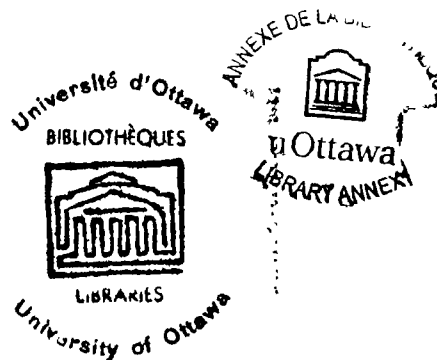


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I.T.POSOSHKOV
AS A WRITER AND THINKER OF XVIII CENTURY

by K.A. Pappmehl

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of the University of Ottawa through the
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ial fulfillment of the requirements for
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E.H. Neff
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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

Kasimir Adam PAPMEHL

Born 30 March 1915 in St. Petersburg.

Baccalaureat in Warsaw, Poland, 1933.

Graduation Diploma from State Maritime Academy

(University Status) at Gdynia, Poland, 1937.

1956-1957: Courses in Economics, Political Science
and English Literature at Carleton University, Ottawa.

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INTRODUCTION

The basic purpose of this study is to show Pososhkov's figure against the background of his age and native country, and to conduct an examination of his principal ideas and of the form in which they have been expressed. In doing this, special attention will be given to the long-term factors in respect to both the ideas and their form, with an object of demonstrating the lasting value of Pososhkov's writings to the students of Russian thought and literature, as well as certain topical interest in relation to the problems of our own age.

Pososhkov's most important work is his Kniga o skudosti i bogatstve (Book on Poverty and Wealth), completed in 1724, barely two years before its author's death. It remained practically unknown for over a century - although one of its surviving copies was apparently made on instructions by M. Lomonosov in 1752 - and did not attract general attention until 1842 when it was published by the well known historian and writer M. Pogodin, following a chance discovery of its copy at an auction in St. Petersburg. At the same time, Pogodin edited and printed a biographical sketch of its author, amplified in 1861 by further data derived from documents

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relating to Pososhkov's arrest and death in 1726. Since then, his writings have been attracting the attention of the number of Russian scholars, especially during the second half of the last and the beginning of the present century. Thus the prominent historians: Solov'yev in the eighties, Kluchevsky and Pavlov-Silvansky at the turn of the century, devoted considerable attention to Pososhkov's writings, seeing in them both a valuable historical source and an interesting project of reforms emanating from a peasant writer. A. Brueckner, in the eighteen-seventies, concentrated on Pososhkov's economic ideas,¹ while M. Klochkov, in his book Pososhkov o krestyanakh, was primarily concerned with his attitude to the peasant problem. Among other pre-revolutionary commentators of Pososhkov should be mentioned A. Tsarevsky,² I. Remezov,³ E. Prilezhayev, editor and commentator of

¹ A. Brueckner, Ivan Pososhkov, St. Petersburg 1876. By the same author: Iwan Possoschkow. Ideen und Zustände in Russland zur Zeit Peters des Grossen, Leipzig, 1878. Also: Mnena Pososhkova, Moscow, 1879.

² Pososhkov i ego sochinenya, Moscow 1883.

³ Moskovskii krestyanin I.T. Pososhkov, and Materialy dlya istorii narodnogo prosveshchenya v Rossii, Samouchki, St. Petersburg, 1887.

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Pososhkov's Zaveshchanye otecheskoye in 1893, and I. Belyayev.⁴ In the Soviet Union, Pososhkov and his writings have been receiving rather less attention, presumably because, for the most part, his views do not lend themselves well to interpretation from the "Marxist-Leninist" point of view. One notable exception is B. Kafengauz, who produced two scholarly editions of the Kniga o skudosti i bogatstve (in 1937 and 1951) as well as a biographical sketch of Pososhkov in his I.T. Pososhkov-Zhizn' i deyatel'nost' (1950). The latter contains some items of information unknown to Pososhkov's earlier biographers and based on documents discovered since the Russian revolution. While Kafengauz is naturally obliged to treat his subject with a heavy ideological bias which sometimes detracts from the value of his commentary, his scholarly contribution, in the form of carefully edited original texts, documents and, hitherto unknown biographical details, is, without doubt, considerable. It is intended, in one of the following chapters, to evaluate objectively these

⁴ Pisatel'-krestyanin Ivan Pososhkov, Moscow, 1902.

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recent findings and to collate some of the views of the pre- and post-revolutionary biographers of Pososhkov. As far as is known, there have been no works in English devoted specifically to Pososhkov and, consequently, this study may possibly represent a contribution, however modest, in this particular respect.

The period in which Pososhkov lived, i.e. the latter part of the seventeenth and the first quarter of the eighteenth century, must be considered one of the most important in the history of Russia. It forms a dividing line between two epochs, but, - at the same time, if in a different sense - also a bridge between them. In this, and in several other respects, it has many features in common with the most recent period of Russian history. Pososhkov's writings are thought to represent the linking rather than the dividing factor between the two epochs; the element of continuity rather than that of change. In view of this, the subject matter of this study is not, perhaps, devoid of a certain amount of topical interest, as it will be attempted to show in the final chapter.

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The opening chapter will be devoted to a descriptive historical survey of the period, with a stress on the events which can be considered likely to have affected Pososhkov directly and influenced his thinking. This will be followed by a biographical sketch in which, as already mentioned, the recently discovered documentary evidence will be accorded particular attention. The third chapter will consist of an analysis of Pososhkov's language and style and of a tentative evaluation of this formal aspect of his writings. In the chapter entitled Pososhkov as a Thinker, attention will be focused on his fundamental convictions, beliefs and prejudices as reflected in his ideas and, on what is considered the essence of these ideas: the author's ultimate aim and purpose. Certain assertions will be made in this connection which, it is hoped, will represent a somewhat novel and unorthodox approach to the problem and thus form the central point of the thesis. The long-term significance of certain factors in Pososhkov's thinking will be stressed and an assessment made of the originality and general value of his views.

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The descriptive-comparative method has been employed in the preparation of this study, based, first and foremost, on the factual evidence obtained from primary sources, i.e. Pososhkov's own writings and, to a lesser extent, on views and commentaries of prominent Russian historians and literary critics who wrote on this subject. In this latter connection, difficulties have been encountered in obtaining access to works of pre-revolutionary writers and, in some instances, their views had to be reconstructed on the basis of references by other authors. No attempt at an analysis of Pososhkov's works on religious subjects will be made in view of the lack of necessary qualifications on the part of the author of this thesis.

As will be noted from the attached bibliography, Russian books and texts have been used, almost exclusively, as sources. The most important and most often quoted of these, Pososhkov's Kniga o skudosti i bogatstve or Book on Poverty and Wealth, will be referred to in either the Russian or English version of its title, the two being regarded as freely interchangeable. All translations of titles, references and quotations are by this writer, who

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may perhaps be permitted to note the fact that translation from early eighteenth-century Russian into modern English presents certain difficulties which it has been attempted to overcome to the best of one's ability, if only with a limited success. In general, it has been aimed at keeping as closely as possible to the original meaning, often to the detriment of style, and, in some cases, Russian words or expressions have been inserted in brackets for the purpose of clarification. In the transliteration from Russian into Latin alphabet, always a thankless and somewhat awkward task - mainly because more than one Russian letters and/or sounds have, of necessity, to be represented by the same letter in English - particular attention has been paid to reasonably accurate rendering of the written word rather than of phonetic sound, where the original texts are concerned.

CHAPTER ONE

CULTURAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND

I.T. Pososhkov lived and wrote during one of the most eventful periods in the history of his country. His lifetime embraces the second half of the seventeenth and the first quarter of the eighteenth century, thus containing the whole reign of Peter the Great. He is therefore an eye-witness, and at times a direct participant in the events which were to transform the backward, semi-oriental and insular Muscovy into an up-to-date empire which henceforth was to play an increasingly important role in European politics. The two outstanding features of this period in Russia are the gradual mounting of pressures demanding a change in the existing order and the consequent conflict between the new and the old. While the beginnings of this process can be traced back to early seventeenth century, it achieved its utmost momentum in the first quarter of the eighteenth, when the forces favouring radical changes found a powerful ally and an able - if not always accurate - interpreter in the dynamic and controversial personality of Peter the Great. Throughout Pososhkov's lifetime the elements of new and old, primitive and advanced, native and foreign, active and passive, meet, mingle,

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merge, co-exist or become superimposed on each other. This affects every aspect of the national life and results in an overall picture of a considerable complexity.

In examining the cultural and political background to Pososhkov's life and ideas it is proposed to concentrate mainly on events which can be reasonably expected to have influenced his attitude to the problems then existing and, perhaps more important, on the major trends of thought discernible in the society in which he lived. With this in mind, an attempt will be made to trace the origins of these trends, their developments and some specific manifestations. The political events of this period will be treated merely as a corollary of ideas, especially of those reflected in Pososhkov's writings, and will therefore not necessarily be accorded attention commensurate with their true historical significance. In keeping with the method used in preparing this study and also because Pososhkov must be considered as a publicist, moralist and economist, and not only as a purely literary figure, it will be necessary to devote rather more attention to the historical background than would ordinarily be the case.

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The military setbacks and devastation of the country during the "Time of Troubles" gave rise to a general feeling of discontent with the state of affairs existing in the Muscovite realm. The new dynasty did nothing to alleviate this: on the contrary, in repeated attempts to justify their election through striving to regain recently lost territories, the early Romanovs involved their country in a long series of unprofitable armed conflicts. The over-centralized administration through its blundering fiscal policy and increased oppression of the taxable part of population brought the country to the verge of bankruptcy. The discontent among the broad masses manifested itself in a series of armed uprisings; among the upper social strata it was further enhanced by increased contacts with Western Europe which presented an opportunity for comparison with the state of affairs existing outside the borders of Muscovy. This discontent is well reflected in the literature of this period: from Palitsin, deacon Timofey and other chroniclers of the Time of Troubles, through the writings of the "free-thinker" and "latinist" Prince Khvorostinin, to the embittered political refugee Gregory Kotoshikhin and his treatise

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On The State of the Muscovite Kingdom in the Reign of Tsar Alexis written in a self-imposed exile in Sweden.

Before proceeding further, a few words should perhaps be said on the subject of western influences in Moscow in the seventeenth century. V.O. Kluchevsky in his monumental Course of Russian History sees the direct cause of these influences in the fact that at that time Moscow, mainly as a result of her military setbacks, for the first time consciously recognised the superiority of the West.¹ While the validity of his most ably and attractively presented argument may be slightly debatable - since, at any given time, an increase in frequency and scope of contacts between two sides probably contributes more towards creating an influence than a mere military or technical superiority of one over the other - there can be no doubt that, in this period, Moscow was rapidly becoming a backward country in relation to the rest of Europe. At the time when in Moscow the new dynasty was finding it practically impossible

¹
V.O. Kluchevsky, Sochineniya-Kurs Russkoy Istorii (Collected Works-Course in Russian History), Vol. III, p. 256f.

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to cope with the existing problems under an archaic system of government and with domestic resources only, in the West out of rapidly disintegrating feudal order and under the added impact of geographical and technical discoveries, arose strong highly centralized powers in which trade and industry, concentrated in cities and towns, played an increasingly important part. The political and economical lag between Moscow and Western Europe increased rapidly as the time progressed.

By mid-seventeenth century the articulate members of the Muscovite society recognise the fact that the existing situation is intolerable and has to be changed, and in seeking a remedy become divided into two opposing schools of thought. One sees the root of trouble in the departure from the ways of forefathers and in insidious foreign influences; the other condemns the ancient order and welcomes the ways of the west. Thus this period of Russian history witnesses the birth of two ideologies which under different names, in varying forms and to a varying degree continue to exist and influence Russian thought from then onwards even to this day. The first open manifestation of the controversy between them occurred

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in the middle of the seventeenth century, in the argument between the "hellenists" and the "latinists" over the respective advantages of teaching Greek and Latin in religious schools. It would be a mistake to classify the two ideologies simply as conservative and progressive. While it cannot be denied that the first contained strong conservative tendencies, its basic tenet was the idea of superiority of Moscow over the rest of the world, closely bound to the concept of the "Third Rome". Its exponents held that Muscovy will flourish as long as its Orthodox Faith remains inviolate and unchanged, since it is now the only guardian of true Christianity. In other words: Moscow has the monopoly for truth and is predestined to become a leader of the Christian world - (a manifestation of this very same basic principle in the modern Soviet ideology is only too evident). Education, beyond learning to read Scriptures and sacred texts was thought to be unnecessary, if not dangerous and, by the same token, technical knowledge was regarded as superfluous and even sinful as something that does not contribute to the salvation of the soul. With this, an undue stress was laid on external, superficial manifestations of religious feeling to the detriment of true understanding of

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the essence of Christianity, and a slightest deviation from customary form came to be regarded as heresy.

The second school of thought believed in the unqualified superiority of the West. Its spokesmen not infrequently turned, directly or obliquely, against the Official Church and sometimes gravitated towards Catholicism or even Protestantism. They saw a way out of the deplorable situation in which Moscow has now found itself in the abandonment of the old life and in wholesale adaptation of the achievements of the West - first and foremost its technology and military and economic organization. It would be difficult to call this movement progressive, since a condemnation of the old order does not, in itself constitute progress - as neither does a blind adaptation of material achievements of another country. The fundamental weakness of this ideology - a weakness which becomes increasingly more apparent in the more recent periods of Russian history, was that it lacked an underlying moral principle: in rejecting the old order and in its fascination with material progress it failed to produce a moral code of its own. For the purpose of this study, it is proposed subsequently to refer to these two schools of thought as "Conservative Muscovite" and "Western".

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As can be expected, the adherents of the "Western" movement were to be found mainly amongst the members of the better educated upper class close to the throne, consequently they were more vocal and their influence more noticeable. The most prominent mid-century "westerners" were Nikita Romanov (Uncle of Tsar Alexis), Boris Morozov, close friend and advisor of the Tsar Feodor Rtishchev, the prominent diplomat Afanasiy Ordin-Nashchekin, his successor A. Matveyev and later Prince V. Golitsin. On the other hand, "Conservative Muscovites" had an outstanding spokesman in the person of the leader of the Great Schism Archpriest Avvakum and, while in this respect, he stands practically alone, there can be little doubt that the sympathies of the bulk of the population were predominantly on the conservative side.

In speaking of the "Conservative Muscovites" and the "Westerners" it should be made clear that it is not attempted to suggest here that in mid-seventeenth century, or even later, when the controversy became much more acute in Peter's reign, every thinking person in Russia identified himself with one or the other camp. What is being suggested is that these two basic trends did noticeably exist and that

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they did influence thought and actions of individuals and groups in Russia during the period in question. They did not necessarily clash, but often - and this is true of Pososhkov's period as well as of the later ones - existed side by side. There were some prominent personalities who, in their views, displayed the elements of both: The Tsar Alexis himself is a good example. Ordin-Nashchekin just mentioned among the westerners, did not share one of their important characteristics: the blind and uncritical admiration for the West. Thus, while he recommended that "everything ought to be done according to the example of foreign countries", he qualified this by saying: "What do we care about foreign customs, their garb² is not for us, and ours is not for them" i.e. only that what is useful must be emulated. Ordin-Nashchekin is of some importance from the point of view of this study in that, as one of the first political-economists in Russia, he was a direct predecessor of Pososhkov's, even though it is highly doubtful if

²
Quoted by Kluchevsky, Op.cit. Vol.III, p.339.

