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Translations of J.H.G. von Justi in the Age of Catherine the Great

Policey and Glückseligkeit as *Blago*

Some years ago I was taken aback when I encountered the sumptuous four-volume edition of *Grundfeste zu der Macht und Glückseligkeit der Staaten*, published in Saint Petersburg during the 1770s.¹ These magnificent tomes have lasted very well. For two and a half centuries the pages have remained pristine, the print legible, and the colours vivid; even the gilding on the covers is impeccable. Every version of this edition that I subsequently saw bore no traces of previous readers, devoid of marking or comment. These books are curious artifacts, inviting exploration.

During the reign of Catherine the Great there was a flurry of translations of legal, political and economic treatises. In a society whose educated members were fluent in French and German, a concerted effort was also made to make available an array of translations for a prospective audience that did not yet exist. Despite the sheer quantity of translations published, however, their significance for educational purposes or academic discourse proved limited. Any notion of commercial success for these books is also quite questionable. During this period the Academy of Sciences and Moscow University made a significant effort to translate into Russian the works of Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi (1717–1771), who was recognised as one of the founders of modern German political and economic thought. The scale and magnitude of this endeavour are truly astounding. Four treatises, two of which represent an elaboration of *Polizeywissenschaft*, deserve particular attention. In the broadest sense, police sciences are understood as economic policy advice for rulers and for the education of officials, with the ultimate goal of achieving collective well-being and happiness (*Glückseligkeit*) through the establishment of good order, security, advancements in agriculture, manufacturing, and international trade. This novel art and science of governance found a ready audience among the elite.

This study builds on preceding work and extends the examination of the cameral sciences, treated as a distinct branch of political economy rather than merely a

¹ Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi: *Osnovanie sily i blagosostoyaniya Tsarstv ili podrobnoe nachertanie vsekh znaniy, kasayushchikhsya do gosurdasvennogo blagochiniya* (The Basis for the Power and Prosperity of Kingdoms, or a Comprehensive Outline of All Knowledge Related to the Policing of the State). St. Petersburg, Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vol. 1: 1772, Vol. 2: 1775, Vol. 3: 1777, Vol. 4: 1778.

version of mercantilism.² There has recently been a significant effort to place Justi's work within the broader framework of French and English political and economic thought during the latter half of the eighteenth century,³ as well as to problematize the motivation and practice of cameralists.⁴ The translations of treatises on *Polizeywissenschaft*, and in particular Justi's, into various European languages such as French, Spanish, and Dutch have been studied, revealing instances of emulation, influence, and the use of these treatises by cameralists to promote change and improvement.⁵ This paper contributes to this ongoing work on source texts and translations,⁶ revealing a more complete picture of the dialogue within German political economy⁷ and translations into Russian of economic and political literature.⁸ Fur-

2 Albion Small: *The Cameralists. The Pioneers of German Social Polity*. Chicago 1909; Keith Tribe: *Governing Economy. The Reformation of German Economic Discourse 1750–1840*. Cambridge 1988; Andre Wakefield: *Books, Bureaus, and the Historiography of Cameralism*. In: *European Journal of Law and Economics* 19.3 (2005), pp. 311–320; Marten Seppel, Keith Tribe: *Cameralism in Practice. State Administration and Economy in Early Modern Europe*. Woodbridge 2017; Ere Nokkala, Nicholas Miller (ed.): *Cameralism and the Enlightenment: Happiness, Governance, and Reform in Transnational Perspective*. New York, London 2020, pp. 274–301.

3 Ulrich Adam: *The Political Economy of J.H.G. Justi*. Oxford 2006; Ere Nokkala: *From Natural Law to Political Economy. J.H.G. von Justi on State, Commerce and International Order*. Zürich 2019; Eric Reinert, Hugo Reinert: *A Bibliography of J.H.G. von Justi*. In: *The Beginnings of Political Economy. Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi*. Ed. by J. G. Backhaus. Springer 2009, pp. 19–31.

4 Andre Wakefield: *The Disordered Police State. German Cameralism as Science and Practice*. Chicago 2009.

5 Ernest Lluch: *Cameralism beyond the Germanic World. A Note of Tribe*. In: *History of Economic Ideas* 5.2 (1997); Alexandre Cunha: *Administrative Centralisation, Police Regulations and Mining Sciences as Channels for the Dissemination of Cameralist Ideas in the Iberian World*. In: *Cameralism in Practice. State Administration and Economy in Early Modern Europe*. Ed. by Marten Seppel and Keith Tribe. Woodbridge 2017, pp. 155–178. Alexandre Cunha: *Cameralist Ideas in Portuguese Enlightened Reformism. The Diplomat Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho and His Circuits of Intellectual Exchange*. In: *Cameralism and the Enlightenment. Happiness, Governance and Reform in Transnational Perspective*. Ed. by Ere Nokkala, Nicholas B. Miller. New York, London 2020, pp. 201–223; Adriana Luna-Fabritius: *Cameralism in Spain. Polizeywissenschaft and the Bourbon Reforms*. In: *Cameralism and the Enlightenment: Happiness, Governance and Reform in Transnational Perspective*. Ed. by E. Nokkala, N. Miller. New York, London 2020, pp. 245–266; Koen Stapelbroek: *The International Politics of Cameralism. The Balance of Power and Dutch Translations of Justi*. In: *Cameralism and the Enlightenment: Happiness, Governance and Reform in Transnational Perspective*. Ed. by E. Nokkala, N. Miller. New York, NY, London 2020, pp. 245–266.

6 Adam: *The Political Economy of J.H.G. Justi* (see note 3), pp. 294–295; Reinert, Reinert: *A Bibliography of J.H.G. von Justi* (see note 3), pp. 19–31.

7 Kenneth Carpenter: *Dialogue in Political Economy. Translations from and into German in the 18th Century*. Boston, Massachusetts 1977.

8 Sergei Polskoj and Vladislav Rzheutzyk (ed.): *Laboratoriya ponyatiy. Perevod i yazyki politiki v Rossii XVIII veka (Laboratory of Concepts. Translation and Languages of Politics in Russia in the XVIII Century)*. Moscow 2022; Philip H. Clendenning: *Eighteenth Century Russian Translations of Western Economic Works*. In: *Journal of European Economic History*, (1972), pp. 745–753.

thermore, this study continues the conversation about the connection between political transformations and intellectual tradition within the German cameral sciences.⁹

The primary objective of this paper is to present a nuanced portrayal of four translations of Justi's works into Russian, taking into account their origins, the circumstances under which they were produced, the translators themselves, the potential impact on their career trajectories, their patrons and the funding resources involved. The secondary objective is to compare the translations with the originals, seeking to understand their accuracy, and establish whether the translators added material, or if any content was omitted or edited. Of particular interest are the translation strategies for conveying the key notions in another language, one semantically more distant from German than French or English. Where they do involve different forms of expression their terminological creativity is examined, with consideration given to the subsequent evolution of these formulations. Lastly, this study seeks to place these translations within a broader context of intellectual thought and the history of culture.

1 Translations and Agency

1.1 *Manufacturen und Fabriken* (1763)¹⁰

Justi's first work translated into Russian was published in 1763. The well-known academic periodical *Ezhemesyachnye sochineniya i izvestiya o uchenykh delakh* (Monthly Magazine and News on Scientific Affairs or ES; 1755–1764) played a pivotal

⁹ Marc Raeff: The Well-Ordered Police State and the Development of Modernity in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Europe. An Attempt at a Comparative Approach. In: The American Historical Review 80.5 (1975), pp. 1221–1243; Marc Raeff: The Well-Ordered Police State. Social and Institutional Change Through Law in the Germanies and Russia, 1600–1800. New Haven, London 1983; Roger Bartlett: Cameralism in Russia. Empress Catherine II and Population Policy. In: Cameralism in Practice. State Administration and Economy in Early Modern Europe. Ed. by Martin Seppel, Keith Tribe. Woodbridge 2017, pp. 65–90; Danila Raskov: Cameralism in Eighteenth-Century Russia. Reform, Translations and Academic Mobility. In: Cameralism and the Enlightenment. Happiness, Governance, and Reform in Transnational Perspective. Ed. by Ere Nokkala, Nicholas B. Miller. New York, London 2020, pp. 274–301; see also Danila Raskov: Cameralism of Books. Justi's Translations in the Eighteenth-Century Russia. In: Terra Economicus 17.4 (2019), pp. 62–79; Irina Chaplygina: Cameralism and Economic Disciplines in the Eighteenth-Century Moscow University. In: Terra Economicus 17.4 (2019), pp. 8–22.

¹⁰ Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi: Vollständige Abhandlung von denen Manufacturen und Fabriken. Vol. 1. Kopenhagen 1758. The translation was around 110 pages. The translator remains unknown. See reference to this translation in Adam: The Political Economy of J.H.G. Justi (see note 3) and Clendenning: Eighteenth Century Russian Translations (see note 8).

role in introducing readers to translations of works in the field of political economy. Three out of five sections of the first volume of *Vollständige Abhandlung von denen Manufacturen und Fabriken* (1758) were included. These three parts were published between July and December in four issues of the journal, each under its own title: »On the Need for and Advantage of Manufacturing and Factories (July)«, »On Uniting Manufacturing and Factories with the General Conditions and Properties of the State« (September and October); »On the Implementation and Foundation of Manufactures and Factories« (December).¹¹ A brief and enthusiastic presentation of Justi preceded these, listing over 20 of his works:

Mr. von Justi is today one of the most diligent writers in Germany, and it can be honestly said about his books that they are not only generally useful, but that they also are written clearly and in an orderly fashion, and the style is pleasant to read. He is interested in bringing actual usefulness to human society and in making the state flourish. He advances suggestions regarding the reform of laws, the expansion of commerce and manufacturing, the increase of state revenue, the facilitation of domestic security and capabilities, and guidelines for proper morality and virtue. Sometimes he expounds on the natural sciences, chemistry, or mining-related affairs. It is hard to imagine that one person can write and publish so many tomes in such a small amount of time.¹²

Justi's debut was undeniably a triumph. His writing style was thought to be accessible, and his works were deemed useful for all spheres of public life. Despite later criticism, his vast knowledge and productivity were initially widely admired.

The academic and literary journal *Monthly Magazine* was under the administration and editorship of Gerhard Friedrich Müller (1705–1783), a member of St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. The journal can be considered his brainchild, as evidenced by its discontinuation following Müller's relocation to Moscow in 1763. This encyclopedic edition, envisioned by the publisher to resemble the Leipzig *Allgemeines Magazin*, boasted a large circulation of 2,000 copies, and later of 1,250 copies from 1758 onwards.¹³ Kozitsky, Vorontsov, Krasilnikov, Golubtsov, Lebedev and

11 Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi: O nuzhnosti i pol'ze manufaktur i fabric (On the Need for and Advantage of Manufacturing and Factories). In: *Ezhemesyachnye sochineniya i izvestiya o uchenykh delakh*. July (1763), pp. 42–68; Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi: O soyuze manufaktur i fabrik s obshchim sostoyaniem i svoystvom gosudarstva (On Uniting Manufacturing and Factories with the General Conditions and Properties of the State). In: *Ezhemesyachnye sochineniya i izvestiya o uchenykh delakh*. September (1763), pp. 249–265, and October (1763), pp. 335–347; Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi: O zavedenii i osnovanii manufaktur i fabrik [On the Implementation and Foundation of Manufactures and Factories]. In: *Ezhemesyachnye sochineniya i izvestiya o uchenykh delakh*. December (1763), pp. 490–547.

12 »Germaniia«. In: *Ezhemesyachnye sochineniya i izvestiya o uchenykh delakh*. July (1763), pp. 91–92.

