

Victoria Sophia Frede

P. L. Lavrov's Thought as 'Humanist' Thought

MPhil

School of Slavonic and East European Studies

University of London

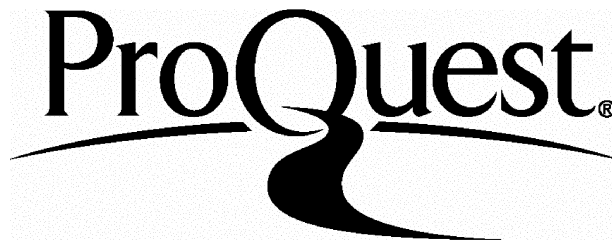
ProQuest Number: 10106677

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10106677

Published by ProQuest LLC(2016). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

Abstract

This thesis aims to offer new insights into the works of the Russian populist and socialist, P. L. Lavrov, by presenting his thought in the framework of humanism, specifically of humanism as it was manifested in early nineteenth century Germany. While the thesis does not claim that Lavrov himself was a humanist or belonged to a humanist tradition, it does identify in his thought a coherent set of ideas and values concerning the person and society which are distinctively humanist. Material is drawn from works by Lavrov that span his entire career as a writer, but the discussion concentrates on the development of his thought from the late 1850s to the mid-1870s.

The introduction offers a general overview of Lavrov's thought and of published works on his life and thought. It also gives as a brief history of humanism and a detailed account of its characteristic features. The body of the thesis consists of six chapters, of which the first three deal with aspects of the person and personal development and focus on works from the beginning of his career. These chapters describe qualities of the person that Lavrov valued and that are also valued by humanists, as well as studying their common educational ethic. Lavrov's moral views, which constitute a core element of his thought as a whole, are also discussed. In the final three chapters, attention shifts to Lavrov's views about human society, specifically about the function of culture in society and his theory of the federal state. Lavrov's ideals of society and state were, according to him, realized most fully in ancient Greece. It is proposed that Lavrov's views on these subjects lent his thought a particularly humanist quality in the middle of his career.

One practical goal of this thesis is to define changes and continuities in Lavrov's thought during the course of his career, a task that has been neglected by scholars. Another goal is to produce a coherent picture of Lavrov's ideas, which are often considered eclectic and contradictory, by presenting them in the framework of humanism.

Table of contents

Introduction	4
A. Studies of Lavrov	4
B. Lavrov's thought	9
C. Humanism	13
1. European humanism	13
2. Humanism in Russia	19
D. Lavrov and humanism	21
Chapter one: The person and personal development	25
A. The human being as a whole being	25
B. Dignity	29
C. Consciousness	31
D. Criticism	34
E. Creativity	37
F. Feelings, pleasure and pain	40
G. Freedom	45
Chapter two: Ethics	50
A. Morality, ideals and the moral person	52
B. Morality, struggle and faith	56
Chapter three: Education	62
Chapter four: Culture	70
A. Theory of culture until 1870	71
B. Theory of culture from 1870	79
Chapter five: Idealization of Greece	83
Chapter six: Theory of the federal state between 1868-1870	93
A. The central state	96
B. Regional states	97
C. The individual and the state, or 'national idea'	101
D. The organic state	104
Conclusion	106
Bibliography	110

Introduction

Petr Lavrov (1823-1900) is generally known as one of the most influential ideologists of Russian populism in the 1870s, and, for the last fifty years, he has mainly been studied for his role as an émigré member of the Russian revolutionary movement in the 1870s and 1880s. He established himself as a writer in the 1850s and 1860s, however, publishing articles on the widest variety of subjects, such as philosophy, the history of religion and sociology, and he continued to publish on these and other subjects until shortly before his death. Lavrov's thought has received relatively little attention since the 1920s, when numerous studies of his works on philosophy and sociology were written and a substantial proportion of his works was republished.

This dissertation aims to take a new look at Lavrov's thought by considering it against the framework of humanism. The study covers a broad range of articles and monographs written by Lavrov from the beginning to the end of his career as a writer. His ideas fit a humanist framework in a number of important respects. Lavrov believed that every human being has a duty to develop him or herself as a whole person – mentally, physically and morally. This process of development must involve the person's choice of a set of ideals, which become an integral part of his or her life. According to Lavrov, a person's ideals represent his or her dignity as a human being. This dignity is preserved by the constant efforts of individual human beings to realize their ideals, and in doing so, they also develop and transform society and culture.

Humanism is centred around the notion of human dignity. The dignified human being is the product of a process of development in which the whole human being (body, mind and character) is moulded according to an ideal, which is itself a product of human creativity. Human beings are also considered to be dignified because of their achievements in developing society, art, thought and nature. These achievements are passed from one generation to the next, although each new generation is free to interpret and transform its cultural inheritance according to its own needs. Classical Greece is often seen by humanists as the time and place in which their ethic of personal development was realized most fully.

A. Studies of Lavrov

Although by now a great deal of secondary literature has appeared on Lavrov's life and works, his writings attracted comparatively few responses from critics during his

life-time.¹ This was partly because Lavrov held himself aloof from polemical debates and partly because of his dry and forbidding style. Lavrov's contemporaries also seem to have underestimated how influential some of his works would become. The first critical responses to *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, for example, did not appear until after the letters, first published in *Nedelia* between 1868-69, appeared as a separate book in 1870.²

Around the time of his death in 1900, interest in Lavrov began to grow among people of different ideological inclinations. A few monographs about Lavrov were published by people who knew him personally. Some of these were biographies, others were studies of his written works.³ In the 1910s, specialists such as A. A. Gizetti and P. Vitiachev uncovered many articles by Lavrov that had been forgotten. Gizetti and Vitiachev began publishing a *Sobranie sochinenii* from 1917 to 1920 which, however, remained incomplete.⁴ Further, there was a surge in the publication of works on Lavrov's thought. Two collections of articles appeared: one, published in 1920, was in honour of the twentieth anniversary of his death and called "*Vpered!*" after the journal he had established.⁵ Another, published in 1922, was in honour of the one hundredth anniversary of his birth and entitled *P. L. Lavrov. Sbornik. Stat'i, vospominaniia, materialy*.⁶ The latter collection contains some of the most important pieces written on Lavrov's philosophical and sociological views to date.

A number of articles which seem to have been more political than scholarly in purpose appeared at the same time. Several were by openly anti-Bolshevik writers, who asserted that, had he lived, Lavrov would undoubtedly have been a Socialist

¹ Some of the responses by contemporaries, especially those of Chernyshevskii and Pisarev, were important as expositions of their own thought, but are of limited value as commentaries on Lavrov's ideas: N. G. Chernyshevskii, 'Antropologicheskii printsip v filosofii. (Ocherki voprosov prakticheskoi filosofii. Sochinenie P.L. Lavrova. I. Lichnost')', *Izbrannye sochineniia*, 3 vols, ed. M. M. Grigor'ian, Moscow, 1951, III, pp.162-254; D. I. Pisarev, 'Skholastika XIX veka', *Izbrannye filosofskie i obshchestvenno-politicheskie stat'i*, ed. V.S. Kruzhkova, Leningrad, 1949, pp. 83-90.

² These included: N. V. Shelgunov, 'Istoricheskaia sila kriticheskoi lichnosti (Istoricheskie pis'ma P.L. Mirtova)', *Sochineniia N.V. Shelgunova*, 3 vols, St Petersburg, 1871, III, pp. 255-77; A. A. Kozlov, 'Istoricheskie pis'ma P. L. Mirtova', *Znanie*, 1871, no. 2, pp. 169-97; P. N. Tkachev, 'Chto takoe partiia progressa (po povodu "Istoricheskikh pisem" P.L. Mirtova. 1870)', *Sochineniia v dvukh tomakh*, ed. B. M. Shakhmatov, Moscow, 1975-76, I, pp. 461-528. Tkachev's review was not published until after his death.

³ Gendre, Barbe (Mme Nikitine), 'Pierre Lavroff', *Etudes sociales, philosophiques et morales*, Paris, 1886, pp. 377-84; I. A. Roubanovitch, *Les idées philosophiques de Pierre Lavroff*, Paris, 1894; [N. S. Rusanov], *Biografiia P.L. Lavrova*, 1899 (no place of publication given); Charles Rappoport, 'Einleitung', in Peter Lawrow, *Historische Briefe*, tr. C. Rappoport, Berlin and Bern, 1901, pp. vii-xxxii; Charles Rappoport, *Sotsial'naia filosofiia Petra Lavrova*, tr. B. V. Iakovenko, St Petersburg, 1906.

⁴ *Sobranie sochinenii Petra Lavrovicha Lavrova*, ed. P. Vitiachev and A. A. Gizetti, 5 volumes ('serii') published in 11 numbers, Petrograd, 1917-20 (hereafter *Sobranie sochinenii*).

⁵ P. Vitiachev, ed., "*Vpered!*", Moscow and Petrograd, 1920.

⁶ *P. L. Lavrov. Sbornik. Stat'i, vospominaniia, materialy*, Petrograd, 1922 (no editor given) (hereafter *Stat'i, vospominaniia*).

Revolutionary, not a Bolshevik.⁷ These were accompanied by a spate of more ideologically acceptable articles (from the Bolshevik point of view), which aimed to show that Lavrov had not always been, or, indeed, never was, a true Social Democrat during his lifetime.⁸ As a consequence of these 'revelations', there was a sharp decline in publication on Lavrov, and a number of projects which had been undertaken were not completed, or not published. After the 1920s, there was almost total silence about Lavrov for several decades, although a new edition of some of his more socialist works appeared between 1934-35. The project, which was initiated by I. S. Knizhnik-Vetrov, was abandoned after four out of the eight planned volumes had appeared.⁹

Russian populism was a closed subject from the early 1930s, and it was not until after populism in general had been rehabilitated in the mid-1950s that Lavrov was again studied. Knizhnik-Vetrov quickly seized the opportunity and edited another collection of Lavrov's works in two volumes, which appeared in 1965.¹⁰ Both in the Soviet Union and in the West, Lavrov's role in the populist and socialist movements attracted a great deal of interest, and three comprehensive biographical monographs focusing on his career as a revolutionary appeared.¹¹

There has always been some debate among scholars about how Lavrov should be classified among ideologists of radical social change. It has been even more difficult to categorize his philosophical and sociological ideas according to any particular school of thought. Some scholars, from the nineteenth century to date, have attempted to show that Lavrov was a materialist and positivist,¹² although others have denied this.¹³

⁷B. Kamkov, *Istoriko-filosofskie vozzreniia P. L. Lavrova*, Petrograd, 1917; Ia. Novomirskii, *P. L. Lavrov. Na puti k anarkhizmu*, Petrograd, 1922. The two works by Kamkov and Novomirskii were banned fairly soon after their publication. Finally, an anthology of Lavrov's works was published by self-professed Socialist Revolutionaries in Berlin: P. L. Lavrov, *Sistematicheskaia khrestomatiia*, ed. S. N. Kaplan and A. Z. Shteinberg, Berlin, 1923.

⁸P. Vitiazhev, 'Na graniakh zhizni', *"Vpered!"*, pp. 2-15; T. Rainov, 'K psikhologii lichnosti i tvorchestva P. L. Lavrova', *Stat'i, vospominaniia*, pp. 139-92; B. Stoianov, 'Anarkhizm i P. L. Lavrov', *"Vpered!"*, pp. 50-59.

⁹P. L. Lavrov, *Izbrannye sochineniia na sotsial'no-politicheskie temy v vos'mi tomakh*, ed. I. A. Teodorovich and I. S. Knizhnik-Vetrov, Moscow, 1934-35 (hereafter *Izbrannye sochineniia*). I. S. Knizhnik-Vetrov also published a short biography of Lavrov in which he hesitantly defended Lavrov's credentials as a socialist and revolutionary. His monograph first appeared in 1925, and was published in a second edition in 1930: *Petr Lavrovich Lavrov*, Moscow, 1930.

¹⁰P. L. Lavrov, *Filosofiia i sotsiologiia. Izbrannye proizvedeniia v dvukh tomakh*, ed. I. S. Knizhnik-Vetrov and A. F. Okulov, Moscow, 1965 (hereafter *Filosofiia i sotsiologiia*).

¹¹Philip Pomper, *Peter Lavrov and the Russian Revolutionary Movement*, Chicago and London, 1972; A. I. Volodin and B. S. Itenberg, *Lavrov*, Moscow, 1981; B. S. Itenberg, *P. L. Lavrov v russkom revoliutsionnom dvizhenii*, Moscow, 1988.

¹²See, for example: I. S. Knizhnik-Vetrov and A. F. Okulov, 'Veteran revoliutsionnoi teorii', in P. L. Lavrov, *Filosofiia i sotsiologiia*, I, pp. 5-41: 23, 26-28.

¹³G. G. Shpet, 'Antropologizm Lavrova v svete istorii filosofii', *Stat'i, vospominaniia*, pp. 73-138: 107; Andrzej Walicki, *A History of Russian Thought*, tr. Hilda Andrews-Rusiecka, Stanford, 1979, p. 350. Copleston claimed that there were elements of positivism in Lavrov's thought, but that he was not a materialist: Frederick Copleston, *Philosophy in Russia*, Tunbridge Wells, 1986, pp. 126-27.

A number of Soviet scholars of the 1960s and 1970s claimed that Lavrov was a 'subjective idealist', although even here no consensus was reached.¹⁴ The term which has been applied to Lavrov's thought most often is 'realism',¹⁵ but it has been used in such a vague manner as to lose descriptive value.

Finally, a number of scholars and critics have pronounced Lavrov's ideas to be too incoherent, self-contradictory and eclectic to be classified or categorized according to any school or system of thought.¹⁶ Ivanov-Razumnik, for example, complained that Lavrov constantly sought to reconcile the irreconcilable.¹⁷ On the other hand, one of Lavrov's more sympathetic commentators, Charles Rappoport, labelled Lavrov's thought as a 'philosophy of integral socialism' because it embraces so many different subjects and different ideas: 'Философия интегрального социализма П. Лаврова исключает всякую одностороннюю и исключительную точку зрения. [...] Одним словом, все в человеке и в истории неизбежно клонится к универсальной кооперации в целях универсального развития'.¹⁸

Attempts to characterize Lavrov's ideas according to their content have led to greater consensus. This has been done by looking for the central theme in Lavrov's thought. Many have supported the view, first put forward by Kareev in 1901 in "*Teoriia lichnosti*" P. L. Lavrova, that the human being is the central element of Lavrov's thought.¹⁹ Some scholars have gone on to conclude that because of this, Lavrov's thought should be described using the terms 'anthropology', 'anthropologism', or simply 'anthropological'.²⁰ Lavrov himself used all of these

¹⁴Scholars who believed that Lavrov was a 'subjective idealist' included: B. S. Itenberg, *Dvizhenie revoliutsionnogo narodnchestva*, Moscow, 1965, p. 90; A. A. Galaktionov and P. F. Nikandrov, *Ideologi russkogo narodnchestva*, Leningrad, 1966, p. 29; V. V. Bogatov, *Filosofiia P. L. Lavrova*, Moscow, 1972, p. 10. Kazakov denied that Lavrov could be considered an idealist: A. P. Kazakov, *Teoriia progressa v russkoi sotsiologii kontsa XIX veka*, Leningrad, 1969, p. 26.

¹⁵N. N. Strakhov, 'Ocherki voprosov prakticheskoi filosofii P. L. Lavrova. Spb. 1860', *Svetoch*, 1860, no. 7, pp. 1-14: 2; G. G. Shpet, 'P. L. Lavrov i A. I. Gertsen', "*Vpered!*", pp. 35-39: 37; V. S. Panin, *P. L. Lavrov - istorik filosofskoi i obshchestvenno-politicheskoi mysli*, Avtoreferat kandidatskoi dissertatsii, Leningrad, 1968, p. 16; P. S. Shkurinov, *Pozitivizm v Rossii XIX veka*, Moscow, 1980, p. 195.

¹⁶Chernyshevskii, 'Antropologicheskii printsip v filosofii', p. 183; E. Radlov, 'Lavrov v russkoi filosofii', *Stat'i, vospominaniia*, pp. 1-28: 17; Franco Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, tr. Francis Haskell, London, 1960, pp. 446-47; Kazakov, *Teoriia progressa*, pp. 21-22.

¹⁷Ivanov-Razumnik, *Istoriia russkoi obshchestvennoi mysli*, 2 vols, St Petersburg, 1907, II, p. 130.

¹⁸Rappoport, *Sotsial'naiia filosofiia*, p. 58. Here and subsequently, orthography has been modernized.

¹⁹N. I. Kareev, "*Teoriia lichnosti*" P. L. Lavrova, St Petersburg, 1901, p. 51.

²⁰V. Vartanians, *Antropologicheskaiia filosofiia. P. Mirtov i sub"ektivnyi metod v sotsiologii*, Tiflis, 1901, p. 11; Shpet, 'Antropologizm Lavrova', pp. 74, 112-38; S. N. Kaplan, 'Ot sostavitelia', in P. L. Lavrov, *Sistematicheskaiia khrestomatiia*, ed. S. N. Kaplan and A. Z. Shteinberg, Berlin, 1923, pp. 9-21: 16; D. N. Ovsianiko-Kulikovskii, *Istoriia russkoi intelligentsii*, 2 vols, Moscow, 1907, II, p. 233; V. V. Zen'kovskii, *Istoriia russkoi filosofii*, 2 vols in 4 parts, Leningrad, 1991: I, part 2, pp. 160-63; An exception to this is Pitirim Sorokin, who claimed that Lavrov's thought constituted a system that was based around the idea of solidarity: 'Lavrov, kak sotsiolog', "*Vpered!*",

terms to characterize his philosophical point of view in works of the early 1860s, as well as in an autobiographical piece, written toward the end of his life, 'Biografiia-isповед' (1885/1889). Anthropology, for Lavrov, places human beings at the centre of scientific enquiry, and demands that science study the whole person, including the person's physical and mental characteristics. Anthropologism demands that people who attempt to establish the truth about human beings must take human self-consciousness into account. In its extreme form, anthropologism may require that we accept scientifically untenable 'facts of human consciousness' as being true: 'Именно надо отыскать точку исхода, не безусловно истинную, но неизбежную для нас по способу организации нашего мышления'.²¹

According to these definitions, however, anthropology and anthropologism give little indication of what the content of Lavrov's thought might be, they only suggest a methodological approach to philosophy and to thought about human beings. This comes out clearly in Lavrov's definition of the anthropological point of view:

Антропологическая точка зрения в философии отличается от прочих философских точек зрения тем, что основание построения системы ставит *цельную* человеческую личность, или физико-психическую особь, как неоспоримую данную. Факты, прямо вытекающие из этой данной, составляют главные положения системы.²²

Scholars such as Shpet, Zen'kovskii and Copleston have interpreted Lavrov's anthropology or anthropologism in a way that gives these terms more content. For Shpet, Lavrov's anthropology sees the human being as the final and fullest realization of reality,²³ and according to Zen'kovskii, anthropologism treats the person as a 'creative and moral being'.²⁴ This is similar to what Copleston writes on the matter: 'Then the human being's pursuit of ends, his or her striving to realise ideal goals, constitutes a central theme for any philosopher who adopts the "anthropological" point of view, reflecting on the human being as a totality.'²⁵ These additional attributes to anthropology or anthropologism certainly make them more interesting, but they obscure the fact that these terms, if used according to Lavrov's own definition, tell us almost nothing about what Lavrov thought human beings are or ought to be. This dissertation aims to provide a clear explanation of Lavrov's views on this issue.

pp. 19-23: 20.

²¹P. L. Lavrov, 'Biografiia-isповед', *Izbrannye sochineniia*, I, pp. 77-107: 90.

²²P. L. Lavrov, 'Antropologicheskaia tochka zrenia v filosofii', *Sobranie sochinenii*, I, no. 2, pp. 197-206: 197.

²³Shpet, 'Antropologizm Lavrova', p. 75.

²⁴Zen'kovskii, *Istoriia*, I, part 2, p. 163.

²⁵Copleston, *Philosophy in Russia*, p. 128.

B. Lavrov's thought

A further task of this dissertation is to provide a more detailed account of the development of Lavrov's thought from the beginning to the end of his career as a writer than has been done until now. Those few scholars who have devoted attention to change and continuity in Lavrov's thought were principally concerned with the extent to which it changed after he had been introduced to Marxism around 1871.²⁶ Bogatov believed that Lavrov's views changed significantly: they did not fully develop until he came to 'understand' Marxism. Lavrov now became more concerned about issues such as class struggle and economic factors in history and sociology.²⁷ James Scanlan, on the other hand, claimed that 'Marxist elements did not supplant but merely supplemented his former principles. These elements were adopted by Lavrov in a distinctive form, limited and conditioned by his enduring "anthropological" outlook.'²⁸

The question of whether or not Lavrov's thought changed as a consequence of his familiarity with Marxism has distracted attention from the wider issue of developments in his thought throughout his career. Lavrov himself claimed, at the end of his life, that his ideas were more or less firmly established by the mid-1850s with slight amendments in the late 1850s. After this, he claimed, it had neither been necessary, nor, indeed, possible to change his mind on 'any essential point'.²⁹

Lavrov's works of the late 1850s to late 1860s were of a distinctly liberal cast. Values such as respect for human dignity and the development of the individual's personality as well as a sense of civic duty were prominent in his early works, especially in essays on social and educational reform that he published in the late 1850s. His first works on the history of philosophy also began to appear in 1859. These revealed a great familiarity with German Idealism, and it has often been commented that German Idealists, particularly Hegel, made a strong impression on him. Shpet, for example, claimed that the central element of Lavrov's world-view, his

²⁶One exception is A. A. Gizetti, who gave a short overview of change and continuity in Lavrov's philosophical thought in 'Vozzreniia P. L. Lavrova na literaturu', in P. L. Lavrov, *Etudy o zapadnoi literature*, ed. A. A. Gizetti and P. Vitiazhev, Petrograd, 1923, pp. vii-xxx: xix.

²⁷Bogatov, *Filosofiia P. L. Lavrova*, pp. 27-31. A few Soviet scholars have discussed change and continuity in Lavrov's thought, but only with reference to his views on art; see: V. Friche, 'P. L. Lavrov i "chistoe" iskusstvo', *Pod znamenem marksizma*, 1923, no. 6-7, pp. 112-31; V. N. Konovalov, 'P. L. Lavrov, kak literaturnyi kritik', *Russkaia literatura*, 1974, no. 4, pp. 66-77: 74.

²⁸James Scanlan, 'Peter Lavrov: An Intellectual Biography', in Peter Lavrov, *Historical Letters*, tr. J. Scanlan, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967, pp. 1-69: 63. Philip Pomper denied that Lavrov ever became a true Marxist: Pomper, *Peter Lavrov*, p. 182.

²⁹Lavrov, 'Biografiia-isповed', p. 89. He did not indicate what he considered to be such 'essential points'.

'anthropologism', which he began to formulate in 1860, had its roots in a critical reading of Hegel.³⁰ Between 1859 and 1863, Lavrov published numerous works explaining his own philosophical views. In essays such as 'Antropologicheskaiia tochka zreniia v filosofii' (1862), he provocatively argued that the only dogma on which one could rely was the existence of the self, and that truth is nothing more than that of which the self is conscious. His two main works from this period, 'Ocherki voprosov prakticheskoi filosofii' (1859) and 'Tri besedy o sovremennom znachenii filosofii' (1860)³¹ are discourses on the abstract principles which one should allow to govern one's decisions about how to act and how to live. Such principles are respect for human dignity, self-development, living according to ideals, truth and justice.

Lavrov wrote little in the mid-1860s. He was arrested in 1866 and banished to Vologda province in 1867, where he remained until he fled Russia in 1870. In his years in Vologda, however, he published a large number of articles on historical themes, including religious history, women's history, as well as on anthropology, the systematization of knowledge and positivism. Lavrov's philosophical attitudes developed. His 'anthropologism' weakened because his claim that human consciousness must be the source of all truth came into increasingly obvious conflict with his growing faith in the laws of natural science. Such laws must be recognized to be true independently of human awareness of them. This problem stands out most clearly in 'Zadachi pozitivizma i ikh reshenie' (1868),³² which is an uneasy mixture of ideas he put forward in earlier articles with new, Comtean elements.

Another important change was his growing appreciation of the social element in human life. While he had always maintained that the individual could not exist outside of society, the formative influence of society and culture on personal development became increasingly important to him. In *Istoricheskie pis'ma*,³³ he emphasized that members of the Russian élite owed a heavy debt to society, and to the Russian masses

³⁰Shpet, 'Antropologizm Lavrova', pp. 101-18. For Hegel's influence on Lavrov, see also: Knizhnik-Vetrov and Okulov, 'Veteran revoliutsionnoi teorii', pp. 21-22; V. A. Malinin, *Filosofia revoliutsionnogo narodnichestva*, Moscow, 1972, p. 190; V. G. Khoros, 'Uchenie Gegelia i formirovanie kontseptsii P. L. Lavrova', in *Gegel' i filosofii v Rossii. 30-e gody XIX v. - 20-e gody XX v.*, ed. V. E. Evgrafov, Moscow, 1974, pp. 164-75.

³¹P. L. Lavrov, 'Ocherki voprosov prakticheskoi filosofii. I. Lichnost', *Filosofia i sotsiologiya*, I, pp. 339-461; P. L. Lavrov, 'Tri besedy o sovremennom znachenii filosofii', *Filosofia i sotsiologiya*, I, pp. 509-73.

³²P. L. Lavrov, 'Zadachi pozitivizma i ikh reshenie', *Filosofia i sotsiologiya*, I, pp. 575-634.

³³Lavrov began work on *Istoricheskie pis'ma* in 1867. The letters were first published in separate instalments in *Nedelia* between 1868-69. They were published with some amendments as a book in 1870. Here, the 1870 edition has been used, and the work is dated by this year: P. L. Lavrov, *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, St Petersburg, 1870. What is usually called the second edition appeared as a book in 1891 with substantial, 'Marxist' additions made by the author: P. L. Lavrov, *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, second edition, *Izbrannye sochineniia*, I, pp. 163-394. All references are to the first edition unless indicated otherwise.

in particular, for their sacrifices on behalf of the élite's development. Lavrov questioned whether development was really worth the high price that had been paid for it. Far from denouncing development because of this, however, he argued that members of the intelligentsia should minimize this debt precisely by making the best possible use of their education. Indeed, according to him, most are not sufficiently developed to do so. Individuals must think critically about the society in which they live, and they must strive to transform it according to their ideals. He continued to defend this point of view in works published in *Vpered!* between 1873 and 1876, notably in 'Znanie i revoliutsiia', but also in 'Komu prinadlezhit budushchee?',³⁴ and he did not change his views about this subsequently.

Some scholars have claimed that the year 1870, in which *Istoricheskie pis'ma* appeared as a book and Lavrov fled Vologda for Paris, was a turning point or dividing line in his career.³⁵ The most obvious change in Lavrov's works was that, from 1872 or 1873, he produced purely propagandistic works, notably for *Vpered!*. Lavrov became increasingly interested in social issues, but his thought had already turned in this direction in Vologda. One theory which he now elaborated was his theory of solidarity. According to Lavrov, solidarity is a biological function of all species that live communally. Among human beings, it is also an outcome of calculation of economic expediency, although in its most elevated form it amounts to a set of shared ideals and beliefs in a community. The highest task of human beings is to achieve this third kind of solidarity.

In the 1880s and 1890s, Lavrov continued to produce propagandistic works, especially for *Vestnik 'Narodnoi voli'* between 1883-86, although his articles for this journal were less significant than ones for *Vpered!*. On the whole, he devoted his time to works of a more scholarly nature about anthropology and sociology, the history of thought and philosophy of history. He now argued that historical progress could be defined as the labour of critical thought upon culture. This must be brought about by the efforts of individuals, but he also attributed an important function to 'laws', including economic laws, that govern the development of humankind. These laws stand in obvious conflict with the role of the idealistic individual in Lavrov's thought, and this was one respect in which his thought became more contradictory toward the end of his life. His most important works in the last two decades were the massive

³⁴P. L. Lavrov, 'Znanie i revoliutsiia', *Vpered!*, I, 1873, pp. 217-46; P. L. Lavrov, 'Komu prinadlezhit budushchee?', *Vpered!*, II, 1874, pp. 1-73.

³⁵See especially: Vitiachev, 'Na graniakh zhizni', p. 5.

Opyt istorii mysli novogo vremeni, published in ten instalments between 1888-1894, and *Zadachi ponimaniia istorii*, 1898.³⁶

Lavrov has often been accused of eclecticism. Yet the fact that his thought was not dogmatic, but absorbed intellectual fashions and moods, can also be seen as a positive feature. Mikhailovskii once defended himself against the charge that his thought was inconsistent and contradictory by saying that this was a function of a 'living' approach to ideas:

Всегдашняя моя беда как писателя состояла и доселе состоит в том, что я никогда не мог оградить свой сюжет от вторжений текущей жизни с ее пестрым шумом сегодняшнего дня. Я не уверен, впрочем, что это действительно беда, потому что если это обстоятельство мешало цельности и сосредоточенности работы, то взамен придавало ей, может быть, известную жизненность. Может быть, далее, это совсем не моя личная особенность, а общая, воспитанная обстоятельствами времени и места черта всей той литературной среды, в которой окончательно сложилась моя литературная физиономия.³⁷

Lavrov was just as susceptible to the 'intrusions' of contemporary life, although his works lack the liveliness and brilliance of style that Mikhailovskii referred to in excusing his self-contradictions. In Lavrov's case, inconsistencies can be seen as a result of writing according to an immediate sense of what is true, and according to what he believed his audience needed to be told in a given situation. Indeed, he strongly objected to the notion that any idea should be excluded from consideration only because it contradicted other aspects of one's thought: 'Исключительность и односторонность всегда во всем вредны'.³⁸ Lavrov's thought, therefore, is much better characterized as an open, 'inclusive' set of ideas than as a system.

At any rate, Lavrov would not have become an important ideologist of Russian populism in the 1870s had he been a more dogmatic thinker. Some scholars have commented that Lavrov's thought had its intellectual roots in the 1840s, not in the late 1850s, when he began writing. Lavrov was only ten years younger than Herzen, and Shpet, among others, emphasised the importance of Herzen's formative influence on Lavrov.³⁹ As Philip Pomper pointed out: 'in terms of the genealogy of the Russian revolutionary movement, Lavrov belonged to the fathers' generation culturally, entered

³⁶P. L. Lavrov, *Opyt istorii mysli novogo vremeni*, Geneva, 1888-94; P. L. Lavrov, *Zadachi ponimaniia istorii*, Moscow, 1898.

³⁷N. K. Mikhailovskii, 'Literaturnye vospominaniia', *Literaturnaia kritika i vospominaniia*, ed. M. G. Petrova and V. G. Khoros, Moscow, 1995, p. 259.

³⁸P. L. Lavrov, 'O publitsistakh-popularizatorakh i o estestvoznanii', *Sovremennik*, 1865, no. 9, pp. 5-31: 21; see also P. L. Lavrov, 'Vrednye nachala', *Izbrannye sochineniia*, I, pp. 118-27: 119.

³⁹Shpet, 'Lavrov i Gertsen', pp. 35-39; Shpet, 'Antropologizm Lavrova', pp. 100-03, 129; Walicki, *A History*, p. 240. Walicki also found similarities between Lavrov, Belinskii and Granovskii.

the movement as a moral ally of the sons, and became an intellectual leader - a *vlastitel'* *dum* - to the grandsons of the 1870s'.⁴⁰ Unlike the men of the forties, however, Lavrov gained, rather than lost, influence in the late 1860s. He was still young enough, and his mind was still flexible enough, to put forward his own point of view in a way that was recognized as relevant in the 1870s. The development of Lavrov's thought can be appreciated as an exercise in the effective transference of values from one period to the next. This presupposed a certain amount of openness to changes in mentality around one, a perception of the requirements of a new age, as well as a flexible attitude toward one's own ideas.⁴¹

The distinctively liberal ideas that Lavrov put forward in works of the late 1850s and early 1860s clashed with some of the values that characterized works of the 1870s to 1890s. For example, while until 1870, he always emphasized the need for the free and many-sided development and self-expression of the critically thinking individual, he later argued for unanimity of belief in communities, something which would undermine critical thought. It is difficult to agree with Lavrov's claim that his thought had not changed in 'any essential point' after the first years of his career as a writer. One finds changes of interest, changes of emphasis, and changes of terminology in his works. Yet, there is almost always at least an indication of later ideas in earlier works, and vice versa. Further, Lavrov did not ever explicitly reject older ideas and still remembered and referred to earlier works at the end of his life.⁴² Finally, early and late works share common themes. These themes include critical thought, ideals, action, development of the individual person and of society. The independent, 'critically thinking' individual must establish a set of personal ideals and strive to realize these. Each person must not only apply these to him or herself, but also act to develop society and culture according to his or her own ideals, particularly according to that person's notion of justice. The term development was itself a constantly recurring theme in Lavrov's thought throughout his career.

C. Humanism

1. European humanism

⁴⁰Pomper, *Peter Lavrov*, p. xvi.

⁴¹Lavrov demanded the same of philosophers and journalists; see, for example: Lavrov, 'Tri besedy', p. 570; P. L. Lavrov, 'Didro i Lessing', *Otechestvennye zapiski*, 1868, no. 1, pp. 147-212: 197-98.

⁴²See, for example, P. L. Lavrov, 'Sotsial'naiia revoliutsiia i zadachi нравственности', *Filosofia i sotsiologiya*, II, pp. 383-504: 391-92. 'Biografiia-ispoved'" offers what nearly amounts to a bibliography of his own works.

Humanism is a broad term which, coined in the nineteenth century, has been applied retrospectively to a broad range of thinkers. It does not signify a rigid system of thought, but rather a particular point of view, or set of values, that may be identified in various writers from the Renaissance, and even before, to the present. It is most often associated with the Renaissance, and the term derives from the name which scholars of the Italian Renaissance gave their group of disciplines: 'Studia Humanitatis', which included rhetoric, philosophy and history. Renaissance humanists, ranging from Petrarch, Valla and Pico to Erasmus and Thomas More, had very different views and preoccupations, but promoted a common cultural and educational ethic. They combined a programme of historical and philological criticism with the cultivation of literary elegance, and allowed themselves to imitate and be inspired by models taken from Greek and Roman authors. Renaissance humanists believed that the study of classical texts should be cultivated in all human beings because it serves to develop a desirable type of person: works from classical antiquity embody and describe human achievement at its highest level and their study has an elevating influence on the reader.

To some extent, Renaissance humanism was a reaction against the dogmatism of the medieval schools, which had encouraged what humanists considered to be the sterile study of logic and natural, Aristotelian philosophy. In defending themselves against the Scholastics, humanists turned to classical texts as authorities. This resulted in an eclectic reading of ancient works, but also led to a rediscovery of many forgotten or neglected works. Research into Renaissance humanism in the past decades has shown that humanist opposition to medieval schools should not be considered a secular reaction against religious teaching.⁴³ On the contrary, one of the aims of some Renaissance humanists was to find a way of reconciling reason with faith. Lorenzo Valla, for example, argued in *On Pleasure* that pleasure must be seen as the motivation behind all human action. The notion of pleasure that he put forward, however, was not purely Epicurean, but unmistakably Christian. There is also a strong moral tone behind humanist works, although it was never elaborated in a systematic, philosophical manner. In his 'Oration on the Dignity of Man', for example, Pico della Mirandola celebrated human beings for their God-given freedom to shape their own lives, but he made it clear that every human being should use his or her intellect to aspire to become 'an angel and the son of God'.⁴⁴

⁴³Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic and Humanist Strains*, New York, 1961, pp. 9-13, 22, 95-119.

⁴⁴Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, 'Oration on the Dignity of Man', tr. Elizabeth Livermore Forbes, in *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man*, ed. Ernst Cassirer, Chicago and London, 1948.

While there are some common elements between Lavrov's point of view and that of Renaissance humanists, Lavrov's ideas will largely be compared with those of humanism in its second manifestation, namely in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Germany. Like humanists of the Renaissance, prominent figures of this period had very different aims and interests, and did not act in coordination with one another. Humanism has been attributed, again retrospectively, to one of the first and best-known figures of this period, namely Wilhelm von Humboldt. Humboldt was and still is best known as a statesman, educational reformer and philosopher of language. One of his most widely read works is *Ideen zu einem Versuch, die Grenzen der Wirksamkeit des Staats zu bestimmen* (The Limits of State Power, 1792). Here, Humboldt argued that the power of the state over citizens must be held to an absolute minimum in almost every sphere of civic life, and that its only purpose is to defend the free and manifold development of its citizens as individuals. Humboldt's chief work on language was *Über die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues und ihren Einfluß auf die geistige Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts* (On the Heterogeneity of Human Language and its Influence on the Mental Development of Humankind, published posthumously in 1836). The introduction includes a definitive exposition of Humboldt's view of the human being and human development.⁴⁵

The term 'humanism' itself was first coined in 1808 by Friedrich Immanuel Niethammer in a book called *Der Streit des Philanthropinismus mit dem Humanismus in der Theorie des Erziehungsunterrichts unserer Zeit* (The Debate between Philanthropinism and Humanism in the Theory of Education in our Time). Here, Niethammer attacked the contemporary education system, which he labelled as 'Philanthropinism', because, according to him, it only aimed to train students for their future professions rather than developing them as human beings. Philanthropinism had brought about 'a regression in true culture, a hatred of everything that is purely mental, or ideal, in art as well as in science'.⁴⁶ Humanism was the true system of education.

⁴⁵Wilhelm von Humboldt, *Ideen zu einem Versuch, die Grenzen der Wirksamkeit des Staates zu bestimmen*, Stuttgart, 1967; Wilhelm von Humboldt, *Über die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues und ihren Einfluß auf die geistige Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts*, Bonn, 1960. For English translations of these, see: Wilhelm von Humboldt, *The Limits of State Action*, tr. and ed. J. W. Burrow, Cambridge, 1969; *On Language, the Diversity of Human Language Structure and Its Influence on the Mental Development of Mankind*, tr. Peter Heath, Cambridge, 1988. Some of Humboldt's works have also been translated in an anthology: Wilhelm von Humboldt, *Humanist Without a Portfolio*, tr. Marianne Cowan, Detroit, 1963. I refer to the original German texts. Translations are my own. On Humboldt, see for example: Paul. R. Sweet, *Wilhelm von Humboldt: A Biography*, Columbus, 1978; Eberhard Kessel, *Wilhelm von Humboldt: Idee und Wirklichkeit*, Stuttgart, 1967.

⁴⁶Friedrich Immanuel Niethammer, *Der Streit des Philanthropinismus mit dem Humanismus in der Theorie des Erziehungsunterrichts unserer Zeit*, Jena, 1808, p. 18. No works by or on Niethammer have appeared in English. Secondary works on him include: Ernst Hojer, *F. I. Niethammer: Ein Beitrag*

This was the older system, which aimed to develop reason and ideals in the person and encouraged a lively approach to science and the arts, while basing itself on the study of Classical Greek and Latin texts.⁴⁷ Over the next half century, a whole group of educational reformers came forward arguing in favour of humanism.

