

CHAPTER 9

MOSCOW UNIVERSITY, 1835-1847: PROFESSORS

After being named curator, Stroganov undertook a sweeping transformation of the faculty. The arrival of an entire cohort of new professors in 1835-36 and again in the mid-1840s fundamentally altered the atmosphere at the University by ending the predominance of foreigners, nonspecialists, and the aged. Stroganov himself recruited many of these newcomers, including Dmitrii Kriukov, Aleksei Filomafitskii, and Petr Redkin. In the course of time, the curator succeeded in putting together an outstanding group of talented individuals who proved quite able to arouse the interest of youth in serious scholarly study. That was the "Stroganov epoch."¹

Stroganov's first priority was to implement the increase in the number of University chairs from twenty-eight to thirty-five and in the number of instructors from forty-six to fifty-six (twenty-six professors, thirteen assistant professors, eight adjunct professors, four lecturers, one professor of religion, and four art teachers).² After an initial decline, the total number of teachers rose slowly and steadily to fifty-nine. (Table 28)

¹Shumakher, "Pozdniia vospominaniia," 95; Chicherin, Vospominaniia, 30-31; N. D., "Studencheskie vospominaniia," 82; and "Stroganov," Russkii biograficheskii slovar', 526.

²"Obshchii otchet 1834," Zhurnal, 7 (1835): xci.

TABLE 28
Number of Professors

<u>Year</u>	<u>Emeritus</u>	<u>Full</u>	<u>Assistant</u>	<u>Adjunct</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
1834	1	20	5	14	15	55
1836/37	1	23	6	7	10	47
1840/41	1	27	5	8	10	51
1844/45	1	27	5	9	11	53
1848/49	0	25	8	17	9	59

Source: University annual reports.

In addition to the increase in the number of instructors, there was a sweeping turnover of personnel. In fact, in fourteen years, Stroganov succeeded in replacing almost three-quarters of the professors who had been teaching before he took over in 1835. (Table 29)

TABLE 29
Replacement of Faculty

Of the 60 instructors teaching in 1834.
31 were still teaching in 1837. (51.67%)
27 in 1840. (45%)
21 in 1844. (35%)
16 in 1848. (26.67%)

Source: Biograficheskii slovar', 1: ix-xiii.³

³Remaining after Stroganov left were professors: Al'fonskii (1819); Perevoshchikov (1819); Richter (1822); Fischer and Heiman (1826); Rubini (1827); Harvey (1828); Toporov (1829); Göring (1830); Shchurovskii (1832); Moroshkin and Shevyrev (1833); Basov, Brashman, and Zernov (1834).

Though the turnover of faculty peaked in 1836, it never ceased completely, and new instructors continued to arrive. In all, ninety-five professors taught during Stroganov's curatorship. Of these, fifty-eight began their careers under Stroganov, and thirty-seven before he took over.

When compared with the growth in the student body, however, the faculty expansion was not so impressive. The number of instructors did not keep pace with the student enrollment, which almost tripled. Thus, the student/faculty ratio more than doubled; and as a result, professors were increasingly hard pressed to maintain a consistent level of scholarly performance. (Table 30)

TABLE 30
Student/Faculty Ratio

<u>Year</u>	<u>Faculty</u>	<u>Students</u>	<u>Ratio</u>
1834	55	456	8.3
1836/37	47	441	9.4
1840/41	51	932	18.3
1844/45	53	804	14.6
1848/49	59	1,100	18.6

Source: University annual reports.