13 Petr Pekarskii: Redaktor, sotrudniki i tsenzura v russkikh zhurnalakh 1755–1764 godov (The Editor, Staff and Censors in Russian Magazines of 1755–1764). St. Petersburg 1867.

others translated for the journal. Unfortunately, the translator of Justi's work remains unknown.

This translation of Justi was not an isolated one in the field of political economy. Other translations included works by Count Axel Oxenstierna, Girolamo Belloni and Thomas Plomgren, dealing with money and commerce. A translation entitled *A Historical Account of Manufactures* (1756) was derived from a German-language publication in the *Allgemeines Magazin* taken from a dissertation on manufactures by Félix Juvenel de Carlenca (1679–1760).¹⁴

1.2 *Der handelnde Adel* (1766)¹⁵

In 1766 the first part of the book *Der handelnde Adel dem der kriegische Adel entgegengesetzt wird: zwey Abhandlungen über die Frage: Ob es der Wohlfarth des Staats gemäß sey, daß der Adel Kaufmannschaft treibe?*, translated by Denis Fonvizin (as *Torguiushchee dvoryanstvo protivupolozhennoe dvoryanstvu voennomu, ili dva rassuzhdeniya o tom, sluzhit li to k blagopoluchiyu gosudarstva, chtoby dvoryanstvo vstupalo v kupechestvo?*), was published. The title falls somewhat short of the content. The translated work included only the first part, i.e. *La noblesse commerçante*, written by the Jesuit abbot Gabriel-François Coyer (1707–1782) supporting the participation of nobles in trade. The original work went through four editions in a year, and was translated into Spanish, Italian, and German. However, the response by Philippe-Auguste de Sainte-Foix Chevalier (1721–1779) – *La noblesse militaire* – and the subsequent response of the abbot were not included in the Russian text.

Justi's name is on the title page, explained by the fact that Justi translated it into German and added a foreword and a commentary omitted in the translation. These were then published in a single volume. In the foreword Justi unequivocally supported commerce. His premise is that it would have been useful to have attacked the assumption that nobles should pursue military careers three hundred years earlier, when the Hanseatic League was prominent in Germany, for only one tenth of the nobility were really needed for the conduct of military affairs. If then the nobility had turned to commerce Germany could have flourished by developing a colonial trade to rival that of Spain, Portugal and Great Britain.¹⁶ The archives of St. Peters-

¹⁴ *Allgemeines Magazin* Th. 1 (1753), pp. 132–147 and *Mercure de France*. Mars (1738), pp. 466–482.

¹⁵ Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi: *Der handelnde Adel, dem der kriegerische Adel entgegen gesetzt wird. Handlungen über die Frage: Ob es der Wohlfarth des Staates gemäß sey, daß der Adel Kaufmannschaft treibe?* Aus dem Französischen übersetzt und mit einer Abhandlung diesen Gegenstand versehen von Johann Heinrich Gottlob Justi. Göttingen 1756. Strictly speaking, Justi wrote only the preface in the translated text.

¹⁶ Denis Fonvizin: *Torguyushchee dvoryanstvo* (A Trading Nobility). St. Petersburg 1766.

burg Academy of Sciences preserve records acknowledging receipt of money by Fonvizin. A record dated 10 April 1766 stated that

Titular Councillor Fonvizin presented a translation of the first part of a book called *The Trading Nobility* (*Torguyushchee dvoryantsvo*) at the office of the Academy of Sciences and requested that fifty roubles be paid for it, and for the remaining parts of the book he also requested payment of the same sum upon submission of the relevant manuscripts. At the same time, he announced that he would translate *Justi's Science of Police* (*Nauka o politseiskikh delakh*), which consists of four parts, and that he should be paid fifty roubles for each part.¹⁷

This record provides reliable information regarding the receipt of the manuscript of the first part, showing that it was approximately nine printed pages in length and that 50 roubles were paid for it. The office of the Academy of Sciences also preserves records showing that, seven months later in October 1766, the Academy Press printed an octavo edition of 1,200 copies, of which 1,100 were printed on plain paper and 100 on special high quality (*lyubskaya*) paper.¹⁸ The fact that 100 copies were printed on a special, apparently more expensive paper suggests that these copies were intended to be given as gifts. Such copies could also serve as symbolic objects, seeking to convince the elite that the political decision to encourage noble participation in commercial trade was a good one.¹⁹ The book also helped to counteract the influence in Russia of Montesquieu, who had argued that an aristocracy independent of trade could help to ensure the stability of an enlightened monarchy, paving the way for a correct response to the reformed Law Code (*Ulozhenie*).²⁰ According to one line of argument the translation was proposed by Count Nikita Panin, Director of the College of Foreign Affairs, who himself probably had a »cameralist outlook«. ²¹ The decision to translate from the German text instead of the French original is evidence that it was considered appropriate to emulate the Germans; although it was very commonplace to translate from translations into French, the preface by Justi added value.

¹⁷ The Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg Branch (ARAN SPF), archive (fond) 3, inventory (opis') 1, April 1766, folio (list) 280.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, folio 283.

¹⁹ As is well known, not long before this, in 1762, Peter III had released the nobility from the compulsory military service introduced by Peter I. Therefore, it was politically more expedient to focus on the benefits that the aristocracy's trading activity might bring for the state, and more generally on counteracting the prejudice against trade.

²⁰ See for more details: Ulrich Adam: *Justi and the Post-Montesquieu French Debate on Commercial Nobility in 1756*. In: *The Beginnings of Political Economy: Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi*. Ed. by Jürgen G. Backhaus. Springer 2009, pp. 75–98.

²¹ Victor Kamendrowsky, David M. Griffiths: *The Fate of the Trading Nobility Controversy in Russia. A Chapter in the Relationship Between Catherine II and the Russian Nobility*. In: *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, Neue Folge*, Bd. 26, H. 2 (1978), p. 208; David Ransel: *The Politics of Catherine's Russia. The Panin Party*. London 1975, pp. 147–49.

Denis Fonvizin (1745–1792) was a translator from a noble family who had graduated from Moscow University and served in the College of Foreign Affairs, where he became the trusted confidant of Count Nikita Panin. Fonvizin's literary legacy, most notably his comedy *Nedorosl'* (The Minor), made his name. It is less well-known that his political treatise, *Rassuzhdeniya o istrebivsheysya v Rossii sovsem vsyakoi formy gosudarstvennogo pravleniya i ottogo o zyblemom sostoyanii kak imperii, tak i samikh gosudarei* (A Discourse on the Disappearance in Russia of All Forms of State Governance and Likewise on the Unstable Position of the Empire and Sovereigns Arising Therefrom) brought about his fall from favour. His bold critique Catherine the Great's tyrannical rule was coupled with the advocacy of virtuous government, liberty, and private property.²²

1.3 *Die Natur und das Wesen der Staaten* (1770)²³

In 1770 a translation of Justi's *Die Natur und das Wesen der Staaten* (1760)²⁴ was printed by the Moscow University Press. In 1802 the translator Avraam Volkov issued a partially-revised reprint.²⁵ The Moscow University Press was a major publisher of political and economic writing established in 1756, and leased to Nikolai Novikov, who managed it from May 1779 to May 1789.²⁶ In 1787, the press printed an abridged translation of Joseph von Sonnenfels with the title: *The Fundamentals of Police or Good Order*.²⁷ During the period from 1756 to 1800 the publishing house produced an impressive list of over two and a half thousand books.

²² Denis Fonvizin: *Rassuzhdeniya o istrebivsheysya v Rossii sovsem vsyakoi formy gosudarstvennogo pravleniya i ottogo o zyblemom sostoyanii kak imperii, tak i samikh gosudarei*. (A Discourse on the Disappearance in Russia of All Forms of State Governance and Likewise on the Unstable Position of the Empire and Sovereigns Arising Therefrom). In: *Izbrannye proizvedeniya russkoi mycli vtoroi poloviny XVIII veka* (Selected Works of Russian Thought in the Second Half of the 18th Century). Vol. II. Moscow 1952, pp. 253–266.

²³ Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi: *Die Natur und das Wesen der Staaten als die Quelle aller Regierungswissenschaften und Gesetze*. Berlin, Stettin, Leipzig 1760.

²⁴ Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi: *Sushchestvennoe izobrazhenie estestva narodnykh obshchestv i vsyakogo roda zakonov* (Significant Representations of the Essence of Public Societies and All Types of Laws). Translated from German by Avraam Volkov. Moscow 1770. The translation came out 10 years after the original. The first edition numbered 384 pages.

²⁵ Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi: *Sushchestvennoe izobrazhenie estestva narodnykh obshchestv i vsyakogo roda zakonov*. Vol. 1–2. St. Petersburg 1802. Vol. 1: 219 pages, vol. 2: 277 pages.

²⁶ Natalya Mel'nikova: *Izdaniya, napechatannye v tipografii Moskovskogo universiteta XVIII* (Editions Printed at the Moscow University Press). Moscow 1966.

²⁷ Joseph Freiherr von Sonnenfels: *Nachal'nie osnovaniya politsii ili blagochiniya* (The Fundamentals of Police or Good Order). Moscow 1787.

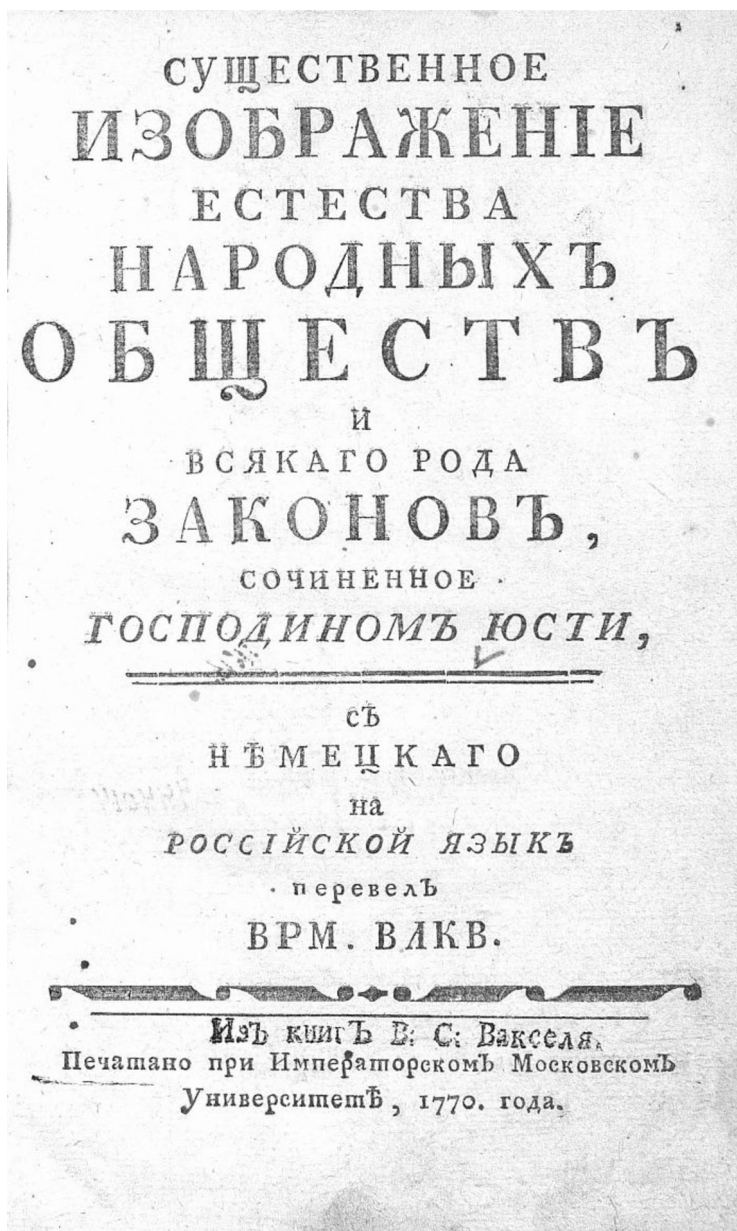


Fig. 1: Title page of *Justi: Sushchestvennoe izobrazhenie*, 1770. State Public Historical Library of Russia

The translator Avraam Volkov (1730–1803) belonged to a noble family. He had begun his career by entering the Noble Infantry Cadet Corps, whose library later sup-

plied about twenty German books by Justi to the St. Petersburg Public Library. This selection included the book translated by him as well as many other books in economics and politics.²⁸ We know that Volkov served as a translator in the Senate. The second edition of the book was published by the press of the College of Medicine where Volkov held the position of Vice President at that time.²⁹

1.4 *Die Grundfeste zu der Macht und Glückseligkeit der Staaten* (1772–1778)

The largest and most elaborate edition of Justi's work was prepared in St. Petersburg at the Academy of Sciences.³⁰ Ivan Bogaevskii's translation of *Die Grundfeste zu der Macht und Glückseligkeit der Staaten* was published between 1772 and 1778. The Russian edition expanded the original two volumes into a magnificent four volumes comprising a total of 2,612 pages, with a print-run of 600 copies. Printed on thick paper, it had elegant allegoric vignettes at the beginning and at the end of each section. Part of the edition came out in a gilt-embossed leather binding.

