

## CHAPTER 6

### MOSCOW UNIVERSITY, 1825-1835

As a result of Moscow University's connections with the Decembrist conspirators, the revolt affected the regime's policies toward the school. The first sign of an impending shift in the government's attitude was the appointment in July 1825 of Major-General Aleksandr Pisarev as curator--the first time a general held the position.<sup>1</sup> According to one close observer, Pisarev initially seemed efficient, but after a while it became apparent that he "wanted to rule the University as if commanding an army." He demanded the strictest observance of order and always visited the school in full military uniform, replete with decorations<sup>2</sup>:

Once, when he entered the auditorium, all the students stood up except for one. "Why are you not getting up?" Pisarev shouted threateningly.

"But I have no feet," answered the student, and he really did not have any

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<sup>1</sup>"Predlozhenie General-maioru Pisarevu po povodu naznacheniiia ego popechitelem Moskovskago uchebnago okruga," Sbornik rasporiazhenii, 1: 554-60.

<sup>2</sup>Iakov Kostenetskii, "Vospominaniia iz moei studencheskoi zhizni," RA, 25, bk. 1 (1887): 347-48; Tret'iakov, "Imperatorskii Moskovskii universitet," 545; Kizevetter, "Moskovskii universitet," 85; and Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov.

feet. "Even if you have no feet, get up," replied Pisarev.<sup>3</sup>

When Karl Lieven replaced Admiral Shishkov as minister of education in 1828, the professors bombarded him with petitions to remove Pisarev, but only in 1830 did Prince Sergei Golitsyn arrive as a replacement. Golitsyn, however, a rather "stupid" man who rarely visited the school, was not much of an improvement. In fact, it was Dmitrii Golokhvastov, the assistant curator, who really wielded control.<sup>4</sup>

After 1825 the tsar retained a suspicious attitude toward the University because of reports that reached him concerning alleged seditious activities there. This led to an increase in police surveillance, more denunciations and counter-measures, and further investigations and measures.

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<sup>3</sup>Kostenetskii, "Vospominaniia," 347-48.

<sup>4</sup>Buslaev, Moi vospominaniia, 109; Herzen, My Past and Thoughts, 1: 95; Zhurnal, 6 (1835): ccx, ccxxviii; Kizevetter, "Moskovskii universitet," 85; Flynn, University Reform of Tsar Alexander I, 206; and Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 22.

In 1826 the regime undertook a series of restrictive measures at the school. In April the curator ordered students to register letters with the executive board before sending them through the mail. In May professors had to sign an oath of loyalty and a statement that they did not belong to any secret societies, including Freemasonry.<sup>5</sup> That summer the administration issued student regulations that each year students had to provide evidence that they lived under the supervision of a parent, guardian, or relative. The regulations also prohibited the gathering of students in corridors and staircases. In 1827 the tsar granted the city police jurisdiction over students when they were not on grounds, and four years later the minister of education upheld the ruling that the curator could send students into the army for "corrupt behavior" or "major crimes."<sup>6</sup>

In the meantime, the tsar decided that he wanted a full report on the state-of-affairs at the school, and Ivan Diebitsch, the Chief of the Army Staff, ordered Sergei Stroganov to conduct an inspection. Diebitsch informed Stroganov that:

Information has reached the Emperor that among the students of Moscow University and the Noble Pension there prevails an unseemly manner of thought....Turn special attention to the professors [and] what kind of moral

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<sup>5</sup>Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 98, 101; R. V. Zhdanov, "Moskovskii universitet v 1825-1855 gody," Uchenye zapiski, no. 50 (1940): 41.

<sup>6</sup>"O poruchenii studentov Moskovskago universiteta, zhivushikh vne universiteta, nadzoru gorodskoi politzii," Sbornik postanovlenii, 2: pt.1, 63-64; "Tsirkuliarnoe predlozhenie o poruchenii svoekoshtnykh studentov universitetov politseiskomu nadzoru," Sbornik rasporyazhenii, 1: 607-08; "Ob otsylke v voennuiu sluzhbu," Sbornik postanovlenii, 1: 628-30; and Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 101-03, 105,

education the young students [are receiving].<sup>7</sup>

Stroganov visited the University in May 1826, and while there listened to Professor Davydov give the first philosophical lecture at the school since 1821. The lecture aroused much public interest, and Davydov had it printed as a pamphlet. Afterwards, Stroganov, rumoured to be taking over as curator, forbade a continuation of the lectures and had the pamphlets seized.<sup>8</sup>

When the tsar arrived in Moscow that summer for his coronation, he received a report from an agent of the Third Section, who pointed to a lack of religious belief and morality among students and the need for vigilant supervision over their activities:

Professors acquaint youth with today's pernicious philosophy and give full freedom to student's fervent passion and the means to infect the minds of their junior comrades.<sup>9</sup>

The agent cited the example of the student Aleksandr Polezhaev's poem, Sashka, as an attack on serfdom. Polezhaev had entered the University in 1820, and though he rarely attended classes, he developed into a talented poet who published his verse in the Trudy of the Society of the Lovers of Russian

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110-11, 98-99.

<sup>7</sup>Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 93.

<sup>8</sup>Tret'iakov, "Imperatorskii Moskovskii universitet," 546; Kizevetter, "Moskovskii universitet," 90-91; and Tikhomirov, Istoriia, 102.

<sup>9</sup>Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 95-96, 137-38; Fedosov, Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie v Rossii, 40.

