

Pamfil Șeicaru. Author and literary character
(Summary of the doctoral thesis)

Supervising professor:

Prof. univ. dr. Ionel Funeriu

Candidate:

Ando Andrei

The myth of greatly talented journalist, but also of blackmailer and immoral person created around Pamfil Șeicaru an unwanted crust which covered entirely his qualities and important contribution to the Romanian literature. The drama chronicles, the plays and novels, the setting up of the supplement *Curentul literar (Literary trend)*, where young writers had been promoted, his activity as literary criticist, the literary portraits (real micro-novels) were put in shade by the harsh indictments written as editor and journal director by one of the most gifted Romanian pamphleteers of all times.

It is the biographers', detractors' fault, the fault of all those who analyzed from a unilateral perspective, of bad will or ignorance, the meaning of the journalist's activity and the structure of his works. Only recently, the literary size of Șeicaru's works was explored, fragmentary, roughly, in studies and media papers.

We intend to search the universe of the Șeicaru's pamphlets from a perspective not used until now – themes, stylist, contextual.

Another objective of the thesis is the novel research of Pamfil Șeicaru's literary profile, which we identified as main character in 14 literary works.

Argument

Far from idealizing his image, this paper intends to carry on a lucid, objective analysis, based upon a vast documentation, without ideological views on Șeicaru's personality and works.

We have started in this adventure of knowledge, we have started from the premise of the recovery of the literate size, less known for that that remained nevertheless in the first plan of the intellectual life as gifted journalist.

Structure of the thesis

The work is structured on five chapters. Since the beginning, we have proposed ourselves that they combine the theoretical approach, focused on the main concepts and theories which the research questions rely on, with a practical perspective.

Chap. I - **An outstanding biography. Hero on the front, newspaper director, independent parliament member**

Chap. II - **A radical of the trenches generation. Traditionalism, nationalism, maurrasism at Pamfil Şeicaru**

Chap. III –**The pamphlet discourse at Pamfil Şeicaru. On the “sentence circus”, “cocaine cool drunkenness” and “voting hands”**

Chap. IV - **Pamfil Şeicaru – literary hypostases, dramaturge, novelist, memorialist, criticist, drama chronicle writer, literary character**

Chap. V –**Reception of Pamfil Şeicaru’s works and personality. Between *Homo immunditiae*, “Romania’s Cassandra” and the “Apache” of the Romanian media**

A distinct part was added as annexes, where we reproduce the first play published by the journalist, a paper from the *Gândirea (Thinking)* magazine which define him as a representative of the Romanian autochthonism and traditionalism, a dramatic virulent chronicle against Victor Eftimiu and few articles drafted in his unique style, of pamphlet, in the publications *Hiena*, *Cuvântul* and *Curentul*. And, not finally, we have elevated the character of novel research by publishing iconographic material, identified at the National Archives and in the media of the time with and on Pamfil Şeicaru.

The last part of the work presumes a debate on the performed analysis, on the limits of the research, eventual suggestions and the proposition for new further directions of research (Conclusions)

Methodology, objectives

We have tried to bring the research to the most recent/ current theories, regardless if they come from the Romanian or Western areas. In the analysis on the pamphlet topics and style, we have started from the idea of coverage of all stages of publicist activity. Thus, we have

drafted a database where we have introduced articles from a determine period of time, at least three successive months.

We have introduced in the statistic analysis 915 Pamfil Şeicaru's articles. Depending on the debated subject, each article has been classified considering its topic in one of the categories: internal policy, external affairs, social aspects, education, economic-financial aspects, media, culture-history, minorities-nationalism, external affairs topics, religion, health, justice, army.

We could have noticed the progress of his pamphleteer style from one stage to another of this publicist activity.

We hope to restore by this work the "table of values" (term often used by Pamfil Şeicaru himself, being obsessed on the Maiorescu idea of some solid criteria in culture via which a well-defined and contoured elite raise itself above the mediocrity) and to give back to the Romanian culture an (almost) unknown size, not investigated in a unitary manner.

Presentation of the sources

In order to know a personality of such intellectual complexity and amplitude, it is required to study a vast bibliography from the most diverse fields. Considering the numerous hypostases where Pamfil Şeicaru presents himself to the audience as journalist, literate, politician, the researcher interested in presenting a more justified analysis has the mission to make an inventory of the works from all the above fields.

