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to hold on to your native land, without which life for you is like the absence of it... But as soon as he was in the saddle and touched the weapon with his hand, an inconspicuous person in the world instantly transformed... Then he was able to do the possible and impossible to take out on someone all the pain, resentment and humiliation of everyday slave existence. Isn't this another explanation for the phenomenon of Bashkir popular uprisings... Here is the testimony of Dekolong, one of the most inhuman pacifiers of the Salavat uprising: "In the saddle, they are like a mad beast and are ready to fight to the last breath..."»

It would seem that after the most terrible suppression of the largest uprising in the history of the Bashkir people, there should have been a long, piercing silence... This happened everywhere and everywhere on earth, because almost no combat-ready men were left alive... However, how do you understand that in a very short time again at the first call of the "white Tsar" they are rushing to the French war? Why don't other Nations do the same?» And what is the author's conclusion? "Participation of Bashkirs in the Russian army in numerous bloody battles with foreign invaders was in the tradition and therefore this tradition was not broken this time... And this is a national quality... there is loyalty to duty and age-old traditions, kindness and easygoing character, a constant fighting spirit of the Bashkir people. It is a pity that such qualities in the "calling" side have always caused no feelings of solidarity and understanding (I'm not talking about any gratitude)... and Imperial neglect" (1, 66-67).

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Immediately after the October revolution, the Bashkir Regional Shuro declares Bashkir autonomy. Again the author asks the question: "Why is it in Bashkortostan, the most backward and "wild" (in quotation marks) outskirts of the Russian Empire, that such an extraordinary revolutionary surge became possible? Where did these young national figures come from, who dared to take on the burden of historical responsibility, speak out on behalf of the entire people and oppose both the Provisional government of Petrograd and its Bolshevik government? I think the answer to this question is given by the history of Bashkortostan and its people. There is no doubt that the Bashkir national movement, headed by members of the Shuro, and led by Akhmetzaki Validov, was an organic continuation of the previous Bashkir uprisings against tsarist oppression, the struggle for national freedom, independence and statehood..." (1, 81).

Thus, Gazim Shafikov's essays, essays, and articles should be considered by the standards of philosophical journalism. Only on this basis is it possible to give an objective assessment of the works of this extraordinary publicist in the field of nonfiction.

Literature

1. Gazim Shafikov. Hooks under the rib. - Ufa: kitap, 1993;
2. Nikolai Berdyaev. Russian idea, Moscow: AST Publishing house, 2000.

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Professor of the Bashkir state University, 2020

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SCIENTIFIC AND METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT RATIONALITY

Abstract.

The work examines the phenomenon of rationality in the academic context of Enlightenment in order to identify the methodological status of the human sciences that are being formed at this time. Based on the well-known thesis about the humanistic direction of the Enlightenment project, the main versions of its genealogy are reconstructed starting from the antiquity, the Renaissance and the Reformation. At the same time, the cross-cutting role of socio-anthropological teachings in the formation of the Enlightenment is established and terminological connections of their historical continuity are tracked. The work argues that freedom as mastering the environment of the own existence through the rationalization of the social sphere and material nature required an appropriate combination of higher spiritual forms and natural methods. The connecting link was the idea of «the natural right» developed into a number of socio-humanitarian and economic concepts with a common denominator of «the natural law» (lex naturalis) of cohabitation, which acted as a social and humanitarian application of the worldview instruction about the priori order in nature. Thus, the conclusion is justified that the ideas of «the natural right» and «the natural law» acquire a program status both for the classical stage of human sciences, and for the Enlightenment project as a whole, which consisted in reproducing human naturalness in the conditions of civilization under the guidance of the mind alone. It was demonstrated the special disciplinary status of political economy which allowed it to coordinate these ideals through the explication of mathematical principles of scientific rationality as universal ones.

