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A. Kharitonova

THE CONCEPT OF BODY  
AND THE PROBLEM  
OF DEMARCATION  
IN NEW EUROPEAN  
METAPHYSICS:  
FROM DESCARTES TO KANT

*The formation of science and its separation from metaphysics are among the key characteristics of the early modern period. This separation faces a particular problem with conceptualization of body, which, while being a physical body, is closely bound up with spirit. Different ways of explaining the interaction between mind and body form a complex tradition, which has significantly influenced Kant's pre-Critical writings. Reducing that crucial distinction between two substances to the empirical sphere and the interpretation of soul and body as homogeneous phenomena are the main peculiarities of Kant's position.*

*Key words:* mind-body problem, Cartesian dualism, Occasionalism, Physical Influx, Pre-established Harmony, Wolffianism, anti-Wolffianism, Kant's pre-Critical period.

**1. Matter: Between Physics  
and Metaphysics**

The development of philosophy during the early modern period was strongly orientated towards scientific methodology. This caused the transformation of its subject and self-grounding strategies. Since antiquity mathematics was considered to be the classic model of scientific knowledge. The early modern period saw significant progress in natural science, which used to develop within the frame of metaphysics and during this period aimed at becoming a separate discipline. This progress was made mainly due to adoption of mathematical methods, and metaphysics was forced to redefine its scientific status. The discussion provoked by the theme offered by the Berlin Academy of Sciences for essay contest in 1763 can be mentioned as an example of such attempts. In brief, the proposed question was the following: are metaphysical sciences capable to provide the same degree of certainty as mathematical sciences? Most of the contestants' essays gave negative answers (among the authors who entered the competition were M. Mendels-

sohn, I. Kant, J.H. Lambert). However, they pointed out that metaphysics was a science of a different kind in comparison with mathematics, so metaphysical truths had another kind of certainty. The present article sets a goal to examine the demarcation of philosophy and natural sciences in discussing the notion of body. This discussion has a long history that interchanges with natural science and presents the contest of different metaphysical and physical conceptions.

### *1.1. New Interpretation of Matter: Mathematization of Nature*

The process of the so-called mathematization of nature was the foundation for modern science. Material nature was the main subject of physics<sup>1</sup>, and the breakthrough made by natural science in the 17th century was provided by revised interpretation of the notion of matter, which gained a brand new understanding different from one given by the authors of Antiquity<sup>2</sup>. Revolution was started by G. Galilei who aimed to eliminate "impassable gap between mathematical construction and physical object" [3, p. 102], in other words to ground mathematical physics. He reconsidered features that used to be applied to matter in the tradition of Antiquity (such as mutability and instability) and reckoned invariability and self-identity among its main qualities.

### *1.2. Descartes: Extended and Passive Matter*

The decisive step towards overcoming the difficulties that Galilei faced establishing the identity of mathematical and physical knowledge<sup>3</sup> was taken by R. Descartes. Matter in his theory is identical to space. Descartes was the first to postulate the existence of two substances<sup>4</sup> which were not just different but mutually exclusive. He claims: "Similarly, from the mere fact that each of us understands himself to be a thinking thing and is capable, in thought, of excluding from himself every other substance, whether thinking or extended, it is certain that each of us, regarded in this way, is really distinct from every other thinking substance and from every corporeal substance" [8, p.180]. Descartes' strict dualism is remarkable for making it possible to grasp nature as a mechanism which supposes the possibility of its complete rational cognition. That has two crucial consequences. For metaphysics that means a reduction of such notions as "mind", "soul" or "spirit" (which differ in the ancient and medieval philosophy) to the notion of "thinking thing". For physics that means not only identification of matter and space, but also rejection of vacuum. This thesis leads to the assumption that an action can be transferred only by a direct interaction of two bodies and raises a thorny issue of explanation how mind and body interact.

### *1.3. Newton: Matter's Inertness*

Identification of matter and spatial extent was strongly criticized, especially by I. Newton and G.W. Leibniz. Newton's famous statement "hypotheses non fingo" appeared as criticism of Cartesian physics. Experience and experiments

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<sup>1</sup> See [30, S. 277].

<sup>2</sup> See [12].

<sup>3</sup> See [12, p. 105–106].

<sup>4</sup> According to some researchers, Descartes can not be seen as a rigorous dualist because thinking and corporeal substances are secondary to God, infinite substance.

must precede hypotheses, general and self-evident statements – contrary to what Descartes had claimed. Newton's physics is important for us in two aspects. Firstly, it contains the idea of force as a non-mechanical cause. Secondly, it implies an idea that the first cause concerns rather metaphysics than physics<sup>5</sup>. Introducing such notions as force, universal gravitation, absolute and relative space and time, Newton makes Cartesian notion of matter, which included both space and bodies, incongruous. However, there exists a certain similarity between physics of Newton and Descartes. Both consider matter as lifeless (Descartes) or less radical as inert (Newton) which demands impact of external forces, whose nature is not completely defined and can be bound with divine intervention<sup>6</sup>.

#### **1.4. Leibniz: Animated Matter**

The position of Leibniz concerning the correlation of spiritual and corporeal is not unambiguous one. Unlike Descartes' and Newton's, his notion of matter includes an idea of activeness. He claims that two kinds of substances exist: simple substances with no parts (monads) and composite substances that consist of simple ones (bodies). Monads differ according to the degree of perception: they can be either distinct or confused (common physical bodies)<sup>7</sup>. According to Leibniz, nothing in nature is incapable of perception, so Cartesian understanding of matter is unacceptable. Leibniz distinguishes between two types of matter: primary matter ("mass") is passive, impenetrable and extended, and is not a complete substance, whereas secondary matter is substantial and includes active force. Exactly this matter is the subject of examination in physics. Thus real bodies that surround us can be seen as mass (since they are partible and impenetrable), but at the same time they contain active force. In Cartesian system soul as thinking and perceptive substance is placed outside and isolated from corporeal world, while Leibniz places it at the basis of the whole nature. However, the difficulty concerning the fact how immaterial monads form the base of any body remained unsettled.

## **2. Cartesian Anthropology: Dualism of Human Nature**

The key demand that metaphysics made to itself during the new modern period was for conforming to the criteria of science. Descartes made headway in finding the common ground for metaphysics and natural science. However, his interpretation of human nature constituted the crucial problem for metaphysics. The main peculiarity of Cartesian dualism is the claim that there are two essentially different and independent substances: mind and body. The whole idea of human being is based on this assumption and apparently a man is the only example of two substances bound<sup>8</sup>. According to Cartesian model, various phenomena and processes in human being proceed independently and can be clearly referred to one or the other substance. There is a certain parallelism between these processes but they are not connected<sup>9</sup>. There occurs a gradual and

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<sup>5</sup> See [29, p. 369].

<sup>6</sup> Leibniz criticizes that position for being a kind of occultism.

<sup>7</sup> See [27, p. 207].

<sup>8</sup> See [6, p. 45].

<sup>9</sup> See [7, p. 113].

important shift in grasping human nature, which is nothing else but the nature of mind, as a man is considered first of all as “thinking thing”. Descartes writes: “...as regards reason or sense, since it is the only thing that makes us men and distinguishes us from the beasts, I am inclined to believe that it exists whole and complete in each of us” [6, p. 21]. That testifies to evidently stated substance hierarchy, where thinking substance has implicit superiority over corporeal one. Although human being presents a certain unity of mind and body, only mind as the definitive feature distinguishing him from other creatures is essential.

Descartes faces an essential problem: how the interaction between two substances is enabled if they are entirely self-sufficient. Therefore a special organ (pineal gland), which provides coherent actions of mind and body, is introduced. This gland in particular enables perception, the process that demonstrates coherent parallel action of two different substances<sup>10</sup>. Many philosophers later criticized Descartes’ position in that question emphasizing that soul was joined to the whole body and not placed just within one part of the brain<sup>11</sup>, although he expressed the same idea as well: “... we need to recognize that the soul is really joined to the whole body, and that we cannot properly say that it exists in any one part of the body to the exclusion of the others” [9, p. 229]. Nevertheless, his reference to the gland does not seem to be a convincing solution. Firstly, the data available in contemporary physiology and anatomy testified the existence of that gland with animals, and that clearly contradicted Descartes’ idea to consider animals as merely mechanisms not capable of thinking. Secondly, Descartes’ views on the place and functioning of the pineal gland did not correspond to scientific facts known at that time. Last but not least, such concept is rather doubtful as it interferes with the primary principles of dualism. So, the consistent theory concerning the interaction between mind and body is hardly presented in Descartes’ writings. Although the number of interpretations in research literature is overwhelming, each of them fits one passage or another but barely one grasps all his statements on the problem.

### 3. Body as a Problem: View of Wolff

After Descartes, the problem of representing human being becomes crucial for metaphysics. On the one hand, human being is a “thinking thing” and cognizes the world. On the other hand, human being is embodied, which means the localization of thinking in the material world and makes it rather difficult to give a homogenous representation of a man. Metaphysics has to deal with a particular type of bodies correlated with thinking, which disrupts the homogeneity of material bodies studied in physics.

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<sup>10</sup> The gland and its functioning are discussed in “Treatise on Man” (written in the first half of the 1630s but published posthumously) and in “The Passions of the Soul” (1649). According to some researchers, the latter can be considered as a sequel of “Treatise”, see [13, p. XXIX; 28]. Despite the widespread opinion, Descartes’ classic writings do not contain the “pineal gland” term: in “Treatise” he writes about “gland H” [10, p. 143] and in “The Passions” no special term can be found. “Pineal gland” appears only in letters of 1640, see [11, S. 145].

<sup>11</sup> For example, see [16, p. 312]. They quite likely appealed to the following statement: “...apart from this gland, there cannot be any other place in the whole body where the soul directly exercises its functions” [9, p. 230].

### 3.1. Dualism Problem: Exposition and Various Solutions

A lot of thinkers attempted to overcome inconsistency in Cartesian theory. Main solutions are presented on the basis of the so-called "German Metaphysics" by Chr. Wolff ("Rational Thoughts on God, the World and the Soul of Man, and on All Things Whatsoever") that was first published in 1720 and reissued many times with amendments and additions by the author<sup>12</sup>. It contains a chapter, which describes soul essence and different types of spirits in general. Wolff claims it is essential to understand how thought correlates with body motions, so the considerable part of that chapter scrutinizes main conceptions clearing the question that had been shaped by that time.

The first hypothesis called Physical Influx states that "unity (Gemeinschaft) of body (Leib) and soul is based on the natural influence of one thing on the other" (§ 761). Wolff gives the following comment: "And this opinion of common people was shared for some time even by philosophers, although nowadays only few agree with it" (§ 761). Although this hypothesis agrees with common sense and everyday experience most of all, one cannot say there are any evidences in favour of it in experience because we do not have any clear notion of soul activity which causes body motions (Leib)<sup>13</sup>.

Then Wolff presents Descartes' point of view. According to it, the only basis of mind-body unity is the will of God: "... it is rather God causes thoughts in soul with motions in body (Körper) and on the other hand – motions in body (Leib) with soul and its desires" (§ 763). Although that point of view still has a lot of supporters, there are quite a few counterarguments. It should be mentioned that Wolff presents this theory not accurately enough as the explanation of mind-body interaction exceptionally by the God's will belongs not to Descartes himself, but first of all to N. Malebranche<sup>14</sup>. Although it is not a simple task to reconstruct the point of view of Descartes himself, the assumption that he proposes the solution in terms of unsophisticated Occasionalism seems to be rather awkward.

Pre-established Harmony is the last of the hypotheses, and Wolff tends to support it. According to it, only the interaction between substances of one type is possible, while semblance of interaction between different substances is provided by pre-established harmony existing in the world. All possible changes are inherent in each monad, and the harmony means that God has created substances so that each of them completely reflects others in its internal changes like in a mirror. It is inappropriate to talk about interaction as we deal with some simultaneous and pre-established changes. Despite some common ideas with Occasionalism, this hypothesis has more advantages, especially in its implementation in physics: divine intervention has occurred just once by world creation and there is no need to appeal to it on each interaction. Thus, matter is endowed with particular independence and the problem concerning the status of beasts, which, according to Descartes and Malebranche, have neither soul nor consciousness, is solved as well.

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<sup>12</sup> Reference to this writing is caused by the fact that this compendium on metaphysics was the most authoritative one for a long time and was a prototype for the majority of such textbooks outside Germany, see [16, p. 38–48]. There is no translation of this work in English and the following quotations from [34] are translated by the author.

<sup>13</sup> See [34, S. 327, § 536].

<sup>14</sup> See [4, S. 756].



### 3.2. Dualism Problem: Further Prospects

Although Wolff presents Pre-established Harmony created by Leibniz, some aspects have been modified<sup>15</sup>. At the same time all three theories are exaggeratedly presented just as hypotheses. Research literature contains different appraisals of that fact. According to R. Blackwell, such presentation temporarily brought down the sharpness of the question. However, J. Zamitto claims that the publication of “German Metaphysics” led to a new wave of discussions and initiated argumentation for Physical Influx and against Pre-established Harmony. Intense debates ensued, and Physical Influx took a revenge on other theories in quite a short time<sup>16</sup>.

Each of the described theories presents its own way of bringing metaphysics to the scientific basis. Physical Influx solves that problem by peculiarly equating mind and all types of bodies as they all have something in common in their structure, namely forces [32, p. 196]. For Occasionalism the problem is solved beyond our knowledge and does not demand any special explanation. As for Leibniz, the spiritualistic interpretation of all existing things gains priority along with the thesis that each body is animated and no soul can exist on its own.

### 4. Körper vs Leib: Notion Correlation

The hypotheses examined by Wolff aim to give a scientific explanation for all possible substance interactions, which can be either physical (between bodies), or psychological (between spirits), or psychophysical. The latter becomes a stumbling block to all theories, as it involves body which demands a scientific rather than mystic or irrational explanation.

German writings that belong to the considered period, unlike Latin ones, contain two different terms to denote body. When it comes to any material body that is considered in physics or geometry, it is called “Körper”. The term “Leib” is used to mark those bodies that are bound with soul, namely human bodies. In Latin texts the term “corpus” is mainly used in both cases. However, that distinction in the usage is not always maintained<sup>17</sup>. The following reconstruction of the Wolffian system aims to establish the correlation of these two terms.

Wolff claims that the world is the range of changing things, therefore it is a composite thing itself. Besides, “the world is also a machine” [34, S. 337, § 557]. Any physical body exposed outside ourselves is a composite thing – “Körper” – can be called machine as well. “Among these bodies there is one we recognize as our own *body* (Leib) because according to it our thoughts concerning other bodies are directed and because it always exists along with us while all other bodies change”, says § 218. Despite these peculiarities, the main of which is the compliance (Übereinstimmung) of some bodies with soul, this kind of body can be grasped with the “machine” notion as well because “Leib” is “just a machine devoid of reason” [34, S. 487, § 781]<sup>18</sup>. The notion of machine itself can help clear

<sup>15</sup> See [31, p. 61–68; 14, S. 17–29, 70; 32, p. 139].

<sup>16</sup> See [32].

<sup>17</sup> As in the quotation mentioned above, § 763.

<sup>18</sup> § 781 states human body (Leib) is merely a machine and refers to § 617 which says about all physical bodies (Körper) that are purely machines [34, S. 380, § 617].

up why it is essential for Wolff to equalize the usage of two body terms by giving them a common equivalent: "From mentioned above it is possible to conclude... that bodies are purely (lauter) machines and that is why there is truth in them (§ 142) and they can be clearly explained (§ 77)". As the whole world is a machine, "... all events in it happen to be reliable" (§ 561). The equivalence between body notions and machine notion eliminates the lack of regularity in the concept of human body. Defining truth in contrast to dream Wolff follows Leibniz and points out consistency and sequence of changes happening to a thing as the criteria<sup>19</sup>. Postulated sequence functioning of human body aims to disguise the absence of reliable idea of how mind and body interact. Being bound with soul but still remaining "purely a machine", human body sets the general problem: how can we inscribe activity of mind into universal physical laws? Human body should be similar to any other body in the world, and it cannot just provide dreams, affects or passions, thus the presentation of human being is constituted so that it will not contradict the rational sway, the distinctive feature of human being.

Although the formal distinction between two notions is rather clear, it would not be correct to talk about strict and systematic usage of these terms in writings of the 18th century due to their equivalence to "machine" notion. Moreover, the term "Körper" prevails<sup>20</sup> not accidentally: whatever differences can be found in theories explaining mind-body interaction, all of them are still orientated towards Cartesian interpretation of any body as a mechanism, more or less complicated configuration of passive matter.

## 5. Kant's pre-Critical Writings

For Kant the problem of grounding the scientific character of metaphysics was rather vivid throughout all periods of his work (however, its interpretation was not necessarily the same as we are used to see it nowadays). Previous thinkers who tried to solve the above mentioned task inevitably faced the mind-body problem, which never constitutes the main theme in Kant's writings. The connection between these two problems does not exist any longer and the mind-body problem turns out to be eliminated. Nevertheless, it could not be totally ignored and arose in different writings in pre-Critical, Critical and even quite late writings (for example, "Anthropology" or "Pedagogics"). In his Critical writings Kant deals with the question "How is metaphysics possible as science?" in a rather different way and claims that objects must conform to our cognition and not vice versa, as it was before. As for his pre-Critical writings, they were merely influenced by previous discussions, so some of them do contain passages presenting Kant's attitude to the mind-body problem.

### 5.1. Rationalism and Common Sense

Kant expresses his opinion on the mind-body problem rather carefully. The treatise "Dreams of a Spirit-Seer Elucidated by Dreams of Metaphysics" (1766) is of special interest, as it contains perhaps the largest amount of reasoning con-

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<sup>19</sup> See [3].

<sup>20</sup> At the same time, "Körper" as well as "Leib" are understood as machines first of all. In Zedler's Encyclopedia both notions ("Menschlicher Körper" and "Menschlicher Leib") refer to the same article "Menschliche Maschine" [36, Sp. 815].

cerning human body, soul, other spirits and relations between them. This writing is aimed at critique of E. Swedenborg, Kant's well-known contemporary. The second part contains critique and even mockery of his position, though the content of the first one is not so unambiguous. It can be interpreted as a specially constructed model, which demonstrates theoretical groundings of Swedenborg's position, opposed in the second part, but another interpretation is possible as well. According to it, the reasoning in the first part presents those few things which can be said definitely about the nature of soul and body. So they can be seen as proper Kant's position, and this interpretation in particular will be the basis for further analysis of that writing.

The question "where is the place of this human soul in the world of bodies?" [16, p. 312] arises as merely hypothetical and can become valid only when we prove that soul is a spirit. Kant strongly criticizes Cartesian point of view, for it may only be based on "imaginary interferences". At the same time he quotes J.G. Daries: "My soul is wholly in my whole body, and wholly in each of its parts" [16, p. 313]. So, according to Kant, when it comes to vague questions, which nevertheless have to be somehow solved, it is necessary to rely on ordinary experience and common sense rather than on sophisticated reasoning. That is likely connected to the idea that soul and spirits cannot be cognized in experience<sup>21</sup>. Even if we venture to decide where soul is situated, the most plausible answer will be the following: "where I feel, it is there that *I am*" [16, p. 312] as soul permeates the whole body that is allocated to it. The allocation of a particular body means that it must alter along with me and have the same place as I have – the similar idea was presented earlier by Wolff. It is worth mentioning that Kant, like Wolff, does not state clearly, how exactly a body becomes my body. There is no description of any specific features of a body that can be connected with soul and therefore can be called 'Leib'.

## 5.2. Changes in the Notion of Substance

Kant's attitude to the mind-body problem was formed not only by the above influences, but also with consideration of Hume's sceptical philosophy, so different substance questions (definition, classification etc.) appear to be in the background. It does not mean that Kant avoids this term: it appears rather often in his pre-Critical writings when he presents his own version of Physical Influx; in "Critique of Pure Reason" it also plays an important role in parts concerning the table of categories and analogies of experience. However, it cannot be said that the usage of this notion was fully adopted from the preceding tradition. Kant's position on the substance notion underwent some essential changes already in the pre-Critical period, but the general tendency led towards the loss of significance of the term<sup>22</sup>. In Critical writings the substance notion finally loses its fundamental ontological status, as it concerns phenomena and not noumena<sup>23</sup>.

Thus the crucial boundary between soul and body is not an obvious thesis for Kant. Although nearly all human actions can be referred to either cognition or material processes, our everyday experience can hardly be presented as a se-

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<sup>21</sup> See [16, p. 308, Note].

<sup>22</sup> See [14, p. 53-59, 73].

<sup>23</sup> See [18, p. 313, B 251; 14, S. 179, 182].

quence of mental and material phenomena. Besides, Kant refuses to consider the substance question as a prior one. These changes weaken traditional dualistic hierarchy that was presupposed in all theories explaining the mind-body problem.

### **5.3. *Soul and Body: Demolition of Hierarchy***

The transformations initiated by Kant lead to overcoming the statement that the relation between soul and body is asymmetrical, which causes a change in presenting the outer and the inner of human being. A traditional model of man considers soul activity to be inner and matter activity to be outer, whereas joint activity of soul and body emphasized by Kant displaces that bound as well.

"Thoughts on the True Estimation of Living Forces" contain the following argumentation: "... the soul must be able to act externally by reason of the fact that it is in a location". At the same time, "... matter that has been set in motion acts on everything that is spatially connected with it, and hence also on the soul", "... it changes the internal state of the soul insofar as this state is related to what is external to it"<sup>24</sup>. Moreover, the inner state of soul can be also counted to the outer as "... the entire internal state of the soul is nothing other than the summation of all its representations and concepts" [20, p. 25]. Thus, as the whole content of soul activity refers to the outer, soul cannot be seen as a "bastion" of inner. Kant rejects that soul can be found in one particular part of human body; on the contrary, the whole body can be presented as the location of the soul because it is situated in each part of it equally. Furthermore, bodily activity influences and even determinates the condition of soul. Another proof of that thesis can be found in the third part of "Universal Natural History and Theory of the Heavens" (1755): "... it is nonetheless certain that the human being, who derives all his concepts and ideas from the impressions the universe stimulates in his soul through his body, depends totally on the constitution of this matter to which the creator has bound him for both their clarity as well as the skill to connect and compare them, which we call the faculty to think" [20, p. 298]. In a range of pre-Critical writings (including lectures on anthropology) Kant mentions that people's capacity to think differs a lot, so it can be concluded that this capacity depends on physical qualities and constitution.

### **5.4. *Premises of Transformation***

Another school of the preceding philosophical tradition is essential to be mentioned with reference to Kant's early writings, namely anti-Wolffianism. The way of grounding Physical Influx presented by Kant in his early writings has experienced a strong influence of statements found in writings by Chr. A. Crusius, one of the most significant representatives of the anti-Wolffian school<sup>25</sup>. In many respects that was his writings, which enabled the expansion and acknowledgement of Physical Influx<sup>26</sup>. The demolition of hierarchy of thinking and material substance is coherent with redefinition of such notions as 'body', 'matter' and 'soul' made by Crusius.

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<sup>24</sup> That thesis is supported in [19].

<sup>25</sup> [33, p. 289-305]

<sup>26</sup> [15, S. 143-150]

Another important figure is M. Knutzen (contacts with whom influenced young Kant a lot), although he is often considered among Wolffian thinkers. His treatise devoted to the research of the nature of soul and the struggle against materialists contains a number of abstracts that can be considered as a premise of changes made by Kant. The two-part structure of "Dreams" is similar to the structure of "Philosophical Treatise on the Immaterial Nature of the Soul" (1744). Although Knutzen stands up for the essential difference between soul and body, his reasoning nevertheless demonstrates the necessity of body which is a "dwelling" and an "instrument" of soul. Body has a particular influence on soul as it guides it in the material world. This influence has a limiting character, though, as due to imperfection of the instrument soul can not act as deftly as it is prescribed. Souls differ a lot but act similarly, as they are bound to bodies (which have a higher degree of similarity) and adjust themselves to them. The reciprocal impact is considered to be not immediate, but is explained by existence of force as a common element (the similar strategy was elaborated by Crusius).

It can be seen that Kant's early writings were influenced by three different views. The first one is Wolffianism that made the mind-body problem of current importance again and demonstrated a variety of solution strategies. Wolffianism inherited problems that had been aroused by Cartesian dualism and along with that referred to natural science as Wolff himself evidently supported Pre-established Harmony as the most proper solution. Therefore polemics within natural science (in the first place the polemic between Newton and Leibniz) influenced Kant as well, especially as concerns terminology and the range of considered physical problems. The third impulse was anti-Wolffian objections presented first of all in the writings by Crusius. The essentially different interpretation of such notions as matter, body, spirit, soul, substance or force provided a resource to recede from rigorous opposition of mind and body and enabled the spread and acknowledgement of Physical Influx. Thus, first two views determined in many respects the themes and terminology of Kant's pre-Critical writings, and the third one supplied the conceptual resource for new attitude towards inherited problems.

## 6. Transcendental Autonomy of Metaphysics

As a result, in Kant's writings the identification of human body and other physical bodies is not necessary any more. Moreover, heterogeneity within human bodies becomes possible as well. Different impressions provided by body form the necessary condition of thought. Kant asserts that the influence of body on soul is inevitable. Soul is deeply embodied and rooted into matter and cannot impact the body as easily as the body impacts it. While Leibniz just erases the boundary between body and soul, claiming that existence of incorporeal spirits and inanimate bodies is impossible, Kant with such thesis makes the next step in dismantling the hierarchy of thought and physical processes<sup>27</sup>.

Kant's Critical philosophy presents the entirely different way of grounding the scientific character of metaphysics and does not concern psychophysical dualism. His transcendental philosophy presents other solution which enables conceptual and disciplinary sufficiency "to gain exhaustive acquaintance" [18, p. 102, A XIV] with the help of pure thinking, free of any experience. That means

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<sup>27</sup> Other interpretation assumes such Kant's position to be a result of influence of "popular philosophy" which opposed itself to "school philosophy" [35].

that although experience data are inevitable, we escape the dictates of objects that appear to our sensibility as they do not have the fundamental ontological status any longer. Therefore the whole complex of problems concerning the body is eliminated because all various physical bodies are seen as phenomena, and such attitude provides their homogeneity. Although Critical writings present human being without a mind-body split, a certain duality still remains: human being can be grasped either as a phenomenon and in this case it is possible to cognize him, or as a noumenon that is absolutely incognizable.

## 7. Conclusion

All things existing in the world are divided by science of the new modern period into two unequal parts. On the one hand, there is human being who is endowed with reason and is able to cognize. On the other hand, there are all other things external to him as subjects of his cognition. Human being is grasped as *thinking I* that is detached, self-dependent and to a certain extent self-sufficient<sup>28</sup>, as soul's ability to be self-conscious is assumed to be its main feature. However, cognition of human nature remains to be an unsolved problem. Soul can be seen in two different perspectives. Firstly, it is liable to affects and passions, and in this case its connection to body is emphasized inevitably. Secondly, soul is a thinking substance and therefore a human being is capable to cognize rationally. The second tendency appears to be a prior one, and determinism is ascribed to the whole variety of physical processes (that means all these processes can be repeated and cognized). Determinism cannot be ascribed to thinking because of the presupposition that the nature of mind differs essentially from the nature of subjects that are being cognized, and does not comply with laws of nature discovered by it<sup>29</sup>. Rationalism postulates that all existing things can be cognized. Moreover, soul "... indeed is easier to know than the body", as exactly soul is something "... by which I am what I am" [6, p. 36]. Such conception leads to a contradiction, as cognizing thinking I is not able to cognize the nature of human being adequately. It appears not to be possible to disregard the connection of mind and body. Therefore, researches of the nature of soul range between two poles, materialism and mysticism.

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<sup>28</sup> See [22, S. 12, 25–26; 24; 34, S. 110, § 197].

<sup>29</sup> Few thinkers followed J.O. de La Mettrie and defended the thesis that thought was fully determined by physical organization of human being, J. Ch. Lossius can be mentioned as an example [25, p. 278].

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V. Bazhanov

KANTIAN MOTIFS  
IN LOGIC AND PHILISOPHY  
OF SCIENCE.  
THE IDEA OF UNITY  
OF A PRIORI  
AND EMPIRICAL  
ELEMENTS OF COGNITION

*Kant insisted on the inherent unity of a priori and empirical elements of cognition. To what extent further progress of philosophy and exact sciences confirmed (or modified) original Kant ideas?*

*I'm inclined to judge that apriorism in its modest version does not contradict a modest type of empiricism. Real practice of logical and mathematical reasoning provides pry conjunctions of a priori and empirical elements of cognitive processes. We can find the harmonic combinations of mentioned stand-points and thus to confirm the validity of Kant's idea related to inherent unity of a priori and empirical elements within contemporary philosophy of science. Apriorism along with empiricism contains powerful heuristic potential.*

*Key words:* activity of the subject of cognition, apriorism, empiricism, unity of a priori and empirical elements of cognitive process.

I. Kant's philosophical ideas refer to the most concealed features and elements of cognitive process. Their feasibility is proved by the significant changes that have happened in science in general and philosophy in particular since those ideas appeared. Meanwhile Kantian motifs (directly or indirectly) revealed themselves in various fields of science, which actually didn't exist when the great thinker was alive.

So, ethology (and even biology in general) has integrated the idea that "any process of adjustment is a cognitive one and an apparatus given to us a priori to acquire experience has actually been predetermined by a huge load of information obtained in evolution process..." [8, p. 419]. A distinguished biologist K. Lorenz even wrote an article "Kant's Doctrine of the A Priori in the Light of Modern Biology", where he analysed this doctrine in relation to the achievements of biological science in the 20<sup>th</sup> century [9].

A well-known linguist R. Langacker makes a point that a man creates his environment through his psyche, he interprets this world using his assumptions which were shaped in his earlier experiences; a man always relies on some covert, background knowledge of somebody, who is the addressee of the information [21].