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the latter was directly influenced, or indeed aware, of his ideas. Ordin-Nashchekin's views are known mainly from his voluminous correspondence with Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich and show, apart from deep humanity and concern for the suffering and the oppressed, also remarkably sound political and economic sense. He was probably the first man in the history of Russia who clearly saw the evils of a system based on sheer exploitation of labour rather than on development of productive forces and natural resources. He understood the need for private initiative in encouraging trade and commerce and, at the same time, condemned extreme centralization and the system of government by brute force. In the words of Kluchevsky:

"He was probably the first to grasp the idea that national economy, by itself, should be one of the main branches of state administration".³

Without doubt the most important internal event in the life of Muscovy during the second half of the century was the Great Schism of the sixteen-sixties. Although it would be an oversimplification to attribute its origin exclusively to Western influences

³Op.cit. Vol.III, p. 345.

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and to look at it merely as at a conflict between the "Conservative Muscovites" and the "Westerners", there can be little doubt that it was, to a large extent, caused by revisionist ideas brought into Moscow by Ukrainian theologians, such as Polotsky, Slavinetsky, Smotritsky, Med'vedev, Gizel' and many others whose outlook was formed in close contact with the sources of both Greek and Latin religious thought. In the final account, the Great Schism helped to advance the cause of the "Westerners" inasmuch as the "Old Believers", officially condemned and excommunicated at the Council of 1666/67, came to be identified with the old order. Kluchevsky ascribes great importance to the uprising of the Old Believers in 1682, seeing in it an event which shaped Peter's attitude towards the conservatives once and for all. The Old Believers arose in the name of the Old Order and the Old Faith and Kluchevsky suggests the following syllogism:

This movement(...)irrevocably connected in his (Peter's) mind the concepts of the old order, schism and revolt: Old Order equals schism; schism equals revolt; therefore old order equals revolt.⁴

⁴ Kluchevsky, Op.cit. V.III, p. 318.

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The Schism greatly stimulated exchange of thought and ideas. The "Old Believers" had a most articulate champion in the person of their leader Archpriest Avvakum Petrovich who, in the course of his lifetime, produced over fifty written works. He stands out as possibly the most prominent literary figure of seventeenth century Russia on account of his individual and forceful style and skilful use of the live, contemporary language. His Life of Archpriest Avvakum Written by Himself, written between 1672 and 1675 is the most outstanding literary work of this period.⁵ Avvakum's influence on his contemporaries was naturally restricted since he championed the lost cause and he "remained an isolated figure, though there is little doubt that he deserves to be ranked among the greatest Russian writers".⁶ Public debates carried on between Avvakum and his opponents - primarily Simeon Polotsky, another important literary figure and adherent of

⁵ The most recent authoritative work on Avvakum is N.K. Gudzy, Zhitye protopopa Avvakuma im samym napisano i drugiye sochineniya, Moscow 1934. The outstanding pre-revolutionary work is by A.K. Borozdin, Protopop Avvakum, St. Petersburg, 1900.

⁶ Harkins, W.E., Dictionary of Russian Literature, London, Allen & Unwin, 1957 p.II.

the "Western" movement - were also an important factor in the exchange of ideas stimulated by the Schism.

A rather important landmark in the cultural life of seventeenth century Moscow was the foundation, in 1681, in the reign of Fedor Alexeyevich, of the School for Greek and Slavonic languages under Abbot Timofey, one of the "hellenists" mentioned previously. This was followed by opening, five years later, of the "Slavonic-Greek-Latin Academy" at one of Moscow monasteries.⁷ This institution was also responsible for the protection of the faithful from "heretical" influences and one of its first acts was to ban Polish, German and other foreign books - a direct reflection of the "conservative Muscovite" thinking and a gain from the point of view of the followers of this ideology.

Pososhkov was already in his forties when the most eventful period in the life of Muscovy began with Peter I assuming full power in 1695. The next thirty years witnessed an overwhelming success of the "westerner" ideology, radical reforms

⁷ Zaikonospassky.

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affecting all aspects of national life and the emergence of Russia as a major European power - at the cost of incredible privations and sacrifices on the part of the population. The personality and actions of Peter the Great dominate this whole period and, for this reason, they deserve special attention.

Basically deeply patriotic, Peter very early in life came under influence of the foreign colony in Moscow and acquired the firm belief that rapid westernisation was the only way out of the predicament in which his country had found itself. In order to achieve this it was imperative radically to increase intercourse with Western Europe and the only practical way of doing it was to gain access to warm sea open all year round. This, in turn, could only be achieved through war - with either Turkey or Sweden, both militarily strong and politically aggressive powers, blocking the access to the Black and Baltic seas respectively. In consequence, all of Peter's reign with the exception of one year was spent in war, with all the resources of the country - and indeed most of Peter's reformatory activity - geared directly to its needs.

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As already shown, pressures demanding radical changes existed much earlier and the broad outlines of Peter's reforms could be seen forming in the seventeenth century:

Most of the reforms that he carried through linked on with tentative steps in the same direction made by his predecessors; most of the changes that he introduced had their harbingers before him...⁸

To this were added the problems of his own time, and of these, war was the most important and immediate. The actual programme of Peter's reforms was, to a large extent, shaped by the current events: it took the form of finding solutions to the pressing everyday needs of the State - solutions not infrequently haphazard and at times unrealistic, but generally consistent with the central purpose of their originator. At this point it may be of interest to quote the testimony of an English traveller to Russia who visited it some seven decades later - still close enough in time to Peter's reign for his remarks to be of special value:

Peter did everything with the axe and the sword - they were his only instruments in war and in peace: he fixed himself upon the throne with them; he conquered the finest

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Sumner, B.H., Peter the Great and the Emergence of Russia, London, The English Universities Press, 1956, p.2.

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provinces of Sweden; he built and peopled his metropolis; he built and manned his Navy; he established an Academy of Sciences with these tools by seizing the library at Mittau; (...) all this as a warrior and legislator...⁹

Peter inherited from his predecessors, and to the end of his life could not shake off the old Muscovite concept that all decisions must be imposed by force, from above. Thus all his reformatory activity was guided by the principle that compulsion by brute force is both essential and necessary. Although he himself received only the most rudimentary schooling. Peter fervently believed in the power of education and, in striving to bestow its benefits on his people, attempted to educate them by force and to divert the stream of the national life, through sheer force, into a completely new channel. He did not trust the free individual initiative, did not expect his subjects to co-operate voluntarily and invariably tried to supervise the actual execution of his orders. He clearly recognised the conservative tendencies of the majority of Russian people and their fear of innovations, as evidenced by his own words:

⁹
A. Swinton, Esq, Travels into Norway, Denmark and Russia in the years 1788, 1789, 1790 and 1791, London, 1792, p. 321-322.

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"Even if something is good and useful, but new, our people will not accept it unless they are forced to."¹⁰

And to quote again from Swinton:

Peter was anxious to make his native Kingdom a great nation: he was rendered miserable by their opposition to his plans, their cabals and conspiracies against him; and in fits of despair, or rather of madness, he did things unbecoming his character.¹¹

Peter's educational programme was strictly utilitarian. Presumably partly because of his own educational background and partly because of his unbounded admiration for the technological achievements of Western Europe and the desire to catch up with it in the shortest possible time, he laid great stress on sciences, mathematics, practical arts and crafts and neglected the humanities. Young sons of nobility selected for compulsory training abroad studied navigation and seamanship in England and Holland, or learned a variety of trades and crafts in other European countries. The first institution of higher learning - although not of university status by any standards - was the School for Mathematics and Navigation founded in

¹⁰
Historical Documents St. Petersburg 1842,
 Vol. V, No.29 Quoted by Kluchevsky in Op.cit.Vol.IV
 p. 110

¹¹
 Swinton, ibid, p. 323

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Moscow in 1701 which had as its principal a Scot, Farquharson, former professor of the Edinburgh University. In 1711 an engineering school was open in Moscow and an Artillery School in the newly founded St. Petersburg. In 1715 a Nautical Academy was established in the latter city. Attendance at these and other schools, like the training abroad, was in fact looked upon as a form of service to the State and the pupils were simply conscripted in numbers prescribed by the Tsar. In 1714 education for children of nobility was made compulsory and a number of primary "arithmetical schools" (tsifirniye shkoly) were opened throughout the country.

Other important landmarks in the development of Russian cultural life, resulting from Peter's personal initiative, are the foundation of the first newspaper in Moscow (Vedomosti) in 1703, the opening of a first theatre accessible to the general public in 1702 and the reform of the alphabet in 1708. There was a spectacular increase in the amount of books printed - mostly translations of textbooks of scientific and technical nature. Many of these were edited and prepared for printing by Peter himself.

In the realm of literature the reign of Peter I did not produce any outstanding works of art. This

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is not surprising, if it is taken into consideration that this period lacked one important prerequisite to creative artistic effort, namely reasonable stability. The political, economic and social structure of the country was being transformed, and even the language was in a state of flux. For this reason, the long accepted view of literary art in Russia in Peter's reign, based on the pronouncements of such authorities as Pushkin, Bestuzhev-Marlinsky and V. Belinsky, was that it simply did not exist. This, rather sweeping verdict, was replaced in the middle of the last century by the theory that the literature of Peter's period had its own specific character and that it had, in fact, developed certain forms of art - as for example the sentimental love lyric - hitherto unknown. Thus, a dissertation by N.A. Popov, published in 1861 in Moscow, contains the following passage:

The predominant characteristic of the literature which accompanied and immediately followed Peter's reforms was its scientific bent (...) the prevailing view of education and literature in the society of that time was exclusively utilitarian.¹²

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Quoted by A.V. Pozdneev in Problemy izucheniya poezii petrovskogo vremeni, printed in XVIII Vek-Sbornik 3, of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow 1958, p.25.

One of the outstanding Russian scholars of that time, P.P. Pekarsky, endorsed this view and actually devoted a considerable part of the first volume of his well known work to the subject of the literary art of Peter's period.¹³ Nothing has occurred since which would alter this conception of Petrine epoch in the history of Russian literature, and it is being shared,¹⁴ in principle, also by contemporary Soviet scholars.

This utilitarian character of the literature of Peter's reign, gave rise to new forms of literary expression which are typical of this period and, in a sense, unique. First of all, Peter's own legislative acts: ukases, reglamenti and administrative orders were, as a rule, accompanied by introductions and comments, not infrequently composed by the Tsar himself, which were aimed at convincing the populace of the soundness and usefulness of the measures being undertaken. Kafengauz in his commentary to the recent

¹³
Pekarsky, P.P., Nauka i literatura v Rossii pri Petre Velikom, St. Petersburg 1862, V.I.

¹⁴
See, for example, D.D. Blagoy, Istoriya russkoi literatury XVIII veka, Moscow 1955, p.33f.

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 edition of Pososhkov's writings, produces several excerpts from Peter's legislation which clearly demonstrate the fact that these acts have to be regarded as an important contribution to the publicistic literature of this period. A good example is the manifesto depriving Peter's son, Alexis of the right of succession which reads like a popular article:

Peter considers it necessary to inform his subjects of details of the Tsarevich's private life: that while ostensibly living with his wife he kept "a certain indolent and crude wench" as a mistress; he then proceeds to describe Alexis' flight, the search for him etc. Instead of a solemn and imperious address by a monarch to his subjects we have here a popular story expounding clearly and in minute detail the sequence of events which led to Alexis's forfeiture of his right of succession.¹⁶

In order to popularize his reforms, Peter and his collaborators prepare whole treatises on topical subjects. Feofan Prokopovich, under Tsar's personal direction, wrote his voluminous Pravda Voli Monarshey (The Truth of Monarch's Will) in which he explained the theoretical foundations of Peter's absolutism. His other major work Dukhovni Reglament (Spiritual

15
 Pososhkov, I.T. Kniga o Skudosti i Bogatstve i drugie sochinenya, Commentary by B.B.Kafengauz, Moscow, USSR Academy of Sciences, 1951 p. 298f.

16
Ibid, p. 303

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Directives) explains the reasons for the dissolution of the Patriarchate and the establishment of the Holy Synod. Shafirov wrote his Razsuzhdenye (Discourse) on the causes of the Great Northern War under Peter's immediate supervision and with his co-authorship.

Peter, in his reformatory and publicistic activity, sought and actively encouraged all forms of cooperation on the part of his subjects. The manifestation of their response in the realm of letters was the so-called "literature of projects", another interesting phenomenon which has a direct bearing on the subject matter of this study. A great number of plans for improvements in various fields called iz'yavleniya (expositions) or simply punkty (points) were being produced and submitted for consideration to Peter himself or to his associates. These ranged from improved methods for manufacturing hemp ropes (Maxim Mikulin) to the most far reaching plans for political, economic and social reforms (Fedor Saltykov and Ivan Pososhkov). In a number of cases where the projects were accepted this resulted in great honours and rapid promotion to their originators, as, for example, with Kurbatov, Nesterov, Yershov, Markelov, Mikulin, Voronov and others, more often than not of lowly social origin who,

thanks to their inventiveness, rose to some of the highest administrative posts in the realm.

Three different methods of classification with respect to the authors of these projects, are apparent in the treatment of this subject by Russian scholars. Kluchevsky¹⁷ divides them into two groups in accordance with the subject, or perhaps more correctly, the scope of their interest: the donositeli (publicists) among whom he lists Pososhkov and the pribilshchiki or vimishlenniki (inventors of new ways of increasing state revenue, primarily through new forms of taxation). The second method is that advanced by another eminent pre-revolutionary historian, N.P. Pavlov-Silvansky, and based on the authors' underlying ideology: it distinguishes among them again two groups - the "Westerners" and the "Moscow Progressives"¹⁸ and places Pososhkov amongst the latter. Finally, the Soviet school, as represented by B.B. Kafengauz, classifies these authors in accordance with

¹⁷ V.O. Kluchevsky, Op.cit., Vol. IV, p. 129f.

¹⁸ N.P. Pavlov-Silvansky, Proyekty reform v zapiskakh sovremennikov Petra Velikogo, St. Petersburg 1897.

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their class origin and interprets their views as
a manifestation of the class struggle.¹⁹

For the purpose of this study it is proposed to accept Silvansky's classification with, however, certain modifications. In connection with what has been said above of the two ideologies which appear in Moscow in the seventeenth century, it now becomes necessary to refer to their subsequent development during Peter's reign. This writer's view of this development, stated in the simplest terms, is as follows: the "Westerners" received a powerful boost through Peter's reforms and succeeded in having most of their aims put into practice; while the "Conservative Muscovites" naturally opposed to the principle of the reform, became divided, through the force of events, into two groups: the moderates who were prepared to collaborate with Peter and the irreconcilables who were not and who remained more or less openly hostile to everything he stood for. Publicists like Pososhkov and Voronov whom Pavlov-Silvansky calls "Moscow Progressives" represent, in this writer's opinion, the moderate branch of the

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Pososhkov/Kafengauz, Op.cit., p.296.

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conservatives and can be termed progressive only in the sense that they were prepared to cooperate with the reformer, probably for a variety of motives, ranging from patriotism to opportunism. In their overall views, however, and in the advice they offered, they reflected predominantly conservative outlook. This point will be developed later in the chapter dealing with Pososhkov as a thinker.