The annual exams, which were oral exams given individually to one student at a time, were an especially gruelling experience for professors. Granovskii once complained that the prospect of examining 215 students was "enough to die from!"⁴ Because of the required essays in the first-year literature courses, Professors Ivan Davydov and Stepan Shevyrev also had a heavy

⁴Timofei Granovskii, T. N. Granovskii i ego perepiska, ed. A. V. Stankevich, 2 vols. (St.Petersburg, 1897), 2: 185.

workload. In the academic year 1839-40, the 263 students wrote 1,053 exercises that had to be read and graded, and as the number of incoming students increased, so too did the number of essays.⁵

According to fragmentary records, the number of professors at other universities did not increase as much as at Moscow in the period. Steinger, in his investigation of St. Petersburg University, reported that the number of professors there increased from thirty-two to only thirty-seven during the same period, while the number of students went from 230 to 733, giving an even larger student/faculty ratio.⁶

The social composition of the Moscow faculty also changed significantly during Stroganov's curatorship. (Table 31) Since six of the foreigners at the University were language instructors, the days when foreigners had dominated teaching had passed. Even so, they still averaged about one-fifth of the faculty. The percentage of professors of gentry background almost doubled, while that of the clergy declined. Bureaucratic backgrounds also vaulted into prominence, from zero to 13.6 percent. This indicated that though the social composition of

⁵Otchet 1840/41, 10.

⁶Steinger, "Government Policy," 176-77.

the faculty was rather flexible, it still tended to become ever so slightly more exclusively noble in character.

TABLE 31
Social Origins of Professors

<u>Class</u> ⁷	<u>1834</u>	<u>1836/37</u>	<u>1840/41</u>	<u>1844/45</u>	<u>1848/49</u>
Gentry	8	11	14	14	15
Bureaucrat	0	2	4	4	8
Clergy	17	11	10	10	12
Burgher	1	2	1	1	3
Merchant	1	1	1	1	1
Foreign	10	9	10	10	12
Other	18	11	10	11	6

Source: University annual reports.

Social Origins of Professors
in Percentages

<u>Class</u>	<u>1834</u>	<u>1836/37</u>	<u>1840/41</u>	<u>1844/45</u>	<u>1848/49</u>
Gentry	14.5%	23.4%	27.4%	26.4%	25.4%
Bureaucrat	0.0	4.3%	7.8%	7.5%	13.6%
Clergy	30.9%	23.4%	19.6%	18.9%	20.3%
Burgher	1.8%	4.3%	1.9%	1.9%	5.1%
Merchant	1.8%	2.1%	1.9%	1.9%	1.7%
Foreign	18.2%	19.1%	19.6%	18.9%	20.3%

⁷Dvorianin (gentry); Ober-ofitser (bureaucrat); Meshchanin (burgher); Kupets (merchant). The category of "other" includes aptekar' (apothecary), lekar' (physician), orphan, those listed by their bureaucratic ranks, taxable estates, or unknown.

Other	32.7%	23.4%	19.6%	20.7%	10.2%
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Other important characteristics of the faculty include place of birth, religion, and family status. A sizeable and steady portion of the teachers, averaging about one-third, came from Moscow guberniia. (Table 32) While large, this showed that the school was not overly particularistic in its recruitment policies since professors did come from all regions of the country.

TABLE 32
Birthplaces of Professors

	<u>1834</u>	<u>1836/37</u>	<u>1840/41</u>	<u>1844/45</u>	<u>1848/49</u>
Moscow gub.	21 (38)	16 (34)	15 (29)	19 (36)	19 (32)
Other	32	28	19	30	33
Unknown	2	3	17	4	5

Source: University annual reports. The figures in parenthesis are the percentage.

Though most of the professors were members of the Orthodox faith, they were not overwhelmingly so, and other religions were represented on the faculty.

(Table 33)

TABLE 33
Religious Affiliations of Professors

	<u>1834</u>	<u>1836/37</u>	<u>1840/41</u>	<u>1844/45</u>	<u>1848/49</u>
Orthodox	35 (64)	31 (66)	30 (59)	30 (57)	32 (54)
Lutheran	10	10	9	10	11
Catholic	5	4	9	9	9
Other	1	2	2	2	2
Unknown	4	1	2	5	

Source: University annual reports. The figures in parenthesis are the percentages.

Almost two-thirds of Moscow University professors either had a family or acquired one soon after assuming their position. (Table 34) This percentage remained stable at approximately sixty percent throughout the time that Stroganov was curator.

