

DYNAMICS OF KNOWLEDGE IN THE SEVENTEENTH- CENTURY SWEDISH REALM

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There were intellectual dynamics in the seventeenth century that derived from a certain prevalence of theology in that time. In the last decades of the sixteenth and in the first half of the seventeenth century, at least in the territories of the Holy Roman Empire and in Northern Europe, philosophy was closely connected to theology. The second half of the seventeenth century was widely dominated by juridical thought. It was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that philosophy, in its enlightened form, took over the key role in academic discourses.

The University of Tartu (Dorpat) was established in 1632, just in the middle of this development. It lay at the periphery of Northeastern Europe, and the times were tumultuous. The Swedish king Gustav Adolf signed the foundation document “in meinem Lager in Nürnberg” on 30 June 1632, four months before his death in the battle of Lützen. Sweden had become the leading power in the Baltic Sea – and Estland and Livland played an important role in this context. In 1561, nobility of Estland subjected itself to the King of Sweden. They hoped to escape the Polish (and later the Russian) political claims for their territory; however they simply turned from Polish to Swedish dependency. This was also a decision for the Lutheran confession and against the Catholic Reform after the Council of Trent. Livland was added to the Swedish realm after long struggles with Poland; Riga was conquered in 1621 and Tartu in 1625.

In the case of Tartu, this entailed the rejection of the Jesuits who, in the course of the Catholic Reform after the Council of Trent, had established a gymnasium in 1583 in the very building in Tartu which later became the evangelical university. The new “university” was in fact an academic gymnasium modeled after the then-famous Hohe Schule in Herborn (Hessen-Nassau, Germany), which, in the last two decades of the sixteenth century, had become the prototype of the reformed academies both in the Calvinist and Lutheran territories.¹ In Herborn, the new pedagogical and encyclopedic

¹ Gerhard Menk, *Die Hohe Schule Herborn in ihrer Frühzeit*, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Nassau, XXX (Wiesbaden, 1981).

concept of education was realized; it was established in the second half of the sixteenth century as the Protestant reaction to the very successful Jesuit educational system. The new evangelical gymnasium depended on the logical and humanistic ideas of the French Calvinist philosopher Petrus Ramus, whose strict anti-Aristotelian, philological, and humanistic education was built as the counterpart of the Jesuits' Aristotelianism.

It may be worthwhile to remember that Albrecht von Wallenstein and Axel Oxenstierna, the most important generals in the Thirty Years' War, were born in 1583, in this period of late humanism. That was the period when the juridical manifesto of early absolutism in France was published: Jean Bodin's *Six livres de la République* (1576).

The king's pious Protestant teachers

In the last decades of the sixteenth century, the religious situation in Sweden tended towards strict Lutheranism. In 1593, the National Council of Uppsala united the religious parties in Sweden against the Catholic Counter-Reformation. It is obvious that Sweden began, always in competition with Denmark, to establish itself as the leading Protestant power in Northern Europe. A year later, on 9 December 1594, Gustav Adolf was born in Stockholm. From 1602 on he was systematically educated as a Protestant prince – this meant using a Ramistic pedagogy, with an anti-Aristotelian, encyclopedic concept of art and science. However, in politics, it was an education that respected the rules and the peculiar constitutions of the Swedish reign. Gustav Adolf's teacher in politics and political philosophy was Johann Schroderus (1577–1645), who had studied at several German universities and had taught as a Master at the Calvinist University of Marburg and at the Academic Gymnasium in Kassel,² both leading Ramist high schools. In 1602, he was appointed tutor of the crown prince. In 1604, Schroderus was ennobled and given the name of Skytte. In his official function, Skytte published his pedagogical "prince's mirror": *Een kort Underwijsing: Uthi huad Konster och Dygder Een Furstigh Person skall sigh öfwe och bruke* (1604). Later Skytte reformed the University of Uppsala, of which he became the rector in 1622. It was he who persuaded Gustav Adolf

² Helmut Piirimäe, "The origin, background and significance of the Charter", *Diploma Foundationis Academiae sive Universitatis Dorpatensis: Gründungsurkunde der Universität Dorpat = Stiftelseurkund för Dorpats Universitet*, ed. by Raik-Hiio Mikelsaar (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 2005), 55.

in 1632 to establish the University of Tartu in the place of the former Jesuit gymnasium, which existed here under Polish rule between 1583 and 1601.

