portuguese [288], 1999, ^R2002, in Polish [283], 1997, and, partly, in Spanish [291], 2002)

1980 first complete edition, in Romania, of two [out of three] interpretations of HEGEL's *Phänomenologie* in print: *Povestiri despre om, După o carte a lui Hegel* [«Fenomenolo-



gia spiritului»] [Stories about Man, After a Book of Hegel], [216] (containing also the text written in Cîmpulung-Muscel, during the early fifties, and published previously in Paris, 1962),

1981 in print:

a [Romanian] translation of KANT's *Kritik der Urteilkraft* (in collaboration with ALEXANDRU SURDU and VASILE DEM. ZAMFIRESCU¹⁶) [312], together with

★ NOICA's major book (in two "volumes", actually two separate works): *Devenirea întru ființă* 1 *Încercare despre filosofia tradițională*, 2 *Tratat de ontologie* [Becoming unto Being, 1: Essay on Traditional Philosophy, 2: A Treatise of Ontology], [217]


1983 the [first] Păltiniș serial (accounts for the period 1971–1981) in print: GABRIEL LI-ICEANU *Jurnalul de la Păltiniș – Un model paideic în cultura umanistă* [The Păltiniș Diary – A Paideic Model in the Humanities], [66], (first edition)¹⁷

1983–1984 an edition of CAMIL PETRESCU *Doctrina substanței* [Theory of substance], cf. [313], [314], and [315] (with VASILE DEM. ZAMFIRESCU)

1984 *Trei introduceri la devenirea întru ființă* [Three Introductions to Becoming unto Being] [230], in print

1986 *Scrisori despre logica lui Hermes* [Letters on the Logic of Hermes], [234], in print

1986–1987 fragments of a forthcoming book: *Modelul cultural european* [The Cultural Model of (Western) Europe], [262] (1993) – cf. also the German translation, [246] (1988) –, published in the Romanian literary press (in *România literară*, June 1986 to July 1987, etc.)



1987 a reprint – as a single volume – [239], of the the first two “Romanian apophantics” books: [180] (1970) and [192] (1973);

★ the Păltiniș-story continued, a sequel (1982–1986) to the Păltiniș serial (1971–1981) in print: GABRIEL LIICEANU *et alii Epistolar* [Correspondence], [89], (first edition);

★ (November 27) a minor house accident in Păltiniș, resulting in a hip-fracture

1987 (December 4 [1:20 am]) C.N. dies at the Clinical Hospital of Sibiu, as a consequence of the recent November-accident (cf. [75]: *Sfîrșitul* [The End] (1987), pp. 292–301)

1988 in print: *De dignitate Europae*, [246], a German translation of *Modelul cultural european* [The Cultural Model of (Western) Europe], [262] (1993), by GEORG SCHERG (actually, a posthumous publication, in Romanian);

★ award of the *Herder Prise*

1990 posthumous publications:

a fragmentary Diary, *Jurnal de idei* [A Diary of Ideas], [250] (edited by THOMAS KLEININGER, GABRIEL LIICEANU, ANDREI PLEȘU, and SORIN VIERU), and

★ *Rugați-vă pentru fratele Alexandru* [Pray for Brother Alexander], [252];

★ C.N. becomes a member (*post mortem*) of the Romanian Academy



Notes

* The editorial notes, most of the comments, and the crossreferences have been supplied by ADRIAN REZUȘ (Nijmegen), September-October 2003. He is particularly indebted to Miss LAURA PAMFIL (Stuttgart / Bucharest) and to Mr. SORIN LAVRIC (Bucharest), as well as to Dr. MIHAI NASTA (Brussels), and the advisory board of ARGUMENTS – especially to Dr. MĂDĂLINA DIACONU (Vienna), Dr. COSTICĂ BRĂDĂȚAN (Ithaca, NY), and Prof. SORIN VIERU (Bucharest) – for a large number of historical and bibliographical details.

⁰ Much later – July 1981, cf. e.g., [66], page 227 –, NOICA will still advise one of his “pupils”, GABRIEL LIICEANU, to “leave the HEIDEGGER-*Sackgasse*” in order to go back to KANT “systematically”: the young HEIDEGGER translator was supposed to *buy* then one of the KANT *Gesamtausgaben* (viz., ed. BRUNO CASSIRER, vols. i–xi, formerly owned by MIRCEA VULCĂNESCU [for Lei 5,000, only!]) and to read it *in full*, «din scoarță în scoarță». The “pupil” was inclined to follow a very different advise, however, one stemming from E. M. CIORAN (cf. a later echo – dating of around 1983 – on the issue of “systematic reading [in philosophy]”, in [86], pp. 292–293). In fact, contrary to a common idea about “philosophical scholarship” in general, NOICA’s advise seems to be rather counter-productive: LUDWIG WITTGENSTEIN did eventually read only some SPINOZA, and, with a more academic example, it appears that even MARTIN HEIDEGGER did not practice “systematic readings [in the history of philosophy]” during his career.