Literature. The tsar commanded that Polezhaev be brought to the Kremlin, where the latter read his poem aloud to Nicholas. The tsar became extremely agitated and ordered Polezhaev into the army.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Nikolai Murzakevich, "V Moskovskom universitete," in Isaev, Moskovskii universitet v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, 94; Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 95-98, 128-38; Tikhomirov, Istoriia, 203-04; and Fedosov, Letopis', 55.

The tsar's visit to Moscow led to other changes. While at the Noble Pension, he found the name of a Decembrist on a gold plaque for outstanding students, and this angered him. Stroganov too had found the Pension to be in a "bad state" and considered Anton Prokopovich, the rector, and Davydov, the inspector, to be the problems. The tsar removed them both and ordered the new inspector to ensure that: "Reprehensible verses and banned books were taken from students and that [students were] strictly prohibited from having anything except textbooks that had been approved by the administration".<sup>11</sup>

Eventually, in 1830 the tsar closed the Pension, claiming that it encouraged nobles from studying in the University. Instead, he opened a gymnasium, but after numerous petitions from the local nobility, he agreed to turn the gymnasium into a Nobles' Institute for two hundred students at an annual tuition of eight hundred rubles.<sup>12</sup>

All these measures, in reality, changed little, as students continued to circulate clandestine literature hand to hand. Yet another informant reported that "it was a rare student at Moscow University who did not have the verses of Pushkin that had been forbidden by the government." One popular Pushkin

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<sup>11</sup>Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 93, 95-96; Tikhomirov, Istoriia, 102, 207.

<sup>12</sup>"O preobrazovanii Blagorodnykh pansionov S. Peterburgskago i Moskovskago universitetov v gimnazii," Sbornik postanovlenii, 2: pt. 1, 281; "O predvaritel'nom obrazovanii Moskovskago dvorianskago instituta," Sbornik postanovlenii, 2: pt. 1, 409-11.

poem was Vol'nost' (Freedom).<sup>13</sup>

You, despotic villain  
 whose throne I hate and  
 whose death I gladly see  
 You, killer of children.  
 On whose forehead is stamped  
 the curse of the people.  
 You are a horror of the world, a shame of nature,  
 You are a living reproof to God.<sup>14</sup>

Nicholas's distrust of the University had some basis in fact, for there did exist a few conspiracies among students. In 1827 the Kritskii brothers, Petr, Mikhail, and Vasilii, began a plot to introduce a constitution in Russia, by murdering the tsar if necessary. Petr and Mikhail were already University graduates while Vasilii, the youngest, was still studying at the school. With the help of sixteen other sympathizers, they tried to spread anti-tsarist propaganda among the city's bureaucrats, military garrison, and students. The brothers planned to use the anniversary of the coronation, 22 August 1827, to rouse the people of Moscow by placing a proclamation on the monument to Minin and Pozharskii on Red Square, but the police arrested them before the appointed day.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Okun, Ocherki istorii SSSR, 313; Fedosov, Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie, 40; and Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 144.

<sup>14</sup>Aleksandr Pushkin, Sobranie sochinenii v desiati tomakh, 10 vols. (Moscow, 1981), 1: 195-96; Pirogov, "Iz zhizni," 82, 621.  
 "Samovlsatitel'nyi zlodei!/Tebia, tvoi tron ia nenavizhu,/Tvoiu pogibel', smert' detei/S zhestokoi radostiiu vizhu./Chitaiut na tvoem chele/Pechat' prokliatiia narody,/Ty uzhas mira, styd prirody/Uprek ty bogu na zemle."

<sup>15</sup>Lidiia Nasonkina, "K voprosu o revoliutsionnom dvizhenii studenchestva Moskovskogo universiteta (kruzhok studentov

The commission that investigated the affair found little among the prisoners' papers, so the commission relied on oral interrogations. In the end, the commission concluded that the plot was insignificant and felt that, for a lack of evidence, the punishment should not exceed the time already spent in prison. Nicholas, however, thought differently. The group's attempt to conduct propaganda among the garrison had disturbed him deeply, and he ordered the six central figures sent to different prisons for unspecified sentences.<sup>16</sup>

Because of these incidents, which the tsar greatly exaggerated, the authorities viewed any sort of autonomous student group with suspicion. For example, in 1829 Vissarion Belinskii, the future literary critic, formed a circle of

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Kritskikh, " Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta: seriia obshchestvennykh nauk, no. 4 (April 1953): 154-55; Okun, Ocherki istorii SSSR, 320-21; Fedosov, Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie, 59-72, 67; and Fedosov, Letopis', 56.

<sup>16</sup>Nasonkina, "Kruzhok studentov Kritskikh," 157; Mikhail Lemke, "Tainnoe obshchestvo brat'ev Kritskikh," Byloe, 1 (June 1906): 42, 52.

nine state students, "Literaturnoe obshchestvo 11-go nomera" (Literary Society of Room Number 11), that met in his room on the top floor of the main building. Since it was so cold in the winter--water left on the table froze-- students called it "Siberia." Belinskii wrote of the:

Closeness, crowding, shouting, noise, and arguments. One [student] leaves, another plays the guitar, a third the violin, and a fourth reads aloud, in a word, whatever one is good at one does.<sup>17</sup>

Belinskii's circle of friends provided a support network of like minds who were attempting to reconcile their education with Russian reality which, in turn, engendered their hatred of serfdom and an interest in philosophy. They felt that most professors were either out-of-date or too pro-government and "foolish."<sup>18</sup>

In the summer of 1830, Belinskii wrote a play, Dmitrii Kalinin, as a protest against serfdom, and he gave it to the censorship committee. Before long the committee summoned Belinskii, and although some of the committee members defended him, the play was not passed, and the police began to watch him. In 1832 the University did not allow him to take his exams and expelled him for reasons of "weak health" and "limited capabilities." The real reason for the expulsion, however, was his play.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Beliavskii and Sorokin, Nash pervyi, nash moskovskii, 67-69.

