

UNIVERSITY "BABES-BOLYAI" CLUJ-NAPOCA  
FACULTY OF HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY  
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

DOCTORAL THESIS

ASPECTS OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THINKING  
OF EMINESCU

SUMMARY

Scientific Adviser:  
University Professor Dr. VASILE MUSCĂ

PhD Candidate:  
Prof. MARINELA GROFU  
(married: PÎRVULESCU)

## **ARGUMENT**

### **CHAPTER I THE CULTURAL FORMATION OF EMINESCU**

- 1.1. Travel towards the origin of Mihai Eminescu
- 1.2. False controversy relating to the birth of Mihai Eminescu
- 1.3. Eminescu between Ipotești and Cernăuți. Mirage of the theatre
- 1.4. Viennese Period
  - 1.4.1. Eminescu – convinced of the philosophical ideas of Schopenhauer in Kant and Hegel's approach
  - 1.4.2. Societies – forms of cultural and social manifestations
- 1.5. The experience of a student in Berlin (1872-1874)
  - 1.5.1. Titu Maiorescu in political context of the moment
  - 1.5.2. "City-anthill"
  - 1.5.3. Berlin – the intellectual environment trainer
- 1.6. The return to Romanian cultural and social realities
  - 1.6.1. On the eve of the books again
  - 1.6.2. The auditorium – way of knowledge of the condition of education
- 1.7. Eminescu, Titu Maiorescu and Junimea
  - 1.7.1. "Junimea" and "Junimea" partisans
  - 1.7.2. Ideological Points. Theory of forms without substance

### **CHAPTER II EMINESCU-JOURNALIST**

- 2.1. The philosophical foundation of the "practical interest for our homeland"
  - 2.1.1. Schopenhauer's onirology
  - 2.1.2. Ethno-psychology's foundations at Heinrich Moritz and Lazarus Steinthal
  - 2.1.3. Reactions to a philosophy of the unconscious. Eduard von Hartmann
  - 2.1.4. History's stake. The conciliation between the rationalism and the unconscious

## 2.2. The nature of the State in Eminescu's opinion

2.2.1. The political context of the end of the nineteenth century

2.2.2. The character of the State and his components

2.2.3 Polemic with the Liberals.

2.2.4. Xenocrat State

## 2.3. Eminescu's attitude on Jewish question

2.3.1. The Jewish community – the reality of the 19th century

2.3.2. The question of the Jewish community and its socio-economical resorts

2.3.3. Backside extrapolations-anti-Semitism

## 2.4. The theory of superimposed class at Eminescu

2.4.1. Economical and political context and his cultural tides

2.4.2. The sociological perspective of superimposed class

2.4.3. The sociological thinking at Eminescu

## 2.5. The "two" Eminescu. Or faces of the same coin

2.5.1. The poet vs. political thinker

2.5.2. Some notes on Eminescu's publishing language

## **CHAPTER III        MARGINAL NOTES OF EMINESCU'S NATIONALISM**

### 3.1. The exit of cultural scene

3.1.1. Episode Capşa-between silence and predisposition to excess

3.1.2. The diagnosis of Eminescu- perceptions beyond time

### 3.2. Nature of nationalism

3.2.1. The birth and operation of Eminescu's myth

3.2.2. Conceptual distinctions

3.2.3. Eminescu – national-poet

3.2.4. Echoes of nationalism over time

## **CONCLUSIONS**

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

**Keywords:**

Anti-Semitism, anti-Judaism, conservatism, positive class, superimposed class, economics, ethno-psychology, liberalism, nationalism, myth, onirology, Jewish question, negative social selection, sociology, theory of forms without substance, superimposed class theory, the theory of the movement of the elite, social theory of compensation, xenophobia

**Summary:**

To write today about Eminescu is a risky undertaking, generated primarily by a sense of the gesture's gratuitousness, to the extent that we have in front of us entire libraries that claim to pertain to Eminescu realm. On the other hand, the return to Eminescu, perceived as a founding myth (Lucian Boia), may betray a cultural and axiological crisis. What made me however, dare to open up Pandora's box are the echoes of many studies, articles and exegesis which either tolerates the importance of his publicist activity, in virtue of the fact that it belongs to Eminescu or deny it, perceiving it as a pointless job able to be insured him living for a while.

