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*SUMMARY OF THE PhD THESIS*

*MIHAI EMINESCU,  
the political journalist*

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***SUMMARY OF THE PhD THESIS***  
***“MIHAI EMINESCU, THE POLITICAL JOURNALIST”***

*Key words:* Trilogy, attack, nationalism, unionism, trial, translator, history, ancestors, war, Bessarabia, Dobruja, kidnapping, annexation, Jews, emancipation, Bismarck, railroads, redemption, Kalnoky, Danube, navigation, control, Brătianu, Liberals, pluralists, requisition, Transylvania, catholic, election, fraud, Grădișteanu, Government, speech, Charles I, inpatient, hospice care, treatment, mercury, death

The need to address the topic "Mihai Eminescu, the political journalist" in a PhD thesis emerged from the realization that Mihai Eminescu's journalistic writings, his published political statements, receive usually an unjustified secondary place to his poetic writings. In my opinion, they are just as important for the Romanian culture.

His most well known epithets are "The Morning Star of the Romanian poetry" or the "unmatched poet", but they describe Eminescu only as an expression of his poetic genius. Nicolae Iorga and Petre Tutea made the most comprehensive characterizations of Mihai Eminescu as a person, with reference to his entire work.

The great scholar Nicolae Iorga considered him "the complete expression of the Romanian nation", and the great philosopher Petre Tutea named him "Apollo from Cișmigiu", "a lyrical sum of princes" and "the absolute Romanian", in a cascade of superlative appreciations. Through these short but profound and comprehensive appreciations, the two genius minds transcended Mihai Eminescu's poetic dimension. In order to speak about the embodiment of the entire Romanian nation with all its feelings in a single person, in order to consider that person as of divine origin, to place him alongside the great leaders and rulers of the Romanian people, and finally, as a keystone, to consider him as the most Romanian among Romanians, one has to know very well Eminescu's entire work, in which his political publishing plays a decisive role.

Intentionally or not, only one of Eminescu's dimensions remained in the public consciousness: the poet. Unfortunately, his activity as political publicist is put in the background, far less important than the lyrical works, even if they are both equally brilliant. No other field of his work suffered more from speculations than his political publishing. Even his destiny was put under the eventually fatal sign of the journalistic influence. The passions, controversies, and criticism he arose still linger nowadays, when we do not have a definitive picture of why and how Eminescu died.

Anyone who reads the articles Eminescu wrote surely asks himself – when did he find time for poetry? Equally, the one who reads his poetry asks himself the same question, but the other way around – how was he able to write anything else?

George Călinescu, Eugen Lovinescu, Perpessicius, Dimitrie Vatamaniuc, Petru Creția, Alexandru Oprea, Constantin Barbu, Nicolae Georgescu, Dumitru Murărașu, Theodor Codreanu, Ion Scurtu or Gheorghe Buzatu are only some of the contemporary writers who studied Eminescu's journalism as a whole.

In the light of all the published studies regarding Mihai Eminescu's complete works, a question arises: "which one was greater – the poet or the journalist? Is "the Morning Star of the Romanian poetry" "the Morning Star of the Romanian press" as well?

The current thesis, "Mihai Eminescu, the political journalist", tries to answer the second part of this question, since Eminescu's poetical genius is indisputable.

The exclusive consideration of his political writings as the essence of his journalistic brilliance is completely justified since the journalism of "the absolute Romanian" is dominated by the internal and international political issues occurred between 1870 and 1883. If we would extract the political writings from the five edited volumes of his published articles, the rest can easily be condensed in one volume.

The works published until today on the subject are either a collection of all the articles published by Mihai Eminescu between 1870 and 1889, or selections of his political articles, regardless of chronology or pure journalistic-political logic of Eminescu's 19 years long intense journalistic activity. There are no specialized papers to analyze Eminescu's political journalism starting from his first articles, published in 1870, continuing with the political development of the main internal and international political issues he approached, and ending with the last articles published at the beginning of 1889.

This PhD thesis represents an objective representation of Eminescu's journalism in a synthesis including 80% of his published articles. It tries to give answers to certain questions which arise multiple controversies still, like how much of a xenophobe, radical-nationalist, reactionary, but most of all anti-Semite Eminescu really was, or, if he did have some of these characteristics, than why he used such a harsh language against the liberals; how much subjectivism was in his main press campaigns; and last but not least whether his articles influenced to any extent his tragic death.

