

SWEDENBORG AMONG THE SLAVS

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1

There can be no doubt that the Swedish spirit-seer attracted the attention of some particular Slavic circles even during his lifetime. Interest in his theology on the one hand and his visions on the other hand has certainly not diminished. There have been Slavic Swedenborgians even in the twentieth century, and there still are.⁴⁵ Right up to the present time, though, little attention has been paid to Swedenborg's influence by Slavists, for various reasons. In the first place, the few representatives of the history of Slavic spirituality have had no clear notion of the significance of Swedenborg's purely theological endeavors and have been familiar only with his "fantastic" visions, which they have had no desire to study, even though there are serious theological concepts expressed in living images there if one looks at them simply from the perspective of psychopathology. This was one factor that impeded even the reading of Swedenborg's works. In the second half of the nineteenth century, under the tyranny of a primitive positivism and a no less primitive materialism, this avoidance of Swedenborg could only increase, amounting to complete ignorance. In some Slavic lands, though, there were other causes at work as well: official or unofficial censorship, meaning censorship by the state, especially in Russia, where any writing about Swedenborg fell not only under general censorship but also under

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45. There was an organization of Czech Swedenborgians, whose literature unfortunately is not accessible to me at this time. Cf. § 4 *infra*.

the censorship of the "Holy Synod." For Slavs in Austria this censorship ceased as early as the second half of the nineteenth century. However, censorship remained the official attitude, which was particularly strong in Russia. To write seriously about Swedenborg at the time of the "second enlightenment"⁴⁶ entailed for the author of such a work the risk of being regarded as not quite normal. Only the great Russian philosopher Vladimir Solov'ev, whose spiritual stature provided him with a kind of monumental shield even during his lifetime, could hazard a presentation of Swedenborg's ideas in a serious essay in an encyclopedia. On top of the enlightened official attitude, though incomparably weaker, there was a censorship by ecclesiastical circles in Catholic countries. And since we must eventually take pains to set Swedenborg's influence in some historical perspective, the Russian revolution arrived, preventing any publication on the subject up to the present time. There is no way to research Czech, Slovakian, and Polish Swedenborgianism after the close of World War II, and it is best not to mention any names in these regions. There is no doubt that one could find a great deal of material on Slavic Swedenborgians in Slavic archives, but from foreign countries there can be no thought of access to such archives at present. I must be content here with a few brief hints, then, that will probably be no more than "membra disjecta." No history of Slavic Swedenborgianism can in fact be written, but a few observations may perhaps at least suggest the points where such work would need to begin.

To the extent that material is available, much of it is scattered, so in the following overview there will undoubtedly be many gaps that may perhaps be filled in at some later time, when archival material is published for the first time.

We must regret particularly that in the present state of our knowledge of Slavic Swedenborgianism it is almost impossible for us to draw clear boundaries between the three groups of "Swedenborgians," namely between those who knew Swedenborg but took either an indifferent or a hostile attitude toward his ideas and experiences, and the two types of his admirers and followers, some of whom were impressed only by his visions and might accept a few of the doctrines of his theological system, while others were adherents of his [entire] theological teaching. In many cases only

46. I choose this title for the ideology of the 1860s in Russia. Cf. my book, *Gegel' v Rossii* (Paris, 1939), pp. 246ff.

the disclosure of new material currently resting in archives will provide clarification as to which of these groups we should assign one individual or another. But we will discuss this further in what follows.

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In Russia from the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries, we find only occasional mention of Swedenborg, mention which only rarely provides any concrete information. In very rare instances we hear of the existence of individual adherents of Swedenborg, who almost never dare, however, to speak openly of their sympathy with the teachings of the great spirit-seer. Although V. Solov'ev does mention "Swedenborgian groups" in the essay mentioned above, he makes explicit mention of only two names.

Remarks about Swedenborg oscillate between two poles—unconditional acceptance of his entire teaching and sarcastic mention of his name as a great dreamer.

In this regard one should accept claims about third persons only with caution: someone may at times be called a Swedenborgian simply because he wanted to take a stance in regard to Swedenborg that was not absolutely hostile or—less often—because he read Swedenborg, with or without interest, a dimension that is often not even mentioned.⁴⁷

It was probably in the closing years of his life that I. R. Košelev, father of the famous Slavophile, became personally acquainted with Swedenborg, if we may believe Ju. Bartenev, who makes note of this fact some fifty years later in his memoirs.⁴⁸ In any event, there was already interest in the visions and the teaching of Swedenborg in Russia at this time: as early as 1780 there existed a handwritten translation of his *Heaven and Hell*. The translator was N. F. Malyshkin; the title page of the book was even printed, which presumably indicates an intention to bring the work out in printed form.⁴⁹

47. I have had access to extensive material on the question of Slavic Swedenborgians which unfortunately is not available to me at present. So I am obliged to make several statements in the following pages without exact references, and in some instances without any references at all.

48. *Russkij Archiv*, 1886, II, p. 79. I. Košelev was Adjutant to Prince Potemkin. Bartenev heard from Košelev himself that he had known Swedenborg personally, as well as St. Martin and Eckartshausen.

49. *Russkij Archiv*, 1906, I, p. 191. N. F. Malyshkin was a judge in Jaroslavl'. The handwritten version of his translation was found there later. The printed title page may have come from the Moscow press of N. I. Novokov (*cf.* the essay on "Deutsche Mystik in Russland" in the present

It is in fact right from the circles that were then enamored of western mysticism, the circles of Freemasonry, that we also hear a skeptical voice. The Freemason and mystic Kraevič (1756–1790) believed that he could prove that the works of several mystics reflected the human nature of their authors too strongly and "smelled of human flesh" (*čelovečinoiu pachnut*). He is using an expression from Russian folklore; these are the words of the witches and man-eaters when they detect the presence of hidden humans by their smell. The humanness of Swedenborg led him to become "involved in lies" (*zavral'sja*).⁵⁰

At about this time the noted actor I. S. Dmitrevski (1733–1821) apparently also met Swedenborg. We have no more detailed information about this.⁵¹

In 1808 the elderly poet Deržavin wrote a poem in which the name of Swedenborg is repeated as a refrain. Actually, though, it is simply in praise of the Russian ballet. The ballet "Zefir and Flora," performed by Didelot, a renowned French ballet impresario in Russian service, roused such enthusiasm in Deržavin that he wrote an ode, with each of its six stanzas ending with the lines, "Swedenborg, you are right!" (*Prav ty, prav ty, Švedenburg*). He evidently does not know Swedenborg's name exactly, spelling it "Švedenburg," and he obviously thinks that Swedenborg's visions portrayed the "pleasures of paradise" in bright and theatrical colors.⁵²

At about the same time* (the note comes from 1809), the man who would later become the renowned Metropolitan Filaret came to St. Petersburg as an unassuming monk. In the Holy Synod he met a man who advised him to read Swedenborg (*Švedenburg*), which he did, without, however, finding anything that was suitable to his own Greek Orthodox views.⁵³

The ecumenical piety of the period following the Napoleonic Wars roused interest in Western mysticism in Russia. Among the authors people were reading then, next to Boehme and Saint Martin (from whose works one can also learn a great deal about Swedenborg), stands Swedenborg. We find various references to Swedenborg during this period. The statesman M.

volume [*Jus Zwei Welten*]), but we cannot exclude the possibility that a press in Jaroslavl' had undertaken a publishing job of this sort. Cf. also *Russkij Bibliofil*, 1911, 6, p. 35.

