

AL. ROBOT AND THE COMPLEX PROCESS OF RECEPTION LYRIC CREATION



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Abstract. Al. Robot is not part of the founding models of the era, but he grew up and trained at their school, being close to the notorious personalities of the time. The contacts with the intellectual and artistic elite generated the creative impetus of the young poet, Al. Robot. He manages to enter the sights of the authorized critical voices, G. Călinescu, Perpessicius, E. Lovinescu, benefiting from encouraging chronicles. Despite his death at only 25 years old, Al. Robot managed to create a name in the literary world through two poetry volumes: "Apocalips Terestru" (1932) and "Somnul singurătății" (1936), two unpublished poetry notebooks, organized in cycles: "Îmblânzitorul de cuvinte" (1968), "Plecările și popasurile poetului" (1968) and the proletarian collection "A înflorit Moldova" (1968), a novel in manuscript "Music-hall" (Viața românească, 1969, no. 11-12). There is a relative field of reference to Al. Robot's creation, consisting of selected writings, anthologies, pages of literary history, articles and notes. The aesthetic recovery exercises of Al. Robot's work is not recent. In the meantime, however, articles and studies were written about literary life in the interwar period, about the top personalities, in whose entourage the young Al. Robot was trained. The gradual recovery of Al. Robot's creation, the critical evaluations that appeared sporadically after the 1960s, the extensive studies on interwar literature managed, first of all, to shed light on fragments of the creation of a writer who disappeared prematurely.

Keywords: recovery, debut, hermeticism, anthology, trends of "young poetry", representative sample.

Al. Robot și procesul complex al receptării creației lirice

Rezumat. Al. Robot nu face parte din modelele fondatoare ale epocii, dar a crescut și s-a format la școala lor, aflându-se în preajma personalităților notorii ale epocii. Contactele cu elita intelectuală și artistică a generat elanul creator al tânărului poet Al. Robot. Izbutește să intre în vizorul vocilor critice autorizate, G. Călinescu, Perpessicius, E. Lovinescu, beneficiind de croniști încurajatoare. În ciuda morții sale la doar 25 de ani, Al. Robot a reușit să-și creeze un nume în lumea literară prin două volume de poezie: „Apocalips Terestru” (1932) și „Somnul singurătății” (1936), două caiete de poezii nepublicate, organizate în ciclurile: „Îmblânzitorul de cuvinte” (1968), „Plecările și popasurile poetului” (1968) și colecția proletară „A înflorit Moldova” (1968), narațiunea în manuscris „Music-hall” (Viața românească, 1969, nr. 11-12). Există un câmp relativ de referințe despre creația lui Al. Robot, constituit din scrieri alese, antologii, pagini de istorie literară, articole și note. Exercițiile de recuperare estetică a operei lui Al. Robot nu-s de data recentă. Între timp, însă, s-au scris articole și studii despre viața literară în interbelic, despre personalitățile de vârf, în anturajul căror s-a format tânărul Al. Robot. Recuperarea treptată a creației robotiene, evaluările critice, care au apărut sporadic după anii '60, studiile de ampioare despre literatura interbelică au reușit, în primul rând, să pună în lumină fragmente din creația unui scriitor dispărut prematur.

Cuvinte-cheie: recuperare, debut, ermetism, antologie, tendințe „poeziei tinere”, eșantion reprezentativ.

In the autumn of 1935, Al. Robot moves from Bucharest to Chișinău, to an environment "lazy in cultural events" [1, p. 120]. The young poet is silent philosophically about the reasons for his relocation. Some colleagues record his hectic existence during this period: "he was frail, washed, sick ... he did all the jobs. All that remained of him was a pencil with which he always scribbled poems for *Somnul singurătății*" [2, p. 6]. It seems that the relocation to the periphery had been premeditated, being also favorable for creation. Or Al. Robot was looking for a "spirit of the age" of Lovinescu origin, that is, "a ton of material and moral conditions that shape the lives of European peoples" [3, p. 262].