Also, the thesis will show that for a long time the poet combined poetry and journalism more out of need than out of will, but once he felt that the journalistic part of his life become a duty to defend the identity of the Romanian people, the borders of the Great Dacia, and the common Romanian against the abuses made by the liberal government and the international economical and territorial interests, and his only way to gain a living, he put poetry in the background and focused on his press campaigns.

The thesis will tackle the sensitive topic of Mihai Eminescu's hospice admission, will try to shed a light to the national and international context, and most of all to its legality. Even if this doesn't have to do exclusively with the journalistic object of the thesis, it will try to answer a question more and more present in nowadays public space: was Mihai Eminescu assassinated or not?

Even more, the thesis will emphasize that his journalism, as his creation as a whole, did not stop on the day of his admission, June 28 / July 10, 1883.

All the scenarios of a potential assassination or a potential induced craziness are directly linked to his journalistic activity. Practically, the ones supporting this version of his death consider his political publishing and extra-journalistic unionist activity as the main causes for his admission to the hospice, and an oppressive measure against his activity until 1883, and for securing a media tranquility during the closing of the secret alliance protocol between Romania and the Austro-Hungarian Empire as well. A number of theories developed after his admission, and this thesis will try to confirm or contradict them: was Eminescu clinically healthy at the time of his admission; was he or wasn't he wrongfully treated with mercury for syphilis, a disease of which he may have or may have not been suffering; and was the period between 1883 and 1889 a total poetic-journalistic black-out because of this treatment, as well as because of possible alterations of syphilitic nature?

The thesis is structured in five chapters, each with three subchapters, with a total of 15 subchapters. The chapters are arranged chronologically, from 1870 to 1889, as well as according to the main topics of Eminescu's press campaigns.

**The first chapter** deals with Mihai Eminescu's fulminant debut, followed, after some quiet years, by a journalistic work that is more conjectural than out of conviction, characterized by the call upon history made through his articles.

In this first chapter is notable the fact that Eminescu planned to express himself more through prose than through his newspaper articles. Practically, his true pseudo-journalistic debut – called pseudo because is a mix between prose and journalism – should have happened with the publishing of his first novel – “Geniu pustiu” (Deserted genius).

“Geniu pusti” includes almost all the topics of his three first press articles – “Sa facem un congres” (Let’s organize a congress), “In unire e taria” (In Union lies the strength) and “Ecuilibrul” (Equilibrium) – a clear sign that he projected his nationalist-unionist message for the Romanians in Transylvania in a prose piece. Most likely, he changed his plan and chose to convey his messages using well-written, well-targeted press articles, with a condensed message and far more impact than a novel. Besides, the inspiration for three short articles which could have been written in a day, came far more easily than the one needed to finish a novel.

Furthermore, “Geniu pusti” remained unfinished and unpublished until 1904. One reason for this is that Eminescu reached his initial goal by publishing the three articles in “Federatiunea” (the Federation), and so he decided not to write an end to a novel which has already lost his purpose and his publishing deadline.

In reality, his debut was made of four press articles – three of them were published in “Federatiunea” from Pest, and one remained unpublished. Therefore, Eminescu’s journalistic debut includes four, and not three, extremely tough articles regarding the Austro-Hungarian dualism. The first journalistic attempts were a close call for Eminescu, as he barely escaped the lawsuit issued against him by the Pest authorities for the content of “Ecuilibrul”. It is unlikely that Eminescu would have survived the Hungarian prisons.

His debut reveals an unstoppable journalist, even in language, but only on topics such as Great Dacia, national interests, the good of Romanians, the fight against corruption, and governmental incompetency.

The second subchapter emphasizes that his debut is followed by a long period of journalistic silence of almost six years. Between 1870 and 1876, the years of his debut and comeback, Eminescu dedicated himself to poetry, his studies in Vienna and Berlin, his activity as the librarian of the Iasi Library, and most of all to his activity as school inspector for Iasi and Vaslui counties. All this time he was guided and helped by his mentor, Titu Maiorescu, minister of culture and public education, who saw his genius and tried to place him on the right path.

Unfortunately for Eminescu, the help received from Maiorescu will make him a target and will determine his journalistic comeback, just as conjectural as his debut. In no more than 3 months, in 1876, he goes from being a protégé of Maiorescu and the conservative government of Lascar Catargiu, to being one of those persecuted by the liberal government of Ion C. Bratianu.

Therefore, in the summer of 1876 Eminescu was abusively fired from his position of school inspector and was literally left without house and bread. He stayed at friends who took pity on him.