Johannes Bureus (1568–1652), the second important teacher of the young Gustav Adolf, was especially interested in natural philosophy. He never became a successful politician; he was a scholar of the mysteries of Creation. His natural philosophy was rather representative for the beginnings of sixteenth-century Protestantism in Sweden, as well as in the Holy Roman Empire. Natural philosophy was then dominated by the Paracelsian movement, named after the German philosopher, theosophist, and medic Theophrastus Bombastus Paracelsus. Along with Paracelsus, Bureus believed in the ideas of a spiritualized nature, in the instantly imminent eschatology, and in the victory of the Protestant world over the powers of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. He also trusted in the prophecies that foresaw the decline and fall of the house of Habsburg. In his research of the original Adamic language, Bureus interpreted the Runeic alphabet and the Runeic inscriptions as documents of this paradisaical Adamic language, which he believed to be the one to which the ancient Goths had access.³ He was convinced of the politico-theological ideas of the Rosicrucians,⁴ and he contributed to that intellectual turmoil with two pamphlets. From him, Gustav Adolf received his faith in the prophetic meaning of the Bible, in which the royal student believed all his life. It was based on this belief that Gustav Adolf, when he entered the Thirty Years War in 1630, coined medals with his portrait and the prophetic subscription “Lion of the North”.

In this two-fold education, the specific combination of Gustav Adolf’s conviction was established. From Johan Skytte he received the idea of rational, practical, and pious education after the Ramistic method. From Bureus came his belief in biblical, natural, and prophetic truths according to the concept of *Physica Mosaica*. This included the idea that natural science as well as the history of salvation was to be found in the Bible.

In Gustav Adolf’s youth, Johann Skytte’s and Johannes Bureus’ educational attempts were sharply anti-Catholic; this was due to the specific situation in Sweden. Gustav Adolf’s father, the duke of Södermanland who later became king, only won the Swedish throne because he shaped himself as an ardent anti-Catholic. By all means, he wanted to hinder his Catholic Polish nephew Sigismund III, who was the legal heir, from acceding to the

³ Johannes Bureus, *Monumenta veterum Gothorum in patria* (1602); *Runa ABC-boken* (1611); *Monumenta Svegothica Hactenus Exculpata* (1624); *Adulruna Rediviva*.

⁴ Johann Bure, *Ara foederis theraphici F. X. R. assertioni fraternitatis R. C. quam roseæ crucis vocant, consecrata* [2nd print Magdeburg 1618].

Swedish throne.⁵ Gustav Adolf's father was first regency governor (1594) and was elected King Charles IX by the Lutheran estates in 1603. The Catholic Polish king Sigismund remained the Protestant Swedish kings' deadly enemy throughout their lives. It may be worthwhile to remember that the Protestant Swedish king Gustav Adolf's daughter Christina, Queen of Sweden, converted to Catholicism in 1654.

Gustav Adolf's academic reforms

Gustav Adolf was elected King in 1611 (at 17 years of age) and Axel Oxenstierna became Chancellor of the Swedish realm in 1612. Together with his young Chancellor, Gustav Adolf granted the privileges of the nobility and began his reforms of the realm. He started with the army. Based on the model of the Netherlands, Gustav Adolf's army became the prototype of a holy army, and his reforms were imitated later in the English Civil War by Cromwell's troops. Secondly, he began to reform schools and universities according to the new Ramist pedagogical method. In addition to Skytte, Gustav Adolf later was advised by the great Czech philosopher and pedagogue Jan Amos Comenius.

The first object of Gustav Adolf's and Skytte's scholarly reform attempts was the University of Uppsala. In 1622, Skytte became rector of this venerable institution, which had been founded in 1477 and was thus the oldest university in Northern Europe. Skytte began his reforms quickly, but was not very successful. That may be one of the reasons why he suggested that the king establish a second university within the Swedish reign – the one in Tartu. It was according to Skytte's plans that the *Gymnasium Academicum* resp. *Universitas Dorpatensis* was founded in 1632. The "Diploma Foundationis" states: "As we hold that our duty is to increase our Royal clemency every day, we have at the humble request of the above mentioned Master Johannes Skytte, etc. found it appropriate to nominate, constitute and erect in that town of Dorpat an Academy or University, where general studies would flourish in every permitted faculty, namely in the faculties of Theology, Jurisprudence, Medicine and the liberal arts, and in accordance with the present letter we arrange that it will last now and forever and it will be a plenteous source of learning, from which everyone wishing to share in the glory of erudition can obtain knowledge."⁶ The university should be

⁵ The Catholic House of Vasa reigned in Poland from 1587–1668.

