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## ON THE ISSUE OF THE EMPIRICAL CONTENT OF MORAL NORMS IN HISTORICAL THOUGHT

The urgency of the issue of the empirical content of moral norms in historical thought is arising from the need to suggest the universally significant moral norms for the development of mankind. The purpose of the study is to identify the contribution of historical thought to giving moral norms the empirical historical content. The objectives of the study are to consider the relationship between history and morality on the issue of the empirical content of moral norms within the philosophy of history, as well as to identify the possibility of historiography to give the supra-empirical norms of morality an empirical content. The study is based on the dialectical method. The research shows that there was no real interaction between history and the issue of the empirical content of moral norms in philosophy of history. Nevertheless, philosophy of history bequeathed some methodological components which helped to shape modern historiography in the consideration of the issue of the empirical content of moral norms. The research reveals some positive contributions of the historiography to the issue of the empirical content of moral norms within historical schools of thought. In particular historical absolutism within the dialectic of differences overcomes the Hegelian unidirectional development of Spirit; historical realism rejects universality, identified with abstract Reason or Divine Will, and suggests the search for a synthesis of the eternal and the temporal based on the empirical material of history; historical constructivism appeals to the historical research to obtain the knowledge compatible with historical thinking; historical positivism and pragmatism demand a scrupulous analysis of the phenomena under consideration and finding the connection between abstract ideas and reality. However, the shift away from the universally significant, and relativism, fragmentation and subjectivism on the issue of the content of moral norms are the shortcomings of the historiography. They do not allow considering historical thought as the only source of giving moral norms the empirical content.

**Key words:** moral norms, empirical content of moral norms, historical thought, philosophy of history, historiography.

The introduction. The philosophy of history is one of the philosophical disciplines and, within the framework of the whole, is closely related not only to the issues of logic, the theory of knowledge, culture, psychology, but morality. The Greeks were the first to pay attention to the phenomenon of history, but their thinking remained essentially unhistorical, ahistorical, and metaphysical. The philosophy of history, which is contemplative and opens up new horizons for the moral world, was not known to Plato and Aristotle. Expansion of material opportunities and needs of spiritual development in the era of the Enlightenment, contributed to the emergence of a philosophy of history, which required both historical knowledge and its philosophical interpretation. The predominantly abstract character of the philosophy of history at the initial stage of its existence reached its apogee in the 19th century. But on the one hand, the mass crimes of the twentieth century have questioned the possibility of historical research to have objective knowledge outside the philosophical speculations about Good and Evil. And on the other hand world wars, weapons of mass destruction, state terrorism, and genocide of peoples, global catastrophes, and epidemics demonstrate the abstractness of any philosophizing on morals outside the real historical practice. The crisis of humanism within the framework of historical thinking was being painfully experienced not only by the classics of the philosophical and historical thought (see, for example, Jaspers, Troeltsch [1; 2]) but by modern authors. They highlight the close

connection between the issue of history and morals as the issue of normativity [3] and as the issue of significance of moral norms [4], and consider moral philosophy as a branch of natural history [5]. The urgency of the issue of the empirical content of moral norms within the historical content is arising from the need to suggest the universally significant moral norms for development of mankind.

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**Method of research.** The study is based on the dialectical method, which provides systemic, objective, and historical approaches to the study.

The confrontation between the eternal moral norms and the temporal first ever is revealed in the philosophy of St. Augustine. The content of moral norms still does not go beyond the framework of Christian doctrine. But Augustine for the first time in the history of philosophical thought at a theoretical level tries to comprehend the close connection between morality and history. Within the framework of the concept of time, history, and the concept of two cities (Rome (holy and social) and Jerusalem (foul and selfish)) the medieval thinker sets new guidelines for the spiritual existence of the world [6]. In the Age of Enlightenment, the source of moral norms is defined rationally within the framework of the provisions of natural law. The enlighteners are more interested not in the metaphysical essence of moral norms, but they care about the way of spreading the content of moral norms. The assumptions of the Enlighteners about the connection between history and morality remained superficial, and Hegel suggested a deeper understanding of them. He tried to identify the objective laws of the development of history and the possibility to give the spiritual values the content in the process of the historical development at the level of reason, spirit, and freedom. Morality is not regarded by Hegel as a set of abstract norms but associated with the maturity of social development, with its rationality. The state is the main subject of history, and the ultimate goal of its development is the realization of a person's moral potential.