Neither Humboldt, nor Niethammer regarded themselves as continuing the Renaissance tradition in any way. Indeed, the term humanism was not used in connection with the Renaissance until 1859, when Georg Voigt's two-volume work, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums oder das erste Jahrhundert des Humanismus* (The Rebirth of Classical Antiquity, or the First Century of Humanism) appeared.⁴⁸ Voigt set the tone of a value-laden, anti-Catholic, anti-medieval attitude which for many decades dominated the way people regarded Renaissance humanism. Voigt portrayed Renaissance humanism as a response against the spirit of the Middle Ages, which celebrated human independence, was anti-Scholastic, secular, took a critical approach to knowledge, and drew its inspiration from the Greeks and Romans. Voigt also showed sympathy toward the republican values of some of the humanists he described.

Although humanists of this period differed from each other in many ways, they can still be seen to represent a common set of values and beliefs which each elaborated in his own way. Niethammer rather awkwardly expressed what he and his contemporaries meant by humanism in the following passage: 'The whole human being, with his various capacities and strengths, is a wonderful totality of unified reason. The complete, all-rounded and harmonious development of this one totality is the ideal of mankind and is correctly preserved in the old and venerable, and yet unappreciated name, humanity.'⁴⁹ Humanists of the nineteenth century stressed the wholeness of the human being. Body, mind and character are so closely tied to one another that one cannot consider one element independently of the other. Wilhelm von Humboldt, for example, wrote that one must regard the human being 'as a whole, and know all of his different sides - the mind, the heart and the body in their connection with one another. Without this, knowledge of human character, which is really the goal of anthropology, or even the essence of anthropology itself, will never be able to become a science.'⁵⁰ For this reason, one can say that humanism is necessarily

zur Geschichte des Neuhumanismus, Frankfurt am Main, 1965; Michael Schwarzmeier, *Friedrich Immanuel Niethammer: Ein Bayrischer Schulreformer*, Aalen, 1974.

⁴⁷Niethammer, *Der Streit*, pp. 13-14.

⁴⁸Georg Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums oder das erste Jahrhundert des Humanismus*, 2 vols, Berlin, 1859.

⁴⁹Niethammer, *Der Streit*, p. 190.

⁵⁰Quoted in Kessel, *Wilhelm von Humboldt*, p. 83.

'anthropological' in the same sense that Lavrov understood this term. Humanists also had a holistic attitude toward scholarly study. Voigt described this attitude as follows:

[...] the true human being is a striving human being and science is the servant of virtue. For this reason, he [the humanist] believes that the historian, philosopher, poet and theologian must be united in a single person. Whereas the Scholastic wants strictly to divide his disciplines, the humanist wishes to fuse them together into one general personal development.⁵¹

Humboldt, who emphasized that human beings should cultivate their particularities and argued in favour of a diverse society, also valued the variety of human experience. Each person gains access to this manifold of experience through feelings and sensitivity:

Whosoever endeavours endlessly to heighten his powers and rejuvenate them through frequent pleasure; whosoever uses the strength of his character in order to assert his independence from sensuality; whosoever endeavours to unite this independence with the highest sensitivity, whose genuine and deep sense for truth is tirelessly engaged in investigation, whose true and fine feeling for beauty leaves no charming form unnoticed; whosoever has an urge to absorb and fertilize within himself all that he finds outside of himself, to transform all beauty into his individuality and, marrying his entire being with beauty, strives to create new beauty; such a person may nurture the satisfying awareness of being on the right path to approaching that ideal, which only the keenest imagination in humanity dares to sketch.⁵²

Despite their emphasis on the need to develop the human being as a whole, humanists have tended to believe that the development of the mind is the most important aspect of this process. According to Niethammer, 'ideas alone are what make the human being great and dignified, they are more true and lasting than anything that one may grasp with the hands'.⁵³ He also pointed out, however, that erudition by itself is of little value and drew his readers' attention to 'the misconception that knowledge in itself, the accumulated mass of information, amounts to an education; we do not even wish to remind [the reader] of the sad fact that the individual in whom a mass of knowledge is united with a great lack of culture is no uncommon occurrence'.⁵⁴

A vital part of the development of the individual is a set of ideals, beliefs, values, customs and habits that is handed down from one generation to the next, in other words, cultural inheritance. Humanists, however, do not expect the individual to accept this inheritance passively, rather, they value what Humboldt described as 'Geisteskraft', strength of mind or spirit. This transforms the process of cultural inheritance into a developmental process into which each generation breathes new

⁵¹Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung*, p. 39. Voigt attributed this value to Renaissance humanists, but it is equally applicable to nineteenth century humanism.

⁵²Humboldt, *Ideen zu einem Versuch*, p. 110.

⁵³Niethammer, *Der Streit*, p. 52.

⁵⁴Niethammer, *Der Streit*, p. 146.

life.⁵⁵ Society should, therefore, be open to creativity and innovation by individuals, and part of human dignity lies in the efforts of individuals to take an active role in public life and the development of society. Voigt, for example, praised Florence and the Florentine nobility of the Renaissance, because it 'sought to maintain its dignity through its efforts and services in the public sphere, through courtly manners and especially through a more universal and more refined development of the world'.⁵⁶ One of the most important aims of the development of the individual is to create the kind of person who will make the best contribution to the development of society and culture.

Humanists do not prescribe any political or social system in particular, although many have been sympathetic to republicanism, and believe in the fundamental equality of all human beings. This equality is based on human dignity and the right that every person has to be respected by virtue of his or her humanity. Humboldt, for example, criticized the Greeks, because they did not understand this principle: 'They possessed a concept of high and noble human individuality, which was embedded clearly and deeply in their sensibilities and cast of mind; but they never recognized the principle that one should respect a person just because he is a human being, much less did they have a sense for the resulting rights and duties.'⁵⁷ This dignity does not reside in the 'natural' character of a person, but in the potential strengths and talents that lie within each individual, be they physical, mental, or moral.

Although humanists of the nineteenth century emphasized the need for the free development of the individual, it would be incorrect to regard them as individualists. Humboldt, for example, repeatedly stated that human beings were inherently social beings. Indeed, he made a point of explaining that individuality in the sense of independence and self-sufficiency was of no interest to him. Rather, it was difference and variety of character among people that interested him, and this presupposed that one regarded the person as a member of a group, not in isolation.⁵⁸

Humanism ebbed away in the mid-nineteenth century, but returned in France and Germany in the late 1920s, in part as a reaction against fascism. Werner Jaeger presented his three-volume work, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture*, to the German public in 1929 in the hopes that Greek ideals might be used as a resource against the contemporary crisis of values.⁵⁹ Humanism, for Jaeger, meant 'the process of

⁵⁵Humboldt, *Über die Verschiedenheit*, p. xxviii.

⁵⁶Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung*, pp. 148-49.

⁵⁷Humboldt, *Über die Verschiedenheit*, p. xxxviii.

⁵⁸Humboldt, *Über die Verschiedenheit*, pp. xii-xiv, xlv-xlvi; *Ideen zu einem Versuch*, pp. 22-23.

⁵⁹Werner Jaeger, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture*, 3 vols, tr. Gilbert Highet, Oxford, 1939, I, p. xviii.

educating man into his true form, the real and genuine human nature'.⁶⁰ *Paideia* is an ideal of education in which education has both a developmental and a conservative character. Firstly, education 'is the process by which a community preserves and transmits its physical and intellectual character'.⁶¹ Secondly, for the Greeks (and for Jaeger), it was 'the creation of a higher type of man. They believed that education embodied the purpose of all human effort. It was, they held, the ultimate justification for the existence of both individual and community'.⁶² At roughly the same time, 'Christian humanism' began to be elaborated in France. Its best known exponent was Jacques Maritain, who first published his influential work, *Humanisme intégral* (*True Humanism*), in 1936.⁶³ This type of humanism seems to have become influential among Russian religious thinkers.

2. Humanism in Russia

It is often thought that there have never been any humanists in Russia. Few Russians have made use of the term, and it is generally used, not in the sense of a concrete set of values or ideals, but rather as a vague description of an attitude toward people, often love for human beings, or humanitarianism. Nevertheless, in this century, humanism has been put forward in Russia by both conservative and left-wing thinkers who had a fairly clear understanding of humanism in its traditional sense and its history. Frank concluded his contribution to *Vekhi* (1909) with the demand that Russians cultivate a 'religious humanism'.⁶⁴ He clarified what he meant by this many years later in 'Dostoevskii i krizis gumanizma' (1931), where he defined his kind of humanism as a 'faith in the human being which grows out of the Christian consciousness of the special link between the human being and God'.⁶⁵ According to Frank, Dostoevskii was confronted with a crisis of faith in the human being which he overcame by showing that human weakness and evil are precisely what open the human soul to God. Berdiaev also showed an interest in humanism, particularly Christian humanism, in *Russkaia ideia* (1946). According to Berdiaev, humanism in its western sense did not strike root in Russia, but there was a special Russian understanding of this term, which meant sympathy and compassion for the insulted and down-trodden. In this sense, Russian radicals, especially the repentant noblemen of the 1870s, could be considered

⁶⁰Jaeger, *Paideia*, I, p. xxiii.

⁶¹Jaeger, *Paideia*, I, p. xiii.

⁶²Jaeger, *Paideia*, p. xvii.

⁶³Jacques Maritain, *Humanisme intégral*, Paris, 1936.

⁶⁴S. Frank, 'Etika nigilizma', in *Vekhi*, ed. N. Kazakova, Moscow, 1991, pp. 153-184: 184.

⁶⁵S. Frank, 'Dostoevskii i krizis gumanizma', *Put'*, 27, 1931, pp. 71-78: 72.

'humanists' of sorts in the Russian sense. The prime examples of Christian humanism in Russia, according to Berdiaev, were Dostoevskii and Vladimir Solov'ev.⁶⁶

Shortly after the death of Stalin, the term humanism was also used by ideologists of communism in the Soviet Union in order to propose a new approach to socialism. The first tract of Soviet humanism was a pamphlet by V. P. Volgin, *Gumanizm i sotsializm* (1955). Volgin traced the development of humanism from the Renaissance to the nineteenth century and concluded that it was compatible with socialism, including the teachings of Lenin and Stalin. Volgin and subsequent ideologists of Soviet humanism emphasized that their variety of humanism addressed the 'real', 'earthly' person, while demanding personal development and respect for human dignity. P. K. Kurochkin attempted to dissociate humanism from Christian humanists in *Pravoslavie i gumanizm* (1962) and defined humanism as follows: 'Он означает утверждение человеческого достоинства, установление отношений между людьми, основанных на глубоком уважении к личности. Реально существующий земной человек с его реальными, земными интересами всегда находится в центре внимания гуманистической мысли'.⁶⁷ The claim to be concerned with the 'real' human being was not, however, the monopoly of Soviet humanists: Berdiaev and Frank also spoke of the 'realism of actual life' and 'earthly life' when it came to the notion of humanism that they supported.⁶⁸ 'Realism' and a concern for the 'real' human being has also been seen as an important feature of Lavrov's thought (see above).

Humanism has been applied retrospectively to a number of Russian thinkers. This has not only been done by figures with a direct interest in humanism such as ideologists of Christian and Soviet humanism, but also by scholars. Jack Haney, for example, argued that the terms 'Renaissance' and 'humanism' could be applied typologically to sixteenth century Muscovy in *From Italy to Muscovy: The Life and Works of Maxim the Greek* (1973).⁶⁹ *Filosofskii entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* (1989) also traces the development of humanism in Russia through Belinskii, Herzen, Chernyshevskii, Dobroliubov and Vladimir Solov'ev.⁷⁰ Although 'humanism' is often

⁶⁶N. Berdiaev, *Russkaia ideia*, Paris, 1971, pp. 88-100. Where he discussed the humanism or humanitarianism of left-wing thinkers, he mentioned Mikhailovskii, but not Lavrov (p. 89).

⁶⁷P. K. Kurochkin, *Pravoslavie i gumanizm*, Moscow, 1962, p. 5; V. P. Volgin, *Gumanizm i sotsializm*, Moscow, 1955; M. Petrosian, 'Kommunizm - polnoe voploshchenie real'nogo gumanizma', *Kommunist*, 1959, no. 7, pp. 13-25.

⁶⁸Berdiaev said this particularly with respect to Dostoevskii: *Russkaia ideia*, p. 90; Frank, 'Dostoevskii i krizis gumanizma', p. 72.

⁶⁹Jack V. Haney, *From Italy to Muscovy: The Life and Works of Maxim the Greek*, Munich, 1973.

⁷⁰'Gumanizm', *Filosofskii entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, second edition, Moscow, 1989, p. 139. The first edition of *Filosofskii entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* (1983) does not include Solov'ev's name among the others: pp. 130-31.

referred to in passing with reference to such figures, no in-depth study of the matter has been undertaken. Most recently, A. I. Volodin demonstrated the influence of Wilhelm von Humboldt's ideas on Pisarev, without, however, attempting to claim that Pisarev was a humanist.⁷¹

D. Lavrov and humanism

'Humanism' has been applied retrospectively to Lavrov's thought by a variety of scholars, although these restricted themselves to brief references and in passing. Scholars and students who have made such references are: Gizetti, Shpet, Shteinberg, Novomirskii, Zen'kovskii, Kruglova, Alexandrova, Walicki, Vlaskin and Vasil'ev.⁷² It is not always clear what they meant by the term 'humanism'. Some, including Walicki, Gizetti and Zen'kovskii remarked that Lavrov's thought was 'humanist' because it belonged to a positive, progressive tradition in Russian thought that included figures such as Herzen, Belinskii and the 'enlighteners'. Shpet and Zen'kovskii associated humanism with the importance of ideals in Lavrov's thought. Shpet pointed out that, according to Lavrov, human beings determine their identity through a set of ideals. This notion connected Lavrov's thought with the kind of 'humanism' put forward by Feuerbach and Herzen, which Shpet defined as the belief that human beings are products of their own making.⁷³

This dissertation does not seek to turn such passing and broadly defined references to Lavrov as a 'humanist' into a claim that Lavrov belonged to the humanist school of thought. Rather, it presents a set of values and ideals in Lavrov's thought which are also characteristic of humanism. Direct comparisons are principally made between Lavrov and humanists of late eighteenth and nineteenth century Germany. Among humanists of this period, the figure whose work Lavrov knew best was Wilhelm von Humboldt, and he referred to him a number of times in early works. He

⁷¹A. I. Volodin, 'Vilgelm Gumbol'dt i Dmitrii Pisarev', in *Rossia i Germaniia. Opyt filosofskogo dialoga*, ed. V. A. Lektorskii and A. Ia. Sharapov, Moscow, 1993, pp. 175-206.

⁷²A. A. Gizetti, 'P. L. Lavrov i Vl. Solov'ev', *Stat'i, vospominaniia*, pp. 385-404: 387; Shpet, 'Antropologizm Lavrova', pp. 128-29; A. Z. Shteinberg, 'Nachalo i konets istorii v uchenii P. L. Lavrova', *Stat'i, vospominaniia*, pp. 355-72; Novomirskii, *Na puti*, p. 437; Zen'kovskii, *Istoriia*, I, part 2, p. 159; L. K. Kruglova, *Antropologicheskaia filosofiia P. L. Lavrova*, Avtoreferat kandidatskoi dissertatsii, Leningrad, 1973, p. 3; T. N. Aleksandrova, *Teoriia lichnosti P. L. Lavrova*, Avtoreferat kandidatskoi dissertatsii, Moscow, 1974, pp. 8-9; Walicki, *A History*, p. 241; A. G. Vlaskin, "'Kriticheski mysliashchaia lichnost'" i moral'nye tsennosti v filosofskoi kontseptsii P. L. Lavrova', in *Filosofiia i osvoboditel'noe dvizhenie v Rossii*, ed. A. A. Ermichev and S. N. Savel'ev, Leningrad, 1989, pp. 123-31: 123, 130; A. V. Vasil'ev, *Chitaia "Istoricheskie pis'ma" Petra Lavrova*, Moscow and Mariupol', 1993, pp. 26, 208.

⁷³Berdiaev, incidentally, also pointed to Feuerbach as the representative of the kind of humanism with which Russians could identify: *Russkaia ideia*, p. 88.

called Humboldt 'one of the greatest linguists and at the same time one of the remarkable statesmen of the German liberal party' in 'Gegelizm' (1859).⁷⁴ In 'Ocherki voprosov prakticheskoi filosofii', he included Humboldt among 'the best representatives of the contemporary study of the human being'. Here, Lavrov quoted from Humboldt's work on the limits of state power.⁷⁵ He based his claims about Humboldt in 'Gegelizm' on the authority of Rudolf Haym, who had published a monograph on Humboldt in 1856 which Lavrov appears to have read.⁷⁶ Lavrov also knew of Niethammer, but he only mentioned him as the friend and correspondent of Hegel.⁷⁷

Similarities between Lavrov's thought and that of humanists from this period are more likely to spring from a common intellectual background than from any systematic impact of humanists' works on his thought. Lavrov read and was influenced by many of the authors who were prominent in Germany in the period when Humboldt and Niethammer wrote; not only philosophers such as Kant, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Schopenhauer and Hegel, but also literary figures such as Goethe, Schiller and especially Lessing. It would be erroneous, however, to suggest that Lavrov's thought shares exactly the same intellectual roots as that of Humboldt or Niethammer, since his works also bear the imprint of French socialists and later, of positivists, Darwinists and, finally, of Marx. Lavrov himself rarely used the term humanism, and where he did so, he usually meant Renaissance humanism. Most of these references are sympathetic, nevertheless he did not show any special interest in humanism as a world-view, nor does he appear to have read the works of many Renaissance humanists.⁷⁸

⁷⁴P. L. Lavrov, 'Gegelizm', *Filosofia i sotsiologiya*, I, pp. 43-175: 59. In *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, Lavrov referred to Humboldt as the founder of comparative linguistics: *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 134.

⁷⁵'Ocherki voprosov', pp. 378-79.

⁷⁶Rudolf Haym, *Wilhelm von Humboldt: Lebensbild und Charakteristik*, Berlin, 1856. Haym published a large number of monographs on German philosophers, such as on Hegel and Feuerbach. Lavrov admired Haym's work immensely, and Haym seems to have inspired Lavrov to write his first works on the history of philosophy; see, for example: 'Gegelizm', pp. 58-61. Haym was also the source of Pisarev's knowledge about Humboldt; see: Volodin, 'Vilgelm Gumbol'dt', pp. 186-88.

⁷⁷'Gegelizm', p. 63.

⁷⁸*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 91; P. L. Lavrov, 'Sotsializm i bor'ba za sushchestvovanie', *Filosofia i sotsiologiya*, II, pp. 363-81: 375; *Zadachi ponimaniia istorii*, pp. 248-49. In 'Iz istorii sotsial'nykh uchenii', Lavrov discussed Renaissance thought in some detail, especially Thomas More's 'utopian socialism': P. L. Lavrov, 'Iz istorii sotsial'nykh uchenii', *Izbrannye sochineniia*, II, pp. 143-249: 220-48. One lengthy work on the sciences in the Renaissance, 'Rol' nauki v period vozrozhdeniia i reformatsii', has been attributed to him by Ivanov-Razumnik. This piece was first published anonymously in *Otechestvennye zapiski*, and was, according to Ivanov-Razumnik, 'mistakenly' included in the collected works of Lesevich: I. S. Knizhnik-Vetrov, 'Bibliografiia sochinenii P. L. Lavrova i o nem', *Izbrannye sochineniia*, I, pp. 492-510: 507. Lavrov also claimed that the work was his: 'Biografiia-ispoved', p. 98. Cross references in the text itself, however, indicate that the author must, indeed, have been Lesevich, not Lavrov: V. V. Lesevich, 'Rol' nauki v period vozrozhdeniia i reformatsii', *Sobranie sochinenii*, 3 vols, Moscow, 1915, III, pp. 104-217.

Rather than attempting to prove that Lavrov was a humanist in the fullest sense of the word, therefore, this dissertation aims to show that one may identify a set of distinctively humanist values in his thought. Lavrov's term for his philosophical point of view, 'anthropologism', is itself similar to the word 'humanism': both attach the suffix 'ism' to the same root, namely the human being. As was explained above, Lavrov's understanding of 'anthropologism' was rather limited in the content that he attributed to it. Some of the ideas that he presented in connection with his 'anthropologism' are distinctly humanist, notably the concept of the 'whole person'. Further humanist values include individual development and of qualities such as criticism, creativity and feelings, as well as his demand for the person's independent cultivation of ideals and his or her active pursuit of these. For Lavrov, this means the realization of social ideals in particular. Lavrov, like humanists, stressed the social nature of human beings and the influence of society on personal development mediated by culture. Lavrov's political ideal, at least for a period, was that state must be to defend and support development in all of these areas - individual, social and cultural.

Some of the subjects that are discussed in this dissertation have been studied in secondary literature and are reinterpreted here in the light of 'humanism' and on the basis of new material. These include his views on culture, the state, ethics and aspects of Lavrov's views on the person, such as criticism. The application of humanism to Lavrov's thought also draws attention to some areas that have not been studied before, such as his idealisation of ancient Greece and his theory of education, both of which were of central interest to humanists. It also draws attention to more fundamental ideals that were equally neglected, such as creativity and sensitivity, or feelings, which are also typically humanist.

The dissertation is divided into six chapters of which the first three focus on Lavrov's views on the person as an individual. The first chapter is on aspects of the person and personal development, and is subdivided into sections on the human being as a whole being, dignity, consciousness, criticism, creativity, feelings and freedom. The second chapter studies Lavrov's views on ethics. It is included here not because Lavrov's attitude is particularly 'humanist' (humanists were always concerned with morality but did not take a particular moral line), although his approach is to some extent based on humanist principles. Rather, this subject is important because of its central place in Lavrov's thought as a whole, and because his ideal of the person cannot be considered without taking his moral thought into account. The first two chapters, therefore, aim to present a coherent account of some of the most fundamental aspects of Lavrov's thought in terms of the humanist framework. The third chapter, which is on education, highlights one area of similarity in interest and occupation between Lavrov

and humanists; it also offers an account of his views about the practical side to the development of the individual.

The last three chapters study his views on the person as a social being. The fourth chapter studies his views on culture and civilization, presenting the development of these views over time and showing that this was integrally connected to a change of focus in his thought from individual to society. The fifth chapter studies his view of ancient Greece, which he idealized especially around the middle of his career. This reveals a further similarity between Lavrov and humanists, both of the Renaissance and early nineteenth century. Lavrov valued Greece particularly for the attitude to society and state that he attributed to the Greeks, and so an understanding of his views on Greece supplements the analysis of his writings on these subjects. His attitude toward the state is studied in the sixth chapter. This looks at his support for a federal state, which is manifested in works dating from the middle of his career.

Generally, the focus of the final three chapters is on views that Lavrov elaborated from the mid-1860s to the mid-1870s, while the first three chapters concentrate on ideals that he established in works in the late 1850s and early 1860s. The dissertation refers to works from the end of his life as a point of comparison, but these are, on the whole, of lesser interest because the main innovation in his thought in this period (the 1880s and 1890s) was a philosophy of history which is not relevant here. Lavrov's thought in these different areas was united throughout his life by two particularly humanist themes, namely ideals and development, and these are what lend continuity to Lavrov's works through different periods and different subjects.

Chapter one: The person and personal development

A. The human being as a whole being

'The true purpose of the human being', wrote Wilhelm von Humboldt, 'is the highest and most well-proportioned development of his powers into one whole.'¹ Humboldt's statement accurately summarizes the humanists' attitude toward the person.

Humanists regard the 'natural' human being much as sculptors might regard a block of marble: they take in its strengths and weaknesses bearing in mind its suitability for the work of art which they hope to produce out of it. Their task is to create something which is well-proportioned or harmonious in form, and which makes the best possible use of the materials they have at their disposal. Humanists often compare the complete human being to a work of art, but their concern for the development of the 'whole' human being is not simply aesthetic. It is important that development must not be partial, but should affect the entire human being. To insist that one should develop only the mind or only the body, for example, would be to set a limit to the extent to which the person ought to be developed.

Lavrov was familiar with Humboldt's views, and referred approvingly to the above statement in 'Ocherki voprosov prakticheskoi filosofii' (1859).² Indeed, one finds a thorough agreement in Lavrov's works, particularly in his early works, with Humboldt's statement. Lavrov's interest in personal development was not of an aesthetic nature, although he warned against the disfigurement that could arise from an unbalanced development in 'Postepenno' (1862/63): 'Если вы не хотите получить тщедушных, уродливых особей человеческого рода, то правильная гимнастика должна *одновременно* обращать внимание на развитие *всех* мускулов тела ребенка, разумный педагог должен *одновременно* давать пищу *всем* его способностям.'³

The two principal sources of his insistence on the need for the development of the 'whole' human being were his 'anthropological' outlook and a practical ideal of unlimited development. According to Lavrov, anthropology must study the whole human being and take this wholeness into consideration as an unalterable fact. In 'Ocherki voprosov prakticheskoi filosofii', for example, he wrote: 'Человеческая личность есть одно неразделимое целое. Все явления человеческой деятельности, внутренней и внешней, переплетаются между собою, заменяют одно другое, друг другу помогают или мешают, и из всего

¹ Humboldt, *Ideen zu einem Versuch*, p. 22.

² 'Ocherki voprosov', p. 379. Here he cites the same sentence included above.

³ P. L. Lavrov, 'Postepenno', *Izbrannye sochineniia*, I, pp. 128-34. 'Postepenno' was written in the early 1860s, probably in 1862 or 1863, but was not published until after Lavrov died.

этого происходит единство жизни.⁴ In 'Antropologicheskaja tochka zreniia v filosofii' (1862), Lavrov emphasized that sense impressions and thoughts could not be treated as purely 'physical' or 'mental'. Sense impressions, which came from the body, could not be interpreted without the use of the mind, while thoughts, according to Lavrov, could never be interpreted as being true or false without verification through physical action. **'Поэтому, все сознаваемое или все сущее предполагает цельного человека, который есть одновременно объединенная часть вещественного мира и сознательная личность.'**⁵ Further, according to the 'anthropological point of view', the existence of the whole, 'physico-psychological person' was the only unconditional fact, and this fact provided the basis for all knowledge.⁶

Lavrov's perception of the importance of 'wholeness' seems to have forced him to overcome an older attitude toward the body as being separate from and often hostile to the inclinations of the mind. This can be seen in the diaries which he kept in the early 1840s,⁷ and in 'Mekhanicheskaja teoriia mira' (1859) he still spoke of the body as something alien to the self: **'Во все времена, человек противопоставлял себя, свое сознаваемое я не только внешнему миру, но и собственному телу.'**⁸ By the time he published 'Ocherki voprosov prakticheskoi filosofii' four months later, he had changed his position: **'Тело человека есть нераздельное условие его Я и потому участвует в его достоинстве.'**⁹ He now began to advocate treating the person as one integral whole and never spoke of an opposition between mind and body again. The interdependence of body and mind was also important to Niethammer, who argued that one cannot understand the mind or body in isolation from one another and must develop both. Niethammer, however, felt that the development of the mind is more important than that of the body, which constitutes a person's 'lower nature'.¹⁰ Lavrov would have agreed with this. In *Sovremennye ucheniia o нравственности i ee istoriia* (1870), for example, he argued in favour of physical development and for the fulfilment of all basic physical needs. Yet he went on to declare that development of the mind is more important: **'в целом развитии личности высший элемент есть развитие психическое, а низший**

⁴'Ocherki voprosov', p. 356.

⁵'Antropologicheskaja tochka zreniia', p. 198.

⁶'Antropologicheskaja tochka zreniia', p. 199. Lavrov's 'anthropological' position is discussed in great detail by Shpet in 'Antropologizm Lavrova'. He raises a problematic issue in Lavrov's anthropological thought, namely that Lavrov made the person both 'question' and 'answer' of all philosophical problems (pp. 119-20).

⁷P. L. Lavrov, 'Dnevnik i stikhotvoreniia', 29. XI. 1841, GARF, 1762 2 341, p. 53.

⁸P. L. Lavrov, 'Mekhanicheskaja teoriia mira', *Sobranie sochinenii*, I, no. 2, pp. 5-50: 6.

⁹'Ocherki voprosov', p. 438.

¹⁰Niethammer, *Der Streit*, pp. 42-46.

- физическое'.¹¹ Both Lavrov and Niethammer also felt that it was wrong to think of the body as a 'corruption'. Lavrov insisted that nothing could be gained by asceticism, that is, by intentionally denying the body the fulfilment of its basic requirements. In *Istoricheskie pis'ma* and other works from around this time, he explained that this only served as a source of perversion.¹²

When he spoke of the 'wholeness' of the human being, however, Lavrov was not only thinking of the close connection between body and mind. Rather, he meant that every part of the person should be united by an ideal, or set of ideals, and that no side of the person must be excluded from this unity. This can be seen in 'Edinstvo' (1863), an article written for *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*:

Каждый момент жизни должен быть проникнут единством между разнообразными сторонами жизни человека: частные идеалы должны подчиняться общему идеалу *человечности*; они должны быть действительными *идеалами*, выработавшимися жизненным процессом из самого человека, а не *идолами*, заимствованными извне [...] вся жизнь должна представлять одно стройное целое, и только это высшее единство, как высший идеал, к которому должен стремиться человек, имеет право на название *мудрости*[...]¹³

Every person must, therefore, try to arrive at an ideal, or at a set of ideals, which impart unity upon every aspect of his or her life. In 'Tri besedy o sovremennom znachenii filosofii' (1860), he called the act of thought which unifies one's life 'philosophy': 'Человек как познающий, творящий и живущий явится нам *единым развивающимся* человеком, и сущность этого *единства развития* оказалась *философствованием*.'¹⁴ The act of giving life unity through thought was regarded by Lavrov as a creative process, which aimed to achieve an 'art of life'.¹⁵ The 'art of life', according to Lavrov, was known to classical civilization: 'Древние, говоря об искусстве жизни, распространяли и на эту область эстетическое воззрение, а вместе с тем требование *единства*'.¹⁶ The issue behind 'art of life' was not primarily aesthetic; Lavrov regarded art itself as an act of unification, rather than as an aesthetic exercise,¹⁷ so

¹¹P. L. Lavrov, *Sovremennye ucheniia o npravstvennosti i ee istoriia*, St Petersburg, 1903-04, p. 55.

¹²*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 151; P. L. Lavrov, 'Severo-amerikanskoe sektatorstvo', *Otechestvennye zapiski*, 1868, no 4, pp. 403-70; no. 6, pp. 213-336; no. 7, pp. 269-318; no. 8, pp. 324-54: part 2, pp. 274-76. In both texts, Lavrov condemned asceticism with respect to food as well as sexual desire. Cultures which encouraged fasting seemed also to breed gluttony, while an ethic of sexual abstention only seemed to encourage licentious behaviour.

¹³P. L. Lavrov, 'Edinstvo', *Sobranie sochinenii*, I, no. 2, pp. 207-16: 213-14.

¹⁴'Tri besedy', p. 573; see also p. 572. He maintained this view of philosophy throughout his career, as is shown in P. L. Lavrov, 'Filosofiia g. Chicherina', *Kriticheskoe obozrenie*, 1880, no. 10 (15 May), pp. 468-88: 470.

¹⁵'Tri besedy', p. 552.

¹⁶'Edinstvo', p. 213.

¹⁷'Edinstvo', p. 212.

that the art of life was a matter of wholeness, or unity. This was why, even after art lost much of its value in Lavrov's eyes, he still claimed that it could describe the person better than 'science': 'Искусство должно угадать эту цельность лучше, чем рационалистическое исследование.'¹⁸

Lavrov wished that development should involve every part of the person. Development must not only be physical and mental, but also moral. This idea is most often associated with the first part of Lavrov's definition of progress as he formulated it in *Istoricheskie pis'ma*: 'Развитие личности в физическом, умственном и нравственном отношении. Воплощение в общественных формах истины и справедливости'.¹⁹ The development of the 'whole' person was itself considered by Lavrov to be moral, as he claimed in works such as 'Zadachi pozitivizma i ikh reshение' (1868)²⁰ and *Sovremennye ucheniia o npravstvennosti*:

Личность человека есть личность цельная, неразделимая, физико-психическая, которая развивается правильно в одном своем элементе лишь тогда, когда развивается в своей цельности. Поэтому нравственное развитие есть развитие цельное и всестороннее. Необходимые потребности тела должны быть удовлетворены точно так же, как необходимые потребности духа.²¹

The reason why he called this 'moral' was because, according to him, the moral agent was precisely one whose whole life was taken over by an ideal, or set of ideals, which did not allow any part of the person to exist independently of those ideals.

Development should not only be unlimited in the sense that it should address every part of the person, but also in that it should be a never-ending process. In 'Antropologicheskaiia tochka zreniia v filosofii', he portrayed life as a continuous process of thought and action in which the person formed his or her own ideals, seeking creatively to realize these. He called this process a 'historical life',²² in which the person's ideals should constantly be revised, taking into account knowledge gained through experience:

[...] развитие историческое относится к человеку как познающей и творческой личности, и это развитие бесконечно, или по крайней мере философия не имеет причины строить его как конечное. Как познающая личность, человек беспрестанно расширяет пределы науки и тем дает все новый материал своему мышлению. Как творческая личность, он создает все новые

¹⁸P. L. Lavrov, 'Shopengauer na russkoi pochve', *Delo*, 1880, no. 5, pp. 1-44: 8.

¹⁹*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 30. The idea of development was dropped from Lavrov's second definition of progress, offered in P. L. Lavrov, 'Formula progressa g. Mikhailovskogo', *Izbrannye sochineniia*, I, pp. 397-424: 421.

²⁰'Zadachi pozitivizma', p. 628.

²¹*Sovremennye ucheniia o npravstvennosti*, p. 54.

²²The notion of historical life became very important from the late 1860s on, but for the time being he did not pursue this idea.

идеалы, новые формы и действия для их воплощения, никогда не исчерпывая прекрасных форм, нравственных действий и всегда стремясь далее и далее к осуществлению человечности, которую он в себе сознает. Эта возможность бесконечного развития, не мешающая законченности философской системы, есть необходимое следствие антропологического начала и позволяет построить философию истории, не ограничивая человечество в формах его развития.²³

B. Dignity

The many-sided, well-proportioned development of the human being is the central task in the pursuit of an ideal, namely human dignity. Lavrov explained his view of dignity most fully in 'Ocherki voprosov prakticheskoi filosofii', where he wrote: 'Как идеал, поставленный творчеством во имя стройности, достоинство личности является для действительной личности по необходимости чем-то высшим, безусловно заслуживающим уважением.'²⁴ The physical and mental development of the person is part of this ideal: 'Самообладающая личность, физически сильная и прекрасная, могучая знанием и творческим умом, стала идеалом достойной личности.'²⁵ These statements reveal a very 'humanist' approach to dignity. Like some humanists, Lavrov spoke of a 'right to free physical, mental and moral development, in which [human] dignity consists',²⁶ but he also thought of it as a duty. In 'Zadachi pozitivizma i ikh reshenie', Lavrov repeated the idea that 'moral dignity demands physical, mental and moral development',²⁷ and this continued to be a common trait in his thought. Further, he claimed that the ideal of dignity was inescapable:

Действительный человек обязан перед идеальным, перед своим достоинством. [...] Оно [понятие о человеческом достоинстве] присутствует при совершающемся действии как нечто самостоятельное, имеющее свои корни в неизгладимом прошлом, и потому обязанность, им налагаемая, не есть призрак, но самое действительное принуждение, лежащее на человеке. Скажем более: обязанность уважать в себе свое достоинство есть единственная обязанность, существующая для человека и вне которой находится только удовлетворение прямых потребностей.²⁸

In 'Ocherki voprosov prakticheskoi filosofii', however, he also expressed the belief that the recognition of other people's dignity was necessary for the successful

²³P. L. Lavrov, 'Chto takoe antropologiya', *Filosofiya i sotsiologiya*, I, pp. 463-91: 490-91.

²⁴'Ocherki voprosov', pp. 377-78.

²⁵'Ocherki voprosov', p. 387.

²⁶'Ocherki voprosov', p. 438.

²⁷'Zadachi pozitivizma', p. 628.

²⁸'Ocherki voprosov', p. 386.

coexistence of individuals. Without respect for the dignity of others as equals, life would consist only of struggle between egoistic individuals, who must continue to struggle with one another until both have recognized the superiority of the one over the other. Life improves when people become conscious of their equality. They then recognize dignity in all their equals, and begin to defend the dignity of another as they would defend their own: 'Оскорбление достоинства того, кого я признал равным, есть во мне оскорбление сознания этого равенства, следовательно, оскорбление и моего достоинства'.²⁹ This phrase was repeated, with slight variations, in numerous subsequent works, notably in 'Tri besedy o sovremennom znachenii filosofii': 'Оценка чужого достоинства входит в сущность моего убеждения, то есть в сущность моего собственного достоинства. Это значит, все, что я признал равноправным со мной, должно быть для меня святыней, которую я должен уважать как святыню собственного достоинства'.³⁰

Respect for the dignity of other people should not be conditional upon whether one actually thinks they are worthy of respect. In early works, he spoke of the right of all human beings to be respected in spite of whatever weaknesses a person might have: 'он все же остается человеком, и как человек, заслуживает участия, уважения и стоит неизмеримо выше всего остального нечеловеческого мира'.³¹ Later, in 1870, Lavrov began to speak of universal dignity (*obshchechelovecheskoe dostoinstvo*), in opposition to the idea that race, nationality, gender or class should have any effect on respect for personal dignity.³²

The notion of dignity was closely tied to that of justice in Lavrov's thought, as became especially clear in works of the late 1860s. In 'Formula progressa g. Mikhailovskogo' (1870) he wrote: 'Идеал справедливости всегда заключался в том, чтобы обращаться с другими по их достоинству и поддерживать признанное за ними достоинство всеми его силами'.³³ In the same text, he put forward a 'theorem' based on the equality of human dignity, which postulated that every member of society had a right to a fair distribution of goods ('as equal as possible'), as well as to equal development, equal labour, and 'as full a share in social

²⁹'Ocherki voprosov', p. 414.

³⁰'Tri besedy', p. 559; see also: *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 31, and 'Sotsial'naiia revoliutsiia', p. 406.

³¹P. L. Lavrov, 'Polozheniia, na kotorykh dolzhno byt' osnovano npravstvennoe vospitanie v nashe obshchestve v nashe vremia', *Zhurnal dlia vospitaniia*, 1857, no. 12, pp. 183-88: 186; see also 'Ocherki voprosov', p. 406. He was not yet entirely consistent about this, however, until 1870.

³²'Formula progressa', p. 411; P. L. Lavrov, 'Po povodu kritiki na "Istoricheskie pis'ma"', *Filosofia i sotsiologiia*, II, pp. 297-328: 313-14.