TABLE 34
Professors and Their Families

	<u>1834</u>	<u>1836/37</u>	<u>1840/41</u>	<u>1844/45</u>	<u>1848/49</u>
Family	36	30	35	37	36
No family	18	17	15	15	19
Unknown	1	*	1	1	4

Source: University annual reports.

One reason for the abundance of families, some of which were very large, was the prestige, and correspondingly high salary, of a professorship. Before 1835 the standard salary for a professor was two thousand rubles and eight hundred for an adjunct, but with the new statute, the government raised salaries to five thousand rubles for a full professor, three thousand five hundred for an assistant, two thousand five hundred for an adjunct, and eighteen hundred for a lecturer. A professor's income could also be supplemented from other teaching positions or inspectorships, but it could be reduced too, if he missed lectures.⁸

For example, in 1837-38 Khristofor Bunge earned five times the normal amount

⁸"O rasprostranении na prepodavatelei vsekh uchebnykh zavedenii pravil o vychete iz zhalovan'ia," Dopolnenie, 500-01.

of a professor's salary:⁹

5,000	Professor's salary
5,000	Professor's salary from teaching at the Moscow Medical-Surgical Academy
5,500	Emeritus salary from the Moscow Medical- Surgical Academy
1,200	Consultation at the Mar'inskaia Hospital
<u>500</u>	Apartment stipend from the University
17,200	

⁹Otchet 1837/38.

Full professors did especially well under the new salary scale, and according to one student, it was relatively inexpensive to live in Moscow during the 1840s. For fifteen hundred silver rubles--the salary of a full professor--one could live quite comfortably.¹⁰

Some professors, however, could not seem to make ends meet. Granovskii often complained to his sisters in the early 1840s that he could not survive on his salary of three thousand paper rubles. Of course, part of the reason was his loss at cards, and another was his rather extravagant lifestyle. Eventually, Stroganov came to his aid by arranging for him to take the place of Professor Kriukov as an inspector of private schools at a salary of two thousand rubles.¹¹

Two very important characteristics of professors that improved under Stroganov were age and academic qualifications. Both of these helped make for much warmer and respectful relations between professors and students.

Of the new complement of professors, some were very young when they assumed their duties. For example, Granovskii was only twenty-six, Konstantin

¹⁰Georgievskii, "Moi vospominaniia," (March 1916): 454.

¹¹Granovskii, Granovskii i ego perepiska, 2: 93-94, 128-29.

Kavelin--twenty-five, and Iaroslav Linovskii--twenty-nine. The overall age of the entire faculty initially dropped as a result of the influx of professors in 1835-36, but then, even though these men became professors and began to age, the average age of the faculty remained stable because of the continuous influx of younger instructors. (Table 35) The youthfulness of the faculty allowed it to communicate better with the students.

TABLE 35
Average Age of Professors

<u>Year</u>	<u>Emeritus</u>	<u>Full</u>	<u>Assistant</u>	<u>Adjunct</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
1834	58	44	41.6	35	39.2	40.5
1836/37	60	38.2	34.5	36.3	37.8	37.8
1840/41	64	41.4	36	33.6	44.3	40.3
1844/45	52	42	31	30	44.1	39.5
1848/49	**	45.2	37.4	32.5	40.7	39.8

Source: University annual reports.

Extremely important, along with age, were the improved academic qualifications of the professors. A larger number of instructors now held a doctoral degree. (Table 36)

TABLE 36
Academic Qualifications of Professors

<u>Year</u>	<u>Ph.D.</u>	<u>Master's</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Unknown</u>
1834	25 (45%)	14	8	8
1836/37	31 (65%)	6	5	5
1840/41	29 (56%)	6	5	11

1844/45	29 (54%)	8	6	10
1848/49	33 (56%)	8	10	8

Source: University annual reports.