Similar ideas work in psychology. U. Neisser states that the information received by a man (even in his early childhood) is included as a sort of prerequisite for the perception of new information in the future. A subject of cognition makes up some schemes of perceiving information, which are applied to reality at every moment of perception: "A perceiving agent is active. To a great extent he identifies what he sees, choosing the items for more careful studying and getting some features rather than others... Constructing a *pre-expecting scheme* (my italics – V.B.), a perceiving agent performs an act which includes both environment information and his personal cognitive mechanisms" [11, p. 76]. Similar ideas can be found with J. Piaget when he writes about some particular features of perception in early childhood. Cognition constructs the images of external reality, using past and current experience as background and scaffold.

Philosophy of science has long known the fact of theoretical overload of experiment. This assumption does not have a speculative character (which is not possible in the context of positivist philosophy, which introduced and reflected on this idea), but rather a psychological foundation [19].

M. Friedman of Stanford university (USA) actively develops a modern form of Kantianism with its primary motif being the idea of universal rationality, which is defined by ever growing level of personal self-reflection and, therefore, by the growth of understanding one's personal responsibility [20, p. 68].

Historical science also speaks about unavoidable influence of environment onto a historian and his cognition within the spirit of active learning/cognition (see: [14, p. 41–46]). It has been long noticed that the understanding of one and the same text by different generations is defined by features of the time when people live. Even L. Feuerbach noted that every epoch reads itself from the Bible which means it has its own Bible.

Attempting to summarize the above-given opinions, we can state that the mind organizes the world according to its own structure, and, therefore, structures itself while communicating with the world outside.

Kant's ideas are actively implemented in logic and philosophy of science. It is especially concerns one of the central provisions of Kant's cognition theory – the idea of his a priori theory, which presupposes active involvement of the subject of cognition, active involvement of his mind.

Speaking about apriorism in methodology of science, we can't ignore the opposite point of view, empiricism, which is set radically apart from empiricism in the philosophy of logic and mathematics. Meanwhile, I. Kant claimed the unity of the a priori and the empirical. To what extent did further development of philosophy and exact sciences confirm (or correct) Kant's point of view?

Historical retrospection makes us think whether it is justified to set apriorism and empiricism in logical and mathematical knowledge and its development so much antagonistically apart, as it is often done in works on the philosophy of logic and mathematics. What is the actual (though it might be non-universal) practice of logical and mathematical discourse, seen through the unity of a priori and empirical components of creative process? Is it possible to speak about the harmony between these traditionally opposed (in spite of Kant's view) positions? And, finally, is it reasonable to insist on a heuristic potential of either (or both) points of view – whether it is apriorism or empiricism, the potential, which reveals itself in a situation of cognition?

I'm inclined to suggest (intentionally categorically) that a certain form of apriorism (in a moderate, so to say, version) does not contradict empiricism (again, in a moderate version). The actual practice of logical-mathematical discourse can demonstrate very interesting combinations of a priori and empiricist compo-

nents in a creative process. This practice demonstrates the harmonious combination of these positions, and thus confirms the validity of Kant's ideas about the unity of the a priori and empirical both for the modern logic and philosophy of science. Apriorism, as well as empiricism, considered in terms of their unity, in certain situations, has considerable heuristic potential.

### Apriorism (a moderate version)

*Extreme, radical* form of apriorism declares "the primacy of the intuitive basis of mathematical reasoning" and "ahistorical nature of this basis" [10, p. 80], and indeed incompatible with the extreme, radical empiricism, the essence of which is expressed, for example, by William James in a statement that the content of knowledge is completely determined by experience or is narrowed down to it, and only this very knowledge can be a worthy subject of philosophical discourse and form the foundation of science. Meanwhile the a priori point of view has a deep meaning and suggests far-reaching consequences of epistemological character.

Kant is well known to have been the first to propose a specific interpretation of the subject's active role in any act of knowing, the activity of consciousness in the process of cognition. The modern interpretation of Kant's apriorism assumes that the reality (object) is not seen as an object of passive contemplation, but it is subjected to active rethinking on the part of the cognitive agent, and that logical categories become a shaping factor in relation to the objects of cognition, that the theoretical system, being "imposed" on the empirical material, forms a system of objects of scientific knowledge [16, p. 180–184], and the physical reality is not identical to the objective reality, but represents a certain theorized world of physics [3, p. 190–192]. In other words, the knowledge and concepts, which are currently shared by a cognitive agent, form a sort of lens to make the reality "visible" (in the case of logic and mathematics it is called, for example, the universum of discourse). This knowledge and concepts can be compared to a drag-net, which is thrown into reality and catches everything that commensurates with its size. Here, of course, what matters is the goal-setting intention of the cognitive agent, which subjects his cognitive activity to specific tasks and reforms his system of a priori categories in accordance with the specific objectives. As N. Bohr once mentioned in relation to an issue resembling the above-going discussion, "when a boy has a *hammer*, everything looks *like a nail*", and A. Einstein said, "Only the theory decides what we can observe". You can also recall the "Kuleshov's effect" seen in the early days of cinematography, when the technology of combined shots was being introduced: the background against which the object is being filmed, sets the mode of the audience's perception. This effect points at the active nature of both the conscious and the subconscious. Similarly, we can argue for the active character of language that is used in cognitive process, keeping in mind the fact that the language to a certain extent shapes cognition according to its immanent properties and features, and does so quite effectively (see [4; 18; 22]).

One cannot disagree with the idea of E. Mamchur that "it was the thorough reading of Kant's philosophy at Western universities that facilitated the perception and acceptance of quantum theory by the Western theoretical physicists. A quantum theory was hard and tight to accept for many Soviet physicists, which can be partly explained by the fact that they did not actually know the philosophy of Kant, but rather studied dogmatic and extremely simplified ver-

sion of dialectical materialism... " [10, p. 130–131]. Kantian ideas deposited (in converted form) in the (sub) consciousness of famous physicists of the future in the form of the belief that human perception of the world is mediated by a kind of world of ideas, which in a sense is the premise (a priori) to any particular cognitive act.

Moderate apriorism does not assume the primacy of intuitive base and its ahistorical nature; rather it consists of the recognition of the agent's activity, determined by the sum of his knowledge and concepts, which has, of course, a historical character – activity that requires certain angle of vision and dismemberment of reality. Activity of a cognitive agent is not absolute, but relative of his own "fulfilling" and goal-setting, and the activity itself is modified as a result of interaction with the object of his activity. In fact, the very activity towards the outside world can be regarded as an object of cognition.

It could have been quite interesting to establish the conceptual correlation between the moderate apriorism and mathematical Platonism, but this is a separate issue, which would have taken me away from the main goal of the present paper.

### Empiricism (moderate version)

An extreme form of empiricism suggests that the content of knowledge is completely determined by experience or reduced to it. In the history of philosophy starting points of this variety of empiricism originate, apparently, from the philosophical system of D. Hume. Meanwhile, the actual practice of logical-mathematical reasoning is indicative of the fact that sometimes a breakthrough into new areas of logical-mathematical research takes place in a context that meets the position of moderate empiricism.

Moderate empiricism implies that experience, the main component of which is predetermined by the conceptual background of the agent, plays a crucial role (including heuristic one) in the formation of knowledge, the nature of the agent's cognitive activity, and often has a decisive (including heuristic) impact on the development of the agent's system of theoretical concepts and his schemes, of his "anticipated" perception in U. Neisser's terms. In fact, the point is that some activities build assumptions, which can be actively used in the subsequent activity, including cognitive one, and they serve as a kind of template for a person to "process" this or that piece of reality, and the reality determines possibility and margins to such processing.

"Cognition, – notes M. Rozov, – is the process of development of the content of social memory. By content I thus understand the fixation of activity in one form or another... Cognition is not a reflection but rather the *construction* of other types of activity, real ones or at the level of mental experiments... The term "reflection" takes on a slightly different meaning here: reflection as a description of the activities that *we create in collaboration with the world around us* (my italics – V.B.) " [13, p. 123]. Thus, cognition is a "two-way street," which is regulated by both the subject and the object, and the allowed ways are defined as the (explicit or implicit) attitudes of the subject and the ontology of the object.

Similar assumptions are typical for enactivism, a very young philosophical field (in the constructivist framework), which interprets the data of cognitive sciences.

Enactivism insists that the subject (agent) does not construct representations, that is, does not "reflect" in the literal sense of the world, he is self-contained, and therefore he builds and re-constructs immanent patterns of activity, and thus constructs his own world, and designs himself. The strategy of the agent in relation to the world is selective; he pulls out meanings and actively creates them, constructing a kind of a niche (a natural one in the case of an animal and a cognitive one in the case of humans). Meanings are involved in the creation of the world, which adapts to the subject (agent) in accordance with his goals and desires. World, the external environment is a continuation of the subjects (agents) themselves, and therefore cognitive systems are structurally and operationally self-enclosed, autopoietic. Cognition is creation, production of the world, which is not the scene of action, but a sort of "completion" of the subject (agent) on the outside to a more or less satisfying shape (see [7, p. 350–351]).

### **The heuristic value of empiricism and apriorism in the development of logic and mathematics**

Analysis of N. Lobachevsky's creative heritage can definitely reveal the scientist's internal support to the empiricism. His imaginary geometry did not proceed from abstract concepts, but from a specific fact – a contact of bodies, and his scientific motto was based on Francis Bacon's thought: «... ask nature, it stores all of the truth and it will certainly and comprehensively answer your questions». For example, in "On the Foundations of Geometry," he writes, "the initial concepts that some science begins with should be clear and brought down to the smallest number.... Such concepts are acquired through senses; the inborn ones should not be trusted". Or in "New Foundations of Geometry" Lobachevsky notes that "the first data, no doubt, will always be the concepts that we learn from nature through our senses" (cit: [5, p. 208]). Geometrical dependencies, in his opinion, are no different from the dependencies that are studied in physics.

This ideological orientation and methodological setting of Lobachevsky did not block, but rather placed a special emphasis on the need to develop and maintain strict canons of mathematical proof, and on the particular attitude towards the basis of mathematical knowledge. "Lobachevsky's views are close to the ones of the English empirical school (Locke, Hume, Berkeley), and Condillac's sensationalism", wrote Alexander Vassiliev, the most profound researcher of the scientist's heritage [5, p. 209].

The main thing is that this explicitly expressed, as it now should be called, moderate empiricist position of Lobachevsky provided heuristic influence on his thoughts during the creation and development of non-Euclidean geometry. It explains why he named the new system of geometry "imaginary", and why he assumed that it was relevant to the real space and time, and attempted to define their geometry, foreseeing that it had to be non-Euclidean.

N. Vassiliev, the conceptual precursor to several non-classical logics (multi-valued, para-nonconsistent, multidimensional), was an explicit supporter of moderate empiricism (in the version that corresponds to the idea of psychologism in logic). In his works on logic, he directly linked the new formal system with the structures of imaginary worlds. The creatures of these worlds, as N. Vassiliev emphasized, have "perceptive" abilities different from those of the earthlings, and they actually dictate the need to adopt a new logic (see [1; 14]). The imaginary world of n-dimensions and the corresponding psychological con-

struction of living beings, according to N. Vassiliev, suggest new types of negations and new logics that make up a plurality of equally equitable and logical systems (see [6, p. 86–89]). In these logics the laws of (non)contradiction and/or the excluded middle are no longer valid: their empirical foundations require adoption of other laws (and, therefore, other logics).

One could argue that Lobachevsky and N. Vassiliev used single "imaginary" methodology, let heuristically rich, but not typical and not indicative of the logical-mathematical discourse. Not daring to make far-reaching generalizations, I'm still inclined to state that empiricism can and does play a heuristic role in implicit situations.

To a certain extent, even Platonism may be considered a special kind of empirical philosophy, which implies a-priori background. After all, we are talking about some pre-defined universum, which generates an appropriate type of experience (let's say, the set-theoretic).

Even if there is a need to create an apparatus to describe a particular subject area, empirical considerations backed up by a priori conditions can play a major role. Here the establishment of relevant logic can serve as a vivid example.

I. Orlov, who praised – which is only natural in the intellectual atmosphere of 1920–1930's – the dialectical method of thinking, strived at constructing a special type of logic, built on intentional (rather than extensional, typical up to a certain point) principle, which would correspond to dialectics in the formal sense. This meant a shift from the "logic of reference" to the "logic of sense". In other words, this logic, which he called the logic of compatibility of propositions should take into account the intentional relationship of antecedent and consequent and thus get closer to the dialectical logic (dictating the laws of natural science, which was processed by Orlov). The latter should be committed to a meaningful aspect that was defined by a particular subject area. In logic, later known as relevant and inspired by the desire to apply formal means to recreate the particular logic of science, coinciding with the theory of knowledge and dialectics, Orlov tried to overcome the paradox of material implication and to bind components of reasoning through semantic dependence (see [2]). Thus, the experience of the dialectical interpretation of natural science dictated certain restrictions on Orlov's formal structures of logic of compatibility of propositions. However, the mere interpretation of natural science took place in the context of dialectical "dissection" of reality. Orlov in this case was similar to the boy with a hammer – a character that appeared in Niels Bohr's aphorism.

The situation with Orlov's logic of compatibility of propositions seems to be quite clear (although it is by no means a textbook one like imaginary geometry or imaginary logic) to demonstrate the mechanism of weaving together a priori and empiricist components of the creative process. The former determine the angle of the cut section of reality, and the latter – the experience extracted from it and defining the nature of cognitive structures.

It is worth recalling the forgotten and undervalued idea of V. Trostnikov of the biological (or, perhaps more accurately – neurophysiological) predetermination of mathematics and its individual fragments. Thus, V. Trostnikov, analyzing the structure of the human perceptual space, argued that, let's say, Cantor's nested interval theorem, underlying the theory of real numbers, must be forced upon our mental process. Particular features of human visual analyzer suggest that the system of nested intervals must necessarily have a common point – "the very point that in perceptual space is our system of intervals" [15, p. 247].

If such a predetermination does occur, it will force us to significantly revise many aspects of traditional epistemology (which, in fact, is already being done in modern constructivism and enactivism) and, in particular, the nature of relations between empiricism and apriorism, as well as refine the very notion of apriorism.

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ZERO PHILOSOPHY\*

This article offers an analysis of the concept of mystical experience and its relation to science and philosophy in connection with E. A. Torchinov's research and in the context of Kant's doctrine of human "metaphysical disposition", the nature and purpose of philosophy.

**Key words:** *mystic, mystical experience, science, philosophy, metaphysical disposition, E.A. Torchinov.*

... Gives itself a senseless possibility of an *extrasensory experience*, directly contradicting itself (to represent the transcendent as immanent) and is based on the well-known secret school of thought called mysticism, which is the direct opposite to all philosophy...

[AA, VIII, S. 441]

In the past two decades, the mystical mood in Russia has spread virtually unchecked, leading people away from reality: people would see what is not there rather than what really is. The state of society, the spiritual atmosphere is such that these sentiments do not only master the "masses", but scientists — those who seek to know the truth of being and should help others to distinguish reality from fantasy and deception.

What constitutes the *problem* that is most interesting *philosophically*? Where would we like to achieve clarity? First of all, let's come to the very concept of "mysticism." Mystic usually denotes something mysterious, incomprehensible, yet *vital*, therefore causing feelings of reverence, awe or fear — in short, something *mysterious and significant*. We are talking about something incomprehensible associated with the *mystery of human life*. All of us in varying degrees, are aware that the basis of our lives is a mystery. A vague idea about it is either cast in mythological images of supernatural beings, or — at best — leads to the idea of the *immediate detection* of the will of the almighty and incomprehensible God in a particular situation of everyday experience.



Man wants to believe: a mysterious and powerful one is watching me, cares for me, takes care of me, and my person is not ignored. Ordinary mind goes far away from the paradox of Kant's thought: faith in God should be so absolute, that we *never* make him bothered with our affairs. Moments of *immediate contact* with the mysterious power, of the vivid perception of its presence are defined, first of all, as *mystic*. From a philosophical point of view, these types of "mystical experience" are not of a big interest. In this respect Kant made fairly rough, but generally true remark addressed to Swedenborg and other "visionaries": "if hypochondriacal wind should rage in the guts, what matters is what direction it takes: if downwards, then the result is a f---, if upwards, an apparition or an heavenly inspiration" [3, p. 328]. This popular form of mysticism, probably will always exist – not only because we will always maintain a childish thirst for protection and care, not only because our knowledge is always limited (and imagination is boundless) and we are always and will always be *dependent* on the forces *unknown* to us, and therefore have to have a lot of trust and a lot of hope, but also for the important reason that the "invisible world" – as a matter of vital hopes, as a matter of life and death for many people – has always been and will remain the province of the revenue for those chosen by "higher powers" as their intermediaries between themselves and ordinary people – for traders of exotic "occult", "magical" or "esoteric" goods.

This regular mysticism is interesting philosophically, perhaps only as a *domestic form* of manifestation of *metaphysical inclinations* of man, his thirst for the absolute. The world cultural history recognizes a *mystic* as an ultimate human desire for *unity* – or rather *merging* with God, to a complete "dissolution" of the soul in the Absolute, to the *disappearance of the distinction* between "I" and God. "But if I learn Him without mediation, I will become Him and He will become me! This is exactly what I understand. God must become "I" and "I" must become God, so completely one, so that He is the "I" become one and so would remain... " [5, p. 149–149]. This is the principle of *true mysticism*, mystery and ordinary everyday mystique as well as religious one. Let alone and developing freely, it leads to the conclusion stated in Upanishads: "Me and God – one unity», *tat twam asi* – «Thou art That!" It is based on the total *negation of the world* (as well as of any *multiplicity* in general, of fragmentation, materiality, the overall shape of which is space and time) as *untrue* and *evil*. The essence of the mystical aspirations is an attempt to *transcend* all specific, finite and concrete. "To transcend" not in the sense of aspiration to a higher, or the last *limit*, but in the sense of going *beyond all limits* – towards *nothing and nowhere*. Hence – the desire to get away from the evil of worldly existence, asceticism, austerity, actions to *put out* the ordinary *consciousness*, burdened with unreal world. Even one's own *consciousness* is a product of untrue finitude, is in essence – evil! Indian mystical tradition quite consistently grades sleep higher than being awake and sleep without dreams higher than the one with dreams. Hence, the high evaluation of *unusual states of consciousness*, their interpretation as detecting falsity of everyday reality and manifestation of the *other world*, the pursuit of super-consciousness, ecstasy – "going out" of the self ("I", *finitude* in general) and "opening up" to infinity. All cultures can witness this desire to *deny* the world (split into the "I" and the "world") and to *empty the consciousness*, the desire to get rid of one's own separation from the absolute, desire to "return" back into it, "drown" one's own individuality (along with all the problems and suffering) in it. Mysticism conceals *radical nihilism*.

Mystics of different times and peoples, choosing this path, took on, according to their accounts (while they still retained consciousness and a link to this sinful world), a special kind of experience, which, in their opinion, reveals the *true reality* and leads to *higher knowledge*, far superior to anything that we could gain from everyday life experience, science and philosophy. How can a scientist, a philosopher treat such aspirations, statements and claims? What is the relation between *this* mystery and philosophy or science?

What is important in philosophy and in a philosopher — the soul focused on the *absolute*, universal, divine, or a passion aimed at *thinking*, reasoning, discussion, achieving *clarity* — including metaphysical aspirations of his own soul? In its interest towards the absolute, philosophy is akin to religion, in its quest for understanding, reflection, explanation and research it reminds science. Philosophy is the expansion of *scientific* passion for studying and knowing into the area of the highest *religious* interest. Kant here, as always, recognized the core issue. There is an ineradicable *metaphysical bent* in a man, the one constituting the very being of the person, and crucial question for the future of the philosophy is whether the *subject matter* of this metaphysical passion can be *known* by the same experience, reasoning, reflection, research and collaborative discussion, etc. which gives us the most perfect, reliable, evidence-based, universally valid, objective knowledge in *science*?

The problem of the mystical experience is seen as the most interesting in this context. What is the value it has for philosophy? How to treat the words of mystics and their claims to possess *higher knowledge*? How to assess the position of physiologists, psychologists, psychiatrists, who see in this kind of experience mainly *pathological* mental state, in the best case — the so-called "altered states of consciousness," which, in principle, do not differ in *cognitive* value from dreams and hallucinations? It is well known that prominent manifestations of religiousness and mystical visions are often associated with increased nervous irritability and high emotional state, exaltation, imbalance, decreased intelligence. Among mystics there were a lot of people of psychopathic disposition: "St. Paul was probably prone to epileptic seizures, George Fox, without a doubt, was the hereditary degenerate; Carlyle suffered from self-poisoning of the body caused by digestion disease, and so it was with many other" [2, p. 27–28]. So does a different *reality* get open in such a mystical experience, or are we dealing here with the same "reality" that we constantly "visit" in dreams or imagination? And how can a philosopher or scientist discuss this issue if he does not have such experience, and has to rely on a mystic having his mysticism as a *totally inner experience*. So the scientist has *trust a word* which, as a rule, is incomprehensible: the mystic himself primarily emphasizes *inexpressibleness* of his visions.

I got "hooked" by the title (and content) of recently published books of E. Torchinov, a famous St. Petersburg orientalist and religious researcher: "transcendent experience", "knowledge of the beyond" [8; 9]. Both word combinations make little sense. "The experience of the beyond" — it is either something else but experience, or it is not "of the beyond", since it is given in experience or knowledge is available.

In fact, what is a *mystical* experience? How is it different from other kinds of experience? What kind of experience deserves to be called "mystical"? E. Torchinov explains that in the course of psychopractice yogi gradually *eliminates* his consciousness, "replacing consciousness (necessarily requiring a subject-object dichotomy and shaping it) with non-dual, non-dichotomy (advaya)

gnosis-knowledge (jnana)" [9, p. 39]. This is the core of the matter: the vast mystical literature of different cultures talks about one and the same issue, of overcoming, or removing, the *subject-object relationship*. In the state of mystical experience the consciousness, actually, does not reveal itself, because it is fundamentally *intentional*, and its essence is contained in a particular *duality*: being outside itself — it is always perceiving something, something that is *not consciousness* itself, but something *different* to consciousness, *being*, or an *object*. As the mystical experience is non-dual, the "higher forms of mystical experience (peak ASC) are not the states of consciousness in general" [9, p. 353]! The abbreviation blurs the utter nonsense: an *altered state of consciousness* is not a *state of consciousness*. And why is a state — non-state of consciousness-unconsciousness is called an experience if the *experience* as the author says, — that's all, "which has become appropriated by consciousness" [9, p. 352]? It turns out that consciousness does not exist, but the experience does, though it is a *zero* experience! It may *not hold something given*. Pure experience. Experience as an experience and not an experience of anything that has any content. Empty experience. Experience of *nothing*. No one's experience. Moreover, it appears that in this "experience" some consciousness still holds, but it is the *consciousness without any intentionality*, that is, some consciousness, but consciousness without perceiving *anything*. Pure consciousness. Consciousness as such in general, which *does not process anything*. "The silent consciousness," according to the respected professor, "beyond perceptions and processing." No representations, no perceptions, no emotions, no thoughts, no conscious of any object, though the consciousness itself is there.

It is not surprising that this kind of "experience" cannot be *expressed* and *communicated* to others, has no *objective* meaning, is not intended for any critical group discussion, as there is no point in even talking about *what* exactly is known and what is learnt in this experience.

Why does the well-known researcher of religion nevertheless give mystical testimonies quite a high significance? He thinks it's time to find a "new intellectual courage" and find a way to "return to the philosophy its dignity." The call is attractive to follow, but in what way? We should "try to find workarounds leading philosopher-smuggler beyond these intellectual cordons" [9, p. 24–25]. This are the "cordons" set by the philosophers themselves, the notorious "boundaries of knowledge." Philosophers and scientists distinguish between subjective and objective, the mind and the object. But it's all in *unity*, all the same, in other words, there is something that lies at the basis of subject and object, and matter, and spirit — and the diversity and all the differences, therefore — it is simple, "non-dual". The only way to it, the unity, hidden behind all the diversity of the phenomena of the external world — the way "inside" oneself "from within" through a "tunnel" of self-consciousness — the *inner* essence of the *outside* world, as Schopenhauer suggested, interpreting Kant's idea of the "thing in itself". After all, my essence and the essence of the whole world are one and the same, and only *in myself* it is given to me *immediately*. This means that it is possible "to perceive the very reality that... constitutes the very nature of pure experience, just like the water forms the nature of any wave... And I think that transpersonal experience is the form for such knowledge" [9, p. 361], which was "pioneered" by the ancient Hindu mystics-yogis. This knowledge can be defined as a "movement from a conceptualized (mentally constructed) world of phenomena to a non-conceptualized knowledge of reality as it is (tathata...) ... what it IS without

the distorting effects of power of a conceptualizing mind" [9, p. 364]. Anyone who wants to know the true reality and merge with the unity – "let him stay deprived of concepts...", "hold your breath" and cease the "representative function of consciousness" [9, p. 364–365]! I knew Eugeny Alexandrovich personally and I always treated him with great respect, but it is difficult to assess these words differently rather than as betrayal of science and philosophy. The *scientist* writes about the *distorting power* of the mind! Kant was aware of such moods: "Sometimes the error of misology catches the ones who at first devoted themselves to sciences with great diligence and success, but finally did not find any satisfaction in its knowledge" [4, p. 334].

This path does not return to the philosophy its dignity, but rather negates it; in the best case it brings philosophy to its starting point. People who have not flirted with mysticism, but stayed true believers themselves and underwent the path of an ascetic practice, understood it very well. I call for St. Gregory Palama as a witness. Science for him is the "external" wisdom, barren and vain, neither knowledge nor truth. It cheats and robs the soul, gives no knowledge of God, and does not lead to it, and is therefore empty and meaningless. It brings the "greatest harm" as the "crown of evil, the devil's cardinal sin, pride – comes from the knowledge!" [7, p. 18]. To obtain the knowledge of proper truth, it is necessary to leave the abundant reading, to stop "wandering mind" and take a "monosyllabic prayer" to ascend to God. We must leave any *arguments* and "make the plank of the soul smooth", so that it may become suitable for imprinting gifts of the Spirit. Palama understands these "gifts" as ineffable *mystical experience*, contrasting it to the entire scientific vanity. If you acknowledge the mystical experience as actual *experience*, if you acknowledge that it opens the true *reality*, if you acknowledge that it gives superior *knowledge*, superior science and logic then have the courage to take the conclusions it entails. Go to the desert.

Let's try to take the words of the mysterious energies and blue mandala seriously. Can we even talk about something that is "higher intelligence" and "beyond reason"? After all, something that is "beyond reason" uses the *concept of reason*! If there is a mystical experience, then, like any experience it is the result of *judgment, thinking*. No feeling, perception, experience becomes *experience* if it is not *understood*, not *memorized*, not *played* back again by imagination, if its moments and my conditions, replacing each other, do not get connected by the *activity of mind* and the identity of the person in one. There is no experience without *diversity* of views. There is no experience without the *unity* of the diversity. There is no unity without identity of personality and synthesis of reason. The so-called "mystical experience" differs from other kinds of experience but not by the fact that it goes "beyond the bounds of reason" and refers to what reason cannot have any *idea* about. It may differ only in a *way* the mind is used or acts in an experiment. What is the relative "proportion", the proportion of the components which necessarily make up any human experience? Should we recognize the "mystical state" of consciousness as the unit of measure for assessing the ordinary and scientific experience, data of sensory perception and thoughts derived from "solid mind and clear memory" – or consider everyday life experience and the experience of science the unit of measure for evaluation of "mystical experience"?

Let's emphasize that we put the question in a state of "normal consciousness", though for the mystical experience *the question itself does not exist*. Such a condition bears no questions. If we want to solve this problem and do it having

some grounds, weighing the arguments, seeking the truth, choosing from a variety of options, analyzing them — we are already on the basis of a sober mind, "normal consciousness," the best and most advanced form of which is represented by science. The question itself and the intention already *include the answer*. Mystical state is not looking for "reasons"; it does not know "arguments" and "considerations". So if we ask the question, and we want an answer, *we have already chosen* a "normal" consciousness and scientific research. It is a measure and criterion, and mystical experience, or other "altered states of consciousness" become the *object* under study. This means that the 'mystical experience' exists only for *the mind*. It does not exist for itself or on its own. *Altered* states of consciousness exist only for *the normal* state of consciousness — the one in which Socrates was arguing about Eros and poetic frenzy, in which Freud was thinking about the causes of female hysteria and subconscious instincts. The subconscious mind exists only for *the mind*. Spinoza was right about that: the truth is the measure both for itself and for the delusion. Mind is the measure both for itself and mindlessness. Mindlessness can not be the judge of reason for the simple reason that it does not judge at all.

Any criticism of reason is a matter of the mind itself. A being without judgment, does not criticize. Limitations of man are manifested in the lack of understanding of one's own limitations. Recognition of the limitations of the mind is a manifestation of the *mind*, rather than feelings or a "superlogical" wisdom. The mind itself restricts itself from the "inside". Its limitation from "outside" is not possible, because the very "outside" is the *concept* of reason. In all "outside" aspects it stays within. How can we detect in our experience the presence of a being *infinitely* superior to us in its mind? "Higher intelligence" is the notion of our own mind. The mystical experience cannot "undermine the credibility of rational consciousness, based only on reason and feelings" [2, p. 336], because "authority" and its "undermining" are *concepts* of reason, as well as "other consciousness", "possibility of truths of a different order", as well as the "world" or "another world" or "alternate reality" etc. One can only wonder how people with enthusiasm and passion overwhelm the mind and the reason, not knowing that all of their destructive activities are the work of this very mind. It reminds me of a fighting fish that violently throws itself at its own reflection in the glass aquarium as if it were its opponent. Therefore, there is no non-conceptualized experience. There is only the experience which is poorly conceptualized or conceptualized unconsciously and implicitly, etc. If the experience remains in the memory, it is already "captured" by reason, even if it is difficult for a person to express it. The contradiction between the non-descript and the desire to tell others is still somehow "solved" sometimes through an indication that the mystical experience is non-conceptualized, so to speak, "in the process", but lends itself to the expression of hindsight, after regaining normal consciousness. And this experience is conceptualized, mostly through pointing at its non-conceptualized nature. Unfathomable gets comprehension through its incomprehensibility. Consequently, non-conceptualized nature of mystical experience all the same "is not absolute," as theorists slyly admit, but only "to a certain degree." It can be described, but through gradual "semantic destruction of language," as D. Zilberman said. To put simply, the way to finding a new intellectual courage and returning to philosophy its dignity means to destroy the language step by step, until the *words* become *sounds* that have *no meaning*, and thus disappear as unnecessary.