50. A. Pypin, *Issledovanija i materialy*, T. *Russkoe masonstvo* (P., 1916), p. 361.

51. S. Žicharev, *Zapiski* (1934), II, p. 320.

52. Deržavin, *Werke* (Grot), II (1869), pp. 440f.

53. Florovskij, *Puti russkogo bogoslavija* (Paris-Beograd, 1937), p. 167. Cf. *Pravoslavnoe Obozrenie* XXVI (1868), p. 511. On V. A. Žkovski's acquaintance with Swedenborg—without proof—cf. M. Erhardt, *Joukovski* (Paris, 1938), p. 18.

M. Speranskij read him while he was in exile, having fallen into disfavor; granted, he mentions him as only one of the many other mystics he read at the time.⁵⁴ The information seems entirely reliable that General Iznov, with whom the poet Pushkin lived during his exile in Kishinev and who introduced the poet to his Masonic lodge, was an admirer of Swedenborg.⁵⁵ We can also give credence to the report that A. N. Muravyev, the influential participant in the uprising of 1825, was a Swedenborgian.⁵⁶ Ju. Bartenev, a figure of interest in connection with mysticism, was already reading Swedenborg at this time.⁵⁷ We do not know whether the report that Senator Lubjanovskij was a Swedenborgian is factual: his extensive reading in mysticism could possibly have led to the conclusion that he was an adherent of Swedenborg's doctrines.⁵⁸ Similarly, it is not entirely certain that the philosophical circle around Prince Vladimir Odoevskij had already become familiar with Swedenborg's works. Odoevskij began his more intense involvement with mystical literature only after 1835, and for his later narratives (1842) he adopted a motto from Swedenborg, albeit an affirmation of Swedenborg without content, simply stating that his descriptions of his visions were trustworthy. According to contemporary reports, the narrative provides a description of the visions of a peasant girl from Orlach.⁵⁹

At the same time, we also hear a derogatory remark about Swedenborg: in an expert opinion prepared for the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1820, the self-promoting N. Karazin occasionally gives unsought advice on political and church political matters. He defends his right to give advice to the government and writes, among other things: "Perhaps I am a madman who . . . thinks he is a Swedenborgian (Karazin writes "Švedenborg") or Müller who has been called by God to something extraordinary, to the transformation of the empire."⁶⁰

54. *Russkij Archiv*, 1870, I, pp. 186f.; cf. A. El'čaninov El'čaninov, "Misticizm M. M. Speranskogo," *Bogoslavskij Vestnik*, 1906, 2, p. 208; A. Pypin, op. cit., III(1918), pp. 327f.

55. Memoirs of Murzakevič.

56. P. Melnikov-Pečerskij, V. Dal's biography in his *Gesammelten Werken* (St. Petersburg, 1897), I, pp. LXXVII & LCV.

57. *Russkij Archiv*, 1897, III, p. 401.

58. Memoirs of F. F. Vigel' (*Zapiski* [Moscow, 1928], I, p. 138. Since Vigel' mentions Swedenborg only among other mystics, his information can only be used with caution.

59. *Otečestvennye Zapiski*, 1842; cf. P. Sakulin, *Iz istorii russkogo idealizma. Knjaž V. F. Odoevskij* (Moscow?, 1913), I, 1, p. 37. Since Sakulin edited Odoevskij's manuscripts and offers no further reference to Swedenborg, Odoevskij's closer acquaintance with Swedenborg's works must be considered doubtful.

60. *Russkaya Starina*, II (1870), P. 553.

In the 1830s, as religious interests in Russia were on the wane, after the Masonic organizations had been dissolved and even the Bible Society had ceased to exist, the name of Swedenborg is still mentioned frequently. At about this time, there is the lively tradition of the philosophical-mystical readings of the Odoevsky circle. During his exile, the young A. Herzen was occupied with reading mystical works, among them those of Swedenborg. In 1836 he ordered not only alchemical literature(!), books about Paracelsus, and books about magnetism [=hypnotism], but also Swedenborg's works.⁶¹ The fact that he read them is witnessed by repeated mention of Swedenborg in his later writings and letters. In one narrative (*It was on October 22, 1817*), to be sure, he portrays a young visionary whom he calls "a young Swedenborg" and describes his fantasies in the style of the Deržavin poem mentioned above: "the young Swedenborg visualized the crystalline houses of angels with an abundance of flowers and with paradisaal birds."⁶² But as early as 1843, Herzen regarded reading Swedenborg's works and a leaning toward the mystical as a sign of "philosophical dilettantism."⁶³ Later he refers to Swedenborg only as one who had hallucinations.⁶⁴ Only once, in a letter to the architect Vitberg, a countryman of Swedenborg, did he try to describe Swedenborg's character, seeing him as a kindred spirit to Vitberg; he speaks of the "coldly cloaked dreams of Swedenborg," which he regarded as "fiery reflections of the rays of the sun which fall on the icebergs and snow of Norway(!)."⁶⁵

It must have been in the 1830s that F. Golubinskij (1818–1854), later a noted professor of philosophy at the Moscow Academy, became acquainted with Swedenborg, whom he later rejected, of course, along with Jacob Boehme.⁶⁶ It is significant, though, that he found it necessary to discuss Swedenborg in his lectures. At the Academy one who made a cursory study of modern philosophy, would apparently find that modern mysticism was reckoned part of this subject.⁶⁷

61. Herzen's works in the edition of M. Lemkes, I (p. 339), the letter to Sazonov and Ketcher of October or November 1836. Cf. G. Florovskij, "Iskanija mladogo Gercena," *Sovremennye Zapiski*, XXXIX (1929), p. 353.

62. Herzen, *Werke*, I, p. 483, written in 1837.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 196.

64. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 152, 467, 553.