<sup>18</sup>Fedosov, Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie, 103-04.

<sup>19</sup>Beliavskii and Sorokin, Nash pervyi, nash moskovskii, 71-72  
Okun, Ocherki istorii SSSR, 335-36; and Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 203-04, 209.

One other noteworthy incident, the "Malov Affair," occurred in 1831. In the fall of 1830, cholera reached Moscow, and the school closed until the following January. The result was that students had to repeat the entire academic year, which made them mad.<sup>20</sup> Then in March, the minister of education promoted Mikhail Malov to the rank of professor. Students hated him and considered him a "stupid, coarse, and uncultured professor."<sup>21</sup> One student, Iakov Kostenetskii, remembered how a Baltic German student pretended not to know Russian very well and asked to speak in German, which Malov claimed to know well. Malov agreed, and the student proceeded to tell Malov in German that "he ought to be a swineherd and not a professor," and Malov replied, "Sehr gut, sehr gut" (very good, very good).<sup>22</sup>

One day, Kostenetskii and his friends decided to protest Malov's promotion and began to stomp their feet, whistle, and hoot in class. Alexander Herzen participated by bringing in students from another class to help make noise. Malov took fright and ran out of the building into the street, followed by the students. The University hushed up the scandal as well as possible and sentenced Herzen and the others to five days in the school's jail.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Shevyrev, Istoriia, 555-57; Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 189-90, 194; and Fedosov, Letopis', 58-59.

<sup>21</sup>Herzen, My Past and Thoughts, 1: 106.

<sup>22</sup>Murzakevich, "V Moskovskom universitete," 91; Kostenetskii, "Vospominaniia," 239-40.

<sup>23</sup>N. N. Kalugin, "Studenty Moskovskago universiteta v byloe vremia," RA, 45, bk. 3 (1907): 425-26; Kostenetskii,

Herzen played a key role in the Malov Affair. He was also the founder of one of the two most important circles in Russian intellectual history. He had entered the University in 1829 and, with his friend Nikolai Ogarev, gathered a group of about eleven people to discuss political and social issues and the socialism of St. Simon. In July 1834 the police arrested the group on the pretext of slanderous songs sung at a party at which they were not even present, and they were exiled. Herzen eventually went on to develop the idea of a unique, Russian, agrarian socialism.<sup>24</sup>

The tsar's continuing suspicion of the University finally led to Uvarov's 1832 inspection of the school. Uvarov basically asked, "Can Moscow University remain in its present state?" He did notice "an inclination to pranks, mistakes, and even vices, but [he] was not able to find traces of criminal ideas." Uvarov proposed to improve the school by providing more money for salaries, restoring the Noble Pension, and emphasizing the conservative principles of Official Nationality.<sup>25</sup>

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"Vospominaniia," 238-39, 241-42, 336-40; Tikhomirov, Istoriia, 214-16; and Mathes, "Courts," 369.

<sup>24</sup>Herzen, My Past and Thoughts, 1: 125-33; Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 287-300, 306; and Franco Venturi, Roots of Revolution (Chicago, 1983), 1-35.

<sup>25</sup>"Otcheta Uvarova po obozreniiu Moskovskago universiteta," 339-70, 340-41, 349-50; Flynn, University Reform of Tsar Alexander I, 231-32; Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 116; and A. Kochubinskii, "Graf Speranskii i universitetskii ustav 1835 goda," Vestnik Evropy, 29 (May 1894): 6.

After Uvarov's report, the tsar took definite measures to increase supervision of students. When Nicholas had been in Moscow during the cholera epidemic, he had conceived the idea to build a dormitory for students who had no relatives in Moscow so that their activities could be more closely supervised. This, along with an 1832 request from the curator to change the elected inspector to an appointed one, led to the selection of Platon Nakhimov as inspector of students in 1834.<sup>26</sup>

Moscow University still faced problems with facilities, qualified students, and professors, but the University's buildings underwent a great expansion in the 1830s. The tsar allowed the purchase of a property across the street from the main building, that was a house built for the nobleman Pashkov in the 1780s by the architect Vasilii Bazhenov but never finished.<sup>27</sup> In April 1833 a building committee, under Golokhvastov, began to supervise the renovations that were completed in 1836. The building provided a significant increase in classroom space for the school.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>"Ob opredelenii pri Moskovskom universitete inspektora studentov," Sbornik postanovlenii, 2: pt. 1, 569; Shevyrev, Istoriia, 482-83; Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 123; and Dmitrii Golokhvastov, "K istorii Moskovskago universiteta," RA, 25, bk. 2 (1887): 246.

<sup>27</sup>"Otcheta Uvarova po obozreniiu Moskovskago universiteta," 360-62; Beliavskii and Sorokin, Nash pervyi, nash moskovskii, 111-13.

<sup>28</sup>"Ob uchrezhdenii v Moskve stroitel'nago komiteta," Sbornik postanovlenii, 2: pt. 1, 419-20; "Vysochaishii imiannyi ukaz o dovolnenii zaiem obrazno 99,750 r. na peredelki po domu Pashkova," Zhurnal, 1 (1834): iv-v; "O prodolzhenii deistvii stroitel'nago pri Moskovskom universitete komiteta do 1838 goda," Zhurnal, 13 (1837): vi; and Shevyrev, Istoriia, 480.