Moscow did better than the other Russian universities in this respect. In 1839 while all universities had about a fairly equal proportion of about seventy-five percent of professors holding academic degrees, Moscow had a far higher percentage of professors with doctorates (sixty-two percent) than all the rest, except Dorpat with seventy percent; St. Petersburg had only twenty-nine percent.¹²

One reason for the improved educational background of the faculty was the active role Stroganov played in finding qualified professors. Another was the new state requirement that professors obtain at least a master's degree before being allowed to teach. Still, there were few eligible candidates for teaching positions because from 1835 to 1848 the Russian universities produced only 64 Ph.D. and 132 master's degrees. This was partly due to the difficulty of the doctoral exam.¹³

The master's and Ph.D. degrees both required written and oral exams. For the master's, there were main (the subject of the degree) and secondary fields (closely related to the main subject). The master's written exam involved two questions from the main field and the Ph.D.--three; both required questions

¹²Zhurnal, 28 (1840): 16-17.

¹³Shevyrev, Istoriia, 490; Ikonnikov, "Russkie university," 98, 111.

in all secondary subjects, a dissertation, public defense, and confirmation by the minister of education.¹⁴

Sergei Solov'ev, one of Russia's greatest historians, barely passed his master's examination in 1845. At the exam, Granovskii questioned him about the early Capetians, Spanish history, and Western European manuscripts. Vasilii Leshkov asked him about the affairs of countries during war, and Aleksandr Chivilev asked about the history and significance of Russian trade, which Solov'ev answered poorly because he had not studied the subject in detail, and Karl Hoffmann asked about the ancients' knowledge of the Scythians. The heart of the exam was Russian history, asked by the recently-retired Pogodin. He quizzed Solov'ev about the publications of the Archeographic Commission, Kievan manuscripts, and the role of the Streltsy under Peter the Great. Then he continued with the question: "Explain the history of relations between Russia and Poland"--an impossible question to answer briefly. When Solov'ev began to elaborate only the Russian side of the question to save time, Pogodin interrupted Solov'ev and forced him to "babble on all evening, covering nine centuries of

¹⁴"Polozhenie ob ispytaniakh na uchenyia stepeni," Sbornik postanovlenii, 2: pt. 1, 984-88, 46-47; "Ob ostanovlenii eshche na dva goda deistviia Polozheniia ob ispytaniakh na uchenyia stepeni," Zhurnal, 29 (1841): 33; and "Polozhenie o proizvodstve v uchenyia stepeni," Sbornik postanovlenii, 2: pt. 1, 356-65.

[Russo-Polish] relations." According to Pogodin, the answer was satisfactory but not much beyond a gymnasium level of comprehension.¹⁵

Many of the new professors had previously been students at Moscow University, but after 1834 this percentage dropped, which was a sign that the University had expanded its intellectual horizons and no longer had to depend solely on its own graduates as a source for recruitment of its faculty. (Table 37) Of the thirty-seven professors who began teaching before Stroganov became curator, twenty-five had studied at the University (67.6 percent), while of the fifty-eight who began to teach under Stroganov, only twenty-five had studied there (43 percent).

TABLE 37
Professors Who Studied at Moscow University

<u>Year</u>	<u>at Moscow University</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1834	42	76.4%
1836/37	24	51.1%
1840/41	20	39.2%
1844/45	22	41.5%
1848/49	26	44.1%

Source: University annual reports.

TABLE 38
Promotions of Professors

¹⁵Otchet 1844/45, 61-62; Solov'ev, Moi zapiski, 86-88.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Promotions to Full</u>	<u>to Assistant</u>	<u>to Adjunct</u>		
1834	1		2		4
1835	1		13	0	
1836	2		0		2
1837	9		1		1
1838	4		3		1
1839	2		0		4
1840	2		0		1
1841	2		2		0
1842	3		3		1
1843	0		0		2
1844	1		2		3
1845	3		1		5
1846	2		2		6
1847	2		1		6

Source: University annual reports, Rechi, and Zhurnal.

Other indicators of a more professional approach to education at the school under Stroganov were promotions, publications, and curriculum.

Promotions were much more regular in scope and frequency in the 1840s.