Everything said above, apparently, shows one thing: a mystical experience, in its highest and the strictest sense, is in *cognitive* respect a *point of contact* between religion and philosophy, the point of transition from religion to philosophy (or philosophy to religion in the reverse movement of the semantic deconstruction). Pure mysticism *finishes* religious development and *begins* philosophical one (if, of course, it ever begins). It is a kind of *premonition* of universal, absolute, sensual and emotional manifestation of *mind*, *philosophical* interest in the man. Therefore, philosophy treats mystical experience as only the first start, motivation, which must find its own *development* in the philosophical study. Thales' simple thesis is superior in its *cognitive*, theoretical value to the whole mystical tradition. The reality is revealed only in the long and difficult development of science and philosophy through *joint, cooperative* efforts. And the best thing that everyone can do is to take part in this work, and contribute to it.

To find out and save the mystic truth was an intention of super-rationalist Hegel who built his philosophy as *an academic system*. Truly *philosophical*, that is *speculative* (or "positive-wise"), thinking, he argued, was the same as that the one which used to be called "mystical" [1, p. 210–213]. Mystical is really "mysterious", but only for the understanding, the higher principles of which are the laws of formal logic, the principle of contradiction, the separation of opposites, the lack of understanding of their unity without seeing the difference in their relationship. The principle of *reason*, or speculative-dialectical thinking is the *concrete unity of opposing definitions*. Therefore, speculative thought "removes" the opposites of *finite and infinite*, "I" and God, *subjective and objective*, "consciousness" and its "subject". For a man of common sense speculative coincidence of opposites is either meaningless or *incomprehensible*. And if he is inclined to accept the reality of the mysterious and does not consider mystical description of blinding darkness a meaningless jumble of words, he calls for the sake of knowledge of a "higher" truth to give up thinking, logic, science, to limit the mind, etc. Hegel, however, leaves the mystical within science and philosophy, expanding the concept of "thinking" and "logic" and differentiating between the understanding and reason, which is able to keep opposites as "moments" of the absolute. Therefore, we should call all *reasonable mystical* because it goes beyond reason. But it does not go beyond cognition, which is always "in us" and makes *our own essence*. "Usually people think that an absolute must be away on the other side, but it's just absolutely tangible that we as thinking beings always carry it with us" [1, p. 124–125]. Tat twam asi – «Thou art That!» Correcting and cleansing the mystical tradition, Hegel observes: "Since *language* is the product of *thought*, we cannot express it through anything that would not be *universal*... And ineffable feeling, a sense are not the best, the true, but *the least significant*, most untrue..." (italics are mine. – S. Ch.) [1, p. 114]. Untold mystical intuition is the *initial* manifestation of philosophical ideas, which should expand the free movement of *thought* through its rich and quite *specific* content in the philosophy of science.

Implacable foe of German speculative idealism, Friedrich Jacobi also saw the core of true philosophy and true religion in the *mystical experience of the mind*. Where is the cause for this strange coincidence of opposites? It is in the same frustration with the "intellect", with its "abstract" nature. Hegel recognized the merit of Jacobi in putting together with Kant an end to *rational metaphysics* – he showed that it was impossible to apply the reason to learn the universal, absolute, infinite. The real "treasure" of the humanity Jacobi saw in the manifestation of *reason* in man, that is... in the belief in God, freedom, and virtue, which the

*reason knows nothing about* [10, p. 55]. This belief towers over science and limits the notion of nature with the concept of *freedom*, sensory-perceptual with extra-sensory and thus *makes up* for what the understanding alone, i. e. science, fails to give [10, p. 57]. For such a necessary fulfillment a person needs to get *out of the trail of understanding* [11, S. 40]. To achieve the ultimate and primary goal sought by the soul in the cognitive process, it is vital to make a *salto mortale* – to leap over the endless chains of cause and effect, and touch the unconditional, eternal, and infinite in the *direct perception of reason* in the depths of one's own subjectivity. Jacoby saw the necessary addition to the "abstractions" of understanding not in Hegel's speculative mind, but in the ultimate truth of *life*, in the *immediate perception of freedom* and the same *immediate perception* of God. Beyond the scope of understanding lie the most important things, which keep this paradoxical *sense of transcendental*. It is actually what we call the *reason*. Thus, Jacoby agrees with his opponent, Hegel, on the main point: the *mystical* knowledge is a manifestation of the *reason* of man. One finds its fullest realization in the system of *science*, the other, like Kant, in *morality*.

Mystics "can see what is not seen by any other healthy person, and can communicate to creatures which would not reveal themselves to anyone else..." When they finally wake up with God's help, that is when they open their eyes and their look shows that they can already understand other people, none of them will see clearly anything that convincingly and in the light of their evidence can become evident to someone else" [3, p. 321]. The fact that a mystic in his passionate quest for *unity* with the absolute (or transcendental) *retires*, moves away from the world and other people into a secluded and hidden from other people space, into his *own* world is a sure sign of an illusory, subjective, personal nature of his visions. Having summarized the large amount of evidence, James pointed to the characteristics of mystical experience: 1) it is ineffable, 2) it is intuitive, 3) it has short duration, 4) it is marked by inactive will [2, p. 303–304]. All these features *directly oppose* the properties of academic excellence and scientific and philosophical knowledge, which are based on the purposeful *activity*, the possibility of *multiple* objective observations, testing by other people, the primacy of *thought* over the sensory perception (intuition), the desire for *certainty*, accuracy, consistency, clear expression in the language, etc. Therefore, scientific knowledge is initially produced by joint efforts, it becomes public domain, gets a versatile, universal value. *Thinking* brings people together (as well as bringing sensory variety into holistic image of an object). Nothing separates us more than a mystical desire to dive into an infinite point inside oneself. The fact that such a separation brings the ultimate unity is an illusion. Only through thinking and language, we live in *one* world. "Unspeakable" and "unthinkable" is just sensual, inferior, not superior. Science is the most perfect expression of the ability to think and learn, to communicate, to comprehend the reality that no one is given "suddenly" and "as a whole," as if by magic, but which image is becoming deeper, more precise, more perfect, more interesting thanks to centuries-old works of the worldwide republic of philosophers and scientists.

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V. Chaly

ANTHROPOLOGICAL  
FOUNDATIONS  
OF JOHN RAWLS'  
POLITICAL THEORY<sup>1</sup>

*The analysis of Rawls' anthropological model, underlying his theory of justice, reveals its complex basis: on one hand, it is an attempt to attach broader and deeper Kantian philosophical foundations to "rational egoist" of classical utilitarianism (idea of autonomy, ability of self-determination through moral law); on the other hand, the notion of "life plan", emphasizing rationality of human interests and actions and opening a possibility for happiness, connects Rawls' theory to Aristotle's virtue ethics and to contemporary communitarianism.*

**Keywords:** anthropological model, "justice as fairness", rationality, individualism, "life plan", Rawls, Kant, Aristotle.

A certain understanding of human nature is always at the core of a political theory, and is always the ultimate source and subject of dispute. Most often such understanding is implicit, unarticulated, taken for granted and not developed and discussed within the theory itself. So the reconstruction and analysis of anthropological presuppositions of contemporary and historical systems of political philosophy forms an important early stage of research that should not be neglected. The purpose of this paper is to provide analysis of anthropological foundations of John Rawls' "justice as fairness".

Contemporary anglophone philosophy endows the very term "anthropology" with two different meanings. One is ethnological; the other can be called normative. The former is used more often, as ethnological approach is well-respected and followed by many. The latter is sometimes seen as old-fashioned and "metaphysical", even "fundamentalist", allowing for generalizations that are too broad, and goals that are too far-reaching. It is sometimes called "normative conception of the person" (as in [7]) or "the problem of human condition".

Still, contemporary political theories of liberal egalitarianism, libertarianism, communitarianism, multiculturalism rely (often implicitly) on the normative approach and find little use for the conceptions of cultural anthropology. This fact is somewhat striking in the case of multiculturalism, which, while emphasizing the significance of cultural particularism and the role of culture in shaping subjects and processes of political life, could in principle rely on cultural anthropology. The possible reasons for this neglect are discussed in the article of an American anthropologist Terence Turner, who comes to the conclusion that multiculturalism as a movement is too preoccupied with political struggle for minorities' rights to systematically address its theoretical foundations [12].

Thus, the notion of "anthropology" in contemporary political philosophy generally means "normative conception of person", not "cultural anthropology", and Rawls' theory of justice is no exception. This should count as another link to Kantian philosophy, since Kant was the first to differentiate between theoretical and pragmatic anthropology, defining the latter as the "investigation of what *he* as a free-acting being makes of himself, or can and should make of himself" [2, 7:119]. The notion of pragmatic anthropology is actively discussed, also in "Kantovsky sbornik", and this paper in many aspects relies on work done by H. Klemme, L. Kalinnikov, V. Vasilyev, among others.

Anglophone political philosophy before the publication of "Theory of Justice" was dominated by what ant called a "physiological" approach to the problem of human nature, defining it as "investigation of what *nature* makes of the human being". Behaviorist psychology and emotivist ethics formed the background for political philosophy, where consequentialism played a normative role. So, W. Ross considered Kantian deontology to be a simplification of an actual person's moral life, and proposed to augment it with the idea of the plurality of human motives that would include not only duty, but also psychological motives, effectively blurring the difference between pragmatic and theoretical anthropology. On the one hand, this "soft" deontology was followed by a number of philosophers, including R. Audi and P. Stratton-Lake; on the other hand, critics find this conception to be eclectic and incoherent [10, p. 41]. A person in Ross's view is guided by an unstructured array of maxims, expectations and intuitive concepts of the good, having no criteria to resolve imminent conflicts that ensue.

Another normative doctrine, which proved to be important for the development of twentieth-century anglophone political philosophy, is legal positivism of H. L. A. Hart. The concept of human nature that underlies it is influenced by late Wittgenstein and leaves no place for universalism, inherent in Kant's pragmatic anthropology. Any attempt at grounding a set of principles of legal and political conduct in the ever-changing linguistic landscape is relativist from the outset and will experience a deficiency in its prescriptive function. Important questions concerning political aims and ends, ideal models of human conduct, of citizenship, will inevitably remain unanswered.

This deficiency was among the principle reasons for Rawls developing his theory of "justice as fairness". Rawls does not draw out a wholesome model of human being; however, his "Theory of Justice" contains many important insights and focuses on several important features. The subjects of Rawls' theory are, above all else, free and equal rational beings. This formula is used frequently

starting from the first pages of the Preface for the Revised Edition, where Rawls names the description of rights and responsibilities of such beings “a requirement of absolutely first importance for an account of democratic institutions” [10, p. xii].

The second fundamental feature of human situation is having interests, both identical and conflicting: “There is an identity of interests since social cooperation makes possible a better life for all than any would have if each were to try to live solely by his own efforts. There is a conflict of interests since men are not indifferent as to how the greater benefits produced by their collaboration are distributed, for in order to pursue their ends they each prefer a larger to a lesser share” [10, p. 109]. This is Rawls’ way to account for Aristotelian understanding of human nature.

The most comprehensive description of the workings of Rawls’ anthropological model is found in Chapter VII of Part Three of “Theory of Justice”, titled “Goodness as Rationality”. It starts with an analysis of contexts, where “goodness” is used, pointing at the affinity between goodness and rightness. This affinity becomes the foundation for Rawls’ deontology. The notions of the good and the right are used above all when assessing interests [10, p. 348]. The right interests would be those corresponding to socially accepted norms. Rawls – and that is no wonder when dealing with fundamental philosophical concepts – is experiencing visible difficulties with the definition of the right, making it somewhat circular: “...in justice as fairness the concept of right is prior to that of the good. In contrast with teleological theories, something is good only if it fits into ways of life consistent with the principles of right already on hand. But to establish these principles it is necessary to rely on some notion of goodness, for we need assumptions about the parties’ motives in the original position. Since these assumptions must not jeopardize the prior place of the concept of right, the theory of the good used in arguing for the principles of justice is restricted to the bare essentials” [10, p. 347–348]. As a side-note, it is worth mentioning that Rawls’ linguistic analysis of the use of these notions does not pose the problem of transgressing the borders of a particular political culture, that of anglo-saxon liberalism. Such analysis, done in other cultural contexts, could perhaps enrich the philosophical approach with the ethnological one.

The notion of rational plan of life plays an important role in Rawls’ theory. Such plan allows a person to structure and coordinate her multi-directional interests and to correlate them with the interests of other persons; having a rational plan of life counts as a good. In respect to plan of life, Rawls differentiates between two kinds of good: instrumental one, leading to fulfillment of the plan of life, and the one intrinsic to a “good” plan [10, p. 358]. And although the definition of instrumental good is precise, the definition of a “good” plan of life is again dissolved in social psychology and linguistic analysis. It is notable that, in order to clarify the definition of a “good” plan, Rawls has to rely on Aristotelian virtue ethics: a “good” plan is a plan that leads to realization of good natural faculties of a person [10, p. 458–460]. Here, we see Kantian deontology augmented with classical virtue ethics.

Let us now turn back to the definition of human being as “free and equal rational individual” and focus on Rawls’ notion of rationality. On the one hand, it is instrumental: rationality is involved in choosing means, suitable for a certain end. Instrumental rationality forms the basis for Rawls’ contract theory. A person in rational pursuit of certain interests has to cooperate with other persons,

and the most reliable foundation for such cooperation is an explicit set of rules, generated within a social group historically or accepted intentionally. This contractarian view is advanced further by adding the Kantian thought that explicit consent is the only foundation for social cooperation preserving a person's dignity.

On the other hand, another subject of rational evaluation is the choice of a life plan: "...a person's plan of life is rational if, and only if, (1) it is one of the plans that is consistent with the principles of rational choice when these are applied to all the relevant features of his situation, and (2) it is that plan among those meeting this condition which would be chosen by him with full deliberative rationality, that is, with full awareness of the relevant facts and after a careful consideration of the consequences" [10, p. 358–359]. However, a human being can hardly expect to come anywhere close to "full awareness of the relevant facts", so this definition again appears vague.

Throughout "Theory of Justice", freedom is viewed almost exclusively as a set of basic liberties, which, according to the first principle of justice, have to be provided to each citizen in equal measure. One exception is paragraph 40 "Kantian Interpretation of Justice as Fairness", where Rawls notes that freedom can be explained as part of Kant's notion of autonomy: "Kant held, I believe, that a person is acting autonomously when the principles of his action are chosen by him as the most adequate possible expression of his nature as a free and equal rational being" [10, p. 222]. Rawls also accepts Kant's view of freedom as being bound by moral law.

Now, to bring it together, the duty to remain "free and equal rational beings" is, according to Rawls, not only a duty, but also the most basic requirement of a "good" plan of life, necessary to maximize our natural potential. So here again support is found in classical virtue ethics.

Rawls' notion of equality also rests on two foundations. On the one hand, the equality of opportunity is the basic presupposition of Rawls' egalitarianism. The very purpose of his theory of justice is to set the mechanisms compensating for undeserved natural inequality, seen as self-evidently evil [10, p. 86]. On the other hand, when providing an explanation of this presupposition, Rawls turns to Kantian, as well as Aristotelian and contractualist arguments, or, rather, considerations. From a Kantian perspective, the manifestation of our nature of free and rational (i.e. autonomous) beings abiding by the inner moral law requires treating other individuals as similar, and thus having the same rights. From the perspective of virtue ethics and "Aristotelian principle" of Rawls, our life plan would be ever more full, complex and exciting, and its implementation ever more successful, should we rely on wholehearted support by the others; and our collaborators would be at their most efficient if they are, like ourselves, free and equal rational beings [10, p. 379]. A presence of contractarian rational egoism is also noticeable in this argument.

Finally, a sketch of anthropological model implemented in the theory of justice would not be complete without considering the important principle of individualism. Rawls connects the notion of an individual with the fundamental incommensurability and basic character of personal interests, which give rise to the very problem of justice as principle of distribution of goods [10, p. 5]. This is similar to where utilitarian theories of Adam Smith and Bentham start – from the problem of economic regulation. The whole collision of rights, liberties and interests, from which "Theory of Justice" starts, is inherited from the tradition of classical British liberalism. Only in "Kantian Interpretation..." Rawls comes to

the analysis of these notions through the Kantian notion of autonomy: “For the most part I have considered the content of the principle of equal liberty and the meaning of the priority of the rights that it defines. It seems appropriate at this point to note that there is a Kantian interpretation of the conception of justice *from which this principle derives* [emphasis mine]. This interpretation is based upon Kant’s notion of autonomy” [10, p. 221].

The first implication of Kant's notion of autonomy to attract Rawls' attention is the principle of rational choice of moral maxims and the ability to reconcile one's interests with those of the others in order to form a community. Only this choice or sequence of choices, done publicly reveals one's capacity to be rational and free individual [10, p. 222]. The possibility to transcend determination by nature is not the only feature Rawls finds attractive in Kantian theory. He also relies on it when theoretically securing individual rights and duties against famous counterintuitive implications of utilitarianism, dealing with sacrificing individuals for greater common good. To conclude, Rawls' individualism originates in utilitarian model of “homo economicus”, but is later expanded using Kantian principles.

Rawls' individualism and his rationalized atomistic model of a human being caused a flow of criticism, resulting in the movement of liberal communitarianism. However, it would be an overstatement to call theory of justice as fairness individualistic. The last chapter of the book, titled “The Good of Justice”, contains arguments revealing the fundamental role of society in Rawls' conception of an individual. Paragraph 79 “The Idea of Social Union” is dedicated to discussing the need for social union not only in implementing, but also in formulating individual plans of life. Rawls considers the point quite obvious and only gives several remarks, which are again following Aristotle: human life plan is necessarily limited to several strands, leaving the rest to others, and the possibilities, chosen and actualized by others, both contemporaries and predecessors form the background and the basis for our activity, which is impossible beyond it [10, p. 458–459]. It seems that here Rawls' anthropological model anticipates some of the important remarks on behalf of communitarians (particularly, M. Sandel and A. MacIntyre).

This analysis of Rawls' anthropological model, first of all, reveals its complex character. On the one hand, it is an attempt to find deeper philosophical foundations for the simplistic model of rational egoist “homo economicus”, advanced by the classics of utilitarianism. Kantian idea of autonomy as ability for self-determination through moral law was used for that. On the other hand, the notion of a “plan of life”, expressing the rationality of a person's interests and actions, succeeding in which brings “happiness”<sup>2</sup>, inclines Rawls' theory towards Aristotelian virtue ethics.

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<sup>2</sup> “Someone is happy when his plans are going well, his more important aspirations being fulfilled, and he feels sure that his good fortune will endure” [10, p. 359].

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#### **About the author**

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L. Kalinnikov

**“TO THINK OF A THING  
AND TO LEARN A THING  
IS NOT THE SAME...”<sup>1</sup>,  
OR E. T. A. HOFFMANN  
AND “TRANSCENDENTAL  
ANALYSIS”<sup>2</sup>**

The article raises the question about the Kantianism of E.T.A. Hoffmann displayed in the story from “The night stories”, which shows that the transcendental reflection as an important gnoseological procedure has important practical sense in the human life.

**Key words:** E.T.A. Hoffmann as a Kantian thinker, knowledge, Kantianism in fine arts, opinion, to think, to cognize, transcendental reflection.

Taking something to be true is an occurrence in our understanding that may rest on objective grounds, but that also requires subjective causes in the mind of him who judges.

I. Kant<sup>2</sup>

The first quarter of the 19th century, the heyday Hoffmann's work, was not favorable for a sober Kantian methodology of scientific knowledge, grounded in an empirical basis. Society seemed entranced with Schelling's ideas of universal animatedness of nature. Spiritualization of gravitational forces existing in nature, the forces of "chemical affinity," the mystery of the interaction of the magnetic and electric forces incited public consciousness on the mystical and pantheistic tone. And it was certainly not only about Schelling: this is the spirit of the Romantic Age. His famous essay "On the world soul. The hypothesis of supreme physics to explain the universal body..." [9] may, perhaps, be regarded as a much more reasonable than, for example, no less known at the time work of Joseph Görres "Aphorisms on art as an introduction to the subsequent aphorisms about organonomics, physics, psychology and anthropology" [2]. In any case, Schelling was much less speculative; his thought was more closely connected with science, and preoccupied with reflection on its problems. His following reasoning can serve as a good example: "When I claim the *materiality* of the light,

<sup>1</sup> See I. Kant "Critique of Pure Reason" [A820/B 848].

<sup>\*</sup>Published in Kantovsky Sbornik. 2012. 1 (39). P. 14–26.

<sup>2</sup> See I. Kant "Critique of Pure Reason" [A 820 / B 848].

I do not exclude the opposite view, namely, that light is a phenomenon of the moving medium. As far as I know, the supporters of both Newton and Euler recognized that each of these theories faced with certain difficulties, which were absent in the other. Would not it be better to consider these views as *complementary* rather than opposite, as has been done so far, and thus bring together the strong points of both *in one hypothesis*? " [9, p. 98].

This kind of insight does not exclude the romantic and dreamy magic, the ability to see the invisible essence of natural phenomena, *touch* the productive power of consciousness. "There is no Mind except the Nature; there is no Nature except the Mind... " [2, p. 64]. Hegel saw this worldview as the identity of the subject and the object, but as an *objectifying* (the one which breaks the symmetry of the identity towards God) identity. The era represented by the thinkers expressing its spirit did not pay any attention to the sobering warning of Kant: *to think* does not yet mean *to perceive*, *to be thought* does not yet mean *to be in existence*. It is surprising that E. T. A. Hoffmann, *relying on Kant's ideas*, could resist this global craze of the European cultural world long before the positivism's effort to stop this unhindered speculative rally, and I'll try to prove this point in this very article. Its task is twofold, and that is why the paper is divided into two parts. The latter one is the principle part because it can be regarded as an argument in favor of Hoffmann's agreement with Kant's "Transcendental Doctrine of the Elements": after all, the phrase in the title of article formulated by the philosopher in his "Transcendental Analytic" gets justification in "Transcendental Aesthetic". The very first part of the article is an introduction and is backed by the *full consistency* of the two main parts of the "Critique of Pure Reason", namely that "Transcendental Doctrine of Method" is strictly consistent with the "Transcendental Doctrine of Elements".

It is obvious that both *to think of a subject and to learn a subject matter is not the same thing*, the same as *to imagine* the subject and *know* the subject is not the same thing. "The *opinion*, — as this concept is defined by Kant, — is a conscious recognition of something as true, but it is insufficient *both* from a subjective and an objective sides", while the *knowledge* is "both subjectively and objectively sufficient recognition of some proposition as true" [A 822 / B 850].

## 1. Opinion and Knowledge

I am also born in Arcadia.

E. T. A. Hoffmann

*The Life and Opinions of Tomcat Murr...*<sup>3</sup>

To be born in Arcadia means to be born happy. Though Koenigsberg cannot boast Mediterranean mildness of the climate and fertile soil, it does have its Arcadian advantages. No wonder Kant, who was born there, in his mature reflections found it ideal to bear a philosopher. However, the main *arcadian advantage* of Koenigsberg should be found in Kant himself: after him university overflows with productive spiritual energy. Hence, the question naturally arises: does this

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<sup>3</sup> It's the reference to the unfinished novel by Hoffmann "The Life and Opinions of Tomcat Murr together with a Fragmentary Biography of Kapellmeister Johannes Kreisler on Random Sheets of Waste Paper" [6].



Greek-Latin proverb, quoted by Tomcat Murr have a self-referencing sense, whether Hoffmann applied it only to himself. Isn't he himself a product of this spiritual energy?

While trying to answer this question, it is useful to differentiate between knowledge and opinion. Kant himself wrote that if there is not the slightest possibility to check a report (he refers to biblical miracles), then its content is more than *doubtful*. It is quite a different case if the arguments in favor of a thesis can be checked and verified. Even though checking references to true reality is a very delicate task, but it was repeatedly proven not to be hopeless.

Kant had already been fifty-two when Hoffmann was born to see the light of Koenigsberg sky. Many Koenigsberg citizens, who later became world famous, were reared by Kant's hands, the great professor of the Albertina, and the philosopher's treatment was self-evident: it fostered their souls and minds. The other thing is less clear, and each time it poses a special question: what was it that each of the hundreds of students of Kant, including, of course, E. T. A. Hoffmann, took up from their teacher, how successful was upbringing and education each time?

I dare to call a myth a strange statement that Professor Kant, whose lectures Hoffmann had to listen to the university, had **no impact** on the young student. This myth wanders from book to book, from one biographer of Hoffmann to another. A more advanced, or extreme, version of this myth is that Kant even remained a stranger to the writer and was in no way represented in his work, unlike Schelling. It seems, however, that the myth is beginning to be questioned, though timidly and half-heartedly. Begun is half done! Very often, it leads to a remark in passing: who doesn't know this?!

The biography of E. T. A. Hoffmann (the author of this interesting study of the life and work of the great artist is R. Safranski), for example, treats the issue rather ambivalently. At first, the book boldly states that "most likely, Hoffmann never attended lectures of Kant" [8, p. 37]. To declare this, one must, of course, have a good reason, and Safranski hardly has any. At the end of the book, devoted to the study of Hoffmann's legal practice, however, he comes to the conclusion that the advisor to the Court of Appeal and the member of the "Royal Prussian immediate court of inquiry" "as a lawyer sided with Kant" [8, p. 334], and directly refers to him as a "Kantian lawyer" [8, p. 337]. Most likely, this contradiction made Safranski conclude that "only after graduation he (Hoffmann. — L.K.) got interested in the philosophy of Kant, and it could not but influence him" [8, p. 39]. Hoffmann's judgments on court cases really show him to be a Kantian as a lawyer. However, Hoffmann's creative work could serve as proof of his good knowledge of the fundamental ideas of Kant's epistemology, ethics, philosophy, religion and politics. Tomcat Murr pays his attention, for example, to discussing the merits of the categorical imperative, giving moral assessment to the behavior of his feline friends and the canine community. And Kant's aesthetics after the release of the "Critique of Judgment" in 1790 was widely discussed not only in Koenigsberg, but in all the intellectual community of Germany just at the time of Hoffmann's student years. But we know that a lot more than a lawyer, Hoffmann wanted to be a musician. He could not have ignored the aesthetics of Kant, it was not possible in any way. The basics of worldview, basic legal, philosophical and aesthetic concepts are most likely to have been laid in the future government advisor, writer and composer in the university and were enhanced later. Although none of the writer's diaries, no letters or other

documents witnesses Hoffmann's postgraduate study of the works of Kant, it does not mean much. "Metaphysics of Morals" where Kant detailed his philosophical and legal views, was published only in 1798, when Hoffmann was transferred to the Berlin Court of Appeal, was actively engaged in law practice and was taking his qualification exams. Introduction to a book was a good reason to update the university knowledge. Moreover, each book by Kant became a cultural event. Even if the "Critique of Pure Reason" failed to become one, in 1788, when Kant published his next "Critique...", the "Critique of Practical Reason", the interest of German audience towards it was universal.

Of course, one must take into account the prevailing opinion that when Hoffmann was one of Kant's students, the latter did not enjoy giving lectures as much as it happened in student years of Johann Gottfried Herder, and did not stir, as he did before, rapid student enthusiasm. However, this is hardly the case: Hoffmann was among those who felt such enthusiasm, which as can be seen in his works. E.T.A. Hoffmann studied at the University in 1792–1794, but 76-year-old Kant quitted lecturing in 1796.

It is likely that Hoffmann-student was getting information and ideas of all Kantianism and Kant's morals metaphysics in particular, not only as a direct visitor of Kant's audience, but also from the manuscripts and abstracts of almost every lecture of the great Professor which would spread wide among students at that time. It is known that producing copies of these lectures by the end of Kant professorship became a source of profit for some students of Albertina: these notes had become quite a hot commodity. And this, by the way, is a happy circumstance for Kant's researchers, because those records help to recreate the content of the courses taught by the great philosopher.

I'll try to shake the above-mentioned myth, if not bury it, and above all I want to raise a question of where the legend came from. How did such an opinion arise?

All biographers refer primarily to Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel – Hippel, Jr., a nephew of the famous mayor of Königsberg, a writer and privy councillor, a student and friend of Kant. Hippel Jr. was, in his turn, a close friend of Hoffmann, their communication lasted from childhood through his university years, until the last days of the great artist. In his posthumous memoirs, T. von Hippel wrote, "Hoffmann considered studying law... as a solution to quickly start to earn a living and leave grandma's home. His soul was striving for art. What was not relevant to the art or the law, to *his livelihood in future* (my italics. – L. K.) did not interest him. He was choosing the most direct route to his goal. So he remained almost indifferent to Kant's lectures – he openly declared that he understood nothing, though the rule required that any student of University began his studies with Kant's lectures on logic, metaphysics and ethics. It is easy to guess that most of the students did not accept them and did not understand. The most comprehensible of his lectures, in anthropology and physical geography, were attended, as a rule, by only a few " [3, p. 39]. Then it makes little sense to talk about the attendance of his more complex, metaphysical cycle.

How to treat the above-given statements? It is not impossible to believe Hippel, albeit it's hard to trust his every word after his dubious evaluation of the most popular and visited of Kant's courses, lectures in anthropology and physical geography. The following situation is entirely possible: Hoffmann, being absolutely frank with von Hippel, a friend of his student life, repeatedly complained about the difficulty of understanding Kant's lectures, with the youthful

maximalism he could even claim that he *understood nothing*. But didn't he really? Hippel himself said that, along with art, Hoffmann considered law as an area of his deep interest, which was about to bring him practical benefits. Besides, law was the traditional sphere of his family's employment. The uncle (on his mother's side) who had been bringing Hoffmann up, did not excel in his legal career, and nephew, perhaps even subconsciously, competed with him, and treated him with irony. However, that required serious concentration over the problems of law. After all, to compete meant to feel one's ability. In-depth knowledge in this field, constantly exhibited throughout the official career, served Hoffmann without a fail in his public job, providing the undisputed authority among colleagues and superiors. Among the latter, however, up to a certain time.