The translation of Justi's book was commissioned by the Association for the Advancement of the Translation of Foreign Books into Russian, an organization founded by Catherine the Great herself, which operated from 1768 to 1783. In her memoir *Livres a traduire en Russe*, Catherine the Great suggested that, apart from dictionaries, Voltaire, Montesquieu, including *L'Esprit des Loix*, the abbot Galiani's *Dialogues sur le commerce des grains*, and various books on history, law and philosophy (Blackstone, Locke, Hume) be translated.³¹ The French version of police was represented in Catherine's list by De la Mare's *Traité de la police*.³² The Prussian Friedrich II's *Discourses on the Causes of the Establishment or Destruction of Laws* (*Ras-suzhdeniya o prichinakh ustanovleniya ili unichtozheniya zakonov*) seems to be the first translation produced by the Association. Throughout its existence, the Associa-

²⁸ For example, Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi: *Der Grundriß einer guten Regierung in fünf Büchern Verfasst*. Frankfurt, Leipzig 1759; Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi: *Systematischer Grundriß aller oeconomischen u. Cameral-Wissenschaften*. Frankfurt, Leipzig 1759; and others.

²⁹ Lidiia I. Sazonova: Avraam Stepanovich Volkov. In: *Slovar' russkikh pisatelei XVIII veka* (Dictionary of Eighteenth-Century Russian Authors). Vyp. 1. Leningrad, Nauka 1988, p. 67.

³⁰ Justi: *Osnovanie sily i blagosostoyaniya Tsarstv* (see note 1).

³¹ RGADA, f. 10, op. 1, d. 427, sheet 2–2 back side.

³² Nicolas de La Mare: *Traité de La Police, où l'on trouvera l'histoire de son établissement, les fonctions et les prerogatives de ses magistrats, toutes les loix et tous les reglemens*. Tome premier. Paris, 1707. This book that had been already known to lawmakers of the Petrine era was never translated into Russian.

tion published a total of 112 titles, comprising 173 volumes.³³ It also published translations of Greek and Roman authors, books on history and geography, and works on mathematics, physics, and the other natural sciences, as well as plays for the theatre.

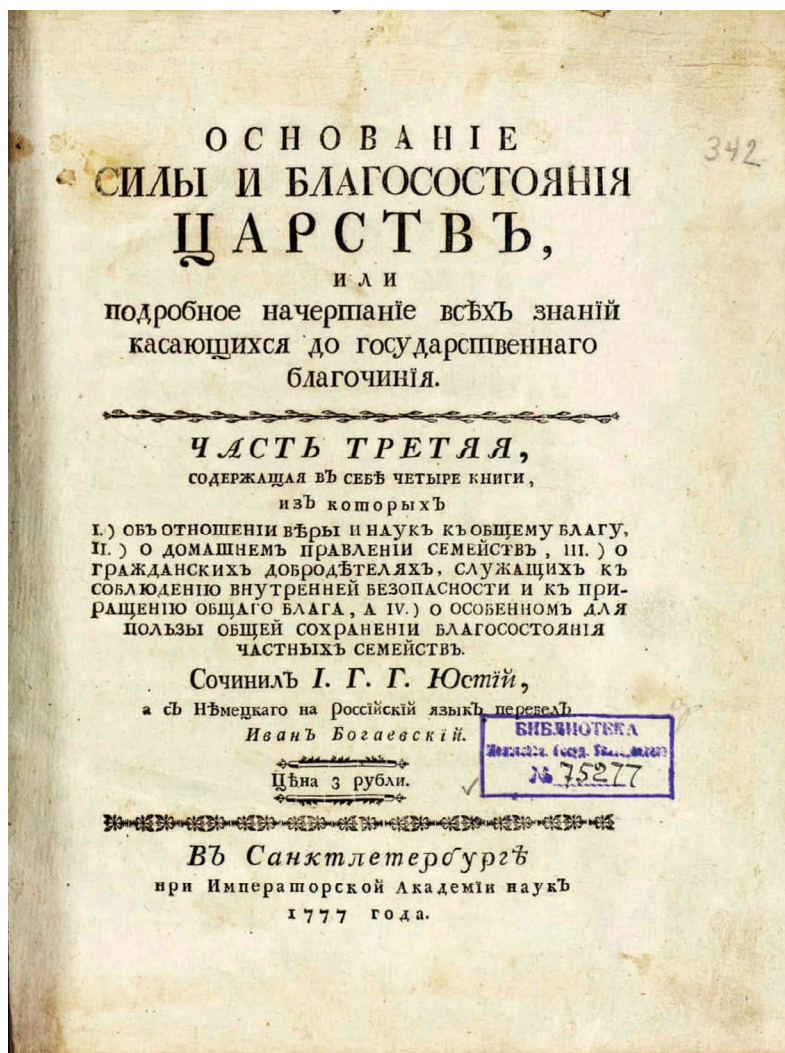


Fig. 2: Title page of Justi: Osnovanie sily i blagosostoyaniya, Vol III, 1777. Perm State University

³³ Vladimir P. Semennikov: Rannee izdatel'skoe obshchestvo N.I. Novikova. Ottisk iz zhurnala Russkii Bibliofil (The Early Publishing Company of N.I. Novikov) (1773): Offprint from the Journal Russian Bibliophile). St Petersburg 1912, pp. 13–14.

Justi's book was translated by Ivan Bogaevskii, the son of a priest. He graduated from the Academic Gymnasium at the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences and Moscow University and translated in an official capacity while working in various departments of the Academy of Sciences.³⁴ Fourteen receipts against payment for Bogaevskii's translation of Justi, totalling 2,507 roubles, have survived. This was a colossal sum of money for the time.³⁵ By contrast, Fonvizin requested only 200 roubles, or 50 roubles per volume. In one of his earliest translations, Bogaevskii calls Nikita Panin »the man to whom I owe my prosperity«, which, along with the amounts of money, suggests strong official support for this translation. In recognition of his service as a translator, Bogaevskii received the title of Titular Councillor in 1778 and Court Councillor in 1780, giving him the right to hereditary nobility. The bibliography of translations of Justi's works into Russian under Catherine the Great, coupled with information on patrons, publishers, and translators, permits the following preliminary conclusions.

Over a quarter of a century, from 1763 to 1778, a total of four translations of Justi's works were published. Only treatises or fragments of treatises in politics or political economy, covering trade and industrial policy, public administration and economic policy in the widest sense (*Polizeiwissenschaft*), were translated. One could note that no translations were made of historic works, literary pieces (including satires and short stories) or works in the field of natural sciences. Including the 1802 reprint, the combined number of translated pages exceeded 3,770. Translations followed relatively soon after the original, since on average they were published approximately 10 years after the originals.

In the eighteenth century Justi's works were translated into Russian more frequently than into any other language, *Grundsätze der Policy-Wissenschaft* (1756) being translated into foreign languages the most frequently. The French version *Elements generaux de police* came out in 1769, and the Spanish translation as *Elementos* was published in 1784.³⁶ Later versions of Justi's systemic doctrine on public policy and administration – *Die Natur und das Wesen* (1760) along with *Die Grundfeste zu der Macht und Glückseligkeit der Staaten* (1760–1761) largely reflect Justi's less paternalistic and more enlightened views. The translations into Russian were followed, after a short while, by translations of the same two works into Dutch: *Die Natur und das Wesen* in 1773 and *Manufacturen und Fabriken* in 1782.³⁷ Overall, the translations into Russian appeared sooner and presented a more comprehensive collection of Justi's works in political economy.

³⁴ Ivan F. Martynov: Ivan Ivanovich Bogaevskii. In: Slovar' russkikh pisatelei XVIII veka (Dictionary of Eighteenth-Century Russian Authors). Vol. 1. Leningrad, Nauka Publishers 1988, pp. 99–100.

³⁵ Semennikov: Rannee izdatel'skoe obshchestvo (see note 33), p. 41.

³⁶ Reinert, Reinert: A Bibliography of J.H.G. Justi (see note 3), p. 25.

³⁷ See: Reinert, Reinert: A Bibliography of J.H.G. Justi (see note 3), pp. 23–29; Adam: The Political Economy of J.H.G. Justi (see note 3), pp. 294–295.

Justi's Russian publishers, the Academy of Sciences and Moscow University, were both recognized as leading academic centres in the Russian Empire. However, we cannot infer too much about the reception of his writing from this. Rather, it indicates that many copies of high quality were published. Some were printed on high-quality paper and given a gilt-embossed leather binding, signifying a desire to demonstrate enlightenment and a commitment to scholarly governance. Given that the translators were sometimes generously compensated and even granted titles of nobility, it becomes evident that book publishing was viewed as a »sovereign's deed« and the books themselves symbolized Enlightenment and greatness.

2 How It Was Translated

Translations from one language to another enable us not only to see *what* was translated and *by whom* but also to look into *how* these texts were translated. By comparing translations with the originals we can analyze additions, omissions, and abridgements. We can also examine sensitive passages, such as those concerning despotism and serfdom, which may have been subject to censorship or self-censorship due to the prevailing political context. We will begin by examining the translators' strategies and their choice of terms.

2.1 Blago (the Good): a Central Concept or a Parasitic Word

Translation creates a new conceptual reality, requiring creative choices. It is not a mechanical »mirroring« process. In the case of a Latin, Greek, and sometimes French analogue, one may use a loan-word in translation or invoke Slavonic semantics. The further the linguistic distance, the more interesting the choices become. We will examine the translation of German notions in Justi's books *Die Grundfeste zu der Macht und Glückseligkeit der Staaten* (1772–1778) and *Die Natur und das Wesen der Staaten* (1770), focusing on variability and frequency:³⁸

Adel – *blagorodstvo* (nobleness, goodness) (1770, 93), *dvoryanstvo* (nobility) (1777, 622),
Aristocratie – *mnogonachalie* (multiple authority) (1770, 83), *vel'mozhnoe pravlenie* (noblemen's rule)³⁹ (1777, 622),

³⁸ The page numbers in the translations are put in parentheses. The variability of translation and all instances of a particular translation option go far beyond the stated examples. They should be rather treated as selectively illustrative of observations on the translated texts.