Keywords: enlightenment, rationality, natural law, natural right, moral sciences, political economy

The rationality of Enlightenment is an ambiguous subject of research, periodically rethought from positive assessments to negative ones, and vice versa. First of all, this is due to the contradiction between the civil-legal ideals of modern civilization, which have received the initial justification by means of educational reason, and the criticism of the latter as the latest repressive mythology responsible for moral nihilism and political-legal totalitarianism (L. Shestov, M. Heidegger, M. Horkheimer, T. Adorno, A. Glucksman). We are talking about the self-awareness of the Enlightenment mind in the role of «natural radiance» (*lumen naturale*), illuminating all corners of the world from the «dogmatic prejudices» of value forms of consciousness (*міфу, релігії, традиції*), in which they will later retrospectively reveal the means of methodological taming of Nature, which has transferred its natural training to the socio-economic sphere. On the other hand, it was precisely this reduction of being to nature, and the methods of its cognition to the experimental and mathematical method, that initiated the methodological allocation of a number of scientific specialties. However, their formation at this stage is usually represented by separate approaches — historical-scientific and socio-practical, thus requiring to restore the interrelationships of philosophical prerequisites, theoretical concepts and practical tasks of this science during the Enlightenment by means of philosophical reflection. The purpose and tasks of the article are to establish the basic principles for guiding reason in the educational process of civilizational development and to determine the methodological status of socio-economic branches formed during the Enlightenment.

The chronology of the Enlightenment falls mainly on the XVIII century, although researchers often note the synchronicity of its manifestations in different countries due to differences in the pace of their industrial, scientific and bourgeois-political modernization. As a cultural phenomenon, the Enlightenment has mixed foundations, primarily combining the northern European concepts of «the natural right» and British empiricism. The corresponding experience-historical rationality, designed to reflect the laws of the created nature in human history, creates an impulse to popularize bourgeois values, critical free thinking and intellectual omnivore, which is sometimes observed outside of Europe.

As J. Condorcet summed up at the end of the XVIII century, meaningfully this era fed on the achievements of the previous century, but gave them publicity and practical implementation [2, p. 247]. To this day, it is associated with the capital's secular salons, where, through the mediation of writers, the latest achievements of science and philosophy get and become the subject of public discussion of nobles, officials, bohemians, and philosophers. In addition to the direct motivation of demystifying nature or promoting social applications of special scientific knowledge, this tendency to transfer knowledge from the vertical to the horizontal plane was fueled by anti-teleological attitudes in ontology and anti-metaphysical ones in epistemology, which rejected the deductive unity of scientific

knowledge in favor of empirical and instrumental disciplinary encyclopedism. In this regard, it is no coincidence that the 27-volume «Encyclopedie» published by scientists from 1751 to 1772 became famous as proving the claims of the mind to totality: on its pages, the secrets of religion, morality, politics, history, art, trade, etc. turned into laws of nature and their engineering applications expressed in the language of ordinary education. As I. Kant stated that such a scientism is identified with the «adulthood» of humanity – the attitude to use one's own discretion without clerical regulation in order to reach generally significant conclusions in the social and humanitarian spheres of morality, politics, law and management [4].

A century later F. Nietzsche in his work «Human, All Too Human» (1878) notes that the enlightenment process began during the Renaissance, but was constantly hindered by reactionary forces [8]. According to such a pedigree of the educational philosophy, the invention of the press also ensured the universality of sacred texts and, consequently, the conscious religion of the masses as opposed to the institutionalized tradition. A well-known researcher of the German Enlightenment P. Kondylis emphasizes in this awareness the outstanding role of sensuality in its competition with scholasticism (wolfianism) in the spiritual life of a person of that time and unlike F.W. Nietzsche links this initiative with M. Luther [6].