There were thus two main sources of the publicistic activity in Peter's reign: the "political propaganda" from above and the "literature of projects" representing the response from below. There was another important branch of the utilitarian literature characteristic of this period: namely the Church literature which was devoted primarily to essays of polemical character directed firstly against the Old Believers - the Schism was still a very recent and a very topical event - and, secondly against the Protestant influences which were becoming more pronounced on account of increased contacts with the West. The most prominent among the religious writers were the metropolitans Dimitri of Rostov, Pitirim, Stefan Yavorsky and Feofan Prokopovich. Pososhkov also contributed here in his pamphlet Zerkalo ochevidnoye against the Old Believers and in his

"testament" - Zaveshchanye otecheskoye. That this contribution was not inconsiderable is evidenced by the fact that the latter work was considered by a prominent Russian scholar of XIX century E. Prilezhayev to be of enduring importance as "an exposition of Orthodox-Christian moral teaching."²⁰

As regards other forms of literary expression, the folk tale which reached its peak during the preceding century, declined somewhat in quality, but gained a new subject in the semi-fantastic stories of adventure and travel in Western Europe. Panegyric poems and songs (cantos) appear on occasions such as the victory at Poltava (1709) or the Nystad Peace Treaty (1721) and, as already noted, the sentimental love lyric appears - for the first time²¹ in Russia - in the Court circles.

The changes in the realm of the written language occurring during this period can be regarded,

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E. Prilezhayev. Predisloviye k"Zaveshchanyu otecheskomu" I.T. Pososhkova., St. Petersburg 1893. (Quoted by B.B. Kafengauz in I.T. Pososhkov, Zhizn' i devatel'nost'., Moscow-Leningrad 1950., P.74)

21

E.G. poems written by William Mons discovered and published by M.I. Semevsky in 1862.

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in the main, as an accelerated continuation of processes which began in the previous century. Their principal features were: the gradual intrusion into the written language of the vernacular to the detriment of Old Church Slavonic; and lexical expansion through influx of new words of both native and foreign origin. This last process was most pronounced in the first quarter of the eighteenth century when literally hundreds of words, mainly appertaining to technical and nautical matters, taken from Dutch, German and English were directly incorporated into the Russian language. On the whole, the literary language of this period represents a complex and inordinate mixture of archaic, contemporary, native and foreign elements, but nevertheless certain evolutionary processes which were later to influence the formation of classic Russian language are already discernible. Thus there is a tendency for the Old Church Slavonic to be retained in official speeches on solemn occasions, panegyric poetry, discourses on important subject, etc. while the popular literature, works of publicists like Pososhkov and others, gravitate towards the more

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generally comprehensible everyday language.²² The precursors of at least two of Lomonosov's "three styles" can already be found in this period.

In view of the fact that a considerable proportion of Pososhkov's writings has been devoted to the problems of economics, a few words have to be said of the situation, during Peter's reign, in this particular regard. Peter's thinking with respect to economics was for ever influenced by the impressions gathered during his first trip to Western Europe, where he learned that a country, in order not to become poorer, has to be self-sufficient, and, in order to get richer, has to export as much as possible and import as little as possible. He therefore attempted to industrialize Russia at all costs. He believed that Russia had all the natural resources to become self-sufficient; they only had to be found and properly exploited - and this, in his view, could only be done by the State using its coercive powers. In practice, however, the extent to which the state

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Cf. V.B. Brodskaya, S.O. Tsalenchuk., Istoria Russkogo Literaturnogo Yazyka, Part I. Lvov University, 1957. p. 106f.

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was able to exert control over the programme of industrialization was rather limited; and the private industrial initiative was by no means excluded. There were many examples of, mostly abortive, attempts by people from all levels of the society, at creating new industrial enterprises, trading companies etc. which, in most cases, failed through lack of business sense or technical knowledge, jealousies between partners or similar causes. Peter himself founded numerous factories which were later leased to private entrepreneurs - with or without their consent. In effect a large proportion of the new industry was, in fact, state-controlled and its management became another form of service to the state.

Peter's fiscal policy, in the words of Kluchevsky, was based on the principle: "Demand the impossible, so as to get the most of what is possible"²³. The subject of taxation which, in the preceding century was changed from land to the peasant's dwelling, was now transferred to the peasant himself. Thus the "soul of male sex" or the male head of peasant

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Kluchevsky, Op.cit., Vol. IV, p.133.

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population became the unit of taxation. According to Peter's idea of budget, each item of expenditure had to be matched by a corresponding item of income, consequently for each soldier there had to be one tax-paying peasant. Taxes increased not only in size, but also in number; the total number of taxes in the latter part of Peter's reign, listed by Kluchevsky, approached thirty.²⁴

The Russian society in the reign of Peter I was also, to a considerable extent, in a state of flux. Nevertheless, basically it was still the old Muscovite society, still fairly homogenous - so that there can be little doubt that, in their mental make-up and fundamental outlook, the monarch Peter and the peasant Pososhkov still have very much in common - much more than, for example, the nobleman Turgenev had in common with the peasant types he described in Sportsman's Sketches some century and a half later. One of the dominant features of the early XVIII century society - and this is nothing particularly Russian as for example, it was very much in evidence in England at the same time - was a relatively high

²⁴
Ibid., p.131.

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degree of social mobility, i.e. the facility with which it was possible to change one's status, both up and down the social scale.

In the last years of Peter's reign when Pososhkov wrote his Book on Poverty and Wealth, the internal situation in Russia was still unstable and the "Westerners'" victory far from final. During all of his reign, Peter had to battle, almost incessantly, against the forces of "Conservative Muscovite" ideology whose opposition took varying forms, from passive resistance to open revolt. Early in his reign, a conservative circle of St. Andrew's monastery, headed by Abbot Avraamiy is discovered and ruthlessly suppressed (this is of special interest because of Pososhkov's participation). Some twenty years later a similar group is led by Peter's own son, the Tsarevich Alexis. Fantastic rumours, stories and legends aimed at discrediting Peter circulate amongst the population, especially in more remote districts and the still numerous "Old Believers" provide the hard core of conservative forces. Occasional revolts such as the famous Streltsi revolt and armed uprisings break out; - as an illustration of the conservative tendencies of the insurgents, it may be of

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interest to note this excerpt from a letter sent to the Tsar by Bulavin, the leader of the Don Cossack revolt in 1708: -

And we have assembled not to go to war, but to ensure that everything here, in the Don Army remains as of old - as in the days of our fathers and grandfathers.²⁵

Thus, in Pososhkov's lifetime, the two opposing ideologies begin to exert their influence on Russian life. Their conflict provides a definite stimulus to cultural development and Peter's reformatory activity gives it a further, more direct, impetus. With the victory of the "Westerners", numerous new factors, hitherto unknown, emerge and begin to play their part. It seems clear that Pososhkov's own thoughts were stimulated by the events around him during the latter part of his life; his writings represent his response and they therefore owe their existence directly to these events.

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B.B. Kafengauz, Pisma i Bumagi Petra Velikogo, Vol. VII, Moscow 1946, p. 686, 696.

CHAPTER TWO

I.T. POSOSHKOV - LIFE AND STRUGGLE

Pososhkov's long life was directly affected by the events of the turbulent and eventful period with which it coincided, and his actions and thoughts were closely related to those events. His writings are therefore of considerable historical interest, quite apart from their value to the students of Russian thought and literature. They contain a wealth of autobiographical information from which it is possible to reconstruct Pososhkov's progress in the latter part of his life, i.e. from approx. 1700 onwards, with a reasonable degree of accuracy. Relatively little is known of his earlier life, but a few documents discovered in government archives both before and since the Russian revolution, have contributed substantially to our knowledge in this respect. It is proposed here to devote special attention to the more recent of these discoveries, still little known outside the borders of the USSR. Consequently, certain circumstances and events unknown to pre-revolutionary historians and biographers of Pososhkov will perhaps be accorded rather more

space than their actual importance would warrant.

I.T. Pososhkov was in many respects a prototype of a "self-made" man. Of humble origin, in the course of long career subject to many vicissitudes, he succeeded in accumulating considerable material wealth and in improving his social status, only to lose it all in the few last months of his life terminated by death in prison. The word "struggle" used in the title of this chapter has a twofold meaning: it refers to his efforts to improve his material position, but also - more important - to his attempts at the propagation of his ideas and their practical application. This second aspect is well reflected, for instance, in Pososhkov's determined efforts to attract the attention of the powers-that-be to his books and pamphlets - each of which was addressed specifically to some influential person or, as in case of the Kniga o skudosti i bogatstve, to the Tsar himself. Thus the real tragedy of Pososhkov's life lies

¹
B.B. Kafengauz, I.T. Pososhkov Zhizn' i deyatel'nost', USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow-Leningrad 1950. p.76

perhaps not so much in the circumstances of his demise, as in the fact that this last work, representing a sum total of its author's ideas developed in the course of a lifetime, did not fulfil its intended function, but remained practically unknown for several generations.

Pososhkov's exact date of birth is not known, but its year can be deduced with reasonable certainty, from one of his own writings, namely Zaveshchanye otecheskoye k synu svoymu (Father's Testament (written for his Son)). In the epilogue to the Zaveshchanye Pososhkov writes: "I am already getting old, as it is now 67 years since I was born, but my son is only seven"². In 1905 one of Pososhkov's biographers, J. Belyayev, published an excerpt from St. Petersburg population census for 1737 which lists Pososhkov's son, Nicholas, as living in a house inherited from his father. It also gives Nicholas's age: twenty-five - consequently Zaveshchanye Otecheskoye written when he was seven must be dated eighteen years earlier, i.e. 1719.³ This, in turn, would give Pososhkov's

²
I.T. Pososhkov, Zaveshchanye otecheskoye, E. Prilezhayev ed., St. Petersburg, 1893, p.388.

³
I. Belyaev, Predki i potomstvo I.T. Pososhkova printed in Chtenya Obshchestva Istorii i Drevnostey Rossiyskikh, 1905, Quoted by Kafengauz in Op.Cit. p.13

year of birth as 1652 provided his own estimate of his age in 1719 was correct. He came from a family of peasant craftsmen, probably silversmiths, settled for some generations in the village of Pokrovskoye, then on the north-eastern outskirts of Moscow, but subsequently incorporated into the city. A reference to Pososhkov's grandfather and father can be found in the Census Book for 1646 which lists: "Mit'ka son of Daniel, Pososhkov with son Tikhon, silversmiths(...)"⁴

There is also a record of his mother Ulita Mikhailovna nee Stepanov who, in 1687, as a widow, together with her two grown-up sons "Ivashko" and "Romashko", lodged a civil suit in Moscow for the restitution of property originally belonging to her father.⁵

In writing of Pososhkov's early life, Professor Kafengauz who is probably the leading contemporary Soviet authority on the history of the period of Peter I, devotes a considerable amount of space to the problem of Pososhkov's social origin,

⁴ Ts. G.A.D.A. (Central State Archives of Old Documents), No.9809, quoted by Kafengauz, ibid, p.9

⁵ Kafengauz, op. cit., pp. 12, 171 and 172.

arguing that he belonged to the merchant-craftsmen rather than to the peasant class. In this he attacks the "bourgeois" i.e. pre-revolutionary scholars, who were in the habit of referring to Pososhkov as a "peasant writer". This is because of the official Marxist view of the history of Russia according to which the merchant class was being formed in this period and consequently represented a comparatively progressive force. Since any writer is expected to voice the interests of his own class, Pososhkov has to be a merchant in order to be classified as "progressive", and it is obviously Kafengauz's intention to represent him as such. It would be paradoxical for a peasant to hold progressive views at that particular time, and to admit that Pososhkov was, in fact, a peasant, would therefore be incompatible with Marxist teaching. All this sophistry and ideological jugglery employed in trying to prove what, at best, must be a moot point, may serve as an illustration of the handicaps under which Soviet scholars are obliged to work. In the final account, this stress on social origin is not entirely devoid of value, since, in this particular case, it seems to have helped to uncover a few biographical details

hitherto unknown. Such is another reference to Pososhkov's early life contained in a Bill of Sale of property dated in 1671 in which "Ivan, son of Tikhon, Pososhkov of Barashskaya Sloboda" appears as a witness. This document was apparently located in the Central State archives and brought to Kafengauz's attention by another Soviet scholar S.K. Bogoyavlensky.⁶ Indirectly, it tends to confirm the approximate date of Pososhkov's birth, since, to be accepted as a witness he must have been at least fifteen years of age and therefore could not have been born later than 1656. It may be added that, in his concern with Pososhkov's social origin, Kafengauz appears to have overlooked this point altogether. Barashskaya Sloboda mentioned in this document was located in the close vicinity of Pokrovskoye, Pososhkov's native village.

⁶ Ts. G.A.D.A. Dvortsovy Arkhiv, No. 554., Kniga Kupchim po Kazennoi slobode, Sheet 129 (reverse) to 133. Reproduced in Kafengauz, Op. Cit., pp.169/170. Also see ibid p.14.

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Nothing is known of Pososhkov's education - whether he studied somewhere, and, if so, under whom, or was literally self-taught as it is often surmised. It would seem most likely that he was taught to read and write by some priest or deacon in his native village and later broadened his knowledge through extensive reading. There is ample evidence from his own writings that he was quite well-read by the standards of his age: he knew ecclesiastical literature and was familiar with the Legal Code (Ulozhenye) of 1649. He was endowed with keen perception and an ability to see things in their proper perspective; his works contain numerous incidents from his own life quoted by the way of illustration which bring a refreshing touch of contemporary reality into his dissertations. There is no sufficient evidence to conclude that he knew foreign languages; the only hint that he may have done, is to be found in his Zerkalo ochevidnoye where he refers to inaccuracies he had found in the Russian Bible on comparing it with foreign language editions:

And although I am an uneducated man, I nevertheless found many inaccuracies in the Bible, not through learning, but

only through common sense I did recognise them to be wrongly translated and printed. And for evidence I compared (them) to foreign language Bibles and there these words appeared (to be) more correct and proper.⁷

In the course of his long life Pososhkov had never been abroad and it seems that his travels within the realm of Muscovy were not particularly extensive. From his own statement in Kniga o skudosti i bogatstve we know that he visited Penza, possibly the easternmost point of his travels; in later life he moved to Novgorod district and often visited the new capital, St. Petersburg, where he acquired some property.

Chronologically, the next documentary reference to Pososhkov is found in the records of another litigation of 1690-1692, wherein he appears as a guarantor of debt incurred by one Vassily Feokistov, an icon painter by profession, and, in the latter's absence, is being held responsible by the creditor "Foreigner Ivan Vrey" of Nemetskaya Sloboda near Moscow.⁸ The records of this case, unknown to

⁷
Sochinenya Ivana Pososhkova, Part II M. Pogodin ed. Reprint - Moscow 1883, p.205, Quoted by Kafengauz in op.cit. p.16

⁸
Ts. G.A.D.A., Prikazniye Dela Starikh Let, No. 70, Sheets 1 - 6. Text reproduced by Kafengauz in op.cit. p.170, with an acknowledgment to V.N. Shumilov who drew his attention to these documents.

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Pososhkov's earlier biographers and discovered since the revolution, are especially interesting because they contain a petition to the Tsars Ivan and Peter written by Pososhkov in his own hand. Their further significance lies in the fact that they serve as a proof that in early 1690s Pososhkov already indulged in business transactions in Moscow area and was presumably a man of some substance. From his own remarks made in later writings it is also apparent that, during the same period, Pososhkov, together with his brother, operated a vodka distillery near Moscow and in 1694-1696 was employed at the Mint where he is believed to have produced a new type of press for minting coins.⁹

An important event in Pososhkov's life was the arrest and investigation of Abbot Avramiy in 1697. The circumstances of this case were, briefly, as follows:-

In early 1697, shortly before Peter's departure on his first journey to Western Europe, Abbot Avramiy of St. Andrew's Monastery located near Moscow¹⁰ handed

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Kafengauz, op.cit. p.32f

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This monastery was founded in mid-seventeenth century by Fedor Rtishchev mentioned in the previous chapter and, for a time, housed the Greek and Slavonic school under Epifaniy Slavinetsky.