As for the school's other facilities, a recent Soviet scholar noted their unevenness. For example, the University had an "extremely scanty" physics laboratory yet an excellent anatomical theater. The library, though large, contained many duplicate copies.<sup>29</sup> Uvarov, after his inspection, got the tsar to approve an increase of 220,700 rubles in the budget for the library and laboratories.<sup>30</sup>

A striking improvement was the building of an astronomical observatory. When Dmitrii Perevoshchikov began to teach astronomy in 1824, he had petitioned for an observatory, but nothing happened until a nobleman donated some property in the Presna District of the city. Construction began in 1829, and the school dedicated it three years later--a modest building, forty-nine by twenty-five feet with two terraces, and a six foot refractor.<sup>31</sup>

Student enrollment at the University, in general, fell in the decade after 1825. Mostly because of the uncertainty aroused in society by the Decembrist

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<sup>29</sup>Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 41.

<sup>30</sup>"Otcheta Uvarova po obozreniiu Moskovskago universiteta," 360; "O popolnenii uchebnykh posobii Moskovskago universiteta," Zhurnal, 4 (1834): lv; Tikhomirov, Istoriia, 103; and Fedosov, Letopis', 54-55.

<sup>31</sup>Rechi 1829, 38; S. N. Blazhko, "Astronomiia v Moskovskom universitete," Uchenye zapiski, no. 58 (1940: 13-16.

uprising and the cholera epidemic. (Table 2)

TABLE 2  
Number of Students, 1825-1835

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>
1825/26	699
1826/27	714
1828/29	613
1830/31	710
1832/33	605
1834/35	437

Source: Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 28.

The distribution of students among the departments of the University showed only slight changes in this period. (Table 3) All departments lost in absolute numbers, and the Medical Department, which had been the largest, lost the most. The study of law became the most popular choice of students, while the Letters and Mathematics Departments experienced small increases. Obviously, the regime hope of luring students into medical careers was not working.

TABLE 3  
Number of Students in the Departments,  
1825-1835

<u>Year</u>	<u>Letters</u>	<u>Mathematics</u>	<u>Law</u>	<u>Medical</u>
1825/26	108 (15.5)	53 (7.6)	243 (34.8)	262 (37.5)
1826/27	119 (16.7)	50 (7.0)	249 (34.9)	267 (37.4)
1828/29	116 (18.9)	38 (6.2)	236 (38.5)	211 (34.4)
1830/31	141 (19.9)	45 (6.3)	279 (39.3)	235 (33.1)
1832/33	134 (22.1)	47 (7.8)	239 (39.5)	184 (30.4)
1834/35	89 (20.4)	43 (9.8)	178 (40.7)	125 (28.6)

Source: Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 28. Figures in parenthesis are percentages.

As for the social composition of the student body in this period, the figures remained very stable, though the petty bourgeois element had a small increase

and the clergy a small decrease. (Table 4) The nobility was the largest social class at the school, but it never exceeded much more than a third of the student body.

TABLE 4  
Social Origins of Students,  
1825-1835

<u>Class</u>	<u>1825/26</u>	<u>1828/29</u>	<u>1830/31</u>	<u>1832/33</u>	<u>1834/35</u>			
Gentry		204		200		206	168	152
Bureaucratic	133		124		135		116	71
Clergy	124		104		127		99	47
Burgher		75		52		83	76	69
Merchant		36		47		64	64	35
Other	127		86		95		82	61

Source: Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 35.

Social Origins of students,  
in Percentages

<u>Class</u>	<u>1825/26</u>	<u>1828/29</u>	<u>1830/31</u>	<u>1832/33</u>	<u>1834/35</u>			
Gentry		29.2		32.6		29.0	27.8	34.8
Bureaucratic	19.0		20.2		19.0		19.2	16.2
Clergy	17.7		17.0		17.9		16.4	10.8
Burgher		10.7		8.5		11.7	12.6	15.8
Merchant		5.2		7.7		9.0	10.6	8.0
Other	18.2		14.0		13.4		13.5	14.4

Konstantin Aksakov, the Slavophile, however, felt he saw a change in the composition of the student body with an influx of aristocrats in his third year (1834): "They brought with them all their trivialness, all their external comeliness, and all that artificial derision of their type." They wore their formal uniforms

everywhere, and where before only Russian had been spoken, now French began to be heard.<sup>32</sup>

The overall decrease in the number of students at the University can largely be accounted for by the two sharp reductions in size of the entering classes. (Table 5). In 1826, after the Decembrist revolt, the enrollment dropped thirty percent, and in 1832, after the cholera epidemic, there was a drop of almost sixty percent.

TABLE 5  
Annual Admissions,  
1825-1834

<u>Year</u>	<u>Letters</u>	<u>Mathematical</u>	<u>Political</u>	<u>Law</u>	<u>Total</u>		
1825	35	14		89	86	239	
1826	34	9		61	63	169	
1828	34	10		68	47	167	
1830	41	17		78	84	223	
1832	22	17		20	33	92	
1834	31	13		47	28	119	

Source: Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 26.

TABLE 6  
Educational Background of Students, 1828

<u>Type of school</u>	<u>Number tested</u>	<u>Admitted</u>	<u>Acceptance Rate</u>
Gymnasium	54	29	54%
Home	66	42	64%
Seminary	28	19	68%

<sup>32</sup>Konstantin Aksakov, "Vospominaniia studenchestva, 1832-1835 gg.," in Isaev, Moskovskii universitet v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, 197-99.