³³'Formula progressa', p. 408.

life as possible'.³⁴ A few years later, he indicated that no individual who lived in an unjust (or 'unsatisfactory') society could have much dignity.³⁵

Dignity was mentioned much less often in works after 1870, although he did not abandon it as a value.³⁶ Following the publication of 'Ocherki voprosov prakticheskoi filosofii' in 1859, the association between dignity and the free development of the individual became less important, as his perception of the need to develop the person as an individual generally weakened. This view of dignity was taken over by the belief that dignity was necessary for establishing just and equal relations between people. In this way, the concept of dignity in Lavrov's thought became less 'humanist' with time, and it seems that it lost importance for him as his ideas revolved less around the individual and more around humankind and society. A similar development can be traced in his ideas about consciousness and criticism.

C. Consciousness

Consciousness appears in Lavrov's thought both in a philosophical sense and in a practical sense. The function of consciousness in the philosophical sense was studied in great detail by Gustav Shpet, who explained that, for Lavrov, consciousness is a lens through which 'reality' passes into the mind in the form of 'rays of light'. These rays are collected in 'one focus'. As they pass through this focus, they are transformed by the creative interpretation of the conscious person. Consciousness is the 'focus' which serves to 'concentrate and transform' experience.³⁷ Shpet's illustrative description explains why Lavrov considered consciousness to be an undeniable 'fact' (because the resulting impressions in the mind of the conscious person are 'actual' reflections of reality, even if they do not accurately reflect the world as it 'really is'). It also explains why consciousness is particular to the individual (since the person's impressions of reality will always bear the imprint of his or her own creative interpretation). Lavrov often emphasised that consciousness was 'actual' as well as particular to an individual person: **во всех личностях происходит действительный процесс сознания, составляющий основу всего сущего**

³⁴'Formula progressa', p. 409.

³⁵'Sotsial'naiia revoliutsiia', p. 412; P. L. Lavrov, 'Gosudarstvennyi element v budushchem obshchestve', *Izbrannye sochineniia*, IV, pp. 207-396: 384. This may be seen to contradict Lavrov's statement that nationality, class, and so on, should have no influence on whether a person may be considered dignified.

³⁶References to the importance of respecting dignity in oneself and others may be found in 'Sotsial'naiia revoliutsiia', p. 503, and in P. L. Lavrov, 'Starye voprosy (Uchenie grafa L. N. Tolstogo)', *Filosofia i sotsiologiia*, II, pp. 505-580: 564.

³⁷G. G. Shpet, 'Filosofiia P. L. Lavrova', *"Vpered!"*, pp. 24-28: 25. Shpet also commented on Lavrov's theory of consciousness in 'Antropologizm Lavrova', pp. 115-128.

для каждой личности отдельно'.³⁸ The 'fact' of the individual's consciousness lies at the centre of Lavrov's early anthropological point of view.

Таким образом, в основу построения антропологии как философской системы ложится принцип: *процесс личного сознания действительно совершается; все явления его действительны для этого личного сознания*. Этот первый антропологический принцип мы назовем *личным принципом действительности*, потому что он предполагает отдельную человеческую личность, единицу; не отвлеченного человека как одного из многих и тем менее человека как синоним человечества.³⁹

In his early works, Lavrov often wrote about self-consciousness, which, as he claimed in 'Ocherki voprosov prakticheskoi filosofii', distinguishes people as individuals and is, indeed, a definitive feature of the person as such: 'То, что отделяет, различает людей одного от другого, должно служить точкой исхода. Это есть явление самосознания отличия своего Я от внешнего мира, от других существ. С явления самосознания начинается его отдельное, самостоятельное, личное существование. Когда ребенок сознал свое Я, он сделался личностью'.⁴⁰ Without self-consciousness, it is impossible to develop oneself, to live a moral, or a historical life.⁴¹ In 'Tri besedy o sovremennom znachenii filosofii', he connected consciousness with the awareness of unity in one's life, and this made a life 'human':

Исполняя свое дело, человек должен сознавать, что он делает. Жизнь есть процесс *сознательный и связный*, каждое наше действие не есть дело, сдаваемое в архив, независимое от последующего и предыдущего; наша жизнь не может быть оторвана от среды, в которой мы живем. Только внося сознательность и связность в нашу жизнь, делаем мы ее вполне человеческой. Но этим самым мы вносим в нашу жизнь *философию*.⁴²

Here, there is an implied connection between consciousness and a sense of purpose in action and in life as a whole. This introduces consciousness in its practical sense, namely as that which is responsible for self-willed, goal-oriented behaviour in human beings. Consciousness in its practical sense is a definitive feature of human beings, distinguishing them from 'automata', a term which he often used at the outset of his writing career:

Автомат может совершать действия, подобные животному и даже человеку, если он построен по данному плану; но *для него не*

³⁸'Antropologicheskaiia tochka zreniia', p. 201.

³⁹'Chto takoe antropologiiia', p. 480.

⁴⁰'Ocherki voprosov', p. 358.

⁴¹'Ocherki voprosov', p. 377.

⁴²'Tri besedy', p. 563.

существует цели в этих действиях и потому он поступает невольно, автоматически. Воля, целесообразное действие, предполагают одно необходимое условие – сознание, и сознание именно действующего существа.⁴³

The distinction between conscious, goal-directed behaviour and unconscious behaviour in the practical sense remained extremely important to Lavrov until the end of his life, while, in its philosophical sense, it no longer seemed to interest him. In 'Po povodu kritiki na "Istoricheskie pis'ma"' (1870), for example, he claimed that consciousness was only important as something that prompted goal-oriented behaviour. Here, he defined consciousness as follows:

[...] это – потребность лучшего, влечение к расширению знания, к постановке себе высшей цели, потребность изменить все данное извне сообразно своему желанию, своему пониманию, своему нравственному идеалу, влечение перестроить мыслимый мир по требованиям истины, реальный мир – по требованиям справедливости.⁴⁴

Lavrov incorporated consciousness in the practical sense into his theory of history, which divided all human beings into 'historical' and 'non-historical' groups. Historical groups are distinguished by the fact that they are 'conscious', seek to realise their ideals, and are 'conscious of the need for development'.⁴⁵ The study of conscious activity was now seen by Lavrov to belong to the sphere of history, while anthropology was to study only unconscious processes, as he said in 'Biografiia-ispoved'':

[...] к антропологии относится вся деятельность личности и группы личностей, бессознательная, инстинктивная, и та доля сознательной деятельности, которая заключается в приспособлении к существующему; к истории относится деятельность личности и общества, которая заключается в выработке идеалов лучшего и в стремлении изменить существующее сообразно этим целям.⁴⁶

This was a radical departure from his earlier view of anthropology, which, as has been shown, made a point of placing consciousness in the philosophical sense, as well as in the practical sense, at its centre. Bogatov claimed that the change in Lavrov's attitude

⁴³'Mekhanicheskaiia teoriia mira', p. 31; see also p. 34; and 'Chto takoe antropologiiia', p. 473; 'Vrednye nachala', p. 127; P. L. Lavrov, 'Sovremennye germanskii teisty', *Russkoe slovo*, 1859, no. 7, pp. 141-212: 170; P. L. Lavrov, 'Avtomat', *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, I, pp. 398-404: 404; 'Tri besedy', p. 557. Occasionally, he also used the terms 'machine': 'Vrednye nachala', p. 127; 'Shpengauer na russkoi poche', p. 8; and 'apparat': *Zadachi ponimaniia istorii*, pp. 122-23. Lavrov probably borrowed the notion of automata from Kant, who claimed that human beings are distinguished from automata because they are conscious of themselves as free agents (Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft*, *Kants Gesammelte Schriften*, 23 vols, Berlin, 1910-55, V, pp. 1-163: 97-98). Lavrov did not confess any debt to Kant.

⁴⁴'Po povodu kritiki', pp. 302-03.

⁴⁵*Zadachi ponimaniia istorii*, p. 36; 'Po povodu kritiki', p. 303; *Opyt istorii mysli novogo vremeni*, p. 21; 'Biografiia-ispoved'', pp. 98-99.

⁴⁶'Biografiia-ispoved'', p. 99.

toward consciousness was brought about by his tendency to think that the social component of life was more important than such abstract notions as consciousness in determining personal identity and behaviour.⁴⁷ This development in Lavrov's thought is one example of a change in his ideas that was most likely inspired by Marxism.

D. Criticism

Numerous scholars have pointed out that criticism played an important role in Lavrov's thought,⁴⁸ but the general discussion of this concept has been clouded by the fact that the term has so many meanings. Lavrov used 'criticism' in three different ways. Firstly, he used it to mean 'judgement', which is, incidentally, a meaning which Renaissance humanists attached to the term.⁴⁹ Secondly, he used it in the sense of analysis, particularly the analysis of history, which is how it was often understood in German philosophy of the 1830s and 1840s. Kareev claimed that Lavrov drew his understanding of criticism from left Hegelians.⁵⁰ Lavrov first used the term in 'Prakticheskaiia filosofiiia Gegelia' (1859), where he showed a particular interest in Arnold Ruge's idea that criticism promoted struggle.⁵¹ Thirdly, he occasionally attributed a programmatic meaning to it. It appears as a force, operating toward the realization of particular, often socialist values, independently of the will of any individual person. For this reason, it falls out of line with his early 'anthropological point of view', which insists that only thinking, willing people can bring about change and progress. Scholars who have concentrated on Lavrov's socialist beliefs often use this meaning of criticism.⁵²

The sense in which Lavrov used 'criticism' most often, throughout his career, was judgement. In 'Sotsial'naia revoliutsiia i zadachi nravstvennosti' (1884), for example, he defined it as follows: 'критика есть большею частью именно оценка вероятнейшего и лучшего'.⁵³ Critical judgement may be understood in the sense of discernment, prioritization, although it inevitably involves analysis of that

⁴⁷Bogatov, *Filosofiiia P. L. Lavrova*, p. 98.

⁴⁸The significance of criticism in Lavrov's thought was emphasised most by Kareev: "*Teoriia lichnosti*", pp. 15-17; and by Shelgunov: '*Istoricheskaiia sila*', pp. 257-58. For further commentary, see: Shpet, '*Filosofiiia P. L. Lavrova*', p. 28; Copleston, *Philosophy in Russia*, p. 137.

⁴⁹For the Renaissance use of criticism, see: 'Kritik', *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, ed. Joachim Ritter and Karlfried Gründer, 9 vols, Basel, 1971-1995, IV, pp. 1249-82: 1255-66.

⁵⁰Kareev, "*Teoriia lichnosti*", p. 15.

⁵¹P. L. Lavrov, 'Prakticheskaiia filosofiiia Gegelia', *Filosofiiia i sotsiologiiia*, I, pp. 177-338: 285, 322. Arnold Ruge associated criticism especially with struggle against all intellectual, religious and political institutions.

⁵²See, for example: Rappoport, *Sotsial'naia filosofiiia*, pp. 67-69.

⁵³'Sotsial'naia revoliutsiia', p. 494. In '*Znanie i revoliutsiia*', he explained the practical importance of critical thought, which helped one to distinguish between that which was possible and that which was merely desirable: '*Znanie i revoliutsiia*', p. 236.

which is being judged. Criticism in this sense is what makes human development possible, as he wrote in 1860 in 'Tri besedy o sovremennom znachenii filosofii':

Вне критики нет развития , вне критики нет совершенствования. Без критики всего окружающего человек никак бы не выработался из животного состояния, переходил бы всю жизнь от одного мгновенного желания к другому без плана, без последовательности. Критика собственных желаний как критика *желаемого* предмета и как критика *желательного* состояния духа позволяет человеку построить иерархически свои побуждения и предметы, их возбуждающие [...]⁵⁴

Criticism also enables the person to develop as an individual, or as a personality. He drew a connection between criticism and the free development of the person in 'Tri besedy o sovremennom znachenii filosofii': 'человек относится к существующим формам искусства или научного творчества не как идолопоклонник к своему кумиру, но как свободно развивающаяся личность к продуктам и средствам своего развития'.⁵⁵ In *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, he explained that criticism helps people to define their place in nature, history and society, as well as helping them to acquire an accurate sense of self-worth. The cumulative effect of criticism, he said, is the development of the individual's personality.⁵⁶ Further, criticism of ideas that one has borrowed turns them from pre-fabricated truths into legitimate subjects of one's own thought.⁵⁷

Ideas cannot be fully subjected to criticism without struggle, indeed, criticism is 'the eternal struggle against that which has been created in the name of that which is being created', as he claimed in 'Tri besedy o sovremennom znachenii filosofii': 'И тогда, когда мы признаем уже существующие формы, мы их принимаем во имя критики после борьбы с ними, признав их удовлетворительными, но признав за собой право отыскать новые формы в случае нужды'.⁵⁸ Lavrov also made a point of explaining, in 'Formula progressa g. Mikhailovskogo', that criticism is subjective, and is opposed to attempts at 'objective' answers to social and ethical questions:

Всякое объективное начало, поставленное в главу этики и социологии, имеет стремление подавить субъективное развитие, следовательно, атрофировать потребность критики [...] никогда личность не подчинится никакой теореме объективной; никогда

⁵⁴'Tri besedy', pp. 556-57.

⁵⁵'Tri besedy', p. 549.

⁵⁶*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 83.

⁵⁷P. L. Lavrov, 'Postепенное razvitiе drevnikh filosofskikh uchenii v svyazi s razvitiem iazycheskikh verovanii. Soch. Or. Novitskogo', *Russkoe slovo*, 1861, no. 1, pp. 1-22: 6.

⁵⁸'Tri besedy', p. 549.

потребность личной критики не преклонится даже перед теоремой равенства между личностями [...]⁵⁹

Lavrov appears to have changed his mind about this following his conversion to Marxism. In 'Znanie i revoliutsiia', written for *Vpered!* in 1873, he contradicted the notion that criticism must be subjective and must lead to struggle by associating it with 'objectivity' and 'calm'.⁶⁰ Generally, it would seem that criticism and struggle as regular features of a healthy society (not as necessary conditions of revolution) occupied a much less important place in Lavrov's thought following his conversion to Marxism. The idea that criticism is 'objective' fits with the new, programmatic, non-personal meaning that the term took on. This is illustrated most clearly in 'Politicheskie tipy XVIII veka' (1880):

Она [критика] постепенно выработала научную философию, которая требовала себе господства во всей области теоретической мысли, противопоставляя устарелому средневековому учению ряд столь же универсальных мировоззрений, но приспособленных к росту мысли нового времени. Она обращалась в своих технических и социологических исследованиях к жизненным интересам всех классов общества. Она подрывала авторитет политической мысли, заявляя, что политика бессильна перед вопросами о благосостоянии народов; разрушала авторитет патриотизма извне, указывая на космополитическое действие экономических законов, связывающих интересы обществ независимо от границ территорий и языков[...]⁶¹

What is perhaps most striking about Lavrov's idea of criticism is that it is not matched by any strong concept of originality. Lavrov's notion of criticism presupposes that one responds, positively or negatively, to already existing ideas and circumstances. One may develop or transform these, but not fundamentally redefine them. This dislike for thought that stands independently of any culture of ideas may be seen in an article about Tolstoi, entitled 'Starye voprosy (Uchenie grafa L. N. Tolstogo)' (1885). Lavrov finds fault with Tolstoi, because Tolstoi demands a logical answer to the question, «к чему жить?», but has not suggested a set of values that will help him to answer it. Lavrov points out that a process of thought which does not seek to develop pre-existing ideas cannot be logical.

Логический вопрос о цели (или о конечной причине) можно ставить лишь для различных членов ряда действий, совершаемых рассуждающим существом, и следствий, получаемых от этих действий, так чтобы результат и причина его принадлежали к

⁵⁹'Formula progressa', p. 405.

⁶⁰'Znanie i revoliutsiia', p. 233. In this article, Lavrov suggested that knowledge (not criticism) which will show revolutionaries the true path to progress.

⁶¹P. L. Lavrov, 'Politicheskie tipy XVIII veka', *Sobranie sochinenii*, IV, no. 7, pp. 75-139: 85. The same use of criticism, as if it were not attached to an acting person, can already be found in *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 143, and 'Formula progressa', p. 409.

одному и тому же ряду. [...] Пока человек не выработал убеждения, вопрос «к чему жить?» не только не законен, но нелеп, так как не имеет смысла. Как же только составилось какое-либо убеждение, то наука не только предъявляет притязание к решению вопроса, но и положительно решает его [...]⁶²

Lavrov's position rules out the possibility of trying to make a 'fresh start' in answering any question. He always maintained that there is no such thing as a completely novel idea; nevertheless, he believed in the creative transformation of already existing ideas and ideals. This can be seen in 'Didro i Lessing' (1868), where he wrote:

Конечно, безусловно нового никто не создает; самые великие гении вырастают, пропитанные атмосферой своего времени, и каждый элемент их нравственного бытия произошел из элементов мира их окружающего; [но ...] в них все перерабатывается и, в своей новой форме, получает неизгладимый опечаток особенности того прибора, чрез который оно прошло.⁶³

E. Creativity

While consciousness and criticism, though central aspects of Lavrov's thought, are not integral features of humanist thought, creativity is one of the most important concepts for humanists, because human dignity is seen to reside in the creative achievements of the human being. Such achievements can be works of art and the creation of new and better social and political forms, but may also include the creative development of the individual personality. The notion of creativity has already occurred several times in quotations in the previous sections; it was one of the more important concepts in Lavrov's early thought, and it holds together many of the ideas that have already been presented here. Lavrov, who always emphasized the need for unity in thought and life, saw creativity as a psychological faculty that enables human beings to conceive of unity in objects or abstract concepts and principles, for example in science:

'Психологическое начало, которое в области знания приводило к философии, есть *творчество*. Оно строит науку из фактов знания и охватывает науки философской системой.'⁶⁴ Lavrov also called creativity a force for reconciliation, but one which leads to activity:

Когда человек ощущает неполноту, разрозненность, недостаток, нестройность, является ему на помощь творчество со своим стремлением к примирению всех противоречий, к дополнению всех недостатков. Оно вызывает человека к делу, как только в человеке рождается неудовлетворенная потребность; оно создает

⁶²'Starye voprosy', pp. 538-39.

⁶³'Didro i Lessing', p. 149.

⁶⁴'Tri besedy', p. 531; see also p. 547.

теорию там, где мало фактов; оно противоречие и диссонансы жизни примиряет в гармоническом создании художника. Для него средства второстепенны, но главное – цель; стройность, целостность, красота – его насущная потребность.⁶⁵

Creativity was also an important part of Lavrov's theory of dignity in the early period, when, as has been shown, he portrayed dignity as a higher ideal that each person creates for him or herself and strives to realize. Moreover, creative self-definition of the person is a pre-condition for all moral development: 'Для того чтобы история человека началась, чтобы началось развитие, чтобы родилась нравственность, необходимо, чтобы творчество человека обратилось на него самого, чтобы к сознанию своего Я присоединилось представление своего Я.'⁶⁶

In the beginning of his career, Lavrov even seemed to feel that creativity was superior to pure knowledge of fact. The reason for this may have been that creativity gives meaning to the objects of experience, while knowledge does not, although he did not say so explicitly:

Знание уменьшает бытие предмета, уменьшает число признаков в том, что узнается, переходит от реального к отвлеченному, от формы единичного предмета к существенным признакам представления предмета; творчество увеличивает бытие того, на что оно обращено: оно прибавляет реальный признак к представлению, в нас существующему, к состоянию духа, которым мы проникнуты; оно вводит в мир реальный то, что принадлежало только нашему внутреннему миру; оно дает единичное обособляющее бытие тому, что было обще; оно облекает все, проходящее через наше сознание в формы.⁶⁷

Further on in the same work, 'Tri besedy o sovremennom znachenii filosofii', he claimed that in our minds, the invented heroes of literature and poetry are 'more real' than the people who actually surround us: 'Антигона, леди Макбет, Гретхен, Одиссей, Гамлет, Пимен живут среди нас, преследуют нас постоянно, входя в нашу жизнь, делаясь более действительными, чем многие из наших знакомых, которых мы помним лишь тогда, когда они составляют реальный предмет нашего наблюдения.'⁶⁸

Lavrov qualified this by introducing what he called the 'philosophical element of creativity'. Art, philosophy and religion, all of which are products of human creativity, are validated only when they are further transformed by the philosophical element of creativity, which is characterized by a 'living' and 'free' attitude toward them:

⁶⁵'Ocherki voprosov', p. 360.

⁶⁶'Ocherki voprosov', p. 377.

⁶⁷'Tri besedy', p. 537.

⁶⁸'Tri besedy', p. 542.

Философский элемент творчества, свободное отношение к существующим формам творчества и свободное воплощение нового содержания в новые формы делали из искусства, из религиозных и метафизических созданий не принадлежность небольшого числа исключительных личностей – художников, мыслителей, пророков, но достояние всего человечества.⁶⁹

Lavrov's concept of creativity, in this sense, is similar to what Wilhelm von Humboldt meant when he spoke of *Geisteskraft* (strength of spirit), which he described as the creative, 'life-giving' force behind the development of humanity. Human endeavour always involves the use of pre-existing materials and forms of thought and behaviour, but *Geisteskraft* is what ensures that these forms will be transformed and given new life through new ideas and principles.⁷⁰

Lavrov rarely used the term creativity in his later works. Creativity in the sense of development of existing forms of art, philosophy and religion into new forms according to the ideas, needs and values of the critically thinking individual, however, remained a feature of his thought. To be or not to be creative in this sense is what distinguishes members of the intelligentsia, who 'feel a need to develop' society and culture and do so,⁷¹ from 'cultural savages'. The latter are prevented from 'taking part in history' by an 'inner' flaw.⁷² They deprive all thought of its 'living content'⁷³ and society of its motive force for development, as he claimed in *Perezhivaniia doistoricheskogo perioda* (1898):

Историческая цивилизация окружает дикаря высшей культуры продуктами религии, наук, философии, нравственности и сложными общественными формами; его воспитание ознакомило его с их проявлениями; его общественное положение заставило его включить эти продукты в большей или меньшей мере в свой жизненный обиход и в обстановку своего комфорта. Но он все-таки относится к ним, как дикарь. Он вовсе не чувствует потребности в тех элементах, которые составляют их развивающее начало.⁷⁴

The term 'creativity' appeared a few times in the late work *Zadachi ponimaniia istorii*, where Lavrov wrote about the creative development of social forms. This kind of creative development is supposed to satisfy the interests, inclinations and beliefs of

⁶⁹'Tri besedy', p. 551.

⁷⁰Humboldt, *Über die Verschiedenheit*, p. xxviii.

⁷¹*Opyt istorii mysli novogo vremeni*, pp. 21-22; *Zadachi ponimaniia istorii*, p. 61.

⁷²*Opyt istorii mysli novogo vremeni*, p. 25. Creativity is also a recurrent motif of *Vekhi*, especially in Berdiaev's contribution. Berdiaev criticized Russia's false intelligentsia, the *intelligentshchina* because it lacked a creative attitude toward culture: N. A. Berdiaev, 'Filosofskaia istina i intelligentskaia pravda', in *Vekhi. Intelligentsiia v Rossii*, ed. N. Kazakova, Moscow, 1991, pp. 24-42: 25.

⁷³P. L. Lavrov, *Perezhivaniia doistoricheskogo perioda, Sbornik sochinenii*, III, no. 5, p. 21.

⁷⁴*Perezhivaniia*, p. 17. Lavrov's distinction between 'cultural savages' and members of the intelligentsia has often been commented on by scholars; see: A. Z. Shteinberg, 'Nachalo i konets istorii', pp. 364-65; A. A. Gizetti, 'P. L. Lavrov, kak "istorik mysli"', *Stat'i, vospominaniia*, pp. 292-354: 315; Ivanov-Razumnik, *Istoriia*, I, p. 7.

the individual while at the same time strengthening society and promoting solidarity.⁷⁵ Creative development of social forms, moreover, must be determined by a 'scientific philosophy', which represents the collective results of science, morality and technology. Creativity can then embody 'living', or 'vital' human tasks, both of the individual and of the collective. Remarkably enough, Lavrov added that aesthetic considerations should be a part of this process:

При этом сохранившееся еще от зоологических предков человека побуждение украшать жизнь ставит теперь себе задачей в области *здоровой эстетической мысли* – придать всем формам культуры содержательную привлекательность и внести во все формы творчества мысли и жизни содержательный художественный элемент.⁷⁶

On the whole, however, creativity, like consciousness and criticism, was less prominent a feature of Lavrov's later works. This was, to some extent, because he devoted little attention to theories about abstract philosophical concepts such as unity, reconciliation and personal self-definition, which had constituted an important part of Lavrov's understanding of creativity. Nor did Lavrov continue to maintain, as he did in 'Ocherki voprosov prakticheskoi filosofii', that creativity was the greatest distinguishing feature of humanity: 'способность научного, художественного, гражданского творчества есть самая блестящая способность человека: в ее отправлениях человек наиболее отделяется от животных, к нему близких'.⁷⁷ Lavrov's abandonment of this strikingly 'humanist' assertion did not mean a total abandonment of creativity, however, since it continued to play a role in his ideas about cultural and social development, even if it was a limited one.

F. Feelings, pleasure and pain

It is well known that, according to Lavrov, pleasure is the motivation behind all thought and action.⁷⁸ For this reason, he has occasionally been called a hedonist, for example by Charles Rappoport.⁷⁹ James Scanlan, as well as Kareev, explained that, according to Lavrov, the wish for pleasure motivated all action, but both add that Lavrov had a specific kind of pleasure in mind, namely the pleasure of moral thought. 'Lavrov agrees with Mill and the utilitarian school that at bottom all men are

⁷⁵Zadachi ponimaniia istorii, pp. 64-65.

⁷⁶Zadachi ponimaniia istorii, p. 84. This is remarkable because for many years Lavrov had portrayed aesthetics as something almost superfluous to considerations about the improvement of society and life in general.

⁷⁷Ocherki voprosov, p. 369.

⁷⁸See, for example, 'Ocherki voprosov', pp. 359, 376; P. L. Lavrov, 'Otvét g. Strakhovu', *Filosofiia i sotsiologiia*, I, pp. 493-507: 505; *Sovremennye ucheniia o npravstvennosti*, p. 29.

⁷⁹Rappoport, 'Einleitung', p. xxvii.

hedonists; but he adds that deliberate hedonism is soon transcended as man elaborates moral ideals based on this hedonistic basis.⁸⁰

For Lavrov, individual self-development and moral behaviour ought to be just as pleasurable, if not more pleasurable, than physical comforts or aesthetic beauty. In 'Ocherki voprosov prakticheskoi filosofii', for example, he claimed that the fulfilment of one's duty toward one's own dignity is pleasurable, even if the duties themselves, as he wrote, sometimes seem unpleasant: 'Эти обязанности иногда весьма неприятны, иногда нарушаются, но не перестают быть обязанностями и влекут за собой в случае исполнения возвышение нравственного чувства, удовлетворение, наслаждение, в случае нарушения – неудовольствие, раскаяние, сознание зла.'⁸¹ In 'Zadachi pozitivizma i ikh reshenie', he even claimed: 'Нравственно обязательное доставляет всегда тем большее удовольствие, тем яснее оно создано как обязательное.'⁸²

Lavrov's ideas about feelings, on the other hand, are more complicated and have been studied far less. Lavrov valued feelings because he felt they could serve as a link between human beings and also because they help increase people's commitment to ideas, judgements and ideals, inspiring action and especially self-sacrifice.

In early works, such as 'Ocherki voprosov prakticheskoi filosofii', he wrote that feelings had created the first bonds between people. Sympathy was among such feelings: 'Чем выше развит человек, следовательно, чем его нервная система чувствительнее, тем неприятнее состояние зрителя чужого страдания. Это нервное состояние отражается в душе чувством отвращения к чужому страданию, в лучших натурах – чувством сожаления.'⁸³ Later, he emphasized more strongly that feelings, or 'affects' as he now termed them, had been the binding element in the earliest societies. In 'Sotsializm i bor'ba za sushchestvovanie' (1875), for example, he explained that the earliest kind of solidarity between people was a 'deeply felt' solidarity (prochuvstvovannaia solidarnost') based on feelings such as love, not one that was based on rational calculation of interest.⁸⁴

⁸⁰Scanlan, 'Peter Lavrov', p. 17. Kareev explained that, for Lavrov, the wish for pleasure is the root of all human behaviour, but that one must not interpret Lavrov's position in the strictly materialist sense; on the contrary, the ability to take pleasure in the moral life is a precondition for truly human development: "Teoriia lichnosti", p. 7.

⁸¹'Ocherki voprosov', p. 386.

⁸²'Zadachi pozitivizma', p. 624; see also: 'Sotsializm i bor'ba', p. 372.

⁸³'Ocherki voprosov', pp. 390-91.

⁸⁴'Sotsializm i bor'ba', pp. 370-72.

Feelings also lent human beings a common basis of experience because they allowed every individual to take part in the manifold aspects of life. Lavrov made this claim in 1860 in 'Tri besedy o sovremennom znachenii filosofii':

Только тот истинный человек, тот развил в себе *человечность*, кто не пренебрег ни одним из этих элементов, кто знает и любит, чье сердце бьется сочувствием общественному, гражданскому или экономическому вопросу и кто может наслаждаться прекрасной формой изящного произведения, стройным зданием метафизической системы. Кто пренебрегает одной из этих отраслей, кто не хочет даже мыслью пережить главные побуждения, волнующие других людей, тот себя уродует добровольно. [...] Таким образом, первое проявление *философии в жизни* есть требование *человечности*, т. е. требование *воплощения, прочувствования* или по крайней мере *понимания* всего человеческого.⁸⁵

In the same passage, he explained that an emotional response to any or all of the 'truly human' spheres of life is preferable to an intellectual response. This is because the former leaves one with a 'living ideal', whereas the latter merely leaves one in possession of an 'abstract idea'.

A high evaluation of intense feeling was characteristic of Lavrov throughout his career. In 'Edinstvo' (1863) he claimed that intense feeling is necessary for artistic, scientific and moral endeavour, but he qualified this by insisting that feelings must 'resolve themselves' in the agent, leading to a 'clear', 'strong', 'definitive' conclusion, or decision: 'правильное, разумное развитие психических процессов требует, чтобы напряжение чувств было не продолжительно, но разрешалось ясным образом для художника, твердым решением для практического деятеля, более определенной мыслью для ученого'.⁸⁶ In 'Zadachi pozitivizma i ikh reshenie', he claimed that feelings are the source of both subjective judgements and actions.⁸⁷

In 'Edinstvo', however, Lavrov warned that feelings only lead to action in developed people, and not in the majority of people, who, according to him, are weak of mind and character:

Поэтому, для большинства людей, слабых мыслью и характером, справедливо, что лишь в спокойном состоянии духа они способны разумно действовать. Но для людей истинно развитых и даровитых состояние страстного напряжения чувства служит только усиливающим элементом для перехода от воспринятых ощущений к разумной деятельности, и восприимчивость,

⁸⁵'Tri besedy', p. 564.

⁸⁶'Edinstvo', pp. 211-12.

⁸⁷'Zadachi pozitivizma', pp. 624, 629.

страстность, деятельность в них составляют естественные элементы *единого* разумного процесса.⁸⁸

From the early 1870s on, Lavrov was less enthusiastic about the value of strong feelings in and for themselves. He now believed that they were only useful if connected with a progressive, and especially moral ideals. This was accompanied by a change in terminology. In 1868, Lavrov began to use the term *affekt*⁸⁹ and from the mid-1870s on rarely used *chuvstvo*, perhaps because *affekt* had a more scientific ring. So, in 'Biografiia-isproved', for example, he wrote: 'Личный аффект является то помехою, то содействием прогрессу и приобретает все более последний характер лишь настолько, насколько он переходит в аффект общественный и, подчиняясь критике, становится аффектом нравственным.'⁹⁰ In 'Sotsializm i bor'ba za sushchestvovanie', Lavrov portrayed affects as an integral part of the development of simple ideas into moral ideals and moral duties:

Человек стал обобщать мысли и мыслить при пособии отвлеченностей. Мало того: он создал отвлеченные идеи, которые противопоставил себе как предметы аффекта. Он воодушевлялся идеями. Он *полюбил* идеалы. Он стал способен жертвовать собою, оставлять привычки, отвергать предания, побеждать личные аффекты, посылать на смерть любимых людей из-за философской *идеи*, из-за нравственного *идеала*. Эта способность создавать обобщающие идеи и их любить дала начало новым связующим элементам между людьми. Любимый идеал стал для человека внутренне обязательным нравственным идеалом, и чувство *нравственного долга* как высшего наслаждения, которому подчиняются все прочие, выработалось в результате длинного ряда психических процессов из первобытных начал безусловного эгоизма, безусловной жажды наслаждения, каково бы оно ни было.⁹¹

Here, therefore, he asserted that strong feelings for an idea turned it into a moral ideal and moral duty, which could lead to extreme behaviour: self-sacrifice and the sacrifice of others.

Istoricheskie pis'ma was clearly intended to play on the feelings of his readers with the goal of summoning them to social action and, indeed, to self-sacrifice. The feelings on which the letters play, however, are not pity for the *narod*, nor even enthusiasm for social action. Rather, the letters play on a feeling of moral duty towards the people and guilt at not having fulfilled one's duty. Kuliabko-Koretskii, for example, described in his memoirs how *Istoricheskie pis'ma* had made him aware

⁸⁸'Edinstvo', p. 212. He made a similar claim in 'Zadachi pozitivizma', pp. 624-29.

⁸⁹See, for example, 'Zadachi pozitivizma', pp. 630-31.

⁹⁰'Biografiia-isproved', p. 96. He expressed the same thought in numerous other works of this period, including the second edition of *Istoricheskie pis'ma* (1891), p. 376, and 'Sotsial'naia revoliutsiia' (1884), pp. 399-400.

⁹¹'Sotsializm i bor'ba', pp. 372-73.

of injustice in Russian society: 'Я был ослеплен этими новыми для меня концепциями и чувствовал себя на положении так в свое время осмеянного «кающегося дворянина»'.⁹² Lavrov stressed that the fulfilment of one's duty would involve a great deal of hardship and suffering. Indeed, the martyrdom of activists was desirable because it would provoke action in others, again by affecting their feelings, namely by rousing and inspiring them:

Нужно не только слово, нужно дело. Нужны энергические, фанатические люди, рискующие всем и готовые жертвовать всем. Нужны мученики, легенда которых переросла бы далеко их истинное достоинство, их действительную заслугу. [...] Они станут недостижимым, невозможным идеалом пред толпой. Но зато их легенда воодушевит тысячи той энергией, которая нужна для борьбы.⁹³

In *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, the principal value of strength of feeling was that it inspired 'struggle', which one may interpret to mean revolutionary activity.

It would seem that Lavrov generally valued suffering as a strong feeling that symbolized commitment to an ideal or group of ideals (especially social or religious ideals). In this matter, he gave credit even to those whose ideals he did not approve of. This may be observed at every stage of Lavrov's career, for example in 'Anabaptisty ili perekreshchentsy' and other articles for *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* (1861-63), just as in 'Zhenshchiny vo Frantsii v XVII-XVIII vekakh' (1867) and *Russkaia razvitiia zhenshchina* (1891). In 'Zhenshchiny vo Frantsii v XVII-XVIII vekakh' he extolled French Jansenist women who, unwilling to compromise their beliefs in the face of persecution, finally chose death rather than renouncing their beliefs:

Героизм страдания, пассивной борьбы был единственным выражением самостоятельности личностей. И французские протестантки выказали в этой борьбе, что многие из них выработали в себе способность страдать за убеждение, жертвовать благосостоянием, спокойствием семьи, даже жизнью самых дорогих личностей, когда дело шло о высшем достоинстве человека, стоять за то, чему веришь [...] Конечно, то, о чем шло дело, едва ли стоило стольких жертв [...] ⁹⁴

Lavrov's attitude to strength of feeling and to suffering is again an element of his thought that can be compared to that of Wilhelm von Humboldt. Humboldt, like many humanists, believed that strength of feeling increased human capacity and

⁹²N. G. Kuliabko-Koretskii, *Iz davnikh let. Vospominaniia lavrista*, ed. B. P. Koz'min and M. M. Konstantinov, Moscow, 1931, p. 24.

⁹³*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, pp. 108-09.

⁹⁴P. L. Lavrov, 'Zhenshchiny vo Frantsii v XVII-XVIII vekakh', *Zhenskii vestnik*, 1867, no. 4, pp. 45-74; no. 5, pp. 1-51: part 2, p. 7.

independence. He valued pleasure, but did not believe that human experience should be limited to this:

No people has ever known how to intensify the feeling of melancholy like the Greeks, because they do not deny luxuriant pleasure in the most living description of woe and seek to preserve joyfulness and greatness in pain [...] Nor is it true [...] that the human being is always chasing after pleasure and bliss. His true instinct, his depth, inner passion, is to fulfil his purpose, even if it is an unhappy one, just as the caterpillar spins a cocoon around itself and other animals rush towards their death in other ways. There is no feeling that is higher, more actively and sufferingly strong, that is a more noble rebellion against submissiveness before a super-sensory, all-powerful force, than that which leads Hector to cry: there will come the day when holy Ilios will sink! and yet he does not for a moment pause in the most brave struggle.⁹⁵

Lavrov's critically thinking individuals are in some respects like the animals Humboldt describes rushing toward their death in order to fulfil their purpose; in other respects they are like Hector, rebelling against an all-powerful force, which in their case was the Russian state.

G. Freedom

Many aspects of Lavrov's thought about the person seem to point in the direction of a belief in personal freedom. Consciousness, criticism and creativity are faculties that enable human self-determination and wilful action toward the development of the self and of society according to an ideal, and such action must be predicated on a certain amount of freedom. Freedom in a practical sense is also a humanist value.

Humboldt's famous statement that the true purpose of the human being is the highest, most well-proportioned development of his powers into one whole is followed by a declaration that freedom is the 'first and indispensable' condition for development.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, an important function of reason for humanists has always been the awareness of physical laws and of the recognition of human impotence before higher forces (in the Renaissance, this meant the will of God, in the nineteenth century, it was more likely to mean natural law). This tension is evident in the works of Humboldt and is even more evident in Lavrov's works.

Lavrov devoted a substantial amount of time, especially in the beginning of his career, to the consideration of this question of free will without ever finding an adequate answer. In the late 1850s and early 1860s, he declared that human beings are conscious of having a free will and are incapable of thinking of themselves in any other way. In accordance with the anthropological point of view, one must accept free

⁹⁵Wilhelm von Humboldt, 'Latium und Hellas', *Wilhelm von Humboldts Gesammelte Schriften*, 17 vols, Berlin, 1968, III, pp. 136-70: 153-4.