Five categories of sources:

- I. **press articles** published by Pamfil Şeicaru during 1911-1944 (*Adevărul, Arena, Bucovina, Chemarea, Cuvântul, Curentul, almanahul Curentul, Freamătul, Gândirea, Hiena, Ora, Răsăritul*); articles published in the *Glasul patriei* on Şeicaru;
- II. **memorialist and diary literature:** politicians (C. Argetoianu, R. Bossy, G. Gafencu, M. Manoilescu, Al. Vaida-Voevod), writers (G. Bogza, N. Crainic, P. Pandrea, C. Petrescu, L. Rebreanu, M. Sebastian, V. Horia), people of culture (N. Iorga, O. Han, I. Peltz, Al. Tzigara-Samurcaş), journalists (V. Bârna, N. Carandino, A.P. Samson);
- III. **Pamfil Şeicaru's works** have been reunited in particular corpus of the bibliography;
- IV. **the literary works** where Şeicaru has been used in creating some characters. We highlight among these *Sectarii – Sect people* (Agârbiceanu), *Gorila - Gorilla* (Rebreanu), *Ai noştri, ca brazilii – Ours like fir-trees*, *Aurul negru – Black gold*, *Cheia visurilor – Dreams*

key, *Vladim sau Drumul pierdut – Vladim or the Lost Path* (Cezar Petrescu), *Delirul – Delirium* (Marin Preda);

V. **specialty literature:** we have used in extensor consecrated Romanian and foreign authors, with expertise in various fields of interest (characters' theory, inter-text, hypertext, pamphlet, journalism, history of media, history of literature, etc.)

Stage of research

In the specialty literature, the literate size of Pamfil Șeicaru is almost unknown. Until recently, especially by the end of the '90s, the publishing of the novel *Vulpea roșcată (Red fox)* created an emulation around the literary size of the famous journalist. Barbu Cioculescu, Nicolae Florescu, Paul Alexandru Georgescu, Gheorghe Gricurcu, Vasile Iliescu, Florin Manolescu, Mircea Muthu, Alex. Ștefănescu, Cornelia Ștefănescu, Teodor Vârgolici started an interest which is just at the beginning, as one can see.

The journalist pamphlet is targeted by some researches, but predominantly, they denounce the current context of the Romanian media, where the pamphlet has degenerated into verbal hooliganism, violent language excused by its ranging into a publicist type of finesse.

There are studies on Pamfil Șeicaru's life and work (Fănel Teodorașcu, George Stanca, Victor Frunză), but we have not identified an exhaustive research of the journalist stage during the *Curentul* journal, conjugated with the civic activism, undertaken by the journal director and on the literate size.

An exceptional biography. Hero of the unification war

He studied part time at the "Gheorghe Roșca Codreanu" high school in Barlad, one of the school institution of tradition in the Old Kingdom.

At 17 years old, he got involved into the cultural life, as collaborator of the literary journal in Tecuci *Freamătul*, run by the poet George Tutoveanu, where collaborated: Tudor Pamfile, Dumitru Karnabatt, Alexandru T. Stamatiad, Ion Minulescu, Nicolae Davidescu, Eugeniu Sperantia, Ilarie Chendi.

1912: Șeicaru was co-opted also at the Barlad hebdomadal *Răsăritul*, where he cared for the rubric "Săptămâna literară" *Literary Week*.

1914: The young man registered at the Faculty of Law at the University of Bucharest, times when he earned money from private classes and from literary chronicles sent to the publications *Steagul* and *Ramuri*.

1916-1917, he was in the Army IInd led by Averescu, Regiment 17 Mehedinți. He was leading a machine gun company with which he earned important military successes against the Germans in the battles in Vrancea, at Soveja; decorated with the Order “Mihai Viteazul” and with the order “La Croix de Guerre”.

In 1917, at Bârlad, he started frequenting “Academia Bârlădeanu”, established by Vlahuță, where Vasile Voiculescu, Donar Munteanu, Petre Cancel, George Palady, Victor Ion Popa, G. Tutoveanu.

Since 1918, he became journalist; he used various pseudonyms: PȘ, Arc, P. Arcașu in *Arena*, Pamfil Popescu-Șeicaru, P. Șeicaru, in *Freamătul*, Scar, Șar, Șaru in *Hiena*, he rarely used the Polyb pseudonym.

In 1918, he signed in *Arena* (“trenches echo”).

In 1919, at *Chemarea*, he collaborated with N.D. Cocea and with numerous young journalists, such as Cezar Petrescu, Ion Vinea, Adrian Maniu, Eugen Filotti, Ion Marin Sadoveanu, Andrei Braniște, M. Mircea, Henric Sanielevici.

A meteoric momentum is the employment for a few months at the journals *Adevărul* and *Dimineața*, run by Constantin Mille.

In 1919, he was appointed director of *Bucovina* journal (Chernivtsi), owned by Iancu Flondor. During 1919-1924, as director of the *Hiena* magazine, together with Cezar Petrescu, he imposed an aggressive, polemic style, unique in the media of that time. Though this magazine influence was low, by his articles against the authorities, Pamfil Șeicaru created himself a feared name (Zigu Ornea presents *Hiena* as a publication of right, anti-liberal, anti-democratic, anti-European, traditionalist);

In 1919, he worked at *Țara Nouă*, journal of Ion Mihalache’s conservators; in 1921, at *Ora*, pro-Averescu journal.