³⁹ In the translation of Montesquieu by Vasilii Kramarenkov, *Aristocratie* is also translated as noblemen's rule. Charles Louis Montesquieu: *O razume zakonov* (The Spirit of the Laws). St. Petersburg, Academy of Sciences 1775, p. 202.

Besten – **blaga** (goods) (1772, 5), *pol'za* (benefit, advantage) (1775, 545),
 Billigkeit – *spravedlivost'* (equity, fairness) (1777, 93),
 Bürger – *grazhdanin* (citizen) (1770, 35), Bürgerliche Tugenden – *grazhdanskije dobrodeteli* (civic virtues) (1777, 6), Bürgerliche Freiheit – *grazhdanskaja volnost'* (civic liberty) (1775, 545),
 Demokratie – *narodonachalie* (people's authority) (1770, 83), *narodnoye pravlenie* (people's rule) (1777, 619),
 Despoterey – *despotstvo* (despotism) (1770, 71), *samovlastie* (absolute power, arbitrary rule) (1777, 629),
 Freiheit – *vol'nost'* (freedom, liberty) (1770, 76) natürliche Freyheit – *estestvennaya vol'nost'* (natural freedom) (1770, 13),
 Gesellschaft – *grazhdanskoye obshchestvo* (civil society) (1775, 228), *obshchestvo* (society) (1770, 33),
 Gewalt – *vlast'* (power) (1777, 23), *mogushchestvo* (mightiness) (1777, 122), vollziehende Gewalt – *ispolnitel'naya vlast'* (executive power) (1770, § 86),
 Gleichheit – *ravenstvo* (equality) (1777, 350),
 Glückseligkeit⁴⁰ – **blagosostoyanie** (prosperity) (1772, 9; 1766, 2), **blagodenstvie** (well-being) (1770, 57, 179; 1772, 44), **blagopoluchie** (welfare) 1763, 46; 1770, 57, 81, 179; 1777, 23; 1778, 46), **blazhenstvo** (bliss) (1777, 23),
 Monarchie – *edinovlastnoe gosudarstvo* (monocracy) (1770, 64), *edinonachalie* (one-man authority) (1770, 83, 88), *samoderzhavie* (autocracy) (1777, 624), *samoderzhavnoye pravlenie* (autocratic rule) (1778, 247),
 Justitzsachen – *raspravnye dela* (matters of justice) (1770, 121),
 Ordnungen – *rasporiazheniya* (orders) (1770, 69),
 Policey – *gosudarstvennoye blagochinie* (maintenance of public order and security) (1772, 5), **blagochinie** (good order) (1772, 8), **blagoustroistvo** (good organization, good construction) (1770, 367, 370, 371; 1778, 70, 247, 273), Policey Gesetze – *blagoustroistvennye zakony* (laws on maintenance of good order and improvements) (1770, 217), *Politsiya* (police) (1763, 336), *politseiskie zakony* (police laws) (1770, 55, 217),
 Regent – *pravitel'* (ruler) (1770, 175), Regierung – *pravitel'stvo* (government, administration) (1770, 187), Regierung – *pravlenie* (reign, rule) (1772, 663), *pravitel'stvo* (government, administration) (1775, 692), Regierungsform – *obraz pravleniya* (form of government) (1770, 85),
 Republik – *grazhdanskoye obshchestvo* (civil society) (1777, 220; 1777, 589; 1778, 46), *obshchestvo* (society, public) (1770, 24, 40), *obshchenarodie* (community of people) (1770, 35, 85),
 Staat – *tsarstvo* (tzaedom, kingdom) (1772, title), *derzhava* (power) (1770, 57; 1772, 5) *gosudarstvo* (state) (1770, 56, 185; 1772, 8; 1775, 692; 1778, 23), *grazhdanskoye obshchestvo* (civil society) (1772, 265), *obshchestvo* (society, public) (1770, 35), *oblast'* (territory) (1770, 59, 69), *pravitel'stvo* (government, administration) (1770, 25),
 Tugenden und Lasten – **dobrodeteli i poroki** (virtues and vices) (1770, 25),
 Tyraney – *muchitel'stvo* (excruciation) (1770, 71),
 Gründliche Verbesserungen – *osnovatel'nye popravleniya* (thorough improvements) (1770, 25),
 Gute Verfassungen – **luchshee sostoyanie** (better condition) (1770, 185),
 Unterthanen – *poddannye* (subjects, people) (1770, 175),
 Wohlfahrt – **blagopoluchie** (welfare) (1770, 35), **blagosostoyanie** (prosperity) (1772, 5; 1775, 4, 545), **blagodenstvie** (well-being) (1770, 81), Wohlfahrt des Staats – *gosudarstvennoye blagopoluchie* (welfare of the State) (1770, 75).

⁴⁰ That means: der philosophische Begriff von der Glückseligkeit – a *philosophical concept of happiness*.

This glossary serves as a visual aid, highlighting many assumptions. The translation of terms and concepts in the Russian texts often lacks clarity. For instance, *Staat* is translated by no less than six different terms – kingdom, power, territory, society, government, state. It is often not clear from the translations whether they refer to *Gesellschaft* or *Staat*, or to *Regierung* or *Staat*. Dealing with the translations of such central concepts as *Glückseligkeit* and *Policey* is even more complicated, due both to their variability and their interrelationship. *Glückseligkeit* was translated as *blagosostoyanie* (prosperity), *blagodenstvie* (well-being), *blagopoluchie* (welfare),⁴¹ *blazhenstvo* (bliss), and, occasionally, *schastie* (happiness). *Wohlfahrt* was conveyed with the same notions, making it impossible to make a distinction between *Glückseligkeit* and *Wohlfahrt* in the Russian translations. These translation options are compound nouns with two roots. The first is *blago*, meaning something useful or good and intensifying a positive normative assessment. Another central notion – *Policey* – is mostly translated as *blagochinie* (good order), *blagoustroistvo* (good arrangement, good construction), or, only occasionally, as *politsiya* (police).⁴² These are compound nouns including *blago*, as with *Glückseligkeit*. If we add that the German word *Besten* also means *blago* in Russian, and other translations using the notion *blago* are possible, say, *Adel* as *blagorodstvo* (nobleness) or *gesitteten Völkern* as *blagonravnye narody* (well-behaved nations),⁴³ one might understand the extent to which the translations are oversaturated with evaluations that make it difficult to comprehend them. The terms become interwoven, as if each word is qualified with »well« or »good«. Compared with the original text, the translation intensifies the use of *blago*, emphasizing appreciation, producing normativity, and multiplying expressions of goodness.

A linguistic analysis of Avraam Volkov's translation of Justi's *Die Natur und das Wesen der Staaten* (1770) supports these conclusions.⁴⁴ Volkov frequently employs two-part words with the root *blago* (good) or *dobro* (kind, good). The German text dealt with politics, police and happiness. In the translation, there are 665 words with the root *blago* per 384 pages. *Blagopoluchie* is used 146 times, *blagodenstvie* 129

⁴¹ The word *blagodenstvie* (well-being) was used to translate the Italian *felicità*. See the translation of Ludovico Muratori's *Della pubblica felicità*: Ludovico Muratori: *Rassuzhdeniya o blagodenstvii obshchenarodnom*. Parts 1–2. Moscow 1780.

⁴² A book and its key terminology may be further edited after the publisher's dummy is ready. This is evidenced by a special warning of typographical errors (»failures«) in the 1770 translation of Justi. In particular, the translator decided to alter the translation of *Policey* from police and good order to good organization.

⁴³ Along with *blagonravnyi*, the word *dobronravnyi* (good-natured) is used in similar cases. Justi: *Sushchestvennoe izobrazhenie* (see note 21), pp. 309, 330.

⁴⁴ The computation was done using Laurence Anthony: *AntConc* (Version 4.2.2) [Computer Software] Tokyo, 2003. Available from <https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software>, last accessed April 15th, 2025. I am grateful here for the help of the linguist Svetlana Vetchinnikova.

times, *blagoustroistvo* in 55 times, and *blagosostoyanie* 27 times. For comparison, the word *gosudarstvo* (state) appears 349 times, *zakon* (law) 988 times, *vol'nost'* (liberty) or *svoboda* (freedom) 184 times, and *bezopasnost'* 60 times. The translation narrows down a diverse vocabulary to *blago*, creating a tautological effect with the constant repetition of *blago* and *dobro* as fillers. This stickily sweet translation is overloaded with additional normative elements that blur its meaning. Readers with knowledge of German are encouraged to consult the original to grasp the real essence of the text.

Several examples clarify these general conclusions and show how the translators work with the context. The term *Glückseligkeit* is translated variably, but it often merges with *Wohlfahrt* and *glücklich*. As a result, the intended variation strategy fails:

Likewise subjects cannot achieve the intended common well-being (*gemeinschaftlichen Glückseligkeit*) without sovereign power, as the alignment and relations between the two are so precise, the ruler cannot enjoy his own particular welfare (*Wohlfahrt und Glückseligkeit*) that is not based on the welfare (*Glückseligkeit*) of his subjects; and, therefore, it is easy to prove that no ruler can be called great and happy (*glücklich*) if he does not have prosperous (*glückliche*) subjects. (Justi 1760, 222; Justi 1770, 179).

Paragraph 261 of the translation contains a definition of Policy:⁴⁵

The concept of **good** arrangement (Policy) has a triple meaning. Spatially, this means all state laws and orders aimed at augmenting common property and internal forces and at making the latter active and looking to common **good** (*gemeinschaftlichen Besten*); and, according to this concept of government (*Regierung*), taking care of commerce, both urban and *zemskeye* (provincial) and of other state establishments belongs to the **good** arrangement (Policy) called *zemskeye*. In a limited sense, **good** arrangement (Policy) means all laws and government measures to maintain **good** discipline and order (*gute Zucht und Ordnung*) necessary for urban life, to bring sustenance to a flourishing state and fully align it with the **welfare** (*Wohlfahrt*) of separate families and of the whole society, and in this sense is called simply **good** organization (Policy). In a strict sense, when speaking of **good** organization (Policy), one implies maintaining a **good** order in cities (Policy in der Städten), in particular, providing for cleanness, decoration and order in cities, looking after artisans, ensuring that food is supplied in fair weight and measure, seeking to prevent any accidents in cities, etc. Monsieur *Montesquieu* makes very little mention of **good** organization (Policy) in his essay on laws... (Justi, 1770: 368; Justi, 1802: II, 257–258).⁴⁶

Justi treats police as all regulations and organizational measures (laws and measures) that at different levels aim at promoting prosperity, order and happiness.

⁴⁵ It is paragraph 272 with Justi, given the incorrect numeration in the original (paragraph 116 is followed by paragraph 128).

⁴⁶ Justi: *Sushchestvennoe izobrazhenie* (see note 24), p. 368; Justi: *Sushchestvennoe izobrazhenie* (see note 23), pp. 257–258.

Hence, police is part of the economy, police in the narrow sense, and maintaining good order in cities. The overarching goal is to achieve the common good through well-structured laws and measures at both the state and local levels, aligning with the prosperity of individual families.⁴⁷ However, the translation encounters a semantic challenge when dealing with the terms *Policey*, *Glückseligkeit*, *Besten* and *Wohlfahrt*.

2.2 Monarchy and Despotism: Obscure and Incomprehensible Translation

The translation of passages that touch on sensitive topics such as despotism, tyranny, slavery, serfdom, and references to Russian rulers may have been subject to censorship. Translators often resorted to abridging the text, excluding paragraphs, pages, or even chapters, and using euphemisms to soften the meaning.

