

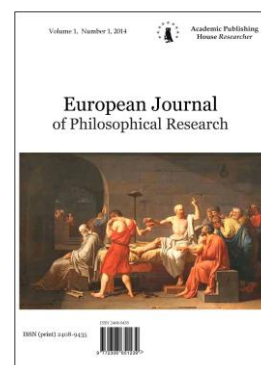
Copyright © 2017 by Academic Publishing House Researcher s.r.o.



Published in the Slovak Republic
European Journal of Philosophical Research
Has been issued since 2014.

ISSN: 2408-9435
E-ISSN: 2413-7286
2017, 4(1): 35-47

DOI: 10.13187/ejpr.2017.1.35
www.ejournal17.com



UDC 1

Russian Thought on the Origination of Greek Philosophy

Oleg Matveychev ^{a, *}

^a National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russian Federation

Abstract

The article is a historiographical and theoretical overview of the basic concepts of the genesis of ancient Greek philosophy in the Russian and Soviet philosophical literature in 19-20th centuries. While the first information about antiquity appeared in Russia in the 10th century, the author indicates that the scientific study of ancient Greek philosophy in Russia began only in the 19th century. One of the first original research in this area belonged to the O. Novitsky. He put forward the idea of the development of Greek philosophy from mythology and religion of more than half a century before F. Cornford and K. Joel. This concept was developed creatively by S. Trubetskoy. He argued that the philosophy of the Greeks is a special phase of their religious ideas.

The Soviet history of philosophy was dominated by the class approach, which required to consider the philosophy of the ancient Greeks as a direct reflection of the contemporary level of development of the productive forces and ideology of the slave-owners. Concepts of philosophy genesis conformed with the requirements of the political situation. Thus, the epistemogeneous concept corresponded to the Communist Party course to fight against religious vestiges in Soviet society and apologetics myth in a bourgeois political thought. According to this concept philosophy arose from science as opposed to religion and from the fight against religion. And hypothesis of oriental influence on Greek philosophy corresponded with rapprochement with the countries of the Third World and criticism of eurocentrism.

In the late 1950s – early 1960s, there was a number of original concepts, that were manipulating Marxist methodology as a lively and ductile material. One of the greatest historians of philosophy was A. Losev, who created a distinctive methodology for the study of the genesis of philosophy. Interesting theories were offered by J. Golosovker, A. Chanyshv, F. Cassidy and other scientists. Philosophical debates had obtained more vivid character and theoretical value.

The author emphasizes that the conflicting approaches to the problem of the origin of ancient Greek philosophy are attempts to answer the questions of profound character. The debate between supporters of autochthonous and Oriental hypotheses about external sources of Greek philosophy is called on to answer the question: how and where philosophy emerged? The question “what philosophy emerged from?” defined the dispute about the spiritual sources of philosophy between the adherents of mythogeneous and epistemogeneous concepts. And finally, the question of “how and why philosophy emerged?” accompanied discussions about social, ontological and other conditions of the emergence of philosophy.

* Corresponding author
E-mail addresses: omatveychev@hse.ru (O. Matveychev)

The author argues that the last sentence in this debate is unlikely to be ever written, because to find the solution to the problem of the genesis of philosophy is to solve the grand question of philosophy: what is philosophy?

Keywords: philosophy, history of philosophy, historiography of ancient philosophy, mythology, religion, science, Ancient Greece, the genesis of philosophy.

Introduction

The present work does not claim to assume the role of a comprehensive study of the problems concerning the genesis, origins and occurrence of Ancient Greek philosophy in Russian historical and philosophical literature. This topic is boundless and requires at least a plump monograph. A bibliography alone on the subject will easily exceed the length of journal publication. For that reason we limit ourselves in this article to review only the most notable aspects, from the point of view of the chosen topics, concepts and most influential trends, resembling a sketch for a larger work, which is just beginning to see the light.

Discussion

Despite the fact that the scientific (in the modern sense of the word) study of ancient Greek philosophy in Russia began only in the beginning of the nineteenth century, it would be inaccurate to argue that ancient heritage was unknown to our earlier ancestors. Moreover, it probably had the greatest influence on Russian culture in ancient times.

If Europe received the Greek spirit mainly through indirect exposure— via the Romans, then Rus' did so in the most direct way, through contact with the Greeks inhabiting Byzantium. This contact accelerated the process of state-building of the Slavs, introduced them to Byzantine culture, which inherited their ancient civilization. From Byzantium Rus' adopted Christianity of the Orthodox rite, Greek craftsmen built many churches in Russian cities, instilled in Russians the love of books, and taught them numerous arts. The first information about the ancient world reached Russian culture “from the Greeks to the Vikings”.

If in the tenth century this occurred only through Christian missionaries, then already by the eleventh century under the reign of Yaroslav the Wise, Rus' established its own translation school. In the twelfth century Russians knew of Homer, Plato and Aristotle, mention of which can be found in the texts of the monk Theodosius and Metropolitan Kliment Smolyatich (Evunov, 2001). At the end of twelfth to early-thirteenth century the Byzantine translation of the collection “Melissa” (“The Bee”) was circulated, which contains 2,500 sayings of ancient authors, including Solon, Heraclitus, Pythagoras, Democritus, Socrates, Diogenes, Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Epicurus, Zeno, Plutarch, etc. (Pchela 1981). “The Bee” was one of the main sources of information about ancient Greek philosophy and political thought in the Russian state until the eighteenth century.

Enthusiasm for ancient philosophy increased significantly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which resulted particularly from the interest of government officials in the political theory and practice of the ancients. During the mid-seventeenth century, the monk Arsenii Sukhanov brought about 500 Greek manuscripts from Mount Athos, including works of Homer, Hesiod, Aeschylus, Sophocles, of Thucydides (Frolov, 1999).

In the eighteenth to early-nineteenth century, along with several ancient primary sources* a number of historico-philosophical works were translated into Russian, including articles from the Encyclopedia of Diderot and d'Alembert, F. Hencken, I. Brucker, E.B. Condillac, R. Buri, J.-M. Degerando, and others†, thereby significantly expanding the circle of people acquainted with ancient Greek philosophy. First in print appeared surveys, then specialized works, on ancient philosophy by A.I. Galich, I.I. Davydov, F. Nadezhdina, Archimandrite Gavriil (Voskresensky), K. Segerholm, and others.‡

The first such works primarily were composite in character. Such was, in particular, “History of Philosophical Systems, Created According to Foreign Manuals” (1818-1819), penned by

* For example, the canon of the wise Plato. KN. 1-4. SPb.: Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1780-1785; The Answers of Thales, one of the famous seven Greek sages // Resting Trudolyubie. Part 1. M., 1784. S. 222-224; and others.

