

MIHAI EMINESCU. INSTITUTION-MAN. PRECURSOR OF THE BUCHAREST SOCIOLOGICAL SCHOOL

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ABSTRACT

Talking about Mihai Eminescu today may seem outdated, but it is not, because both the huge personalities and their work are timeless. Mircea Vulcănescu said that “Mihai Eminescu must be considered – without reservation – as the greatest sociologist of Romanians and of the Romanian phenomenon”²⁹⁰. He is an institution man because the radiography of Romanian society and the ways of “curing” the social plagues (such as the superimposed elite, the demagogic state, the semi-barbarization of society, etc.) that he identified are highly relevant today. Through compensation law and the theory of the negative selection of elites, Mihai Eminescu established the directions of research and public utility of Romanian sociology, which we will later find in the works of the Gusti School, in the law of sociological parallelism or social equilibrium, but also in the theory of cultural personality. Thus, the present material addresses a theme that we do not pretend to exhaust, namely the importance and topicality of Mihai Eminescu, as an institution man and precursor of the Bucharest Sociological School.

Keywords: Mihai Eminescu, institution-man, compensation law, negative selection, superimposed elite.

1. BRIEF INTRODUCTION

Mihai Eminescu's contribution to the field of sociology, as in other fields, is unfortunately too little known and studied. For this reason, the present material will outline, in general, the research and public utility directions that Mihai Eminescu traced, with disturbing precision, for Romanian sociology, which we will later find in the works of the Gusti School, in the law of sociological parallelism or social equilibrium, but also in the theory of cultural personality. The purpose of this material is to answer two questions:

- a) Why is Mihai Eminescu the precursor of the Bucharest Sociological School?
- b) Why is Mihai Eminescu an institution-man and what exactly does this mean?

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²⁹⁰ Mircea Vulcănescu quoted by Dan Dungăciu, „Teoria elitelor. Încercare de analiză comparativă. Mihai Eminescu – Vilfredo Pareto – Traian Brăileanu” [“Elite theory. Attempt of comparative analysis. Mihai Eminescu – Vilfredo Pareto – Traian Brăileanu”], in *Sociologie Românească*, No. 5/1993, p. 510.

2. MIHAI EMINESCU. THE FOUNDER OF ROMANIAN SOCIOLOGY – THE PRECURSOR OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL SCHOOL IN BUCHAREST

To the question “Why can Mihai Eminescu be considered the founder of Romanian sociology?” the answer is simple: because he paved the way for a very special and very necessary field of research, namely the sociology of the negative real, which he explained through a series of concepts whose explanatory power has not been equalled by any other intellectual to our knowledge. In other words, through the theory of negative selection and the compensation theory, but also through concepts such as the superimposed elite, semi-barbarism or the demagogic state, Mihai Eminescu identified the country’s main problems.

Moreover, by observing the strong imbalances that our country was facing, Mihai Eminescu identified the solutions to get out of the economic, social, political, educational and so on crisis that we were going through, namely: compensatory ratios and positive selection of elites. We will also find these ideas in the members of the Sociological School of Bucharest, founded by Dimitrie Gusti, in the law of sociological parallelism or the law of social equilibrium, which shows very clearly that in order to have social justice, that is to say social order or social equilibrium, we need cultural personalities who know and empathize with the country’s problems. It is cultural personalities who ensure that the parallelism that exists between frames and manifestations (between frames, between manifestations and between frames and manifestations) is not disturbed, which is vital, because imbalances in one frame or manifestation have strong reverberations in all the others.

2.1. Negative selection of the elites

In order to better understand the contribution that Mihai Eminescu made to Romanian sociology, and we dare to say even to the universal sociology, we will discuss in turn the central concepts that he introduced into the scientific field. First, a few words about the negative selection of elites. This is alongside semi-barbarism a typical process of negative evolution. Unlike the criterion of promotion in the social hierarchy according to competence, which is specific to modern capitalist societies (based on organic solidarity and functional division of labor), in societies dominated by the superimposed elite, the criterion of climbing the social hierarchy is reversed. It is not professional ability and moral values that count in the judgment of an individual, but his or her loyalty to the interest group currently in power²⁹¹.

²⁹¹ Radu Baltasiu, *Introducere în sociologie. Spiritualitate, națiune și capitalism. Considerații de sociologie românească și weberiană, weberiană* [Introduction to sociology. Spirituality, nation and capitalism. Considerations of Romanian and Weberian sociology], Craiova, Beladi Publishing House, 2007, p. 67.