Starting 1921, he published in the *Gândirea* magazine, printed in Cluj;

In 1924, at *Cuvântul*, there is the final consecration of the journalist Șeicaru, as exceptional editorialist, analyst of internal policy and foreign affairs and as opinion leader.

He was part of an editorial team uniting consecrated names, ex-colleagues from various publications which he was part of: C. Gongopol, Cezar Petrescu, N. Crainic, I. Dragu, G.M. Ivanov, Paul Costin, Titus Devechi, Al. Radian, Adrian Maniu, L. Blaga, C. Arsenie, Vladimir Ionescu, I. Tolan, Jean Dragu, secretary of Editors’ Office, helped by Lorin Popescu and Vladimir Ionescu.

In the Romanian media, the journal individualized itself by the ranges of subjects, editors’ quality, critical attitude towards the power.

The intellectual conduct and the virulent polemics however solidly justified imposed quickly the journal in the top of the readers' preferences.

Starting January 11, 1928, for 17 years, he was director of *Curentul*, where he signed editorials almost continuously.

By the efforts, the talent and the skill to draw in valuable journalists and to present the hottest information, P. Șeicaru imposed this journal in the first plan of the Romanian media.

The publicist activity turned him into one of the significant actors of the political scene, able by his merciless verb to influence the deputies' and senators careers, to publicly denounce governments and ministers errors, to capacitate important decisions. And his notoriety grew once with the access in the Parliament, as independent, in the legislation of 1928-1931.

On August 7, 1944, the marshal Antonescu called him at Olănești, asking him to leave right away to Madrid, where he was supposed to issue two hebdomadal in English and French where to plead the Romanian cause from anti-Soviet positions.

At his departure, he published one last text: "My battle stops. I have nothing more to retract, nothing to repeat from a fight crossed by the heat of a persuasion. If the battle was lost, it does not mean that the cause was unjust. I wish that events prove the wrongness of my fears (...);

In his indictment, on May 15, 1945, Șeicaru is in the top of list of 12 journalists guilty of trafficking ideas of fascist propaganda, of "racial, pro-fascist" nature "thus anti-democratic, warrior and imperialistic one";

He was sentenced to death.

He arrived in Madrid on February 15, 1945. He established himself in Palma de Mallorca. He was active as publicist, respecting a rhythm he forced upon himself since he was young. He collaborated daily with an article of foreign affairs to the *El Alcazar* journal. In parallel, he founded the anti-Soviet journal *Liberty and Justice*.

For the Romanian section of the radio station of Madrid and for the Phalange radio station, he contributed weekly with three comments for each. He had other collaborations at the Propaganda Ministry of Spain publication, *El Spanioland Arriba*. He was sending articles at *Curierul Românesc* to his ex-collaborator, C. Arsene, established in Paris.

In 1974, Pamfil Șeicaru moved to FRG in the Bavaria region; starting January 11, 1978, the new series of *Curentul* newspaper was published in Munich;

The wish to see again his country caused a change of attitude towards Ceaușescu regime; Șeicaru was also drawn by the evolution of the communist regime from the harsh repression of fifth and sixth decades to those forms of national-communism in which numerous Romanian intellectuals from the country recognised themselves. In this context a journalist's

partial “recovery”, of his work might be possible. One encouraging gesture was recorded since 1966, when by the Decree 1977, Pamfil Şeicaru had been pardoned by the communist regime.

According to the officer’s Nicolae Sporiş testimonies, corroborates with Security documents, Şeicaru would have had secretly visited Romania between August 20-28, 1977;

Few years after achieving his last wish, to see back the natal lands, on October 21, 1980, he passed away in Dachau.

A radical of the trenches generations

Pamfil Şeicaru was the product of his age, of a Romanian intellectual tradition originating in the XIX-th century. His analysis on the society is of an impressive amplitude, of an untired rhythm and cadence in a general well-articulated theoretical framing on the Romanian historic destiny;

Upon his return from the frontline, the trenches generation launched itself into another confrontation against the old morals and old parties. The criticism of the society, as deduced from their satirical magazine, *Hiena*, is vast, general, deep, in an effort of understanding and change of the political, social, economic and cultural landmarks.

Şeicaru formulates his own theses on the role of the culture, element of permanence, based upon the ethnic specificity. Şeicaru stated the origins of evil are old, ever since the first half of the XIXth century. The Phanariot regime and the social-political expressions of the forty-eight generation had altered the process of evolution of the Romania society, in its medieval *landmarks*. Şeicaru’s criticism aimed precisely the rupture from tradition, nodal point of the Romanian historical route, differently assessed by traditionalists and modernists. The French revolutionary ideology, the “carbonari”’s actions applied on the old political and social realities caused “conflicts between the economic and moral realities on one hand and the forms of political organisation, on the other” causing a “sudden Europeanization”.

