

CONSERVATISM, BIOPOLITICS AND “SOCIOBIOLOGY” AT MIHAI EMINESCU

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Abstract. *The paper investigates Mihai Eminescu’s political thought as conservative political thought. The latter is interpreted as a foundation for considerations concerning a biopolitical perspective. Conservatism, as established by the theoretical perspective of its main exponent of the 19th century, Edmund Burke, was founded on the observance of reality, on the practical aspects, as well as on maintaining law and order within communities and societies. Mihai Eminescu assumed national “organicism” as a manner of preserving and honouring the “whole chain and continuity of the commonwealth” identifying thus a core conservative preoccupation, according to the expression employed by Edmund Burke. In the last part of this study we are construing and capitalizing upon the thoughts of Mihai Eminescu concerning sociology as relevant for a Romanian conception of “biosociology” emphasized in relation to biopolitics.*

Keywords: *Mihai Eminescu, Romanian conservatism, 19th century thought, biopolitics, “biosociology”.*

Mihai Eminescu and Conservatism

When we are approaching the personality of Mihai Eminescu as a political thinker we are in fact discussing a significant Romanian contribution to the European conservative thought of the 19th century.¹

Conservatism, as established by the theoretical perspective of its main exponent of the 19th century, Edmund Burke, was founded on the observance of reality, on the practical aspects, as well as on maintaining law and order within communities and societies.

Within this theoretical perspective, conservatism did not appreciate revolution, which has not the test and legitimacy provided by the past and of past successful

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¹ Some ideas and orientations in this paper may develop or continue those included in the communication presented at the third edition of the session dedicated to Mihai Eminescu, “Eminescu – The Complete Man of the Romanian Culture”, June 18, 2013, at the Academy of Romanian Scientists.

practices. Conservative politics and the philosophical attitude associated with it endorsed the cultural values such as tradition, religion, as well as the stability of politics and society.

Conservative authors entertain a “healthy” scepticism toward reason. Reason is not a suitable foundation for the understanding of society. The social duties and the social ideals are not served as well by cold reason, as they are by certain traditions which may not be entirely formed by reason. Thus, conservatism has a particular understanding of prejudice in the light of a specific appreciation of customs and traditions. E. Burke sustained even that prejudice and not reason is what forms the basis of society, proposing the view where prejudice is a synonym for an educated traditional perspective on things, which rejects bigotry and not reason all together; solely rejecting the blind devotion to reason, one without any scepticism and lacking any reserve in front of some exaggerated pretensions of reason. Burke stated: “I must see with my own eyes...touch with my own hands not only the fixed, but also the momentary circumstances, before I could venture to suggest any political project whatsoever...I must see the means of correcting the plan...I must see the things; I must see the men”.²

Although Mihai Eminescu’s conservatism is typical for the 19th century, it has nevertheless certain specificities. The classical conservative vision of the 19th century considered dangerous any radical measure which endangered tradition and things that overcome the test of time. In this respect, the revolutionary philosophical ideas appear as dangerous. For the classical figure of European conservatism, Edmund Burke, society is similar to an organism which includes in its structure’s individuals, that is, the physical persons forming society, each performing specific roles, but not entirely independent as components of the whole, which is the state body. He said: “I cannot [praise or blame] human actions...on a simple view of the object, as it stands stripped of every relation, in all the nakedness and solitude of metaphysical abstraction”.³ Philosophical and socio-political investigation of socio-political matters cannot be based solely on reason, which is too abstract to be the most adequate tool. For Burke, a socio-political thinker should mind the “whole chain and continuity of the commonwealth”.⁴ This is an underlining perspective central in Mihai Eminescu’s socio-political thought, too.

Mihai Eminescu assumed national “organicism” as a manner of preserving and honouring the “whole chain and continuity of the commonwealth”. His patriotism was a crucial and defining value, a sacred creed, which is clearly apparent both in his patriotic poetry and in his engaged journalism. His fight for Romania was led on a daily basis in the pages of the newspapers. His critical attitude overcame the narrow vision of what was currently named political liberalism in Romania, as well as the vision of the most advanced conservative thinkers of the epoch. His writings had the foundation of philosophical, political and political economy knowledge. In this respect, maybe Eminescu was the first political thinker in

² Edmund Burke, *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke*, Volume III, *Party, Parliament and the American War–1794*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1996, p. 326.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 58.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 145.