Eminescian sociology opens the cycle of development theories in universal sociology. Mihai Eminescu introduces positive research into negative phenomena in our sociology. He theorizes the term “semi-barbarism” to suggest that the peoples of south-eastern Europe have been pushed back “under the times” or in a precarious state, being like exploited classes, or salahorized²⁹². Power (the state) and society are confiscated by an elite with no social vision and therefore corrupt, called by Mihai Eminescu the superimposed elite. The society is being salahorized and the state becomes demagogic. The main mechanisms through which this process occurs are the negative selection of the elites and the uncompensatory ratios between the elites and the rest of society. In this way, as Eminescu points out, Romanian modernization merely shifts the Romanian space from the suburbs of the (Ottoman and Russian) empire to the periphery of the capitalist West²⁹³.

On the social and political level, Mihai Eminescu shows that the main result of synchronization with the West by the superimposed elite is the demagogic state, not the democratic state. The demagogic state represents the interests of the superimposed elite, which confiscates the resources of society for its own benefit. The demagogic state is an institutional mechanism whose components are:

1. Oligarchy: which comes to rule the state;
2. The bureaucratic apparatus: people who are corrupt and have no productive connection with the nation, they are servants of the oligarchy;
3. Demagogy: which is characterized by the fact that laws have a nominal reality, democratic institutions being only formal;
4. The pen's proletariat: which is represented by civil servants and superficial intellectuals, who have had some scholarship abroad at the expense of the state, but who have been poorly educated, which is why they are complexed in relation to their own nation (superiority complex) and also in relation to the great Western nations (inferiority complex). Another serious fact is that the pen's proletariat are incompetent and incapable of administering the state, although they occupy important positions in the public administration;
5. The workforce itself: which is in a degrading, salahorized state – to use Mihai Eminescu's terminology²⁹⁴.

The society confiscated by the superimposed elite is stopped on its way to civilization in semi-barbarism. By semi-barbarism we mean:

“Eminescu launched the term ‘semi-barbarism’ with the intention of suggesting that the peoples of south-eastern Europe had been pushed back ‘under the times’ (...), in the state of ‘exploited classes’, salahorized. ‘Semi-barbarism is a state of degradation, of regression, it is the corruption of a primitive people by the vices of a foreign civilization (...) When a people admits from another people only the erasing of faith (...) without replacing it by [another] moral and religious conviction, it

²⁹² Ilie Bădescu, *Sociologia eminesciană [Eminescian sociology]*, Galați, Porto-Franco Publishing House, 1994, p. 254.

²⁹³ Radu Baltasiu, *quoted work*, pp. 61–62.

²⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 61–62.

remains without one and without the other; it has only the evil of civilization and the evil of barbarism, it is semi-barbaric. (...) When he [the people left behind], instead of developing his own labor, buys ready-made things from strangers, without learning to become capable of producing them himself, he is semi-barbaric”²⁹⁵.

2.2. The compensation law

According to Mihai Eminescu, the negative selection of elites disturbs the social equilibrium at the level of relations between the different social layers, between the elite and the masses, between intellectual and physical labor, etc., which must be in compensatory ratios²⁹⁶. By compensatory ratios we mean:

“In a wider acceptance, the compensatory ratios concerns an optimal balance between the ‘proportion of labor’ and the ‘structure of needs’, in other words, the structure of needs must follow the natural process of growth and diversification of the structure and functions of the ‘economic community’. Otherwise, those needs which are formulated over and above the structure and functions of the productive economic community will become parasitical in their nature, expressing themselves in uncompensated expenditures which will bring about the economic decline of the whole nation”²⁹⁷.

The sociological law of the functioning of the demagogic state is the compensation law and the principle of formation of the superimposed elite is called negative social selection. Compensation theory is a major component of the theory of negative progress. Essentially, it states the condition of the development of a society by the agreement between the work done by the elites for society and their consumption of society’s labor²⁹⁸:

“Progress is not reduced to simple reforms made by the pen and with artificial, strictly rationalistic legal reforms, but consists in the ‘exceeding of the value of production over consumption’ (...)”²⁹⁹.