† For further bibliography, see: Kamensky 2001.

‡ Similar bibliography, see: Chanyshv, Mikhailova 1966; Kaminsky 2001.

Professor of St. Petersburg University, Lyceum mentor of Pushkin Alexander Galich (Govorov). During its drafting, Galich relied on the works of German researcher I. Zoher, although he criticized him for looking "at all phenomena through the dim glass of Kantianism" (Galich, 1818). According to Galich, all philosophical systems arise from intrinsically necessary conditions of the cognitive force, and their change conforms to certain regularities (in the spirit of his German contemporaries Galich postulates the existence of "proceeds," i.e., progress in philosophy). So, ancient Greek philosophy evolved from "brute material teachings" (materialism) to the "spirit teachings" (idealism and religiosity). A similar picture was observed among the Ionians, from whom philosophy came. Their "elemental" (i.e., particular element that recognizes the origin of things) philosophy "stretched on the thread of a homogeneous indigenous substance and took into consideration only material, rather than actual causes of things" (Galich, 1818), yet did not attend to the question of the reasons for change or begin to search for them beyond the material world.

The popular philosophical writing by the revolutionary democrat Alexander Herzen's "Letters on the Study of Nature" (1845) was also composite in character. The author himself admitted that, positing the history of Greek philosophy, he strictly followed the lectures of Hegel, and from there gathered all the quotes from the ancients (Herzen, 1985).

Despite Herzen's declared shift away from Hegel's "idealism" and teleologism, his "Letters..." retained fundamental paradigmatic invariants of the Hegelian interpretation of the genesis of philosophy: 1) the failure of the East in the enjoyment of science and philosophy ("the East was never able to give its thoughts in the proper form and couldn't do so, because it never understood the content" (Herzen, 1985); 2) the postulation of freedom of thought as conditional to the generation of philosophy ("the Greek could not get rid of external need; he found the means to be morally free through acknowledging it" (Herzen, 1985); 3) chronological localization of early Greek philosophy in the sixth century during the period of the decline of Ionian free States in Asia Minor ("first free step in thinking occurred when man stood on noble European soil when he advanced from Asia: Ionia was the beginning of Greece and the end of Asia" (Herzen, 1985); 4) the postulation of an active objectification as the starting point of philosophical comprehension of being ("the beginning of knowledge is the conscious opposition of yourself to the subject and the desire to address that opposition by thought. Ionian philosophy presents us with a rich and extensive development of this point," (Herzen, 1985).

In the absence of a sufficient number of both translated and Russian literature on history of ancient philosophy, Herzen's "Letters..." were used by many as a primary source of knowledge on this issue. It should be noted this text was extraordinarily popular among the Russian intelligentsia. Fyodor Dostoevsky spoke of Herzen's work not more and not less than "the best philosophy not only in Russia but in Europe" (Dostoevsky, 1964), and many shared such opinion.

Original works in Russian language on the history of Greek philosophy began to emerge in the second half of the nineteenth century in the "age" of Eduard Zeller, whose influence was felt one way or another by all scholars concerned with ancient perspective. One of them was Professor Orest Novitsky of Kyiv University, author of the lengthy work "The Gradual Development of Ancient Philosophical Doctrines in Connection with the Development of Pagan Beliefs" (1860-1861)*.

Despite Novitsky's indications that he used mainly Zeller's compositions in presenting Greek philosophy (Novitsky, 1860), many conceptual discrepancies can be found between the works of the Russian and the German thinker. So, if Zeller was a consistent, if not militant, supporter of the autochthonous hypothesis, which denies any external influence on early Greek philosophy, then Novitsky, on the contrary, vividly demonstrated his Orientalism, insisting (in the spirit of F. Schleiermacher, A. Gladish and A. Rötha) on direct influence on Greek philosophy Eastern, primarily Egyptian wisdom. "Greek philosophy as well as Greek education," he wrote, "received the initiation, directly or indirectly, first from Egypt. Not only the Pelasgians brought from there the first seeds of citizenship, but also Thracian priest-poet Orpheus introduced into Greece the Egyptian concepts of God and the world, which did not remain without influence on subsequent poets and thinkers; and then, at the rapprochement between the Greeks and the Egyptians, especially Thales and Pythagoras ... directly exploited the Egyptian doctrine to educate themselves

* Novitsky, O. M. The Gradual Development of Ancient Philosophical Doctrines in Connection with the Development of Pagan beliefs. In Four Parts. Kiev: University Printing House, 1860-1861. Part 1. p. 326 (XV); Part 2. p. 429 p.; Part 3. p. 362; Part 4. p. 384 (XX).

in philosophy" (Novitsky, 1860).

The emergence of philosophy, according to Novitsky, was assisted by the following factors: 1) the influence of Egyptian science – mathematics and astronomy here are closely united with religion, which "as the pantheistic worldview embraced a philosophical element" (studying them, "Greeks thinkers pondered in its content and became accustomed to an independent perspective on the universe" (Novitsky, 1860); 2) the influence of Egyptian poetry ("the close connections with Egypt revealed to the Greeks the new treasury of Egyptian wisdom in the form of the fable. An intermediary in its transfer was Aesop" (Novitsky, 1860); 3) division of epic poetry into heroic – even theogonical and sententious ("theogonical representations of Orpheus and Hesiod ... resumed with ... Ferekid from Syros, Epimenidou, etc. From these conceptions of the origin of gods and the world and sententious reflections on the phenomena of the moral world just one step remained toward the study of the nature of things - philosophy" (Novitsky, 1860); 4) the "maturing education" in the sixth century B.C., which begot the general "tendency to contemplate the phenomena of the moral world" (Novitsky, 1860).