Romania with such a horizon and, especially, with a political economy foundation for his political thought in correlation with the realization of justice, of the enlightened governance, of a good national commonwealth and the good living. Eminescu wrote in one of his articles: "But wouldn't this ruin the people? It is of no consequence to them. But isn't it altering the inherited justice of the national character, or is it crushing the common sense, or is it wasting into the empty wind the treasure of wisdom and customs that people inherited from their much abler elders than this current generation? What are all these for the liberal? The world should perish, long live Manea! Any a priori idea issued in the narrow brains of a curious man, any paradox, is just right to fire the imagination of the masses and lead it on the certain path that does not end in the good living, toward work and truth, but to the rising of a new class of people upwards, an obscure social stratum, about which one does not know either what it wants, or which are its traditions, or if it is capable to rule a state or not."⁵

With a sarcastic conservative perspective, Mihai Eminescu emphasized: "Tradition? This is nothing. The old righteous and common-sense traditions of the people are seen as prejudices. The manner of existence of the state, its monarchic form, for instance, are things about which [the liberal] might be indifferent; their value is only relative and it has only as much value as it attains in contributing to the accomplishment of the personal ambition of a man or of a group of men who see in the state a modality to gain a fortune, a name, to reach higher positions and dignities in state."⁶

Both authors (Mihai Eminescu and Edmund Burke) successfully verified that past practices are the principal ingredients of a social ontophany. Hence the crucial role of the act of educating people into the particular community culture and traditions, which should become a governmental imperative. People are not able to create a stable society by nature, outside the education they receive amidst a specific society, because they are led by plural and contradictory desires and passions orienting them always toward an irrational behaviour, toward violence, anarchy and egoism.

As John Gray underlined, conservatism introduced in political thought a fundamental insight that "persons' identities cannot be matters of choice, but are conferred on them by their unchosen histories, so that what is most essential about them is...what is most accidental. The conservative vision is that people will come to value the privileges of choice...when they see how much in their lives must always remain unchosen."⁷

In order to educate people, governmental institutions should act first as a servant and only second as guiding or coercing force, offering people multiple modalities of suitability and education, for instance, through school, church and family. Since society is such a complex construction, and government does not know with absolute precision everything, such as the impact of any decision on

⁵ Translation in English from Eminescu's political thought. Eminescu, *Diverse (Critici, vederile sale politice)*, Stabilimentul Grafic Miron Costin, Ed. Colecțiunea Șaraga, Jassy, without year, p. 23.

⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷ John Gray, *Gray's Anatomy: Selected Writings*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 2010, p. 159.

the population, as a consequence being recommendable that government does not intervene, for instance, in financial matters – prizes, salaries, fees etc. *The conservatism of the 19th century was structured as a conception based on the lack of trust in the human nature and it cultivated a purpose of maintaining historical continuity (via education and) within the traditional frames, in order to reject the abstract theoretic argumentations that orient further the philosophical discourse of the time.*

For Eminescu, not any revolutionary movement is bad. For example, the revolutionary movements around 1848 in Europe (revolutionary nationalist movements) are positively valued, at Eminescu, mostly due to their patriotic dimension. “But Romanians who took part in the 1848 movements are despised, their leaders – their officers – even the decorated ones are unceasingly insulted by the Hungarian journalistic society, which they label as bad patriots, the invalids still alive and their orphans on the streets are left at the public mercy – and, while for the so-called Hungarian martyrs of 1848 there are still requiems taking place, organised with the assistance of the public authorities, those who took part into the funerals of the martyr Iancu, who was not in the least inferior to any Hungarian martyr, only the journalism deemed them as traitors and they were followed by public authorities”.⁸

For Eminescu “philosophy is the most noble and rare tendency of the human spirit, the study and gymnastics that endorses intellect and discourages the laziness of thought”⁹ and this induces his persistent preoccupation with education and Romanian culture, considering that wisdom is vain without the knowledge and respect for the achievements of the forerunners and compatriots.