²⁹⁵ „Eminescu lansează termenul de «semibarbarie» cu intenția de a sugera că popoarele din sud-estul Europei fuseseră împinse iarăși «sub vremi» (...), în starea de «clase exploatate», salarizate. «Semibarbaria e o stare de degradare, de regres, este coruperea unui popor primitiv prin viciile unei civilizații străine. (...) Când un popor admite de la alt popor numai ștergerea credinței (...) fără a o înlocui prin [altă] convingere morală și religioasă, el rămâne și fără una și fără alta; are numai răul civilizației și răul barbariei, e semibarbar. (...) Când el [poporul rămas în urmă], în loc de dezvoltarea propriei sale munci, cumpără obiecte gata de la străini, fără a învăța să devie el însuși în stare de-a le produce, e semibarbar. (...)»”, in Ilie Bădescu, *quoted work*, p. 263.

²⁹⁶ Radu Baltasiu, *quoted work*, p. 62.

²⁹⁷ „Într-o accepție mai largă, raportul de compensație privește un echilibru optim între «proportia muncilor» și «structura trebuințelor», altfel spus, structura trebuințelor trebuie să urmeze procesul natural de creștere și diversificare a structurii și funcțiilor «comunității economice». În caz contrar, acele trebuințe formulate peste structura și funcțiile comunității economice productive vor căpăta caracter parazitar, exprimându-se în cheltuieli necompensate, care vor atrage declinul economic al întregului popor”, in Ilie Bădescu, *quoted work*, p. 124.

²⁹⁸ Radu Baltasiu, *quoted work*, p. 65.

²⁹⁹ „Progresul nu se reduce la simple reforme făcute din condei și cu reformele juridice artificiale, strict raționaliste, ci constă în «excedentul valorii producțiunii peste consumațiune» (...)”, in Ilie Bădescu, *quoted work*, p. 253.

According to Mihai Eminescu, we can only talk about development if we have compensatory ratios. This is the essence of the compensation law. The structure of needs must be directly proportional to the work that a person does in society. To the extent that the elites honor their social function, i.e., are concerned with solving the problems facing the community, society develops economically, socially, culturally and so on. Government in accordance with public needs is moral government and the people become a civilization. Elites who do not respond to social needs, seeking only to satisfy their personal needs and desires, generate underdevelopment and the state becomes demagogic. The elites responsible for this phenomenon are called by Mihai Eminescu the superimposed elite³⁰⁰.

The organic elites, found at the Gusti School under the idea of cultural personality, are conscious of the position they occupy and therefore understand that their greatest responsibility is to make the lives of those who elected them easier. The organic elites are those who have been selected on the criterion of competence, which is why they realize that they do not lead in order to be served but lead in order to serve through their work. We should therefore remember:

“Compensation – writes Eminescu – is not given by a class or a man only through intellectual or muscular labor. Muscular labor consists in producing objects of undisputed utility, intellectual labor in facilitating the production of these objects (...). The facilitation of the production of objects is the condition of the civilized existence of modern peoples (...) Only the elites elevated by labor, which are those who produce the ‘living facilities’ of peoples, truly rise to the rank of the factor of historical direction of peoples”³⁰¹.

2.3. The Gusti School. Convergent points with Mihai Eminescu

The elite that is selected positively, i.e., according to the criterion of competence, is called by the Gusti School cultural personality. The cultural personality has a fundamental role in a society because it is responsible for the emergence of the cultural state. The cultural state is the opposite of the demagogic state, in which we have seen that personal interests are more important than the national interest. The cultural state requires a correct structuring of society based on social justice and individual dignity³⁰².

Dimitrie Gusti states that the cultural personality is the main factor on which the modernization of society is based³⁰³, because it feels the reality and understands the emergencies of the times in which it lives:

³⁰⁰ Radu Baltasiu, *quoted work*, p. 65.

³⁰¹ „«Compensația – scrie Eminescu – nu se dă de către o clasă sau un om decât prin muncă intelectuală sau mușchiulară. Munca mușchiulară constă în producerea de obiecte de utilitate necontestată, cea intelectuală în facilitarea producerii acestor obiecte (...)». Facilitarea producerii de obiecte este condiția existenței civilizate a popoarelor moderne. (...) Numai elitele înălțate prin muncă, adică cele care produc «înlesniri de civilizațiune» popoarelor, se înalță cu adevărat la rangul de factor de direcționare istorică a popoarelor”, in Ilie Bădescu, *quoted work*, p. 232.

³⁰² Radu Baltasiu, *quoted work*, p. 189.

³⁰³ *Ibidem*, p. 217.

“The uneducated man has no understanding of time. He has the sense of the present, he has the sense of past memory, and he has the sense of the future fact, but he has no intuition of the structure of this sense in a unitary understanding. We find this understanding gradually forming through culture”³⁰⁴.

