

THE PHILOSOPHICAL AGE

**THE NORTHERN LIGHTS
FACETS OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT CULTURE**



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Facets of the Enlightenment Culture

Александровский институт университета Хельсинки
Учреждение Российской академии наук Институт философии РАН
Санкт-Петербургский центр истории идей

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36

СЕВЕРНОЕ СИЯНИЕ Грани культуры Просвещения

Ответственные редакторы
Т.В. Артемьева, М.И. Микешин, В. Ойттинен



Санкт-Петербургский центр истории идей

Санкт-Петербург — Хельсинки
2010

The Aleksanteri Institute of the University of Helsinki
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Edited by
Tatiana Artemyeva, Mikhail Mikeshin, Vesa Oittinen



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Ответственные редакторы альманаха:
Т.В. Артемьева, М.И. Микешин

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В 36-м выпуске альманаха «Философский век» опубликованы материалы международного научного симпозиума «Северное сияние: Грани культуры Просвещения», проведенного 25–26 сентября 2009 г. в Александровском институте университета Хельсинки. Эпоха Просвещения, кроме своей общей «прогрессивной» тенденции, имела множество граней и противоречий, многие аспекты которых все еще плохо изучены. Просвещение в Северных странах и в России весьма заметно отличалось от «парадигмального» французского, а также от классической британской мысли восемнадцатого века. С другой стороны, националистические течения в историографии Северных стран и России пытались преуменьшить тот факт, что эти страны, несмотря на все особенности, внесли свой существенный вклад в общеевропейскую культуру эпохи. В сборнике представлены исследования участников симпозиума из Финляндии и России в области истории идей Просвещения.

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ENLIGHTENMENT: still actual, still in need of further research

In the foreword to his much-used *Lexikon der Aufklärung* (1995) the German scholar Werner Schneiders speaks of the Enlightenment, firstly, as “a relatively uniform” phenomenon of Central and West European origin, whose first signs became discernible almost simultaneously already at the end of 17th century in England, France and Germany. These common roots of the Enlightenment can be found “especially in the emergence of science and in the frustration one experienced in consequence of the dominant religious and social structures.”¹

However, already in the next pages Schneiders is compelled to stress the multi-facetedness of the Enlightenment phenomenon, which assumed different forms in the respective countries. In England, the Enlightenment had its take-off in the situation created by the “Glorious Revolution” of 1688, and it did not have any need to take an oppositional stance towards the state and the church. As a result, the English Enlightenment was not radical; it remained, as Schneiders writes, an “exceptionally contourless”² phenomenon, especially in comparison with France, where the Enlighteners and the Encyclopedists had to fight against the stiff resistance of the

¹ Werner Schneiders, *Einleitung*, in: W. Schneiders (ed.), *Lexikon der Aufklärung. Deutschland und Europa*, München: C.H. Beck 1995, p. 14.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

ancien régime, formed by an union of Catholic Church and an absolutist monarchy. In Germany, in turn, the Enlightenment started as an academic, not a political movement in the Protestant universities and it never developed such fierce anti-clericalism as the French *lumières*. It is quite obvious, that the Enlightenment has — despite of its common core — had many different paths of development and that no one historical type of it cannot be declared as the “real” Enlightenment, from which the other forms were but deviations.¹

To this day, however, no “typology” of different forms of Enlightenment has been created. Such a task is difficult, because the phenomenon we call “Enlightenment” does not simply refer to a certain historical epoch only, as for example the French expression *siècle des lumières* as a synonym for the 18th century suggests. Already the people living in the eighteenth century were conscious of the exceptionality of their age. They sensed that they lived in an age of Reason, of all-penetrating critique, of entirely new perspectives which no earlier epoch of human history has witnessed. In short, as Reinhart Koselleck has pointed out, the concept of “Enlightenment” has, besides its function to describe a certain historical period, quite ambitious anthropological goals built in it.² One might call these ambitions the utopian dimension of Enlightenment, its promise of not only a better life, but of human perfection itself. From this point of view, the significance of the Enlightenment is not restricted to a certain historical epoch only, but it is actual yet today.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

² Reinhart Koselleck, *Über den Stellenwert der Aufklärung in der deutschen Geschichte*, in: R. Koselleck, *Vom Sinn und Unsinn der Geschichte*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 2010, p. 122: “Aufklärung meinte, einmal auf diesen Begriff gebracht, mehr als nur eine historische Periode selbstbewusst auszuzeichnen. Aufklärung erhebt immer auch einen systematischen, einen anthropologischen Daueranspruch, gar nicht überholt werden zu dürfen, überholt werden zu können.”

One crucial question of further research concerns the form of Enlightenment thought and culture in the fringes of Europe around the core area, from Spain and Italy in the South, via Eastern Europe and Russia to the Scandinavian North. All these areas had their peculiarities which determined, despite the often astonishing uniformity of the basic ideas, the shapes of Enlightenment culture in the respective countries. However, there is not yet a clear picture of how Enlightenment ideas have been received and developed in these areas. The Aleksanteri Institute of the University of Helsinki organized in 25–26 of September 2009 a special symposium *Northern Lights — Facets of Enlightenment Culture* with the aim to discuss form of Enlightenment thought in Sweden/Finland and Russia. The symposium, which was opened by Prof. Emeritus Matti Klinge, a renowned historian of 18th- and 19th-century Finland, had four participants from Russia, five from Finland and one from Germany; thus, it was yet a quite small event, but we hope that with it the foundations of a fruitful co-operation, with annual symposia on questions of Enlightenment culture, will be laid.

Of the speakers, Prof. Tatiana Artemyeva, Dr. Oili Pulkkinen and Prof. Vesa Oittinen focused on more general problems of study of Enlightenment ideas, while the other contributions dealt with different “case studies” either in Sweden/Finland (Dr. Kimmo Sarje, Dr. Johan Sten), Russia (Prof. Mikhail Mikeshin, Dr. Johannes Remy, Dr. Larisa Agamalian), in France (Dr. Alla Zlatopolskaya) or Germany (Dr. Carola Häntsch).



BETWEEN RADICALISM AND UTILITARIANISM On the Profile of the Finnish Enlightenment

Vesa Oittinen

1. Was there an Enlightenment in Sweden/Finland?

In 1993, the well-known Swedish historian of ideas, Tore Frängsmyr, published a controversial book entitled *Sökandet efter upplysningen* (Searching for the Enlightenment),¹ which immediately started a discussion concerning the nature of the Swedish (and, consequently, Finnish) Enlightenment. Frängsmyr's thesis was that nothing ever existed that one could call the "Swedish Enlightenment". It is true, he said, that some thinkers had put forth ideas borrowed from West European philosophers and thinkers of the era but what Sweden lacked was an Enlightenment as a broad cultural-political movement. As Frängsmyr said in the foreword of his book:

For me, the Enlightenment presented itself as a militant intellectual movement, which propagated a new view on Man, society and nature; in short, a new world outlook. The vitality and dynamics of this militancy was nourished by a feeling of common sense, passion and a defiant oppositional stance. The Enlightenment philosophers did not

¹ Tore Frängsmyr, *Sökandet efter upplysningen. En essä om 1700-talets svenska kulturdebatt*, Wiken 1993.

build any theoretical castles in the sky, but fought openly for their ideals. I could not find any such movement in Sweden. The further I researched, the more clear it became to me that we have not had any real Enlightenment in our country. True, seeking for it, I could find here and there some small glimpses of light, but they never became a unified movement ...²

Frängsmyr may have meant for his thesis to be provocative. If this was the case, it achieved its goal, as the response from his Swedish colleagues was almost immediate. Most of them pointed out that Frängsmyr's definition of Enlightenment was too narrow — in his mind he clearly had the French *philosophes* and the Encyclopaedists as the prototype against which all other forms of the European Enlightenment should be measured.

In a symposium volume dedicated to the discussion aroused by Frängsmyr's thesis, Arne Jarrick presented the most comprehensive arguments against it, pointing out that a discernable general change took place in the cultural atmosphere of Sweden and the people's minds from the first third of the 18th century onwards. The principle of tolerance increasingly permeated the cultural climate, attaining its preliminary peak in the famous abolition of censure in 1766. The praxis of jurisprudence became more humane, too, with the death penalty becoming more and more restricted during the century. The number of printed books and journals grew steadily and literacy became more and more common (it increased from approximately 16 percent of the population in 1711 to 77 percent in 1799). According to Jarrick, there was no doubt that the culture of the European Enlightenment exerted its influence, even in the Swedish 'periphery'. Jarrick concluded:

If one finds in a country a movement for tolerance and for a pursuit of knowledge free from prejudices, it should be justifiable to liken it to a movement of the Enlightenment. It needs not to be expressly connected

² *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

with the phenomena one knows to constitute the French Enlightenment, even if the concept is taken from it ... To demand, as Frängsmyr does, such an identity, means to abandon the possibility to see the parallelity in similar contemporary movements in Europe and America which are independent, or partly independent of each other ...³

For Frängsmyr, the lack of ‘militancy’ (i.e., anti-clericalism) seemed to indicate the absence of a Swedish Enlightenment, which suggests that he had absolutised a peculiar trait of the French Enlightenment. As Panajotis Kondylis pointed out in his important book on Enlightenment rationalism (2002), the Catholic Church in France formed one of the main pillars of the *ancien régime* and all attempts to reform the society and give its institutions a more rational shape had to first overcome the resistance of the Church. It was expected, therefore, that the French Enlighteners would become anti-clericals, to some degree, and some even became radical atheists. Even Voltaire, a relatively moderate representative of the French *lumières*, incessantly mocked the Church and its doctrines, an example of which is his famous *Dictionnaire philosophique portatif*. The situation was different in Protestant Germany, however. As already the name suggests, Protestantism itself was originally a protest movement and the traditions of religious dissent, especially in the form of Pietism, lived strongly in it. According to Kondylis, there was no need for the German Enlightenment to take a militant stance against the religion because the Church as an institution and personally experienced religiosity did not cover each other in an ‘isomorphic’ manner.⁴ As a result, one of the hallmarks

³ Arne Jarrick, *Visst fanns det en upplysning i Sverige!* in: Ronny Ambjörnsson, Pär Eliasson, Björn Olsson (eds.), *Upplysningen i periferin*, Idéhistoriska skrifter 28, Umeå universitet 1998, p. 22.

⁴ Panajotis Kondylis, *Die Aufklärung im Rahmen des neuzeitlichen Rationalismus*, Hamburg: Wissenschaftliche Buchhandlung 2002, p. 538: “Gerade das Fehlen solcher Ansätze [i.e. of Enlightenment Materialism and even Nihilism — V.O.] fällt an der deutschen Aufklärung auf; einen Deutschen Toland, Mandevil-

of the German Enlightenment was just its “lebendiges Verhältnis zur Religion”.⁵

2. Swedish/Finnish and German forms of Enlightenment

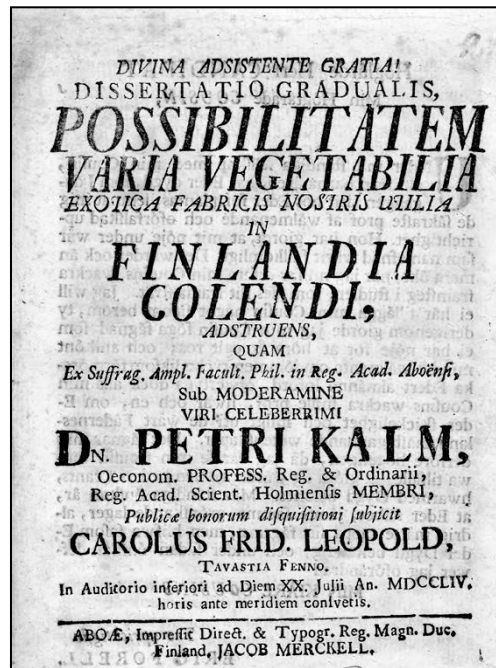
It is worth emphasising that, despite the French influence (as mediated by the court culture), the Swedish Enlightenment shares most of the typological traits of the German (Protestant) Enlightenment. This can even be seen in the changing ‘philosophical modes’ of 18th century Sweden. A more or less dogmatic Wolffianism was present until the middle of the century (in logic teaching at schools, Wolffianism persisted until the end of the century), followed by English (or, more accurately, Scottish) Empirism from mid-century, before the influence of Kant and Herder took over in the final decades.

It is important to note, that even the Swedish reception of Scottish Empirism followed a ‘German pattern’. The more or less eclectic reception of Hume, Smith and other Scottish Enlighteners was a typical trait of the German *Popularphilosophie*, in which such figures as Christian Garve (remembered today primarily as the author of the famous ‘Göttingen Review’ of Kant’s first *Critique*) acted as mediators of insular Empiricism and Common Sense philosophy to Continental Europe. I have already elsewhere tried to argue, that the most important representatives of the Swedish and Finnish Enlightenment, such as Porthan in Turku or Leopold in Stockholm, are in fact only “Swedish versions” of German Popular Philosophers.⁶

le, oder auch nur Hume gibt es nicht, von einem Deutschen La Mettrie oder Holbach ganz zu schweigen, während gleichzeitig westliche ‘Freidenkerei’ auf mehr oder wenig allgemeine Ablehnung stösst”.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 538.

⁶ See my paper at the 11th International Kant Congress in Berlin: *Popularphilosophie und Kantianismus in Finnland um 1790*, in: Gerhardt, V., Horstmann, R.-



During his professorship in Turku Kalm produced a great amount of dissertations, which according to the usual custom of the epoch were written by himself as the professor and defended by his pupils. The dissertation *On the Possibility to Cultivate Various Exotic Plants in Finland Being Useful to Our Manufactures* (1754) was in every respect typical to Kalm's scientific interests, although it was for once written in Latin.

Although this is quite clear when these Swedish (Finnish) thinkers are compared with their German counterparts, this fact has escaped the attention of researchers to date. One reason for this deficit in research could be the 'national' perspective of Nordic historians of ideas, which is often too narrow. Rather than viewing

P., Schumacher R. (Hg.), *Kant und die Berliner Aufklärung. Akten des IX. Internationalen Kant-Kongresses*, Bd. 5, Berlin: W. de Gruyter 2001, pp. 573–581.

18th century thinkers and writers as a part of a broader process of the European Enlightenment, these historians have focused on the ‘national importance’ of these figures. A common example is Henrik Gabriel Porthan (1739–1804), indisputably a key figure of the Finnish Enlightenment. Porthan has been mostly viewed as the predecessor of the Finnish ‘national awakening’ of the 19th century and as the ‘father of Finnish historiography’, while his ties to German and European Enlightenment have received much less attention. This is despite the fact that Porthan was a fairly typical representative of the *Popularphilosophie* movement and also represented the new ideas of critical research in history that were developed at the University of Göttingen (which, thanks to the personal union of Hanover and England, marked the entrance of British influences to Germany).⁷ This manner of pressing Porthan into the mould of a nationalist historiography continued for so long that Rafael Koskimies, the conservative literature historian, introduced the concept of ‘the Porthan epoch’ in his book *Porthanin aika* (1956).⁸ This concept referred to the latter half of the 18th century, especially from the 1760s onwards, when, as the *eloquentiae professor* of the Academy, Porthan was active in Turku for four decades. Koskimies clearly modelled this concept on the term *Goethezeit*, used by nationalist German historians to emphasise the difference between Goethe’s alleged ‘Germanness’ and the French and Anglo-Saxon frames of mind. Both labels, ‘the Porthan era’ and the *Goethezeit*, effectively concealed the substantial dependence of these thinkers on Enlightenment ideas and cut them off from the general European Enlightenment movement.

Although the excesses of nationalist historiography have already been forgotten in present-day Finland (and increasingly so

⁷ For a survey of the relationships of Finnish scholars with Göttingen, see the exhibition catalogue *Gelehrte Kontakte zwischen Finnland und Göttingen zur Zeit der Aufklärung*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1988.

⁸ Rafael Koskimies, *Porthanin aika*, Helsinki: Otava 1956.

since Finland joined the European Union), scholarly interest in the Enlightenment remains absent in Finland, unlike, for example, the German *Aufklärungsforschung*. This is quite revealing and was one of the present author's motivations for organising this joint Russo-Finnish symposium on the Enlightenment.

3) On the Character of the Finnish Enlightenment

So, as Jarrick stressed, there was an Enlightenment in Sweden and Finland. But what form did it take? An exhaustive answer to this question would presuppose the existence of some kind of typology of the different forms of Enlightenment. While this does not yet exist, it is possible to point out some local traits of the Swedish/Finnish Enlightenment. As mentioned above, the 'Nordic' Enlightenment owed much to the cultural movements in Protestant Germany, and the Swedish/Finnish *esprit philosophique* was in many respects simply a reproduction of the eclectic German *Popularphilosophie*.

There were, however, some important differences that, in the last resort, were determined by the geopolitical situation of the countries in the Far North, which was not like that of Germany. And as Finland was even more in the European periphery than Sweden proper, these differences became yet more profiled. One might even assert that the Finnish Enlightenment was both more *radical* and more *pragmatic* and *utilitarian* than its Swedish or North German counterparts. This paper argues that these are not singular and unrelated aspects of the Finnish Enlightenment but two sides of the same coin. Both are examined briefly below.

a) Radicalism

'Radicalism' has long been regarded as a kind of *differentia specifica* of 18th century Finnish thought. Historian Pentti Renvall of the old 'nationalist' school referred to the second half of the

epoch of Swedish protoparliamentarism (the so-called Era of Liberty, *frihetstiden*⁹) as “the decade of Finnish radicalism”. This period culminated in the Diet of 1765–1766, which, among other reforms, issued the famous edict of the liberty of the press. Above all, Anders Chydenius (1729–1803) and Peter Forsskål (1732–1763) characterised this side of the Finnish Enlightenment. Chydenius, a priest, wrote a series of pamphlets in which he defended economic freedom and criticised the mercantilistic and monopolistic policy of the pro-aristocratic ‘Hat’ party, which had been in power during the first decades of the ‘Era of Liberty’. These days, Chydenius is regarded as something of a ‘founding father’ of Swedish liberalism, although this interpretation is as one-sided as attempts by present Neo-Liberals to depict Adam Smith as their master. In fact, Chydenius had an unmistakable social pathos, rallying against the privileges of the nobility and Stockholm’s rich, monopolistic wholesale dealers and defending the rights of poor workers, servants and maids.

Forsskål, a philosopher and natural scientist, was even more radical than Chydenius. In 1759 he published a pamphlet entitled *Tankar om borgerliga friheten* (Thoughts on Civil Liberty), which was immediately confiscated by the authorities. In this pamphlet, Forsskål asked, “Whose superior power would be the most unfortunate for a country — the Ruler’s or the citizens’?” He answered that one should be on guard primarily against the rulers, as clearly shown by the warning example of the reign of Charles XII in Sweden (§ 6). For Forsskål, the core of a citizen’s freedom was freedom of the press: “So, the life and the strength of civil liberty consist of *limited Government* and *unlimited freedom of the written word*” (§ 7). Such a freedom “develops knowledge most highly,

⁹ That is, the period from 1721 to 1772, when the Estates ruled Sweden and the King had only nominal power.

removes all harmful statutes, restrains the injustices of all officials, and is the Government's surest defence in a free state" (§ 9).¹⁰

While the 'Finnish radicalism' of the 18th century is quite an interesting phenomenon, the way in which it has been interpreted by many national historians deserves mention. Many researchers have stressed the fact that Chydenius formulated some ideas concerning economic freedom in his 1765 pamphlet entitled *Den nationnale Winsten*, which predates Adam Smith. On this basis, some observers have drawn parallels between the Finnish and Scottish Enlightenments and asserted that the position of Finland within the Swedish realm was analogous to that of Scotland in the British realm. Tempting as such comparisons may be, they overlook the fact that Chydenius only produced some small pamphlets that were written for utterly practical purposes, namely to defend the political demands of the pro-bourgeois 'Cap' party, then in opposition, and to influence the members of the Diet of 1765–66. Chydenius did not develop any detailed economic theory that could be compared with Smith's *magnum opus*.

The same applies to Forsskål. Bold as his defence of civil rights was, it was essentially only a political pamphlet and had a very practical target. Like Chydenius seven years later, Forsskål attacked the ruling aristocratic 'Hat' party and its repressive rule that was based on the privileges of the nobility and the economic monopoly of the Stockholm stock merchants. For example, before 1766, most Finnish towns were forced to sell their goods in Stockholm and were not allowed to have foreign trade on their own. This alone was a drawback that explains a great deal of Finnish 'radicalism'. It was simply a mutiny of the periphery against the

¹⁰ Citations from the new English translation: Peter Forsskål, *Thoughts on Civil Liberty*, Stockholm: Atlantis 2009, pp. 14–16. For a more detailed presentation of Forsskål and his philosophy, see my article *Peter Forsskål, the Radical Enlightenment*, forthcoming in the Conference papers of the Finnish Society of 18th Century Studies.

centre, firstly against the monopolistic aspirations of the central government and the merchants of Stockholm, which really threatened the prospects of further development of Finland. The trade restrictions on Finnish merchants were lifted in 1766, which meant that the radicals had attained their goal. It is symptomatic that Finnish radicalism waned very quickly after 1766 and when King Gustav III staged his *coup d'état* in 1772, he found his most devoted supporters just in Finland, including the former 'radical' Anders Chydenius.

b) Utilitarianism

Another trait of 18th century Finnish thought and culture, which has long been noticed by researchers, is a utilitarian trend, that is, a tendency to stress the gain that can be obtained from knowledge. The mid-1700s have been described as 'the age of utility', and this trend was more conspicuous in academic and Enlightenment thought in Finland than in Sweden proper. In 1910, Arvid Hultin published his study of Finnish literature between the 1740s and the 1770s ("the latter half of the Era of Liberty") with the characteristic title *Det ekonomiska tidevarvet i Finlands litteraturhistoria* (The Economic Epoch in Finnish Literary History).¹¹

Of course, a more or less utilitarian point of view characterises almost all Enlightenment thought (it could hardly be otherwise, since the Enlightenment underlines the importance of 'earthly' life, in contrast to religious teaching). Observers saw the main achievements of the Swedish Enlightenment as being in the natural sciences, not in political theory or the humanities. In his article entitled *Suède* in Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, Louis de Jaucourt praised the Swedes: "Their genius is directed towards serious things and

¹¹ Arvid Hultin, *Det ekonomiska tidevarvet i Finlands litteraturhistoria. Ur odlingens hävder under frihetstidens senare del*, Helsingfors 1910 (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland, vol. XCIV).

they succeed in studies of this kind ... Today, an illustrious Academy of Sciences adorns Stockholm; and the foremost botanist in Europe is a Swede".¹² In Stockholm, the poet, journalist and critic Johan Henric Kellgren (1751–1795) was one of the pillars of the well-known literary society *Utile dulci*, a name that invoked famous lines from Horace but also gave them a modern, utilitarian interpretation. In the 1780s, the society had over 500 members.¹³ As Jakob Christensson remarked, the Swedish Enlighteners around Kellgren tried to make poetry out of economic interests and from the mid-1700s there was a continuous stream of poems praising the usefulness of such activities as beekeeping, swampland draining and mining.¹⁴ Kellgren's example was soon followed in Finland, with the founding of the Aurora Society on the initiative of C.F. Mennander, Bishop of Turku, and Henrik Gabriel Porthan. On the whole, the Finns tended to emphasise *utile* more than *dulce* than the Swedes.

Typical Finnish Enlighteners of the 'era of utility' included Turku professors Pehr Kalm (1716–1779) and P.A. Gadd (1727–1797). Kalm, one of Linnaeus' many pupils, became a professor of economics at the Academy of Turku, the only Finnish university at the time, in 1747. Symptomatically, the new professorship was financed by suspending an earlier chair on poetry and using its assets for the new one. Having achieved the professorship, Kalm then went on an expedition to North America, where he visited Niagara Falls, collected large amounts of plants and brought a wife back with him to Europe. Kalm's description of his American ex-

¹² "Leur génie les portant aux choses sérieuses, les fait réussir dans les études de ce genre [...] Stockholm est aujourd'hui décorée d'une illustre académie des Sciences; & le premier botaniste de l'Europe est un suédois". Cited here according to Jakob Christensson, *Lyckoriket. Studier i svensk upplysning*, Stockholm: Atlantis 1996, p. 50.