⁶ *Diploma Foundationis Academiae sive Universitatis Dorpatensis*, 32; Latin, p. 16: "Cum autem existimaverimus nostrarum [i.e. Regis Suecorum Gustavi Adolphi] esse partium, clementiam Regiam indies augere, ad humillimas preces praefati Dni Joannis Skytte,

financed by donations in Ingria. Its focus was, in accord with the concept of the Ramistic academia, the faculty of liberal arts. The plan was that there were two professors of theology, two of jurisprudence, two in medicine; the faculty of liberal arts however, should have ten chairs: one in politics, one in ethics, one in physics, one in history, one in Hebrew and oriental philology, one in Greek philology, one in rhetoric, one in logic, one in poetry.⁷

Philosophia perennis and the idea of encyclopaedic knowledge

In Tartu, as in the other Protestant academies in the first decades of the seventeenth century, the domination of theology was especially high because of the eschatological ideas which occupied large parts of the Protestant politics and theology. The most important theologico-political movement was that of the Rosicrucians. According to their ideas, the Protestant pattern of knowledge in the first decades of the sixteenth century was dominated by two key concepts. First, the Bible contained in principle all knowledge be it historical, theological, or physical. This is the idea of knowledge that was known to the Renaissance period as *philosophia perennis*. It is exactly this pattern in which Bureus' erudition fits. Second, this concept of biblical encyclopedic wisdom is pedagogically administrated by the Ramistic logic and pedagogy. It was Johann Skytte who supported this anti-Aristotelian concept of reformed education that dominated the reformed Calvinistic and Lutheran universities in the end of the sixteenth century.

The concept of perennial philosophy, which shaped Johannes Bureus' ideas and which (beneath scholastic Aristotelianism) remained a leading structure of knowledge in the first half of the seventeenth century until Descartes' ideas became fashionable, can be characterized as follows: *philosophia perennis* reconstructs the stages of God's self-revelation into his creation and displays at the same time the concept of the unity between philosophy and theology. Every philosophy is revealed, in so far as it is part of God's creation. It was concentrated in Renaissance philosophy, but its influence reaches far beyond that period.

etc. in eadem civitate Dorpatensi Academiam sive Universitatem, in qua studium vigeat generale, in qualibet licita facultate, utpote in Theologiae, Iurisprudentiae, Medicinae, et artium liberalium facultatibus, nominandum, constitutendam, et erigendam dignum duximus, et tenore praesentium facimus et institutum, temporibus perpetuis duraturum, fiatque ibi fons doctrinarum irriguus, de cuius plenitudine hauriant universi, literarum cupientes imbui ornamentis."

⁷ *Ibid.*, 22f.

The concept has its roots in the theological and philosophical traditions of the Greek and Latin Church Fathers who combined the Judeo-Christian revelation with philosophical patterns deriving from Platonism. Platonic thoughts are used for the apologetic purpose of stabilizing the concepts of revelation through philosophical ideas. The frame of *philosophia perennis* was a biblical one; the whole concept depended on Philo's of Alexandria's interpretation of the Adamic language. This language was considered by Philo to be the insight into the essence of things God offered to Adam in paradise, and this concept was interpreted as the theological sense of the Platonic doctrine of ideas. Judeo-Christian spirituality thus dominated every attempt of establishing a philosophy independent from revelation. Platonic and especially Neoplatonic patterns played a key role insofar as they could be adopted into the Judeo-Christian idea of creation.

Seen from a modern view of philological historicism, this was, of course, a syncretistic movement, for it adopted and assimilated the historical topics available into its theologico-philosophical system. The working idea of perennial philosophy is that all possible wisdom stemmed from God's original paradisaical revelation, and no human philosophy independent from this origin was conceivable. This idea included the original unity of theology and philosophy, and it founded a Platonizing Christianity. The leading idea was always that there was no difference conceivable between theology and philosophy. This is the reason why the ancient and medieval Aristotelian traditions, including medieval scholasticism, never took part in the concept of *philosophia perennis*.