His socio-political writings were dripping of pathos and force, while the presence and the centrality of feeling were sustained by unparalleled logical rigour. We can read in various sources that the Romanian philosopher Titu Maiorescu identified at the time the following interesting aspects: “Eminescu was noticed as soon as he entered into redaction by the universe of ideas of culture that he has accumulated alone, by his logic and by his verve”.¹⁰ Among the discursive characteristics generating force were remarkable especially the “deep knowledge of the autochthonous tongue”, but also, a specific and “uncanny soulful warmth”, both, conservative characteristics in Romanian perspective, because they were consonant with a Romanian intellectual tradition of sensitivity and sensibility. As Gh. Manolache emphasized: “In the manuscript no. 2255, Mihai Eminescu displays his perspective on ‘integralism’ thinking that, in the case of ‘public or national culture’, only those ‘common elements’ remain which, not being anymore ‘the work of solitary people’, they belong to a nation’s ‘educated spirit’. In addition,

⁸ M. Eminescu, *Diverse (Critici, vederile sale politice)*, Stabilimentul Grafic Miron Costin, Colecțiunea Șaraga, Jassy, without year, p. 27.

⁹ Angela Botez, *Filosofia românească în dispunere universală*, Prouniversitaria Publishing House, Bucharest, 2012, p. 17. See also C. Noica and Al. Surdu, *Mihai Eminescu – Lecturi kantiene*, Univers Publishing House, Bucharest, 1975, pp. XXXIII-XXXV. Fragment in *Cultura, creația, valoarea – motive dominante ale filosofiei românești*, coord. D. Ghișe and A. Botez, Eminescu Publishing House, Bucharest, 1983, pp. 104-106.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

in the integralist option of Eminescu’s thought, this ‘educated spirit’ is a cultural composite made up of ‘manners, religions, the way of seeing the world and, especially the language, which is the mirror of these [aspects]’¹¹.

As an insightful critical spirit, he was famous for the accurate and logical identification of the main inadequate aspects of the Romanian liberalism of Western import. At the same time, he was famous for the severe criticism of all the political life in Romania, which he saw with displeasure as purposeless demagogic discursiveness. In this perspective his journalistic articles captured the painful irresponsibility of the political actors, their dubious affairs, the demagogy and their verbosity deprived of the foundation of ideas or ideals deeming that Romanian ruling class was unfit, especially considering the never-ending traditional richness of Romanian people illustrated in their complex popular creation. These popular ideas of universe and universal, of the sacred and genesis, unveiling a spiritual facet of nature, or the communion with nature were only a few among the traditional themes capitalized by Eminescu in his immortal work. “Whatever grants this red government almost the character of a foreign government, as oppressive as the rule of the Moskálī Russians or of the Turks, it is the fact that it is as much deprived of respect for tradition and past as it is far from any knowledge of the nature of Romanian state and nation, seen, both of them, as experimentation terrains.”¹²

A radical and uncomfortable spirit, Eminescu was the unwanted leader of the Conservative Party, and a leader who placed all the other leaders of the party, by the power of comparison, in an inferior position. At the founding of the Romanian Conservative Party, Titu Maiorescu described the leadership of the Party as following: “There are ten leaders of it, and the 11th, Mr. Mihai Eminescu, redactor at newspaper *Timpul*.”¹³ This newspaper was the publication of the Party and it was only natural that the position of editor in chief to be an extremely important position in relation to the hierarchy of the party, too. Nevertheless, the importance that Mihai Eminescu had was even greater than that of an editor in chief: he was a remarkable philosopher and ideologue, someone who was more courageous in his ideas and in his patriotism than his party colleagues and perceived as a threat.¹⁴

¹¹ Gh. Manolache, “Religion and National Identity in Eminescu’s Articles and *Fragmentarium*”, available at <http://www.cntdr.ro/sites/default/files/c2010/c2010a41.pdf>, accessed July 23, 2018.