Pamfil Şeicaru was among the fiercest objectors of the Romanian liberalism, turned into the sum of all national history evils; he thought that Romania was not ready for the democratic regime and the universal balloting. The liberal regime proved to be “an accumulation of stupidity, impotence, unfairness, immorality”, remembering of the Phanariots’ times.

After 1924, Pamfil Şeicaru publicly embraced the values of the Romanian and European right. Already editor of the newspaper *Cuvântul*, he declared himself as the adept of a “traditionalist nationalism”, issued by the party obligations, realistic by the critical capacity of

analysis of the political life's players. The journalist's political sympathies converged to the monarchic, authoritarian, possibly dictatorial regime, if joining the popular sympathy, based on will and on a supreme sympathy.

He appreciated fascism as, in his opinion, it represented a radical change of the state values, of the selection criteria of the elite, transposed in a new conception of life, it restored the principle of order against that of anarchy, and it ensured the victory of the Latin race against the Asian hordes.

Its cultural **models** were:

1. **Nicolae Iorga** (the exercised strong influence make us consider Iorga as a *spiritus rector* for Pamfil Şeicaru);
2. **Mihai Eminescu** (Symbol of the nationalist generation, he is the prototype of the total journalist; Şeicaru appreciated the superiority of the style and the depth of the poet-journalist ideas; he kept from the Eminescu's political philosophy some ideas which will form the nucleus of the own system of analysis and interpretation of the Romanian and universal history)
3. **I.L. Caragiale** (he named him as "interpreter of the permanent human soul"; he was appreciated by Şeicaru for his plays and aesthetic considerations on the literature; he tried to continue the writer's projects by the play "His Excellency, Rică")
3. **Barres, Maurras, the French integral nationalism** (the trinomial monarchism-anti-liberalism-nationalism).

Pamphlet speech at Pamfil Şeicaru

Pamfil Şeicaru considers the pamphlet predisposition a natural state of the gifted journalist. In the *Istoria Presei – History of Press*, he defines the literary requirements of an article, insisting on the elements of colour, on the direct expression, well irrigated dramatically.

Şeicaru's journalist works is a pleading for the importance and the necessity of the editorial, of the article of argumentative type of text. The narrative and descriptive styles almost disappear from his writing as Pamfil Şeicaru grows up professionally. He embraces the art of pamphlet from the need sourcing from the mutiny of the trenches generation, payer of the blood tribute on the altar of the national idea, facing the post-bellum Romanian social-political realities. In his writing, he denounces the evils of the society whose rectification he wants at once. Mixture of patriotism and civic conscience, the Şeicaru pamphleteer's attacks

are always directed to a therapeutic purpose, aiming for general areas – social, politic, economic, cultural – where the forms of “evil” express themselves.

His models in the field of pamphlet are those taken from the French cultural environment that he was so familiar with. His mentors are Leon Bloy (political pamphlets) and Paul-Louis Courier (*Pamphlet des Pamphlets*), initiators of the denouncing dimension against political authority and power where the vitriolic verb is focused against some injustice and not wastes in useless and sterile polemics.

In the Romanian space, Șeicaru identified as genre landmarks the cupbearer Sion, Moldavian nobleman from the XIX-th century, the forty-eight, then Mihai Eminescu, Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu, Ion Luca Caragiale, Anton Bacalbașa, Gheorghe Panu, Constantin Mille, Nicolae Iorga, Graur, Tudor Arghezi, N.D. Cocea, Ion Vinea and Dem. Theodorescu.

Pamfil Șeicaru – literary stances

Curentul Literar

In one of the most prolific periods of the Romanian literature and publicist works, of great cultural and literary effervescence, Șeicaru creates a platform of support for the already consecrated talents or for those in an early stage of their expression – *Curentul Literar*, supplement of the daily newspaper *Curentul*. About 160 poets, writers, play writers, critics, and translators found themselves in the pages of the publication during the 18 months of functioning.

Pamfil Șeicaru’s ambition was to equalise the performances and the influences of other groups (*România literară*, where Liviu Rebreanu coagulated a nucleus of 30-40 young writers or *Gândirea*, under Cezar Petrescu and later on Nichifor Crainic) and to legitimate himself as factor generating high culture, by launching *Curentului Literar*.

Curentul Literar, made by the „*Curentul*” Publishing House, was published in the period of April 9, 1939 – October 1941.

Play writer at 17 years old

Pamfil Șeicaru explored the human nature, the contemporaries’ morals. Imagining himself plays (as we have seen, most of the literary works remained as projects or were completely lost), Șeicaru found himself in Caragiale’s pessimism, proved same capacity to penetrate the social phenomena, to carefully observe the distance between ideal and reality.