(Table 38)

The publishing record of the professors, though extremely hard to estimate accurately, also shows a rather more regular pattern. (Table 39)

Though in 1847 professors at St. Petersburg published almost twice the number of works as their counterparts at Moscow, the smaller percentage at Moscow was due to the notoriously stricter censorship in Moscow, but by 1851, thirty-one of the thirty-seven professors who published had taught while Stroganov was in office.

TABLE 39
Publishing Record of Professors

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number who published</u>	<u>Percentage of total faculty</u>
1837	26	53.1%
1839	15	27.3%
1842	14	25.5%
1845	15	28.8%
1847	16	*
1851	37	*

Sources: Otchet 1836/37, 30-31, Otchet 1838/39, 41-42; Rechi 1842, Rechi 1845, 6; Zhurnal 21 (1839): 3-6, 29 (1841): 3-4; Zhurnal, supplement (1845): 97-98; Zhurnal, 61 (1849): 1-8; and Zhurnal, 77 (1853): 6-11.

Professors published on a wide assortment of subjects and at different scholarly levels. For example, some of the works published in 1847 included: Dmitrii Perevoshchikov's second edition of Predvaritel'nyi kurs astronomii (An Introductory Course of Astronomy); Stepan Shevyrev's article "Obshchee obozrenie istorii vostochnoi poezii" (A General Review of the History of Eastern Poetry); Vasilii Leshkov's oration "O drevnei russkoi diplomatii" (Ancient Russian Diplomacy); Sergei Solov'ev's Istorii otnoshenii mezhdu russkimi kniaz'iami Riurikova doma (History of the Relations between Russian Princes of the House of Riurik); Fedor Inozemtsev's, "O naznachenii vskrytiia dykhatel'nago gorla" (The Significance of the Tracheotomy); and Mikhail Spasskii's "O klimate Moskvyy" (The Climate of Moscow).¹⁶

Changes in course offerings were another reflection of the increased specialization of teaching at the University. Students took general introductory courses their first year and then more specialized courses afterwards, and in the

¹⁶Zhurnal, 61 (1849): 1-8.

period many courses subdivided and became more specialized. For example, in the 1834-35 academic year, Fedor Moroshkin taught Roman law for three hours a week. Two years later, for three hours a week, Dmitrii Kriukov taught second-year law students the history of Roman law (first semester to the formation of the Empire, second semester to the fall). He taught third-year students a general overview of Roman law in the first semester and specifics in the second semester, but by 1848 Kriukov had further expanded the course. He still taught the history course to second-year students, but only twice a week. To third-year law students, he taught a system of Roman law three times a week (first semester--civil procedure and property law, second semester--duties). In the fourth year he taught twice a week: family law in the fall and inheritance law in the spring.¹⁷

The University's annual reports provide figures for the official registration in the different classes. (Table 40) This can be used to indicate roughly which professors had the best opportunity to influence the greatest number of listeners.

TABLE 40
Attendance Figures of Selected University Courses

Subject	<u>1838/39</u>	<u>1848/49</u>
<u>LETTERS:</u> Greek Letters	108	115

¹⁷Otchet 1835, 34-35; Otchet 1841/42, 10; and Otchet 1848/49,

Roman Antiquities	108	274
Russian Literature	108	339
Slavic Dialects	46	54
Ancient History	139	189
Russian History	70	171
Political Economy	74	255

MATHEMATICS:

Pure Mathematics	96	200
Astronomy	78	150
Physics	138	333
Chemistry	128	336
Mineralogy	88	209
Botany	130	278
Zoology	100	155
Agriculture	38	85

LAW:

History of Russian Legislation	108	158
Encyclopedia	108	336
Roman Legislation	99	143
Civil Law	33	84
Criminal Law	33	84
Laws of Government Welfare	23	84
International Law	23	59
Laws on Estates	62	129

MEDICINE:

Anatomy	192	247
Physiology	71	38
General Therapy	71	83
Private Pathology	57	140
Clinical Study	35	153
Obstetrics	22	57
Legal Medicine	35	178

GENERAL:

Theology	192	377
Latin	152	221
German	150	345
French	70	96
English	26	15
Italian	18	12

Source: University annual reports.