¹ More or less: “acres”. Cf. [66], p. 12, reporting a conversation with C. NOICA. — This (apparently modest) figure might refer to the size of the NOICA estate at an incipient stage, however (reading: “grandfather and father have build up [= “grown”] their estate by administrating the goods of other people, [real Romanian landlords, up to a the actual one, visible during the thirties and the early forties...]”). — Actually, “1 pogon” = 5,011.79 sq.m., whence the NOICA [initial(?)] estate could have had about 17,541,265 sq.m.[!], at most. Other estimates – this by mere hearsay, however – would give as much as 20,000 ha, even 40,000 ha (and at a later stage)! — Whatever the actual figures, one should also note the fact that GRIGORE NOICA was mainly *an administrator* – Romanian: «arendăș» –, not a (traditional) landlord. (In other words, he was, matter-of-factly, an agent of the [young Romanian] capitalism, rather than a mere remnant of Mediaeval old Romanian times, as his




[philosopher] son used to [mis-]interpret him, in retrospect; cf. [66], loc. cit.)

² DAN BARBILIAN (1895–1961), a Romanian mathematician (geometry and algebra), – better known as a poet, under the pen name ION BARBU –, was then [actually, since October 1926] a young Professor Assistant at the Chair of Analytic Geometry of G. ȚIȚEICA, Faculty of Mathematics, University of Bucharest. A recent newcomer in the capital, he also used to have part-time jobs as a substitute teacher of maths in Bucharest gymnasia and high-schools (at, e.g., “Spiru Haret” and later, also at “Cantemir”). Local (Romanian) gossip – largely contributed to by C. NOICA himself – remembers BARBILIAN as having a rather low opinion about the mathematical inclinations of his pupils, so he gave them ultimately... poetry lessons instead.

^{2a} NAE [NICOLAE] IONESCU (1890–1940), a controversial Romanian figure, professor of philosophy (“Logic, History of Logic, and Metaphysics”, since 1919) at the University of Bucharest, and a prolific journalist (with more than 1,000 papers in print, according to some rough estimations), the mentor of the generation of Romanian intellectuals emerging around the thirties, including MIRCEA VULCĂNESCU (1904–1950), MIRCEA ELIADE (1907–1986), CONSTANTIN NOICA (1909–1987), E. M. CIORAN (1911–1995), etc. Some of NAE IONESCU’s students have piously edited and published, after his death, most of his [more or less] philosophical and journalistic output, including some Lectures held at the University of Bucharest. So, for instance, the FLORU-NOICA-VULCĂNESCU-team, managed to edit the German original of his PhD Dissertation (University of Munich, April 1919), [301], the Inaugural Lecture (held at the University Bucharest, in Autumn 1919), [297] [both also available in a recent reprint issued by Editura Fundației Culturale Române, Bucharest ^R1993], and his “Lectures on Metaphysics” (“The Theory of Metaphysical Knowledge” [sic]), [298], (Bucharest, 1928–1929), and [302] (Bucharest, 1929–1930) [recent reprint by Humanitas, Bucharest ^R1995, edited by MIRON DIACONU]. Apparently, however, there was more “Metaphysics”, stemming from Lectures held earlier, as, e.g., a *Curs de metafizică II*, on *Istoria metafizicei* (1930–1931) [Bucharest 1931], a *Curs de metafizică*, *Predat de d[omnu]l profesor N. Ionescu* (1925–1926), [Bucharest 1926], on the “Redemption problem” in GOETHE’s «Faust» [*Problema salvării în «Faust»-ul lui Goethe*] (recent reprint[?]: Bucharest ^R1996), yet another item in the “epistemological” series: *Teoria cunoștinței*, *Prelegeri făcute de d[omnu]l profesor N. Ionescu* (1925–1926), [Bucharest 1926]; as well as some *Probleme de metafizică* (1936–1937), (with recent reprints[?]: Bucharest ^R1988, ^R1990)). There have

been also various IONESCU “Logic” & “History of Logic” Lecture-notes, recording courses held at the same University (Bucharest), dating from different periods. So, for “Logic”, we can find a *Curs de logică, Cu specială privire la științele exacte, Predat de d[omnu]l profesor N. Ionescu* (1926–1927), [Bucharest 1927], a *Curs de logică, Prelegeri ținute de d[omnu]l prof[esor] Nae Ionescu* (1927–1928), [Bucharest 1928], and a *Curs de logică generală* (1934–1935), [Bucharest 1935], as well as a recent “reprint”[?]: *Curs de logică*, Humanitas, Bucharest 1993 [*Eseistică*] (sic!). As regards the contents of the various IONESCU-“Logics”, the matter is largely essayistic and / or impressionistic in character, and rather disappointing, in view of the fact that the Lecturer – “d[omnu]l prof[esor]” NAE IONESCU – was supposed to be (and actually was) already familiar with recent developments [during the late twenties and the early thirties] in the area of so-called “logistics” [*Logistik*] (even in Romania, cf. [301]). Finally, IONESCU’s Lectures bearing the title “History of Logic” have, in fact, little or nothing to do with the subject matter, as we understand it nowadays, and came to us in several variants, too. There was a first *Istoria logicei, Curs predat de domnul conferențiar N. Ionescu* (1924–1925) [Bucharest 1926], apparently another edition of the same stuff, in 1941[?], a third one issued as: *Istoria logicii*, by “Oficiul de librărie”, București 1943 [as a “second revised edition”, with typo-corrections by D. NEACȘU] (containing also a complete [?] bibliography of IONESCU’s Bucharest lectures), and, finally, a recent “reprint”: *Curs de istorie a logicii*, Humanitas, Bucharest 1993 [*Eseistică*] (sic) [ISBN: 973-280359-2] (271 pp.), «ediție îngrijită de MARIN DIACONU», this one being, apparently, based on the 1941-version. More recent attempts to evaluate his work on “metaphysics”, “logic”, etc. are rather unconvincing. In particular, in spite of the current advertizing of his activity and expertise as a “logician”, IONESCU’s contribution to logic is, more or less, nil. — Some of IONESCU’s journalistic output has been first collected by one of his assistants [MIRCEA ELIADE], in: *Roza vânturilor, 1926–1933* [Wind Rose] (edited by MIRCEA ELIADE), Editura «Cultura națională» [likely in 1937] (with a Preface by the author and a Postface by the editor, viii + 450 pp.). There are several reprints of ELIADE’s edition, as, e.g., [1] Editura Timpul, Bucharest ^R1944, [2] a private facsimile edition, issued in Munich ^R1973 [Collection «*Omul nou*»] (available also in micro-film[!]), [3] a recent anastatic reprint by Editura «Roza vânturilor», Bucharest 1990 (sic) [ISBN: 973-900305-1] (in the series: *Cărți fundamentale ale culturii românești în ediții anastatice*), etc. In view of its size [and – likely – lack of competent editorial skills], there is no full edition of the journalistic output of NAE IONESCU, so far.