This was a hard to swallow humiliation, more so since he had done nothing wrong in his professional activity. To earn his living he returned to journalism at the junimist-conservative newspaper, “Curierul de Iasi” (Iasi Courier). His activity there during 1876 clearly shows that he did not want a career in journalism, but he does it on a temporary basis until he finds a better job or until the conservatives regain the power. This might be the explanation for the content and consistency of his journalism during 1876, mainly translations of articles published in the European press concerning the “oriental matter” – the war between the Ottoman Empire and part of the Christian provinces under its domination. Even if he briefly tackled other topics also, it is safe to say that 1876 and the beginning of 1877 represent the journalistic apprenticeship of Mihai Eminescu.

The final subchapter of the first chapter points out Eminescu’s permanent appeals to history, to the antithesis between the glorious past and the deplorable present, between the great rulers and part of the political leaders and politicians of his time - forms without substance. He will constantly refer to Mircea cel Batran, Alexandru cel Bun, Stefan cel Mare, Mihai Viteazu, Matei Basarab, Grigore Ghica the 3<sup>rd</sup>, Tudor Vladimirescu, Nicolae Balcescu and Alexandru Ioan Cuza, as role models whose example should be followed by the political government.

Eminescu’s era was dominated by political figures like King Carol 1<sup>st</sup>, Ion C. Bratianu, C.A. Rosetti, D. A. Sturdza, P. P. Carp, Mihail Kogalniceanu, Lascar Catargiu. The journalist harshly criticized liberal leaders like Ion C. Bratianu and C.A. Rosetti. He was the only one who dared to accuse them, a bit subjectively, of betraying the national interest. He criticized Carol the 1<sup>st</sup> also, but in decent terms.

Besides making references to the bravery and dimension of the ancestors, Eminescu probed their competence as statesmen with statistics, with the measures they took which led to the development of Tara Romanesca and Moldova (two of the Romanian provinces). He emphasized the fact that their rule was a success because they followed the national interest, unlike part of the political class during Eminescu’s time who followed personal and group interests.

**The second chapter** of the thesis captures the journalistic activity of Mihai Eminescu during the War for Independence, his first major media campaign focused on the abusive annexation of Cahul, Ismail and Bolgrad counties (in the south Dobruja) by the Tsarist Empire, and his opinions regarding the return of Dobruja to the mother country.

This subject will also represent the transition from provincial journalism to the big and truly important journalism. During 1877, Eminescu will make the junction between “Curierul de Iasi” and “Timpul” (the Time).

It is most likely that he started liking journalism at this point in time, and this is doubled by the very good financial prospective offered by the conservative newspaper in Bucharest. However, the latter will remain a chimera.

On the other hand, Eminescu realized that he wanted his voice to be heard clearer, louder and unequivocally, and the poetry was not enough, in fact, the poetry could not offer all these. He needed to remain a journalist in order to speak about what concerned him, to sanction the deviations of the ruling class, to teach history and economics lessons, to come at the aid of the Romanians in Transylvania, and to put up a barricade in front of all those prejudicial to the national interest. One can say that during his time at “Curierul de Iasi” he got infected with the virus of journalism and he never cured from it.

The 1877 war is mostly approached in “Curierul de Iasi” with pure professionalism. He presented, step by step, all the moves from the battlefield which, until one point, were favorable to the Russian army, then the first Turkish bombardments over Romania, Romania’s entry in the war alongside the Russian army even if initially she maintained her neutrality, and he intuited that the decisive moment which would determine the result of the war would be the fall of Plevna fortress. It is notable that during the war, even if there were reasons to attack the liberal government in the media, Eminescu did not put in danger the internal political climate and he abstained from political attacks. These being said, once the result of the war was clear, and with the loss of South Bessarabia, he directly attacked the liberal government accusing it of nearly criminal negligence in the support of the Romanians who were on the battlefield.

These harsh attacks reached their high with the extensive media campaign against the takeover by the Tsarist Empire of the Southern Bessarabia. This was by far one of the most brilliant and argued journalistic topics made by Eminescu, with two main parts: first - he proved with indubitable historic arguments that the Russian claims over Cahul, Ismail and Bolgrad counties were abusive and illegal; second - he accused the government led by Ion C. Bratianu of negligence and treason against the national interests.