Hippel's statement about Hoffmann's neglectful assessment of Kant's lectures might pursue a certain goal. In his memoirs, he wanted to depict his friend as loyal to the government as it was possible, considering the difficulties of two or three last years of life of Hoffmann related to his participation in the political trials of the so-called demagogues, advocates of conservation of liberal legal and political institutions of Napoleon in times of restoration. Even the most "notorious" of demagogues, contrary to the wishes of the government, were courageously and legally perfectly defended by the writer, who had been appointed by the King's Bill an advisor to the "Royal Prussian immediate court of inquiry". Finally, because of persistence in disputes with the government, Hoffmann himself was declared a demagogue and underwent investigation, initiated by Director of Police K. von Kamptz and supported by the King.

The demagogues were supporters of political freedom and, as a rule, Kantians, so such a reputation was little help for Hoffmann and von Hippel made every effort to whitewash his friend, even after his death. Should he have been a Hegelian, it would have been a different story. There was no reason for Von Hippel, a counselor of Earl K. A. Hardenberg, the State Chancellor of Prussia, to be regarded as the most intimate friend of a convinced Kantian, so he tried his best to protect Hoffmann from the official administrative persecution.

The legend may appear as a consequence of well-known anecdote at the beginning of the cycle of short stories, "Serapion Brothers." No reader of Hoffmann can ignore it, and it is precisely about the attitude towards Kant. In a text, moreover in that of fiction, everything depends on the understanding and readiness of the reader to understand the author, i. e., to analyze, to compare the text, to appreciate it as a whole. Although every brother who tells his short story or a fairy tale, is a replica of a particular historical figure out of the number of people close to Hoffmann, in relation to whom he had to be very careful and tactful, these images are not anyway documental but imaginary ones, and they are played with by the author, who implements his own plan, showing irony, grotesque or some other artistic liberties towards them and their judgments.

So, first comes an anecdote told by Cyprian, one of the "Serapions". By the way, I want to mention here that it is the author himself who stands behind this name in the "Serapion Brothers". This character was involved in a conversation about how possible it could be for friends to get back into the stream of the previous relationship of complete unity of interests and mutual trust after twelve years of separation, to common understanding of life and people, unanimous contempt for the philistines, to that sense of radiant joy and happiness that they had received primarily from communicating with each other. Are there any

former friends who are true to romantic goals and attitudes in spite of the clearly different life experience, which affected everyone? Formidable historical storm swept over them during that time, and the kind of mark it left on each of them is still an open question. The character provides two examples of responses to time circumstances people can show, giving each its assessment. However, the big question is whether the narrator gives the same assessment to the stories as the author himself.

Let's refer to the contents of the narrated story: "But it seems to me, — Cyprian began his speech, that if we managed to get into the old road, we could show *in the clearest way* (my italics. — L. K.) our philistine tendencies". It reminds me of a famous anecdote about the two philosophers, but, it certainly requires a more detailed retelling.

There were two students in the University of Königsberg, let's call them Sebastian and Ptolemy. Both fervently engaged themselves in the study of Kant's philosophy and undertook daily heated debates about this or that provision. One day, during such a philosophical dispute, the minute when Sebastian struck Ptolemy with one of the strongest arguments, and he opened his mouth to contradict him, their conversation was interfered and stopped, and then life took them apart and the two could no longer see each other. Twenty years passed, and one day, Ptolemy, walking along a street in B-town... happened to see a man in front of him, whom he recognized as his friend Sebastian. Immediately, he ran to him, grabbed him by the shoulders, and barely had the man time to turn around, when Ptolemy shouted, "So, you insist that...", and then started again the conversation interrupted twenty years ago. Sebastian, in his turn, began to support the arguments he held earlier in Königsberg; their dispute lasted an hour, then another hour, they were roaming, and finally got hot and tired, they decided to leave the matter to the discretion of Kant, but, unfortunately, had forgotten that they both were in the B-town... and the old man Immanuel had been resting in peace for many years. This impressed both of them so much that they parted, and never met again in their lives. This story, in which the most important thing is *that it actually happened* (my italics. — L. K.), is able to incur very sad thoughts, — continues Cyprian with an assessment part of his speech. — I, at least, cannot think without horror of such terrible philistinism, and for me even funnier incident is the one that had occurred with an old advisor, whom I visited after returning here. He received me very kindly, but I noticed in his manner some tension, strange and incomprehensible to me, until finally, while walking together this good-natured person addressed me with a touching request to put on my old powdered wig and a gray hat again, because otherwise he could not convince himself that he saw his former Cyprian. With this request, he wiped the sweating forehead hard, and good-naturedly begged me not to get angry with his desire" [4, p. 11–12].

Can the reader agree with both assessments made by Cyprian? Not only can, but in most cases, does. It is highly possible not to notice the irony of Hoffmann, which even turns to grotesque, and accept the whole argument at face value. It is difficult to make, and yet how often seemingly difficult turns out to be the easiest! The reader may well agree with strangeness and unusual behavior of the two friends, not at all qualifying it as philistine.

Isn't it obvious that the evaluation of two stories made by Cyprian is deliberately inadequate? Is consistency in interests and beliefs to be called philistinism, while the routine and resistance to something new, at least in appearance

and clothes – just funny? In my opinion, it is *most clearly proved* that these assessments should be turned. *Terrible* philistinism, causing consternation from one thought about it, is seen in the spiritual enthusiasm of two people with a complex problem, such problems being the essence of their characters. For them moving even little forward in addressing the issue was even more important than any conventions and external conditions. Ptolemy did not hesitate in his belief that Sebastian at heart remains exactly the same as he had been when we parted *twenty* years ago. And he was right! What role could be played here by those external changes, especially in clothing, which of course took place over such a long term by the standards of human life?

These circumstances call a normal person for an approval, if not delight and admiration for the greatness of characters that recognize their spiritual relationship and unwavering loyalty to the truth and high ideals of Kant's philosophy. Apparently, this is a common feature of all genuine Kantians who have already lived during past two hundred years in different places of the globe.

No wonder the second anecdote is given by a storyteller as *funny*, an ambivalent evaluation, which could serve as both an approval and reproof. An absurdity in something can be fun, and it is exactly what we deal with here. Patronizing lenience to an old advisor could be seen in every word about him: he himself and his begging were *good-natured*, his request was *touching*. The evaluation of this situation as funny, while the first one was named terrible, undoubtedly plays a role of the text irony indicator.

Actually, both anecdotes felt autobiographical and true. Hardly anyone could share with Hoffmann observation of this kind. Only an immediate participant of these two meetings with a twenty (!) years' gap could draw attention to the fact that the conversation got back to the issues agitating the friends in their student days. It is natural; it can hardly happen any other way. First, it comes to how much has happened since the friends were together, and discussed interesting subject right at the time when they parted for the time which turned to be so long. E. T. A. Hoffmann, apparently, was a participant of both stories. He would experience the difference of the two meetings: one with a classmate at the Albertina, the other with a relative. An old counselor could well be his uncle, a senior advisor to the tribunal in Berlin, who had already retired when Hoffmann returned there for the second and final time. A hint of a nephew who could be hardly recognized turned into an element of fiction. Hoffmann is well-known for his ability to bring most common household facts to grotesque. Autobiographical character of presented events, as it is quite likely to be the case, contradicts the tales of Hoffmann's indifference to Kant's ideas and inspires to consider the student's interests of the writer.

However, there is another event which did not serve in favor of Hoffmann and it is not unnoticed by his biographers. In February 1804 he came to Koenigsberg for three days (from 13 to 15 February), which coincided with the death of Kant, although the writer was visiting to say goodbye to Dora the Hutt, his teenage romance. He did not visit Kant's coffin. An opponent to all ostentation, and besides, generally unwilling to make his visit public, Hoffman in these days of the official fuss and hustle, apparently, did not find a possibility to pay his last tribute to the professor. There could be some other reasons apart from indifference mentioned very often in first place.

In general, Kant is treated with a respectfully reverent attitude in Germany, while Hoffmann is accepted more than remotely throughout the nineteenth cen-

ture. This very emotionally different assessment could lead to the opposition of one to the other. However, the increasingly obvious fact of the wide presence of the great philosopher's ideas in the works of E. T. A. Hoffmann makes them inexorably close to each other.

## 2. The short story "The Sandman" in Kant's epistemology

Vita incerta – mors certissima<sup>4</sup>

E. T. A. Hoffmann appears in his works as a fairly sophisticated epistemologist. The suggestion that he was familiar with the text of the chapter "The Ground of the Distinction of All Objects into Phenomena and Noumena» together with its annex, which is called "The Amphiboly of Concepts of Reflection: Arising From The Confusion of The Empirical with the Transcendental Employment of Understanding" from the second edition of the "Critique of Pure Reason" is not at all justified. The writer was also familiar with the mechanism of *transcendental reflection*, without which, according to Kant, we are unable to distinguish between authentic phenomena of real life, *hard facts* and objects of fantasy, which are not found anywhere else, except in the minds of people, especially of fictional characters. Transcendental reflection is a necessary ability of a person to register and account for the conditions under which our consciousness obtained certain concepts and images, and what cognitive abilities at the same time we used, and how they interacted. Aren't we always fully under the control of the Pure Reason alone? State of mind, which can't distinguish between the word and the reality, typical for archaic period of its existence, as well as the inability of children to distinguish between their fantasy and reality, is devoid of even the transcendental reflection mandatory for correct navigation in the world. We must be able to distinguish between the world-as-it-seems from the real world, and the inability to do so could even be deadly.

The problem of the need to navigate the world of phenomena and noumena is the subject of a special analysis in Hoffmann's short story "The Sandman" from the book "Night Tales". The romantic story is given by Hoffman to the reader to soberly evaluate romantic worldview and its possible consequences.

The exposition of all the events in the story is given in the epistolary style, so popular in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. A student named Nathanael writes a letter to his friend Lothar, which mistakenly falls into the hands of Lothar's half-sister Clara, Nathanael's beloved, who is almost engaged to him. The letter alarmed her so much that she found it necessary to reply. And with this new letter to a friend the character hastens to reassure both him and Clara, understanding, that Lothar would share the message with his sister so she would know everything, as was the case with the first letter.

Nathanael is depicted as an impressionable man, prone to fantasizing and reflection, his vivid imagination spurred by emotions, inner spiritual life absorbing all his mind, with sober perception of the world disappearing completely. Character's emotional imbalance, being a hereditary trait, got momentum with the children's fear of a "Sandman" who, in his mother's threat, could appear if children failed to go to bed. This trauma played a tragic role in Nathanael's life. Children's phobias are a serious matter. Wild imagination makes the child lite-

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<sup>4</sup> Life if false, but death is the one which is true (Lat.).

rally freeze. It brought about his overpowering interest in reading chilling stories of the Kobold, witches, dwarves, dead people, blood-suckers... And even his mother's attempts who noticed this and tried to soothe his son ("My child, there is no Sandman,... when I say that the Sandman is coming, it only means that your eyelids are getting heavy and you cannot open the eyes, as if sand was sprinkled into them" [7, p. 98]), had no effect. Quite contrary, a terrible image found reinforcement in real heavy steps heard along the stairs: a late visitor came to his father to engage in alchemical experiments which require, as you know, complete secrecy. But the boy did not know that, and when he found it out, his fears didn't disappear but rather grew wildly. Guest, as it turned out, sometimes appeared at lunch and in the afternoon, but it gave him some sort of morbid pleasure to frighten children and enjoy their fear. When his image got strongly linked in his mind to his father's death (he was killed by an explosion during an alchemical experiment), Nathanael's shock every time at voluntary or involuntary reappearance of the Sandman's image in his mind could turn fatal.

Another city and classes at the University distracted and calmed Nathanael. He enthusiastically engaged himself in poetic experiments (inclination to poetry and excited emotions go hand in hand), but having such a nature it could not but happened that a lenses, glasses and telescopes trader looked like his father's guest, the Sandman, to him. The peace was lost. Ordinary life was distorted. Imagination went wild: the pictures of accomplished terrorist act, as we would say today, one worse than the other relentlessly pursued him.

And then came the moment of the exchange of letters, which has already been mentioned. Oh, if only Nathanael had not been so self-assured with all his emotional agitation, could his male arrogance have allowed him to listen to Clara's words, understand and acknowledge that she was right? And she wrote her beloved: "I'll tell you frankly, I think that all these terrible and horrible things, as you say, only happened in your soul, and that the real external world had very little to do with it. <...> This is a phantom of our own "I" whose inner affinity with us and profound impact on our soul plunges us into hell and lifts us to heaven" [7, p. 106–107].

The contradiction in the world perception revealed itself with amplitude unexpected to Nathanael but absolutely obvious to the author of the novella. The characters' names were not chosen at random – they expressed their human essence, and at the same time the essence of the consequent conflict: the name *Nathanael* could be a compound word – giving birth to the spirits, while *Clara* – clear, understanding everything and shedding light ... As if Hoffmann was saying that it had been a healthy life instinct which brought Nathanael to Clara, and if he had understood himself right, he would have had a fruitful life.

Exchange of letters was just a preamble to the events that were developing rapidly. The habit of Nathanael to take *imaginary* for *real* was easily complemented with the ability to turn *desired* into actual.

It happened so that the character managed to see a beautiful girl, supposedly the daughter of the famous professor Spalanzani in the opposite window with a telescope purchased from the pseudo-Sandman. The beautiful creature slowly began to excite a burning curiosity with her dreamy stillness. Nathanael seemed to see her profound romantic nature; he wanted to meet the girl. Fortunately, the professor suddenly decided to give a reception, and Nathanael was invited along with people from the university and the city's famous townsfolk. His dream came true; he met the girl and immediately began to cite his own

verses. Clara, when she heard his works, approved of them, but at the same time always expressed critical judgments and suggested options for improving them. Here, throughout the evening he had stayed by a magnificent listener till the time when almost all were gone, and the lights were being put out the lights in the halls. As soon as he stopped reciting to take another breath, he heard only one single excited word: "Aaah". There were neither curious, snide looks at him, nor even laughs in his address, which sometimes Clara could allow. After the evening when Spalanzani invited him to the reception, Nathanael became a frequent visitor to the professor, and spent almost every night in his house. Each meeting was a detailed replica of the first: Nathanael took a great pleasure listening to this encouraging "aaah." The image of Clara was absolutely blown away from his mind, replaced with a new one.

The desire to propose to his beloved Olympia occurred pretty soon. Intending to settle everything, Nathanael found a ring of his mother and went to the professor to make a gift to his beloved "as a symbol of his affection, and new, blossoming life together" [7, p. 125].

Running up the stairs, the character heard clattering, clinking of broken glass, thudding accompanied by cursing and swearing coming from cabinet Spalanzani's room. He was already able to distinguish shouts:

- Dishonest villain, I have put all my life into her!
- Ha-ha-ha! I made her eyes!
- But I made the winding mechanism!
- Goddamn rascal! Let me go!
- Satan! Bastard! Get away!

The door of the room opened, and the young man saw the professor and his disgusting Sandman who were jerking and literally tearing apart his Olympia. Nathanael was dumbfounded. Then the Sandman pulled the doll out of the Spalanzani's hands, and, dragging his prey, ran down the stairs and disappeared.

Rage possessed Nathanael, and blind with anger, he rushed to the professor and "would have strangled him if it were not for the people who ran to them. Madness caught him with its burning claws and penetrated into the soul, tearing his thoughts and feelings » [7, p. 126]. Raging, emitting bestial howls the young man was tied up and taken to asylum.

Thanks to the care of doctors, relatives, and especially Clara, Nathanael came back to normal and gradually became the same. However, the tragic outcome of the history was not to be avoided. Nathanael, who had realized that Clara was his happiness, finally decided to cast in his life with her and move to his estate. Wishing to bid farewell to the town, they rise to the Town Hall Tower, he took from a notorious telescope from his pocket, the one which was previously mentioned, to view the surrounding mountains, but his look fell on the area under their feet. And... oh, horror! Among the people beneath he saw his Sandman. His mind suddenly went dizzy, Clara turned into a scary doll and, if not prevented, he would have pushed her down from the tower. Though Nathanael himself could not keep steady.

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The short novel "The Sandman" is a perfect illustration to many pages of Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason." Such works of Hoffmann as "The Devil's Eli-



xirs", "Serapion Brothers", in various forms treat acute epistemological problems relevant to both pre-Kantian philosophy and the philosophy of transcendental idealism. Everything written by Hoffmann brings certain tinges to the question of distinguishing between real and imaginable. Considering this, I am able to say that well-known world-duality of Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann rests on the Kantian dualism. Fantasy world of subjective visions is correlated by "post-romantic" Hoffmann in a Kantian way with the empirical reality, which puts off any subjectivity. Factual and fictional are intertwined in his works, but they are never identified – ultimately the reality and fantasy take their own placement. So, with a skillful hand the writer piles phantasmagoric scenes in a fairy tale "Royal Bride", perplexing and confusing an unsophisticated reader, where the romantic style and methods of romantic text-building play with all the colors of a "vegetation" rainbow, but at the end the author reports that the tale is built on a true story learnt from the newspapers: the owner of a vegetable plot plucked out a carrot and found a gold ring with a stunning diamond in it, through which the carrot grew. Immediately the imagination was triggered and the author sparked the characters of the tale. However, unlike Nathanael, the fairy-tale characters could harness their imagination and the ending was equally happy to the event which inspired the story. Hoffmann is didactic while concluding the tale: "Let salamanders be quick-tempered, sylphs be light-headed, undines be amorous and passionate, and gnomes – evil and treacherous, it is something to put up with... If one once surrenders to one of these creatures, they will be able to make a human look different. Even worse, they will drag you in their kingdom, from which you will never be able to get back to the surface" [5, p. 212].

The fact that in Hoffmann's world-duality one of the worlds is always a reality in its flesh and blood, and the other one is the world of fantasy, serving as a criterion for assessing the reality of the world as an ideal, or, on the contrary, anti-ideal, distinguishes the artistic method of Hoffmann from a romantic one and prevents from identifying Hoffmann as a romantic. N. Berkovsky points at this, from his point of view, strange thing: "One of the ironies of history is that Hoffmann, the one who implemented the principles of German romanticism the best, was reluctantly accepted as equal by the very German romantics» [1, p. 426]. This paradox mentioned by Berkovsky can be explained just by the fact that Hoffmann, completely free in terms of all the romantic devices, ironically played with them. At the core of his philosophy, he was not a romantic, and they felt it. Having the opportunity to learn from the Romantics, Hoffmann was not fond of extreme idealism. Since the times of his youth he was soberly critical to the world around him, knew the value of the reality, and was able to appreciate it. It was not a single time when his hand wrote a line like this: "I may be lucky, like a good portrait painter, to aptly grasp some faces that you would find recognizable even without knowing the original, and you would even think that you had seen these people with your own eyes. And maybe then, my reader, would you believe that there is nothing more wonderful and insane than the actual real life..." [7, p. 111].

From his very first steps Hoffmann was valued as a master of belles-lettres, though there always were those who could acknowledge significance of his profound thought. Though there were many such people in Russia, of which we could not but mention V. Belinsky, F. Dostoevsky and V. Soloviev, Germany, of course, saw a wider audience.

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KANT  
ON "LOGICAL OBJECTION"  
TO ONTOLOGICAL  
ARGUMENT:  
FRAGMENT R 3706

This article is dedicated to the ideas, expressed in manuscript R 3706, where Kant criticizes traditional refutation of ontological argument, which is based on distinction of "ideal" and "real" judgments. The relation of this criticism to Kant's argumentation in "Nova dilucidatio" and the preceding polemic over ontological argument is analyzed.

*Key words:* ontological argument, pre-critical period, fragment R 3706.

1. On the term "logical argument"

In "The ontological proof of God's existence" [17] D. Henrich singled out three arguments against the ontological argument. The first one, according to his classification, denies the possibility of any meaningful conclusions from the characteristics of the concept to the existence of the conceived object, this argument was called by D. Henrich a *logical* one. According to the second argument, the existence can't be included in the concept of a thing, as it generally is not a predicate; D. Henrich called this argument an *empiricist* one. The third argument (the most radical one) is directed against the conception of an absolutely necessary thing; D. Henrich proposes to call this objection *critical* [17, S. 74].

The logical argument is usually based on the distinction between the two kinds of judgments: the ideal and the real ones [2, S. 56–58]. This reason cannot be equated with a rebuke for "quadrupling terms": a reference to *quaternio terminorum*<sup>1</sup> in this case is not exactly a good way to express the idea that the premise of the ontological proof is ideal, and the conclusion is real. However, this expression method is widely spread. So, for example, J. Schmucker formulates logical argument as follows:

Even if the concept of the ens realissimum<sup>2</sup> expressed some objective entity or a significant opportunity and included existence as an essential feature, it would be impossible to conclude that conceivable in this concept also exists in reality, but only that the existence is to be thought of as a certain sign of this. In other words, the argument conclusion contains an illegitimate transitus ad aliud genus<sup>3</sup>: although in the conceptual analysis of the assumptions the existence features as simply conceivable, in the conclusion it is interpreted and expressed as a real one [18, S. 16].

Similar thoughts can be found with W. Brugger:

The concepts of conclusion remain in the same field, to which the concepts of assumptions belong: a ban on metabasis eis allo genos<sup>4</sup>. <...> But the "existence" is taken as an assumption in a logical supposition of a conceptual feature, that is, as represented in thought, as so-called existentia signata, and in the conclusion – in a real supposition as the existence of some being (in this case God) in itself, as a so-called existentia exercita. Therefore, the argument proceeds from a logical supposition of assumptions to a real supposition in the conclusion [14, S. 207–208].

Such criticism of the ontological argument (a mistake of "quadrupling terms") is opposed to by a theologian C. Nink. In his opinion, the term "existence (to exist)" has the same sense in the assumptions and conclusion and means "real existence":

Real existence belongs to the essence of God. <...> In the notion (the meaning content) of the most perfect conceivable matter existence can't be just conceived (as included), but a real existence is contained [in this concept] as its essential feature [19, S. 135–136].

C. Nink, though, recognizes logical argument as right, indicating that the analytical judgment expresses the necessary connections of features (das Wassein) of a thing, but not the very fact of its real existence (das Daßsein):

The concept of God takes, however, a special place, because it means the essence with which real existence is given internally necessarily. Yet this concept simply means what God is, but it does not mean at the same time God's existence. <...> Purely logical analysis itself only leads to the proposition: "The essence of God involves the actual, real existence," but not to a significantly different proposition that God, along with whose essence a real existence is given, really exists [19, S. 132–133].

C. Nink repeats the argument, which is based on the distinction between ideal and real propositions. According to this view, the nature of analytical proposition depends on the nature of the analyzed concepts: if the analyzed concept is ideal (nominal) then the proposition will be ideal (nominal) as well, even if real existence is predicated.

Further by *logical objection* we will understand the argument coming from the distinction between ideal and real propositions.

According to the traditional interpretation of Kant's argument in the scholium to Theorem VI "Nova Dilucidatio"<sup>5</sup>, Kant uses a logical objection (in the

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<sup>2</sup> The most real being (Lat.) – something that embraces everything real.

<sup>3</sup> Transition to another class (Lat.).

<sup>4</sup> Transition to another class (Lat.).

<sup>5</sup> "Principiorum primorum cognitionis metaphysicae nova dilucidatio" – Kant's thesis of 1755.

meaning described above). However, in our opinion this interpretation is incorrect [2–5]. In our opinion, in ND<sup>6</sup> Kant considers the transition from assumptions to conclusion in an ontological argument to be correct and criticizes the argument for its "circular character." In a handwritten note R 3706, he explains in detail why the logical objection is untenable. According to the traditional interpretation, in this article Kant denies the very same argument, which he used in ND. But if you accept a "unifying interpretation" [5], then it turns out that Kant does not change his attitude to the logical objection: from the very beginning he considers it to be mistaken.

## 2. Criticism on "logical argument" in Note R 3706 (L. Bl. Kuffner 17)

Among Kant's handwritten heritage there is a note where the philosopher criticizes the logical objection to the ontological argument, that is, the very objection which he, according to the traditional interpretation, used in ND. The content of Note R 3706 suggests that it was written, most likely, before EmBg appeared (1763). Adickes dates the note back to the end of the 50s (1758–1759) or early 60s (1760–1764).

The note consists of two parts. In the first part Kant defends the assumption: "If the existence were a predicate, then the Cartesian proof would be true." In the second part of this note Kant puts forward another reason against the Cartesian proof: "The concept of an existing thing can never be converted into a proposition, where the thing becomes a subject and existence turns to be predicate".

We will consider the first part of the fragment, where Kant refutes the logical objection to the Cartesian proof.

If existence could be counted among various predicates that may be immanent to a thing, then, of course, one would not require any other proof of God's existence, more convincing and understandable than the Cartesian. Because of all possible things, there is only one in which all realities that can be assembled together are connected into one. These realities, i. e., true positive predicates, also include existence; therefore, the most real of all the entities in its internal possibility presupposes existence. It doesn't make much sense arguing that such a possible thing only assumes existence in one's mind, that is only because the very thing exists in thought rather than outside of it, the same could be said about all the predicates that are inherent in any possible thing: they are not present in reality but are assumed. The latter is indeed the case when something is randomly linked with a property, which is not necessarily connected to this particular thing, for example, if some horse is mentally attributed with wings to make it a Pegasus, the wings are inherent in some horse only mentally. On the contrary, where the connection of the predicate with a thing is not arbitrary, but is determined by the essence of the thing itself, the predicate is inherent in things, not because we assume it, but it is necessary to suppose this predicate as a part of this entity because it is inherent to it by itself. So I cannot say that the fact that the total sum of triangle's angles is equal to two right angles exists only in thought, but I must say that it is inherent to a triangle by itself. This feature is not disturbed by the fact that this possibility is only assumed by my mind: for it is something in itself, even when it is not conceived, the predicate would exist by itself anyway even

<sup>6</sup> The following abbreviations are used here: ND for "Nova dilucidatio" and EmBg for "The sole possible proof for the existence of God".

<sup>7</sup> The most common identification for the note Reflexionen 3706 (Lose Blätter Kuffner 1), i. e. № 3706 from "Manuscripts and drafts" ("Separate papers of Kuffner's collection", № 1).

though no one would make any connections between the two. The same is true of the existence, if it could be considered as a predicate of things. For it would have been inherent in the necessary manner to the single possible being, which contains all reality, that is the essence of most real being would exist necessarily, and its possibility would include its reality. And if without my or anyone else's thought the most real being didn't have inherent existence, the idea of this being would have been all false. For if it is correct, then it can't be of any other predicates, except for those that belong to this thing even apart from the thoughts of it. [AA, XVII, S. 240 – 241]<sup>8</sup>.

Obviously, Kant here expresses a point of view directly opposite to the one, which, according to traditional interpretations, he was sticking to in ND. There he (according to the supporters of this interpretation) argued that the transition from the ideal assumption to the real conclusion was not possible, but here he proves the validity of this transition and calls the attempt to prove the opposite (in terms of Cartesian reasoning) as "vain", "wasted" (vergeblich).

In addition to this argument, this fragment can demonstrate another one that has a direct relationship to the "unifying" interpretation. We will consider this argument later, and now we will discuss the Kantian critique of logical objection.

The basis of this criticism, apparently, is the following provision: the possible things are *something*, even if they are thought by no one. The issue of the correctness of the ontological argument is connected to the issue of the ontological status of the possible: if the possible exists by itself, regardless of the thought of it, then the argument must be true. But what does Kant understand as a possible thing? Does every possible thing exist objectively, that is, beyond thought? Would this mean the world of eternal ideas (in the spirit of Leibniz), or something else (e.g., the potential existence by Aristotle)? How does the thesis of independent existence of things correlate with the ontology of ND? How does this idea relate to the problem of logical correctness of the ontological argument?

We start with answering the first question: what does Kant understand by a "possible thing"? The text of the R 3706 does not explain this, but Kant's reasoning seems to show that consistency of the concept is not the only criterion of the possibility of things: Kant, apparently, refuses to give a winged horse the status of an objective possibility. If such a horse existed among possible things, the "wings" would be intrinsic to him, regardless of anyone's thought about them. Since Kant denies it, he is likely to exclude the "winged horse" from the objective possibilities. The question of legitimacy and the criteria for such exclusion is important for the analysis of the ontological argument, we will consider it in the 4<sup>th</sup> section of this article.

How can a more accurate description be given to the ontological status of objective possibilities implied in R 3706? Is any objective possibility foregrounded in a "possible world"? Or is it the ability of *something actual* to produce something that does not yet exist (i.e., the potential existence in the Aristotelian sense)? Comparison of R 3706 with the passage from "An Attempt at Some Reflections on Optimism" (1759) and EmBg (1763) shows that it more likely means the actualized possibilities in the sense of Leibniz. For example, "An Attempt" states that "out of all possible worlds that God knew he had chosen just this one world" [6, p. 47], and that the idea of possible worlds exist in the divine mind [6, p. 42]. In EmBg Kant argues in a similar way, speaking of "the millions of things that do not exist in reality [and will not]," but which the supreme being cognizes as "possible things" [8, p. 401].

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<sup>8</sup> Translation form German.

In R 3706 Kant emphasizes the independence of the existence of possible things from *anyone's* idea: a possible thing is something, even if nobody conceives it, and necessary predicate is inherent in it, even if *no one* connects them. Does it suggest that this possibility is ontologically independent even from the mind of God? If so, Kant rejected the theory of Leibniz, according to which the existence of the eternal truths (ideas) is determined by the divine mind. We have, however, no other evidence in favor of this interpretation. In his published works Kant always argued that the possible was based on the real. It is therefore unlikely that in R 3706 he was referring to the ontological independence of all possible worlds from God (Leibniz criticized this viewpoint in his "Théodicée" [9, S. 260–261]). The best approach, perhaps, is to assume that the ontological status of objectively possible is not fully defined in R 3706. For Kant, it is only important that the necessary truths are independent of thought and that a priori proposition of the existence of God can acquire a real meaning. The same uncertainty can be found Fifth Meditation by Descartes, where he talks about the entities that are independent of the mind [1, p. 52–53].

We now turn to the question of relationship between ontological concepts of ND and R 3706. This question is important not only for the analysis of Kant's critique of proofs of God's existence, but also for understanding Kant's entire philosophical evolution. Therefore, we will give it a more detailed consideration.