¹² M. Eminescu, *Diverse (Critici, vederile sale politice)*, Stabilimentul Grafic Miron Costin, Colectiunea Șaraga, Jassy, without year, p. 27 sqq.

¹³ G. Roncea, “Adevărul despre Eminescu”, *Curentul Internațional*, January 14, 2018.

¹⁴ Ioan Aurelian Pop brings interesting insights in what concerns the topic of the criticism addressed to Mihai Eminescu in an article entitled “Eminescu și neprietenii țării sale și ai poporului român” and published in *Tribuna învățământului*, at 1 August 2018: “The criticism addressed to Eminescu is natural and it could be conducted from various perspectives, from the underlining of the errors of prosody and up to uncomplete chronologies as well as from awkward philosophical narratives up to debatable life decisions. However, criticism has nothing to do with the denigration and the demolition of the poet. As we speak, at 166 years since the birth of the poet, we could only notice how intense its immortality continues to be, how lively ‘the strength of his perfumes’ persists and how truly Călinescu has spoken when he called the ‘boy’ strolling once the woods of eternity ‘the greatest poet that the Romanian land has given and would give’. Eminescu, beyond the hatred expressed against the enemies of his country has built Romania in and through poetry and this construction has proven to be as real as the country founded within its borders at 1918. Eminescu is the demiurge of our national soul and body, and by this feature he projected us into universality, aligned with the peoples of the world”.

Conservatism as foundation for biopolitics

We are emphasizing in this study that the conservative conception of Mihai Eminescu is based on a biopolitics perspective of “organic” nationalism and as a consequence conservatism is in this case a foundation for biopolitics. Interestingly, while in contemporary political thought biopolitics was reintroduced in the philosophical discussions by Michel Foucault, Giorgio Agamben, Roberto Esposito, and Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt, at Eminescu the biopolitics perspective correlates with the conservative core idea of preservation and or of tradition.

For Foucault, there is liberal governmentality in the exercise of biopolitics, for this exercise is opposed to the police, to the coercion inherent in the doctrines of Raison d’Etat, becoming the art of limiting the interventions of the state. State power, by the virtue of biopolitical actions is less of a principal goal, limited by a rationality that considers the biopolitical rationality. For Eminescu conservatism and biopolitics, from the perspective of conservatism, modulates a more limited political rationality. The state is in itself an organism. He understands the state on the basis of an “organicist” conception and thus state is a “life-form” and an “ethnic individuality” – a perspective that is very similar to that of Rudolf Kjellén (1864-1922). Within the struggle for existence of the state the continuity of this life-form is ensured by the nation, which aims to preserve its “wholeness” and its national specificity, which is ultimately, “organic”. Each nationality has its role as each member has a purpose within a body. All the more as the external threatening factors are reputable, the body should gather all its strengths: “A state so poor, and so polyglot as ours, where the existence of nationalities is guaranteed by law, and being a guaranteed nationality, by itself would follow that the state has to aid in the development of their culture these nationalities; such a state, we’d say, should enjoy the fact that the confessions take such a burden from its shoulders and by their own means care to the culture of their believers and it should, with all powers, sustain and encourage these confessions in their patriotic tendency. With us, though, quite the contrary happens and not only that they denied the official intervention into the difficulties of the confessional schools, but also they were imposed unbearable conditions of subsistence...”¹⁵.

Patriotism is therefore a trait and a conservative consequence of Eminescu’s biopolitics. As we see in the quote above, the nation as a whole is a diversity enriched and empowered by diversity. As following, we understand that the biopolitical body of Romanian nation should benefit both from passion and wisdom. “But especially because the Austrian influence presents as a very intricate fabric of causes and effects, so that each individual in our country lives under its pressure, for this reason the more we love our country and our people, the more we should empower our mind with a cold impartiality and not overbid the thought, because we could easily falsify the sight of this quite faithful guide and we should not vehemently agitate it into the darkness, fighting ghosts. Extremely warm heart and very cold mind are required for the patriot, called to straighten his people so

¹⁵ M. Eminescu, *Diverse (Critici, vederile sale politice)*, Stabilimentul Grafic Miron Costin, Colecțiunea Șaraga, Jassy, without year, p. 29.

that the burning phantasm does not stop the brain to remain cool and assuredly unfold its activity..."¹⁶

His patriotic conception continues the conservative dimension in the writings of this great thinker, with a biopolitical accent. The progress is in fact a process of maturation, of natural becoming, as well as one of coming to age, according to the *harmonious* rhythms of nature, tradition etc.