When he arrived in Chișinău, he found that the spirit of the city was lacking in momentum: "There are many newspapers. Russian dailies have a significant circulation and in general the Russian press has an echo in the Bessarabian world. Romanian newspapers are taken out of a spirit of imitation. But they also gain readers, especially when they attack either democratic or nationalist themes. The Jewish world represents the majority, it also forms the intellectuality and the producing environment. Beyond, the greatest power is held by the clergy, who were in the past a force with many properties. In general, Bessarabia suffers because it is maintained under a Slavic, obscure character. It should be Latinized, brought to a more generous culture and without theology." [4, p. 132-233]

Certainly, the young poet was going through a difficult period of moral and aesthetic order. For conservative literary circles, he was a repudiated, disqualified, convicted individual. He was especially depressed by the chronicles which, without allowing any exercise of analysis on the text, ostentatiously rejoiced: "A unanimously accepted literary death: Al. Robot. Do you remember? The noisy, the talented, the brilliant, the wonder Al. Robot!" [5, p. 22-30]. The criticisms from the journal *Junimea literară* appeared immediately after the publication of the first volume. The people from the province executed him with satisfaction, stringing the teenager who dared to manifest: "With many brass

was the debut of Mr. Al. Robot. Some have sought to justify the fuss by the fact that the said gentleman is only 16 years old (since when did this literary quality reach its age?)." [6, p. 347]

From the opposing camp, he was promoted by the *Sburatorul* critics and his generation colleagues, among them great masters, as is the case of Eugen Ionescu: "The future lyrical constellation of Romanian literature designates, from now on, its possible stars. Al. Robot has a dynamism of insane energy [...] it is a descendant of a "modernism" – both as images and as a technique - western." [7, p. 83] Vladimir Streinu in the chronicle "Câțiva poeti tineri: Ștefan Baciu; Mihail (Haig) Acterian; Al. Robot; Cicerone Theodorescu" (*Revista Fundațiilor Regale*) appreciates their "anthological" creation for the intellectualist direction of contemporary lyricism: "Young poets belong to different measures to modernism. Grouping them together has no other meaning than the variable loss of the nutrient, for which only time is responsible." [8, p. 183]

Its meteoric appearance and tragic destiny are compared with the activity of D. Iacobescu (El. Țău) [9, p. 224-238], Aureliu Cornea ("Dicționarul Scriitorilor Români" (R-L), 2001) [10, p 75-76]. The overall image of the poetic activity with verified and unpublished data, outlines, at the moment, the following nominal cartography.

Despite his death at only 25 years old, Al. Robot managed to create a name in the literary world through two poetry volumes: "Apocalips Terestru" (1932) and "Somnul singurătății" (1936), two unpublished poetry notebooks, organized in cycles: "Îmblânzitorul de cuvinte" (1968), "Plecările și popasurile poetului" (1968) and the proletarian collection "A înflorit Moldova" (1968), a novel in manuscript "Music-hall" (*Viața românească*, 1969, no. 11-12). The literary route begins with its early debut in Bucharest, 1932, and ends in Chișinău, in 1941. The creation of Al. Robot appears reflected in dictionaries and anthologies of Romanian writers and Romanian writers of Jewish origin, but also in "Moldovan" literature, as a Soviet writer.

Al. Robot's name is retained by several histories of Romanian literature: Eugen Lovinescu, "Istoria literaturii române contemporane" (1938); G. Călinescu, "Istoria literaturii române de la origini până în prezent" (1941); Ov. Crohmălniceanu, "Literatura română între cele două războaie mondiale, vol. II" (1974); Ion Negoițescu, „Istoria literaturii române” (1991); Al. Piru, "Istoria literaturii române" (1994); Mihai Cimpoi, "O istorie deschisă a literaturii române din Basarabia" (1996); Ion Rotaru, "O istorie a literaturii române" (1996); Dumitru Micu, "Istoria literaturii române de la creația populară la postmodernism" (2000); Nicolae Manolescu, "Istoria critică a literaturii române" (2008); "Istoria literaturii moldovenești, vol. 3" (1989).

About the value of Al. Robot's lyrics, Dumitru Micu states: "If we are willing to see in Al. Robot a child-wonder, our enthusiasm must not, however, break out uncontrollably, but it is more prudent to weigh it with lucidity" [12, p. 17].

The year 1932 is the starting point of the biographical "anomalies" of the poet Al. Robot. In the first months of 1932, at the age of 16, he debuted with "Apocalips Terestru" volume, in March he entered on the radar of the security service, in the same year he left the Spiru Haret High School in Bucharest, and in October he was employed at *Rampa*, a daily newspaper for theater, music, art and literature. He was fit to succeed and sometimes made categorical and hasty decisions, in the adolescence spirit.