¹³ Christensson, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

¹⁴ Cf. Christensson, *op. cit.* p. 48 sqq. and the numerous examples from contemporary poetry cited therein.

pedition, published first in Swedish in 1753 and translated into several European languages, made him internationally famous. One of the main reasons why Linnaeus and the Swedish Academy of Science sent Kalm to America was in the hope that he could find new plants for cultivation to boost the Swedish economy. These hopes did not come to fruition, as virtually the only North American plant that could thrive in Finland proved to be the wild grapevine (*Parthenocissus*), which did not produce edible grapes and served only an ornamental purpose. In teaching and supervising his students, Kalm was a practical man, communicating in Swedish rather than the traditional Latin and using a catheter to demonstrate how to make different kinds of jams and conserve them in jars. Gadd, the professor of chemistry, was a very similar, purely utilitarian scientist. His main concern was to develop agricultural chemistry and his dissertations — which were also published mostly in Swedish — addressed such subjects as fertilisation of fields and the production of potash. Other names are worth mentioning, such as Johan Kraftman Jr. (1713–1791), who for a short time was professor of mathematics at Turku but was more interested in agriculture and published several works on practical farming. He owned a large estate in the vicinity of Pori and multiplied his wealth by successfully draining the surrounding swamplands, a practical demonstration of the usefulness of rational Enlightenment principles.¹⁵

Finally, all these practical pursuits took an organised form when The Royal Finnish Economic Society was founded in 1797. The society announced that its purpose was to “distribute useful knowledge on economic facts and encourage the activity and industriousness of the people” and tried to promote both potato grow-

¹⁵ For a good survey of Kraftman’s career and his economic publications, see Matti Klinge, *Iisalmen ruhtinaskunta. Modernin projekti sukuverkostojen periferiassa*, Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura 2006, p. 74 sqq., 95 sqq.

ing and vaccination. As the historian Matti Klinge remarked,¹⁶ the leading elite of the later Grand Duchy of Finland emerged from the circles of this society and one could say that a utilitarian and pragmatic trait — with an emphasis on economic utility — has remained a distinctive feature of the Finnish administrative culture ever since. In 1800, the poet Franz Michael Franzén published a poem in *Åbo Tidningar*, the only Finnish journal at the time. This extensive poem, dedicated to the Economic Society, was entitled *Finlands Uppodling* (The Cultivation of Finland). Franzén described how he listened to the voices of industrious labour stimulated by the new Enlightenment approach to economic life and hoped that Finland would soon become as prosperous as England (“the proud Albion”), with an increased population and harbours full of ships and the “fruits of the country”:

*Jag hänrycks af dess ljud: och re'n i hoppets spegel
Jag ser min fosterbygd, det stolta Albion lik,
Så, hvimlande af barn, af lärkor och af segel,
En flod med landets frukt befalla till hvar vik.*¹⁷

Some researchers would have preferred to see this practical utilitarianism restricted to a ‘pro-Baconic’ movement, initiated by Henrik Hassel (1700–1776), an ardent admirer of the empiristic philosophy of Francis Bacon and an opponent of Wolffianism.¹⁸ Although it is true that such professors as Kalm and Gadd represented the Finnish tendency to ‘utilism’ in perhaps its most extreme form, it also seems that utilitarianism was not restricted to the followers of Hassel or to the ‘Baconians’ (which in the 18th

¹⁶ Matti Klinge, *Napoleonin varjo. Euroopan ja Suomen murros 1795–1815*, Helsinki: Otava 2009, p. 323.

¹⁷ Cited here according to Klinge, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

¹⁸ Especially Juha Manninen, *Valistus ja kansallinen identiteetti. Aatehistoriallinen tutkimus 1700-luvun Pohjolasta*, Helsinki: SKS 2000, p. 9 sqq., in particular p. 49 sqq.

century already was a somewhat anachronistic category). Instead, it was a thoroughgoing trait of the Finnish Enlightenment — its second *differentia specifica*, besides radicalism.

For example, Henrik Gabriel Porthan, the historian and *eloquentiae professor* who lectured on aesthetics, philosophy and Roman literature, showed quite a similar ‘utilitarian’ side. In 1797 he published a series of articles in *Åbo Tidning* entitled *Tankar om Finlands upodling* (Some thoughts on the cultivation of Finland — the contiguity with the title of Franzén’s poem cited above is no accident because Franzén was one of Porthan’s favourite pupils), in which he provided practical advice on how to increase the fertility of fields and strengthen the resistance of crops against frost in order to build canals between lakes in the inner parts of Finland.¹⁹ The Enlightenment was understood by Porthan, as it was by most Finnish Enlighteners, as an improvement of the material presuppositions of life. The ‘light’ that the Enlightenment was supposed to spread was above all the light of (natural) science, which would help to build better agriculture, a more functional infrastructure (roads, canals) and more efficient manufacturing. With this done, there would be no more obstacles to the perfection of Man.

This utilitarian view on the tasks of the Enlightenment and the optimistically ‘scientific’ (but in fact rather naïvely uncomplicated) concept of the essence of Man were perhaps among the main reasons why Porthan and the Finnish Enlighteners took such a hostile stance towards Kantianism. At the end of the 18th century, this philosophy strove to sum up the results of the Enlightenment and assess them in a critical light. When Porthan heard about this new philosophy in the 1790s, he started a campaign against it at his own Academy of Turku, attempting to defend the ideas of British

¹⁹ Cf. M.G. Schybergson, *Henrik Gabriel Porthan — Lefnadsteckning*, II, Helsingfors 1911, p. 346 sqq. (Skrifter utgifna af Svenska Litt. Sällskapet i Finland, XCVIII).

empirists — and even Helvétius — against the intruder from Königsberg.

Porthan's ant-Kantian crusade did not succeed but the motives behind it are interesting and revealing. He opposed Kantianism not on the basis some reactionary motives or to defend the 'truths of religion' but because he saw Kant's critique of Reason as a threat to the programme of the Enlightenment. In some of his letters, Porthan even equated Kant's philosophy and its "new and unintelligible jargon" with Swedenborgianism, which had started to gain supporters in Sweden at the time. Porthan viewed Kant, who wanted to restrict the applicability of reason, and the obscurantist Swedenborg as children of the same spirit.²⁰



²⁰ I have analysed the anti-Kantian polemics of Porthan and other Finnish Enlighteners in several papers, for example in: "*Spinosa atque exilis oratio*" — *Wie Kant in Finnland rezipiert wurde (1790–1810)*, in: Carola Häntsch, *Philosophieren im Ostseeraum. Beiträge des Nord- und osteuropäischen Forums für Philosophie Greifswald*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag 2004, pp. 95–108, and: *Popularphilosophie und Kantianismus in Finnland um 1790*, in: Gerhardt, V., Horstmann, R.-P., Schumacher R. (Hg.), *Kant und die Berliner Aufklärung. Akten des IX. Internationalen Kant-Kongresses*, Bd. 5, Berlin: W. de Gruyter 2001, pp. 573–581.

THE STATUS OF INTELLECTUAL VALUES IN THE RUSSIAN ENLIGHTENMENT

Tatiana Artemyeva

The content of a system of intellectual values is variable and changes with respect to different epochs. Besides, in different times the bearers, keepers and consumers of intellectual discourse can be from different estates, as was the case in the Ancient world, in the Middle Ages or even in the epoch of the Renaissance. In Russia we can see that education and knowledge became cultural wealth only in the eighteenth century.

In pre-Petrine times the keeper of knowledge was not a scientist, but a ‘scribe’ (*книжник*). This was the term for authors and also those, usually from the clergy, who “dealt with books” like copyists, compilers, binders, etc. His task was not to create something new, because everything had already been thought and measured, but to keep and duplicate. The truth, it was believed, came from God, so authorship and copying did not really mean something very creative.

At the time of the tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich a Moscow scribe could say about himself: “I am not educated by the word, but by the non-reason; I know neither dialectics, rhetoric, nor philosophy,

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but have Christ's reason in myself."¹ A common saying went like this: "Do not split hairs, brethren, but be humble. If anybody asks whether you know philosophy, answer him: I have neither learned Hellenistic abominations, nor read rhetorical astronomers, nor talked with wise philosophers, I have not even seen philosophy; I read books of the divine law to purify my soul of sins."²

The content of what we call now 'intellectual discourse' was ambivalent. Eighteenth-century Russian language distinguished 'wisdom' (*мудрость*) from 'knowledge' (*знание*). Wisdom is a gift of God, and the wise grasp eternal values, whereas knowledge is cognition of both the eternal and the commonplace, optional.

The pursuit of wisdom was considered a virtue, and those who bore wisdom were first of all bearers of the true divine enlightenment, namely, representatives of the church. Thus, the intellectual elite consisted practically of clerics only, and the pursuit of knowledge was equal to a moral and religious quest. At the same time, positive knowledge had no such status and was not included into the system of axiological preferences. It is remarkable, that the definition of 'enlightenment' in *The Dictionary of the Russian Academy* (1789–1794) takes into account first of all the Christian meanings of the notion, such as the communion with the divine wisdom, "purification of the mind of erroneous ... notions," but takes no account at all of the acquisition of new knowledge.

In the Petrine period the situation began to change. The church became a political adversary, and Peter I took some radical meas-

¹ «Аще не учен словом, но неъразумом, не учен диалектике, риторике и философии, но разум Христов в себе имею» (Нечаев В.В. *Малорусско-польское влияние в Москве и русская школа XVII века // Три века. Исторический сб.* / Под ред. В.В. Каллаша. Т. 2. М., 1912).

² «Не высокоумствуйте, братие, но в смирении пребывайте. Если кто спросит тебя, знаешь ли философию, ты ему отвечай: еллинских борзостей не текох, ни риторских астроном не читах, ни с мудрым философы в беседах не бывах, философию ниже очима видех; учусь книгам благодатного закона, аще бы можно моя грешная душа от грех очистить» (*Ibid.*).

ures to weaken the Orthodox Church and to deprive it of its intellectual monopoly. One of the first anti-church ukases, that of January 31, 1701, runs as follows:

Monks in their cells are not allowed to write any letters, nor to keep ink and paper, but there should be a special place in the refectory for writing: and if somebody wants to write something, then he has to receive the master's permission and to write in full view, not in secret; it is because there was the old fathers' tradition for monks not to write anything without permission.³

Later prohibitions that dealt with monastic publications were fixed in 1722 in *An Addendum to the Rules for the Clergy and Monks*. This law forbade monks from writing without first receiving special permission with the threat of corporal punishment.⁴

³ «Монахи в кельях никаких писем писать власти не имеют, чернил и бумаги в кельях имети да не будут, но в трапезе определенное место для писания будет: и аще нужды ради каковыя восхощет кто писати, и то с позволения начального, да пишет в трапезе явно, а не тайно понеже убо у древних отец предание бысть монаху ничто писати без повеления начального» (*Об описи Патриаршего Дома ... О переходе монахам и монахиням из одного монастыря в другой, о недержании бельцов в монастырях и не позволении монахам писать в кельях. № 1834 от 31 января 1701 г. // Полное собрание законов Российской империи (ПСЗРИ), т. 6.*)

⁴ «Монахом никаких по кельям писем, как выписок из книг, так и грамоток советных, без собственного ведения настоятеля, под жестоким на теле наказанием, никому не писать, и грамоток, кроме позволения настоятеля, не принимать, и по духовным и гражданским регулам чернил и бумаги не держать, кроме тех, которым собственно от настоятеля для общедуховной пользы позволятся. И того над монахи прилежно надзирать; понеже ничто так монашескаго безмолвия не разоряет, как суетныя их и тщетныя письма. А ежели которому брату случится настоящая письма потреба, и тому писать в трапезе из общей чернильницы и на бумаге общей, за собственным настоятеля своего позволением, а самовольно того не дерзать под жестоким наказанием» (*Прибавление о правилах причта церковнаго и чина монашескаго // ПСЗРИ, т. 6. № 4022.*)

A number of Peter's ukases limited the economic, ideological and educational independence of the church. In 1718 some monasteries were closed, some turned into parish churches, in some the number of monks was reduced.⁵ That same year another ukase was issued to suspend the ordination of priests everywhere in Russia because of conscription.⁶ The government via the Monastery Department nominated father superiors, organized a system of church schools for future clerics and checked whether priests graduated from them.⁷ In 1700 patriarch Adrian died, and Peter prevented the election of a new patriarch, and instead appointed Stephen Yavorsky as a patriarchal "exarch" (*местоблюститель*). In 1721 the Holy Governing Synod was established with a Chief Procurator (*оберпрокурор*) as its head. The principal document that legitimated the status of the Russian Orthodox Church was *The Ecclesiastical Regulation* (*Духовный регламент*) written by Feofan Prokopovich with the direct participation of Peter the Great. It underlined the important role of the monarch in the church system. The same document described the principles behind and the system for the education of Orthodox priests. Although this document does not declare that ecclesiastical education became a state responsibility, the context presupposes it. The principal role of the monasteries as intellectual centres was reduced.

The Petrine reform of printing type in 1707–1710 was also quite dramatic. It consisted of a change of the traditional Cyrillic font to bring it closer to the Latin one and a change of the alphabet; diacritics were removed and Arabic numbers replaced Cyrillic numbers. The reform created a Latinized form of Cyrillic close to European patterns of book publishing. However, all ecclesiastical books were printed with the old type, the so-called "Kirillov type"

⁵ Никольский Н. *Церковная реформа Петра // Три века. Исторический сб.* / Под ред. В.В. Каллаша. Т. 3. М., 1912. С. 189.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 190.

(кирилловский шрифт) used by the Synod's press. Thus, ecclesiastical literature was separated from its secular counterpart, which in turn separated church and civil intellectual life. This was not merely an act of secularization but one of domination on the part of the state. Following the famous principle *divide et impera*, the Russian government began to control the internal life of the intellectual elite by separating it.

In the Petrine epoch the structure of the intellectual elite changed. The church was deprived of its former role as the main force in the intellectual life of society. This space was gradually filled with representatives from other social groups. The new intellectual elite was, to a great extent, created artificially and was placed entirely under the command of the state. This fact changed the idea of enlightenment and favoured a new kind of enlightened identity. Enlightenment was treated as the mastering of *new* knowledge, and references were now taken not from Byzantine antiquity but from European modernity.

One of the principal decisions to modernize the existing elite was connected with the creation, under total government control, of the academic system and the academic community. Peter used the existing models of education and adapted them to the absolutist state. There emerged a new social group that dealt exclusively with the production and translation of knowledge.

Developing an idea from Leibniz that he liked, Peter once remarked whilst launching a new man-of-war:

Historians, by the way, prove that the first and initial throne of sciences had been in Greece, from where, unfortunately, they had to run and hide themselves in Italy, and in a short time they scattered in Europe; but the negligence of our ancestors prevented them to come farther than Poland. I do not want to depict this movement of sciences somehow better than the blood circulation in the human body, and I feel in my heart a certain premonition that these sciences will some-

day run from England, France and Germany to come to dwell among us for many centuries, to return much later to Greece, to their home.⁸

During his Grand Embassy in 1697–1698 Peter (travelling incognito, under the name Peter Mikhailov) visited the Dutch Republic and Britain for a kind of economic, commercial (first of all shipbuilding and navigation) and political schooling. He wrote on his personal seal: “I am a student and I need teachers.”⁹ In the XVII century the Netherlands reached its fullest flowering. It was the epoch of the Dutch *Gouden Eeuw* and of course the Russian tsar was very impressed.

The Russian cultural capital still retains clear traces of Dutch influence. Its architectural image, the net of rivers and canals, the closeness to the sea, its seaport life, a system of symbols and even the climate create a spiritual co-ordination between St. Petersburg and Dutch cities and, first of all, with Amsterdam. Of course, the Netherlands were important and interesting for Russians not only from a practical but also from a theoretical point of view, as a

⁸ «Историки, между прочим, доказывают, что первый и начальный Наук престол был в Греции, откуда, по несчастию, принуждены были они убежать и спрятаться в Италии, а по малом времени рассеялись уже по всей Европе; но нерадение наших предков им воспрепятствовало и далее Польши пройти не допустило. Я не хочу изобразить другим каким-либо лучшим образом сего Наук прехождения, как токмо циркуляциею, или обращением, крови в человеческом теле, да и, кажется, я чувствую некоторое в сердце моем предвидение, что оные науки убегут когда-нибудь из Англии, Франции и Германии и перейдут для обитания между нами на многие веки, а потом уже возвратятся в Грецию на прежнее свое жилище» (Cited in: *Философия нравоучительная. Сочиненная графом и Большаго креста Малтизским кавалером Эммануилом Тезауром благоурожденным туринцом*; Переведенная с италианскаго языка статским советником Стефаном Писаревым, и коллежским асессором Георгием Дандролом. 1-м тиснением. СПб.: При Имп. Акад. наук, 1764–1765. С. 1–2. Предисловие).

⁹ «Азь бо есмь в чину учимыхъ и учащихъ мя требую» (Матвеев В.Ю. *Эмблематика личных печатей Петра I*. <http://sovet.geraldika.ru/article/6074>).

place where ideas were produced and the enlightenment received its ‘radical’ character.¹⁰

The influence of Dutch thinkers, although not so evident, was important. We can find plenty of references to Buridan, Spinoza, Hugo de Groot, Justus Lipsius, Erasmus and others.

A prominent role in Russia’s enlightenment and education was played by Peter’s relationship with the German intellectuals Wolff and Leibniz. Peter met Leibniz several times, whilst abroad (Leibniz never visited Russia), and in 1712 he took Leibniz into Russian service and paid him one thousand *talers* per year. Probably it was Leibniz who gave Peter the idea of the *cultural cycle* mentioned earlier. In a letter to the Russian emperor he wrote: “Apparently, according to its divine destiny, science has to go round the world and now come also into Scythia, and so it has chosen Your Majesty to be its instrument, because You can ... acquire the best and improve in the right way what was created in both parts of the world”.¹¹ Leibniz proposed projects to transform Russia to Peter and “to be from outside a Solon of Russia.”¹² Leibniz actively cooperated with the tsar in the sphere of enlightenment. He believed that Russia could avoid mistakes made by the West and create the ideal society ruled by the wisest, as in Bacon’s *New Atlantis*. In an essay written for Peter, he recommended the Tsar to hand the administration of education, industry and economy over to the learned. Leibniz advised Peter to establish the “Collegium of popular education and social prosperity.” The Academy of Sciences, in his opinion, should have more power and be independent from the state. Peter listened cautiously to Leibniz. There is no doubt that the tsar was not going to bring into life in Russia a Ba-

¹⁰ See: Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment. Philosophy and the making of modernity 1650–1750*, Oxford University, 2001.

¹¹ Cited in: Чучмарев В.И. *Лейбниц и русская культура: Из истории международных научных и культурных связей*. М., 1968. С. 41.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 19–20.

conian epistemological utopia or share his power with anybody else. Besides, Leibniz died in 1716 at the height of the Petrine ‘Bologna process’. From that moment on Christian Wolff became for Peter the main Western authority in the sphere of science and education.



Christian Wolff. A Russian engraving.

Peter valued Wolff quite highly and asked for his recommendations on various scholarly problems. For instance, wishing to buy a *perpetuum mobile* invented by Orffyraeus (whose real name was Johann Ernst Elias Bessler, 1680–1745) and trying to avoid being deceived, the tsar appealed to Wolff as an expert. The President of

the Academy Laurentius Blumentrost was asked by Peter to correspond with Wolff on this issue. Wolff answered that there was no fraud involved in Orffyraeus' invention, because he had received a certificate from "mister landgrave," however, the engine did not enough power, so it had no practical value.¹³

Insistent invitations to Wolff to move to Russia came to nothing. Sometimes he agreed but demanded too much, and sometimes he just refused to come. At a meeting of the Conference of the Imperial Academy of Sciences on 24 April 1724, Blumentrost announced that Wolff "cannot make up his mind to come to Russia because he is afraid of Russian priests."¹⁴

Wolff did not give his direct consent to come to Russia, but took a very active part in the creation of Petersburg's Academy of Sciences. Wolff in a letter of the 26th June 1723 really doubted that it was possible to create the academy straight away and recommended to begin with some "usual universities" to educate personnel.

The Russian government did not support the idea that the intellectual elite would gradually be enlarged through an independent process free from state control. That is why the first academicians were foreigners. Among 110 academicians there were 67 Germans, 34 Russians (including 27 who were ethnically Russian and 7 from other ethnic groups within the Russian Empire), 7 Swiss, 5 Frenchmen, 2 Swedes, 1 Englishman and 1 Spaniard.¹⁵

Wolff's support in the organization of Russian science was considerable, and many projects were accomplished due to his professional competence and participation. He sent his books to Petersburg and discussed various theoretical problems not just philosophy. At meetings of the Academy his opinions about problems of

¹³ Тимофеев А.И. *Хр. Вольф и создание российской Академии наук // Петербургская Академия наук в истории академий мира. Материалы Международной конференции. Т. IV.* СПб., 1999. С. 85.

¹⁴ *Летопись Российской Академии наук. Т. I. 1724–1802.* СПб.: Наука, 2000. С. 34.

¹⁵ *Летопись Российской Академии наук. Т. I. 1724–1802.* С. 7.

natural law, botany, cosmology, etc., were discussed. Thus Russian academics turned first of all to the universal, encyclopaedic character of the thinker's knowledge.

Wolff's help in recruiting personnel for the Academy was invaluable. In 1725–1726 he wrote about 30 letters that concerned invitations to foreign scholars. Some of whom, for example, Leonard Euler, Jacob Hermann and Georg Bernhardt Bülfinger, he recommended personally.

The “state-bound” character of science's organization had certain merits. In a very short time a major scientific centre was created with an observatory, a cabinet of physics, a botanic garden, a mineralogical laboratory, an anatomy theatre, a printing press, a library, a chemical and physical laboratory furnished with the best equipment available at that time and tool-making shops.

Russian academics received good salaries, delivered no lectures and had a high (but sometimes uncertain) position in society. When young Euler was invited to enter the Petersburg Academy, Wolff wrote to him: “You are going to a paradise of scholars, and I wish most of all that you preserve your good health in this voyage, and will be satisfied as long as possible by your stay in Petersburg.”¹⁶

An important role in the internationalization and popularization of research was played by the Academic Publishing Company. It was created in 1727 and issued not only academic periodicals and the works of the Academy's members, but in the first part of the 18th century it also accounted for almost all Russian literature including newspapers and calendars. In 1728 it started to publish the first scientific journal in Latin: *Commentaries of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences*.

The Petersburg Academy had a great publishing programme according to which every academician had to write a book on his discipline. They were published in Russian as well as in German, French and Latin in a big series of books and manuals. Leonard

¹⁶ Cited in: Тиле Р. *Леонард Эйлер*. Киев, 1983. С. 26.

Euler alone published about 600 works. To distribute its editions the Academy was involved in a big book trade network. The productions of the Petersburg Academy were well-known in every research centre in Europe and America. Some books were sold at a financial loss just to support the prestige of Russia as a research centre. Publications in foreign languages gave the Academy an opportunity to advertize itself and its Russian members.

In addition to the St. Petersburg Academy with its Academic University (1724), the epoch of the Enlightenment witnessed the foundation of Moscow University (1755), the Russian Academy (1783), the Academy of Fine Arts (1757), and universities at Derpt (1802), Kharkov (1804), Kazan (1804) and Petersburg (1819). There also were military schools for young men — the Land Forces Cadet Corps for Nobles (1731) and the Naval Cadet Corps for Nobles (1752). This community was represented by university professors, academicians and academic administrators. It was an international one in terms of its membership and, in turn, joined the international academic exchange of ideas by publications, correspondence and invitations to its members to serve in other countries. The activity of these institutions made a considerable contribution to the formation of the intellectual and political elites of the state and to the prestige of Russia in the West. The institution of foreign members of the St. Petersburg Academy was another very important step in this process.

Christian Wolff, Voltaire, Jean Le Rond, D'Alembert, Denis Diderot, Jean Antoine Condorcet, Immanuel Kant, Dugald Stewart, Hermann Samuel Reimarus, William Robertson, John Robison, Thomas Robert Malthus, Jean-Baptiste Say, Pieter van Muschenbroek, Johann I and Johann III Bernoulli, Joseph-Louis Lagrange, Karl Friedrich Gauss, Rene-Antoine Reaumur, Pierre-Simon Laplace, Ferdinando don Galiani, Pierre-Louis Maupertuis, Benjamin Franklin, Henri-Louis, Duhamel, Nicolas-Gabriel Leclerc, Gustav III and Frederick II — all of these figures became for-

eign honorary members of this institution because of their scholarly achievements. It is interesting that Friedrich the Great received this honour *as a writer*. At that time more than 160 foreign scientists and scholars were members of the St. Petersburg Academy and many of them, like Georg Bernhardt Bülfinger, Leonard Euler, Joseph Nicolas Delisle, Daniel and Nicolas II Bernoulli and Christian Goldbach, worked in St. Petersburg.

In the epoch of the Enlightenment educational and research institutions were concentrated in the capital and the residence.¹⁷ The quantity of academics was limited and their social status was vague. Many of them were of non-Russian origin. So this part of the intellectual elite was separated from other parts of educated Russian society.

The political elite was also becoming more intellectually demanding. There had been no literacy requirements for the ruling class in pre-Petrine times, but for the new elite a European-type education became obligatory. Peter ordered the establishment of elementary schools both in two capitals and provinces. Every noble teenager from 10 to 15 years old was to go to school, and those who could not present a school certificate were not allowed to marry.¹⁸ All young noblemen older than 13, whose families owned more than 100 peasant farms,¹⁹ had to come to serve in St. Petersburg. Thus Peter counted on the younger generation that was formed under his close supervision and shared his “European” values.

In 1697, 60 young nobles from aristocratic families were sent to the West. From this time on grand tours became regular affairs, and young noblemen who had received their education in European countries took up important positions in the government and state bureaucracy.