The present work has as aim to tackle several aspects of Eminescu's socio-political thinking overtaken in his work as a journalist, able to resize the value of Eminescu- the socio-political thinker in the Romanian culture, trying to restore the full picture of Eminescu's personality.

Starting from Noica's advice that regarded the escape from idolatry and proximity to Eminescu by understanding the texts, I used Eminescu's publicist text to clarify certain aspects, like the nature of the State in Eminescu's view, his attitude towards the Jewish problem and the anti-Semitism accusations, the theory of the over put blanket theory and echoes concerning xenophobia, that led to a lot of controversies in that time.

Our approach, we have structured it in three chapters, preceded and followed by a conclusion and Bibliography.

The Argument presents reasons for the choice of this subject, object and methods of research.

The approach of the cultural personality involves, despite reluctance inherited unwittingly, a comprehensive approach which, inevitably, must start from the social, historical and cultural context of Mihai Eminescu. Dressed in clothes of myth throughout history, but also

because of the poverty's springs, Mihai Eminescu was a subject of the bibliographer's controversy, disputes that have targeted the origin, date of birth, schooling, cultural influences, material status, disease and death. Biography became in such conditions „a guide in literary history, valuable auxiliary in explaining facts of the great personalities, attitudes and their creation”(Augustin Z. N. Pop), which is why the first part of the our work presented in the first chapter, „*The cultural rout of Eminescu*” pursued this size. In spite of the time elapsed and the fact that he became a myth (or precisely because of this), I found that Eminescu still remains unknown bibliographically speaking, „undervalued intellectually and as national poet too narrow understood”(Ilina Gregori). To restore the „Mihai Eminescu's intellectual training journal”, I surprised a few major issues in education: the intellectual preparing in Romanian space, the ideological foundation in the German cultural environment, Junimea's influence, but also the socio-political context of the time. Stopping us on the origin of Eminescu, later under the heading „*Travel towards the origin of Mihai Eminescu*” I analyzed the cultural and social environment, emboss, out of which it was part, displaying his father's pedagogical conceptions, Gheorghe Eminovici who considered as necessary to ensure a thorough cultural foundation for his sons. The following subheading, „*False controversy relating to the birth of Mihai Eminescu*”, summarizes the many sources on the subject. I considered plausible two variants of Mihai Eminescu's birth date: January 15, 1850, recorded in the official register of births and December 20, 1849, in accordance with the records of the family. The only problem is that, despite the impression of truths of the second, it was not retained any document that can support it, the note in the Psalter made by Gheorghe Eminovici being known only indirectly from the admissions of Matei Eminovici.

The following subheading „*Eminescu between Ipotești and Cernăuți. Mirage of the Theatre*” captures his school period at Cernăuți and Eminescu's concerns. The city of Cernăuți reconciles quite well "Upper Moldova's rusticity resembling with occidental civilization of southern Austria". His interest in literature and history is taking shape early in this period. Strong personality, Eminescu rejects the strictness of the high school, and the biographies find the young Eminescu, while he left the school, close to the theatre troops. Social and political criticism later manifested in journalism is prefigured as early in this period.

I paid more attention to the University stage, arguing that German cultural foundation has been providing his later cultural and ideological socio-political thought. If Cernăuți hosted an

almost German society , brought from all parts of the Empire, Vienna was the expression of an authentic German society – with all that implies this: culture and civilization. In the same time, Vienna could be considered welcoming, because the number of Romanians who come to school here was considerably. Even if at the University of Vienna he will be included as extraordinary auditor without the right to be present at examinations, Eminescu picks lectures of philosophy and the philosophy of law, political economy, financial and administrative sciences, international law, medicine and Anatomy lectures. I have outlined in the subchapter „*Viennese Period*” that the true culture was based not only on the University hall’s desks, but especially by thorough individual study, lectures becoming the true way for the comprehension of authors like Plato, Spinoza, Kant, Fichte, Hegel and Schopenhauer, or of some Oriental doctrines. The beginning of collaboration with Junimea is taking shape during this period by putting its mark on Eminescu’s training and socio-political thinking. Eminescu's interest for the forms of cultural and social movement resulted in the inclusion in student’s cultural societies. During this period, Eminescu is characterized by „the maturity of his thinking [...] bourgeois revolutionary and by a higher practical sense in social department”(G. Călinescu), guessing, absolutely remarkable, that the obstacle that stands in front of the development is the principle of two-tier element of the Empire, the only solution being the affirmation of solidarity of the oppressed nations. Moreover, the ideas will catch shape in a series of articles published in “*Federațiunea*” magazine in Budapest, in April 1870, signed with the pseudonym Varro. The issue of Romanian consciousness awakening is not an isolated episode, proof being the project of a course of lectures in Maramureș.