In the system of Hegel's objective idealism, the spirit in the process of self-knowledge paves the way for the historical development of mankind necessarily. This approach leads to the loss of dialectic, and Hegel's system acquires an abstract character. Marx overcomes the abstractness of the Hegelian philosophy of history. He develops the concept of social formations and focuses on the issues of the practical implementation of morality in the path of historical development. The German philosopher develops Hegel's idea of moral freedom to economic freedom within the state. As noted by Tosh, in Marxism "Social and economic history become inseparable, and the study of politics is saved from becoming the minute reconstruction of the antics of professional politicians in their own arena" [7, p. 235]. At the same time, there are some disadvantages of Marxist theory. On the one hand, it is easy to create frozen interpretation schemes on its basis. On the other hand, the dark, irrational forces that distort human nature were not taken into account by Karl Marx. As Berdyaev correctly noted, the revolution of 1905–1907 demonstrated the abstractness and isolation from the reality of Marx's ideas, and the October Revolution of 1917 completely dispelled hopes for the transition to a new society hastily [8].

Russian philosophers at the end of XIX and the beginning of the XX century were interested not so much in the abstract values of Truth, Goodness, and Beauty but in their integration into society. V. Solvyof theorizes the world of Divine moral norms, but the empirical being of eternal moral norms also attracts his attention. He believed that it is necessary to reveal the true essence of universal human norms hidden by superficial distortions. Hence, the importance of the cognition of empirical phenomena and empirical being [9]. Nicolas Berdyaev searches for absolute moral norms which are immanent to the inner world of a person. Truth, Goodness, and Beauty in his concept have a universal meaning and a person's task is to realize them in social and political life. In the search for universally valid moral norms, the Russian philosopher turns to the analysis of empirical reality. On the one hand, he is interested in timeless, extra-spatial, spiritual beings, on the other, in the nature of temporal

and spatial beings of moral norms. Being a religious philosopher, Berdyaev rejects the asceticism of religious spirituality, its indifference to history and sociopolitical issues. He draws attention to history, which reveals the meaning of labor and sociocultural development. "History is a terrible failure," writes Berdyaev, "and at the same time history has some meaning, and a person cannot simply leave it, and there is nowhere to go" [10, p. 79].

In the postmodern philosophy of history, the historical past is not regarded as a recreation of what was in reality. It is defined as a construct, as a creation of the present which combines the epistemological operations of obtaining and delivering the historical knowledge with the culture in which the researcher lives. In particular, it is claimed by Jamson that historical research is not able to suggest a comprehensive historical picture, it is always fragmentary and limited by modern ideas and cultural traditions [11]. In the works of representatives of French postmodernism (M. Foucault, J. Lyotard)), the historical past is regarded as an object of manipulation of consciousness, as a form of power discourse, which imposes convenient for the political elite historical images on the masses and determine the content of moral norms. R. Barthes discusses parallels between ancient myths and modern ideologies. He states that the story form gives political and moral norms credibility and persuasiveness and that this narrative form, originating in ancient myths, still matters to the way we organize political and moral norms and beliefs today [12]. The advantage of such an approach is the disclosure of the mechanism for constructing the historical past and its influence on the content of moral norms through power, propaganda, and ideology. Robert Parkes writes in this regard: "...postmodern theory, far from killing history as its critics suggest, is a profoundly historicist mode of thought that extends the gaze of historian so nothing escapes it, not even themselves" [13]. Simultaneously, postmodern skepticism can be considered as a disadvantage in the search for a systemic synthesis of individual moral norms. The individualities in the search for universal moral norms are lost in the labyrinth of cultural moral norms, or even refuse to create an ethical synthesis in the search for universal moral norms. In postmodern philosophy, man no longer builds illusions about the acquisition of eternal moral norms, but simply perceives the world in its formation. In the world of everyday life, everyday life becomes the main value and the main theme of philosophical reflection. It is a world of momentary interests, where everyone considers himself the legislator of his ethical, aesthetic, political, and other norms. Good, Truth, Beauty, Justice are pushed to the periphery of social and individual consciousness [14].