Among the reliable partial editions in print, one can find a few anthologic collections of papers issued recently in Romania, however, as, for instance: *Neliniștea metafizică* [The Metaphysical Anxiety], ed. with notes by MARIN DIACONU, Editura Fundației Culturale Române, București 1993 [*Argumente*] (containing also, pp. 5–56, a Romanian translation, by ALEXANDRU SURDU, of IONESCU's Munich PhD Dissertation, [301], under CLEMENS BAÜMKER [!], with the title: *Logistica, încercare a unei noi fundamentări a metafizicii* [sic!]), *Suferința rasei albe* [The Suffering of the White Race (sic)], ed. by DAN CIACHIR, Editura Timpul, Iași, circa 1994 [*Cultura ortodoxă*], and *Între ziaristică și filosofie* [Between Journalism and Philosophy] (papers reprinted from «Cuvântul», 1926–1938, ed. by C[ONSTANTIN] P[RICOP]), Editura Timpul, Iași, 1996. Further scattered bibliography can be found at **Nae Ionescu** (but see WILLIAM TOTOK *Cyberspacelegionäre. Rumänischer Post-Faschismus im Internet*, in: *Halbjahresschrift für südosteuropäische Geschichte, Literatur und Politik* 1, 1997). For (a historical) background, see also VULCĂNESCU's personal recollections in [362]. — On the personal side, apparently, NAE IONESCU didn't like C. NOICA very much. For NOICA's early views on NAE IONESCU see, e.g., [144], [158], etc. At a later stage, however, NOICA referred, in conversations, to the charismatic teacher of his “generation” as being a “[philosophical] charlatan” (cf., *inter alia*, [66]). Even if rather global, NOICA's [late] evaluation seems to be correct, in the end.

^{2b} Although they would eventually know each other only after the completion of the undergraduate studies, in Geneva (around 1931); cf., e.g., [66], page 14.

^{2c} BARBILIAN has advised him soon to give up mathematics, with the verdict “no aptitudes”! (In spite of the fact NOICA was very proud, later on, of “having studied mathematics with BARBILIAN” – an episode he oft used to refer to, in conversation –, his mathematical background was actually very close to nil; this is also obvious from scattered remarks of NOICA on things “mathematical”, in print). BARBILIAN's advise seems to have been effective, however, in NOICA's *exclusive* orientation towards philosophy – history of philosophy, mainly –, during the years to come.

³ NOICA used to remember about this kind of activities as being “a form of terribilism” – *esprit de fronde* –, and episodic in character (cf., e.g., [66], p. 14). This might be a correct global characterization of the situation, in retrospect, although the factual details don't really fit the picture: he used to involve himself (and his wife) in such “trifles” – Romanian translations from second hand authors, from both English and German – upon several occasions, in different periods



of time (1934–1938, 1942–1943), and – very likely – the alleged “terribilism” did ultimately make a difference, as a secondary source of income at least (since the young man was also in disagreement with his rich father, in fact). Otherwise, the famous “8 detective novels [of EDGAR WALLACE?], published by Her[t]z”, oft alluded to in later conversations (cf., e.g., [66], loc. cit.), could not be identified in print as such (so far). We can find instead, in European libraries, under his name – as a translator from English (!) –, several items published in “The Collection of the 15 Lei” (sic: one-buck booklets, more or less, of around 220 pp. in print, each) –, a cheap Romanian pocket series –, of the kind: VALENTINE WILLIAMS *Șchiopul* [a novel], Bucharest 1934 [*Colecția celor 15 lei* – 78]; HERBERT GEORGE WELLS *Omul invizibil* [a novel], Bucharest 1935 [*Colecția celor 15 lei* – 104]; JOSEPH DELMONT *Cetatea moartă* [a novel], Bucharest 1936 [*Colecția celor 15 lei* – 106]; FERGUS HUME *Un omor în trăsura* [a novel] Bucharest 1936 [*Colecția celor 15 lei* – 130], and, even, a [then popular] “Life of Marconi”, translated in collaboration: O. E. DUNLAP JR. *Marconi, Omul și invenția sa*, Bucharest 1935 (394 pp. + 4 f.), with WENDY NOICA [for a possible original, see, e.g., *Marconi, The Man and His Wireless*, New York 1937, etc.]. (In other words, if NOICA has also translated “8 detective novels [by EDGAR WALLACE]”, as he claimed, then the “terribilisms” of the young man [then, of about 25] would make up much longer a list!)