How a student finished depended on the number of "points" he received on his final exam, with each subject being graded on a scale of from "1" to "5." For example, in 1829 for the degree of candidate a student needed 33 points, while a "real" student needed between 23 and 32.<sup>34</sup>

One reason why more students did not graduate was poverty, and about twenty-five percent of students left school without ever receiving any kind of degree. State students were often so impoverished that they had no money to get to their assignments after graduating or to purchase the necessary uniforms.<sup>35</sup>

Thus, financial aid was a problem. The government provided a limited number of stipends for those training to become doctors or teachers, but the amount provided was still too low, and students desperately tried to stay out of the ranks of state students because of the barracks-like regimen and the fear of being sent as a teacher to a village. In 1829 the Ministry inquired how many teachers had graduated in the last five years and found out that only forty-four had.<sup>36</sup>

Philanthropists supported some students. For example, the Demidov Fund supported a total of eleven students and one candidate. In all there were

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 29, 31-33.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., 29, 31-33.

<sup>36</sup>Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 30, Flynn, University Reform of Tsar Alexander I, 247.

thirty-two private stipends. Another source of support was from various founding institutions or from other educational districts. In total, there were approximately two hundred stipends available.<sup>37</sup>

By the 1830s Moscow students had begun to develop some traditions, including the wearing of uniforms, which became ever more common. After the tsar observed that some students were not wearing their uniforms while he was there in 1826, he had the curator draw up new regulations that called for a light blue uniform, single-breasted, with red, bronze buttons, a raspberry collar with two old, galloon-like, narrow tabs, light blue trousers, boots with piping, sword, and a three-cornered hat.<sup>38</sup>

As for the academic traditions, though students usually attended all classes diligently at first, after their first year, they would ease up and start skipping. There also existed a rivalry between the Law students and Letters students, as the "slovesniki" (litérateurs) had great contempt for the "politiki" (politicians).<sup>39</sup> Lectures followed one after the other, and students took seats arbitrarily:

The more attentive, or those who wished to appear that way, sat closer to

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<sup>37</sup>Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 33-34; Tikhomirov, Istoriia, 111-13.

<sup>38</sup>"O mundirakh dlia studentov Moskovskago universiteta," Sbornik postanovlenii, 2: pt. 1, 32-33; Murzakevich, "V Moskovskom universitete," 93; and Aksakov, "Vospominaniia studenchestva," 189-90.

<sup>39</sup>Murzakevich, "V Moskovskom universitete," 90-91; Aksakov, "Vospominaniia studenchestva," 190, 195-96.

the professor, [while] those who wished meanwhile to gossip went to the higher parts of the amphitheater.<sup>40</sup>

Student jokes were common during the lectures. One student, "K" was "often drunk and wild." Professor Stepan Shevyrev had the habit, if someone made a noise during the lecture, to turn to him and ask, "Ah?" "Once he turned to K and asked, 'Ah?', and K roared out, 'Beh!'"<sup>41</sup> Professor Ivan Dvigubskii always accompanied his physics lectures with experiments, and "once, when demonstrating an electric light, he closed the shutters, and two-thirds [of the students] slipped out of the auditorium."<sup>42</sup>

The professors continued to be of uncertain quality. After 1825 many observers complained that the faculty was not keeping up with advances in the West. For example, in 1829 Nikolai Polevoi wrote in his journal that professors were not using the most recent scholarship of Barthold Niebuhr, the German historian, or Karl Savigny, the founder of the "historical school" of law. Pushkin, in a letter, wrote that "scholarliness, activity, and intelligence are alien to Moscow University," while Herzen divided the faculty into Germans, who smoked a lot and were good-natured men but ignorant of Russia, and Russians, who drank a lot but were ignorant of Europe.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>Murzakevich, "V Moskovskom universitete," 92.

<sup>41</sup>Aksakov, "Vospominaniia studenchestva," 196.

<sup>42</sup>Murzakevich, "V Moskovskom universitete," 92.

<sup>43</sup>Herzen, My Past and Thoughts, 1: 109-11; Ikonnikov, "Russkie universitety," 84-85; and Zhdanov, "Moskovskii universitet v 1825-1855 gody," 41-42.

When Uvarov reviewed the faculty in 1832, he felt that though most professors had good intentions, many lacked a sound knowledge and good exposition. He named as among the best, Mikhail Kachenovskii, Ivan Davydov, Dmitrii Perevoshchikov, Pavel Shchepkin, and Aleksei Boldyrev. He termed "promising," Alexander Fischer von Waldheim, Mikhail Maksimovich, and Mikhail Pogodin. Those too old or incompetent included Semen Ivashkovskii, the professor of Greek, Ivan Snegirev, the professor of history, and Dmitrii Vasilevskii, the professor of political economy. He called the Law Department, "a complete wreck of a department..., where not a single instructor has any knowledge of jurisprudence."<sup>44</sup>

Uvarov pushed for changes, and in March 1833 he sent a secret message to the assistant curator asking him for further recommendations of "the professors and teachers whom you find it necessary to release from the University upon the introduction of the new statute," and he began the process of buying them off or retiring them. Golokhvastov referred to a previous, lengthy evaluation of the professors that had been drawn up by the assistant curator in 1831.<sup>45</sup>

One of the means intended to improve the overall quality of the faculty at

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<sup>44</sup>"Otcheta Uvarova po obozreniiu Moskovskago universiteta," 342-47; Kochubinskii, "Graf Speranskii," 7-8; and Flynn, University Reform of Tsar Alexander I, 228.