Published plays: *Pe nemâncate*, in „Freamătul” (1911); *De ce ne căsătorim* (1911); according to Vasile Iliescu, other plays written by Șeicaru date from the same period. At 17 years old, in the *Freamătul* magazine, the journalist would have published the comic short play *La pisica cu pantaloni lungi*, having a dictator as main character.

Lost plays: *Excelența sa*, *Rică*

He flirted intensely with the field of the literary critics. However, his debut in the media was with chronicles on the cultural life, particularly on the contemporary writers’ activity.

Consistent with his attachment to the principle of the semanatorist trend (the journalist’s philosophic-political vision is detailed in the second chapter of this work), Pamfil Șeicaru, the literary critic, rejected the forms imported from the West. His vitriolic outbursts addressed to the contemporary literates belong to this range of values.

Able of theoretic framing, thorough and well-presented analyses, reference to solid marks of the universal literature, in the critic stance, Șeicaru also surprises by the brave capacity to signalise and propose young gifted writers; for instance, he praised C. Doboș and D. Iov, “future novelist”.

Eugen Lovinescu calls him the “semanatorist critic”.

Novelist. *Vulpea roșcată* – Red fox

In 1996, 16 years after Pamfil Șeicaru’s death, there was published in Bucharest a novel at which the journalist had worked long ago, *Vulpea roșcată*, a novelised history on the Elena Lupescu’s biography.

It is the only preserve prose attempt of the known journalist.

Șeicaru the novelist keeps the journalism habits. In the well-known style, like in his editorials, Șeicaru appeals to quotations or sophisticated phrases, he inserts almost theoretical passages on music and literature, he abuses of extended quotations from French, of ample remembering of some historical events, he mentions dozens of writers, composers, theatre and movie players, directors, literary characters.

The novel literary impact was weighted. For instance, the critic Alex Ștefănescu considered that the novel placed “at the border between literature and journalism”, was not more valuable as Cezar Petrescu’s writings. In exchange, George Stanca, one of journalist’s biographers, acknowledge to the work the merits of treating the subject on “historic facts” and to suggest the consequences for the Romanian monarchy of the two characters’ love.

Other lost novels or in stage of projects: *Omul care a văzut pe Dumnezeu – The Man Who Saw God (1955)*, *În patru labe – On all fours* (“alive, dynamic, full of verve and vitriolic denouncement, dramatic confession of an autobiographic experience”).

Memoirist. Literary portraits

He wrote and published a series of portraits of some political and cultural personalities of the XIXth-XXth centuries. His interest was directed to persons who influenced his creations or whom he knew personally in certain moments of his activity. About 1975, of the 60 portraits planned to be written as he alone confessed in the correspondence with Radu Valentin, Şeicaru had already written 30. Taken from a line of Vergil’s *Aeneid*, the volume title has been already prepared: „Fuit quantum Ilioneum”. The author intended to achieve a fresco, an evocation of the Romania of the last eighty year by the analysis of its cultural and political elite.

Pamfil Şeicaru proves in these portraits an amazing strength of synthesising by which he succeeds to describe the general cultural, political ambiance, the environment of a social category, the ensemble of principles, values, features of character of some personalities. With easiness and talent, the journalist evokes in memorable pages the academic world of Iasi, the professor, including bias behaviour and clothing details.

He wrote about N. Iorga, O. Goga, N.D. Cocea, T. Arghezi, M. Sadoveanu, Al. Vaida, I. Maniu, I. Mihalache, D. Karnabatt, Al. Vlahuţă, I.L. Caragiale, P. Istrati and others.

Dramatic chronicler

His chronicles analysis in depth the author’s dramatic view, the staging, the players’ acting, the props, the figuration. In a living, alert, often sarcastic language, Pamfil Şeicaru emphasise with accuracy not only the technical elements but as true journalist of opinion and attitude, he highlights to the theatre management the administrative and artistic issues.

During the ‘20s, he frequented assiduously locations such as the Queen Mary Theatre, the Small Theatre, Our Theatre, Caragiale Theatre, but especially the National Theatre. This cultural experience transposed journalistically into the chronicles dedicated to the Romanian theatre and play writing, in the journals *Arena*, *Chemarea* şi *Cuvântul*.

He preferences go to the modern theatre characterised by characters’ psychological analysis.

He criticised the plays of Caton Theodorian, A. de Herz, M. Sorbu, Mircea Dem. Rădulescu, Horia Furtună, L. Rebreanu, Camil Petrescu, Victor Eftimiu (against whom he started a rough media campaign in 1925; among others he nicknamed him „Crăcănel” – little Trivet)

Pamfil Şeicaru – literary character, between myth and reality

It results from the research carried on that the features of the journalist, orator, politician and political person who was Pamfil Şeicaru were given in at least 14 literary works belonging to authors such as Ion Agârbiceanu, Liviu Rebreanu, Cezar Petrescu, Marin Preda, Tudor Muşatescu, Mihail Sebastian.