According to Novitsky, Greek philosophy was the direct heir not only of Eastern thought but also of religion*: "with the first revival of ideas, with the first movement of philosophy toward development it inevitably meets religion – with religious convictions and beliefs; because these convictions and beliefs rest on the same depth of spirit, comprising an irresistible need of our rational nature; ... religion precedes every spiritual education of the people and only in it and from it proceeds as art and philosophy" (Novitsky, 1860).

Note that Novitsky put forward the idea of the development of Greek philosophy from mythology and religion more than half a century before Francis Cornford and Charles Yule, the adherents of the so-called mythogenic concept of the genesis of Greek philosophy. Claiming that the content of ancient Greek philosophy does not go beyond the scope of religious beliefs that served as its source material, Cornford polemicized about John Burnet's insistence that philosophy begins where mythology and religion end, and the establishment goes through the negation of "myth" in favor of "logos."

Wilhelm Nestle and William Guthrie embarked on attempts to "reconcile" the concepts of mythogeny and gnoseology†, although much earlier it was suggested by Sergei Nikolaevich Trubetskoy, an outstanding representative of Russian religious philosophy of the late nineteenth – early twentieth century.

Unlike Burnet and Cornford, Trubetskoy does not oppose myth and logos. Proclaiming the unity of faith and reason, he emphasizes: "the notion of Logos related to Greek philosophy in which it arose, and with Christian theology in which it is established" (Trubetskoy, 1994). "Christianity before Christianity" – so he calls Greek philosophy, in the sense that he sees it prepared mankind for the perception of Christ's Words. Trubetskoy finds the relationship between the Greeks and Christianity particularly in anthropomorphism, appearing for the Greeks as the cult of the image of man (incarnation of the divine, spiritual; the deification of man), and for Christians as the idea of the universal, supernatural God who is at the same time human, i.e., in the idea of God-manhood ("Greek anthropomorphism relates to the Christian as relative and limited to the absolute" (Trubetskoy, 2010).

Trubetskoy believes Greek anthropomorphism is a unique phenomenon – "in no other religion is the human being deified and idealized to such extent" (Trubetskoy, 2010). On the basis of this particular religious worldview the philosophy of the Greeks had developed ("a special phasis of development of their religious ideas" (Trubetskoy, 2010). The connection with religion, the unity of myth and logos, faith and reason fed ancient Greek philosophy for centuries. "The content of Greek philosophy, the progress of its development, its limit a priori are defined by religion, at least broadly, if not completely" (Trubetskoy, 2010). On the contrary, the gap between philosophy and religion, and the refutation of it is a disaster for philosophy – "delving into the spirit of denial, it unwittingly becomes apathetic to the truth, despairs of it, and arrives at doubt" (Trubetskoy, 2010), it deteriorated into skepticism and empiricism (precisely with them, according to Trubetskoy, Greek philosophy ends).

* At this point one can also note the discrepancy between Novitsky and Zeller.

† The terms "gnoseology" and "mythogeny" with reference to the concepts of the origin of philosophy in the aspect of its spiritual source coined by the Soviet philosopher L. A. Lyakhovetsky [Lyakhovetsky 1967].

Among the socio-political factors that prepared the ground for the emergence of philosophy in Ancient Greece, Trubetskoy highlights 1) the revival of the Maritime dominion, and trade in Ionia ("international relations of the Greeks and their merchant shipping had an impact on the early development of their sciences not as much due to individual empirical knowledge, borrowed from other peoples, as much due to the overall expansion of the Greeks' geographical horizon, a change to their previous mythic notions" (Trubetskoy, 1997); 2) a fundamental change in the forms of social life caused by the development of commerce, industry, accumulation and redistribution of wealth, the influx of population toward shopping centres and rapid growth ("human relations are not determined by age-old custom and do not fit into the old traditional boundaries; what is needed are a new societal "device" and positive legislation that will give it a solid structure and convergent heterogeneous interests" (Trubetskoy, 1997); 3) the emergence of a professional politics ("among the many arts that contribute to general cultural growth, there arises a higher "regal" or political art, for which became famous for the first Greek "sage"-legislators" (Trubetskoy, 1997); 4) the development of poetry ("after the poetry of Homer, which is the culmination of centuries of development of the Greek epic, starting from the Mycenaean era and the Ionian and Aeolian lyrics, blossoming in vibrant color, the poetry of personal feeling, indicating the powerful development of the personality. And after lyric poetry awakens creativity of thought, moral thinking, philosophical speculation and scientific study" (Trubetskoy, 1997).

Interestingly, in stating the close relations of the Greeks with the East, particularly Egypt, in the spirit of Zeller Trubetskoy denies any significant influence of Eastern wisdom on Greek thought ("the scientific development of Egypt was very low, and there was hardly anything Greek philosophers could learn from them" (Trubetskoy, 1997) – rather, the Egyptians, as well as the Lydians and the Babylonians experienced Greek influence.

The contribution of Sergey Trubetskoy in the national science is major. His fundamental works "Metaphysics in Ancient Greece" (1890), "The Doctrine of Logos in its History" (1900), "The History of Ancient Philosophy" (1906-1908) created the entire epoch in Russian history of philosophy, and, moreover, was considered almost the only research on this issue of a decent level*. Despite the considerable number of domestic works on ancient philosophy, the situation in current sector of historico-philosophical science was perceived almost critical†. "Russian literature on the history of ancient philosophy is not very rich," lamented Sergei Povarnin in 1910. "The era of classicism in our school not only did not raise interest in classical philosophy, but, it seems, even drowned it out. At one time studying philosophy required attending university lectures, as the old translations were partly out of print, and partly did not meet the new demands. ... There were no original Russian manuals. ... Those who want to learn the history of ancient philosophy are inevitably limited ... to Windelband or the independent ... leadership of S. Trubetskoy" (Povarnin, 1910).

Meanwhile, in the 1900-1910s, there are a number of remarkable source works, including that of Grigory Tsereteli (Tsereteli, 1902), Alexander Makovelski (Makovelski, 1914), etc., which prepared a substantial base for further research, because of introduction in scientific circulation of Russian translations of fragments of pre-Socratic thinkers, the corresponding doxography and their historical and critical review.

A new stage in Russian antiquity studies was already on the post-revolutionary years – the very, very complicated time for "pure" science. The maintenance of the studies of ancient philosophy was then largely determined by political situation.

