



UNIVERSITATEA
LUCIAN BLAGA
— DIN SIBIU —

Doctoral School of Philology and History
Doctoral field: Philology

SUMMARY

CULTURAL AND LITERARY COORDINATES OF THE ROMANIAN EXILE IN SPAIN

PhD student,

Mariana FILIP (CUNȚAN)

Scientific coordinator,

Univ. Prof. Dr. Gheorghe Manolache

SIBIU2023

1. Introductory considerations

The doctoral thesis - *Coordonate culturale și literare ale exilului românesc în Spania* - falls within the area of para-academic studies, with incursions into modern literature and culturology, an approach in which I employed an illustrative corpus made up of the writings of the Spanish exile, as well as reference studies in the area of comparative studies.

I set out to create an overall vision of humanism in the Spanish *Heimat* between 1944 and 1989. One of the most notable moments of the exodus of Romanian scientific, literary, and artistic intellectuality took place after August 1944. Still, the phenomenon was specific to Romania and the entire Eastern European fault. There have been several 'waves' of expulsions from the literary and artistic field, some of which resulted in arrests, forced domiciliation, or degradation of rights. Those in question appeared on lists of "defendants" accused of collaboration with fascists, legionaries, or former dictatorships (*carlistă, antonesciană, cuzistă*).

Later, the circle of purges widened. Expulsion from the vernacular cultural field occurred through critical "incisions": horizontally (themes, predominantly Western literary tendencies) and vertically (the anti-communist political-ideological orientation) - a phenomenon extended to the entire inland literature, especially the interwar one. Romanian exile literature was, therefore, from the beginning, an alternative to the socialist realism promoted in the country.

The primary purpose of this counter-offensive, manifested through anti-communist literary options, was to keep alive the icon of the home country and its spiritual values, to transfigure them aesthetically, and to popularize them through common and widely accessible forms (publications, radio stations, conferences, etc.) among the Romanian "destitute."

In Romania, the "resistants" were closely watched, giving them the impression that they were "tolerated" by the totalitarian regime. Still, without being politically ideologically "regimented," their victim status is more of an axiological, general order. We can therefore discuss a way of saving the Romanian spiritual dimension, surviving in the world of exile, by resorting to cultural (inter)mediation, a phenomenon accepted in the area of activity of intellectuals in the country, absorbed in the idea of "resistance through culture."

2. *Current research status*

The main topic of this doctoral thesis constituted a challenge and a permanent concern to relate our exegesis to reference studies and multidisciplinary philological, philosophical (humanistic), and socio-historical perspectives. A good part of the authors from the Spanish exile, from Alexandru Ciorănescu, Vintilă Horia, George Uscătescu to Aron Cotruș, Aurel Răuță, Alexandru Busuioceanu, etc. was the subject of older or, as the case may be, newer researches. Among recent approaches, we mention those signed by Ofelia Mariana Uta Burcea, *Contacte între literatura spaniolă și cea românească, în domeniul traductologiei* (2014); Raluca Ciortea, *Destine intelectuale în spațiul spaniol: cazul scriitorilor Alexandru Busuioceanu, Vintilă Horia, George Uscătescu* (2012), each inevitably approaching the issue of Romanian exile in Spain.

In terms of the configuration of the phenomenon, the attempt of Eva Behring, who, in her view of the Romanian exile, is concerned, among other things, with outlining the literary and cultural emersion of some communities of the Romanian exile, conditioned by the external forms of manifestation, among which exile publications are of significant interest. One of the essential research so far concerned with this subject is the doctoral thesis of Mrs. Ofelia Mariana Uta Burcea, in which she aims to present the literary activity of Romanian intellectuals exiled in the Iberian space. However, the thesis also deals with the issue of translations of Romanian works into Spanish, so the focus is on the translation into Spanish of canonical authors and less on investigating the literary phenomenon in Spanish exile.

This thesis focuses on translation studies in general, especially on the "Romanian phenomenon" and the problem of humanism, as they appeared in the Romanian press and literature in Spain in the second half of the 20th century. A particular point was the analysis of the way of translation into Romanian of the volume *Proceso al Humanismo*. We expressed our concern about how the Political Publishing House undertook to reproduce the particularity of this book, having at the center of Jorge Uscatescu's concerns the attitude towards the youth of the world, its great rebellion, and the last consequences of contemporary nihilism.

3. Relevance of the analysis and expected results

During the research, we noticed that the studies establishing the cultural and literary coordinates of the Romanian exile in Spain are numerically limited and incomplete in conception, especially in the Romanian cultural and academic space. The Hispanist Ofelia Uta Burcea's thesis addresses a limited number of readers (especially those who know the Spanish language). On the other hand, our thesis fills these gaps, emphasizing the fundamental problem of translation and humanism, trauma literature, and the axiological covalence found in the literature of the Romanian exile from the Spanish Heimat.

In this scientific approach, the following questions represented the starting point:

- To what extent did the intellectuals exiled in Spain integrate into the new context of their adopted country?

- Was there an authentic relationship between the exiled intellectuals and those in their native country?

- How did the contact between the two spiritualities, Catholic-Spanish and Orthodox - Romanian, influence the literature of the exiled?

- Were translations a decisive form of cultural mediation?

- What were the main literary directions the exiled writers in Spain registered?

I have provided answers to these questionnaires appropriate to the literature of exile, the condition of removal, and background issues regarding translation, cultural philosophy, literary exegesis, sociology of culture, and literature.

4. Purpose and objectives of the study

This research aims to provide a complete and comprehensive overview of the literary exile in inter- and post-war Spain, with particular reference to the Franco era. In this scientific approach, we started from the hypothesis that the literature and culture of the Spanish *Heimat* is a share of Romanian and Spanish literature, without any inclination of the balance towards one of the two cultures. As I assumed in this thesis, *Heimat* is the bearer of subjective emotions, synonymous with the house the snail carries on its back.

To support this hypothesis, we will focus on the configuration of the Romanian phenomenon and the concept of humanism as constructed by George Uscătescu.

This research focuses on the "en détail" presentation aimed at creating the process of our cultural adaptation to the European model. Therefore, we will focus on a synthetic review of the Romanian-Spanish cultural and literary relations in the second half of the 20th century.

Therefore, the present approach wants to contribute to the development of Romanian-Spanish cultural relationships seen from the perspective of the common Romanian roots, as projected by Alexandru Busuiocenu, taking into account the Latin heritage as a fundamental and primordial element of the cultural ties between Romania and Spain and as a sign of common European identity.

We mention that a substantial part of the doctoral thesis resulted in studies, articles, and reviews published in journals included in international databases and through the presentation of scientific communications at national and international conferences in Romania and Spain.

5. Limits of the investigation

Through the present study, we tried a complex treatment of the dynamics of some groups with shared values. While in the case of quantitative research, the reference is to the group of Romanian writers exiled in Spain and their works, to a sum of shared values, qualitative research aims at a deeper understanding of particular cases. In addition, the qualitative research that we opted for assumes that we did not undertake to extract the phenomenon of the Romanian exile from Spain out of the cultural context of Europeanness nor from the area of manifestation of the literature of exile from Western Europe.

We will consider the shared values that define a group and ways to shed light on causal schemes and methods that determine the influence of some phenomena on others, considering a series of independent and dependent variables. The advantage of such a comparative approach is that the qualitative option opens up multiple interpretation perspectives. The main limitation is the impossibility of generalization since the results differ from author to author.

6. *Structure and methods*

Structurally, the doctoral thesis *Coordonate culturale și literare ale exilului românesc în Spania* focuses on two essential components: a theoretical perspective, in which I opted for the definition and presentation, as well as the updating of general concepts, such as exile, diaspora, emigration, migrant, *Heimat*, *Vaterland*, "Romanian phenomenon," humanism, freedom, translation studies, imaginary, etc. Another analytical component will focus on identifying and analyzing the intertextual relationships noticed in the literature of the Romanian diaspora in Spain.

As for the "research methods," significant consideration was given to the ratio between the quantitative and qualitative research strategies of Romanian literature and culture from the Spanish exile. The characteristics of the qualitative examination focus on para-, intra-, inter-, and cross-textual interpretation, while the quantitative investigation was interested in obtaining some valuable data regarding the approximation of the volumetric dimension of the phenomenon as such.

As a rule, when we express our interest in the work of some Romanian writers from the Spanish exile, we relate migration dynamics to the doctrines or ideologies that determined the phenomenon and ensured its dynamics. In this situation, literary historiography, thematic criticism, literary sociology, and imagology became part of the technique of summative and comparative re-evaluation of the past and the present, procedures that I commented on, starting from a series of realities recorded in personal documents (diaries, memoirs, letters) and archives for public use.

Proleptic, we would like to mention that the translations of works written in foreign languages are entirely our own, so we will not specify this in the footnotes. In addition, for the sake of accessibility in identifying the works cited, and obviously for practical reasons, we will

mention the full details of each source used only when they first appear in the text. Then, in subsequent citations, we will only specify each source's author and title, followed by the corresponding page numbers.

From a structural point of view, in the first part of the thesis, we considered it valuable and productive at the same time to reset the discussion about the Romanian literary exile from Spain in the realm of the "western phenomenon" (French, Italian, German, etc.), to compare it with our tradition of interwar exile and to investigate it, offering readers a dynamic picture structured thematically (problem sketches), generically (epic, lyrical, essayistic), historiographically, sociologically, philosophically and ideologically.

The second part of the research focuses on an in-depth understanding of the "Romanian phenomenon" as reflected in the Spanish exile's literary press and Romanian magazines in Spain.

The last chapter of the thesis highlights our contribution to the understanding of the mutations that occurred in the structure of the "Romanian phenomenon" by analyzing the shortened translation (restructured and significantly modified with the support of the communist censorship) of the opposite of *Proceso al Humanismo* in the Romanian version of George Uscătescu's book, *Process to humanism*.

The starting point of this "case study" will be briefly revealed. At an international conference, I presented the symptomatology of humanism as it can be retrieved from Geoge Uscătescu's books, in the original version, and, particularly, from *Proceso al Humanismo*. I made this claim without knowing that, at that time, there was also a "translation" (literally: "betrayal") of it published in 1987 at the Political Publishing House in Bucharest. However, I was surprised that a colleague from Romania, who had only read the "translated" version, disagreed with my ideas regarding the book's topic centered on humanism and its avatars. That was when I turned, for confrontation, to the "Romanian version," which I subjected to a rigorous and objective examination: from the text to the (political) context and vice versa.

Through this chapter in the thesis, along with fundamental and particular issues, we consider that we have made an essential contribution to the recovery of Romanian thinking from exile, opening a "pandora's box" in which there still exist the writings of some rediscovered authors, perhaps, in the same situation.

CHAPTER I

THE COORDINATES OF THE POST-WAR ROMANIAN EXILE ON SPANISH LAND

I.1. A perspective on the phenomenon of cultural and literary reintegration of some personalities from the Romanian exile in the Hispanic space

As stated in the title, this doctoral thesis describes and analyzes the phenomenon of the Romanian exile in the Spanish area in a controversial and challenging period, determined by historical and political circumstances that affected the whole world after the Second World War. In the 1930s, a far-right and anti-Semitic party appeared in Romania, known as the Iron Guard, and some of its members also participated in the civil war in Spain in 1936.

The exile of the Romanian intellectuals began between 1945 and 1949, during the Stalinist period of exacerbation of communism and of the rejecting cultural heritage when censorship was imposed on writers to prevent them from freely expressing their opinions. Faced with such a situation, some writers opted for an internal exile, remaining in their homeland and continuing to write under the pressure and oppression of state policy censorship. In contrast, others chose an external exile, with all its hardships and consequences.

Moreover, there are enough examples in which the economic-political situation of Romania forced some of these conservatives and retractors regarding the "communization" of the Romanian culture to leave their country for predominantly political-ideological reasons.

On an academic level, we note that the Romanian writers exiled in Spain are the creators of real valuable literature, mostly transposed into another language, Spanish in the present case, but also in French or Italian.

Rejecting the cultural heritage makes possible a transnational resizing of the literature written by the Romanians, a characteristic that is the basis of this doctoral approach. As a result, the morphological features of the Romanian literature, whose profiles emerge from these texts, are more than directly affected by the "effects" of exile. These reactions are visible in the variation of the themes (topics) addressed, the authors being marked by the urgency to narrate, in a direct or mediated way, the experience of alienation and the determinations that inevitably conditioned the emergence of a kind of literature in an endless search for patterns of canonical adherence to similar models of the country of adoption.

The common theme, which combines the scientific, didactic, literary, and cultural concerns of our migrants from Spain, is the primary interest, inherited on a humanist line, in defining the Romanian people and their identity.