The subchapter „*The experience of a student in Berlin (1872-1872)*” brings into light a paradox: despite the fact that biographies who covering the period in question are numerous, they fail to clarify the nuances of his life, his university experience in Berlin being lapidary remembered by the majority of the biographies . However, this stage remains fundamental to the formation of Eminescu’s cultural personality. The new university internship initiative to support his doctoral degree in philosophy comes from his friends at Junimea, which will provide the necessary support. As Secretary of the consular agent (first Theodor Rosseti, then N. Crețulescu) he maintains permanent contact with Romanian diplomacy in the German space, being aware of the social and political aspects of the Empire space and attitude towards Romania. Berlin called overnight Imperial capital, by proclamation of 18 January 1871 at Versailles, lives the

transformations imposed by this new status, becoming a true urban Inferno (city-anthill). The presence in this space makes it directly witness the tensions of social, economic and political situation of Berlin, leaving his mark on the realistic vision which obtains in the areas mentioned. In terms of his academic studies, Eminescu is recorded in December 1872 at the Faculty of philosophy and attending courses for four semesters with an admirable perseverance. Both titles of past lectures in the transcript and noted poet reveals in their concerns and interests of an exceptional extension. He attended courses of philosophy and history, law, theory of comparative religion, mythology, ethnography, Egyptology, Sanskrit grammar, geography, economics, physics, physiology. But more than that, „Berlin school” followed educate „the critical spirit of Eminescu and the power of judgment” (Ilina Gregori). The concerns of the academic elite from Berlin in those years are marked by the orientation of the philosophers to the positive sciences, and vice versa: the orientation of the scientists to literature and art; historians were interested in modern theory of the State; they also engage in practical activities: political, educational, and public utilities.

I considered the period spent in Berlin important for the subsequent development of Eminescu so far as he has acquired his belief that an intellectual with ethics must be mindful to the imperatives of the time. Watching his sphere of concerns, I found that the first statements regarding the state are claimed as the considerations of this period. Although the purpose of the preparation of the University itself is not reached, Eminescu being unable to give his doctor degree, the cultural environment of Berlin and the opening towards the socio-political realities are defining for his thinking.

Subchapter „*The return to the social and cultural realities of Romanian*” captures the period between 1874 and 1878. Starting with August 23, 1874, we find Eminescu „on the eve of the books” as director of the Central Library in Iași. This job opened the prospect of reading and study freely to support his doctoral degree, or at least so hoped Eminescu. Careful preparations for the doctoral thesis grow the feeling of responsibility, but he is removed from the completion of the work. In the words of C. Noica, there are times when „the perfection suppresses committing”, and this seems to be one of those situations. The following sequence, „*Auditorium – as a means of knowledge of the condition of education*” has surprised over a period of two years in which Eminescu took contact with social realities. Starting with July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1875, as a certified public school on two counties, Iași and Vaslui, Eminescu had both administrative

responsibilities, as well as leading counsel to teaching and he carried out inspections at schools in districts above mentioned. And this post has become an occasion for Eminescu to see the real situation of the Romanian education, but also the object of his reflexions on the means to improve the situation.

His social evolution path and also his ideological path sits under the sign of the influence of Junimea and Titu Maiorescu. Later under the heading „*Eminescu, Titu Maiorescu and Junimea*” I surprised the essential aspects of the *Junimea* society, directions of his members which focused on involvement in the cultural area, but also in the political area, and last but not least the influence of *Junimea* in the crystallization of the socio-political thinking of Eminescu. Another issue of particular relevance addressed here represents the *theory of forms without substance*.