Overall, despite the profound attention of the philosophy of history to the relationship of history and moral norms, there was no real interaction between history and the issue of the empirical content of moral norms. Nevertheless, the analysis makes it possible to derive methodological components which help to shape modern historiography in the consideration of the issue of the empirical content of moral norms. In particular, St. Augustine's concept of history connects the content of moral norms with eternity, which is qualitatively different from time. But unlike his predecessors, who believed that time reveals the divine essence in the world as nature, the medieval philosopher states that time has a moment of origin and a moment of completion and reveals itself in the world as a history filled with a sacred meaning. He outlines the importance of correlating the being and becoming, eternity, and time through moral norms. The German philosophy of history represented by Hegel and Marx, developing the ideas of the Enlightenment, provided historical thinking a dialectical method of cognizing empirical historical beings. It is rationally theorized by Hegel's doctrine of the self-knowing Spirit and Marx's doctrine of society that there is the unity and struggle of opposites of eternal and temporary moral norms. Historicism within the framework of the dialectical approach becomes an important concept of giving empirical content to moral norms. The variability, temporality of moral norms manifests themselves at the phenomenological level, and their permanence and eternity manifest themselves at the essential level. The disadvantage of the Hegelian understanding of development is the subordination of the individual moral norms to the public norms in the dialectical triad of norms. Thus, history in its empirical dimension loses its independent character and becomes only a phenomenon in the development of the logic of the Absolute. Despite adherence to dialectics, the Marxist theory tends to monism and does not take into account the complexity and multidimensional nature of the inner world of an individual. It is capable of destroying rational schemes of moral norms in the process of achieving irrational goals. Russian religious historiography develops the method of a synthetic whole, focusing on the idea of cosmopolitanism and the idea of the spiritual community of all mankind (the totality of the past, present, and future (Solovyof)). The creative search for the unity of the divine and the human in the process of giving empirical content to moral norms overcomes ontological and epistemological relativism (Berdyaev). The disadvantage of Russian philosophy can be regarded as excessive religiosity, which excludes other forms of spirituality in shaping the content of moral norms. Postmodernism, drawing attention to the way of constructing the historical past, present, and future, demonstrates a deeply historical way of thinking and this is its advantage. At the same time, skepticism can be considered as a disadvantage in the search for a systemic synthesis of individual moral norms. The individualities in the search for universal values are lost in the labyrinth of cultural values, or even refuse to create an ethical synthesis in the search for universal values.

The appeal to historical science based on the philosophy of history allows highlighting the relationship between history and morality and reveals the possibility of historical thinking giving the supra-empirical norms of morality empirical content within historical thought. In particular, historical pragmatism represented by the Italian Renaissance thinker Nicola Machiavelli highlights the close connection between history and social life. For the first time since a long stagnation of historical thought, the interest in ancient political history is resurgent. In the introduction to "The Prince", he writes: "Desiring, therefore, to present myself to your Magnificence with some testimony of my devotion towards you, I have not found among my possessions anything which I hold more dear than, or value so much as, the knowledge of the actions of great men, acquired by long experience in contemporary affairs, and a continual study of antiquity; which, having reflected upon it; with great and prolonged diligence, I now send" [15, p. 20–21]. This "the knowledge of the actions of great men, acquired by long experience in contemporary affairs, and a continual study of antiquity" is the criterion that will guide European political history over the next centuries. Bertran Russell highly appraised Machiavelli's contribution into political thought: "His political philosophy is scientific and empirical, based on his own business experience and aims to indicate the means to achieve the intended goals, regardless of whether these goals are recognized as good or bad" [16, p. 504].