65. *Ibid.*, XII, p. 304.

66. Florovskij, *Puti russkogo bogoslovija*, p. 238.

67. *Ibid.* We should presume that P. Avsenev, professor at Kiev Academy and Kiev University, also took an interest in Swedenborg. We can find a similarly affirmative evaluation

We also hear that Pushkin's sister, Ol'ga Pavliščev, was a "Swedenborgian." In any event, her husband mentions Swedenborg in his memoirs along with such similar names as Eckartshausen, Lavater, and Gall. Unfortunately, she herself destroyed the manuscript she had written in French ("On Sympathy and Antipathy"), so that we have no more definite information about this earliest Russian Swedenborg woman.⁶⁸

The romantic N. Polevoj also mentions Swedenborg in his novel *The Good Fortune of Madness* [*Das Glück des Wahnsinns*], in which the hero is a mystic and an admirer of Swedenborg: "fortunate madness" is the delirium of love, favored more by the romantic philosophy of love than by mysticism and Swedenborg's works.⁶⁹

This is also the time of the youth of the first real Russian Swedenborgian, Vladimir Dal' (Dahl). He was Danish by ancestry and a physician by profession; during his lifetime he made a name for himself as a novelist. In large measure he used everyday language and wrote his novels as lifelike narratives ("skaz"); in the eyes of scholarship, he earned lasting merit by composing an outstanding dictionary of the Russian language and by collecting Russian folklore (proverbs, riddles, songs, and fairy tales: his collections have in part been lost, however). He also composed a commentary on the *Book of Revelation* in the style of Swedenborg which was (and presumably still is) in the archives of M. Pogodin. At that time, he could not publish his commentary or other theological works. Among his novels there are only two sketches that at least suggest his belief in the existence of a spiritual world. This means that his Swedenborgianism is known to us only indirectly.⁷⁰

In the late poems of the Russian romantic/philosophical poet F. I. Tjutčev we encounter a picture that reminds us of Swedenborg: the distant lightning (Russian *zarnicy*) reminds the poet of the flash of "someone's

of the mystics during this period in the history of philosophy in the west as well (cf. the works of von Rixner, Eschenmeyer, also occasionally Hegel, et al.).

68. L. Pavliščev, *Iz semejnoi chroniki. Vospominaniia o Puškine* (Moscow, 1890), pp. 34ff. It is interesting that Pushkin's father "was delighted" with he learned that his daughter was reading Swedenborg: "The Swedish philosopher [Swedenborg] and the German mystic [Eckartshausen] can console everyone and strengthen everyone in Christian piety" (ibid.). In these words of the senior Pushkin, we hear an eighteenth century man's opinion of Swedenborg.

69. Moskovski j Telegraf, 1834, 1-2.

70. P. Meĭnikov-Pečerskij, *op. cit.*, in the passage cited in n. 13 *supra*. Cf. also M. Pogodin in *Moskovskie Vedomosti* 1863, No. 156, Barsukov, *Žizn Pogodina*, XXI, p. 173. Cf. the narratives in Dal's *Posluch* [*Werke*, V, pp. 241ff.) and *O prividenijach* [*Werke*, X, pp. 410-422).

threatening glance" (*Ne ostyžšaja og znoju, noč ijul'skaja blistala . . .*, 1850 or 1851). In another poem (*Nočnoe nebo tak ugrjumo zavoloklo so vseh storon . . .*, 1865) Tjutčev further sharpens this image: the distant lightning prompts the thought that "deaf-mute demons are carrying on their conversation," and that "high mysterious things are being decided;" the images in both poems remind is of the notion of Swedenborg that spirits ("demons") communicate with each other by means of light signals.⁷¹ Tjutčev may have become acquainted with Swedenborg in the circle of Prince Odoevskij or abroad in Germany, where he spent a decade.

In the younger generation there were already more conspicuous Swedenborgians who may well have belonged to the "groups" mentioned by Solov'ev. Mel'nikov-Pečerskij at least occasionally harbored an interest in Swedenborg.⁷² From the 1850s on, however, Count Aleksei Tolstoj, a second-hand romantic, was a Swedenborgian. It is significant that Swedenborg is scarcely mentioned in works devoted to Tolstoj's poetry and life.⁷³ Several times at least, however, he himself speaks about this openly. The preeminent case is that of the letters to the woman who was to become his wife, S. A. Miller: he recalls the poetry of his youth, in which he spoke "of love all the way to the grave;" "at that time I did not see that love must go on beyond" (June 19, 1855). That he derived this thought from Swedenborg we learn from a poem of 1857, a poem that appears in his collected works sometimes with the title "Swedenborg" or "From Swedenborg," sometimes without title. The poem is devoted precisely to this theme—the meeting of lovers is the "land of light" after death. A poem is not a treatise, and further he is undoubtedly addressing himself to his wife in this poem. This means that apart from this general thought we cannot attribute anything else in the poem directly to Swedenborg's doctrines,⁷⁴ unless we see a faint echo of Swedenborg in the following line: "between dream and the waking world the distance is slight;" unfortunately the poet does not speak of reality but of "the waking world" [*Wachsein*], which makes the rendering of the thought unclear.⁷⁵ Then in a

71. Cf. n. 65 *infra*.

72. Mel'nikov-Pečerskij, *Werke* (1919), p. 339.

73. There are only the briefest of mentions of Tolstoj's engagement with Swedenborg in A. Lirondelle, *Le poète A. Tolstoj* (Paris, 1912), pp. 128, 161, 480f. Cf. also N. Knorring, "A. K. Tolstoj" in *Sbornik statej v čest' professora Buzeskula* (Chafkov, 1914), p. 509, and K. Močul'skij, *Vladimir Solov'ev* (Paris, 1936), p. 75.