The cultural personality is actively concerned with social justice and social equilibrium. When these two are ensured, we are talking about progress and civilization, otherwise semi-barbarism and social misery or degradation appear. Dimitrie Gusti summarizes the problem of social equilibrium in the law of sociological parallelism, which states that:

“(…) in essence, social life has autonomy and equilibrium, both as an object of knowledge (by the sociologist, economist, historian, politician, philosopher, etc.) and in relation to its context, its natural, psychological, historical, etc. frameworks. The conditioning of manifestations by frames is called sociological determinism”³⁰⁵.

Manifestations are of two kinds: regulative and constitutive. The regulative ones order the constitutive ones. The regulative manifestations are political and juridical, and the constitutive: economic and spiritual. The frameworks are historical and psychological, spiritual – Gusti points out, and natural: cosmic and biological. In other words, frameworks are what is given to a society, both socially and naturally. Frames become manifestations through social will. All these constitute society and are subject to the sociological parallelism law³⁰⁶. The sociological parallelism law or general social equilibrium also has a practical, as well as a theoretical, importance, because by observing it, societies can achieve a more stable equilibrium and avoid disaggregation. In this way, sociology can improve people’s lives³⁰⁷.

Parallelism means:

“that all these categories do not form relations of logical subordination, nor can they be reduced to one another, that is, they do not form causal chains between them, but only existential reciprocal conditions; they can only be understood in their structural unity, as sui-generis wholes”³⁰⁸.

³⁰⁴ „Omul incult nu are înțelegerea timpului. El are simțirea prezentului, are simțirea amintirii trecute și are simțirea faptului viitor, dar nu are intuiția structurii acestei simțiri într-o înțelegere unitară. Această înțelegere o găsim formându-se treptat prin cultură”, in Constantin Rădulescu Motru, „Vocația, factor hotărâtor în cultura popoarelor” [“Vocation, a decisive factor in people’s culture”], 1931, in Constantin Rădulescu Motru, *Personalismul energetic și alte scrieri [Energetic personalism and other writings]*, Bucharest, Eminescu Publishing House, 1984, p. 681.

³⁰⁵ „(…) în esență, viața socială are autonomie și echilibru, atât ca obiect de cunoscut (de către sociolog, economist, istoric, politician, filosof etc.), cât și în raport cu contextul, cu cadrele sale naturale, psihologice, istorice etc. Elementele sale componente, numite cadre și manifestări se află într-o relație de codeterminare reciprocă. Condiționarea manifestărilor de către cadre este numită determinism sociologic”, in Radu Baltasiu, *quoted work*, p. 136.

³⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 136.

³⁰⁷ Dimitrie Gusti, in ***, *Școala monografică. Volumul I. Dimitrie Gusti – Știința realității sociale, [Monographic school. Volume I. Dimitrie Gusti – The Science of Social Reality]*, Bucharest, Paideia Publishing House, 1999, pp. 30–31.

³⁰⁸ „că toate aceste categorii nu formează raporturi de subordonare logică și nici nu pot fi reduse unele la altele, adică nu formează între ele înălțări cauzale, ci numai condiții reciproce existențiale; ele nu pot fi înțelese decât în unitatea lor structurală, ca totalități sui-generis”, in Dimitrie Gusti, *Sociologia militans. Introducere în sociologia politică [Militans sociology. Introduction to political sociology]*, Vol. I, Bucharest, 1934, pp. 45–46.

Returning to the cultural personality, it must also be said that it has a moralizing role in society. Therefore:

“The higher the level of morality (in accordance with an ethical ideal, a set of supreme or ‘ultimate’ values), the better the manifestations will enhance the social frameworks for the benefit of the community. The ability to harmonize fully with the frameworks, the ability to preserve them and to ‘process’ them in a superior manner (through appropriate manifestations of the social will) are the defining characteristics of what Gusti calls the cultural personality”³⁰⁹.

Only to the extent that frameworks and manifestations are in balance can we speak of fairness and social justice. From this perspective, the positive selection of elites is vital, because only in this way will we have cultural personalities who serve the country. By serving, we mean that the national interest takes precedence over personal interest. Cultural personality is of crucial importance because it harmonizes individual and social, national goals. Thus, the level of development of a society is directly proportional to the level of social justice, because in the absence of justice, social frustration arises people are exploited, while the elites become an superimposed elite³¹⁰.

Dimitrie Gusti calls a society based on individuals who are educated to become cultural personalities, i.e., those competent, and therefore positively selected, a sociocracy. Sociocracies are:

“(…) meritocratic democratic societies, which develop through the cultivation of worth. We measure worth not so much as individual success but as the success of the community through individuals”³¹¹.