In ND Kant speaks of the nature of the possible in different ways. On the one hand, he uses the concept of logical possibility, "the possibility is narrowed down to the statement that connected concepts do not contradict each other" [7, p. 278]. On the other hand, talking about freedom, he suggests that the only possible is something that has some pre-existing foundation in reality [7, p. 286–88]. Apparently, Kant uses two concepts of the possible, not considering it necessary to clarify this.

The distinction between the metaphysical (logical) and physical possibilities is quite traditional. Aristotle already distinguished possibility as "the beginning of movement or change in a thing, being in a different state" and, at the same time, the possibility as denying the necessary fallacy of the contrary ("Metaphysics", Vol. 5, Ch. 12). We find a similar distinction in Leibniz and Crusius [15, § 56, 59], who, however, differ as to what should be considered a *real* possibility, that is really capable of accomplishing. Crusius admits only real physical possibility: "The real component in a thing that does not yet exist, is the cause for this considered thing" [15, S. 99–100]. Leibniz, on the contrary, believes that "when talking about the possibility of a thing, it is not about the causes leading to or preventing its actual existence..." [9, p. 293]. He considers that the sole criterion of reality for a possible thing is the consistency of its notion.

Kant's reasoning on the problem of freedom (ND, *Theorem IX*) shows that he is close to Crusius' viewpoint. Like the latter, he did not attach much importance to the logical possibilities: "They will say that what is contrary to an event, which is considered by itself, can still be conceived and therefore it is possible. So what? After all, this opposite can't happen because there are already sufficient grounds predetermining impossibility for it ever to become a reality" [7, p. 286]. Kant's position is even more radical than the position of Crusius: Crusius admits that the event, which is logically (but not really) possible can still be carried out by God (because of his freedom), and Kant believes that all the actions of God, and consequently, all the events of the world, were originally predetermined by his essence.

Generally speaking, Kant's point of view of in ND is no different from Spinozian. Here are some arguments in favor of this opinion. In ND Kant de-

fends the principle of sufficient (pre-defining) reason. The traditional objection to this principle is that it restores "the unchangeable necessity of all things and the fate of the Stoics," as well as "shakes all freedom and morality" [7, p. 285]. "Eloquent", "clear and convincing", according to Kant, this objection is expressed by Crusius. Therefore, in *Theorem IX* Kant recounts Crusius' arguments, trying to make it "more comprehensible without undermining its [arguments] strength".

Comparing Kant's reasoning (in general) to Crusius' one, it is easy to see that Kant sets out the argument even more eloquently and with evident sympathy. Coming to the "elimination of difficulties that seem to be inherent in the principle of determining the base" ("Removing doubt"), Kant expressly acknowledges that he agreed with Crusius that "conventional distinction [between conditional and unconditional necessity] reduces the force of necessity and the accuracy of a definition only slightly" [7, p. 287]. The events of the world are defined as if the opposite was excluded by their mere concept. In God "the act of creation of the world is not something unstable, and is determined, of course, so that something opposite to it would be unworthy of God, that is, could not be inherent in it" [7, p. 288]. These statements are fully consistent with the statements of Spinoza:

Things could not have been produced by God in any other way and in no other manner than they have been made [13, p. 390].

Since in God there's no inconstancy and change, he had to decide to produce everything out of eternity. <...> If he [the one who denies that the "possible and random are nothing but the shortcomings in our mind"] draws attention to the nature and its dependence on God, he will find nothing accidental in things, i.e. nothing that in fact there may or may not exist. <...> In all things created from eternity there was the necessity of their existence. <...> God did not exist before these decisions so that he could decide otherwise... [12, p. 277].

According to Kant, a supreme being is deprived of the opportunity of choice, since all the possibilities depend on him not only for due to their existence, but also due to the nature. This is precisely the essence of Kant's theological physics in ND. The same is also mentioned in the reflections on optimism (R 3703–3705). Kant states here: "...everything that is possible exists, and... either in the chain of beings or in a variety of changes there's nothing missing capable of existing" [AA, XVII, S. 235]. God created everything he could create, and the endless evolution of the Universe accomplishes any possibility out of the number of those, which should be attributed to the reality. (This point of view on possibility has been known from Diodorus' time, and Leibniz criticizes it in the chapters of his "Théodicée": § 168–171.)

So, in ND Kant, apparently, distinguishes between the ideal and actual possibility (according to the terminology of Crusius, see [16, § 56, 59]). The *ideal* option is the consistency of notion and is represented by a *mental ability*, or the *ability in thought*. The *real* possibility, or the opportunity *beyond thought* in Kant's view coincides with the reality of a thing: the concept is really possible if the corresponding thing is actual at some point in world history. As for Note R 3706, Kant seems to transit to Leibniz' point of view, accepting the concept of "possible worlds." He stated this new position clearly a few years later in EmBg:



... Who can deny that millions of things that don't exist in reality are only possible by all the predicates that they would have possessed if they had existed; that in a view that the supreme being shares about them there are no missing definitions, though existence is not among them, for the supreme being conceives them as merely possible things... If God wanted to create a different set of things, another world, then this world would exist with all of the definitions (and no more) that God cognizes in it, even though it is just a possible world [8, S. 401].

Thus, by the end of the 50's – early 60's (R 3706 dates back to this time) Kant's metaphysical views changed significantly. He departed from Spinozian point of view towards Leibniz' concept of "possible worlds" (the reasons for this change are still not known).

### 3. Historical review

J. Schmucker notes the extraordinary clarity of R 3706<sup>9</sup> [18, S. 24–25]. This observation can be accepted, if we consider the first part of the fragment only, where Kant defends the ontological argument (assuming that the existence is a predicate). However, we must bear in mind that Kant here reproduces well-known Descartes' arguments of his *Meditationes*. The first part of R 3706 is merely a paraphrase of a few paragraphs of "Fifth Meditation" [1, p. 52–55]. To verify this, it is worth just placing the thoughts of Descartes in the same sequence in which they are found in Kant's work.

*Kant*: "If existence could be counted among various predicates that may be immanent to a thing, then, of course, one would not require any other proof of God's existence, more convincing and understandable than the Cartesian. Because of all possible things, there is only one in which all things that can be assembled together are connected into one. These realities, i.e., true positive predicates, also include existence; therefore, the most real of all the being in its internal capabilities presupposes existence".

*Descartes*: "...each time I happen to think of a first and sovereign being, and to draw, so to speak, the idea of him from the storehouse of the mind, I am necessitated to attribute to him all kinds of perfections, though I may not then enumerate them all, nor think of each of them in particular. And this necessity is sufficient, as soon as I discover that existence is a perfection, to cause me to infer the existence of this first and sovereign being".

*Kant*: "It doesn't make much sense arguing that such a possible thing only assumes existence, that is only because the very thing exists in the mind rather than out of it, the same could be said about all the predicates that are inherent in any possible thing: they are not present in reality but are assumed. The latter is indeed the case when something is randomly linked with a property which is not necessarily entailed by this particular thing, for example, if some horse is mentally attributed with wings to make it a Pegasus, the wings are inherent in some horse but just mentally".

*Descartes*: "Indeed such a doctrine may at first sight appear to contain more sophistry than truth. <...> I cannot conceive God unless as existing, it follows that existence is inseparable from him, and therefore that he really exists: not that this is brought about by my thought, or that it imposes any necessity on things, but, on the contrary, the necessity which lies in the thing itself, that is, the necessity of the existence of God, determines me to think in this way: for it is not in my power to conceive a God without existence, that is, a being supremely perfect, and yet devoid of an absolute perfection, as I am free to imagine a horse with or without wings..."

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<sup>9</sup> R3706 – fragment of Kant's manuscript heritage, published in AA, XVII, S. 240–243.

*Kant*: "On the contrary, where the connection of the predicate with a thing is not arbitrary, but is determined by the essence of the thing itself, the predicate is inherent in thing, not because we assume it, but it is necessary to suppose this predicate as a part of this entity because it is inherent to it by its nature".

*Decartes*: "For indeed I discern on many grounds that this idea is not factitious depending simply on my thought, but that it is the representation of a true and immutable nature: in the first place because I can conceive no other being, except God, to whose essence existence [necessarily] pertains..."

*Kant*: " So I cannot say that the fact that the total sum of triangle's angles is equal to two right angles exists only in thought, but I must say that it is inherent to a triangle by itself. This feature is not disturbed by the fact that this possibility is only assumed by my mind: for it is something in itself, even when it is not conceived, the predicate would exist by itself anyway even though no one would make any connections between the two".

*Decartes*: "And what I find of most importance is, that I discover in my mind innumerable ideas of certain objects, which cannot be esteemed pure negations, although perhaps they possess no reality beyond my thought, and which are not framed by me though it may be in my power to think, or not to think them, but possess true and immutable natures of their own. As, for example, when I imagine a triangle, although there is not perhaps and never was in any place in the universe apart from my thought one such figure, it remains true nevertheless that this figure possesses a certain determinate nature, form, or essence, which is immutable and eternal, and not framed by me, nor in any degree dependent on my thought; as appears from the circumstance, that diverse properties of the triangle may be demonstrated, viz, that its three angles are equal to two right ones..."

*Kant*: " The same is true of the existence, if it could be considered as a predicate of things. For it would have been inherent in the necessary manner to the single possible being, which contains all reality, that is the essence of most real being would exist necessarily, and its possibility would include its reality. And if without my or anyone else's thought the most real being didn't have inherent existence, the idea of this being would have been all false. For if it is correct, then it can't be of any other predicates, except for those that belong to this thing even apart from the thoughts of it".

*Decartes*: "But, nevertheless, when I think of it more attentively, it appears that the existence can no more be separated from the essence of God, than the idea of the equality of its three angles to two right angles, from the essence of a [rectilinear] triangle; so that it is not less impossible to conceive a God, that is, a being supremely perfect, to whom existence is a wanting..."

Even more similarities (even up to the order of presentation) can be found between the reasoning of Kant and Spinoza's remarks on the first chapter of the "Short Treatise on God, Man and his Well-being." Thus, in the second note Spinoza says:

From the definition which will be given in Chapter 2 and according to which God has infinite attributes, we can prove his existence as follows: everything that we clearly and distinctly discern as belonging to nature of things, we can truly say of a thing itself, but the nature of a being with infinite attributes, also includes an attribute that indicates the existence; therefore, the objection that such a statement is true only about the idea, but not the thing itself, would be false, because the idea of an attribute belonging to a thing does not exist, and therefore the mentioned above assumption of an idea has nothing to do with either a thing or what is told about it; then there is a big difference between an idea and its object, that is why the opinion about the object is not applicable to the idea and vice versa [20, S. 17 – 18]<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> Translation of this part in [11] is mistaken.

In the third note Spinoza discusses the question whether the idea of God is fictitious. His reasoning is based on the distinction between the ideas that are created by our mind, and those that exist independently of our thinking (Kant's reasoning is based on the same distinction).

Suppose, however, that this idea of [God] is a fiction, but then we have to consider all our other ideas as fictions.

If that were the case, then why would ideas differ so greatly? For we see some [ideas], the existence of which is impossible to suppose, for example, all the monsters [mythical animals], which seem to consist of two natures, such as, for example, an animal that represents a bird and a horse, and similar creatures that do not exist [whose existence is impossible] in nature, which we find arranged quite differently.

In addition to these there is a third idea, and, moreover, the only one: it embodies the necessary existence in a different way compared to the previous one, which can only exist, because it was only essence that was necessary but not existence; this one needs both existence and essence inseparably.

Thus, I see that neither truth, nor essence or existence of a thing depend on me; for as it has been proven for the second group of ideas, they are what they are, regardless of me, either by their essence alone, or by their essence and existence together. Even more it holds true to the third, only idea, namely: not only does it not depend on me, but on the contrary, God alone should be the subject of what I'm saying about him. So, if it did not exist, I couldn't state anything about him, as it is still possible about other things, even if they did not exist [11, S. 80, revised].

\*\* For other ideas existence is possible, though it is not absolutely necessary, while their essence is always needed, whether they exist or not, just like the idea of a triangle and the idea of love in a soul separated from the body, etc.; so, even assuming first that they are invented, I then will be forced to admit that they, nevertheless, have the essence, even if neither I nor any other person has ever thought of them. That is why they are not created by my imagination, but beyond me they should have a subject that is not me, and without which they can't exist.

This comparison clearly shows that supporting the Cartesian argument, Kant does not state anything new. His reasoning is completely consistent with the arguments of Descartes, and the sequence of presentation is very similar to the one we find in the "Short Treatise" by Spinoza.

Both Descartes and Spinoza emphasize that the possible things exist and possess some properties independently of our mind. This argument is a logical response to the objection, stating that although the proposition "God exists" is a priori true, it is such only because of an imagined concept of God and therefore has only an ideal meaning. Such a response (in connection with the issue of judgments emanating from arbitrary definitions) is clearly articulated by Leibniz in his letter to Fouché:

First of all, it is undeniable that the very truth of hypothetical propositions is something outside of us and independent of us. For all hypothetical proposals assert what would be or would not be, if something or its contrary were posited; consequently, they assume two things at the same time which agree with each other, or the possibility or impossibility, necessity or indifference, of something. But this possibility, impossibility or necessity (for the necessity of one thing is the impossibility of its contrary) is not a chimera which we create, since all that we do consists in recognizing them, in spite of ourselves and in a consistent manner. Thus, considering all existing things, this very possibility or impossibility of their existence becomes primary. In its turn, the opportunity and the need form and compose what is called essences or natures, and make up the truths, which are commonly referred to as eternal. And they

deserve this name, because nothing is ever as eternal as the necessary. For example, the nature of a circle with its properties is something real and eternal. In other words, there is some permanent cause outside of us, which operates so that anyone who thinks about it, find the same. It is not a simple coincidence of thoughts, which could be explained by the nature of the human spirit... [10, p. 268].

The logical objection, as it is already mentioned, is also given by Leibniz in the article on the Cartesian argument ("De la démonstration cartésienne..."). Thus, the first part of fragment R 3706 does not contain any new reasons in favor of the Cartesian argument. Kant simply reproduces the line of thought, known since the time of Descartes. And, most likely, this explains why the wording of the first part of the fragment is so clear unlike the wording of the second part.

#### 4. The problem of "true" and "imagined" essences

Apart from criticism of logical objections, there is another line of reasoning in the text of R 3706. It concerns the issue of the "true" and "fictional" ideas. From the point of view of the "unifying" interpretation this issue is the main one in ND argument<sup>11</sup>. In the scholium to *Theorem VI* Kant points to the need to justify the validity of the concept of the most real thing. Moreover, the truth here is understood as the correspondence of the actual (objectively) possible instance to the concept rather than a match to something actually existing. In Kant's argument (in this viewpoint) distinction between "apparent" and "true" possibility plays a crucial role. In ND Kant does not explain this difference, limiting himself to the evidence that the rationale of true possibilities of the most real thing depends on the proof of its existence.

In 3706 R Kant views another argument against the truth (in this sense) of the concept of the all-real being. This argument refers to M. Cather, first reviewer of Descartes' "Reflections." It is to indicate to the random nature of concept of the perfect being, and to oppose it to other concepts, all the elements of which are necessarily connected to each other. Kant rejects this argument insisting that the concept of the most real thing represents a unity.

Before continuing the analysis of Kant's argument, let us recall the debate around this issue at the time of Descartes.

Playful (as recognized by the author) remark by M. Cather is in fact one of the most serious objections to the Cartesian argument. According to M. Cather, following Descartes' reasoning, we can prove a priori the existence of anything, such as the existence of a lion:

...let me just make a little joke: a complex concept *existing lion* includes, and includes essentially, two parts, namely, the lion and the mode of existence; and if we withdraw any of these parts, it would cease being a complex concept. Then: did God understand clearly and distinctly this compound word? Did the idea of this complex concept – being difficult in itself – include essentially the both components? In other words, does existence have anything to do with the essence of this word-combination – the *existing lion*? [1, p. 81].

This seems to lead to the fact that the existing lion certainly exists, and if the existing lion exists then a lion also exists.

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<sup>11</sup> ND – Nova dilucidatio

Descartes replied that such ideas (a winged horse, an existing lion) do not contain a "true and immutable" essences, but only "imaginary and created by intellect", according to him it proceeds from the possibility to mentally dismember such ideas, unlike the ideas of a triangle or a square [1, p. 94–95].

The issue of the complex (composite) character of the idea of God was also raised in conversations between Descartes and Gassendi. While criticizing the idea of the perfect being, Gassendi observed that "the idea of these [divine] perfections that you have got was not revealed to you by God, but was perceived by you from perfect things and then increased... It is thus the way to represent the Pandora as the goddess adorned with all the gifts and perfections as well as a perfect republic, perfect speaker, etc. [1, p. 239]. Descartes objected to this, that "the idea of God is not constructed gradually by us on the basis of increasing perfection of creation, but is formed at once by the fact that we touch mentally the infinite being, which doesn't allow any increase" [1, p. 290].

Obviously, Descartes' answers do not provide a clear distinction criterion between "true" and "imaginary" entity. As for Spinoza, he, as we have seen, declares the concept of a *winged horse* inconsistent, but says nothing about the concept of an *existing lion*; apparently, there is no room for this concept in his classification of the ideas, the problem is thus avoided and not solved.

It is worth mentioning that Crusius is extremely detailed in discussing the problem of complex and non-complex concepts proceeding to distinction between accidental and necessary essences [15, p. 62–75, 530, 548–549, 756–757]. From his point of view, it is only the idea of infinite substance (God) which turns to be really inseparable; the essences of finite things contain logically independent features, and are therefore accidental. However, Crusius' reasoning seems to have little relevance to the issue of the Cartesian argument, because it denies the existence of the "eternal and immutable" essences beyond the real world.

I must admit that none of the above mentioned authors has given a clear definition to this metaphysical distinction of whole (indivisible) entities and complex entities (arbitrarily created by our imagination). From a logical point of view of a triangle is as much a complex idea as the idea of Pegasus, when cutting off the property of triangularity, we will get the idea of a closed shape, which can be seen as completely independent. For a polygon three angles can be seen as a random feature. Therefore, it is difficult to catch any logical (and metaphysical) distinction between the ideas of a triangle and Pegasus.

Going back to Kant's argument, we note that the text of the R 3706 allows us to properly interpret the expression "true concept" from the scholium to *Theorem VI* in ND. Thus the "true concept" is the concept that expresses a whole, indivisible entity. In such an interpretation the argument in ND takes the following form: we form the concept of the most real thing, but we do not know in advance whether an essence, expressed by this notion is "true", "necessary", "eternal", or if it is "artificial", existing only because we built it due to the power of our imagination. In the first case ("if any [possible] being assembles [as required, regardless of our thoughts] all the gradations of reality") the Cartesian argument appears to be true, in the second ("if they only appear to assemble") it should be considered invalid.

We can see that the text of R 3706 confirms "unifying" interpretation of Kant's argument in the scholium to *Theorem VI* ND. He contrasted being-in-the-mind and objectively possible-being (beyond thought). In the first case, Kant speaks of supposing "in mind" (im Verstande) or "thought" (in Gedanken); in the

second case – supposing “beyond thought” (außer dem Gedanken) or “due to the essence of the thing itself” (durch das Wesen der Sachen selbst). In ND these two ways of supposing are defined as *idealiter* and *realiter*.

It is noteworthy that, saying “it makes little sense to argue that such a possible thing includes only existence in mind, that is only because the very thing that is perceived only in thought, but not beyond mind...”, Kant was originally going to use the expression “in the real sense” (im Realverstande) instead of “beyond mind”. In our view, the crossed out word can serve as evidence in favor of the “unifying” interpretation, explaining the use of the term *realiter* in ND.

Finally, we can directly compare the key phrase in the scholium to *Theorem VI* to the beginning of Fragment R 3706.

ND: “...if some being unifies without any gradation all realities, it exists...”

R3706: “If existence could be counted among various predicates that may be immanent to a thing, then, of course, one would not require any other proof of God's existence, more convincing and understandable than the Cartesian. Because of all possible things, there is only one in which all entities that can be assembled together are connected into one”.

The meaning of these fragments, in our view, is the same (with the exception of mentioning the predicate interpretation of existence).

It's hard to say why in ND Kant didn't add the definition “possible” to the word “being”. This can be attributed to negligence or general brevity of the text. But to someone who learnt the argument of ND after having read R 3706, it seems natural to interpret this argument in the spirit of the latter. And only the reference to some secondary works can offer another (less convincing) interpretation.

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RUSSIAN NEO-KANTIANISM:  
HISTORY  
AND DEVELOPMENT

*The article is dedicated to the analysis of the development of neo-Kantianism in Russia. Russian neo-Kantianism is marked with originality, which was due to the cultural and historical peculiarities of the formation of the national philosophical thought. The stages and specific character of the development of Russian neo-Kantianism are considered by example of the creation of A.I. Vvedensky, B.V. Yakovenko and V.E. Sesemann.*

*Key words: neo-Kantianism, Russian philosophical tradition, specific character of Russian neo-Kantianism, A.I.Vvedensky, B.V. Yakovenko, V.E. Sesemann.*

**Introduction**

It is both very difficult and easy to write about the Russian Neo-Kantianism as a holistic philosophical direction in the development of Russian philosophical tradition. As I have repeatedly pointed out<sup>1</sup>, it is largely based on German neo-Kantianism, represented by its two main schools. However, learning the lessons of German teachers and colleagues, on the one hand, was done independently and distinctively, on the other hand, it was carried out in cultural, historical and, most importantly, philosophical environment very different from that of Germany. Absence of a long and well-grounded philosophical tradition, including that in the study of transcendental philosophy of Kant, was one of the reasons why none of the Russian neo-Kantians can be called a consistent follower of either Marburg or Baden school. We can say that the interest in Kant and neo-Kantianism

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<sup>1</sup> See *Belov V. Russian neo-Kantianism – forgotten philosophical space // The world of the philosopher of the Silver Age. Saratov, 2003 ; Same author. Philosophy of H.Cohen and Russian neo-Kantianism // Annual journal of history and philosophy, 2003. M., 2004 ; Same author [Review] N. Dmitrieva. Russian neo-Kantianism: Marburg in Russia. Historical and philosophical essays // Philosophical issues. 2008. № 4 ; Same author. The problem of rational and irrational in the Russian neo-Kantianism // Spiritual continent of Russian philosophy. Saratov, 2009 ; Same author. H. Cohen's doctrine in Russia: attitudes and reception // Russian and German neo-Kantianism: between theory of cognition and cultural criticism. M., 2010 ; Same author. Russian neo-Kantianism and Russian religious philosophy: an attempt at comparative analysis // Russian philosophy: unity and diversity. Saratov, 2010.*



started in Russia simultaneously. Hence Liebman's slogan "Back to Kant" for Russian supporters of transcendental philosophy sounded like "Forward to Kant". And so there could not be any debate between, let's say, Russian orthodox Kantians and neo-Kantians, between the followers of different options of the development of Kant's philosophy of transcendentalism. For young Russian philosophers Kant immediately became not a historical stage of formation of philosophical knowledge, not an archival attraction and a self-sufficient historical figure, but rather a living source of a truly philosophical and scientific exploration of Pure Reason, the Kant of Marburg, Heidelberg and Freiburg together with the Kant of Königsberg.

Enthusiasm for Kant among Russian thinkers was, as they say, overwhelming. By the beginning of the twentieth century, i.e. at the time when German schools of neo-Kantianism were flourishing, Russian culture was going through a so-called religious and spiritual renaissance, and the general interest in religious issues was on the rise. From the dominance of positivist and materialist ideas cultural and academic elite of Russia turns to Christianity and Orthodoxy. But one may still wonder if all that is connected in any way with interest in Kant. The fact is that for many Russian thinkers the road from materialism to Orthodoxy was leading through Kant, primarily through his ethical teaching. One of the most famous Russian religious philosophers and theologians Sergei Bulgakov, later Fr. Sergiy, the dean of St. Sergius Orthodox Theological Institute in Paris, described his Marxist-Kantian period: "Considering the polemic against Stammler, and beyond it, I set to myself a wider task, that of giving Marxism a vaccination with Kant's criticism, to place it on the solid epistemological foundation, giving a critical formulation to its basic sociological and economic teachings... I hesitated between various shades of [neokantianism], at different times getting closer to Riehl, to Schuppe, or to Natorp and Windelband. I must confess that Kant was always more reliable to me than Marx, and I thought it necessary to verify Marx through Kant, not vice versa" [1, p. 373].

But if for many future prominent religious thinkers Kant became a sort of bridge to transit to proper religious and theological subjects, the other part of young Russian philosophers treated their interest as purely philosophical, requiring long and hard work for its fulfillment. No wonder that Russian supporters of European philosophy accused their religious opponents of a smattering of those world philosophical traditions.

There are several reasons the young people of Russia were going to Marburg. I refer in this case to the opinion of the famous Russian poet and Nobel Prize winner, at one time a former student of Hermann Cohen, B. Pasternak, who in his "Safe Conduct" recalls: "Marburg school was fascinating in... two things. First, it was original, it started everything from scratch. It did not share the lazy routine of various "isms" ... Without any obedience to terminological inertia Marburg school referred to the very sources, i.e., to the authentic roots of thought which it had left in the academic history... Marburg school was interested in how science is thinking in its never-ending twenty-five-century authorship, at in the hot spots and final fates of world discoveries. In this condition, authorized, one may say, by the history, philosophy again became younger and smarter beyond recognition, turning from a problematic discipline into a discipline on problems, exactly the way it ought to be.

The second feature of the Marburg school follows directly from the first one, and it was scrupulous and exacting respect to the historical legacy... Uniformity

of academic structure for the school was the same rule as the anatomical identity of a historical man... History was looked at with both Hegelian eyes in Marburg, that is with genius generalization, but at the same time within in the exact boundaries of common truth...

These two traits of independence and historicism do not say anything about the content of Cohen's system... However, they both explain its appeal. They attest its originality, that is, the living place it occupied in the living tradition in one of the areas of modern consciousness» [4, p. 211 – 212].

Russian neo-Kantians understood their philosophical creativity as a necessary preliminary step towards the development of Russian philosophical tradition and true intermediary stage between European and Russian philosophical and, more broadly, social thinking.

Thus, we can say that the neo-Kantian movement in Russia was facing a triple challenge:

- to counter religious philosophy (Orthodoxy had the status of the official religion in the country), and materialism (as a philosophy of struggle for social justice) with authentic scientific philosophy;
- to lay foundations for Russian philosophical tradition that synthesizes a wealth of world philosophy with characteristics of Russian culture;
- to incorporate this tradition into international philosophy.

You can't but agree that these tasks are gigantic, so they were approached in different ways and with varying degrees of success.

The first among Russian neo-Kantian philosophers who understood the philosophical mission in addressing these three challenges, was Alexander Ivanovich Vvedensky.

#### **A. Vvedensky – the founder of Russian neo-Kantianism**

In a spirit similar to that of his German neo-Kantian colleagues, Russian philosopher Alexander Vvedensky (1856–1925) determines his attitude towards Kant as offering to identify in the teachings of the great philosopher of Königsberg the historical moments that suggest the possibility of historically conditioned revisions and refinements of the doctrine. "In Kant, – notes Vvedensky, – i. e. in his teaching, it is necessary to distinguish between the historical Kant, not alien to the dogmatic views and errors, and the ideal Kant, who placed the questions regarding knowledge to a whole new ground and thus justified his "criticism". The historical Kant, influencing the minds of his readers within their historical environment, could and should lead them through Fichte and Schelling to Hegel; but even the historical Kant would not be able to do this now, because now the conditions of intellectual life are not the same. Actually, it is recommended not simply to return to Kant, but rather to take in the principles of criticism that he created in order to clear them from the impurities of dogmatism, to go even further than Kant in the development of pure critical philosophy" [2, p. 135].

It is the very sense of historical determination and thus significance of Kant's doctrine which became pivotal in the works of A. Vvedensky. On the one hand, he understands the merits of Kant and considers his criticism of philosophical thought as the most prudent method. On the other hand, he sees the contradictions and weaknesses of Kant's system and tries to offer some ways of overcoming them.

All efforts of Vvedensky, no doubt, were defined by the practical applicability of critical philosophy. He was a teacher and educator, so he saw the main goal of his philosophical activity in teaching the younger generation the skills of critical thinking and shaping their scientific worldview. It is true that we do not find here a detailed analysis of Kant's system, which we can see in Cohen's or Windelband's works, and in total historical and philosophical works are very few. Vvedensky in his presentation is more of a promoter rather than an apologist of the tradition.

Three interrelated points became determinative for the philosopher in the construction of his own philosophical system:

1. Understanding that philosophy's existence is justified by its function in the formation of people's worldviews. The philosophical questions addressed in the external and internal existence of a person form the basis of his beliefs and orientations.

2. The assertion that the formation of a worldview is initiated by human cognitive interest. Therefore, epistemology or theory of knowledge should lie at the center of philosophy.

3. The belief is that the core of the theory of knowledge allows only for the critical method, as one departing from the fact of the development of scientific knowledge and taking this development as a never-ending process.

According to Vvedensky, all our experience, all its content is reduced to perceptions of various degrees and strength. Any ordering of external affections happens due to the efforts of human mind. Experience and mind share the same content. Hence the famous logicism of Vvedensky, which is akin to that of "Logic of Pure Knowledge" by the founder of the Marburg school of neo-Kantianism.

Meanwhile, there is a pronounced difference between the logicism of Vvedensky and the logicism of Cohen. Without going into detailed analysis of the nuances of logical constructions of the two neo-Kantians, German one and Russian one, we can emphasize that if Cohen's logic is the logic of first principles, of generation from nothing, that is, the absolute creative force, then the logic of Vvedensky, while being of paramount importance for epistemology, is the one for handling experiences and verifying inferences – it primarily retains secondary role, if we try to sort out the conflicting judgments of the Russian neo-Kantianist.

In our opinion, we should talk about strict schematization and simplification of Kant's theory, which were caused by a desire to state all the basic ideas of the critical philosophy for the younger generation of philosophers in the shortest and clearest way. In addition, such a promotion came from an attempt to improve of the system of critical philosophy rather than to provide Kant's authentic doctrine.