There are several known examples where translators interfered with the text. Nadezhda Plavinskaya demonstrated a loose interpretation of Montesquieu in the translation by Dmitri Yazykov. There is a reference to a Muscovite in the second chapter of Book XIV of *The Spirits of the Laws*. The northern climate fosters austerity of character and insensibility to pain. »You must flay a Muscovite alive to make him feel«, Montesquieu wrote. However, Yazykov replaced »Muscovite« with »Lapp«, altering the statement to: »You must strangle a Lapp's throat to make him feel.«⁴⁸

In March 1777, the periodical *Sankt-Peterburgskie uchenye vedomosti* (St. Petersburg Academic News), covering newly issued books, published a review of the 1770 translation of Justi.⁴⁹ The well-known publisher Nikolay Novikov warned that the journal's aim was to »moderately criticize« within the bounds of decency and good-naturedness, without getting personal. The reviewer praised Justi: he is »famous for

⁴⁷ Justi: *Osnovanie sily i blagosostoyaniya* (see note 29), Vol. I, pp. 7–8.

⁴⁸ Nadezhda Plavinskaya: *Kak perevodili Montes'k'e v Rossii?* (How was Montesquieu Translated in Russia?) In: *Evropeiskoe prosveshchenie i razvitie tsivilizatsii v Rossii. Materialy mezhdunarodnogo nauchnogo kollokviuma 2–6 sentyabrya 2001 g.* (European Enlightenment and Development of Civilization in Russia. Materials of the International Scientific Colloquium of September 2–6, 2001). Saratov 2001, pp. 185–189, here p. 188. The original runs as follows: *Il faut écorcher un Muscovite pour lui donner du sentiment. Montesquieu: O razume zakonov* (see note 38) Vol. 2., p. 215.

⁴⁹ *Sankt-Peterburgskie uchenye vedomosti* came out only in 1777, with only 22 out of the planned 52 issues published. They were sold for 5 kopecks in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Apart from Justi, *Nakaz* (Order) of Catherine the Great, *Ekonomicheskie nastavleniya dvoryanam, krest'yanam, povaram i povarikham* (Economic Instructions to Nobles, Peasants, Cooks and Lady-Cooks) by Sergei Drukovtsev, and the translation of David Hume's treatise on luxury were considered.

his fair reasoning« and commendable for offering a short essay summarizing his state welfare theory.⁵⁰ The translator was heavily criticized.

This translation has *little to do with the original* [...] the Russian translation, in many instances, is not just *obscure* and *incomprehensible*. Some passages have been translated contrary to the Author's intention.⁵¹

The principal example of such incomprehensibility is how forms of government are translated:

Justi divides government into *Monarchist* (*Monarchische*), or *Autocratic*, *Aristocratic* (*Aristocratische*) or *Noblemen's*, and *Democratic* (*Demokratische*) or *People's*; contrary to that, the Russian translation conveys *Monarchy* as *Samovlastie* (One-man Authority), differing in meaning from Justi's *Monarchy*.

The reviewer rightly notes that the terms used for forms of government are poorly differentiated: *samovlastie* (one-man authority) may refer to both monarchy and absolute power, while *mnogonachalie* (multiple authority) applies not so much to aristocracy but rather to democracy. Interestingly, the translator wanted to apply a systemic approach, not just using Russified words for the forms of government borrowed from Greek. Unfortunately, he did not succeed in doing so consistently. If he had translated using the triad *one – several – many* (*multi*) instead of *one – many* (*multi*) – *people*, this would have been acceptable and clear. The translator Avraam Volkov took this criticism into account when preparing the second edition of the translation published in 1802. The forms of government were conveyed fancifully and exactly as the critic suggested in 1777: *On Monarchy, or One-man Power, On Aristocracy, or Noblemen's Power, and On Democracy, or People's Power* (Justi, 1802).

A rather rare case of a slight abridgement of the text can be seen in the translation of paragraph 116 of *Natur und Wesen der Staaten* on despotic rule (*der despotischen Herrschaft*). In the Russian version, despotic becomes abusive, and a slave turns into a bondsman. Abridgments are made on page 214 of the original where Justi elaborates some metaphors that present a challenge to any translator. The following passage is completely omitted from the translation:

A country where everyone is equally oppressed, where the most strenuous striving for prosperity brings no advantage other than the dragging of golden chains, and where a despot, if it comes into his head, will make, as Monsieur Montesquieu says, a prince from a kitchen boy, a

⁵⁰ Kriticheskaya zametka na perevod Justi. Sushchestvennoe izobrazhenie estestva narodnykh obshchestv i vsyakogo roda zakonov (Evaluation of Justi's Translation. An Essential Representation of the Nature of People's Societies and All Kinds of Laws. Translated from German into Russian by Avraam Volkov). In: Sankt-Peterburgskie uchenye vedomosti na 1777 god (St. Petersburg Academic News for the Year 1777). 2nd ed. Ed. by A. N. Neustroev. St. Petersburg 1873, pp. 90–92.

⁵¹ Ibid, p. 92.

drudge or a horse boy, or a horse boy from a prince, can never pamper its vanity” (Justi’s original, p. 214).

The translator rightly conveys that such a state is governed only by fear and coercion, but omits the metaphor of controlling with a bridle, »like manipulating wooden puppets at a village show«. Translation of Justi’s works did not present a big problem in terms of censorship, as these texts contained no sharp criticism of Muscovy, Russia, or Peter I. Justi’s focus is more theoretical than rooted in specific historical examples and data, he tells an abstract story. One could imagine how translators would have dealt with Justi’s criticism of harsh Russian punishments, such as the death penalty, the cutting out of tongues, or exile to Siberia, for irreverence towards the Empress.⁵²

2.3 Plagiarism as an Opportunity to Compare Translations

Justi’s remarkable productivity and prolific nature are evident from the more than fifty books attributed to him across various disciplines. In some phases of his career he produced several multi-volume editions within a single year. This impressive output, however, did lead to some repetition, self-plagiarism and even outright plagiarism. The books often seemed layered upon each other, occasionally restating previously discussed content, albeit sometimes presented in a different manner. Ulrich Adam identifies this »working method« – that instead of republishing a text he re-used material under a different title – and has found identical passages in more than 30 instances.⁵³

One fragment, first published in *Manufacturen und Fabriken*, I, 107–126 in 1758 and later, in 1760, in *Die Grundfeste*, I, 450–463, (par. 503–522),⁵⁴ provides a unique opportunity to compare two translations into Russian. In the German publications the texts are separated by two years. The Russian translations are twelve years apart: the very first and earliest translation »O zavedenii i osnovanii manufaktur i fabric« [On Implementing and Founding Manufacturing and Factories] (Justi, 1763, Dec, pp. 530–547) was published in 1763 in the periodical *Ezhemesyachnye sochineniya*, and the second was published in 1775 in the second volume of the translation of *Die Grundfeste* (Justi, 1775, pp. 45–74). The later translation, made in the

⁵² Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi: Der Grundriss einer Regierung in fünf Buechern verfasst. Frankfurt, Leipzig 1759, p. 234 (§ 191).

⁵³ Adam: The Political Economy of J.H.G. Justi (see note 3), pp. 247–252.

⁵⁴ Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi: Vollständige Abhandlung von denen Manufakturen und Fabriken. I. Kopenhagen 1758. Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi: Die Grundfeste zur Macht und Glückseligkeit der Staaten: oder ausführliche Vorstellung der gesamten Policy-Wissenschaft. I. Königsberg, Leipzig 1760.

golden age of the Association for the Advancement of the Translation of Foreign Books into Russian, founded by Catherine the Great, turns out to be more obscure and difficult to understand than the translation published in 1763 in the journal *Ezhemesyachnye sochineniya*, the periodical being the brainchild of Müller and of the preceding period of Empress Elizabeth. The newer translation is far more remote from the modern use of language and is garrulous and pompous. The first translation is more laconic, closer to the German original, and clearer.

The passage in question concerns the Manufacturhaus. It is conveyed as *manufakturnyi dom* (manufacturing house) in the translation of 1763 and as *rukodel'niceskii dom* (handworking house) in the later translation. *To do something with hands* is the root and literal translation of this word, but the translation looks rather forlorn since there is no sense of the underlying practice. The second translator rejects a direct translation strategy in many cases, seeking to adapt the concepts and Russify the text. Even *Ein hundert tausend Thaler* – one hundred thousand thalers, required as initial capital to set up a manufactory, have turned into one hundred thousand rubles in the translation. One hundred thalers as initial capital for the production of silk have turned into one hundred rubles. The distance from the original has widened, the terms have become Russified with no meaning attached to them, hence the text does not make much sense. This strategy resembles Yurii Krizhanich's suggestion of replacing the Latinate loan word *soldaty* (soldiers) with the Slavonic word *ratobortsy* (warriors), Slavonic in origin; or Vladimir Dahl's idea to introduce the word *mokrostupy*, consisting of two Russian roots (*mokryi* – wet, and *stupat'* – to step), to replace the loan word *galoshi* (galoshes, overshoes).

Paradoxically, the use of Slavonic words and supplementary explanations in the translation makes it more wordy and less clear. On the contrary, the earlier translation of this passage in the 1760s by an unknown translator is relatively modern and conveys the meaning quite clearly. The same goes even in the reverse order for the translations of Montesquieu, with those from the 1770s appearing less clear than those made later.

3 Discussion: Meaning and Interpretation

The existence of a translation does not automatically entail its influence, as rightly noted by Keith Tribe.⁵⁵ It is also true that the absence of translation does not signify unfamiliarity with the author or the school of thought. According to Yuri Lotman, a connoisseur of Russian culture during the Enlightenment, the translation is »an act

⁵⁵ Keith Tribe: What is Cameralism? In: Cameralism and the Enlightenment: Happiness, Governance, and Reform in Transnational Perspective. Ed. by Ere Nokkala, Nicholas B. Miller. New York, London 2020, pp. 267–273.

of a certain recognition, an affirmation of the value of the text in the eyes of the Russian society». ⁵⁶ The enthusiastic preface to the first translation of Justi's works dated 1763 unequivocally confirms the recognition given to the author. In this regard, we can assume it was not for lack of acquaintance that the translations of Justi provoked no discussion. By contrast, it was a form of tacit recognition that these texts were of value. Cameralist ideas, as recognized by Giambattista Vico in his theory of culture, had become common sense. These translations, commissioned by authorities, symbolized the Russian Enlightenment's desire to keep abreast of European experience. Despite their not being commercially successful, they reflected the court's Baroque preferences: with beautiful editions, stylish language, and an element of excess.

3.1 Glückseligkeit and Policy as *Blago*

In the dictionaries of the time matches between languages were quite fixed. In Ivan Nordstet's 1780 Russo-German dictionary *Glückseligkeit* is the first meaning in the entries for *blagopoluchie* (welfare) and *blazhenstvo* (bliss), ⁵⁷ and *Gute Ordnung* for the words *blagoustroenie/blagoustroistvo* (good arrangement, good construction) and *blagochinie* (good order). ⁵⁸ In the second edition of the Ehrenreich Weismann German-Russian dictionary published in 1782 *Glückseligkeit* is characterized as »felicitas, fortuna, prosperitas, *schastie* (happiness), *blagopoluchie* (welfare), or *blazhenstvo* (bliss)«, and *Policey* as *politia*, *res publica*, *instituta civilia*, *blagoustroistvo gradskoye* or *grazhdanskoye* (good urban or civil arrangement), or *politsiya* (police). ⁵⁹ The dictionaries show that these terms are assigned the meanings used by the translators of Justi, i.e. *blagopoluchie* (welfare) for *Glückseligkeit* and *blagoustroistvo* (good arrangement) for *Policey*. Notably *blazhenstvo* (bliss), combining intimate happiness and divine joy, was among the widely used options to convey *Glückseligkeit*.