If pre-revolutionary historico-philosophical thought was distinguished by the diversity of ideas, then in the 1920s pure monism was established in official Soviet science: every new concept had to pass a test on conformity to the dominant doctrine – vulgarized Marxism with its thesis that

* See: Preface to the posthumous edition of Trubetskoy's last work (From publishers / Trubetskoy, S.N. The History of Ancient Philosophy. Part 1. M., 1906. p. II); Povarnin's preface to the book by G. von Arnim (S.I. Povarnin. From the translator // Arnim, G. History of Ancient Philosophy. M.: Publishing House of LCG, 2007. S. V-VI), etc.

† In particular: Redkiy, P. G. From Lectures on the History of Legal Philosophy in Connection with History of General Philosophy. St. Petersburg, I-VII, 1889-1891; Kariyskiy, M. I. Lectures on the History of Ancient Philosophy. St. Petersburg, 1889; Lopatin, L. M. History of Ancient Philosophy. Lectures, read. in [TK IMA] in 1900-1901 (lith. course); Obolensky, L. The History of Thought. 1901; Zelenogorsky, F. A. Essays on the History of Ancient Philosophy. Kharkov, 1908; etc.

forms of social consciousness are determined by the social economic structure, or else, by modes of production. According to Eduard Frolov, at that time, "the science of classical antiquity ... turned into a branch of Marxist political economy" (Frolov, 1999).

Representative in this respect is the article by Vagan Vandek and Vladimir Timosko, more methodological than of a review or investigational in nature, "Hegel's Struggle with Materialism. The History of the Philosophy of Hegel in the Assessment of Lenin" (1932). Among other things the article raises questions regarding the origin of ancient Greek philosophy. This issue was considered by the authors from the point of view of the class approach. In their opinion, philosophical ideas are a direct reflection of the contemporary level of development of productive forces and reflect the specifics of the thinking members of the slaveholder class. The progress of philosophy is the result of the work of those philosophers who represent the "practice of the advanced revolutionary class" (Vandek & Timosko, 1932).

Vulgar-sociological dogmatism distinguished the works of even quite diligent researchers of ancient philosophy, including Michael Dynnik, author of "Essay on the History of Philosophy of Classical Greece" (1936) and the later work "The Materialists of Ancient Greece" (1955) – the collected translations of Heraclitus, Democritus and Epicurus. The purpose of studying ancient philosophy, according to Dynnik, is "to reveal peculiarities of the development of philosophical doctrines as an ideological superstructure over the material base of slave-holding Greece. To study the history of philosophy means to open the social springs that drive it and define the class character of various philosophical schools" (Dynnik, 1936). Dynnik considered the history of Greek philosophy as a fight of the materialists, who represented the most progressive stratum of society and speakers for science against reactionary idealists, who leaned "toward mythology in its theological modification" (Dynnik, 1955).

The three-volume, specially informative "History of Philosophy" (1941-1943)*, prepared by the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences—the largest historico-philosophical project of the time—did not escape the vulgar-sociological schematization. The historical basis for the emergence of philosophy relied here the "social revolution of the VII-VI centuries", which destroyed the remnants of the tribal system and gave rise to a slave-owning society: "Industrialists, merchants and money lenders – all these groups of slaveholders, the new "economic aristocracy" who were in opposition to the tribal aristocracy, opposed the religious ideas of tribal groups with their spontaneously materialistic worldview. The public coup that put an end to the tribal system in Greece marked a revolution in the field of thought: the emergence of ancient science, which had not been separated yet from philosophy" (Aleksandrova, Byhovskiy, Mitina & Yudina, 1941).

With regard to the issue of the Eastern influences, the authors here take a definite position: the impact was significant, because "the Egyptians of this period (VII-VI centuries – O. M.) had an incomparably greater cultural development than the Greeks"(Aleksandrova, Byhovskiy, Mitina & Yudina, 1941). Looking ahead, we note that the orientalist hypothesis will dominate Soviet philosophy until the 1970s.

One of the authors of the "History of Philosophy" was Georgy Aleksandrov, head of the Department of Outreach and Propaganda of the Central Committee of the CPSU(b). In 1945, he launched the attempt to rehabilitate himself after the failure of the third volume of the fundamental edition and published a book "History of Western Philosophy." In theoretical terms, it was nothing remarkable, however, the discussion that unfolded around it for a long time has determined the fate of the national history of philosophy. Despite the fact that in November of 1946, Aleksandrov received the Stalin prize for his textbook and was elected as full member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, in December the book was subjected to severe criticism from Stalin. Archival documents preserved the leader's comments regarding the origins of ancient Greek philosophy† – according to Stalin, they lied not in the fragmentation of the social and political structure of Greece as Alexandrov presented, but in the formation of a slave society. Another claim

* The third volume, was published in 1943, the year after it was condemned for insufficient criticism of German classical philosophy and was seized from libraries.

† Stalin's comments were included in the draft report on the outcome of discussions of the book in the journal "Bolshevik," prepared by the Director of the Institute of Marx-Engels-Lenin at the Central Committee of the CPSU(b), V. S. Kruzhkov, and Director of the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences, G.S. Vasetskiy.

was an overly "objectivist presentation of the philosophical systems of the past": "the book was not written in the spirited language, as required for a Marxist book on the history of philosophy" (Batygin & Deviatko, 1998).

In July, 1947, on the initiative of the Central Committee of the CPSU(b), a philosophical discussion was held on Alexandrov's book. Politburo member Andrei Zhdanov chaired and presented a speech, whose basic thesis was accepted by the philosophical community "as the background for scientific work and the general program one should implement in teaching philosophy when writing articles and monographs" (Kamensky, 2001).

A number of provisions were directly or indirectly related to the problems of studying ancient Greek philosophy: 1) among the Greeks, knowledge of philosophy as an independent field didn't exist ("can we talk about the philosophy of the ancient Greeks as a distinctive, differentiated area of expertise? Of course not" (Zhdanov, 1947); 2) the domain of philosophy continually shrank due to positive sciences splitting off from it ("... and this liberation of natural science and social sciences from under the aegis of philosophy presented a progressive process for both natural and social sciences as well as for philosophy" (Zhdanov, 1947); 3) before Marx, philosophy as a science did not exist ("with Marx begins a completely new period in the history of philosophy and for the first time it became a science" (Zhdanov, 1947); 4) the only subject of the history of philosophy was the history of materialism ("scientific history of philosophy ... is the story of the origin, occurrence and development of the scientific materialistic world and its laws. Inasmuch that materialism grew and evolved in the struggle against the idealistic trends, the history of philosophy is also the history of struggle of materialism against idealism" (Zhdanov, 1947).