These are: Mirel Alcaz (*Calea Victoriei – Victory Road*, 1930), Filip Filipovici (the cycle *Miss România*, 1933), Horia Țincoca (*Aurul negru – Black Gold*, 1934), Iorgu Hortolomeu (*Cheia visurilor – Dreams Key*, 1935), Hartular Hristodorescu (*Ai noştri ca brazilii – Ours like Fir-trees*, 1955) and Vladimir Străvolniceanu-Vladim (*Vladim sau Drumul pierdut – Vladim or the Lost Path*, 1962) by Cezar Petrescu; Pantelimon Răcaru (*Jar - Coals*, 1934), Toma Pahonţu (*Gorila - Gorilla*, 1938) by Liviu Rebreanu; Ilarie Zopârţan (*Sectarii – Sect People*, 1938) by Ion Agârbiceanu; I.D. Borcea (*Ultima oră – Last Hour*, 1944) by Mihail Sebastian; Bartolomeu Zălaru (*Al optulea păcat – the Eighth Sin*, 1946) by Tudor Muşatescu; Grigore Patriciu (*Delirul – The Delirium*) by Marin Preda.

Şeicaru's, the journalist, literary portrait

According to Silviu Angelescu, there are literary portraits, intimate portraits as species of the literature for historic reconstruction and souvenir portraits. By literary sublimation, the person loses its real identity, being restructured by the logics of the archetype, which finally lead to the occurrence of the character. Usually, it starts from the looks.

This imposing head „decorating” the body as sarcastically noted Ştefan Florescu (the pamphlet *Domnul Pamfil Şeicaru – Mister Pamfil Seicaru*, 1929), is used almost always as an essential “part” of the portrait. Filipovici had a “genial head”, “curly hair”, “bulging forehead”, “gorgeous lion mane”; Hortolomeu – “bristly mustache”, “protruding eyes”; Pahonţu – “hairy eyebrows”, “black hair”, “large forehead”; Răcaru – “big, rugged head”, “short, thick neck”, “black longtousled and tangled hair”, “broad forehead” “protruding” crossed eyes; Zopârţan – “large chubby face”, “tousled hair”, “tangled”; Hristodorescu – hairy eyebrows, lion mane, green protruding eyes; Vladim – “haughty forehead”, “lion mane”.

It is obvious that of the three portraits gallery (neutral, portrait-caricature; portrait-encomium), it was opted for the second option, of caricaturing the character even if not exacerbated just to suggest certain moral characteristics as we are going to see right away.

According to Tomaşevski schema, which suggested the character's identification by three elements – onomastic (characterization), masks (external description, clothing) and vocabulary, we pass to analysing Şeicaru's literary avatars' speeches. In Latin, the term *persona* names the mask worn by players on the stage.

Characteristics: verbiage, aggressive language, behaviour suggesting strength, energy, impetus, interior restlessness; characters with precise motivation (politics/ success in journalism/power).

The characters' names are suggestive just for few situations. One element of realism is at Pahonţu, who is indicated with the real name Popescu. In an effort to change the personality by name modification, Vlad becomes Vladim, though the surname was era Străvolniceanu, which suggest old peasants' but noble parentage which the young upstart abandons. At Hartular Hristodorescu, the nickname Şperţular Şperţulărescu (Bribery Bribersmith) ends up to be used as name. Pantelimon Răcaru and Bartolomeu Zălaru are the most transparent remittals to Pamfil Şeicaru, both referring to jobs – craw fisher, the one who catches crawfish, and zălar, one that makes chain links, just like şeicar/şăicar means pontoon worker.

One method of identification with Pamfil Şeicaru the person is the reference to the **journalist profession**.

The past is suggested just for some characters, but **the modest origin** can be identified as social *pattern*.

As it can be noticed, there is a **pattern**, which partial or total features are respected by authors. There are multiple possibilities for Şeicaru's identification with the mentioned characters: direct identification (by proper nouns and descriptions, physical portrait and indirect (actions, emotions), biographic elements, the myth “the floor and the blackmail”, the professional activity and so on.

As a paradox, Şeicaru ends up being a **character type**– of the blackmailing, polemist, verbally aggressive journalist, getting rich by dishonest practices – representative for the Romanian society in the period between the two world wars, on whom he himself kept withdrawn and which he criticised in multiple editorials and speeches.

Reception of Pamfil Şeicaru's works and personality

“One blackmail, one floor”

It seems that Nicolae Iorga is the author of the famous dictum “one blackmail, one floor”, said in the elevator of the new Palace Curentul, while going up to the director’s office at the last floor.