In the philosophy of the Renaissance, this patristic idea of the unity of theology and philosophy was adopted as *philosophia perennis*. The first who described it comprehensively was Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa. Dependent from him, Marsilio Ficino and Giovanni Pico tried to re-establish a pious philosophy (*philosophia pia*). In their footsteps, the Vatican librarian Steuco wrote his *De perenni philosophia* (1540), which provided the name of the whole theologico-philosophical movement. Especially since Pico, Reuchlin, and Ricius, the tradition of Jewish Kabbala was adopted into the framework of this theo-philosophy, and from Renaissance time on it played an important role especially in Christian traditions. Giorgio Veneto, Agrippa von Nettesheim, Paracelsus, Giordano Bruno, Robert Fludd, Jakob Böhme, Johann Amos Comenius, Athanasius Kircher, Christian Knorr von Rosenroth, and Henry More are important authors of this tradition in early modern times, and it is to this pattern that Johannes Bureus, Gustav Adolf's teacher, belongs.

The concept of the Christian perennial philosophy entailed three main topics: Logos-theology, *Physica Mosaica*, and the history of salvation. Logos-theology has as its core the idea that God created the world through his word and that human beings are in his image, because they understand his word and therefore the structure of the world. So mankind is the microcosm that mirrors the macrocosm. These ideas of cosmic anthropology played an important role in Protestant erudite piety. This is evident in Johann Arndt's very successful Lutheran Volksbuch *Vom wahren Christentum* (1610).

Physica Mosaica is the idea that since God created the world through his word, everything was called by its name in order to come into real extramental existence. *Physica Mosaica* tried to find out the structure of the world by interpreting the Bible, especially the Book of Genesis. The aim of these endeavors was to rediscover God's creative language, which was understood by the paradisaical Adam, the *lingua Adamica*. Bureus' idea that the Runes were examples of the original Adamic language is part of a larger movement that tried to find the language of creation. So the idea that the world was created by God's word was the reason for the philological research which made the Runes theologically interesting.

The biblical framework also provided the concept of the history of salvation. This biblical "theology of time" entails a concept of world time and world history. The time of the world – that is every meaningful concept of time – begins with the creation and ends with the apocalypse – Christ's last appearance and the last judgment. The eschatologists of the late seventeenth century, and especially the Protestant prophets during the Thirty Years' War, foresaw the end of the Holy Roman Empire as it was dominated by the House of Habsburg. The Habsburgs were the chief enemy of all Protestant parties, be it Calvinist or Lutheran, orthodox or theosophical.

The representatives of the universal *philosophia perennis* saw themselves as administrators of God's wisdom so far as it was revealed in the Holy Scriptures and in the human mind. The abundance and perfection of wisdom had been revealed to Adam in paradise; only he had the original knowledge of the world's essences. In the perennial course of philosophy, this knowledge was transmitted through the centuries, and the only real wisdom about the world derives from the original divine revelation. Therefore the tradition of this original wisdom was essential for the concept of *philosophia perennis*. It had the same structure as the biblical revelations and as all revealed religion: it needed a continuous tradition to be actually known. This is the reason why the continuity of biblical wisdom had to be guaranteed by the historiography of the Church Fathers and

the historians of perennial philosophy. This concept of ideal paradisaical wisdom still played an important role in the baroque encyclopedic movement. Johann Heinrich Alsted, the most important encyclopedist in the early seventeenth century, and his student Comenius still tried to regain the Adamic language as a key to universal wisdom.

In the idea of the encyclopedic knowledge, Ramistic logic and pedagogy join with that of *philosophia perennis*. Petrus Ramus (Pierre de la Ramée, murdered during the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572) had developed a peculiar logic, which he called "method". His idea was that, by the operations of invention and disposition, the universal field of knowledge could be divided into small pieces that should be administered by different scholarly disciplines. The key idea comes from Cicero's rhetoric, and the method was as follows: first, one had to collect all items and topoi of knowledge which were available for a certain purpose; second, one had to make sure that this field of knowledge was completely covered. This was the part of the Ramistic method of definition and division that worked according to three principles: the broadest definition (*katholou proton*), this definition excluded all inventions which were not part of that specific field (*kath' auto*), and within this field all key notions had to be collected (*kata pantos*).