Historical positivism focuses on the relationship between history and worldview and appeals to a thorough analysis of the main worldview concepts. It warns against hasty deductions in the field of morality. German philosopher positivist of the second half of XIX – early XX centuries, the historian of ancient philosophy Theodor Gomperz rejects rational philosophical concepts that systematize reality. He emphasizes the advantages of a scientific worldview. Scientific knowledge describes and explains this world most accurately, unambiguously, and clearly, therefore it should be the basis of the worldview. The worldview is understood by Gomperz as a single currently formulated structure, as a temporarily consistent set of scientific knowledge, which will change as it grows. Philosophy is considered by him humanitarian knowledge.

Being a supporter of E. Mach's empiriocriticism, Teodor Gomperz believes that the social world is a combination of things and phenomena and their interaction needs critical understanding, description, and explanation. For the first time in the history of thought, the historical writings of antiquity demonstrated the enduring value of criticism and skeptical doubt. This is the time when historical events are not yet recorded, the historical material has the form of a legend, conveyed by a narrator, a poet, and later a writer. The lack of reliable historical information forces ancient historians (Hecataeus, Herodotus) to turn to an internal subjective criterion, which can be called semi-historical or rationalistic. This method expanded the field of human history and narrowed the action of divine powers. The mythical consciousness of the naive era is displaced by reason. Interpretation of legends and exchange with foreign legends broadens the horizon of the Spatio-temporal study of historical consciousness. In its field, a constant struggle is waged between traditional beliefs and new historical knowledge. On the one hand, historical knowledge bears signs of «fiction», on the other hand, it is becoming the basis of progressive historical science.

It is shown by Theodor Gomperz that ancient historians are looking for evidence of their historical constructions. They try to get away from rational and plausible thoughts, and thus they are on the way to objective research, in the spirit of positivism and even ultra-positivism. For the first time, researchers are looking for scientific facts. They are not poets who create myths; they have a desire "to widen the historical horizon and to contract the limits of the supernatural" [17, p. 260]. The unknown author of the fifth century, who wrote the essay "About State of the Athenians", avoids superficial observation of political life, and establishes a logical connection between the state structure and the way of life. He indicates the coherence of the external form of the state with its internal content. Since that time, it is recognized that the search for the best form of state requires careful research and presupposes a certain historical discussion. Naive superficial intuitive ideas about truth, justice, freedom, state structure are replaced by a scrupulous historical analysis, which offers a deductive study of sociopolitical issues and guides the totality of the particular empirical realm to the general point of view. According to Teodor Gompertz, it is the positive contribution of ancient historical thought to the understanding of the essence of historical thinking and its relationship with social values [17].

In the spirit of historical positivism, contemporary authors J.G. Sebine, T. Thorson, and M. Polanyi emphasize the close connection between ideas about a just political system and basic social values and the practice of social relations [18, p. 19]. The modern philosopher M. Polanyi develops the concept of explicit and implicit knowledge. He states that any proposed concept or theory should expand our possibilities of contact with reality. If we use the concept of "justice", then we must use it correctly and reasonably. This means that we must look at the particular justice that was being implemented in reality. To use the concept of "justice" outside of contact with reality is to destroy its meaning. And within the framework of M. Polanyi's concept of personal knowledge, historical research can offer us empirical sets of situations. They can help us contemplate the subject area of application of an ethical concept, clarify its content and make contact with reality. The anticipatory abilities of ethical concepts to suggest a new vision of new problems and the vision of ways to solve them are emphasized in Polanyi's concept [19, p. 122].