At all events this tendency to convince knowledge of its understanding acquires a social resonance only in the XVIII century, when secular rationality won the right to self-sufficiency in the role of not only the means, but also the goals of all types of practice, including public, where large masses of the «uneducated» population are involved. The enlighteners were supposed to involve their voices to progressive projects of organizing society by freeing the spiritual branches of tradition from the «medieval darkness» and from the spontaneous animal nature of a man, united by a common feature of irrationality. «In so far as the intellectual climates of different epochs can be contrasted, the eighteenth century in Europe was the complete antithesis to the Middle Ages. (...) The earlier period was the age of faith, based upon reason/ In the later period (...) it was the age of reason, based upon faith» [11, p. 71].

Taking into account the ancient «roots» of the Renaissance, the socio-scientific pedigree of the Enlightenment can be extended to the times of ancient Greek sophists, when system-forming efforts and the formulation of empirical rules, grammars, and heuristics began to be seen in works on history, logic, philology, poetics or musicology. However, the genesis of these generalizations is heterogeneous, it is ritual, educational and normative, practical-political, philosophical. Instead, the revival of ancient heritage is marked by the integrity enshrined in the term «humanities». Actually, the beginning of humanism looks like an educational renewal of medieval writing (*trivium*) by ancient rhetoric.

In the XV century, humanists revised Christian anthropology, history, and pedagogy on secular ancient models, and in the XVII century, the doctrine of society and the state finally emerged from under the wing of

scholasticism. Unlike metaphysics at that time, there was no debate about the axiomatics of reasoning: the a priori / a posteriori relationship, which should determine the status of spiritual leadership of communities, here passed into the compromise natural / moral, and the Latin term «humanity» passed into the English «moral sciences». If the «moral» is transferred to the internal individual plan (R. Descartes), then the «natural», on the contrary, is transferred to socially significant practice (N. Machiavelli). At the same time, historical or country studies contribute to the identification of this «natural», and legislative studies contribute to its practical mediation and concretization of moral goals.

The categorical reason for this naturalization of socio-political philosophy was «natural right» (jus naturale), revived from ancient times on the basis of actualization of contradictions between state and religious organizations. As noted by lawyer H. Grotius in the «On the law of War and Peace» (1625), in the conditions of the collapse of «Christendom» it is necessary to be guided by the rational criterion of law, since it fixes the universal rights of peoples to cohabit in a moral order (regarding the occupation of sea or land territories and the use of weapons) and the inalienable rights of individuals to personal interest (regarding self-defense, birth of offspring, freedom of activity and movement, preservation and multiplication of property). Both were known from the «Digesta» and «Institutes» of the Imp. Justinian (VI century) as a normative synthesis of Roman law and the Apostolic concept of «natural law» (since God is not only the creator, but also the legislator, pagans tend to observe the law «by nature»).

For the practical superstructure to "natural right", the concept of «social contract» of Epicurus was used, revived by the authority of his successfully implemented atomism. Almost simultaneously, the «Epicurean priest» P. Gassendi in his *Syntagma philosophicum* (1658) and T. Hobbes in his «Leviathan» (1651) saw the meaning of such an agreement in a compromise between the drives («natural right») and the mind («natural inclination»), which refined both to the ability to see the laws of cohabitation («natural laws»), replacing the absolute autonomy of social atoms (natural freedom). In turn, these laws, expressing historical attachments to the power of the ecclesiastical community or secular monarchy, have a mixed genealogy – both the divine law of Christianity and the natural law of stoicism. For example, T. Hobbes and J. Locke consider that the first of these laws «to strive for peace» corresponds to both the commandments of the God's Book and the common sense precepts.

Being not fully within the discursive framework of the organization of human behavior, the «natural laws» (leges natura) can't be confirmed directly (only their violation turns into God's wrath or distant troubles), and therefore they are not subject to a social obligation. However, after the compilation of positive «human laws» (civil Code, administrative Code, commercial Code and so on), which become obligatory for everybody due to the agreement on the partial alienation of essential internal rights of each individual to the fund

of the whole community (political freedom), «natural laws» will form an unchangeable meaningful «spirit» which will direct their changing «letter» in the vicissitudes of the human history: by analogy with Bacon's understanding of nature, «spirit» can only be comprehended by obeying it via the correct «letter». The truth is that it will soon begin to differentiate, for example, according to territorial and climatic features, as evidenced by «The spirit of law» (1748) by Ch. Montesquieu.