It is absolutely Kantian fact in practical philosophy of professor Vvedensky when he recognises the primacy of practical reason and unconditional obligation of moral duty. Moreover, the representative of Russian neo-Kantianism deepens and radicalizes the dualism of theoretical and practical reason of Kant through logic. According to Vvedensky, applying pure logic, we won't be able to either tell anything about the causes of our moral conduct or prove the existence of the spiritual element in other living beings. It turns out that, on the one hand, we can't accept the unconditional obligation of moral duty, but on the other hand, we can't prove its existence by scientific means. It was the "nagging" of morality and impotence of science to justify it, according to Vvedensky, which justify the necessity to search for some other argument.

Neither God nor the immortality of the soul, nor free will, nor faith are the reasons for the Russian neo-Kantian that determine the existence of human morality, but, on the contrary, the latter gives rise to a reasonable opportunity to explain the irrational, and in the framework of the latter we may speak of faith, admitted by critical reason<sup>2</sup>.

In comparison with knowledge, faith, according to Vvedensky, is so differentiated, that, considered psychologically rather than logically, it can become the object of conscious reasoning about it. "Along with the naive and blind faith — he says, there is such faith which is quite strong, because it is recognized by the critical reason, and at the same time is valuable, in any case the one that can't be called abnormal or undesirable; it is a conscious faith" [3, p. 187]. The presence of such faith, according to the Russian philosopher, does not contradict the critical approach, but, on the contrary, is required by it, because the logically proven and sound knowledge is not enough to build a holistic worldview, which inevitably raises questions about the meaning of life, the immortality of the soul, and being of God. In ordinary life not everyone is a critically-minded philosopher. Presence of conscious faith, although not entirely clearly, is perceived by intuitively thinking people. Therefore, it is quite possible to say that in the philosophical system of A. Vvedensky we find an attempt to extend the ability of the critical ways beyond the frames of knowledge, but not those of mind, on the one hand, and beyond the position of a philosopher or scientist, but not of a cognizing subject.

Moreover, the dualism of theoretical and practical philosophy in of Vvedensky, emphasized by some reputable scholars, is not absolute. Because, first of all, faith, as an opposition to knowledge, is introduced into cognition through intuitive knowledge and psychological confidence in a certain way, i.e. causal relations of faith and knowledge gets postulated in the process of learning, and, secondly, the unity of knowledge and faith serves as the basis of a person's worldview and the conditionality of this communication and knowledge is prefaced.

On the whole, summing up, we consider the fact that the philosophical criticism of the system proposed by the Russian thinker and scholar A. Vvedensky was influenced by many of the great representatives of idealist philosophy, in particular by Descartes, Hume, Kant, Fichte, and Fisher. But the system it shares common features the most with is the one of Cohen, the founder of the Marburg school of neo-Kantianism. We can point at the logic and methodology in the development of Kant's theoretical philosophy, at expanding the boundaries of practical knowledge beyond the scientific knowledge, and at including national philosophical features into it (it's Jewish for Cohen and Russian for Vvedensky), not to mention similar interpretation of Kant's thing-in-itself as frame for scientific knowledge and understanding knowledge as a holistic phenomenon and at the same time, as an infinite process.

Wide and diverse field of tradition of transcendental philosophy, which Vvedensky was going to introduce to the national intelligentsia, impatient for

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<sup>2</sup> Here we are again faced with the logic of the argument, in many ways similar to the one of Cohen in his philosophy of religion. Researchers who prove the continuity of the theoretical and practical philosophy of the scholar with the philosophy of religion, also point at philosophical approach, a defining one in these arguments, when the philosopher philosophizes, but does not preach beyond reason, staying at its bounds and expanding, thus, the possibility of knowledge beyond science. See such an analysis of Cohen's philosophy in: *Poma A. La Filosofia Critica di Hermann Cohen. Milano, 1988.*

philosophical enlightenment, the need to find an adequate response to the challenge of the time inside the contemporary national philosophy, which was becoming increasingly prone to confirm primacy of religious consciousness over scientific one, forced the Russian philosopher to simplifications and schematization. They did not contribute to solving old Kantian problems, but gave rise to new ones. No wonder Vvedensky's works were always met with hot discussions and are still being accepted with a mixed reaction.

If Vvedensky can be classified to some extent as popularizer of Kant's philosophy, his young colleague Yakovenko set off popularizing the whole history of the transcendental philosophical tradition, with neo-Kantianism and phenomenology being the points of culmination. Moreover, efforts of the Russian thinker in "embedding" tradition of transcendental philosophy into the world philosophical space, including Russia, with all the controversial moments of such "integration" are really remarkable.

### **B. Yakovenko and Russian philosophical tradition**

One of the editors and the most active participants of the Russian "Logos", the main Russian magazine of neo-Kantianism, was Boris V. Yakovenko (1884 – 1948). He did not leave his own developed theory, though analyzing his historical and philosophical works; we could single out three main interconnected storylines.

Firstly, Yakovenko's efforts are aimed at creating a Russian philosophical tradition. With all the cosmopolitanism and Westernism, he understands through magnificent historical and philosophical intuition that religious philosophy in Russia is not an accidental phenomenon and it is not a marginalized road to nowhere, but an integral part of Russian culture, including philosophy. And this philosophy, even when perceived critically, provides a good ground for reflecting on the philosophy's independence of religion, and positively perceived, serves excellent stimulus for the opposite way, preventing it from stagnating in positivist, scientific dogmatism and offering really relevant and profound topics for discussion.

Secondly, this Russian philosophical tradition, according to Yakovenko, and some other philosophers, lacks detailed understanding of Western philosophical tradition, which continues developing in different directions but still preserves some common roots and goals. Yakovenko is the author of a series of review articles on contemporary Western philosophy, and nationally-focused research on German, Italian, Czechoslovakian and American philosophy.

Thirdly, Boris V. Yakovenko does not simply try to compensate for the lack of tradition of thorough study of Western philosophy in Russian philosophical realm with simple presentation of different philosophical trends, identifying the historical stages of their formation and development of national characteristics, but singles out the most promising philosophical direction, which, in his opinion, may become a starting point for creating the original schools of national philosophy. This is neo-Kantianism modeled on Cohen's one.

One of the main determining factors of self-identification for the Russian thinker is a strong belief in the autonomy of philosophical knowledge and cognition. Due to the fact that the object of philosophy is beyond ordinary physical, chemical, biological, social, and similar world, is not the observed objects and phenomena, but abstract things, it is very difficult to keep such an attitude and it

takes a certain level of the development of mind to be capable of persistent effort there. However, the opposition of philosophy, on the one hand, and all other spheres of human creativity on the other hand, can't be absolute. Philosophy, according to Yakovenko, has always been a part of the cultural space of a nation, and therefore it can't be separated with an impenetrable wall from science, religion and art.

Being a philosopher, and a philosopher-westernizer, B. Yakovenko did not imagine himself outside of Russian culture, national mentality and values. Particular tasks on shaping national philosophical tradition, without which in some degree of maturity the history of Russian culture can't be represented, dictated the form of philosophical priorities for the Russian thinker. It was necessary to protect the position of independent philosophy, and "Yakovenko first largely took on the burden of philosophical debate" [7, p. 852] with those who didn't believe in philosophy's self-sufficiency. The Russian tradition became a suitable background primarily for religious and philosophical view which the Russian thinker accuses, following Kant, of being dogmatic and ignorant of modern and contemporary philosophy.

It was necessary also to work diligently for the benefit of the future. "In other words – not without pathos, and at the same time with the full awareness of the complexity and a certain conventionalism says Yakovenko, – it was time to prepare and get ready: to prepare an original (as far as possible) detection of philosophical thinking in Russian mentality and to get ready for being its ancestors and perhaps even founders» [8, p. 739].

At the preparatory historical and philosophical stage of his philosophy Yakovenko identifies some iconic figures that allow him to present the history of philosophy as a developing system of philosophy, coherent with the core of philosophical knowledge: Maimon, Fichte, Schuppe, Rickert, Windelband, Husserl. Despite the fact that the ideal of historical and philosophical works for him was "History of Modern Philosophy", a two-volume work of Windelband, which covers the development of philosophical thought from Descartes to Herbart, Yakovenko does not follow the Baden neo-Kantian and does not undertake a large-scale historical and philosophical project. With all the "vastness", apparent dispersion and inconsistency in the selection of historical and philosophical themes, the Russian philosopher always remains committed to one idea, one philosophical school, one philosopher: transcendental criticism, Marburg neo-Kantianism, Hermann Cohen.

The most common scheme of development of philosophical thought in general is seen by the Russian thinker as follows: from Greek cosmism to German epistemology, and the main purpose of the historical and philosophical development, in his view, had always been to achieve self-sufficiency in philosophical constructs. The main obstacle on the way to this goal, which is often not clearly understood by the philosophers, is defined by Yakovenko as psychologism of philosophy, a mixture of philosophical and psychological research. In the twentieth century Husserl responsibly claimed the inadmissibility of such a mix and offered his program to get rid of this. Such a move gained the appreciation of the Russian neo-Kantian. He is convinced that all stages of philosophical knowledge should be exempt from the influence of psychology, then philosophical perception and human mind must be taken completely separately. Otherwise, we can be trapped by recurrences of anthropomorphism and relativism, which violate the purity and consistency of the transcendental method that became the greatest achievement of philosophy.

Yakovenko identifies two trends in contemporary philosophy, successfully continuing philosophical tradition of separation philosophy and psychology: the Marburg school and a trend which, together with the German philosophers, Yakovenko calls "teleological criticism" (Windelband, Rickert). "Both schools, says Yakovenko, consider themselves the successors of Kant, find their origin in his criticism and still call themselves the teachings of transcendental idealism. They are most responsible for the positive solution of the problem of psychologism... It is in them where the basic philosophical tradition is manifested and grants this state of philosophic thought the value of a stage in the overall process" [9, p. 256].

Given all the merits of the Baden school and reverence to its founders<sup>3</sup>, Yakovenko is quite critical of the most important achievements of this school: emphasizing value as a basic principle in the main philosophical constructs and teleological method. He formulates the final conclusion: "Independent, self-contained value is a mirage, an illusion. *Any value results from assessment, finishing the evaluation process is fixing the value.* And as such, even being absolute, it depends on the subject.

This is comprehensive about the *inner psychologism* of the teleological method... You can hide this basic psychology in an alien terminology, but you can't avoid psychological background when dealing with the teleological method" [10, p. 519].

B. Yakovenko believes H. Cohen to be the main spokesman of modern philosophical tradition. Despite some rather severe criticism of the Marburg neo-Kantian and the rejection of psychological motives in his constructs, the last conclusion made by the Russian philosopher sounds rather optimistic, and in brief form presents the program for his own philosophical program, which, unfortunately, was not fulfilled: "And just like the latest progress of transcendentalism was bought at the cost of a number of resignation, at the cost of the slogan "Back to Kant", now we can safely say to ourselves, having already returned to Kant and taken him through Hegel, "Go forward with Cohen!" [11, p. 472].

### V. Sesemann and systemic approach to Russian neo-Kantianism

The most systematic approach in Russian neo-Kantianism is shown in the work of V. Seseman (1884–1963), one of the most interesting and profound Russian thinkers, a student of Saint Petersburg and the Marburg schools, of N. Lossky, H. Cohen and P. Natorp, a friend of N. Hartmann, L. Karsavin, S. Frank. Even his published works (and the chance to study the archives of the philosopher in the Vilnius University Library suggests that a lot more still remains unpublished) show constant aspiration of the Russian philosopher to create his own philosophical system.

At least two periods which are reflected in the attitude to basic problems (pure knowledge and rational and irrational) can be clearly traced in the formation of the Russian thinker's philosophy: following the canons of Marburg neo-Kantianism and closely tracing the ideas of Husserl's phenomenology. It is worth mentioning that Sesemann became a consistent apologist for neither

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<sup>3</sup> Russian scientist appreciates the contribution of W. Windelband in the development of the history of philosophy, believing it was his methodology to present the history of philosophy, rather than the history of philosophers, as a model one; Rickert, according to B. Yakovenko, must be appreciated primarily as a supporter of the systematic approach.

Cohen nor Husserl, and his appeal to neo-Kantianism and phenomenology was purely creative, critical. He saw great advantages and disadvantages of both teachings and sought to overcome the one-sidedness of their epistemological analysis in the original synthesis.

Like his teacher Cohen, Sesemann was committed to building a system of philosophy. He believes theory of knowledge to be the basis of his system, since it naturally absorbs all other philosophical spheres. Following Cohen, he looks for a starting point from where to unfold the whole system. However, unlike his German teacher, who made emphasis on the mathematical natural science and the principle of infinitely small, which, in fact, through the category of relevance captures the methodological, functional and operational character of knowledge, the Russian philosopher, noting the obvious limitations of scientific learning and thus rebutting pure logic of knowledge, aims to offer the logic of pure knowledge. It is, by definition, can be neither natural science nor humanities alone. It is through the phenomenon of pure knowledge as a starting point; Sesemann tries to establish a proper understanding of the object, the subject of knowledge and relationships between them.

For Sesemann there is no doubt that it is only the self-reflection (as a kind of reflective, objective knowledge) – though not to full extent due to the empirical limits of the very subject of knowledge) – where the ideal of pure knowledge can be found. Only a man in self-reflection as a finite being can come close to pure knowledge that is not conditioned by any real assumption, so is really universal. Only self-knowing that combines reflection and self-reflection, in object-oriented, logically defined self-knowing, which relies upon immediate non-object-oriented self-knowing, can include such characteristics as independency of object oriented knowledge and self-sufficiency of non-objective knowledge. Therefore, the main intention of pure knowledge can be realized in the direct knowledge only if the latter is based on indirect self-reflection. He believes that "the main intention of pure knowledge can be preserved and realized in subject knowledge only because it has behind it the absolute indirect identity as a foundation and reference point. Only in this way it acquires the ability to overcome the inherent phenomenal character and maintain contact with the absolute being" [5, p. 160].

We should also take a look at Sesemann's special attitude to the problem of the irrational. In-depth and versatile approach of the Russian thinker allows him to articulate the philosophical concept of the irrational, which is different from what we usually take for it in the positive sciences. "Irrational – he said – is a purely philosophical concept which is not limited by narrow boundaries, in which positive sciences can conclude it, it is generally not bound by any empirical or temporary borders, and resides in a temporary ideal as an inexhaustible complexity of providing perpetual and continuous progress of objective knowledge" [6, p. 117].

Sesemann points to the methodological role of the irrational in other parts of the system of philosophy. Thus, in the ethics he sees that the irrational is a real unity in the moral sphere of two conflicting principles: the individual and the communal. Aesthetic consciousness, according to the Russian thinker, "revolves entirely in irrational" and the symbolic nature of art is explained by "reduction to the harmonious unity of two different forms or stages of infinite irrationality: a superior, represented by an idea and the other, inferior, implemented through a concrete way" [6, p. 120]. In the religious philosophy the value of the irrational lies in apophatic theology, which is inextricably linked with the positive assertion of the highest levels of reality and perfection.



The scope of the irrational should include immediate intuition (referring to the mind), and the subject matter of the thing, which is not diffused in the complexes of connections and relationships (referring to the being). But another conclusion can be even more important: this juxtaposition of rational and irrational itself has a preliminary basis, "significance is only in the context of objective knowledge, i.e. perceiving formally, in the context of logic. This limited significance, as emphasizes the Russian philosopher, is not in any way contradicted by the fact that, these mentioned definitions are caused by other more deeply lying illogical moments. Just logical is, we hope, we can say — nothing primary, original. It is based on the assumption, which itself arises from certain metalogical (metaphysical) motives" [12, p. 50].

To demonstrate the latter thought, Sesemann examines the notion of contradictions in its logic, ontological, ethical and aesthetic senses. If the logical opposed senses of being and non-being are symmetrical and equal, then in the ontological non-being can never be symmetrical to being. Such a situation, even with a great emphasis on the logical difference, is seen in the ethical concepts of the good and the evil, the aesthetic ones of the beautiful and the ugly.

In conclusion, I would like to quote V. Sesemann. These words from his short work, in our view, state a number of important points that have become crucial for all of his philosophical work: "1) It (philosophy. — V.B.), says the Russian philosopher, in any case, is not a simple conceptual speculation, which for the most part was seen in the pre-Kantian metaphysics and that transcends any experience and does not need it. This kind of conceptual speculation is ultimately pointless, and it was finally rejected by Kant. 2) But it is not just one reason, common foundation, rooted in the same experience, similar to other relevant sciences. 3) But philosophy is also the experience that gives to its subject the character of true being and its spiritual form. So, like any real science it the knowledge of the subject, an experimental science. However, the experience of which it grows, is a special kind of experience, an experience that is not opposed to man as something external (as the experience of the outside world, the natural sciences), and that itself is not conceived in the flow of everyday practical life experience, but an experience that is available to a person only in rare great moments of his life, moments when he can mobilize the all his spiritual powers as something whole and united, and bring them to a higher concentration and effort. But this confirms Plato's expression that philosophical knowledge is more than just the knowledge of what it is, at the same time it fills the soul with truly being. In this respect philosophy is more than a simple science, and this explains why you fail to subdue it to the system of positive sciences.

It appears there as if it were a stranger, an unwanted unexpected visitor. The essential peculiarity of philosophy is that it is, in a large sense, an experimental science, and involves a special maintenance of spirit that makes it possible to penetrate into the deeper layers of existence — that should be learned and confirmed — is timeless, immortal merit of Platonic idealism. This must be always kept in consideration by philosophical research of today" [13, p. 119–120].

### Concluding remarks

Making some preliminary conclusions, it is worth pointing at a number of reasons, which complicate systematic work on the analysis of Russian neo-Kantianism. Indeed, what final outcome can we discuss, when a large part of the heritage of Russian neo-Kantian thinkers is still in the archives and has not yet been published?

Another difficulty in systematizing Russian neo-Kantian studies is the language: the works of leading Russian neo-Kantians are written in a variety of European languages — English, German, French, Italian, Lithuanian, Czech, etc.

It should also be said that there are no major program works written by Russian neo-Kantians — they are mostly articles, some of them are quite voluminous reviews and surveys.

Certainly, we can't but mention one factor, which complicated the formation of a more holistic and complete approach to the Russian neo-Kantian philosophy. It is the briefness of the period of time, relatively favorable for the development of Russian philosophical tradition, which actively involved Russian neo-Kantians: late 19<sup>th</sup> — early 20<sup>st</sup> century.

Russian neo-Kantianism at first glance appears quite fragmentary. We can't point now at any social group (school, university, journal), which represented neo-Kantianism, being its major force over extended period of time and defining its character. An exception might be found in the journal "Logos", that existed from 1910 to 1914, though it could hardly be called purely neo-Kantian. It was rather dedicated to Western philosophical and cultural tradition in general. But such a synthetic character of "Logos" largely corresponded to the nature of Russian neo-Kantianism, which actively engaged in European philosophy of the day in order to further develop German neo-Kantianism and overcome what was seen as its one-sidedness and errors.

In general, Russian neo-Kantianism didn't outgrow the preparatory projects, manifests, preliminary sketches, and the work of a researcher of Russian neo-Kantianism is less a work of a "restorer" or even a renovator, but rather a "constructor" of the national philosophical tradition, formation of which was the main objective for Russian neo-Kantians.

Nevertheless, it is hard to overestimate the significance of neo-Kantianism for Russian philosophy and culture. The general philosophical significance of neo-Kantianism should be emphasized above all: the debates and discussions of common themes had an undeniable influence on the formation of such seminal philosophical schools of thought as the Russian religious philosophy, the philosophy of dialogue of M. Bakhtin and hermeneutic phenomenology of G. Shpet.

The impact on culture is also undoubted: many Russian cultural figures — B. Pasternak, A. Beliy, A. Scriabin were educated in neo-Kantian paradigm.

General scientific significance of neo-Kantianism had a visible outcome: many famous Russian scientists, such as a psychologist S. Rubinstein, educator S. Hessen and others were the trainees of Marburg school.

Russian neo-Kantianism played a significant international role: F. Stegun became a famous German culture expert, D. Gawroński, a friend of E. Cassirer, taught for a long time in Switzerland. We can't but mention N. Hartmann, who began his philosophical education in St. Petersburg, completed it in Marburg, and later became a prominent German philosopher of the XX century.

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L. Stolovich

HOW DID KANT'S DEATH  
MASK END UP IN TARTU?  
A SURPRISING FINDING  
AT THE ARCHIVE  
OF ART MUSEUM  
OF THE UNIVERSITY  
OF TARTU\*

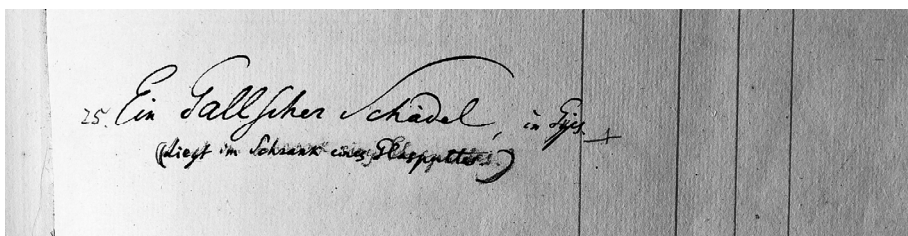
*This article tells the story of how Kant's death mask ended up in the Museum of Classical Antiquities of the University of Tartu.*

*Key words:* Kant Studies, Kant's death mask, University of Tartu.

The first 2008 issue of *Kantovsky sbornik*<sup>1</sup> featured my article "On the fate of Kant collection at the University of Tartu". This and my other publications on the topic focused on the discovery of Kant's death mask at the University of Tartu in the early 80s of the already last century. This amazing discovery posed the question as to how Kant's death mask ended up at the university.

At the time, one could only guess. As the employees of the Museum of Classical Antiquities of the University of Tartu (today, the Museum of Arts) – which was first to house the death mask of the great philosopher and where it was returned to after it had been found in the anatomicum – told me at the time, the museum inventory, where the mask had to be listed, was missing. One cannot exclude that it could have been moved during the WWI evacuation of the university to Voronezh, where a part of the art collection of the University of Tartu is still kept. I have contacted my Voronezh colleagues on more than one occasion asking them to locate the mentioned inventory. However, it has never been found. One could only suppose that Kant's mask was brought for Professor Jäsche who hallowed everything relating to his teacher. This hypothesis has not been substantiated by any documents. One could do anything with the unlisted mask sandwiched between other anatomic and physiological exhibits on a shelf in the anatomicum. If it had vanished, no one would have noticed it. Only when the mask left the anatomicum, and it was established whose post-mortem image it captures, the mask was insured for 1m roubles.

So as if to corroborate the overly optimistic, in my opinion, saying that “all secrets will come out”, 30 years after Kant’s mask had become one of the treasures of the University of Tartu, the veil of mystery lifted. The Museum employees found out not only that Kant’s death mask was indeed listed, but also that it was listed by Karl Morgenstern – the director of the university library and arts museum, which was housed in his flat, and the keeper of a part of Kant’s archive, which was handed to him by his friend Jäsche! The document was an unrecognised resident of the University’s Museum of Arts; it was an inventory of busts (mostly copies of ancient sculptures) kept in the Museum. It was revealed that Morgenstern had registered the bust-like death mask of the great philosopher (see fig.) in this book. It was also mentioned that the mask was received after the collection of the German physician Franz Joseph Gall had been sold out and appeared in the University Museum in 1825–1832.



The record made by Karl Morgenstern in the inventory about Kant’s death mask from Gall’s collection purchased in 1825–1832:

**25. Ein Gall'scher Schädel, in Gyps (liegt im Schrank eines Glas...[unreadable])**

Discovered by Janika Anderson, an employee of the Museum of Arts of the University of Tartu

The physician and anatomist Franz Joseph Gall (1758–1828) studied the localisation of mental functions in the brain and developed a method of identifying intellectual and moral abilities of a person on the basis of the outer appearance of the skull, which was called “phrenology”. Although phrenology was very popular in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the development of neurophysiology demonstrated the inconsistency of Gall’s theory. However, his interests explain why he assembled a vast collection of death masks and skulls, which also included, according to Kant’s testamentary executioner, E. A. Ch. Wasianski [3, S. 304], the philosopher’s death mask. When the collection was being sold out, Derpt University, among whose employees were such admirers of Kant as Jäsche and Morgenstern, purchased the death mask<sup>2</sup>.

As to the mask itself, we can be certain about the name of the artist who cast it. It was Prof Andreas Johann Friedrich Knorre (1763–1841) of the Königsberg School of Arts [5, S. 334]. K.H. Clasen’s book [2] stresses that the mould made by Prof. Knorre was used to cast three bust-like masks. One of them ended up at the Berlin Museum of Anatomy, the other was owned by the Prussian Society of Antiquities (that copy was damaged and later restored), the third one was housed

<sup>2</sup> I express my heartfelt gratitude to the director of the Museum of Arts of Tartu University, Inge Kukk, for the valuable information as to how Kant’s death mask appeared at Tartu University and where it was registered.

by the state archive in Königsberg [2, S. 27]. As we can see, the author of the book did not know about the fourth copy of the mask, which was an item of Gall's collection and later purchased by the University of Tartu. However, not many knew about it.

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A. Salikov

THE RUSSIANS  
IN KANT-STUDIEN  
PART II  
1954—2012<sup>\*</sup>

*This article is the second part of the research concerning the publications of Russian scholars in Kant-Studien, the leading periodical dedicated to Kant studies and the most important print of the International Kant Society. The article describes the history of publications of Russian authors from 1974 to 2008.*

**Key words:** *Russian Kant studies, Kant's philosophy, Kant-Studien, Russian philosophy, Neokantianism.*

The post-war (or the second) period of Russian authors' publications in *Kant-Studien*, which was relaunched in 1954, can be divided into two subperiods: the Soviet (1954—1991) and post-Soviet (1992—2010) ones. These time intervals have both common and distinctive features. The Soviet period, especially in the first years after the removal of the strict ban on publishing abroad, is characterised by the preponderance of reviews and bibliographies of Soviet Kant studies literature over theoretical articles and informative reports. It gave Western Kant scholars and admirers of Kant's philosophy a certain idea of the general trends and the topics of studies carried out in the USSR; however, it did not provide an opportunity to assess the level of these works, nor to learn their contents. Since the mid-1980s, the number of informative reports increased significantly, there emerged an opportunity for Western and Soviet Kant scholars, though a limited one, to establish academic contacts, which was a result of a more lenient foreign policy of the USSR.

In the first years after the collapse of the USSR, the Soviet trends prevailed: the publications were of mostly informative nature, only few articles were theoretical. At the same time, the post-Soviet subperiod of the history of Russian publications in *Kant-Studien*, is characterised by an increasing trend towards a more active participation of

Russian scientists in the international Kant studies discourse, as well as international conferences and forums. All in all, throughout the existence of the second *Kant-Studien*, i.e. since 1954 (in effect, 1974), almost 50 works of different kind have been published by Russian scholars; theoretical works account for a modest share thereof, approximately 10 %, whereas a half is reviews of Russian primary sources. Most publications of Russian authors and articles about them are reports, reviews, and announcements. Such purely informative presence of Russian authors can be explained by the isolation of Soviet Kant studies from the global Kant studies context, insufficient awareness of modern Kant studies literature, limited access to the global research forum, and the inability to share opinions and participate in discussions with Western colleagues.

Except for a few publications of emigree philosophers: “Personalistischer Idealrealismus” by Nikolai Lossky [35], the review of the book *Kant* by Alexandre Kojève [30], and a few reviews of the works of Nicolai Hartmann and articles about him [20; 21; 27; 29; 59], the period from 1954 (the year *Kant-Studien* was relaunched) to 1991 (the last year of the USSR) can be labelled as ‘Soviet’, since the authors of all other works either published or reviewed in *Kant-Studien* over the period lived on the territory of the USSR. The first Soviet publication in the post-war *Kant-Studien* is dated 1974. Apparently, this hiatus was not caused by the lack of studies in the field of Kant’s philosophy in the USSR: the very first article of a Soviet author — Academician T.I. Oizerman — published in the second issue of *Kant-Studien* indicates the opposite.

Oizerman’s article stands out, first of all, because it offers a comprehensive and detailed review of the works of Soviet Kant scholars from the 1920s to 1970s. So, the article stresses, that over these 50 years, more than 170 studies and popular science reports dedicated to Kant’s philosophy, as well as doctoral and post-doctoral theses, articles in philosophical journals, comprehensive monographic studies, and popular brochures were published in the USSR. Such large number of publications was indicative of the deep interest of the Soviet reader in Kant’s philosophy. This conclusion is substantiated by the fact that 35,000 copies of Kant’s collected works published in the Russian language in 1963–1966 were sold out over a few months. However, until the early 1970s, Russian researchers in Kant’s philosophy had virtually no contacts with their Western colleagues, as a result of which Soviet Kant studies developed within the limited scientific space of the USSR and Soviet bloc countries.

Only in 1974, the authorities sanctioned the first Soviet publication in *Kant-Studien* — “Die Erforschung der Philosophie I. Kants in der Sowjetunion” by T.I. Oizerman [49]. Of course, the article did not go beyond the official ideology (otherwise, the permission for the publication in a Western journal would never have been granted). The future academician (Oizerman became one in 1981) did a comprehensive and rather detailed review of Soviet works on Kant published over the 50 years of the existence of the USSR, which gave a good idea of the way Kant studies developed in the Soviet Union from the 1920s to 1970s. As Oizerman emphasises, the first studies in Kant’s philosophy appeared in the pages of Soviet journals as early as the 1920s, whereas most of them expressed a strongly negative opinion on Kant’s teaching (which was incompetent in some cases, the author of the review stresses). Among those works, the future academician pays special attention to the article “The idealistic legend of Kant” by Iv. Borichevsky published in 1923 in the journal *The Vestnik of the Socialist Academy* [3] written in line with vulgar positivism, which was widely popular at the time.