First of all, he had left *Rampa*, an excellent theater and literature newspaper, which defied the ministerial circulars by which, due to the turbulent period, young people were forbidden to participate in the cultural life of the country. About the generation of young people who publish often and, especially, very early, it is discussed in the press. They were blamed for their haste and ease, encouraged by journalism that involved a series of temptations. They were also blamed for the decision to give up the slow and laborious process of maturation in creation: "this fact makes many writers remain «young» until old age, that is, unrealized. Before creat-

ing an authentic poetry, they first create a poetic manner, which, of course, they consider the only valid genre of poetry" [13, p. 16]. Al. Robot was part of the new generation that struggled rather with its own contradictions: "Now young people do not have to fight with the elderly, but only with themselves, we see them otherwise agitated by the imperatives they submit to, not without internal debates" [14, p. 12].

Post-war modernist literature is the exclusive creation of the "Sburătorul" circle. Al. Robot's name is often registered in Lovinescu's diaries, along with the names of Mircea Eliade, Dan Petrașincu, Cella Serghi. We notice that in the first phase of "Sburătorul" we acted in the field of pure aesthetics and, to the stimuli of the new literary energies, with the intention to discover talents. Subsequently, new energies were discovered, showing goodwill towards all phenomena of literary differentiation. It is felt, during this period, in the creation of Al. Robot, the adherence to the invariables that E. Lovinescu had initiated at the time: "the refusal of dogmatisms", "the intellectualization of aesthetic experience", "the ennobling of expression". E. Lovinescu, the mentor, is satisfied with the poetic product of the disciple, noting in "Apocalips Terestru": "an original expression, with strictly personal and limited lexical material, with personal images, with a curious topic, with ellipses, with associations which give a hermetic appearance to his little poems" [15]. Previously, the critic recorded in a report "Cenaclul la d-l Lovinescu", the presence at "Sburătorul" of a "fifteen-year-old poet [...] who reads an airtight poem".

Consequently, the contact with the intellectual elite generated the creative impetus of the teenager Robot, displayed at the age of 16, when he debuted with the volume "Apocalips Terestru" (1932). He was not an ignored beginner, he had a "very good reception", chronicles were written that signaled the "early debut" that "amazed literary criticism" [12]. We note that "Apocalips Terestru" manages to get the attention of the exaggerated consecrated. G. Călinescu remarks, for example: "The lyrics of Al. Robot have the fluidity of a muddy river",

but he is reserved about the «false hermeticism» of the poems, at the same time, he addresses «a friendly greeting» [16]. Perpessicius considers him “really sensational”, appreciates his lyrics, “sound art”, “suggestive cadences”, “carefully concealed mystery”, observes the hermeticism he motivates through age, remarks that “he is a conjurer, maybe even a true poet, whom time will force to adopt a personal instrument” [17, p. 317-318]. E. Lovinescu is impressed by the “personal message” perceptible in a “sense of the ancient, of the nostalgic evoked mythology” [15, p. 165].

It is known that debuts are not defining; as a rule, they are testimonies of courage and initiative, but they become essential for launching. Immediately after the debut, several events followed. He published lyrics in the *Revista Fundațiilor Regale* (March 1, 1934). The poems, published in the prestigious journal, were included in the “Antologia poeților tineri”, written by Zaharia Stancu in 1934 [18]. The preface of the anthology is signed by Ion Pillat, in which he states: “the volume presents to the reviewer and the reading public a faithful face of young poetry largely unpublished or hidden in dailies and literary journals too little researched [...] Al. Robot is not the most unknown and its early notoriety is a corner spur of impulses”. Over the years, Paul Cernat mentions that the anthology deserves special attention for the quality and relevance of the selection; the tendencies of the “young poetry” of the time of 1934; its overall physiognomy. The anthology has a “generationalist” character that brings together debutant poets in volume, and the word “young” will be understood somehow and “insufficiently stated”. The sample proves, in time, representative in all aspects for the new generation: Dan Bota, Radu Gyr, Emil Gulian, Eugen Jebeleanu, Al. Robot, Eugen Ionescu, Ilarie Voronca, Virgil Gheorghiu and others. The poems of young anthologists compose a wide range of crises of interiority. Meanwhile, many of them had a tumultuous destiny, the stigma of totalitarian or other employment made it difficult for them to be considered. [19, p. 52-55]

Some verses by the poet Al. Robot appear in “Antologie de imagini din poezia nouă” by Scarlat Teodor, who reserves the right “not to label the final achievements, manners ...”, but seeks to present in this book a number of paralogisms, metaphors or suggestions, the subtleties of which gave me the impression of a successful leap, beyond the ordinary” [20, p. 27]. Following is the anthology by S. Podoleanu “60 scriitori români de origine evreiască” (1935) [21].