To give an example for this methodical treatment of a field of knowledge, the very influential Calvinist political philosopher in the early seventeenth century, Johannes Althusius, wrote a textbook – *Politica methodice digesta* – which was first published in 1603 and which was reedited in many editions up to the Thirty Years' War. It was well known to Johann Skytte when he established the first academic chair for political science in 1622 in Uppsala. As for the Ramistic method, the encyclopedic scheme is interesting.

The key definition is: "Politics is the art of associating (*consociandi*) men for the purpose of establishing, cultivating, and conserving social life among them."⁸

What emerges is the complete definition of the field of political theory. This field is systematically investigated so that it can be taught as "political theory". The same is possible with philology, theology, history, medicine, grammar, and all academic and scholarly disciplines. First, the topoi of a field of knowledge are collected. In a second step, this field is ordered in subdivisions that can be used pedagogically so that one can teach every student some parts of that universal knowledge.

⁸ Johannes Althusius, *Politica*, ed. and trans. by Frederick S. Carney (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1995), 17.

This encyclopedic universal knowledge was also incorporated into the framework of *philosophia perennis*. Encyclopedic knowledge from Petrus Ramus with Johann Heinrich Alsted and Johan Amos Comenius should be taught to perfect human piety, since one saw the marvels of God's creation. In the eyes of pious Protestant encyclopedic scholars, who were at the same time political theologians, the perfection of knowledge was the precondition for God's last coming and for the end of the Catholic suppression of the faithful Evangelical churches and denominations. They believed that when all knowledge grounded in the Adamic language was listed in their encyclopedias, the time would be fulfilled for the 1000 years reign of the believers.

The rise of jurisprudence and political science

In the course of the Thirty Years' War, the idea of the coming divine kingdom lost more and more of its credit. Both parties in the war – the Catholic-Habsburg and the Protestant-Swedish – no longer believed in the religious aims of the war. The decisive theo-political shock for the Swedish and Protestant party was the death of Gustav Adolf near Lützen in 1632, and the battle of Nördlingen in 1634. The theological hopes of the Catholics, if they ever believed at all in that political theology, fell completely with Wallenstein's murder and with the Peace of Prague in 1635. After that Peace, the Protestant Swedish king collaborated with the Catholic French one, and the Protestant electors of Saxony and Brandenburg formed an anti-Swedish alliance with the Catholic Habsburg emperor. The churches and their political theology were completely discredited.

Since philosophy and theology were closely tied together in the Rosicrucian and Paracelsian theories and since they were part of the Protestant propaganda, there was only one discipline of ideological dimensions that remained a candidate – Jurisprudence. The jurists, especially the state jurists, were not loved. There was even a harsh theological polemic against the "politicians", as they were called, but they were respected. With their doctrines, the connection between state law and natural law became successful. It was due to their intellectual authority that at the end of the Thirty Years' War the most important intellectual measure-stick was no longer religion (be it Catholic or Protestant Lutheran/Calvinist), but peace and wealth. This change of priorities included that the state was estimated as the master and sovereign of the religions parties.

There were two works that especially dominated the discussion in state law and jurisprudence in the end of the sixteenth and the beginnings of the seventeenth centuries, namely Bodin's *Six livres de la République* and Johannes Althusius' *Politica methodice digesta*. They were directed against each other. Bodin's *République* was the first theory of a sovereign absolute kingdom; Althusius' *Politica* was the theory of a constitutional reign based on institutions which, for him, had the right to establish a magistrate. The magistrate, for its part, elected the king and had the right to release the supreme servant of the state. This is exactly what happened when the Swedish Riksständer, under the leadership of the Duke of Södermanland, denied the legal heir of the Swedish throne, namely Sigismund III, the king of Poland, to become king of Sweden. Instead they elected Charles IX, the father of Gustav Adolf. Althusius' theory of politics granted the "old rights" of the estates, namely those of the nobility and the citizens. This theory described the order of government and administration in Gustav Adolf's reign, and the councillor Johann Skytte taught his royal student these political principals.