For the first part, Eminescu presented for his readers a number of historic documents, which proved that Bessarabia was Romanian territory way before the formation of the Tsarist Empire. He showed that the Russian territorial claims were based solely on pride and vanity, reinforced by the power of negotiation a war winning side had, and not on historic proofs.

The accusations brought to the government led by Ion C. Bratianu were based on the fact that the liberal prime-minister knew since 1876 about the territorial claims the Tsarist Empire would have in case a war would have started and he did not take any measure against them. More so, at the time when Romania signed the convention that allowed the Russian troops to pass through its territory, the Romanian diplomacy did not ask the Russian part to recognize and guarantee the Romanian borders from the time the convention was signed.

In essence, Eminescu was right, but in the context of the European spheres of geo-political influence, no Romanian government could have oppose the materialization of the Russian territorial claims. King Carol I and the Romanian government protested against these claims even in front of the Berlin Congress, but they found no ally among the great European powers, which preferred to follow their own interests. Eminescu was one of the few voices who will support the idea that Romania should enter a new war, against the Tsarist Empire, to defend Southern Bessarabia. Eminescu's heroic-nationalist way of thinking was based on the principle that no piece of Romanian territory should be ceased in negotiations, but through battle.

His brilliant campaign, in both argument and nationalist message, was a failure, because Romania lost Cahul, Ismail and Bolgrad counties, and this visibly marked the journalist, as one could see in his future articles. His next short campaign was dedicated to the reintegration of Dobruja to the mother country. Even if this was a reason for national joy, Eminescu perceived this as an exchange for South Bessarabia, so he shifted the focus center of his campaign from the territorial reunification to the government's inability to administer the new territory. For this Eminescu proved with documents that no favor was made to Romania by the reunification with Dobruja, since it was historically, just like South Bessarabia, Romanian territory.

Eminescu rejected the idea of territorial compensation between Dobruja and South Bessarabia, because Romania should not have lost any piece of land, no matter how small, since it was the sacrifice of the Romanian army that ultimately determined the winner of the Russian-Turkish war.

He said that the people of Dobruja should be warned that they would be governed through incompetence and corruption by the liberal government. Even more, he launched to the public the idea that a local referendum should be organized for the local population to express its position regarding the reunification with the mother country. He wanted such a referendum to be organized in South Bessarabia also, for the Dobrujan population to agree with the reunification and the Bessarabians to reject the Russian administration.

Basically, he saw only the bad part – the loss of South Bessarabia – since the reunification with Dobruja was considered a natural and normal thing to be done. To show how much this loss affected him, the article dedicated to the triumphal return to Bucharest of the Romanian army was a sad one, because on the same day took place the administrative transfer in South Bessarabia from Romania to Russia. The price paid by Romania for its independence was inconceivable for the journalist.

**The third chapter** presents Eminescu's most controversial media campaign, the one against the mass empowerment of the Jews, which brought him the label of "anti-Semite", along with other two campaigns: the one concerning the redemption of the Railways and the one concerning the control of the navigation on the Lower Danube.

In regards to the "Jewish issue", Eminescu fought against the mass empowerment of the Jews, and for the equal rights of the Romanians and of those Jews who gained their naturalization by the long time they have been on Romanian territory, and by their contribution to the evolution of the Romanian state. Article 7 of the 1866 Constitution stated: "the attribute of Romanian is acquired, kept and can be lost according to the regulations in the civil laws. Only Christian foreigners can be grounded/naturalized". At the pressure of the Universal Israeli Association, The Berlin Treaty, besides regulating and officially accepting the takeover of South Bessarabia, specifically stated, at Article 44 that "in Romania, differences of religion of confessions cannot be held against a person as reason for exclusion or incapacitation regarding civil or political rights, admission in public office or distinctions, or exercise of different professions and industries in any city this might be. Freedom of public practice of any cult will be assured to all subjects of the Romanian State, and to the foreigners, and no obstacle will be put to any hierarchical organization of various religious communities or to their relations with their spiritual leaders. Nationals of all the Powers, merchants or others, will be treated in Romania with absolute equality, regardless their religion."

Eminescu's campaign is based on two main directions: one is the strong, total opposition against the interference of the great European powers with the internal state affairs, who exercise pressure on the Romanian authorities to regulate the mass empowerment of the Jews; the other is the equally strong support of equal rights between Romanians and Jews who lived on Romanian territory for many generations, had lucrative activities and have brought their contribution to the development of the Romanian Provinces.