Some teenagers benefited from “golden” moments at the beginning, encouragement and wide openings and the biggest wish was to be accepted by the great literary journals of the time, usually severe and reserved with beginners, or at least to be hosted in daily newspapers, circulation journals with pages dedicated to literature. Few teenagers dared to embark on such an adventure, because there were conditions that initially required you to attend their circle and, in order to be accepted, you had to at least feel like an exceptional teenager [21]. Al. Robot had potential with certainty: “He seems to be a typical man of letters, a precious case in Stendhal’s time, when the man of letters, with prodigious availability for several genres, represents a landmark in a world of rebellious individuals.” [23, p. 119] At “Sburătorul” he was accepted and promoted. The cenacle nourished his state of exaltation, encouraged his spontaneity of inspiration, his freedom of expression. In a short time, he managed to provoke attention, but it was not enough, and the course of history had begun to change irreversibly: aesthetic situations had begun to become political engagements and the young Robot, wildly unleashed, reflected and wrote in his characteristic style. It had become inappropriate to speak of modernists, avant-garde, traditionalists in the 1930s, because aesthetic affinities were overshadowed by the brutally simplified political situation: right-left, democracy-fascism, “Moscow agents” – “Berlin agents” [24, p. 205].

Between March and April 1938, the poet published in the journal *Adam*, nicknamed “Adam – Convorbiri Literare de origine evreiască” [25, p. 19], three texts in verse, unpublished,

with a Jewish theme: “În târguri evreesci”, “Ghetto”, “În cimitirul evreesc”. Before moving to Chișinău, Al. Robot collaborates with the left-wing newspapers, *Cuvântul liber*, *Bluze albastre*, *Facla*, *Floarea de foc* and the journals of the “New Generations”, *Discobol*, *Unu și bobi*. He did not graduate from high school, one of the reasons being the connection with the Security Note, of March 27, 1932, due to the fact that Al. Robot signs the *Manifesto of March 26, 1932* [26]. The issue of the journal *Floarea de Foc* (March 26, 1932), in which the Manifesto was published, came under the scrutiny of the Security Service [27].

From the confessions of Al. Robot's wife, Robot Elena Lozovaia, the writer would have been convinced by the journalist Terziman, [28, p. 124-141] a true sea wolf in the press of the time [11], to come to Chișinău to make together *Gazeta Basarabiei* [28, p. 124-141]. In Chișinău, he met Nicolae Costenco, the editor of the journal *Viața Basarabiei*. The following details speak indirectly about the relationship between the two poets and journalists: Eugen Lovinescu, after some insistence, agrees to answer Al. Robot's questions about the situation and state of literature in Bessarabia, then follows a micro-essay on lyrical poetry in Bessarabia, which Nicolae Costenco reproduces from *Gazeta Basarabiei* (no. 11, 1935, p. 1) in *Viața Basarabiei* (no. 9, 1936, p. 99) [29, p. 1]. In 1936, when the publishing house “Dreptatea” published “Somnul singurătății”, the second volume of verses by Al. Robot, in *Viața Basarabiei* appears the review of Nicolae Costenco, signed with the name Rafail Radiana, who mentions that the poems “are not written for the general public, much less for the Bessarabian one”, it is because the volume “is rather a lyrical strangeness... He is so little Romanian in the craft of Mr. Robot's art, and he is so much of the old civilization of France, that no one can be surprised by the fact of such a faint resonance which he aroused” [1, p. 120]. It is known from the press that Nicolae Costenco, the official poet of Bessarabia, asked for “Bessarabians in Bessarabia”, he considered that Bessarabia “needs

apostles, but especially from its bosom” [30, p. 113]. Starting from Sabin Manuilă's study “Ştiință de carte a populației României”, Nicolae Costenco develops the idea of a progress of the coefficient of culturalization through regional resources, through an indigenous graft, any allogeneic element being considered, without discussion, “alien” [30]. Al. Robot publishes in the *Viața Basarabiei* a single poem “Basarabia” (no. 5-6, 1937, p. 66), a justified literary solidarity.