^{3a} Modern editions: *Über die Form und die Prinzipien der Sinnen- und Geisteswelt* [*De mundi sensibilis atque intelligibilis forma et principii*] (hrsg. von KLAUS REICH), Meiner Verlag, Hamburg 1958 [*Philosophische Bibliothek 251*] (Latin and German text, xvi + 104 pp.), and *De mundi sensibilis atque intelligibilis forma et principii* (trad. e cura di RAFFAELE CIAFARDONE), Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Roma [*Temi e testi, nuova serie, 43 – Testi filosofici*] (Latin and Italian text, xxxii + 107 pp.) [ISBN: 88-8498-068-2]. Cf. also *Kant’s inaugural dissertation of 1770* (translated into English with an introduction and discussion by WILLIAM JULIUS ECKOFF), PhD Dissertation, Columbia College, New York 1894 (xi + 103 pp.).

⁴ As, e.g., DEAN FARRAR *St. Winifred sau școala și lumea ei*, Fundația pentru literatură și artă, «Regele Carol II», Bucharest 1937 (454 pp.) [*Biblioteca Energia*] with WENDY NOICA (original unidentified [so far]), and CECIL LEWIS *În zodia săgetătorului*, Fundația pentru literatură și artă, «Regele Carol II», Bucharest 1938 (vii + 384 pp.) [*Biblioteca Energia*] (probable original: *Sagittarius Rising*, Peter Davies, London 1936; this piece was, apparently, still en vogue, much later,




cf. the reprint: Penguin, Harmondsworth [etc.] ^R1977)).

⁵ The editorial «Sunt de față» [*Ad Sum*, page 1], counts also as a legionary manifesto, and as a “preamble” to the “legionary revolution” [September 3–6, 1940].

⁶ «*Buna-Vestire* (ziar liber de luptă și doctrină românească).» «Directors»: first MIHAIL MANOILESCU, then DRAGOȘ PROTOPODESCU and TOMA VLĂDESCU. Printed in Bucharest. First issued on February 22, 1937 in Bucharest, later forbidden by King CHARLES II, re-issued on September 7 [in fact: 8], 1940, the newspaper would actually count as an “official” legionary publication only from December 19, 1940, together with *Axa* and *Cuvântul* [i.e., after NOICA’s withdrawal from the editorial staff], and will be forbidden again, within a month, on January 23, 1941, by Gen. ION ANTONESCU. The newspaper contains 19 contributions by C. NOICA [September-October, 1940]. Among the [earlier] collaborators: MIHAIL POLIHRONIADÉ, MIRCEA ELIADÉ, etc.

^{6*} See also [77], p. 152, for a late comment (in a conversation with GABRIEL LIICEANU, 1975) on the [embarrassing] “episode”: “This is the terrible thing you must understand, my dear [...], during periods of crisis in history, the political passes through blood.” [Otherwise, the Romanian original – «...political trece prin sânge...» – is rather ambiguous here, and LIICEANU’s reader is mislead to think of an adrenaline-simile, in the first place, while the “Old Man” implied likely something else.] Relevant here is, of course, the direct appeal to the “crisis”-topos, in guise of a post-hoc “explanation” [and / or justification]. For a close parallel, cf., e.g., *mutatis mutandis*, the comments of HANS SLUGA – on the self-interpretation of (other) philosophers thinking [about] / finding themselves within a so-called “world-historical crisis”, in the Nazi Germany –, in: HANS SLUGA, *Heidegger’s Crisis – Philosophy and Politics in Nazi Germany*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., & London, 1993, *passim*. (As SLUGA noted, in passing, loc. cit., page viii, “[...]they [sc. Heidegger and his colleagues] believed themselves to be living at a moment of world-historical crisis, and this profound conviction motivated their political activism.” [italics ours, n.ed.]) Actually, on such – as well as some other – issues, the parallel HEIDEGGER-NOICA is very close, respecting proportions and “specific [national, political, subjective, etc.] contexts”. — As a [kind of “excessive”] Romanian, NOICA was rather obsessed with a problem referred to as «die innere Spannung der kleinen Kulturen», in his own terms – cf. his Berlin conference of 1943 (Romanian version in [155]) –, than with the “Greatness of [a / the] Movement” [HEIDEGGER], whereas, politically speaking, he found himself soon, and frequently so,



“on the side of the loser”, so to speak. Anyway, “in the open” at least, he was not a supporter of those actually in power – now and then: à la King CHARLES II, ION ANTONESCU, and the like –, whereas, personally, he had a rather low opinion about the “political class”, in general, all nuances merged. In the end, NOICA’s repeated refrain with the “mercy for the powerful” [*pitié pour les forts*] – cf. [252] –, must be likely understood as an ironical form of [generalized] contempt; the “theory” behind it can be found in [210].


^{6a} The series *Der Bilderkreis* [Romanian version: *Arta și viața*], numbers 7, 9 and 10: the first two, issued in 1942, by HEINRICH [THEODOR MARIA] LÜTZELER (1902–1988), (1) *Copilul*, Freiburg i.B. 1942 (8 pp. + 25 ill.) [*Arta și viața* 7] (German original: *Das Kind*, Herder, Freiburg i.B. 1940 [*Der Bilderkreis* 7]) and (2) *Animalul și omul*, Freiburg i.B. 1942, 8 pp. + 25 ill. [*Arta și viața* 9] (German original: *Das Tier und der Mensch*, Herder, Freiburg i.B. 1940 [*Der Bilderkreis* 9]), and a third one, of 1943, by HILDE HERRMANN *Maica Domnului*, Freiburg i.B. 1943 (10 p. + 25 pl.) [*Arta și viața* 10] (German original: *Marienleben*, Herder, Freiburg i.Br. 1940 [*Der Bilderkreis* 10]).