Homogeneity of religion was the precondition for this concept of politics. The idea was one of a mixed constitution; it included elements of monarchy, democracy, and aristocracy. However, it was no theory for times of crises. It was a theory for times of peace, and here the German Holy Roman Empire, with its stiff institutions and long methods of decision-making, could well be compared with the Swedish parliament that claimed for itself the right to elect a king and confirm his kingdom. Here it was crucial that the religious and confessional tool of the institutions was homogenous. The Swedish National Council in Uppsala had corroborated this doctrine and had rejected all attempts to return Catholicism to Sweden, as Sigismund III and the Catholic branch of the House of Vasa tried to attain. This was the reason why Gustav Adolf's father had become king and this was the precondition of Gustav Adolf's own kingship.

The ideas of mixed constitution were part of Protestant propaganda before and during the Thirty Years' War. The protestant parties pretended to defend the "old liberties" against all tendencies of "absolutism" which, in Protestant propaganda, was mostly identified with the king of Spain (and the House of Habsburg as a whole). So here again, even in politics, the Protestant and therefore the theological propaganda played a key role – and it was especially this Protestant anti-Habsburg and anti-Spanish propaganda that opened for Gustav Adolf the doors of the Protestant cities in the German Empire between 1630 and 1632. The establishing of the

University of Tartu in 1632 fell into the time of an optimistic political theology, which collapsed with the King's sudden death. Three years after the invasion, the credit of the Protestant political theology was exhausted in the German Empire, and that was more or less also the case in the Swedish court. The decomposition of the theological frame, even in the Swedish territory, during the Thirty Years' War was obvious. Jurisprudence became the leading discipline; philosophy was marginalized as a natural science.

The University of Tartu took part in these political and scientific dynamics. It shifted from a theologically-dominated Ramistic educational system to a more or less secular one. Scholarly treatment of politics played an important role in Johann Skytte's reform-concept of the University of Uppsala, where, in 1622, he established a professorship of political science that still exists in Uppsala. The symptoms that make it obvious that theology, as the leading discipline, lost its political relevance to jurisprudence are all connected to the Swedish reign.

Grotius's and Pufendorf's natural law

Hugo Grotius was Swedish Ambassador in Paris from 1635 to 1644. In 1644, he was ordered by the freshly crowned Queen Christina⁹ to come to the royal court in Stockholm – Grotius died on his way back to France in 1645. It was the jurist Grotius who negotiated the coalition with the Catholic French King Louis XIII (especially his Minister Cardinal Richelieu) and the Lutheran Swedish crown (especially the Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna). Grotius was not only a liberal Calvinist whose belief, for Protestant orthodox measures, was very weak, he was peculiarly the author of the very influential book on *De iure belli ac pacis* (The rights of war and peace), which was printed in Paris in 1625.

In that work, well known to the Swedish Court, Grotius treats in three books the definitions of war, the questions of property, and of the rights connected to the Aristotelian "Great House". Here he sketches the key political idea of noble estates dwelling in a "mixed constitution", that is a constitution which has elements of aristocracy and monarchy. He also discusses the right of war, i.e. its good and bad reasons, righteous behavior in war, and the aim of war, which is, as Aristotle defines it, peace. This

⁹ *1626, elected Queen in 1632 (with her father's death); she reigned independently (from Oxenstierna) from 1644 on, she resigned the throne and converted to Catholicism in 1654, she died in Rome in 1689.

very influential book does not deal at all with questions of religion; it only treats juridical questions.

When in 1654 Christina of Sweden converted to Catholicism, she resigned the throne. Axel Oxenstierna negotiated the succession, and the House of Palatinate-Zweibrücken gained the Swedish crown. Charles X (1655–60) immediately began war with the Danes and the Poles. He conquered Scania, and his successor Charles XI founded the University of Lund. He appointed the most important German jurist, namely Samuel Pufendorf (1632–94), to the chair of natural law. It was in Lund that Pufendorf developed his concept of natural law that was independent from biblical theology. He unfolded the concept of moral personality in the early modern era in his magisterial textbook *De iure naturae et gentium* (On the law of nature and peoples, 1672) and in his *De officio hominis et civis* (On the duties of a man and citizen, 1673). His definitions were of substantial influence in the European Enlightenment.