Ultimately, the harsh conditions of history push him into the arms of the Soviet regime. The year 1940 imposes in the biography of Al. Robot “true reversals of optics, fundamental changes of emphasis” [31, p. 23-79]. He started working for the newspaper *Octombrie, Moldova Socialistă*, then for the *Comsomolistul Moldovei, Scânteia leninistă*. From September 1940, until he enlisted in the Red Army in June 1941, Al. Robot was part of *Octombrie* journal team, a team of Transnistrian writers I. Ciobanu, P. Darienco and Bessarabian writers Em. Bucov, B. Istru, L. Deleanu, G. Meniuc. On May 15, 1941, he became a member of the Union of Soviet Writers of Moldova [32].

The times were turbulent and unpredictable. Although in Bucharest any glorification of the Jews is forbidden, Perpessicius is careful to publish a few poems, G. Călinescu, although he had been attacked by the fascist-romanian newspaper *Porunca Vremii* and the journal *Gândirea*, includes in *Istoria...* the profile of Al. Robot and other Jewish writers [33], Camil Baltazar laments him in the *Revista Fundațiilor Regale* (no. 11, November 1944).

The gradual recovery of Al. Robot's creation, the critical appreciations that appeared sporadically after the '60s, the monographic studies on interwar literature, managed, first of all, to recover fragments from the creation of a writer who disappeared prematurely from the literary circuit. The author's recovery in the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic and the Romanian Socialist Republic began simultaneously in the 1970s. Andrei Lupan, in 1964, being in Bucharest, on the occasion of the days of Soviet culture around the 47th anniversary of the Socialist Rev-

olution in October, is interested in publishing in Chișinău the lyrical work of Al. Robot [34]. The reference fund, in addition to the two volumes published, was in the possession of Camil Baltazar. In two letters sent to Andrei Lupaș, Camil Baltazar confesses "I have two unique volumes of the remarkable poet *The Departures and Stops of the Poet* and *the Tamer of Words*. There is also an original novel of his, which his brother, Casin, gave me to read in the past." [35]

In Chișinău, near the Third Congress of Moldovan Writers, called "turbulent" (October 14-15, 1965), George Meniuc urges, appeals, stating: "We cannot forget (Teodor Nencev and Alexandru Robot), their books must see the light of day" (*Moldova Socialistă*, August 29, 1965). In 1966, Ion Ciocanu started the re-evaluation of creation ("Preambul la un destin poetic", *Cultura*, August 6, 1966). In Bucharest, in 1968 (*Viața românească*, no. 11-12), the novel "Music-hall", left in manuscript (written between 1936-1940, when Al. Robot settled in Chișinău), was published.

The literary descent is ratified, first of all, by the critics Simion Cibotaru (RSSM) in 1968 and Dumitru Micu (RSR) in 1985. Simion Cibotaru "makes available to the soviet reader the most representative works from the rich literary activity of the writer Al. Robot." [36, p. 21] and declaratively establishes a research "objectively, with critical discernment. (...) In preparing a volume of selected works for printing, a certain selection of texts had to be made. With all the ideological and artistic deficiencies, characteristic of some writings from the period up to 1940, and which we cannot overlook..." [36, p. 13] The exegete emphasizes that in the strength of Al. Robot's talent feels the roots of Paul Valéry, Ilarie Voronca, Ion Barbu, Tudor Arghezi. The biographical data are provided by Elena Lozovaia, the writer's wife, and Liviu Casin, the poet's brother, also a poet. Excerpts from the 1968 edition were taken from the collection of poetry and journalism "I have not proved to write" (1985), dedicated to the poets-soldiers Simion Mospan, Teodor Nencev, Alexandru Ro-

bot. Consecutively, Eliza Botezatu's study also appears ("Poezia și dialectica vietii", 1988).

Dumitru Micu captures the moment of sensation, the event, produced by the collection of poems "Apocalips Terestru", belonging to a high school student [12, p. 5]. Dumitru Micu's introductory study is defining for establishing the artistic profile of the writer [37, p. 6]. The critic makes pertinent remarks about the linguistic nonconformism produced by "grammatical and imagistic monsters" who seem to be knowingly. Thus, the young poet "proceeded on the basis of an aesthetic". In "Limbaje moderne" (1988), the critic analyzes styles, looking for "figures", completes a list of his own characters, assembled in different currents: Urmuz sits next to Pillat, Eluard, next to Voiculescu, Arghezi is competed by Fundoianu in combination with Al. Robot" [12, p. 21]. The novel "Music-hall" appears in the 1985 edition. Regarding this novel, critics appreciate: Diana Vrabie "în trepte (Al. Robot)".