E. Troltsch notes that in historical positivism we will not encounter a dialectical confrontation between the eternal and the temporal. The dialectical method of comprehension is discarded here as metaphysical. The subject of historical science is the study of the laws governing the development of society. Society is viewed as a whole that embraces the constructed sets of changes. The latter, in turn, are the aggregates of individual elements covered by natural science. It is presupposed that the constructed sets of changes have an essence immanent to them, which is considered as a rational unity and an increase in value. Historical positivism instead of the metaphysical concept of essence develops such concepts as progress, regression, evolution. However, "with the denial of any metaphysics penetrating the depths of things", as Tröltsch correctly notes, "there can be no objective scale for the desired best, as a result, the desired best must rely on more or less utilitarian and subjective judgments" [2, p. 306].

Historical absolutism takes the strong methodological position regarding the relationship between history and morality. History is considered by the Italian historian and political scientist of the twentieth century Benedetto Croce as the most important discipline of the Human Sciences. He believed that the methodological study of history brings about the formation of conscious and experienced philosophers, and philosophers who think outside historical knowledge have no place in science. Emphasizing the identity of philosophy and history, Croce calls his philosophy not absolute idealism, like Hegel's philosophy, but absolute historicism. History is regarded as the knowledge of the universal in its specific. As applied to history, Croce supplements the dialectic of Hegel's opposites with the dialectic of differences. In the process of dialectical development preserved in its entirety, Spirit goes through the different moments of history, but during the development, the same forms of the Spirit are given new substance. Much of what is incomprehensible to contemporaries in the development of Spirit will be better understood by descendants because their historical experience is richer. Therefore, in the process of development, in addition to historical continuity, there is also a moment of difference. Relying on the example of the development of history from antiquity to

the present, Croce theorizes how the concept of value changes from epoch to epoch, and is enriched by absorbing the historical and cultural experience of mankind [20, p. 116]. Overcoming the Hegelian unidirectional development of the Spirit, Croce's dialectic of differences presupposes openness and multi-variant development. Providence does not determine the course of development of history, but it embodies its commands in the human actions, it is immanent to the Spirit. Croce's main idea is that an active, moral person knows the past and the present and creates historical reality. However, Croce's concept has an insurmountable contradiction. He correctly criticizes Hegel for the fact that in his system the Spirit, as something transcendent to reality, prevailed over the individual and empirical realm, at the same time the Providence of the Italian historian also bears the stamp of transcendence.

Historical realism offers a mechanism for the formation of an ethical worldview based on the analysis of historical material. German philosopher and historian of the late XIX – early XX centuries Tröltsch states that history is of great importance for the formation of the ethical worldview, and it, in turn, influences history. The philosophy of history, which is based on historical material, historical thinking, and self-reflection, organizes the problems of history and gives the substance of an ethical worldview for each new generation. Based on Tröltsch's statement, the issues of the philosophical interpretation of modern spiritual life is "nothing more than issues of so-called historicism in general. In particular, they are the advantages and disadvantages arising from the radical historicization of our knowledge and thinking required for the formation of personal spiritual life and the creation of new sociopolitical conditions" [2, p. 16]. According to Tröltsch, the development of modern philosophy of history gives rise to two main constituents. In particular, it is the formal historical logic and the meaningful construction of the historical process. Both of them ultimately must coincide. The starting point of modern philosophy of history should not be speculation, but logical foundations based on the analysis of empirical history. Within the framework of Tröltsch's historical realism, the main category of historical logic is the category of individual totality (people, state, class, estate, etc.). Their originality and formation reveal the possibilities for the development of spiritual life [2, p. 37]. The historical realism theorized by Tröltsch opposes attempts to isolate the consciously universal and draws attention to the idea that a significant system of moral values stems from historical individual totalities and correlates with them. Therefore, the German historian highlights the sphere of normativity where the norm is born as a result of synthesis that covers the past, present, and future. The knowledge becomes normative, universally significant only within the framework of a specific cultural synthesis. Tröltsch departs from the Kantian understanding of the norm as universal and universally valid and, in fact, returns to the cultural diversity of the norms of the neo-Kantian school, which he himself criticizes. The most acceptable part of Tröltsch's approach is his statement that the general significance of moral norms, associated with abstract Reason or Divine will, should be eliminated. The timeless and the absolute reveal themselves during the process of historical development, and historical research relying on the vital material of history overcomes the abstractness of moral norms. Meanwhile, regarding the issue of giving substance to the moral norms, it is unacceptable Tröltsch's rejection of the universality of moral norms and substitution of the substance of moral norms by cultural synthesis.