In 1929, a truculent pamphlet against Pamfil Șeicaru circulated, having about 80 pages and written by a certain Ștefan Florescu. The defamatory booklet comprises hardly verifiable details both from the personal life and from the public activity. Avoiding the luminous biographic details, the authors takes from the times rumours which he launches as irrefutable truths.

Those who disseminated the blackmailer’s and immoral pamphleteer myth could be ranged into several categories: cultural and political personalities with whom he had conflicts at a certain time (Mihail Manoilescu, Al. Vaida-Voevod, Nichifor Crainic, Liviu Rebreanu, Leon Jean Constantinescu, Camil Petrescu), the philosopher’s Nae Ionescu adepts (Mircea Eliade, Mihail Sebastian, Radu Gyr).

Pamfil Șeicaru rejected the allegations: “You let yourself caught in this strange game of public prosecutor, sometimes applauded, always suspected. (...) Not once you are just a simple reflux of an opinion trend to which you give expression shape in the journal and still... You have just started your articles, you have just sketched the matter framework and on the most rightful, most wished cause the suspicion net is thrown” (Cuvântul, November 8, 1926).

“«Shark» of the Bourgeoisie media”

After 1944, Șeicaru turned into a target for various intellectuals, eager to be accepted in the cultural structure of the new regime. Sentenced in the trial intended to the journalist, labelled as “Romanian media gangster”, the ex-director of *Curentul* suffers a double punishment, criminal and moral, which influences unjustly his works and memory.

In the *Manual de morală practică – Manual of Moral Practice* (1946) –Tudor Arghezi calls him “man-gorilla” and “travelling gipsy”, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej asks in the Political Office (1955) to unmask the journalist with “concrete facts” taken out from the file. By the *Glasul patriei* campaign (1961-1963), set up by Zaharia Stancu – by the defamatory writings of Demostene Botez, Păstorel Teodoreanu, Romulus Dianu, the blackmailer’s myth got finally and irrevocably breadth, fixing in the collective mentality, with “proofs” and apparently undeniable testimonies from the journalist’s circles as: “zoological monster”, “symbol of

smallness”, “microbe”, “wreckage”, “Ch. Maurras’s cigarettes butts smoker”, “the cheapest traitor”, “the most un-vertebrate character”, “tram nag”, “the quintessence of the treachery fauna”, “symbole of the exile-arch morals”, “jinx and hoodoo for those next to him”, “early hooligan”, “wild boar”, “rough”, “of an artesian rudeness” etc.

Dumitru Micu, *Gândirea și gândirismul*, calls him “shark” and “blackmailer”.

In 1986, the third edition of the Small Encyclopaedic Dictionary “forgets” to mention him. He is also omitted from the Romanian writers’ dictionary, drafted before the revolution but published in 2002 under Mircea Zăciu, Marian Papahagi and Aurel Sasu coordination. He is also absent from the anthology *Literatura diasporei – The Diaspora Literature* (Florea Firan and Constantin M. Popa, Craiova, Ed. Macedonski, 1994).

“Romania’s Cassandra”

After 1990, the *Curentul* director’s complex personality, his vast activity in various fields led to interpretations from three large perspectives – politico-historical, journalistic and literary.

Three consistent biographic works have been written (Victor Frunză, George Stanca, Fănel Teodorașcu) and one volume on journalist’s life during 1944-1976, based on CNSAS documents – the National Council for Studying the Security Archives, Florian Bichir.

Scientific studies and small press articles have been published, mentions in general papers. From one situation to another, the analyses focused on the *polemists* size (Cătălin Mihuleac, Cornel Munteanu, George Nițu, Ovidiu Șimonca); on the *literate* size (Valeriu Râpeanu, Alex. Ștefănescu, Florin Manolescu); on the dimension of inter- and post-bellum *journalist* (as expected, Pamfil Șeicaru could not be absent from encyclopaedias and dictionaries on the history of journalism – G. Răduică, history of literary media – I. Hangiu, on the Romanian exile – Florin Manolescu. Cătălin Mihuleac, *Pamphlet and tablet. Journalism or Literature-Pamfletul și tableta. Jurnalism sau literatură?*, Iași, the “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University Publishing Hous, 2009; Munteanu, Cornel, *Pamfletul ca discurs literar – The Pamphlet as Literary speech*, Bucharest, Minerva Publishing House, 1999; Nițu, George, *Pamfletul în literatura română- The Pamphlet in the Romanian Literature*, Timișoara, West Publishing House, 1994.)

From those in exile, the Șeicaru’s reception is Manichaeian. The persons interacting with Șeicaru, either physically or by letters, certify and insist upon the journalist’s cultural and patriotic dimension – Vasile C. Dumitrescu, Oviu Vuia, René de Flers, Eugen Lozovan; others ignored or attacked him, see M.V. Ottescu and the campaign from *Bulletin*

d'informations pour les roumains de l'étranger (B.I.R.E.) – *Information Bulletin for the Romanians Abroad*.