1.2. Geocultural coordinates of the Romanian exile in Spain

A key point to note is that one of the central objectives of the doctoral research - regarding the cultural and literary coordinates of the Romanian exile in Spain - aims at the recovery of some fundamental works involved in the reconfiguration of the modern canon, an approach doubled by the investigation, in the deductive way, of the actual contents of the cultural and literary coordinates from the Romanian exile in Spain. In *Cronologia exilului literar postbelic (I-II)*, Ion Simuț recorded diachronically and statistically, depending on the countries chosen by the exiled literate people, the preference of writers and people of culture from Romania (diplomats, university professors, cultural attachés or press representatives, beneficiaries of scholarships, etc.) for Spain.

As far as we are concerned, we advocated for the hypothesis that, beyond the repercussions that Alexandru Ciorănescu, Alexandru Busuioceanu, Aron Cotruș, George Uscătescu, Vintilă Horia, and Aurel Răuță (to refer only to the multitude of the exiled from Spain) would have suffered as a result of their political choices (many of them being tried and convicted as anti-communists), the alternative of exile in the Spanish world is also motivated on an affective level, in the sense that, emotionally, the Romanian expellers found themselves in a culturally familiar topos, inherited on the Roman line.

The project of modernity was thus reconstituted according to "chronicled variables" from a cultural-political and literary-historical point of view. Obviously, we have considered the rage felt following the abusive confiscation of aesthetic modernity and even the mutilation of the canon by the communists, convinced that a radical change of attitude and action was urgently needed among people of culture and literacy.

As a result, the Romanian literature, chronologically assigned to the exile from the Spanish space, is illustrated with the texts of writers who projected their trajectory outside the national project conditioned by the political changes to which those who remained in the country were subjected.

The unanimous opinion of historians and literary critics comes down to the idea that the literature of the Romanian exile constitutes an integral part of the history of the Romanian and universal literature in its version, unaffected by the political censorship of the time and the ideological microscope. Our perspective on the Romanian exile in Spain was also channeled in this direction, highlighting the contribution of the Romanian intellectuals to the preservation, resuscitation, or promotion of Romanian literature and culture in the Western space, with due emphasis on the "crises" of modern man and humanism. Moreover, the "crisis" to which we refer affected the whole country and was, therefore, a general one deeply felt at home and abroad.

As for the Spanish coordinate of the Romanian exile, it presents itself as a phenomenon with constant manifestations compared to the rest of the options of the Romanian intellectuals who opted, voluntarily or, as the case may be, forced by circumstances, for an axiological change of its cultural and literary destiny. This is one of the reasons that determined us to research, in a particular way, how Romanian culture and literature were and are felt among Spanish and Romanian immigrants.

The theory I have relied on refers to the double identity of the exiled writer and validates the common point of view according to which, in the vast majority, the authors we approach have dared to rebuild, according to a soul project, the "paper homeland" (according to Nicoleta Sălcudeanu).

The intention to include the research of the Romanian political exile from Spain in the broader field of studies on the exilic condition takes into account the fact that political exile is assumed as an exclusion mechanism (obviously, not the only one) through which a person involved in politics and related public life, or perceived by the holders of power as attached to a government

opposed to the present one, is forced or pressured to leave the country of origin or place of residence, rendering him unable to return until a new change occurs in political circumstances.

Thus, exile is the effect of significant forms of institutional exclusion, a tool state and political powers use to induce political dissidents to opt for an 'other homeland' (*Heimat*).

CHAPTER II

THE NOSTALGIA OF THE HOMELAND AND THE RECONFIGURATION OF THE ADOPTING COUNTRY IN THE ARCHITECT OF THE EXILED WRITERS IN THE HISPANIC AREA

Only when he arrived on earth, the man was able to build a "house" to assume a place to translate with the term "home," a notion able to acquire axiological meanings through which long-lasting bonds can be ensured with the world, thanks to the first contact between a man and other people. In this sense, we realize that expatriation, expulsion from the *Vaterland*, does not only involve a divine punishment but rather, it is about the set of punitive "props" that determine the "exit" from the *Vaterland* and integration in the *Heimat*.

The concept of "adopting country" (*Heimat*) was also appealed to since it meets the condition of geographical and cultural belonging to a territory other than the vernacular one. The term is understood as being partially different from the notion of "heimatlos" or "foreigner" in a country other than the one of origin. Sometimes, it can also refer to matters of a sentimental nature, such as "longing," a word with typically Romanian resonances.

We notice that some people have chosen the path of alienation as a refuge, away from a hostile world. Whether it's about a better living or ensuring a quality life from a spiritual or artistic point of view, the phrase "adopting country" is, semantically speaking, different from "homeland" because you can only have one homeland: the one where you were born. In the case of the

Romanian emigrant writers, Spain overlaps the motherland constructed culturally sentimentally, precisely the "adopting country," the *Heimat*.

From the perspective of some possible convergences and as a result of the forging of the two concepts, "homeland" and "adopting country," an extraordinary phenomenon results from the dual condition of the Romanian writer exiled in Spain. We reproduce this double condition with an appeal to "homo duplex" through which Hegel approaches the issue of the spirit duality, his effort, like Goethe's after all, being to find a variant of encompassing the two worlds - the real and the spiritual - which contradict each other, in the sense that the spirit does not build only a singular world, but a double one, a separate and opposed.

Concerning the Romanian writers who emigrated to Spain, this "anxiety" of self-searching had begun to manifest itself even before some decided to assimilate their emigrant status. When a community of emigrants is being analyzed, in this case, exiled people, we must take into account the evolution and motivations of their decision not to return "home," their feelings regarding the image of the immigrant in the eyes of others, the chance to set up a future for themselves in another culture different from that of the native country. Besides, the demographic and sociopolitical aspects that characterize the exiled are also referred to.

If, before the world conflagration in the first half of the 20th century, the world was placed on a calm axis of values, the twilight of this tragic moment implies exile, understood as fleeing from the terror of the place taken over by other hostile political forces and from which those considered inconvenient to the power were expelled.

As for the literature of this period coinciding with the Romanian exile in Spain, it is placed within the "crisis of values," allowing itself to be understood by referring to a dated historical time and, therefore, "desacralized," doubled by the temporal relativism of the aesthetic concept of beauty. The modern man, thrown into the "nets of the future," has no choice but between prolonging a present that is nothing more than the ripe fruit of the past and relying on utopia on the idea of overcoming history. Modernism can be understood, finally, as a postulate of the literary and spiritual crisis manifested in art through the tendency to interrogate tradition without losing its identity, however.

Regarding the idea of otherness or, in a positive way, of duality, the references to concepts that have influenced humanity's vision of how to conceive and accept/reject the other are suggestive. *El extranjero*, a term understood as "foreigner," "migrant," or "homeless," was initially

marked by ethnocentrism, a movement marked when the relationship between a dominant national culture and a specific collateral human diversity is under discussion. From this point of view, the "exile culture" goes beyond the sphere of attraction of a local(ist) attitude and moves towards universalism and relativism simultaneously.

Thus, through examining conscience, the Romanian exiled people recreate the concept of homeland (*Heimat*) against the background of sharpening nostalgia for the lost country (*Vaterland*). With the relocation to another territory, adopting new customs or the urgency to integrate into the culture of the "host country" will be achieved by cultivating the Spanish language and building axiological bridges between the two axes of Latinity. The case of the Romanian writer in exile is a special one in the sense that the author pleads for the originality of his creation through which he can show his "wounds" and "accomplishments" simultaneously with the transfiguration of human conflicts, the fictionalization of various dramas through which one can access the "existential crisis" of the protagonist, be it narrator, actor or another category of narrative instance.

As for the language that the writer uses in the Hispanic *Heimat*, it represents more than a "writing tool," being associated with a "speech of the bilingual man," one noted not only for its fluidity and expressiveness but also for "the effect of contextuality" or through the "level of functioning." Accepting their fate as exiled ones in exchange for the freedom of civic action and expression, the mentioned authors adapted to the new context. They rebuilt a different kind of freedom in the Spanish *Heimat*.

CHAPTER III

FREEDOM AS ASSUMED DESTINY, AND EXILE AS FORCED ACCEPTANCE OF FREEDOM. POSSIBILITIES OF IDENTITY RECONSTRUCTION OF ROMANIAN WRITERS IN THE HISPANIC HEIMAT

III.1. Coordinates of freedom manifested in exile

Romanian interwar literature is interesting for what it represents inside the country and what it means outside the "motherland." This assertion of the nation abroad phenomenon is confirmed by philosophers such as Constantin Noica, Emil Cioran, Nae Ionescu, Dumitru Stăniloae, Lucian Blaga, etc., as by most of the creators and "thinkers" who were active in exile.

When we talk about the phrase "to leave home," whether it is about exile, immigration, diaspora, or political exile, we can develop it under several lights, all of which have as their standard intensity the deep dissatisfaction that intensifies the decision of the "outcasts" of not wanting to return to the country. In the case of political exile, most people leave the country with the idea that they will return as soon as the factors that have caused them to disappear or are replaced by equivalents of democracy, freedom, and humanism.

Regarding the literature of exile in general, we believe that it is imperative to reconstruct the national literatures, including the "books of exile complaint," because such literature of the "drawers of exile" in the version of Norman Manea, Monica Lovinescu, Vintilă Horia, Costantin

Virgil Gheorghiu, etc. is part of the unconditioned ideological and politically uncontrolled circuit of Romanian cultural values.

For Vintilă Horia, for example, in addition to the trauma of leaving the country, the exile also had a beneficial role in learning the stimulating initiatory route in self-knowledge and assuming the world around as a gift from God. The removal appears to him not only as a biographical circumstance among others but as a limit situation, an acceptance to save himself through voluntary self-sacrifice. This leads to initiation into a new destiny, to what it means to redefine the human condition. Through exile, the man and the poet Vintilă Horia establish the parallax of the freedom of migration between the cultural-geographical and the existential exile. In this context, the nostomania of lost space equates to the Adamic nostalgia of expulsion from Paradise.

Regarding the Romanian experience in exile, it lived, on its own, in a different space than the matrix one, partially equating to the condition of voluntarily accepted captivity. The real reason for the exile was generated by the threat, discrimination, and, last but not least, censorship, which left no chance for free expression. Faced with these "limit situations," some choose to write under the strict monitoring of the authorities, and others accept the path of alienation at any risk.

However, expressing one's identity in another country is also determined by how welcoming or, as the case may be, hostile it is to newcomers, and the category of the generous includes the Latin world in the Iberian region.

Assuming that it is not the outward form representing reality but the essence of things, it would be impossible to accept as accurate only what is epidermally real, in other words, on the outer surface of matters. That is why, in George Uscătescu's option, the ideal would be for things to be analyzed according to their pure form, free from any earthly gravity, knowing that European humanism was, at that time, going through a great crisis, one that led towards mechanization, technologisation, and robotization as dominants of life. In this way, it is natural to return to the problematic rethinking of the relations between the world of technology and that of derived mechanisms in a societal-cultural plan, the urgent problem of freeing modern man from the pressure of the universe of technology and an apparent dynamic breath being a matter of first necessity in the area of interest of humanism.

Therefore, the Romanian exiled lives the drama of the incapability to be nothing more than a person with Romanian documents, imprinted culturally, historically, politically, and

imaginatively by the destiny of the country of origin. Overwhelmed by the desolating feeling of loneliness and alienation, the Romanian writer in exile is marked by the fact that he can no longer serve his native country through anything other than culture, art, and literature.

Regarding the missionary attitude of the Romanian writers who settled in Spain, their action has as a priority the diffusion of Romanian literature and culture in the Iberian space, whether it is literature written in Romanian, Spanish, or, in some cases, in both languages. The writing of the exiled becomes a way of thinking freely, facilitating a range of incursions to the general public filtered through their existence in the sense that, without denying the past in a certain way, the Romanian writer from Spain believes that the main priority is to build bridges with the present and the future, categories reset under the sign of constructive freedom.

The choice of the exiled was not an easy alternative for those who left the country. Still, the option constituted, for most, a free way to manifest free creation and creative aspiration in a space emptied of ideological limitations and political restrictions. Although the literary road was paved with suffering and tears of longing for the country left behind, for the memories lost in the fog of the *Vaterland*, the literature resulting from such experiences constitutes both for the compatriots and the Spanish, an essential cultural resource.

III.2. Specific forms of acceptance of freedom reconstructed in the Hispanic Heimat

The personality makeup of exiles does not necessarily depend on a particular sample or grouping into which the exile is accepted or, as the case may be, integrated. Whether it is about a circle of intellectuals with the same "great ideals" and animated by the same humanistic "mottoes" or a single soul in search of "self-fulfillment," it can easily be seen that, of each part, we can speak as about an attempt to rebuild freedom. Spain is the country that accepted the Romanian writers and helped them develop harmoniously, getting involved in the efforts to be taken over and recognized as part of the Spanish culture.

All these "fugitives," and many others, shared everyday experiences in their cultural, literary, and professional integration. The acceptance of a double cultural identity was the first step towards success in the context in which the path of alienation was equivalent to many linguistic and other compromises. As I mentioned above, the writers we deal with always try to maintain a balance between the two cultures, to express themselves in a sure register keeping the essence and,

at the same time, the voice of the exiled writer not to be lost in the echo of the aspects that come from outside.