^{6b} FRANZ-OTTO WREDE *Furnalul american*, București 1943 (185 pp. + 2 maps) (probable German original: *Schmelztiegel Amerika*, Franz Eher, Berlin 1941 [131 pp.]).

^{6c} STUART CLOETE *Coroana morții*, București 1943 (440 pp.) [tr. from English with WENDY NOICA] (original unidentified).

^{6d} Cf., e.g., *Die dem Boethius fälschlich zugeschriebene Abhandlung des DOMINICUS GUNDIS-ALVI «De unitate»* (hrsg. und philosophiegeschichtlich behandelt von PAUL CORRENS), Aschendorff, Münster i.W. 1891 [*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters: Texte und Untersuchungen I.1*] (Inaugural Dissertation, 56 pp.).

^{6e} Modern edition in G. W. F. HEGEL *Jenaer kritische Schriften* (hrsg. von HARTMUT BUCHNER und OTTO PÖGGELER), Meiner Verlag, Hamburg 1968 [= HEGEL’s *Gesammelte Werke* 4, also reprinted as vol. 1 of *Hauptwerke in sechs Bänden*, Meiner Verlag, Hamburg 1999]. For recent English and French translations, cf. G. W. F. HEGEL *The difference between Fichte’s and Schelling’s system of philosophy* (transl. by H. S. HARRIS and WALTER CERF), State University of New York Press, Albany, N.Y. 1977 (xxxviii + 213 pp.), *Premières publications. Différence des systèmes philosophiques de Fichte et de Schelling : foi et savoir* (trad., introd. et notes par MARCEL MÉRY), Vrin, Paris 1952 [*Bibliothèque des textes philosophiques*] (actually a PhD Dissertation, Paris,



329 pp.), etc.


^{6f} For modern editions of NEAGOE BASARAB's "teachings" to his son (original in Church Slavonic, circa 1520), see, e.g., *Învățăturile lui Neagoe Basarab către fiul său Theodosie* (edited by FLORICA MOISIL and DAN ZAMFIRESCU, new [Romanian] tr. [from Slavonic] by G. MIHĂILĂ, with an Introduction and Notes by DAN ZAMFIRESCU and G. MIHĂILĂ), Editura Minerva, Bucharest 1970, ^R1984 [*Patrimoniul*] (418 pp.), and *Învățăturile lui Neagoe Basarab către fiul său Theodosie* (facsimile edition, with the transcription of the text, and an Introduction by G. MIHĂILĂ, Preface by DAN ZAMFIRESCU), Editura «Roza vânturilor», Bucharest 1996 (430 pp.) [ISBN: 973-900356-7].

⁷ One can also read this as a *clin d'œil pour les forts*, more or less. — ALFRED BAEUMLER (1887–1968) – an early member of ALFRED ROSENBERG's *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur*, since its foundation, in 1929, author of a "fascicized" NIETZSCHE monograph [*Nietzsche, der Philosoph und Politiker*, Reclam, Leipzig 1931], *Professor für politische Pädagogik* at the University of Berlin, since 1933 – joined [like MARTIN HEIDEGGER] the NSDAP in 1933. He "[...] was in fact, more than any other German philosopher, the typical fascist intellectual [...]", and "the most powerful figure on the side of the philosophical radicals." Actually, in the early forties, BAEUMLER was the head of the division for "academic and intellectual questions" within ROSENBERG's "Office for the Surveillance of the Whole Intellectual and Ideological Education and Training". "In 1942 Rosenberg gave Baeumler the task of planning a model University. The institution was meant to be organized on entirely new lines, with no concessions to existing traditions; it would pursue its teaching and research according to the strictest standards of National Socialism [...] This project [...] came to nothing." (HANS SLUGA *Heidegger's Crisis, Philosophy and Politics in Nazi Germany*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. & London 1995, pp. 127, 223, 224.) BAEUMLER has been "oft dismissed as a philosophical charlatan" (*ibid.*, p. 269, fn 7). For other details, see ALFRED BAEUMLER *Männerbund und Wissenschaft*, Junker & Dünhaupt, Berlin 1934, ²1940 [= political writings], MARIANNE BAEUMLER, HUBERT BRUNTRÄGER & HERMANN KURZKE (eds.) *Thomas Mann und Alfred Baeumler, eine Dokumentation*, Königshausen & Neumann, Würzburg 1989, possibly, HUBERT BRUNTRÄGER *Der Ironiker und der Ideologe: die Beziehungen zwischen Thomas Mann und Alfred Baeumler*, Königshausen & Neumann, Würzburg 1993 [*Studien zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte* 4], and, in general, REINHARD BOLLMUS *Das Amt Rosenberg und seine Gegner, Studien zum Machtkampf im nationalsozialistischen*



Herrschaftssystem, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, Stuttgart 1970.