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him a written memorandum ("tetradi") on political and ethical matters in which, among other things, he openly criticised Peter's behaviour in public and his private life. The memorandum was apparently based on information gathered from a group of Avramiy's friends who visited him at his cell and contained some of their views as well as his own. Avramiy, who was immediately arrested, revealed their names under torture and, as a result, they were promptly rounded up and interrogated in turn. Pososhkov and his brother Roman were included among this group, but were fortunate enough to escape punishment, while Avramiy and some of his closer associates were eventually sentenced to various terms of exile. The records of this investigation have been preserved¹¹ and the memorandum itself was - quite recently - located and its authorship established by N.A. Baklanova.¹² Its perusal shows that the principal targets for Avramiy's criticism are the following: - (i) the fact that Peter left the government of the country to a group of dishonest and venal advisors; (ii) corrupt judicial

¹¹
Ts. G.A.D.A., Preobrazhensky Prikaz, stolbtzi No.14. Excerpts from records of the investigation reproduced by Kafengauz in op.cit. p.173

¹²
Kafengauz, op.cit., p.154 (footnote 42).

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system and the resultant abuses of justice; (iii) inflated bureaucracy; (iv) the Tsar's private life and his conduct in public; (v) his political and military undertakings (primarily the Azov campaigns), and (vi) his enthusiasm for sea and ships.

Pososhkov's association with Avramiy and his circle is of interest as an indication that during the early years of Peter's reign he gravitated towards the "Conservative Muscovite" circles basically opposed to "western" innovations which is, of course, perfectly logical in view of his background and upbringing. This episode also provides the first inkling of Pososhkov's interest in problems of ethics and in public affairs. Avramiy's case seems to have had the effect of turning Pososhkov from a critic into an active supporter of Peter's policies. There can be little doubt that the experiences of the interrogation must have played their part; there is, however, also definite evidence that Pososhkov came into direct contact with Peter at about this time¹³ and this may have further influenced his attitude. It is known that, shortly before Avramiy

¹³
Kafengauz, op.cit. pp.34/35.

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submitted his memorandum, Pososhkov attracted Peter's personal attention in connection with his project of a new type of a musket stand ("ognestrel'niye roгатki") and also, possibly, with the model of minting press mentioned previously. It can be deduced from Pososhkov's later remarks in his Donoshenye o ratnom povedeniyi in 1700 that he actually met Peter at an audience at Preobrazhenskoye some time between the end of January and the beginning of March 1697, and was commissioned to produce a small-scale wooden model of his invention. It is conceivable that Peter's personal interest in Pososhkov as an inventor helped him to avoid more serious consequences of his involvement in Avramiy's affair.

Pososhkov's publicistic activities begin at the turn of the century, i.e. shortly after the events just described, within the general framework of the "literature of projects" which had its origins in that period. From his participation in the discussions of Avramiy's circle it can be seen that he was genuinely interested in contemporary problems and in ways of

¹⁴
S. Belokurov, Materialy po russkoy istorii, Moscow 1888, p.526.

improving the existing state of affairs. These interests and desires must have been further stimulated by the early reforms and by example of others such as, for instance the peasant Kurbatov and his successful project mentioned in the preceding chapter - which was submitted in 1699.

The first written work of Pososhkov's has not been preserved and is known only indirectly from his own references to it in Donoshenye o ratnom povedeniyi. These references make it clear that it had to do with currency reform, more particularly with the issue of small coinage, and make it possible to establish the time at which it was written as late 1699 - beginning of 1700.¹⁵ His later references to this period in Kniga o skudosti i bogatstve show that he was then employed at the Mint as a "Money Master" - he is also referred to as such in an official document dating from 1704,¹⁶ and therefore had a direct interest in these matters.

¹⁵
Kafengauz, op.cit. p.39.

¹⁶
A. Viktorov, Opisaneye zapisnykh knig i bumag starinnykh dvortsovykh prikazov, 2nd Ed., Moscow 1883, p. 480. Quoted by Kafengauz in ibid, p.155.

The defeat at Narva in 1700 gave rise to a number of pamphlets and publications examining the causes of the disaster and outlining various plans for reorganization and improvement of the armed forces. Pososhkov's second work, the Donoshenye o ratnom povedeniyi (A Report on Military Affairs) is one of this category and represents its author's immediate response to an important political and military event. It has been preserved in two editions: the short one written in 1700 and the amplified full version submitted on 22 August 1701 to F.A. Golovin, a prominent nobleman who, at that time held a position comparable to a present day Prime Minister and a Secretary for War combined. This work reflects Pososhkov's patriotism, his innate conservatism and deep suspicion of foreigners¹⁷ and, at the same time, contains a few thoughts on economics, primarily on foreign trade, later to be developed in Kniga o skudosti i bogatstve.

A further proof of Pososhkov's alertness and responsiveness to current events is provided by his prospecting ventures in the early 1700s. In 1700,

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Pososhkov, Donoshenye o ratnom povedeniyi, printed in Kn.o.s.i b.i dr.sochinenya, ed.B.B.Kafengauz, Moscow, Academy of Sciences, 1951, pp.255 & 256.

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after the Narva campaign, an official permission was issued for private individuals to exploit raw sulphur deposits. Pososhkov relates in Kniga o.s.i b. of his trip to some unspecified area from which he brought back three barrels of sulphur as a sample and handed them to Prince B.A. Galitzine who promised him "a great reward", but, in the end, only paid him a comparatively insignificant sum of 50 rubles. He follows this by a somewhat cryptic remark: "I also found a large amount of oil". Kafengauz points out that the first (1703) issue of the newspaper Vedomosti contains the following item: "It is being reported from Kazan' that a great quantity of oil and copper ore has been found along the river Sok".¹⁸ It is therefore possible to surmise that Pososhkov also prospected for oil, although the connection between his remark and the "newspaper report" is admittedly tenuous.

In 1704 Pososhkov tried to obtain permission to manufacture playing cards and to this end, enlisted the aid of the famous "pribilshchik" Alexis Kurbatov already mentioned several times, who, by that time, had already reached a "cabinet" rank. On 2nd August 1704 Kurbatov wrote to Menshikov:

¹⁸

Kafengauz, op.cit. p.47.

Ivan Pososhkov begs His Majesty's favour to be commanded to make cards by himself (and) to sell at a fixed price whatever he makes; and for this he promises to pay 2000 rubles p.a. in money, and he brought me samples which I am forwarding to your Honour with this letter. (He) was telling me that he cut them in wood for samples, but if permission is given, he will cut them in lead and this will make them much cleaner.¹⁹

The famous XIX century historian, S. Solovyev also mentions this venture of Pososhkov's, adding that he had formed a company for this purpose with two others, R. Isayev and I. Firsov and that they received from Kurbatov 200 rubles for the manufacture of playing cards.²⁰

The lack of any further record of this "factory" indicates that it probably never materialized. As already mentioned, this period in the history of Russia abounds in similar abortive attempts at establishing factories and business enterprises, by individuals and groups originating from every social stratum.

During all this time Pososhkov maintained his connection with the Mint and, for some years prior to 1708, was employed, as a skilled craftsman, at a Government vodka distillery in Moscow. In 1709 or 1710

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N.Ustryalov, Istoria tsarstvovanya Petra Velikogo, Vol.IV part 2. St. Petersburg 1859, Appendix p.316. Quoted by Kafengauz in op.cit. p.48

20

S.M. Solovyev, Istoria Rossii s drevneyshikh vremen, St. Petersburg (no date) Book III, p.1343. Kafengauz, op. cit., p.49.

he was transferred, at his own request, to a similar appointment at Gt. Novgorod.

Kafengauz quotes an interesting correspondence from this period which appears to have escaped the attention of Pososhkov's earlier biographers, and which points to the fact that he must have enjoyed a considerable reputation as a construction engineer. In 1708, one Nikita Kudryavtsev the then military commander of Kazan' threatened by Bulavin's rebellious Cossacks, wrote to the Tsar requesting to be sent an engineer who would take charge of fortification work, but in the meantime pending the engineer's arrival, to be sent Ivan Pososhkov "who could do something for us at Kazan' before the engineer is sent"²¹. There is no evidence that this request was ever granted.

These uncoordinated attempts at activity in different directions are, of course, typical of the period and serve to show how Pososhkov reacted to various opportunities provided by Peter's policies. With this, he continued to write on matters of topical interest. His concern with the need for education as well as with ethical and moral problems is reflected in his three letters to the Metropolitan Stefan Yavorsky, himself a writer and scholar of no mean repute,

²¹ Kafengauz, *op.cit.* p.51

written approximately in 1704, 1708 and 1710. In 1708 Pososhkov submitted a memorandum to the Treasury drawing their attention to counterfeit money which appeared in circulation and, at the same time, outlining a project of monetary reform based on reducing size and copper-content of some metal coins.²²

Kafengauz notes the fact that this project was in keeping with the current fiscal needs and that measures subsequently implemented by Peter's government followed the general lines of Pososhkov's suggestions.²³

Pososhkov's major religious treatise, Zerkalo ochevidnoye (The Obvious Mirror) dates also from this period, having been written in 1708 and presumably modified and amplified in subsequent years. The purpose of this work as stated by the author, is to "expose the errors of Schism with such clarity as to make the Old Believers themselves see their mistakes reflected as in a mirror upon looking into this book".²⁴ It met with a favourable reception in Church circles and was enthusiastically recommended by the Metropolitan Dimitri of

²² This document was discovered in 1913 by M. Klochkov. See Klochkov, M., Zametka o Pososhkove in Russkaya Starina for May 1913, pp.425-428.

²³ Kafengauz, op.cit. p.53

²⁴ Kafengauz, op.cit. p.55

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Rostov, who even composed a short poem for the occasion.²⁵
 The full text of Zerkalo ochevidnoye was edited for the first and only time by Prof. A. Tsarevsky at Kazan' in 1898 while an earlier abridged edition by Pogodin dates from 1863.²⁶ Neither of these was, unfortunately, available to this writer.

After moving to Novgorod, in approximately 1710, Pososhkov seems to have severed his ties with Moscow. He continued in the Government service at least until 1715, being still connected, in some supervisory capacity, with the distilling business. From the claims made against the Crown by Pososhkov's widow after his death it is evident that the salary he was supposed to receive, amounting to 200 rubles p.a. plus expenses, was paid to him irregularly, if at all. It is apparent from his references to this period in Kniga o S. i B., as well as from documentary evidence, such as surviving bills of sale, that he augmented his income during this period by engaging in various business

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This poetic tribute could be translated as follows:

Small is this booklet, but great is its wisdom,
 Small is the chest, but it holds a great treasure,
 Small is the spring, but many a thirst it will quench,
 Thus small David killed the giant Goliath.

26

Kafengauz, op.cit. p.156.

activities, primarily trade between Novgorod and St. Petersburg. These must have proved quite lucrative since, from 1716 onwards Pososhkov acquired some land and a village with about 70 peasants in Novgorod district where he built a vodka distillery, and bought two houses in St. Petersburg.²⁷ He thus gradually became a merchant, landowner and entrepreneur during the last ten years of his life. He apparently himself retailed the produce of his distillery: in this connection Kafengauz quotes a document unknown to Pososhkov's earlier biographers, namely a register of shops, stalls and stores of Novgorod market place (Gostinnyi dvor) for 1722. This shows that Pososhkov owned three sheds or stores which sold vodka in the Novgorod market.²⁸ In 1720-1721 he purchased two houses in Novgorod.

Not long before his death Pososhkov submitted an application to the Manufaktur-kollegia (the Govt. department in charge of industries) for permission to

²⁷ Record of this last purchase made on 15 Dec. 1716 has been preserved. (Kafengauz, pp.62 and 157)

²⁸ TS.G.A.D.A. Fond Menshikova 1722. Relevant part is reproduced verbatim by Kafengauz in op.cit. p. 184.

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open a textile factory at Novgorod. This application
 which survived and was reprinted in 1863 by M. Pogodin²⁹
 shows in detail the proposed production plan from which
 it appears that the output of the factory was to consist
 mainly of part-woollen and linen fabrics. Kafengauz
 believes that this factory actually existed, basing his
 view on the records of St. Petersburg census of 1737
 wherein Pososhkov's son Nicholas is referred to as an
 owner of a linen factory and, in another context, as a
 "manufacturer" ("fabrikan").

The last fifteen years of Pososhkov's life
 spent in Novgorod and St. Petersburg represent the
 most fruitful period in his literary and publicistic
 activity. In Novgorod he associated with the Metropoli-
 tan Yov who in 1712 and 1713 gave him letters of
 recommendation to high-ranking officials in St. Peters-
 burg.³⁰ Yov is known to have kept Pososhkov's writings,
Zerkalo Ochevidnoye among them, in his private library.
 In 1718 Pososhkov wrote Donoshenye o novonachinayushchik-
hsya den'gakh (report on the newly-introduced currency)

²⁹
 M. Pogodin, Socheniya Pososhkova, Part II,
 Moscow 1863, p. XVIII. Quoted by Kafengauz in op.cit.
 p.71, 72 & 158.

³⁰
 Kafengauz, ibid p.61

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containing his views and reactions to the currency reform of February of that year. This report has not been preserved and is known only through Pososhkov's reference to it in Kniga o.s.i b.

Between 1712 and 1719 Pososhkov wrote Zaveshchanye otecheskoye synu svojemu a moral treatise written in the form of a testament addressed to his son. In this work Pososhkov displays remarkable Christian humility and restraint which, nevertheless do not prevent him from advocating most draconic measures against the heretics and schismatics.³¹ Some of his ideas expressed in Zaveshchanye will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

Pososhkov's most important work and one which assured him a permanent place in the history of Russian thought and literature was his last. The Kniga o skudosti i bogatstve (Book on Poverty and Wealth) was completed in 1724 when its author was approximately 72 years old. It represents a sum total of all his publicistic activity and may indeed be regarded as a crowning effort to a lifetime of varied activity combined with thoughtful observation. It touches upon

 31

The only full, and, at the same time the most recent edition Zaveshchanye otecheskoye is by E.M. Prilzhayev, Sochinenya I.T. Pososhkova, St. Petersburg 1893.

most of the subjects mentioned in his earlier writings and, in some cases, incorporates parts of his previous works. Its title notwithstanding, K.o s.i b. is not concerned exclusively with economic matters:- it has been called "a programme for reconstruction of the Russian Empire"³² and it touches upon practically every aspect of the country's life.

The Kniga o s.i b. was written explicitly for and dedicated to Peter the Great, but it is not known if it ever reached him. In view of the fact that it was completed less than a year before Peter's death and in complete absence of any evidence that he knew of it, it would seem rather doubtful. It is known that the Bishop Feodosiy (Yanovsky) of Novgorod had a copy of the book in his library shortly before Pososhkov's arrest in 1725. The original edition of K.o s.i b. has not survived and the earliest copy in existence dates from mid-XVIII century when it was made on the instructions by M.V.Lomonosov for the Academy of Sciences - in whose library it has been preserved to this day. By the end of the XVIII century

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Miklashevsky, A., Pososhkov, Entsiklopedi-chesky Slovar' Brokgauz-Efron. V.XXIV, Moscow, 1898

both the book and its author were completely forgotten and it was not until 1840 when a professor of Moscow University and the well-known historian, M. Pogodin, accidentally came into possession of a copy of the K.o s.i b., that it began to attract the attention it deserved and that Pososhkov's fame began to grow.