Pufendorf acquired the medieval ideas of the free, individual person as defined by Thomas Aquinas, and combined them with ancient Latin and especially Stoic traditions.¹⁰ Natural reason was identified with human reason; and, as far as it was connected to morality, they constituted human moral consciousness – this is the doctrine of *entia moralia*. Pufendorf considered these moral beings as practical ideas of consciousness, or “seeds of morality”, which were part of every man’s practical reason. His key idea was that all human beings have a natural knowledge of human duties and rights. Those moral ideas were a common measure of all free human acts, and they could be realized throughout in human history. Pufendorf identified three groups of innate ideas that had the character of duties: duties towards God, duties towards oneself, and duties towards fellow men.

The duties towards God, which he defined in his compendium *On the duties of a man and citizen*, corresponded to the doctrines of natural religion, which was understood as monotheism. He believed that God, the perfect being, had created the world and that he reigns it. Religious duties corresponded to this belief. For Pufendorf it was a natural human duty to give God the honor, to obey him, and to worship him. Duties towards God, which obliged everybody, had their counterpart in the right that the freedom of worshipping God must be granted by a legitimate state to all persons.

¹⁰ Also here he could rely on Thomas Aquinas who, in the *Summa Theologiae*, 2, II, Qu. 96–100 dealt very influentially with natural law.

The first part of the duties towards oneself concerned the soul, the second the body. As for the soul, the duties towards oneself included the will to become a virtuous person, striving for material goods, and a civil life according to the usual habits. That includes, as Pufendorf focuses, “amusement and delight” (*Belustigung und Ergötzlichkeit*)¹¹ in civil communication, the right and the duty of education, knowledge and practice in fine arts. All these duties towards oneself are at the same time rights that everybody must be granted in a civil society. Pufendorf is especially interested in the realm of that sociability (*sociabilitas*), and he realizes that man, the “social animal”, is the only living being able to create a pleasant lifestyle for himself.¹² As for the body, the rights and duties encompass the procuring of corporeal life and health and self-defense. All these duties and rights, whether they concern the soul or the body, must be warranted by the state, according to natural law.

The three duties of man towards his fellow beings derive from Roman law. Pufendorf defines them as follows: to injure nobody (this right corresponds to that of corporeal entirety); moral prescription (that every human being should consider others as equal¹³) – with this moral precept Pufendorf emphasizes the equality of all citizens before God, with the consequence of this human right consisting in the juridical equality of all men before the law; and subsidiarity (every man is obliged to promote the other’s commodity as far as he can¹⁴).

If one regards this program of personal rights and duties, it is obvious what Pufendorf meant by moral entities. He saw these moral laws as constitutive for his concept of the “moral person”. He believed everybody was able to follow these laws of nature. Moral entities could be considered as values, and they were the moral rules of consciousness that shaped everyone’s morality. The definition of the inner realm of practical philosophy, which was defined in the school of natural law, opened a sphere of morality that obliged every man, in so far he was free, that he was responsible for his actions, and therefore a moral person.

But Pufendorf was not only an advocate of civil society. He saw that civil society clearly separated from Protestant (and of course Catholic)

¹¹ Samuel Pufendorf, *De officio hominis et civis* (London: Junghans, 1673), 1,4.

¹² Cf. Samuel Pufendorf, *De iure naturae et gentium* (London: Junghans, 1672), II, 3, §15: “Nam etiam ideo animal sociabile hominem diximus, quod homines mutua commoda, magis quam ullum animantium, promovere idonei sunt; sicuti & contra nullum animal plus commodi ab homine experiri potest, quam ipse homo”.

¹³ Pufendorf, *De officio*, I, 7: “De agnoscenda naturali hominum aequalitate”.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 8, §1: “Ut quilibet alterius utilitatem, quantum commode potest, promoveat”.

orthodoxy, although in his later years he approached pietistic ideas.¹⁵ He was also an outspoken enemy of any state that was decentralized and relied on the rights of the estates. Although Pufendorf remained Aristotelian insofar as he supported sociability among the citizens, he did not support the feudal system of separated rights for the nobility, the clergy, the citizens, or the peasants. On the contrary, already in his *De statu Imperii Germanici*, Pufendorf emphasized that the federal state-system of the Holy Roman Empire did not fulfill the criteria for a modern state and its strict administration. Therefore he supported the idea of a strong king. His political doctrine was to support both the free realm of the citizens and the power of the king. That included the weakening of all intermediary powers such as nobility and clerics who claimed their own old rights independently from the state. That is why Pufendorf, in 1680, supported Charles XI's rise to absolute power by marginalizing the Diet with its representation of the traditional estates.