Analyzing the ideas highlighted by Jose Ortega y Gasset, I have noticed that adaptation to the social environment and specific forms of acceptance of freedom cannot be included in a never-ending system because, for each individual, "acceptance" can take a different shape depending on the equation "me and my circumstance." It is about a dynamic process of adaptation of the foreigner in a new space, about how he is received and then adopted and reassumed.

CHAPTER IV

GROUP PORTRAIT OF ROMANIAN WRITERS "EXILED" IN FRANCOIST SPAIN

Creating the group portrait of Romanian writers exiled in Francoist Spain is all the more problematic as it is necessary to find a common denominator in terms of the literary and cultural activity of the reference group.

However, when it comes to two intermingled cultures, such as the Romanian-Spanish alliance, things take a turn determined primarily by the two countries' historical conditions and political aspects. Given that, in Romania, the political situation requires leaving for the West, many intellectuals (especially writers) choose Spain as a place of intellectual refuge, a safe space and an environment for the literary assertion, a *Heimat* where they can express themselves freely and from where they can keep in touch with those at home.

Oscillating between the axes of traditionalism (right thinking) and those of modernism with which they had direct contact, the Romanian exiled tried to find a middle way by which they would not give up the Christian-Orthodox conceptions, which were deeply rooted in their mentality, nor refuse the possibility of integrating into Western culture, dependent on the Catholic or "Maxweberian" model.

Therefore, the impact of the presence of Romanian intellectuals in the culture of the newly adopted country has been closely observed to understand the dynamics of the cultural phenomenon in the context of the given situation and, consequently, to decode thematically the morphology of the literature created in the Hispanic realm by reevaluating the "ideocratic potential" of the cultural

resources. It is well known that, in George Uscătescu's view, classical ideocracy is described as the ideological power exercised by the state over society.

Propaedeutically, in this chapter, I tried to x-ray the hidden face of the journey of the one considered foreign and, therefore, subject to cultural alterity and societal rejection.

IV. 1. Alejandro Cioranescu/Alexandru Ciorănescu – a stateless European with "a beautiful energy and a very balanced moral constitution" (Adrian Marino)

Alexandru Ciorănescu is a reference name in terms of comparative literature from Spain, being known as the first author of reference studies: *Estudios de literatura española y comparada* (La Laguna, 1954), *Principios de literatura comparada* (La Laguna, 1964), *La forma del tiempo. Ensayos de literatura general y comparada* (Madrid, 2014), etc. The topics of interest in this discipline have been relevant for more than 40 years, appearing in the Spanish bibliography. In parallel, comparative Hispanic studies followed a line of surveys around decoded influences at the level of works and authors and from a panoramic perspective. As a result, Spanish comparative literature has been filtered with significant consideration to intersections and interferences with predetermined, intertextual, and interdisciplinary areas of study.

Until his debut as an essayist and critic, Alexandru Ciorănescu oriented toward literature and historiography. Frequently referring to the study of sources and their possible reinterpretation, he demonstrates a great comparative vocation since his youth. Alexandru Ciorănescu will follow the canonical axes of French-Spanish comparative studies, a fact pointed out by Lilica Voicu Brey in the monography dedicated, to a great extent, to his relative efforts.

The studies carried out by Alexandru Ciorănescu are closely related to his biographical course. Without abandoning the interest in cultural traditions and the close connections between them, the author focuses on studying specific aspects of Romania and Spain. In the Spanish magazine "El País," Alexandru Ciorănescu scans live the phenomena happening in Romania and whose dictatorial consequences led him to emigrate, definitively distancing himself from any co-

optation among the "collaborators." This dictatorship was one of the essential factors that generated the exodus of intellectuals from Romania.

Inextricably linked to Laguna University in Tenerife (where he received the title of Doctor Honoris Causa in 1990), Alexandru Ciorănescu is an example of literary prolificacy and scientific integrity, validated by extensive studies that exceed the limits of one discipline or another, a fact that completes the profile of the Romanian intellectual.

In 1948 he moves permanently to Tenerife, where he teaches at La Laguna University for over three decades. He has the opportunity to found the Department of Comparative Literature and to bring about a significant renewal of Romanian-Spanish relations. In 1963 Alexandru Ciorănescu began teaching a course in comparative literature, which resulted in the writing of a fundamental work: *Principios de la literatura Comparada*. It is the first "theoretical manual" introducing and analyzing the discipline and establishing the proper ways of investigation that comparative philology offers. In this landmark study, Alexandru Ciorănescu uses the concept of relation as the basis of comparative theory in organizing the profile of an intertextual research. The author starts from the current concept of comparative and builds around it a whole approach, according to which comparative literature studies the relations between two or more national kinds of literature.

Given a particular consideration to comparatist, his contributions to the field of literary criticism in Spain are diverse. Ever since he arrived in the Canary Islands, Ciorănescu has been fascinated by the new space assumed as *Heimat*, quickly becoming one of the essential historiographers of the archipelago.

IV.2. Jorge Uscatescu/George Uscătescu - promoter of humanism

Another star in the galaxy of the Romanian exile in Spain is George Uscătescu, promoter of humanism, philosopher, aesthetician, essayist, poet, and sociologist. He quickly established himself on the Spanish literary scene, appreciated by his students and colleagues. From 1947 he lectured at the Faculty of Political Science in Madrid. In 1953 he was appointed chair of Aesthetics at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, previously occupied by Ortega y Gasset and Eugenio D'Ors. He conducted an extensive encyclopedic activity, dealing with various subjects such as

culture, history and politology, aesthetics, philosophy, literature, etc., his works (more than 80 books and hundreds of articles, most of them published in the Madrid magazine "ABC") were written in Spanish, German, French, Italian and translated into Portuguese, English, and Greek.

In 1951 he founded the magazine "Destin" in Madrid, convinced that the people of Romanian culture are "true fragments of the country, representing the whole Romanian universe" on the living spiral of humanity. Like other writers of exile, George Uscătescu is distinguished by his desire to impose himself through a cultural model different from that of the ideologically confiscated literary space or, as the case may be, by his resistance to the conventional prototype.

He is one of the few Romanian exiles in Spain who managed to return to Romania during communism, a fact that triggered various controversies. His short journeys are not viewed favorably by other Romanian exiles, who are often suspicious of hidden links between the professor and the Ceausescu government. George Uscătescu lived under the sign of a double cultural identity, Spanish and Romanian, in the sense that the impulse of love for his country led him to keep in his heart and transfigure traditional Romanian values, which have become universal.

IV.3. Vintila Horia - the exile from exile

Vintilă Horia, poet, essayist, prose writer, and translator, is one of the Romanian "exiled" of the last century who did not find his place in the world, traveling through Europe, South America, etc. The exilic coordination is revealed in his predisposition to travel and to integrate himself in each of the places he traveled, his writings betraying his willingness to adapt to the cultural requirements of each site. During his travels, Vintilă Horia notes the importance of dominating another language than his own. For the writer, the uprooting from the matrix space of Country (*Vaterland*) constituted a trauma that maintained at high levels the internal pain, misunderstood by others, perhaps even incurable, transfigured compensatory in fiction literature. We can therefore speak of "exile from exile," a syntagm that defines very well what happened after the 1960s when the writer becomes "exiled in his own exile" to continue in "to be."

In conclusion, the writer transposes his existential drama and develops his saving solution: literature, the construction of characters, which will capture the different aspects of the exiled

author, while the dynamics of the historical context marked by the presence of the characters will be overlaid on that of the author, elevated to the rank of the symbol.

IV.4. Aron Cotruș - the illusion of revolutionary nationalism

The linguist and literary Aron Cotruș is considered an authority on etymology, given the etymological dictionary he created. A poet with an audience in nationalist circles, he became a corresponding member of the Spanish Royal Academy, knowing Spanish literature very well. He wrote *Rapsodia iberică*, in which he "glorifies the Spanish nation."

Aron Cotruș is said to belong "to the family of baroque poets of the gigantic, of apocalyptic messianism," the apocalyptic being associated with the tragedy of existence, as Alexandru Ruja observes in the monographic study dedicated to him.

His exile in Spain (Madrid), which began in 1945, ended in 1956, when he left for good for the United States, where he gave his talent and energy, being considered one of the creators of a Romanian cultural community involved in intense literary activities. On the one hand, Aron Cotruș is dedicated to the popularization of translations from Romanian, and on the other hand, he is an author of poems in Spanish.

Among the exiles in Madrid in the 1950s, Aron Cotruș is one of the writers most closely associated with the ideology and group of the Legionaries. His adherence to the Legionary movement, never hidden, is inspired by the founding principles of the group: religious fervor, based in particular on Orthodoxy, and the political ideal of building the "new man" from which a new Romanian society should be born.

The poetic universe of Aron Cotruș is populated by beings as hard as a stone, over which numerous urges have passed, but without shaking them. Horia is like the stone, rigid and stable,

willing to make burst from the interior of the soul the uncontained fire of an uncensored Romanian reality.

Aron Cotruș's poetry, as revealed by the critical reception of the time, confirms the impossibility of establishing "a bastion of the Romanianness." It seems that exile was favorable to a time of creation, built on the edge of pain, showing a fertile and tragic period, Madrid representing for him a protective space.

IV.5. Aurel Răuță - the animator of the recognition of Romanian cultural values

Aurel Răuță is a personality-less known but as deeply involved in the popularization, knowledge, and recognition of Romanian cultural values as his colleagues in Madrid. Since the early years of his exile in Spain, Professor Aurel Răuță has distinguished himself through his prodigious activity in making known in the West the valuable Romanian works of the great classics and actual pages of literary history by bringing to light poems from Romanian folklore in Spanish translation.

In 1947 Aurel Răuță published the first Romanian grammar for Spanish students, with remarkable bilingual explanations, and translated and edited essential books from the Romanian literary heritage, most of them banned in communist Romania.

In 1948, Aurel Răuță founds *Asociația Hispano-Română*, around which the personalities of the Romanian exile in Spain gravitate, one of the priorities of the association being the translation into Spanish of Romanian creations of great value. In 1973 the grammar will be re-edited and improved with some thematic updates.

Aurel Răuță is one of the organizers and supporters of two symposiums, both held in Paris, the first commemorating "Celebrating Eminescu at the centenary of the death," 1989, respectively, the second focusing on the fundamental issues of the Romanian exile - *Exilul românesc. Identitate și conștiință istorică*. Aurel Răuță has succeeded in placing the statue of Eminescu alongside other personalities in the center of Paris, confirming his efforts to bring the cultural and literary emblem

of his country of origin back to the West. He carried out intense Romanian cultural propaganda work alongside other exiles, driven by the same common goal: to highlight the destructive effects of the communist totalitarianism under which Romania lay.

IV.6. Alexander Busuioceanu - the great Spanish poet, the propeller of the "Dacian myth."

Professor, poet, and historian Alexandru Busuioceanu is one of the most influential personalities of the intellectual exile in Spain. He is involved in constructing the magazine "Gândirea," a publication that quickly became a reference point for Romanian culture, benefiting from the contribution of renowned intellectuals, including Nichifor Crainic, Lucian Blaga, and Cezar Petrescu. Although strictly political issues were foreign to him, Alexandru Busuioceanu makes a clear, unequivocal choice in a cultural context split between two political factions: one right-wing, led by Nichifor Crainic, and the other, firmly anchored in the flow of the pro-Marxist current, led by Mihail Ralea.

In 1942 he became a professor of Romanian language and culture at the University of Madrid and then a cultural advisor to the Romanian Legation in Madrid. His association with Nichifor Crainic proved to be a good choice, as it facilitated the display of his creativity, the core of "Gândirea" having an essential echo among those in exile, the "gândiristă" ideology constituting a cultural resource of significant importance in the consolidation of the traditional phenomenon of Romanianness and a point of resistance in support of the anti-communist reaction.

A versatile figure, Alexandru Busuioceanu demonstrated a remarkable inclination towards interdisciplinarity, dealing simultaneously with literature (poetry), anthropology, literary criticism, human sciences, and history.

In 1944 he went into exile, in the sense that a return to Romania became impossible for him with the hardening of relations "vis-a-vis" the new pro-Soviet Romanian communist

government. However, Busuioceanu quickly got used to the new socio-cultural context and soon became recognized and appreciated. But it will not be an easy time for him. The pain of not being able to see his family will remain very deep for him, and relations with his family at home will be limited to intense private correspondence. From the beginning of his exile, he is intensely concerned (and completely absorbed) by an issue of particular interest, namely the cultural affinity between Romania and Spain.

Alexandru Busuioceanu says that the form in which he writes his poems is Castilian, but the poetic-occult vehicle remains Romanian. The painful message of the native language comes through strongly, with the linguistic formulas adopted infiltrating certain lexical and syntactic peculiarities that do not compromise the text's coherence.