Besides the methodological repercussions for Soviet science and procedurals for the participants in the discussion*, there were additional consequences, in particular, the organization of the journal "Questions of Philosophy" for reviving a "musty environment" in some sites on the "philosophical front" (Kedrov, 1998) and the adoption of the CC VKP(b) resolution on the preparation directed by Zhdanov to the benefit of replacing Alexandrov's textbook. The result was a new six-volume "History of Philosophy" (1957-1965).

In the spirit of the covenants of Andrei Zhdanov, the emergence of philosophy in Ancient Greece was presented in this edition as the result of a confrontation of elemental materialism with idealism; confrontation of scientific knowledge as an objective state of affairs - with religion and mythology, which are warped reflections of external natural and social forces in the public consciousness. "Philosophical thought, as weak as can be, is based on knowledge and opposed to blind faith. The birth of philosophical thought is the beginning of the struggle of knowledge against faith," write the authors of the manual, arguing that in the process of this struggle, philosophy, primarily that of Miletus, uncovers "atheistic tendencies" [Dyannik, Iovchuk, Kedrov, Mitina & Trahtenberg, 1957]. The process of the movement of thought from myth to logos is presented as abrupt, and traditional religious ideas and philosophy as mutually exclusive opposites. Thus, in this academic publication the most consistently presented was the gnosiogenous concept of the origin of the philosophy. Politically speaking, that was consistent with the policies of the party on the struggle against religious remnants in Soviet society and perceived apologetics of myth as an ideological weapon against the Communist ideology in a bourgeois social and political thought.

However, at this time, in the late 1950s until the early 1960s, there is a noticeable revival in the Soviet history of ancient Greek philosophy. Dozens, if not hundreds of new scientists arrived that were not satisfied with the outdated dogmatic schemes. Despite the fact that historico-philosophical science remained at the standpoint of Marxism, there appeared a number of original concepts that operated with the Marxist methodology as live and supple material.

Actually, still in the 1920s-1930s, many of the thinkers who matured before the revolution, "quite naturally (and not just for political mimicry) embraced Marxism, giving it, however, a heretical with the official point of view, through their interpretation" (Lektorskij, 1998). Among them, in particular, were the greatest Soviet historians of ancient philosophy, Alexey Losev and Valentin Asmus, who had the highest creative ascent and published their main works during the 1960s.

Yakov Golosovker proposed a brilliant theory on the origin of ancient Greek philosophy, insisting on the predominantly mythological nature of Greek thought. Precisely in myth

* G. Alexandrov escaped with a demotion – he was appointed Director of the Institute of Philosophy, USSR Academy of Sciences.

imagination most fully reveals itself as the superior instinct of cognition, the "imaginative absolute" – "the vital truss to immortality and its guises of constancy and all absolute, without which culture is impossible" (Golosovker, 2010). In myth the Greeks made many discoveries about future science, i.e., "with the means of imagination" they guessed the truth in symbols: "Without experience, without a lab, without technology, without methods of scientific knowledge, they created ideas, idea-forces that govern the world and create culture. Through ideas and images they created fundamental scientific disciplines, while not even knowing what disciplines they were" (Golosovker, 2010).

Golosovker views imaginative absolute as the main, if not sole, source of philosophy, which he does not consider a science, especially nor academic science, but art – knowledge of the meaning of truth and the embodiment of meaning in an image, i.e. semantics. And this does not mean that philosophy is not knowledge: "Philosophy-as-art is precisely knowledge. Philosophy as knowledge distinguishes itself from science in that science discovers laws, while philosophy discovers or, rather, plants the ideas (our italics – M. O.) of those laws that science thereafter discovers" (Golosovker, 2010).

Another consistent supporter of the mythogenous concept of the origin of philosophy is the greatest Soviet specialist in antiquity, Aleksei Losev, author of the eight-volume "History of Ancient Aesthetics" (1963-1994) and dozens of important works on the subject, in which, in particular, an original methodology was proposed for studying the problem of the genesis of philosophy.

Losev sees the socio-historical basis of the emergence of philosophy, as befits a Soviet scientist-Marxist, in the VIII-VI century slave-owning socio-economic structure. However, in his reasoning this is only a starting point. Noting that the "essential connection between classic Greek culture and the slave-holding structure is usually not only regarded as essential, but often all understanding of this connection boils down to stating a simple synchronism of the slave-owning system, with its cultural add-ons" (Losev, 1963), Losev exposes the very principle of slavery to structural-semantic analysis and finds that neither the slave nor the slave owner in this dyad are full-fledged personalities.

A slave is a thing capable of producing practical work. "And inasmuch as slave labor is a substance of the whole living process, in the field of logic we see foremost the matter that is devoid of its own initiative and therefore exists only as the potency expediently generated from life" (Losev, 1989). The slave owner is also not a person, but merely a function, the slave driver, "the impersonal principle of industrial-technical attachment of things to their own elementally-tangible flow" (Losev, 1963), the "impersonal, form-shaping idea" (Losev, 1989). Together, slaveholders and slaves comprise one indissoluble whole, a dialectical unity of ideas and matter, energy and potency. In extreme generalization, here arises the notion of sensual-material cosmos, which exists not only as the union of all things and all ideas, but also as their ideal principle. This cosmos is self-sufficing, it possesses nothing that would be above itself, and "by itself is full of life, soul and thoughts, but nothing personal in and of itself, no driving and intentionally acting subject" (Losev, 1989).

According to Losev, the mythology, which the scientist calls "pre-reflective philosophy", also was originally based on material-corporeal intuitions, inasmuch as all the ideological elements at the stage of the mythology are given in solid and undifferentiated form (Losev, 1989). The philosophy itself begins with their dismemberment, from the positioning of a sensuous-material cosmos as an object of thought (in socio-economic terms this corresponds to the separation of mental and manual labour in a slave-owning society). When the object of thought appears, the thought itself appears "because each thought is thought about something" (Losev, 1989). The construction of the system of abstract categories went, according to Losev, hand in hand with the criticism of anthropomorphism, which was a matrix for communal-tribal relations, rejected by slave society.