⁹⁶Humboldt, *Ideen zu einem Versuch*, p. 22.

will as a 'subjective fact', that is, a fact of human consciousness.⁹⁷ Lavrov refused to say, however, whether free will could also be considered an objective fact, since one could not provide a 'scientific' proof of its existence or non-existence. In a letter to Herzen published in 1857, Lavrov wrote:

В полете пера, кружащегося в воздухе, при всей его видимой неправильности, существует закон, и этот закон приводится на измерение небольшого числа ускорений, определяющих движение; в истории человечества существует ли подобный закон? – Может быть, нет, может быть, да: наука не может решительно сказать ни того ни другого, но, не произнося своего решения, она тем самым позволяет человеку создать своей фантазией ответ, не противоречащий ее данным[...]⁹⁸

Here and in other articles published over the following few years Lavrov left the question of free will open. When Strakhov criticized him for failing to resolve the problem adequately,⁹⁹ Lavrov responded as follows: 'Самое важное обвинение заключается в том, что я не разрешил вопроса о свободе воли. Это вполне справедливо, так как я считаю его и все метафизические вопросы о сущности вещей вполне неразрешимыми.'¹⁰⁰

Scholars and critics have attempted to attribute a clearer position to Lavrov, arguing that he did, or did not, believe in free will. Copleston and Zen'kovskii were inclined to think that Lavrov did believe in free will. Copleston concluded that, since Lavrov was an ardent social reformer, one could only assume he believed in free will.¹⁰¹ Zen'kovskii made a similar claim, noting that Lavrov recognized the principle of determinism, but also summoned the 'critically thinking individual' to free activity. For Zen'kovskii, the importance of Lavrov's call to action outweighed his determinism.¹⁰²

Other commentators, beginning with Strakhov in 1860,¹⁰³ have asserted that Lavrov did not believe in free will. A few, including Rusanov, Philip Pomper, Volodin and Itenberg¹⁰⁴ have claimed that, in his youth, Lavrov was a 'theological fatalist', and that he later dropped fatalism in favour of determinism.¹⁰⁵ The notion that Lavrov had been a 'theological fatalist' in his adolescence probably stems from a

⁹⁷See especially: 'Ocherki voprosov', pp. 375-76.

⁹⁸P. L. Lavrov, 'Pis'mo k izdateliu', *Izbrannye sochineniia*, I, pp. 108-117: 111.

⁹⁹Strakhov, 'Ocherki voprosov prakticheskoi filosofii P. L. Lavrova', p. 12.

¹⁰⁰'Otvet g. Strakhovu', p. 502.

¹⁰¹Copleston, *Philosophy in Russia*, p. 130.

¹⁰²Zen'kovskii, *Istoriia*, I, part 2, p. 167.

¹⁰³Strakhov, 'Ocherki voprosov prakticheskoi filosofii P. L. Lavrova', pp. 12-13.

¹⁰⁴Rusanov, *Biografiia*, pp. 10-11, 16; Pomper, *Peter Lavrov*, p. 31; Volodin and Itenberg, *Lavrov*, p. 17.

¹⁰⁵The difference between a fatalist and a determinist is that the fatalist may believe that we have free will, but that we are, nevertheless, powerless before God or some other force. A determinist believes that all our actions, including choices and preferences, are governed by higher laws and that we have no free will.

statement to this effect that he himself made in the late 1880s in 'Biografiia-ispoved'.¹⁰⁶ Volodin and Itenberg found clear evidence of theological fatalism in Lavrov's diaries (1840-44). They rightly pointed out that Lavrov often refers to human impotence before God and the Divine Spirit. In the diaries, however, Lavrov also complained that he was not satisfied with his fatalism: 'Я испытал на деле, как ужасно преобладание физического мира над моральным, я не был способен ни к какому моральному действию, решительно все идеи ускользали от меня, а в сердце было ужасно.'¹⁰⁷ In addition to this, Lavrov declared himself to be a sceptic who 'doubted everything because one cannot be certain about anything', presumably including the omnipotence of God.¹⁰⁸ These entries, written in 1841, stem from a time when fatalism, or 'reconciliation with reality', was still very fashionable in Russia. His diaries generally reveal experimentation with a broad range of ideas, so that one should not treat the more 'fatalist' passages as the reflection of a mature world view.

At the very end of his career, Lavrov gave clearer indications of determinism: humans are not actually free, nevertheless, they behave in a goal-oriented manner, as if they are free. He explained in the second edition of *Istoricheskie pis'ma* (1891), for example, that human consciousness of free will is an 'entirely unavoidable idealization', which leads people to the subjective conviction that they freely choose ends for themselves, and freely decide upon the means of achieving those ends.¹⁰⁹ The same necessity lies behind moral decisions and judgements:

Столь же неизбежно для человеческого ума, как объективные законы, господствующие в природе, основная интимная идеализация произвольной постановки целей и произвольного выбора средств ставит перед каждой личностью иерархию нравственно лучших и нравственно худших целей, оставляя ему лишь способность критически поверить, не надо ли, в этой критике, видоизменить эту иерархию, признать иное лучшим и худшим. Решение воли и выбор того или другого поступка, вследствие этого решения, оказывается всегда неизбежным, но критика этики может признать за этим выбором высшее или низшее значение и возложить на личность ответственность за этот выбор пред собою и пред другими разделяющими те же убеждения.¹¹⁰

In truth, therefore, according to Lavrov, human beings are not free. This is a truth, however, which no human being can believe, since humans are bound to the belief

¹⁰⁶'Biografiia-ispoved', p. 89.

¹⁰⁷'Dnevnik i stikhotvoreniia', 19. XI. 1841, p. 50.

¹⁰⁸'Dnevnik i stikhotvoreniia', 16. VIII. 1841, pp. 46-47.

¹⁰⁹*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, second edition, p. 274. For further commentary on free will by Lavrov in the period after he accepted determinism, see: *Opyt istorii mysli novogo vremeni*, p. 37; *Zadachi ponimaniia istorii*, pp. 112-13, 122-23, 371.

¹¹⁰*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, second edition, p. 275.

that they are free. In the end, Lavrov still did not indicate whether he believed humans were free; as a human being, by his own account, he must believe in free will, but argued the opposite. Nor is it apparent what meaning moral judgements and choice can have if human beings are not, in fact, to be considered free.

Since Lavrov refused himself to take a clear position on free will, it may be more fruitful to explain what prevented him from making up his mind, rather than attributing an answer to him. His repeated declarations, at the beginning of his career, that he could not and would not answer this question invite one to conclude that the answer was not of primary importance to him. His discussions of this issue ought, perhaps, not to be seen as an attempt to take a definitive, much less, an original position. Rather, his position on freedom (or lack of it) was determined by other elements in his thought.

On the one hand, he wished to defend freedom because he believed that values such as independent, critical thought, judgement, responsibility and duty were being undermined by the determinism fashionable among Russian radicals:

В наше время, основное положение детерминистов: «все имеет свою необходимую причину и свое неизбежное следствие» – есть аксиома естествознания, не допускающая исключений. В то же самое время вся наша практическая жизнь, частная и общественная, все наши сношения, все наши суждения о людях опираются на столь же основное положение противников детерминизма: каждый человек ставит и должен ставить себе цели, подвергает, может и должен подвергать эти цели критике, подлежит и должен подлежать оценке, смотря по свойству целей, им поставленных, и средств, им употребляемых для достижения этих целей [...] ¹¹¹

Further, Lavrov's call to independent and decisive action was also a demand for a certain amount of practical freedom, although only in the negative sense of absence of constriction and repression. In 'Vrednye nachala' (1857), for example, Lavrov attacked the principle of authority, which undermines the freedom of the person to develop through experience:

[...] в частной жизни человека, как в общественной его деятельности, самое вредное начало есть то, которое связывает ему руки, отуманивает ему зрение, делает из него автомата бессознательного, но ответственного. Пусть он привыкает ходить без помочей, читать без указки, чувствовать собственным чувством, своим умом. Споткнется: ничего; ошибется: ничего;

¹¹¹ Quoted by Tkachev in a review of Lavrov's *Opyt istorii mysli*, published in 1875: P. N. Tkachev, 'Rol' mysli v istorii' ("Opyt istorii mysli", t. I, izd. zhurnala "Znanie"), *Sochineniia v dvukh tomakh*, ed. B. M. Shakhmatov, Moscow, 1975-76, II, pp. 43-88: 55. Tkachev did not accept Lavrov's claim. He called the notion of free will 'absurd' (p. 54) and argued that Lavrov's attack on determinism would undermine the law of cause and effect, which would undermine the principle of accountability, and hence, also of morality (pp. 55-56).

обмолвится: ничего... Сознание самостоятельной деятельности в нем растет, и он сам научится смотреть за собою... Человек должен быть не машиной, а машинистом.¹¹²

On the other hand, some of his values which seemed to support freedom, such as responsibility and duty, worked to undermine freedom. A dutiful and responsible person must always behave according to the 'moral laws' established by that person's own ideals. The person is, in principle, free to choose these ideals but, since Lavrov did not believe in true originality, the person's choice is limited to historically given values. Indeed, the very source of perceived freedom, namely human self-consciousness, is simultaneously, according to Lavrov, the source of moral and civic laws, as he explained in 'Mekhanicheskaiia teoriia mira' (1859):

В этом сознании создается исторический род нравственных, гражданских, религиозных философских систем, которые составляют в каждое мгновение законодательство сознания; во имя этих законов судят и осуждают личности и общества; пред этими законами ответственны сознательные, и только сознательные личности.¹¹³

Finally, the programme of personal development that Lavrov prescribed, involving the development of a 'whole' human life, of consciousness, critical thought, and even creativity, allowed for the development of the individual personality, but never for arbitrary choices and behaviour. The concept of free will in this sense seemed to Lavrov to be at odds with that of development itself: 'Если бы каждый мог по независимому произволу выбрать свою деятельность, то жизнь человечества представила бы не развитие, а царство случайности'.¹¹⁴

¹¹²'Vrednye nachala', p. 127.

¹¹³'Mekhanicheskaiia teoriia mira', p. 46.

¹¹⁴'Prakticheskaiia filosofiiia Gegelia', p. 323. Lavrov made this point in the context of a critique of Hegel and Ruge, but the statement nevertheless seems to be an accurate summary of his own position.

Chapter two: Ethics

Lavrov's thought about ethics is one of the main elements distinguishing him from his materialist contemporaries, particularly of the 1860s, such as Chernyshevskii and Pisarev.¹ For Chernyshevskii, the morality of an action can be calculated according to its utility for the agent. Good actions bring maximum utility, and utility is calculated according to what brings maximum pleasure to the agent:

Если полезным называется то, что служит источником множества наслаждений, и добрым просто то, что очень полезно, тут же не остается ровно никаких сомнений относительно цели, которая предписывается человеку, – не какими-нибудь посторонними соображениями или внушениями, [...] нет, предписывается просто рассудком, здравым смыслом, потребностью наслаждения: эта цель – добро.²

Since, according to Chernyshevskii, it is natural to strive for pleasure, and moral behaviour amounts to behaviour which is useful because it maximizes pleasure, it is natural to the human being to behave morally.³

Unlike Chernyshevskii, Lavrov did not believe that good behaviour is natural to human beings, and he was careful to differentiate between morality, utility and pleasure. He hoped to show that moral behaviour can be pleasurable, just as it can also be useful, but the definitive characteristic of moral behaviour is not that it is pleasurable or useful.⁴ According to Lavrov, only that behaviour can be considered moral, in which the agent consciously decides to act according to a pre-conceived principle, or ideal. For this reason, moral actions can neither be spontaneous, nor can they be motivated only by pleasure or self-interest.

Ideals, therefore, are the distinguishing feature of any moral action for Lavrov, and his concern about ideals is also an important distinguishing feature of his thought in general. When Pisarev attacked Lavrov in his article, 'Skholastika XIX veka', for example, one of his main objections was to the emphasis on ideals in Lavrov's moral thought: 'В области нравственной философии взгляды наши почти диаметрально противоположны. Лавров требует идеала и цели жизни вне

¹A few scholars have remarked upon this, but have not offered any detailed explanation; see: Rusanov, *Biografiia*, p. 24; Zen'kovskii, *Istoriia*, I, part 2, pp. 159-60; Scanlan, 'Peter Lavrov', p. 41.

²Chernyshevskii, 'Antropologicheskii printsip v filosofii', p. 249.

³Chernyshevskii, 'Antropologicheskii printsip v filosofii', p. 251.

⁴Vartanians noted that moral behaviour, for Lavrov, could not be motivated by calculated self-interest: *Antropologicheskaia filosofia*, pp. 24-25. Lavrov himself, however, did begin to speak of inclinations and self-interest as motivating moral behaviour from the 1870s at the same time as continuing to maintain that convictions must be the cause of moral acts; see, for example, 'Biografiia-ispoved', p. 94.

ее процесса; я вижу в жизни только процесс и устраняю цель и идеал.⁵

Pisarev argued that ideals and duties are a burden which interfere unnecessarily with the life of the egoistic individual who, by nature, behaves well, which includes helping others:

Человек от природы – существо очень доброе, и если не окислять его противоречиями и дрессировкой, если не требовать от него неестественных нравственных фокусов, то в нем естественно разовьются самые любовные чувства к окружающим людям, и он будет помогать им в беде ради собственного удовольствия, а не из сознания долга, т. е. по доброй воле, а не по нравственному принуждению.⁶

Lavrov's assertion that actions done purely from self-interest or pleasure cannot be considered moral brings him close to Kant. For Kant, only those actions fall under the category of morality which are prompted by a sense of duty, and duty is defined as the necessity of acting out of respect for the law. The law which pure reason prescribes to us is the famous 'categorical imperative': 'I ought never to act except in such a way that I can also will that my maxim should become a universal law.'⁷ Lavrov approved of Kant's categorical imperative,⁸ and his insistence that one should allow one's critical thought to determine one's ideals⁹ is similar to Kant's view that reason must guide moral judgement. The categorical imperative did not, however, become an important element of his moral thought. According to Lavrov, the will to act according to a moral ideal sometimes brings one into situations where one must sacrifice one's own welfare, or even one's life, and, to some extent, also the welfare of other people. This was an aspect of his thought that made it suitable for the ethical needs of a revolutionary.¹⁰ Kant's categorical imperative condemned sacrifice of human life. Lavrov's emphasis on the endeavour to realize one's ideals is 'humanist', but his demand for sacrifice is not.

⁵Pisarev, 'Skholastika XIX veka', p. 89.

⁶Pisarev, 'Skholastika XIX veka', p. 77.

⁷H. J. Paton, *The Moral Law; or Kant's Groundwork of the Metaphysic of Morals*, third edition, London, 1958, p. 22.

⁸Ocherki voprosov', p. 405.

⁹The relationship between ideals and critical thought is not discussed here because it has been dealt with adequately in secondary literature. See: Shelgunov, 'Istoricheskaia sila', pp. 15-17; Kareev, "Teoriia lichnosti", pp. 15-17; P. Mokievskii, 'Lavrov, kak filosof', *Stat'i, vospominaniia*, pp. 29-72: 56-57; Radlov, 'Lavrov v russkoi filosofii', p. 20; Kazakov, *Teoriia progressa*, p. 39.

¹⁰Rappoport claimed that Lavrov intended his moral thought to be a moral justification for revolution: 'Einleitung', pp. xxvii-xxviii.

A. Morality, ideals and the moral person

Lavrov often stated that moral actions must be motivated by the will to behave in accordance with an ideal, or conviction. This remained a feature of his thought throughout his career, although he spoke of ideals more often in his early works, and of convictions (*ubezhdeniia*) more often in works following the late 1860s.¹¹ In 'Ocherki voprosov prakticheskoi filosofii', where he considered what kinds of acts were legitimate for the dignity or virtue (*dostoinstvo*) of the person, Lavrov found that acts that were motivated by pure inclination had no legitimacy. He included mercy and charity among these, and remarked that such acts could even be harmful, since they sometimes promoted self-satisfaction in the agent and could be demeaning to agent and recipient alike. It was, however, legitimate to act in the name of religious ideals, or principles such as fairness and justice:

Самоотвержение, выходящее из самоунижения, самоотвержение по привычке или в порыве страсти недостойно человека. Оно оправдывается религией, когда является ее догматом [...] Самоотвержение относительно божественных личностей или относительно людей, освященных религией, естественно и оправдано нашей верой в божественность или святость этих личностей. [...] Самоотвержение для помощи людям, когда мы находим эту помощь справедливой, ввиду защиты и поддержания чужого достоинства, не роняя собственного, вполне оправдано разумом, но сливается тогда с идеалом справедливости, как в первых случаях сливалось с идеалом религиозности.¹²

In 'Antropologicheskaiia tochka zreniia v filosofii', Lavrov explained that an action should not be judged according to whatever immediate inclination had brought it about, nor according to goals which the agent seeks to achieve, but according to whether the agent had acted in accordance with an ideal:

В практической философии, критика деятельности не возможна ни во имя побуждений, ни во имя целей, потому что те и другие могут изменяться, не представляют неизбежности, следовательно, сами подлежат критике. Проверка стремлений к деятельности может быть произведена в данное мгновение лишь во имя готовых результатов, выработанных предыдущей деятельностью, знанием и

¹¹Convictions are not significantly different to ideals, they merely necessitate a higher degree of commitment than do ideals. In 'Tri besedy', for example, Lavrov wrote: 'Нравственные идеалы явились продуктом этого стремления к соглашению. Раз созданные, они стали с неотразимой убедительностью перед человеком, требуя, чтобы он их воплотил в жизнь. Они составили его убеждение; они предписали ему обязанность перед собой и облекли его правом поступать согласно убеждению, исполнить свою обязанность перед ними.' (p. 558) His move away from using 'ideals' may have been motivated by a wish to avoid being associated with Idealism.

¹²'Ocherki voprosov', p. 407.

творчеством и противопоставляемых реальной личности, как нормы ее. Это идеалы.¹³

He emphasized that actions which do not occur in the name of an ideal fall outside of moral calculation even more strongly in 'Tri besedy o sovremennom znachenii filosofii'. At this level, which ideals one has is less important than that one has any ideals at all:

Каковы убеждения – это дело дальнейшего анализа, дело развития, но они должны быть: человек без убеждения, – это нравственный урод, это вещь, за которой мы признаем только зоологическое достоинство всех единиц рода homo [...] Только тот нравственный человек, кто помощью самостоятельной критики составил себе более или менее ясное убеждение и решается действовать согласно своему убеждению. Кто действует, не внося своего убеждения в свои действия, тот автомат: он действует безнравственно. Кто поступает *противно* убеждению, тот *преступник*: он действует *противонравственно*.¹⁴

Moral acts, therefore, cannot occur spontaneously, nor can they spontaneously be judged. Rather, one must carefully consider the principle that motivates them. Similarly, acts which might immediately strike one as immoral can be justified if they are linked with some higher ideal. One sees this in 'Filosofiiia istorii slavian' (1870), where Lavrov evaluated the moral stature of the Greeks. He admitted, for example, that the Greeks were xenophobic, but said that their manner of being so was better than that of other peoples, because the Greeks claimed that their superiority lay in their higher education and development, and so gave their hatred toward foreigners a 'human' foundation.¹⁵ The same tendency to excuse otherwise unacceptable behaviour because it is connected to an ideal comes out even more strongly in an article about St Augustine, written for *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* in 1861. Here, he described the debauched life that Augustine led in his youth, and said that Augustine was forgiven by his friends (and also, it seems, by Lavrov), because he connected his behaviour with an aesthetic ideal: 'но [Августин] не унижался до разврата своих товарищей, потому что носил в себе эстетическое начало, которым идеализировал свои привязанности'.¹⁶

The general idea, namely that one must have ideals and beliefs and act according to these in order to be moral, remained important to Lavrov. He devoted a lengthy series of articles to ethics in 1870, in which he defined his position as follows:

¹³'Antropologicheskaiia tochka zreniia', p. 204.

¹⁴'Tri besedy', p. 558.

¹⁵P. L. Lavrov, 'Filosofiiia istorii slavian', *Otechestvennye zapiski*, 1870, no. 6, pp. 347-420; no. 7, pp. 65-126: part 1, p. 404.

¹⁶P. L. Lavrov, 'Avgustin', *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, I, pp. 160-79: 161.

'Убеждение образует область нравственности и выделяет ее изо всех других психических областей. [...] Поэтому в составлении убеждения – источник единственного, нравственно правильного, достоинства человека; твердость убеждения – единственная личная добродетель'. Lavrov repeated this very formulation in 1884 in 'Sotsial'naia revoliutsiia i zadachi npravstvennosti'.¹⁷

Because moral behaviour is, for Lavrov, not possible without pre-conceived ideals, the capacity to be moral is not an inborn capacity, but something that must be developed. Lavrov's moral thought revolves around the notion of personal self-development and, in this sense, is similar to humanism, which takes the development of a higher, more noble, more 'truly human' type of person as its central concern. The cultivation of human dignity, for Lavrov as well as for humanists, is not simply a matter of physical and intellectual achievement and capacity, but also a moral issue. For Lavrov, in early works, at least, this involved the creation of the self in an almost literal sense. According to Lavrov, in order to become a moral person, one must form an image of a second, ideal self in one's mind, and that second self must be a coherent representation of all of one's values, but possess none of one's short-comings: 'Перед нами становится в воображении другое Я, отличное от нашего лишь тем, что в нем нет недостатков, которые мы в себе сознаем; тем, что оно обладает совершенствами, еще нам недоступными. Это Я есть нравственный идеал.'¹⁸ In this passage, Lavrov commands us to follow the lead of our second self and keep it alive by our constant efforts. To interrupt these efforts for even one moment is to commit a sin: 'Кто на мгновение отвернулся от нравственного идеала, тот изменил ему, тот будет носить в своей мысли сознание своего преступления, своей порочности.'¹⁹ The second self is also described as a 'double' (*dvoinik*) which follows us, continuously reminding us of events in our past which we would rather forget.²⁰ Both in 'Tri besedy o sovremennom znachenii filosofii', and in 'Ocherki voprosov prakticheskoi filosofii', where Lavrov discussed this idea of the second self, he stated that it was a creation of

¹⁷*Sovremennye ucheniia o npravstvennosti*, p. 50; 'Sotsial'naia revoliutsiia', p. 394.

¹⁸'Tri besedy', p. 555. It is more than likely that Lavrov took this idea of the ideal and real self from Fichte's *Wissenschaftslehre*, which he frequently referred to in his articles on Hegel. See 'Gegelizm', *Filosofiia i sotsiologiia*, I, pp. 43-175, especially pp. 122-25. He never admitted any debt to Fichte, however, and does not ever explicitly refer to this idea in him. For Fichte on the ideal and real self, see, for example, *J. G. Fichtes sämtliche Werke*, ed. I. H. Fichte, 11 Vols, Leipzig, 1925, I, pp. 85-328: 269-78.

¹⁹'Tri besedy', p. 555.

²⁰'Tri besedy', p. 552.

the mind that was different to the real self,²¹ and that it was in the ideal self that the virtue of the person lay: 'Это идеальное Я – личное достоинство человека.'²²

The real self was clearly seen to be beneath the ideal self in moral status, as can be seen in a later article, 'Formula progressa g. Mikhailovskogo' (1870), where he wrote about the lack of virtue in scholars who arrogantly pursue their research in the name of academic reputation, and, for this reason, have only a 'dirty self'. Scholars become pure when they devote themselves to a higher ideal, namely truth for its own sake: 'И теперь это тщеславие, это сребролюбие, это грязное я играют весьма обширную роль в их soi disant ученой деятельности, но у них есть уголок, где они чисты, искренни и справедливы, где для них критика и научная истина выше всего.'²³

Lavrov had no inclination to judge the private lives of individual people, just as he was not interested in emotional conflicts between individuals. This becomes apparent where he evaluates the lives of particular individuals in works on historical themes, such as 'Zhenshchiny vo Frantsii v XVII i XVIII vekakh': 'интимные привязанности составляют частную способность личности, и если даже обращены на особ не очень их достойных, до них никому дела нет, если личности [...] умеют рядом с этим жить и действовать, как центр великой умственной деятельности'.²⁴ Lavrov seems to have felt that a person's commitment to his or her private relationships could only detract from his or her commitment to what he called 'higher', 'moral' ideals. He encouraged women, for example, not to place the interests of their family above political, social, or even religious ideals: a woman could do more for her family by devoting herself to a political, social or religious ideal, potentially neglecting her family, than she could by being a caring parent. In 'Zhenshchiny vo Frantsii v XVII i XVIII vekakh', he praised Huguenot mothers who sacrificed themselves (and their families) for their religious beliefs:

Эти матери показывали детям пример энергической стойкости за свои убеждения; эти жены посылали мужей на галеры и в изгнание во имя того, что для них было истиной. Конечно, при всем своем

²¹The notion that ideals belong to one part of the self, which is distinguished from the 'real' self, contradicts the idea, introduced in the preceding chapter, that ideals contribute to a view of the person as 'one, indivisible whole'.

²²'Ocherki voprosov', p. 377. Lavrov aired these views in early writings, but it is clear that he did not abandon this position, since he quoted this very text as a definitive outline of his position much later, in 1884 ('Sotsial'naiia revoliutsiia', p. 391).

²³'Formula progressa', p. 416.

²⁴'Zhenshchiny vo Frantsii', part 2, p. 22.

узком фанатизме, они истиннее любили свою семью, воспитывали более здоровые поколения, чем развитые индифферентистки, готовые отречься от всего, для того чтоб прижимать детей к своему нежному сердцу, и заботившиеся о том, чтоб политические увлечения мужей не разорили их семьи.²⁵

B. Morality, struggle and faith

One probable reason why Lavrov insisted that moral behaviour must stem from ideals, rather than inclinations or the calculation of personal profit, was that he did not consider the latter two sufficiently effective to bring people to behave morally. The consideration underlying this was that the kind of moral activities which were especially important to Lavrov, namely efforts to create a more just society, might bring long-term benefit to the individual, but in the short-term could bring the person harm (in Lavrov's case, arrest and exile). Immediate inclination and calculation of egoistic profit were less likely to motivate people to take high risks than unconditional faith in ideals. Although Lavrov did not say this explicitly, he did often state that the function of an almost fanatical faith in ideals was to make the person act, and, if necessary, join in social or political struggle. This attitude to faith in ideals can again be contrasted to that of Pisarev, who flatly rejected Lavrov's justification for 'fanaticism':

Фанатизм подчас бывает хорош, как исторический двигатель, но в повседневной жизни он может привести к значительным неудобствам. Хорошая доза скептицизма всегда вернее пронесет вас между разными подводными камнями жизни и литературы. Эгоистические убеждения, положенные на подкладку мягкой и добродушной натуры, сделают вас счастливым человеком, не тяжелым для других и понятным для самого себя.²⁶

On the contrary, for Lavrov, moral feeling became a tool for promoting social activism, and for this reason scepticism must be replaced by faith and the wish for well-being replaced by a self-sacrificing sense of duty. The 'good-natured', 'happy' person described by Pisarev would have felt very uncomfortable in Lavrov's moral world.

Some scholars have commented on the central role of action in Lavrov's moral thought.²⁷ It has already been indicated above that Lavrov regarded the failure to act in

²⁵'Zhenshchiny vo Frantsii', part 2, p. 8. Lavrov also spoke of the need for women to place the realization of ideals over the need to care for their families in P. L. Lavrov, *Russkaia razvitiia zhenshchina. V pamiat' Sof'i Vasil'evny Kovalevskoi*, Geneva, 1891, p. 17.

²⁶Pisarev, 'Skholastika XIX veka', p. 75.

²⁷See, for example: Scanlan, 'Peter Lavrov', pp. 23-24; Kareev, 'Odin iz poslednikh istoriko-filosofskikh trudov P. L. Lavrova', *Sobranie sochinenii N. I. Kareeva*, 3 vols, St Petersburg, 1911-13, II, pp. 209-36: 217-18.

accordance with a moral ideal as a grave failure. In 'O publitsistakh-populiarizatorakh i o estestvoznanii' (1865), for example, he wrote:

Сложить «ненужные руки на опустевшей груди» – картина очень живописная; но фигурировать в ней, со стороны любоваться ей могут только те, у которых вместе с грудью пустеет и голова. Всякое удаление в недостигаемые для простых смертных выси, всякое отшельничество в пустыню есть ничто иное, как нравственная кастрация.²⁸

Much less attention has been paid to his frequent references to struggle, which can be seen to be a Romantic feature in his thought. Preoccupation with struggle was characteristic of Romanticism, which often connected ideals and the search for truth with struggle.²⁹ Struggle was already a feature of Lavrov's earliest works, and it is often mentioned in the context of discussions about ideological conflicts. It is seen as an unavoidable part of the development of ideas generally, and for this reason is an integral part of progress and historical development.³⁰ Lavrov claimed in 'Tri besedy o sovremennom znachenii filosofii' that people who refuse to take part in this struggle are 'moral monsters':

Когда идет борьба за отечество или за идею, пусть в минуту отдыха зоолог в своем кабинете исследует формы инфузорий; пусть скульптор в своей мастерской отделяет голову Афродиты. Но минута настала, когда они не как ученые, не как художники, но как люди нужны в рядах своих единомышленников; тогда они нравственные уроды, если не бросят микроскопа и резца, чтобы делом, жизнью служить отечеству или идее.³¹

Indeed, struggle is part of the creative self-assertion of the individual. Through action and struggle, the ideal of an individual person becomes a part of historical development: 'Он действует, и его деятельность заключается в создании художественных идеалов, в воплощении нравственных идеалов. Он за них борется и свои действия бросает, как семена, на почву окружающего мира; из них вырастает новый бесконечный ряд событий, вырастает будущая история.'³²

²⁸'O publitsistakh-populiarizatorakh', p. 24.

²⁹Schiller, for example, wrote that 'it is not without good reason that the old myth has the Goddess of Wisdom climb out of Jupiter's head in full armour, since her very first task is warlike. Even at her birth, she must withstand a hard struggle with the senses, which do not wish to be torn from their sweet repose.' Friedrich Schiller, *Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen (On the Aesthetic Education of Man, 1795)*, Stuttgart, 1965, p. 30.

³⁰'Tri besedy', pp. 566-67; 'Postepennoe razvitie drevnikh filosofskikh uchenii', pp. 2, 18-19; 'Severo-amerikanskoe sektatorstvo', part 1, pp. 412;

³¹'Tri besedy', pp. 568-69.

³²'Tri besedy', p. 570.

For Lavrov, struggle and, more so, self-sacrifice are a sign of total commitment to ideals. In 'Zhenshchiny vo Frantsii v XVII i XVIII vekakh', he indicated that readiness to sacrifice oneself could be more important than the content of one's ideals: 'важна готовность пренебречь благосостоянием и удобством своего угла и близких личностей для искренности убеждения, а повод и философское значение этих убеждений было пока делом второстепенным'.³³ Lavrov spoke of the need for self-sacrifice especially in *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, where he wrote that every developed person has a duty to join the struggle for progress no matter how bad the consequences may seem: 'устранить себя от этой борьбы не имеет права человек развитый. Как ни противно среди грязных луж отыскивать дорогу, ее отыскивать все-таки надо'.³⁴ Lavrov added: 'Все это, конечно, очень противно и возмутительно, но если бы борцам прогресса приходилось только торжествовать, их дело было бы чересчур легко'.³⁵ It seems that the achievements of those who struggle on behalf of an ideal is diminished, in Lavrov's eyes, if their struggle is too easy. Equally, Lavrov valued faith in ideals because it encourages people to act and to sacrifice themselves.

The connection between faith in ideals and morality stands out as part of what Ovsianiko-Kulikovskii, who knew Lavrov personally, identified as an element of 'psychological religiosity' in Lavrov's moral thought. The main characteristic of this psychological religiosity was an 'aversion to scepticism'.³⁶ This claim is supported by what one of Lavrov's friends recalled about him upon his death:

Отец критической философии определил свою деятельность, сказав, что две вещи в мире наполняют его священным трепетом: созерцание звездного неба и сознание нравственного долга [...] не подлежит никакому сомнению, что сознание нравственного долга составляло самую сущность его натуры и сохранило у него идеальную высоту религиозного культа вплоть до последней минуты жизни. Заклятый враг религиозной мистики и переживаний доисторического периода, беспощадный критик и разрушитель всевозможных догм, Лавров оставался в области личной и общественной нравственности самым верующим человеком нашей скептической эпохи. Тайна обаятельного действия его личности на всех окружающих именно и заключается, по нашему глубокому

³³'Zhenshchiny vo Frantsii', part 1, p. 74.

³⁴*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 85.

³⁵*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 86.

³⁶Ovsianiko-Kulikovskii, *Istoriia russkoi intelligentsii*, II, p. 235; see also: D. N. Ovsianiko-Kulikovskii, 'Petr Lavrovich Lavrov. Iz neizdannykh posmertnykh vospominanii', *Stat'i, vospominaniia*, pp. 440-51: 445, 447.

убеждению, в этом чисто религиозном культе нравственной красоты и гражданского долга.³⁷

These so-called 'religious aspects' stand out especially clearly in Lavrov's writings from the middle of his career, particularly around 1868. In 'Razvitie ucheniia o mificheskikh verovaniakh' (1868), Lavrov emphasized that the moral person must have faith in ideals, and not take a distanced or sceptical attitude toward them:

Кто равнодушен к своим жизненным действиям, тот не живет нравственно: он подчиняется ежедневной рутине и остается нравственным индифферентистом. Но увлечение жизненными вопросами потому сильно, что человек *верит* в достоинство и правду своих действий: оно измеряется силой его жизненного убеждения. [...] Если действительно живому человеку приходится отказаться от части своих верований, то это становится для него не только заменой одного догмата другим, это перелом во внутреннем мире, это нравственное потрясение.³⁸

It was especially important to him that faith in ideals should replace scepticism, and even critical thought, when the time comes to act. Lavrov explained this in 'Zadachi pozitivizma i ikh reshenie', but more emphatically in *Istoricheskie pis'ma*.³⁹ Faith was necessary to encourage action even when chances of success were slim: 'Да, вера двигает горы, - и только она. В минуту действия она должна владеть человеком или он окажется бессильным в то самое мгновение, когда надо развить все свои силы.'⁴⁰ Ideals in which one has faith, that is, ideals that become beliefs, were also seen by Lavrov as the best way to prompt self-sacrificing behaviour. In the conclusion to 'Kritika i vera', the fifteenth letter of *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, Lavrov described his own beliefs as follows: 'Их основной догмат - человек. Их культ - жизнь. Но не менее других фантастических верований, они способны одушевить личность к самоотверженной деятельности, к жертвованию различных жизненных благ и самой жизни на алтаре своей святыни.'⁴¹

While Ovsianiko-Kulikovskii drew attention to Lavrov's 'psychological religiosity', he did not note that a preoccupation with religion was a distinct feature of

³⁷*Pamiati P. L. Lavrova*, Geneva, 1900, p. 29.

³⁸P. L. Lavrov, 'Razvitie ucheniia o mificheskikh verovaniakh', in Lavrov, *O religii*, ed. A. I. Volodin, Moscow, 1989, pp. 119-224: 120.

³⁹'Zadachi pozitivizma', p. 618; *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, pp. 244-47. The significance of faith in this regard has been noted by a few scholars and critics; see: Kozlov, 'Istoricheskie pis'ma P. L. Mirtova', pp. 190-91; Shelgunov, 'Istoricheskaia sila', p. 259; Thomas Masaryk, *Zur russischen Geschichts- und Religionsphilosophie*, second edition, 2 vols, Düsseldorf, 1965, II, p. 139; Copleston, *Philosophy in Russia*, p. 137.

⁴⁰*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 245.

⁴¹*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 255. In the second edition, Lavrov changed 'других фантастических верований' to 'религиозных верований': *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, second edition, p. 347.

Lavrov's writings. Such a preoccupation can be explained by Lavrov's concern with faith as promoting action and self-sacrifice. Between 1859-63 and again around 1868, Lavrov published a large quantity of articles on religious history, in which he often expressed admiration for the capacity of religious figures to act decisively and in a self-sacrificing manner.⁴² In 'Severo-amerikanskoe sektatorstvo' (1868), for example, Lavrov described the career of John Wesley, who persevered in the face of adversity: '[он] произнес до 40 000 проповедей, между прочим одну, которую не прервал, когда должен был постоянно обтирать кровь из раны от камня, брошенного ему прямо в лоб'.⁴³

Following his conversion to Marxism, Lavrov usually spoke of religion only as a 'pathological' phenomenon. In earlier works, however, his attitude to religion was much more positive. In an open letter to Herzen, published in 1857, he spoke of a 'rational, contemporary religion'. The central dogma of this, 'his' religion, as he called it, was faith in human progress.⁴⁴ Lavrov never again attempted to put forward the idea of a 'rational, contemporary religion', but he continued to argue for the importance of faith in progressive principles.⁴⁵ Lavrov's preoccupation with religion also becomes apparent in 'Zadachi pozitivizma i ikh reshenie' and *Istoricheskie pis'ma*. In 'Zadachi pozitivizma i ikh reshenie', he wrote:

Едва ли даже можно придумать быстрое и энергическое воплощение идеалов без этого условия, то есть без совершенной, безграничной преданности личности или общества воплощаемой идее во время процесса ее воплощения, иначе говоря, без религиозного отношения к своему практическому идеалу.⁴⁶

He proceeded to develop some ideas about ways in which religious mechanisms could be used to realize 'positive' ideals in society.⁴⁷ Holy days, for example, could be used

⁴²Some of his works on this subject were published in a separate volume (V) of his *Sobranie sochinenii* in 1917. Little or no attention was paid to them, however, until recently, when Volodin published another compilation of some of Lavrov's works on the history of religion and prefaced them with a detailed introduction: A. I. Volodin, 'K kharakteristike ateizma P. L. Lavrova', in P. L. Lavrov, *O religii*, ed. A. I. Volodin, Moscow, 1989, pp. 3-33.

⁴³'Severo-amerikanskoe sektatorstvo', part 1, p. 461.

⁴⁴'Pis'mo k izdateliu', pp. 110-11.

⁴⁵In 'Rol' slavian v istorii mysli' (1872), for example, he wrote: 'И вот новое верование растет в мире рядом с обессилием всех элементов прежней цивилизации. [...] Оно требует общественного строя, основанного не на борьбе каждого против всех под ухищренными формами легальности, но на гармонической кооперации всех для общей цели, при полном развитии способностей каждого и при искреннем отношении к себе, к другим и к целому обществу.' (P. L. Lavrov, 'Rol' slavian v istorii mysli', in *Istoriograficheskie issledovaniia po slavianovedeniiu i balkanistike*, ed. V. A. D'iakov, Moscow, 1984, pp. 309-72: 364-65)

⁴⁶'Zadachi pozitivizma', p. 618.