¹⁷ This way Moscow and St. Petersburg were named by Alexander Herzen.

¹⁸ Указ № 2778 от 28 февраля 1714 г.

¹⁹ Указ № 2779 от 28 февраля 1714 г.

There were two sorts of educational journeys. The first was for those who travelled to acquire certain professions and who later became scientists at the Academy, university teachers or qualified officials. They were supported by the government. The second polished the education of young aristocrats. In the Petrine epoch and subsequently the Russian nobility became more and more international. This was a result of marriages between Russians and foreigners (something prohibited before Peter), the invitation of foreigners into Russian service, the intensification of international contacts and of the educational system. Post-Petrine upper class nobles were obliged to speak foreign languages, French and/or Italian, in order to make a *Grand Tour* to Italy and France via other European countries. The highest nobility received a European education and took part in various forms of communications and cultural exchanges, developed Russian intellectual life, literature and philosophy.

After the *Manifest of Nobles' Freedom* issued in 1762, many nobles left military service and went to live on their country estates. This document signed by Peter III gave the noblemen specific rights. According to Peter I, all noblemen had to serve in the army, in the navy or in the state institutions. The *Manifest* allowed them not to serve and gave them the freedom to choose how to spend their lives. Not to serve did not mean not to work, and many nobles dedicated their free time to intellectual activities and the arts.

In Russia it was the epoch of the Enlightenment that created a new type of intellectual elite, the enlightened nobility. Thus, it is only in the 18th century that the intellectual and the political elites coincided to any considerable extent.

The dissemination and exchange of ideas in the non-academic sphere differed from that in the academic milieu. Very often ideas had indirect effects and were propagated not by texts but via wider strata of culture. Here intellectual forms and methods different from those of professional scholarly exchange were used. New

knowledge might emerge in epistolary or direct dialogue, for instance, in high society salons, and spread only by word of mouth. If in written form, it was more likely to be in manuscript form rather than as printed editions. It was not only philosophical or humanitarian knowledge that had this character. Very often the natural sciences were also developed by individual enthusiasts and their private researches. Many theoretical disciplines that the epoch of the Enlightenment referred to under the general rubric of ‘philosophical’, developed in this way. For example, mathematics, physics, even meteorology, and also practical medicine, the veterinary and agricultural sciences, and some sociological studies.

From this time on education and intellectual activities acquired the highest status, and this was reflected in tsars’ titles. Peter was styled “The Wise Father of the Fatherland,” and Catherine II received the similar title of “The Wise Mother of the Fatherland” from the Legislative Commission. Catherine herself embodied the idea of an enlightened monarchy and expressed this by demonstratively following the ideas of some of the Enlightenment’s most respected authorities: Montesquieu, Beccaria and William Blackstone in the sphere of law, Locke in the sphere of education. She demonstrated her intentions for the first time with a dramatized show entitled *Minerva Triumphant* that was staged during her coronation in Moscow in 1762. This show represented the victory of the ‘Russian Minerva’ with virtues triumphing over crimes, knowledge over ignorance, and the beginning of the “Golden Age” in a new enlightened Russia. Catherine II was incarnated in three mythological images in this show: Minerva, Glory and Astraea. The enlightenment was the official ideology during the years of Catherine’s reign (1762–1796).



Catherine the Great as Minerva. A medal.

In a country where monarchs asked such thinkers as Leibniz, Chr. Wolff, Voltaire, Diderot and Montesquieu for advice, sent them kind letters and invited them to enter their service, to be a ‘philosopher’ was not only a matter of prestige but even essential to maintain one’s *renommée* in society. To meet these thinkers, to know their texts or at least to consider them as authorities meant that one was ‘closer’ to “the highest spheres” and could participate in the caste system of values.

Public opinion, in turn, saw in the monarch the ultimate source of enlightenment. As one official document of that epoch put it, “enlightenment everywhere goes on slowly, if the wisdom and care of sovereigns themselves do not promote it.”²⁰ The official ideology of the second half of the 18th century proclaimed enlightenment (*просвещенность*) to be the best quality in the hierarchy of civil vir-

²⁰ «Просвещение повсюду медленными шествует стопами, если не спешествует оному мудрость и попечение самих государей» (*Словарь Академии Российской. Ч. 1.* СПб.: [При Имп. Академии наук], 1789. С. V).

tues and reinforced the absolute character of the monarchy by suggesting that the sovereign was the source and bearer of enlightenment to his subjects. It was shown even better in official rhetorical documents — the monarch's reason was glorified rather than power, enlightenment rather than valour, triumphs of sciences and art on the conquered lands rather than military victories.

The value and necessity of enlightenment were indisputable, but the way to acquiring it was not then considered obvious, the more so that the various social estates appeared to acquire different “grades of enlightenment” that corresponded, as a rule, to the different levels of the social hierarchy. For “lower” estates, first of all for serfs, to be “enlightened” meant to become familiar with the basics of Christianity and morality; for the “middle” stratum it meant to learn “arts and crafts,” and for “the highest” one, that is, for the nobility, it implied mastering the latest scientific and philosophical achievements. The social determination of enlightenment gave it a threefold appearance: it could be regarded as catechization, professionalization or intellectualization. The idea of hierarchy that underlaid the 18th-century Russian state and its political mentality, organized and determined the spiritual sphere to the same extent as did the social, legal and material spheres. It should be mentioned that notions of an “upper” and a “lower,” as starting points in the hierarchic construction of society, were not included in the axiological area. All the estates were equally essential for the state and society. The estates could be compared with the organs of the body, each of which was equally necessary for the organism.

Thus, in Russia the epoch of the Enlightenment had two differently directed stages. In the first half of the 18th century enlightenment was considered as a governmental project to transform the state, to secularize it and to enforce its institutions of power. In the second half of the century, when the noble intellectual elite was in the process of being formed, this process became public, but was limited mainly to

the nobility. The subject of the enlightening process was the nobleman or the ennobled representative of another estate.

In Russia the Enlightenment was not a broad social movement as, for example, in Scotland, and did not express the interests of the bourgeoisie as in France or America. Precisely because of this, the works of Western enlightened thinkers from Voltaire and Diderot to Hume, Ferguson, Smith and Franklin were studied and understood exclusively by the nobility. It was this that gave the Russian Enlightenment its specific features, one of which is that it can be justly described as the Enlightenment of the nobility.



**THE COSMOPOLITAN EXPERIENCE,
THEORETICAL HISTORIES
AND THE UNIVERSAL SCIENCE
OF THE SCOTTISH ENLIGHTENMENT¹**

Oili Pulkkinen

Cosmopolitanism is currently a resonant term in the Scottish studies. Strictly speaking the term is controversial, requiring us to bear in mind the 18th century historical context: the Scots did not use the term at all. Every time we use the term we also refer to our own conceptions of “cosmopolitanism.” The term has at least two meanings: first of all it refers to a sort of international lifestyle, travelling was part of the education of a British gentleman, and secondly, it refers to particular manner of thinking that combines knowledge concerning various ages and cultures together with a theory of the human mind. Thus the term may refer to a method of reasoning that aims at universal, consistent truths. In this sense philosophical cosmopolitanism can be compared to Newtonian science, which also aimed at universal truths. In the present paper, I shall explicate both the cosmopolitan experience and universal science. The special focus is on universal principles of science and

¹ Some sections of this article are based on my yet unpublished manuscript *Politics beyond Philosophy: Statesmanship and Political Prudence during the Scottish Enlightenment*.

the attempts that were made to systematise the course of history. The paper examines theoretical approaches to the observation and analysis of human life during the Scottish Enlightenment.

I shall introduce two forgotten figures of the Scottish Enlightenment, William Guthrie and John Moore, together with their studies on geography. These scholars represented different approaches to geography: Guthrie reconstructed the universe as a globe with Britain at the centre of it; Moore, for his part, wrote letters from his travels containing anecdotes and descriptions drawn from different countries and persons. Both authors reflected their cosmopolitan experience and transformed it into a scientific geographical theory, with comparative descriptions of national manners and political systems.

In his study *Hume's Social Philosophy: Human Nature and Commercial Sociability in A Treatise of Human Nature* (2007) Christopher J. Finlay has demonstrated ways in which philosophy is born out historical reality, or rather, historical experience. Philosophy does not consist of debates on abstract ideas forming a sort of canon of ideas. Finlay refers to Knud Haakonssen, who has suggested that "there remains a possibility of studying philosophical texts in order to understand the *ideas* and *concepts* they were intended to communicate, and not purely in terms of linguistic symbols through whose manipulation they were fashioned."² Finlay has reconstructed the connections between David Hume's experience of enlightenment culture (and especially his views on early 18th century conceptions of economic progress) and his theory of human nature. I will go further and suggest that a philosopher was likely to reflect on his experience of cultural changes in early 18th century Scotland through cosmopolitan culture and travels. Although it is difficult to define particular events in a philosopher's personal life that might have an effect on particular philosophical principles, we can assume that a philosopher, in the course of formulating his theo-

² Finlay 2007, 4, emphasis Finlay.

retical notions, would base his principles on his experience of and observations on contemporary society.

We have to remember that philosophers were ordinary men in the sense that they lived in contemporary society — and that a philosopher reflected his experience of everyday life in his philosophy. In practice, philosophy was not an abstract domain existing in isolation. It is also worth noting that although the Scottish Enlightenment has often been seen as an academic and philosophical movement, it was not only about philosophy: there was also a practical or utilitarian aspect in Enlightenment thought.

Several examples of practical and utilitarian aspects of the Scottish Enlightenment can be given. Political economy nurtured — as it continues to nurture — economic thought and activity. The Anglo-Scottish Union created a new basis for the economic-commercial relations of England and Scotland, by creating a free trade area. This area became a geographical centre of the commercial empire of Britain. It has sometimes been said that Scotland was an economically deprived area before the mid-18th century. Although there were some obstacles standing in the way of economic development, there were certainly attempts to facilitate economic progress.³ It is important to note that economic activity increased before Adam Smith published his *Wealth of Nations* in 1776, and that this experience of rapid development nurtured philosophers' interests in economic matters.

In Scotland, some ideas which we often connect with the Enlightenment originated from the pre-Enlightenment era. For example, the idea that education should be available for all was accepted in Scotland. Since the Reformation the ideal had been that landowners should build a school in every parish. In practice this was not the case, of course, and public education was far from universal. The schools that were established set out to give a Christian education to ordinary people; yet they supported the no-

³ Black 2001, 63–67; Porter 2001, 61.

tion that education was useful for all, and they opened the way for a secular as well as a Christian education.⁴

The development of the press has also been seen as a phenomenon linked with the Enlightenment and with a bourgeois public who constituted the reading audience; yet the first journals were published before the Enlightenment. The press was divided into two genres: the metropolitan press and the provincial press. There were several journals established in Edinburgh in the 1660s, and the development of the press is comparable to the development of the press in the London area. Indeed, there were some links between London journals and Scottish Journals: the *Scots Magazine*, established in 1739, was close to the London-based *European Magazine* and to the *London Journal*.⁵

The Scottish Enlightenment was an urban phenomenon. Edinburgh was the second largest town in Britain in 1700, with 30 000 inhabitants, increasing to 60 000 inhabitants in the 1760s. In the 1750s there were 30 000 people in Glasgow, 15 000 in Aberdeen, 12 000 in Dundee, and 9 000 in Inverness. Scotland was more urban than, for example, Wales.⁶ An enlightened culture with clubs, societies, coffee houses and a press was an urban culture. The culture spread from the cities to the provincial towns, with clubs, societies and libraries becoming established everywhere in 18th century Scotland; also provincial towns benefited from the enlightenment climate. Perth and Dundee are examples of small towns with flourishing local Enlightenment cultures, with Perth having a subscription library established in 1784.⁷

All in all, Scotland was a multicultural region within the Anglo-Scottish Union. There was a division between the Highlands, with its society based on clans, and the more prosperous and modern

⁴ Black 2001, 97–98.

⁵ Houston 381–382

⁶ Black 2001, 122; Houston 373.

⁷ Allan 2002, 267–389.

Lowlands. In such a situation, the Highland Jacobites and the Gaelic culture represented a political threat to the established state. There were some systematic attempts to Anglicise Scotland, and especially the Highlands, and the state took control over the Gaelic-speaking Highlands partly through its mapping projects.⁸ Academically educated Scottish philosophers identified themselves as Britons rather than Scots; the Scottish philosophers and historians admired English history, the *Magna Carta*, and political liberty.

Universal Science and Scientific Histories

The Scottish Enlightenment has also been termed the Newtonian Enlightenment. Newtonian science had (at least) four meanings during the Scottish enlightenment: Newtonian mechanics, the experimental method, the attempt to introduce scientific method into the human sciences, and the attempt to find theoretical models to explain human life. Newtonian science aimed at universal truths which could be found by experiment, observation, induction, and deduction and the Scottish philosophers wished to apply the Newtonian method to the human sciences in order to formulate eternal principles of human life. Scottish philosophers expected that law-like principles capable of explaining human life could be found by applying both empirical observation and reasoning. In the human sciences, however, the experimental method and laboratory testing were replaced by historical knowledge. The law-like principles, maxims and axioms adduced through history were comparable to Newtonian laws of nature. In Scottish studies scientific rhetoric has been interpreted either as mere rhetoric (especially in political science), or as a serious attempt to create a relevant way of systematising our observations and creating knowledge reflecting human life as a historical and universal phenomenon.

⁸ Black 2001, 158.

The scientific attempt to create universal truths also affected Scottish interpretations of history. Adam Smith and John Millar were particularly prominent in analysing history as a series of conjectures or conjectural stages. Stadial theories were often resorted to as analytical explanations for economic development, with such development being seen as proceeding through the savage (shepherd), hunting, and agricultural stages of mankind, to the modern commercial and manufacturing stage. These systematic histories were also histories of the accumulation of (national) wealth. Stadi-al theories systematised economic advancement in history, and they also made possible predictions on the future of “primitive” countries. However, there was little interest in the future of non-European countries; stadi-al theories were used rather for the *retro-diction* of European history and for the legitimisation of commercial empires.⁹

Stadi-al theories were not the only way to create universal histories. Historical development was also explained by unintended consequences, referring to actions that produced ends other than those aimed at. In Scottish studies, these unintended consequences have tended to be interpreted as positive consequences, involving actions and processes that led to advancement, with increases in wealth, order, laws, and stability. Unintended consequences explained historical development, and they also created and regulated positive future expectations for all societies. Similar tendencies towards progress were connected to spontaneous order, i.e. the tendency towards order in the advancement of law and government over the course of history. Both the conception of spontaneous order and that of unintended consequences were created by post-Enlightenment scholars, not by Scotsmen themselves; neverthe-

⁹ See for example, Mayhew 1999, 28-30.

less, they reflect the narratives in (political) Scottish histories written by David Hume, John Millar, William Robertson, and others.¹⁰

Although “spontaneous order” and “unintended consequences” as concepts were not invented by the Scots themselves, these conceptions reflected Adam Smith's famous metaphor of an invisible hand, one that led men's actions towards certain ends in economic life. On the larger scale, such a “hand” steered the course of history.¹¹ The metaphor could be seen as analogous with another metaphor in Smith's texts, i.e. that of the wisdom of nature.¹² Although Adam Smith used the “invisible hand” expression only four times, it has been seen as a touchstone of his economic (and political) theory.

Scottish history writing has been seen as progressive, though it did not neglect interruptions in this progression — such as wars, conflicts, usurpations, declines and economic depression — all of which were explicated in Scottish histories. As Craig Smith points out, human experience is not stable or static.¹³ Stadial theories/conjectural histories on the economic development of the human race from a primitive stage to a commercial stage (incorporating positive unintended consequences leading to progress) can be seen as special models of progressive histories, despite the fact that such histories were seldom the histories of political events.

The advancement of the scientific method in the natural sciences, and attempts to introduce the empirical method into the human sciences, affected also the epistemology of history. History was not seen merely as an eyewitness's story of past events, but rather as an objective and impartial recording of historical facts. It

¹⁰ These concepts have been intensively studied in recent years, for example in the following: Smith Craig 2006: *Smith's Political Philosophy: the Invisible Hand and Spontaneous Order*, London, New York: Routledge; Hamowy Ronald 1987: *The Scottish Enlightenment and the Theory of Spontaneous Order*, Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

¹¹ Smith 1776, II, 25.

¹² Khalil 2000, 49.

¹³ Smith 2006, 18 passim.

was assumed that when these impartial facts were systematised, they would reveal some universal narration concerning human history. History was not “mere” history; it was a chain of unavoidable tendencies and processes.¹⁴

The Scottish historical method leads us to a touchstone in Scottish philosophy, a question raised for example in the philosophy of Hume. Did the human mind (along with emotions, reason and sociability) change during the process of civilisation and the gradual emergence of commercial society? Or alternatively, did the mind remain the same through time, despite new and more polished manners, and regulated, civilised society — and would it further remain the same in the future?

Geography and Cosmopolitanism

It is well known that Scottish intellectuals were cosmopolitans: as was customary in the 18th century, they travelled abroad — even before the Anglo-Scottish Union in 1707. Travelling was part of the unofficial education of young gentlemen after more or less formal academic education. The Scottish upper classes had family and business connections with the London establishments, and many Scots lived abroad. It is quite easy to find references to foreign countries and cultures in Scottish texts, and travelling had an effect on argumentation. Scots used knowledge of non-European “primitive” cultures and knowledge of history in order to formulate general principles. One example of this kind of work is Lord Monboddo’s¹⁵ largely forgotten study *Of the Origin and Progress of Language* (1773–1792), in which he collected and analysed existing data on foreign non-European/primitive nations and their languages, and from this analysis, concluded that language was not given by God but invented by men.

¹⁴ Koselleck 1985, 16–25, 105.

¹⁵ James Burnet 1714–1799.

In general, it is difficult to define geography as a systematic discipline during the Enlightenment. A characteristic of 18th century geography was that it concerned not only geographical details but also court life, culture, education, history, language, militia, politics, and religion, and sometimes even Newtonian mechanics.¹⁶ Geography was not only natural geography or cultural geography but included also politics and history: political history was used to legitimise 18th century politics, meaning the established form of government, the succession, and parliamentary representation.¹⁷ Geography was often based on personal experience of foreign countries. The Scottish intellectual, John Moore (see below) claimed that the most reliable manner for obtaining information on foreign nations was to live in foreign countries rather than merely to travel abroad.¹⁸

John Moore (1729–1802) was a physician, a novelist, and tutor to James George Hamilton, 7th Duke of Hamilton during the latter's grand tour of Europe. He wrote two popular geographical studies based on his travels.¹⁹ Both in *A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland and Germany with Anecdotes relating to Some Eminent Characters I–II* (1780) and in *A View of Society and Manners in Italy I–II* (1781) he explicated national features of Continental nations. Both studies were written as collections of letters from various metropolises; however, *A View of Society and Manners in Italy* emerged more as a study on the administration, history and politics of Italian city states than as a collection of letters containing miscellaneous anecdotes.

Moore described local people and life styles in Continental metropolises, but in so doing he reconstructed the national character of various nations, extending it to the physical features of the

¹⁶ Cf. Mayhew 1999, 20.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁸ Moore 1780, II, 1–3.

¹⁹ ODNB “John Moore” by H. I. Fulton.

people.²⁰ For example, the Germans were decent, plain, and honest, whereas the Italians were relaxed and open to the enjoyments of life, in accordance with their national character.²¹ Furthermore, Moore admired Roman history, seeing it also as a source of inspiration for British politics.²² Like many of his contemporaries, he praised the democracy, moderate politics, and church principles of Genova [sic. Geneva] and the Swiss defence of liberty against tyrannical principles.²³

Moore compared French manners and politics with those of England, admiring French polite manners and eloquence, but concluding that French elocution would be understood as mere flattery in England.²⁴ Nevertheless, his attitude to the French was not one of pure admiration, for he suggested that national character (manners) was one thing and government another,²⁵ and he was more critical of the French government than of French manners. Moore did not participate in politics in Britain but he supported a reformist movement in France,²⁶ and his letters from France directly reflected his political opinions. He claimed that Frenchmen were naturally monarchists — though their current political system was despotic rather than monarchical — whereas Britons were fitted to the parliamentary system and to limited sovereignty.²⁷ In comparison with France, Moore favoured parliamentarism, patriotism, and political liberty — features for which Britons were admired abroad. Similarly, Britons were well-known for their scientific advancement and practical inventions.²⁸

²⁰ Moore 1780, I, 19; 1791, I, 240–250.

²¹ Moore 1780, II, 133.

²² Moore 1781, II, 2.

²³ Moore 1780, I, 108–109, 228.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 46.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 21.

²⁶ ODNB “John Moore” by H.I. Fulton.

²⁷ Moore 1780, I, 22–23, *passim*.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 1–3.

Although Moore valued political security in Britain, claiming for example that even the poorest man had some inviolable rights and that the sovereign could not impose illegal taxes,²⁹ he explicitly (on several occasions) criticised class society in both Britain and France, and especially the upper class: the upper class was idle, simply enjoying the comforts of life. In France, society had nothing to offer the lower classes.³⁰ However, British society, unlike that of France, provided opportunities for ambitious and talented individuals both in economics and politics.

Moore's collection of anecdotes was not the only method of conceptualising the world. The Scottish Scholar William Guthrie, one of the forgotten figures in the Scottish Enlightenment, was an essayist, historian, Episcopalian, and a Tory opponent of Robert Walpole. Guthrie wrote a systematic geographical study *A New Geographical, Historical and Commercial Grammar; and Present State of the Several Kingdoms of the World* (1771), being a far-reaching and systematic study in the discipline of Natural Geography, and a very exceptional study.³¹ Despite Guthrie's description, the work is a characteristic study on 18th century geography.³²

Guthrie argued that learning commerce and government (in other words moral, political, commercial and natural geography) were deeply interwoven, and inseparable from each other.³³ These aspects together formed a national character. He wrote: "The character of a nation depends on a succession of a great many circumstances which reciprocally affect each other."³⁴ National features were based on the interwoven features of natural and cultural geography. We cannot define these national features as nationalism but as nationhood: similar people lived in the same area, and

²⁹ cf. Moore 1780, I, 33.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 22; II, 4.

³¹ Guthrie 1771, preface, IV.

³² Mayhew 1999, 22.

³³ Guthrie 1771, preface, IV; on commercial geography 36; Mayhew 1999, 20.

³⁴ Guthrie 1771, preface, IV.

their manners, economics, and government were affected by the local environment. As modern readers, we may say that philosophers were interested in the possible variation of human nature historically; in contrast geographers were interested in the variation of human nature spatially, and they explicated the changes in the human mind geographically.

Guthrie remarked that the modern world was a cosmopolitan world. According to him, intercourse between nations, especially in commerce, was characteristic of the contemporary world.³⁵ People travelled to distant places, exploring the habits and history of foreign nations.³⁶ Guthrie's cosmopolitanism has its starting point in cosmology. First of all he explicates the universe; he considers the movements of the globe relative to the Sun, Mercury, Venus, the Moon, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, and even finds in the heavenly bodies the basis of an astrological system.³⁷ Then he observes mankind within the globe and the origins of nations, laws and government within world history, mentioning not only the dates of events but important changes starting from Genesis and Biblical times³⁸; this he combines with European history,³⁹ extending his consideration to such distant and "peripheral" areas as Sweden, Denmark and Iceland, and turning finally to the national and local history of Scotland. When he introduces various countries, he also praises the British form of government as providing the conditions necessary for economic, social and political progress. He writes: "To a man sincerely interested in the welfare of society and of his country, it must be particularly agreeable to reflect on the rapid progress, and general diffusion of learning and civility, which, within the present age, have taken place in Great-

³⁵ *Ibid.*, preface, V.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, preface, VI.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 9–20.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 36.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 38, 65.

Britain (sic.) Whatever may be the case in some other kingdoms of Europe, we, in this island, may boast of our superiority to those illiberal prejudices ... In other countries, the great body of the people possess little wealth, have little power and consequently meet little respect; in Great-Britain the people are opulent, have great influence, and claim, of course, a proper share of attention.”⁴⁰ Guthrie’s cosmological geography ranged over the cosmos, with Britain at the centre of it.

There is one exceptional feature in Guthrie’s geography: unlike many Scottish historians, who praised English liberty and the Magna Carta, Guthrie claimed that political liberty was established earlier in Scotland than in England. According to the classical conception, liberty and commerce lead to the advancement of a luxurious lifestyle, which in turn leads to corruption and the destruction of civic virtue. This danger was better understood in Scotland, and Scots could also better defend true liberty and civic virtue.⁴¹ It is well known that Scottish economists arrived at a different solution; they transformed the classical conception of civic virtue, claiming that economic interests were useful and perfectly acceptable to a virtuous citizen: economic endeavours did not threaten civic virtue.

The anecdotes given by Guthrie and Moore offered amusement to their enlightened readers, and similar collections dealing with the eminent people and manners of various countries were published by other authors. The same anecdotes were often circulated and published in journals. However, these anecdotes, especially when published as collections, were not written only for amusement. They were part of the informal political education of a British gentleman, while at the same time they offered statesmen some useful knowledge on the political systems and manners of foreign nations. Knowledge of foreign countries, their people and their

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Preface, III.