However, while denying anthropomorphism, slave-holding thinking does not reject mythology itself. Moreover, in accordance with the author of "History of Ancient Aesthetics," in essence, Greek philosophy gives no new content, only acting as the "avenue for translation of mythic reality into the language of consciousness, mind and thoughts." "Consciousness must re-design myth, designing it by means of reason, thought and concept" (Losev, 1963).

Thus, Losev argues Greek philosophy comes directly from mythology and on the basis of mythology exists for its entire history: "Mythology traveled through of all antiquity, taking... the form of a philosophical cosmos and existence" (Losev, 1963). This fact gave Arseniy Chanysheva reason to call Losev one of the "most consistent representatives specifically of the mythogenous

concept of the origin of the philosophy" (Chanyshv, 1982).

Professor Chanyshv himself, in a dispute between "mytho-" and "gnoseo-" genetics occupied a kind of intermediate position, arguing that Greek philosophy had two spiritual sources: both mythology and science. These two sources he calls the "prephilosophy" – meaning that which immediately preceded the beginning of the genesis of philosophy: "in mythology – is the setting of philosophical issues, although natural and spontaneous, in the rudiments of science is not so much the knowledge as it is the development of thought and the scientific spirit and method" (Chanyshv, 1982). He represents the transition from pre-philosophy to philosophy as ongoing process: "Philosophy did not appear at once, like Athena from the head of Zeus*, it passed a difficult way of formation, separation from the mythological worldview and torpedoed into an emerging science. The emergence of philosophy was a kind of dialectical negation, the "removal" of mythology, which like any dialectical negation included a moment of continuity" (Chanyshv & Mikhailova, 1966).

However, the stated spiritual prerequisites for the emergence of philosophy were a necessary but insufficient condition. For example, in Egypt and Babylonia, whence the Greeks took the principles of science, these prerequisites appeared even earlier than in Hellas, however, philosophy never happened there as the necessary changes of social life did not occur (at this point, we can see that Chanyshv demonstrates loyalty to Orthodox Marxism). Implementing the possibility of philosophy contained in any pre-philosophy is possible only in the presence of suitable economic, social and political conditions. In this case, it is the entire sum of social and economic transformations, which constituted the content of transition from early slave-owning society to a mature one.

Among these revolutionary transformations Chanyshv highlights: 1) a surge in the development of productive forces in connection with the transition to the manufacture of iron instruments (it "increased the possibilities of people, it raised in their own eyes their status in the universe, and it facilitated the expansion of knowledge and development of thought" (Chanyshv, 1982); 2) completion of development of the institution of money to its monetary form ("further development of the division of labour led to the revolution in commodity-money relations, creating the coin as a material embodiment of abstract labour, a tactile abstraction (which contributed to the increase in capacity for abstract thinking at the level of ordinary consciousness, which is underlying both levels of worldview)" (Chanyshv, 1982); 3) the politicization of society, the emergence of the power struggle phenomenon ("the entrance onto the political arena of new classes destroyed the firmness of the ideological tradition. There arose a public demand for a new worldview that responded to the level, lifestyles and the interests of the new classes" (Chanyshv, 1982); 4) the development of foreign trade, which "contributed to the growth of ideological communicativeness, international exchange not only in the realm of goods, but also in the realm of ideas, in which the Aegean culture, being at that time an expanding and burgeoning one, borrowed from Eastern culture primarily rational scientific moments, discarding what was to it an alien religious-mythological shell into which they ossified the priesthood of Babylonia and Egypt" (Chanyshv & Mikhailova, 1966).

One may notice that Chanyshv occupies an intermediate position between the advocates of the autochthonous and Oriental concepts of the genesis of ancient Greek philosophy, rejecting ancient Oriental pre-philosophy in the philosophic, but stating the fact of borrowing known amounts of scientific knowledge in the East. To the "Orientalists," in particular, adjoined Valentin Asmus, author of not only the popular textbook "History of Ancient Philosophy" (1965) but also of the seminal article "Ancient Greek Philosophy" in the Philosophical Encyclopedia, where he noted: "the cultivation of the history of philosophy and the history of science of societies of the Ancient East, especially the research in the last decades, have demonstrated a connection between the origin of ancient Greek philosophy with the philosophy of African and Asian peoples, who, before the Greeks, developed a written language, mythology, elements of sciences about nature and philosophy. Particularly significant was the influence of Babylon, Egypt, Lydia and Persia" (Asmus, 1962).

The Eastern ("Asiacentric," to use Chanyshv's expression (Chanyshv, 1982) hypothesis generally prevailed in Soviet historico-philosophical science of the 1950s and 1960s, which can explain the political course of Soviet party leadership on the rapprochement with third world

* This image, which belongs to Francis Cornford, will be again used multiple times in Russian philosophical literature. See, eg.,: [Cassidy 2003: 125].

countries during that time. The initial, very careful wording about the "beginnings" of philosophy in the Ancient East changed into quite straightforward assertions about the presence of unique, developed philosophical systems in Ancient India, China and even in Egypt, Babylonia and Iran, long before the Greeks. Eurocentrism, one element of which was the thesis of the primacy of Greek philosophy, was rejected as a bourgeois, almost racist ideology, but in its essence the correct position on the regularity of the unity of the world historico-philosophical process was interpreted in a spirit of almost proletarian internationalism.

However, in 1970s-1980s in the Soviet philosophical literature the opposite trend clearly developed. Ones of the proponents of the autochthonous hypothesis was, for example, Leonid Zhmud, who claimed: "the general willingness to associate the origin of Greek science with the transfer of knowledge from the East seems to us unjustified, for it is largely not based on neither reliable historical evidence nor concrete mathematical and astronomical facts" (Zhmud, 1985). Ivan Rozhansky was confident that Eastern achievements in the fields of science and philosophy were completely unknown to the Greeks until the time of Alexander the Great (Rozhansky, 1979). But Feohary Cassidy fervently urged not to multiply entities in search of an explanation for the "dark" fragments of ancient Greek philosophers in myths and religious ideas from the Ancient East, noting: "Perhaps such statement of question is reminiscent of the attempt to solve one unknown problem with the help of another" (Cassidy, 1982).