Kniga o s.i b. was reprinted for the first time in 1842 under the auspices of the Historical Society³³ of the University of Moscow.

All Pososhkov's biographers agree that there is a direct connection between Kniga o s. i b. and its author's arrest on 26 August 1725. This occurred in St. Petersburg where Pososhkov arrived from Novgorod in the end of June of that year to attend to matters connected with his proposed textile factory mentioned earlier in this chapter.

The XIX century historian G. Yesipov came across a document relating to the investigation of the case of Bishop Feodosiy of Novgorod, who was arrested and exiled in 1725, a few months after Peter's death, as an alleged opponent of the new regime of Catherine I.

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Obshchestvo Istorii i Drevnostey Rossiyskikh.

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This is an interrogation report of one Vassily Shishkin, an associate of the Bishop who was asked if he (i.e. Shishkin) had in his possession the copy of Kniga o s. i b. from Feodosiy's library. On the basis of this find, Prof. Yesipov first raised the question of the possible connection between the cases of Feodosiy and Pososhkov.³⁴

Kafengauz points out in this connection that Pososhkov was arrested on the very same day that Shishkin's house was searched.³⁵ At the time of his arrest, all Pososhkov's letters and papers were seized by the Secret Office (Taynaya Kantselaria) which investigated both Pososhkov's and Fedosiy's cases. There is, however, no documentary evidence available which would justify any firm conclusions as to the actual reasons for Pososhkov's arrest and imprisonment. There is a record of a petition submitted to the Empress by Pososhkov's son-in-law, Colonel Peter Rode in October 1725 in which he asked to be given title deed to Pososhkov's land. "Prisoner" (kolodnik) Pososhkov was questioned in this connection on 11 October 1725

³⁴
G. Yesipov, Tchernets Fedos, in Lyudi Starovo Veka by the same author, St. Petersburg 1880, p. 306.

³⁵
Kafengauz, op.cit., p.135.

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and a list of his properties obtained from him. This list which has been preserved, begins with the words: "Merchant Ivan Pososhkov held on important secret matter of State" (soderzhitsya po vazhnomu sekretnomu gosudarstvennomu delu),³⁶ but otherwise there is no indication of the charges against him.

Pososhkov died in prison in St. Peter's and Paul's Fortress on 1st February 1726 and with this, both he and his ideas disappeared from view for over a century. The fact that after such comparatively long period of time, his works were able to attract so much attention having been found still full of topical interest, is probably the best testimony to their lasting value.

36
Ts.G.A.D.A., Library of State Archives, Row VII, No.209. Document quoted in extenso by Kafengauz, in op.cit. p.188.

CHAPTER THREE

LANGUAGE AND STYLE

Pososhkov's literary activities coincide with the period in the development of Russian language which may be regarded as the early stage in formation of what to was become the literary language of XIX and XX centuries. The outstanding feature of this period is the parallel existence of the two competing means of literary expression: the officially accepted "language of the books" and the spoken vernacular. The majority of written works of this period represent a mixture of the two elements, the resulting complex situation being further aggravated by the fact that the vernacular knew no fixed grammatical rules and, in each individual case, was affected by the regional and dialectic peculiarities of the writer concerned.

The Official written language based on Old Church-Slavonic has been gradually becoming obsolete during the previous century; the predominantly utilitarian character of the literature of early XVIII century gave this process an additional impetus and precipitated the relegation of Old Slavonic to the role of an exalted, somewhat pompous mode of

expression reserved for special subjects and solemn occasions. V.K. Tredyakovsky, in a foreword to his Journey to the Island of Love (a translation of a novel by Tallemant), written in 1730, has this to say in this connection:

I humbly beg the reader - who may still be attached to high-sounding Slavonicisms - not to direct his wrath at me who have translated this book not into Slavonic but into almost the simplest Russian language, such as we use in talking amongst ourselves.¹

A little further on, Tredyakovsky makes it clear that this use of spoken language in writing is a relatively recent development:

(...) The Slavonic language now sounds harsh (Zhestok slis-hitsya) in my ears, although earlier I not only wrote it myself, but also spoke it with everybody.¹

The language of Pososhkov's writings displays a strong and, no doubt, healthy tendency towards the use of spoken vernacular. Nevertheless, he too, as will be shown later, tends to employ a bookish turn of phrase in passages dealing with exalted matters or addressed directly to the monarch or high-ranking personalities.

¹
Quoted by L.A. Bulakhovsky, in Istoricheskii Kommentarii k russkomu literaturnomu yaziku, Kiev, 1958, p.45.

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In this chapter which does not purport to represent a detailed linguistic analysis, it will be attempted to trace the principal characteristics of Pososhkov's language and style, and to illustrate them with examples taken from his writings. His language will be examined from the lexical, morphological and syntactical points of view, while its phonetical aspect, as being only indirectly related to the subject matter and perhaps too complicated to be treated within the framework of this study, will be practically disregarded. In discussing Pososhkov's style, special attention will be given to his own peculiarities which, to a certain extent, distinguish him from other writers of his period.

In most general terms, Pososhkov's language is indisputably based on the generally used, everyday business language "with colloquial syntactic constructions and frequently aphoristic in composition"². Its lexical basis is formed by the popular vocabulary such as was used by the merchants and craftsmen of

²
V.B. Brodskaya, & S.O. Tsalenchuk Istoria russkogo literaturnogo yazyka, Part I, Lvov University 1957, p.92.

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Moscow. Against this broad background the following specific lexical characteristics are discernible; (a) Old Church-Slavonic words; (b) colloquialisms; (c) dialecticisms; (d) words of recent foreign origin, further sub-divided into (i) Slavic and (ii) non-Slavic; and (e) new words of native etymology.

The average proportion of Old Church-Slavonic words, calculated on the basis of seven excerpts of about 300 words each taken at random from various chapters of the Kniga o skudosti i bogatstve, appears to be in the region of approximately two percent. The term "Old Church-Slavonic" in this context covers only words which are believed to have disappeared from the written language in the course of the following century or so, and does not, of course, include the grammatical Old Church-Slavonicisms which will be treated separately. Following are the examples of Old Church-Slavonic words used by Pososhkov: chinit' and its derivatives, glagolyati, gobzovitoye, zhivot (in the sense of "life" or "property"), donezhe, ponezhe, zelo, nest', reshchi, semo, ratovishche, prozhenut', yako, drevle, pyatno (brand, stigma). Sometimes Old Slavonic words are used as synonyms of Russian ones with which they are freely interchangeable, e.g. az and ya; tokmo and tol'ko; ashche, yezhe

and yesli, etc.

Pososhkov's language abounds in colloquialisms. Lev Tolstoy who, for a time in 1870, contemplated writing a historical novel on the period of Peter the Great, carefully studied this aspect of Pososhkov's writings as witnessed by the books and notes preserved in the Yasnaya Polyana library.³ Tolstoy was impressed by Pososhkov's concise, vivid and colourful expressions of which he noted several, as for example:

utishnoye mesto (a place where one can sleep undisturbed), nezabytno, dushevredit', traporeshit' (fall apart), zyablina (a tree killed by frost).

As further examples of colloquialisms recurring in Pososhkov's language can be quoted the following: altynnik (a miser, avaricious person), skvernoslovit', zdorovyaki, malomochnyi, lezheboki, dobrokhoty and bezhko (quickly, fast).

Dialecticisms occur fairly frequently. It is often difficult to separate them from colloquialisms and polonisms and the proper lexical and etymological classification of some of the words used by Pososhkov

³ cf. Kafengauz, Pososhkov, Zhizn' i deyatel'nost', p. 147.

would present a formidable task even to an expert in this field. For example, Brodskaya and Tsalenchuk quote words lichba, pykha, shkoda as dialecticisms⁴ whereas, it might probably be argued plausibly that they ought to be classified as polonisms. Some examples of Pososhkov's dialecticisms about which there can be little argument are: buzun (natural salt), oblyzhka (deceit), ittit', naytit', varya (-varevo-soup), drobnyen'ko, tutoshniye.

In dealing with words of foreign origin - the percentage of which in Pososhkov's writings is comparatively small⁵ - a distinction must be made between polonisms and words originating from Dutch, German, French, i.e. non-Slavic languages. The former found their way into Moscow already in the XVI Century - this is evidenced, for example, by the correspondence between Ivan IV and Prince Kurbsky - as a result of Polish cultural influence continuing up to the period of Peter the Great. In Pososhkov's time, words of

⁴ Brodskaya and Tsalenchuk, op.cit., p. 97.

⁵ In this Pososhkov differs from many of his contemporaries, such as Prince Kurakin, Saltykov, Prokopovich and Peter himself.

Polish origin represented a considerable lexical factor, albeit of a temporary character, since most of them were to disappear later. They include a number of words of Latin origin which cannot, of course, be regarded as polonisms in a strict etymological sense, but only insofar as their adaptation in Russia resulted from an intercourse with the Poles and represents a borrowing from their language. Examples of such words encountered in Pososhkov's writings are: turbatsiya and turbovat', dospytatsiya (i.e. disputatsiya from disputatio), kompanstvo, strumenti (instrumentum), mizirnyi; while among polonisms proper will be found words like prikro, morkotno, drobnyi, zhadnyi (meaning "none"), zaplata, iznevaga, penyazi (the last originally of Teutonic etymology).

The contemporary influx of Western-European terminology finds little reflection in Pososhkov's language. Among foreign words most probably borrowed directly from non-Slavic European languages may be quoted poshport, (passport), baginet (bayonet), stofy or shtofy (Stoffe), shantsi (Schanze), fuzeya (fusil).

6

In the sense of "payment", and not "patch".

Pososhkov also contributed to the process of formation of modern Russian language through introduction of new words, especially nouns and adjectives, constructed from the already existing lexical material. Such are the nouns formed through an addition of the suffix ost', as mernost', potrebnost', or enye: nebrezhenye, nerassmotrenye, khotenye; composite nouns as narodosovetye, mnogosovetye; and new adjectives with the suffix enn: veshchestvennoye, tsarstvennoye.⁷

Morphologically and syntactically, Pososhkov's language again vividly reflects the formative processes occurring in the realm of written language at the time. Grammatical construction, because of its greater natural resistance to change and slower rate of development, retained probably a higher percentage of archaic elements than did the lexical component of early eighteenth century language. Thus, in Pososhkov's writings, we observe a proportionally greater amount of grammatical Old Church-Slavonicisms⁸

⁷ Cf. Brodskaya & Tsalenchuk, op.cit., p.93f

⁸ While it is fully realized that the Old Church-Slavonic is not the only archaic element in the early eighteenth century language, another, for example, being the Old Russian with its regional variations (see F.I. Buslayev, Istoricheskaya grammatika russkago yazika, Moscow, 1959 p.35), it would not, however, be practical to treat them separately and, for the purpose of this study, the terms "Old (Church) Slavonic" and "archaic" may be regarded as synonymous.

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than of the lexical ones. Archaic and current colloquial forms of speech appear side by side and are often freely interchangeable. The following examples may perhaps serve to illustrate the most typical morphological archaisms found in Pososhkov's language.

1. Nouns.

(a) Old Church-Slavonic form of Plural Locative

case: o krestyanekh; vo vsekh gorodekh;
v selekh; o vsakikh tovarekh. ("O" Decl.)

(b) O.C-S. form of Singular, Dative Case:

slovesi ("Consonant" Decl.)

(c) O.C-S. form of Plural Instrumental Case:

nikoimi dely; svoimi sostavy; mezh evro-
peyskimi monarkhi; vsyakimi roskhody.

(d) O.C-S of Plural, Nominative Case:

Krestyanya; dvoryanya; tsarskaya sokrovishcha.

2. Adjectives; Old Church-Slavonic form of Sing.

Genitive Case, Fem. Gender: ot oploshki arkh-
yereyskaya; tletvorniya strasti.

3. Numerals - archaic forms as: dvu rublev; v soroke

dvu. (Remnant of dualis)

4. Pronouns - archaic forms, e.g.: mya; na nyu; vsi;

mnozi.

5. Verbs.

- (a) Infinitive endings on ti and shchi: osnovati; izmeryati; reshchi. (The same verbs are often found in the modern form).
- (b) Aorist: Yavikh; napisakh; umre; pride.
- (c) Tendency towards frequent use of participial forms of both active and passive moods: ushod; prished; priyemlyushche.
- (d) Old C-S. forms of verb "to be": Yesm'; sut' etc.

Along with archaic forms, Pososhkov's language displays effects of contemporary colloquial-dialectical grammatical influences. The following few examples may serve as an illustration:

1. Nouns.

- (a) Plural, Nominative Case, Masculine and Neuter Genders: parusy, bogatstvy.
- (b) Plural, Genitive Case, Masc. and Fem.: razov; turkov.

2. Adjectives.

- (a) Possessive adjectives: kuptsovykh; domovykh.
- (b) Adjectives of Masculine Gender ending in oi, (oy): Voyennoy; novoy; staroy; bogatoy; ubogoy.

3. Verbs.

- (a) Infinitive: vest'; ittit'.

- (b) Verbs with suffixes iva, yva: Skazivayut;
syskivayut.

Pososhkov's syntactical constructions also contain pronounced popular traits, bordering on dialecticisms, as, for instance, nouns ending in a in Nominative Case when coupled with an Infinitive: vzyati shuba; brat' poshlina; dat' im polovina; tsena polozhit'⁹, or frequent impersonal or indefinite sentences.

The formation of composite-principal and secondary-sentences, a process which, of course, began much earlier,¹⁰ but was greatly intensified in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, also figures prominently among Pososhkov's syntactic constructions.

As regards the phonetical aspect of the language used by Pososhkov, it is extremely difficult to reach any reasonably valid conclusions in view of the fact that very few of his writings have been

⁹ While these forms have their origin in the popular language they could probably be, equally well, classified as archaic, since their use, in documents appertaining to business transactions etc., can be traced back for several centuries.

¹⁰ Cf. Buslayev, Op.cit. p.553f.

preserved in the original, and even these show variations and inconsistencies in spelling of identical words. Nevertheless, as is to be expected, the basic phonetic traits of Moscow regional pronunciation (such as "akanye") frequently become apparent in the spellings of words like: lapatka; karabel'; kamisar-^{ll}skoye; inova, etc.