The author sees poetry as more than a form of literature, approaching it instead as a particular technique of knowledge that uses metaphor mainly. Thus, the poetic universe remains dependent on a permanent and painful conflict between the dimensions of existence, thanks to which time, the voice of the past ensures a temporal continuum aligning itself with the present, thus transforming memory into actual presence.

For the poet, writing in Spanish is an option that simply responds to an expressive demand, a unique way of expressing a particular poetic urgency under a semantic, musical, or purely phonetic attraction. Alexandru Busuioceanu considers himself a Romanian poet, although he feels the uncontrollable urge to reveal himself in Spanish.

IV.7. Horia Stamatu - hermetic poet

In addition to the six authors mentioned in this sub-chapter, the group photograph can be completed by including the writer Horia Stamatu in the frame. Horia Stamatu was also present in Spain between 1951 and 1961. Settled in Madrid, he was more active than ever as a poet, publicist, and translator. Alex Ștefănescu, referring to Stamatu's writings in exile and to the "art of literary survival," considered that he was defining "the work, with the thought of an increasingly improbable renaissance of Romania."

As in the case of his colleagues in exile, religious sentiment is the active core of Horia Stamatu's chronic revolt. Memorable, in this sense, are the Old Testament analogies between the "heresy of Aron" (who accepts to worship a copy of the golden calf) and the heresy of those who worship *Das Kapital* of the new prophet (Marx) as an abstract idol of the modern world, "communism" proving to be a "scelerate copy of religion with a demonology of its own" which is "class struggle."

All these exiles have found the strength to preserve in their work aspects of the native universe from which they have been separated, not to give up their mother tongue, and, at the same time, to integrate themselves into the culture and literature of their adopted country. From here to the acceptance of the double identity we have been talking about, the distance is substantially reduced, and a phenomenon takes shape, which gives this literature a thematic and stylistic unmistakable coloring.

CHAPTER V

THE ROMANIAN PHENOMENON AND THE PROBLEM OF HUMANISM

V.1. The "Romanian Phenomenon" reconfigured in the literary and cultural press within the Spanish exile

The syntagm "the Romanian phenomenon" represents a form of configuration of national identity and a characteristic of the Romanian people. According to Mihai Ralea, the analysis, and characterization of the Romanian soul phenomenon is perhaps one of the most urgent and imperative problems of our emerging culture. The national integration gave us the outline of our geographical and political form anchored in an incomparable soul complex.

Thus one can turn to the psychological characterization of man as part of a collective to what he may represent for the whole universe. This aspect of the people of the Romanian collectivity can be defined as a generalized concept, being related to and conditioned by the individual ego of each piece that composes such a mechanism.

But could we not also talk starting from the individuals who form a collectivity together and about the literature they value? And then, the phenomenon would appear progressively, from the individual to the collective, shaped around and according to a particular 'personality' of culture and literature. Constantin Ciopraga is the one who gives the syntagm "personality of literature" a

special meaning, with references to conceptualization and generalization (*maiorescianism, eminescianism, lovinescianism, bacovianism, etc.*).

Thus, the particularities of a people cannot be explained without examining its history and ethnography, its causalities. Over time, every change that has occurred and become history has modified the traditions and the 'hierarchical play' of personalities to some extent.

In this sense, we see very clearly that intellectuals who studied abroad (a phenomenon that became widespread with the generation of 1848) returned to their homeland, bringing with them a sliver of culture that it was almost impossible to plant in a place utterly foreign to their land. This is when 'adaptability' is born, defined as the ability to discard old props and acquire new ones, understand differently than before, and feel differently.

Naturally restless, the human involves himself in a continuous investigation, this option being nothing more than a path towards the rediscovery of the self, which counts in the configuration of inner experiences as the foundation of the supporting arc of the Romanian phenomenon. Gifted with a particular intelligence and a unanimously recognized power of adaptability, Romanians prove to be easily influenced, with a soft and changeable character, prone to compensate by imitation and to borrow the cultural gaps in the country of origin and their formation.

In other words, two expressions of Romanian exile coexist in Spain: the political one, whose aim is to reorganize a radical group aimed at redeeming and regaining the country, and the intellectual one, much more moderate and focused on cultural and mental preservation, which opts for exile as a temporary condition for living and creating, intending to return to the homeland in freedom.

As far as the literature of exile is concerned, it is considered an integral part of the history of Romanian literature because fundamental works and texts of cultural attitude were created and published in exile, which was not subject to the censorship of the drastic regime of the communist dictatorship. The literature of the Romanian diaspora represents an area in movement, always unpredictable, which makes an applied approach to the field either reductionist or generalizing because exiles aim to preserve the principle of unity in diversity.

The Romanian-language magazines in Spain were the instrument through which the writers we dealt with became known. A significant corpus of texts was created, representing the first literary work of a transnational, translinguistic, and transcultural nature. The literary and cultural

press of the Romanian exile in Spain is made up of newspapers and magazines of the immigrants in which they openly show their opposition to the confiscation of freedom of expression, action and thought by the government installed by the Soviets.

Whether we are talking about an "external" exile concerning the geographical space, or an "internal" one, recognized in the closure of the doors of communication with the surrounding world, both are under the sign of duality: of the impossibility of living axiologically within the perimeter of the original space and of the trauma of adaptability. The link between the two types of exile creates an inevitable interdependence because the former often challenges the latter.

V. 2. Dynamics of the "Romanian phenomenon" reflected in Romanian magazines in Spain

Romanian immigrant writers, aware of the mission they have assumed, write and cultivate national cultural values charged with universality and, at the same time, originality. Convinced that Romanian literature had to make itself known both inside and outside its borders, Romanian writers exiled in the West resurrected values that had been ideologically purged and indexed by the pre-Soviet governments, with almost all of our literature, from Dimitrie Cantemir to Vasile Voiculescu and Lucian Blaga, on the list of outlawed writers.

Thanks to the free press in the West, people of culture learned that, in addition to the "index lists" published in the "Monitorul Oficial," there were others, "secret" and systematically "updated" according to the change of attitude of the party and the international political situation or the correction of the watchdog in the service of the political and security organs. Exile, however, meant "liberation from the past" as a degrading form of purification also transmuted in the sphere of art, which had the consequence of imposing a new aesthetic, a perspective synchronized with the European phenomenon.

The dynamics of the "Romanian phenomenon," linked to the concept of "Romanian consciousness," was also mediatized, more timidly, during the "stage of formal de-Stalinisation" (1953-1964), with the successive re-homologations of writers and books repositioned under the slogan of the valorization of the "literary heritage" and the revival of the "patriotic instinct."

So, the course of literature was not mainly determined by the change of generations or models but by the political events after 1948, which marked its physiognomy and changed its path of ascent. In the context of the political approach to aesthetics, the following years are considered crucial moments in the history of Romanian literature and culture: 1948 - when all links with Western civilization and culture were severed; 1964 - when the process of de-ideologization took place by shifting the priorities from the ideological message (i.e., from the thematic) to the literary; 1971 - the year of the "Theses from July," as a warning signal about the intention to start the process of re-dignifying literature and enclosing Romanian culture in ideology.

Aware of the importance of knowing the historical truth and of the harmful effects of the propagation of communism, intellectuals in the diaspora formed initiative groups, succeeding, with the help of radio stations in the West, in creating bridges between the culture at home and that of the host country.

The "Romanian phenomenon," as we find it imprinted in the life and activity of writers exiled in Spain, is manifested in the promotion of various means of propagating the national language, the native imaginary and cultural links with those at home, and is fixed externally through the word published in the cultural magazines of the Spanish hemisphere.

CHAPTER VI

"DESTIN" MAGAZINE - RECOVERING AND PROPELLING THE "ROMANIAN PHENOMENON"-

VI.1. Cultural-ideological and axiological coordinates favoring exile

Integration into a socio-cultural space other than the vernacular requires reaching a common denominator of axiological coordinates. What is currently accepted as the field of reference of globalization implies the assumption of a series of recessive relations, intending to explore unknown worlds and 'produce diversity.' However, this 'diversity' cannot be generated without considering each nation's genetic information.

This phenomenon is also visible in the Spanish exile, where Romanian intellectuals settled abroad and preserved and reactivated the cultural abscissa of their origins, which they reoriented politically and culturally towards the regeneration of the national phenomenon. This explains why "the destiny of the Romanian nation" was constantly the focus of attention of the intellectual diaspora in Spain, concerned with keeping the literary and cultural phenomenon in the vernacular history, even in the post-war conditions in which Romania was caught under the evil flaws of Stalinism and the communist dictatorship.

One of the moral characteristics of the Romanian people is the attempt to resist the pressure of internal and external factors and to keep alive the image of the unity of the nation. To accurately analyze the factors that endanger its unity, we have approached the "Romanian phenomenon" from a cultural, social-political, and historical perspective.

As we have tried to describe, the literature expanded under the pressure of the communist system became reactionary, defensive, populist, and, equally, a "survival ploy" because - in popular, socialist, communist Romania - the political apparatus reacted vehemently and indignantly to everything that was not written, "with the party's permission."

As for "censorship," I insisted on the situation in the country, starting in 1945 when anti-communist or Nazi propaganda was forbidden. There was a "Special Commission" which analyzed documents and had the task of checking the newspapers for authorization to publish, given by another supervisory body, "the Central Press Censorship." All documents after 1918 were checked. Law 102 appeared in the Official Gazette with explicit provisions on sanctions and punishments. Before 23 August 1944, those who were in the service of Hitlerism or fascism and those who advocated anti-democratic ideas were punished.

Besides the fact that this strict surveillance and draconian direction had several levers at its disposal, censorship proved its effectiveness. It has manifested itself in particular forms of personal defense and saving 'the book,' often being self-imposed and manifested down to the level of the human subconscious.

Dissent was equivalent to the separation of a person from a group, the 'disciplinary move' being caused by political-ideological differences. With the prospect of possible approval to go abroad, the decision ultimately ended with the possibility of gaining freedom of speech and expression in another country. As is well known, in socialist Romania the law forbade Romanian citizens to have any contact with foreign radio stations or newspapers, whose activity was considered hostile to Romania.

VI.2. "Destin" magazine - a historiographical perspective

This sub-chapter is dedicated to the magazine "Destin," rightly considered the "veteran" of the Romanian cultural magazines in exile, which has an uninterrupted publication for almost a quarter of a century (1951-1972), enjoying the collaboration of a fantastic Romanian cultural, literary, political and philosophical community.

The editorial group and the permanent collaborators of the magazine and publishing house "Destin" have outlined the ways of recovering the Romanian phenomenon, about the dynamics of the foundations of South-East Europe, and have brought to the fore essential questions concerning the meaning of freedom, the anthropo-cultural aspect of Romania, the nationalist phenomenon and the premises of a so-called "Romanian revisionism."

A close look at the magazine "Destin" summaries can reconfigure the project of recovering our culture and literature, the articles, which the signatories wanted to be adapted to the possibilities of extension of post-war modernism, being authentic samples of preservation of freedom of thought and uncensored expression. With historical, aesthetic, axiological, political, and anthropological arguments, the editors and contributors of the magazine "Destin" will defend the effects of the offensive unleashed against Romanian culture by the "Stalinist dictatorship," concerned with transforming culture, literature, arts, and philosophy into the tools of political-ideological totalitarian construction.

The writers who joined the magazine's project are proponents of the idea that forced emigration is based on a process of cultural-historical disintegration, which leads to the non-recognition, alienation, and axiological deformation of the exile. As a result, the editorial summary presents itself as a freely assumed form of the patriotic mission coming from those who write in freedom, the magazine guaranteeing, despite various barriers, the ineluctability of the phenomenon of continuity, contextualization, and cultural extension.

Almost all literary genres, except drama, are to be found in the pages of the monthly "Destin." The magazine has a formal character built on the pillars of supporting the ethnogenesis of the Romanian people, with relevant aspects about the history and personalities of Romanian culture. With a monthly publication from 1951 to 1972, "Destin" appeared on the Spanish exile portal as the bright nucleus of the "Romanian phenomenon," benefiting from the participation and collaboration of numerous Romanian and foreign personalities. Thus, the magazine "Destin" will become a reference point for cultural and literary values, with the community of exiles in Madrid as its addressee.

During its twenty years of publication, the magazine has shown that it can aspire, with the necessary limitations, to the status of a "panorama of Romanian spirituality," thanks to the contributions of those who have kept its path straight, all the more eloquent as the efforts to fill its summaries with "Romanian meaning and vitality" were as substantial as possible. The fundamental crises of modernity found their outlet in the many collaborations, especially those of George Uscătescu and Vintilă Horia, who made the magazine "Destin" a landmark of cultural resistance in exile.

CHAPTER VII

REFLECTIONS OF EUROPEAN HUMANISM PRESENTED BY JORGE USCATESCU/GEORGE USCĂTESCU IN THE MAGAZINE "ABC"

VII.1. European culture and literature under the signs of the crisis of humanism and European humanism

This chapter focuses on the term humanism, which in the societal sphere is centered on constructing a world based on the idea of the free person and in the cultural sphere values it encourages artistic creation, recognizing the "transformative power" of all "creative and visual arts" and their direct contribution to personal development and fulfillment.