However, even then, the trend towards an unbiased and systemic analysis of Kant's philosophy was already pronounced. The forefathers of Soviet Kant studies were such scholars as A.M. Deborin (see his articles "The light-minded critic" [8] – a response to the above mentioned article by Borichevsky; "Dialectics in Fichte's system" [7]; "Kant's dialectics" [9]) and V.F. Asmus (see V.F. Asmus's monographs *Dialectical Materialism and Logic. A Review of the Development of Dialectical Methods in Recent Philosophy* [1]; *Kant's Dialectics* [2]). Thus, Marxist Kant studies developed as early as the first years of the Soviet rule; its major area was research on the problem of dialectics in Kant's philosophy. Later, research on the issue of dialectics in Kant's philosophy attracted increasing attention of Soviet scholars. Oizerman mentions the works *The Elements of Dialectical Logic in Kant's Transcendental Philosophy* by I. Ye. Zuyev, "The issue of logic as a science within new philosophy" [11], and "The cosmological antinomies and the problem of dialectical opposition" by A.M. Mostapenko [12].

Studies into the dialectical polemics in Kant's philosophy resulted into the consideration of a wide range of problems in Kant's epistemology. One of the first Soviet works focusing on Kant's theory of cognition was the book entitled *Kant* by V. Serezhnikov [16], where the author attempts at harmonising the solution to the problem of epistemology with the necessity of social transformation and revolution in line with the prevailing attitudes of the time. A number of Soviet researchers in Kant's philosophy – V.F. Asmus, Yu.M. Borodai, Zh. Abdildin, T.I. Ozierman, as well as P.D. Shashkevich attach major significance to the comparative analysis of the problem of epistemological interpretation – the way it is posed by Kant, on the one hand, and the philosophy of Marxism, on the other, – in the book *I. Kant's theory of cognition* [18]. Oizerman identifies the fact that a number of epistemological problems addressed by Kant are also relevant for the philosophy of Marxism as the basic feature of many Soviet studies.

In the 1970s, Western specialists gained access to the works of Soviet Kant studies experts, at least, those in the Russian language. It resulted in the publication of a large number of reviews, which made possible the acquaintance of the international reader with Soviet studies on Kant. Some of these works were later translated into foreign languages and became 'bestsellers', which is indicative of a rather high level of research carried out in the USSR, despite the ideological and political pressure. A rare exception in the series of reviews of Soviet Kant scholars' works is the review of the book *Kant* [30] by the Russian-born French philosopher Alexandre Kojève<sup>2</sup>, which was published in France in 1952. In a strict sense, Kojève was not a Kant scholar; he is more famous for his original interpretation of Hegel's system, which had significant influence on the French and European philosophy of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, the Russian-French thinker was not disinterested in Kant's ideas, which encouraged him to write this excellent work on Kant.

The first post-war review [60] of a Soviet author proper was published in *Kant-Studien* in 1976 – it was a review of the collection of papers entitled *Kant's Philosophy and the Present* [18] edited by T.I. Oizerman and published in 1974. The semi-official (as the reviewer calls it) publication of the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR was timed to coincide with Kant's 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary. Eight out of twelve articles were dedicated to Kant; only one

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<sup>2</sup> Alexandre Kojève, born Alexander V. Kozhevnikov, (1902–1968) was a Russian-born French philosopher.

of them was written by a foreign author – Manfred Buhr. The articles consider the following elements of critical philosophy: the problem of transcendental idealism and transcendental method (V.F. Asmus), antinomies (I.S. Narsky), Kant's ethics (O.G. Drobnitsky), theory of state and law (A.A. Piontkovsky), theory of social contract and moral justification of law (E. Yu. Solovyov), theory of perpetual peace (I.S. Andreev), and aesthetics (A.V. Gulyga). All in all, the reviewer of *Kant's Philosophy and the Present* stressed that the collection of articles was indicative of increasing interest in Kant's philosophy in the USSR.

In 1977, *Kant-Studien* published a review [37] of G. Tevadze's book *Immanuel Kant* [17]. This book of the notable Soviet philosopher and Kant expert, published in Tbilisi in 1974 in the Georgian language, contained overviews in Russian and German, which gave Rudolf Malter an idea of the book's content. The author of the review was surprised to find a German overview in a Soviet edition, which was surprising indeed in view of the isolation of the USSR and almost complete absence of contacts between Soviet scholars and their foreign colleagues. However, the German summary informed Western readers of the existence of Soviet Kant studies, and not only of that in the acknowledged cultural centres of the USSR – Moscow and Leningrad – but also on the "periphery", in Georgia.

In 1979, *Kant-Studien* published a review [52] of Aresniy Gulyga's *Kant* [6], which was published the same year as part of the popular Soviet and Russian series of biographies called *The Life of Remarkable People*. According to the author of the review, Gulyga's *Kant* is, first of all, an interpretation of the history of development of Kant's thinking. The information about Kant's life and character, his relationships with contemporaries and cultural-historical descriptions function as a framework that determines the structure of the book. The reviewer emphasises the unique understanding of Kant presented by Gulyga, which is not a product of any school existing either in Russia or abroad. Of special interest is a piece of advice Gulyga gives those studying Kant's philosophy: first to read *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View*, then *The Metaphysics of Morals*, which acquaints the reader with the ethics and theory of law – the alpha and omega of Kant's teaching, – then the *Critique of Judgment*, and only after that *Prolegomena* and the *Critique of Pure Reason*. Thus, the Soviet Kant scholar believes, the *Critique of Pure Reason* can at first be left beyond the scope of attention. In 1981, Gulyga's *Kant* was translated into German; in 1986, *Kant-Studien* published Rudolf Malter's review [38] of the translation of *Immanuel Kant*. As of today, the book has been reprinted in Germany more than once and gained acknowledgement from German readers and specialist.

In 1981, *Kant-Studien* published a review [54] of the book *Immanuel Kant* by D.M. Grinshin, M.M. Mikhailov, and V.P. Prokopyev, which was published in 1976 in Leningrad. This rather concise work (94 pages) presents an overview of the life and philosophy of Kant; the authors of the book depict Kant as an example of devotion to duty and ascetic lifestyle, which never made him an unsociable person. Grinshin, Mikhailov, and Prokopyev characterise the pre-critical works of Kant as inconsistent scientific materialism. The authors believe that Kant's philosophy could be improved through the postulate of "practice as the criterion of truth" developed by Soviet Marxists (the German reviewer calls it the "criterion of material practice"). Despite this ambiguous aspect, the German reviewer praises the authors for their attempt to introduce a wide Soviet audience to Kant's ideas.

In 1982, *Kant-Studien* published a review [53] of a co-authored monograph *Kant and Kantians* [4] edited by A.S. Bogomolov. As the title of the book suggests, it is a review of the philosophy of Kant and his followers; it comprises the following chapters: “The system of Kant’s philosophy and its transformation in Neo-Kantianism” (V.A. Zhuchkov), “Kant, Kantianism, and the European philosophy of the 19<sup>th</sup> century” (A.S. Bogomolov), “The logical justification of scientific thinking by the Marburg school of Neo-Kantianism” (T.B. Dlugach), “The principle of universal mediation in the Neo-Kantianism of the Marburg School” (P.P. Gaidenko), “E. Cassierer’s philosophy of culture” (A.A. Kravchenko), “Neo-Kantianism in Russia” (L.I. Filippov), and “Kantianism and ethical socialism” (L.V. Konovalov). The reviewer draws attention to the position of Soviet Kant scholars who believe that, although it is clearly defined what should be kept from the legacy of Kant and Kantians, the real followers of Kant are his serious critics, namely, Marxists, who view the great German philosopher as their predecessor. The reviewer finds the chapter on Neo-Kantianism in Russia of special interest – first of all, the reception of Kant’s philosophy within Russian symbolism (A. Bekly, A. Blok), the philosophy of a representative of Russian personalism, N. Berdyayev, and that of N. Lossky, who, despite being rather distant from Kant, does build his philosophy of the foundation erected by Kant.

The same issue of *Kant-Studien* contains a review [55] of the book of I.S. Narsky<sup>3</sup> entitled *Immanuel Kant* [13], which was published in the USSR in 1976. In this article, Narsky explains to Soviet readers the basic notions of Kant’s philosophy – such as “a priori”, “pure reason”, etc. The author of the book stresses the need for Marxist-Leninist philosophy to study Kant, and not to pay attention to Hegel’s claims about Kant, which was typical of Marxism-Leninism for a rather long time. Narsky believes that Kant’s greatest achievement was the formulation of the necessity of certain conditions for any experimental knowledge. Kant’s transcendental aesthetics and logic, according to Narsky, demonstrate the incapability of Kant’s apriorism and agnosticism to generate any positive knowledge. At the same time, Narsky emphasises that Kant stressed the inconsistency of the reason and thinking.

Alongside the reviews of Soviet studies on Kant’s philosophy, *Kant-Studien* published several bibliographies of Soviet works on Kant. The first article of the kind was O.I. Polikanova’s “The bibliography of Soviet studies on Kant’s philosophy (1917–1971)” [50] published in *Kant-Studien* in 1976. This comprehensive work conducted by a member of the Department of the History of Philosophy of Western European and American countries contains 167 sources focusing on almost all areas of Kant’s philosophy, which gave the Western reader an opportunity to get a clear idea of the major trends in Soviet Kant studies and its development from 1917 to 1971. Six years later, Polikanova’s bibliography was expanded by a 1982 bibliography of Soviet works published in 1972–1976, which was compiled by V.A. Zhuchkov and covered 113 works [61]. Even a simple comparison of numbers – 167 over 55 years (1917–1971) and 113 works over 5 years (1972–1976) – speaks of not only a significant increase in the interest in Kant’s philosophy that took place in the USSR in the 1970s, but also a “Kantian boom”.

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<sup>3</sup> Igor S. Narsky (1920–1993) was a Soviet philosopher and historian of philosophy. I. S. Narsky published a series of article on Kant in all issues of *Kantovsky Sbornik* until 1991 since the journal’s foundation in 1974 as *The Issues of Immanuel Kant’s Theoretical Heritage* (it was renamed in 1981).

Of certain interest is a series of reviews and reports on the development of Kant studies in Estonia – then a small Baltic republic of the USSR. In 1987, *Kant-Studien* published a review [48] of a remarkable edition, which, however, had a somewhat indirect relation to Soviet Kant studies (if one understands it as research carried out in the Russian language). However, at the time Estonia was a part of the USSR, hence, Estonian Kant studies of the period is to be considered a part of Soviet Kant studies; therefore, we have all the right to mention it in the present work. Leonid Stolovich and Ülo Matjus, the authors of the review, inform the readers of *Kant-Studien* about a translation of the *Prolegomena* into the Estonian language, which was published in 1982, – the second work of Kant translated into the Estonian language (the first one was the abridged version of the *Dreams of a Spirit-Seer*). The authors of the report describe the difficulties of translating Kant into the Estonian language and emphasise the role of the Department of Philosophy of the University of Tartu in developing the philosophical language and philosophical terminology in the republic. Stolovich and Matjus stress the significance of *Prolegomena* for the formation of philosophical terminology in the Estonian language and the development of philosophical thought in Estonia. A related topic is addressed in the report of Rudolf Mater dedicated to the history of the Kant collection at Tarty University [39]. It is based on Leonid Stolovich's article "On the fate of Tartu Kant collection" published in the Estonian newspaper *Sirp ja Vasar* and the journal of Tartu State University, which tells the story of Kant's manuscripts kept in Tartu. The most valuable element of the Tartu Kant collection is Kant's letters and the working copies of books – Meier's *Auszug aus der Vernunftlehre* and Baumgarten's *Metaphysics* (the fourth edition published in 1757) – a valuable source of margin notes. All these items ended up in Tartu thanks to Kant's student Jäsche. The latter bequeathed his Kant collection to Karl Morgenstern, the founder of the library of the University of Tarty, who personally knew Kant. Morgenstern, in his turn, gave the documents as a gift to the Tarty library, which kept the manuscripts until 1895. By permission of the Soviet government, they were temporarily moved to Berlin, the Royal Academy of Sciences, to be used in the preparation of an academic edition of Kant's work. For a long time, it was speculated that the Tartu collection could have been destroyed during World War II. However, Stolovich managed to find most of the correspondence and Meier's book. Malter emphasises the readiness of the corresponding institutions of the Eastern Bloc to cooperate in the search for the lost manuscripts. In 1987, he reported the results of the search for the items of the Tartu Kant collection [40]. As it was found out, the Tartu Kant collection – alongside the items mentioned above – contains Kreutzfeld's thesis, on the blank pages of which Kant wrote his opponent speech (it is kept in the University library in Tartu). For Kant studies, of special importance, is the copy of Kant's death mask found in the Museum of Classical Antiquities of Tartu University, as well as copies of the portraits of Kant's student Jäsche and J. K. S. Morgenstern, who did a lot to preserve Kant's heritage in Tartu.

In the second half of the 1980s, a large number of reports pertaining to the state of affairs in Kaliningrad, former Königsberg, were published. Foreign readers were interested in almost anything relating to the city of Kant and its condition. However, for a long time, Kaliningrad remained closed for foreigners, thus any relevant information was scarce and difficult to access. Even the 1974 Kant congress, which was to be held in Kaliningrad as an international event, was held in Riga; foreign experts were represented only by Kant scholars from the

Socialist block. Western readers could get only second hand – processed by central Soviet magazines and newspapers – information about the developments in Kaliningrad. The major authors of reports on the state of affairs in Kaliningrad, the condition of Kant relics and memorial places, and the development of Kant studies in Kaliningrad were Rudolf Malter, an eminent German Kant scholar, one of the publishers of *Kant-Studien*, and Ernst Staffa, a Slavic philologist (both of them are from Mainz, where *Kant-Studien* was published at the time). All in all, they wrote more than a dozen reports on Kant studies in the USSR, more than a half of which related to the state of affairs in Kaliningrad.

The first information about the existence of Kant studies in the “closed” city of Kaliningrad was the 1982 review [56] of the philosophical journal *Kantovsky Sbornik* published in Kaliningrad. In effect, the review consisted of a list of articles featured in the sixth issue of the journal, including the works of K.N. Lyubutin, I.S. Narsky, S.A. Chernov, L.A. Kalinnikov, I.S. Kuznetsova, A.N. Troyepolsky, S.V. Kornilov, A.V. Gulyga, B.K. Genzelis, and D.M. Grinshin and I.S. Andreeva, which made it possible to learn about the existence of Kant studies in Kaliningrad.

In 1985, *Kant-Studien* published a review [36] of a 1983 book [46] by Ernst Staffa and Rudolf Malter, which contained an exclusive for the Western reader information on the post-war fate of the Königsberg Kant collection and the condition of Kant studies in Königsberg. As it could be expected, the authors emphasise, hardly anything from the Königsberg Kant collection was left in Kaliningrad: during World War II, the items were either evacuated or destroyed. The exhibits of the Kaliningrad Kant Museum, which was established in 1974, are, with few exceptions, mere photographs and copies. At the same time, in the West, despite the respect-worthy House of Kant in Duisburg, individual fragments of the Königsberg Kant collection are very scattered. As to the interest in Kant and the development of Kant studies in Kaliningrad, Staffa and Malter emphasise an increase in this respect taking place since 1974: alongside the Kant Museum established that year, it manifested in the *Kantovsky Sbornik* journal dedicated to studying the legacy of the great Königsberg philosopher and the *Kant Readings* conference bringing together Kant scholars from throughout the USSR.

In 1988, the “Kant in Königsberg/Kaliningrad” topic was further developed in *Kant-Studien* in Rudolf Malter’s report [41] on the aspiration of Soviet philosophers to continue the Königsberg tradition of Kant studies and refers to the 11 issues of *Kantovsky Sbornik* published before 1986 as a proof thereof. Malter also stresses a remarkable fact: not only Western Kant scholars follow with interest the development of Kant studies in the USSR, but also Soviet specialists in the field of Kant’s philosophy carefully monitor the research conducted by Western colleagues. Largely, it is a hint at the article “The FRG Kant Society and its journal *Kant-Studien*” [14] published in the 10<sup>th</sup> issue of *Kantovsky Sbornik* in 1985. In 1989, Malter reported the reconstruction of the Cathedral, which was to house the Kant Museum [42]; in 1991, he wrote [44] about the 14<sup>th</sup> issue of *Kantovsky Sbornik* (1989), which also featured the proceedings of the 4<sup>th</sup> Kant Readings.

In the first years after the collapse of the USSR, there was a certain increase in publications of Russian Kant scholars in international periodicals; however, first of all, it was a result of the easing and then removing bans on publishing abroad and participating in academic events. Otherwise, the Soviet trends continued: the publications were of mostly informative nature, theoretical articles

were rare. For example, over two decades (since 1992), *Kant-Studien* has published only six articles (three theoretical ones) of Russian authors (however, two of the authors – Elena Tatievskaya and Kirill Faradzhayev have lived and worked in Germany for a long time) against the background of a large number of reports, bibliographies, and reviews. Overall, the post-Soviet period of Russian publications in *Kant-Studien* exhibits a trend towards a more active participation in theoretical discussion of Kant's philosophy, which undoubtedly resulted from an increase in mutual contacts between Russian and international scholars, gaining access to primary sources and critical literature, and the abolition of censorship, etc. after the collapse of the USSR.

Since the early 1990s, one of the major meeting places of Russian and German Kant scholars – alongside Moscow – has been Kaliningrad. As a result, in the 1990s and 2000s, *Kant-Studien* published a significant number of various reports and announcements. The author of the first post-Soviet publication was V.N. Bryushinkin, a well-known Russian logician from Kaliningrad. His report was published in issue 85, 1994 [23]; it focused on the *Logical Kant Studies-3* conference held in the resort town of Svetlogorsk located 40 km away from Kaliningrad in September 1991. The conference brought together approximately 40 participants, including logicians and philosophers from Belgium, Germany, and Hungary. The same issue of *Kant-Studien* announced the foundation of the Russian Kant Society chaired by Prof L. A. Kalinnikov [45] and the restoration of the monument to Kant designed by Rauch: on June 27, 1991, the newly moulded sculpture was placed on the old pedestal. German press (*Königsberger Kurier*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Neue Zeit*, *Das Ostpreussenblatt*) covered the event extensively. Issue 88, 1997, reports of Prof Kalinnikov's participation in the opening of a monument to Kant in Goldap (this occasion brought together not only the Polish and Germans, but also Russians) [25]. The monument was erected on the road from Goldap to Kaliningrad. The cooperation between German and Russian Kant scholars resulted in the development of the "Immanuel Kant" scholarship programme by "Die Zeit" foundation [28]. This programme, which existed until 2008, aimed to support undergraduate and graduate students of philosophy from Kaliningrad and Saint Petersburg, whose final or PhD theses focused on Kant's philosophy, as well as to develop Kant studies in Russia and foster connections between young German and Russian scientists.

Later, *Kant-Studien* published several other papers either announcing forthcoming international academic events in Kaliningrad or reporting on them. One of them was a report of W. Stark and V. Yu. Kurpakov [34] on the 8<sup>th</sup> International Kant Conference held under the aegis of the Russian Kant Society and Kaliningrad State University (Leonard Kalinnikov, Vladimir Bryushinkin) in Svetlogorsk, which was timed to coincide with the 275<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the birth of the Königsberg philosopher, followed by the report by V.N. Bryushinkin on the 9<sup>th</sup> "Kant between the East and the West" international conference" [24].

As it was mentioned above, over the last 20 years, *Kant-Studien* has published just a few articles by Russian authors. Their number is so modest that it takes little effort to list them all. These are the articles "Kant, Frege, and the problem of psychologism" by V.N. Bryushinkin [22], „Cohns Erkenntnistheorie und Russels Relationsbegriff" by Elena Tatievskaya (she lives in Germany and has been teaching at the University of Augsburg since 2000) [58]; "Kant in Rußland. Bemerkungen zur Kant-Rezeption und Edition in Rußland anlässlich des Projektes einer deutsch-russischen Ausgabe ausgewählter Werke Immanuel

Kants" by Nelly Motroshilova [47]; "Leo Nikolaevič Tolstoj als Leser Kants. Zur Wirkungsgeschichte Kants in Russland" by Alexei Kryuglov [32]; "Rubinsteins Projekt der Praktischen Philosophie des Neukantianismus: Pädagogik Als Angewandtes Wertesystem" by the research fellow of the Ruhr University, Kirill Faradzhaev [26]; "Mein Leben gleicht einem Roman...": Kants Schüler Friedrich August Hahnrieder und seine Geschichte" by A.N. Kruglov [33]. It seems to be the exhaustive list of Russian publications in the chief Kant studies journal over the post-Soviet period. The reasons behind such low publication activity are largely similar to those of the Soviet time. They should be supplemented with the general poor condition of Russian education and science, as well as the change of generations, although, as of yet, the constellation of Kant scholars that formed during the "Kant boom" of the 1970s has not been succeeded by a new generation. Rare exceptions, for example, A.N. Kruglov support the trend established in Russian Kant studies.

As to the content of the works mentioned above, all of them are of interest and do stand comparison to the other works published in *Kant-Studien*. Unfortunately, I have to confine myself to a brief overview of these articles. In the article "Kant, Frege, and the problem of psychologism", Vladimir Bryushinkin, a well-known Russian logician and philosopher from Kaliningrad, attempts at identifying Kant's position on the problem of psychologism in philosophy of logic. He focuses on how Kant's position might look from the perspective of Frege, a representative of consistent antipsychologism, how Kant answers the question about the substantiation of logical procedures and their modelling of thinking, and whether Kant's solution to the problem of psychologism/antipsychologism differs from that proposed by Frege. Traditionally, philosophy interprets the problem of psychologism as, firstly, the question of possibility of justifying logic through psychological terminology and, secondly, the question about the types of relations between logical procedures, on the one hand, and empirical (psychological) data on thinking, on the other. On the basis of Kant's statements from the *Jäsche Logic* and the *Critique of Pure Reason*, Prof Bryushinkin proves that Kant answers the former question as follows: "Logic draws nothing from psychology". However, Prof Bryushinkin believes, it is not enough to call Kant a complete antipsychologist. Frege, adopting the position of extreme antipsychologism, also stresses that some of Kant's statements make it possible to class him as an adherent of psychologism, if one takes into account Kant's statement about the prescriptive function of logic in thinking. The author believes that the example of J.S. Mill is indicative of that the acknowledgement of the prescriptive nature of logic is compatible with the concept of psychologism. At the same time, in the *Critique of Pure Reason* and the *Jäsche Logic*, Kant clearly states that logic cannot be justified with the help of psychology. Here Kant agrees entirely with Frege, if one can say so. At the same time, Kant's statement about the prescriptive function of logic in thinking can be interpreted from Frege's perspective as psychologism. In effect, according to Bryushinkin, Kant acknowledges the prescriptive nature of logic and, thus, does not oppose Frege. However, these statements do not determine the answer to the latter question. This answer is not evident and requires certain efforts aimed at reconstructing Kant's logical and philosophical ideas. According to the author, Kant virtually expands the notion of logical procedures so that it can incorporate not only the logical forms of notions, judgements, and inferences, but also the procedures of inference search. This procedure develop by Kant, which, as Bryu-

shinkin believes, is similar to the modern procedures of inference search, models the activity of reason, which in terms of modern cognitive sciences is the “upper” layer of a certain psychological model of thinking. It makes it possible to put forward the thesis that Kant gives a positive answer to the second question of the psychologism problem.

Nelly Motroshilova’s article “Kant in Rußland. Bemerkungen zur Kant-Rezeption und Edition in Rußland anlässlich des Projektes einer deutsch-russischen Ausgabe ausgewählter Werke Immanuel Kants” (“Kant in Russia. Notes on the reception and publication of Kant in Russia in the light of the project of German-Russian edition of Kant’s selected works”) introduces the German reader to the first Russian-German bilingual edition of the works of the Königsberg philosopher. This edition was prepared by the Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences in collaboration with the German Kant Society – the Kant Centre at Mainz University and a group of researchers from Marburg. Motroshilova supplements the presentation of the bilingual edition with an insight into the history of Kant’s philosophy in Russia.

In 2004, *Kant-Studien* published the article by Elena Tatievskaya titled “Cohns Erkenntnistheorie und Russels Relationsbegriff” (“Cohn’s theory of cognition and Russel’s notion of relation”). By the time the article was published, the author had lived in Germany and worked at Augsburg University for several years. Her article focuses on the theory of cognition of the German Neo-Kantianist, Jonas Cohn (1869–1947), presented in his work *Voraussetzungen und Ziele des Erkennens. Untersuchungen über die Grundfragen der Logik* (1908). In his theory of cognition, Cohn uses certain ideas expressed by Bertrand Russel in *Principia Mathematica* (1903), namely, his theory of relations. The author of the article analyses the interpretation of Russel’s notion of relations within Kant’s epistemology, as well as the meaning of this notion for other elements of the theory – the doctrine of value and the concept of cognising subject. This article compares the functions of relation theory in Russel’s and Cohn’s systems, which makes it possible to identify the differences and similarities in the views of the two philosophers on the foundations of logic, mathematics, and philosophy.

The research of the well-known Russian historian of philosophy, A. N. Kruglov<sup>4</sup>, entitled “Leo Nikolaevič Tolstoj als Leser Kants. Zur Wirkungsgeschichte Kants in Russland” (“Leo Tolstoy as a reader of Kant. On the history of Kant’s influence in Russia”) is based on an analogy of the earlier research on Kant’s influence on Dostoyevsky and Vyacheslav Ivanov offered in the works of Ya. Ye. Golosovker, L. A. Kalinnikov, and O. P. Bespalaya, which were widely discussed by the readers. However, Kruglov’s study focuses on Kant’s influence on another author – Leo Tolstoy. On the basis of a record from Count Tolstoy’s library in Yasnaya Polyana, which housed a number of Kant’s works – the *Critique of Pure Reason* in French, the *Critique of Practical Reason* in German, *Religion within the Bounds of Mere Reason* in German *Prolegomena* in the Russian translation of Solovyov (which also contains an appendix – a Russian translation of Kuno Fischer’s text about Kant), and a 12-volume edition of Kant’s collected

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<sup>4</sup> Prof. Aleksey N. Kruglov (born 1973) is a professor of the Department of History of Foreign Philosophy at Russian State University for the Humanities. He graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy of Moscow State University and the Faculty of History of Tver State University and completed PhD studies at the Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences.



works in German (Berlin, 1900–1905) – Kruglov comes to a conclusion that Tolstoy was definitely acquainted with Kant's works, at least some of them. With special attention, Tolstoy read the French translation of the *Critique of Pure Reason*, German editions of the *Critique of Practical Reason* and *Religion within the Bounds of Mere Reason*, as well as the Russian translation of Kuno Fischer's article, since these books contain numerous notes. Kruglov stresses that Tolstoy was an unorthodox admirer of Kant – the *Critique of Pure Reason* interested him not because of Kant's teaching on space and time, category deduction, or the autonomy of pure reason, but because of Kant's views on discipline and the architectonic and history of pure reason. Unlike, for instance, Dostoyevky, Tolstoy was closely acquainted with Kant's text. Kruglov believes that the only question is whether and to what extent Kant's text affected Tolstoy's prose.

The recently published article by K. V. Faradzhev<sup>5</sup> entitled "Rubinsteins Projekt der Praktischen Philosophie des Neukantianismus: Pädagogik Als Angewandtes Wertesystem" ("Rubinstein's project of practical philosophy of Neo-Kantianism: Pedagogy as an applied system of values") [26] is dedicated to the philosophical and pedagogical ideas of M. M. Rubinstein<sup>6</sup>, a representative of Russian Neo-Kantianism and a member of the Kant Society founded by Hans Vaihinger. Rubinstein was a student of Rickert, under whose supervision he defended a thesis in 1905. Alongside being an active populariser of Kant's philosophy in Russia, he is also known for participating in the polemics between the Slavophiles and admirers of Kant's philosophy, which was triggered by the beginning of World War I and the ensuing deterioration of Russian-German relations. M. M. Rubinstein's essay "Die logischen Grundlagen des Hegelschen Systems und das Ende der Geschichte" ("The logical foundations of Hegel's system and the end of history") [51] was published in *Kant-Studien* in 1906. In his major work – *On the Meaning of Life* – Rubinstein attempted to synthesise Neo-Kantianism and philosophy of life.

One cannot but mention another work of A. N. Kruglov recently published in the 103<sup>rd</sup> issue of *Kant-Studien*, 2012, entitled "'Mein Leben gleicht einem Roman...': Kants Schüler Friedrich August Hahnrieder und seine Geschichte" ("My life resembles a novel...': Kant's student Friedrich August Hahnrieder and his story" [33]. As of today, it is the last publication of a Russian author in *Kant-Studien*. On the basis of archive and little-known printed sources, the author reconstructs the life story of Kant's student F. D. Hahnrieder, his extraordinary stay in Russia, as well as various attempts to live according to Kant's ethics upon his return to Prussia. Hahnrieder's story sometimes reminds of a tragedy, sometimes of a farce, and, as he himself put it, "resembles a novel". It is valuable, because it is one of the earliest examples of studying and pseudo-studying under Kant and acquaints us with the reaction of the great philosopher to the "fantastic" and "paradoxical" interpretations of the categorical imperative. Moreover, on the basis of the discovered archive data, the article makes corrections to the references offered in the academic edition of Kant's works published by the Prussian Academy of Sciences.

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<sup>5</sup> Dr Kirill V. Faradzhev is a research fellow of the Ruhr University (Bochum, Germany).

<sup>6</sup> Moisey M. Rubinstein (June 15, 1878 – April 3, 1953) was a Soviet psychologist and pedagogue, the founder and first rector of the East Siberian University (1918-1920) in Irkutsk. He studied the issues of personality theory, social psychology, and psychology of youth; defended the principle of interaction between the family and the school.

The historical and sociological conclusions of not only the present article, but also of the whole study of the Russian contribution to *Kant-Studien* are as follows: throughout the history of this major Kant studies journal, over 100 materials of or about Russian authors were published in its pages, which accounts for 2% of all publications. This number makes it possible to speak of a relatively strong presence of Russian Kant scholars in international Kant studies. The influence of Russian (Soviet) philosophers could have been greater but for the isolation in the times of the USSR. It is obvious that the reason behind rather insignificant participation of Russian philosophers in the global Kant studies forum is the insufficient command of foreign languages, which makes it impossible for Russian authors to present their studies abroad. Recently, this negative trend has reversed, as a result of which a certain quantitative and qualitative (theoretical articles instead of reviews) increase in Russian publications in *Kant-Studien* has become pronounced over the last 10 years, which gives faint hope for the integration of Russian philosophers (and scholars in general) into the global scientific community.