Due to the fact that the understanding of the spirit of the «natural law» is not equally developed among people, its application in the political process requires scientifically armed education of citizens. As J. Cuvier said «give schools before you give them political rights, explain to citizens the responsibilities imposed on them by the state of society, teach them what political rights mean before you let them use them; then all improvements will be made without shocks, then every new idea thrown on a new ground will have time to germinate, grow and mature, without causing convulsions to the social body. Imitate the nature, which acts gradually in the development of ideas and gives time to the strongest of its elements» [10, p. 27].

One ideal of Enlightenment (A. Shaftesbury, F. Hutcheson, J.-J. Rousseau) involves, first of all, negative measures of «liberation from idols» in the hope that one day the mechanism of true human rationality launched from the outside will show its own kindness and constructiveness. After all, any person, due to the new European reduction of his ontology to cognitive abilities, was considered a universal being by its unchanging nature, only his consciousness was overshadowed by a random socio-historical environment, conjuncture, and passions. The second ideal (E. B. Condillac, J.O. Lametri, P.-A. Holbach, K. A. Helvetius, D. Diderot), which deduces from the sensory experience not only the content, but also the cognitive ability, implies positive measures to create a favorable environment for the future citizen. If it is rationally organized – such that it correlates the growth of alienated and inalienable parts of the natural law – each person will imitate socialized natural laws as personal skills.

Thus, both ideals of the educational project are figuratively summed up by J. Condorcet as the affairs of «philosophers» and «economists» [5, p. 215], respectively, and they are aimed at reproducing all the advantages of the «natural state» in the «civil state» one, which is taken as an ontological condition for reducing traditional legal statuses to the egalitarian rights of the «citizen». This process is carried out simultaneously at the levels of personal and collective subjects, stratified into educational activities aimed at bringing the individual will to the class of natural rationality, and state activities aimed at taking out by the mind (reason) the inhibitory contradictions of the institutionalized tradition. The optimistic will to align these levels received a naturalistic guide in the Enlightenment version social and humanitarian field («science de l'homme et de l'organisation sociale»), which overcame the extremes of empiricism and rationalism in the strategic weighing of human pleasure/suffering. In the ethical aspect, this

principle of human behavior is continued in utilitarianism, in the normative – new versions of the «social contract», in the methodological – in the rethinking of scientific reason from logical to mathematical [1].

The defining link in the transition from the specified hedonistic calculation of the expediency of actions in the «science de l'homme et de l'organisation sociale» to the direct imitation of the classical methodology of the mathematical natural science among various factors was political economic thought with its calculation of costs / profits and the transition from the moral and political foundations of management as a visual cycle of wealth exchange to an abstract system of purely industrial relations. Starting from the naturalism of the physiocrats (F. Quesnay, J. Turgot, Mirabeau, Remercier) who distinguished between economic and political will, the leading «island» economists (J. Steuart, A. Smith) at that time begin to interpret the behavior of citizens on a natural psychological basis: the economic interest is understood as a moral flair or dominant restraining passion, ensuring both intrapersonal and interpersonal harmony of goals and passions, just as the «natural laws» of cohabitation curb the «natural freedom» of citizens. At the same time, the economic growth and the distribution of social product appeared to be mechanically balanced by nature (as well as expenses and income, savings and investments, etc.), so the natural desire for personal gain and the realization of one's own talents should maximize the benefits of the entire community, and spiritual values for the economic activity began to look like a dissent to the outdated duties of the subject and parishioner. As noted by the famous philosopher and economist A. Smith about individual, «by pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of the society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it. I have never known much good done by those who affected to trade for the public good» [9, p. 349-350].