Starting from the belief that God watches over him everywhere, guiding his individual and collective path, man will come to see himself as the center of the world, accepting his Adamic condition as a creature placed on earth to achieve, in return, eternal values.

There is a particular preference for the idea that man is part of history, that man himself is history, and that without him, no page of human history could have been written. But man is not treated in his singularity but is always placed in a coordinating relationship with others, dependent

and constrained by others. First, the man appears in the Adamic image in which he is given the role of governing the whole of nature with its fauna and flora, an image recognized as part of an essentially positive Judeo-Christian imaginary.

Whereas in the Middle Ages, the man recognized himself only as part of a spiritual family or a religious (Christian) community, assuming the role of an entity that works and thinks for the benefit of the collective of which he is a part, in the Renaissance, on the other hand, the individual emancipates himself and acquires autonomy. Man lives freely, as reason urges him, sometimes at the risk of conflicting with existing hierarchies and spiritual conditioning. So, the humanist dimension is perceived in evolutionary way, in the illuminism's parameters being described in optimistic terms as flourishing, resurrection, progress, or rebirth, the humanist feeling the need to know by human means, given by experience and reason, or even "supreme truth."

Thus, under the metaphysical rule, the "definitions of man" - whether Christian, Marxist, or materialist (biological) - confirm the reality that the option of a reasonable "political animal" or a cultural, ethnic, or anthropological being persists, an equation in which Man becomes an entity belonging to a particular people, race or civilization.

VII.2. The contribution of the humanist George Uscătescu/ Jorge Uscatescu to the reconstruction of the renaissance profile of "ABC" magazine

This sub-chapter is limited to commenting on the issues of the magazine in which details appear about Romanian exiles who became representative figures of the Romanian-Spanish literary history and then to presenting in detail articles and studies published in "ABC," starting from 1951 and ending in 1995, focusing mainly on the significant contribution of George Uscătescu.

As is well known, George Uscătescu published almost all his work in Spanish, his integration into Spanish culture being reactive, complex, and complete. He has published an impressive number of articles and studies, to which should be added twelve volumes on cultural, political, and philosophical themes.

Passionate about the fundamental problem of humanism, George Uscătescu advocates the hypothesis that, in modernism, the conflictual crisis of humanity is under the influence of the ideological crisis. This causality has led him to speak of an authentic "myth of humanism." The notion implies an emerging critical content, and therefore the spirit of humanism had to be renewed. The primary condition for this "spiritual awakening" is undoubtedly centered on creative freedom, a sufficient and necessary need for transforming art into a defining cultural aspect in terms of its dynamism.

Nor is the magazine a stranger to the critical "announcements" of the time regarding the private life of the scholar with its rewarding moments and darker moments. We find, for example, Jorge Uscătescu's wife, Consuelo Rubio Cavanillas, an opera singer, presented in "black mourning ribbons" alongside other deceased of the time. From a chronological overview of his contributions to the magazine "ABC," we can see that in the last years of his life, Jorge Uscătescu began to be recognized and accepted in post-December Romania, where he received various distinctions.

Not long afterward, the death of the great 20th-century essayist and humanist Jorge Uscătescu from a severe illness was mentioned in the pages of ABC magazine. Jorge Uscătescu died at the age of 76 with the feeling that the intellectual prestige enjoyed by certain exiled writers (Vintilă Horia, Mircea Eliade, Al. Busuioceanu, Aron Cotruș, Al. Ciorănescu, Aurel Răuță, etc.) represented a bridge of support through which longlasting bilateral cultural relations between two areas of Romanity were strengthened.

In a summary of George Uscătescu's editorial appearances and articles in "ABC," we note that the dominant element of his publicity is the humanist plural perspective on culture and literature as reflections of social and intellectual life. Although George Uscătescu appears in the magazine only with the equivalent of his Spanish name, Jorge, this does not hide his Romanian origin. This fact led us to alternate the rendering of his term in Spanish and Romanian.

After the death of George Uscătescu, the commemorative announcement appeared systematically (annually) until 1998, keeping alive the memory of the humanist. 2005 is the last year in which Jorge Uscătescu's name is inserted in the magazine's pages as a reminder that he translated and wrote the prologue to Heidegger's book: *Introducción a la fenomenología de la religión*.

We could observe, therefore, that there is an inextricable link between the "Romanian phenomenon" in the sense of Mihail Ralea, the one reflected in the Romanian press in the diaspora,

and the version mediated by George Uscătescu's studies, articles, and books in Spanish culture and literature.

CHAPTER VIII

THE "HUMANISM PROCESS" - ON THE BORDERLINE BETWEEN TRANSLATION AND ADAPTATION

In a stratified, interdisciplinary, and transcultural approach centered on the different levels of contextualization, relation, and comparative-cultural equivalence of the text *Proceso al Humanismo* by George Uscătescu (1968), the translator's approach engaged in the Romanian transposition, besides honesty and professionalism, was to be focused on the synapse that exists between cultures and languages of adjacent typological and topological areas, in this case, Romanian-Spanish.

It is certain that when two or more cultures intersect, there are points of contact and transfer, which can lead to a blurring of boundaries, and barriers through which the autonomy of cultural territoriality and the precise coordinates of imaginaries are preserved.

Establishing a smooth and uninterrupted path for translatology is difficult because the amount of intellectual emotion and the arsenal of ideas and concepts invested in the process are overwhelming.

Beyond the technical aspect of the translation, the risk of remaining inconsistent with the original is the truncation of the content and the ideological/ideological infidelity to the original text, the asymmetry of the relations of content and expression being the one that has spoken in this

case, too easily overlooked by those who attribute to the author Uscătescu a high degree of political "innocence" or collaboration with the political power in Ceausescu's Romania.

Apart from the "unintentional mistakes" inherent in any translation, a particular case is that of translations subject to political-ideological censorship, as was the case with several translations from before 1989. In these cases, translators responded to political orders and 'betrayed' the original text, sometimes knowingly omitting parts of the original text.

With the example of the Romanian translation of George Uscătescu's book, we see that studying the exact text in two different Romance languages (Spanish and Romanian) is an arduous, if not insidious, process.

VIII.1. "The Humanism Process." Particularities of the Romanian translation

In this sub-chapter, we have started with the actual comparison of the two editions: the original and the translation of the book *Proces umanismului*, finding with surprise that the Romanian translation does not fully respect the structure and content of the original edition. Thus, Uscătescu's edition in his native language seems instead a synthesis, a selection of different texts, resulting in an anthological edition of a writer from the Hispanic *Heimat*, accepted as a "son of the Nation" by the communist power in Bucharest.

The changes of meaning and ideological trajectory that occur as a result of the translation and the collateral clarifications ("Afterword," "Foreword," "Notes") belonging to cultural and political personalities only lead the reader towards a false trail leading him to cross the border between the original form of the text and the translated one, thanks to the translational approach of deciphering the source text. It is easy to see how the originality of the source text fades away or is even lost under the influence of the translator, who voluntarily or, as the case may be, imposes his contribution, overshadowing the original idea and even distorting the author's style.

VIII.2. *"El partido comunista italiano a los jóvenes", a text under the political censorship of the Ceausescu regime*

In the spirit of humanism, whatever the theme or form, translation must be explored scientifically and exploited honestly so that it can be propagated fruitfully and modulated constructively in the horizon of humanity's expectations as a space of infinite resonance of transition from one "tonality" to another, respecting the golden rule of harmony as the founding principle of humanism.

In Western Europe, an example is provided by Pier Paolo Pasolini, who, in the face of the nihilistic rebellion of young Italians, adopted an attitude with Maoist resonances, as set out in the poem *El partido comunista italiano a los jóvenes*, which I have translated (for example) from Spanish.

As a result, this text has not been translated or included in the Romanian edition precisely because of the overly aggressive language of the Italian communist poet, who moves from external judgment to his own through a mixture of feelings imposed and augmented by the political regime.

VIII.3. *Other censored texts*

The objective of the present translation was to obtain a text written by an author in exile that could be adapted to the indoctrination conditions of the Romanian audience. These acts of cultural pseudo-opening were intended to convince the Western world and the Romanian world that the Communist view of people in exile had changed and had become much more tolerant and permissive.

Thus, the publishers, through the intermediaries who mediated the selection of texts to be translated, simply got rid of anything that did not comply with the political and ideological directives of the time. As far as we are concerned, it would seem that George Uscătescu considered his acceptance an "act of moral duty" in the publication of this "collection" centered on the dissolution of canonical humanism. At the heart of it, it seems, was his desire to be known and

published in his native country, a duty of the soul that prevailed over preserving, at any cost, the integrity of his thought, as we recognize it fixed in the patterns of the opposite *Proceso al Humanismo*.

CONCLUSIONS

The doctoral thesis *Coordonate culturale și literare ale exilului românesc în Spania* is part of a reference work on the role of Romanian publications in Spain, mainly focused on the recovery, preservation, and propulsion of the "Romanian phenomenon," the reactivation of modernism and the resolution of the crisis of humanity.

Summarizing, the points of view -expressed with critical discernment and objectivity throughout the doctoral thesis- arise from the hypotheses of research on the cultural and literary coordinates of the Spanish Heimat, eloquently illustrated and considered by us as a share of Romanian and Spanish culture and literature, without any tilt of the balance towards either of the twin axes.

In "harvesting" the material, we were not conditioned by partisan, one-sided attitudes or conformist views, dependent on generalizing perspectives and, as a result, by tacit consensus accepted (assumed). We have chosen eloquent examples, which we considered helpful in understanding and enucleating the theme without losing sight of the fact that the objective of the doctoral thesis remained a particular one, anchored in the explanation of a reality restricted to the field of the cultural and literary press in the Spanish perimeter, especially the post-war one.

Starting from the perspective of the particular situation regarding the prohibition of writers, the censorship of their works, and the purging of the ideas of these expatriate authors, we have

come to identify and (re)interpret (in a "case study") the problems generated by the acceptance of the truncated and censored translation of George Uscătescu's work, thoughts and feelings.

We consider that the "case study" devoted to the translation into Romanian of some of George Uscătescu's texts, grouped under the title *Proces umanismului*, constitutes a unique approach for us so far, as well as a starting point for further research on the phenomena of intercultural mediation, respectively of binarity, present not only in the area of translations but also in the general field of socio-cultural and literary activities of Romanian exiles throughout Spain.

Thus, the doctoral thesis remained constantly interested in how writers, Romanian intellectuals in exile, individually or as a group, managed to leave their intellectual mark on the two cultures (Spanish and Romanian). Essentially, the doctoral thesis was concerned with systematizing points of view regarding the "beliefs," "illusions," and "hopes" of the Romanian cultural and literary collectivity in Spanish exile, noting that the phenomena adjacent to the literature of removal have not been included in the area of interest of the investigation and critical evaluation of the Romanian cultural and literary heritage.

Thus, each question we asked ourselves about this path of self-becoming became a pretext that set in motion "a thousand and one answers." The annexes, generating (re)interpretations, reconfigure, in their turn, the tragic path of the Romanian writer in exile, synthetically marked by the effort to maintain a balance between cultures.

BIBLIOGRAFIE

A. OPERE PRIMARE

1. Busuioceanu, Alexandru. (1963). *Fructul de a trăi*. București, Paris, Editura Fundației Regale.
2. Busuioceanu, Alexandru. (1985). *Zamolxis sau mitul dacic în istoria și legendele spaniole*. București, Editura Meridiane, Biblioteca de artă. Biografii. Memorii, Eseuri.
3. Ciorănescu, Alexandru. (1964). *Principios de la literatura comparada*, La Laguna.
4. Eliade, Mircea. (2004). *Jurnal*, București, Humanitas.
5. Eliade, Mircea. (2010). *Jurnalul portughez*, București, Humanitas.
6. Horia, Vintilă. (1991). *Dumnezeu s-a născut în exil*, Craiova, Editura Europa.
7. Horia, Vintilă. (2015). *Memoriile unui fost săgetător*, București, Editura Vremea.
8. Horia, Vintilă. (2016). *Jurnalul unui țăran de la Dunăre*, București, Editura Vremea.
9. Uscătescu, George. (1950). *Relaciones culturales hispano-rumanas*, Centro de estudios orientales, Juan Bravo.
10. Uscatescu, George. (1963). *Utopia y plenitud historica*, Madrid, Ediciones Guadarrama.
11. Uscatescu, George. (1966). *Aventura de la libertad*, Madrid, Instituto de Estudios Politicos.