Note that precisely during this is the time in the West the Oriental hypothesis began to return its former popularity, which was lost in the "age" of Zeller. It was supported by Uvo Hölscher and William Guthrie, Geoffrey Kirk and John Raven. And after the works of Martin West and Walter Burkert were published, the positions of the "Orientalists" in Western history of philosophy became practically unshakable.

Results

Thus, Russian and Soviet historico-philosophical doctrines of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries reveal some opposing approaches to the problem of the origin of ancient Greek philosophy, even those that received at various eras different, historically-associated forms. All these approaches are attempts to provide answers to questions of profound character.

The debate between supporters of the autochthonous and Oriental hypotheses was designed to answer the question: how and where did philosophy first appear? This general question breaks down into several, more specific ones: 1) Could Greek philosophy have occurred without external influences? 2) Is doctrinal purity intrinsic to it? 3) Is it a phenomenon peculiar only for the West? (the question of the "Greek miracle") 4) Did Eastern philosophy actually exist?

Among the adherents of the autochthonous hypothesis includes, as we have seen, A. Herzen, S. Troubetzkoy, and later, L. Zhmud, I. Rozhanskii and F. Cassidy. O. Novitsky and the majority of Soviet philosophers from the 1940s-1960s relate to their opponents—the "Orientalists," whose range of ideas stretched from a simple statement of the presence of different Eastern influences to outright denial of the conceptual specificity of Greek philosophy (it would be more correct here to talk not about distinct doctrines, but about the formal course of Soviet philosophy).

The present issue is related to the problem of the developmental character of forms of social consciousness and, in particular, philosophical thought: is this process gradual and continuous, or is it intermittent? A. Galich, S. Troubetzkoy, and later A. Losev, A. Chanyshv and F. Cassidy, author of the famous book "From Myth to Logos" (1972), relate to the supporters of gradualism of this process. Primarily, representatives of the Soviet school of philosophy of the 1920-1950s, insisted on its spasmodic character.

Another issue solved through the framework of the question of the genesis of philosophy: from what did philosophy spring? That is, 1) Does it exist as a specific form of social consciousness? 2) Did it appear, say, from nothing, or it is associated with earlier forms of worldview? 3) How deep and robust is this connection? 4) Do elements of religion and mythology continue to be present in philosophy at the more mature stages of its development?

In relation to the spiritual sources of Greek philosophy and the possible continuity between philosophy and prephilosophical forms of consciousness, the debate unraveled between adherents of mythogenous and gnoseogenous concepts. The mythogenous (religiogenous) concept is presented in its purest form in the works of O. Nowicki, S. Trubetskoy, J. Golosovker and A. Losev. Gnosiogeny consequently develops in the works of Soviet scientists of the 1920s-1980s.

The "compromise" position is shared by A. Chanyshv from his concept of "pre-philosophy"; A. Bogomolov, writing about the presence of its "initial components" in philosophy — of the myth and the initial scientific knowledge "in skimmed form" (Bogomolov, 1982); and F. Cassidy, who insists on "mutual influence" of these forms of consciousness throughout their development, but not about "the causal relationships between them" (Cassidy, 2003).

And finally, one last question, the answer to which researchers of the problem of the origin of Greek philosophy seek: How and why did philosophy come to exist? 1) What are the conditions for the emergence of philosophy? 2) Which of them are determinant and necessary, and which are concomitant? 3) Is it possible that it could have not occurred at all? 4) Does philosophy possess a class character, and is it possible for philosophy "outside of politics"?

Conclusion

The range of answers to these questions, as we have seen, is very broad, although in Russian and Soviet philosophical thought it lies in the field of sociogenic concepts, according to which a necessary condition of the philosophical change and the birth of philosophy served certain changes in the structure of society. Theories that bring to the fore other conditions (fundamentally ontological, psychological, spiritual, mystical, etc.), appear in Russian thought only at the dawn of the Soviet era.

The described debates in one form or another persist even in our days. And the last period may never be posited on them, because to find a solution to the problem of the genesis of philosophy is to solve the most important question of philosophy: what is philosophy?

References

1. Asmus, V. (1962). Drevnegrecheskaya filosofiya. Filosofskaya entsiklopediya. (Vol. 2): Sovetskaya entsiklopediya, 65-72.
2. Asmus, V. (1976). Antichnaya filosofiya, 543.
3. Batygin G., & Devyatko I. (1998). Delo akademika G. F. Aleksandrova: ehpizody 40-h godov. Filosofiya ne konchaetsya... Iz istorii otechestvennoj filosofii. XX vek. (In 2 books, Book I.:20-50-e gody), 199-217.
4. Bogomolov, A. (1982). Dialekticheskij logos: Stanovlenie antichnoj dialektiki, 263.
5. Cereteli, G. (1902). Doksografiya; Sohranivshiesya otryvki iz sochinenij grecheskih filosofov do Platona. Prilozhenie k: Tanneri P. Pervye shagi drevnegrecheskoj nauki, 3-119.
6. Chanyshv, A., & Mihajlova E. (1966). Ionijskaya filosofiya, 184.
7. Chanyshv, A. (1982). Nachalo filosofii., 184.
8. Dostoevskij, F. (1964). V vospominaniyah sovremennikov. (Vol 2), 520.
9. Dynnik, M. (1936). Ocherk istorii filosofii klassicheskoy Grecii, 272.
10. Dynnik, M. (1955). Materialisty Drevnej Grecii – Geraklit, Demokrit i EHPikur. Materialisty Drevnej Grecii, 5-38.
11. Egunov, A. (2001). Gomer v russkih perevodah XVIII-XIX vekov, 400.
12. Frolov, E. (1999). Russkaya nauka ob antichnosti: istoriograficheskie ocherki, 522.
13. Galich, A. (1818). Istoriya filosofskih sistem po inostrannym rukovodstvam sostavlenaya. (Book 1), 330.
14. Gercen, A. (1985). Pis'ma ob izuchenii prirody. Gercen A. I. Sochineniya (Vol 1), 220-398.
15. Golosovker, Ya. (2010). Imaginativnyj Absolyut. Izbrannoe. Logika mifa, 7-222.
16. Aleksandrova, G., Byhovskiy, B., Mitina, M., & Yudina, P. (1941). Istoriya filosofii. (Vol I): Filosofiya antichnogo i feodal'nogo obshchestva, 492.
17. Dynnik, M., Iovchuk V., Kedrov, B., Mitin M., Trahtenberg O. (1957). Istoriya filosofii. (In 6 Vols, Vol 1), 718.
18. Kamenskij, Z. (2001). Istoriya filosofii kak nauka v Rossii XIX-XX vv., 332.
19. Kedrov, B. (1998). Kak sozdavalsya nash zhurnal. Vopros o novom zhurnale na filosofskoj diskussii 1947 goda. Filosofiya ne konchaetsya... Iz istorii otechestvennoj filosofii. XX vek. (In 2 books, Book I.:20-50-e gody), 286-304.
20. Kessidi, F. (1982). Geraklit, 200.
21. Kessidi, F. (2003). Ot mifa k logosu: Stanovlenie grecheskoj filosofii, 360.
22. Lektorskij, V. (1998). Predislovie. Filosofiya ne konchaetsya... Iz istorii otechestvennoj filosofii. XX vek. (In 2 books, Book I.:20-50-e gody), 3-9.