⁸ ERWIN GUIDO KOLBENHEYER – a “thinker” and a prolific writer (novelist, poet, playwright), etc., b. in Budapest, 1878, d. in Munich, 1962 –, was a supporter of National Socialism from the very beginning. He studied biology [actually zoology], psychology, and philosophy in Vienna (PhD 1905), moving to Germany after 1919 (first in Tübingen, then – after 1932 – in Munich). A successful writer, in fact, already during the first decades of the XXth century (with, mainly, a SPINOZA-novel – *Amor Dei* [1908, revised ed.: Langen, Munich 1937] –, and a “Paracelsus trilogy”: 1: *Die Kindheit des Paracelsus*, 2: *Das Gestirn des Paracelsus*, 3: *Das dritte Reich des Paracelsus* [original ed. 1917–1926, with many reprints: A. Langen & G. Müller, Munich 1925–1937, Munich ^R1939, Munich-“Volksausgabe” ^R1941, 963 pp. in print, and even a revised version – vom Verfasser überarb. Ausgabe –, Lehmann, Munich 1964, with only 862 pp. in print]), KOLBENHEYER published also some other mystical novels, poetry and dramatic works, obtaining many prizes and honors, in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, even before the thirties (the *Bauernfeldpreis* [1911, for *Amor Dei*], the *Adalbert-Stifter-Preis* [1926], *Dr. med. h.c.* [Tübingen, 1927], the Czechoslovakian State-Prize for Literature [1929], the *Goethe Medal* [1932], the *Goethepreis der Stadt Frankfurt* [1937], the *Adlerschild des Dt. Reiches* [1938], the *Kant-Plakette der Stadt Königsberg* [1941], the *Grillparzer-Preis der Stadt Wien* [1944], etc.). After 1945 he had to face a trial in Germany, half of his possessions were confiscated, most of his previous works forbidden, and he was under *Schreibverbot* [interdiction from publication] until 1950. As a philosopher, KOLBENHEYER developed a biologicistic / vitalistic “theory of culture” (so-called *Bauhüttenphilosophie* or “Metabiology”), in the lengthy way, and with frequent revisions. Cf., e.g., *Die Bauhütte: Grundzüge einer Metaphysik der Gegenwart* [first ed.: Tübingen, 1925], Langen & Müller, Munich 1941 (*neue Fassung*) [535 pp.], with auxiliary and explanatory “treatises” in *Bauhüttenphilosophie: ergänzende und erläuternde Abhandlungen*, Langen & Müller, Munich 1942 [716 pp.] (the *Bauhütten-philosophy* had also a *dritte Fassung*, in 1952), and “applications” in *Die volksbiologischen Grundlagen der Freiheitsbewegung*, Munich 1933, *Die volksbiologische Funktion des Geisteslebens und der Geisterziehung*, Munich 1942, etc. (There is also at least one KOLBENHEYER omnia-edition: *Gesammelte Werke in acht Bänden*, Langen & Müller, Munich 1939–1941 including both literary and philosophical / propagandistic matter [1: *Das gottgelobte Hertz – Paracelsus 1*, 1940, 2: *Paracelsus 2–3*, 1940, 3: *Meister Joachim Pausewang – Amor Dei*, 1939, 4: *Montsalvasch*




– *Das Lächeln der Penaten*, 1939, 5: *Reps – Erzählungen und Legenden*, 1941, 6: *Dramen und Gedichte*, 1941, 7: *Die Bauhütte*, 1940, 8: *Aufsätze, Vorträge und Reden*, 1941], as well as an edition of nearly the same output, with author's revisions *ultima manu*: *Gesamtausgabe der Werke letzter Hand*, Heusenstamm, Nürnberg & Darmstadt 1956 *et sqq.*)

⁹ A German native, originary from Romania by birth (b. 1919, in Braşov, Transylvania [Germ.: Kronstadt, Siebenbürgen]), who studied (1937–1941) “philosophy, sociology, psychology, paedagogy, history of art, and German language and literature” in Bucharest, with ION PETROVICI, CONSTANTIN RĂDULESCU-MOTRU, TUDOR VIANU, MIRCEA VULCĂNESCU, etc., and was then (1942–1944) preparing a PhD degree with MARTIN HEIDEGGER in Freiburg i.B. (see WALTER BIEMEL *Rückblick an Stelle eines Vorworts*, in: *Gesammelte Schriften*, Frommann-Holzboog Verlag, Stuttgart – Bad Cannsttt, 1966, vol. 1, p. 8). (After 1944, he lived, mainly, in Belgium and Germany. An editor of EDMUND HUSSERL, a reputed expert in phenomenology and *Heideggeriana*, – cf. his *Gesammelte Schriften* 1–2, Frommann-Holzboog Verlag, Stuttgart / Bad Cannsttt, 1966, and a list of his publications in vol. 2, pp. 405–415 –, Prof. WALTER BIEMEL has recently been awarded the title of Dr. h.c. by the University of Bucharest [May, 2003]. Cf. also *Kunst und Wahrheit, Festschrift für Walter Biemel zu seinem 85. Geburtstag*, edited by MĂDĂLINA DIACONU, Humanitas, Bucharest [forthcoming].)

¹⁰ In the literary journal *Universul literar* [Bucharest], the issue of December 10, 1942; apparently, the first translation of a HEIDEGGER-text to appear in print in Romania.