12. Uscatescu, George. (1968). *Proceso al humanismo*, Madrid, Coleccion Universitaria de bolsillo, Punto Omega.
13. Uscătescu, George. (1981). *Poezii*, București, Editura Eminescu.
14. Uscătescu, George. (1987). *Proces umanismului*, București, Editura Politică.
15. Jorge Uscatescu. (1968). *Proceso al humanism*, Madrid, Ediciones Guadarrama.
16. Uscătescu, George. (1987). *Ontologia culturii*, București, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică.

B. MONOGRAFII

1. Moraru, Sanda Valeria. (2012). *George Uscătescu – poet și eseist*, Cluj Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană.
2. Ruja, Alexandru. (1996). *Aron Cotruș - Viața și opera*, Timișoara, Editura de Vest.
3. Vázquez, Manuel, Montalbán.(1992). *Autobiografía del general Franco*, Madrid, Editorial Planeta.
4. Voicu-Brey, Lilica. (2006). *Alexandru Cioranescu, biografia intelectual de un comparatista*. Tenerife, Instituto de Estudios Canarios.

C. ISTORII LITERARE, DICȚIONARE LITERARE, DICȚIONARE DE OPERE LITERARE, ANTOLOGII

1. *** *Bibliografia esențială a Literaturii Române*. (2003). București, Editura Enciclopedică.
2. *** *DEX*. (1998). București, Editura Univers Enciclopedic.
3. *** *Dicționar analitic de opere literare românești (E-L)*. (2000). Coordonator Ion Pop, Cluj Napoca, Editura Casa Cărții de Știință.
4. *** *Enciclopedia Universală Britanica*. (2010). Volumul 12, București, Editura Litera.
5. *** *Dicționarul general al literaturii române*. (2005). Vol. E/K, București, Editura Univers Enciclopedic.
6. *** *Dicționarul general al literaturii române*. (2006). Vol. P/R, București, Editura Univers Enciclopedic.

7. *** *Dicționarul general al literaturii române*. (2009). Vol. Ț/Z, București, Editura Univers Enciclopedic.
8. *Raportul Politic General* făcut de Tov. Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej la Congresul Partidului Muncitoresc Român din 21-23 februarie 1948, București, Editura P.M.R.
9. Călinescu, George. (2003). *Istoria literaturii române de la origini până în prezent*, București, Editura Semne.
10. Ciobanu, Maria. (2010). *Dicționar de motive și simboluri literare*, Chișinău.
11. Drimba, Ovidiu. (1995). *Istoria culturii și civilizației*, volumul IV, București, Editura Științifică.
12. Drimba, Ovidiu. (1997). *Istoria literaturii universale*, vol. I, București, Editura Saeculum I. O.
13. Firan, Florea. Popa, Constantin M. (1994). *Literatura diasporei* (Antologie comentată), Craiova, Editura Poesis.
14. Georgiu, Grigore. (2007). *Istoria culturii române moderne*, București, Editura Comunicare.
15. Ilincan, Vasile. (1999). *Istoria presei literare românești. Secolul al XIX-lea. Curs opțional pentru învățământul la distanță*.
16. Manolescu, Florin. (2010). *Enciclopedia exilului românesc 1945-1989*, București, Editura Compania.
17. Manolache, Gheorghe. (2005). *Literatura de grad secund*, Sibiu, Editura Universității „Lucian Blaga”.
18. Săndulescu, Al. (1976). *Dicționar de termeni literari*, București, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România.
19. Selejan, Ana. (2000). *Literatura română în totalitarism 1959-1960*, București, Editura Cartea Românească.
20. Ștefănescu, Alex. (2005). *Istoria literaturii române contemporane (1941-2000)*. București, Editura Mașina de scris.
21. Tismăneanu, Vladimir. (2005). *Stalinism pentru eternitate. O istorie a comunismului românesc*, Iași, Editura Polirom.

22. Tismăneanu, Vladimir. (coord.) (2006). *O istorie politică a comunismului românesc*, Iași, Editura Polirom
23. Tismăneanu, Vladimir. (2006). *Raport Final* al Comisiei Prezidențiale pentru Analiza Dictaturii Comuniste din România.
24. Uritescu, Dorin N. (1993). *De la chioșcari la vesternizare - Mic dicționar de termeni actuali*, București, Editura Humanitas.
25. Welsch, Wolfgang. (2001). *Panagrama*, Pitești, Editura Historia.

D. STUDII DE SINTEZĂ/ OPERE SECUNDARE

1. *** *Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale*, fond Comitetul pentru Presă și Tipărituri, dosarul 25 din 1957.
2. *** *Tratatul de instituire a unei Constituții pentru Europa*. (2005). Editat de Institutul European din România, Ediția a II-a revăzută și adăugită.
3. Albu, Mihaela. (2009). *Presa literară din exil. Recuperare și valorificare critică*. Iași, Editura Timpul.
4. Alexandrescu, Sorin. (2006). *Mircea Eliade, dinspre Portugalia*, București, Editura Humanitas.
5. Bako, Dragoș. (2019). *Editorialul. Strategii de interacțiune cu literatura*, București, Editura Ideea Europeană.
6. Behring, Eva. (2001). *Scriitori români din exil (1945-1989). O perspectivă istorico-literară*. București, Fundația Culturală Română, Colecția „Critică și istorie literară”.
7. Boari, Vasile, Câmpeanu, Alexandru, Gherghina, Sergiu. (2011). *Proiectul uman comunist. De la discursul ideologic la realitățile sociale*, Presa Universitară Clujeană.
8. Bostrom, Nick. (2005). *Transumanist Values*, Review of „Contemporary Philosophy”, Volume 4, May.
9. Caragiale, Ion Luca. (1938). *Opere V, ediție îngrijită de Șerban Cioculescu*. București, Fundația pentru literatură și artă.
10. Cassirer, Ernst. (1994). *Eseu despre om - O introducere în filozofia culturii umane*, București, Editura Humanitas.

11. Călinescu, Matei. (1995). *Cele cinci fețe ale modernității-Modernism, avangardă, decadență, kitsch, postmodernism*, București, Editura Univers.
12. Cătănuș, Ana-Maria. (2014). *Vocația libertății/ Forme de disidență în România anilor 1970-1980*, București, Institutul Național pentru studiul totalitarismului.
13. Chombart de Lauwe, Paul-Henry. (1983). *Cultura și puterea*, București, Editura Politică.
14. Ciopraga, Constantin. (2007). *Personalitatea literaturii române*, Iași, Editura Princeps Edit.
15. Ciorrea, Raluca. (2012). *Destinos intelectuales en el espacio español: el caso de los escritores Alexandru Busuioceanu, Vintilă Horia, George Uscătescu*, Departamento de defensa, Madrid.
16. Comorovki, Cornelia. (1972). *Literatura umanismului și a renașterii*, București, Editura Albatros.
17. Compagnon, Antoine. (2008) *Antimodernii. De la Joseph de Maistre la Roland Barthes*, București, Editura Art.
18. Craia, Sultana. (1985). *Orizontul rustic în literatura română*, București, Editura Eminescu.
19. Crohmălniceanu, Ovidiu. (1978). *Literatura română și expresionismul - Momente și sinteze*, București, Editura Minerva.
20. Deletant, Dennis. (2010). *România sub regimul communist*, București, Fundația Academia Civică.
21. Djuvara, Neagu. (2005). *Amintiri din pribegie (1948–1990)*, București, Editura Humanitas.
22. Drăghicescu, Dumitru. (1907). *Din psihologia poporului român*, București, Librăria Leon Alcalay.
23. Dur, Ion. (2020). *Publicistul Horia Stamatu între exces politic și echilibru spiritual*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Limes.
24. Dumitrescu Bușulenga, Zoe. (1982). *Itinerarii prin cultură*, București, Editura Eminescu.
25. Dușu, Alexandru. (1974). *Umaniștii români și cultura europeană*, București, Editura Minerva.
26. Eliade, Pompiliu. (1978). *Ce este literatura?*, Cluj Napoca, Editura Dacia.
27. Escarpit, Robert. (1980). *De la sociologia culturii la teoria comunicării*, București, Editura Științifică și enciclopedică.
28. Febvre, Lucien. (1953). *Combats pour l'histoire*, Paris.

29. Florescu, Nicolae. (1998). *Întoarcerea proscrisilor- Reevaluări critice ale literaturii exilului*, București, Editura Jurnalul literar, Colecția Critica, nr. 3.
30. Foucault, Michel. (1996). *Cuvintele și lucrurile*, București, Editura Univers.
31. Foucault, Michel. (2013). *Guvernarea de sine și guvernarea celorlalți*, Cluj, Idea Design & Print.
32. Fromm, Erich. (1983). *Texte alese*, București, Editura Politică.
33. Fromm, Erich. (2016). *Fuga de Libertate*, București, Editura Trei.
34. Fromm, Erich. (2017). *Omul pentru sine. O cercetare asupra psihologiei moralei*, București, Editura Trei.
35. Garaudy, Roger. (1959). *Perspectives de l'homme: Existentialisme, Pensée Catholique, Marxisme*, Paris, Edité par P.U.F. Presses Universitaires de France.
36. Garin, Eugenio. (2000). *Omul Renașterii*, Iași, Editura Polirom.
37. Genette, Gérard. (1994). *Introducere în arhitext. Ficțiune și dicțiune*, București, Editura Univers.
38. Girard, René. (1995). *Violența și sacrul*, București, Editura Nemira.
39. Girard, René. (1999). *Despre cele ascunse de la întemeierea lumii*, București, Editura Nemira.
40. Girard, René. (2000). *Țapul ispășitor*, București, Editura Nemira.
41. Glodeanu, Gheorghe. (1999). *Incursiuni în literatura diasporei și a disidenței*, București, Editura Libra.
42. Groys, Borys. (2007). *Stalin - Opera de artă totală. Cultura scindată din Uniunea Sovietică*, Editura Idea, Colecția Balcon.
43. Groys, Borys. (2009). *The communist Postscript*, London.
44. Hazard, Paul. (1973). *Criza conștiinței europene. 1680-1715*, București, Editura Univers.
45. Hegel, G. W. F. (2000). *Fenomenologia spiritului*, București, Editura IRI.
46. Heller, Agnes. (1980). *El Hombre del Renacimiento*, Barcelona, Ediciones península.
47. Hocke, Gustave René. (1998). *Manierismul în literatură. Alchimie a limbii și artă combinatorie esoterică. Contribuții la literatura comparată europeană*, București, Editura Univers.
48. Hrib, Dana Roxana. (2006). *Procesul de individualizare în gândirea renaștistă a secolului al XV-lea: Florența*, Sibiu, Muzeul Național Brukenthal.

49. Huxley, Aldous. (1977). *Și restul e tăcere*, București, Editura Univers, Colecția: „Eseuri”.
50. Ibrăileanu, Garabet. (1921). *După război*, col. Foi volante, Iași, Editura Viața Românească.
51. Ion, Ana-Veronica. (2021). *Transumanismul - un comentariu creștin*, București, Eikon.
52. Iorga, Nicolae. (1937). *Supt trei regi- Istorie a unei lupte pentru un ideal moral și național*, București.
53. Jaeger, Werner. (2020). *Umanism și Teologie. Paideia Christi*, București, Editura Galaxia Gutenberg.
54. Kant, I. (2000). *Ideea critică și perspectivele filozofiei moderne. Kant prin el însuși*, ediție trad. De Alexandru Bodoc și Liviu Stroia, București, Paideia.
55. Klaus, Georg. (1979). *El lenguaje de los políticos*, Barcelona, Ed. Anagrama.
56. Le Goff, Jacques. (1999). *Omul medieval*, Iași, Editura Polirom.
57. Lévy, Bernard Henri. (1992). *Barbaria cu chip uman*, București, Editura Humanitas.
58. Lovinescu, Monica. (1978). *Unde scurte: jurnal indirect*, Madrid, Editura Límite.
59. Lovinescu, Monica. (2008). *La apa Vavilonului*, București, Humanitas.
60. Lovinescu, Monica. (2010). *Jurnal esențial*, București, Humanitas.
61. Lungu-Badea, Georgiana. (2005). *Tendințe în cercetarea traductologică*, Timișoara, Editura Universității de Vest.
62. Manolescu, Nicolae. (2005). *Decalogul criticii literare*, Brașov, Editura Aula.
63. Marcu, Silvia. (2005). *Un puente latino sobre Europa*. București, Editorial del Instituto Cultural Rumano.
64. Marino, Adrian. (1993). *Evadări în lumea liberă*, Iași, Institutul European.
65. McLuhan, Marshall. (1975). *Galaxia Gutenberg: omul și era tiparului*, București: Editura Politică.
66. Micu, Dumitru. (1984). *Modernismul românesc I; De la Macedonski la Bacovia*, București, Editura Minerva.
67. Mocanu, Marin Radu. (2001). *Cenzura comunista*, București, Editura Albatros.
68. Negrici, Eugen. (2003). *Literatura română sub comunism. Poezia I*, București, Editura Fundației PRO.
69. Negrici, Eugen. (2006). *Literatura română sub comunism. II-Proza*, București, Editura Fundației Pro.