Turning to the examination of Pososhkov's style, it may be said that, in general terms, his works fall into the category of publicistic writings which, as stated earlier, by virtue of their subject matter gravitated towards the use of everyday spoken "business language". Their style is, therefore, primarily colloquial with, however, a certain admixture of solemn - i.e. Slavonic-turns of phrase, used when dealing with exalted subjects, or addressing high-ranking personages. This testifies to the fact that the usage governing the use of "Higher" and "Lower" styles was already developed in the reign of Peter the Great. The Soviet scholars in their comments on this particular point, tend to play down the role of Old Church Slavonic which they represent as a

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These examples have been taken from the Donoshenye o ratnom povedeniyi which is preserved in Pososhkov's original handwriting.

language of the Church - an instrument of the ruling class" - and therefore alien and incomprehensible to the "masses":-

The works of publicists, the literature of memoirs and popular proclamations, (...) as well as other forms of belles lettres reflect the strong influence of lay, business language. The archaic features and peculiarities found in ancient texts and either totally absent, reduced to the minimum, or employed as a special stylistic medium for creation of solemn atmosphere. Particularly illuminating in this respect are works of the publicists: Kniga o skudosti i bogatstve by I. Pososhkov... 12

This, it is believed, represents a somewhat distorted picture. The claim that the "archaic features" are totally absent from some of the written works of this epoch is, of course, unacceptable, and to say that they were "reduced to the minimum" is meaningless. The actual differences in Pososhkov's style in relation to the subject matter, could perhaps best be illustrated by the comparison of two sample passages, both taken from the Donoshenye o ratnom povedeniyi written in 1701. The first is the text of the opening page of the Donoshenye addressed to Boyar F.A. Golovin, one of Tsar's closest collaborators, to whom the work is dedicated. It is an example of the "high", exalted style, rich in Biblical metaphors

12

Brodskaya & Tsalenchuk, op.cit. p.106

and Church-Slavonicisms and represents a transcription of the copy of the original, in Pososhkov's own handwriting, reproduced on the next page:

V Troitse slavimago Boga proshu o podayanii vrazumlenya; tvoyu zh milost' gosudar' boyarin Fedor Alexeevich proshu o proshchenii v moikh pogresheniikh, yazhe ot derznovenya napisakh o delekh vedomykh i nevedomykh; yeliko mi Bog v mysl' vlozhl, ne voskhotekh umolchati. Pisanye vozveshchayet tako, chto Bog izvodit chestnoye i ot nedostoynego, ya(k)o zhe i drevle byst': ot cheliosti skverniye izvel Bog Samsonu v zhazhdu ego istochnik chistiye vody.¹³

A little further, Pososhkov debunks the belief in military superiority of foreigners over Russians in the following words:

U nashikh, gosudar', ruskikh liudey ruki est' takiye zh, chto i u inozemtsov i ot nepriyateley mochno b oboron' derzhat', lishe by ruzhye bylo dobroye, da umenye tverdoye. I inozemtsi ne s nebesi prishli, no takiye zh liudi yako i my, vsemu tomu navichka, da dobraya rosprava. Siye gosudar', mnogim izvestno, chto nizoviye liudi tatar i kalmykov vseгда ot zhilishch svoikh otgonayut i pobivayut.¹⁴

This use of what might be broadly termed the "high" and "low" styles in accordance with the subject matter is thus one of the principal characteristics of Pososhkov's mode of writing. As already indicated,

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Don.o ratnom pov., State Public Library of Saltykov-Shchedrin, Pogodin's collection. No.1750, sheet 2. Reproduced by B.B.Kafengauz in Kniga o sk.i b.i dr. soch., Moscow, Academy of Sciences 1951, p.249.

14

Ibid, Sheet 31, reproduced on p.262.

Оторца Садмата бга проше,
 Опадани вразумения твое
 Ити Царь бояринъ Федоръ
 Ужтвѣиша. Прошу о прощени
 вмоихъ погрѣшенихъ аже оуд
 знобима написана оубѣло въ
 домъ и невбдмыхъ илии ни
 въ бивсея вложу невосхотѣ
 умогати. Писание возбуди
 тано что сѣ изводима де
 тное пондостонаго ано царѣ
 вѣ дѣсти одѣдспи шестые
 итеть сѣ царюну дѣду
 что истогнии шесте вѣды.

Рукопись соч. Посошкова «О ратном поведении».
 Гос. публ. библиотека им. Салтыкова-Щетрина. Собр. Погодина, № 1750, л. 2

Figure 1. The opening page of
Donoshenye o ratnom povedeniyi.

he shares it with many of his contemporaries. The main feature which distinguishes his style from that of others and gives it its healthy, earthy flavour is the great directness of his, almost conversational style, which, at the same time, is rich in parallels, proverbs, sayings and metaphors, as exemplified in the second excerpt from the Donoshenye o ratnom povedeniyi quoted above. Some further examples of Pososhkov's, often original, sayings and/or proverbs may be worth noting: Khudoy mir luchshi dobriya brani¹⁵; chto popal¹⁶ to i propal, mzda zasleplayet i mudromu ochi¹⁷; I kak zhit', tak nadlezhit i slyt'¹⁸ i ne tak oni liubyat dat¹⁹ kak liubyat sebe vzyat'; gonyat den' k vecheru a ne²⁰ rabotu k otdelke; nikakiye zbory i ne spory²¹; kto voskhoshchet Bogu ugoditi, toy ne mozhet mamone usluz-²² hiti; Svoy svoemu ponevole drug.²³

Another feature of Pososhkov's style which may be worth mentioning, are his digressions by the way of illustration, occurring frequently when, in

¹⁵ Kniga o skudosti i bogatstve i drugiye sochinenya p.62.

¹⁶ Ibid, p.71 ¹⁹ Ibid, p.164 ²² Ibid, p.244

¹⁷ Ibid, p.73 ²⁰ Ibid, p.206 ²³ Ibid, p.264

¹⁸ Ibid, p.114 ²¹ Ibid, p.210

order to stress a certain point, he tells of persons and events taken from real life. Thus, for example, while deploring the apparently frequent abuses of law by rich noblemen trying to evade the compulsory service, he quotes instances involving his landowner neighbours from the province of Novgorod. On such occasions, Pososhkov's style is perhaps at its most colourful:

V Alexinskom uyezde videl ya takova dvoryanina, imyanem Ivan Vasil'ev syn, Zolotarev, domo sosedyam svoim strashen yako lev, a na sluzhbe khuzhe kozy.²⁴

Or, in the same connection:

(...)v Ustritskom stanu yest' dvoryanin Fedor Mokeev syn Pustoshkin, uzhe sostarelsya, a na sluzhbe ni na kakoy i odnoyu nogoyu ne byval. I kakiye posylki zhestokiye po nego ni byvali, nikto vzyat' ego ne mog, ovykh darami ugo-bzit, a kogo darami ugobzit' ne mozhet, to pritvorit sebe tyazhkuyu bolezni' ili vozlozhit na sya yurodstvo i vozgri po borode popustit.²⁵

The value of Pososhkov's writings from the point of view of their form lies in the fact that they represent an example of a genuine, everyday language, surprisingly little affected by foreign and other influences of a temporary nature, generally prevalent during this period. In this sense, Pososhkov provides

²⁴
Kniga o s.i b. p.95

²⁵
Ibid. p.95

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a direct link between the old and the modern Russian language and, for that reason, his works constitute an important source of information from the linguistic point of view.

CHAPTER FOUR

POSOSHKOV AS A THINKER

Pososhkov's views on a variety of subjects treated in the Book on Poverty and Wealth (Kniga o skudosti i bogatstve) and in his other writings have frequently been listed and commented upon by historians, economists and literary critics, most of them mentioned at various points in this study. All this has been done in a much more profound and erudite way than the present writer could ever aspire to; for this reason and in order to avoid repetition it has been decided to concentrate in this chapter on Pososhkov's basic beliefs and convictions which were shaping his thinking and which formed the foundation of his works. Attention will therefore be focused on these elements, forming the background to his views, rather than on the views themselves. A brief examination of the latter, however, will be carried out for the purpose of assessing their originality and for that of a comparison between Peter I's and Pososhkov's approach to the problem of reform. This will be followed by what is expected to form a central point of this study: an attempt at the interpretation of Pososhkov's aim and purpose and an examination of

his ideas in relation to the known patterns of Russian thought, recurring throughout modern history. The chapter will close with a short summary of its contents, accompanied by a few remarks on the subject of general value of Pososhkov's writings from the point of view of the history of Russian thought.

Pososhkov's religious convictions are reflected clearly in all his writings and, indeed, represent probably the most powerful single factor influencing his views. His genuine interest in matters spiritual is attested to by his lifelong close association with theologians and leaders of Russian Orthodox Church, such as Abbot Avramiy, Metropolitans Dimitri of Rostov, Stefan of Ryazan' and Feodosiy of Novgorod. It is further borne out by the substance of his works such as Zerkalo ochevidnoye or Zaveshchanye otecheskoye, devoted almost entirely or, as the Kniga o skudosti i bogatstve, in part, to religious problems. They show their author as a loyal son of the Orthodox Church, deeply attached to its traditions and irreconcilably hostile towards the "Old Believers". With this, his religious conservatism and concern with the preservation of the purity of faith are features which he shares with the leaders of the Great Schism:-

an evidence of what was referred to in an earlier chapter as "Conservative Muscovite" thinking, to be found recurring throughout his works. Pososhkov's remarks on the subject of education of priests, taken from his Zaveshchanye Otecheskoye may serve as an example:

More than all the already listed attributes, it is essential (for the priests) to be well instructed in the Orthodox Ancient True Christian Faith, so as to enable them to preserve it whole and inviolate (nepokolebimo).¹

Generally, Pososhkov's thinking on religious subjects represents a curious mixture of Christian charity humanity and, often deep humility, combined with less noble traits such as intolerance and the belief that draconic coercive measures (e.g. burning of schismatics at stake as recommended in Zerkalo Ochevidnoye) are necessary to preserve the unity of the Church. These views can, of course, be hardly regarded as surprising if viewed against the background of the age in which Pososhkov lived. At times, they show some inconsistencies and even contradictions. Thus

¹
I.T. Pososhkov, Zaveshchanye otecheskoye etc., E.M.Prilezhayev ed., St. Petersburg 1893. Quoted by S. Obnorsky and C. Barkhudarov in Khrestomatiya po istorii russkogo yazika, Part II, 2nd Ed. Moscow, 1948 p.7

while he argues in the Zerkalo ochevidnoye that there is no salvation outside the recognised Church, since "only one, narrow and sorrowful path has been created by God to lead into the Kingdom of Heaven", on the other hand he describes, in the same book, his encounter with an Old Believer woman who showing him her right hand with two and the left hand with three fingers held together, asked "with which of the two weapons (oruzhye) shall we go into the Kingdom of Heaven?" To this Pososhkov replied that she is free to go with any one she prefers, adding that "it is not through the way we hold our fingers, but through charitable deeds that we obtain admission into Paradise"². This last example certainly reflects a much more profound understanding of the essence of Christian faith than the general tenor of author's pronouncements on the subject of heretics and schismatics might lead us to believe.

The second prominent feature of Pososhkov's thinking is his unshakeable belief in autocracy as the only sound form of government. He carries this

²
Pososhkov, Zerkalo ochevidnoye etc. (Full Text) Kazan', 1898. pp 61-63. Quoted by Kafengauz in I.T. Pososhkov-Zhizn' i devatel'nost', pp.56/57.

conviction to the extremes of comparing the power of monarch's fiat to that of God and frequently asserting - when discussing some specific shortcoming of the contemporary life - that all that is needed to remedy it is for the Tsar to issue an appropriate order. In fact, Pososhkov's own conception of the Kniga o skudosti i bogatstve is, basically, that of a report to the Emperor on the actual state of his realm: on various abuses and malpractices which exist only because he, the Tsar, is not aware of them, but which he will be able to rectify by simply issuing the necessary legislation as soon as they are brought to his attention.³ Passages similar to the following:-

(...) because the success of this enterprise is in Tsar's hands - if he wills it, the situation can be corrected in the matter of a few years.⁴

or:

He, our Sovereign Lord (Gosudar') is like God, he can achieve whatever he wants, he can fill his Treasury to overflowing and no financial need can affect him.⁵

abound throughout the Kniga o s.i b. Discussing the relationship between the content of precious metal

³ Cf. the opening sentence of the Donoshenye (Report) on the Kniga o s.i b. reproduced in Fig.2

⁴ I.T. Pososhkov, Kniga o skudosti i bogatstve i drugie sochineniya, p.194

⁵ Ibid., p.209

in coins and their exchange value Pososhkov asserts that "it is not their weight that gives them their power, but the will of the Tsar"⁶.

This naive belief in the magic power of the autocracy obviously detracts, often seriously, from the value of Pososhkov's economic and political theories. On the other hand it is of interest for the following reasons: firstly, it reflects a belief, most likely held not by Pososhkov alone, but by the majority of populace brought up in old Muscovite traditions; and, secondly, it indicates on Pososhkov's part a certain dogmatism and attachment to fixed and preconceived ideas - in general, patterns of thought very different to those which were becoming prevalent in Western Europe at that particular time.

Fervent patriotism combined with a pronounced dislike for foreigners, also visibly affects Pososhkov's thinking and is clearly discernible throughout his writings. Convinced of the soundness of measures advocated, he sees Russia emerging as the greatest, happiest and most powerful Kingdom in the world, as a

⁶
Kniga o s.i b. p.239

result of their having been put into practice. Thus, in the concluding sentences to the Kniga o s.i b. Pososhkov addresses the Tsar, urging him to implement the reforms proposed and promising that, if only his advice is followed,

then, with God's help, I can say without doubt, our great Russia will become reformed both in her clergy and in her laity and not only will Tsar's treasure chests be filled, but all Russian people will become rich and famous. And if the military also be reformed, not only will their glory be great, but all the neighbouring Kingdoms will hold them in awe. Amen.⁷

It is important to note, however, that the real basis of his country's future greatness lies in the fact that, from the start, it is already better qualified to achieve it than any other. We see here a manifestation of what was referred to earlier as "Conservative Muscovite" belief in Moscow's monopoly for truth and in its superiority over other powers - with an added notion of the noblesse oblige principle:

By the same token as we, in Russia, maintain the purest Christian faith without any slightest admixture of heresy, so, too, must Russian coins be purest and without any adulteration; they ought to be different from all foreign (coins) and valued highly by all, both on the account of the workmanship and of the purity of silver.⁸

⁷
K.o s.i b., p.243

⁸
Ibid, p.236.

A further important feature of Pososhkov's patriotism is his suspicious- and, on the whole, hostile - attitude towards foreigners. Here again, it is probably safe to assume, he reflects the feelings of the great majority of his countrymen, especially those of middle and lower social strata. The causes of these feelings are not difficult to trace: the residue of the Time of Troubles, severe military setbacks of the preceding century (including the early part of the Northern War), and a direct reaction against the rapidly growing Western influences and preferential treatment accorded foreign "experts" by Peter's government. Pososhkov is at great pains to prove that these specialists, as well as foreign merchants and manufacturers, have only their own selfish interests at heart and not those of Russia:

The Germans (i.e. foreigners generally) will never teach us how to live prudently and how to avoid unnecessary losses, they only praise what is good for them and not for us. They have been making themselves and all their relatives rich by their ideas, (at the same time) driving us further into poverty.⁹

⁹

Pososhkov, op.cit. p.127

And in another chapter:

They (the foreigners): the craftsmen as well as those who are in the Government service, or their merchants, are more concerned about their own countrymen than about ourselves. I believe that all European (yevropskiya) inhabitants are not happy about our ships, they would prefer to accumulate fame and wealth themselves and have us depend on their charity.¹⁰

The fact that, in his economic views, Pososhkov greatly favours protectionist policies and aims at making Russian economy self-sufficient, is closely bound to this attitude. It also affects his views on other subjects: in the Donoshenye o ratnom povedeniyi he blames foreign generals in charge of Russian troops for the defeat at Narva¹¹ and, in the same context goes to the extent of seeing the internal Russian mail system as an instrument of foreign espionage:¹²

(...) they (i.e. the foreigners) chopped out a hole from our country into all their lands so that they can see clearly all our governmental and commercial transactions. And this hole is this: they established a postal system and God only knows what good is it to our great Sovereign. But it is impossible even to recount what losses this postal system inflicts on our Kingdom: whatever happens in our country becomes known in all lands.¹³

¹⁰

Ibid, p.203

¹²

The mail system was established in Russia in 1665 and provided direct links from Moscow to Smolensk, Riga and Archangel. During the last quarter of the century and until 1701 (i.e. the time when Pososhkov wrote his Donoshenye) it was headed by one VINIUS, a Dutchman by birth, and one of Peter's close associates. (Cf. J.P. Kozlovsky, Perviyе pochty i perviyе pochtmeystery v Moskovskom Gosudarstve, Vols. I & II, Warsaw, 1913).