74. A. K. Tolstoj, *Werke* (St. Petersburg, 1908), Vol. IV, p. 69.

75. Knorring, *op. cit.*, p. 509.

letter to an unknown individual in 1861, Tolstoj develops some thoughts that do betray a contamination by Swedenborgianism and occultism. Concerning his *Don Juan* he writes, "The statue is neither a sculpture nor the spirit of the commander (*Komturs*). It is an astral power, an executive power that serves good and evil equally well and is neutralized by the two opposing wills of satan and the angel . . . This is a Kabbalistic thought that is to be found in all hermetic works and that recurs unseen even in our own times [he is clearly referring to the situation and not to the "thought," D. Č.]—in all our intentional actions and in all experiments with hypnotism and magic.⁷⁶ Here the notion that good and evil spirits fight for control of the human will clearly comes from Swedenborg, while the extra material is taken from the "hermetic" literature here alluded to.⁷⁷

In similar fashion, Swedenborg's thoughts made connections with the occultism of the Russian author who did the most to popularize Swedenborg's ideas among Russians who were not familiar with foreign languages, namely N. I. Aksakov (1832–1903), a relative of the famous author and Slavophile. It is significant that he served under P. Mel'nikov-Pečerskij. Later he turned to spiritualism. Abroad, in Leipzig, he published three books, in part literal translation and in part abridged rendering of Swedenborg's thoughts, notably *On Heaven, on the World of Spirits, and on Hell, as Swedenborg Saw and Heard* (1863); especially important are the books that present Swedenborg's theological thoughts: *The Gospel according to Swedenborg: Five Chapters of the Gospel of John with a Presentation and Interpretation of their Spiritual Meaning* (1864) and *Swedenborg's Rationalism: Criticism and Research in Sacred Scripture* (1870). As already noted, Aksakov later became a devotee of occultism, to which he devoted several smaller works, and this naturally weakened the force of his Swedenborgianism. In any event, the three books just named were found in the latter years of his life in the library of Dostoevski.⁷⁸

This brings us to the most important point in the history of Swedenborg's influence—to his possible influence on Dostoevski. Problematic as the question may be, it merits closer investigation. The following chapter of *The Brothers Karamazov* shows involvement with Swedenborg: "On hell and

76. Tolstoj, *Werke*, IV, p. 194.

77. In Tolstoj's *Don Juan* good and evil spirits fight over the soul of the hero, which reminds us of the parallel teaching of Swedenborg. Cf. n. 61 *infra*.

78. On Aksakov, cf. *Enciklopedičeskij Slovar'* of Brockhaus-Ephron, I (1890) and the Supplementary Volume I (1905).

infernal fire, a mystical consideration." The first section explains hellfire as the torment of the soul, the second speaks of the sinners who "voluntarily" torment themselves in hell (understanding hell in a spiritual sense), they are eternally insatiable and reject forgiveness, they curse the God who calls to them, they cannot look at the living God without hatred and demand that there be no God . . . They will burn in the fire of their own anger forever after death, and thirst for annihilation, but they will not attain death . . ."

One can juxtapose this "mystical consideration" (which Dostoevski had Aliosha Karamazov write down, quoting the Elder Zosima)⁷⁹ to the sections in Swedenborg that explain hellfire as a variant of heavenly fire, which changes to hellfire in people "who claim it as their own or who understand it to be nothing but 'love of self and the world' or even lust, and which speak of sinners who turn away from God, hate God, and even "burn with a lust to destroy him."⁸⁰ A thorough investigation would be possible only if we could cite the works of N. Aksakov that Dostoevski, as noted, had in his library.⁸¹ We do know that Dostoevski's attitude toward Aksakov's spiritualistic works was negative.⁸² Dostoevski owned two of Aksakov's translations of spiritualist literature.⁸³

Unfortunately, it is only through the memoirs of Vladimir Solov'ev that we know anything about the fact that P. D. Yurkevič, Professor of Philosophy at Moscow University (whose importance for Solov'ev's philosophical development should not be underestimated), regarded the Christian theosophists, including especially Boehme and Swedenborg, as important representatives of the development of the newer philosophy. At one place or another Solov'ev refers to Yurkevič as a "partial Swedenborgian."⁸⁴ It

79. *Brat'ja Karamazovy*, V, III.

80. Emanuel Swedenborg, *Heaven and Its Wonders and Hell, from Things Heard and Seen* (New York, Swedenborg Foundation 1976), §§ 569, 570, 558, and 561.

81. L. Grossman, *Seminarij po Dostoevskomu* (Moscow-Petrograd, 1923), Section on "Bibliotheka Dostoevskogo," Nn. 175–177.

82. Cf. *Dnevnik pisatelja*, 1876, January III, II, March II, III, April II, III.

83. L. Grossman, op. cit., Nn. 178–179. Grossman overestimates Swedenborg's influence on Dostoevski without close analysis. We should bear in mind that in the 1970s VI. Solov'ev associated with Dostoevski.

84. Solov'ev's essay on Swedenborg from the Brockhaus-Ephron Encyclopedia is printed in Volume X of Solov'ev's works. On Yurkevič, cf. p. 497 in addition to Solov'ev's essay, "Characteristika Jurkeviča," *Werke* IX, p. 395.

remains unknown to us whether Yurkevič dealt with Swedenborg in his lectures and thereby directed his listeners' attention to him.⁸⁵

We do know, however, that Solov'ev esteemed Swedenborg highly. The only Russian scholarly essay on Swedenborg comes from his pen. It is possible that his teacher Yurkevič made him aware of Swedenborg. Yurkevič died in 1874, at which time Solov'ev was already engaged with Swedenborg. In 1877, on the twenty-seventh of April, he wrote that after his studies of the Boehmians Gichte, Gottfried Arnold, and Pordage, only Paracelsus, Boehme, and Swedenborg could be regarded as "really significant" (*nastojaščie ljudi*). In his published works, though, he mentions Swedenborg only rarely,⁸⁶ and it is not until 1898–1900 that his brief but important essay on Swedenborg came into being, published in 1900 in the Russian Brockhaus-Ephron Encyclopedia.⁸⁷ Here Solov'ev first surveys Swedenborg's contributions to the exact sciences, even indulging in a little laudatory exaggeration. The description of Swedenborg's visions leads into a theological interpretation, his strictly theological views are thoroughly presented, and the visions are mentioned only when Solov'ev clearly regards them as authentic.⁸⁸ Only at the close does he stress the point that any "evaluation of Swedenborg's claims, which may have only a subjective credibility, depends on one's general point of view."^{89 90} In the course of his presentation he gives an ample bibliography of Swedenborg,⁴⁶ and the essay is concluded with references to the circles of Swedenborgians (of the Russian Swedenborgians, only Dal' and Yurkevič are mentioned) and to literature about Swedenborg, at which point Solov'ev also emphasizes Swedenborg's influence on "authors worldwide."⁹¹

Solov'ev's influence on subsequent Russian philosophy is extraordinarily extensive. This means that many of the thinkers whom we might loosely refer to as representatives of the "Solov'ev school"⁹² certainly paid attention

85. On Yurkevič, cf. G. Spet in *Voprosy filosofii i psichologii*, 1914, 5, pp. 653–727, and my own book *Narysy z istorii filosofiji na Ukrajinii* (Prague, 1931), pp. 136–156. There was a lithographed publication of Yurkevič's lectures on the history of philosophy, but it has not yet been found.