<sup>45</sup>Flynn, University Reform of Tsar Alexander I, 228. See Appendix 6 for excerpts from A. N. Panin, "Pamiatnaia zapiska o professorakh Moskovskago universiteta," RS, 28 (August 1880): 780-82.

the school was the Professors' Institute, but although the University compiled a list of thirty-nine eligible students, only ten agreed to attend the Institute. The main stumbling block proved to be the obligation of twelve years of state service for those who participated in the program. After testing in St. Petersburg, five students went to Dorpat, including the future professors Petr Redkin and Nikolai Pirogov.<sup>46</sup>

Teaching in the Letters Department remained uneven in quality in this period. Aleksei Merzliakov had done much to interest students in Russian literature, but he died in 1830. Aleksei Boldyrev taught Eastern languages and was responsible for the introduction into the curriculum of Arabic and Persian. Mikhail Kachenovskii held the chair of Russian History and made a strong impact on students with his historical skepticism.<sup>47</sup> Stepan Shevyrev and Mikhail Pogodin both began their careers after 1825. Shevyrev read his introductory lectures on literature in 1833, and though students were initially enthusiastic, they soon lost interest as his conservatism became more apparent. Pogodin began to lecture on universal history in 1826, but soon "managed, in spite of his merits, to turn almost everybody against himself."<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 88-90; Flynn, University Reform of Tsar Alexander I, 18-85; and Shevyrev, Istoriia, 477.

<sup>47</sup>Aksakov, "Vospominaniia studenchestva," 192; Murzakevich, "V Moskovskom universitete," 91; and Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 61.

<sup>48</sup>Aksakov, "Vospominaniia studenchestva," 191; Flynn, University Reform of Tsar Alexander I, 211.

The quality of teaching in the Mathematics Department was fairly high. Dmitrii Perevoshchikov taught astronomy and mathematics, published the first text in Russian on astronomy, and oversaw the opening of the observatory in 1832. Alexander Fischer, the son of the professor of natural history, began to teach botany after graduating from the University in 1825, and Aleksei Lovetskii, who held the chair of Zoology from 1829 until 1840, was famous for his work on fish.<sup>49</sup> Ivan Dvigubskii, who taught from 1806 to 1843, was the first author of the first Russian textbook on chemical technology,<sup>50</sup> and Mikhail Maksimovich, later

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<sup>49</sup> Herzen, My Past and Thoughts, 1: 112, 116; Kulagin, "Pervye etapy razvitiia zoologii," 26; and Istoriia Moskvvy, 486-87.

<sup>50</sup> "Nekrolog pochetnago chlena Moskovskago universiteta, zasluzhenago professora Dvigubskago," Zhurnal, supplement (1840):

an important ethnographer, taught botany before he moved to Kiev in 1834 and the chair of Russian Literature.<sup>51</sup>

The Law Department, however, was extremely weak. Nikolai Sandunov, "clever and spry," was at times outstanding, but Lev Tsvetaev, who taught Roman law, had grown too old. One student, Dmitrii Murzakevich, was very disappointed with Professors Sandunov, Tsvetaev, and Dmitrii Vasilevskii, who taught international law:

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81-86; Tret'iakov, "Imperatorskii Moskovskii universitet," 143; and Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 42

<sup>51</sup>Shchipanov, Moskovskii universitet i razvitie, 150-51, 153; Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 49.

I was informed...that they...gave private lessons, Sandunov for fifteen rubles, Tsvetaev for twelve, and Vasilevskii for less....This, according to the talk of students, signified that all their listeners, on finishing the course, graduated as candidates. At first, I did not believe it, but it was true.<sup>52</sup>

The Medical Department too had problems since teaching remained largely on a theoretical level. Part of the trouble was an ongoing feud between Professors Justus Loder and Efrem Mukhin, who resented having lost the chair of Anatomy to Loder in 1819, which split the Department into two camps. The most popular medical professor was Matvei Mudrov, "the father of Russian therapy." He wrote the first text in Russia on military hygiene, but he died in 1831 in the cholera epidemic.<sup>53</sup> Iustin Diadkovskii began to teach pathology in 1831 and was the author of several outstanding articles, including "Sistema boleznei" (System of Illnesses, 1833). He was an excellent doctor, botanist, and pharmacist, but Uvarov released him in 1835, according to a Soviet scholar, because of his atheism.<sup>54</sup>

More importantly, by good fortune the University attracted a number of professors, such as Ivan Davydov, Nikolai Nadezhdin, and Mikhail Pavlov, who disseminated Schelling's Naturphilosophie to their students. Since Stroganov

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<sup>52</sup>Murzakevich, "V Moskovskom universitete," 91, 95-96; Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 67-68.

<sup>53</sup>Tret'iakov, "Imperatorskii Moskovskii universitet," 134-38; Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 53, 55; and Chervakov, 150 let kafedra Sudebnoi meditsiny, 18.

<sup>54</sup>Shchipanov, Moskovskii universitet i razvitie, 139, 143, 150; Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 56-57.

had prohibited philosophy lectures in 1826, everyone went to the lectures of these three professors, so that philosophy ended up being taught in other courses. Pavlov, who taught physics, would stand in the doorway of the auditorium and shout, "You want to know about nature, but what is nature and what does it mean to know?"<sup>55</sup>

Ivan Davydov had begun to teach philosophy in 1817. He was a brilliant man but tended to scatter his efforts, and in 1831 after Merzliakov's death, he received the chair of Russian Literature. Students greeted Davydov's first lectures with enthusiasm because they remembered his earlier run-in with the administration, but they soon became disappointed with his conservative views.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>Kizevetter, "Moskovskii universitet," 92.

<sup>56</sup>Aksakov, "Vospominaniia studenchestva," 193; Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 63-66; and Kizevetter, "Moskovskii universitet," 90-91.