¹³

Pososhkov, op.cit. p.255

¹¹

Pososhkov, op.cit. p.255

This extreme suspiciousness directed against foreigners sometimes bordering on the ridiculous, is, as it is only too well known, not confined to Pososhkov and his age. It is unfortunate that this negative aspect of patriotism continues to survive in the land of his birth and, in fact, appears to be stronger than ever in the present century.

A reference had been made in an earlier chapter to Pososhkov's affinity with what has been termed "Conservative Muscovite" thinking. This, in relation to his religious and national feelings, is clearly evident from the passages just quoted, as is also his deep attachment to the autocratic form of Government. His conservatism appears at its strongest in works of religious and didactic character, Zerkalo ochevidnoye and Zaveshchanye otecheskoye, the latter of which has been called by a Russian XIX century¹⁴ historian "Domostroy of XVIII Century!" Here Pososhkov's attitude to innovations introduced by Peter's regime in the cultural and social sphere is decidedly negative: he condemns the foreigners' extravagant

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A. Miklashevsky in his article on Pososhkov in the Entsiklopedicheskiy Slovar', Brockhaus-Efron, V. XXIV, Moscow 1898.

attire, their tendency towards pleasure-seeking, soft beds, "French dances", and their laxity in observing rules of fast and abstinence. Similarly negative is his view of Western-European science: he calls it "an empty wisdom" (vetrennaya mudrost'), criticises its wordly character, and holds Copernicus's teachings to be dangerous "Kopernik Bogu supernik" (Copernicus¹⁵ is a challenger of God).

This "Conservative Muscovite" basis notwithstanding, Pososhkov's views come, in many respects, very close to the spirit of Peter's reform and, in this combination of elements of new and old, again vividly reflect the complex character of his epoch. It had been suggested earlier that Pososhkov belonged to the group of essentially conservative writers who, nevertheless, were not hostile to Peter and were prepared to co-operate in his reformatory activity. It may be worthwhile at this stage, to look into the affinities and differences between Peter I and Pososhkov in their respective plans for improvement of the Russian Empire.

15

Quoted by B.B. Kafengauz in Pososhkov, Zhizn' i Deyatel'nost', p.74

In the educational sphere Pososhkov is in agreement with Peter to the extent that, unlike the ultra-conservatives of the previous century, he clearly sees the evils of ignorance and the pressing need for raising educational standards. In this, however, unlike Peter, his prime concern is with the clergy. He wants them to improve their knowledge of Orthodox doctrine and liturgy and, also to become conversant with other creeds, Christian and otherwise, in order to be able to defend their own and to demonstrate its superiority over others. His attitude towards Western science and technology just mentioned is, of course, radically different to that of his emperor.

Pososhkov advocates improvement of the standards of literacy and of thorough early training for artisans and craftsmen.¹⁶ In this connection he evidently believes that it would be possible to eradicate innate Russian laziness and casual attitude towards work by compulsory training of children from early youth: "And so having learned to work in his youth, he will not become a vagabond (gulyaka) in his old age."¹⁷

16

Pososhkov, Op.cit., p.109f.

17

Ibid, p.109

This idea which both Peter and Pososhkov had in common, was never seriously put to test in Russia until after the Bolshevik revolution. It is probably too early for anyone to be able to assess objectively the results of this test, whatever one's views as to the validity of the theory behind it. However, in view of the obviously endemic character of the problem, the prospects of success of the current Soviet experiment would appear to be questionable.

An interesting point in connection with Pososhkov's views on education is his stress on the importance of recognizing and rewarding ability and merit - in the selection and training of candidates for priests with whom he is primarily concerned. He repeatedly insists that access to higher education and opportunities for promotion to higher ecclesiastical grades must be on the basis of merit alone; for example:

Students should be selected for priesthood not because of their fathers' names, or wealth, or parishioners' wishes, but because of their wisdom and suitability.¹⁸

A question arises as to whether this attitude represents a reflection of Peter's tendency towards the creation of a "meritocracy" or Pososhkov's own

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Pososhkov, op.cit. p.29/30.

feelings in this particular respect. As far as it is possible to judge from the general tenor of his writings it is, most probably, the latter.

Pososhkov differs radically from Peter I in his attitude towards Western Europeans and foreigners generally, as already shown. At the same time, he is fairly close to Peter in one particular sector of this problem: namely that of accepting foreign expert help, albeit to a limited extent and on his own terms. In the chapter entitled On Craftsmen (O Khudozhestve) in the Kniga o s.i b. Pososhkov recommends engagement of foreign craftsmen who are expert in important crafts unknown in Russia, for the sole purpose of teaching Russian apprentices under strictest possible supervision. He would have them justly and generously rewarded before sending them back "overseas" if they honestly and conscientiously fulfilled their task; but would deport, allowing them to retain nothing but their original belongings, those who, "in keeping with their ancient Foreign custom" are only interested in cheating the Russians out of their money, before returning abroad.

19

Pososhkov, op.cit. p.143

POSOSHKOV AS A THINKER

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Much has been written about Peter's theory - which he so faithfully practiced during his reign - of the necessity to use compulsion in dealing with his subjects. This has been referred to earlier in this study,²⁰ but it may be of interest to note at this stage that Pososhkov who, after all, stood on practically the opposite end of the social scale to the Tsar, fully shares his views in this particular respect. Discussing his project of measures intended to ensure the rule of law and impartial dispensation of justice, Pososhkov repeatedly states his belief that they can only become effective if imposed by force, regardless of the cost. This in view of the innate character of Russian people who tend to resist any kind of a change, so that any such change, in order to be effective, must be imposed from above in a most firm, if necessary ruthless, manner - for the sake of the future.²¹ Pososhkov stresses the virtual isolation of Peter in his reformatory task in his famous remark to the effect that the Emperor "pulls the load uphill alone while millions pull it downhill at the same time".²² He fully agrees with Peter on

²⁰
Cf. p.16/17 above.

²¹
Pososhkov, op.cit. p.90f.

²²
Ibid, p.99

the need for strict supervision over all aspects of Russian national life, and carries this even further, in advocating extremely strict police surveillance - so strict in fact that it obviously would have been impossible to put into practice²³ - introduction of internal passports etc. In all this, Pososhkov essentially endorses and follows the method of implementation of Peter's reform - if not necessarily its spirit - and develops further his ideas along the lines already existing.

The most original and, in a sense, progressive, are Pososhkov's views on the subjects of economics and justice. For these reasons they understandably attracted the bulk of the attention of his commentators, both pre-revolutionary and Soviet, native Russian as well as foreign. It is not proposed to discuss them here in detail, but merely to examine them from the point of view of their originality in relation to the reforms of Peter the Great.

In the realm of economics, Pososhkov differs from Peter in what is, without doubt, the crucial point: the essence of the concept of national wealth.

23

As, for example, in Kniga o s.i b. in the chapter On Robbers and Highwaymen (O Razboynikakh)

Like Ordin-Nashchekin before him, he clearly sees it in - to use modern terminology - the "National Product" rather than in mere "Government Income". This view is plainly reflected in remarks like the one to the effect that, while it is a simple matter to fill Tsar's treasury, it is "a great and very difficult task to enrich the whole nation"; or that "the peasants' wealth is the wealth of the Realm"²⁴.

Kluchevsky suggests that in these and other similar statements, Pososhkov expressed not so much simple economic truths, but a comment by an eyewitness on the results of Peter's economic reform - something that was plainly there for all to see by 1724.²⁵ However this may be, this view is far from common in the writings of Pososhkov's contemporaries and he therefore justly deserves credit for originality in this respect.

Pososhkov recognizes the need for rapid industrialisation of the country and recommends government loans to prospective entrepreneurs,

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Pososhkov, op.cit. p.178

²⁵

Kluchevsky, Sochinenya, Kurs russkoy istorii Vol. IV, p.215

placing of industrial establishments in close geographical proximity to the sources of raw materials, better exploitation of natural resources,²⁶ encouragement of private initiative and similar measures which, on the whole, have close affinity with the spirit of Peter's legislation in this respect. He differs considerably from the Tsar in his views on taxation, subjecting the existing state of affairs to severe criticism and advocating the replacement of a large number of petty taxes in existence, by one single comprehensive "Royal tax" (tsarstvennyi sbor).²⁷

In the chapter On Justice (O pravosudii) of the Kniga o s.i b., Pososhkov is concerned with an important sector of national life and one that was practically unaffected by Peter's reformatory activity, although badly in need of improvement. His main theme here is the demand for equality of all before law, for one law for the rich and the poor alike. An introductory passage to this chapter runs as follows:

²⁶ In the chapter On Craftsmen (O khudozhestve) of the Kniga o s.i b., p.139-150.

²⁷ Ibid, p.210

A judge who will dispense justice justly and impartially in accordance with the truth, the same for the rich and famous as for the poorest and least prominent, will be rewarded by the Tsar with honours and by God with mercy and the Kingdom of Heaven.²⁸

Further on in the same chapter, when outlining his proposals for amended legislation aimed at prevention of desertions by peasants from poor to rich landlords, he says: "The law could (only) be called just if it were made equal, both for the rich and for the poor".²⁹

Pososhkov criticizes the Ulozhenye of 1649 which he regards as ineffective and obsolete and proposes arrangements for the drafting of a new Code of Law, possibly the most original and daring of all his projects as well as probably the best known, thanks mainly to the attention it received from liberally-minded historians of pre-revolutionary Russia. Pososhkov recommends here that a draft of the new Code be prepared by a Commission recruited from all classes, "including even the peasants". In their work, the Commission is to make use of earlier legislation and findings of courts, but with regard for the contemporary reality and changed conditions. They are even told to study foreign laws, of Christian as

²⁸
Ibid, p.54

²⁹
Ibid, p.100

well as of Moslem lands and to borrow from them what is good and sound.³⁰ Once the draft is completed, it is to be submitted for approval by the whole population in a general and free vote - an audacious and unorthodox suggestion which the author hastens to qualify by saying that, in suggesting the popular vote, he does not intend to challenge the autocratic power of the sovereign, and is only doing this "for the sake of the most genuine justice".³¹ He regards the project of legal reform as being of such a paramount importance and epochal significance that it would warrant such an extraordinary measure, in view of the fact that "there is no such person as did not receive something from God, and what God reveals to a simpleton is concealed from the wise,³² i.e. anybody's opinion is valuable and often simple people of undeveloped minds are able to perceive things hidden from those who are better educated. Sound as these views are, they cannot, in this writer's opinion, be

³⁰ Pososhkov, op.cit. p.81f.

³¹ Ibid, p.82

³² Pososhkov, op.cit., p.83

interpreted as "politically progressive"; rather must their roots be sought in the Russian past, in the obshchina, and possibly in the tradition of Zemski Sobor - both, very likely, forming a part of Pososhkov's own experience from the earlier part of his life. The author's just claim to originality in this respect lies not so much in the substance of his concept of justice, as in the fact that he recognized the pressing need for legal reform and did not hesitate to present his own views on this subject, however extravagant and daring they might have appeared at the time. The fact that his and other similar voices went unheeded undoubtedly contributed to the tragic fate of Russia some two centuries after Pososhkov's projects were written.

One general characteristic which Pososhkov shares with Peter I may perhaps be worth mentioning: namely the propensity for attention to minute detail and the facility with which they both seem to be able to switch from that to the consideration of high-level matters of general policy and vice-versa.

In summing up the discussion of affinities and differences between Peter's and Pososhkov's views of the problems of reform, it should be noted that the Kniga o s.i b. was written in the last years of Peter's reign when some results of his reform must have already been apparent. Consequently Pososhkov can be expected, by that time, to have become reconciled with some of its aspects which he might have been inclined to reject earlier. He most certainly agrees that drastic changes are necessary and, in some respects, would even carry them much further than the Tsar; this applies in particular to the sector most neglected by Peter i.e. that of legal reform. But the spirit of Pososhkov's plan is not "Western" - it is essentially Christian, patriotic and conservative.

At the time he wrote his Book on Poverty and Wealth Pososhkov was an old man in his seventies and the fact that he, on the whole, supports Peter, can probably be interpreted as based on genuine feelings rather than on some self-seeking motive. With reference to what has been said in an earlier chapter on the subject of classification of authors of the

"literature of projects",³³ Pososhkov is an example of a "Conservative Muscovite" who, in the course of Peter's reign and under the impact of great changes, does not so much become converted to Peter's concept of reform, but, carried along on the tidal wave of transformation - which he accepts in principle - tries to contribute to it in his own fashion, according to his own convictions and within his own possibilities. Peter the Great and Pososhkov stand practically on two opposite ends of the social scale; the fact that, in spite of that, their views have a great deal in common, can serve as a good illustration of the fallaciousness of Marxist interpretation of history, according to which Peter and Pososhkov, as members of two hostile classes, must have been implacably opposed to each other in their views. On the other hand, it also contradicts the shallow and superficial view not infrequently taken, especially in the West, of Peter's reform as of something which was imposed by the Tsar against the wishes of the people; of a "revolution from above". The roots of this "revolution", as of

³³
Cf. p.23-25 above.

any other, go considerably deeper; its causes can be traced to a period much earlier than Peter's reign and, while his personality undeniably influenced the course of events to a great degree, it was, at the same time, being shaped by other forces over which he had little or no control.

Pososhkov's commentators generally agree that the Book on Poverty and Wealth, his most important work and the crowning effort of his publicistic activity, is primarily an economic treatise which, however, goes beyond the realm of economics and may be regarded as almost a project for the reconstruction of the whole Empire. Its purpose is thus to show the way to purely material improvement. It is, at this point, proposed to suggest that this view is oversimplified and inaccurate in that it tends to confuse Pososhkov's principal aim with what could be called one of its by-products. It is further suggested that, in order to arrive at a true interpretation of Pososhkov's aims in writing the Kniga o skudosti i bogatstve, it is best of all to inquire into what he, himself, has to say in this regard. For this purpose there can hardly be a better source than Pososhkov's Donoshenye (Report) of the Kniga o s.i b., a short summary of the

book, written without doubt, after the whole work was completed, with its main idea clearly fixed in author's mind and, with the additional merit, as a primary source, in the fact that it has been preserved in its author's own handwriting so that there can be no question of any possible distortion by a copyist or printer. This is what Pososhkov has to say of his book:

And of this I wrote, by three years' labour, a book which I called The Book on Poverty and Wealth, since it contains an explanation of what causes unnecessary poverty and what can increase bountiful wealth. And with this I proposed my view on how to eradicate injustice and abuses, and how to establish honest Truth and improvement in all matters, and how to establish (the rule of) Charity and happy life for the people.³⁴

If his advice is followed, Pososhkov assures the Tsar to whom personally this report is directed, both his own and his people's wealth will multiply, but, what is more important:

(...) all enmities and abuses will cease (...) proud noblemen may become transformed into meek lambs and will have (nothing but) love for ordinary people, since we are all people of one country.