In an extremely satirical form, this idea of correlation between economic and social structures was expressed in «The Fable of the Bees» by B. de Mandeville: «private vices — public benefits» [7, p. 21]. A social «hive» that wants prosperity by honest means is doomed to impoverishment, since moral virtues are not socially creative. The common good to which virtues should serve does not so much resolve selfish contradictions between individual «bees» as extinguish the common potential of their nature. At the «bee» level, the taming of natural selfishness and other moral vices is useful only for the sake of other, more expedient, vices, and at the «hive» level, the taming of the vices of ordinary citizens for the sake of those in power. The only question is to invent an ideal formula for mutually beneficial matching of these levels (which real bees have by nature).

Of course, not every political system meets the goals of the «social contract», moreover, educators are looking for the best of them, relying on very different criteria – the public good, liberal law, state guardianship, socialist justice, which provided for opposite ways of practical implementation – via the enlightenment of the monarch (Voltaire, D. Diderot, C. A. Hevetius) or revolution (J. Meslier, J.-J. Rousseau, P.-A.

Holbach). However, considering the universal future, these differences are specific in nature, dictated by regional and cultural-historical vicissitudes. So, for example, J.-J. Rousseau on the basis of Locke's principles of «sovereignty of the people's power» and «everybody's equality before the law» differentiates the «social agreement» into the people's and state levels, and T. Paine refers to them as levels of natural (such as «liberté, égalité, fraternité») and social laws, between which the unilateral transition is declared in the form of a constitution.

It was the establishment of «natural laws» in the denominator of social and humanitarian teachings that became the key to extrapolating to them the instruction of domination over nature successfully embodied in the natural science. After the experience of its implementation in the revolutionary-bourgeois revision of written laws, there were grounds for extrapolation of natural science methods to this branch. Despite all the alienness of the natural science, it, in alliance with Locke's criticism of the cartesianism, allowed these branches to contrast their own accumulated experience with theoretical schemes of metaphysics (sociological and psycho-physiological dualism). The «first swallows» that flew out of the «nest» of moral and political sciences of Modern age were sociology and psychology in the sense of continuing human physiology: from the middle of XVIII century in addition to the academic infrastructure, they imitate the experimental guidelines and «accurate» models of natural science.

Inspired by the deistic deanthroporphism of nature in combination with the pace and breadth of mathematization of natural science, educational scientists hoped to rebuild the entire social and humanitarian sphere (primarily rent, pensions, insurance, voting and protesting at election meetings) on these grounds. In particular, probabilistic calculus, which is necessary to take into account measurement errors in experimental mechanistic natural science, is successfully used by J. Condorcet and P. S. Laplace for demography and jurisprudence in order to revolutionize the separation in their phenomena of human will and natural laws, rational arguments and passionate motives, internal expediency and outside influence, in order, in the end, to master in responsible decisions the harmful effect of chance. As a result of these efforts L.-A. Quetelet, starting from the middle of 1820s, founded the project of the «social physics» on statistically averaged indicators (conclusions). In these quantities, unique personalities are generalized with their random traits perturbing for significant reasons, to a «fictitious being» (l'homme moyen), in which the statistics reveals both established trends and social norms. The birth, death, or number of crimes show in these models repeated indicators from year to year with obvious unpredictability of personal destinies, and at the same time — noticeable shifts after relevant administrative measures. Therefore, it was assumed that the generalization of events and their observations neutralizes, mutually destroys random causes, although, in the second place, the apparatus for calculating errors can be applied to them, establishing regularities of such deviations from the «average» values.