23. Losev A. (1963). Istoriya antichnoj ehstetiki. Rannaya klassika, 584.
24. Losev A. (1989). Istoriya antichnoj filosofii v konspektivnom izlozhenii, 204.
25. Lyahoveckij, L. (1967). O vozniknovenii filosofii kak specificheskoy formy obshchestvennogo soznaniya. Filosofskie nauki, №4, 73-81.
26. Makovel'skij, A. (1914). Dosokratiki. Pervye grecheskie mysliteli v ih tvorenii, v svidetel'stvah drevnosti i v svete novejsih issledovanij. (Ch. I): Doehleatovskij period, 211.
27. Novickij, O. (1860). Postepennoe razvitie drevnih filosofskih uchenij v svyazi s razvitiem yazycheskikh verovanij. (In 4 ch, ch. II): Religiya klassicheskogo mira i pervaya polovina grecheskoj filosofii, 429 p.
28. Novickij, O. (1860). Postepennoe razvitie drevnih filosofskih uchenij v svyazi s razvitiem yazycheskikh verovanij. (In 4 ch, ch. I): Religiya i filosofiya Drevnego Vostoka, 326.
29. Pchela (1981) Pamyatniki literatury Drevnej Rusi: XIII vek, 486-519.
30. Povarnin, P. (2007). Ot perevodchika. Arnim G. Istoriya antichnoj filosofii, 5-6.
31. Rozhanskij, I. (1979). Razvitie estestvoznaniya v ehposu antichnosti, 488.
32. Trubeckoj, P. (1994). Uchenie o Logose v ego istorii. Sochineniya, 43-480.
33. Trubeckoj, P. (1997). Kurs istorii drevnej filosofii., 576.
34. Trubeckoj, P. (2010). Metafizika v Drevnej Grecii, 589.
35. Vandek, V., & Timosko, V. (1932). Bor'ba Gegelya s materializmom. Istoriya filosofii Gegelya v ocenke Lenina. Gegel' i dialekticheskij materializm, 173-199.
36. Zhdanov, A. (1952). Vystuplenie na diskussii po knige G. F. Aleksandrova «Istoriya zapadnoevropejskoj filosofii» 24 iyunya 1947 g., 48.
37. Zhmud', L. (1985). Pifagor v rannej tradicii. Vestnik drevnej istorii, №2, 121-142.

УДК 1

Русская мысль о происхождении древнегреческой философии

Олег Матвейчев ^{а, *}

^а Национальный Исследовательский Университет, Высшая Школа Экономики, г. Москва, Российская Федерация

Аннотация. Статья представляет собой историографический и теоретический обзор основных концепций генезиса древнегреческой философии в русской и советской философской литературе XIX-XX в. Напоминая, что первые сведения об античном мире появились на Руси еще в X в., автор указывает, что научное изучение древнегреческой философии в России началось лишь в XIX в. Одно из первых оригинальных исследований в этой области принадлежало О. Новицкому, выдвинувшему идею о развитии греческой философии из мифологии и религии более чем за полвека до Ф. Корнфорда и К. Йоля. Эта концепция была творчески развита С. Трубецким, утверждавшим, что философия греков представляет собой особый фазис их религиозных идей.

В советской историко-философской науке доминировал классовый подход, требующий рассматривать философию древних греков как прямое отражение современного им уровня развития производительных сил и идеологию рабовладельцев. Концепции возникновения философии подчинялись требованиям политической конъюнктуры. Так, гносеогенная концепция, согласно которой философия возникла из науки в противовес религии и в борьбе с ней, соответствовала курсу партии на борьбу с религиозными пережитками в советском обществе и апологетикой мифа в буржуазной общественно-политической мысли. А ориентальная гипотеза, акцентирующая восточные влияния на греческую философию, отвечала курсу на сближение со странами третьего мира и критике европоцентризма.

В конце 1950 – начале 1960-х гг. появляется ряд оригинальных концепций, оперирующих марксистской методологией как живым и пластичным материалом. Одним из

* Корреспондирующий автор

Адреса электронной почты: omatveychev@hse.ru (О. Матвейчев)

крупнейших историков философии был А. Лосев, создавший самобытную методологию изучения проблемы генезиса философии. Интересные теории предложили Я. Голосовкер, А. Чанышев, Ф. Кессиди и др. Философские дискуссии приобрели более яркий характер и теоретическую ценность.

Автор подчеркивает, что противоборствующие подходы к проблеме происхождения древнегреческой философии являются попытками дать ответы на вопросы глубинного характера. Дискуссия между сторонниками автохтонной и ориентальной гипотез относительно возможных внешних источников греческой философии призвана найти ответ на вопрос «как и где возникла философия?» Вопрос «из чего возникла философия?» определял содержание полемики между адептами мифогенной и гносеогенной концепций по поводу духовных источников философии. И, наконец, вопрос «как и почему возникает философия?» сопутствовал дискуссии о социальных, онтологических и прочих условиях появления философии.

Автор утверждает, что последняя точка в этих дискуссиях едва ли будет когда-либо поставлена, потому что найти решение проблемы генезиса философии – это и есть решить важнейший вопрос философии: что есть философия?

Ключевые слова: философия, история философии, историография античной философии, мифология, религия, наука, Древняя Греция, генезис философии.