And if the Truth will establish itself and Charity in people will become strong, that we can hope that God will look upon us with a merciful eye and will glorify us before the whole world (proslavit nas vo ves'svet slavoyu)- if He so wills - because all glory and riches are in His hands.³⁵

³⁴ Pososhkov, op.cit., p.8

³⁵ Ibid, p.8/9

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у прѣдѣлахъ и всѣхъ дѣржавъ имѣетъ императоръ и самодержавъ всероссійскій
и прѣдѣлахъ оубо императоръ. Тѣмъ же императоръ и прѣдѣлахъ

Доносеніе

просвѣщеннаго народа, тѣмъ императоръ и самодержавъ всероссійскій
и прѣдѣлахъ оубо императоръ. Тѣмъ же императоръ и прѣдѣлахъ

Има оубо императоръ, и самодержавъ всероссійскій, оубо императоръ и самодержавъ всероссійскій
и прѣдѣлахъ оубо императоръ. Тѣмъ же императоръ и прѣдѣлахъ

Первое прѣдѣлахъ оубо императоръ, и самодержавъ всероссійскій, оубо императоръ и самодержавъ всероссійскій
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Третье прѣдѣлахъ оубо императоръ, и самодержавъ всероссійскій, оубо императоръ и самодержавъ всероссійскій
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и прѣдѣлахъ оубо императоръ. Тѣмъ же императоръ и прѣдѣлахъ

Восьмое прѣдѣлахъ оубо императоръ, и самодержавъ всероссійскій, оубо императоръ и самодержавъ всероссійскій
и прѣдѣлахъ оубо императоръ. Тѣмъ же императоръ и прѣдѣлахъ

Девятое прѣдѣлахъ оубо императоръ, и самодержавъ всероссійскій, оубо императоръ и самодержавъ всероссійскій
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и прѣдѣлахъ оубо императоръ. Тѣмъ же императоръ и прѣдѣлахъ

Двадцатое прѣдѣлахъ оубо императоръ, и самодержавъ всероссійскій, оубо императоръ и самодержавъ всероссійскій
и прѣдѣлахъ оубо императоръ. Тѣмъ же императоръ и прѣдѣлахъ

Граф Песошкова (Черновики обращения к Петру I о „Книге о чести и богатстве“; рукопись с истлевшим левым углом)

Fig. 2 Draft of the first page of Donoshenye in Pososhkov's own handwriting.

It would be difficult to find a clearer statement of author's purpose and ultimate goal, made in simple and unequivocal terms. Pososhkov, first and foremost, seeks to establish the rule of Christian truth and justice. He fully expects that, if his advice is followed, the Russian people will become imbued with the spirit of charity and will thus be transformed - willingly or otherwise - into better and superior beings. Material benefits, such as increase in national wealth, will follow, naturally and inevitably, but they are not an end in themselves:

(...)before everything else, we must strive to seek the Truth, and when the Truth becomes established and takes a firm root in ourselves, it will be impossible for our Russian Realm not to become rich and exalted in glory. 36

It is therefore not accidental that the, by far, longest chapter of the Book on Poverty and Wealth is devoted entirely to the exploration of ways of eradicating injustices and establishing the reign of justice and truth, and that this theme recurs as a Leitmotiv throughout Pososhkov's writings. It is not surprising that this aspect is practically ignored by Soviet commentators of Pososhkov such as Kafengauz. It is perhaps unfortunate that a similarly limited

and one-sided view can also be found in some recent utterances of distinguished Western scholars, as in the essay by Alexander Gerschenkron on The Problem of Economic Development in Russian Intellectual History of the Nineteenth Century, where we find the following reference to Pososhkov:

Pososhkov's interests turn essentially around one thing - the economic development of the country. His was an altogether dynamic philosophy in the sense that what concerned him was the change in the given data of Russian economy. His main attention was devoted to increases in the technical and commercial proficiency of that economy.

(...) all these (projects) reflected a mind bent upon rapid changes in economic structure and willing to consider most social and economic problems from that one point of view.³⁷

Even allowing for the fact that Professor Gerschenkron's remarks are made strictly from the point of view of an economist, it is impossible to accept them as valid in the light of Pososhkov's own definition of his interests quoted above. There can be no doubt that he regarded the economic well - being simply as an inevitable - if, naturally, also desirable - attribute of the "paradise on earth", his principal goal, attainable only through faithful

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Printed in Continuity and Change in Russian and Soviet Thought, Ernest J. Simmons, Ed., Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1955, pp.15 and 16.

practice of Christian virtues. This quest for truth which is to transform human nature and prepare it for the Kingdom of God on this earth is, of course, not at all peculiar to Pososhkov and its manifestations will be found abundantly in the Russian philosophy of the XIX century and in works of great classics as, for example, Lev Tolstoy's. As is well known it also exists, in a distorted form, in the modern Soviet ideology, an illustration of which will be found below.

Pososhkov's ultimate goal cannot, however, be reached without sacrifices, and the spiritual revival of Russian people cannot be achieved without coercion. He proclaims in no uncertain terms that, in view of Russian people's innate character, the new way of life has to be imposed firmly and ruthlessly, in order that the benefits may be reaped later. All sacrifices are justified in view of the ultimate end - the reign of truth and justice on earth.³⁸ Strictest possible supervision is considered necessary during this period of enforcement of virtues. Thus, for example, when discussing the need for honesty in business dealings between merchants, Pososhkov

³⁸Pososhkov, op.cit. p.90

recommends a system of co-signers and guarantors in financial transactions to be in force during the interim period, "as long as dishonesty is not yet eradicated".³⁹ It is an interesting point that he expects this transitory period to be relatively short, and goes so far as to venture a fairly precise estimate of its duration:

And when the rule of justice has stood in this manner, firmly and inflexibly, for five or six years, all people of low rank and birth as well as those of high rank, birth or merit will be fearful not only to commit offences as (they did) earlier, but will take care to avoid all dishonesty and will strive in all eagerness to practice justice.⁴⁰

Although it is not the purpose of this study to inquire into the element of continuity in Russian history, or to stress the, often very obvious, similarities in the approach to related problems in Russia of Peter the Great and of Soviet Union of today, one may perhaps be permitted, in direct connection with just quoted statements of Pososhkov, to digress briefly into the present century and to refer to a discussion on the pages of one of Soviet political journals in September of 1959. A letter to the Editor

³⁹
Ibid, p.80

⁴⁰
Ibid, p.85

which quotes an - allegedly erroneous - assertion by a certain Comrade N.D. Shestakov, a teacher of a secondary school at Tallin, to the effect that the Communist society in the USSR will be built, or "finished in the rough" as he puts it, in fifteen years' time, evokes a lengthy editorial reply which, among other things, states as follows :

The transition from Socialism to Communism is tied up with the solution of a number of complicated problems the most important of which are the following:

.....

(4) the transformation of work into a vital necessity and the formation of a versatile, highly developed, individual of the Communist society, free of all vestiges of old habits and customs;

.....

the very creation of the material-technical basis for Communism involves the preparation of material prerequisites for the erasing of class distinction and for the re-shaping of the minds of individuals.⁴¹

The naive belief that it is possible to remodel human nature as a prerequisite to earthly paradise and equally simple-minded conjecture as to the probable length of this process is thus not confined to a self-educated peasant writer of early XVIII century.

⁴¹

G. Grigoryev, in V pomoshch politicheskomu samo-obrazovaniyu, No.9., Moscow, Sept. 1959, pp. 74-76.

It is hoped that the existence of such close similarities between patterns of thought existing in Russia of Peter the Great and the Soviet Union of two and a half centuries later may serve as an eloquent proof that the study of writers like Pososhkov is of more than purely academic interest. The Russian poet and critic Apollon Grigoryev wrote the following words in the middle of the last century:

Pososhkov is just as much a contemporary as an old character, even now you can hear many such Pososhkovs with long white beards, and you will hear the same language, the same reasoning, logically sound, powerful and flowing directly from life.⁴²

This, in a sense, is as true today as it was a century ago. One of the most important things about Pososhkov is that he acted as a spokesman for what he, himself calls "ordinary" or "simple" people (prostive lyudi) who, although they formed, by far, the numerically largest group in Russian society, left very few written records of ideas circulating among them.

Earlier in this chapter an examination has been made of Pososhkov's basic convictions underlying his views: his deep religious faith, attachment

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Quoted by B.B. Kafengauz in I.T. Pososhkov, Zhizn' i deyatel'nost', Moscow-Leningrad, Academy of Science, 1950. p.145.

to autocracy as a form of government, patriotism coloured by an admixture of xenophobia and conservatism. These convictions, obviously firmly and inflexibly fixed in his mind, form the foundation of his programme for the improvement of the Russian Empire. The most important feature of this programme is the fact that Pososhkov regards material benefits not as an end in themselves, but as one of the inevitable effects of a spiritual revival. His central idea recurring throughout the Kniga o s.i b. is the belief that this spiritual revival embodied in - of necessity enforced - practice of Christian virtues will, after a limited period of time, result in Russian people becoming permanently imbued with these virtues and forming a better society where all injustice, quarrels and animosities will disappear and Charity and Truth will reign. This quest for a millenium - a paradise on earth, in Russia - undoubtedly forms the basis of Pososhkov's philosophy.

With this underlying motive, the bulk of the Book on Poverty and Wealth is nevertheless devoted to practical advice on actual measures for improvement to be undertaken in various sectors of Russian life. This advice has been examined in relation to what

may be, perhaps somewhat loosely, termed Peter's programme of reform, with an object of achieving a comparison between the conception of reform by two different people standing, as it were, on two opposite ends of the social ladder. The conclusion reached was that, while there were many affinities between them in their approach to a number of important problems, the scope of Pososhkov's projects reached well beyond the areas affected by Peter's reform and his fundamental outlook was different. It was basically the outlook of a Russian peasant, indigenous, free of outside influences, with roots in the distant past and yet closely linked with the future through generations yet unborn. Pososhkov's philosophy is a close reflection of ideas existing among the broad masses of Russian people long before and after his lifetime and, in that sense, it is not original. It is nevertheless unique in the form in which it has been committed to paper, as a written testimony to the permanency of these ideas and as an invaluable source of information to any student of Russian thought in general and the epoch of Peter the Great in particular.

CONCLUSIONS

The complexity of the historical period coinciding with Pososhkov's lifetime has already been stressed several times. As stated at the outset, this is the period of great changes with the consequent lack of stability in social and cultural spheres, a period when the old way of life was being forcibly suppressed, while the new which was to replace it, has not yet assumed a recognizable form. Although the changes did not achieve their full momentum until the latter part of Pososhkov's life, he was not slow in recognizing the situation and attempting to take advantage of the opportunities it provided. This included the opportunity of direct participation in the changes then occurring through submission of ideas and projects of reforms; Pososhkov's contribution in this respect assured him a permanent place in the history of Russian literature and of moral, political and economic thought.

The main object of this study has been to examine these ideas and the language in which they were recorded, having first presented collated biographical data and provided a sketch of historical

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background. Broadly speaking, any such examination dealing - as it happens in this case - with a period of transition, could be conducted with the view of identifying the elements of old and new and determining their mutual relationship. Another way of dealing with the same problem would be to distinguish between the short - and long-term factors, i.e. between those which are a reflection of conditions in the author's own lifetime and others which often take many generations to develop and manifest themselves in varying forms during this process. This latter method of approach has been favoured throughout this study and, it has been attempted to examine both Pososhkov's language and his ideas from this point of view.

Thus, in examining Pososhkov's language and style, it has become evident that while they, naturally, contain the elements of both old and new, they represent, at the same time, a momentary fragment of a continuous process of development - a link between the old and modern Russian, possibly to a greater extent than the majority of other written relics of this period. Pososhkov's language is remarkable in that it is comparatively free of

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temporary, passing, influences. It is indigenous and simple, no doubt very close to the actual spoken language and unaffected by the fashion of the day.

The examination of Pososhkov's ideas has been concentrated on their essence rather than manifestations. His thinking, again, reflects the two conflicting elements of old and new, but, underlying it all, are some basic ideas of a much more permanent character and therefore of special significance. It has been suggested that the most important of these is his quest for the "millenium" on earth - the way to which leads through religious revival and practice of Christian virtues - combined with the belief that a permanent transformation of human nature can be achieved by force. Other features prominent in Pososhkov's thinking such as his firm belief in the superiority of autocracy as a form of government, his special brand of patriotism, the idea of the "Third Rome" reflected in his religious views and some other ideas which will be found re-appearing during the more modern history of Russian thought, have also been stressed. Thus, in the period of radical changes, we find the element of continuity figuring prominently in the writings of

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one of the most interesting intellectual figures of the time-writings which, paradoxically enough, are devoted to the ways of effecting further changes for the general improvement of the Realm.

It has been said that Pososhkov's projects which are most original and which, if implemented at the time, could have been of great practical value, are concerned with the two sectors of national life: economical and judicial. The latter, in particular, was almost completely neglected by Peter the Great with the result that, as is evident from many examples quoted by Pososhkov, lawlessness reached frightening proportions towards the end of his reign. Pososhkov considered the legal reform to be long overdue. It may be that Peter's failure to bring his empire up to date in this very important respect is one of the principal reasons of Russia's continuing backwardness in relation to the Western Europe. It would be tempting to speculate what might have happened if Pososhkov's projects received the attention they deserved at the time:- possibly the history might have taken an altogether different course.

Two hundred and forty years after Pososhkov's projects were written the time for their implementation is long past. Yet their value from the point

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of view of both the historian and the student of Russian thought has not diminished. It lies perhaps, more than anything else, in their author's close ties with his environment and in the fact that this immediate environment, rather than some more remote outside influences, served as a source of his inspiration. Pososhkov speaks as a Russian "simple man" and what he has to say should be of considerable interest to anyone attempting to analyse the convictions, beliefs, idiosyncrasies and prejudices of the "simple men" who rule Russia today. This comparatively little known writer of a relatively distant historical period has been chosen as a subject of this study in the hope that it may, in a modest way, assist in demonstrating how important is the knowledge of Russian past for the better understanding of the present.

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APPENDIX 1

ABSTRACT OF

I.T.Pososhkov as a Writer and Thinker of XVIII
Century¹

I.T.Pososhkov (1652-1726), a Russian writer of humble origin, wrote on moral, political and economic subjects during the reign of Peter the Great. His most important work is the Book on Poverty and Wealth which contains a relatively bold and far-reaching project of reform of the Russian Empire.

This study has been written with an object of examining the ideological and formal aspects of Pososhkov's principal writings, having first provided a sketch of historical background and of author's figure viewed against this background.

The historical sketch concentrates on the trends of thought taking recognizable shape in Moscow during the seventeenth century and on political and cultural developments most likely to have exerted direct influence on Pososhkov's views.

¹
M.A.Thesis presented by K.A.Papmehl, in 1960, to the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ottawa, xii-121p.

This is followed by a survey of biographical data available, with particular attention paid to the more recent findings in this respect, not generally known outside the borders of the USSR.

Pososhkov's language and style are being examined with a stress on their distinctive peculiarities and on their value as a source of linguistic information pertaining to an important period in the development of Russian language.

The final chapter deals, in the main, with Pososhkov's basic convictions underlying his views on various subjects, with his leading ideas and with the relationship between the latter and certain patterns of thought recurring throughout the modern Russian history up to the most recent times. The study is concluded in an attempt to demonstrate the lasting value of Pososhkov's writings, and their importance to the students of Russian language and thought.