⁴⁷Here, Lavrov did not specify which ideals he meant, but further on, he refers to one particular ideal, namely the ideal of justice: 'Zadachi pozitivizma', pp. 629-30.

to 'draw the attention of the masses' to ideals put forward by the representatives of 'positive principles'. Even systematic worship (he used the word *kul't*) could be used with the aim of elevating the minds of the masses. He defined a 'cult' as:

'совокупность действий, концентрирующих мысль человека на высших принципах его деятельности и отвлекающих ее от мелких обыденных забот'.⁴⁸

Lavrov also understood faith in a special way, namely as a force of reconciliation. This brings us back to the idea, discussed in the preceding chapter, that ideals have a unifying influence in life:

Вера в единую научную истину, выделяя из нее фантастические создания, устраняла вражду в области мысли. Вера в равноправность достоинства личностей, как единую справедливость, устраняла столкновение тысяч разнообразных национальных, юридических, сословных, экономических справедливостей и всю борьбу за эти идола. Вера в личное развитие и в справедливость, как единственный долг, примирила все личные стремления в общем усилии распространения истины и справедливости, устранила трату сил в виду фантастических обязанностей.⁴⁹

If ideals are what provide life with unity of purpose and judgement and are what help a person to define his or her 'higher' self, then faith in ideals must represent a total commitment to this unified, principled way of being, which was so highly valued by humanists. On this level, the ideals that an individual commits him or herself to and struggles for are not merely personal, but gain the quality of universality, although Lavrov did not indicate how. This notion that personal ideals are somehow also universal comes across in 'Tri besedy o sovremennom znachenii filosofii', where Lavrov wrote: 'Человек является, таким образом, двигателем в истории; он является создателем событий во имя общественного идеала, в котором гармонически совокупляются цели личных привязанностей, пользы, политического устройства и духовных потребностей'.⁵⁰

⁴⁸'Zadachi pozitivizma', p. 618.

⁴⁹*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 254.

⁵⁰'Tri besedy', p. 569.

Chapter three: Education

Education was a central theme in humanist works both in the Renaissance and in nineteenth-century Germany because it was seen by humanists as an effective means for personal development and the creation of a better kind of person. Lavrov saw an additional function in education, namely the improvement of society as a whole, and he believed that this could occur in two ways. Firstly, education should develop people in such a way that they become ideal members of society; such people are at once independently thinking, but also have a social conscience and respect for others. Secondly, education should develop the kind of person who actively strives to improve society, who has ideals and who endeavours to realize these in a self-sacrificing manner.

Humanists' theoretical interest in education often went together with practical occupation in this field. If they did not work as teachers or tutors themselves, then, like Niethammer and Humboldt, they were at least involved in educational reform. Lavrov's own interest in education may have stemmed from his practical activity as a secondary school teacher at Petersburg's Artillery School, where he taught mathematics and related subjects from 1844 until his arrest in 1866. He continued to teach in an unofficial capacity even after his arrest and exile. In Zurich, where he lived in 1872, Lavrov gave unofficial lectures on diverse subjects including mathematics and the philosophy of history. During the last decades of his life in Paris, he gave lectures to small assemblies on the history of socialism and socialist thought.

Education was a central theme in Lavrov's works in the years when he first began to publish articles of public interest,¹ especially between 1857 and 1862, although he often returned to this theme in later works until the mid-1870s. A number of his earliest articles were published in *Zhurnal dlia vospitaniia* and can be seen as a contribution to a general debate on education that began in 1856.² His concern with education both as a tool for personal development and as a means for the improvement of society is clearly marked in these articles. Short-comings in Russian society as a whole were given special consideration where he discussed qualities that were to be encouraged in the individual.

¹Before this, he published several articles for *Artilleriiskii zhurnal* on military technology and discoveries such as the barometer, or the blast furnace.

²The debate began when an article by N. I. Pirogov appeared in *Morskoi sbornik* in 1856. This article elicited so many responses that *Zhurnal dlia vospitaniia* was founded in order to publish them. A wide variety of writers became involved, including V. I. Dal', I. I. Davydov, N. A. Dobroliubov and N. I. Grech. For further information, see: *Antologiiia pedagogicheskoi mysli v Rossii pervoi poloviny XIX v.*, ed. P. A. Lebedev, Moscow, 1987.

One such quality was a love of ideas, capacity for clear thinking and thorough consideration of abstract questions. In one of Lavrov's first published articles, 'Pis'mo k izdateliu', published in *Golos iz Rossii* in 1857 but written in 1856, he defined some of the inadequacies in the Russian mentality as follows :

Какая обязанность лежит на русском гражданине в настоящую минуту? Готовиться и исполнять свой долг, отвечаю я по крайнему разумению. Готовиться – изучением и очищением. Недостаток знания, его поверхностность, его односторонность есть одна из язв нашего общества, мы не знаем ни себя, ни отечества, ни общественных требований; едва коснувшись до вопроса, не проникнув в его сущность, [...] мы постоянно забываем, что только в цельном удовлетворении всем общечеловеческим началам заключается истина практическая, что отрицать существующего нельзя, но можно примирить разные его стороны между собою; наука спокойная и бесстрастная, наука, обнимающая природу и историю, наука духа, наука отечества должны составить первую ступень нашего приготовления.³

It was not so much factual ignorance as contempt for abstract thought which worried Lavrov, as can be seen in an article on education published in the following year, 'Uvazhenie k idee i cheloveku' (1858):

[...] в отвращении от отвлеченностей заключается и самый опасный недостаток нашего общества, недостаток, от которого истекает большая часть остальных – недостаток уважения общечеловеческих, связывающих, облагораживающих идей, склонность к опошлению, к измельчению нашей жизни.⁴

For this reason, respect and enthusiasm for ideas is one of the most important qualities that educators should encourage in their pupils, as he explained in the same passage:

'воспитание должно развивать, в этот период молодости и живости воображения, уважение к идее, даже поощрять некоторую идеализацию, столь свойственную этому возрасту'. This was also something that

Niethammer emphasised in his treatise on educational reform, *Der Streit des Humanismus mit dem Philantropinismus in der Theorie des Erziehungsunterrichts unserer Zeit* (1808). Like Lavrov, Niethammer objected to the perceived contempt for ideas, or abstract thought, that dominated his contemporary culture and educational system and which he felt crippled students, who in this way became unreceptive to 'true humanity'.⁵

Love and enthusiasm for ideas seem to have been something that Lavrov encouraged in his pupils during his career as a teacher. One of his students, Firsov (L.

³ 'Pis'mo k izdateliu', pp. 115-16.

⁴ P. L. Lavrov, 'Uvazhenie k idee i cheloveku', *Zhurnal dlia vospitaniia*, 1858, no. 3, pp. 124-28: 124.

⁵ Niethammer, *Der Streit*, pp. 18, 30.

Ruskin), remembered Lavrov as a very dutiful and demanding, but also inspiring teacher. Firsov liked Lavrov's astronomy classes in particular: 'мы положительно чувствовали в себе подъем духа и мысли, мы глубоко верили в силу человеческого разума'.⁶ Later, Lavrov encouraged young revolutionaries to become 'lovers of knowledge', or of learning, and he meant knowledge in its most abstract sense: he did not believe that revolutionaries should be fanatically committed to individual facts, but to learning as a general principle. This can be seen in the following extract from 'Znanie i revoliutsiia' (1874), where he advertized 'real learning' as a kind of panacea to his radical audience:

Научно вышколенные революционеры, это – ее свободные, могучие любовники, которым она с радостью дает все, что может дать в данную минуту, с которыми идет рука об руку на их смелые предприятия, которых воодушевляют устроенные силы в минуту борьбы. Любите ее; живете с нею; она, настоящая наука, никогда не внушит вам индифферентизма к жизненным задачам, но она уяснит вам их [...]⁷

In early years, Lavrov felt it was the principal duty of the educator to instill love for truth, beauty and justice in the pupil, as he said in his article 'Avtoritet' (1861), written for *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* as well as in 'Uvazhenie k idee i cheloveku'.⁸ Besides love of ideas and of learning, Lavrov also felt that education must strive to promote receptiveness in the student, and this, again, is a classically humanist value. Receptiveness as a human quality was particularly important to Lavrov in the early stages of his career as a writer, as was mentioned in the first chapter of this dissertation. As late as 1868, in 'Didro i Lessing', Lavrov claimed that the development of receptiveness in the pupil was more important than transferral of knowledge, and there is no reason to believe that he changed his opinion afterwards, although he did not repeat the claim later: 'Педагог должен дать определенный урок и более развить восприимчивость ученика, чем его знания. Лучше научить немногу, но хорошо. Ученик завлечется и сам пойдет далее'.⁹

Lavrov also argued that the educator must inspire independence of thought in the pupil and pointed out that this was especially important in Russian society, which, according to him, conspicuously lacked independence of thought. He explained this in an article on education, 'Polozheniia, na kotorykh dolzhno byt' osnovano nravstvennoe vospitanie v nashem obshchestve v nashe vremia' (1857). Parents and

⁶Firsov (Ruskin), N. N., 'Vospominaniia o P. L. Lavrove', *Istoricheskii vestnik*, CVII, 1907, pp. 95-119: 106.

⁷'Znanie i revoliutsiia', p. 232.

⁸P. L. Lavrov, 'Avtoritet', *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, I, pp. 408-14: 414; 'Uvazhenie k idee', p. 124.

⁹'Didro i Lessing', p. 197.

educators must aim to encourage independence of thought in their pupils and this went along with breeding confidence and activeness: 'воспитатели и родители должны стремиться к возбуждению в воспитаннике самоуважения, самоуверенности, чтоб противодействовать уклончивости мнений, слишком распространенной в обществе; должны поощрять решительность и смелость в характере'.¹⁰

These qualities were not merely functions of being a good individual or a good member of society, but also of being a good citizen. Lavrov was particularly concerned with the notion of being a good citizen in 'Polozheniia, na kotorykh dolzhno byt' osnovano npravstvennoe vospitanie v nashem obshchestve v nashe vremia'. Here, he emphasised that a sense of duty toward other human beings as a collective was an important feature of citizenship, and one that must be impressed upon young people:

[...] смело можно всеми силами стараться внушить юношеству, что любовь к отечеству, уважение к правительству, заключается в тщательном изучении всякого явления общественной жизни в отечестве, что на каждом гражданине, какова бы ни была его специальность, в чем бы ни состояла его ежедневная жизнь, одинаково лежит неизменный долг ставить, наравне с вопросами частной жизни, если не выше их, вопрос отечественного интереса; что хладнокровие к гражданскому злу, хладнокровие к общему делу [...] есть государственная измена, нарушение гражданского долга.¹¹

Educators, therefore, should encourage young people to regard the improvement of society as one of their greatest duties as citizens. Their sense of commitment to society should be based on a fundamental feeling of respect for other people:

'Воспитание преимущественно должно стремиться к развитию в воспитанных уважения к человеку, как человеку, независимо от внешней обстановки и жизненных случайностей'.¹² In the same passage, he explained that this included loving and helping others.

In Lavrov's works, therefore, education stands out primarily as a means for the development of moral qualities in the person. The communication of information to young people was almost never mentioned as an important task in education. This stands out especially clearly in a later article by Lavrov, 'Sotsialisticheskaia i burzhuaznaia nauka' (1875), where he wrote:

¹⁰'Polozheniia', p. 184.

¹¹'Polozheniia', p. 188.

¹²'Polozheniia', p. 185.

Мы требуем науки для всех. Не грамотности и не катехизиса. Не школ, пичкающих учеников вокабулами, собственными именами и отрывочными фактами, не школ, которые неспособны развить ни жажды понимания, ни критики мысли, ни сочувствия к человечеству, ни вражды ко злу, ни нравственного чувства обязанности; не школ, внушающих презрение к науке, воспитывающих лакеев, карьеристов и лицемеров. [...] Мы требуем для всех науки, уясняющей мир в связи его реальных явлений, уясняющей человека в единстве его физической, умственной и нравственной жизни, уясняющей общество в его правомерных требованиях общего благосостояния, солидарности между всеми и каждым, справедливости для всех и каждого.¹³

In addition to this, he seems to have regarded education as a potential source of social cohesion. In his article 'Avtoritet', for example, he listed 'the reconciliation of the young generation with the old' as one of the tasks of the educator, although he did not explain in what way reconciliation was to take place.¹⁴ Later, in 1870, when Lavrov published 'Evropa i ee sily v 1869 godu', he hoped that if young members of the intelligentsia were to go to the people in order to educate them, this might lead, if not to reconciliation, then at least to *rapprochement*:

О если бы вместо «трехлетнего пребывания под знаменами», на казенном пайке, которое рекомендуют для молодых людей, кончивших курс в школах и университетах, как хорошую подготовку к практической деятельности, возможно было устроить трехлетнее пребывание тех молодых людей, на казенном пайке, в виде благородной повинности, под знаменами великого дела народного обучения! Какая громадная польза для народа, слышать первое слово умственного развития от человека образованного и молодого, который смотрел бы на свою деятельность не как на вечную скудно оплачиваемую профессию, а как на истинный гражданский подвиг, на жертву, приносимую им сознательно будущности своего народа. И какая нравственная дисциплина могла бы подействовать благотворнее на молодого человека, воспитанного вне народной массы, в неведении ее быта, ее ума, ее нужд и болезней, - как не такое практическое, а не ораторское, - реальное, а не идеальное сближение с народом, сближение не «по духу», а по делу, солидарность установленная двумя-тремя годами честной, безкорыстной деятельности на пользу народа? Говорят, человек сам привязывается к тому, кому сделал добро. Если это справедливо, то какая богатая подготовка была бы эта народная школа не для учеников только, но и для самих учителей, к дальнейшей их общественной и, может быть, государственной деятельности!¹⁵

¹³Р. Л. Лавров, 'Sotsialisticheskaia i burzhuaiznaia nauka', *Izbrannye sochineniia*, IV, pp. 72-83: 80.

¹⁴'Avtoritet', p. 414.

¹⁵Р. Л. Лавров, 'Evropa i ee sily v 1869 godu', *Vestnik Evropy*, no. 1, pp. 235-71; no. 2, pp. 691-721; no. 5, pp. 193-235: part 1, p. 263.

In spite of the higher mission of that Lavrov saw for education, namely to improve society, the educational process as he portrayed it was a highly individualistic and personal one. In 'Uvazhenie k idee i cheloveku', for example, Lavrov explained that the teacher must win influence over the individual student by gaining the latter's trust, respect, and love.¹⁶ This could only be achieved by the honest and fair behaviour, although Lavrov refused to specify how precisely the teacher was to act, since the choice of methods must depend on what suited the character of the teacher best:

Мне кажется, что воспитателю должна быть дана самая широкая рама для того, чтоб он по возможности мог действовать сообразно своим убеждениям и своему характеру; потому что только в этом случае его действия будут вполне естественны и вполне могут достигать своей цели.¹⁷

Lavrov did not specify which methods teachers ought to use, but suggested that values such as love and enthusiasm for ideas and respect for human dignity must be conveyed to the pupil through the personal example of the tutor. For this reason, the teacher must never act in an arbitrary or inconsistent manner, but must display respect for human dignity, as well as respect and enthusiasm for art and knowledge, which would convey itself to the pupil.¹⁸

More importantly, education should be tailored to the needs, talents and inclinations of each individual student. This was implied in 'Polozheniia, na kotorykh dolzhno byt' osnovano npravstvennoe vospitanie v nashem obshchestve v nashe vremia', where he compared different schools in Europe, notably schools for delinquent children. He concluded that the British system, as established in Red Hill School, was the best. Here, teachers and pupils lived together, giving them the greatest possible opportunity to become acquainted with one another. In this way, teachers could adjust their methods according to their knowledge of the individual pupil.¹⁹ (Lavrov did not suggest that this system was any less applicable to non-delinquents.) Later, in 'Formula progressa g. Mikhailovskogo' (1870), he explicitly stated that educational method must base itself around the particularity of the individual pupil: 'педагогия в настоящее время стремится не к нивелированию личностей, а к развитию их сообразно их особенностям'.²⁰

¹⁶'Uvazhenie k idee', pp. 125-26; see also: 'Avtoritet', p. 412.

¹⁷'Uvazhenie k idee', p. 128.

¹⁸'Uvazhenie k idee', p. 126.

¹⁹'Polozheniia', p. 127.

²⁰'Formula progressa', p. 419.

In this respect, Lavrov's thought is again 'humanist'. Niethammer, for example, insisted that education must meet the needs and talents of the individual pupil. The goal of the educator is to discover the pupil's 'inner calling' and to develop it. According to Niethammer, developing this 'inner calling' increases the individual's capacity to contribute to humanity and to society, and so the educator must not choose between the cultivation either a good citizen or a fully-developed individual, but can do both at the same time.²¹

This is evidently also how Lavrov felt, particularly with reference to the encouragement of ideals in the individual person. Ideals, as has been shown, are particular to an individual in the sense that they must result from the individual's own critical thought and, if they are firmly held, determine the person's identity. For this reason, an individual cannot be given ideals, although an educator may help the pupil to develop these. Lavrov attributed precisely this role to a character in his only published fictional piece, 'Komu prinadlezhit budushchee?' (1874). This character, a teacher, explains his aims to his former pupils as follows:

Я умираю на восьмидесятом году таким же скептиком, каким был с первого пробуждения во мне самостоятельной мысли, и, между тем, ничего я не желал так сильно, как крепкого убеждения; ни к чему не стремился так старательно, ничего не искал так неутомимо. Когда я убедился, что не в состоянии, по моему складу мысли, по особенности моего характера, достичь этой желанной цели, я постарался развить педагогически в других то, на что сам не был способен. Я завел школу, где употребил все свое старание на развитие последовательности в мысли и энергии характера воспитанников, не только не навязывая им какого бы то ни было единообразного взгляда на жизнь, но стараясь в каждом развить до последней возможности то направление, которое само собою вырабатывалось из его физических и психических особенностей. Каково бы ни было убеждение, к которому склонялся мой воспитанник, я давал ему все средства открыть и усилить аргументы в пользу этого убеждения, ослабить и уничтожить аргументы противников; а старался направить все силы его ума на последовательную обработку мирозерцания в смысле этого убеждения, все силы его характера на энергическое воплощение в жизнь того, что он последовательно продумал.²²

In 'Komu prinadlezhit budushchee?', Lavrov indicated that the future did not belong to persons holding any particular ideological conviction, but could belong to every person who combined 'consecutive' thinking and clear argumentation with an active

²¹Niethammer, *Der Streit*, pp. 327-36.

²²'Komu prinadlezhit budushchee?', p. 3.

commitment to ideals. Lavrov put these words into the mouth of another character, a young Russian revolutionary, whom he made the central figure of his story:

Да, будущее не принадлежит никому [...] Пред ними борьба со всеми разнообразными ее условиями, со всеми ее изменчивыми вероятностями; пусть *понимающие* развивают в себе страсть к практической деятельности в том направлении, где они видят истину; пусть *борющиеся* развивают в себе понимание условий борьбы, условий победы, условий прочности нового строя. Каждому участнику в борьбе следует сказать то, что говорил вам ваш учитель: развивайте в себе каждый силу мысли и энергию убеждения, ясное понимание и самоотверженную решимость. Здесь условие победы. Здесь *возможное* будущее. Будущее вам не принадлежит, но оно *может* принадлежать вам. Идите и завоюйте его.²³

In 'Komu prinadlezhit budushchee?' therefore, the service of the teacher is to develop the individual fully and according to that person's inclinations, needs and abilities. Lavrov does not suggest that every fully-developed person will necessarily improve society, but he indicates, at any rate, that only such a person has the ability to do so. In this way, the humanist goal of education, namely the full development of the individual, also becomes a precondition for the improvement of society. Lavrov's ethic of education is perhaps oriented toward the improvement of society more than was common for humanists. As was shown, however, Niethammer also believed that the two tasks, namely the full development of the individual, and the creation of a good citizen, must be accomplished simultaneously.

²³'Komu prinadlezhit budushchee?', p. 72.

Chapter four: Culture

Lavrov was interested in culture as an element that, to a significant extent, determines the development of the person and conditions human activity. Culture became an important feature in his works the more he recognised the influence of society as a whole on personal development and action. He evaluated its role positively during the middle of his career and more negatively toward the end.

The word 'culture' began to be used in its modern sense by German thinkers of the late eighteenth century, but did not come into wide-spread use until the late nineteenth century. Since different writers have understood this term in very different ways, any discussion of the notion of culture will involve definition and redefinition of its meaning. One of the best-known attempts to offer a single and generally acceptable definition of culture was made by the anthropologists Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn in their study of the meanings that have been assigned to this term:

Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists in the traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; cultural systems may on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action.¹

Culture is an important concept for humanists, because it represents the collective achievements of human beings, including the development of language, technology, art and science, which they regard as 'humanizing' features of our species. Humanists such as Wilhelm von Humboldt believe that individuals cannot act in isolation from the achievements, habits and values of past generations. Culture, however, should not become static, but must be transformed by individuals in each generation according to contemporary needs and ideals. This developing capacity is what Humboldt called *Geisteskraft*, which has already been discussed in the section on creativity in the first chapter of this dissertation. Lavrov's theory of culture included many of these humanist attitudes in the middle of his career. Later, he became suspicious of habit and tradition as aspects of culture which he felt inhibited development and transformation.

In secondary literature, it is generally claimed that Lavrov viewed culture as a backward, conservative principle, while he attributed progressive, developing qualities

¹A. L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*, New York, 1963, p. 357.

only to 'civilization'.² Evidence for this has been found in *Istoricheskie pis'ma* and later works. According to Ivanov-Razumnik's interpretation of Lavrov in *Istoriia russkoi obshchestvennoi mysli*, for example, people did not become members of the intelligentsia because they were cultured, but because they applied critical thought to culture, and by doing so, turned culture into civilization.³ Ivanov-Razumnik ascribed a more negative evaluation of culture to Lavrov in a later essay, published in 1920: 'он не пугался бы воплей о гибели культуры, о диких гуннах и скифах, что тучей нависли над миром, о конце старой Европы. [...] Он не боялся гибели старого мира, ибо чаял мира нового, идя к которому нельзя остановиться на пол-дороге'.⁴

Here, I will argue that Lavrov regarded neither culture nor civilization as inherently progressive or regressive, nor did he ever call for the death of culture. Rather, Lavrov saw culture as a necessary feature of social life. For a time, he hoped to show that culture played a positive social function and that cultural forms could be put to use for progressive purposes. Even when he became less optimistic about this, he maintained that the task of progress was to develop and improve cultural forms, not do away with them.

A. Theory of culture until 1870

Lavrov first used the term 'culture' in the mid 1860s, a period when it was not yet commonly used in Russian. Pisarev included *kul'tura* in the title of an essay on the history of labour, 'Zarozhdenie kul'tury', published in 1863, but he scarcely mentioned culture in the article itself, nor did he offer any definition of it.⁵ Lavrov began to publish a series of articles entitled 'Ocherki chelovecheskoi kul'tury' in 1864 (the series continued under the title 'Iz chelovecheskoi kul'tury' in 1865).⁶ In his first article, Lavrov introduced culture as a new concept 'even in European languages' and hesitantly explained what he meant by it:

²Vartaniants, *Antropologicheskaiia filosofiia*, p. 21; A. A. Gizetti, "'Istoriia mysli" i mirosozertsanie Lavrova', "Vpered!", pp. 28-31: 28; A. Z. Shteinberg, 'K filosofii istorii P. L. Lavrova', "Vpered!", pp. 41-46: 45-46; Kaplan, 'Ot sostavitelia', pp. 16-17; Walicki, *A History*, pp. 241-42.

³Ivanov-Razumnik, *Istoriia*, I, pp. 6-7.

⁴Ivanov-Razumnik, 'P. L. Lavrov i kommuna', "Vpered!", pp. 47-50: 50.

⁵D. I. Pisarev, 'Zarozhdenie kul'tury', *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii D. I. Pisareva v shesti tomakh*, fifth edition, St Petersburg, 1907-1912, II, pp. 505-620.

⁶P. L. Lavrov, 'Ocherki chelovecheskoi kul'tury', *Zagranichnyi vestnik*, 1864, no. 7, pp. 147-82; no. 12, pp. 562-93; 'Iz chelovecheskoi kul'tury', *Zagranichnyi vestnik*, 1865, no. 4, pp. 108-36; no. 7, pp. 126-49; no. 11, pp. 371-400.

[...] культура, как слово новое, представляет еще далеко не вполне определившееся понятие. Она проявляется уже в простейших отношениях человека к природе, в пище, одежде и жилище. Она настолько захватывает в себя технологию, что разграничение их в наше время еще весьма затруднительно. Она в сфере языка, народного творчества, народных поверий и народной мудрости, касается самых высших сфер искусства, религии, науки, философии. Мы вовсе не имеем в виду определять значение этого слова, или входить в его аналитический разбор. [...] если какой-либо придирчивый читатель найдет, что мы вышли из нашей области, мы предоставляем ему указать точнее пределы последней. Это будет важная услуга науке.⁷

Here, Lavrov gave the widest possible meaning to the term, something like 'way of life'. These articles, however, covered an extremely broad range of subjects, and the style was rambling and disjointed. It is not unlikely that Lavrov only used 'culture' as a cover for the lack of coherence in the subject matter of his essays.

At the same time, however, Lavrov displayed a growing interest in the influence of society on personal development. In early works, Lavrov had stressed the importance of the influence of other persons on the development of the individual, but this influence was always described as being of a personal nature, where one particular individual influences another. This stands out clearly in his essays on education from the late 1850s, for example, in which the teacher and pupil meet and react to one another as individuals. From the mid-1860s, however, he claimed that every person (or almost every person) is necessarily influenced by the community as a whole. Here, society at large conditions each person's attitudes and ideals.

Lavrov now began to write about what one might call cultural inheritance: the idea that an individual's life and mind-set are, to a significant extent, shaped by those of his or her ancestors, and that the individual passes on this inheritance, with some modification, to his or her children. This idea can be found in 'O publitsistakh-populiarizatorakh i o estestvoznanii' (1865) even though he did not use the term 'culture':

Человек передает потомству не только свои личные свойства, но измененные им внешние условия жизни. Он видоизменяет природу сообразно своим высшим потребностям; он создает искусственные предметы, которых до него не было в природе [...] Все эти бессмертные продукты человеческого ума [...] передаются из рода в род и все более разграничивают явления жизни всей природы - с одной стороны, и явления жизни человека - с другой.⁸

⁷Ocherki chelovecheskoi kul'tury', part 1, pp. 147-48.

⁸O publitsistakh-populiarizatorakh', p. 29.

Lavrov had introduced a similar idea in 'Ocherki chelovecheskoi kul'tury' the year before. Here, he spoke of a fabric that unifies members of different generations and provides a fixed context for the activities of every agent. In the text, he called this 'civilization', although this did not yet denote any fixed meaning of that term (he did not clearly distinguish between 'culture' and 'civilization' until roughly 1868):

[...] цивилизация наша, которой мы так гордимся, есть также ничто иное, как сумма полезного труда протекающих веков. Ни одно размышление, ни одно усилие отцов и праотцов наших не были тщетны; никогда труд человека не пропадал, и предприятия, повидимому не приносившие пользы им, по крайней мере, оставшиеся без последствий, все-таки послужили к увеличению знаний, к развитию способностей и вообще к воспитанию человечества. [...] Следовательно *человечество* есть единственный, существенный изобретатель; личность определяет лишь первое слово задачи, которую предпринимает разрешить, и всякая великая идея есть в то же время, и результат прошлого, и зерно будущего дальнейшего развития. Редко удавалось одной личности напасть на важное изобретение; наши мысли и исследования переходят, большей частью, из рук в руки; каждый продолжает ткань часто без видимых последствий [...]⁹

In 'O publitsistakh-populiarizatorakh i o estestvoznanii', Lavrov displayed an interest in the extent to which commonly accepted customs and values shape one's outlook and the way that one lives one's life. He concluded that every person must necessarily be influenced, in one way or another, by the values and even prejudices of the community, and that every individual is obliged to make allowances for these habits and prejudices: 'всякий из нас, волей-неволей, незаметно для самого себя, делает уступки предрассудкам времени. [...] Уберечься от житейской пошлости, живя посреди ее, весьма трудно; а удаляться от общественной жизни - значит суживать сферу деятельности своих сил.'¹⁰

Lavrov was now confronted with the issue of the extent to which critically thinking individuals are different to the general community in these matters, and how differently they ought to be treated as a result. In 'O publitsistakh-populiarizatorakh i o estestvoznanii', he indicated that there are some people who are able to dispose of common customs and values altogether:

Только такие самобытные натуры, весьма редко встречающиеся, способны жить вполне безыскусственно. Все другие еще сильно связаны с общим строем жизни, не в состоянии выбиться из всасывающего болота рутины, а потому в конце концов в самой

⁹Ocherki chelovecheskoi kul'tury', part 1, pp. 163-64.

¹⁰O publitsistakh-populiarizatorakh', p. 26.

рутине находят разрешение тех вопросов, на которые естественные науки дают слишком далекие суровые ответы.¹¹

He does not yet seem to have felt, however, that there is anything wrong in itself with the influence of habit and custom over the majority of people. Instead of combating the dependence of the majority on habit and custom, the social reformer ought to find ways in which customs can be turned to his or her own advantage.

Lavrov continued this train of thought in 'Zhenshchiny vo Frantsii v XVII-XVIII vekakh' (1867). Here, again, he did not use the term culture, but suggested reasons why the social function of practices, values and institutions which one would generally associate with culture, for example fashionable forms of poetry and 'decorum', ought to be evaluated positively. The first reason for this is that such practices bring people together. Fashions open up possibilities for discourse in society (no matter how trivial the subject of conversation), and enable people to take an active part in some movement together, which is what Lavrov liked about French salon culture in the eighteenth century:

Они сближались во имя общечеловеческих способностей ума и образованности. И оттуда возник целый литературный отдел легких стихотворений (*poésies légères*), который носил отпечаток французского ума, французского общества; это не была ни придворная поэзия наемных остроумов Италии с их стихами *concetti*, которыми забавлялись, но в которых не участвовали. Это была литература всех [...] потому что все они могли в ней участвовать, и действительно в ней участвовали. Эстетически она была ниже всякой критики, по мысли совершенно ничтожна; но как связывающее общественное начало, она имела весьма важное значение, и была оригинальным проявлением французского развития.¹²

The second way in which cultural practices and institutions can play a positive social function is that they may motivate people who are not critically thinking and who have no independent ethical standards to behave well, or at least prevent them from behaving badly.¹³ This type of consideration was new to Lavrov: formerly he had spoken only of critical thought as a source that points to the right kind of behaviour (for Lavrov, just behaviour) and did not look for any other source. He now suggested that decorum ought to be seen as a 'healthy' part of social life, although he seemed somewhat uncomfortable with his own proposition:

¹¹'О публицистских-популярных', p. 8.

¹²'Zhenshchiny vo Frantsii', part 1, p. 63.

¹³This is not an evaluation of persons as moral agents, but a practical evaluation of their behaviour according to Lavrov's standards.

Нужно несколько смелости, чтобы говорить об историческом значении, которое имело некогда в обществе начало приличия. Но – здесь это необходимо. В сущности, начало приличия есть очень здоровое начало общественности, и оно вовсе невиновато в том, что его какие-нибудь французские *précieuses* или английские пуританки доводят до карикатуры. Вполне развитому человеку смешно говорить о приличиях, потому что ему достаточно быть естественным [...] Но много ли вполне развитых людей?¹⁴

Lavrov's distinction between the critically thinking élite and the majority of people and his different assessment of their thoughts, actions and needs was stronger in 'Zhenshchiny vo Frantsii v XVII i XVIII vekakh' than it had been in 'O publitsistakh-popularizatorakh i estestvoznaniy'. Here, he declared with greater firmness that cultural values and norms, not rational argument, are the only mechanism regulating the behaviour of the population at large. The role of cultural values and norms, however, is preventative, not positive, since it only discourages behaviour that disrupts the lives of other people:

Только общественное требование является *побудительной* причиной подобного сдержания, и общественность поэтому для неразвитых или недоразвитых личностей становится иногда крайне полезным указанием. Таким образом общественные приличия становятся, в самом простом и существенном своем смысле, охранителями достоинства одной личности от дурных привычек другой.¹⁵

In 'Zadachi pozitivizma i ikh reshenie' (1868), Lavrov argued that popular culture (habits, beliefs and rituals) should be placed at the service of moral ideals, which, at the time, he hoped would be elaborated by positivism. Progressive values and ideals must be spread among the masses, and this should be done by making use of already existing cultural forms, affirming that Lavrov preferred to make use of customs and habits, rather than arguing for their abolition:

[...] если позитивное мышление включает в себе нравственные идеалы и стремится к их воплощению путем полной преданности им, то едва ли для него противоречиво ввести в культурные привычки ряд празднеств, обращенных на уяснение основных требований позитивизма словом и на привлечение к этим требованиям эстетической обстановкой, или употреблять календарь, где представители позитивных начал и события, содействовавшие развитию этих начал, привлекли бы на себя внимание массы, связывая прошедшее с настоящим и подготавливая будущее.¹⁶

¹⁴'Zhenshchiny vo Frantsii', part 1, p. 65.

¹⁵'Zhenshchiny vo Frantsii', part 1, pp. 65-66.

¹⁶'Zadachi pozitivizma', p. 619. The notion that the opinions of the masses must be changed by using cultural mechanisms suggests that they are to be acted upon as a group. This is different to the means

Lavrov now used the word culture with increasing frequency, although he did not attribute any single meaning or function to it. There are three senses in which he understood this term. In the first sense, culture is identified with habit and custom, and while its existence and influence are seen to be inevitable, it is evaluated negatively because it is thought to inhibit knowledge and discovery. This can be seen clearly in 'Neskol'ko myslei ob istorii mysli' (1867):

[...] культура эпохи является уже при самом своем происхождении, неизбежным определителем различных элементов мысли. Но, при дальнейшем развитии общества, она представляет еще могущественный элемент, влияние которого, бесспорно, выказывается во всех отраслях мира мысли: это привычки и предания. Они то придают догматическому чувству его самую прочную почву, они являются противниками нового знания или поводами к его направлению в определенную сторону.¹⁷

At the time he wrote *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, Lavrov began to use culture in a second sense; he now defined it as a 'zoological element in the life of humanity'.¹⁸ This means that culture is as a function of any species that lives as a group, culture itself consisting of the qualities of that species which demand and encourage co-operation and solidarity. In the letter 'Kul'tura i mysli' in *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, Lavrov spoke abstractly of the 'needs' and 'attractions' that humans have, and claimed that these are what give rise to social life:

Общественная жизнь, истекающая из этого источника, есть уже жизнь культурная, и человек, немислимый без потребностей и влечений, тем самым немислим без какой-либо культуры. Наравне с некоторыми другими своими собратьями из мира насекомых и позвоночных, он принадлежит к животным культурным.¹⁹

Lavrov returned to this theme in 'Do cheloveka' (1869), where he attempted to outline the origin of culture, that is, of mechanisms of communal existence in primitive organisms which do not even possess a faculty of thought: 'Первая культура предшествовала работе мысли, а там, где эта работа впоследствии имела место, она в значительной степени определилась формами культуры, ей предшествовавшими, и над которыми ей пришлось упражняться'.²⁰

Lavrov's theories on culture in this sense are mainly concerned with biology, and he appears to have been inspired to develop these ideas by the works of Darwin, which he

of acting upon the masses that was suggested by Lavrov in 'Evropa i ee sily v 1869 godu', which was discussed above in the chapter on education.

¹⁷P. L. Lavrov, 'Neskol'ko myslei ob istorii mysli', *Sobranie sochinenii*, I, no. 4, pp. 5-41: p. 38.

¹⁸*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 90.

¹⁹*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 87.

²⁰P. L. Lavrov, 'Do cheloveka', *Sobranie sochinenii*, III, no. 1, pp. 5-123: 88.

began to read at this time. Nevertheless, this notion of culture in its biological sense shows the close connection between culture and society, or sociability, in his thought, and in this sense, culture must be considered to play a positive role, at least by Lavrov's standards.

The third sense in which Lavrov understood culture in the late 1860s was as a product of the labour of thought. It consists of those practices which were once established with a consciously intended aim and purpose, but which have gone over into habit and custom. In 'Do cheloveka', where he wrote primarily about culture in its biological sense, Lavrov also provided a definition of culture in this sense:

Назову культурой те формы жизни, которые образуются привычками и унаследованными преданиями в человеческом обществе, развивая при этом более или менее совершенную технику. Культура нам представляется как продукт, вызванный вначале работой мысли, а потом уже переходящий в привычное дело, в уважаемое предание, в психический прием.²¹

Lavrov indicated in *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, however, that cultural practices which were once established by critically thinking individuals and which go over into custom do not necessarily become petrified institutions, but may continue to be subject to development by critical thinkers. Indeed, in the following passage, culture appears as an open field for influence and activity far more than as a rigid and conservative force:

Культура должна быть взята в соображение при работе мысли, как исторически данная среда, но не как неизменный закон. Если сравним культуры разных эпох, то легко заметим, насколько самые основные элементы культуры подлежат изменчивости. [...] И так перед нами определенная задача прогресса: культура должна быть переработана мыслью.²²

While one finds culture used in all three senses in *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, the notion of culture as a conglomeration of habits and customs comes across most weakly, and the idea of it as the product of thought comes across most strongly. It is the appreciation of culture in this sense which makes Lavrov's attitude to culture particularly 'humanist' in the middle of his career. Here, culture is seen as a product of continuous development, reflecting human will and achievement in the past, but subject to change resulting from new ideals and needs in the present.

From the late 1860s, Lavrov often referred to the result of the labour of critical thought upon culture as 'civilization'. In 'Zadachi pozitivizma i ikh reshenie', for example, he spoke of a 'criterion of moral judgement' which must be applied to social

²¹'Do cheloveka', pp. 87-88.

²²*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, pp. 92-93.

life, the application of which would transform a culture into a civilization.²³ Lavrov also made the same point in various passages of *Istoricheskie pis'ma*.²⁴ He was not, however, consistent in his use of civilization. In *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, for example, he referred to the ancient oriental kingdoms, which he considered an archetypal example of repression, stagnation and lack of criticism, as a civilizations,²⁵ and he continued to apply this term to dead or declining societies.²⁶

According to Gizetti, Lavrov saw civilization as the 'realization of personal ideals' when they were applied to daily life.²⁷ Gizetti, however, did not explain that, for Lavrov, the application of ideals to life must be a process that is constantly repeated and is, to some extent, circular. Lavrov believed that new ways of life that result from the idealistic efforts of critically thinking individuals themselves become habits and rituals which must again be reformed by future generations who hold different ideals corresponding with the demands of a different age. This comes out especially clearly in the following passage of *Istoricheskie pis'ma*:

Вообще часть цивилизации отцов, в форме привычек и преданий, составляет ничто иное, как культурный элемент в жизни потомков, и над этой культурой второй формации должна критически работать мысль нового поколения, чтобы общество не предалось застою, чтобы, в числе унаследованных привычек и преданий, оно разглядело те, которые представляют возможность дальнейшей работы мысли на пути истины, красоты и справедливости, отбросило остальное, как отжившее, и создало новую цивилизацию, как новый строй культуры, оживленный работой мысли.²⁸

This twofold demand made on culture, namely that it should at once transmit values and customs while still remaining open to change and development rests on an optimistic hope, also common among humanists, that both should be possible simultaneously. Lavrov, however, was clearly uneasy about this dual role in the first half of his career, and, as has been shown, he displayed suspiciousness toward the conservative aspects of culture - habit and custom. At this point, however, he was

²³'Zadachi pozitivizma', p. 629.