While these improvements in the professoriat were taking place, administrative positions, such as the deans and rector, rarely changed under Stroganov. These positions depended largely on seniority--which did not exactly ensure that the holders were spry or enlightened. When the tsar dismissed Aleksei Boldyrev from the post of rector in 1836, Kachenovskii--by that time a "decrepit old man" teaching Slavics for which he had no real qualifications--replaced him.¹⁸ After his death in 1842, Arkadii Al'fonskii, who had been at the University since 1849, assumed the duties until 1848. Assistant rectors included Khristofor Bunge from 1836 to 1839, Al'fonskii, and then Perevoshchikov.¹⁹

Deanships also tended to be stable positions. Perevoshchikov was dean of Mathematics the whole time that Stroganov was curator, while the Law Department had only two deans: Nikolai Vasil'ev and Nikita Krylov. In Letters, Davydov was dean from 1837 until he left in 1847, and then Shevyrev took over. Davydov was noted for his cow-towing to authority and once told Uvarov, Stroganov, and Prince Sergei Golitsyn, the governor of Moscow, in turn that he named his son "Sergei" in honor of each of them. Stroganov disliked Davydov, and once when the latter wrote a favorable article about happenings at Uvarov's estate of Porech'e, Stroganov asked him, "Do you know who wrote this servile

¹⁸Solov'ev, Moi zapiski, 42-43.

¹⁹See Appendix 4.

article? I did not think that it was possible to like [Uvarov]."²⁰

Professors faced many work responsibilities besides teaching. Although they had been removed from the administration of the educational district, this did not necessarily give them more time for their scholarly pursuits.²¹ They often served in a variety of other posts: departmental secretary, censorship committee, inspectors of various educational institutions, or doctors at different hospital. A favorite job filled by professors was that of inspector of private schools. (Table 41)

²⁰Afanas'ev, "Moskovskii universitet," 390; Galakhov, "Sorokovye gody," 129-30. See Appendix 5.

²¹Kizevetter, "Moskovskii universitet," 99.

TABLE 41
Inspectors of Private Schools

<u>Year</u>	<u>Professors</u>
1836	Brashman and Davydov
1837	Brashman and Davydov
1838	Brashman and Davydov
1839	Kriukov and Chivilev
1840	Kriukov and Redkin
1841	Kriukov and Redkin
1842	Redkin and Granovskii
1843	Redkin and Granovskii
1844	Kriukov (replaced by Redkin) and Granovskii
1845	Kriukov and Redkin
1846	Redkin and Granovskii
1847	Granovskii and Fischer
1848	Anke and Fischer

Source: University annual reports, Rechi, and ministerial annual reports in Zhurnal.

The new statute barely changed professorial duties, except for removing professors from the administration of the educational district. According to the statute, professors, who held rank 7 on the Table of Ranks, had to teach eight hours a week, but an adjunct could take some of those hours. Professors also participated in department meetings, reviewed publications, and gave exams. Their administrative duties, coupled with the growth in the student body, put great demands on their time. In 1842 Granovskii complained that he had nineteen hours of courses each week divided between the University and other schools, plus his inspection duties and examinations of private tutors.²²

²²"Obshchii otchet 1834," lxiv-v, lxix; Granovskii, Granovskii i ego perepiska, 2: 185, 200-01. See the tables on bureaucratic work in Chapter 7.

To obtain professors, Stroganov and the University possessed a number of means. In theory, the council made appointments, but from the records it is clear that both the curator and minister played major roles in the process. For example, Stroganov was personally responsible for bringing to the school: Nikolai Anke, Osip Bodianskii, Fedor Buslaev, Mikhail Katkov, Ernst Klin, Dmitrii Kriukov, Adolphe Pascault, Timofei Granovskii, and Sergei Solov'ev.