86. *Werke*, VII, p. 245 (as parallel to Muhammad's visions), VIII, p. 75.

87. Cf. n. 42 *supra*.

88. *Werke*, X, p. 493.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 496.

90. *Ibid.*, p. 491 et al.

91. *Ibid.*, p. 497. Solov'ev himself mentions only Balzac's *Séraphita* and the chapter on "The Mystic" in Emerson's *Representative Men*.

92. On this subject, cf. V. Zeňkovskij's *Geschichte der russischen Philosophie* (Russian version, Volume II: French and English translations are available).

to Swedenborg, even though his name is rarely mentioned,⁹³ and we cannot really speak of an influence of Swedenborg on modern Russian philosophy. We can see some Swedenborgian influence most probably in particular cases of allegorical interpretation of Scripture or in the concept of symbolic "correspondences" (in Swedenborg, *correspondentiae*) between the natural and the spiritual worlds.⁹⁴ We must however never forget that in this area several other models may have had a much greater influence—for example the allegorical interpretation of Scripture by Philo and the church fathers, and Romantic philosophy, especially Schelling [but cf. the doctoral thesis of Friedemann Horn, *Schelling und Swedenborg* (Zürich: Swedenborg Verlag, 1954). Tr.]

In their quest for spiritual weapons for their main campaign, the conquest of the "second enlightenment,"⁹⁵ the Russian symbolists also came across Swedenborg, probably prompted by Solov'ev's essay. The representatives of the first generation (Brjusov) and the second (Belyj) mention Swedenborg occasionally, but really only as an aside, and in these references, one could substitute the name of another mystic without altering the meaning. The hero of Belyj's novel *The Silver Dove*, Dar'jal'skij, is simultaneously reading Marx and Lassalle, Boehme, Eckhardt, and Swedenborg during his student years: here too the name Swedenborg is only one among other names of mystics and serves only to fill out the list.⁹⁶

The fact that N. Strachov read Swedenborg is occasioned simply by his being well read in mystical literature.⁹⁷ It is also of little moment that in

93. So for example S. N. Bulgakov, *Tichie dumy* (Moscow, 1917), p. 28: ". . . the most significant (*pervoklassnye*) European mystics, such as Jacob Boehme, Pordage, and Swedenborg."

94. Cf. Solov'ev, *Werke*, X, pp. 490, 492. Bonaventure had already developed a similar thought, and the idea is virtually common property among the Romantics. We find the concept represented by Berdjaev among Russian religious philosophers (in his concept of the symbol), and in S. Bulgakov, who often rests his Scripture interpretation on "correspondences."

95. Cf. the final chapter of my book, *Gegel' v Rossii*.

96. On Brjusov, cf. K Čukovskij, *Ot Čechova do našich dnei* (St. Petersburg: 1908), p. 166. Chuchovskij rightly emphasizes the fact that while Brjusov does name "Swedenborg as his fellow warrior [*kampfgenossen*]," he himself did not acknowledge any suprasensory world. Belyj mentions Swedenborg by name in his poem *Pervoe svidanie* (1921) only as a synonym for the expression "spiritual world" (or the like). There can be no doubt that while the second generation of Russian symbolists about 1900 may have had an interest in Swedenborg's visions, they had no interest in his theology

97. On Strachov, see my book, *Gegel' v Rossii*. Strachov mentions Swedenborg in the same breath as "German theology," Madame de Guyon, and Fichte in a letter to L. Tolstoi on March 25, 1880 (*Tolstovskij Muzej*, II: *Perepiska Tolstogo s N. N. Strachovym* (Sit. Petersburg, 1914), p. 250, No. 137). Strachov belonged to the circle of Dostoevski's acquaintances as well. To my knowledge, Leo Tolstoi never expressed himself on the subject of Swedenborg. The

1896, through the mediation of VI. Solov'ev, an anonymous individual sent the manuscript of an essay "On Swedenborg" to Prof. N. Grot, the editor of the first Russian philosophical journal. *Voprosi Filosofii i Psichologii*. It turned out to be simply a translation of one of Swedenborg's works,⁹⁸ and since it was "obscure and uninteresting" for the reader who was not familiar with Swedenborg's basic concepts and terminology, it was not published. In 1896 Gorky "began to read Swedenborg, Jakob Boehme, and Du-Prel." The impression was more than negative: "Nonsense. Patent nonsense" (*Erunda. Javnaya srundovščina*). We do not know whether this reading awakened any hazy hunches in Gorky or whether he turned to this literature because of such hunches. He himself wrote only, "At night I lie awake and wait . . . for what? Anything at all [Überhaupt]."⁹⁹

3

The history of Polish adherents and students of Swedenborg is both more interesting and, especially, better known¹⁰⁰ than is the history of Russian Swedenborgianism.

It is quite inconceivable that anyone in eighteenth century Poland would not have heard some account or other of Swedenborg's visions. A definite reference to Swedenborg is attested as early as 1812 in the book *A History of Jacobinism*, translated from French, in which "the false doctrine"

poet Leskov, who was interested in theological questions and in Russian and Western sectarian movements, mentions Swedenborg only occasionally (*Velikosvetskij raskol* (Moscow, 1877), p. 23). In any case, Leskov does speak more often about the Polish mystics who at times were influenced by Swedenborg.

98. Cf. the collected writings of N. Ja. Grot (Moscow, 1911), p. 289. It is difficult to determine which work of Swedenborg was translated: Grot. calls it *Concerning Wisdom and Love* [Swedenborg's *Divine Love and Wisdom* is a fairly substantial book. A briefer draft on the subject was published posthumously. Tr.].

99. M. Gořky, *Zametki iz dnevnika. Vospominaniya* (Berlin, 1924), p. 20. In spite of his Marxism Gorky maintained a lifelong interest in mystical and occult literature, which he often accepted with naive credulity and occasionally with enthusiasm (according to my recollections from 1922–23). In 1900 there appeared an inadequately researched psychological sketch of Swedenborg in a book by P. Kovaleskij, *Psichiantričeskie étudie*, II: *Suvarov. Orleanskaya deva. Magomet:.. Švedenborg* (St. Petersburg, 1900).