⁴¹ Mayhew 1999, 24–25.

manners was important especially for those who acted as the sovereign's ambassadors in foreign courts.

Conclusion

Aspects predisposing to the Scottish Enlightenment can be identified before the high Enlightenment itself. There were many features in Scottish history that nurtured Scottish philosophy; significant, for example, was the Reformation with its positive attitude to public education, and also the establishment of the Anglo-Scottish Union, which boosted economic development by putting an end to hostilities between England and Scotland. The Union laid the foundation for free trade and a commercial economy. Similarly, Scottish theoretical thinking benefited from a tradition of internationalism and cosmopolitanism.⁴² Scottish philosophers reflected their personal experience in their theories. Scottish philosophy and political economy were not matters of mere abstract speculation; they were based on observations reflecting both history and personal experience of foreign countries.

A characteristic of the Newtonian epistemology applied by the Scottish scholars was that it aimed at universal principles that could explain all the phenomena in both physical and human life. These laws could be found by observation, and by inductive and deductive reasoning. The principles of the laws of nature were thought to remain the same throughout the ages, and they could be used to predict the course of events in human and natural life. A similar universalism can be seen in Scottish interpretations of history. Scottish historians observed the course of human life in different cultures and during different times, and they created thematically motivated models of history that could explain or systema-

⁴² Unfortunately Scottish scholars did not explicitly reflect on their experience of life. David Hume wrote a brief autobiography *The life of David Hume* (1777) also known as *My Own Life*, which focused on his career as a scholar and a writer.

tise human life in every epoch — although these models were not used for prediction but rather for retrodiction: conditions and events in “primitive” nations outside Europe could also explain Europe’s history and development.

Scottish cosmopolitanism had two faces. In the first place, the Scots, like many others, wrote travel literature and descriptions of foreign nations. This genre combined political, historical and cultural approaches, and in fact we as modern readers can find the origins of modern geography in these travel descriptions. Secondly, Scottish cosmopolitanism can be seen in various attempts to create a universal science and an overarching cosmos, with Britain and other countries contained in it. Scottish universal science went beyond not just cultural and geographical but also biological and cosmological boundaries, when Lord Monboddo compared humans to animals, and when William Guthrie linked the universe to the geographical details of various countries. By contrast, John Moore wrote more or less conventional descriptions of Britain’s Continental neighbours.

Locality was interwoven with cosmopolitanism: when Scots travelled abroad and made observations on human life in different places they simultaneously reconstructed local identities and nationhood in their comparisons of people and manners. National characteristics — and hence nationhood — could be only created through comparisons with other national characteristics. One can see that the idea of national characteristics was important even before the political nationalism of the 19th century. The paradox lies in the fact that it was universal and cosmopolitan experience that produced local identities.

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L'AUTOCRITIQUE DES LUMIERES CHEZ ROUSSEAU ET LE ROUSSEAUISME RUSSE

Alla Zlatopolskaya

Voltaire et Rousseau sont les plus célèbres philosophes des Lumières, mais ils se diffèrent en tout. Voltaire est philosophe des Lumières, Rousseau est philosophe des Lumières et en même temps il est un critique des Lumières. Dans son premier discours il critique le rôle des sciences et des arts dans la société. Voltaire et Rousseau étaient déistes. Mais le dieu de Voltaire est un garant de l'ordre du monde: il est horloger de l'horloge du monde. Le dieu de Rousseau est intérieur, affectif et sensible; il parle à la conscience morale et manifeste moins de l'ordre que dans la majesté romantique de certains paysages. La conscience morale, selon le citoyen de Genève, est un instinct divin. Rousseau dit: «Conscience! conscience! Instinct divin, immortelle et céleste voix; guide assuré d'un être ignorant et borné, mais intelligent et libre; juge infaillible du bien et du mal, qui rends l'homme semblable à Dieu».¹ Rousseau critique le rationalisme de la philosophie des Lumières. Il déclare, que la nature humaine est bonne et rationnelle. Mais dans les *Confessions* la nature de l'homme est très complexe, elle n'est pas rationnelle et elle n'est pas bonne.

¹ Rousseau J.-J. *Emile ou de l'éducation, livre quatrième, La profession de foi du Vicaire savoyard*, Paris, Garnier-Flammarion, 1966, p. 378.



Portrait de J.-J. Rousseau.

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Les penseurs russes blâment le *Discours sur les sciences et des arts* de Rousseau. Ils estiment que ce discours est sophistique et paradoxale, que Rousseau défend l'ignorance dans ce *Discours*. Le premier réponse sur ce *Discours* est le *Discours sur la sagesse, du bon sens et de la vertu* de Vassili Trediakovski, prononcé en 1752.

Trediakovski estime ce *Discours* de Rousseau d'une manière tranchante. Il dit que ce *Discours* est la prostitution verbale.²

Mais en même temps la perception de la personnalité de J.-J. Rousseau et sa philosophie religieuse et morale était très importante pour la pensée russe du XVIII^e siècle. Le rapprochement entre la religion naturelle de Rousseau et le christianisme attirait les penseurs russes. La réception des *Confessions* par les penseurs russes est étroitement liée avec la perception de la personnalité de «citoyen de Genève».

Les idées de Rousseau et la perception de la personnalité du «citoyen de Genève» sont à la base de la culture russe.

Dans la conscience des penseurs russes de la fin du XVIII^e siècle et le début du XIX^e siècle, une place essentielle parmi les œuvres de Rousseau revient à *l'Émile* et surtout à la *Profession de foi du vicaire savoyard*. L'interdiction de *l'Émile* a été connue très tôt en Russie: dès le 6 décembre 1762, Rey écrivit à Miller que l'importation de ce livre en France avait été interdite.³ Dans la livraison d'avril 1763 des *Écrits et nouvelles mensuels sur les travaux scientifiques*, revue éditée par Miller, on observe au sujet des œuvres de Rousseau que «il convient de prendre garde à ce que la lecture de ses livres n'amène à accepter de lui ce qui est contraire à la loi divine et aux devoirs civiques; raisons pour lesquelles ses deux derniers ouvrages, *Émile* et *Du Contrat social*, ont tant en France qu'en Hollande été interdits sous peine de confiscation de tous les exemplaires».⁴ Influencée par les poursuites intentées

² Третьяковский В. Слово о мудрости, благоразумии и добродетели // Третьяковский В. Сочинения и переводы как стихами, так и прозою. СПб., 1752. С. 294–295.

³ Санкт-Петербургский филиал Архива Российской Академии наук (ПФА РАН) Ф. 21. Оп. 3. Ед. хр. 227. Л. 15. Les documents des archives pour la première fois ont été cités dans le manuscrit de N.A. Kopanév (Kopanév N.A. *Le commerce du livre français en Russie au XVIII^e siècle (1698–1772). Du règne de Pierre le Grand à celui de Catherine II.* Annexes).

⁴ Ежемесячные сочинения и известия об ученых делах. 1763. Апрель. С. 378.

contre *l'Émile* en Europe, Catherine II prend elle aussi la décision de l'interdire. Cependant — et le paradoxe est révélateur, — en dépit de cette interdiction, la fin du XVIII^e siècle et le début du XIX^e siècle voient apparaître un grand nombre de traductions de la *Profession de foi du vicaire savoyard*, tant imprimées (vers 1770, en 1801, 1802 et 1822, à quoi s'ajoutent des fragments publiés sous un titre imaginaire pour contourner la censure en 1773, 1777 et 1785) que sous forme manuscrite, ainsi que de *l'Émile* (dont une traduction abrégée du Livre V à laquelle était joint *Émile et Sophie ou les Solitaires* parut en 1799–1800, une traduction intégrale de l'ouvrage étant réalisée par Élisabeth Delsalle en 1807). On peut affirmer que malgré l'interdit de la censure, la *Profession de foi* aura été, par le nombre de ses traductions, l'une des œuvres de Rousseau les plus largement diffusées en Russie à l'époque considérée, voire celle qui l'a été le plus.

Avant même la publication de la *Profession de foi du vicaire savoyard* les penseurs russes avaient eu connaissance des divergences qui opposaient Rousseau et Voltaire au sujet de la miséricorde divine et de la place du mal dans le monde comme à propos du rôle des Lumières. Ces divergences s'étaient déjà fait jour, en effet, dans le *Poème sur le désastre de Lisbonne* et dans la lettre de Rousseau consacrée à cette œuvre de Voltaire.

Une des premières études consacrée en Russie aux idées du «citoyen de Genève», parue en 1762 sous la plume de Johann Gottfried Reichel, a pour titre *Note sur la lettre ci-après adressée par M. Rousseau à M. de Voltaire*. Dès ce tout premier texte, consacré à la «Lettre à Voltaire sur la Providence», nous voyons apparaître les grands problèmes qui ont occupé les esprits des penseurs russes: l'ordre du monde, les rapports entre l'homme et Dieu, le rôle des Lumières et leurs contradictions. Tout en admettant en fait, contre Voltaire, le point de vue chrétien pour ce qui est du problème de l'ordre du monde et en adoptant une position proche de celle de Rousseau, l'auteur ne voit pas, dans l'ensemble, de di-

vergence radicale entre les deux penseurs qui sont tous deux, à ses yeux, des représentants du siècle des Lumières.⁵

Face au problème de l'ordre du monde et de son harmonie, les penseurs russes penchaient en faveur des idées de Rousseau pour qui il existe une harmonie préétablie et tout est bon dans l'ordre divin, le mal étant l'œuvre des hommes. Tel est, par exemple, le point de vue de Vassili Liouvchine qui, dans un commentaire du *Poème sur le désastre de Lisbonne* publié à Moscou en 1788, reprend l'idée rousseauiste de la *Profession de foi du vicaire savoyard* et de la Lettre à Voltaire du 18 août 1756 selon laquelle la toute-puissance de Dieu est indissociable de sa miséricorde. «Si l'homme, écrit-il, pouvait aussi commodément pénétrer les intentions de Dieu, s'il était en mesure de considérer tout l'ordre du monde avec la même promptitude qu'il saisit les choses qui lui sont néfastes dans la Nature, il ne s'insurgerait point contre les maux qu'il y rencontre; il comprendrait que peut-être ce qui nous paraît mauvais était inévitable lors de la création du monde, et accepterait la sentence de M. Rousseau: "Le tout est bien, ou tout est bien pour le tout"».⁶

C'était bien, cependant, ce rapprochement entre la religion naturelle de Rousseau et le christianisme qui attirait les penseurs russes. Après une brève phase d'engouement pour le voltairianisme, la religion du «citoyen de Genève» s'est trouvée opposée à la critique voltairienne de l'Église, les vues de Voltaire en matière de religion étant rapprochées de l'athéisme des matérialistes français, de l'athéisme des philosophes des Lumières.

⁵ [Рейхель И.-Г.] *Примечание к следующему письму, посланному от г. Руссо к г. Вольтеру // Собрание лучших сочинений к распространению знаний и к произведению удовольствий или Смешанная библиотека.* 1762. Ч. 4. С. 233, 231.

⁶ [Левшин В.А.] *Письмо, содержащее некоторые рассуждения о Поэме Вольтера на разрушение Лиссабона, писанное В. Левшиным к приятелю его господину З***.* М., 1788. С. 27–28.

Ce trait caractérise en particulier les milieux maçonniques qui, dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle et au début du XIX^e, manifestent un vif intérêt pour la *Profession de foi du vicaire savoyard* et pour les aspects moraux et humanistes de la religion de Rousseau. Comme a pu l'écrire, non sans une certaine naïveté, Élisabeth Delsalle, traductrice de l'*Émile* (y compris la *Profession de foi*): «Si Rousseau s'égaré ici en ne suivant pas l'Écriture sainte, cet égarement provient de la bonté particulière de son cœur». ⁷ Le christianisme, de même que le «déisme du cœur» de Rousseau, est interprété sous l'aspect moral, en soulignant l'idée de tolérance et d'amour. «De même que Rousseau connaît l'Évangile, de même qu'il connaît Celui qui l'institua, de même a-t-il dû connaître l'esprit de patience et de douceur, éloigné de toute passion, l'esprit de philanthropie universelle, cet esprit du divin ami de l'humanité qui se donna pour tâche première d'extirper du monde toute prétention imaginaire aux droits exclusifs d'une quelconque Église, secte ou Nation, et de louer le Créateur du monde non comme le Dieu d'un seul Peuple mais comme le Père de tout le genre humain», peut-on lire dans une publication maçonnique russe de 1782. ⁸ (Ce même phénomène s'observe non seulement à cette époque mais encore à la fin du XIX^e siècle où, dans le prolongement de cette tradition de la pensée russe, Léon Tolstoï rapprochera la religion de Rousseau et l'Évangile. ⁹)

Un grand prix est attaché, à cet égard, aux considérations du «citoyen de Genève» sur Jésus-Christ et sa mort, que l'on rapproche de la tradition chrétienne et qui seront même utilisées tout au long du XIX^e siècle dans des publications orthodoxes offi-

⁷ Руссо Ж.-Ж. *Эмил, или О Воспитании* // *Сочинение Жан Жака Руссо* / Переведено с французского Елизаветою Дельсаль. М., 1807. Ч. 3. Кн. 5. С. 89, примечание.

⁸ *Рассуждение о том, что может ли чрезвычайное Божеское в вере (религии) наставление, или откровение согласовываться с премудростью Божию* // *Вечерняя заря*. 1782. Ч. III, декабрь. С. 289.

⁹ Толстой Л.Н. *Полн. собр. соч. Т. 75*. М., 1956. С. 234.

cielles. Bien que la traduction de la *Profession de foi du vicaire savoyard* ait été interdite par la censure ecclésiastique, nous voyons notamment paraître en 1894 la quatrième édition de l'ouvrage de G. Diatchenko *Leçons et exemples de foi chrétienne. Essai de chrestomathie catéchétique*, livre qui, annonce sa page de titre, est destiné à servir de manuel «à ceux qui enseignent la Parole de Dieu en général et le catéchisme en particulier dans les établissements d'enseignement supérieur et secondaire [ainsi qu'aux] parents et précepteurs dans le cadre de l'éducation religieuse et morale», ce qui ne l'empêche pas de citer des réflexions de Rousseau sur l'Évangile et le Christ tirées de la *Profession de foi du vicaire savoyard*.¹⁰ Ce même fragment de la *Profession de foi* est repris dans un ouvrage intitulé *L'Opinion de Napoléon et de Rousseau sur la divinité de Jésus-Christ et le caractère sacré de l'Évangile*, publié en 1900 à Odessa avec l'agrément de la censure ecclésiastique.¹¹ Il est toutefois révélateur que la *Profession de foi du vicaire savoyard*, toujours frappée par l'interdit de la censure, n'ait pu être publiée qu'au bout de plus de quatre-vingts ans d'interruption, en 1903 aux éditions *Posrednik* et en 1911 dans le cadre d'une édition complète de l'*Émile*.

L'acceptation du «déisme du cœur» professé par le «citoyen de Genève» en tant que religion chrétienne de la tolérance et de l'amour était étroitement liée au concept de la bonté originelle de la nature humaine. À l'inverse, la conception rousseauiste de l'éducation suscite un vif intérêt chez les penseurs russes du fait de son orientation humaniste: «Son ouvrage *Émile* n'est pas un recueil de paradoxes mais l'idéal véritable de la pédagogie», écrit Iakov de Sanglen, auteur d'un *Parallèle entre Rousseau et Voltaire* publié en 1805, «et son élève Émile ne ressemble pas à une bête ou

¹⁰ Дьяченко Г.М. *Уроки и примеры христианской веры. Очерк катехизической хрестоматии*. М., 1894. С. 223.

¹¹ *Мнение Наполеона и Руссо о божественности Иисуса Христа и святости Евангелия*. [Одесса], 1900. С. 3.

à un sauvage; car toute son éducation tend à faire de lui un citoyen bon et utile à la société». ¹² Les idées pédagogiques de Rousseau attirent également les penseurs russes par leur aspiration à inculquer des sentiments patriotiques. Elles sont rapprochées de la pédagogie traditionnelle et opposées au voltairianisme et au matérialisme français. Cet aspect patriotique de l'éducation d'*Émile* attire, par exemple, Sergueï Glinka, auteur d'une étude sur le précepteur de Pierre le Grand parue en 1808, qui dans l'ensemble rejette les idées des adeptes français des Lumières. ¹³

Chez les penseurs russes au cours du XVIIIe et du XIXe siècle la personnalité de Rousseau considéré comme un «maître de vie» suscite un intérêt très vif qui se porte notamment sur *Les Confessions*. Les penseurs russes ont lu *Les Confessions* plus tard que les autres œuvres du «citoyen de Genève». L'auteur de la nécrologie russe de Rousseau, publiée en 1778 dans les journaux officiels *Bulletin de Moscou* et *Bulletin de Saint-Petersbourg* écrit: «On a trouvé dans les papiers de Rousseau les mémoires de sa vie». ¹⁴ La traduction russe de la première partie des *Confessions* a paru en 1797. Avant prendre connaissance des *Confessions* il y avait deux images de Rousseau dans la pensée russe: Rousseau est Diogène, homme de paradoxe et Rousseau maître de vie, le juste persécuté par ses ennemis. Fonvizine écrit dans son lettre «Rousseau, le tien, habite à Paris comme un véritable ours. J'espère le voir. On promet de me montrer ce monstre». ¹⁵ Fonvizine rapproche la philosophie morale de Rousseau et l'éthique de Helvétius, l'éthique des

¹² [Де Санглен Я.И.] *Параллель между Руссо и Вольтером* // Аврора. 1805. Т. 1. № 3. С. 196–197.

¹³ [Глинка С.Н.] *Зотов, наставник Петра Первого, или рассмотрение способа его учения и соображение оногo с правилами Ж.Ж. Руссо, Кондильяка, Локка и проч. писателей о воспитании* // Русский вестник. 1808. Ч. 3. № 9. С. 307.

¹⁴ Московские ведомости. 1778. № 68; Санкт-Петербургские ведомости. 1778. № 63.

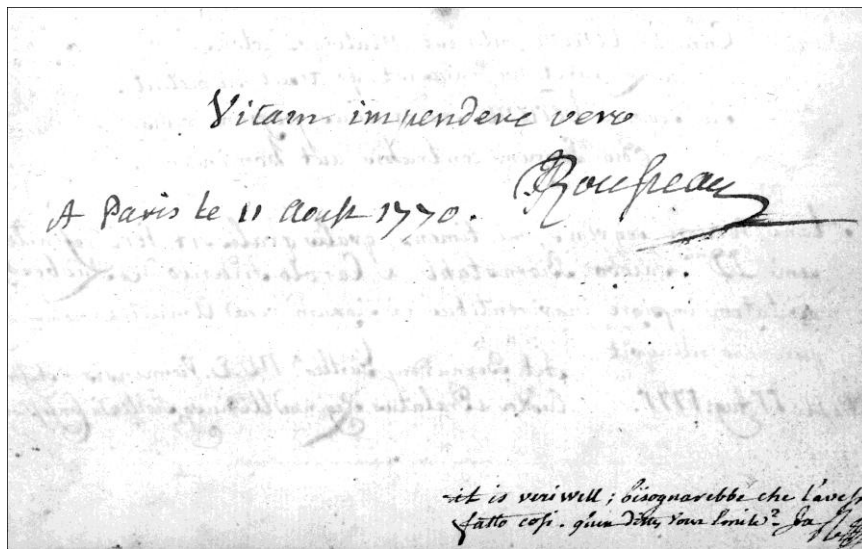
¹⁵ Фонвизин Д.И. *Сочинения*. М., 1959. Т. 2. С. 438.

athées français. Mais après avoir lu les *Confessions* Fonvazine change de son attitude. Rousseau devient pour Fonvazine le maître de vie, l'homme de la nature et de la vérité. Sous l'influence des *Confessions* de Rousseau Fonvazine écrit ses «confessions» nommées par l'auteur *L'aveu sincère de mes affaires et de mes pensées*. Dans les *Confessions* et dans la personnalité de Rousseau Fonvazine estime avant tout leur franchise. Mais *L'aveu sincère de mes affaires et de mes pensées* de Fonvazine est créée plutôt sous l'influence des *Confessions* de Saint-Augustin, que des *Confessions* de Rousseau. L'homme, selon Fonvazine n'est pas bon. La nature humaine, selon Fonvazine, est pécheresse et irrationnelle. A l'avis de Yuri Lotman, si Rousseau dans *Les Confessions* parle de soi, Fonvazine dans *L'aveu sincère de mes affaires et de mes pensées* confesse ses péchés¹⁶. Mais sous l'influence de Rousseau Fonvazine parle de la bonté de son cœur.

L'intérêt pour les *Confessions* se manifeste avec une fréquence particulière en période de crise de la pensée, chez Fonvazine, Karamzine, Herzen, Léon Tolstoï. Dans le même temps, les espoirs d'un progrès dans le sens du libéralisme bourgeois et d'un développement des lumières et des sciences tel qu'il en résulterait ipso facto une amélioration des institutions sociales et de la nature humaine amènent à rejeter aussi bien les *Confessions* que la personnalité même de Rousseau comme ne s'inscrivant pas dans ce paradigme, comme étrangère et inutile au siècle du progrès. Voltaire, qui a œuvré pour le progrès, est opposé à Rousseau. C'est ainsi que Vissarion Belinski, sur la fin de sa vie, plaçant son espoir dans la bourgeoisie, oppose les deux penseurs et émet un avis négatif sur les *Confessions*.¹⁷

¹⁶Лотман Ю.М. *Руссо и русская культура XVIII–XIX века* // Лотман Ю.М. *Русская литература и культура Просвещения*. М., 2000. С. 184.

¹⁷Белинский В.Г. *Письмо П.В. Анненкову. 15 февраля 1848 г.* // Белинский В.Г. *Полн. собр. соч. Т. 12*. М., 1956. С. 467.



Autographe de J.-J. Rousseau.
Département des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Russie.

Dimitri Pissarev oppose lui aussi Rousseau à Voltaire pour ce qui est de la nécessité de détruire un monde ancien qui a fait son temps. La complexité psychologique de la personnalité du «citoyen de Genève» a été, à ses yeux, une entrave à la cause du progrès social. «Au milieu du XVIII^e siècle, un problème important était à l'ordre du jour: il fallait tourner contre l'État féodal un refus qui, dans la première moitié du siècle, avait joué exclusivement contre le parti clérical ... Ce problème a été résolu par Rousseau ... On ne peut manquer de dire que l'Europe y aurait gagné davantage si Rousseau était mort dans la fleur de l'âge sans avoir publié la moindre ligne. Rousseau a trouvé la solution du problème mais c'était en y apposant les traces malpropres de sa personnalité pleurnicharde, fantasque, déliquescence, mesquine et en même temps fausse, hypocrite et pharisienne ... La cause de la transformation universelle aurait de toute évidence gagné à ce que son premier maître fût un homme

parfaitement sain, solide, joyeux, actif et inlassable». ¹⁸ Rien d'étonnant à ce que les *Confessions* ne soient pour Pissarev qu'une interminable lamentation d'un ennui total. ¹⁹

La manière dont l'antithèse Rousseau-Voltaire a été perçue par la culture russe a été admirablement exprimée, même si ce n'est pas sans une certaine exagération ni sans quelques inexactitudes, par Dimitri Filossofov dans une étude sur Rousseau publiée en 1912:

Pour les Russes, Voltaire est intéressant comme l'initiateur d'un "voltaireanisme" de surface, étranger à l'âme russe, dont la mode a sévi parmi nos seigneurs du temps de Catherine II dont l'autorité reposait sur le servage. Les thèmes que traite Voltaire ne sont pas en eux-mêmes russes; à l'inverse, celui de Rousseau l'est authentiquement. Rousseau recherchait non une vérité froide et impassible mais une vérité qui aille de pair avec la justice et l'équité. Dans l'histoire de la pensée russe, il convient de lui réserver une place d'honneur ... Rousseau nous est cher non comme Français mais comme "homme intégral". Il a posé avec une particulière acuité la question de la contradiction entre la vérité de la culture et celle de la nature, entre la vérité de la raison et celle du sentiment. Nous n'avons que faire de l'enfermer dans un milieu historique, de le reléguer sur tel rayonnage de nos bibliothèques, car toute la littérature russe a, en fin de compte, développé les sujets qui étaient les siens. La *Profession de foi du vicaire savoyard* n'est pas pour nous un moment de l'histoire de la pensée religieuse mais un thème actuel qui agite nos esprits. Le *Discours sur l'inégalité* n'est pas une dissertation écrite dans le but de recevoir un prix de l'académie de Dijon, c'est la pensée la plus intime de toute l'intelligentsia russe.