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**Popova V. S. The dispute about logic in the Saint Petersburg university philosophy of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Kaliningrad : Immanuel Kant Russian State University Press, 2010. 161 pp.**

One can possibly say that a foundation for historical-logical research in Kaliningrad was laid by V.N. Bryushinkin's article "Kant's paradigms: The logical form"<sup>1</sup>, which was published in 1985 in *Kantovskij Sbornik*; the article develops an original concept of the emptiness of logical forms in Kant's logic. Later, Bryushinkin addressed Kant's logic on more than one occasion. A series of remarkable publications on the topic – the last of which was published in our journal in 2011<sup>2</sup> – could comprise an extraordinary book. It gave rise to a new research area – logical Kant studies, which became the focal point of four research workshops held in Kaliningrad in 1987–1997. However, it is not only Kant's logic that the works of Prof. Bryushinkin were dedicated to. For example, several of his articles address the issue of applying B.S. Gryaznov's porismatic model of scientific theory development to the methodology of history of logic<sup>3</sup>. This year, the IKBFU Press published his new monograph *Theory of Inference Search: The Origins and Philosophical Applications* written in collaboration with Nina A. Khodikova<sup>4</sup>.

However, as an individual area, logico-historical studies started to develop in 1996, when the Department of Philosophy and Logic was established and young scientists got involved in the research. Several PhD theses were defended at the department under Prof. Bryushinkin's supervision.

To our deep regret, Vladimir N. Bryushinkin tragically passed away in 2012. I would like to hope that logico-historical studies will be continued in Kaliningrad by his students, among whom one may mention Varavara S. Popova, whose works focus predominantly on the history of logic in Russia. She is the author of the first monograph dedicated solely to the history of logic in Russia; it was published by our university in 2010 and already became a bibliographical rarity.

Addressing the history of Russian university logic, V.S. Popova focuses on one of its most remarkable moments through reconstructing the dispute over logical issues between A.I. Vvedensky and N.O. Lossky, which took place in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It makes the book extremely relevant, since the

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<sup>1</sup> Popova V. S. Spor o logike v universitetskoj filosofii Sankt-Peterburga nachala XX veka. Kaliningrad, 2010. 161 s. Brjushinkin V. N. Paradigmy Kanta: logicheskaja forma // Kantovskij sbornik. Kaliningrad, 1985. Vyp. 10. S. 30–40.

<sup>2</sup> Brjushinkin V. N. Logika Kanta i metafizika Strosona // Kantovskij sbornik. 2011. № 3 (37). S. 7–17.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example: Brjushinkin V. N., Hodikova N. A. Analiticheskaja interpretacija dokazatel'stv v tablicah Beta i model'nyh mnozhestvah Hintikki // Argumentacija i interpretacija. Issledovanija po logike, argumentacii i istorii filosofii : sb. nauch. st. Kaliningrad, 2005. S. 39–46; Brjushinkin V. N., Hodikova N. A. Racional'naja rekonstrukcija proishozhdenija teorii poiska vyvoda iz gil'bertovskoj teorii dokazatel'stv // Modeli ras-suzhdenij – 1: Logika i argumentacija : sb. nauch. st. Kaliningrad, 2007. S. 205–218.

<sup>4</sup> Brjushinkin V. N., Hodikova N. A. Teorija poiska vyvoda. Proishozhdenie i filosofskie prilozhenija. Kaliningrad, 2012.

studies on the history of logic in Russia are extremely rare. Moreover, the book is, to a certain extent, in line with the recent trends in studies into history of logic in view of the fact that, despite a large number of works on the history of Russian philosophy published since the 1990s, it is the history of logic in Russia that has been hardly covered in their framework. As V.S. Popova convincingly shows, without such research, it is impossible to gain an accurate idea of the major philosophical concepts of Russian philosophers. One can assume that the lack of interest in the history of the university philosophical logic of the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is explained by that this logic was considered somewhat of a dead end in the global history of logic. At the same time, the studies carried out in the field can cast light – which is demonstrated in the book under review – on the major elements of certain philosophical teachings, show the interconnection between logical and philosophical theories in terms of concepts and content, as well as, possibly, offer a new interpretation of the development and genesis of modern logic.

The first chapter of the monograph describes and analyses the discussion between A.I. Vvedensky and N.O. Lossky on logical issues; the analysis is carried out in a broad historical-philosophical context: firstly, the author gives a comprehensive review of its prehistory and, secondly, identifies the philosophical bases of the key logical differences between the teacher and the student. The works of these outstanding Russian philosophers were studied in detail by historians of philosophy; however, an analysis of their logical teachings and the discussion between them gives a new perspective on the issue.

The first section gives an overview of history of logic in the Saint Petersburg university philosophy of the late 19<sup>th</sup>/early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries as assessed by modern historians of logic; the second one introduces the reader to the prehistory of the logical discussion between Vvedensky and Lossky. The author comes to a conclusion that, firstly, “the university logic of the late 19<sup>th</sup>/early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries was marked by psychologism since it was taught in close combination with psychology and epistemology”<sup>5</sup>, secondly, “only the works of A.I. Vvedensky and N.O. Lossky clearly formulate the problem of the psychologistic interpretation of logic and consider the relation between logic and psychology, as well as logic and epistemology”<sup>6</sup>, and, finally that “discussion became one of the forms of existence of the Saint Petersburg logic of the late 19<sup>th</sup>/early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries”<sup>7</sup>.

The third section is dedicated to the logical discussion between Vvedensky and Lossky. The author offers a detailed description of its historical stages and almost all points of discussion and analyses its key moments. This section examines the dispute over the problem of psychologism in logic, polemics on Lossky’s original theory of conditional syllogisms, the interpretation of laws of logic, the issue of truth conditions for singular and general propositions, and the issue of interpretation of analytic and synthetic propositions<sup>8</sup>.

Let us focus on the issue of the nature of analytic and synthetic propositions in logic, which was central to the polemics between the two philosophers. “The major difference between the teacher and the student lies in that N.O. Lossky *rejects* analytic propositions and any relevant doctrine *completely*, whereas

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<sup>5</sup> Popova V. S. Spor o logike v universitetskoj filosofii Sankt-Peterburga nachala XX veka. Kaliningrad, 2010. S. 45.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p. 46.

<sup>8</sup> Popova V. S. Ibid. Sm. tablicu na s. 68–69.

A.I. Vvedensky is convinced in their existence and, as mentioned above, qualifies the key statement of his work as an analytical proposition in the master's debate of Lossky<sup>9</sup>. Lossky believes that, in effect, analytic propositions do not exist and suggest that any references to them be removed from logic and epistemology. He maintains that any logical connections are ontological and, being "a connection between the antecedent and the consequent", are vital. Ontological connections are of fundamentally synthetic nature, thus, in effect, we use only synthetic propositions.

The fourth section focuses on an analysis of one of the key problems of discussion, namely, the doctrine of conditional categorical inferences. The author convincingly shows that the solution to particular logical problems (for instance, the assessment of conditional categorical inferences) is subordinated by Vvedensky and Lossky to their views of general philosophical nature<sup>10</sup>. So, according to Lossky, since there is no plurality of causes, and the connection between the cause and the consequence is unambiguous in both progressive and regressive directions, conditional categorical inferences can be correct in all four schemes<sup>11</sup>.

In my opinion, an equally or maybe even more important advantage of the monograph is that the study is based on a clearly formulated and substantiated methodological concept resting on the notion of the "image of logic". This notion was introduced by I.N. Griftsova by analogy with the notion of "image of science" used in the Russian history and philosophy of science. According to Griftsova, "the image of logic is the perception of the composition of logic and its theoretical and practical role in science and culture by the scientific community"<sup>12</sup>. This concept suggests identifying the matrix of key parameters of the image of logic for certain historical and logical studies. The "image of logic" makes it possible to structure historical-logical material, whereas the transition from one concept to another is determined by a temporal sequence. The studies based on the notion of the image of logic offer new methods of presenting the history of logic: the non-linear<sup>13</sup>, synthetic, and pluralistic ones. In order to identify the author's image of logic in each case, V.S. Popova uses the expanded parameters of assessing the concepts of psychologism and antipsychologism<sup>14</sup> in philosophy of logic, which were proposed by V.N. Bryushinkin. According to V.S. Popova, the "image of logic" also includes "the type of logic; philosophical perspectives; applications of logic; the connection between logic and thinking; the interpretation of logical laws; the degree of awareness of the logical concept and its foundations"<sup>15</sup>.

Of course, the concepts of the "image of logic" and, especially, the "author's image of logic" are open to discussion. However, one cannot but admit that such method facilitates the solution of problems formulated by Dr Popova. Indeed, such traditional notions as paradigm, research programme, school of thought, area of research, and even "logical system" are hardly relevant to the objective

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid. S. 58.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. S. 82.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. S. 76.

<sup>12</sup> Griftsova I. N. Logika kak teoreticheskaja i prakticheskaja disciplina. K voprosu o sootnoshenii formal'noj i neformal'noj logiki. M., 1998. S. 15.

<sup>13</sup> Popova V. S. Ibid. p. 6.

<sup>14</sup> Brjushinkin V. N. Psihologizm na poroge XXI veka // Logicheskoe kantovedenie – 4 : tr. mezhdunar. seminar. Kaliningrad, 1998. S. 84.

<sup>15</sup> Popova V. S. Ibid. S. 106.

set in the book. Can the concretisation of the “image of logic” to the “author’s image of logic” result in that the number of images of logic will equal the number of authors? It seems that it cannot; the second chapter of the monograph convincingly shows that the “recognition of the author’s image of logic makes it possible to identify the difference and similarities between logical and philosophical concepts and raises the question as to their association with a more general image of logic. Such approach gives a comprehensive idea of logic within a philosophical position of a certain author. An approach to a historical-logical study based on the “author’s image of logic” makes it possible... to reflect the continuity of logical knowledge, take into account the specific features of each logical teaching... include concepts that do not make a revolutionary contribution to the development of logic but still have cultural and educational significance to the history of logic”<sup>16</sup>.

Further, in the second chapter of the monograph, the proposed methodology is applied to certain logical teachings, which gives a common principle for their comparison. It may be of special interest to address the logical concepts of J.S. Mill, G. Frege, and E. Husserl in order to identify and compare certain parameters of images of logic when studying concrete logical concepts. The last section contains a conclusion that the differences between Vvedensky and Lossky are explained by the difference in philosophical perspectives underlying their logical teachings.

V.S. Popova’s monograph was published in 2010; however, the research on history of logic by V.N. Bryushinkin and his students has not stood still. The analysis of logical discussions between university philosophers continues, articles supplementing the monograph are published; the methodological framework for the above-mentioned approach to history of logic has been improved and expanded<sup>17</sup>.

Undoubtedly, this work will be of interest not only for those studying history of logic and philosophy, but also Kant scholars, since it examines the logical teachings of the Russian Neo-Kantians, A.I. Vvedensky, and N.O. Lossky, who had a “special attitude” towards Kant’s philosophy.

*A. Pushkarsky*

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid. S. 144.

<sup>17</sup> See: *Popova V. S.* Ritoricheskij analiz teksta v issledovanijah obraza logiki // *Racio.ru* : [electronic scientific journal]. 2010. № 3. S. 124–138; *Pushkarskij A. G.* Metodologija istorii logiki: sinteticheskij podhod // *Vestnik Baltijskogo federal'nogo universiteta im. I. Kanta*. 2011. Vyp. 6. S. 25–34; *Brjushinkin V. N.* Porizmaticheskaja model' proishozhdenija nauchnyh teorij i ee primenenie k issledovaniju istorii logiki // *Racio.ru* : [electronic scientific journal]. 2011. № 6. S. 194–205; *Popova V. S., Pushkarskij A. G.* Dva kritika logiki professora A. I. Vvedenskogo // *Racio.ru* : [electronic scientific journal]. 2011. № 6. P. 84–104.



**The international research workshop *Kant's Project of Perpetual Peace  
in the Context of Modern Politics*  
(Kaliningrad, April 20 – 22, 2012)\***

On April 20 – 22, 2012, international research workshop *Kant's Project of Perpetual Peace In the context of Modern Politics* was held at the Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. It was organised by the Kant Institute with the financial support of IKBFU and the Russian Office of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation. The workshop brought together both eminent and young Kant scholars, political philosophers, and political scientists from Germany, Poland, Belarus, France, Italy, and Luxembourg; alongside IKBFU scholars, Russia was represented by researchers from Moscow and Saint Petersburg. 15 presentations were made over the three days. The working languages of the workshop were Russian, English, and German.

The innovative nature of many ideas put forward in Kant's treatise *Towards Perpetual Peace* and their unique for the time systemic interconnection are widely recognised in the scientific community. Moreover, the philosopher's ideas had direct or indirect influence on the development of the international security system in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, numerous questions relating to the significance and relevance of Kant's peace treatise and its impact on modern politics, world and national law, and state-building remain unanswered. Since, after the cold war, the world is still being faced with new global and local crises, not only philosophers but also politicians revisit Kant's treatise. However, philosophy of international relations is a very young branch, its "independent history" goes back only three decades, over which, nevertheless, several competing schools of thought have developed; they differ in their interpretation of Kant's ideas and the perspective on their implementation. There are on-going disputes about their prospects; alternative projects have been proposed. The workshop organisers also tried to make their contribution to solving the problem. The workshop participants both expressed original opinions and advocated the mentioned schools of thought and analysed them.

The first workshop dedicated to the peace project and organised by the Baltic Federal University was held in the town of Svetlogorsk (Kaliningrad region) in 2007 under the title *Kant's Project of Perpetual Peace and the Modern World. The Role of International Organisations, Legal Rules, and Nation States in Establishing Peace*. The subject and objectives of the second workshop had a greater scope and moved from analysing the practical application of law to the fields of basic political science and political philosophy, whereas the research methods took on an interdisciplinary character. Thus, initially, the following topics were planned to be considered at the workshop:

1. The historical and cultural context of the treatise *Towards Perpetual Peace*.
2. A comparative analysis of Kant's perpetual peace project and the major philosophical concepts of world politics of the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

3. The role, responsibility, and competences of international organisations, regional unions, communities, and institutions in establishing peace.

4. The meaning of Kant's perpetual peace concept for modern philosophical and political discussions.

The initially formulated objectives transformed into the topics of three round tables that were held during the three days:

1. The relevance of philosophical foundations of the peace treatise.
2. The legal forms of peace establishment.
3. The peace project and political interests.

The first day of the workshop was dedicated solely to the first topic. The IKBFU's vice rector for research, G.M. Fedorov, and the head of the Russian branch of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Sascha Tamm, gave a welcome address. Mr Tamm emphasised the undoubted relevance of the principles presented in Kant's peace treatise to the problem of modern international politics in general and the principles of the Naumann Foundation in particular.

The workshop opened with two presentations on the historical and historical-philosophical prerequisites for the peace project. Prof J. Krause of the University of Kiel made a presentation entitled "*The treatise on perpetual peace against the background of the Great French Revolution and ensuing wars*". At first, he reminded the audience that, despite the general belief, the 18<sup>th</sup> century gave birth to a wide range of works on peace problems, whose arguments were also used by Kant; however, the novelty of his treatise lays in the way he systematised them (in particular, he connected the requirements of democracy and international law, which are often unduly separated these days). Kant's major objective was to protect the peace ideas of the Enlightenment from criticism stemming from the failures and problems of the French Revolution and adjust them to the changed political conditions, which manifested in his critique of certain aspects of French politics — such perspective is absent in most interpretations. Prof Krause believes that Kant would be satisfied with the current state of affairs, which corroborates his ideas; however, his project had a rather indirect effect on the current order, whereas the crucial theoretical foundation for democratic peaceableness (the one that politicians find convincing) developed on the basis of the ideas of the 19<sup>th</sup>/20<sup>th</sup> century philosophers — from G.W.F. Hegel to W.H. Beveridge. The statement that "World War I was a *democratic war*, which reduced the theses of Kant and other philosophers about republican peace to absurd" required further explanations and provoked a discussion. The topic of historical prerequisites was proposed by a young Kant scholar from IKBFU, Alexei Trotsak. He characterised the treatise as a vivid example of Kant's method (the theological method and that of structuring a philosophical work) and offered a detailed comparison of factors contributing to and inhibiting "moral" politics, thus detailing the answer to the "perpetual" question as to what stands in its way.

Prof Monique Castillo of Paris 12 Val de Marne University made a plenary presentation entitled "*Kant's cosmopolitanism in the modern culture of identity*". She emphasised that the "culture of identity" was replacing the "culture of autonomy" in the current conditions of debilitated influence of the state and the strengthening of civil society, when various minorities increase their influence and improve their position in this new culture practicing, as Kant called it, "political moralism". Prof Castillo finds the outlines of a rather admissible anthropological foundation in Kantian philosophy so that, even against the background of such trends, not only cosmopolitanism, but also "cosmoculturalism" would pre-

vail and the universality of principles and versatility of ethnic groups and subculture stay harmonised. One can only hope that the publication of the presentation will stimulate the development of this method of interpreting Kant's works, which is new for Russia but has been developing in the West in the framework of the dispute between liberals and communitarians.

The rest of the first day of the workshop was dedicated to discussions between the optimistic audience and the sceptical speakers. The director of the Luxembourg Institute for European and International Studies, *Armand Clesse*, presented his ideas about the problems of studying and developing the peaceful potential of the human nature. A professor of Belarusian State University, *Tatyana Rumyantseva*, summarised the philosophical foundations of the rejection of Kant's peace ideal by J.G. Fichte and later philosophers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century focusing especially on the case of G.W.F. Hegel. Moreover, she stressed that Kant's ideas are not applicable to the assessment of modern local conflicts as an "objectification of the forms of law and freedom", which is still carried out by military means.

In the conclusion of the first day, Dr Jakub Szczepański of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, when analysing the ironic elements in the rhetoric of the treatise, formulated the following question: "Is it possible that the author made fun of the reader?" However, the author himself gives a rather unambiguous answer to the question, and the speaker refrained from following the old tradition that interpreted the whole treatise as something hardly more serious than a joke. This question gives rise to another one concerning the target audience of the treatise, especially the role of "onlookers" in establishing peace and, in particular, the very possibility of establishing peace. The speaker answered the latter question in a spirit of agnosticism (we can neither establish perpetual peace nor prove its unattainability), at the same time he called the idea of peace an assumption, which we should strive to make true, although it is not morally binding.

The search for legal forms of peaceful co-existence was opened on the second day with the presentation by Prof *Peter Schulze* of Göttingen University who presented his assessment of the structural elements of modern European peace order identifying Russia and NATO as its major gravitation poles and sources of dynamics. *Vyacheslav Dashichev*, Chief Research Fellow of the Institute for International Economic and Political Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, emphasised the relevance of the peace treatise in the light of general tendencies of modern international relations and, particularly, in the light of his own peace-making activities as the 1987–1989 chair of the Scientific Consulting Council of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

IKBFU's *Vadim Chaly* and *Alexander Kuteinikov* of Saint Petersburg State University reviewed and assessed the concepts of modern theory of international organisation based on Kant's ideas. These are liberalism, federalism, institutionalism, functionalism, the concept of international regimes, and the Marxist theory. As to the issue of the form and role (both the present and future ones) of international organisations in establishing peace, the speakers considered the "cosmopolitan" trend in Kant's philosophy as the predominant and statism as the subordinate one.

Prof *Leonard Kalinnikov* of IKBFU gave an overview of a wide range of philosophical foundations of the peace project and stressed that the federalist prescription in anthropology is deeply rooted in Kant's practical philosophy in general. Prof *Helmut Wagner* (Berlin) continued the topic trying to persuade the audience that the division of the state monopoly according to the principle of "mu-

tual assistance”, which can be and is being implemented in the European Union, makes the “republic of peace” possible despite the convictions of Kant, who could not foresee the establishment of the EU. Kant’s scepticism was based on that he did not see a possibility of overpowering or dividing the state’s monopoly on power, however, the principle of “mutual assistance”, H. Wagner believes, is a real alternative to the federalism principle.

The concluding round table of the second day of the workshop aimed to identify the correlation between the peace project and the trends in modern *realpolitik*. Prof Luigi Caranti of the University of Catania (Italy) focused his presentation entitled “The *Perpetual Peace* and the ‘liberal world’...” on three problematical issues in interpreting Kant (one per each of the Definitive Articles, which can puzzle the reader, since the author himself did not wholly explain the correlation between the notions. As to the first article, L. Caranti criticised the identification of the republic with liberal democracy. In his opinion, the republic should be understood as the ideal of liberal democracy or even the ultimate stage of the development of the rule-of-law state and civil society. It is a promising conclusion, which can further the understanding of wars between democratic state and wars in the name of democracy. The question directed at the second of the Definitive Articles is as follows: Is it reasonable to introduce limitations to accepting states as members of a federative peaceful union and what should these limitations be? The speaker presented his proofs of that Kant could not consider a federative union as open only to republics, otherwise this article would lose its original meaning: the transition towards a peaceful federation and republicanism should be parallel. The question to the third article is whether the right to “world citizenship” is applicable to only those who cross borders on business. The speaker answered this question negatively: it is rather a right to get to know each other, establish contacts with foreigners in order to eliminate mutual distrust, and form a foundation for wider-than-national communities. As to economy, L. Caranti believes that, if trade is based on rules, which – and here another problem emerges – acknowledge a dreadful dictator as the legal owner of the country’s resources, it is not difficult to understand that such interdependencies can lead to conflicts rather than peace. The interconnection and interdependency should be of legal and cultural nature. All these conclusions question the mainstream of the “theory of democratic peace”, which has a significant effect on modern politics. Prof Caranti believes that the attempts made by the adherents of this theory to rely on Kant’s peace project are illegitimate as a result of the inconsistency of several of its major points.

The criticism of the theory of democratic peace was continued by Prof. *Lothar Brok* (J.W. Goethe University in Frankfurt). He stressed that, under the influence of political reality, it had divided into two schools, one of which maintains that democracies are peaceful only towards each other rather than other regimes. There are still the following problems: How should one interpret that, when it comes to the questions of war and peace, even against the background of division of powers, executive power still dominates? Is liberalism a project of Western hegemony and, if it is, does it undermine Kant’s statement about the necessity of the republican system? Finally, the speaker formulated the problem of discrepancy between the standards and objectives of the UN and its procedural rules and practices resulting in that the UN member states vindicate the values they cannot protect. As to the solution to the problem, the author supports the recommendations given by J. Habermas to extend the authority of the UN and regional organisations in combination with the constitutionalisation of international law.

The topic of “humanitarian intervention” was continued in the presentation by IKBFU researchers *Vyacheslav Dykhanov* and *Andrei Zilber*. It is widely known that Kant did not condone the interference of states in each other’s internal affairs, including the participation of neighbours in civil wars, since he believed that internal problems of other states should be seen merely as warnings. Kant also prohibited revolutions due to their inevitable illegitimacy. But how can one assess the humanitarian catastrophes that took place in “third world” countries in the 20<sup>th</sup> century from this perspective? The international community still regrets the non-interference or late interference in some of those events. At the same time, it condemns the idea of “export of revolution”, which often disguises the intent to export authority and influence and is manifested, for example, in the recent “velvet revolutions”. Kant, who lived in the age of thriving colonialism and first successes in the colonies’ fight for freedom, did take this fact into account. Having reminded the audience of this complex aggregate of circumstances, the authors came to a conclusion that there is a need for balanced solutions through addressing, as well as the previous speaker, the subsidiary model of the world community proposed by Jürgen Habermas.

On the third day of the workshop, Prof *Alexei Kruglov* (Russian State University for the Humanities) made a presentation “*The problem of peace in the dialogue between three tsars: I. Kant, Nikolai II, and L. Tolstoy*”. He emphasised the similarity between the statements found in Kant’s treatise and the provisions of the Russian memorandum of 1898 on the need to convene a peace preservation conference. As a rule, a later and more remarkable event is considered the first political response (or its close equivalent) to Kant’s ideas – the establishment of the League of Nations at the initiative of Woodrow Wilson in 1920. Of special interest was that the speaker addressed the history of not only Russian politics, but also Russian philosophy. The central topic of the presentation was the comparison of Kant’s ideas with those of Leo Tolstoy as concerns the theoretical and ethical foundations of the peace project. The latter believed that the major instrument in establishing peace is not the law proper, but the moral law as formulated by Kant. This issue is rather relevant in view of the desacralisation of the sources of law and today’s rejection of the concept of “natural law”. It is still a contentious issue whether it was succeeded by “human rights” and whether there is a clear concept of human rights (the first prototypes thereof were presented in the declaration of the French revolutionaries, i.e. during Kant’s lifetime). The speaker also tried to justify the statement that Kant almost “deifies” law. In his opinion, the philosopher himself – as the appendices to the peace treatise show – was seriously concerned about the peace-making role of morals, the problem of its correlation with politics and commodity and currency circulation.

The workshop was concluded with a discussion of the content and forms of a possible international project of cooperation between the workshop participants and other researchers aimed to adapt and apply Kant’s peace project, preserving the enduring significance of its basic principles and supplementing them with the ideas of modern philosophers in order to formulate practical recommendations on peace-making and human rights protection. All workshop participants emphasised the practical value, theoretical significance, and heuristic potential of the event and expressed their readiness to continue cooperation.

### The round table 'S. I. Hessen (1887–1950) Abroad'

On September 27, 2012, the round table 'S. Hessen (1887–1950) abroad', timed to coincide with the 125<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the philosopher's birth, was held at Alexander Solzhenitsyn House of Russian Émigrés in collaboration with the V. V. Zenkovsky Society of Historians of Russian Philosophy. The round table participants discussed the following issues: S. I. Hessen and Neo-Kantianism in Russia, S. I. Hessen's theory of pedagogy, S. I. Hessen's philosophy of law and ideal of the state, and S. I. Hessen's ethics and articles on Dostoyevsky.

In his opening address, the *leading research fellow of the House of Russian Émigrés*, Oleg T. Yermishin, stressed that the idea to celebrate the anniversary of the Russian thinker, who, unfortunately, had so far drawn little attention from Russian researchers, was also supported in Prague, where a round table 'The life and work of S. I. Hessen' was held in the Slavic Library on May 23, 2012. The round table was organised by a Prague historian of philosophy, A. M. Šitov, in collaboration with the Slavic Library in Prague. The round table brought together Russian and Czech researchers investigating the life and research legacy of S. I. Hessen (first of all, his philosophical and philosophical-pedagogical views), specialists from the Slavic Library and the Slavic Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, historians, journalists, and students.

Yulia B. Melikh (Moscow State University) focused on the topic 'S. I. Hessen in the history of Russian Neo-Kantianism'. In her presentation, she considered general approaches of Neo-Kantians to Kant's legacy, which were accumulated in two major programmes manifested in Liebmann's slogan 'Back to Kant' and Windelband's 'To understand Kant is to go beyond him'. Another topic of the presentation was the array of Neo-Kantian ideas developed by S. I. Hessen starting with the thesis *On Individual Causality* (Über individuelle Kausalität. Inaugural-Dissertation zu Erlangung der philosophischen Doktorwürde der philosophischen Fakultät der Albert-Ludwigs-Universität in Freiburg i. B. Freiburg i. B., 1909), which has not yet been translated from German. According to the speaker, Hessen's choice of the path of "irrational expansion" of Neo-Kantianism was based on the notion of personality and the idea of individual causality.

Vladimir N. Belov (Saratov State University), when developing the first topic, emphasised that the adoption of the ideas of German Neo-Kantianism by young Russian philosophers had been an independent, creative, and critical process. For instance, S. I. Hessen bases his works synthetically on the positions of both the Baden (mainly Rickert) and Marburg (first of all, Natorp) schools. Moreover, one should take into account the historical background of the activities of Russian Neo-Kantians relating to a certain cultural and political situation in Russia in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and their evident creative evolution. In this context, there arises a need for an attentive and comprehensive study of the complicated attitude of Russian Neo-Kantians – and especially Hessen – to Russian religious philosophy and the issue of religion in general.

Sergey A. Nizhnikov (Peoples' Friendship University of Russia), who earlier expressed his opinion on the search for the "authentic Kant" conducted within Kantianism and Neo-Kantianism, addressed questions to the first two speakers.

S.I. Hessen's philosophy of law and socio-political teaching was analysed in the presentation made by *Mikhail G. Galakhtin* (House of Russian Émigrés). In his opinion, S.I. Hessen, having summarised earlier formulated social concepts, developed an original teaching – a coherent synthesis of liberalism and socialism. Hessen justified the ideal of “legal socialism”, which was interpreted by the speaker as a new type of the liberal idea based on the ideas of “social democracy” and personal freedom.

S.I. Hessen's ethics was the focus of the presentation made by a PhD student of St Tikhon Orthodox State University, *Deacon Dmitry Samoïlov*. He emphasised that the Russian scholar had considered philosophy not only as a solely theoretical field of human knowledge, but also as an activity with a strong practical component. The speaker stressed that S.I. Hessen had emphasised the importance of the development of personal centripetal force, i.e. the volitional tension as a response to the centrifugal forces – a produce of the pressures exerted on a person by “external culture”. The centripetal force can be developed through moral education and formulation of super-personal objectives. As the speaker believes, the ethics of the Russian philosopher was influenced by Kant's moral teaching. However, in the course of his creative evolution, Hessen's reception of moral philosophy overcomes the formalism of Kant's moral legislation, which becomes just one of the stages of ethical life in the former's concept. The stages of ascending from the lower to the higher forms of morality are described by the Russian philosopher through the literary images of F.M. Dostoyevsky's novel *The Brothers Karamazov*. It follows from the philosopher's reasoning that, in order to protect a person from “breaking” caused by excessive informational load of the modern world (which is especially relevant in the case of education), spiritual labour is a must. There is a need for a moral and creative effort, which should be rooted in the holy level of being and be aimed at attaining perfect love.

In conclusion, V.N. Belov, Yu.M. Melikh, S.A. Nizhnikov, and A.V. Sobolev (Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences) made certain comments and proposed several ideas.

V. Belov

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