70. Nemoianu, Virgil. (1997). *O teorie a secundarului. Literatură, progres și reacțiune*, București, Editura Univers.
71. Nietzsche, Friedrich. (2019). *Știința voioasă*, București, Humanitas.
72. Ortega y Gasset, José. (1942). *Ideas y creencias-Revista de occidente*, Madrid.
73. Ortega y Gasset, Jose. (2003). *Dezumanizarea artei și alte eseuri de estetică*; traducere de Sorin Mărculescu. București, Editura Humanitas.
74. Pătrășcanu, Lucreția. (1970). *Sub trei dictaturi*, București, Editura Politică.
75. Pelin, Mihai. (2002). *Opisul emigrației politice - Destine în 1222 de fișe alcătuite pe baza dosarelor din arhivele Securității*, București, Editura Compania.
76. Petcu, Marian. (1999). *Puterea și cultura. O istorie a cenzurii*, Cuvânt înainte de Mihai Coman, București, Editura Polirom.
77. Petrescu, Liviu. (1998). *Poetica postmodernismului*, București, Editura Paralela 45.
78. Rad, Ilie. (2008). *Incursiuni în istoria presei românești*, Cluj- Napoca, Editura Accent.
79. Rad, Ilie. (2011). *Limba de lemn în presă*, București, Editura Tritonic.
80. Ralea, Mihai. (1989). *Scrieri*, vol. VII, București, Editura Minerva.
81. Ralea, Mihai. (1996). *Explicarea omului*, București, Editura Minerva.
82. Ralea, Mihai. (1997). *Fenomenul românesc*, București, Editura Albatros.
83. Rațiu, Ion. (2018). *Jurnal. Reorganizarea exilului (1963-1968)* vol. III, București, Editura Corint.
84. Sasu, Aurel. (1993). *Cultura română în Statele Unite și Canada I. Presa*, Editura Fundației Culturale Române, București.
85. Săvoiu, Adrian. (2012). *Muscelul. Mărturii în timp*. București, Editura Ars Docenti.
86. Scheler, Max. (2007). *Omul resentimentului*, București, Editura Humanitas.
87. Sloterdijk, Peter. (2003). *Reguli pentru parcul uman*, București, Editura Humanitas.
88. Stan, Nicolae. (1979). *Reflectări istorico- literare ale rezistenței românești*, București, Editura Politică.
89. Ștefănescu, Crisula. (2010). *Alexandru Busuioceanu: Poezie și cunoaștere*, București, Editura Eminescu.
90. Todorov, Tzvetan. (1999). *Noi și ceilalți*, Iași, Editura Institutul European.
91. Todorov, Tzvetan. (1999). *Omul deșărădăcinat*, București, Institutul European.

92. Torouțiu, I. E. (1933). *Studii și documente literare*. Vol. IV. Junimea, București, Inst. Arte grafice Bucovina.
93. Turk, Horst. (2003). *Philologische Grenzgänge - Zum Cultural Turn in der Literatur*, Würzburg, Königshausen & Neumann.
94. Ungureanu, Elena. (2014). *Dincolo de text: Hypertextul*, Chișinău, Editura Arc.
95. Ungureanu, Cornel. (1995). *La vest de Eden. O introducere în literatura exilului*, Timișoara, Editura Amarcord.
96. Vasile, Cristian. (2011). *Politicile culturale comuniste în timpul regimului Gheorghiu-Dej*, București, Editura Humanitas.
97. Vălenaș, L. (2000). *Mișcarea legionară între adevăr și mistificare*, Timișoara, Editura Marineasa.
98. Veress, Károly. (2003). *Ființa generațională și destinul culturii*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Casa Cărții de Știință.
99. Vlad, Loredana. (2019). *Umanism, transumanism, postumanism: perspective filosofice*, Iași, Editura Lumen.
100. Weber, Max. (2003). *Etica protestantă și spiritul capitalismului*, București, Editura Humanitas.
101. Williams, Raymond. (1971). *The Long Revolution*, Penguin Books.

E. STUDII ÎN VOLUME

1. Aubenque, Pierre. (2005). „De la dezbateră Davos (1929) la cearta pariziană asupra umanismului (1946-1968): geneza, motivele și posteritatea anti-umanismului heideggerian: Fapte, concepte, dezbateri”, în Bruno Pinchard (coord.), *Heidegger și problema umanismului*, Paris, PUF, col. „Filozofia Themis”.
2. Borțun, Dumitru. (2021). „Alianța umanismelor. O introducere în teoria comunicațiilor interideologice”, in Emilian Mihailov, Mihaela Constantinescu, Mircea Flonta, *Acțiune și rațiune. In memoriam Valentin Mureșan*, București, Editura Universității București.
3. Ciorănescu, Alexandru. (1966). „Alejandro Busuioceanu en España”, Separata de *Acta philológica*, 5, Roma, Societas Academica Dacoromana.

4. Cioranescu, Alejandro. (2009). „El arte de la traducción”, în *Anuario de la Sociedad Española de la Literatura general y Comparada* 8, Reeditado por Sánchez Robayna, Andrés (ed.).
5. Dupuy, Jean-Pierre. (1985). “Totalisation et meconnaissance”, in Paul Dumouchel (ed.), *Violence et verite. Autour de René Girard, Colloque de Cerisy*, Paris, Bernard Grasset.
6. Ghiu, Bogdan. (2015). „Comparativism global și traduceri simultane”, în *Totul trebuie tradus: noua paradigmă*, București, Editura Cartea Românească.
7. Heidegger, Martin. (1988). „Scrisoare despre umanism”, în *Repere pe drumul gândirii* (traducere și note introductive de Thomas Kleininger & Gabriel Liiceanu), București, Editura Politică.
8. Horia, Vintilă. (2004). „Despre un exil în exil”, în vol. *Suflete cu umbra pe pământ. Portrete si reflectii memorialistice*, editie îngrijită si postfată de Nicolae Florescu, Bucuresti, Editura „Jurnalul literar”.
9. Manolache, Gheorghe I. (2014). „Homo europaeus - fața și reversul”, în volumul *Omul nou al Europei: Modele, prototipuri, idealuri*, Chișinău, CEP USM.
10. Martin, Mircea. (2011). „Patrimoniul nostru moral și simbolic”, în *Dilemele identității. Forme de legitimare a literaturii în discursul cultural european al secolului XX / coord.: Rodica Ilie, Andrei Bodiu, Adrian Lăcătuș*, Brașov, Editura Universității Transilvania.
11. Mihai, Nicoleta. (2011). *Limba de lemn a lui Gheorghiu Dej*, în volumul Ilie Rad, *Limba de lemn în presă*, București, Editura Tritonic.
12. Mihăilescu, Florin. (1989). „Prefață” la volumul lui Mihai Ralea, *Scrieri*, vol. VII, București, Editura Minerva.
13. Munteanu, Luminița. (2008). „Traducerea, între aporiile teoretice și dilemele practice”, în volumul *Tradiții în dialog I*, editor Floretina Vișan, Mugurel Zlotea, București, Editura Universității din București.
14. Mureșan, Valentin. (1984). „Materialitatea lumii ca problemă ideologică”, în *Ideologie și contemporaneitate*, București, Editura politică.
15. Nedelcu, Monica. (1992). „Horia Vintilă”, în vol. *Români în știința și cultura occidentală*, Davis, Academia Româno-Americană de Științe și Arte.
16. Popa, Mircea. (2011). „De la proletcultism la ceaușism în «Limba de lemn» a criticii literare”, în volumul Ilie Rad, *Limba de lemn în presă*, București, Editura Tritonic.

17. Scubla, Lucien. (1982). „Contribution a la theorie du sacrifice”, in Michel Deguy, Jean-Pierre Dupuy(eds.), *Rene Girard et le probleme du mal*, Paris: Bernard Grasset.
18. Uscătescu, George. (1987). „Profiturile unui nou umanism”, în *Proces umanismului*, București, Editura Politică.
19. Uta Burcea, Ofelia Mariana. (2014). *Tesis doctoral - Contactos entre la literatura española y la literatura rumana en el ámbito de la traducción*, Madrid.
20. Veres, Luis. (2011). *Limba de lemn, propaganda și franchismul*, în volumul Ilie Rad, *Limba de lemn în presă*, București, Editura Tritonic.

F. ARTICOLE ÎN REVISTE

1. Almagro, Melchor Fernández. (1948). „Un rumano, poeta español”, în *La Vanguardia*.
2. Alexandrescu, Sorin. (1997; 1998) „Imigrantul ca deviant”, în *Exilul- Secolul XX*, nr. 10-11-12, nr. 1-2-3.
3. Alonso-Fueyo, Sabino. (1974). „Jorge Uscatescu y la cultura”, în *ABC Madrid*.
4. Alvarez Villar, Alfonso. (1966) „Rumanos en España”, în *ABC Madrid*.
5. Alvarez, Carlos Luis. (1967). „Los imposibles, por Vintila Horia”, în *ABC, Blanco y negro*, Madrid.
6. Anghelescu, Mircea. (1993). „Exilul romantic și imaginea patriotului despre sine”, în *Caiete critice*, nr. 1-2.
7. Anghelescu, Mircea. (2011). „Alexandru Busuioceanu en España: poeta y profesor ” în *Revista de Filologia Románica*, nr. 7.
8. Antip, Constantin, Șerbănescu, Rodica. (1981). „Din tradițiile progresiste ale presei române”, în *Presa noastră - Revista Uniunii ziariștilor din R.P.R.*, an XXVI, nr. 11.
9. Antonescu, Nae. (1991). „Dragostea si exilul”, în *Familia*, an XXVII, seria a V-a, nr. 2.

10. Baquer, Miguel Alonso. (1975). „Conferencia de Jorge Uscatescu en San Sebastian”, în *ABC Madrid*.
11. Bălcescu, Nicolae. (1954). „Îndemnuri din pagini de demult”, în *Carpații*.
12. Bellveser, Efe Juan. (1951). „Dos libros impresos en Madrid obtienen los primeros premios literarios de la Unión Latina, en Paris”, în *ABC Madrid*.
13. Berruezo, José (1961). „Conferencia de D. Jorge Uscatescu en Santander”, în *ABC Madrid*.
14. Bogdan, Radu. (1981). „Mass media și civilizația contemporană - Comunicarea încotro?”, în *Presa noastră - Revista Uniunii ziariștilor din R.P.R.*, an XXVI, nr.1.
15. Borțun, Dumitru. (2015). „Prin alianța umanismelor, spre un umanism integral”, în *De la paradigma confruntării la alianța umanismelor. O abordare epistemologică a conflictelor ideologice*, în *GeoPolitica*, revistă de Geografie Politică, Geopolitică și Geostrategie, 02/01
16. Bourdieu, Pierre. (1997). „L'économie des échanges linguistiques“, în *Langue française*, nr. 34.
17. Busuioceanu, Alexandru. (1954). „Utopia getica”, în *Destin*, nr. 8-9.
18. Cabañas, Pablo. (1948). „Alejandro Busuioceanu, poeta español” în *Caiete de literatura*.
19. Cano, José Luis. (1948). „Cronica de poesía”, în *Ínsula*.
20. Călinescu, Matei. (2005). „Nu avem nevoie de idoli și de mituri”, în *Observator cultural*, nr.259/10-03.
21. Cârneli, Magda. (1997; 1998). „Exilul provizoriu”, în *Exilul - Secolul XX*, nr. 10-11-12, nr. 1-2-3.
22. Ceaușescu, Nicolae. (1981). „Orientări comuniste de ample perspective pentru presa noastră”, în *Presa noastră - Revista Uniunii ziariștilor din R.P.R.*, an XXVI, nr. 1.
23. Colec, Gabriel. (2014). „Conceptul de nerecunoaștere la Rene Girard și tradiția socială franceză a demistificării”, în *Revista de filosofie HETERON.RO – anul II*, nr. 7, octombrie-decembrie.
24. Ceterghi, Ioan. (1962). „Educarea conștiinței politico - juridice socialiste a oamenilor”, în *Presa noastră - Revista Uniunii ziariștilor din R.P.R.*, an VII, nr. 12 (80).
25. Ciorănescu, Alexandru. (1966). „Alejandro Busuioceanu en España” în *Separata de Actophilológica*, 5, Roma.