²⁴*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, pp. 88, 91, 149.

²⁵*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, pp. 44, 48.

²⁶See, for example: P. L. Lavrov, 'Khaos burzhuaiznoi tsivilizatsii na poslednee vremia' (1874), *Izbrannye sochineniia*, III, pp. 31-78:78. Lavrov also spoke of dead, or dying civilizations such as Celtic civilization and the Roman empire: P. L. Lavrov, 'Epokha poiavleniia novykh narodov v Evrope' (1873), *Sobranie sochinenii*, IV, no. 7, pp. 5-20: 6, 20.

²⁷Gizetti's whole definition sounds very 'humanist': 'Для Лаврова цивилизация – "гражданственность" в самом широком, благородном и всеобъемлющем смысле слова (так и средневековый мыслитель Данте вдохновлялся идеей civitas humana!), т. е. воплощение идеалов личности в жизнь, в формы быта.' (Gizetti, 'P. L. Lavrov, kak "istorik mysl'i"', p. 299).

²⁸*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 89.

unwilling to concede that the role of habit and custom is purely negative or, indeed, purely conservative. In *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, for example, he described critical thought itself as a habit: 'Но в числе унаследованных привычек всякой цивилизации заключается привычка критики и она-то вызывает человеческий элемент истории, работу мысли.'²⁹

There is one significant problem in Lavrov's theory of culture until 1870, because it divides all societies into a critically thinking minority and a majority whose actions and decisions are guided by habit and custom and seems to sanction this division. The difficulty is that it makes one group responsible for change while the other is bound by necessity to custom and conservatism, a situation which one imagines would lead to the polarisation of the two groups and to an irreconcilable clash of interests. His model of culture is different to the humanist one in this sense, because according to humanists, every member of the community is intended both to act according to custom and to develop cultural institutions according to his or her own ideals.

B. Theory of culture from 1870

After 1870, Lavrov's attitude changed in several important ways. He now understood culture only in two of the three senses outlined above, namely as habit and custom and as a 'zoological element'. Further, Lavrov no longer approved of the difference between a critically thinking minority and a majority that always relies on habit, custom and tradition. According to Lavrov's new position, the majority ought now to be trained to think critically also.

Lavrov no longer attempted to argue that aspects of habit and custom could be useful. Indeed, he declared habit to be the worst kind of motivation for activity in 'Biografiia-ispoved'':

Из четырех побудительных причин человеческой деятельности, обычая, аффекта, интереса и убеждения, первая безусловно противна критике и прогрессу, который всегда заключается в постепенном освобождении человека, по мере его развития, от уз обычая в форме привычки и преданий.³⁰

The reliance both of Russia's ruling classes and that of the working classes on habit and custom was, according to Lavrov, the root evil behind Russia's inability to reform. One sees a trace of this attitude in *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, where Lavrov claimed that

²⁹*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 90. The second (1891) edition adds 'потребность развития' to 'работу мысли' (p. 243).

³⁰'Biografiia-ispoved'', p. 96.

customs and habits were at fault for the inability of ruling classes to see that they were acting against their own interests in perpetuating the exploitation of the working classes.³¹ In 'Formula progressa g. Mikhailovskogo', Lavrov wrote: 'общественное зло всегда гораздо более заключалось в привычках и преданиях, чем в злом расчете эксплуататоров'.³² Lavrov also believed, however, that the oppressed majority could rebel and improve its own situation if only its members were critically thinking enough to realise that they must overthrow the whole social structure:

Как ни хитро могло быть устроено общество, но если эксплуатируемое большинство создало бы *несправедливость* своего положения, оно было бы всегда в силах ниспровергнуть строй его давящий. Но дело в том именно, что большинство чувствовало всегда лишь *тяжесть* своего положения, а недостаток критики мысли всегда мешал ему догадываться, насколько тяжесть его жизни зависит от несправедливости общественного строя, еще более мешал разглядеть причины этой несправедливости и средства для ее устранения. Привычки и предания, при всей трудности жизни, почти всегда настолько тяготели над народом, что даже тогда, когда политическая катастрофа позволяла народам изменить общественный строй, они большей частью меняли лишь давящие личности, а самая сущность несправедливого общественного строя оставалась неизменной после самых кровавых переворотов.³³

Habits and customs of all groups and classes, therefore, were regarded as one of the most counterproductive features of society. This attitude remained firm in Lavrov's thought until the end of his life.

While, formerly, the notion of culture as a product of the labour of critical thought upon custom had allowed Lavrov, at least sometimes, to think of culture as something that is self-developing, he now envisioned a largely passive role for culture. Indeed, the whole framework of the discussion about action motivated by critical thought changed after 1870: it was subsumed under Lavrov's new theory of history. This theory divides mankind, past and present, into 'historical' and 'non-historical' groups. Historical peoples are distinguished precisely by their critical reworking of customs, habits and traditions, and Lavrov referred to their societies as civilizations. Pre-historical and non-historical peoples have either failed to develop critical thought yet, or else rest lazily on the achievements of their ancestors without contributing to the further development of their society. Civilizations in which development has ceased are considered non-historical. Elements of this use of 'history' can be found in

³¹*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, pp. 41-48.

³²'Formula progressa', p. 415.

³³'Formula progressa', p. 415.

Istoricheskie pis'ma and also occur in 'Sotsializm i bor'ba za sushchestvovanie' (1875), but he does not seem to have elaborated this view properly until *Opyt istorii mysli novogo vremeni* began to be published in 1888. Here he explained:

В этом смысле историческая жизнь есть процесс *сознательного развития*, имеющий место в обществе с определенными культурными формами. Те доли этого общества, которые, для устройства своей жизни в данной общественной среде, в данной культуре, не приспособляются сами к этой культуре, но стремятся переработать последнюю сообразно своему представлению о развитии, живут *исторической жизнью*, как бы, впрочем, ни были верны или ошибочны их понятия о развитии.³⁴

Not every member of a civilization lives historically. Those who do, namely the group that Lavrov would formerly have called 'critically thinking individuals', were now labelled as the intelligentsia. Lavrov defined this group as follows:

[...] выделяется в иных случаях и приобретает влияние на общество группа личностей, способных наслаждаться развитием и вырабатывающих *потребность развития*. Этой группы будет здесь присвоено название *интеллигенции* и она выступает как двигатель сознательных изменений культуры в противоположность непреднамеренным ее изменениям до тех пор имевшим место. Ее дело - переработка *культуры мыслью*. С началом этой сознательной работы начинается *историческая жизнь* человечества и в процессе переработки культуры мыслью эта жизнь обнаруживается.³⁵

As this passage suggests, however, culture is far from being a dispensable part of historical development. This is a process that results from the interaction of culture and thought, and while Lavrov may have valued thought more highly than culture, still, the process requires both parts, as he wrote in *Opyt istorii mysli novogo vremeni*:

Тогда мы получим, с одной стороны, область унаследованную, непереработанную мыслью, область общественной среды, *обычной культуры*, или просто *культуры*; с другой - область переработки среды человеком во имя его стремлений к развитию, область работы *мысли*, как подготовительницы новых исторических периодов, область *исторической жизни*. Взаимодействие последней с областью *культуры* и составляет все содержание *исторических цивилизаций*.³⁶

Further, Lavrov did not forget his 'biological' theory of culture, in which culture is the source of social behaviour in all species that live as a group. Lavrov now

³⁴*Opyt istorii mysli novogo vremeni*, p. 21.

³⁵*Zadachi ponimaniia istorii*, p. 30. See also: *Opyt istorii mysli novogo vremeni*, p. 22. Lavrov began to use the term 'intelligentsia' in 1873, but it did not become a regular feature of his works until now.

³⁶*Opyt istorii mysli novogo vremeni*, p. 21.

consistently associated the origins of solidarity among humans with culture, for example in 'Sotsializm i bor'ba za sushchestvovanie':

С первого культурного общества животных солидарность членов группы была могучим орудием в борьбе групп за существование и, обеспечивая группы, тем самым обеспечивала огромное число ее членов при готовности каждого жертвовать для целого.³⁷

The connection between solidarity, which he prized, and culture, of which he was now suspicious because of its conservative character, indicates a fairly fundamental problem in his thought after 1870, and one which stands out more clearly in *Zadachi ponimaniia istorii*:

Из потребности солидарности вытекает постоянное стремление к господству неизменного *обычая*, к установлению обычных форм быта и вообще к подчинению индивидуальной мысли и деятельности устанавливающимся формам общежития; иначе говоря - к формам культуры, в которых господствует *наклонность к застою*.³⁸

A similar problem regarding the incompatibility of solidarity and criticism in Lavrov's thought will be discussed in the final chapter on the state.

On the whole, Lavrov's attitude to culture became less humanist after 1870, principally because he ceased to see any value in culture as it was related to custom, and also because he divorced development and critical thought from his theory of culture. The change in his thought in this year is marked by a decline in optimism. As has been remarked, the humanist attitude toward culture is optimistic, because humanists believe that culture can and must transmit customs, habits and values while at the same time permitting these to develop and change. There is no obvious explanation for why Lavrov, who seemed to share this optimism to some extent, changed his mind in 1870 and now regarded culture as a purely conservative force. This development does, however, correspond with a loss of confidence in the capacity of Russian society to change (other than through revolution). Lavrov's decision to leave Russia in 1870 and join the revolutionary movement abroad seems to have been motivated by a new conviction that attempts to alter the system from the inside would not yield any fruitful results.

³⁷'Sotsializm i bor'ba za sushchestvovanie', p. 374.

³⁸*Zadachi ponimaniia istorii*, p. 35.

Chapter 5: Idealization of Greece

Humanists of the Renaissance and in early nineteenth century Germany have looked to classical antiquity, and especially to ancient Greece, as a period when their ideals came closest to being realized. Niethammer, for example, spoke in glowing terms of the harmonious existence and coexistence of the Greeks, who 'acted with an undivided mind and unseparated striving'. They were distinguished equally 'by harmony of feeling and thought, content and form, unity, intimacy and solidity, as by purity, clarity and poise'.¹ Humanists believe that knowledge about classical antiquity is beneficial to human beings, although it is not pure knowledge about classical antiquity that matters, nor do humanists wish their contemporaries simply to imitate the Greeks. Rather, they advocate that one must allow oneself to be inspired by the Greeks. Wilhelm von Humboldt commented that the greatness of the Greeks 'has sprung from nature and humanity so pure, true and real, that it does not force itself upon us in its own way, but rather prompts and attracts us inspiringly according to our own way. [It does so] by heightening our independence and only binds itself to us through the idea of final perfection, of which it is an undeniable image. It also allows us to pursue [the image of perfection], although by different means'.² This was also important to Niethammer, who called the Greeks 'guiding stars',³ but stressed that one should not look to them for 'regulations according to which one should form one's own representations, but rather to allow the content and form of the masterpieces to fill one with immediate enthusiasm'.⁴

The study of Greek language, culture, history and philosophy is deemed by humanists to have an elevating effect on the student. According to Niethammer, studying the Greek language alone is a many-sided training of human faculties: of the mind as well as of sensibility.⁵ For Humboldt, reading about classical Greece generally makes one a 'greater, more noble person'.⁶ Classical languages, literature and history should, for these reasons, be an integral part of education. This is one respect in which Lavrov differed from humanists. He was not classically educated, had only a scant knowledge of Greek and Latin, and does not seem to have felt that the study of 'dead'

¹Niethammer, *Der Streit*, p. 235.

²Wilhelm von Humboldt, quoted in Kurt Grube, *Wilhelm von Humboldts Bildungsphilosophie*, Halle, 1935, p. 90.

³Niethammer, *Der Streit*, p. 235.

⁴Niethammer, *Der Streit*, p. 224.

⁵Niethammer, *Der Streit*, p. 222. According to Niethammer, this was especially important for Germans, whose bad literary taste could only be counteracted by reading and studying classical texts (pp. 235-36).

⁶Wilhelm von Humboldt, 'Briefe an F. A. Wolf', *Wilhelm von Humboldts Gesammelte Werke*, 7 vols, Berlin, 1841-52, V, pp. 1-316: 5-6.

languages, at least, was of particular importance to the development of the young mind.⁷

In spite of this, Lavrov allowed himself to be inspired by ancient Greece and Greece was a prominent feature in his works from the late 1860s onward, especially between 1870 and 1874, when he wrote about it at some length in four works. It occupied a smaller place in *Istoricheskie pis'ma* than in 'Filosofiia istorii slavian' (1870), 'Rol' slavian v istorii mysli' (1872) and 'Iz istorii sotsial'nykh uchenii' (1874). Greek history and philosophy were not common areas of interest among Russian thinkers at this time. Greece and Rome had attracted some attention among the generation of Russian thinkers who were slightly older than Lavrov, such as the Slavophiles and Herzen. Pisarev published two pieces on Greek philosophy in 1861,⁸ but after him, no outstanding radical thinker seems to have devoted any considerable time or space to this subject. Nor have many scholars commented upon this theme in Lavrov's works.⁹

References to classical Greece in Lavrov's writings appear from the time he began to keep a diary in the early 1840s¹⁰ as well as in works of the 1850s and 1860s. These references do not, however, indicate any serious interest in or influence of classical texts. Lavrov spoke of the classical world generally, without distinguishing, as he later emphatically did, between Greece and Rome, and he usually only mentioned Greece and Rome by way of illustrating some wider historical or philosophical issue. He mentioned figures from classical Greece and Rome in 'Ocherki voprosov prakticheskoi filosofii' (1859), partly, one suspects, in order to flaunt his erudition.¹¹ There is, however, one passage in this text in which he did attribute some special significance to the Greco-Roman world, namely where he claimed that Greeks and Romans had defended the principle of personal development and individual freedom:

⁷P. L. Lavrov, 'Idei o klassicheskom i real'nom obrazovanii v Anglii nashego vremeni', *Vestnik Evropy*, III, 1867, pp. 4-18; 'Chto delaetsia na rodine? VI. Nashi prosvetiteli', *Vpered!*, I, 1873, pp. 38-55: 48.

⁸A. I. Herzen, *Pis'ma ob izuchenii prirody*, 'Pis'mo tret'e. Grecheskaia filosofiia', *Sobranie sochinenii v tridsati tomakh*, Moscow, 1954-64, III, pp. 142-87; D. I. Pisarev, 'Idealizm Platona', *Izbrannye filosofskie i obshchestvenno-politicheskie stat'i*, ed. V.S. Kruzhkova, Leningrad, 1949, pp. 39-67; D. I. Pisarev, 'Apollonii Tianskii', *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii D. I. Pisareva v shesti tomakh*, fifth edition, St Petersburg, 1907-12, II, pp. 1-166.

⁹The role of Greece in Lavrov's thought has been mentioned in two unpublished dissertations: Panin, *P. L. Lavrov - istorik*, p. 12; N. I. Mitroshenkova, *P. L. Lavrov kak istorik russkoi filosofskoi i obshchestvenno-politicheskoi mysli XIX v.*, Avtoreferat kandidatskoi dissertatsii, Moscow, 1987, p. 13.

¹⁰Lavrov spelled out the Greek word for fate in his diaries on two separate occasions without further comment: 28. VIII. 1840, the second entry has no date but is probably from 1841: 'Dnevnik i stikhotvoreniia', pp. 23, 40. A poem from 1854 is about the vain search of Diogenes the Cynic for the true human being: 'Stikhotvoreniia', GARF, 1762 2 340, p. 138.

¹¹One gathers this in the introduction, where Lavrov compares Aristotle's political theories with those of thinkers of the nineteenth century: 'Ocherki voprosov', p. 341.

Самообладающая личность, физически сильная и прекрасная, могучая знанием и творческим умом, стала идеалом *достойной* личности. Это был идеал классического мира, который сохранился со времени Одиссея до стоиков, видоизменяясь в подробностях, смотря по тому, требовало ли человечество, полное сил и надежд, практической деятельности от своих полубогов и героев или в разочаровании Катонов ограничивалось страдательным самообладанием. Идеал этой свободной личности, связанной лишь необходимостью, не знающей других двигателей, кроме своего произвола и своего достоинства, вошел в римское право.¹²

This passage may be considered 'humanist' in the sense that it celebrates the ancient Greeks for having achieved the many-sided development of the person. Where Lavrov refers to free will and necessity in the Greek view of the person, he resembles Wilhelm von Humboldt, who praised the Greeks for recognising laws of necessity at the same time as the person's arbitrary will.¹³

Lavrov's words here have a distinctly 'humanist' ring, but are different to what he would later say about classical antiquity. Firstly, Lavrov began to distinguish between Greece, to which he attributed many positive qualities, and Rome, to which he increasingly attributed only negative qualities. Lavrov, for example, subscribed to the notion that Latin culture was entirely derivative. In his article on St. Augustine (1861), Lavrov wrote that all of Roman philosophy was borrowed from the Greeks:

'Латинский мир не имел самостоятельной философии. Греческое мышление доставляло весь материал для позднейших философских писателей'.¹⁴ Rome and all things Roman did not, however, come under serious attack until Lavrov wrote 'Zhenshchiny vo Frantsii v XVII-XVIII vekakh' in 1867. Here, the vicious nature of the Romans, even around the time of the Republic, was held up against the virtue of the Athenians: 'Как воображение римлян бледнее, так и тип - нравственно ниже, мысль - хуже'.¹⁵ Lavrov took Lucretia as a representative of all Romans:

Лукреция служит лишь поводом к политическому движению и умирает за честь домашнего очага; но в ней мы узнаем одну из этих здоровых, ограниченных римских матрон, которые родят и воспитают ряд узкоголовых, эгоистических воинов-грабителей

¹²'Ocherki voprosov', p. 387.

¹³Humboldt, 'Latium und Hellas', p. 153. Herzen made the same assertion in *Pis'ma ob izuchenii prirody*, p. 146.

¹⁴'Avgustin', p. 164.

¹⁵'Zhenshchiny vo Frantsii', part 1, p. 47. Not all Greeks were presented in a positive light. Lavrov objected to Spartans: 'Пред нами целое общество, воспитавшее женщин-гражданок, с таким же грубым, кровавым и несокрушимым патриотизмом, как их отцы и мужья.' 'Zhenshchiny vo Frantsii', part 1, p. 46.

мира, непреклонная решимость которых придает им нечто героическое.¹⁶

Ancient Greece and republican Rome were seen, at this point, to have one feature in common, namely that they did not foster individualism, and Lavrov appears to have considered this to be a progressive feature. In both societies women were influential, but did not distinguish themselves as individuals. When they exercised influence, according to Lavrov, they did so as one of many rather than 'making history' as individuals: 'Влияние женщины заметно, но уже не как отдельной личности: история и легенда сохраняет след единиц, но это - единицы из многих других не отмеченных'.¹⁷ In the same passage, Lavrov made the same point in a different way by remarking that Athenians were 'general types', which one may take to mean that every individual could be seen a representative of society at large. This attitude fits his later claim that one of the greatest Greek achievements was to create an 'organic state' which was characterized by close ties between its citizens.

At the end of the 1860s, Lavrov found two principal virtues in ancient Greece. The first was that Greeks had developed the 'right' attitude toward living as a community (even if they did not fully achieve it in reality), and had also discovered the 'right' political arrangement, namely federalism. Lavrov never allowed himself to overlook the fact that Greek society and economy had depended on slaves, and he always balanced his praise of the Greeks with a condemnation of their toleration of slavery. Indeed, he liked to warn that it was this system of inequality that brought about the downfall of classical civilization.¹⁸ Nevertheless, in *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, where he emphasized the failings of the Greeks in this regard, he also referred to a 'Hellenic ideal of the just life'.¹⁹ By 1872, Lavrov had become much more enthusiastic about the Greeks and claimed that they had created a 'rational communal life [...] on the basis of the striving of the human being toward the good; toward that which is useful to all, toward the just'.²⁰

¹⁶'Zhenshchiny vo Frantsii', part 1, p. 47. Lucretia was a legendary Roman matron of noble birth, who committed suicide after having been outraged by Sextus Tarquinius, son of the Roman king, Tarquinius Superbus. This event led to the expulsion of the Tarquins and to the foundation of the Roman republic in the fifth century BC. Chernyshevskii also referred to this episode in 'Antropologicheskii printsip v filosofii', p. 241.

¹⁷'Zhenshchiny vo Frantsii', part 1, p. 46.

¹⁸*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 46; 'Filosofiia istorii slavian', part 1, p. 413; 'Komu prinadlezhit budushchee?', p. 70; 'Iz istorii sotsial'nykh uchenii': here, Lavrov's critique of the Greeks focused more on how 'bourgeois' they became as a consequence of flourishing trade than on the evils of slavery, pp. 200-01.

¹⁹*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 47.

²⁰'Rol' slavian v istorii mysli', p. 320.

With relation to their civic life, the Greeks sought to establish what Lavrov believed to be the best kind of state, namely the 'organic state'.²¹ In 'Filosofiia istorii slavian' (1870), where he expounded these ideas, he defined 'strivings toward an organic state' as follows:

[...] их можно признать более сильными там, где большее число лиц участвует в политической жизни, сознавая, что государственная связь поддерживает в них эту жизнь и увеличивает средства их экономического, умственного развития и их общественной деятельности; там, где местные центры имеют полную возможность преследовать свои самостоятельные цели без вреда общей связи, и эта общая связь несколько не отвлекает общественные соки от различных местных центров; там, где политические вопросы вошли в жизненный обиход частного человека, государственные интересы суть личные интересы граждан.²²

The Greeks were great because they strove to create such a state, even if they did not succeed: 'Греция в развитие государственной жизни внесла *положительный* элемент: требование организма, и это дозволило развиваться в ней всем сторонам человеческой жизни.'²³ Lavrov also approved of the fact that the Greeks were able freely and wilfully to sacrifice themselves for the good of the state: 'Греческий идеал заключается в добровольном и свободном подчинении личности к государству, а механического подчинения греки понять не могли.'²⁴

²¹The notion of an 'organic state' was probably taken from Hegel, who developed this idea in early works. In Hegel's organic state, individuality and division in social relationships is transcended by 'totality' and 'unity'. Human relations are not defined contractually, but by means of 'organic links'. See: G. R. G. Mure, *The Philosophy of Hegel*, London, 1965, pp. 43-61; G. W. F. Hegel, 'Über die wissenschaftlichen Behandlungsarten des Naturrechts, seine Stelle in der praktischen Philosophie und sein Verhältnis zu den positiven Rechtswissenschaften', *Werke in zwanzig Bänden*, ed. Eva Moldenhauer and Karl Markus Michel, Frankfurt am Main, 1970-79, pp. 434-530: especially 440-41. Lavrov's 'Hegelian' period is generally thought to have been much earlier - in the late 1850s. There is no indication that Lavrov began to read Hegel again now, nor did he refer to Hegel in the context of discussions of the 'organic state'.

²²'Filosofiia istorii slavian', part 1, pp. 393-94. The Romans, on the other hand, were accused of attempting to create a 'mechanical' or 'machine state', which he ranked above the 'predatory state', but nevertheless condemned: 'Несколько выше точка зрения тех, которые к предыдущему присоединяют условие прочности, поддерживаемой не только силой оружия, но искусной административной централизацией, юридическим однообразием, хотя бы эта государственная связь была куплена ценой нравственного и умственного унижения большинства населения, уничтожением политического смысла и политической жизни в местных центрах, подавлением личного развития, а следовательно вымиранием самых оснований, на которых возможен какой-либо прочный общественный строй.' (p. 393)

²³'Filosofiia istorii slavian', part 1, p. 420.

²⁴'Filosofiia istorii slavian', part 1, pp. 413, 415. Here, the Greeks were again contrasted with the Romans, of whom Lavrov wrote: 'римская история представляет образцы глубочайшего личного эгоизма с забвением общественных интересов, глубочайшей жестокости и недобросовестности во внешних сношениях, при отвратительном лицемерии в

Where Lavrov spoke of the Greeks' attempts to establish an 'organic' state, he did not always distinguish clearly between an 'organic' state and an 'organic' society, or 'organic' links between members of society. What was implied in this organic theory was the harmonious fusion of individual development and freedom of thought with close ties uniting all members of society: 'В летописях, сохранившихся в истории древнего мира, Греция первая постаралась осуществить закон развития всякого политического общества: политическое целое может прогрессировать лишь путем свободного развития личностей органически связанных между собою и с целым.'²⁵ He even wrote in the same article that Greece was the 'only representative in antiquity of an understanding of the organic link between the person and society, between thought and culture, between the citizen and the state'.²⁶

In 'Iz istorii sotsial'nykh uchenii' (1874), Lavrov attacked the Greeks from a Marxist perspective, explaining that they could not attain a true understanding of society because they did not appreciate the importance of 'universal labour'.²⁷ But in 'Politicheskie tipy XVIII veka' (1880), where Lavrov digressed to expound his views on the virtues of classical Greece, he again praised Greek social and political life, especially for 'bringing an organic link into their political life'. In the passage below, Lavrov seems almost to have been swept away by the picture of Greece he was presenting. Even if he was not inspired by Greece artistically, it did 'prompt and attract him inspiringly in his own way', as Humboldt would have said:

В ряду законодательных попыток и конституционных реформ ищут лучших, разумнейших форм политического общежития. [...] Государственный патриотизм мелких центров встречается с национально-культурным патриотизмом эллинизма. Вырабатывается объединяющая цивилизация, связывая новый слой обще-греческого обычая, обще-греческой литературы и философии, обще-греческих мифов и мистерий, причем все это сохраняет еще тесную связь с традиционным народным, даже местным, обычаем, и в универсальных идеях теоретической философии, и в универсальных идеалах практической предприимчивости, эта цивилизация становится способной сделаться началом апостольства, началом переработки обособленных национальностей в единое человечество. [...] Эллинизм составляет духовное начало солидарности развитых людей и потому мог создать в истории единую Грецию, независимо от жалких и возмутительных соперничеств городов между собою, мелких

соблюдении форм. Оно становится понятным, когда мы усвоили мысль, что формализм государственности был главным делом для Рима.' (p. 415)

²⁵Filosofiiia istorii slavian', part 1, p. 418.

²⁶Filosofiiia istorii slavian', part 1, p. 419.

²⁷Iz istorii sotsial'nykh uchenii', pp. 197-209, especially p. 198.

себялюбивых партий и личностей внутри этих городов. Во всех этих жалких или возмутительных эпизодах политической жизни, во всех этих мелких и себялюбивых политических деятелях внимательный наблюдатель видит проявление стремления, следы которого до того он не встречает нигде, - стремления создать органическую связь как внутри *свободного* населения каждой отдельной республики, так и между всеми *развитыми* личностями, приступающими к греческой цивилизации, и между всеми политическими силами греческих городов.²⁸

In 'Politicheskie tipy XVIII veka', Lavrov also praised the Greeks for discovering independent thought, which they asserted over habit and custom, which brought Greek culture, or civilization, to the highest level achieved by any society until then.²⁹ The combination of adherence to tradition, described above, with critical reworking of habit and custom makes Greece a prime example of a society that met Lavrov's 'humanist' demands of culture from the middle of his career.

Lavrov regarded the development of Greek thought both as a product of its federal state system³⁰ and also as the source of everything that was positive about Greek state and society: 'В ее колониях, на почве, где царство обычая не могло быть так сильно, возникает работа самостоятельной мысли, попытка разумного мирозерцания в противоположность традиционному, попытка внести органическую связь в политическую жизнь.'³¹ In 'Iz istorii sotsial'nykh uchenii' (1874), Lavrov claimed that they were the first people ever to attempt consciously to form a better society, which again was credited to their ability to think critically: 'Греция была первая страна, где во всех областях мышления религиозные мотивы уступили мотивам философской и научной критики. В ней первой мы можем искать попытки решить вопрос о рациональной постройке общества.'³²

In the early 1870s, Lavrov repeatedly remarked on the Greek 'discovery' of critical thought, for example in 'Rol' slavian v istorii mysli' (1872),³³ but especially in 'Iz istorii sotsial'nykh uchenii'. Here, he wrote that the great achievement of the Greeks was not to let themselves be overly impressed by habit and tradition, but rather to think for themselves:

Самый существенный успех здесь заключался в том, что для передовых мыслителей предание, как предание, потеряло свое руководящее, подавляющее влияние, что поэтому политические

²⁸'Politicheskie tipy', pp. 99-100.

²⁹'Politicheskie tipy', p. 99.

³⁰*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 228.

³¹'Politicheskie tipy', p. 99.

³²'Iz istorii sotsial'nykh uchenii', p. 197.

³³'Rol' slavian v istorii mysli', p. 320.

формы, точно так же, как религиозные верования или экономические и домашние отношения, могли подвергаться пересмотру[...]³⁴

The Greeks produced the 'father of pan-human secular philosophy', Thales.³⁵ In 'Rol' slavian v istorii mysli', he said they had developed the first 'critically thinking, civilized minority',³⁶ while in 'Sotsializm i bor'ba za sushchestvovanie' (1875), he referred to the Greeks as 'that people, which brought almost all elements of critical thought into the world'.³⁷ Lavrov was also pleased to describe in 'Iz istorii sotsial'nykh uchenii', how members of this minority, namely the sophists, had spread critical thought among the populace:

Они высказали громко перед обществом, – которое до тех пор жило уважением к преданию, даже тогда, когда отменяло старые предания, – что древний обычай не имеет никакого самостоятельного права на уважение; что всякое знание, как всякое жизненное действие, не безусловно, а только *относительно*; что «человек есть мера всему»; что, следовательно, во имя пользы можно изменять все общественные порядки [...]³⁸

Here, Lavrov referred to Protagoras, whom he later listed in 'Biografiia-ispoved', along with the sceptics of the Second Academy and several modern thinkers, as someone in whom he was able to identify his own thoughts, particularly his 'anthropological' point of view:

Для мирозерцания, которому Лавров следует, он предпочитает употреблять название антропологизма. Он видит проявление этого направления у Протагора, находит возможным проследить его воззрения у древних скептиков, особенно во второй Академии, когда вырабатывалось понятие о вероятнейшем[...]³⁹

This statement is ambiguous, because it invites one to believe that these philosophers influenced Lavrov, although he only indicates sympathy or identification with their ideas.⁴⁰ Lavrov's identification with Protagoras can be attributed to one common idea, namely the one expressed in the phrase that was quoted above: 'man is the measure of all things - of all things that are, that they are; of all things that are not, that they are not'. It is typical of Lavrov to find his own point of view in such an ambiguous

³⁴'Iz istorii sotsial'nykh uchenii', p. 198.

³⁵'Iz istorii sotsial'nykh uchenii', p. 206.

³⁶'Rol' slavian v istorii mysli', p. 320.

³⁷'Sotsializm i bor'ba', p. 375.

³⁸'Iz istorii sotsial'nykh uchenii', p. 204.

³⁹'Biografiia-ispoved', p. 90. The other thinkers whom he listed were 'theoreticians of experience' (empiricists?) 'sensualists' (?), Kant, Feuerbach and neo-Kantians, especially Albert Lange. This passage has sometimes been used to 'prove' Lavrov's debt to these thinkers or to show his eclecticism, but has not been subjected to careful analysis.

⁴⁰Zen'kovskii has interpreted this statement to indicate 'deep influence', *Istoriia*, I, part 2, p. 157.

statement, which may be interpreted to mean that each person's perceptions of an object or phenomenon are subjective, and that every person's perceptions are as legitimate as those of any other.⁴¹

The Second Academy, also referred to above, was the continuation of the Academy founded by Plato. In the third century BC, it became associated with scepticism as well as with anti-dogmatism, which it represented in opposition to the Stoics. Sceptics of the Second Academy claimed that, not only did they not know anything, like Socrates, but they did not even know that they did not know anything. In public, they did not take an official, positive position on most philosophical or moral questions, but reserved for themselves the right to hold private opinions. Lavrov referred to what is known as their 'probablism': among themselves, they might discuss the pro and contra of an issue and then express a preference as to what they thought was most likely to be true, but they sought not to impose these opinions on others. Each person must decide each issue on the basis of reason alone, and not on authority.⁴² This is a proposition with which Lavrov must have agreed, and he is also likely to have sympathized with their anti-dogmatism.

Lavrov's anthropologism maintains that one can not know anything other than that of which one is conscious. One can never be certain whether one's perceptions of the outside world correspond to things as they 'really' are.⁴³ An impression is incorrect if and only if it is contradicted by other impressions in the same person.⁴⁴ Consequently, all coherently thinking and feeling people have equal claim to the validity of their impressions. Lavrov did not, however, use the term 'truth' here, rather, where he discussed the validity of impressions, for example in 'Tri besedy o sovremennom znachenii filosofii', he only spoke of likelihood: 'С каждым найденным из этих признаков, наше предположение более и более оправдывается, делается более и более *вероятным*'.⁴⁵ One may believe that one's perceptions are correct, and if one makes a judgement, one may believe that the judgement is the one most likely to be correct, but one may never attach an absolute value to perceptions and

⁴¹ Ambiguities include whether Protagoras meant one man or group of men in particular, or all of mankind. Further, many have asked whether each person's subjective impressions are considered by Protagoras to be objectively true, or whether he merely wanted to point out that judgement and perception of truth in the individual is subjective. It has also been asked whether he believed that objects or phenomena might contain two or more opposite qualities, so that people who had different perceptions of the same object might both be right in noticing different and contradictory qualities. See: Frederick Copleston, *A History of Philosophy*, 9 vols, London, 1961-75, I, pp. 87-91.

⁴² I. G. Kidd, 'Greek Academy', *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Paul Edwards, 8 vols, New York and London, 1967, III, pp. 382-85.

⁴³ 'Chto takoe antropologiya', p. 482.

⁴⁴ 'Tri besedy', pp. 521-23.

⁴⁵ 'Tri besedy', p. 522.

judgements. This must be why Lavrov felt an affinity for the 'probablism' of sceptics of the Second Academy, on the other hand, there is an evident tension between this position and his moral antipathy to scepticism in the name of fervently held ideals.

On the whole, Lavrov's interest in Greece was eclectic. He was not interested in all aspects of Greek philosophy and history, indeed, he even questioned whether these were necessarily of interest to Greeks themselves: 'Гомериды будут всегда воспевать поединки Ахиллов и Гекторов, но какой смысл для Аристотеля имеет борьба за прекрасную Елену?'⁴⁶ When considering the wishes of Renaissance thinkers to resurrect the Classical age, Lavrov judged that these dreams were misguided. 'В сочинениях древности не оказалось ни неисчерпываемого источника знания, ни непоколебимого начала житейской мудрости. Философия могла быть достоянием кабинетных ученых, но воскресить древний мир после тысячелетнего погребения оказалось невозможным.'⁴⁷ Nevertheless, Lavrov did attribute a special historical function to the Greeks, namely as the first people to develop an 'organic state' and critical thought, and he also identified Greece as the birthplace of some aspects of his anthropologism. What was 'humanist' about Lavrov's attitude toward Greece was not simply that he knew something about it and saw some value in the Greek contribution to human development, however. Rather, his attitude was similar to that of humanists because he found the realization of some of his ideals in ancient Greece and allowed himself to be 'inspired' by the Greek way of life.

⁴⁶*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 235.

⁴⁷'Didro i Lessing', p. 158.

Chapter six: Theory of the federal state between 1868-1870

The humanist attitude toward the state is an ambiguous one. On the one hand, humanists fear that a powerful state may prevent free personal development and personal achievement. On the other hand, they regard the state, if it allows citizens to participate in government, as an institution which enables human beings to work together as a group in striving to realize their ideals. Humanists tend to think that the federal state fulfils this purpose best, because individuals have the greatest opportunity to participate in the government of their community if administrative power lies at a local level. The power and function of the central state is reduced to the protection of the region as a whole and of fundamental, universal principles, such as basic human rights. Further, humanists, especially Wilhelm von Humboldt, feel that the division of the state into regions can in itself be fruitful. A single state can develop in isolation, to some extent, but its development will always be 'one-sided', whereas the subdivision of a nation into smaller states provides for greater variety and more opportunities for discovery and exchange of ideas. Greece is an example of a state that was enriched by its subdivision into smaller states.¹ Lavrov agreed that in Greece, 'the mutual community of different nations, almost all of which stood on different levels of culture, and possessed a different type of development, created a situation in which some elements could be carried over from one nation into the other, [...] or at least more, than if each one had existed in isolation'.²

Lavrov recognized the same potentials and dangers in the state that humanists did. Especially until 1870, he saw the state as a universal, guiding idea that represented people's decisions about how to organize their common lives, similar to the 'organic' link described in the preceding chapter. Lavrov believed in a kind of federalism (although he did not immediately attach a name to his views),³ in which practical decisions were made at the local level, giving individual members of society wide opportunities to shape the political life and environment in which they lived. The central state stood over localities, protecting universal, progressive values, guaranteeing the individual freedom and a many-sided development. According to Lavrov, this was to be achieved by allowing every person free movement within the larger territory of the

¹Wilhelm von Humboldt, 'Über das Studium des Alterthums und des griechischen insbesondere', *Wilhelm von Humboldts Gesammelte Schriften*, 17 vols, Berlin, 1968, I, pp. 255-81: 273-74.

²*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 228.

³In the 1870 edition of *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, he described a state comprised of autonomous regions as a 'union' (p. 216). In the second, 1891 edition of the same work, he used the term 'federation' (p. 325) and did not substantially change any of the ideas expressed in the first edition. He also spoke of a 'worker's federation' in 'Gosudarstvennyi element' (p. 303).

central state in order to find a locality whose culture and customs suited his or her needs and ideals.

The state, however, can also pose a threat to human freedom, something which concerned both Lavrov and Humboldt. For this reason, Humboldt's famous position in *Ideen zu einem Versuch, die Grenzen der Wirksamkeit des Staates zu bestimmen* was that state power must be reduced as much as possible.⁴ After 1870, Lavrov became increasingly suspicious of the state and began to argue that it should eventually be abolished altogether. This has earned him the reputation of an anarchist, and it is now commonly thought that Lavrov categorically rejected the principle of the state.⁵

Support for this view has been found in 'Gosudarstvennyi element v budushchem obshchestve', published in *Vpered!* in 1875-76. Here, Lavrov wrote that by its very essence, the state element is an element of '*compulsion*, because *it is not an element of social solidarity*, but only an indication of a lack thereof'; the state prevents the establishment of the vital, 'organic link' in society.⁶ Consequently, the state element in society must be reduced to a minimum and, eventually, be abolished.⁷ One scholar, however, has explained that there are numerous contradictions in Lavrov's views on the state. Novomirskii pointed out that Lavrov was an anarchist, because he rejected the state, but nonetheless argued in support of socialism as a state form, and was a federalist.⁸ Novomirskii also commented that Lavrov warned against the dangers of the compulsion of the individual by the state but proceeded to 'sacrifice' the individual to social opinion.⁹

The aim of this chapter is to show that, at least in the middle period of his career, Lavrov was not an anarchist, but believed in a federal state system. There are a few indications that Lavrov's sympathies for federalism developed early on, although he did not write very much on social and especially political themes before his arrest in 1866, perhaps for the obvious reason that he wished to avoid censorship. Still, a sympathy for federalism is evident in an essay he wrote for *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, entitled 'Avtonomiia' (1861):

Государство есть живой организм [...] Государство есть
многосложное целое, члены которого составляют отдельные
общины, общественные союзы и областные управления. [...]