One source for instructors was the series of government-sponsored training programs that began with the Professors' Institute. Between the Institute's first and second classes, Moscow obtained the services of eight professors: Aleksandr Chivilev, Aleksei Filomafitskii, Fedor Inozemtsev, Dmitrii Kriukov, Petr Redkin, Ivan Shikhovskii, Grigorii Sokol'skii, and Iosif Varvinskii. Shikhovskii returned to St. Petersburg after a few years, but the rest continued to teach at the University. Nikita Krylov and Sergei Barshev, who had studied in the Second Section under Speranskii, supplemented these eight. Three other professors (Vasilii Leshkov, Mikhail Spasskii, and Arsenii Menshikov) were part of a group that studied at the Main Pedagogical Institute before being sent abroad to Berlin.²³

Another important means of supplying professors involved sending students for training in Western Europe at University or state expense. On their return, they then had to serve eight or twelve years, depending on how long the

²³Shevyrev, Istoriia, 486.

state had supported them.²⁴ Stroganov ensured that a steady stream of students went to the West for at least two years of study. Of these, fifteen became future professors, including Bodianskii, Granovskii, and Aleksandr Drashusov.²⁵ Thirteen others, including Buslaev and Solov'ev, went abroad for shorter periods of time or at their own expense.²⁶ Of the remainder of the faculty, six had been sent West for training before 1835 and at least three others had at least visited Europe.²⁷ Thus, of the ninety-five professors who taught under Stroganov, fifty (53 percent) had been abroad in some academic connection. Of the thirty-seven who started teaching before 1835, only eleven (29.7 percent) had been abroad, but of the fifty-eight new professors, thirty-five (60.3 percent) had Western training, which provided more assurance that the University kept up with developments in the West.

The third way of filling vacant positions was by means of a competition administered by the council in which candidates presented their written works and read sample lectures. For example, with the retirement of Aleksei Lovetskii in 1840, the council announced a competition to fill the chair of Zoology, and Karl

²⁴Kononkov, Istoriia fiziki v Moskovskom universitete, 194; Kochubinskii, "Graf Stroganov," 192-93.

²⁵Basov, Bodianskii, Drashusov, Ershov, Givartovskii, Granovskii, Kudriavtsev, Leont'ev, Liaskovskii, Linovskii, Mil'gauzen, Pecherin, Pekhovskii, Toporov, and Zheleznov.

²⁶Brashman, Buslaev, Efremov, Evenius, Fischer, Glebov, Heiman, Katkov, Pogodin, Polunin, Rul'e, Shevyrev, and Solov'ev.

²⁷Armfel'd, Hildebrandt, Iovskii, Pavlov, Richter, and Over; Brosse, Bunge, and Pol'.

Rul'e won.²⁸

Uvarov devised a fourth method of addressing the shortage of professors in 1843 when he allowed universities to hire private-docents to teach at non-state expense.²⁹ Private docents were individuals with an academic degree whose positions were not provided for in the official university statute, but Moscow University used this provision only twice. In 1838 Stroganov proposed to begin teaching machine-building, practical mechanics, and applied geometry, and the minister agreed. After studying in Europe, Aleksandr Ershov began to teach the course.³⁰ The second case involved the teaching of geography, which had ceased to be taught after 1835 and which caused a problem since both the master's and Ph.D. exams required a knowledge of ancient and modern geography. Thus, in the fall of 1844, Stroganov hired Aleksandr Efremov to teach universal geography.³¹

²⁸Moskovskiiia vedomosti, 7 August 1835; Eimontova, Russkie universitety, 39.

²⁹"O razreshenii imet' dotsentov pri S. Peterburgskom, Moskovskom...universitetakh," Sbornik postanovlenii, 2: pt. 2, 289-93; "Ob opredelenii v universitetakh ... osobykh prepodavatelei s zvaniiem dotsentov," Zhurnal, 39 (1843): 22; and Steinger, "Government Policy," 162.