In other words, Eminescu was against giving equal rights to Jews who did not have long-standing ancestral relations here, who did not produce anything, and who migrated massively in the recent years in Romania, especially in Moldova. He supported his point of view with statistical data which proved that in areas where the influx of mosaic population was consistent, the mortality rate among Romanians was higher than the birth rate, while among Jews the things were the other way around. Thus, there was the danger that, in those areas, in a given period of time, the Romanian population can become a minority and the Jewish minority can become a majority.

Also, Eminescu pointed out that the main occupations of the newly emigrated Jews who were coming from Galicia and Russia to Moldova, were not productive activities, which would be useful to the development of the country, but were based mainly on giving loans to the Romanian consumers with extremely high interest (taking people's possessions if they weren't able to make the payments), on selling counterfeit spirit drinks (which raised the level of promiscuity of the life of the Romanian peasants and affected their health), or on taking on lease pieced of land from wealthy landlords against high amounts of money, which meant that the work conditions of the Romanians who worked that land would have to become very harsh.

In effect, Eminescu showed that the newly emigrated Jews from Moldova had a rather toxic public role, being focused on personal gain and reinforcement of personal social-economical positions, by raising indebteding and deceiving the native population. He also showed that part of the great European powers, which specifically requested the empowerment of the Jews in Romania, at home were imposing anti-Semite measures to protect their population against the same damages made by the Jews in Moldova, or they arrived to the mass empowerment of the Jews after a long period of restrictive, or even persecutory laws. In other words, the journalist did not accept lessons from the great European countries, which at their own turn persecuted their Jewish communities, while Romania had become a preferred destination for emigrants because of the extremely permissive legislation.

In his campaign, Eminescu used only statistical data, actual facts from Moldova, experiences from other states, and the entire campaign was made on a European anti-Semite background. As a confirmation that his campaign was entitled and correct, the Chamber of Representatives decided to dismiss article 44 of the Berlin Treaty and granted equal rights to the Jewish people in Romania based on specific conditions, and not in mass, just as Eminescu stated throughout his campaign.

The Romanian Provinces were forced by the countries that signed the Berlin Treaty to modify their Constitution to offer equal rights to the Jewish minority as to the Romanian majority. This was just a pretext used by German chancellor Otto von Bismarck to force the Romanian government to redeem the railways built initially by the German businessman Henri Strussberg, and subsequently by the personal banker of the German chancellor, Gerson Bleichröder, at a price that was a lot bigger than their real value.

In fact he said that, when the Romanian state will agree to redeem the railways from the German entrepreneur in the terms agreed by Bismarck, the German Empire, and the other European powers, will recognize Romania's independence and will tacitly accept the fact that Romania rejected to apply the Berlin Treaty word by word (in reference to the empowerment of all Jews from the Provinces).

Therefore, after dealing with the "Jewish issue", Eminescu dealt with another sensitive topic – the redemption of the railways. He proved that Romania would pay a lot more than the normal costs for redeeming the railways, fearing that the national budget will not be able to cope with this long term debt, and doubting the competence and honesty of the liberal government which he considered incapable or too greedy to bring this process to a good end.

After the 1877 war, the national budget was nowhere near ready to support the financial pressure implied by the redeeming of the railways from the German entrepreneurial couple Strussberg-Bleichröder who built them over the course of ten years. While the first made a financial fraud and had his concession revoked by the Romanian state, the second took over the concession and succeeded in finishing the contract linking Moldova with Tara Romaneasca.

Coincidence or not, Gerson Bleichröder was the personal banker of the German chancellor Otto von Bismarck. The latter made huge pressure for the Romanian state to start the process of redeeming the railways at an overstated price. If this was not to happen, the German Empire threatened not to recognize Romania's independence.

Pressured, but reassured that, if he will buy the railways at the said price, besides the recognition of its independence, Romania can reject the mass empowerment of the Jews, Romania accepted the terms of the process.

This press campaign was reduced in terms of length and consistence because the subject was already developing during the time he focused on the campaign on the Jewish issue. He was not opposing the actual redeeming of the railways, which he found was absolutely necessary for Romania's development, but he pointed out the amount of the loan Romania will have to get to pay the price asked by the German entrepreneur, and the fact that he considered the liberal government incompetent, incapable and/or unwilling to correctly manage this process. It was one of the most condensed campaign Eminescu ever made, but we remain with his correct analysis, that the Romanian state would have to pay much more than the fair value of the project.

In fact, Romania would pay for Otto von Bismarck's favor to recognize Romania's independence and not to comment on the way Romania regulated the empowering of the Jews, even if it did not comply with the provisions of the Berlin Treaty concerning this matter.