If the stay in Iasi, in the vicinity of Junimea was the most fruitful activity in the life of the poet in „point of view of artistic creation” considers G. Călinescu, the following period is marked by the ample activity as a journalist, during which the poetic thinking leaves room to his socio-political thinking.

The second part of the thesis, attested in chapter „*Eminescu-journalist*” is the most comprehensive and substantial. The review of the perception of publicist in time is an utopian project, but I appeal to re-readings designed to identify the intentionality of the political writings, in view of the fact that Eminescu’s thinking echoes have been used over time for the purpose of political guidelines, being modified according to the requirements of the time. I considered necessary first to capture general aspects of publicist appealing to some periods to whom I gave a new direction by organic vision that I watched it at work. „Eminescu’s socio-political thinking live soul” is based on an important theory of forms without substance (Vasile Muscă); starting from this theory, Eminescu examines the historical development direction, condemning foreign loans and adaptations to the detriment of affirmation of the National Fund. „True Civilization of a people, proclaimed Eminescu, consists not in the adoption of strange elements [...] a law, forms, institutions [...]. It consists in a natural and organic development of their powers, their own thinkings”. Eminescu’s political thought has its source in the idea of activism, led by Kant, but also in the organic unity idea of Hegel, the latter assumed „on a smaller plane as a nation, on a broader plane as humanity”(Vasile Muscă)



Beyond the philosophical premises that starts, I found that impressive, animated by „practical interest for our homeland”, as in „the history of the active citizen participation”(Alexandru Boboc) manages to give his journalistic activity by an objective analysis of Romanian society almost complete now a hundred years, leaving in its wake „a social theory”(C. Rădulescu-Motru).

We proposed addressing three aspects of journalistic issues. First, the nature of the State in Eminescu's vision and then his attitude of Eminescu toward Jewish question and last but not least superimposed class theory. Trying to capture better the nature of Eminescu vision, I considered necessary the presence of a theoretical preamble in a position to clarify the path of ideological subchapter „The philosophical foundations of practical interest for our homeland”; so, I started from the general aspects of onirology discovered at Schopenhauer highlighting the unique way in which Eminescu apply them in the collective life going beyond the scope of individual involved by Schopenhauer. In the next clip I presented theoretical ideas of ethno-psychology of Moritz Lazarus and Steinthal Heinrich. Here too, as in the case of Schopenhauer, Eminescu individualizes certain concepts, bringing forth the approach etno-psychologists, self consciousness as a factor of integration communities of individuals in the so-called "body" you concern it ethnic in particular. I found relevant and Eminescu's reactions to a philosophy of the unconscious, to constitute such as Eduard von Hartmann, Rudolf Haym's study. Eminescu unconscious idea actually placed in a new context, enlarged by ethno-psychology theme. History is not intended as the object of his deeds, but the signs, his duty is to read and interpret them so that you can see the solutions found by the past to guess the possible responses to these imperatives. This would be the stakes history, as we believe that a design, at least in an initial phase of its social and political thinking.

Limiting the fundamental theoretical concepts, we discussed in the next chapter, „The nature of the State”, about „practical interest for our homeland”, in other words- about involve of the thinker in the socio- political context of his time. First, I surprised the aspects of the political context of the end of the 19th century, identifying and presenting the presence of two ideologies: liberalism and conservatorism. Eminescu conceives the nature of the State as a product (under the influence of Schopenhauer's onirology, „sure instinct of the nature not errs”) living organism (because he always creates him self, according to ethno-psychology), like the human being (Eminescu apply onirology of Schopenhauer to macro-level, to the community, surpassing