Vasile Stancu wrote: "If, from the point of view of his literary work Eminescu belongs to all Romanians and to the entire humanity, from the political point of view, he became an integrant part of the conservative movement, found at the stage of becoming a political party, with all his being and all his thought. The first contacts with the conservative movement he had at 'Junimea' Society in Jassy, attracted by the sound culture of its members, among which we can enumerate Titu Maiorescu, Costache Negruzzi, P. P. Carp and others, intellectuals of German formation by their studies in Austria and Prussia. However, even the liberals recognized the superiority of the conservatives inviting the intellectual elite, noticing that since Eminescu and until Octavian Goga all the glorious personalities of our culture seemed to be situated outside and against the Liberal Party."¹⁷ Yet, worldwide, not only in Romania, the profile of conservatism is related precisely to the most important personality names of humanity: Arthur Moeller van den Bruck, Carl Schmitt, Oswald Spengler, Ernst Junger, Martin Heidegger, Thomas Mann, Julius Evola, and the Romanian thinkers Mircea Vulcănescu, Mircea Eliade, Lucian Blaga, Nae Ionescu. And these conservative personalities were all wildly different from one another, too. *Non idem est si duo dicunt idem...* The content and limits of "tradition" varied from author to author.

Nowadays, the imperative of nature preservation is not perceived as conservative, but rather, paradoxically, as revolutionary. Nevertheless, this is also a "fiber" of a conception of biopolitics. The conservative Eminescu loved nature as much as his country, for this was a component of "organicist" patriotic nationalism. Throughout his poetry and also in his vision of genesis nature felt what he felt. In his political thought nature was also Romanian as the authenticity of "Romanian-ness" was provided by a concrete, "real" and specific nature, whose continuity was thus a guarantor of authenticity, legitimacy and strength.¹⁸

The aspects of the Eminescian love of nation are sustained and enhanced by the aspects proving the love of nature in his writings, which are extremely numerous and they justify the phrase *ecophilia* in relation with the standpoint of the poet. Tom Regan reformulates the principles introduced for the first time in ecological thought by Arne Naess in his study entitled "The Nature and Possibility of an Environmental Ethic."¹⁹ The first principle of deep ecology in this phrasing of

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 41.

¹⁷ Our translation, after Vasile Stancu, "Omul politic si doctrinarul conservator Mihai Eminescu" article available in Romanian language at <http://www.condeiuardelean.ro/articol/omul-politic-si-doctrinarul-conservator-mihai-eminescu-i-eminescu-si-junimea> accessed at June 9, 2013.

¹⁸ The conservative discourse of national "organicism" approximates a discourse of the immune body, one flexibly choosing either to sustain all its ethnic resources as in the previous quote where Eminescu urges the Romanian state to sustain the culture and education of minorities, or to eliminate the "foreign bodies" upon the case, casting a different light on the so-called Eminescian xenophobia.

Tom Regan captures an aspect of love of nature in itself present also at Eminescu: “The well-being and flourishing of human and nonhuman Life on Earth have value in themselves (intrinsic value, inherent value). These values are independent of the usefulness of the non-human world for human purposes”.²⁰

We are interpreting *deep ecophilia* as the trace of *deep ecology* and as a characteristic of Eminescian creation. The following ideas offer the content of the phrase “deep ecophilia”. Nature is guarantor of equilibrium and happiness. Nature is the depositor of divine origin of everything. In fact, we interpret Eminescu’s *ecophilia* as his deep feeling of union with nature, with the Derriderian perspective of *trace*. There is a powerful trace of all that nature represents, in his poetry, in his entire literary creation and in his entire existence. The perspective opened by Derrida – “Ecce animal, that is the announcement of which I am (following) something like a trace, assuming the title of an autobiographical animal, in the form of a risky, fabulous, or chimerical response to the question ‘But me, who am I?’ and that I have bet on treating as that of the autobiographical animal. Assuming that title, which is itself somewhat chimerical, might surprise you. It brings together two times, two alliances, as unexpected as they are irrefutable [I am animal]”²¹ – seems to us relevant also in the case of Eminescu, in the sense that the natural, and the “organic” dimensions continue into the present identity and actions and only these actions and identities infused with the aspects provided by the natural and the “organic” dimensions in individuals and nations are legitimate, durable and considerable.