Nikolai Nadezhdin, who edited the journal Teleskop, taught at the school for only five years from 1831 to 1835, holding the chair of Fine Arts, Archeology, and Logic, but he made a huge impression. He was a gifted, though not profound, lecturer who knew six languages, and he was an important critic and publicist.<sup>57</sup>

Nadezhdin was preoccupied with a search for a new philosophical system. He termed Classicism as belonging to ancient history and Romanticism as part of Middle Ages, and he believed that both had reflected their time and that any attempt to revive them had to fail. Instead, what was needed was a new synthesis of the two, "an aspiration to civilness, naturalness, and nationalness."<sup>58</sup>

The man most responsible for disseminating the ideas of Schelling at the University was Mikhail Pavlov, who taught agriculture and physics from 1821 until his death in 1840. After studying at the Voronezh Seminary, he entered Kharkov University but soon transferred to Moscow University, from which he graduated in 1815 with distinction in both the Mathematics and Medical Departments. Three years later, he received the degree of doctor of medicine for his dissertation, Physiologico-obstetrica de nutritione foetus hominis, and after studying the natural sciences in Europe for two years, he returned to receive the chair of

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<sup>57</sup>Buslaev, Moi vospominaniia, 123; "Nikolai Nadezhdin," Biograficheskii slovar', 2: 153-55.

<sup>58</sup>Aksakov, "Vospominaniia studenchestva," 190-91; Gudzii, Izuchenie russkoi literatury, 8; Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 62-63; and Istoriia Moskvvy, 500-01.

Agriculture, Mineralogy, and Forestry.<sup>59</sup>

Pavlov was a very active man. He was inspector of the Noble Pension from 1826 to 1831 and later ran his own, highly-successful boarding school (sixty-nine students in 1833). He constantly gave public lectures on agriculture and was a major figure in the Imperial Moscow Agricultural Society, which he had helped establish and for which he directed the Butyrskii khutor, the first experimental agricultural station in the country.<sup>60</sup> Pavlov also helped publish four journals, including Atenei and Russkii zemledelets (The Russian Landowner, 1838-39), and he wrote a number of major works, including Zemledel'cheskaia khimiia (Agricultural Chemistry, 1833, 2 vols.) and Kurs sel'skago khoziaistva (Course on Agriculture, 1837-38, 2 vols.).<sup>61</sup>

As "the founder of agricultural theory in Russia,"<sup>62</sup> Pavlov lobbied extensively for the introduction of progressive agricultural techniques and ardently opposed the three-field system. In 1821 he wrote at length on this subject:

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<sup>59</sup>"Formuliarnyi spisok M. F. Pavlova," Istoriia fiziki v Moskovskom universitete, by Arkadii Kononkov (Moscow, 1955), 240-43; "Mikhail Pavlov," Biograficheskii slovar', 2: 183-99; Shchipanov, Moskovskii universitet i razvitie, 142-48; and A. A. Iarilov, "Istoriia kafedry Zemledeliia i Pochvovedeniia Moskovskogo universiteta," Uchenye zapiski, no. 56 (1940): 56-61.

<sup>60</sup>Nikodim Kachinskii, Agronomiia i pochvovedenie v Moskovskom universitete (Moscow, 1970), 13-15; Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 28.

<sup>61</sup>Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 49; Fedosov, Letopis', 68.

<sup>62</sup>Iarilov, "Istoriia kafedry Zemledeliia," 56.

The temporary benefits of the three-field system are insignificant in comparison with its harmful consequences. Is it natural that in Russia, where there are so many different kinds of soils and climates, only one method of tilling prevails?...The crop rotational system...must unconditionally replace the three-field system.<sup>63</sup>

Though his scholarly abilities in physics have been called into question,<sup>64</sup> students flocked to hear his explanation of Schelling's ideas. Pavel Annenkov, a memoirist, later recalled that:

A triumphant, clear, and joyous feeling filled life when it was pointed out [to us] the possibility of explaining (natural) phenomena with the very laws to which the human soul are bound.<sup>65</sup>

According to Iakov Kostenetskii:

In my first year...I constantly attended the physics lectures of professor Pavlov, not because of any obligation but voluntarily. This was one of the most remarkable professors. He taught physics according to Schelling, and he had the amazing gift to lecture clearly, in the highest degree logically, without any kind of rhetorical or bombastic phrases....Each of his lectures is imprinted firmly in my memory, and it would be very easy to

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<sup>63</sup>Biograficheskii slovar', 2: 186.

<sup>64</sup>Kononkov, Istoriia fiziki v Moskovskom universitete, 165. Flynn, University Reform of Tsar Alexander I, p. 213, states that Pavlov's Osnovaniia fiziki (Fundamentals of Physics, 1825-30, 2 vols.), contained so many errors that it was considered a scandal.

<sup>65</sup>"Nadezhdin," 129.

repeat them all by heart."<sup>66</sup>

Pavlov far exceeded the narrow bounds of physics to treat philosophical subjects at a time when there were no philosophy courses at the University. Schelling's dynamic view of nature as a "harmonical whole" dominated his lectures:

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<sup>66</sup>Kostenetskii, "Vospominaniia," 229-30; Kononkov, Istoriia fiziki v Moskovskom universitete, 169; and Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 47-48.

God and nature, creator and creation, that is the division of everything that exists. The name of nature signifies all creation.<sup>67</sup>

This dissemination of philosophy had a decisive impact on all who heard him, including Aleksandr Herzen, Konstantin Aksakov, and Nikolai Stankevich. Pavlov illustrated how the platform of Moscow University could influence the terms of debate in Russian society and the future direction of intellectual developments in both general terms and in specific scholarly disciplines. He did this by a number of means: courses, public lectures, journals, books, scholarly societies, publishing, and the experimental farm. After 1835 these types of activities became a widespread, not isolated, phenomenon.