Translatability has its boundaries, which is described as untranslatability. The *Dictionary of Untranslatables* shows the difficulties in translating the term

⁵⁶ Yuri Lotman: *Russkaya literatura i kul'tura Prosveshcheniya* (The Russian Literature and Culture in the Era of Enlightenment). Moscow 2000, p. 145.

⁵⁷ Ivan Nordstet: *Rossiiskii, s nemetskimi i frantsuzskimi perevodami, slovar'* (Russian Dictionary, with Translations into German and French). Part 1, A–H. 1780, pp. 31, 34.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 33–34.

⁵⁹ Erikh Veisman (Erich Weismann): *Weismannov nemetskii leksikon s latinskimi* (Weismann's German Vocabulary with Latin). Translated into Russian by I.I. Ilyinskii, I.P. Satarov and I.S. Gorlitskii. 2nd ed. St. Petersburg 1782.

Glückseligkeit, along with *Seligkeit* and *Wohlfahrt*.⁶⁰ The meaning of the term can be better understood when translated into other languages: English *happiness*, *luck*, *welfare*; French *bonheur*, *félicité*, *béatitude*, *chance*, *fortune*, *prospérité*; Greek *eudaimonia* [εὐδαιμονία], *eutuchia* [εὐτυχία], *makariotês* [μακαριότης]; Latin *felicitas*, *beatitudo*. One of the meanings – luck – hardly ever occurs. The main choice is between *schastie* and *blagopoluchie* (happiness and welfare), with an aspect of *blazhenstvo* (seligkeit; bliss) in rare instances. As regards the Greek language, there is no doubt that *Glückseligkeit* is translated exactly as *eudaimonia*. Christian Wolff's *Glückseligkeit* is characterized by stability and persistence and not just luck. »Glückseligkeit includes physical and moral good. The Greek word *eudaimonia*, which in the most widespread philosophical schools refers to the quintessence of all sorts of good, has thus been translated by it« – explains Johann August Eberhard.⁶¹ Christian Helmreich clarifies that, following Kant's criticism of eudemonism, the usage of *Glückseligkeit* became much less common the term remaining characteristic of the eighteenth century.⁶² Nevertheless, there is no clear division and a certain fuzziness of meaning, i.e. a mix of happiness and welfare, luck and prudence, the profane and the sacred, immanence and transcendence. The translators of Justi conveyed this initial complexity and multi-layered character of the term through *blagosostoyanie* (prosperity), *blagodenstvie* (well-being), *blagopoluchie* (welfare) and *blazhenstvo* (bliss).

In translating Justi's *Policey* the translators of the 1770s created a new linguistic reality. *Policey* was mostly conveyed with the help of compound nouns *blagochinie* (good order) and *blagoustroistvo* (good arrangement). These notions had a different fate. *Blagochinie* became commonplace in the legislative practice under Catherine the Great, denoting police in the broadest sense. By the end of the eighteenth century, *blagochinie* had become reduced from a generic term for police to supervision and management in the hierarchy of the Orthodox church. By contrast, *Blagoustroistvo* became a generally valid concept, symbolizing in the twentieth century improvements in urban space and people's lives, i.e. a commonly used concept of political and social importance.⁶³ Urban improvement (*gorodskoye blagoustroistvo*) grew to be associated with arranging a new and more convenient urban environment: public spaces, caring for urban residents, and improving modern infrastructure, combining gardens with new technologies. The practice of using *blagoustroistvo* unites the age of the Empire, the urban renewal projects of Soviet times and

⁶⁰ Barbara Cassin (ed.): *Dictionary of Untranslatables. A Philosophical Lexicon*. Princeton, Oxford 2004, pp. 397–402.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 400.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 400.

⁶³ Markus Lähteenmäki and Michal Murawski: *Blagoustroistvo: Infrastructure, Determinism, (Re-) coloniality, and Social Engineering in Moscow, 1917–2022*. In: *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (2023), pp. 1–29.

modern large-scale redevelopment combining elements of social engineering, ›smart city‹ and surveillance capitalism. In this case, a cumbersome language construct, i.e. a compound noun consisting of *blago* (something good or blessing) and *ustroistvo* (arranging or constructing), once used to translate a barely translatable term, became the first archaic step towards an autonomous and very specific meaning in urban life redevelopment.

Reflecting on police, Michel Foucault stresses that, as far as disclosure of this concept is concerned, the good is not just an adjective but also the substance. The understanding of De la Mare, for whom: »The sole purpose of police is to lead man to the utmost happiness to be enjoyed in this life,« is further elaborated by Foucault: »The police cares *for the good of the soul* (thanks to religion and morality), *the good of the body* (food, health, clothing, housing), *wealth* (industry, trade, labour).«⁶⁴ Foucault also recognizes that Justi's work »is a much more advanced« demonstration of how the police problem evolved, for Justi defines much more clearly what the central paradox of police is. The police, he says, is what enables the state to increase its power and exert its strength to the full. On the other hand, police has to keep the citizens happy – happiness being understood as survival, life, and improved living.⁶⁵ Ere Nokkala, an expert on Justi's political ideas, also supports the duality of the police concept: freedom and order, individualization and totalitarianism, happiness and force.⁶⁶ Decoding Justi's police concept, Nokkala emphasizes that

Policey could be understood on at least two levels. In the wider meaning *Policey* was economic policy (*wirtschaftliche Policey*). To this part belonged all measures in the internal affairs of the country through which the general wealth (*Vermögen*) of the state might be consolidated and increased. All commerce [...] forestry and similar subjects [...] for the purpose of securing the general welfare of the state. In its narrower sense Justi also understood *Policey* to constitute everything that is required for the good ordering of civic life, especially the maintenance of good discipline and order (*Zucht und Ordnung*) [...]. In his *Natur und Wesen* Justi makes a further distinction and points out that there is the third, narrowest concept of *Policey*, used for instance by Montesquieu that could be called *Stadtpolicey*. In this sense *Policey* took care of the tidiness and order of the city.⁶⁷

To a certain extent, the translation of *police* with the help of the compounds, consisting of *blago* (good) and *chin* (order, rank) or *blago* (good) and *ustroistvo* (arrangement, construction), can be interpreted not only as a meaningless addition of *blago* (good) to each word but a reflection of the multiple meaning of the notion *police* that is to be translated. As regards discipline and order, we speak of hierarchy

⁶⁴ Michel Foucault: *Omnes et Singulatim: Towards a Criticism of ›Political Reason‹*. In: *The Tanner Lectures on Human Values*. Salt Lake City 1981, p. 250.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

⁶⁶ Nokkala: *From Natural Law to Political Economy* (see note 3), pp. 94–95.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 97–98; Justi: *Natur und Wesen* (see note 23), p. 582.

and *chin* (order, rank), whereas the order in a city cannot be better described than by *ustroistvo* (arrangement), harmony or construction implemented for the good of the state and its subjects. Using different words to translate *Policey* – police, good order and good arrangement – has a logic prescribed by Justi's taxonomy. As already noted, the term *gorodskoye blagoustroistvo* (good arrangement or construction of cities) in the sense of *Stadtpolicey* has had a long life.

The same explanation goes for the translation of *Glückseligkeit* as *blagopoluchie* (welfare) or *blagosostoyanie* (prosperity). Justi defines the notion of *Glückseligkeit* in his earlier works as the wealth and security of the state. In his later works, translated into Russian, the focus is shifted towards the subjects who are happy when they enjoy freedom, comfort, and security.⁶⁸ Under the influence of Montesquieu, happiness at the state level now required freedom or civic liberty and the notion of wealth was replaced with a broader notion of inner strength (*innerliche Stärke*), which reflected not only the quantity of funds available but also the ability to use them in the emerging competition between states or under the circumstances came to be known as *jealousy of trade*. *Glückseligkeit* was sometimes translated as *blazhenstvo* (bliss), where the subjective, personal, or intimate aspect of individual happiness, even coloured by divine patronage, prevailed, which was fully possible in Paradise. More objective options – *blagopoluchie* (welfare), *blagosostoyanie* (prosperity) – were more common. These terms are to this day used in statistics to better capture the satisfaction at the individual and social levels in the context of sustainable development.

We see the additional »good« added to Russian translations, as if the good is multiplied. This is partly explained by the politeness of communication. This was certainly true not only for German publications on police and cameralistics. We might recall that the 1755 work on economics by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (*Economie morale et politique*) was translated into Russian as *Stat'ya o politicheskoi ekonomii, ili gosudarstvennom blagouchrezhdenii* (An Essay on Political Economy or Public Welfare). The French *politique* is conveyed as *gosudarstvennoe blagouchrezhdenie*, a compound with two roots, *blago* (good) and *uchrezhdenie* (institution).⁶⁹

The emphasis on the concept of good or good governance was also a hallmark of the era. For instance, Antonio Trampus, discussing the translations of Emmerich de Vattel's *Le Droit de gens* into Italian, focuses on the notion of *bon gouvernement* for small states.⁷⁰ In the translation of *Grundsätze der Polizey, Handlung und Finanz-*

⁶⁸ Nokkala: From Natural Law to Political Economy (see note 3), p. 101.

⁶⁹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau: *Stat'ya o politicheskoi ekonomii, ili gosudarstvennom blagouchrezhdenii* (An Essay on Political Economy or Public Welfare). Translated from the Encyclopedia by Alexander Luzhkov. St. Petersburg 1777.

⁷⁰ Antonio Trampus: »Good Government« and the Tradition of Small States. The Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Reception of the *Droit des gens*. In: The Legacy of Vattel's *Droit des gens*. Ed. by Stapelbroek Koen, Trampus Antonio. Cham 2019, pp. 167–188; Vattel understands *bon gouverne-*

wissenschaft (1770) by Joseph von Sonnenfels into Italian, »good governance« was added to the title: *Scienza del buon governo scritta dal signor di Sonnenfels e recata dal tedesco in italiano*.⁷¹ This could be linked to the tradition of *buon governo* in Italian cities.⁷² Similarly, when comparing the legal practices of Germany and Russia, Marc Raeff used the term *Well-Ordered Police State*, emphasizing the significance of good governance during that period.⁷³

3.2 Reception of Justi

Undoubtedly, Justi was regarded in Russia not just as a cameralist but also as a representative of the Enlightenment and a prominent contemporary thinker. One of the reviews of the translation, more an advertisement, stated that Justi argued against Montesquieu in many of his texts.⁷⁴ Interestingly, Justi was perceived not as an interpreter of Montesquieu, or as a writer who borrowed from him, but as an independent thinker refuting the eminent French author. In his foreword and commentary to *Der handelnde Adel*, Justi, like the circle of writers associated with Vincent de Gournay, advocated a trading nobility, not a military nobility like Montesquieu. Justi argued that a monarchy could thrive without relying on a feudal aristocracy. Unlike Montesquieu, he viewed China not as an Oriental tyrannical system but as an effective model of governance, worthy of attention and even of imitation. Justi supported luxury consumption, especially when it contributes to domestic economic growth. As evidenced by the foreword to the first translation of his book *Die Natur und das Wesen* (1777), Justi was held in high regard and considered on par with Montesquieu.