100. St. Pigoń, *Z epoki Mickiewicza* (Lemberg, 1922), pp. 141–160: "Przypuszczalny ślad Swedenborga w II. CZ. Dziadów," previously published in the journal *Zdój* (Posen), 1920, XII, p. 2. The material in the following treatment is drawn in part from this essay, hereafter cited as "Pigoń."

of Swedenborg is sharply attacked, ostensibly because it had been adopted by the "higher steps of Freemasonry."¹⁰¹

The strongest influence of Swedenborg seems to have been on the greatest of Polish poets, Adam Mickiewicz. His profound engagement with mysticism, which has still not been completely clarified, led him to Swedenborg as well.¹⁰² XXI [1930], pp. 129–130). Not only that, but he also felt himself to some extent to be a kindred spirit of Swedenborg, since he said of himself, "I saw the other world. I was there once, I touched it with my naked soul," and Mickiewicz describes "that world exactly as Swedenborg does:" "That world is no different whatever from this one."¹⁰³ Several ideas of Swedenborg recur in Mickiewicz's poetic works. Spirits are ceaselessly affecting mortals; in Mickiewicz's mystery *Dziady* evil spirits draw the soul of the "senator" "to the end of the world, where the temporal [existence] ceases and eternity begins, where hell borders on consciousness."¹⁰⁴ In the same mystery there is a battle between two troops of spirits, one good and one evil, over the soul of the hero.¹⁰⁵ Elsewhere the struggle is over the soul of Tsar Alexander I, whose policy toward Poland was ambivalent.¹⁰⁶ These troops of spirits surround the man "on the right" and "on the left," each trying to draw him to its own side. And in the words that Mickiewicz puts in the mouths of these troops of spirits we find reflections of Swedenborgian concepts.¹⁰⁷ As in Swedenborg, at least two spirits are constantly attending every individual.¹⁰⁸ This means that concepts of Swedenborg's play a critical

101. Pigoń, p. 141.

102. On this subject cf. R. Bluth, *Chrzesciański Prometeusz* (Warsaw, 1929)

103. Letter to Goszczyński of November, 1844, Pigoń, p. 146f. According to the recollections of B. Zaleski (*Mickiewicz podczas pisania i drikowania Pana Tadeusza* [Paris, 1875], p. 13), "Mickiewicz talked with delight about the mysteries of the supramundane life." *CP*. Swedenborg, *op. cit.* § 582; in hell "one can see similar things to those in the natural world," so "that to outward appearance there is no difference (between them)."

104. Pigoń, p. 149. Swedenborg, *Arcana Coelestia* (Frankfurt/M., 1880), pp. 574ff. Cf. also Mickiewicz's poem *Oleszkiewicz*.

105. Pigoń, pp. 150–152.

106. Pigoń further ascribes to the influence of Swedenborg ideas that are widespread: spirits work more strongly at night than in the daytime (Pigoń, p. 155, Swedenborg, *Arcana Coelestia* II, 580); evil spirits appear in female form (Pigoń, p. 156: this is of course also mentioned by Swedenborg). Pigoń also credits Swedenborg with the idea that guardian angels can appear in demonic form in order to warn those they are guarding through fear (Pigoń, p. 158: I find no parallel to this in Swedenborg. Perhaps this last thought is only an "inversion" of the Biblical passage in II Corinthians 11:14: "The devil can [appear] as an angel of light." Cf. Krasieński's letter of November 17, 1848, to Delfina Potocka.

107. Pigoń, p. 151–152.

108. Pigoń, p. 153.

role in the composition of his masterwork. It is interesting that Mickiewicz turns one of Swedenborg's thoughts to parody: in his poem *Pan Tadeusz*, the Count, a caricature of the romantic, expresses his feelings when he learns that Telimena, whose favor he has been trying to win, has married someone else. His words are as much a caricature as is the whole figure of the Count himself. Among other things, the Count mentions that even though lovers may find themselves at opposite poles of the earth, they still maintain their connection by means of light rays. This answers to images of Swedenborg concerning the interconnections of spirits.¹⁰⁹

The other great Polish Romantic, Jusiuz Slowacki, was also familiar with Swedenborg. Perhaps one passage in his poem "The Hour of Thought" (*Gocзина myśli*) is "truth" rather than "poetry:" He and his friend "erected buildings on the foundations of Swedenborg's books, which are full of angel voices, madness,¹¹⁰ and brilliance."¹¹¹ We also find in this poet the thought of a reuniting of lovers in the life after death ("Kordian"),¹¹² since "two human souls make one angel."¹¹³ Further, in his unfinished poem "King-Spirit" (*Król-Duch*), he speaks of spirits conversing by means of light signs on their foreheads, which we have already identified as one of Swedenborg's thoughts.¹¹⁴ In some letters of philosophical content the theory of correspondences is suggested, too, though one cannot be sure that in this matter Slowacki is dependent on Swedenborg.¹¹⁵

The third major Polish Romantic, Juliusz Krasiński, wrote his novel *Fragment from an Old Manuscript* (*Ułomek z dawnego rękopismu*) in 1830 at the age of eighteen, and in it we again encounter the idea of the eternal nature of love. We might of course credit these thoughts to the general tendencies of Romanticism if we did not know that at the time he was drafting this work he was engaged in conversation about theory with Mickiewicz and Odynek, who could have handed on Swedenborg's thoughts to him.¹¹⁶ His

109. This passage (*Pan Tadeusz*, XII, 463ff.) escaped Pigoń's notice. Cf. my note in the (London) memorial volume for Mickiewicz, (1957). Cf. *Arcana Coelestia* (Tübingen, 1833), I, 66.

110. "Szalenstwo!" This is an interesting example of the way the concept of "madness" was transvalued in Romanticism. On Russian literature see my article "Romanticism in Slavic Literatures" in the forthcoming series *Musagetes* and in the *Welt der Slaven*, I.

111. Cf. Pigoń, p. 141.

112. Pigoń, p. 144.

113. Ibid., also Slowacki's letters (*Listy*), Edition of L. Méyet (Lemberg, 1889), Vol. II, p. 95.

114. Pigoń, pp. 142f.

115. Ibid., Vol. XII, pp. 245ff. (Letters to W. Stattier).

116. Odynek, *Listy z podróży*, IV, pp. 298, 296; Pigoń, p. 146.

later letters show that Krasinski was familiar with Swedenborg: in 1843 he sent his friend Delfina Potocka one of Swedenborg's works and surely recommended that she read it. In 1845 he compared the language of a Polish follower of St. Martin, General Michal Mucielski, with the language of Swedenborg.¹¹⁷ To a much later time belongs a letter to Krasinski from the Polish esquire [*Freiburger*] Bronislaw Trentowski (May 7, 1856) in which Swedenborg is mentioned as one of two well-known thinkers.¹¹⁸ Trentowski, whose philosophical views took shape under the influence of German idealism, could have had little sympathy for Swedenborg's thought, as he himself made clear in an earlier essay (1840).¹¹⁹ His involvement with Swedenborg was probably prompted by the lively interest in Swedenborg among his Polish contemporaries. We have already seen that Mickiewicz's friends had at least heard of Swedenborg in the case of Odynek and B. Zaleski. Naturally, though, Mickiewicz's opinions were not equally adopted by his contemporaries, and it is therefore safe to assume that broad circles of the Polish emigration after 1831 were familiar with Swedenborg's works, whether through their own reading or by hearsay.⁷