The cultural personality is made up of the fundamental affects (self-love, sympathy and respect) and the length of the will³¹². Depending on the degrees of development of the will, personality will be only a possibility, a reality, or it will be on the way to fulfillment. Dimitrie Gusti points out that the strongest form of will is that centered on the other, where by the other he means society, nation, humanity³¹³. Cultural personality or positively selected elites shape social reality. The social existence of individuals is conditioned by personality development. In order to have a better understanding of how the cultural personality emerges, develops and then acts, Dimitrie Gusti systematized two principles, namely the principles of normative ethics:

³⁰⁹ „Cu cât nivelul moralității este mai ridicat (în concordanță cu un ideal etic, cu un set de valori supreme sau «ultime»), cu atât manifestările vor pune mai bine în valoare cadrele sociale în folosul comunității. Capacitatea armonizării depline cu cadrele, aptitudinea de a le prezerva și a le «prelucra» într-o manieră superioară (prin manifestări corespunzătoare ale voinței sociale) reprezintă notele definitorii a ceea ce Gusti numește personalitatea culturală”, in Radu Baltasiu, *quoted work*, pp. 177–178.

³¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 219.

³¹¹ „(…) societățile democratice meritocratice, care se dezvoltă prin cultivarea meritului. Meritul este măsurat nu atât ca succes individual, cât ca succes al comunității prin indivizi”, in *Ibidem*, pp. 249–250.

³¹² Dimitrie Gusti, *Opere [Works]*, Vol. II, Bucharest, The Academy Publishing House, 1969, p. 37.

³¹³ *Ibidem*, pp. 37–38.

“Act in such a way that in every moment of your action you reach the maximum realization of your personality”³¹⁴.

“Reach the maximum actuality of your personality, to develop it for the creation of the highest cultural values”³¹⁵.

Cultural personalities are therefore the key to harmony and social progress. Unlike the superimposed elite, cultural personalities are aware that the highest goal is the good of the community. In order to achieve what we call the “public welfare” we must choose the most appropriate actions and means³¹⁶. If elites are no longer concerned with the public welfare, they become superimposed elite, the cultural state becomes a demagogic state, and individuals live in a state of slavery, of semi-barbarism.

3. WHY IS MIHAI EMINESCU AN INSTITUTION-MAN?

Mihai Eminescu is one of the greatest development theorists. For him, the key to a nation’s development lies in the existence of compensatory ratios, labor relations, between the elite and the rest of the community. We have compensatory ratios, we have development, Eminescu shows through the compensation law. The structure of needs must correspond to the proportion of work performed³¹⁷. Eminescian sociology opens the cycle of development theories in universal sociology. Mihai Eminescu is monumental for sociology because he introduces into our sociology the positive research of negative phenomena.

Generally speaking, Mihai Eminescu is an institution-man or a pivot personality because of his soul-density. What also characterizes the institution-man, besides his soul density, is his acute sense of time. This makes him assume the country’s problems in their entirety. The institution-man is concerned with administrative clarity and precision, which is the result of his categorical understanding of reality. However, this understanding of reality is dependent on the mystical capacity of the theandry³¹⁸. Crainic argues that this capacity to understand the world manifests itself as a

³¹⁴ „Acționează astfel încât în fiecare clipă a acțiunii tale să atingi realizarea maximală a personalității tale”, in *Ibidem*, p. 37.

³¹⁵ „Atinge actualitatea maximală a personalității tale, spre a o desfășura pentru crearea celor mai înalte valori culturale”, in *Ibidem*.

³¹⁶ Radu Baltasiu, *quoted work*, p. 186.

³¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 88.

³¹⁸ „A gândi lumea precum Dumnezeu o gândește, a o iubi precum el o iubește și a lucra în ea precum el lucrează, iată în ce stă modul teandric al credinței și al înțelepciunii creștine, modul lui Iisus Hristos.”, in Nichifor Crainic, *Nostalgia paradisului [Nostalgia for Paradise]*, 2nd ed., 1942, reproduced in *Nostalgia paradisului [Nostalgia for Paradise]*, Edition with introductory study by Dumitru Stăniloae. Postface and notes by Magda Ursache and Petru Ursache, bibliographical file by Alexandru Cojan, Iași, Moldova Publishing House, 1994, p. 6, quoted by Radu Baltasiu, „Omul instituție – cazul Anton Golopenția – de la Iorga, la Nae Ionescu, Dimitrie Gusti la Anton Golopenția” [“The institution man – the case of Anton Golopenția – from Iorga to Nae Ionescu, from Dimitrie Gusti to Anton Golopenția”], manuscript, material to be published in the Yearbook of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore, 2025.

permanent nostalgia for paradise, from which it looks at reality, which it tries to improve by improving the lives of others. Thanks to this, the institution-man can create networks of good or benevolence, which in turn are the concrete expression of society, understood as a community of destiny³¹⁹.