Historical constructivism represented by John Tosh turns to historical research in order to obtain any knowledge compatible with historical thinking. Tosh does not theorize any universal scheme of historical development for understanding the past and present and constructing the future. But it is argued by him that the content of such concepts as Freedom, Justice, Humanity, Democracy, etc. are not free from the influence of human knowledge of the past. The clarification and a deeper understanding of the essence of such concepts is one of the purposes of historical research, which should lead away from abstract ideas and give historical substance to the concepts of Freedom, Justice, Humanity, Democracy, etc. [7]. Tosh states that historical research includes the entire spectrum of human relations in its entirety. In particular, loneliness, fear, love, hatred, betrayal, loyalty, labor, and political activity, and much more are recorded in diaries, memoirs, biographies, and fiction. History is an irreplaceable source of memory about an unfamiliar, alien experience that a person, due to spacetime limitations, cannot acquire over his own life. Since the past is a set of spiritual achievements

and downfalls of epochs, revealing to us in various contexts the peculiarities of individual and social behavior. A thorough analysis of well-established moral norms in politics is also demanded by the modern English historian, political scientist E.G. Carr. He states that the conclusions that are obtained as a result of a scrupulous historical study will be fundamentally different from the conclusions of a superficial analysis [21, p. 46].

The brief survey of the main historical schools highlights two main approaches in understanding the unity of historical thinking and morality. They are the dialectical approach represented by historical absolutism, realism, and constructivism and the relativistic approach represented by historical pragmatism and positivism. Historical absolutism overcomes the Hegelian unidirectional principle in the development of the Spirit. Croce's dialectic of differences presupposes transparent and multivariate development. It states that Providence which is immanent to Spirit and history does not unambiguously determine the process of development, but it embodies its ideas in the human actions through a historical process. The idea of Croce that an active, moral person gets deep moral values from the past and the present and creates the historical reality has profound relevance today. Meanwhile, there is an insurmountable contradiction in the concept of Providence. First, it still bears the stamp of transcendence. Secondly, it is unreasonable to equate the philosophy of history and history and to substitute the first with the second. Historical realism rejects the general significance of moral norms identified with abstract Reason or Divine will. It correctly states that historical research in the search of a synthesis of the eternal and the temporal must be based on the empirical material of history. Such a statement has continuing relevance. But the rejection of universality of moral norms identified with universality and ascribing to it the role of cultural synthesis leads to cultural subjectivity in the process of giving empirical substance to moral norms. Historical constructivism turns to historical research in order to obtain knowledge compatible with historical thinking. It does not offer a universal scheme of historical development for understanding the past and present and constructing the future but states that the content of concepts such as Freedom, Justice, Humanity, Democracy, and more requires clarification. A deeper understanding of the essence of such concepts is one of the purposes of historical research, which should lead away from abstract ideas and give historical substance to the concepts of Freedom, Justice, Humanity, Democracy, etc. On the one hand, historical pragmatism and positivism demonstrate a negative attitude towards dialectics and understand unity as a new stage of development. Hence, the subjectivity and fragmentation of assessments are brought about. On the other hand, the need to refer to the concept of "development" forces historical pragmatism and positivism to borrow something from dialectics. In particular, the concepts of the intuitively clear, necessary, progress, regress are introduced in the formation of ranks. The positive contribution of historical pragmatism and positivism is the focus on a thorough analysis of the phenomena under consideration (Machiavelli, Gompertz) and an attempt to connect abstract ideas with reality (Polanyi). The rejection of philosophy by historical positivism is unjustified. On the one hand, scientific knowledge, in particular historical knowledge, really brings us closer to the hard-to-know essence of things and phenomena, and at this point, we can agree with historical positivism that it has an enduring value. But it is unjustified to assign philosophy a subordinate role in the formation of the worldview. Philosophy offers a much broader historical experience of generalizing human needs. Philosophy is universal and conservative, and it is its advantage.