individually). The State knows an evolution, but may disappear when he is moving on a path contrary to its nature. The State has two components: the body of the State, represented by the geographical area of the soul of a people and the State, constituted by the spirituality of the people. The mystery of the popular soul is undeniably present, and its understanding is achieved through language, which becomes „unmistakable matrix of the collective soul”. Retaining the Hartmann’s definition of instinct, as „a oriented activity toward a goal, but without the consciousness of purpose”, Eminescu believes that the life of peoples cannot be understood without an ancient age, at which time the archaic communities found instinctively good solutions by survival and companionship. From this perspective, the popular soul retains the „remembrance of the first age”, a primordial order. There is a chance that according to the conception of the "soul" of the Romanian State, Eminescu is shifting towards the indigenous population, peasantry, and inventor of the Romanian language before the formation of the State parties, preserver of the millennial faith and traditions. According to Schopenhauer’s vision, which Eminescu partially assumed, traditions and customs are symbols, which must be deciphered, specific on easy sleep. Transition from easy sleep to deep-sleep requires loss of the naiveté and triggers, at the same time, the controversies about the institutions and laws, born scriptural needs, to the extent that they are not really organic and naturally peasant. Sleep easy, one who writes history, seen as „the store full of dreams” keep in the symbolic key, through customs and traditions, the way to „the thing in itself”, through the essence, through the eternity. However, in order of date, category which still has access to customs and traditions is the peasantry. His criticism of the elements that not belonging to history, immigrated into the spiritual and geographic space of the Romanian people, it is not based on racist considerations, but on the philosophical considerations; consciousness must be defended those values decisive for specifics Romanian people: language, belief and traditions. I am surprised that not only the non-native elements, who not belonging to history, constituted the peril that threaten "the soul" of our people, but especially the economic factor used by these items for their benefit by exploiting the peasantry, the productive craftsmen and the intellectuals.

Eminescu, as a sociologist, intuitively that the State’s institutions -"forms without substance"- once introduced is a reality and can’t be put into question their removal. The task incumbent on the State in these conditions is introducing in these institutions a background that makes them viable in Romanian society. This Fund is represented, in his opinion, by the honest and faithful

people, able to work. Eminescu's journalism addresses the constant relationship between the politically and economically from the perspective of the correlation between form and matter. „Civilization” of the State (political structures) must be consistent with the economic structures of the State: „the condition of civilization argues Eminescu, is the economic civilization”. Eminescu talk about State and his cultural and economic institutions. „Administration is an active state”, posits Eminescu. This subject occupies in the journalistic, not incidentally, the largest place. It was considered to be artificial and oversized, damaging the budget giving negative aspect on the only „positive class”, represented by peasantry who preserve Romanian spirituality.

Later, under the heading „*Eminescu's attitude to the Jewish question*” I surprised the perception of Romanian about Jewish's image. Jewish question is addressed by Eminescu from economic and social perspective, his articles, thoroughly documented, bringing in the light the Jewish's situation. Even if the tone of some articles relating to the Jewish question exceeds goals which Eminescu had become a respected voice in journalism, the history of that question, followed chronologically culminates in 1881 with the adoption of a balanced position, dictated by the reason(Marta Petreu). Eminescu ignores the stereotypical „Jewish-superscript”, defined by Leon Volovici, by trying to integrate the Jews into the community through work. Addressing the issue of Jewish evident the public opinion witch interprets his criticism to the Jews on a racial position. Starting from the definition of anti-Semitism by Max I. Dimont, I argued the point that Eminescu cannot be catalogued as anti-Semitic. I found much more appropriate in the case in question the term „anti-Judaism”, proposed by Marta Petreu, justified by „a compassion attitude towards the Romanian population defeated”.

Another aspect of his socio-political thinking, particularly important, was surprised in the subheading „*Theory of superimposed class to Eminescu*”. After a preliminary review of existing social structures at the end of the 19th century, I approached, starting from the concept of publicist texts, superimposed class. Eminescu demonstrates that the Romanian people would be driven from the inside of items off who not come exclusively from other peoples, but also by endogenous recruitment; the first category is the follow of the Empire's break, while the second – a consequence of the struggle for power. Superimposed-class theory came to the attention of sociologists, so I was able to narrow down the concept on sociological perspective. The concept of „superimposed class” is therefore „a concept without determining ethnic origin, an