⁴Humboldt, *Ideen zu einem Versuch*, especially pp. 30-31.

⁵See, for example: Stoianov, 'Anarkhizm i P. L. Lavrov', pp. 50-59; Kaplan, 'Ot sostavitelia', p. 20.

⁶'Gosudarstvennyi element', pp. 392-93.

⁷'Gosudarstvennyi element', pp. 395-96.

⁸Novomirskii, *Na puti*, on anarchism: pp. 401-02, 448, on federalism: pp. 433-34, 444. V. Trutovskii also remarked that Lavrov was a federalist: V. Trutovskii, 'Sotsializm v uchenii P. Lavrova', *"Vpered!"*, pp. 15-19: 19.

⁹Novomirskii, *Na puti*, pp. 402, 411-15.

Преимущество общинной и областной автономии состоит не только в том, что она благоприятствует свободе, публичной жизни, местной самостоятельности пред системой централизации, но и в том, что она удобнее в правительственном отношении, потому что кто видит вещи вблизи, тот по собственному наблюдению и опыту судит лучше, скорее и дешевле может все сделать, нежели тот, кто управляет издали, не имея сам непосредственного сведения о местных и индивидуальных отношениях.¹⁰

One immediately apparent difference between the way he wrote about the state in this period and the way he did so later, however, was that in this period Lavrov was still hesitantly reacting against Russia's monarchy and bureaucracy. A few years later, he had rejected them to the extent that they no longer entered into his calculations.

The clearest indication of Lavrov's sympathy for federalism was the extremely favourable comments that he made about the United States in numerous works between 1868 and 1870. In 'Severo-amerikanskoe sektatorstvo' (1868) Lavrov commented on the high level of literacy,¹¹ and he also noted progress made toward the equality of women in American society.¹² It was the fact that the United States was a federation that impressed him most, however. He wrote in 'Filosofiia istorii slavian' (1870), for example: 'Америка представила образец государственного строя, к которому постоянно обращаются взоры всех мыслящих людей Европы, и где органическая жизнь в политическом теле развивалась до высокой степени.'¹³ He believed that the American state system was successful, but not perfect:

В Соединенных Штатах Северной Америки сделана попытка, – до сих пор самая широкая в истории, – соединить довольно сильное государственное единство, способное расшириться до каких угодно пределов, с возможно полной самостоятельностью главных центров. Но Штаты Северной Америки представляют в этом отношении еще слишком крупные единицы, не допускающие всеобщего участия населения в важнейших функциях политической жизни, а потому не представляющие ручательства в том, что все население штата считает себя действительно солидарным с государственным договором, т. е. конституцией штата.¹⁴

Lavrov distinguished three bases of power in a federal system, namely the central state, the regional state and the individual person,¹⁵ each of which will be discussed below.

¹⁰P. L. Lavrov, 'Avtonomiia', *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, I, pp. 404-05: 405.

¹¹'Severo-amerikanskoe sektatorstvo', part 1, pp. 406-07.

¹²'Severo-amerikanskoe sektatorstvo', part 2, pp. 311-21.

¹³'Filosofiia istorii slavian', part 2, p. 81.

¹⁴*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 215.

¹⁵'Severo-amerikanskoe sektatorstvo', part 1, p. 411. This comment was made with regard to the organization of civil society in the United States, but this may be taken to be true for federal systems as a whole.

A. The central state

Between 1868-70, Lavrov presented his readers with two different concepts of the central state, which he referred to indiscriminately as *soiuznaia vlast'*, *tsentral'naia vlast'*, or *gosudarstvo*. One concept of state included a negative evaluation and defined the state as a force of physical compulsion over the population. The state, understood in this way, was a product of culture or of past developments, and not of thought: 'государство есть, собственно, вовсе не продукт разума и обдуманности, а естественное культурное явление в общественной жизни'.¹⁶ A second, positively evaluated concept of the state treated it as an idea embodying progress, or as a symbol for the united striving of its citizens. In this sense, the state is founded on the 'imperative of reason': 'государство же стремится основать свое существование и единство на обязательности разума, а не на историческом принуждении'.¹⁷ Lavrov declared that there is no compatibility between these two forms of state.¹⁸

According to Lavrov, the United States was, at least in this period, an example of the central state in its positive sense. In 'Filosofii istorii slavian', he described the central government of the United States as representing and defending a 'universal', progressive idea: 'Она поставила общечеловечную мысль над всеми культурами в самодержавии конгресса и союзной конституции, охраняющей общие начала человеческого развития, выработанные мыслью из ее исторического опыта'.¹⁹ He contrasted the United States with Britain, which he called a 'cultural-historical type of organism', and of which he wrote: 'он вовсе не продукт общечеловеческого элемента цивилизации, не продукт мысли, а вырос органическим развитием местной, обособленной культуры'.²⁰

In its positive sense, the central state defends absolute, progressive principles, as he said, 'laws of truth and justice':

Центральная же власть должна при этом удерживать за собой охранение лишь тех законов, общих для всей территории, которые составляют не исторически-выработанные условия культуры, не

¹⁶*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 196.

¹⁷*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 218.

¹⁸*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 201: 'Два источника государственной связи – естественное начало принудительности и обдуманное начало договора, – вступают в столкновение, потому что последнее, во имя справедливости, стремится уменьшить принудительность.'

¹⁹*Filosofii istorii slavian*, part 2, p. 119.

²⁰*Filosofii istorii slavian*, part 2, pp. 118-19.

результат местных требований или временных увлечений, а неизменные законы науки относительно общечеловеческой истины и общечеловеческой справедливости [...] Научность и общечеловечность этих законов должны сами собою иметь следствием приложимость их ко всем местностям, независимо от культурного разнообразия общества. Обязательность и принудительность этих законов может иметь лишь тот смысл, что условия прогресса для всего общества – обязательно охранить от частных убеждений личностей; но по мере развития общества, эта обязательность переходит все более из государственного закона в личное убеждение, следовательно, все более теряет свою принудительность[...]²¹

The state element should be minimized by devolving the political functions of the central state to 'regional centres',²² and the role of the state is now to protect universal, progressive laws against the encroachments of local culture and individuals' beliefs. The significance of this will be seen below.

B. Regional states

In *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, Lavrov specified that regional states, or 'local centres', as he often called them, should represent local culture and local needs: 'в различии местного строя должно отразиться все разнообразие местных потребностей и местной культуры'.²³ He emphasized the cultural particularity of local states more strongly in 'Severo-amerikanskoe sektatorstvo', where he claimed that the regional state reflects extremities of custom and belief, especially religious beliefs, or the freedom to live by one's religious beliefs. The freedom of the individual to hold any (or no) religious conviction must be defended by the central state.²⁴

Apart from showing the cultural distinctiveness of local states, he also spoke numerous times in *Istoricheskie pis'ma* of their special political function. Regional states are meant to be republican (although Lavrov did not use this term) in the sense that they should allow their inhabitants active participation in government, and their political systems ought to conform to the wishes and ideals of people living in them:

Внутренняя же сторона государственной жизни, т. е. именно та, которая может оказаться стеснительной для отдельных местностей и личностей и вызывает недовольство, должна переходить все полнее и полнее к мельчайшим центрам, допускающим действительное участие в политической деятельности

²¹*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, pp. 216-17. In the 1891 edition, Lavrov replaced местностям in the 8th line with личностям: *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, second edition, p. 324.

²²*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, pp. 214-15.

²³*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 216.

²⁴'Severo-amerikanskoe sektatorstvo', part 1, p. 414.

почти всех взрослых личностей [...] при чем гражданин, стесненный условиями политического строя одной местности может перейти в другой местный центр, столь же полноправный политически, но более подходящий к его жизненному идеалу. Обширность территории в этом случае не только не может быть стеснительна, но скорее облегчает гражданина, так как по мере этой обширности, растёт вероятность для него найти центр, соответствующий его желаниям; и в то же время, он сохраняет сознание, что, заменяя одни политические условия жизни другими, он остается верен своему общему государственному отечеству.²⁵

In this passage of *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, Lavrov's description of his model of a 'federal' state system conforms fairly closely with what Humboldt had to say about the state in 'Über das Studium des Alterthums und des griechischen insbesondere'. As has already been mentioned, both Lavrov and Humboldt idealized the Greek state system. Both believed that the subdivision of a nation into smaller states was fruitful because different customs and practices would evolve in different states, the idea being that states would adopt and exchange customs from one another. Humboldt claimed that, in Greece, this led to competition and high achievement;²⁶ Lavrov also felt that the Greek state system had led to higher (intellectual) achievement, but mainly because it augmented freedom of thought.²⁷

An important difference between Lavrov's thought and that of Humboldt stands out, however. For Humboldt, life inside the republic is characterized by debate about issues of government among citizens, which he believed had an elevating effect on the person. The individual must make every attempt at self improvement in order to increase his or her persuasiveness, and so democracy leads to self-development.²⁸ In *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, Lavrov mentioned participation in the political life of the state as an important activity for citizens. For Lavrov, however, this does not seem to have included extensive debate and fundamental disagreement about how the state should be governed. Citizens make a decision about what kind of a political system they want to live in when they choose to join a certain community, and if it does not meet their needs, expectations or ideals, they express their disapproval by leaving it:

Личности, критические стремления которых подвергали и могли подвергнуть их преследованию в одном государстве, находили

²⁵*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 216. He repeated this idea several pages further on, p. 218: 'та же часть государственной функции, которая перешла к мелким частным центрам, теряет свою принудительность, вследствие разнообразия местного политического строя, его соответствия с местной культурой и вследствие полной возможности для личности выбрать удобный политический строй, не выходя из пределов отечества. Этим путем местные центры стремятся обратиться в свободный общественный союз.'

²⁶Humboldt, 'Über das Studium', pp. 274-74.

²⁷*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 228.

²⁸Humboldt, 'Über das Studium', p. 272.

убежище в другом. Их мысль крепла на свободе. Общность культурных условий в обоих государствах позволяла легко распространяться слову и мысли из одного государства в другое, несмотря ни на какие препятствия.²⁹

Pluralism is, therefore, to be guaranteed at a national, but not necessarily at a local level. Indeed, it would seem that Lavrov's commitment to pluralism waned after 1870, as he increasingly emphasised the need for solidarity that was to be based on community of belief. This is reflected in Lavrov's descriptions of the obshchina, both of the past and future.³⁰ In the late 1850s and 1860s, the term is often used to mean a community of people with a common faith, and this is also the sense in which it is used in 'Severo-amerikanskoe sektatorstvo' (1868), where he described obshchiny as religious sects. After 1870, Lavrov began to use this word to describe communities generally, of which he demanded that they have a common faith. In one much later essay, 'Politicheskie tipy XVIII veka' (1880), he gave a highly idealized portrait the ancient Russian obshchina as a kind of city state. He claimed to have gathered information from works by the economic historian P. A. Sokolovskii,³¹ but the description clearly reveals Lavrov's own ideals and preferences:

Община, говорит Соколовский, - обязана своим происхождением сознанию людей, что при общежитии организованном на началах равенства и взаимности гораздо полнее удовлетворяются потребности каждого человека. Она была не целью, а лишь средством для осуществления личного благосостояния и свободы индивидуума. Отсюда понятно, что она не могла иметь никакой принудительной власти над своими членами. Вследствие такого устройства в древней общине не могло быть ни решений по большинству голосов, ни органов власти. Каждое мнение делалось обязательным лишь при единогласном постановлении, при согласии с ним всех членов [...] Община в этой форме представляла, повидимому, значительную степень солидарности, опиравшейся как на святость обычая, так и на достаточную степень удовлетворенности личных интересов ее членов, а также на обеспечение их безопасности обязанностью взаимной помощи.³²

In this passage in 'Politicheskie tipy XVIII veka', the demand both for free individual development and unanimity stands out. Here, however, the potential conflict between these two is not as glaring as in a corresponding passage in 'Gosudarstvennyi element v

²⁹*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 228; see also pp. 216, 218.

³⁰Alan Kimball has commented at length on Lavrov's use of the term obshchina. Kimball, however, looks at obshchina more or less exclusively as an economic entity; see: Alan Kimball, 'The Russian Past and the Socialist Future in the Thought of Peter Lavrov', *Slavic Review*, 30, 1971, no. 1, pp. 28-45, especially pp. 40-41.

³¹Lavrov referred to these works in 'Politicheskie tipy', p. 110. He did not discuss Sokolovskii's theories, however, and rather seems to have referred to Sokolovskii for support.

³²'Politicheskie tipy', pp. 109-10.

budushchem obshchestve', where Lavrov described the ideal obshchina of the future. Here, the claim made by Novomirskii, that Lavrov 'sacrificed' the individual to social opinion, rings true:

Солидарная община, в которой интересы всех и каждого связаны во всех общественных отправлениях, неизбежно вызовет формы общежития, где для каждого будет почти невозможно укрыть от других сколько-нибудь серьезные явления своей личной жизни. Свободные кооперативные союзы для всех общественных функций, причем каждый член общества будет одновременно участвовать в нескольких разнообразных союзах, предполагают нравственную зависимость каждой личности от мнения множества лиц, входящих самым разнообразным образом в ее жизненную деятельность. Все эти влияния, вместе взятые, должны образовать такое сильное нравственное давление на личность, что, совершенно независимо от действительной переработки аффектов путем изменения условий общественной жизни и воспитания, привычка сдерживать проявление аффектов, противных общественному мнению, должна значительно усилиться для каждой особи, а потом сделаться наследственной.³³

Just as pluralism and diversity seem to have lost value for Lavrov, so one also finds that his evaluation of politics became increasingly negative after 1870, when he began to predict the decline of the political element in the contemporary world. In 'Filosofiia istorii slavian', he wrote: 'политическая история государств оказывается не более как вспомогательным, второстепенным элементом *настоящей* истории человечества, истории народов в их культурном развитии под влиянием научной, художественной, религиозной, философской работы мысли'.³⁴ Later, he claimed that in the nineteenth century people no longer had faith in politics, and that only opportunists engaged in it for its own sake.³⁵

The year 1870, therefore, was a dividing year in Lavrov's thought about the state and community. Until and including 1870, Lavrov did not feel that total unity of opinion in society was possible to any large extent, or even desirable. This is expressed most clearly in 'Formula progressa g. Mikhailovskogo', where Lavrov attacked Mikhailovskii because the latter argued for a society of homogeneous people.

³³'Gosudarstvennyi element', p. 267. This was not one isolated thought. It was part of a wider discussion about the way in which there would be no need for the police, or for physical compulsion of any kind, in post-revolutionary society, because of social opinion. In a society of true solidarity, social opinion would be as equally effective a form of compulsion as physical force. Some of the ideas expressed in this passage, however, directly contradict other, established views, such as the one that progressive ideas could not be hereditary, which is discussed below.

³⁴'Filosofiia istorii slavian', part 2, p. 99. Lavrov, however, spoke positively about 'taking part in political life' in the first part of the same work (p. 393).

³⁵'Politicheskie tipy', p. 87.

Human beings, according to Lavrov, have a right to be different, think differently (and critically), and even to want to be different. To sacrifice this right is to sacrifice critical thought, and hence also to sacrifice progress.³⁶ Following 1870, Lavrov's emphasis on the need for solidarity that was to be based on community of belief increasingly contradicted his demand that people had a right to free development and to express critical thought.³⁷

C. The individual and the state, or 'national idea'

The cultivation of variety among human beings, which Lavrov defended in 'Formula progressa g. Mikhailovskogo' was also of paramount importance to Wilhelm von Humboldt. For Humboldt, the extent to which the state facilitates the many-sided and free development of human beings is the most important criterion for the evaluation of any system of state. The protection of free personal development is also one of the most important functions of the state in Lavrov's works between 1868-70. Indeed, for Lavrov, this is the only way in which the state can gain legitimacy. He explained this in *Istoricheskie pis'ma*:

Государство есть отвлеченное понятие, и если это понятие не заключает реального содержания, то оно становится идолом, пред которым приносить кровавые жертвы бессмысленно. Реальное содержание понятию дает лишь личность в своем развитии. Внося в понятие о государстве требование истины и справедливости, личность обращает предрассудочного идола в нераздельный элемент высшего общественного идеала и для этого идеала все жертвы разумны и справедливы.³⁸

A state represents an ideal, or an idea, if it allows its members to develop themselves and their thoughts freely and permits them to act toward the realization of their ideals. In 'Severo-amerikanskoe sektatorstvo', he described the central state as an 'idea' in which the individual represents 'criticism' and struggle, and he even said that the role of the individual in the state is the role of struggle:

Центральное правление выражает более выработанный элемент мысли, где высказывается критика существующей разнообразной культуры и наилучшие результаты ее переходят в закон, как только они становятся исторически *возможными*. Личность, со своим неограниченным правом ассоциации, приносит элемент исторического процесса борьбы, позволяющий в самое короткое время оценить материально силу новой мысли и старого

³⁶'Formula progressa', especially pp. 401-404.

³⁷Lavrov continued to defend these, for example, in the second edition of *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 216.

³⁸*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 234.

культурного предания, и следовательно, и историческую возможность осуществить новое с некоторой надеждой на прочность.³⁹

Between 1868-70, Lavrov also felt that freedom strengthened what has been called the 'organic link' binding individuals and localities into one larger body. In 'Filosofiia istorii slavian' he wrote: 'чем шире эта свобода, тем лучше личность служит целому, тем крепче оказывается организм государства; чем самостоятельнее проявляется местная жизнь, тем сильнее чувствуют разные местности свою взаимную связь'.⁴⁰ He also claimed that the free development of thought could only increase state power: 'Развитие научное, художественное, философское не мешало государственной силе, а, напротив, увеличивало ее'.⁴¹

The relationship between the individual and the nation⁴² or civilization is similar. The opportunities the person has for development and for the expression and realization of his or her ideas also become opportunities for a civilization to express its 'idea', and this, according to Lavrov, makes for a healthy and progressive society. In *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, the ideal relationship between the individual, critically thinking citizen and the civilization in which he or she lives comes across as a symbiotic one:

Действительно, в каждую эпоху цивилизация несколько развитого общества имеет свои характеристические черты, свои руководящие идеи, и чем общественные формы лучше способствуют всестороннему развитию личности, чем здоровее общество, чем более целости в его цивилизации, тем полнее и определительнее выражает эта цивилизация свою идею. Понятно, что в подобном случае, цивилизация данной национальности, в рассматриваемую эпоху, более способствует развитию личностей, и внесению справедливости в формы общественной жизни.⁴³

Lavrov not only spoke of an idea with regard to the state and civilization, but also with regard to the nation. The concept of a 'national idea' was problematic for Lavrov, because it is often associated with the Slavophiles. Since he wished to avoid being compared with Slavophiles, he hesitated to adopt this concept, and often referred

³⁹'Severo-amerikanskoe sektatorstvo', part 1, pp. 411-12. One might recall Lavrov's general claim, in 'Tri besedy', that the application of critical thought to an idea necessarily leads to struggle (p. 549).

⁴⁰'Filosofiia istorii slavian', part 2, p. 81. He said this in the context of a description of the state in Britain and the United States.

⁴¹'Filosofiia istorii slavian', part 2, p. 95.

⁴²For an account of Lavrov's views on nationality, see V. A. D'iakov and E. K. Zhigunov, 'Narodnicheskoe napravlenie v russkoi slavianovedcheskoi istoriografii i P. L. Lavrov', in *Istoriograficheskie issledovaniia po slavianovedeniiu i balkanistike*, ed. V. A. D'iakov, Moscow, 1984, pp. 157-216, especially p. 193.

⁴³*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, pp. 162-63.

instead to 'national tendencies'.⁴⁴ The word 'idea', however, kept appearing in this context, and he even conceded that Slavophiles might be right when they spoke, for example, of a 'national' approach to science.⁴⁵ In *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, he did not want to admit that there was any such thing as a national idea, nevertheless, he argued that one 'might' think of it in such terms:

Наконец можно себе представить дело так. Личности одного племени или разных племен, под влиянием одинаковых климатических, почвенных, экономических и культурных условий, вырабатывают некоторые общие психические наклонности, при большом разнообразии во всем остальном. Эти психические наклонности, общие для всех, и составляют национальное обособление, каким бы путем они не получались. Пока их нет, нации нет; как только они получались, то их можно формулировать в особенной идее, которая непрерывно проявляется во всей последующей жизни национальности. По мере влияния последней на историю человечества, входит в эту историю и соответственная идея. Торжество и гибель национальности вызывают возвышение или ослабление и ее идеи. Первые положения этого построения допустить, конечно, можно, и теперь некоторые мыслители уже поставили себе задачей исследовать явления психологии народов.⁴⁶

Lavrov was careful to point out, however, that a nation may represent an idea only for a limited period of time, and only if the idea corresponds exactly with very specific, historical circumstances: 'на основании общих психических наклонностей и событий истории – данная национальность, – в некоторую эпоху своего существования, – может сделаться, по характеру своей цивилизации, заметным представителем той или другой идеи'.⁴⁷ Ideas and ideals, therefore, are not hereditary, rather, their appearance depends on the existence of individual people who think, understand and strive to realize them: 'в сущности, понимать и воплощать могут только личности, которые [...] суть единственные деятели прогресса'.⁴⁸ One cannot rely on a nation to bring about progress in history, nor can one tie the rise and fall of a progressive principle to a particular nation. Individual people, not nations, have a duty and responsibility to act

⁴⁴In 'Rol' slavian v istorii mysli', he said of nations: 'Они не суть воплощения некоторых метафизических или нравственных идей, как предполагали историки-идеалисты. Народы никем и ни к чему не предназначены. Идеи не имеют реального существования вне мысли личностей их выработавших.' (p. 311) Nevertheless, one could, he said, speak of national tendencies. The point of this work was to show that the Slavs had a way of thinking that made them particularly suited to show the world the way toward a better future (see especially pp. 367-68).

⁴⁵*Sovremennye ucheniia o npravstvennosti*, p. 3.

⁴⁶*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 165.

⁴⁷*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 170.

⁴⁸*Istoricheskie pis'ma*, p. 172.

toward the realization of ideas and must not observe the rise and fall of ideas as if from outside. A nation, according to Lavrov, can become a representative of progress, but only if it gives its citizens the freedom to make this possibility a fact.

D. The organic state

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, Lavrov praised the Greeks for trying to establish an 'organic' state, which he defined in *'Filosofiia istorii slavian'* as a state in which i) the state fostered the development of each person 'economically and intellectually' and encouraged people to take part as fully in economic and social life as possible, ii) the state allowed 'local centres' to follow their own particular paths 'without harm to the common link', and iii) each person allowed political questions to become an integral part of his or her life and citizens regarded the interests of the state as their own interests.⁴⁹ The idea of the 'organic' state corresponds fairly accurately to what has been said about the 'federal' state. What is special about the organic theory is the way in which all of the different demands made on the individual and state are linked. They are all, presumably, meant to function simultaneously, harmoniously, and interdependently, in other words, as an organism. It is not the same kind of organicism which treats constituent parts as means rather than ends.⁵⁰ The full development of each individual is valued as an end in itself, only individuals are regarded primarily as members of society whose lives and efforts are evaluated as positive or negative contributions to society, and who are seen to be highly dependent on one another. Here one might recall what Lavrov said about 'organic society' in *'Gosudarstvennyi element v budushchem obshchestve'*:

Всякое общество тем лишь отличается от совокупности особей, что в нем особи чувствуют или сознают свою взаимную солидарность, что между членами общества существует некоторая органическая связь. Эта связь может быть связью обычая, связью временного аффекта или верования, связью рассчитанной цели, связью нравственной обязанности; во всех этих случаях солидарность между членами существует, хотя может быть весьма различна по

⁴⁹*'Filosofiia istorii slavian'*, part 1, pp. 393-94.

⁵⁰Lavrov often used organic language when discussing his own political and social theories and even defined society as an organism. See, for example: P. L. Lavrov, *'Khronika obshchestvennykh nauk'*, *Sobranie sochinenii*, III, no. 8, pp. 189-243: 217-19. In *'Biografiia-ispoved'*, p. 96, he explained that it was legitimate to call a society organic, so long as one distinguished between the biological and sociological meanings of the word. This probably meant that Lavrov, like Mikhailovskii, rejected a view of society as an organism in which human beings were regarded as organs with no independent value or existence of their own. Scholars have not remarked upon organicism in his sociological writings, apart from Sorokin, who claimed that Lavrov was opposed to organicism in *'P. L. Lavrov, kak sotsiolog'*, p. 23.

прочности, по разумности, по целесообразности. Как только какая-либо из этих связей образовалась, *совокупность личностей* стала *обществом*, которое составляет *организм*, может действовать как нечто целое, так что члены его могут рассчитывать друг на друга.⁵¹

Lavrov's thought about the state was most humanist in the middle of his career, around 1870, when he argued that a system of state must encourage both 'organic links' in society and free individual development and criticism. The federal state system was intended to enable pluralism at the same time as community of belief at the local level. This view of the state in the middle of his career is analogous to the view of culture that he also put forward in the same period. According to this view, culture was to maintain habit and tradition while simultaneously fostering development and transformation. Lavrov's 'humanism' of the late 1860s and early 1870s, therefore, was optimistic in that it sought to reconcile potentially opposing principles. This optimism was shared by Humboldt, for example, who valued cultural particularity at the same time as social diversity, freedom, criticism and debate, and who did not believe that these stood in fundamental conflict with one another.

As Lavrov's social and political ideals shifted to the left following his flight from Russia, principles within his social and political thought came into increasing conflict. Formerly, he had argued that criticism and development were necessary in society, and that this inevitably meant a certain amount of struggle and conflict within society. Later, he argued that communities must be regulated by consensus and unity of belief, and criticism was marginalized in Lavrov's social theory along with the principle of political activity. He began to regard the state itself as an extraneous element in society the more his faith in unity of belief grew. In this way, his later thought undermined ideas that had been central to his earlier thought, notably criticism and free personal development.

⁵¹'Gosudarstvennyi element', p. 392.

Conclusion

Lavrov's interests and preoccupations changed in several significant respects during the course of his career as a writer. During the first decade, until the mid-1860s, one of his principal aims was to provide his readers with a philosophical account of various aspects of the human personality and general guidelines for the development of a better kind of person. The development of the whole person, body, mind and character, according to an ideal was the central theme of humanist thought, and this was also a common issue in Lavrov's early works. According to Lavrov, ideals must become a part of the person's very identity and he or she must cultivate an unconditional faith in them. The strength of a person's commitment to ideals is underpinned by receptiveness for ideas and by general strength of feeling. These are also qualities that humanists admired. Lavrov and humanists alike regarded the human being as a creative being who applies his or her ideals not only to personal development, but also to art, science and to the development of society. Human relations should be based on respect for the dignity of every human being, which does not rest on an individual's achievements in the past, but on the potential for achievement that lies in every human being.

In the course of the 1860s, Lavrov found that Russian society presented only limited possibilities for personal development, and that the state's initiatives were not improving the situation. Efforts by private individuals were unsatisfactory due to the small scope of their results. Lavrov became increasingly interested in the development and pursuit of ideals at the social rather than the individual level. At this point, his thought became 'humanist' in new respects. He adopted a notion of culture which was similar to that of humanists because it stressed the importance of inherited values and customs in determining personal development, but also demanded continuous change and development according to contemporary needs and ideals. In the late 1860s and early 1870s, he put forward a theory of a federal state which he valued because it promoted free personal development and encouraged the expression and realization of personal ideals, while still allowing people to live in communities that are united by shared beliefs. This, again, is an attitude which one associates with humanism. Finally, in a fashion analogous to humanists, Lavrov was inspired by the ancient Greeks, whose state and society, he claimed, embodied his own ideals.

In this way, until the late 1860s and early 1870s, Lavrov's concern for the influence of society on the development of the person allowed humanist elements in his thought to develop. His attitude toward the person and personal development remained

the same, even if issues such as receptiveness, creativity, feeling and wholeness were no longer prevalent subjects of discussion in his writings.

Following the mid-1870s, when Lavrov's thought became more militantly socialist, his ideas did not develop in any new ways that can be considered distinctly humanist. Lavrov did not, as one might imagine, formulate anything that one could describe as a socialist humanism, and his arguments in favour of socialism were now based on principles that were alien to humanism. These included calculation of personal interest, maximization of pleasure and minimization of pain as ends in themselves, as well as the intelligentsia's debt to the working classes, and not, for example, the human right to a many-sided development, or the defence of human dignity (often invoked by Soviet socialist humanists). Nor was humanism relevant to the most important developments in his thought, for example his discussion of the philosophy of history.

Some of Lavrov's humanist values were directly challenged by his fundamentally socialist values, such as the theory of solidarity, which became a definitive part of his socialist theory from the early 1870s. This clashed with ideals of criticism and free development, which had been integral to his earlier ideas about the person. It also conflicted with humanist values concerning culture and the state in the middle of his career. This conflict, however, was never openly acknowledged or played out in his works. He never repudiated his former ideas and values, indeed, Lavrov himself did not believe that his thought had changed 'in any essential point', as he claimed in 'Biografiia-ispoved'" (1885/89).¹ But 'Biografiia-ispoved"', in which Lavrov gave a broad survey of what he then considered to be the salient features of his thought, scarcely refers to any distinctively humanist idea or value. Lavrov's claim to continuity of belief is supported better by a late exposé of his thought, 'Sotsial'naia revoliutsiia i zadachi npravstvennosti' (1884). This includes references to a group of humanist values that were very characteristic of his writings until the early 1870s, indicating that he had not, in fact, dropped them. While there may not, therefore, be any clear answer to the question, whether Lavrov's thought remained 'humanist' at the end of his career, it does seem that a humanist framework, both overall and in particulars, loses much of its relevance for Lavrov's later thought.

The set of ideas and values that have been put forward in this dissertation have greater value in explaining works from the beginning of his career up to and including *Istoricheskie pis'ma*, which is undoubtedly his most important and influential work. The tendency in secondary literature to consider Lavrov's views about society and social change in isolation from the more philosophical aspects of his thought about the

¹'Biografiia-ispoved"', p. 89.

person has led to an incomplete appreciation of his work. It is, for example, easily forgotten that *Istoricheskie pis'ma* not only pointed out social injustices to his readers, but sought to encourage the development of the kind of person who could effectively strive to improve society. Lavrov's message was less practical than it was moral and philosophical, and this was also what the people whom he influenced remembered about him and his famous letters. Kropotkin, for example, wrote that he valued Lavrov and *Istoricheskie pis'ma* only for their moral element: 'я с глубоким уважением относился к автору *Исторических писем* и особенно к нравственной сущности его учения и вообще к его нравственному облику социалиста, живущего в согласии со своим убеждениями'.² Similarly, Aptekman remembered him for 'the greatness of his moral beauty'.³ According to Rusanov, the impact of *Istoricheskie pis'ma* upon himself and his companions was that it inspired enthusiasm for ideas and ideals:

Ах, надо было жить в 70-е годы, в эпоху движения в народ, чтобы видеть вокруг себя и чувствовать на самом себе удивительное влияние, произведенное «Историческими письмами»! Многие из нас, юноши в то время, а другие просто мальчики, не расставались с небольшой истрепанной, исчитанной, истертой в конец книжкой. Она лежала у нас под изголовьем. И на нее падали при чтении ночью наши горячие слезы идейного энтузиазма, охватывавшего нас безмерной жаждой жить для благородных идей и умереть за них.⁴

The application of humanism to Lavrov's thought is helpful because it enables one to study his views about the person and about society within a single framework as well as inviting consideration about the moral ideals which made his theories influential.

Finally, the study of Lavrov's works from a humanist point of view may also lead to a more complete understanding of the history of Russian thought as a whole. Many of the humanist concepts and values in Lavrov's works that are discussed here have been neglected by scholars, and it is often believed that these ideas were not represented in Russian thought until the beginning of this century. Part of the reason why these values have not been recognized as part of Lavrov's thought is because scholars have approached his works with preconceived views and aims arising from his reputation as a socialist. This attitude can be seen very clearly in Berdiaev, whose attitudes toward Russian thinkers and Russian thought have been extremely influential.

²P. A. Kropotkin, 'Vospominaniia o P. L. Lavrove', *Stat'i, vospominaniia*, pp. 436-439: 437; see also: Ovsianiko-Kulikovskii, 'Petr Lavrovich Lavrov', p. 443.

³O. V. Aptekman, *Obshchestvo "Zemlia i volia" 70-kh gg.*, second edition, Petrograd, 1924, p. 122.

⁴Rusanov, *Biografiia P. L. Lavrova*, p. 24.

In his article for *Vekhi* (and also in *Russkaia ideia*), Berdiaev defined Lavrov's place in Russian thought as belonging to an uncreative, uncultured, unfruitful tradition:

[...] классическими «философами» интеллигенции были Чернышевский и Писарев в 60-е годы, Лавров и Михайловский в 70-е годы. Для философского творчества, для духовной культуры нации писатели эти почти ничего не давали, но они отвечали потребности интеллигентной молодежи в миросозерцании и обосновывали теоретически жизненные стремления интеллигенции.⁵

Berdiaev blamed Lavrov, Mikhailovskii et al. for having hampered principles whose absence in the history of Russian thought had been damaging to Russian society. The principle which he emphasized most here was a love and concern for philosophical truth as a cultural value. The intelligentsia was locked in an 'exclusive', uncritical approach to ideas which left it with ignorant and superficial attitudes, many of which the intelligentsia did not itself properly understand. Further, the Russian intelligentsia was fundamentally uncreative - its values and interests resulted, to a significant extent, from mimicry.

Lavrov, according to Berdiaev, was a well-educated man who was, however, devoid of creative talent. He served the intellectual purposes of young members of the intelligentsia by expounding an obscure, philosophical justification for revolution: 'И Лавров давал философскую санкцию стремлениям молодежи, обычно начиная свое обоснование издалека, с образования туманных масс.'⁶ Berdiaev believed that principles of justice and equality, love for and sacrifice to the people, which Lavrov famously defended, were antipathetic to the values that he, Berdiaev, put forward, particularly truth: 'любовь к уравнительной справедливости, к общественному добру, к народному благу парализовала любовь к истине, почти что уничтожила интерес к истине'.⁷ He was also suspicious of Lavrov's 'subjective', moral approach and of the moral 'mania' that had seized the intelligentsia and blinded it.

Berdiaev did not see that Lavrov argued for many of the principles that were so dear to him (as a thinker whose works themselves bore marks of Christian humanism), especially the more 'humanist' among Lavrov's values. Culture, dignity, creativity, and critical, independent, philosophical thought were all qualities that Lavrov defended, especially in the first half of his career. These aspects of his thought, therefore, not only present an important aspect of Lavrov's works, but could also be fruitfully studied

⁵Berdiaev, 'Filosofskaia istina i intelligentskaia pravda', *Vekhi*, ed. N. Kazakova, Moscow, 1991, pp. 24-41: 28.

⁶Berdiaev, 'Filosofskaia istina', p. 27.

⁷Berdiaev, 'Filosofskaia istina', p. 30.

in tracing connections between his ideas and those of thinkers from outside the narrow circle with which Lavrov is commonly associated.

Bibliography

A. Primary sources

1. Main collections of Lavrov's works

Sobranie sochinenii P. L. Lavrova, ed. P. Vitiazev and A. A. Gizetti, 5 vols ('serii'), 11 numbers, Petrograd, Revoliutsionnaia mysl', 1917-20 (originally intended to consist of 9 volumes subdivided into a total of 54 numbers)

Sistematicheskaiia khrestomatiia, ed. S. N. Kaplan and A. Z. Shteinberg, Berlin, Skify, 1923

Izbrannye sochineniia na sotsial'no-politicheskie temy v vos'mi tomakh, ed. I. S. Knizhnik-Vetrov and I. A. Teodorovich, 4 vols, Moscow, Izdatel'stvo vsesoiuznogo obshchestva politkatorzhan i ssyl'no-poselentsev, 1934-35 (originally intended to consist of 8 volumes)

Filosofiia i sotsiologiia. Izbrannye proizvedeniia v dvukh tomakh, ed. I. S. Knizhnik-Vetrov and A. F. Okulov, 2 vols, Moscow, Mysl', 1965

O religii, ed. A. I. Volodin, Moscow, Mysl', 1989

2. Works by Lavrov

'Abelar', *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, vol. I ed. A. A. Kraevskii, vols II-VI ed. P. L. Lavrov, 6 vols, 1861-63, I, pp. 55-59.