Nous pouvons sans effort particulier imaginer Rousseau disputant parmi les membres du cercle de Petrachevski. Nous ne serions pas étonnés de le voir prendre place dans la taverne crasseuse où Aliocha et Ivan Karamazov débattaient de Dieu aux sons de la *Traviata*. Il est probable que Pierre Bezoukhov et Platon Karataïev auraient été heureux d'avoir

¹⁸ Писарев Д.И. *Популяризаторы отрицательных доктрин* // Писарев Д.И. *Исторические эскизы. Избранные статьи*. М., 1989. С. 562–563.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, с. 564.

Jean-Jacques pour compagnon de captivité. Mais pouvons-nous nous représenter Voltaire en pareille situation? ...

Voltaire a entretenu avec la Russie des relations constantes ... Rousseau n'a probablement jamais pensé même à la Russie. Il n'avait pas le souci de l'histoire parce qu'il la faisait lui-même. En définitive, il s'est révélé pour la Russie bien plus nécessaire que Voltaire. Voltaire est jusqu'à la moelle des os un Français, fils de son temps. Rousseau a brisé les chaînes du temps et de l'espace et a dépassé les limites de sa nationalité et de son époque ... L'"homme intégral" Rousseau nous a trop apporté et est trop étroitement lié au devenir de la culture russe.²⁰

Ainsi nous pouvons constater que les penseurs russes s'intéressent plus aux œuvres de Rousseau qui dépassent les limites de la philosophie des Lumières telles que la *Profession de foi du Vicaire savoyard* et les *Confession*.



²⁰ Философов Д. Жан-Жак Руссо // Русское слово. 1912. 15 июня.

**ALEXANDER RADISHCHEV,
ETHICAL CONSUMING,
AND NORTH AMERICAN QUAKERS**

Johannes Remy

Aleksandr Nikolaevich Radishchev (1749–1802) was the most prominent representative of the radical Enlightenment in Russia.¹ He is famous mainly for his *Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow* which was published in 1790 and earned the author a death sentence which was later commuted to deportation. His punishment was due to the sharp criticism of serfdom and autocracy in the book which was written in the form of traveler's tale and which remained banned in Russia until the revolution of 1905. Radishchev's importance for the development of Russian social and political ideas need hardly be argued for. Through his life, and the image which he consciously created for himself, Radishchev modeled the first prototype of radical *intelligent*, to be emulated by later generations of Russian radicals and revolutionaries. Essential

¹ For Radishchev in general, see: David Marshall Lang, *Alexander Radishchev, 1749–1802*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1959; Лотман Ю.М. *Русская литература и культура просвещения*. М.: ОГИ, 1998; Allen McConnell, *A Russian philosophe, Alexander Radishchev, 1749–1802*. The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1964); Старцев А.И. *Радищев. Годы испытаний. Очерки*. М.: Советский писатель, 1990.

in this image was an ostensibly disinterested suffering for the common people's well-being. For the present article it is important to note that Radishchev paid much attention to the American slavery which he condemned as unequivocally as Russian serfdom.

In this article, I will study an aspect of Radishchev's thought which, to the best of my knowledge, has hitherto received little attention: his attitude to the ethical and political importance of consuming. Indeed, Radishchev was one of the early advocates of ethical consuming who recommended abstinence from the products which were produced in an unethical way, specifically through the exploitation of slave labour. I will trace the origins of Radishchev's ideas and place them in the context of the abolitionist movement in Great Britain and its North American colonies.

In Radishchev's *Journey*, there are two passages which deal with ethical consuming: in the chapters *Vyshnyi Volochok* and *Peshki*. The first of these appears in the context of a general discussion about trade and is remarkable for the analogy which the author draws between American slavery and Russian serfdom:

It has been no small source of pleasure for me to watch the Vyshny Volochok Canal full of barges carrying grain and other goods as they got ready to pass through the locks for the rest of their voyage to Petersburg. Here one could see the true wealth of the soil and the agriculturist's superabundance, here one could see in its full glory the mighty mover of human actions, self-interest. But if at first glance my spirit was delighted at the sight of prosperity, at second thoughts my joy soon waned. For I remembered that in Russia many agriculturists were not working for themselves, and that thus the abundance of the earth in many districts of Russia bears witness only to the heavy lot of its inhabitants. My satisfaction was transformed into indignation such as I feel when in summer time I walk down the customs pier and look at the ships that bring us the surplus of America and its precious products, such as sugar, coffee, dyes, and other things, not yet dry from the sweat, tears, and blood that bathed them in their production.

“Remember,” my friend once said, “that the coffee in your cup, and the sugar dissolved in it, have deprived a man like yourself of his rest, that they have been the cause of labours surpassing his strength, the cause of tears, groans, blows, and abuse. Now dare to *pamper your gullet* (*усладить гортань твою*;² emphasis mine. — *J.R.*), hard-hearted wretch!” The sight of his disgust as he said this shook me to the depths of my soul. My hand trembled, and I spilled the coffee.

But you, O inhabitants of Petersburg, who feed on the superabundance of the fertile districts of your country, whether at magnificent banquets, or at a friendly feast, or alone, as your hand raises the first piece of bread meant to nourish you, stop and think. Might I not say the same things to you about it that my friend said to me about the products of America? Have not the fields on which it grew been enriched by sweat, tears, and groans? You are fortunate if the piece of bread for which you hungered was made from grain grown on what is called crown land, or at least on a field that pays its proprietor a commutation tax. But woe to you if it is made of grain that comes from a nobleman’s granary! Upon it are grief and despair, upon it is made manifest the curse of the Almighty, who in His anger said: “Cursed be the earth in its fruits.” Beware lest ye be poisoned by the food ye covet. The bitter tears of the poor lie heavy on it. Put it away from your lips, and fast, for that may be sincere and wholesome fast.³

The emphasis on words “pamper your gullet” will be explained below. The central message of the quoted passage is that by consuming products which are produced by exploitation one participates in the evil of that exploitation. The passage in *Peshki* is somewhat different in its argument. Here, the additional proposition is expressed that since the Russian nobility’s wealth derives from the peasantry, it is unethical to consume such products which due to their high price are not available to the peasants:

² Радищев А.Н. *Полное собрание сочинений*. Т. 1–3. М.-Л.: Издательство Академии наук СССР, 1938–1952. Т. 1. С. 324.

³ Radishchev, *A Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1958. Translated by Leo Wiener. P. 156–158.

After I had thus dined much worse than many a colonel (not to speak of generals) on distant campaigns, I followed the laudable popular custom and filled my cup with coffee freshly prepared for me, and thus satisfied my squeamish appetite with the fruit of the sweat of unfortunate African slaves.

Seeing the sugar in front of me, the landlady, who was mixing some dough, sent her little boy to me, to ask for a small piece of this lordly food. "Why lordly?" I said to her, as I gave the child what was left of my sugar; "can't you use it, too?"

"It is lordly because we have no money to buy it with, while the gentry use it because they do not have to earn the money for it. It's true that our bailiff buys it when he goes to Moscow, but he too pays for it with our tears."

"Then do you mean that anyone who uses sugar makes you weep?"

"Not all, but all the noblemen. Aren't you drinking your peasants' tears when they have to eat such bread as we eat?" Saying this, she showed me what her dough was made of. It consisted of three-fourths chaff and one-fourth of unsifted flour. "And with the crops failing this year, we can thank that God even for this. Many of our neighbours have a worse time of it. What good does it do to you noblemen to eat sugar when we are starving? The children are dying, and so are the grownups. But what can we do about it? You worry and worry, and then have to do what the master orders." And she began to put the bread into the oven.⁴

Individual Consumer and the Oppressed

Thus, Radishchev proposed abstinence from coffee, sugar, and such bread as had been produced by serf labour for the commercial benefit of a landlord. There are two different arguments for such abstinence:

⁴ Radishchev, *A Journey*, p. 219–220.

1. By consuming products which have been produced through oppression one participates in that oppression and becomes guilty of it; and
2. One has no moral right to consume the products which those who provide one's wealth cannot afford.

It is noteworthy that the emphasis in these arguments is on the side of the individual consumer and his moral qualities: a wrong kind of consumption degrades the moral quality of the consumer's life. Here, slavery and inequality are present as negative institutions which one must not support by unethical consumption. Any positive impact of this abstinence, a possible undermining of these unjust institutions, for example, is not mentioned. This is socially and ethically conscious consuming in a form as yet slightly different from the present-day movements which advocate ethical consuming as means to change society.

The absence in Radishchev's argument of a possible positive impact of ethical consuming is not surprising. These ideas were not easy to implement in Russia at the end of the eighteenth century. I have not come across any information to indicate that Radishchev would himself had practiced the abstinence which his traveller recommends. Regarding bread, in particular, the eighteenth-century Russian consumer had limited opportunities to trace its origin. However, the impracticality of the proposed consumer behaviour should not divert our attention from the importance of Radishchev's ideas. How did the Russian radical form his ideas regarding consuming?

The ethical importance of eating and drinking is not a recent observation, but an essential part of Christian and other religious traditions. In the first quoted passage, Radishchev himself offers an analogy between his recommendations to a consumer and the Christian practice of fasting: "Put it away from your lips, and fast, for that may be sincere and wholesome fast." In the Orthodox Church, fasting is an essential part of Christian life. Abstinence

from meat and dairy products is mandatory during the four annual Lents and most Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year. Radishchev was brought up in a religious family and thus had a solid practical experience from fasting. Despite his explicitly proclaimed Deistic principles, we must not overlook the importance of his Orthodox background. In many parts of *Journey*, Radishchev's traveller expresses beliefs and attitudes which fit together far better with traditional religious belief rather than with Deism. To mention just one example, in the chapter *Klin* the traveller gives an alms to a blind beggar in order to receive his prayers: "I did not wish to leave without the prayer of this old man who was surely pleasing to heaven."⁵ Although Radishchev borrowed the scene of an encounter with a religious beggar from Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy*, it is remarkable how he changed the original jocular tone to a serious and pious one.⁶ Iuri Lotman has on good grounds paid attention to the religious aspect of Radishchev's thought: Radishchev used the style of Christian hagiography in the biography of his radical friend Fedor Ushakov; he perceived himself and other martyrs for liberty as analogous to Christian saints; and he emphasized the possibility of personal immortality especially in the context of the deaths of such political martyrs.⁷ By paying attention to the religious aspects of Radishchev's thought I do not intend to deny his obvious Deism, but I rather point to the ambiguity and inner tension in Radishchev's ideas about religion.

Traditionally, the Orthodox Church was more concerned with the fasting individual's spiritual state rather than with the impact

⁵ Radischev, *A Journey*, p. 216.

⁶ Laurence Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy, by Mr. Yorick, to which are added The Journal to Eliza and A Political Romance*. Edited with Introductions by Ian Jack. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1968, p. 5–9, 16–21.

⁷ Лотман Ю.М. *Русская литература и культура просвещения*. С. 11–26, 131–132.

the fasting may make on others or society in general. However, the idea that by avoiding excessive consumption one could divert resources to the poor was present in the theology of fasting. Of the prominent fathers of the Church, at least St. John Chrysostom and St. Clement of Alexandria wrote about alms-giving for the benefit of the poor and abstinence from wrong-doing to them as an essential aspect of fasting.⁸ To be sure, they were by no means opposed to slavery. Nevertheless, the concern for the poor in the traditional Orthodox fasting made it possible for Radishchev to draw his analogy between it and the abstinence from coffee produced by slave labour.

In his attitude to slavery, Radishchev was guided by other thinkers of the Enlightenment. His opposition to slavery and serfdom was based mainly on Jean-Jacques Rousseau's theory of social contract and natural rights. Since the society is formed for the benefit of all its members, individuals enter society in order to gain something, mainly security and protection. If all the members of the society do not benefit from its existence, it is a bad society. Radishchev found slavery and serfdom unacceptable, since they benefited only one party, the master. Thus the slaves and serfs have not entered a social contract, and they have not given up any of their inborn natural rights. If necessary, they are entitled to defend those rights even by violence. Radishchev's ideas in this field are expressed in a condensed form in the chapter *Zaytsovo* of the *Journey*: a murder of a cruel and unjust landlord by his peasants is justified as a rightful defence of the peasants' natural rights. However, in addition to this theoretical argument, Radishchev's condemnation of serfdom and slavery was based on simple emotional

⁸ John Chrysostom, *On Repentance and Alms-Giving*, 6:3; Peter Brown, *The Body & Society: Men, Women, and Sexual renunciation in Early Christianity*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008, p. 309–313; Veronica E. Grimm, *From Feasting to Fasting, the Evolution of a Sin: Attitudes to Fasting in Late Antiquity*. London and New York: Routledge, 1996, p. 101.

empathy which permeates practically the whole *Journey*. Additional arguments against slavery are secondary in their character: it is economically inefficient and it leads to moral degradation of both the master and the slave.

Radishchev, Raynal, and Quakers

Radishchev received his information about American slavery mainly from Guillaume Raynal's *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*.⁹ Although it was not mentioned in the book, Denis Diderot was its other author. Raynal was enthusiastic about overseas trade, but rejected European colonial rule. He condemned slavery most explicitly. Radishchev repeats in *Journey* Raynal's argument that the existing laws forbid the instant killing of a slave, but facilitate killing him gradually.¹⁰ Radishchev also remarked in *Journey* on Raynal's information, according to which the North American Quakers, moved by the manifest injustice of the institution and fundamental equality of men, had liberated their slaves.¹¹ Although the episode in Raynal's work does not include any place or time of the manumission and may well be apocryphal, it has been modeled on real historical events. Quakers were rather prominent in the American abolitionist movement in its emerging phase. Radishchev's *Journey* indicates that Raynal's Quakers had made an impression on him. Observing an auction of serfs, the traveler says: "O ye Quakers! If we had your souls, we would take up a collection, buy these unfortunates, and set them free."¹² Clearly,

⁹ Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*. 1–10. Geneva: Jean-Léonard Pellet, 1781. Radishchev read this second and expanded edition of the book. The first edition appeared in Amsterdam in 1770.

¹⁰ Raynal 6, p. 135; Radishchev, *Journey*, p. 220–221.

¹¹ Raynal 9, p. 115–118.

¹² Radishchev, *Journey*, p. 190.

Radishchev shared Raynal's opposition to slavery and was moved by some of Raynal's arguments. However, there were also important differences between the two thinkers. Raynal was an enthusiast of foreign and overseas trade which brought all the nations closer to each other and which increased wealth;¹³ in his *Letter Concerning the Chinese Trade* written in Siberia, Radishchev perceived the basis of economic wealth in agriculture and found that foreign trade could either stimulate or hamper production, depending on the circumstances.¹⁴ Raynal perceived in luxury consumption a welcome stimulus to trade and production and explicitly rejected all moralist arguments against it.¹⁵ He did not find it necessary to abstain from anything in order to do away with slavery: Europeans should merely import the goods produced in the Caribbean region directly from Africa, and even North American production could be reformed on the basis of a free labour force.¹⁶ As the passages quoted above indicate, Radishchev found luxury consumption morally reprehensible. Clearly, Raynal could not inspire Radishchev's ideas concerning the consumer's voluntary abstinence.

Although Raynal did not present information about any consumer boycotts, such a boycott had indeed occurred shortly before been proposed in British North American Quaker circles. John Woolman, a tailor and Quaker preacher, published the first American treatise against slavery in 1754.¹⁷ Although Woolman's arguments were mainly biblical, he did use the concepts of natural right and reason. In his personal life, Woolman practiced passive resistance to slavery by refusing to profit from it in any form. In a text

¹³ Raynal 1, p. 4; 3, p. 159–162.

¹⁴ Радищев А.Н. *Полное собрание сочинений*. Т. С. 5–9.

¹⁵ Raynal 3, p. 160–162.

¹⁶ Raynal 6, p. 135.

¹⁷ John Woolman, *Some Considerations On the Keeping of Negroes. Recommended to the Professors of Christianity of Every Denomination*. Philadelphia: James Chastin, 1754; for Woolman in general, see: Paul Rosenblatt, *John Woolman*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1969.

addressed to a fellow Quaker in 1769, and included in his *Journal* which was published posthumously in 1774, Woolman recommended not only abolition, but abstinence from slave products:

...the oppression of the slaves which I have seen in several journeys southward on this continent and the report of their treatment in the West Indies has deeply affected me, and a care to live in the spirit of peace and minister just cause of offense to none of my fellow creatures hath from time to time livingly revived on my mind, and under this exercise I for some years past declined to *gratify my palate* (emphasis mine. — *J.R.*) with those sugars.

...the trading in, or frequent use of, any produce known to be raised under such lamentable oppression hath appeared to be a subject which may yet more require the serious consideration of the humble followers of Christ, the Prince of Peace...

The number of those who decline the use of the West India produce on account of the hard usage of the slaves who raise it appears small, even amongst people truly pious, and the labours in Christian love on that subject of those who do, not very extensive.¹⁸

In the passage of *Journey* quoted above, Radishchev uses the Russian expression *usladit tvoiu gortan* (*усладить твою гортань*) which his English translator Leo Wiener has rendered as “pamper your gullet.” However, “gratify your palate” would be the exact translation. In fact, it is Radishchev’s Russian expression which is a translation from English. We now know the likely identity of the friend with whom Radishchev’s traveler conversed about ethical consuming over coffee: he was John Woolman. Raynal’s description of Quaker abolitionists most likely led Radishchev to their original writings. As director in St. Petersburg customs, he had the opportunity to order them through British and American merchants.

¹⁸ John Woolman, *The Journal and Major Essays*. Ed. By Phillips P. Moulton. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971, p. 157–158.

Woolman's text quoted above indicates that he was not the only one who boycotted slave products, instead there existed a small following of like-minded individuals. However, in the British North America, the boycott remained a choice of a few individuals rather than a political movement. The first abolitionist consumer boycott was against sugar and it was organized by the British abolitionists in the years 1791–1792. It was a frustrated reaction of the abolitionists who had unsuccessfully lobbied the parliament for a ban on the slave trade. By boycotting sugar, they wanted to bypass the government and to undermine the economic basis of slavery on their own. The boycotters abstained from West Indian sugar and consumed East Indian instead. One of the organizers of the boycott, an Anglican Deacon named Thomas Clarkson, estimated that 300000 people participated in it. Although that estimate cannot be taken at face value, the campaign evoked considerable attention and counter-attacks in the press. However, the boycott did not reach the desired goal, since much of the sugar from the British West Indian colonies was re-exported to continental Europe, including Russia, where no boycott was organized. Furthermore, the boycott took place in a situation that included a shortage of sugar and raising prices.¹⁹

Radishchev transmitted Woolman's idea of a boycott to Russia before it was implemented in Great Britain. However, he also added to it the general criticism of all social inequality. By claiming that it was unethical for a Russian nobleman to consume a product which their own peasants could not afford, Radishchev complemented Woolman's principle of ethical consuming and made it even more demanding. All this made him a pioneer of ethical consuming in Russia.

¹⁹ Clare Midgley, *Women Against Slavery: The British Campaigns, 1780–1870*. London and New York: Routledge, 1992, p. 35–40.

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ANDERS CHYDENIUS AND RADICAL SWEDISH ENLIGHTENMENT

Kimmo Sarje

The Enlightenment was of highly different historical meaning in Russia and Finland respectively. In Russia, it was above all a project of the elite. The purpose of the Academy of Sciences founded in St. Petersburg in 1724 was to represent and cultivate European learning in the imperial Russian capital and to serve the court, government administration and science rather than to educate the people. These activities naturally had indirect impact on the state and society in Russia especially when strong rulers, such as Peter I and Catherine II, implemented social reforms.

In the Kingdom of Sweden, with present-day Finland as its eastern part, the Enlightenment permeated society as a whole, from the ruling classes down to the farmers and workers. The Swedish Enlightenment was pragmatic, with emphasis on the activities and responsibility of the individual. The Protestant logic of individual zeal and struggle was transformed into social norms. The Protestant ethic and the Enlightenment ideology of utility efficiently shaped the “spirit of capitalism.” In Sweden, the literary nature of religious life and ecclesiastical culture provided a positive starting point for the Enlightenment, in which the word, knowledge and understanding had a central role. Opposition to religion was not

characteristic of the Swedish Enlightenment, and as a result the Lutheran church became an important factor in spreading it. At best, educated and progressive clergymen guided their congregations from the pulpit to practice modern, enlightened Christianity. This tendency culminated in the life's work of Anders Chydenius (1729–1803), a clergyman of Ostrobothnia in Finland, a member of the Swedish *Riksdag* (Diet), and a writer on theological subjects and economic policy.

The Era of Liberty

The collapse of Sweden as a leading European power, the death of King Charles XII in 1718 and the ensuing crisis of the royal house provided a suitable basis for adopting new ideas. The kingdom was in a state of intellectual and economic change. During the “Era of Liberty,” the beginning of which is dated from the reforms of the constitution of 1719, the estates gained political ascendancy and forced King Adolphus Frederick I and Queen Ulrika Eleonora to adopt a purely representative role. The parties known as the Hats and Caps competed for power in the *Riksdag* of the estates that convened in Stockholm. The Hat party was mainly led by the nobility, while the burghers, lower clergy and farmers had a prominent role in the Caps. Legislative work by the *Riksdag* created the need for an increasing amount of political literature and greater freedom of expression and the press. The pre-parliamentary “Era of Liberty” ended with King Gustav III's coup d'état in 1772.

During the 18th century, Swedish came into increasing use alongside Latin as an academic language. This, too, was in keeping with the ideology of the “Age of Utility,” as research and science were thus believed to serve practical needs in a better way. The translation of European philosophical and economic literature into Swedish was also believed to spur progress. The second part of John Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* appeared in Swedish translation in 1726, and Samuel Pufendorf's work on social phi-

losophy *De officio hominis et civis juxta legem naturalem* was translated in 1747 followed by Montesquieu's *Considération sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence* in 1755. *England's Treasure by Foreign Trade* by the British mercantilist Thomas Mun was published twice in Swedish, in 1732 and 1745 respectively. *Fürstliche Macht-Kunst* by the German mercantilist Heinrich Bode came out in Swedish in 1723, and *Essai politique sur le commerce* by the French pre-liberal J. F. Melon in 1751. Anders Nordencrantz and Anders Berch were leading Swedish authorities in economics and economic policy.

It was in this political and cultural situation, with King Adolphus Frederick serving as the nominal head of state, that the chaplains of the province of Ostrobothnia in Finland elected Anders Chydenius, preacher of the Chapel of Alaveteli, to his first term at the Diet of the Estates in Stockholm in 1765–1766. He became known for his criticism of the economic conditions of Sweden and his defence of free seafaring rights for the coastal towns of the Bothnian region as in *Wederläggning Af de Skäl, Hwarmed man söker bestrida Öster- och Westerbottniska Samt Wäster-Norrländske Fri Seglation* from 1763. It was hoped that he would become a prominent spokesman of his province in the capital of the realm.

Chydenius continued his political activities and writing while at the Diet in Stockholm, publishing texts and studies questioning Sweden's mercantilistic economic legislation. *Källan til Rikets Wan-Magt (The Source of the Weakness of the Realm)* was one of the best-known pamphlets of its time, aimed against a royal proclamation on products issued in 1724. *Källan* appeared in 1765 and was translated in the same year into German with the title *Die Quelle von Schwedens Unvermögen*. Chydenius's main work in economic policy and theory *Den Nationnale Winsten (The National Gain)*, also from 1765, was a determined defence of liberal economic theory, underlining not only the freedom of manufacturing and trade, but also the liberties and rights of workers. Chydenius

also prepared a pro memoria on the freedom of the press — albeit in the name of another member of the Diet — and was so successful in campaigning for it that the Diet of 1766 passed a statute granting limited freedom of the press. His greatest achievement was that the diet also repealed the limitations on trade placed on the towns on the Gulf of Bothnia. A text by Chydenius from 1766 criticizing the financial system of Sweden with the title *Rikets Hjelp, Genom en naturlig Finance-System (The Succour of the Realm by a Natural Financial System)* ultimately led to a conflict that forced him to interrupt his work in the Diet.

Chydenius went on to participate in the Diet in Stockholm on two other occasions. In 1788, the vicars of Ostrobothnia elected him, now vicar of the congregation of Kokkola (Sw. Gamla Karleby), to represent them in Stockholm. There was lively debate at the time on the position of hired labour, in which Chydenius took part with his perhaps most distinguished philosophical work *Tankar om Husbönders och Tienstehions Naturliga Rätt (Thoughts of the Natural Rights of Masters and Men)*, in which he demanded, with determination and sharp argument, the rights of hired workers to compete freely in the labour market. According to Chydenius, this was in agreement with the Swedish constitution, which secured private property. He was not able, however, to find sufficient support in the Diet for improvements to the status of hired servants and labourers.

On the other hand, Chydenius was successful in his efforts to expand religious freedom in Sweden. *Memorial, Angående Religions-Frihet (Pro Memoria on the Freedom of Religion)* written by him in 1779 defended civil rights and the right of all confessions to freely practice their religion. The king and most of the estates supported this reform. Limited freedom of religion was confirmed by law in 1781. Chydenius had scored a victory at the cost of the trust of his own estate — the clergy. He was, however, re-elected to the Diet of 1792 to represent the vicars of Ostrobothnia.