The predominance of politics over theology and philosophy is obvious. With the absolute power of the king and the realms of freedom for the citizens, the key role of theology (and philosophy as far as it was combined with theology) had disappeared. As for philosophy, it was not until 1730/40 that, with Christian Wolff's victory over the Pietists in Halle, that it became the leading discipline in German universities. By that time, the Swedish era of the University of Tartu had already been finished for more than a decade.

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¹⁵ Samuel von Pufendorf, *Ius feciale divinum sive de consensu et dissensu protestantium* (Lübeck, 1695).

KOKKUVÕTE: *Teadmiste areng 17. sajandi Rootsi kuningriigis*

Luterliku ülikooli avamine Tartus jesuiitide poolt 1583. aastal rajatud gümnaasiumi kohale oli luterluse vastukäik katoliiklikule reformile pärast Trento kirikukogu ning vormistas lõplikult Liivimaa liitmise Rootsi kuningriigi koosseisu. Ülikool, mis kujutas endast tegelikult pigem akadeemilist gümnaasiumi, lähtus prantsuse kalvinistliku filosoofi Petrus Ramuse ideedest, kelle filoloogilis-humanistlik pedagoogika oli ülesehitatud vastandina jesuiitide aristotelismile.

Nii Tartus kui ka teistes protestantlikes akadeemiates domineeris 17. sajandi esimestel kümnenditel teoloogia. Kõike olulisemaks teoloogilisi poliitiliseks liikumiseks oli roosiristlaste salaühing, kelle õpetus tugines arusaamale, et Piibel sisaldab põhimõtteliselt kõiki teadmisi – nii ajaloolisi, teoloogilisi kui ka füüsikalisi (nn *philosophia perennis*). See sobitus rootsi õpetlase Johannes Bureuse *Physica Mosaica* kontseptsiooniga. Neid teadmisi anti edasi ramistliku loogika ja pedagoogika abil, mida toetas ka Tartu ülikooli rajamise initsiaator Johan Skytte.

Perennialismi esindajad nägid end pühakirjas ja inimõistuses leiduva Jumala tarkuse administraatoritena. Ideaalse paradiisliku algteadmise kontseptsioon mängis tähtsat osa ka barokiajastu entsüklopedismi traditsioonis. 17. sajandi alguse tähtsaim entsüklopedist Johann Heinrich Alsted ja tema õpilane Comenius üritasid taastada Aadama keelt kui võit universaalse tarkuse juurde.

Ramistliku meetodi eesmärgiks oli täielikult katta mingi teadmiste valdkond, kogudes selleks kokku kõik teemad, mis vastava teadmisväljaga seonduvad, ning jaotades need süstemaatiliselt alamklassidesse. Sellise lähenemise näiteks on Johannes Althusiuse käsiraamat *Politica methodice digesta* (1603), mis oli hästi tuntud ka Skyttele. Althusius defineeris poliitika kui ühiskondliku elu loomise, arendamise ja säilitamise kunsti, mida tuleb õpetada süstemaatiliselt kui “poliitilist teooriat”. Samasugust süstemaatilist lähenemist peeti vajalikuks ka teistes distsipliinides.

Kolmekümneaastase sõja ajal on märgatav teoloogilise raamistiku lagunemine, mille tagajärjel sai juhtivaks distsipliiniks õigusteadus ning filosoofia marginaliseerus loodusteaduseks. Karl XI ajal pääsesid maksvusele Samuel Pufendorfi ideed, mis käsitlesid loomuõigust lahus Piibli teoloogiast. Pufendorf määras ära kolme liiki kohustused: Jumala ees, enda ees ja teiste inimeste ees. Ta uskus, et inimesed kui moraalsed isikud on võimelised loomuseadusi järgima. Pufendorf oli nii kodanike vabaduste kui ka tugeva kuningavõimu pooldaja. See eeldas vahepealsete tasandite,

nagu aadli ja kiriku iseseisva võimu, kärpimist. Seetõttu toetas Pufendorf Karl XI absolutistlikku pööret 1680. aastal. Sellega kadus teoloogia ja teoloogiaga seotud filosoofia võtmeroll ülikoolides.