Reception of Pamfil Şeicaru's works and personality

Ion Simuţ notices that few of the cultural personalities have been totally retrieved (Eugen Ionescu, Mircea Eliade, Emil Cioran), but the works of many other such as Aron Cotruş, Vintilă Horia, Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu, Ştefan Baciş, Horia Stamatu, George Uscătescu, Alexandru Ciorănescu, George Ciorănescu, Alexandru Busuioceanu, Pamfil Şeicaru are capitalised, commented and disseminated partially.

There is still small interest in Pamfil Şeicaru, though increasing during the last years. Despite all these impaired and numerically insignificant efforts, Pamfil Şeicaru's reception after 1990 gives the feeling of a huge *puzzle* still incomplete, where each author starting the adventure of knowing the journalist discovered a piece but lack the whole.

Conclusions

Of the multitude of themes and personalities of the XXth century, Pamfil Şeicaru, as opinion leader, important politician, animator of the cultural life, and then authorised and authoritarian voice of the Romanian exile, should have been on the short list of the research preoccupations for research and for the public and scientific interest. As a paradox, Pamfil Şeicaru, sentenced to death by the communist regime was not entirely retrieved even after 1990, being only sporadic endeavours for sequential capitalisation of his strong personality and vast works. From the papers on Pamfil Şeicaru, published after 1990, it results the tendency to minimise his activity under the label, not at all dishonouring, otherwise, of pamphleteer and the perpetuation of the anathema on the politician, accused by extremism

During the period after the First World War, under the influence of the “reactionary” and traditionalist intellectuality, Pamfil Şeicaru placed himself on the ideological positions of the right. This thinking orientation legitimates itself during the cultural debates focused on the most sensitive topics on the structure and the future of the Romanian society. Combative and argumentative spirit by excellence, the journalist got involved in the disputes triggered around some concepts even nowadays actual - autochthonism, traditionalism, modernism, Europeanism.

For the service of these ideas Pamfil Şeicaru has abandoned his destiny of literate, so early emphasised, ever since his teenager's year. For this quotidian he sacrificed, as he is going to admit at senescence the interest for lecture, the passion for poetry and the admiration for play writing. The journalist's whole moralising mission focused on the pamphleteer activity, of that who "stigmatises" the contemporaries' flaws with the purpose of safe and urgent healing of the body represented by the Romanian nation. To these political and social purposes, the journalist subsumed literary valences and activity dedicated to the literature, passed on second level, though fecund and profound.

We owe to Pamfil Şeicaru the setting up of a platform of support the already consecrated talents or for those in an early stage of their expression – *Curentul Literar*, supplement of the daily newspaper *Curentul*, during one of the most prolific periods of the Romanian literature and publicist works, of large cultural and literary effervescence. About 160 poets and novelists, play writers, critics, translators have benefited of this opportunity during the 18 months of functioning.

We retain his capacity of achieving theoretic framing, thorough and well-presented analyses, and references to solid benchmarks of the universal literature, the audacity to signalise and propose young gifted writers.

Even though the novel *Vulpea roşcată* – Red Fox did not consecrate him among the Romanian literates from the exile with works of large value (as it happened with Vintilă Horia's *Dumnezeu s-a născut în exil* – *God was born in exile*, for instance), it forced the posterity to reassess entirely Pamfil Şeicaru's works, by the increasing interest in his publicist projects beyond the journalistic concern. Novel of oral style, mixture of "fictional narration and journalism", *Vulpea roşcată* is the sole prose attempt that has been preserved from the known journalist.

The literary portraits which he makes are capitalising an epistemological valuable system for the receiver. They are actually micro-novels where the mandatory relation between the text and the context, the characters' framing into the social and political profile of the time, the careful analysis of the approached characters reveals a spectacular panorama of the most intimate psychological resorts. The analysis, the lucidity, the emotions and information dosage grants the memorialist's Seicaru works a unique character and a significant place in this literary genre.

The Pamfil Şeicaru's journalist polemic attitude covers all aspects of the contemporary society. With the pamphleteer's specific indignation he writes about people's ideas and actions, about governing authorities and opposition, about personalities and anonymous

persons, about individuals and crowds, about parties and federations, about Romanians and foreigners, about men and women... Nobody and nothing escapes the verb turned into a ruthless whip. It is not satire just for it, but it has the obvious moralising purpose to straighten the society flaws. Sometimes his pamphlet is polemical, understanding by this that it keeps the dialogue between the author and an interlocutor.

Studying this protean personality, researching over Pamfil Șeicaru's life and works is essential for the field of the history of the Romanian literature, journalism and politics. His activity almost confounds itself with the brief XXth century, as Tzvetan Todorov names the period of 1918-1980. We consider that this paper, far from being exhaustive launches new epistemological challenges in the above mentioned fields.