Anders Chydenius was later considered as a pioneer of economic liberalism in Finland. He was depicted in the banknote of 1000 Finnish marks, which was in use until Finland switched to Euro in 2002.

Labour as the source – liberal economic policy

Chydenius's pamphlet *Den Nationnale Winsten (The National Gain)*, which I discuss in further detail here, addresses the issues of enterprise, economic growth and separation from stagnation. With regard to the history of ideas and mentality, this text is highly evocative in its dynamic individualism when the Kingdom of Sweden (including present-day Finland) is compared with Russia. As a politician, Chydenius wanted to set Sweden's weak and turgid economy in motion. He was convinced that he knew the means to bring about change and was familiar with the problems of peasants and craftsmen in both the margins and centre of the realm. Chydenius was also familiar with contemporary economic and philosophical literature, having studied theology and natural sciences at the universities of Turku and Uppsala, graduating with a master's degree in 1753.

Chydenius's solution to the problems of society and the economy was simple and radical, and he applied his rhetorical skills of a preacher and politician to convince his readers. *Den Nationnale Winsten* was not, however, meant solely for parliamentary debate but also a guide for all citizens, as noted by the author in the first section: "A new guide is now put before the eyes of the Reader. It is quite a small one, so that everyone may be able to carry it in his pocket." The author also states that his manifesto is based on his own conclusions and experiences without applying any examples: "It is new as well, I said, for it hardly conforms to any other in Europe" (Chydenius 1931, 45–46, § 1).

De Nationnale Winsten consists of 33 brief sections, in which Chydenius argues, chapter by chapter, for his programme and seeks to convince his readers. As his starting point in terms of political philosophy, he defines the nation as a group of people that have entered into a social contract to further their prosperity and well-being: "A Nation is a multitude of people who have joined in order to secure their own prosperity and that of their descendants under the protection of the Government and through its Public Servants" (46, § 2). Chydenius believed that despite their diverging interests, citizens could develop society for the good of everyone. According to him, human well-being was based on the use of "goods." They are the produce of nature, but man cannot benefit from them without labour. The core of Chydenius's message was to encourage productive work and to remove obstacles to it.

Chydenius maintained that people and nations alike were mutually dependent and needed each other's help. This was the will of the "Almighty" and it would thus be contrary to nature to prevent human interaction. Chydenius defined trade as the exchange of goods and in order to function it required a common form of goods, a means of exchange. Precious metals and money were the medium of commerce and its amount could be increased through successful foreign trade.

Chydenius maintained that the problem of the Swedish state was that the “national gain” often became its very opposite, i.e. loss. Why? There were privileges, regulations and laws in society that prevented the free development of the economy. Chydenius did not believe that an efficiently run economy could be achieved through measures of control and guidance enacted by the state. On the contrary, “the national gain” could be maximized by repealing such measures. He writes: “Now I venture to go further and assert that laws which force people to enter certain trades are harmful to the Nation and reduce its gain ... that no Statesman is yet found capable of stating positively which trade will give us the greatest National gain” (59–60, § 11 & 12). Chydenius felt that mercantilistic economic policy was inefficient and detrimental to the “national gain.”

He also noted that the pursuit of personal benefit or gain was the force that set the economy in motion. It had thus been decreed by God as the destiny of man after the fall. “It was punishment for fallen man to support himself in the sweat of his brow ... and toil was made lighter by the desire for his own benefit, when he saw that he could thereby get what he needed” (49–50, § 4). Human nature just happened to be so that “every man seeks his own gain” (50, § 5) and that “a seller always tries to get the highest price for his goods” (57, § 10). Chydenius maintained that a sound outlet had to be found for this selfish need, and this was made possible by free competition and enterprise. He often compared the economy to water, which by force of nature sought equilibrium and its own routes if it was not dammed. “When a stream is allowed to flow smoothly, every drop of water is in motion. When there are no hindrances, every workman strives for his daily bread and thereby increases the gain of the Nation” (64, § 15). Freedom would thus engender industriousness, which in turn would generate well-being.

Emigration and a decreasing working population were serious threats to the Kingdom of Sweden in the 1760s. Chydenius maintained that also this problem would be solved through liberty and

opportunities for enterprise. He felt it was obvious that the privileged staple burghers, master craftsmen or land-owning farmers were not willing to leave their country. Instead, landless workers and journeymen without the rights of masters were often forced to leave to seek a better income: “Why does not a Yeoman remove? Because he is rooted there. But why should a farm hand be more likely to do so? The answer is obvious: because the Statutes have not allowed him to settle down in any one place. ... But what happens to his (the master’s. — *K.S.*) Journeyman and Apprentices? ... I have sometimes heard their swan song and a general complaint in the Country, because they leave for Prussia and Russia; for there those soon become Masters who wish to do so” (66, § 16 & 67, § 17).

The position of a worker employed for manufacturing was no better than that of a journeyman or apprentice. Like master craftsmen enjoying the benefits of their guilds, the owner of a mill or factory would live in affluence while his workers had to make do with bare necessities. “The manufacturer is really as well dressed in his own produce as anybody, but the workman in the spinning-mill often sit half-naked, and others walk the streets in rags and beg ...” (68, § 18) The same “sluices” that prevented economic activity also impeded “the increase of the number of Swedish workmen” as mercantilistic laws and statutes forced many enterprising workers to leave the country (65, § 16).

According to Chydenius, the economy was on more sound footing in Holland and England than in Sweden. A Dutch merchant would rise early to begin work and dress simply. He was industrious in his affairs all the time and mocked “Frenchified bucks and aristocratic airs” (69, § 19). The English workingman was both hardened and hard-working. At an English shipyard, the carpenters would build a man-of-war in as many days as the number of weeks needed for the same work in Sweden. Chydenius maintained that efficiency and the skill and speed of working men were

the prime factors of a healthy economy: “foundation of the National gain is the workmen’s diligence — that is, when the least number of people produce goods to the highest value possible” (69, § 19). Such industriousness and productivity were not achieved through any fear of punishment but instead by encouragement, freedom and competition: “Industry and diligence require a gay heart and constant competition if they are not to slacken. They are never to be found under the yoke; but when they are encouraged by liberty, quick returns and individual gain, the natural torpor, which can never in the long run be driven away by blows, will be overcome” (71, § 20).

According to Chydenius, social justice was also a prerequisite for economic affluence. Economic activity would be bolstered through fair rules of play acceptable to all parties. On the other hand, privileges and monopolies would stifle enterprise. “The more opportunities there are in a Society for some persons to live upon the toil of others, and the less those others may enjoy the fruits of their work themselves, the more is diligence killed,” Chydenius noted in a critical vein (70–71, § 20). He regarded economic exploitation and poor treatment of workers to be both morally reprehensible and economically detrimental. “Thus it is obvious that here either diligence has produced liberty or liberty diligence” (73, § 22).

Chydenius regarded the freedom of trade to be no less important than the freedom to produce goods. Supply and demand had to meet in both the domestic market and internationally. “No Nation can be diligent ... until the commodity can be produced by anyone who wants to make it and sold to him who needs it” (72, § 21). As a member of the Diet, Chydenius campaigned with determination for the liberty of peasant seafaring and rural commerce in the inland. In his text, he argued that the Finnish towns on the Gulf of Bothnia with seafaring rights, such as Pori, Rauma and Uusikau-punki, were also sites of wide-ranging economic activity. “It is

quite impossible that such diligence could arise and be maintained without freedom of Export” (74, § 22). Chydenius maintained that such freedoms should be granted without distinction to all towns for it was in this way that the “national gain” could also be increased. “Owing to a strange difference between Inland and Staple Towns, the foreigner is prevented from looking for goods and paying for them in Cash in a great many harbours... All domestic Operations and the most subtle Financial tricks which do not also open up foreign trade are in my opinion as useless as such a fine artifice as a *perpetuum mobile* or a water-mill that is to run by itself in a well” (80, § 26 & 85, § 29).

While selfishness and the desire for personal profit were the necessary motive of trade and the markets, Chydenius did not accept extortion. But he felt that freedom and competition forcing prices to be reasonable would also be the most effective remedy to this problem. “If anyone tries to gain too much, he will get competitors, who will divide the gain and save citizens from barefaced robbery” (80, § 26). He felt, on the other hand, that restricted competition and the steering of the economy by the state would ultimately serve private interests instead of the good of the realm. “In a word: Monopolies, Exchange manipulations and National loss will never occur if they are not protected by Law; but they may be maintained after having once got a footing” (80, § 26).

In Section 31 of his text, Chydenius finally attempted to define concisely what he meant with the concept of “national gain”. It was a rational agenda for social justice and economic efficiency, giving enterprising individuals the opportunity to improve their livelihood while preventing anyone from living off the labour of others. The author felt that the idea in itself was “the simplest and easiest” and could serve as a guide for all Swedes:

It gives liberty to all lawful trades, though not at the expense of others. It protects the poorest business and encourages diligence and free trade.

It weighs everybody in the same scales, and gain is the right measure that shows who should given preference.

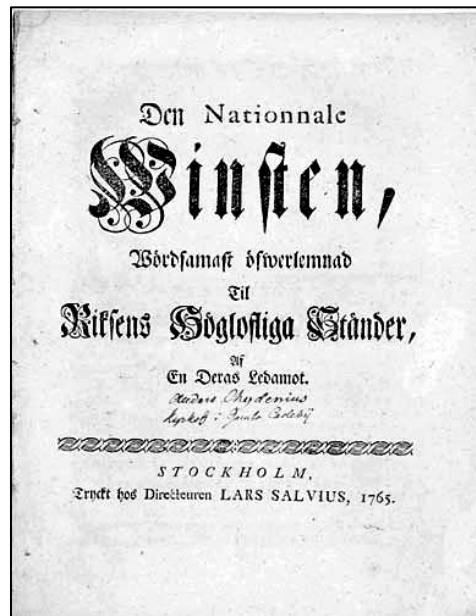
It relieves the Government from thousands of uneasy worries, Statutes and supervisions, when private and National gain merge into one interest, and the harmful selfishness, which always tries to cloak itself beneath the Statutes, can most surely be controlled by mutual competition.

It allows a Swede to exercise the dearest and greatest right in Nature the Almighty has given to him as man, i.e. to support himself in the sweat of his brow in whatever way he thinks best.

It snatches away the pillow of laziness from the arms of those who, thanks to their Privileges, can now safely sleep away two-thirds of their time. All expedients to live without work will be removed and none but a diligent can become well-off (133, § 31).

Anders Chydenius, Adam Smith and Benjamin Franklin

In the history of learning of political economy, Chydenius's *Den Nationnale Winsten* was involved in shaping a new liberal paradigm in which value was regarded as being created as the result of common labour. The skills and diligence of workingmen were the starting point for the "national gain". The same principle appears in Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, which appeared eleven years later, in 1776. Whether Chydenius the first to formulate the basic principles of liberal economic theory is a complex question in the history of learning, and I do not seek to provide a detailed answer in the present text. Suffice to note, however, that he was one of the first liberal writers in the field of economic policy and without doubt the first of his kind in Sweden. It must be emphasized, however, that Chydenius's *Den Nationnelle Winsten* was a pamphlet on economic policy, while Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* was a thorough economic study. Chydenius is not known to have had any significant international influence, nor is it known how the German translation of his work was received.



Den Nationnale Winsten (The National Gain), the most famous pamphlet of Chydenius, was published anonymously in Stockholm in 1765 in order to influence the opinions of the Diet.

Chydenius rejected both mercantilistic and physiocratic economic policy, in which a specific industry or livelihood was given precedence over others. While many physiocrats supported the freedom of economic activity, agriculture enjoyed a special position in this theory. *Laissez faire, laissez passer* was the slogan of the physiocrats, and as such, it does not appear in Chydenius's writings. While Adam Smith's idea of an unseen hand guiding the economy was implicitly included in Chydenius's theory, he did not use this concept as such.

Worldview, an educational purpose and a popular approach were explicit aims of Chydenius's *Den Nationnale Winsten*. In this respect, it can be compared to Benjamin Franklin's popular *Poor*

Richard's Almanac, which appeared between 1732 and 1757 and was of great influence in shaping popular mentality in North America. There was also an interesting connection between Chydenius and Franklin. Pehr Kalm, the first professor of economics at the University (Academy) of Turku and a well-known explorer, had met Franklin in Philadelphia in the late 1740s. Kalm even published a description of Niagara Falls in 1750 in *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, edited by Franklin. Chydenius master's thesis in Swedish, which he defended in 1753 with Kalm as his superior, was on American birch-bark boats and their use on Finland's numerous water routes.

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ANDERS JOHAN LEXELL
A Finnish Astronomer
at St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences
and His European Contacts

Johan Sten

Anders Johan Lexell was a remarkable scientist of the Age of Reason. Yet, today he is not very well-known, not even in his native country, Finland. At least three explanations for this can be adduced: a) He passed away at the age of 43, b) He lived only 27 years in Swedish Finland, and 16 years — professionally the most creative ones — in Russia, c) He contributed mainly to mathematics and astronomy, which, due to their abstract nature, often fail to be properly appreciated.

Lexell was born in Turku (Åbo in Swedish), the then most important town of Finland, on the 24th of December, 1740. His father was Jonas Lexell, a goldsmith-jeweller and a local councillor, and his mother was Magdalena Catharina Björkegren. There are no known precursors in Lexell's family in the area of mathematics. At school, Lexell developed his talents steadily, became a student in 1755 and was signed in at the University, the Royal Academy of Turku, where he was influenced by two prominent mathematicians, Jakob Gadolin, professor of physics and later Bishop of Turku, and Martin Johan Wallenius, professor of mathematics and

a keen proponent of Newtonian science in Turku. Lexell's first publication was a *pro exercitio* examination work for Professor Wallenius on Leibniz' principle of least resistance applied to mirror optics (1759). His master's thesis for Professor Gadolin entitled *Aphorismi Mathematico-Physici* (1760) dealt with some problems of theoretical mechanics.

Among Lexell's class-mates may be mentioned Henrik Gabriel Porthan, a renowned historian and professor of eloquence in Turku, and also the founding editor of the first newspaper in Finland, *Tidningar utgifna af et sällskap i Åbo*. Although working in different fields, Lexell and Porthan supported one-another in their careers, but their correspondence seems to have gone lost. During the 1770's Lexell wrote several scientific reports from St. Petersburg to Porthan's newspaper, concerning *inter alia* the question of the exact longitude of Turku.

While living in Turku, Lexell was engaged in Bishop Karl Fredrik Mennander's circle of favourites and was thereby able to get occasional tutorial work. However, as there was no vacant position at the Royal Academy of Turku corresponding to his talent, Lexell decided to go to Uppsala University in Sweden in 1763, equipped with a masterly mathematical thesis he had written on the solution of certain class of differential equations. Fortuitously, he was also allowed to preside at the dissertation of the thesis. During his short stay in Sweden, Lexell also made the acquaintance of many leading scientists, among others Pehr Wargentin, an astronomer of international reputation who was also the secretary of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Stockholm and a distant relative of Lexell's mother. Owing to the dissertation in Uppsala, Lexell soon became known as a first class mathematician in Sweden and in Turku, where it rendered him the grade of *Matheseos Docens*. But still he did not receive a permanent work at any university, not even in 1766 when he was highly recommended to the chair of mathematics at the Naval School in Karlskrona, Sweden.



The silhouette portrait of Anders Johan Lexell, from *Nova Acta Academiae Petropolitanae*, vol. II, p. 13 (1784). The elegant ruffle hints to the esteem and social status he enjoyed as the director of the Section of Mathematics of the Imperial Academy of Sciences.

The news of the arrival of the famous mathematician Leonhard Euler to St. Petersburg in 1766 changed everything. Lexell was soon caught by the idea of meeting this eminent scientist and made up a plan to approach him with an application for work. He wrote a particularly fine paper on the solution of a differential equation (which, incidentally, is sometimes called Euler's differential equation) and sent it to the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg by way of August Ludwig von Schlözer, a German historian and Russian academician then residing at Göttingen. Lexell's submission was examined by Euler personally, who according to the minutes of the conferences of the Academy said that the work reveals an exceptional mathematical genius, and that his request for a job is worthy of taking seriously. According to Lexell's obituary, the director of the Academy, Count Vladimir Orlov had

raised a doubt on the authenticity of Lexell's submission, to which Euler had replied, "that in that case it was only Jean le Rond d'Alembert or himself who could have written it. But neither of them knew Mr. Lexell." This account is partly corroborated by Lexell's enthusiastic response to the letter of reply of the Academy. True or not, Lexell had certainly made an impression on the Academy.

Lexell moved to St. Petersburg in the autumn of 1768, officially to assist in the astronomical work related with the forthcoming transit of Venus on the 3rd June 1769. The St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences took part in this great effort with no less than seven expeditions to various parts of the Russian Empire; Lexell was assigned to assist Father Christian Mayer S.J., who was responsible for the observations in St. Petersburg. Lexell did well in his job and soon learned the necessary techniques while patiently practicing his own mathematical investigations, which he duly submitted to the Academy. In particular, a paper from this period on the criteria for the integrability of ordinary differential equations of arbitrary degree can be mentioned, which Lexell developed independently of Euler and the Marquis de Condorcet, who had also dealt with this question. However, according to the statutes of the Academy, Lexell's memoirs could not be printed in the Academy's transactions until he was received as its member. Fortunately for Lexell, this happened very soon.

During the reign of Catherine II, the Academy of Sciences was distinctly oriented towards the West, the majority of the academicians still being non-native Russians. However, in 1768, Lexell's only compatriots in the St. Petersburg Academy were the naturalists Erik Laxman (native Finn) and Johan Peter Falck (native Swede); the mineralogist Johan Jacob Ferber (native Swede) joined the Academy only in 1783. Lexell wrote about his first impressions of the scientific life in the multicultural imperial capital in a letter to his benefactor in Turku, Bishop Mennander about one

month after his arrival in 1768. This interesting letter (dated 21. XI. *styl. vet.* 1768), conserved at the Royal Library (Kungliga Biblioteket) of Stockholm, contains several details of the state of the Academy, but also descriptions of the academicians themselves. In particular, Lexell describes Euler as a cheerful and polite man, who despite his age was livelier than any of his three sons. According to Lexell, Euler was not entirely blind, but could perceive only glimpses of light.

The collaboration between the two men started rapidly, and Lexell was soon engaged in the computations for Euler's lunar theory, the determination of the orbit and period of the comet of 1769, the passage of Venus the same year and the related question of the solar parallax. In that time, the solar parallax was the key to determining the absolute dimensions of the solar system, which could not be explicitly determined otherwise. Thus, there was a lot of prestige involved, both personal and national, much like in the resolution of the question of the shape of the earth some thirty years earlier. Here, the problem was that the transits of Venus across the sun are rare events and the subsequent determination of the solar parallax requires a juxtaposition of a great number of data from different parts of the world. In connection herewith, Lexell developed independently of Euler several methods of geometrical corrections of astronomical data and paid special attention to the reliability and accuracy of the astronomical observations. At that time, the statistical theory of measurement was still in its infancy.

In 1769, following Euler's recommendation, Lexell was appointed adjoint member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences in astronomy. He pursued his work with enthusiasm but soon he found that not everybody shared his pure and innocent scientific spirit. Austrian Astronomer, Father Maximilian Hell S.J. disapproved of Lexell's calculations of the solar parallax while alluding in his reports that his own observations were the most reliable. This inevitably led to a rather fiery correspondence between the

respected Viennese astronomer and the young and hurtful mathematician. Lexell, in turn, criticised the Finnish astronomer Anders Planman for a similar fallacy, namely for being too confident of the accuracy of his own observations while being selectively doubtful of those of others. And, as if that was not enough, there was published in the renown journal *Algemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* (Vol. XVI) an anonymous review of Euler's and Lexell's joint work on the comet of 1769, which ridiculed Lexell's contribution as being that of a mere calculator of the great Euler. Needless to say, Lexell took such accusations very badly.

During Lexell's employment at St. Petersburg, his most important scientific correspondent in his native country was Pehr Wargentin in Stockholm (Wargentin's working office was at the old Observatory and is now a museum). Lexell's letters to Wargentin, about 110 in all, covering the years 1768–1783, which are conserved in the Centre for History of Sciences of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Stockholm, display a confidential and openhearted relationship. In all, they form a rich source of information concerning the life and science in Russia during the Enlightenment.

Being a member of the scientific Academies of both Sweden and Russia, Lexell was responsible for a large part of their mutual correspondence, which included the exchange of literature, proceedings, astronomical globes, instruments, etc. This correspondence ended only with the death of Wargentin in 1783. It is not known as yet with whom Lexell maintained the contact to Finland and Sweden after this, because no letters by him are (presently, at least) known from the year 1784. In Finland, only eight letters by Lexell have survived, written to his colleague Anders Planman in Turku. At the University Library of Basel (Switzerland) there are conserved 16 letters by Lexell to the mathematician Johann [Jean] III Bernoulli, then working as an astronomer in Berlin. These letters provide some interesting and detailed analyses of astronomical events, concerning for instance the orbit of the comet of the year

1770, known as “Lexell’s comet,” and the discovery of the planet Uranus. There are also three letters to the Swedish naturalist Peter Jonas Bergius in Uppsala and seven letters by Lexell to Linnaeus (Carl von Linné) conserved at the Linnaean Society of London (which are available on the website of the Society). These letters cover especially the state and progress of natural history in Russia and reports on the scientific expeditions towards the southern borders of the Russian Empire, and the sometimes dramatic events surrounding them.

Historically, perhaps the most valuable letters were written on Lexell’s European *grand tour* in 1780–1781. This scholarly journey could be seen as the *apotheosis* of Lexell’s life. He was commissioned by the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences to visit the most important scientific and academic venues in Europe and to report of their activities, scientific instruments, observatories and libraries etc. 27 of his letters were addressed to his colleague in St. Petersburg, the secretary of the Academy, Johann Albrecht Euler — the eldest son of Leonhard Euler — and an unknown number of letters to the director of the Academy, Chamberlain of the Court Sergei Domashnev (“Domaschnef”; at least one letter from him has survived), ten letters to Wargentín in Stockholm and four to Johann Bernoulli in Berlin. Lexell embarked on his journey from St. Petersburg in July 1780, going by sea to Stettin and from there straight to Berlin, where he stayed for about a month. In Berlin he met among others his colleague Johann Bernoulli, the secretary of the Prussian Academy of Sciences Johann Heinrich Samuel Formey, and the mathematician Joseph-Louis Lagrange. The character of the latter seems to have made a profound impression on Lexell. In September, Lexell continued his journey to Potsdam, where he had requested to be presented to the king, who, however, denied audience, to Lexell’s great disappointment. He then continued his journey via Leipzig to Göttingen, where he made the acquaintance of the mathematician Abraham Gotthelf Kästner and

the natural philosopher and experimental physicist Georg Christoph Lichtenberg. In Mannheim, Lexell renewed his acquaintance with Father Christian Mayer and admired his famous observatory, which Lexell described as the most perfect and practical he had ever seen.

Having arrived in Paris in November 1780, Lexell was given a warm welcome by the town's scientific élite. This included Jean le Rond d'Alembert, Denis Diderot, Marquis de Condorcet and the astronomer Joseph-Jérôme-Lefrançois de Lalande, to whom Lexell had been attached as a *Membre Correspondant* of the Paris Academy of Sciences. Lexell also met with the ten years younger Pierre Simon Laplace, the famous mathematician whose talents he already compared with those of Euler and Lagrange. Lexell was invited to the frequent literary events in the home of d'Alembert and to the tea-soirées after the meetings of the Academy at home of the chemist Antoine Laurent de Lavoisier. These events, Lexell testifies in his letters, were lead by Lavoisier's young wife and collaborator, Marie-Anne Pierrette Paulze. In his written reports on the academic life and the events in Paris, Lexell provided precise accounts of the chief scientists, especially the mathematicians and astronomers, their physiognomies, personalities, relations and talents — that is, briefly, the sociology and gossip of the scientific world. As example of Lexell's style, I cite below a letter addressed to Johann Albrecht Euler, where Lexell describes Laplace's character in the following words:

[II] *a des cheveux rougeâtres, est un peu maigre et n'a rien dans sa Physionomie, qui exprimeroit le génie d'un Mathématicien* (Paris, 10 XI. 1780).

...
À l'Académie il [Laplace] veut décider du tout. D'ailleurs il est très opinatre et entêté. Son humeur aigre et quelque fois repugnant[e] vient peut-être aussi de ce qu'il est très mal partagé de la fortune (Paris, 7 I. 1781).

Concerning the encounter with his colleague astronomer de Lalande, he writes to Wargentin as follows (translated from the Swedish):

Before my arrival here I was perhaps a bit disappointed with de la Lande, which was due to a rather serious letter I had written to him concerning his doubts about the comet of the year 1770. All the same it is not my business to harbour ill will against any man, and so my heart was totally seduced by him in our first conversation, at which occasion I also had the opportunity to say to him, that I believed I had a reason for the distrust I had been showing him. After that he has visited me and promised me anything for friendship and willingness to assist me, and I for my part would be most happy to believe all this, if his appearance would not contradict the thoughts his mouth interprets to me. He has what I would call a rather unpleasant appearance, and when he talks to me I can almost read in his eyes his desire to hurt me, if he only had the opportunity and authority for it. Otherwise, he is almost generally hated by the other Academicians and that is mainly because of his charlatanism. Only recently, at the first assembly of the Academy, he read a memoir on the inclination of the ecliptic and its change, which he asserted to be 35'' in a hundred years, from which he concluded that the mass of Venus must be less than half of the mass of the Earth (Paris, 29 XI. 1780).