Mihai Eminescu is an institution-man and because he:

“It is power and our right to power. It is our right to the divinized subtlety, to the infinite put in order. It is the welcoming delicacy of Our Holy Mother’s garden, our destiny. It is our right to receive, according to reigning justice, anyone who respects us – here we have the whole Eminescian theory of the voievodal age, of the function of the peasantry, of the positive elites and of organic development, with the compensation law as its axis”³²⁰.

The most important kind of freedom is freedom of thought, and the foundation of thought is the language we speak. Mihai Eminescu has the tremendous contribution of having finalized our language and thought and, by doing so, made us free³²¹. Constantin Noica said that Mihai Eminescu gave us the gift of having “appeared in our world a man who understood to be a complete man. Someone who did not want to be second”³²².

Mihai Eminescu clearly identified the nature of the problems: the alienation of the elites and their transformation into “professional patriots”, the country consequently turning into a “transit hotel”³²³. Mihai Eminescu is the complete man of Romanian culture, having the ability to understand the universal truth that passes through a nation and to express it. It is thanks to Mihai Eminescu that we found out who we are and regained our consciousness of national unity³²⁴.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Dimitrie Gusti, the founder of the Sociological School in Bucharest, believes that sociology must have at the center of its concerns the nation, with all its problems. From this perspective, sociology, as *militans sociology*, is concerned with the needs of the people. Mihai Eminescu understood this and identified a unique way to regain the

³¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 6, quoted by *Ibidem*, p. 4.

³²⁰ „Este puterea și dreptul nostru la putere. Este dreptul nostru la subtilitatea îndumnezeită, la infinitul pus în rost. Este delicatetea primitoare a grădinii Maicii Domnului, destinul nostru. Este dreptul nostru de a primi după dreptate domnească pe oricine ne respectă – aici avem întreaga teorie eminesciană a epocii voievodale, a funcției țărănimii, a păturilor pozitive și a dezvoltării organice, având ca ax legea compensației”, in Radu Baltasiu, „Eminescu, românul deplin” [“Eminescu, the complete Romanian”], in *Active News*, January 15, 2022, Available at: https://www.activenews.ro/opinii/Radu_Baltasiu_EMINESCU-ROMANUL-DEPLIN-172101, Accessed on January 25, 2025.

³²¹ *Ibidem*.

³²² „apărut în lumea noastră un om care-a înțeles să fie om deplin. Cineva care n-a vroit să fie al doilea”, in Constantin Noica, *Eminescu sau gânduri despre omul deplin al culturii românești [Eminescu or thoughts about the complete man of Romanian culture]*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 2015, p. 121.

³²³ Mihai Eminescu, *Opere [Works]*, Vol. XIII, Bucharest, The Academy Publishing House, 1985, p. 82.

³²⁴ Radu Baltasiu, „Eminescu, românul deplin” [“Eminescu, the complete Romanian”], in *Active News*, January 15, 2022, Available at: https://www.activenews.ro/opinii/Radu_Baltasiu_EMINESCU-ROMANUL-DEPLIN-172101, Accessed on January 25, 2025.

country from the decadent elite, more precisely from the superimposed elite – estranged from the needs of the people, preoccupied with its own interests. This concern for others made possible the emergence of two great theories, which still have the same explanatory power today: the theory of the negative selection of elites and the theory of compensation. Only if the elite is selected positively, *i.e.*, according to the criterion of competence, do we have compensatory ratios from Mihai Eminescu's point of view, and from Dimitrie Gusti's point of view we have equilibrium and social justice. These things are only possible if what Gusti called cultural personalities are in charge of the country, in which case the state becomes a cultural state. Only if the selection criteria are meritocratic do we have a sociocracy. Otherwise, the state is reduced to its demagogic form, progress is replaced by semi-barbarism. We therefore remember that we only have order and social justice when equal pay for equal work. Here is the complexity of Mihai Eminescu!³²⁵

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³²⁵ Radu Baltasiu, *quoted work*, p. 244.