The same edition of *Sankt-Peterburgskie uchenye vedomosti* (St. Petersburg Academic News) mentioned Catherine the Great's *Nakaz* (Order). Historians have noted the influence of Justi on the drafting of this Order and of the new Law Code

ment rather widely as *welfare*, *happiness* (*félicité*) and *security*, while interpreting *police* closer to the modern notion as maintenance of order for public benefit and comfort. See Emmerich de Vattel: *Le droit des gens. Ou Principes de la loi naturelle, appliqués à la conduite et aux affaires des nations et des souverains*. London 1758.

⁷¹ Joseph von Sonnenfels: *Scienza del buon governo scritta dal signor di Sonnenfels e recata dal tedesco in italiano*. Milano 1784.

⁷² The frescoes from Siena depicting poor and good governance are well-known. See Quentin Skinner: Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Buon Governo Frescoes. Two Old Questions, Two New Answers. In: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 62 (1999), pp. 1–28.

⁷³ Raeff: *The Well-Ordered Police State* (see note 9).

⁷⁴ *Sankt-Peterburgskie uchenye vedomosti* na 1777 god (St. Petersburg Academic News for the Year 1777). Ed. by Nikolai Novikov. 2nd ed. St. Petersburg 1873, p. 92.

(*Ulozhenie*).⁷⁵ Despite the observation that Justi's texts are »verbose and lengthy«,⁷⁶ Nikolai Cechulin suggested that twenty-four articles in the *Nakaz* could have been borrowed from Justi, especially in Chapter XVII, »On Cities«. Recent findings by Nadezhda Plavinskaya, who has studied Catherine the Great's drafts,⁷⁷ has found evidence of textual borrowings from other sources, such as Charles Montesquieu's *On the Spirit of the Laws*, Beccaria's *On Crime and Punishment*, the *Encyclopedia* of Diderot and d'Alembert, and *On the Legalization of Finance* by Semyon Desnitsky.⁷⁸ While Plavinskaya did not find direct evidence of borrowings from Justi, she underlined the similarity between some passages and that the similarity of the views of Justi and Catherine the Great indicated a potential influence of Justi's ideas on the Empress's thinking.⁷⁹

Such influence is difficult to detect, since it is organically absorbed and processed. We can point to the commonality of views, although we cannot cite multiple quotations, reviews or discussions. Justi becomes a starting point rather than a source to be plundered. There is reason to believe that such famous educators of the time as Mikhail Lomonosov, Prince Mikhail Shcherbatov and Alexander Radishchev were not only familiar with Justi's work but internalized his views. We can talk more specifically about Alexander Radishchev.

Radishchev studied in the Corps of Pages and was among the twelve young and talented noblemen who were sent by Catherine the Great to the University of Leipzig to learn how to be statesmen and master the law and legal sciences. In a note dated 30 September 1771 Professor Schwabe of the Leipzig Faculty of Philosophy states that, from August 1767 till October 1769, Radishchev »was diligently learning German using the books by Gottsched and Justi and was quite successful in it«. ⁸⁰

75 Nikolai Cechulin: Ob istochnikakh *Nakaza* Ekateriny II. (On the Sources of the Order of Catherine II). In: Zhurnal ministerstva narodnogo Prosveshcheniya (Journal of the Ministry of Public Education). April (1902), pp. 306–317; Nikolai Cechulin: *Nakaz* Imperatritsy Ekateriny II, dannyi komissii o sochinenii proekta Novogo Ulozheniya (Order of the Empress Catherine II, Given to the Commission on the Drafting of a New Law Code). St. Petersburg 1907; Fedor Taranovskii: Politicheskaya doktrina v Nakaze Imperatritsy Ekateriny II (Political Doctrine in the Order of Empress Catherine II). In: Sbornik statei po istorii prava, posvyashchennyi M.F. Vladimirskomu-Budanovu (Collection of Essays on the History of Law, Dedicated to M.F. Vladimirsky-Budanov). Kyiv 1904, pp. 44–86.

76 Cechulin: *Nakaz* (see note 75), p. CXXXV.

77 Nadezhda Plavinskaya (ed.): *Nakaz* Komissii o sochinenii proekta novogo ulozheniya Ekateriny II (Order of Catherine II to the Commission on the Drafting of a New Law Code). Moscow, Pamyatniki istoricheskoi mysli 2018.

78 Plavinskaya: *Nakaz* (see note 77), p. 165. See also Victor Kamendrowsky: Catherine II's *Nakaz*, State Finances and the Encyclopédie. In: Canadian-American Slavic Studies 13.4 (1979), pp. 545–554.

79 Plavinskaya: *Nakaz* (see note 77), p. 146.

80 Abel Starcev (p. 27) refers to the following source: RGADA (Russian State Archives of Ancient Documents), f. 249, d. 6465, sheet 544.

Radishchev himself never directly referred to *Justi*, but he had been diligently learning German using his book. There are grounds for believing that this might have been the book on *Polizeywissenschaft* (1756), which could have been bought from Nikolai Radishchev by the Commission on Lawmaking along with other books. The science of police, or the science of good order in eighteenth-century parlance, became an important part of Radishchev's background.⁸¹ In his library he had Wilhelm von Schröder's (1640–1688) *Schatz und Rentkammer*, books by Johann Friedrich von Pfeiffer (1718–1787), Gottfried Achenwall (1719–1772) and Joseph von Sonnenfels (1732–1817).⁸² In his *Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow* Radishchev writes:

Civic **welfare** can appear in various forms. **Blessed** is the state, they say, when peace and order reign. **Blessed** it seems when its fields are not barren and when in its cities proud buildings soar. **Blessed** they call it when the power of its arms extends far, and it reigns beyond itself not only through force but also through the power of the word, over the opinions of others. But all these forms of **welfare** can be called superficial, momentary, ephemeral, partial, and theoretical.⁸³

Who is Radishchev arguing with here? He is arguing with the views of those he knows. As a man preparing to be a statesman, and a bureaucrat, as a practitioner who worked in many government institutions, he is arguing here with the common practice of administration, the practice of cameralists who sought and gave advice on how to reach *Glückseligkeit*. Radishchev is familiar with *Justi*, and he is entering into a dialogue with the cameral sciences.

Who read the books of cameralists? *Justi* was published but rarely cited. The culture of citation of that time was different from today. The demand for academic books in Russian seemed to be low. Thus, the famous publisher and educator Nikolai Novikov complained of the low demand for academic literature:

There were almost no useful books available in Russian before, since previously only novels and fairy tales were printed. However, these works sold well. Now, when many books »serving to adorn the mind« have been translated, they do not sell even one tenth as well as novels. What London bookseller would not be horrified to hear that it sometimes takes us ten years to

⁸¹ See more on Radishchev's library and on his putting cameralism to practice below.

⁸² The numbers from the list of books from A.N. Radishchev's library in Ja. L. Barskov's publication (Yakov [Jacob] Barskov: *Knigi iz sobraniia A.N. Radishheva* [Books from A.N. Radishchev's Collection]. In: *Dela i dni. Istoricheskij zhurnal. Kniga pervaja* [Affairs and Days. Historical Journal. Book One]. St. Petersburg 1920, No. 86, 91, 93, 102, 104, 109, 112).

⁸³ Alexander Radishchev: *Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow*. Translated by Andrew Kahn and Irina Reyfinan. New York 2020, p. 134.

sell a 200-copy run of a printed book? O tempora. O mores. Take courage, Russian writers! Readers will soon stop buying your writing at all.⁸⁴

The editions of the Association for the Advancement of the Translation of Foreign Books, that published a four-volume book by Justi, certainly sold badly. When Justi was directly cited it was often his German texts that were mentioned, not the translations. For instance, Yakov Kozelskii appealed to Justi as an authority in shaping his own ideas on security and the art of warfare, alongside Rousseau and Montesquieu.⁸⁵ The presence in Russia of extensive collections of Justi's books in German attests to a widespread interest in his works. For instance, the Russian National Library (formerly the Imperial Public Library) holds more than 30 different books by Justi published between 1748 and 1794.⁸⁶ Similarly, the Library of St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences contains a comparable number of Justi's books. Both translations and the original works by Justi reflect the significant demand for his scholarship in Russia.

3.3 The Elements of Baroque in the Russian Editions of Justi's Works

Interpreting the intellectual culture of the eighteenth century throws up paradoxes, particularly when it comes to the cameral sciences: their combination of state micromanagement with the granting of freedom and property to subjects, regulation, and self-government. Similarly, the translations of Justi's works present a paradox of their own. Despite Justi's prominence as a thinker, these translations are rarely discussed or cited. One reason for this could be the ready access to Justi in the original language, making translations less of a necessity for academic discourse.

The physical opulence of Justi's translations in the 1760s and 1770s remains a puzzle. These editions lack typical academic attributes, such as explanatory additions, comments, forewords, or afterwords. Nor does it seem likely that these edi-

84 Vladimir Semennikov: *Rannee izdatel'skoe obshchestvo N.I. Novikova (1773 goda). Ottisk iz zhurnala Russkii Bibliofil* (Early Publishing Company of N.I. Novikov [1773]. A Reprint from the Journal Russian Bibliophile). St. Petersburg 1912, pp. 13–14.

85 Yakov Kozel'skii (Kozelsky): *Filosofskie predlozheniya, sochinennyye nadvornym sovetnikom i pravitel'stvuyushchego senata sekretarem Ya. Kozel'skim* (Philosophical Proposals Composed by the Court Adviser and the Government Senate Secretary Ya. Kozelsky). In: *Izbrannyye proizvedeniya russkikh myslitelei vtoroi poloviny XVIII veka* (Selected Works of Russian Thinkers of the Second Half of the 18th Century). Vol 1. Moscow 1952, pp. 548–549.

86 There are 30 different books of Justi present in the Russian National Library. According to the Reinert's bibliography (2009), the library contains the following 30 books in German and French: No. 1, 10, 15, 16, 17, 23, 24, 29, 31, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 44, 45, 50, 51, 52, 57, 58, 59, 60, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 72, 74. Ten books are present in more than one copy.

tions had commercial success. They may well have served instead as a symbol of enlightenment and education for the court or elite. The Baroque culture of the time, with its abstract notion of enlightenment, played a significant role in this context, reflecting architecture, music, literature, and more. Exploring the influence of Justi's books in Russian, this connection to the Baroque culture of the court is a noteworthy consideration.

The Baroque style in architecture is characterized by its willful, fanciful, bizarre, and extravagant nature. It can be described as *capriccioso*, *bizzarro*, *stravagante*.⁸⁷ In fact, Baroque is not just a style, but the absence of a single style. An awkward note of extravagance, a striving for picturesqueness or motion is evident in every detail. The viewer must be caught, amazed, intoxicated and thrown into ecstasy. Grandeur, splendour, and use of illusions add to the overall effect. The formal aspects combine well with specific historical ones. As Cornelius Gurlitt has shown, in the Baroque the figure of a prince can become a specific historical person, while the prince's court becomes a specific historical place. The life of the Saxon prince Augustus the Strong appears as a subject of study and a constricting centre, «a symbol of Christian splendor in the real world» to which all elements are joined.⁸⁸

Books were published at court. The Empress herself, or the influential patrons of the Academy of Sciences and Moscow University, initiated and arranged for translations. They were financed by the Treasury. Some were printed on special paper and bound lavishly. The book as a symbol of the Enlightenment became an important element of the Baroque court. Vignettes were an inevitable element of books, but the book itself became such a vignette, referring to the splendour and grandeur of the enlightened court. Later, texts became more eloquent and lengthy. They seemed to be designed to charm and captivate the reader. The productivity and versatility of Justi is itself an expression of Baroque culture. The increase in the number of volumes published through plagiarism and the sheer number of volumes published furthered the same end, to impress not only readers but also the powerful, who had at their disposal the gift of favours and positions.