On another occasion de Lalande spoke openly about his atheism, which Lexell found very distressing. The religious liberalism and free-thinking then on the vogue in France was indeed unpleasant for Lexell, although not surprising. It contrasted so sharply with the rigid Lutheranism of Sweden as well as with the Orthodox religiosity of Russia, to which he was accustomed. However, in his meetings with Diderot, not a word was mentioned of atheism, which Lexell noted with satisfaction. It was also difficult for Lexell to support the ill-founded scientific speculations expounded by de Lalande and other *charlatans*, as he called them, and it was apparently very embarrassing for him to see what he called the

“greatest heroes of science” plotting against each other and defaming one other publically. Such a free conduct was at the time almost inexistent at the St. Petersburg Academy. Nevertheless, Lexell greatly admired the intellectual capacity, creativity and imagination of the French nation, and tried to analyse and find its sources in the human character. In Paris, Lexell enjoyed especially the fine arts and the theatres, which he visited regularly, and whose plays and actors he detailed in his letters. Lexell also visited Versailles once and witnessed the royal family dine publically. Although he was well aware of the troubled political and economic situation of France at the time as well as the growing criticism of the monarchy, he could not anticipate the forthcoming fall of the *Ancien régime*.

Lexell’s departure from Paris to London was delayed from late February to April 1781 because of the state of war between France and Britain. In London, his principal acquaintances included the president of the Royal Society Sir Joseph Banks, the Swedish naturalist Daniel Solander and the Astronomer Royal Nevil Maskelyne at Greenwich. Lexell visited the famous Observatory twice and gave a meticulous description of its construction and instruments in a letter to his chief in St. Petersburg. He also visited the local instrument makers, Ramsden, Dollond and Arnold, and being authorised by both the Russian and the Swedish Academies, he commissioned for them a number of astronomical tubes, quadrants and pendulum clocks, which were considered to be the best at the time. Although not being a Fellow of the Royal Society, Lexell was allowed to attend at the meetings of the Society as a “stranger” at least three times. Afterwards he dined with the Fellows at their Club in the City, the tavern *Crown and Anchor*. Despite Lexell’s difficulties to learn English fluently, he continued amusing himself at the theatres. London was then already a very expensive place to live – Lexell had rented an apartment near Charing Cross — yet he seems to have enjoyed London more than Paris. “In Paris, the

streets are narrow, tortuous and full of dirt,” Lexell wrote to Wargentin, whereas “in London [the streets] are wide, straight and have sidewalks.” The inconvenience in London besides the expensive living was the heavy carbon smoke, which soiled the clothes very quickly.

During his stay in London, Lexell learned of the discovery of a “new comet” — in fact, the planet Uranus — by “a musician in Bath, named Herschel,” and baffled by it he wrote to Wargentin: “Everywhere I go there seems to be a new comet waiting for me”. Lexell immediately started computing its orbit and noticed that it did not quite fit a parabolic trajectory, as was usually the case for comets, but rather a nearly circular orbit as that of a distant planet. As more information about the observed elements of the mysterious “comet” reached Lexell during his journey towards St. Petersburg, the case of a new planetary object was indeed confirmed. Realising the importance of the discovery, Lexell continuously kept Euler, Wargentin and Bernoulli informed of the developments. In a letter to Bernoulli, he writes in his modest style:

Quoique je sois peut-être le premier, qui ait calculé le mouvement de cet Astre dans une orbite circulaire, je n’ai pas prétendu par cela prouver que c’est réellement une Planète; cependant je ne saurais nier que ce me devient de plus en plus vraisemblable depuis que j’ai trouvé qu’une orbite Parabolique ne saurait satisfaire aux observations (St. Petersburg, 4/15 IV. 1782).

By publishing Lexell’s reports in German in the *Astronomisches Jahrbuch* of Berlin (for the year 1785, Berlin 1781, p. 201.), Bernoulli made Lexell’s role in the discovery known to the scientific world.

The journey back to St. Petersburg continued via Brussels, Haag, Amsterdam, Hannover, Hamburg and Copenhagen. In Stockholm, Lexell met Wargentin for the last time at the observatory, visited the king at Drottningholm and his colleagues at Upp-

sala. Before returning to St. Petersburg, Lexell went to Turku and stayed there three weeks with his sister, family and colleagues at the Royal Academy.

Lexell's journey was a success by any standards and it further increased the reputation and esteem of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. Soon afterwards, Lexell was rewarded with a membership in the British Longitude Commission. His name was now frequently associated with Euler's, as can be seen for instance in the correspondence of Laplace. While Lexell had been away from St. Petersburg, a disagreement between the academicians and its director Domashnev had developed into an open conflict. Being loyal both to the Euler's and to the director, Lexell wanted to mediate in the conflict but found it useless. The situation was improved only in 1782, when Catherine II appointed Princess Dashkova as the new director.

While Lexell's star was rising in the scientific world, he suffered, in 1783, two great losses: Wargentin passed away in Stockholm and Euler in St. Petersburg. Moreover, Christian Mayer and d'Alembert died in the same year. It is difficult to say how Lexell coped with these losses, as no letters or accounts by Lexell himself seem to have survived from this period. The director Princess Dashkova soon appointed Lexell as Euler's successor for the chair of mathematics, and, according to the minutes of the meetings of the Academy, the academicians cheered as they welcomed this choice unanimously.

Finally, let me add some words about Lexell's personal character. The accounts are scarce, but the overall impression is that Lexell was as amiable as a person as he was esteemed as a scientist. His friend from the university, Henrik Gabriel Porthan described him in a letter to K.F. Mennander as "a hypochondriac but a decent man of a Finnish way of thinking." It indeed appears, as is also evident from his correspondence, that Lexell had a fragile health. In 1784, Lexell went through an operation of a gangrenous

tumour and died in the sequel from a high fever probably due to septicaemia. Lexell's death was a hard blow and a great loss for the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, which had hardly recovered from the loss of Euler. In the Swedish St. Catherine's congregation in St. Petersburg, to which Lexell belonged, his death was also much deplored. In the church register he was described as a "good Christian and a righteous citizen." According to the obituary "he spoke only little, yet without being embarrassed in the circles he frequented: he loved, nay he even searched for good company, and there he was perfectly compensated."

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A RUSSIAN ADAM SMITH IN FRENCH STYLE An Example of the Transfer of Ideas

Mikhail Mikeshin

Scottish thinker Adam Smith is known in Russia to everybody,¹ at least to all those who have read Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin*. For the world, Smith is not only the author of the *Wealth of Nations*, but also a deep social philosopher. Over the last few decades there has been a real renaissance of interest in his theory, especially where it deals with the interaction of individuals within society. The key work here is Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1776). It is also one of the most important books of the Scottish Enlightenment and in terms of its international impact.

Petr Bibikov (1832 or 1833–1875) was the first translator of the book into Russian. He published it in 1868, together with Condor-

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¹ For more details about the reception and editions of A. Smith in Russia, see: Артемьева Т.В. *Адам Смит в России // Философский век. Альманах. Вып. 19. Россия и Британия в эпоху Просвещения: Опыт философской и культурной компаративистики*. СПб., 2002. С. 39–66 (<http://ideashistory.org.ru/pdfs/07artemieva.pdf>); Artemieva T.V. *Adam Smith in Russian Translation // A Critical Bibliography of Adam Smith* / Ed. by K. Tribe. L., 2002. P. 153–167.

set's letters to Cabanis on sympathy.² The second edition was printed in 1895. At that time Bibikov was actively translating works of French and British thinkers — Adam Smith, Pierre Cabanis, Thomas Malthus, Francis Bacon, and others — and publishing them in the series “A Library of Classical Writers.” The last edition of Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* was issued in the same translation, though without the addenda, in 1997.³ The text of this edition was collated by the editor with the English text of the last academic edition of Smith's works.⁴ It seems that Russian readers have not paid much attention to the book for the last two centuries. Indeed, there are only three editions of the same translation (except for two fragments). More than that, I believe a Russian Adam-Smith-the-ethician (contrary to Adam-Smith-the-economist) was not a part of the Russian Enlightenment. Because of its late translation into Russian he became part of the later Russian image and evaluation of the epoch. For half a century Smith-the-ethician could only be really known to those few Russians who read French or English.

Thus, to understand the Russian Enlightenment in comparison with the French or the Scottish ones, I have to talk about the image of the Western Enlightenment in Russian culture.

Indeed, the Enlightenment in Russia was a symbolic language-game for a very thin and heterogeneous layer of people. This activity, its very meaning is impossible to imagine without the communication with Europe. The Russian Enlightenment looks like a Europeanization of the few. So international intellectual communication here is

² Смит А. *Теория нравственных чувств, или Опыт исследования о законах, управляющих суждениями, естественно составляемыми нами, сначала о поступках прочих людей, а затем о наших собственных, с письмами М. Кондорсе к Кабанису О симпатии* / Пер. П.А. Бибикова. СПб., 1868.

³ Смит А. *Теория нравственных чувств*. М., 1997.

⁴ *The Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith. Vol. 1. The Theory of Moral Sentiments*. Ed. by D.D. Raphael and A. Lacfie. Oxford, 1976.

not only natural and essential, as for any culture, but, if I can put it like this, is the very essence of the phenomenon called the Russian Enlightenment. Therefore, adoptions are especially important.

Slangs of translations generate new metaphysical essences. Usually, it is only narrowly focused professionals and individual amateurs that read original works in the authors' native languages and translate them thereby developing the philosophical language, but the massive user of translations is the not so specialized educated public, first of all students and their teachers. Most of the eighteenth-century's philosophical classic works still "used" in Russian universities today are translations dating from the middle of the nineteenth century up to the beginning of the twentieth century.

The problem of translation is an old and deep philosophical issue, an aspect of the more general problem of interpretation. The main point here is the multiplicity and plurality of interpretations, and to interpret is the main task of philosophers, who rely upon the great array of historical texts. In this case any interpreter first of all provides our understanding of the meanings and senses of the text, which is here the primary reality. It is supposed that the primary reality is the text as it was written by its author. Translation seems to be rather a practical problem than a theoretical one.

The translation (in fact, the only one) of one very important work by Smith into Russian does not satisfy those who read it. It seems extremely old-fashioned and — to put it straight — simplified, free and unrestricted. Professor Ruben Apresyan from the Institute of Philosophy in Moscow shares his feelings with us. While reading *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* he gets a very special impression. Matching some parts of the Russian and English texts he finds various discrepancies in meaning. He collects all these mismatches and comes to the following conclusion: the Russian translation proves to be one that not only distorts, but also makes much

more trivial Smith's ethical thoughts.⁵ It is important to note that Apresyan tries to match the Russian text and the English original. Why is the translation so inadequate? Professor Apresyan has his own explanation for this, using, it appears, his own general ideas about the history of Russian thought: "In different translations, seemingly well-established and approved by generations of researchers and commentators, one meets now and again disputable passages. In the majority of translations based upon old, one-hundred-year-old editions, one feels the dominating in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century orientation of Russian intellectuals to the German philosophical tradition. It is especially so for translations of English authors."⁶ Thus, Apresyan senses here a foreign tradition, but defines it incorrectly, using the most familiar assumption.

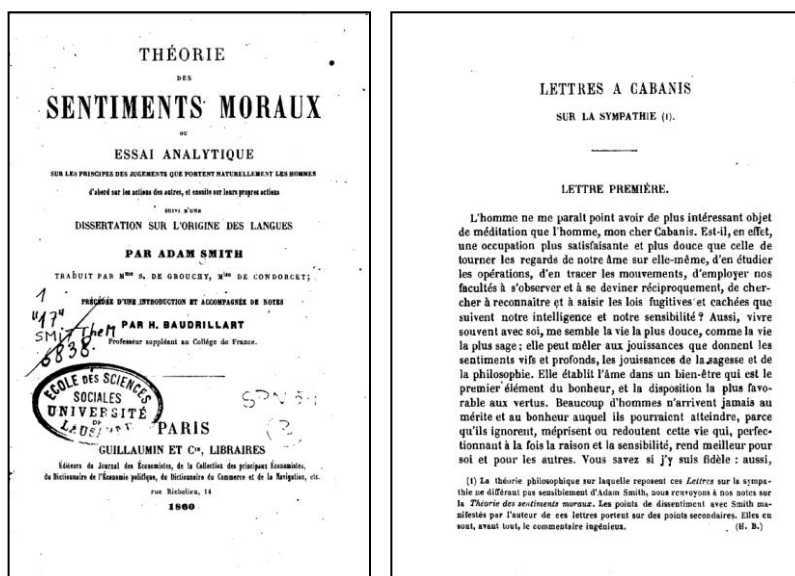
Unfortunately, I cannot accept this explanation, for a very simple reason: Bibikov translated *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* not from English, but from French. However, it is worth mentioning that the editor and commentator of the last Russian edition (1997) Aleksandr Griaznov never tells us about the original of Bibikov's translation. Griaznov works as if the translator had the English text before him and makes a nice discovery: "It turns out that it is more accurate and adequate to translate many key words and phrases of Smith's ethical doctrine by means of the modern Russian language."⁷

In Bibikov's edition the source of translation was not mentioned, but it becomes evident through a comparison of the French and Russian texts.

⁵ Апресян Р.Г. Понятие «надлежащее» в «Теории нравственных чувств» Адама Смита // Историко-философский ежегодник. Вып. 25. М.: Наука, 2005. С. 88–107 (http://www.ethicscenter.ru/biblio/apr_6.htm).

⁶ Апресян Р.Г. Понятие «надлежащее» в «Теории нравственных чувств» Адама Смита.

⁷ Грязнов А.Ф. Комментарии // Смит А. Теория нравственных чувств. М., 1997. С. 332.



Smith A. *Théorie des sentiments moraux* (Paris, 1860)
with the first page of Marie Condorcet's letters.

I mean the edition *Smith A. Théorie des sentiments moraux* (Paris, 1860),⁸ which was a reprint of the French translation made by Marie-Louise-Sophie de Grouchy Condorcet (the philosopher's widow) and first printed in 1798. It was the third, and considered at the time to be a quite adequate, translation of Smith's work into French made from the sixth British edition (1790).⁹ Madame de

⁸ Smith A. *Théorie des sentiments moraux: ou essai analytique sur les principes des jugements que portent naturellement les hommes d'abord sur les action des autres, et ensuite sur leurs propres actions suivi d'une dissertation sur l'origine des langues* / Trad. par Marie-Louise-Sophie de Grouchy Condorcet, introd. et notes par Henri Joseph Léon Baudrillart. Paris: Guillaumin, 1860.

⁹ In particular, from the seventh one, an exact copy of the sixth. See: Forget E.L. *Cultivating Sympathy: Sophie Condorcet's Letters on Sympathy*. P. 3 (<http://society.cpm.ehime-u.ac.jp/shet/kenkyukai/claeys&forget/forget2.doc>).

Condorcet's letters to Pierre Cabanis were attached to the 1860 edition, and their translation can also be found in Bibikov's book.

Nelya Motroshilova, a well-known Russian interpreter of Kant's works, writes about today's situation: "In the translation of philosophical texts one has to overcome considerable difficulties. In part they are caused by the internal barriers which any modern natural language (English, for example) erects in the way of adequately transmitting subtle philosophical terminological distinctions born in another language (for example, German), artificial, but fixed and even widely spread."¹⁰ This remark *mutatis mutandis* applies equally and fully to our case: the French translation takes the place of the primary source for the Russian translation and moves the English original to the remote background.

Apresyán believes that the "trivialization" of the Russian text is especially evident "in an inaccurate (not to say erroneous) translation by the word *приличие* of the principal notion from Smith's ethics most often expressed by the term *propriety* and some other words, close to it by their meaning ... In the train of this substitution both the content of Smith's moral doctrine and his place in the history of moral philosophy were presented in a different way." And further: "The translator is not on good terms with this term, and often, when he cannot put in a relevant word, he truncates parts of sentences that contain it. It is evident that with such an approach it is difficult to ensure the consistency and correctness of translation."¹¹

Let's check whether it is proper to ascribe such practices to Bibikov, or he followed the already paved way.

¹⁰ Мотрошилова Н.В. *Предисловие // Кант И. Сочинения в 4-х томах на немецком и русском языках. Т. I. «Трактаты и статьи» (1784–1796) / Подг. к изд. Н. Мотрошиловой и Б. Тушлингом. М., 1993. С. 60–61.*

¹¹ Апресян Р.Г. *Понятие «надлежащее» в «Теории нравственных чувств» Адама Смита.*

Apresyan has found in the Russian text the following words used to translate the English word “propriety”: *приличие, естественность, соответствие, достоинство, обоснованность, законность, удобство, оправданное, одобряемое, прелесть* — or just simply an omission. It is disgraceful. “Sufficient terminological distinctness is lost and replaced by meanings from the common language”, he complains. In short, the word ceases to be a term in Smith’s theory. Now I turn to the French version only to find that there the following words are used instead of “propriety”: *convenance, caractère propre, passions légitimes, décence, bienséance* — or just simply an omission.

Let’s take some examples to see how and when “the loss of terminological distinctness” takes place¹²:

English:

We may judge of the *propriety* or *impropriety* of the sentiments of another person... (TMS, I.i.4)

French:

Nous pouvons juger de la *convenance* ou de la *disconvenance* des sentiments d’autrui... (Condorset, 1860, 15)

Russian:

Мы можем одобрять или осуждать чувства другого человека... (ТНЧ, I.i.4, 40)

Here the loss happens in the Russian version.

¹² Here I use the following notation: “TMS” — *The Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith. Vol. 1. The Theory of Moral Sentiments*. Ed. by D.D. Raphael and A. Laffie. Oxford, 1976; “Condorset, 1860” — Smith A. *Théorie des sentiments moraux*... Paris, 1860; “ТНЧ” — Смит А. *Теория нравственных чувств*. М., 1997. Italics everywhere are mine.

English:

He who laughs at the same joke, and laughs along with me, cannot well deny the *propriety* of my laughter (TMS, I.i.3.1).

French:

...s'il rit de la même plaisanterie que moi, et en est également amusé, il doit lui paraître tout simple que je rie (Condorset, 1860, 12).

Russian:

...если он смеется, как и я, той же шутке, которая забавляет его так же, как и меня, то мой смех должен ему казаться совершенно естественным (ТНЧ, 38)

Here the loss happens in the French version.

Here is the next example where we see that the “method” is successfully applied in both translations.

English:

In the *suitableness* or *unsuitableness*, in the *proportion* or *disproportion* which the affection seems to bear to the cause or object which excites it, consists the *propriety* or *impropriety*, the *decency* or *ungracefulness* of the consequent action.

In the beneficial or hurtful nature of the effects which the affection aims at, or tends to produce, consists the *merit* or *demerit* of the action, the qualities by which it is entitled to reward, or is deserving of punishment (TMS, I.i.3.6 and 7).

French:

C'est dans la *convenance* ou la *disconvenance* qui se trouve entre nos affections et la cause ou l'objet qui les fait naître, que consiste le *mérite* ou le *démérite* de l'action qui en résulte [the next paragraph is omitted] (Condorset, 1860, 14).

Russian:

В *согласии* или *несогласии* между нашими стремлениями и вызывающей их причиной (или предметом) состоит *оправдание* или

осуждение обусловливаемого ими проступка [the next paragraph is omitted] (ТНЧ, 40).

Here all rules are neglected. The translation turns from a scholarly text into *belles lettres* or moralization. This example, by the way, is a good one in the sense of allowing us to see the precise original from which the Russian text was translated.

The same technique is used in the translation of the terms “sentiment,” “merit” and others important for Smith’s theory.

I take another of Smith’s key terms. It is considered today as one of the most valuable and meaningful for his social concept. I mean his “impartial spectator.”¹³ In the Russian translation of it we get variously: *беспристрастный наблюдатель, беспристрастный зритель, беспристрастный свидетель, беспристрастный человек, беспристрастный судья, посторонний человек, посторонний свидетель*. In French we have *le spectateur impartial* and ones or twice *le témoin impartial*. I conclude that in the French translation there is only one equivalent term in almost all instances, and no such definite term in the Russian text.¹⁴

How could this happen? Professor Apresyan delivers a severe judgment: “It means not only a misunderstanding of the essence of Smith’s ethical theory and the close and distant historical and philosophical contexts of Smith’s moral views — but also the translator’s laxity in dealing with the text.” And further: “The situation is even worse because, formally speaking, the translation of Smith’s work is written in good language. If one expects from *The Theory*

¹³ See: Микешин М.И. *Социальная философия шотландского Просвещения*. СПб., 2005. С. 56–72.

¹⁴ One can make a superb study of the Russian translation by comparing the 1868 and 1997 editions, to ensure what improvements were made by A.F. Griaznov. I have not done so, because I believe (together with Apresyan, it seems) that these improvements were insignificant. Only in some quite rare cases is the Russian text in its terms closer to the English one. Cf., for instance, “impartial spectator” in TMS, III.3.4; Condorset, 1860, 154 and ТНЧ, 142.

of *Moral Sentiments* nothing more than from La Rochefoucauld's *Maximes morales*, then a reading of the book can well give one some satisfaction." This is a very prolific comparison! It is important to note that Professor Apresyan understands *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* in such a way that for him the key term is "propriety" whilst for me and many others the main concept in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* is "impartial spectator" — and what about Bibikov? He did not invent his manner of translation, but in good faith borrowed it from the French, although he also played quite freely with French terms.¹⁵ Since his translation is very close to the French one, it is reasonable to ask: and what about the French translator of Smith's book?

It seems that studies of Madam de Grouchy de Condorcet's heritage, her texts and responses to them would help us to understand what interpretation of Smith's theory was transposed to Russian soil. It is nevertheless possible to say now that for her the most important of Smith's categories was "sympathy." This follows from the fact that in her translation the term was everywhere rendered as "sympathie" and from her explanations in her letters to Cabanis *Sur la sympathie* that were attached to the translation and published as a continuation of his text. Cutting them from the last edition of *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Russian editors denied us the opportunity of understanding what concept passes for Smith's.

Madame Sophie de Condorcet (b. 1764) was a prominent salon hostess from 1789 to her death in 1822. She was the wife and then widow of the mathematician and philosopher Nicolas de Condorcet and sister of Marshal Emmanuel, Marquis de Grouchy. She was well connected and influential before, during and after the French Revolution. As a hostess, Madame de Condorcet was popular for her kind heart, her beauty and her indifference to class and social origins. She was also a writer and a translator in her own

¹⁵ However, here too the Russian and the French texts should be compared in detail, not just in some instances.

right, very well educated for her day, and completely fluent in English and Italian. She produced translations not only of Adam Smith, who visited her salon, but also of Thomas Paine.



Marquise Marie-Louise-Sophie de Grouchy Condorcet. A self-portrait.
(<http://storage.canalblog.com>)

Evelyn Forget, who wrote a paper on Madame de Condorcet's life and works, says that the translator was very experienced in intellectual communications and had her own interpretation of moral theory in which "sympathy" played the most important role. Madame de Condorcet and many of her readers believed that she aptly supplemented and developed Smith's doctrine. Apparently, she was under the considerable influence of Rousseau and other French *philosophes*.¹⁶ Thus the "French tinge" that turned Smith from a social philosopher to a moralist, was detected correctly.

¹⁶ Forget E.L. *Cultivating Sympathy: Sophie Condorcet's Letters on Sympathy*.

As Alexander Pushkin said in some other connection, “The French quadrille took the place of Adam Smith.”¹⁷

I believe that Bibikov’s translation is not an “imitation”; it is good and quite adequate. However, it is not an *adequate translation of Smith’s text*, but an *adequate translation of the French translation of Smith’s text*. If it is a “cultural disaster,” as Apresyan calls it, then this happens on the way not between Smith’s English original and the Russian translation, but between Smith’s British original and the *continental tradition* of reading and translating British authors, and the Russian translator worked in full accordance with it. And our Russian “disaster” is the fact that in turning to “the classics” we often cannot distinguish between English and Scottish, and even between British and French.

This particular case illustrates dramatically the difference between the British and the continental traditions, and I can mention many more examples and conclude that for readers who only read Russian the majority of British classics are draped in coats neatly tailored in France or Germany. It is a manifestation of the fact that “Russian philosophical culture” has broken with the Anglo-Saxon tradition and reclines in an *entente cordiale* with the continental tradition.



¹⁷ Пушкин А.С. Полн. собр. соч. в десяти томах. Т. VI. Л., 1978. С. 52.