^{10a} «In den 40er Jahren begaben sich mehrere Studenten der Philosophie nach Freiburg [i.B.], um als Doktoranden an den Seminaren Heideggers teilzunehmen. Zu ihnen gehörte auch Walter Biemel, der spätere Exeget und Herausgeber von Heideggers Werk, geboren in Braşov (Kronstadt), Absolvent der Fakultät für Literatur und Philosophie an der Universität Bukarest. In «Universul literar» («Das literarische Universum»), der wichtigsten Bukarester Kulturzeitschrift jener Zeit, veröffentlicht Walter Biemel (in der Ausgabe vom 10. Dezember 1942) die Übersetzung eines Bruchstücks aus «Hölderlin und das Wesen der Dichtung» zusammen mit einer Beschreibung der Atmosphäre, in der die «privatissimen» Seminare Heideggers mit seinen Doktoranden stattfanden. Diese ist die erste Übersetzung eines heideggerschen Textes in die rumänische Sprache.» [88]

¹¹ Cf. *Prefață la ediția în limba română* [Preface to the Romanian edition], in: WALTER




BIEMEL *Martin Heidegger*, translated by THOMAS KLEININGER, Humanitas, Bucharest 1996, page 5. (C. NOICA also claimed on several occasions – cf., e.g., [222], page 6, fn 1 – that HEIDEGGER was deeply impressed by the small [Romanian] group and even exclaimed once: [*Ach!*], *die Lateiner!* – referring tho their supposed “joyfullness”. The person – “making philosophy without writing” – alluded to obliquely in the note is, most likely, ALEXANDRU DRAGOMIR.) The joint Romanian translation of HEIDEGGER’s *Was ist Metaphysik?*, by WALTER BIEMEL and ALEXANDRU DRAGOMIR – *Ce este metafizica?*, in: *Luceafărul, Revista scriitorilor români în exil* (Paris), 1956 [a literary journal founded by MIRCEA ELIADE: «volume I, number 1, 1948»] – dates apparently from around 1942. According to WALTER BIEMEL (*ibid.*, pp. 5–6), its publication – planned by the well-known Romanian publisher *Cartea românească* of Bucharest –, has been “hindered [*împiedecată, empêchée, gehindert, aufgehalten*] by the German authorities” of the time [!], since – as the author explained –, “for the Nazi authorities, HEIDEGGER was [then, sc. during the early forties] a *persona non grata*”!

^{11a} «Zusammen mit seinem Kollegen Alexandru Dragomir, der unter der Anleitung Heideggers eine Doktorarbeit über die Bedeutung des «für uns» in Hegels Phänomenologie des Geistes vorbereitete, übersetzt Walter Biemel in dem gleichen Jahr «Was ist Metaphysik?» – eine Fassung, die erst 1959 [more likely 1956, following BIEMEL’s own records, n.ed.] in Paris in der rumänischsprachigen Zeitschrift «Luceafărul» («Der Morgenstern») erscheinen». [88]


¹² Namely, WALTER BIEMEL on *Der Naturbegriff bei Novalis* (see, for instance, WALTER BIEMEL *Rückblick an Stelle eines Vorworts*, loc. cit., and *Kunst und Wahrheit, Festschrift für Walter Biemel zu seinem 85. Geburtstag*, ed. cit. *supra*), and ALEXANDRU DRAGOMIR on *Die Bedeutung des «für uns» in Hegels «Phänomenologie des Geistes»* (cf. the LIICEANU-KLEININGER, survey paper, [88], where the authors give also DRAGOMIR’s Dissertation subject).

¹³ The war, mainly. In spite of “informed [Romanian] sources”, rumors, and casual statements claiming otherwise – relying on mere hearsay (cf. e.g., MARIANA ȘORA in [89], p. 199, CĂTĂLIN PARTENIE, on different occasions: UCM [University of Concordia, Montréal], UQAM [Université du Québec à Montréal], 2001–2002, etc.) –, there is no *official German record* of any PhD Dissertation ever defended by a *Romanian* student in Freiburg i.B., under the supervision of MARTIN HEIDEGGER. For the case of “die Lateiner” of 1942–1944, there is a simple *factual* explanation: the town [Freiburg i.B.] was heavily bombed during the Autumn of 1944, the *Alberta-Ludwiga* was closed, *Herr Professor*