The lack of consistency in this campaign was compensated by his approach in the "Danube issue", concerning the navigation control on the Danube on Romanian territory by the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The Russian-Turkish war of 1877-1878 has brought a repositioning of the geo-political influences of the great European powers. They all wanted to expand their borders at the expense of the Ottoman Empire, or to increase their military, political and economic influence in Europe. This was the case with the Austro-Hungarian Empire also. After it received through the Berlin Treaty the administration of Bosnia-Herzegovina, it wanted to control completely the navigation on the Danube, including on the part where it ran through Romanian territory.

This desire of the dual monarchy generated what in history will remain known as "the Danube issue", a diplomatic conflict that involved initially several European states against the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and only Romania and the Austro-Hungarian Empire in its final stages.

Austro-Hungary wanted the constitution of a Mixt Commission for the Lower Danube, to function under its control and according to its interests, taking advantage of the ambiguity of the Berlin Treaty concerning the administration of the course of Danube, doubled by the gaps in the activity of the European Commission for Danube, the authority which administered without executive powers the flow of the river.

Eminescu's campaign had two components: the strong opposition against the Austro-Hungarian project, based on the fact that, not being a riverine state on its Romanian course, the Austro-Hungarian Empire had no geographic or historic reason to control the Romanian Danube; and the harsh criticism brought to Ion C. Bratianu and the Romanian diplomacy which he accuses of using a double language, one of opposition against the project for the internal public and to save the appearances on the international level, and another one, diplomatic-discreet used by Bratianu and his diplomacy, by which they already agreed to this project since the beginning of 1880 in exchange for the recognition of the Romanian Provinces as Kingdom and the establishment of a bilateral cooperation agreement with the dual monarchy.

As he has done once before in regards with the loss of South Bessarabia to the Tsarist Empire, Eminescu accused Bratianu's government of the premeditated sale of the national interests.

The Danube issue was regulated by the London Conference and Treaty held at the end of 1882, beginning of 1883, which supported the implementation of a mixt Austro-Hungarian and French project, totally favoring the dual monarchy. Romania refused to apply the provisions of the Treaty and was isolated from the rest of Europe until the end of 1883 when the secret Treaty of Alliance with the Austro-Hungarian Empire was signed. Eminescu would not be around to see the outcome of this sensitive subject because when the bilateral protocol was signed he was already admitted to the hospice.

**Chapter four** marks the passage from journalism to the hospice and tries to answer whether there was anything in his journalism that could have bothered someone to such extent that could have triggered repressive measures against the poet.

Also in this chapter is presented the most consistent, quasi permanent of his press campaigns, the one against the National Liberal Party and its leaders.

Eminescu was the harshest censor of the government led by Ion C. Bratianu, combining well documented and criticism against the liberal governmental and political actions with very strong, violent language against the NLP members who broke the law, got rich with public money, held several public offices, all very well paid, were incapable of having a productive activity and became public officers, parasites, to the detriment of the productive class and of the common people.

Eminescu's anti-liberalism was also subjective because of the persecutions he endured in 1876. Besides being abusively dismissed from his position of school inspector by the local minister of cults and public education Gheorghe Chitu, and left literally on the roads and with no food, shortly after he was sued for some missing books from the inventory of the Iasi library, where he used to be librarian.

The journalist will stand two interrogatories, in front of a prosecutor, who will decide to send him to court, and in front of an educational judge who will finally decide his acquittal. It is hard to say what man would have not become a strong critic of the power that allowed this kind of persecution.

His aversion towards the liberal leaders was based also on the low level of competence of a part of the political figures promoted in leadership positions, on the frauds made during elections, on the businesses the liberals made with public funds, on the rise of a number of political figures who were not of Romanian origin and lived exclusively from public money, on the lack of protective and stimulating measures for the productive classes, and on several governmental actions suspected of corruption.

This was the case with the Warszawsky-Mihăilescu affair, a huge scandal of governmental corruption, concerning the requisition of the peasants' ox carts by the Russian army through the intermediation of the Jewish entrepreneur Warszawsky who bribed Romanian officials from Bratianu's government to get the deal.

This topic was not covered over a long period of time, but it is one of his most brilliant press campaigns through its rhythmicity, constancy, published documents and final result – the resignation on the Director of the Internal Affairs Ministry, Simion Mihailescu.