A number of factors at the University promoted a growing society-University interaction in this period: the works of professors like Pavlov and Nadezhdin; journals published by the University and its professors; the activities of the scholarly societies; the interest of society in intellectual pursuits after the political failure of the Decembrists; and the spread of the circles. The University's press continued to publish items like the novels of Dickens and Scott and the works of Lomonosov and Fonvizin. In 1826 the University printed, in Polish, Adam Mickiewicz's sonnets. Major journals included Nadezhdin's Teleskop, Pavlov's Atenej, Polevoi's Moskovskii telegraf, and Dvigubskii's Novyi magazin estestvennoi nauki (New Magazine of Natural Sciences, 1820-30). In 1833 the council decided to publish an official academic journal, Uchenyia zapiski

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<sup>67</sup>Tarilov, "Istoriia kafedry Zemledeliia," 57-58; Kaptsov, "Fizika v Moskovskom universitete," 37-39.

(Scholarly Notes), and by December it already had 340 subscribers. The University also began publishing its annual Otchet (Report) in 1834. In a typical year, 1829, the press published eleven books and journals at University expense, and fifty-two books, seven journals, and thirteen lectures at private expense.<sup>68</sup>

The scholarly societies all played a role in society and University life. The Society of Natural Scientists, taken under the patronage of the tsar in 1828, was the most active society, with public meetings and a rich library, but unfortunately, the activity of the Society of the Lovers of Russian Literature ground to a halt after 1826 when the tsar removed Prokopovich from his post as rector of the University and chair of the Society. The Historical Society too was not very active.<sup>69</sup>

After the failure of the Decembrist revolt, Moscow students became more active politically and thus involved with the concerns of society in general. The most common form of this activity was the discussion circle (kruzhok), in which participants, aware of their isolation from the official culture, exchanged ideas. Students continued to be attracted to these circles, including those of Ivan Obolenskii, Nikolai Sungurov (arrested July 1831), and the Siberian poet Vladimir Sokolovskii (arrested 1834). The poet Mikhail

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<sup>68</sup>Rechi 1829, 57; Tsimbaev, "Izdatel'skaia deiatel'nost'," 35-37; Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 73, 74; and Fedosov, Letopis', 55.

<sup>69</sup>"O priniatii pod Vysochaishee pokrovitel'stvo Moskovskago obshchestva ispytatelei prirody," Sbornik postanovlenii, 2: pt. 1, 219-22; Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 75-76; and Trifonov, 225 let, 64.

Lermontov was also involved in a short lived circle. The students in these circles tended to combine literary interests with a hatred of the autocracy.<sup>70</sup>

The most famous circle of the period was that of Nikolai Stankevich, who entered the University in 1830. His group was clearly not revolutionary in character as its chief impetus was philosophy, especially a search for a philosophical world view in Idealism and Romanticism. The members of the group included the future professors Osip Bodianskii, Timofei Granovskii, and Mikhail Katkov, and in their search through Schelling and Schiller, Aksakov claimed that "[we] already worked out a general world view on Russia, life, literature, and the world."<sup>71</sup>

The intensity of the intellectual discovery process could be strong. When Nikolai Gogol became a popular novelist, Aksakov, Belinskii, and Stankevich got their hands on one of his manuscripts and sat down to read it. Stankevich read the first line, and "suddenly we were possessed by laughter...not because of something amusing or funny but from an internal gaiety and joyous feeling that we were holding in our hands, and preparing to read, Gogol."<sup>72</sup>

The reason for this increased intellectual activity centering on the University was a growing awareness on the part of educated society of the

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<sup>70</sup>Fedosov, Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie v Rossii, 48, 92, 93, 92-102; Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 268-71, 273-82; Tikhomirov, Istoriia, 219; and Fedosov, Letopis', 59.

<sup>71</sup>Aksakov, "Vospominaniia studenchestva," 187; Zhdanov, "Moskovskii universitet v 1825-1855 gody," 44; and Edward Brown, Stankevich and His Moscow Circle (Stanford, 1966), 4-8.

<sup>72</sup>Aksakov, "Vospominaniia studenchestva," 194.

University and society's alienation from the regime. Whereas society had reacted passively to the University before 1825, when progressive-minded individuals preferred to study abroad, that was no longer the case. Another part of the reason for this change of attitude was a realization of what the Decembrists had stood for and what they had sacrificed. The fact that the University was a multi-class institution may have made it more amenable to a variety of viewpoints.<sup>73</sup>

The University did play the part of a giant social mixture. Aleksandr Herzen noted that:

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<sup>73</sup>Herzen, My Past and Thoughts, 1: 134; Borozdin, "Universitety v Rossii," 373-74; and Okun, Ocherki istorii SSSR, 329.

The youthful strength of Russia streamed to it from all sides, from all classes of society, as into a common reservoir; in its halls they were purified from the prejudices they had picked up at the domestic hearth, reached a common level, become like brothers and dispersed again to all parts of Russia and among all classes of people.<sup>74</sup>

Konstantin Aksakov spoke in a similar vein. "Here a man is neither an aristocrat nor a plebeian, neither rich nor poor, but simply a man."<sup>75</sup>

Thus, after 1825 the University did not overly prosper with respect to the number of students, faculty quality, or the activities of the scholarly societies, as the tsar also singled out the school for restrictive measures. In another respect, however, key professors did use the mechanisms provided by the University to influence social thought, and as a result, the University became an important haven for progressive ideas.

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<sup>74</sup>Herzen, My Past and Thoughts, 1: 95.

<sup>75</sup>Aksakov, "Vospominaniia studenchestva," 183.