Mihai Eminescu’s Christian conservatism brings the ideal solution to meet the society’s Orthodox Christian conservative ideal, that is, tradition, stability, harmony and the education of the whole society in the spirit of traditional values through family, school, and especially the church. The central role of the social model, in preserving tradition, within conservatism is fulfilled for Mihai Eminescu by the Orthodox ideal of Christ.

Sociobiology at Mihai Eminescu

We have described biopolitics at Mihai Eminescu as a conservative “naturalization” of political rationality, based on a conservative “organic” vision where nation takes precedence in relation with the state. This biopolitical conception places at the core of its “organic” quality the importance of nature and the love for nature; that is, the twin dimensions of ecophilia and deep ecology.

In this perspective, we are identifying also a sociobiological model underlining the sociological ideas of Mihai Eminescu. In his works, Eminescu approaches two theories with sociobiological relevance: the theory of the over-imposed social layer and the theory of negative selection.²² The former theory (indebted to E.

¹⁹ Tom Regan, “The Nature and Possibility of an Environmental Ethic,” *Environmental Ethics*, No. 3, 1981, pp. 19-34.

²⁰ *Ibidem*.

²¹ Jacques Derrida, “The Animal that Therefore I am”, translated by David Wills *Critical Inquiry*, winter 2001, vol.28, number 2, available at criticalinquiry.uchicago.edu/.../v28n2.derrida.html.

Demolins and the sociological school of Le Play) explains social dynamics by the inter-play of two determining motions one upward, which is "organic", natural and another one downward, which is always artificial. Such a theoretical perspective used to interpret foreign domination showed that any foreign elite was unable to ever understand the "organic" visions and needs of a certain population and it was considered a racist theory. In our interpretation this theory is a conservative and sociobiological one²³, which emphasizes the attack against the natural and against the "organic" specificity conducted by a foreign domination. Construing in this perspective the Austrian influence on the Romanians, Eminescu indicates the crucial role of universalism and disunion in preserving the foreign domination.²⁴ In this respect, universalism and cosmopolitanism converge to mask the disinterest for the development of the peripheries of the empires and to induce a deeply destructive alienation. The criticism of liberalism is related to this sociological vision that indicates liberalism as an ideology of the foreign novelties forcefully imposed upon an alienated people.

At the same time, in our view, the sociological perspective sustained by Eminescu is a sociobiological²⁵ perspective. The reason of the foreign domination is an artificial reason destructive for customs and traditions and destructive for the "organic" quality that legitimates social action, the social phenomena and the lifespan of a particular society, in the first place. We identify here a discourse of the immune body, legitimate in its natural right to preserve its specificity and viability over time.

In this theoretical perspective which is sustaining the discourse of the immune body, the "organic" reason is the only legitimate reason for socio-political action, not the artificial foreign reason. State reason becomes within this model rather a state-immunity bio-reason, which is more likely to sustain merit and individual capacities, since these are the probable capacities that promote and ensure the well-being of the state-organism as criteria for social endurance, performance evolution, based on the past results and successes registered by traditions.²⁶ In

²² Mihai Eminescu, *Opere* [in 8 vol.] coord. by Mihai Cimpoi, second edition, Gunivas Publishing House, Kishinev, 2008, p. 249. See also Ilie Bădescu, *Sincronism european și cultură critică românească*, Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 1984, pp. 351, 353 and *Sociologia eminesciană*, Porto Franco Publishing House, Galați, 1994, pp. 103, 107, 111.