Association of operators without principles, link them through the same facts, consequences of which contributes to the biological degradation of a people, to the economic decline of that nation's and to a sure cultural and spiritual disintegration”(Ilie Badescu). The only way to progress in such conditions, believes Eminescu, is raising the people by elites selection merits and work, generating a new State by cancellation of demagogic State. If the theory of circulation of elites was expressed by Vilfredo Pareto, Eminescu's merit is to be defined the „negative social selection” (Universal Encyclopedia of Sociology). Eminescu identifies the opposite pole of the meaning of the concept, showing that in a society does not travel only individuals, but also the „labels”, and to shelter of the label you can find not only „the capabilities”, but also the „morsels”. The layout makes it easier, in fact, the accumulation of morsels into the elite. He developed one of the most consistent theories on social structure of issued communities and on the movement of political elites, starting from „the theory of superimposed class”. I also highlighted the social compensation theory, according to which every social class and category should fulfill its social function. Eminescu start from the principle that „the work is the law of the modern world, which don't have place for the lazy people”. The sociological dimension of his thinking remains unquestionable, being among the first sociologists, who write about a „predatory, unproductive and speculative capitalism” in Romania. His social criticism achieve, on their positions, which cannot be equated with ideologies of the era, „evils of a social-political regime that we could evaluate, borrowing the word of Maiorescu, built on a shape untrue of evolution and progress that the poet could not accept them”(Vasile Muscă).

Another chapter, named “*Those "two" Eminescu. Or faces of the same coin*”, followed by a brief analysis of the language from his publishing activities, highlighting „bridges between the poet and political thinking, for recovering the image of “the complete man” (N. Iorga). Between the poetics of prose and poems and journalistic speech technique of the most polemical texts there is „a relationship of complementarities undeniable, the poet's art mark his publishing activities, and vice versa.” The issue comes to supplement the idea presented above that, beyond the formal appearance, the ideological Foundation is the same, and different ways of expression being imposed by the functional style it provides the manifestation: the belletristic or its publishing activities.

The last chapter of this work, „*Marginal notes on nationalism*”, with the intention of a compositional symmetries, an aspect related to the biography, surprised in subchapter" exit of the

"cultural scene. Biographical details were converted on the one hand in the pretext of the analysis of the relationship between Eminescu and monarchy, and on the other hand in surprise and posterity reactions in relation to his diagnosis, perceived as taboo.

Later under the heading „*The nature of the nationalism*”, I considered necessary to delimit the status of Eminescu in the consciousness of modernity. We appeal to those aspects of the establishment and functioning of the myth of Eminescu (Ioana Bot) for overcome the unspeakable imposed by the stereotype, because the Romanian cultural evolution over time legitimates the existence of cultural myth of Eminescu. The analysis of the nationalism is influenced by the status of Eminescu. I conceptualized and then watching the manifestation of nationalism in his journalistic work. How Eminescu came under nationalism was scrupulously reviewed. In the analysis of the concept of „national poet”, I identified two major directions of Eminescu’s sphere of concerns: on the one hand the nationalism analyzed by the literature history, and on the other hand – the base of nationalism and forms of manifestation in Eminescu’s socio-political vision. The final approach sequence of our thesis surprise, over time, the echoes of the nationalism. I identified intentionality of Eminescu, the but of Junimea’s members and also the social imperatives in the end of the 19th century. I have dissociated from "how is understand the nationalism" and "how should be understand the nationalism", highlighting the character of socio-political theory, identified by C. Rădulescu-Motru: „his nationalism is support both by the exact recorded of the facts and by a reasoned explanation of those facts” (C. Radulescu-Motru). In the context of determining Eminescu’s nationalism, we clarified the blames about xenophobia on the activity of Eminescu’s publicist. Superimposed-class theory analysis has allowed clarification that question; his polemical articles have had an economic and political foundation, not a racial one, being directed against „the exploiters of the positives classes of the nation”, "strangers" by non-participation to the spiritual life of the people.

Thesis findings have targeted the significance of the socio-political thinking and also, the actuality of Eminescu. In spite of the time elapsed, it seems that the Romanian people was stubborn to stay on the premises, not change, blame to reiterate the same social, political and economic issues. Just in this case, by analogy with I.L. Caragiale, Eminescu may be considered „our eternal contemporan”, because „in the fight that any people giving through its national history with time, we remained rather clinging to the past”. (Vasile Musca, *Speech about philosophy*)