Throughout Justi's creative career patronage played a significant role, with influential figures like Colonel Wiegand Gottlob von Gersdorff (1741–1745), Count Frederick William Haugwitz (1750–1755), Count Bernstorff (1758), and the Prussian King Frederick the Great (1765–1768). If we note that the attention of such patrons still had to be earned, and included Baron von Münchhausen, the rector of the University of Göttingen in their number, it becomes clear that Justi's career fits into the

⁸⁷ Heinrich Wölfflin: *Renaissance and Baroque*. Ithaca, New York 1961.

⁸⁸ Cornelius Gurlitt: *August der Starke. Ein Fürstenleben zur Zeit des deutschen Barocks*. Bd. I–II. Dresden 1924. See Ivan Chechot: *Barokko kak kul'turologicheskoe ponyatie. Opyt issledovaniya K. Gurlita* (Baroque as a Cultural Concept. The Experience of Examining K. Gurlit's Collection). In: *Barokko v slavyanskikh kul'turakh* (Baroque in Slavic Cultures). Moscow, Nauka 1982, pp. 326–349.

descriptive framework of the Baroque. The Baroque man, in Wölfflin's words, is extremely productive, generating masses of books, often overlapping with borrowings. This approach reflects the Baroque culture's emphasis on quantity and volume as a means of increasing influence and recognition.



Fig. 3: The frontispiece of Justi's *Onomatologia*. Collection of the National Library of Finland

In Justi's *Onomatologia oeconomica practica oder Œconomisches Wörterbuch*⁸⁹ the baroque engraving for the frontispiece was done by Augustus Wind from a drawing by Gottfried Eichler the Younger (1715–1770) of Augsburg. The female figures invite us into the wonderful world of economic knowledge, from which this dictionary removes a mysterious veil. There is also a certain dramatization here – the curtain of the economic theatre rises, revealing a marvellous perspective, an allegory of knowledge depicted in the interplay of light and shadow.

3.4 Long Dureé of *Policey* as *Blagoustroistvo* and *Blagochinie*

In contrast to the Petrine era, when *Policey* was directly translated as police, there was a shift during the Catherinian era, particularly from the 1770s onwards. The terms »blagochinie« (good order) and »blagoustroistvo« (good arrangement) emerged and became widely used to convey the various nuances of »Policey«. In time the transition to a new political economy formed around simple principles, linked to the emergence of Smith's *Wealth of Nations* as a totemic text, gradually displaced the influence of the cameral and police sciences. Although they did not completely disappear, they became less visible, particularly in comparison to other fields like legal sciences and finance. Universities in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Kharkov established and developed departments dedicated to studying the »laws of good arrangement and good order«.

The four-volume edition of Justi (1772–1778), together with *Grundsätze der Policey-Wissenschaft* dated 1756, is in the reference list of Nikolai Rozhdestvenskii (1802–1872), Adjunct of St. Petersburg Imperial University's Department of Good Arrangement and Good Order of the State. The chapters of the textbook *Osnovaniya gosudarstvennogo blagoustroistva s primeneniem k rossiiskim zakonam* (The Fundamentals of Good Arrangement of the State as Applied to Russian Laws) (St. Petersburg, 1840) dealing with the history of the science of good arrangement of the State includes consideration of Justi along with Sonnenfels and Pfeiffer.⁹⁰ Three main shortcomings of Justi's works are outlined:

Firstly, they lack a correct theory of national wealth: the writings of Adam Smith have not yet been published; secondly, we do not find correct concepts of the State essence and purpose in

⁸⁹ Justi: *Onomatologia oeconomica practica oder Œconomisches Wörterbuch*. Frankfurt, Leipzig 1760.

⁹⁰ Chapters XVI–XVII, on supervision and moral order. In: Nikolai Rozhdestvenskii: *Osnovaniya gosudarstvennogo blagoustroistva s primeneniem k rossiiskim zakonam* (The Fundamentals of Good Arrangement of the State as Applied to Russian Laws). St. Petersburg 1840.

them; and, after all, thirdly, there are no clear concepts of activities of administrative institutions, the main principles of which they tried to show.⁹¹

Despite these criticisms, the scope of Good Arrangement in this book has much in common with Justi's police sciences. Regulation and encouragement are not limited to national wealth, incentives for agriculture, manufacturing, handicraft and trade, together with protection for property rights, but also include measures in areas such as demographic policy, healthcare (including measures against epidemics), food security, reduction of poverty, begging and orphanage, the development of both secular and clerical education, moral education, and the cultivation of good taste.

The educational publication *Vstupitel'nye ponyatiya v uchenii o blagoustroistve i blagochinii gosudarstvennom* (Introductory Concepts in the Teaching on the Good Arrangement and Good Order of the State)⁹² by Ivan Platonov, Professor of Kharkiv University's Department of Good Arrangement and Good Order of the State, contains a similar interpretation of the applications. Platonov credits Justi with creating measures that harmonize the well-being of individual families with the common good.⁹³ Six different works by Justi are listed in the extensive bibliography for the course, including *Die Grundfeste der Macht*, by Bogaevskii.⁹⁴

The focus on these topics and the establishment of relevant departments can be easily understood in light of the 1835 University Charter, which mandated that all universities should establish a »department of good arrangement and good order laws« within the Faculty of Law. In the 1863 charter, this department was referred to as the »department of police laws«, encompassing both the »doctrine of security« (laws of good order) and the »doctrine of welfare« (laws of good arrangement).⁹⁵ Consequently, the creation of these departments, alongside departments of political economy and statistics, was in accordance with the existing regulations and served to prolong the significance of cameral and police sciences.⁹⁶

During the reign of Catherine the Great, spanning a quarter of a century from 1763 to 1778, four translations of Justi's works were published, with two of them

⁹¹ Rozhdestvenskii: *Osnovaniya gosudarstvennogo blagoustroistva* (see note 90), p. 19.

⁹² Ivan Platonov: *Vstupitel'nye ponyatiya v uchenie o blagoustroistve i blagochinii gosudarstvennom* (Introductory Concepts in the Teaching on the Good Arrangement and Good Order of the State). Kharkiv 1856.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁹⁵ *Sravnitel'naya tablitsa ustavov universitetov 1884, 1863, 1835 i 1804 gg.* (Comparative Table of University Statutes of 1884, 1863, 1835 and 1804). St. Petersburg 1891, pp. 95, 98.

⁹⁶ This picture should be completed with the obvious interest in cameral sciences on the part of Russian practitioners under Nicholas the First. See, for example, essays on the Minister of Finance, Count Kankrin: Mondey, Dubyansky. Aleksandr Dubyanskii (Dubyansky): *Idei kameralizma v ekonomicheskoi politike E. F. Kankrina* (Cameralist Ideas in the Economic Policy of E. F. Kankrin). In: *Terra Economicus* 17.4 (2019), pp. 95–112.

completely and almost literally reproducing the original. This extent of translation from a single author, focusing on political economy and economic policy, was truly unprecedented. The latter half of the eighteenth century witnessed a surge in translation efforts within the Russian Empire, coinciding with a similar peak of activity in Germany and Europe more generally. As Kenneth Carpenter observed, this era marked a peak in the migration of ideas through translations.⁹⁷ Interestingly, translations into Russian emerged at a slightly faster pace and constituted a more comprehensive collection of Justi's works on political economy, compared to translations in French, Spanish, or Dutch.

Indeed, the translation of Justi's *Die Natur und das Wesen der Staaten* in 1770 appeared two years after the translation of Jakob von Bielfeld's *Institutions Politiques*⁹⁸ and Jean-François Melon's *Essai politique sur le commerce*.⁹⁹ It preceded the translation of Accarias de Serionne's treatise on commerce by a year¹⁰⁰ and was published five years prior to the incomplete translation of Montesquieu's *De l'esprit de lois*.¹⁰¹ The translation of Justi's *Die Grundfeste zu der Macht und Glückseligkeit* also appeared at this time.

Justi's works were primarily published by two prominent academic publishing houses: the Academy of Sciences and the publishing house of Moscow University. However, these translations lacked academic or commercial significance. They often lacked any scholarly apparatus such as foreword, notes, or afterword. Indexes were omitted and citations of texts translated and published were rare. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that influential figures of the Enlightenment, such as Alexander Radishchev, were familiar with the cameral sciences. All the same, it seems that within learned circles the preference was to read Justi's works in their original, namely German.

The significance of these translations becomes more apparent when we consider the patrons behind the publications and the process by which they were prepared. The involvement of the Empress Catherine the Great, of Count Nikita Panin, of influential printing houses with close ties to the court, as well as of translators themselves, who often received substantial compensation and experienced career advancements – this all points to the hypothesis that publishing these books became a part of a larger »sovereign deed«. Luxuriously published books themselves

⁹⁷ Carpenter: Dialogue in Political Economy (see note 7), p. 6.

⁹⁸ Jakob Friedrich von Bielfeld: *Nastavleniya politicheskaya* (Institutions Politiques). Translated from French by Count Fedor Shakhovskiy. Part 1. Moscow 1768.

⁹⁹ Jean-François Melon: *Politicheskii opyt o kommertsii* (A Political Essay Upon Commerce). Translated from French by Semen Bashylov. St. Petersburg 1768.

¹⁰⁰ Jacques Accarias de Serionne: *Pol'zy evropeiskikh narodov, iz'yasnennyya s storony torgovli* (Les intérêts des nations de l'Europe, développés relativement au commerce). Translated from French by Semen Bashylov. St. Petersburg 1771.

¹⁰¹ Montesquieu: *O razume zakonov* (see note 39).

symbolised the grandeur of the enlightened Baroque court. Justi's eloquent and pompous tomes were remarkably well-suited for such a task, effectively fulfilling their role.

Comparison of the translations and the original German texts has revealed several intriguing observations. On one hand, as noted by contemporaries, the translations appear vague, incomprehensible and excessively »sweet« in writing style. The term *Policey* was seldom translated as police. Instead, compound nouns were used, the first root being *blago* (good). For example, *blagochinine* (good order) and *blagoustroistvo* (good arrangement) were employed. Similarly, the translators opted to translate *Glückseligkeit* not as *schastie* (happiness) or *blazhenstvo* (bliss) but instead utilized similar compounds with *blago* such as *blagosostoyanie* (prosperity), *blagopoluchie* (welfare), *blagodenstvie* (well-being). Consequently, the recurrence of the word *blago* in the translations became overwhelming, resembling a parasitic word appended to various notions. These and some other strategies employed by the translators in their quest to find more equivalents, inherent in the Russian language, significantly complicated the reading and interpretation of the original text.

On the other hand, their efforts to discover corresponding concepts for German terms reflect a serious endeavour to understand the multifaceted semantics of these words. This work resulted in the integration of certain aspects of cameral and police sciences and recruited them into the transformation of the Russian monarchy. Although the concept of »blagochinie« (good order) did not gain traction during Catherine the Great's reign, it was absorbed by the Orthodox Church. The notion of »blagoustroistvo« (good arrangement or construction) of cities became embedded in the vocabulary of the late nineteenth century, was enthusiastically promoted during the Soviet era, and has recently experienced a resurgence in modern-day Moscow, where convenience is combined with surveillance. This usage persisted in nineteenth-century universities, some of which established departments focusing on police laws or »good order and good arrangement«. Enlightened contemporaries of Catherine the Great who fell out of favour, such as Alexander Radishchev and Denis Fonvizin, understood that an excessive preoccupation with the »good« would not salvage the grandeur of the throne, and that no charter of good order could save the colossus of autocracy from decline.