The latest edition "Alexandru Robot. Scrieri (Poezie. Proză. Publicistică. Eseu)" appeared in 2018, in Chișinău [11]. The author's biography was completed by Iurii Colesnic, Dominte Timonu and D. Vetrov.

Alexandru Burlacu in the volume "Literatura română din Basarabia: anii '20-'30", an exegetical recovery of the literary interwar period, capitalizes on aspects from Al. Robot. The critic mentions that Al. Robot is one of the representatives of the first lines of Bessarabian literature and points to the osmosis of the poetic imaginary, which makes up a pronounced personal structure. [38, p. 126]

Aesthetic recovery exercises initiated the critics: Zaharia Stancu, Camil Baltazar, Ion Pillat, Perpessicius, Paul Constantinescu, Eugen Ionescu, Dan Petrașincu, Mihai Zamfir, Șerban Cioculescu, Vladimir Streinu, Constantin Ciopraga, Boris Marian, Adrian Dinu Rachieru, Nicolae Costenco (Rafail Radiana), Nicolae Bilețchi, George Meniuc, Mihail Dolgan, Ion Ciocanu, Mihai Cimpoi, Eliza Botezatu, Ioan Mănășcură, Nicolae Dabija, Arcadie Suce-

veanu, Gheorghe Doni, Ion Țurcanu, Alexandru Burlacu, Eugen Lungu, Elena Țau.

Colleagues of the generation recorded the presence of Al. Robot in the landscape of the '40s: Neagu Rădulescu in "Turnul Babel" (1940), a panorama of the literary world, at the end of the interwar period, evokes with lyrical and humorous accents some picaresque aspects of the young man who had recently become the new generation.

On the post-war writers the creation of Al. Robot exerted a special impact, also recorded by Eugen Lungu: "The interwar sent through us a sample of what we were and what we could be, thus renewing a thread with such brutality. Although he was never part of the must-read lists – my generation read him, adored him and even grazed him as much as their own cultural obsessions and limits allowed [...] None of the interwar [...] had had the impact that Al. Robot." [39, p. 12]

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27. A.C.N.S.A.S., Fond Penal, dosar nr. 013495, vol. 2, f. 85. „Am onoarea a depune un exemplar din ziarul „Floarea de Foc”, în care 38 de intelectuali au semnat articole însierând atitudinea D-lui Prim-ministrul Iorga, guvernului și Prefecturii Poliției Capitalei, față de studenți. Dintre semnatari, cea mai mare parte sunt cunoscuți comuniști și simpatizanți comuniști, dintre care următorii au dosare la această Direcțione și frecventea Cercul de studii marxiste.” Sandu Tudor, Eugen Ionescu, Mircea Grigorescu, Ioan Călugărul, Alexandru Sahia, Radu Popescu, J. Lespezeanu, Alfonso Adania, Paul Constantin Deleanu, Haig Aterian. (Ciornea, Carmen. *Floarea de foc sau Tudor Sandu*. În: „Manajement cultural”, volumul XIX, Nr. 38, 2017 [online]. [Accesat: 1.7.2022]. Disponibil pe Internet la adresa: https://seaopenresearch.eu/Journals/articles/MI_38_11.pdf).

28. Terzman (numele adevărat Alterson-Terzman Isaac, evreu) și-a început activitatea la București, în 1920 se stabilește în Basarabia și scrie pentru publicațiile din București. În 1939, la 31 iulie, ziarul *România* îl angajează să publice un număr special dedicat Basarabiei. A fost în relații bune cu Pan Halippa și Ion Inculeț. Pan Halippa i-a încredințat secretariatul general la revista *Viața Basarabiei*, dar a întrerupt colaborarea când a început să aibă dubii referitor la onestitatea lui Terzman. În 1940 rămâne la Chișinău, iar în 1942 este învinuit de propagandă antisovetică, unul din motive: românizarea limbii moldovenești. Mort în GULAG în 1943* (Colesnic, Iurie. *Basarabia necunoscută*. Vol. 10. Chișinău: Epigraf, 2015).

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33. Cum s-a evaporat Robot, unul dintre poetii români de seamă din perioada interbelică. „A plecat și-a dispărut!” Călinescu, Eliade ori Lovinescu i-au deplâns moartea [online], [citat 08.06.2022]. Disponibil: <https://a1.ro/premium/cum-sa-evaporat-robot-unul-dintre-poetii-romani-de-seama-din-perioada-interbelica-a-plecat-sia-disparut-calinescu-eliade-ori-lovinescu-iau-deplans-moartea-id726322.html>

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