²³ We notice that this same theory could be very well interpreted as a democratic theory justifying the legitimacy of the democratic elite selected by popular vote and forming the parliament according to representation principles, but we should set this discussion aside to avoid over-complicating our interpretation.

²⁴ Mihai Eminescu, *Opere* [in 8 vol.] coord. by Mihai Cimpoi, second edition, Gunivas Publishing House, Kishinev, 2008, p. 533.

²⁵ We are acknowledging here that the notion of "sociobiology" is understood by scientists along the main defining directions proposed by E. O. Wilson in his work entitled *Sociobiology: The New Synthesis* (from 1975). In this work sociobiology is the "systematic study of the biological basis of all social behavior". Wilson identifies a "biological basis of behaviour" in terms of the social and ecological causes sustaining the manifestation of behaviour in animal populations. In his perspective, sociobiology and neuroscience maintain important theoretical and practical interactions. Beyond Wilson's Darwinian conception of evolution there are present in his theory important insights that emphasize the role of the "organic" quality in social manifestations. Thus, concepts such as "nature", "human nature" and society gain concrete, "organic" characteristics relevant for the conservative interpretations of the socio-political life. These "organic" characteristics sustaining the realities of the socio-political life, in conservative acceptance, offer the justification for the relevance of the theoretical investigation of a dimension of "sociobiology" within the conservatism of Mihai Eminescu.

this respect, the state should not be an anonymous, universal state, but a Romanian state with the “face” of the Romanian nation. In conservative tradition, this theory elaborated by Mihai Eminescu emphasizes the paramount importance of the “organic” link between the elites and the people and, at the same time, the “organic” component of the Eminescian sociobiology.

This interpretation of sociobiology at Eminescu poses the question of natural or forceful polarization of society between the elites and the nation. Eminescian sociobiology identifies the “organic” elite as beneficial (and natural) and the foreign elite as detrimental to a sustainable evolution of society. The “organic” selection and dynamics of elites is favourable to a foreign selection and dynamics (more likely to be based on superficial perceptions or on wealth and traffic of interests and privileges). The interest of the state and the *raison d’etat* should be better served by “organic” elite than by a negative and foreign selection of elites (as explained also in the theory of the elites of Gaetano Mosca and Vilfredo Pareto).

In Eminescu’s perspective, for conservative and “organic” reasons the character is more important than intelligence in the representative of the “organic” elite, in Mihai Eminescu’s perspective.²⁷ This characteristic is the guarantor of common sense, patriotic convictions and aspirations, respect for traditions and history etc., while intelligence might orient individuals merely to fulfilment of opportunities and interests: “in any branch of social activity where intelligences become more numerous than the characters it is a sign of decadence”, for there is potential of pursuing other interests than those of community.

At Eminescu the “positive elite” has all the qualities specific for the title but also the character that recommend individuals as positively related to the nation as members of community with a strong sentiment of belonging.

The theory of negative selection of the foreign elite relates to the theory of the forms without substance of Titu Maiorescu, for the institutional, political and cultural forms imported from Europe are foreign and do not correspond to the “organic” background of the nation and to the theory of work compensation, for the foreign frameworks and elites cannot answer to the rightful requirements of compensation of the work of the peasants. Honouring work meant to compensate it correctly, thus creating welfare and happiness and discouraging speculation, corruption and political opportunism.²⁸

In this interpretation sociobiology is a sociological conservative conception infused with patriotism. Eminescu’s preoccupation with an “organic” framework for the evolution of society and politics corresponds to the preoccupations with an “organic” Romanian culture whose evolution honours the specificity of Romanian spirituality and traditions within the cultural logic of conservatism. Thus, biopolitics is the political development of Eminescian conservatism and sociobiology the sociological development of Eminescian conservatism, infused with romanticism and spirituality that deeply influence his perspective on the Romanian national conscience.

²⁶ Ilie Bădescu, *Sociologia eminesciană*, Porto Franco Publishing House, Galați, 1994, p. 111.

²⁷ Mihai Eminescu, *Opere* [in 8 vol.] coord. by Mihai Cimpoi, second edition, Gunivas Publishing House, Kishinev, 2008, p. 261.

²⁸ Mihai Eminescu, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

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