The documents published during this campaign showed that for the requisition of the ox carts by the Russian Army in the Russian-Turkish war of 1877-1878 the Russian-Jewish entrepreneur A.M. Warszawsky bribed the government official Simion Mihăilescu, the official representative and locum tenens of Ion C. Bratianu who held also the office of Minister of Internal Affairs.

The strong and focused campaign determined Mihailescu's resignation, but just after he succeeded to cover up this entire deal. The prompt and harsh attack will bring serious image damages to Bratianu's government.

The passage to the moment of the hospice admission is made in the thesis by a subchapter dedicated to the journalistic year 1883 as a whole, morally fatidic for Eminescu, the politician and opinion leader.

All the subject he approached that year were sensitive: the control of the navigation on Danube, the repeated and abusive attempts of magyarization of the Romanians from Transylvania, the establishment of a Romano-Catholic Metropolitan church in Bucharest, the serious abuses recorded during the elections held in spring that year, and more important the diplomatic scandal generated by the speech held by the liberal member of the Parliament Petre Gradisteanu at the festivities organized for the unveiling of Stefan cel Mare's statue (Stephen the Great) in Iasi.

In "the Danube issue" Eminescu accused Bratianu's government, especially the prime minister and the External Affairs Minister Vasile Boerescu, of sacrificing the national interests.

Regarding the abusive attempts of magyarization of the Romanians from Transylvania, he retransmitted the nationalist-unionist messages from 1870 for which he was brought to justice in Pest.

He strongly opposed the establishment of a Romano-Catholic Metropolitan Church in Bucharest which he considered to be an instrument used by the Habsburg dynasty to control King Carol 1<sup>st</sup>.

Concerning the 1883 spring elections, he accused the liberal government that, by tolerating numerous irregularities in the election process he gave a hidden coup d'état, to keep the governmental power.

These subjects were addressed in his characteristic style, annoying, exasperating even for the liberal political leaders who became moving public targets. He annoys authorities from Bucharest, Vienna and Pest with his comments on those subjects, but the keystone of his 1883 journalistic activity is the avalanche of criticism against liberal Petre Gradisteanu. The speech he held in Iasi inflamed the diplomatic relation between Romania and the Austro-Hungarian Empire already deteriorated by Romania's rejection of the resolution of the London Conference concerning the Danube issue. Eminescu blamed the liberal government for this speech and, in a veiled manner, the royal house.



The Romanian authorities struggled to settle the diplomatic conflict showing that Gradisteanu's speech, who militated for the unification of all Romanians in a single state, under King Carol 1<sup>st</sup>, was a private intervention and did not represent the official position of the government led by Ion C. Bratianu. Eminescu showed that Gradisteanu did not say those things by chance. He was the spokesperson of the liberal government who premeditated the tensed events.

To reestablish the diplomatic relations, the Austro-Hungarian authorities asked Bucharest to take firm measures against the persons or structures who militated for the Romania's unification with Transylvania and Ardeal. Coincidental or not, the Romanian authorities enforced those measures on June 28 / July 10 1883, the exact day of Mihai Eminescu's hospice admission.

This coincidence inevitably opens the road to the conspiracy theory according to which, with the expulsion of Chief Editor of "L'Indépendance roumaine" (Romanian independence) newspaper, Emil Galli, with the closing of this newspaper which started the international scandal of Gradisteanu's speech, and the dissolution of "Carpati" (Carpathians) society, a secret structure which had as mission the reestablishment of the Great Dacia, whose member Eminescu was, it was needed also the silencing of the sharpest voice in the national media, the only opinion leader capable to move the masses with his journalism – Mihai Eminescu.

**The last chapter** covers Eminescu's hospice admissions, points out the published articles and materials from the so-called intellectual blackout period and tries to shed light on the "absolute Romanian's" assassination theory.

The three subchapters will address the legality of Eminescu's hospice admission on June 28 / July 10 1883, the process of disease diagnosis, if there was any pathological disease, the administered treatment, whether correct or toxic, and the real causes of his death.

The conspiracy scenario is maintained, if not generated, by the way the controversial day of his hospice admission unfolded.

There were motives for somebody to wish he was silenced: in international politics the Austro-Hungarian officials were bothered by Romanian individuals and organizations who promoted the nationalist-unionist spirit in Transylvania and requested firm measures to be taken against them; in domestic politics the government officials sought assiduously to close an alliance treaty with the Austro-Hungarian Empire (already endangered by Romania's position regarding the solution given by the London Conference in the Danube issue) and they sought to eliminate all the factors which were against it.