The ideas of the most influential of the Polish mystics, Towiański, remain a mystery to us. His works give us neither a picture of his system of thought nor the basis of his extensive influence. The similarities with Swedenborg's views are actually of a quite general nature: Towianski believes in the spiritual world,¹²⁰ mortals are surrounded by "troops of spirits" (*kolumny duchów*),¹²¹ spirits live on the planets.¹²² Only this last notion can be regarded as typical of Swedenborg.¹²³ Grabianka's opinion of the "correspondence of mortals with the other world" (*korespondencja człowieka z zaświatem*) is perhaps a thought of such a general nature that we cannot on its basis posit a connection between Grabianka and Swedenborg.¹²⁴

117. Letters to Delfina Potocka of January 12, 1843 and September 6, 1845. Not in Pigoń.

118. The first item in an exchange of letters between Trentowski and Krasinski (1937) (Vol. VI of *Prace Archiwum Komisji do badania historii filozofii w Pol see*), p. 327; cf. p. 325.

119. Ibid., p. 325, and the negative judgment on Swedenborgians in the essay, "Demonomania czyli nauka o nadziemskiej mądrości w najnowszej postaci" in *Orzedownik naukowy*, 1844, p. 174; cf. W. Ćorodyski, *Bronislaw Trentowski* (Kraków, 1913), p. 180.

120. Pigoń, p. 204. I have had access both to the two volume edition of Towiański's works and to Pigoń's selection in the *Biblioteka Narodowa*.

121. Ibid, p. 77.

122. Ibid., p. 206.

123. Emanuel Swedenborg, *De Telluribus in Mundo nostro Solari* (London, 1758).

124. Pigoń tries to establish such a connection, on p. 203.

It is known that in the middle of the century there was one genuine Swedenborgian, Karol Rdułowski (died 1869), who translated *Heaven and Hell*. The translation remained in manuscript.¹²⁵

We cannot pursue these considerations into the second half of the nineteenth century since the sources are lacking. In the twentieth century, though, we discover directly from the diary of St. Brzozowski (which offers us an abundance of data for the evaluation of Polish spiritual life before the first world war) an observation about Swedenborg. Granted, this does not tell us whether Brzozowski studied Swedenborg, skimmed him, or learned about him at second hand.¹²⁶ In any case, all that this remark expresses is doubt as to whether one could ultimately gain a clear understanding of the figure of Swedenborg: "Swedenborg will probably always remain a problematic phenomenon." The difficulty that Brzozowski sees in Swedenborg is this: Swedenborg was also a significant thinker and scholar. Above all, Brzozowski believes that Swedenborg deserves a "more than prominent place in the history of philosophy," "between Spinoza, Leibniz, and Kant."¹²⁷ Swedenborg was at one and the same time "a sincere and profound religious reformer and an individual with a paranormal(!) spiritual life." However, the author of this diary entry believes that Swedenborg probably did not possess an adequate critical attitude toward "everything that appeared to the surface of his soul in the form of a concrete image." In this manner, his own subjective and emotionally colored experiences, allegories, and hallucinations were linked to the factual contents of a "paranormal life." This remark of Brzozowski is entirely typical of the era: the rejection of the explanation that Swedenborg could be held to be merely spiritually ill had not yet created the grounds on which one could discuss such a complex and enigmatic phenomenon as Swedenborg. We therefore lack any serious Slavic studies of the Swedish mystic.

In 1938, the London Swedenborg Society published a Polish translation of Swedenborg's *The New Jerusalem and Its Heavenly Doctrine*, which however had virtually no distribution in Poland before the beginning of the war.

125. Estreicher, IV (1878), p. 28.

126. St. Brzozowski, *Pamiętnik* (Lemberg, 1913), pp. 100f. There is an ironic comment on Swedenborg in Brzozowski's book *Idee* (1912), p. 93.

127. Yurkevych also placed Leibniz next to Swedenborg; cf. Solov'ev, *Werke*. IX, p. 395. Was Brzozowski perhaps acquainted with Solov'ev's essay?

We have little information about the knowledge of Swedenborg among the other Slavic peoples. The old Ukraine, though, does offer one interesting sidelight. We find an ironic reflection of Swedenborg's thoughts in the Ukrainian novelist H. Kvitka-Osnov'janenko.

We know that Kvitka was a devout man; it is highly probable that he was well read in theological and philosophical literature. We search in vain for traces of this literacy in his Ukrainian novels, which all have to do with the lives of farmers and villagers and are either addressed in part to simple folk or are written in the tradition of the narrative novel (*skaz*)¹²⁸ and are put in the mouths of narrators from the common people. At most, we find in the first chapter^{129 130} of his novel *True Love* (*Ščyra ljubov*)⁸⁶ we find a sentimental variation on the theme of Aristophanes's speech in Plato's Symposium. The theory of love presented here, which takes the striving of the separated souls of lovers to be the foundation of love, could well stem from Romantic literature. We are led directly to Plato, though, by the passage in which Kvitka says that this love can flare up between a man and a woman, between two men, or between two women. Another interesting passage leads us to Swedenborg. In his novel *There You Have a Treasure! (Ot tobi j skarb)*¹³¹, Satan tells the hero of the novel, Judun (a treasure hunter) about the newest reforms in hell. A "Frenchman" had advised Satan to reorganize things. "Instead of the devil, sinners are put to compulsory labor (*na panščyni*) . . ." Each is set to a task that is appropriate to his inclinations. The sighing lover blows on the fire in the furnace, the grumblers baste sinners with hot pitch, the forgers [*Graphomanen*] prepare the tar for this, the writers read their fables to Satan as bedtime stories (this is an allusion to Senkovskij-Brambeus: "they write that they were in a land where people go around head downward"¹³²), bad poets take the place of watchdogs, etc., etc. If this grotesque sketch, which Kvitka opposes to the description of hell

128. Cf. what was said above about Dal'. Kvitka apparently arrived at *skaz* independently of the Russian poet.

129. Kvitka's works are cited in the Lemberger edition of 1913 (*Ruška pysmen-nist'*, I, I, 2).

130. op. cit., p. 94.