HEIDEGGER moved to Meßkirch, in a hurry, and the war entered a different phase, mainly on the Eastern front. As an “ethnic German”, WALTER BIEMEL was not supposed to be called under arms in his native country, and moved actually, after the closing of the University, *nach Waismes bei Malmédy*, in Belgium (then under German occupation). He completed eventually a PhD in Louvain, on a different subject (*Le Concept de monde chez Heidegger* [1948], published later by the Éditions Nauwelaerts, Louvain & Vrin, Paris 1950 [also: Vrin, Paris ^R1981]), while ALEXANDRU DRAGOMIR returned in Romania, being mobilized in the [Romanian] army (and found fit for service, *sc.* for [the Eastern] front). So, in the end, Mr. DRAGOMIR never published his alleged “thesis on Hegel, with Heidegger”, either. (He even got a kind of *Socratic* reputation, in Romania, afterwards, on the reason he had never published anything whatsoever, on philosophical subjects, at least! See, however, the forthcoming collection of essays: *Crase banalități metafizice* [Crass Metaphysical Banalities], edited by GABRIEL LIUCEANU and CĂTĂLIN PARTENIE, Humanitas, Bucharest [cca 250 pp. in print]. The volume is supposed to contain a selection of [recorded!] lectures [apparently heavily edited] “on ANAXAGORAS, SOCRATES, PLATO’s *Philebus* and ARISTOTLE’s *Metaphysics...*”, [lectures] “which argue that the modern reader has to overcome several strata of metaphysical banality in order to reach the core of Ancient philosophy” [sic: from the editors’ notice]. — Yet, ALEXANDRU DRAGOMIR remained philosophically active [he even used to circulate, once, occasional philosophical essays among friends: ȘTEFAN J. FAY, for instance, [29], pp. 52–53, 101–105, remembers still in 1983–1984 about one of his early papers – on “Mirror-Looking”, *Despre uitatul în oglindă* –, likely unpublished, but heavily commented upon by MIRCEA VULCĂNESCU], and various authors – as, e.g., C. NOICA himself, G. LIUCEANU, H.-R. PATAPIEVICI, etc. – mentioned him, in recent times – in acknowledgements in print –, as a subtle advisor on philosophical issues.) Worth also noting here is the following *factual* detail: «Nach der Bombardierung Freiburgs in Nov. 1944 verließ er [*sc.* HEIDEGGER] die zerstörte Stadt, um sich in die Kriegsferne Idylle seiner Meßkircher Heimat zu begeben. Das Ende des Krieges erlebte er auf Burg Wildenstein (Beuron), wohin die philosophische Fakultät Anfang 1945 ausgelagert worden war.» (BERND MARTIN *Martin Heidegger und der Nationalsozialismus – Der historischen Rahmen*, in: BERND MARTIN, ed., *Martin Heidegger und das «Dritte Reich» – Ein Kompendium*, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt 1989, pp. 40–41).

¹⁴ A journal published by Romanian emigrants in Paris («*Semne*, revistă de gândire, artă și




literatură. Anul I, 1960. Director: Octavian Buhociu.», sometimes also claimed to be a “legionary publication”.

^{14a} From around 1966 to his death, in 1987, CONSTANTIN NOICA will be one of the most “published” [& publicized] persons – authors actually present in print – in [CEAUȘESCU’s] Romania, i.e., unlike most of his former friends – CIORAN, ELIADE, VULCĂNESCU, etc. –, he was not a “forbidden” author any more. (The “authorization”-clause refers, of course, to the fact the output should have been passed previously through official filters – censorship, in fact –, i.e., via the “experts” of a supervising ideological office.)

^{14b} Within the [limits of the] “system”, this institute («Centrul de logică», initially a filial – a research institution, more or less – of the Romanian Academy, moved afterwards under the “auspices” of an *ad hoc* “Academy of Social and Political Sciences” [sic]) was actually, during all this period, the personal feud of its appointed “director”, ATHANASE JOJA, a former barrister with explicit left-sympaties, rather cultivated, and with vague philosophical inclinations, already before the war: a useful pawn to promote (Mr. JOJA was an early member of the Romanian Academy, – new version –, too; he also used to teach History of Logic courses at the University of Bucharest, whenever he was available.) Also employed by the “Logic Center”: DAN BĂDĂRAU [also BADAREU in print], ANTON DUMITRIU, ARAM FRENKIAN, etc., scholars formerly banned by the régime, some of them recently freed from prison, like NOICA himself. Among the first “victims” here, two young people interested in logic mainly: SORIN VIERU (“instructed” to learn Greek) and ALEXANDRU SURDU (ditto, plus German); both soon to become NOICA’s collaborators in various “cultural” / philosophical projects (essentially Romanian translations from PLATO, KANT, etc. and editorial work, as, e.g., the publication of EMINESCU’s former translations from KANT).

^{14c} Cf., e.g., *Études de philosophie présocratique : 1 Héraclite d’Ephèse*, «Glasul Bucovinei», Cernăuți 1933 (63 pp.); *Le monde homérique : essai de protophilosophie grecque*, Vrin, Paris 1934 (151 pp.); *Études de philosophie présocratique : 2 La philosophie comparé : Empédocle d’Agrigente, Parménide d’Élée*, Paris 1937 (110 pp.); *L’Orient et les origines de l’idéalisme subjectif dans la pensée européenne, 1 La doctrine théologique de Memphis (l’inscription du Roi Shabaka)*, Geuthner, Paris 1946 (viii + 167 pp.); etc.

¹⁵ Some of the younger translators – as, e.g., SORIN VIERU, mentioned before, and GABRIEL



LIICEANU – were, in fact, NOICA’s “[cultural] victims”: they managed to learn Greek, in the meantime, on the instigation of the “Old Man”, *in order to* be able to make themselves useful for this project! The CREȚIA-NOICA edition is currently being published, in a revised form, by Humanitas (Bucharest), under the supervision of CĂTĂLIN PARTENIE; cf. [296].

¹⁶ Two other young “victims” of NOICA, on the German philosophical front: they were “instructed” to learn German, in view of translating KANT, FICHTE, SCHELLING, the SCHLEGELS, ..., [even] HEIDEGGER, and so on, into Romanian. Both of them have, in the end, defected the “Nicasian program”, however: they used eventually the knowledge for their own – minor / culturally despicable, in NOICA’s eyes – purposes ([mathematical] logic, psychoanalysis, and the like)!

¹⁷ The author (b. 1942), one of the first young “victims” (cca 1967) of NOICA – he learnt German and studied eventually Greek (1968–1973) at the University of Bucharest, in order to be able to translate PLATO and HEIDEGGER in Romanian, on C.N.’s instigation – was then (1982–1984) a *Humboldt-Stiftung Stipendiat* in Heidelberg (cf. [88], fn 23).





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