THE LIBRARY OF AN ENLIGHTENED RUSSIAN LANDOWNER

Larisa Agamalian

The Bakunins' library in their country estate Priamukhino has not survived. Assembled over the course of two centuries, it was one of the largest estate libraries in Tver province. It was initiated in the 18th century, possibly, by Mikhail Vasilievich Bakunin (1730–1803). Ivan Mikhailovich (1765/66–1796) and Aleksandr Mikhailovich Bakunin (1768–1854) continued to collect books. In the 19th century Aleksandr's sons — the famous Mikhail, and also Nikolay, Pavel, Aleksandr and Aleksey — made their contributions. However, the main creator of the very core of the library was of course Aleksandr Mikhailovich, who was the owner of Priamukhino from 1797 till 1754.

Aleksandr Bakunin spent his childhood and youth in Italy, then he served at imperial missions in Turin and Florence. He graduated from the philosophy department of Padua University and in 1789 defended his dissertation on helminthology in Latin. Turin's Royal Academy elected him a member for his works on natural history.

In 1789 he witnessed the revolutionary events in Europe. He was extremely impressed and renounced freethinking from then. In 1790 Aleksandr met his parents' wishes and returned to Petersburg, then he resigned with the rank of court counselor and left the

capital. In 1797 he lived on his estate Priamukhino. All his time and interest were now dedicated to the estate and about one thousand peasants.



Aleksandr Mikhailovich Bakunin. 1820s.
(<http://ru.wikipedia.org>)

Politically he was an advocate of enlightened monarchy and was convinced that republicanism was irrelevant for Russia.

Bakunin's book collection in the beginning of the 1810s consisted of more than 1300 volumes. The library of Priamukhino was quite well known by the end of the 19th century. According to legend, it numbered more than ten thousand volumes, and there were so many bookcases in the house that they stood in every room.¹

¹ It is confirmed by the title of one of the unfinished inventories: *Каталог Папенькиным книгам, находящимся в его комнате. Сделанный в 1853 года 12 октября* (РО ИРЛИ Ф. 16, оп. 6, № 36).

The books were read by numerous guests. Bakunins' friend V. Lind left an interesting description of the Priamukhino library as it existed after Aleksandr's death.² The big library room was at the same time

the drawing room or the room for gatherings; there was a sofa and a round table in front of it, over the sofa hung a big framed painting, a copy of Catherine the Second's portrait. Along the walls stood big old bookcases. The books were for the most part also old, once belonged to Bakunin's father Aleksandr Mikhailovich; among them were some fundamental historical works of the end of the 18th century by Shcherbatov and Boltin, Novikov's *Ancient Russian Library* and works on geography, ethnography, travels, and so on. There were also books that were probably very valuable for an amateur antiquarian, for example, some Italian 17th-century editions. The library included editions from the 1830s and 1840s: German classics of literature and philosophy, the works of George Sand, Walter Scott in a French translation, Russian magazines of the 1840s and 1850s, mostly odd. Bakunin's participation in his peasants' affairs was reflected in the library with editions of the drafting commissions, and Aleksey Aleksandrovich's scientific studies by botanic and chemical handbooks, including Ledebour's *Flora Rossica*.³ There were quite a lot of manu-

² Vasilii Nikolaevich Lind (about 1844–1916), an activist of *zemstvo*, publicist. Due to P. and A. Bakunins' influence he was elected a member and later the chairman of the Novotorzhok district council. He is the author of *Воспоминания о моей жизни* published in *Русская мысль* (1911, VII, 104–125; VIII, 35–63).

³ Carl Friedrich von Ledebour. *Flora rossica, sive Enumeratio plantarum in totius imperii rossici provinciis europaeis, asiaticis et americanis hucusque observatarum, auctore Dr. Carolo Friderico a Ledebour...* Stuttgartiae : E. Schweizerbart, 1841–1853. 4 vol. The outcome of A.A. Bakunin's studies and voyages in Tver region was made into *Тверская флора (Flora of Tver Region)*, never published during his life. The manuscript was forwarded to the Academy of Sciences by N.F. Beketov. A part of it — *A List of Flowering Plants of Tver Flora* — was published in *Труды Петербургского общества естествоиспытателей* (vol. X, 1879). A part of this work was also included into the first

scripts. However, in general the library was neglected: it was not stocked with new books: the older generation read mostly newspapers, the younger read novels in Tauchnitz's editions⁴. Thus, the respectable bookcases were almost never opened, and the books in them were in disorder and covered in dust. Only at the end of the 1860s did Aleksey Aleksandrovich and Varvara Nikolaevna⁵ concern themselves with compiling a catalogue for the library.⁶

The decline in the library's fortunes in Priamukhino had begun as early as in Bakunins' time. In 1889 Pavel Aleksandrovich moved to the Crimea. He took a considerable number of books and the greater and most interesting part of the family archives, including documents of Mikhail Bakunin, to his dacha Gornaia Shchel (*Горная Щель* between Yalta and Massandra). After the October Revolution of 1917 the books were moved to Torzhok in stages: they were intended for a new public library and a local museum of the province. By 1919 the library was divided between various institutions. A part of it came to be in Tver where the books were distributed between the Pedagogical Institute (now Tver State University), Tver State United Museum and the District Archives. However the distribution was not documented.

volume of V.I. Pokrovsky's *Историко-статистическое описание Тверской губернии* (Tver, 1879).

⁴ The reference is to the publishing house founded in Leipzig in 1798 by Karl Christopher Traugot Tauchnitz (1761–1836); it later became one of the most important in Germany. His nephew Baron Christian Bernhard von Tauchnitz (1816–1895) established in Leipzig his own publishing company. It became popular due to the series *A Collection of British Authors* started in 1841; in 1866 Tauchnitz began *A Collection of German Authors* and in 1886 *Students' Tauchnitz Editions* (English and American works with German forewords and notes).

⁵ Varvara Nikolaevna Bakunina (1848–1921), Nikolai Aleksandrovich Bakunin's daughter.

⁶ Линд В.Н. *Воспоминания о моей жизни* // *Русская мысль*. 1911. Ч. VIII. С. 56.

Today books from Bakunins' library are kept in the District Archives (477 volumes; received in 1968 from a local historian A. Suslov), the Tver Museum and at the Library of Tver University.⁷

One indisputable sign that a book belonged to the Priamukhino library is a typesetting label on the inner side of the upper binding that reads "Bakunins' lib. Priamukhino" (*Библ. Бакуниныхъ. Прямухино*) together with the number of a section, subsection (?) and the book number. Labels were attached to books, in all likelihood, no earlier than in the 1860s–1870s. Meanwhile, as Aleksandr Bakunin remarked in the inventory of the 1810s, he gave many books to his friends and relatives, which were not returned.⁸ The same practice also existed later, as marks in various documents show: "At our children in Tver," "At Diakov's," "Liubinka," "brother." Thus not every book was necessarily labeled "in Priamukhino," so a considerable number of books without labels in various Tver collections should be attributed as having once belonged to the Bakunins' library, the more so because some of them have owners' inscriptions, marks and autographs. In the District Archives, 108 books have labels or other signs that indicate that they once came from the Bakunins' library.

⁷ About Bakunins' library see also: Овен О.Н. *Усадебные библиотеки тверских помещиков // Тверская усадьба*. Тверь. 1996. Ч. 1. С. 54–64; Овен О.Н. *Тверской губернский комитет научных библиотек // Тверская старина*. 1996. № 12–13. С. 62–79; Кашкарова С. Г. *Книги из коллекции Бакуниных в научной библиотеке Тверского государственного университета // Книги. Библиотеки. История: Статьи. Публикации. Сообщения*. Тверь, 1997. С. 4–8; Бушлякова В.А. *Коллекция книг и документальных памятников семьи Бакуниных в собрании Тверского государственного Объединенного музея // Книги. Библиотеки. История: Статьи. Публикации. Сообщения*. Тверь, 1997. С. 9–13; Цветкова Т.В. *Бакунинская коллекция в библиотеке Государственного Архива Тверской области // Книги. Библиотеки. История: Статьи. Публикации. Сообщения*. Тверь, 1997. С. 13–22.

⁸ ГАРФ (The State Archives of the Russian Federation). Ф. 825. Оп. 1. Д. 259. Л. 90 об.

One effort to systematize the library is reflected in one of the latest inventories. It consists of the following sections: Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Astronomy, Cosmology, Geology, Physiology, Botany, Natural history, Travels, Geography, Statistics and Political Economy, Agriculture and Economy, Technology, Fine art, Medicine, Philosophy, Theology, Mythology, Law, General history and Philology.

The first complete and earliest inventory was made by Aleksandr himself. It is kept at the State Archives of the Russian Federation in Moscow.⁹ The inventory was begun by Aleksandr on 20 February 1810. Its completion can be roughly dated to 1812–1813.¹⁰ The inventory lists 729 titles, including three repetitions. The order in which the books are listed is arbitrary. The library is universal. A large part of the books are 18th-century editions. The titles are abbreviated, some of them are just notations understandable to the compiler but not sufficient for book attribution. The years of publication are not mentioned. The table has four columns: a serial number, a title, a quantity of volumes and notes. The last column is of a special interest, because it encloses short reviews of works written by Aleksandr Bakunin.

As was the case in many libraries of Russian landlords of that time, a considerable place in the Bakunins' library belongs to books on history and Russian history, in particular. This passion for history is one of the most important components of the culture of the Russian Enlightenment, it is almost all-absorbing. Russian scholars and specially invited foreign historians (G. Müller, A. Schlözer) wrote works on history, and indeed Catherine the Great wrote a history of her own. The imagination of writers, poets, playwrights and painters fed upon historical plots. For the Russian

⁹ ГАРФ. Ф. 825. Оп. 1, Д. 259. Л. 87 об.–100.

¹⁰ The latest edition mentioned in A. Bakunin's inventory is: *Жизнь Петра Великого, описанная г. Галемом*. Перевод с немецкаго. СПб.: Имп. тип., 1812–1813.

nobility, history and philosophy came within the sphere of the “liberal arts”. Nikolay Karamzin begins here as an amateur, only in two years of his work he admitted to his friends that he is not afraid now of “Schlözer’s birch-rod.”¹¹

In 1802 Aleksandr Bakunin tried to write his own version of history. He placed a short history of Russia from ancient times till the reign of Alexander I as a foreword to the so-called Priamukhino “constitution” entitled *Conditions between Landowner and Peasant*¹² written before the tsar’s ukase “On Setting Peasants Free by Landowners after Conclusion of Conditions Founded upon Mutual Agreement”, known as “The Ukase about Free Plowmen” (1803). In the foreword Bakunin explained from a historical point of view the necessity of reforms.

In conformity with enlightened principles any historical work should be instructive, represent patterns of high morality and praiseworthy civil behaviour, and set, as Lomonosov writes, “examples for sovereigns of rule, for subjects of obedience, for warriors of courage, for judges of justice, for the younger of the reason of the old, for the aged doubled resolution at councils, for everybody gentle amusements together with unusual benefit.”¹³ Johann Herder dreamt of writing a universal book for “human upbringing” with “a philosophically understood review of general history.” His *Outline of a Philosophical History of Humanity* (1780s) was dedicated to this aim. In *The Journal of my Voyage in the Year 1769* he sketches a plan of a book, in which he is going “to take from theology, history, morality, religion only those things that are imme-

¹¹ Cited in: Эйдельман Н.Я. *Последний летописец*. М.: Изд. «Книга», 1983. С. 55.

¹² See: Агамальян Л.Г. *История России в изложении А.М. Бакунина* // *Новый журнал*. 1998. № 2. С. 164–167.

¹³ *Древняя Российская история от начала Российского народа до кончины Великого князя Ярослава Перваго или до 1054 года, сочиненная Михайлом Ломоносовым* // Ломоносов М.В. *Полное собрание сочинений*. Ч. 5. СПб., 1804. С. 80.

diately necessary for humanity, that help to enlighten and elevate it, to show it in new light.”¹⁴ The enlightened logic that underlies this search for history is accurately expressed by the Decembrist Mikhail Lunin: “History is needed not only because of curiosity and speculation, it directs us in the high sphere of politics.”¹⁵ Aleksandr Bakunin tries on the basis of works of “the gatherers of our history” (for example, Mikhail Murav’ev) to build a general picture of Russian history. In the Foreword he plays the part of a teacher to the tsar, and the field for his “plowing” is Russian history that, according to the author’s intentions, turns into a history of slavery in Russia. “It is not difficult, he begins, to prove from the deeds of the Russian people that slavery and ignorance ... are not Russian, natural or a useful evil.”

In his essay Bakunin touches all the contentious questions of Russian history, for example, the origin of the Russian people, the formation of the first Russian state and the level of enlightenment of the ancient Slavs. From under his quill there emerges a picture of the heroic past of a culturally original, proud and powerful nation. True to his beliefs as an enlightened conservative, he affirms that the strong monarchic power rests upon the law and the prosperity of its subjects. This prosperity, in turn, should be based upon free labour. Peasant slavery, which many considered as unbreakable and even traditional, is one result of Mongol rule and the self-interest, unlimited by law, of Russian princes and grandees. The idea of a strong state under the rule of an enlightened monarch is particularly dear to Bakunin. As for the activities of Russia’s tsars he always values a wise internal policy more highly than an active foreign one. For Bakunin the main criterion for judging the

¹⁴ See: Жирмунская Н.А. *Историко-философская концепция И.Г. Гердера и историзм Просвещения // XVIII век. Сб. 13. Проблемы историзма в русской литературе. Конец XVIII — начало XIX в.* Л., 1981. С. 92.

¹⁵ Cited in: Медведева И.Н. *Записка Никиты Муравьева «Мысли об "Истории Государства Российского" Н.М. Карамзина» // Лит. наследство*, т. 59. М., 1954. С. 578.

wisdom of the state is its attitude towards emancipating the peasants. Showing his excellent knowledge of Russian laws, he thoroughly traces how the legislation of different reigns defined the conditions of husbandmen. His approach to Russian history was unique for that time. In its laconic tone, open bias and journalistic emotion Bakunin's essay may be compared with Mikhail Shcherbatov's *On the Corruption of Morals in Russia* and Nikolay Karamzin's *Notes on Old and New Russia*. He passionately desires to prove the necessity and moral virtue for Russia of emancipating the peasants; this freedom to become "a devoted guard of the throne" and a guarantee of peace in the country.

The historical section is the largest one in the Priamukhino library and includes both Russian and European editions. The list of Russian books, which Bakunin could use while writing his history in 1802–1803, is quite long. One finds there all the Russian chronicles published in the 18th century, Nikolay Novikov's *Ancient Russian Library* and its sequel, Vasily Tatishchev's *Russian History from the Most Ancient Times*, Mikhail Lomonosov's *Ancient Russian History*, Ivan Shtritter's *Reports of Byzantine Historians that Explain Russian History*,¹⁶ Ivan Boltin's *Notes on the History of Old and Present-day Russia*,¹⁷ Josephus Flavius' *Antiquities of the Jews*, Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliotheca historica*, Charles Rolin's *Histoire ancienne*, Jacques Bossuet's *Discours sur l'histoire universelle* and the works of Mably, etc. There are also a considerable number of memoirs, notes and biographies, first of all, of Russian figures such as Ermak, Kozma Minin, Patriarch Nikon, Peter the Great, Prince Muenich, Prince Potemkin, Count Rumiantsev,

¹⁶ *Известия византийских историков, объясняющие российскую историю древних времен и переселения народов, собранные и в хронологическом порядке расположенные Иваном Штриттером.* 1770–1775.

¹⁷ *Примечания на Историю Древняя и нынешняя России г. Леклерка, сочиненные генерал-майором Иваном Болтинным.* 1788.

Prince Suvorov and others. Historical fiction is widely represented. In total these works make up almost one third of the library.



Varvara Aleksandrovna Bakunina (née Murav'eva),
A.M. Bakunin's wife. 1820s.
(<http://ru.wikipedia.org>)

An equally important part of the Priamukhino library is composed of works on Russian and international law both ancient and modern. We find here *The Russian Truth* published by Schlözer (Bakunin remarks: “An interesting book”), Tsar Aleksey Mikhailovich's *Code* (Bakunin notes: “Needed for every Russian”), Fedor Pravikov's *Legal Grammar, or the Initial Rules of Russian Jurisprudence* (1805), Lev Maksimovich's *Index of Russian Laws, Proceedings of the Legislative Commission*, Jean de l'Olm's *Constitution of England* (Bakunin remarks: “A good book”), Friedrich II of Prussia's *Brandenburg History* (Bakunin pens: “A useful

book”), Montesquieu’s *Considerations on the Causes of the Grandeur and Decadence of the Romans* (Bakunin notes: “A good book”) and *The Spirit of the Laws*, Rousseau’s *Contrat social*, Emerich Vattel’s *Le Droit des gens*, etc. In his essay Bakunin awarded the highest praise to Catherine II, who tried to ease the peasants’ lot at the very beginning of her reign, who created the Legislative Commission and wrote her *Instructions* (Наказ) for it in 1767. Catherine’s *Instructions* became the legislative basis for Bakunin’s treatise, which was an attempt to embody the ideas of the Enlightenment in detailed practical laws. Every point of Bakunin’s *Conditions* is supported by a reference to “the permission of law”. In 13 cases out of 21 these references are quotations from the *Instructions*. Two copies of Catherine’s *Instructions* are listed in all the inventories of the library.

The next section of the library is comprised of philosophical works, of the French *philosophes* in particular. Bakunin’s attitude to enlightened philosophy and philosophy in general was not simple. He scathingly, albeit not indiscriminately, criticized it in his *Letters to Nikolay Lvov*.¹⁸ In the library we find the works of Helvetius, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Voltaire, Condillac, Raynal and others; some of them are marked as “useful, pleasant and amusing reading”. Denying the claims of a philosophical system to come closer to the truth, he accepted the Enlightenment as a way of thinking, a way of life and a guide to practice.

Bakunin’s scientific inclinations account for a great number of Priamukhino’s books, mainly in French and Italian, on natural history, botany, physics and chemistry. His knowledge of physics and botany was quite sound, as he remarks, he had “an inclination” to these sciences. In the philosophical *Letters to Nikolay Lvov* his descriptions of nature are poetical. “For the plants their time of

¹⁸ See: *Письма А.М. Бакунина к Н.А. Львову* / Публикация, вступительная статья и комментарии Л.Г. Агамальян // *Ежегодник Рукописного Отдела ИРЛИ*. СПб., 2002. С. 43–96.

bloom, Bakunin writes, is the time of love. This secret was disclosed to us by our neighbour Linnaeus, and Nature concealed it from us ... plants selflessly give birth to, feed and care about their children, and they sometimes pay with their lives for this ardor.” Linnaeus’ *Philosophy of Botany* once owned by Bakunin is now in the Tver District Archives and contains a lot of marks, drawings and notes. The following works are also in the Archives. Joseph Plenck’s *Initial Foundations of Botanic Vocabulary* (1790) and A. Mayer’s *Botanic Detailed Dictionary* (1781–1783) with the owner’s inscriptions, Grigory Sobolevsky’s *St. Petersburg Flora* (1801–1802), N. Ambodik-Maksimovich’s *Initial Foundations of Botany* (1796), Petr Pallas’ *Flora Rossica* (1786), Duhamel — du Monceau’s *Physics of Trees* (1758), the works of Lazaro Spalanzani (1787), Boucheau’s *Histoire universelle du règne végétal* (1774–1777), François Marquet’s *Veni mecum de botanique* (1773), etc.

There is also a considerable number of books on geography, travel, and the history of various countries and towns that widen the for so long time the limited space of the Russian man.

Bakunin was a very responsible landowner. As can be seen from his writings, a landlord should be a tutor, almost a father, because “the rank of nobleman charges some duties.” A distinctive feature of enlightenment, according to Bakunin, “is an active desire for the public good as for one’s own profit.” “Let the humanity of landlords be the first step to public enlightenment.” The owner of Priamukhino was an enlightened Russian landlord who did not distinguish between his own prosperity and the good of his country, and thus considered himself obliged to justify “before the whole world the rank of nobleman and by the very deeds to prove its usefulness.”¹⁹

¹⁹ ...перед целым светом звание дворянина и самым делом доказывать пользу онаго (л. 45).

In the library of the enlightened landlord books on economics, agriculture, housekeeping and medicine occupy a place of honour. Among them are the following: Sergey Drukovtsov's *Economic Calendar* (1780), Desnitsky's *Agricultural Mentor, or A Short Explication of English Husbandry* (1780), Mikhail Livanov's *On Farming, Cattle-Breeding and Poultry Keeping* (1786), Nikolay Osipov's *Peasant Cattleman* (1792) and *The New and Perfect Russian Gardener* (1790), *A Friend of Peasants, or Various Opinions and Proposals about Country Improvement* (1793), *A Practical Estate Manager, or Rural Regulations* (1803), *Proceedings of the Free Economic Society* (published since 1765, 48 volumes), *A Scope of the Housekeeping Information*, Rosier's *Complete Course of Theory, Practice and Economy of Agriculture* (1781–1800, in 10 volumes), Duhamel — du Monceau's *Foundations of Agriculture* (1742), Charles de Rochemont's *Treatise on Multi-Field System, or the Art of Crop Rotation* (1801), Jean Hector de Montaigne's *Le grand œuvre de l'agriculture*, François Quantero's *School of Rural Architecture* (1794), Hanz Hirzel's *Rural Socrates, or A Description of the Economic and Moral Rules of Life of the Philosopher-Farmer* (1789). It is difficult to say to which of the listed books Bakunin was referring when he wrote: "Much, too much is written on agriculture ... but how many books on economy are not a reliable medicine for insomnia? ... They write much about agriculture, but there is as much profit as if it was a scholarly sermon in a village. A good book, but useless for those who understand, and obscure for those who need it."²⁰

There is an abundance of belles-lettres in the Priamukhino library. We find the writings of all the well-known Russian eighteenth-century writers: A. Kantemir, V. Trediakovsky, M. Lomonosov, M. Kheraskov, P. Sumarokov, V. Petrov, I. Dolgorukov, S. Bobrov, I. Bogdanovich, N. Karamzin, I. Dmitriev, I. Krylov, V. Ozerov, I. Khemnitser and others. The library contains practically

²⁰ See A.M. Bakunin's letters to N.A. Lvov.

all of the classic works of both the ancient world and Europe including: Homer, Ovid, Horace, Phaedrus, Apuleius, Virgil, Petrarch, Tasso, Ariosto, Metastasio, Goldoni, Milton, Camoes, Cervantes, Lesage, Defoe, Marmontel, Swift, Voltaire, Rousseau, Corneille, Chateaubriand, Richardson, Pope, Ann Radcliffe, Fielding, Goldsmith, James Macpherson, Schiller, Stern, Jacques Delille, comtesse de Genlis, Christoph Wieland and Lafontaine. Some of the French and Italian works can be found both in translations and in the original.

The encyclopaedic breadth of interests is characteristic of many cultural figures of the Russian Enlightenment from Mikhail Lomonosov to Alexander Pushkin. The content of Aleksandr Bakunin's library is a splendid confirmation of this fact.



LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

LARISA AGAMALIAN

Dr., Director, the Literature Museum, the Russian Literature
Institute (the Pushkin House), the Russian Academy of Sciences,
St. Petersburg, Russia
agamalian@mail.ru

TATIANA ARTEMYEVA

Professor, Dr., St. Petersburg Center for the History of Ideas,
Russia
tatart@mail.ru

MIKHAIL MIKESHIN

Professor, Dr., St. Petersburg Center for the History of Ideas,
Russia
literatus18@mail.ru

VESA OITTINEN

Professor, Ph.D., the Aleksanteri Institute, the University of
Helsinki, Finland
vesa.oittinen@helsinki.fi

OILI PULKKINEN

Ph.D., Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy / Political
Science, the University of Jyväskylä, Finland
oili.pulkinen@yahoo.co.uk

JOHANNES REMY

Ph.D., Lecturer in World History, the University of Helsinki,
Finland

johannes.remy@helsinki.fi

KIMMO SARJE

Ph.D., Helsinki, Finland

sarje@muu.fi

JOHAN STEN

D.Sci. in Technology, Docent, VTT Technical Research Centre of
Finland, Espoo, Finland

Johan.Sten@vtt.fi

ALLA ZLATOPOLSKAYA

Dr., Senior researcher, the Voltaire Library, the National Library
of Russia, Saint-Petersburg, Russia

azlatopolskaia@mail.ru



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Northern Lights — Facets of Enlightenment Culture

**A Joint Finnish-Russian Symposium
at the Aleksanteri Institute, the University of Helsinki,
September 25–26, 2009**

The Enlightenment of the 18th century was, besides its general “progressive” tendency, a multi-faceted and contradictory process, and many of its aspects are yet poorly known. Especially in the Nordic countries and Russia the Enlightenment took shapes which differed considerably from the “paradigmatic” French discourse of the *lumières* or of the English 18th century thought now considered as classical. On the other side, nationalist tendencies in the historiography of both the Nordic countries and Russia have tried to play down the fact that these countries have, despite of all differences, had their share in a general European Enlightenment culture. The symposium arranged by the Aleksanteri Institute presented relevant studies of Finnish and Russian scholars on the theme and at the same time contributed to further research in the field of Nordic and Russian history of ideas.

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