131. Ibid., pp. 352f.

132. Seńkowski-Brambeus, *Sentimental 'noe putešestvie no goru Étnu*, cf. *Povesti Brambeusa I* (St. Petersburg, 1835), pp. 267ff., especially pp. 302ff.

in Kotljarevskýj,¹³³ is not Kvitka's own invention, it can only be connected with Swedenborg's descriptions. Hell is created very much like this world. There "we see things like those in the natural world," so "that to outward appearance there is no difference."¹³⁴ The spirits (people) are themselves active in the role of devils; they "torment each other;"¹³⁵ in fact "evil spirits of people are made slaves, so that they assist various new demons in the subjugation of others."¹³⁶

Does this use of Swedenborgian thoughts as the basis for a grotesque sketch¹³⁷ necessarily indicate that Kvitka did not take these thoughts seriously? Or is this humorous use of a serious only a feature of Ukrainian humor, which cannot restrain itself even in the presence of the holy?¹³⁸

As we have said, we know practically nothing about Swedenborg's influence among the other Slavic peoples. On the title of a handwritten, unfinished work of the original Slovakian philosopher and poet Peter Zábaj Kellner-Hostinský (probably from 1849), Swedenborg's name stands beside those of Plotinus, Democritus(!), Plato, Schelling, and Jacob Boehme, apparently as the name of a thinker whom the author would select as a leader. In the outlined sections of this "science of perception" [*Anschauungs-Wissenschaft*] (*Vidboslovnia*), Hostinský (sic) cites a number of authors: next to the names of representatives of classical philosophy and Lutheran orthodoxy stand the names of mystics and occultists; nor are the modern German philosophers lacking. Swedenborg is mentioned again as well, specifically his doctrine of "correspondences," and another version of the outline selects Swedenborg for the role of perception in the "history of modern science." In a third place, Hostinský sketches the more extensive outline for a philosophical/historical work: in the first section there are to be 1. [van] Helmont, 2. J. Boehme and Angelus Silesius, 3. Swedenborg;

133. The reference is to Kotljarevskýj's parody Aeneis. Cf. Kvitka, op. cit., p. 93.

134. Swedenborg, *Heaven and Hell* § 582 (the edition cited in n. 37 *supra*). The text is cited in n. 59. See also §§ 586, 512–513, 170–176.

135. Ibid., §§ 580, 560.

136. Ibid., § 574; cf. §§ 575, 580.

137. The same image can be found in *Arcana Coelestia*. Cf. Martin Lamm, *Swedenborg* (Leipzig, 1922), p. 343.

138. Compare Mickeiwicz, however (cf. n. 65 *supra*). Dal' himself, though, who was enthusiastic about Swedenborg, allowed himself jokes on his master. According to a note of Prince Odoevskij, Dal' once compared Swedenborg's clairvoyance to a gossiping woman who guesses at things that are happening 500 versts away. The note was published by P. Sakulin, *Iz istorii russkogo idealizma. Knjaž V. F. Odoevskij I*, 1 (Moscow, 1913), pp. 377f.

the second section takes us through the names of Eschenmeyer, [Justinus] Kerner and Schelling to Hegel. No citations from Swedenborg are preserved among the many citations from earlier and more recent literature. It is to be noted, however, that Hostinský makes few citations from works in Latin.¹³⁹

From all I have found out, the Czech Swedenborg circle is simply an offshoot of the sects of English and American Swedenborgians. The works it has published have certainly contributed to the knowledge of Swedenborg's ideas, but this knowledge has hardly made any serious impression on the wider circle of serious readers outside that of its own membership.¹⁴⁰ As early as 1912, J. Janaček came out with publications of translations of Swedenborg's works. No fewer than eight books appeared: *Heaven and Hell* (1912), *The Religious Philosophy of the New Christianity* [= *The New Jerusalem and Its Heavenly Doctrine*] (1913), *Glimpses* [*Augenblicke*] *Beyond Death* (1913), *Soul-Body Interaction* (1918), *The Last Judgment* (1923), *The Doctrine of Sacred Scripture* (1924), *The Doctrine of Life* (1926), and *Earths in the Universe* (1927). The following year there came out a translation of Helen Keller's *My Religion*: the translation was that of K. Weinfurter, who also published several popular "mystical" works of no particular depth. In 1938 the English Swedenborgians provided a Czech translation of *The New Jerusalem and Its Heavenly Doctrine* (London, 1938).

ADDENDUM

Swedenborg's name is often mentioned in Polish scholarly literature in connection with the broad outlook of the Polish Romantics. These usually occur without specific reference, or with references only to ideas that Swedenborg shared with many other mystics and theologians. These belong perhaps to concepts from the free period of the history of salvation, either from Joachim de Fiore or, more recently from Jung-Stilling or Schelling, for instance. Here are references to Swedenborg of this sort in scholarly works on literature which I have not felt it necessary to evaluate:

139. The source is the manuscript in the Turd. sv. Martin (Slovakia). An essay by me on Hostinský's philosophical outlook will appear shortly in the *SiidostForschungen* (Munich).

140. There are brief bibliographical announcements of Czech Swedenborgian literature in *Ottův Slovník Naučný*, Supplementary Volume VI (1940), p. 630, and in *Masarykův Slovník Naučný*, VI (1932), p. 1110.

J. Kleiner, Z. Krasieński. *Dzieje języki*, I (1912), pp. 327, 351; II (1912), p. 126. *idem*, *Słowacki*, I, 2nd Ed., (1923), pp. 14, 215, 234; II, 2nd Ed., (1923), pp. 69, 75. T. Grabowski, *Słowacki*, I (1926), pp. 28f., 170, 188; II (1926), pp. 74f., 95f., 151, 154, 156f., 169, 213. H. Struve, *Historie filozofii v Policie* (1900), p. 53. *idem*. *Historia logiki jako teorii poznania w Polsce*, 2nd Ed. (1911), p. 327 (on Cieszkowski). In addition, in journals: *Biblioteka Warszawska*: T. Grabowski 1905, I, pp. 13f., and K. Janecki, 1907, I, p. 267; *Pamiętnik Literacki*: Pawłowski, V (1906), pp. 459–465 and 470, and VII (1908), p. 114; *Zyczyński* XXII–XXIII (1915–16), pp. 246–49, 251 (all references cited concern *Słowacki*). Cf. also Grabowski, *Słowacki* (cited above), II, p. 95, concerning Towiański.

The thought has been expressed in discussion that eventually Svidrigajlov's image of eternity (our future life) as a "bathroom full of spiders" (in *Crime and Punishment*) may be connected with the pictures of hell that Swedenborg sketched. We do not know, though, whether Dostoevski was familiar with Swedenborg as early as 1866. The similarity of the two descriptions could in this instance be a coincidence. □