'Adamity', *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, I, pp. 534-36 (with A. Th. Gil'ferding)

'Ad', *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, II, pp. 98-107 (with B. K. Bestuzhev-Riumin)

'Agnostiki', *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, I, pp. 480-81

'Amvrosii milanskii', *Sobranie sochinenii*, V, no. 1, pp. 237-46

'Anabaptisty ili perekreshchentsy', *Sobranie sochinenii*, V, no. 1, pp. 247-71

'Antropologicheskaiia tochka zreniia v filosofii', *Sobranie sochinenii*, I, no. 2, pp. 197-206

'Averroizm', *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, I, pp. 230-37

'Avgust', *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, I, pp. 216-17 (with V. I. Dal')

'Avgustin', *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, I, pp. 160-79

'Avtodidakt', *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, I, pp. 396-97

'Avtomat', *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, I, pp. 398-404 (with A. A. Stoikovich)

'Avtonomiia', *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, I, pp. 404-05 (with S. P. Lapshin)

- 'Avtoritets', *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, I, pp. 408-14
- 'Biografiia-ispoved', *Izbrannye sochineniia*, I, pp. 77-107
- 'Chto delaetsia na rodine? VI Nashi prosvetiteli', *Vpered!*, I, 1873, pp. 38-55 (unsigned)
- 'Chto takoe antropologii', *Filosofii i sotsiologii*, I, pp. 463-91
- 'Didro i Lessing', *Otechestvennye zapiski*, 1868, no. 1, pp. 147-212 (unsigned)
- 'Do cheloveka', *Sobranie sochinenii*, III, no. 1, pp. 5-123
- 'Edinstvo', *Sobranie sochinenii*, I, no. 2, pp. 207-16
- 'Epokha poiavleniia novykh narodov v Evrope', *Sobranie sochinenii*, IV, no. 7, pp. 5-20
- 'Evropa i ee sily v 1869 godu', *Vestnik Evropy*, 1870, no. 1, pp. 235-71; no. 2, pp. 691-721; no. 5, pp. 193-235 (signed L. P.)
- 'Filosofii g. Chicherina', *Kriticheskoe obozrenie*, 1880, no. 10 (15 May), pp. 468-88 (signed 'Stoletov')
- 'Filosofii istorii slavian', *Otechestvennye zapiski*, 1870, no. 6, pp. 347-420; no. 7, pp. 65-126 (unsigned)
- 'Formula progressa g. Mikhailovskogo', *Izbrannye sochineniia*, I, pp. 397-424
- 'Gegelizm', *Filosofii i sotsiologii*, I, pp. 43-175
- 'Gosudarstvennyi element v budushchem obshchestve', *Izbrannye sochineniia*, IV, pp. 207-396
- 'Idei o klassicheskom i real'nom obrazovanii v Anglii nashego vremeni', *Vestnik Evropy*, 1867, no. 3, pp. 4-18 (signed P. P.)
- Istoricheskie pis'ma*, St Petersburg, Tipografiia A. Kotomina, 1870 (signed Mirtov)
- Istoricheskie pis'ma*, second edition (1891), *Izbrannye sochineniia*, I, pp. 163-394
- 'Iz istorii sotsial'nykh uchenii', *Izbrannye sochineniia*, II, pp. 143-249
- 'Khaos burzhuaanoi tsivilizatsii za poslednee vremia', *Izbrannye sochineniia*, III, pp. 31-78
- 'Khronika obshchestvennykh nauk', *Sobranie sochinenii*, III, no. 8, pp. 189-243
- 'Komu prinadlezhit budushchee?', *Vpered!*, II, 1874, pp. 1-73 (unsigned)
- 'Kriticheskaiia istoriia filosofii', *Filosofii i sotsiologii*, II, pp. 329-392
- 'Liudvig Feierbakh. Istoricheskii etiud', *Filosofii i sotsiologii*, I, pp. 637-75
- 'Mekhanicheskaiia teoriia mira', *Sobranie sochinenii*, I, no. 2, pp. 5-50

- 'Moim kritikam (otvet Antonovichu i Pisarevu)', *Sobranie sochinenii*, I, no. 2, pp. 153-96
- 'Neskol'ko myslei ob istorii mysli', *Sobranie sochinenii*, I, no. 4, pp. 5-41
- 'Nikolai Gavrilovich Chernyshevskii i khod razvitiia russkoi mysli', *Filosofii i sotsiologii*, II, pp. 657-70
- 'O publitsistakh-populiarizatorakh i o estestvoznanii', *Sovremennik*, 1865, no. 9, pp. 5-31 (signed A. L. Ugriumov)
- 'Ocherki chelovecheskoi kul'tury', *Zagranichnyi vestnik*, 1864, no. 7, pp. 147-82; no. 12, pp. 562-93; continued as 'Iz chelovecheskoi kul'tury', 1865, no. 4, pp. 108-36; no. 7, pp. 126-49; no. 11, pp. 371-400 (unsigned)
- 'Ocherki voprosov prakticheskoi filosofii. I. Lichnost', *Filosofii i sotsiologii*, I, pp. 339-461
- Opyt istorii mysli novogo vremeni*, Geneva, Vol'naia russkaia tipografiia, 1888-94
- 'Otvet g. Strakhovu', *Filosofii i sotsiologii*, I, pp. 493-507
- 'Patologicheskie iavleniia P. Lavrova', 1886, mimeograph, no place
- Perezhivaniia doistoricheskogo perioda*, *Sobranie sochinenii*, III, no. 5
- 'Pis'mo k izdateliu', *Izbrannye sochineniia*, I, pp. 108-17
- 'Po povodu kritiki na "Istoricheskie pis'ma"', *Filosofii i sotsiologii*, II, pp. 297-328
- 'Politicheskie tipy XVIII veka', *Sobranie sochinenii*, IV, no. 7, pp. 75-139
- 'Polozheniia, na kotorykh dolzhno byt' osnovano nraavstvennoe vospitanie v nashem obshchestve v nashe vremia', *Zhurnal dlia vospitaniia*, 1857, no. 12, pp. 183-88 (signed L.)
- 'Postепенno', *Izbrannye sochineniia*, I, pp. 128-34
- 'Postепенnoe razvitie drevnikh filosofskikh uchenii v sviazi s razvitiem iazycheskikh verovani. Soch. Or. Novitskogo', *Russkoe slovo*, 1861, no. 1, pp. 1-22 (signed P. L. Lavrov)
- 'Prakticheskaiia filosofiiia Gegelia', *Filosofii i sotsiologii*, I, pp. 177-338
- 'Predislovie (k rabote K. Marksa "K kritike gegelevskoi filosofii prava". Vvedenie)', *Filosofii i sotsiologii*, II, pp. 581-613
- 'Razvitie ucheniia o mificheskikh verovaniiax', *O religii*, pp. 119-224
- 'Rol' slavian v istorii mysli', in *Istoriograficheskie issledovaniia po slavianovedeniiu i balkanistike*, ed. V. A. D'iakov, Moscow, Nauka, 1984, pp. 309-72
- Russkaia razvitaia zhenshchina. V pamiat' Sof'i Vasil'evny Kovalevskoi*, Geneva, Vol'naia russkaia tipografiia, 1891
- 'Russkii perevod Shopengauera', *Delo*, 1881, no. 2, pp. 26-60 (signed Ugriumov)

'Severo-amerikanskoe sektatorstvo', *Otechestvennye zapiski*, 1868, no. 4, pp. 403-70; no. 6, pp. 213-336; no. 7, pp. 269-318; no. 8, pp. 324-54 (unsigned)

'Shopengauer na russkoi pochve', *Delo*, 1880, no. 5, pp. 1-44 (signed Ugriumov)

'Sotsialisticheskaia i burzhuaiznaia nauka', *Izbrannye sochineniia*, IV, pp. 72-83

'Sotsializm i bor'ba za sushchestvovanie', *Filosofiia i sotsiologiia*, II, pp. 363-81

'Sotsial'naiia revoliutsiia i zadachi npravstvennosti', *Filosofiia i sotsiologiia*, II, pp. 383-504

'Sotsiologi-pozitivisty', *Znanie*, 1872, no. 5, pp. 127-52 (signed P. M-v)

'Sovremennye germanskii teisty', *Russkoe slovo*, 1859, no. 7, pp. 141-212 (signed P. L. Lavrov)

Sovremennye ucheniia o npravstvennosti i ee istoriia, St Petersburg, Tip. Busselia, 1903-04

'Srednevekovyi Rim i papstvo v epokhu Feodory i Marotsii', *Sobranie sochinenii*, IV, no. 7, pp. 21-52

'Starye voprosy (Uchenie grafa L. N. Tolstogo)', *Filosofiia i sotsiologiia*, II, pp. 505-80

'Tri besedy o sovremennom znachenii filosofii', *Filosofiia i sotsiologiia*, I, pp. 509-73

'Uvazhenie k idee i k cheloveku', *Zhurnal dlia vospitaniia*, 1858, no. 3, pp. 124-28 (signed L.)

'Vrednye nachala', *Izbrannye sochineniia*, I, pp. 118-27

Zadachi ponimaniia istorii, Moscow, Izdatel'stvo M. Kovolevskogo, 1898 (signed S. S. Arnol'di)

'Zadachi pozitivizma i ikh reshenie', *Filosofiia i sotsiologiia*, I, pp. 575-634

'Zhenshchiny vo Frantsii v XVII-XVIII vekakh', *Zhenskii vestnik*, 1867, no. 4, pp. 45-74; no. 5, pp. 1-51 (signed P. L. Mirtov)

'Znanie i revoliutsiia', *Vpered!*, I, 1873, pp. 217-46 (unsigned)

3. Unpublished materials

Moscow, Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiskoi Federatsii:

1762 2 341, 'Dnevnik i stikhotvoreniia' (1840-44)

1762 2 340, 'Stikhotvoreniia' (1885-1900)

1762 2 391, 'Tetradi' (no date)

1762 2 247, 'Filosofskie raboty v Rossii' (1861)

B. Secondary sources

- Aksel'rod, P. B., *Perezhitoe i peredumannoe*, Berlin, Izdatel'stvo Z. I. Grzhebina, 1923
- Aleksandrova, T. N., *Teoriia lichnosti P. L. Lavrova*, Avtoreferat kandidatskoi dissertatsii, Moscow, MGU, 1974
- Antonovich, M. A., 'Dva tipa sovremennykh filosofov', *Izbrannye filosofskie sochineniia*, ed. V. S. Kruzhkova, Moscow, OGIZ, 1945, pp. 18-92
- Aptekman, O. V., *Obshchestvo "Zemlia i volia" 70-kh gg. Po lichnym vospominaniiam*, second edition, Petrograd, Kolos, 1924
- Belkin, A., 'Narodniki i revoliutsionnye demokraty', *Voprosy literatury*, 1960, no. 2, pp. 116-31
- Benson, Sumner, 'P.L. Lavrov', *Filosofiia i sotsiologiia. Izbrannye proizvedeniia v dvukh tomakh*, *Kritika*, III, 1967, no. 2, pp. 21-29
- Berdiaev, N., *Russkaia ideia*, Paris, YMCA Press, 1971
- Berdiaev, N., 'Filosofskaia istina i intelligentskaia pravda', in *Vekhi*, ed. N. Kazakova, Moscow, Molodaia gvardiia, 1991, pp. 24-41
- Billington, James H., *Mikhailovsky and Russian Populism*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1958
- Bogatov, V. V., *Filosofiia P. L. Lavrova*, Moscow, Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1972
- Briullova-Shaskol'skaia, N. V., 'Lavrov i Mikhailovskii', in *P.L. Lavrov. Sbornik. Stat'i, vospominaniia, materialy*, no editor given, Petrograd, Kolos, 1922, pp. 404-19
- Cassirer, Ernst, ed., *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man*, Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 1948
- Chagin, B. A., 'P. L. Lavrov', in *Sotsiologicheskaiia mysl' v Rossii*, ed. B. A. Chagin, Leningrad, Nauka, 1978, pp. 147-62
- Chernets, L. V., '"Obshchechelovecheskoe" v estetike i literaturnoi kritike P. L. Lavrova', *Nauchnye doklady vysshei shkoly. Filologicheskie nauki*, 1990, no. 1, pp. 3-16
- Chernyshevskii, N. G., 'Antropologicheskii printsip v filosofii. (Ocherki voprosov prakticheskoi filosofii. Sochinenie P.L. Lavrova. I. Lichnost')', *Izbrannye sochineniia*, ed. M. M. Grigor'ian, 3 vols, Moscow, Akademiia nauk, 1951, III, pp. 162-254
- Copleston, Frederick, *A History of Philosophy*, 9 vols, London, Burnes & Oates, 1961-75
- Copleston, Frederick, *Philosophy in Russia*, Tunbridge Wells, Search Press, 1986
- D'iakov, V. A. and E. K. Zhigunov, 'Narodnicheskoe napravlenie v russkoi slavianovedcheskoi istoriografii i P. L. Lavrov', in *Istoriograficheskie issledovaniia po slavianovedeniiu i balkanistike*, ed. V. A. D'iakov, Moscow, Nauka, 1984, pp. 157-216

- El'sberg, Ia., 'Uproshchennye resheniia. (Otvét A. Belkinu)', *Voprosy literatury*, 1960, no. 2, pp. 132-42
- El'sberg, Ia., 'Lavrov - predshestvennik sotsial-demokratii i marksizma?', *Voprosy literatury*, 1961, no. 2, pp. 145-48
- Fedorkin, N. S., *Utopicheskii sotsializm ideologov revoliutsionnogo narodnichestva*, Moscow, Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1984
- Fichte, J. G., *Wissenschaftslehre, J. G. Fichtes Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. I. H. Fichte, 11 vols, Leipzig, Philosophische Bibliothek, 1919-25, I, pp. 85-328
- Firsov (Ruskin), N. N., 'Vospominaniia o P. L. Lavrove', *Istoricheskii vestnik*, CVII, 1907, pp. 95-119
- Frank, S. L., 'Dostoevskii i krizis gumanizma', *Put'*, 27, 1931, pp. 71-78
- Frank, S. L., 'Etika nigilizma', in *Vekhi*, ed. N. Kazakova, Moscow, Molodaia gvardiia, 1991, pp. 153-84
- Friche, V., 'P.L. Lavrov i "chistoe" iskusstvo', *Pod znamenem marksizma*, 1923, no. 6-7, pp. 112-31
- Galaktionov, A. A. and P. F. Nikandrov, *Ideologi russkogo narodnichestva*, Leningrad, Izdatel'stvo Leningradskogo universiteta, 1966
- Gendre, Barbe (Mme Nikitine), 'Pierre Lavroff', *Etudes sociales, philosophiques et morales*, Paris, Nouvelle Revue, 1886, pp. 377-84
- Gizetti, A. A., '"Istoriia mysli" i mirosozertsanie Lavrova', in "Vpered!", ed. P. Vitiazev, Moscow and Petrograd, Kolos, 1920, pp. 28-31
- Gizetti, A. A., 'P.L. Lavrov i Vl. Solov'ev', in *P.L. Lavrov. Sbornik. Stat'i, vospominaniia, materialy*, Petrograd, Kolos, 1922, pp. 385-404
- Gizetti, A. A., 'P. L. Lavrov, kak "istorik mysli"', in *P.L. Lavrov. Sbornik. Stat'i, vospominaniia, materialy*, Petrograd, Kolos, 1922, pp. 292-354
- Gizetti, A. A. 'Vozzreniia P. L. Lavrova na literaturu', in P. L. Lavrov, *Etiudy o zapadnoi literature*, ed. A. A. Gizetti and P. Vitiazev, Petrograd, Kolos, 1923, pp. vii-xxxii
- Gleason, Abbott, *Young Russia: The Genesis of Russian Radicalism in the 1860s*, New York, Viking Press, 1980
- Goldsmith, Marie, 'Notice Biographique', in Pierre Lavroff, *Lettres Historiques*, tr. Marie Goldsmith, Paris, Schleicher Frères, 1903, pp. i-xv
- Gorev, B. I., 'P.L. Lavrov i utopicheskii sotsializm', *Pod znamenem marksizma*, 1923, no. 6-7, pp. 121-31
- Granjard, Henri, 'Du romantisme politique: Slavophiles et populistes', *Revue des études slaves*, 34, 1957, pp. 73-81

- Grigor'ev, A. L., 'Spor o nasledii', *Russkaia literatura*, 1967, no. 2, pp. 166-79
- Grube, Kurt, *Wilhelm von Humboldts Bildungsphilosophie*, Halle, Akademischer Verlag, 1935
- 'Gumanizm', *Filosofskii entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, Moscow, Sovetskaia entsiklopediia, 1983, pp. 130-31; second edition, Moscow, Sovetskaia entsiklopediia, 1989, p. 139
- Haney, Jack V., *From Italy to Muscovy: The Life and Works of Maxim the Greek*, Munich, W. Fink, 1973
- Haym, Rudolf, *Wilhelm von Humboldt: Lebensbild und Charakteristik*, Berlin, Verlag von Rudolf Gaertner, 1856
- Hegel, G. W. F., 'Über die wissenschaftlichen Behandlungsarten des Naturrechts, seine Stelle in der praktischen Philosophie und sein Verhältnis zu den positiven Rechtswissenschaften', *Werke in zwanzig Bänden*, ed. Eva Moldenhauer and Karl Markus Michel, Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp, 1970-79, pp. 434-530
- Herzen, A. I., *Pis'ma ob izuchenii prirody*, 'Pis'mo tret'e. Grecheskaia filosofiia', *Sobranie sochinenii v tridsati tomakh*, Moscow, Akademiia nauk, 1954-64, III, pp. 142-87
- Hojer, Ernst, *F. I. Niethammer: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Neuhumanismus*, Frankfurt am Main, Diesterweg, 1965
- Humboldt, Wilhelm von, 'Briefe an F. A. Wolf', *Wilhelm von Humboldts Gesammelte Werke*, 7 vols, Berlin, Georg Reimer, 1841-52, V, pp. 1-316
- Humboldt, Wilhelm von, *Ideen zu einem Versuch, die Grenzen der Wirksamkeit des Staates zu bestimmen*, Stuttgart, Philipp Reclam jun., 1967 (*The Limits of State Action*, tr. and ed. J. W. Burrow, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1969)
- Humboldt, Wilhelm von, 'Latium und Hellas', *Wilhelm von Humboldts Gesammelte Schriften*, 17 vols, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1968, III, pp. 136-70
- Humboldt, Wilhelm von, 'Über das Studium des Alterthums und des griechischen insbesondere', *Wilhelm von Humboldts Gesammelte Schriften*, 17 vols, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1968, I, pp. 255-81
- Humboldt, Wilhelm von, *Über die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues und ihren Einfluß auf die geistige Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts*, Bonn, Ferd. Dümmlers Verlag, 1960 (*On Language, the Diversity of Human Language Structure and Its Influence on the Mental Development of Mankind*, tr. Peter Heath, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988)
- Humboldt, Wilhelm von, *Humanist without a Portfolio*, (anthology) ed. and tr. Marianne Cowan, Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1963
- Itenberg, B. S., *Dvizhenie revoliutsionnogo narodnichestva. Narodnicheskie kruzheniia i "khozhdeniia v narod" v 70-kh godakh XIX v.*, Moscow, Nauka, 1965
- Itenberg, B. S., *P. L. Lavrov v russkom revoliutsionnom dvizhenii*, Moscow, Nauka, 1988

- Ivanov-Razumnik, *Istoriia russkoi obshchestvennoi mysli*, 2 vols, St Petersburg, Tipografiia Stasiulevicha, 1907
- Ivanov-Razumnik, 'P. L. Lavrov i kommuna', in *"Vpered!"*, ed. P. Vitiazhev, Moscow and Petrograd, Kolos, 1920, pp. 47-50
- Jaeger, Werner, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture*, tr. Gilbert Highet, 3 vols, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1939
- Jaeger, Werner, *Humanism and Theology*, Milwaukee, Marquette University Press, 1943
- Kamkov, B., *Istoriko-filosofskie vozzreniia P. L. Lavrova*, Petrograd, Tipografiia 'Partiia Sotsialistov-revoliutsionerov', 1917
- Kant, Immanuel, *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft, Kants Gesammelte Schriften*, 23 vols, Berlin, Georg Reimer, 1910-55, V, pp. 1-163
- Kaplan, S. N., 'Ot sostavitelia', in P. L. Lavrov, *Sistematicheskaiia khrestomatiia*, ed. S. N. Kaplan and A. Z. Shteinberg, Berlin, Skify, 1923, pp. 9-21
- Kareev, N. I., *"Teoriia lichnosti" P. L. Lavrova*, St Petersburg, Tipografiia Stasiulevicha, 1901
- Kareev, N. I., 'Odin iz poslednikh istoriko-filosofskikh trudov P. L. Lavrova', *Sobranie sochinenii N. I. Kareeva*, 3 vols, St Petersburg, Prometei, 1911-13, II, pp. 209-36
- Karpov, N. V., 'Filosofskaia lirika P. L. Lavrova 50-kh godov (iz arkhivnykh razyskanii)', in *Voprosy russkoi i zarubezhnoi literatury*, Tula, Tul'skii GPI imeni L. N. Tolstogo, 1972, pp. 63-85
- Karpovich, Michael M., 'P. L. Lavrov and Russian Socialism', *California Slavic Studies*, II, 1963, pp. 21-38
- Kazakov, A. P., *Teoriia progressa v russkoi sotsiologii kontsa XIX veka*, Leningrad, Izdatel'stvo Leningradskogo universiteta, 1969
- Kessel, Eberhard, *Wilhelm von Humboldt: Idee und Wirklichkeit*, Stuttgart, K. F. Köhler Verlag, 1967
- Khoros, V. G., 'Uchenie Gegelia i formirovanie kontseptsii P. L. Lavrova', in *Gegel' i filosofiia v Rossii. 30-e gody XIX v. - 20-e gody XX v.*, ed. V. E. Evgrafov, Moscow, Nauka, 1974, pp. 164-75
- Kidd, I. G., 'Greek Academy', *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Paul Edwards, 8 vols, New York and London, MacMillan & The Free Press, 1967, III, pp. 382-85
- Kimball, Alan, 'The Russian Past and the Socialist Future in the Thought of Peter Lavrov', *Slavic Review*, 30, 1971, no. 1, pp. 28-45
- Knizhnik-Vetrov, I. S., 'Bibliografiia sochinenii P. L. Lavrova i o nem', in P. L. Lavrov, *Izbrannye sochineniia*, I, pp. 492-510
- Knizhnik-Vetrov, I. S., *Petr Lavrovich Lavrov*, second edition, Moscow, Izdatel'stvo vsesoiuznogo obshchestva politkatorzhan i ssyl'no-poselentsev, 1930

- Knizhnik-Vetrov, I. S. and A. F. Okulov, 'Veteran revoliutsionnoi teorii', in P. L. Lavrov, *Filosofiia i sotsiologiia*, I, pp. 5-41
- Knizhnik-Vetrov, I. S., 'Vvedenie k I tomu', in P. L. Lavrov, *Izbrannye sochineniia*, I, pp. 17-74
- Kolubovskii, Ia. N., 'Materialy dlia istorii filosofii v Rossii. X. P. L. Lavrov', *Voprosy filosofii i psikhologii*, 1898, no. 4, pp. 258-318
- Konovalov, V. N., 'P. L. Lavrov kak literaturnyi kritik', *Russkaia literatura*, 1974, no. 4, pp. 66-77
- Kozlov, A. A., 'Istoricheskie pis'ma P. L. Mirtova', *Znanie*, 1871, no. 2, pp. 169-97
- Koz'min, B. N., 'Narodnichestvo na burzhuažno-demokraticheskom etape osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniia v Rossii', *Istoricheskie zapiski*, 65, 1959, pp. 191-248
- Kristeller, Paul Oskar, *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic and Humanist Strains*, New York, Harper & Row, 1961
- 'Kritik', *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, ed. Joachim Ritter and Karlfried Gründer, 9 vols, Basel, Schwabe, 1971-95, IV, pp. 1249-82
- Kroeber, Alfred Louis and Clyde Kluckhohn, *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*, New York, Vintage Books, 1963
- Kropotkin, P. A., 'Vospominaniia o P. L. Lavrove', in P. L. Lavrov. *Sbornik. Stat'i, vospominaniia, materialy*, Petrograd, Kolos, 1922, pp. 436-39
- Kruglova, L. K., *Antropologicheskaiia filosofiiia P. L. Lavrova*, Avtoreferat kandidatskoi dissertatsii, Leningrad, LGU, 1973
- Kulczycki, Ludwig, *Geschichte der russischen Revolution*, 3 vols, tr. Anna Schapire-Neurath, Gotha, Friedrich Andres Perthes, 1911
- Kuliabko-Koretskii, N. G., *Iz danvikh let. Vospominaniia lavrista*, ed. B. P. Koz'min and M. M. Konstantinov, Moscow, Izdatel'stvo Vsesoiuznogo obshchestva politkatorzhan i ssyl'no-poselentsev, 1931
- Kurochkin, P. K., *Pravoslavie i gumanizm*, Moscow, TsKKPSS, 1962
- Lampert, E., 'Philip Pomper, *Peter Lavrov and the Russian Revolutionary Movement*', *Slavonic and East European Review*, LIII, 1975, no. 130, pp. 126-28
- Lavrin, Janko, 'Populists and Slavophiles', *The Russian Review*, XXI, 1962, no. 4, pp. 307-17
- Lebedev, P. A., ed., *Antologiia pedagogicheskoi mysli v Rossii pervoi poloviny XIX v.*, Moscow, Pedagogika, 1987
- Lesevich, V. V., 'Rol' nauki v period vozrozhdeniia i reformatsii', *Sobranie sochinenii*, 3 vols, Moscow, Knigoizdatel'stvo pisatelei, 1915, III, pp. 104-21

- Levitskii, S. A., *Ocherki po istorii russkoi filosofskoi i obshchestvennoi mysli*, Frankfurt am Main, Posev Verlag, 1968
- Lothe, Jean, *Gleb Ivanovic Uspenskij et le populisme russe*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1963
- Malinin, V. A., *Filosofiia revoliutsionnogo narodnichestva*, Moscow, Nauka, 1972
- Maritain, Jacques, *Humanisme intégral*, Paris, Fernald Aubier, 1936
- Masaryk, Thomas G., *Zur russischen Geschichts- und Religionsphilosophie*, second edition, 2 vols, Düsseldorf, Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1965
- Meijer, Jan M., *Knowledge and Revolution: The Russian Colony in Zuerich (1870-73)*, Assen, Van Gorcum, 1955
- Mikhailovskii, N. K., *Chto takoe progress?*, ed. Ivanov-Razumnik, Petrograd, Kolos, 1922
- Mikhailovskii, N. K., *Literaturnaia kritika i vospominaniia*, ed. M. G. Petrova and V. G. Khoros, Moscow, Iskusstvo, 1995
- Mitroshenkova, N. I., *P. L. Lavrov kak istorik russkoi filosofskoi i obshchestvenno-politicheskoi mysli xix v.*, Avtoreferat kandidatskoi dissertatsii, Moscow, MGU, 1987.
- Mokievskii, P., 'Lavrov, kak filosof', in *P. L. Lavrov. Sbornik. Stat'i, vospominaniia, materialy*, Petrograd, Kolos, 1922, pp. 29-72
- Mure, G. R. G., *The Philosophy of Hegel*, London, Oxford University Press, 1965
- Nemeth, Thomas, 'Kant in Russia: Lavrov in the 1860s - A New Beginning?', *Studies in Soviet Thought*, 1992, no. 1, pp. 1-36
- Niethammer, Friedrich Immanuel, *Der Streit des Philanthropinismus mit dem Humanismus in der Theorie des Erziehungsunterrichts unserer Zeit*, Jena, Friedrich Frommann, 1808
- Novomirskii, Ia., *P. L. Lavrov. Na puti k anarkhizmu*, Petrograd, Kolos, 1922
- Ovsianiko-Kulikovskii, D. N., *Istoriia russkoi intelligentsii*, 2 vols, Moscow, Izdanie V.M. Sablina, 1907
- Ovsianiko-Kulikovskii, D. N., 'Petr Lavrovich Lavrov. Iz neizdannykh posmertnykh vospominanii', in *P. L. Lavrov. Sbornik. Stat'i, vospominaniia, materialy*, Petrograd, Kolos, 1922, pp. 440-51
- P. L. Lavrov. Sbornik. Stat'i, vospominaniia, materialy*, Petrograd, Kolos, 1922
- Pamiati P. L. Lavrova*, Geneva, Tipografiia Gruppy starykh narodovol'tsev, 1900
- Panin, V. S., *P. L. Lavrov - istorik filosofskoi i obshchestvenno-politicheskoi mysli*, Avtoreferat kandidatskoi dissertatsii, Leningrad, Leningradskii GPI imeni Gertsena, 1968
- Paton, H. J., *The Moral Law; or Kant's Groundwork of the Metaphysic of Morals*, third edition, London, Hutchinson's University Library, 1958

Petrosian, M., 'Kommunizm - polnoe voploshchenie real'nogo gumanizma', *Kommunist*, 1959, no. 7, pp. 13-25

Pierre Lavroff, Paris and Tours, Editions de l'Humanité Nouvelle, 1900

Pipes, Richard, 'Narodnichestvo: A Semantic Inquiry', *Slavic Review*, XXIII, 1964, no. 3, pp. 441-58

Pisarev, D. I. 'Apollonii Tianskii', *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii D. I. Pisareva v shesti tomakh*, fifth edition, St Petersburg, Izdanie F. Pavlenkova, 1907-1912, II, pp. 1-166

Pisarev, D. I., 'Idealizm Platona', *Izbrannye filosofskie i obshchestvenno-politicheskie stat'i*, ed. V.S. Kruzhkova, Leningrad, Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1949, pp. 39-67

Pisarev, D. I., 'Skholastika XIX veka', *Izbrannye filosofskie i obshchestvenno-politicheskie stat'i*, ed. V.S. Kruzhkova, Leningrad, Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1949, pp. 83-90

Pisarev, D. I., 'Zarozhdenie kul'tury', *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii D. I. Pisareva v shesti tomakh*, fifth edition, St Petersburg, Izdanie F. Pavlenkova, 1907-12, II, pp. 505-620

Pomper, Philip, *Peter Lavrov and the Russian Revolutionary Movement*, Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 1972

Radlov, E., 'Lavrov v russkoi filosofii', in *P. L. Lavrov. Sbornik. Stat'i, vospominaniia, materialy*, Petrograd, Kolos, 1922, pp. 1-28

Radlov, E., 'P. Lavrov i Vl. Solov'ev', in *"Vpered!"*, ed. P. Vitiazhev, Moscow and Petrograd, Kolos, 1920, pp. 32-35

Rainov, T., 'K psikhologii lichnosti i tvorchestva P. L. Lavrova', in *P. L. Lavrov. Sbornik. Stat'i, vospominaniia, materialy*, Petrograd, Kolos, 1922, pp. 139-92

Rappoport, Charles, 'Einleitung', in Peter Lawrow, *Historische Briefe*, tr. Charles Rappoport, Berlin and Bern, Akademischer Verlag für soziale Wissenschaften, 1901, pp. vii-xxxxii

Rappoport, Charles, *Sotsial'naiia filosofiia Petra Lavrova*, tr. B. V. Iakovenko, St Petersburg, Izdanie B. V. Iakovenko, 1906 (French original *La philosophie sociale de Pierre Lavroff*, Paris, Imprimerie de Surensis, no date of publication given)

Roubanovitch, I. A., *Les idées philosophiques de Pierre Lavroff*, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'ère nouvelle, 1894

Rudakov, L. I., 'P. L. Lavrov o sootnoshenii mneniia i very (na materiale "Istoricheskikh pisem")', in *XXX Gertsenovskie chteniia, Filosofiia i sotsial'naiia psikhologiia*, Leningrad, Leningradskii GPI imeni A. I. Gertsena, 1977, pp. 59-66

[Rusanov, N. S.], *Biografiia P. L. Lavrova*, no place of publication given, Izdanie 'Rabochego znameni', 1899

Rusanov, N. S., 'P. L. Lavrov. (Ocherk ego zhizni i deiatel'nosti)', *Byloe*, 1907, no. 2, pp. 243-78

- Russkie knigi v bibliotekakh K. Marksa i F. Engel'sa*, Moscow, Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1979
- Scanlan, James P., 'Peter Lavrov: An Intellectual Biography', in Peter Lavrov, *Historical Letters*, tr. James Scanlan, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1967, pp. 1-69
- Scanlan, James P., 'Populism as a Philosophical Movement in Nineteenth-Century Russia: The Thought of P. L. Lavrov and N. K. Mikhailovskij', *Studies in Soviet Thought*, XXVII, 1984, no. 1, pp. 209-47
- Schiller, Friedrich, *Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen*, Stuttgart, Philipp Reclam jun., 1965
- Schwarzmeier, Michael, *Friedrich Immanuel Niethammer: Ein Bayrischer Schulreformer*, Aalen, Scientia Verlag, 1974
- Shelgunov, N. V., 'Istoricheskaja sila kriticheskoi lichnosti (Istoricheskie pis'ma P. L. Mirtova)', *Sochineniia N. V. Shelgunova*, 3 vols, St Petersburg, Izdatel'stvo 'Russkoi knizhnoi trgovli', 1871, III, pp. 255-77
- Shishkhova, N. M., 'Pereotsenka tsennostei (L. N. Tolstoi i P. L. Lavrov)', in *Vliianie nauki i filosofii na literaturu*, ed. N. V. Zababurov, Rostov on Don, Izdatel'stvo Rostovskogo universiteta, 1987, pp. 86-97
- Shkurinov, P. S., *Pozitivizm v Rossii XIX veka*, Moscow, Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1980
- Shpet, G. G., 'Antropologizm Lavrova v svete istorii filosofii', in *P. L. Lavrov. Sbornik. Stat'i, vospominaniia, materialy*, Petrograd, Kolos, 1922, pp. 73-138
- Shpet, G. G., 'Filosofiiia P. L. Lavrova', in *"Vpered!"*, ed. P. Vitiazhev, Moscow and Petrograd, Kolos, 1920, pp. 24-28
- Shpet, G. G., 'P. L. Lavrov i A. I. Gertsen', in *"Vpered!"*, ed. P. Vitiazhev, Moscow and Petrograd, Kolos, 1920, pp. 35-39
- Shtakenshneider, E. A., *Dnevnik i zapiski (1854-86)*, ed. I. N. Rozanova, Moscow and Leningrad, Akademiia, 1934
- Shteinberg, A. Z., 'K filosofii istorii P. L. Lavrova', in *"Vpered!"*, ed. P. Vitiazhev, Moscow and Petrograd, Kolos, 1920, pp. 41-46
- Shteinberg, A. Z., 'Nachalo i konets istorii v uchenii P. L. Lavrova', in *P. L. Lavrov. Sbornik. Stat'i, vospominaniia, materialy*, Petrograd, Kolos, 1922, pp. 355-72
- Shub, D., 'Petr Lavrov i sovremennost', *Mosty*, IV, 1960, pp. 247-55
- Sorokin, P., 'Lavrov, kak sotsiolog', in *"Vpered!"*, ed. P. Vitiazhev, Moscow and Petrograd, Kolos, 1920, pp. 19-23
- Sorokin, P., 'Osnovnye problemy sotsiologii P. L. Lavrova', in *P. L. Lavrov. Sbornik. Stat'i, vospominaniia, materialy*, Petrograd, Kolos, 1922, pp. 249-91

Stoianov, B., 'Anarkhizm i P. L. Lavrov', in *"Vpered!"*, ed. P. Vitiazhev, Moscow and Petrograd, Kolos, 1920, pp. 50-59

Strakhov, N. N., 'Ocherki voprosov prakticheskoi filosofii P.L. Lavrova. Spb. 1860', *Svetoch*, 1860, no. 7, pp. 1-14

Sweet, Paul. R., *Wilhelm von Humboldt: A Biography*, Columbus, Ohio State University Press, 1978

Tcheskis, L. A., *La philosophie sociale de Pierre Lavroff, ses rapports avec le matérialisme historique*, Paris, Librairie Léopold Cerf, 1913

Thun, Alphons, *Geschichte der revolutionären Bewegungen in Russland*, Leipzig, Verlag von Duncker und Humblot, 1883

Tkachev, P. N., 'Chto takoe partiia progressa (po povodu "Istoricheskikh pisem" P. L. Mirtova. 1870)', *Sochineniia v dvukh tomakh*, ed. B. M. Shakhmatov, Moscow, Mysl', 1975-76, I, pp. 461-528

Tkachev, P. N., 'Rol' mysli v istorii. ("Opyt istorii mysli" t. I, izd. Zhurnala "Znanie")', *Sochineniia v dvukh tomakh*, ed. B. M. Shakhmatov, Moscow, Mysl', 1975-76, II, pp. 43-88

Tkhorzhevskii, S., *Ispytanie voli. Povest' o Petre Lavrove*, Moscow, Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1985

Trutovskii, V., 'Sotsializm v uchenii P. Lavrova', in *"Vpered!"*, ed. P. Vitiazhev, Moscow and Petrograd, Kolos, 1920, pp. 15-19

Vartaniants, V., *Antropologicheskaiia filosofiia. P. Mirtov i sub"ektivnyi metod v sotsiologii*, Tiflis, Tipografiia Ia. I. Libermana, 1901

Vasil'ev, A. V., *Chitaia "Istoricheskie pis'ma" Petra Lavrovicha Lavrova*, Moscow and Mariupol', Mezhdunarodnaia assotsiatsiia 'Nadezhda', 1993

Venturi, Franco, *Roots of Revolution*, tr. Francis Haskell, London, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1960

Vilenskaia, E. S., *N. K. Mikhailovskii i ego ideinaia rol' v narodnicheskom dvizhenii*, Moscow, Nauka, 1979

Vilenskaia, E. S. and B. S. Itenberg, 'Deistvitel'no, ne nado uproshchat'!', *Voprosy literatury*, 1960, no. 10, pp. 96-107

Vitiazhev, F., 'Lavrov i Saltykov', *Literaturnoe nasledstvo*, 13-14, 1934, pp. 527-36

Vitiazhev, P., 'Na graniakh zhizni', *"Vpered!"*, ed. P. Vitiazhev, Moscow and Petrograd, Kolos, 1920, pp. 2-15

Vitiazhev, P., 'P. L. Lavrov v vospominaniakh sovremennikov. IV. Iz rasskazov M. P. Sazhina', *Golos minuvshogo*, 1915, no. 10, pp. 112-28

Vitiazhev, P., ed., *"Vpered!"*, Moscow and Petrograd, Kolos, 1920

Vlaskin, A. G., "'Kriticheski mysliashchaia lichnost'" i moral'nye tsennosti v filosofskoi kontseptsii P. L. Lavrova', in *Filosofiia i osvoboditel'noe dvizhenie v Rossii*, ed. A. A. Ermichev and S. N. Savel'ev, Leningrad, Izdatel'stvo Leningradskogo universiteta, 1989, pp. 123-31

Voigt, Georg, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums oder das erste Jahrhundert des Humanismus*, 2 vols, Berlin, Georg Reimer, 1859

Volgin, V. P., *Gumanizm i sotsializm*, Moscow, Akademiia nauk, 1955

Volodin, A. I. and B. S. Itenberg, *Lavrov*, Moscow, Molodaia gvardiia, 1981

Volodin, A. I., 'K kharakteristike ateizma P. L. Lavrova', in P. L. Lavrov, *O religii*, ed. A. I. Volodin, Moscow, Mysl', 1989, pp. 3-33

Volodin, A. I., 'Vilgelm Gumbol'dt i Dmitrii Pisarev', in *Rossia i Germaniia. Opyt filosofskogo dialoga*, ed. V. A. Lektorskii and A. Ia. Sharapov, Moscow, Medium, 1993, pp. 175-206

Vucinic, Alexander, *Social Thought in Tsarist Russia: The Quest for a General Science of Society 1861-1917*, Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 1976

Walicki, Andrzej, *A History of Russian Thought*, tr. Hilda Andrews-Rusiecka, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1979

Walicki, Andrzej, *The Slavophile Controversy: History of a Conservative Utopia in Nineteenth-Century Russian Thought*, tr. Hilda Andrews-Rusiecka, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1975

Walker, F. A., 'The Morality of Revolution in Pyotr Lavrovich Lavrov', *Slavonic and East European Review*, XLI, 1962, no. 96, pp. 196-207

Zen'kovskii, V. V., *Istoriia russkoi filosofii*, 2 vols in 4 parts, Leningrad, Ego, 1991

Zhaba, S. P., *Russkie mysliteli o Rossii i o chelovechestve. Antologiia russkoi obshchestvennoi mysli*, Paris, YMCA Press, 1954