Eminescu annoyed many people for a long time, but never more than in 1883, and he also showed signs that could have been interpreted as psychiatric disorders. All these being said, his admission was at least questionable, if not abusive. It was done in base of an alleged note received by Titu Maiorescu from the wife of Ioan Slavici at 6:00 in the morning, on June 28/ July 10 1883, and the entire process of admission still raises questions. The journalist's road to the hospice is unclear. The minutes of his admission drafted by police officer C.N. Nicolescu and countersigned by Eminescu's friends Simțion, Siderescu, and Ocășeanu are full of inadvertences. A new reason to entertain the conspiracy theory is the fact that around him on that day were many Freemasons, and it was known that Eminescu was familiar with masonic language and symbolism.

Even if in the end the Freemasonry had nothing to do with his tragic ending, the fact that the poet was mistreated and admitted to the hospice with the direct contribution of several masons, sheds a negative light over Freemasonry as a whole.

In short – his hospice admission is controversial to say the least.

The treatment he received is just as controversial.

His admission to Dr. Sutu's establishment was initially made with a diagnosis of acute mania (no word about syphilis) and the first part of his treatment consisted of painkillers and hallucinogens, which could have seriously affected his health by inducing addiction and withdrawal. To these was added Potassium iodide, which can only be justified as a countermeasure to some toxic substance, like mercury.

His transfer to the Austrian Institute Oberdöbling brought his miraculous recovery, as the Austrian doctors affirmed (maybe because he did not suffer from the diseases diagnosed and treated in the country). The secret to his recovery was the prescription of a correct treatment, which did not include the substances he received in Dr. Sutu hospice.

From Oberdöbling he was sent on a European voyage for full recovery before returning in the country, but his journey was cut short because Eminescu wanted to return to Bucharest. His wish would not be fulfilled because Maiorescu convinced him to go to Iasi instead.

Until 1886, he alternated very good periods, of lucidity and unaltered memory, appetite for work and life, with depressive moments generated by the realization that no matter what he did, he could not escape the label of crazy. All these added to his lack of public utility. He passed from being an opinion leader who shook governments and was connected to all major events in the capital, to being a deputy-librarian in Iasi, who did not feel as useful as he was in Bucharest until 1883.

His disorders relapsed in 1886. Doctors Iulianu and Bogdan set an unreal and unprofessional diagnosis of “mental alienation with acute bouts, probably generated by brain syphilitic gums and exacerbated by alcoholism”, in other words syphilis, which will be the base for the treatment with mercury injections prescribed by Dr. Francisc Iszac for a disease he did not have.

He got better every time he went to Repedea and Hall Spas, and to the hospice of Neamt monastery, because the spa baths and treatments did not have mercury, and made him normal. Once he got back on Dr. Iszac’s treatment, his disorders reappeared.

Due to the inadequate treatment, the lack of public utility, the low attacks against him made by Macedonski in “Literatorul”, the fact that so-called friends lured him into pubs while he was supposed to keep a strict diet, and a controversial episode from the beginning of 1889, Eminescu returned to Dr. Sutut hospice and never left until the tragic day on 15/27 June 1889.

This day is just as controversial as the last 6 years of his life. It clearly had a lot more to live. The causes of his death were a head embolism (due to a/several blow/s to the head) and a cardiac syncope (because of the mercury treatment). Whether it was a premeditated murder – a wrong and intentional mercury treatment and an intentional blow to the head, or a reckless homicide – a well-intended mercury treatment and a casual blow to the head, it is clear that it was not his time to die yet.

The fact that even his death certificate is full of inadvertences and most of all signed by two illiterate employees from Dr. Sutut hospice, adds to the questionable causes of his death.

Two things are certain: the political journalism triggered his nervousness, and this was wrongfully treated.

The journalism that set the world against him is the main cause that led to his tragic end.

Overall the PhD thesis “Mihai Eminescu – the political journalist” will demonstrate the poet’s multidimensional genius, and will show that Mihai Eminescu - the journalist from 1870 to 1883 is nothing less than Mihai Eminescu - the poet, will underline that upon a close analysis of his entire journalistic work “the Morning Star of the Romanian poetry” is also “the Morning Star of the Romanian Journalism” and that, unfortunately, his prodigious journalistic activity will be the catalyst of the deterioration of his health which, combined with a wrongfully prescribed treatment, lead to his premature death.

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