The leadership of economics in such imitation saturated it with naturalism so much that it transferred political economy from the status of «science de l'homme et de l'organisation sociale», related to politics, history and social studies, to the formal abstract sciences – especially after the «marginalist revolution» in the 1870s, when the representation of relations of monetary and economic exchange and production began to exclude non-mathematical components (C. Menger, E. von Bawerrk). Such an economics «...» has recourse to human behavior patterns and a representation that provide its foundation (interest, the search for maximum profit, the tendency to accumulate savings); but, in doing so, it is utilizing representations as the requisite of a function «...» on the other hand, there will be no science of man unless we examine the way in which individuals or groups represent to themselves the partners with whom they produce or exchange, the mode in which they clarify or ignore or mask this function and the position they occupy in it, the manner in which they represent to themselves the society in which it takes place, the way in which they feel themselves integrated with it or isolated from it, dependent, subject, or free; the object of the human sciences is not that man who, since the dawn of the world, or the first cry of his golden age, is doomed to work; it is that being who, from within the forms of production by which his whole existence is governed, forms the representation of those needs, of the society by which, with which, or against which he satisfies them, so that upon that basis he can finally provide himself with a representation of economics itself» [3, p. 384-385].

Conclusions. Rational cognition in the Modern age turned out to be not only a well-known criterion of the truth and a sieve of the ontology, but also a model for ideas about a man and the social life: projections of «common sense» on this sphere were «natural right», «natural law», «social contract». Periodic re-actualization and reinterpretation of these ideas are associated with the historical course of their connotations and the inability, thus, to reach their elementary content outside the internal form. In particular, the framework of Modern age affects the combination of the original legal content of natural law (*veritas, non auctoritas facit legem*) with the socio-political request to replace the dogmatic hierarchy of legal statuses with a rational system of egalitarian rights of the citizen and its methodological support from mechanical reductionism.

The atomistic ontology of the latter affected anthropology as the reliability of only self-awareness and political philosophy as the «natural state» of complete social *separateness* with the naturalistic equalization of people. The first one re-actualized the ancient idea of a social agreement in a new liberal context, the second one allowed applying social agreements to communities of citizens and the laws of their behavior according to the model of alternative hypotheses, among which they choose not morally perfect ones, but practically efficient ones.

Being, on the one hand, an implicated experimental and technological attitude to nature as to an «object» of exclusively actual existence, on the other hand, the *synthesis* of the natural law concepts and social

agreement led to the flattening of the scholastic hierarchy of laws (*lex aeterna / lex naturalis* and *lex divina / leges humanae*) as means of achieving the hierarchy of good and secularization of higher laws in their derived projections. It determined the educational inspiration to sensitize the «free will» (*liberum arbitrium*) as an unstable human palliative of the divine will into a practical palliative of the end-to-end «natural law» by means of expedient reforms of the entire system of traditions with the formation of appropriate social and humanitarian sciences (legal science, social and economic philosophy, political philosophy, history).

In this methodological course, the educational political economy adds its own criterion of rationality to the traditional logical consistency, which provides for the «tightening» of factors of expedient activity according to one of the general characteristics (first by cost, and then by one or another ideal of scientific knowledge), which sets the formal language of this system. This ensures the structural homogeneity of reasoning, the possibility of their calculus and increment, as well as the abstraction from those meaningful properties of factors that cannot be understood exclusively in the context of the goal. In the idealization carried out in this way, the mathematically articulated goal selects factors as a measure of their optimality, and the establishment of a causal relationship with the goal qualifies them as «means». As a measure of disillusionment with the possibilities of market awareness and predictability, this scheme of classical scientific rationality will serve as the basis of the principle of limited rationality (neorationalism of H. A. Simon).

In view of the fact that in the XIX century the social and humanitarian industry began to differentially free itself from imitation of natural-mathematical methods in favor of the higher «practical mind», and its method of understanding (*Verstehen*) in addition to its own ontology of the unique spiritual space will be contrasted with the natural method of «explanation» (*Eklären*), it is possible to further study this innovation as an analog of the first revolution of natural science of the XVII century with its normalization of possible cognitive actions. Even further, in relation to the XX century, in connection with the establishment of non-mechanical natural science and the scientific and technical revolution, the prospect of interpreting the socio-historical dimension of scientific activity as a reverse application of humanitarian «understanding» to natural ontology opens up.

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