Conclusion. Despite the profound attention of the philosophy of history to the relationship of history and moral norms, there was no real interaction between history and the issue of the empirical content of moral norms. Nevertheless, the philosophy of history bequeathed some methodological components which helped to shape modern historiography in the consideration of the issue of the empirical content of moral norms. The research reveals some positive contributions of the historiography to the issue of the empirical content of moral norms within historical thought. In particular historical absolutism within the dialectic of differences overcomes the Hegelian unidirectional development of Spirit; historical realism rejects universality, identified with abstract Reason or Divine Will, and suggests the search for a synthesis of the eternal and the temporal based on the empirical material of history; historical constructivism appeals to the historical research to obtain the knowledge compatible

with historical thinking; historical positivism and pragmatism demand a scrupulous analysis of the phenomena under consideration and finding the connection between abstract ideas and reality. However, the shift away from the universally significant, relativism, fragmentation, and subjectivism on the issue of the content of moral norms are the shortcomings of the historiography. The constructive search for the universally significant moral norms has made to turn attention to other areas of scientific knowledge such as linguistics, psychology, the theory of knowledge, etc.

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# ДО ПИТАННЯ ЕМПІРИЧНОГО ЗМІСТУ МОРАЛЬНИХ НОРМ В ІСТОРИЧНІЙ ДУМЦІ

Актуальність питання емпіричного змісту моральних норм в історичній думці виникає через необхідність запропонувати загальнозначущі моральні норми для розвитку людства. Mетою дослідження  $\epsilon$  виявлення внеску історичної думки в надання моральним нормам емпіричного історичного змісту. Завданнями дослідження є розгляд співвідношення історії та моралі щодо питання емпіричного змісту моральних норм у рамках філософії історії, а також виявлення змоги історіографії надати надемпіричним нормам моралі емпіричний зміст. В основу дослідження покладено діалектичний метод, що передбачає системний, об'єктивний та історичний підходи до дослідження. Дослідження показує, що всупереч глибокій увазі філософії історії до співвідношення історії та моральних норм, реальної взаємодії історії з питанням емпіричного змісту моральних норм не було. Проте філософія історії заповідала деякі методологічні складники, які сприяли формуванню сучасної історіографії в розгляді питання емпіричного змісту моральних норм. Дослідження виявляє позитивний внесок історіографії в проблему емпіричного змісту моральних норм у рамках історичних шкіл. Зокрема, історичний абсолютизм у межах діалектики відмінностей долає гегелівський односпрямований розвиток Духу; історичний реалізм відкидає універсальність, ототожнюється з абстрактним Розумом або Божественною Волею, пропонує пошуки синтезу вічного і тимчасового на основі емпіричного матеріалу історії; історичний конструктивізм звертається до історичного дослідження, щоб отримати знання, сумісне з історичним мисленням; історичний позитивізм і прагматизм вимагають скрупульозного аналізу розглянутих явищ і пошуку зв'язку між абстрактними ідеями та реальністю. Проте відхід від загальнозначущого, релятивізм, фрагментарність і суб'єктивізм у питанні змісту моральних норм  $\epsilon$  недоліками історіографії. Вони не дозволяють розглядати історичну думку як єдине джерело надання моральним нормам емпіричного змісту. Конструктивний пошук загальнозначущих моральних норм змушує звернути увагу на інші галузі наукового знання, такі як лінгвістика, психологія, теорія пізнання тощо.

**Ключові слова:** моральні норми, емпіричний зміст моральних норм, історична думка, філософія історії, історіографія.