26. Coterlan, I.D. (1951). „Fundamentele sudestului european”, în *Destin*, nr. 1.
27. De la Mora, Gonzalo Fernando. (1963). „Utopía y plenitud histórica”, în *ABC Madrid*.
28. Dimiseanu, Gabriel. (1997). „Exilul din exil”, în *România literară*, 25.6.
29. Eiroa San Francisco, Matilde. (2007). „Una mirada desde España: mensajes y medios de comunicación de los refugiados de Europa del Este”. *Estudios sobre el mensaje periodístico*, 17 (2).
30. Esparza, José Javier. (1989). „Mijail Eminescu: El último aliento del romanticismo”, în *ABC Madrid*.
31. Fernández Almagro, Melchor. (1948). „Un rumano, poeta español”, în *La vanguardia española*.
32. Ferrero, Blanco. (2006). „Las contradicciones entre las políticas interior y exterior en la Rumanía de la Guerra Fría”, în *HAOL*, 9.
33. Foucault, Michel. (2016). „Ce este un autor”, în *Cafeneaua literară - Arte Poetice*, nr. 29.
34. Fratos, Eugenio. (1949). „El intenso patetismo de Alejandro Busuioceanu”, în *La Hora*.
35. Gomez-Santos, Martho. (1972). „Jorge Uscatescu: El ensayo, forma adecuada a la mentalidad cultural contemporánea”, în *ABC Madrid*.
36. Grigurcu, Gheorghe. (2021). „Cazul Horia Stamatu”, în *România literară* nr. 04-05.
37. Herescu, N. I. (1962). „Ziar de pribeag”, în *Destin*, nr. 12.
38. Hernández, Antonio Luque. (2015). „Madrid, Centro cultural de ciudadanos rumanos del exilio en la España postbélica. La labor de sus intelectuales durante la dictadura franquista”, în *Hidalguía*, an LXII, nr. 369.
39. Horia, Vintilă. (1951). „Premisele unui revizionarism românesc”, în *Destin*, nr. 2.
40. Horia, Vintilă. (1953). „Eseu despre interpretarea ciclică a istoriei”, în *Destin*, nr. 6-7.
41. Horia, Vintilă. (1961). „La rebeldía de los escritores sovieticos”, în *ABC Madrid*.
42. Horia, Vintilă. (1969). „Diario de un campesino del Danubio por Vintila Horia”, în *ABC, Blanco y negro*, Madrid.
43. Horia, Horia. (1951). „Cuvânt înainte”, în *Destin*, Madrid, nr. 1.
44. Ierunca, Virgil. (1966). „O laudă”, în *Destin-broșura aniversară*
45. Jenő, Farkas. (2003). „Interviu cu Alexandru Ciorănescu”, în *România literară*, 2003, nr. 11.

46. Levitt, P. Shiller, G. Glick, Nina. (2004). „Conceptualizing simultaneity” în *International Migration Review*, vol. 38, no. 3.
47. Lucaci, Andrei. (2003), „Exilul românesc după al doilea război mondial”, în *Carpica*, vol. XXXII, 18.
48. Malomfărean, Laurețiu. (2017). „Post-ism”, în *Vatra*, nr. 3-4.
49. Manolescu, Nicolae. (1991). „Antisemitismul și limba de lemn”, în *România literară*, an XXIV, nr. 26-27.
50. Martin, Mircea. (2022). „O teorie a traducerii (I)”, în *Observator cultural*, nr. 1105/13-04.
51. Mavrodin, Henry. (1997; 1998). „Exil?”, în *Exilul-Secolul XX*, nr. 10-11-12, nr. 1-2-3.
52. Mavrodin, Irina. (1997; 1998). „Atâta exil câtă conștiință a exilului”, în revista *Exilul-Secolul XX*, nr. 10-11-12, nr. 1-2-3.
53. Montesinos, Gadea, Rodrigo, Albert. (2011). „Asociacionismo inmigrante y renegociación de las identificaciones, culturales”, în *Política y sociedad*, vol. 48, nr. 1.
54. Mostaza, Bartolomé. (1948). „Alejandro Busuioceanu”, în *Ya*.
55. Munteanu, Eugen. (2008). „Traducțiile fac o literatură. Câteva reflecții despre traduceri, cultură și educație”, în *Vatra*, nr. 8-9.
56. Nicolescu, Basarab. (2017). „Documente excepționale pentru cultura română: corespondența între Nichifor Crainic și Vintilă Horia în 1972”, în *Bucovina literară*, nr. 7 – 8 (317 – 318), iulie – august 2017.
57. Ortega y Gasset, José. (1942). „Ideas y creencias” în *Revista de Occidente*, Madrid.
58. Ouatu, Alice. (1981). „Cu fața spre cititori, spre mase”, în *Presa noastră-Revista Uniunii ziariștilor din R.P.R.*, an XXVI, nr. 5.
59. Pedrós, Ramón. (1972). „La estructura ausente de este humanismo”, în *ABC Madrid*.
60. Popescu, Mircea. (1965). „Al. Ciorănescu, traducător francez al lui Dante”, în *Revista scriitorilor români*, nr. 4.
61. Popovici, Horia. (1952). „Despre eterodoxia spaniolă”, în *Destin*, nr. 4-5.
62. Rădulescu, Ilie. (1962). „La izvoarele unei experiențe fără egal ...”, în *Presa noastră-Revista Uniunii ziariștilor din R.P.R.*, an VII, nr. 1 (69).
63. Simuț, Ion. (2008). „Cronologia exilului literar postbelic” în *România literară*, nr. 23-24.
64. Uritescu, Dorin N. (1990). „Virusul totalitarismului [...]”, în *Ghilotina*.
65. Uritescu, Dorin N. (1991). „Ambasadorizarea”, în *Cotidianul*.

66. Uscătescu, George. (1951). „Cuvânt înainte”, în *Destin*, Caietul nr. 1.
67. Uscatescu, Jorge. (1952). „Europa Ausente”, în *ABC Madrid*.
68. Uscatescu, George. (1956). „Hombres y realidades de nuestro tiempo”, în *ABC Madrid*.
69. Uscătescu, George. (1956). „Nou itinerar” în Revista de cultură românească *Destin*, Caietul nr. 10, Madrid.
70. Uscătescu, George. (1959). „Escatologia e historia”, în *Destin*, nr.11.
71. Uscatescu, George. (1960). „Arte y significacion”, în *ABC Madrid*.
72. Uscatescu, George. (1960). „Aventura de la libertad”, în *ABC Madrid*.
73. Uscatescu, George. (1960). „El destierro de Ovidio y el destierro de Dios”, în *ABC Madrid*.
74. Uscatescu, George. (1961). „Hombres y realidades de nuestro tiempo”, în *ABC Madrid*.
75. Uscatescu, George. (1961). „Miguel Angel”, în *ABC Madrid*.
76. Uscatescu, George. (1963). „Los mitos en la literatura”, în *ABC Madrid*.
77. Uscatescu, George. (1964). „El mundo de Kafka”, în *ABC Sevilla*.
78. Uscatescu, George. (1964). „Reflexiones sobre la tragedia”, în *ABC Madrid*.
79. Uscatescu, George. (1965). „Diario de un escritor”, în *ABC Madrid*.
80. Uscatescu, George. (1965). „El teatro”, în *ABC Madrid*.
81. Uscatescu, George. (1965). „Europa Ausente”, în *ABC Madrid*.
82. Uscatescu, George. (1966). „Aventura de la libertad”, în *ABC Madrid*.
83. Uscatescu, George. (1966). „Creación y libertad”, în *ABC Madrid*.
84. Uscatescu, George. (1966). „Politica como vocación”, în *ABC Sevilla*.
85. Uscatescu, George. (1967). „Vida cultural - Las artes en la sociedad española del siglo XX”, în *ABC Madrid*.
86. Uscatescu, George. (1968). „Cultura”, în *ABC Madrid*.
87. Uscatescu, George. (1968). „De Praga”, în *ABC Madrid*.
88. Uscatescu, George. (1968). „Europea?”, în *ABC Madrid*.
89. Uscatescu, George. (1969). „Ventana abierta”, în *ABC Madrid*.
90. Uscatescu, George. (1969). „Vida cultural”, în *ABC Madrid*.
91. Uscătescu, George. (1971). „Clausura de la X semana de filosofia”, în *ABC Madrid*.
92. Uscatescu, George. (1971). „Sindicalismo y politica”, în *ABC Madrid*.
93. Uscatescu, George. (1971). „Trabajo, ocio, cultura”, în *ABC Madrid*.
94. Uscatescu, George. (1971). „Ventana abierta/ El tercer surrealismo”, în *ABC Madrid*.

95. Uscatescu, George. (1971). „Ventana abierta/ La democracia social”, în *ABC Madrid*.
96. Uscătescu, George.(1972). „Literatura, arte e imagen en el ámbito de la comunicación”, în *ABC Madrid*.
97. Uscatescu, George. (1972). „Contra el silencio”, în *ABC Madrid*.
98. Uscătescu, George. (1972). „Este posibilă întoarcerea?”, în *Destin*, caietul 24-25.
99. Uscatescu, George. (1972). „Saber y arqueologia”, în *ABC Madrid*.
100. Uscatescu, George. (1972). „Un espíritu ejemplar”, în *ABC Madrid*.
101. Uscatescu, George. (1972). „Ventana abierta/ La imagen en el arte”, în *ABC Madrid*.
102. Uscatescu, George. (1972). „Ventana abierta/ Poesía y política”, în *ABC Madrid*.
103. Uscatescu, George. (1972). „Ventana abierta/ Trabajo y funcionalismo cultural”, în *ABC Madrid*.
104. Uscatescu, George. (1973). „El discurso expresionista”, în *ABC Madrid*.
105. Uscatescu, George. (1973). „Las tres caras de la anarquía”, în *ABC Madrid*.
106. Uscatescu, George. (1973). „Ventana abierta/ Proyectos de una sociedad estetica”, în *ABC Madrid*.
107. Uscatescu, George. (1974). „Las dos culturas”, în *ABC Madrid*.
108. Uscatescu, George. (1975). „Arte y Política”, în *ABC, Madrid*.
109. Uscatescu, George. (1975). „Arte y significacion”, în *ABC Madrid*.
110. Uscatescu, George. (1976). „Clausura del curso sobre comunicacion”, în *ABC Madrid*.
111. Zordoya, Concha. (1948). „Llamada.(Poemas 1947)” în *Revista Hispánica Moderna*, nr. 3-4.

G. REFERINȚE WEBSITE

1. Anghelescu, Mircea. *Comparatismul- cea dintâi curiozitate*, disponibil la <https://romanaliterara.com/2020/06/comparatismul-cea-dintai-curiozitate>
2. Badmington, Neil. *Teoretizarea postumanismului*, disponibil la <https://posthum.ro/post-hum-1/neil-badmington-teoretizarea-postumanismului/>
3. Bulgăr, Gheorghe. *Alexandru Ciorănescu. Alternativa - Exilul creator*, disponibil la <http://www.alternativaonline.ca/Alexandru%20Cioranescu.html>

4. Ghiu, Bogdan. *Totul trebuie tradus: noua paradigmă*, disponibil la [Bogdan-Ghiu-Totul-trebuie-tradus-2015.pdf \(levurelitteraire.com\)](#)
5. Iordan, Iorgu. *Los estudios hispánicos en Rumanía*, disponibil la [Actas I. AIH. Los estudios hispánicos en Rumania. IORGU IORDAN. \(cervantes.es\)](#)
6. López, Romero D. *Primeros textos publicados de Carmen Martín Gaité en la revista "Trabajos y Días" (Salamanca, 1946-1951)*, disponibil la http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/signa-revista-de-la-asociacion-espanola-de-semiotica-5/html/025dabac-82b2-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_25.html
7. Mihăieș, Mircea. *Pierdut în protocronia (5)*, disponibil la <https://putereaacincea.ro/pierdut-protocronia-5/>
8. Morales Zúñiga, L.C. *La Educación en el pensamiento de Constantino Láscaris*, disponibil la <http://www.redalyc.org/jatsRepo/729/72946471012/html/index.html>
9. Oprea, Nicolae. *Un eseu despre exil*, disponibil la [Un eseu despre exil: ZIUA](#)
10. Pasolini, Pier Paolo, „El Partido Comunista Italiano a los jóvenes “ disponibil la [Tediósfera – Un blog de Eduardo Huchín Sosa \(wordpress.com\)](#)
11. Popescu, Alice, „Arhivele de represiune sau represiune folosind arhive. *Dosarul Vintilă Horia de astăzi*” disponibil la [Arhivele de represiune sau represiune folosind arhive. "Dosarul" Vintilă Horia de astăzi – Caietele LARHRA \(publications-prairial.fr\)](#)
12. Poruciuc, Adrian. *O victorie a exilului românesc: Alexandru Ciorănescu (1911-1999)*, disponibil la http://www.philippide.ro/Romani%20majoritari_2007/81_PORUCIUC.pdf
13. Țin, Ilarion. *Cum a preluat Ceaușescu controlul asupra presei*, disponibil la <https://www.historia.ro/sectiune/general/articol/cum-a-preluat-ceausescu-controlul-asupra-presei>
14. Uta Burcea, Ofelia Mariana. *Tesis doctoral „Contactos entre la literatura española y la literatura rumana en el ámbito de la traducción”*, disponibil la [Microsoft Word - TESIS_up.doc \(ucm.es\)](#)
15. Interviu realizat de Simona Popescu cu personalități ale culturii spaniole, disponibil la <https://muzeulbucurestiului.ro/15331-2/> (accesat la data de 12.12.2022)