³⁰"O vvedenii v Moskovskom universitete kursa postroeniia mashin, prakticheskoi mekhaniki i nachertatel'noi geometrii," Sbornik rasporiazhenii, 2: 339; "O vvedenii v Moskovskom universitete prepodavaniia nachertatel'noi geometrii, prakticheskoi mekhaniki i vseobshchei geografii," Sbornik rasporiazhenii, 2: 763-64. See also, Aleksandr Ershov, "O sodержanii i prepodavanii prakticheskoi mekhaniki," Zhurnal, 45 (1845): 57-70.

³¹Georgievskii, "Moi vospominaniia," (September 1915): 425-26; Shestakov, "Moskovskii universitet," 660-61; A. I. Solov'ev, "Geografiia v Moskovskom universitete," Geografiia v Moskovskom

A final alternative the University had for filling positions was to transfer instructors from other schools, and it used this mostly to man the Medical Department and the chairs of Polish law. For example, Ignatii Danilovich, who came to the University from Kiev in 1838, taught Polish civil law until 1844 when Karl Zalozetskii arrived from the city of Lublin's civil tribunal. Aleksandr Over and Andrei Pol' joined the University after the closure of the Moscow Medical-Surgical Academy. Stroganov also used the transfer system to find an instructor of agriculture after the death of Linovskii in 1846.³²

The new statute also introduced some curriculum changes at the University. Indicative of the emphasis on Official Nationality was the name change of the "Moral-political" Department to "Law." As noted earlier, the teaching of philosophy, history, and political economy moved from Law to Philosophy, and Uvarov established some new chairs in Law: Encyclopedia of Law, Criminal Law, Civil Law, and State Finances. Uvarov also added a new chair of Slavic Dialects in Letters and in 1837 introduced further specialization in the Philosophy Department. The second division split into mathematics and natural science specialties and the first division into letters and Eastern letters. Students entering their third year chose a concentration of either mathematics (pure, applied, astronomy, and physics) or natural science concentrations

universitete za 200 let, eds. K. Markov and Iu. Savshkin (Moscow, 1955), 34-37; and "Razvitie fizicheskoi geografii," Uchenye zapiski, no. 55 (1940): 72-73.

³²Zhurnal, 22 (1839), 23 (1839), 28 (1840) and 51 (1846).

(Botany, zoology, mineralogy, and chemistry).³³

Letters

The University's faculty consisted of a very diverse group of scholars. The Historico-Philological division of the Philosophical Department (Letters) possessed its share of young, capable professors. Mikhail Katkov, who was to become a famous conservative journalist, taught logic after receiving his master's degree in 1845,³⁴ while Dmitrii Kriukov held the chair of Roman Letters and Antiquities until his premature death that year. He had attended Kazan University and the Professors' Institute, but Stroganov succeeded in luring him to Moscow where he proved to be "one of the most talented scholars."³⁵

Greek studies did not arouse much enthusiasm among students. Vasilii Obolenskii taught Greek to first and second-year students. Though he was "willing to read and study," Solov'ev found him "untalented and half-mad," and Stroganov succeeded in getting him an early retirement. Arsenii Menshikov taught Greek to the upper-level courses. He, too, was "untalented" and "badly organized," but though Stroganov tried, he could not get him removed. Later, Karl Hoffmann taught the upper-level courses.³⁶

³³"Ob utverzhdenii raspredeleniia prepodavaniia predmetov v universitetakh," Sbornik raspriazhenii, 2: 707-08; Otchet 1836/37, 30; Otchet 1835/36, 15; and B. B. Glinskii, "Universitetskie ustavy," Istoricheskii vestnik: 719.

³⁴Otchet 1844/45, 61.

³⁵Polonskii, "Moi studencheskiiia vospominaniia," 666; Kizevetter, "Moskovskii universitet," 102.

³⁶Solov'ev, Moi zapiski, 51-52; Shestakov, "Moskovskii

Professors Ivan Davydov and Stepan Shevyrev taught Russian literature. Davydov held the chair from 1831 to 1847, before moving to St. Petersburg as director of the Main Pedagogical Institute. Shevyrev, along with Mikhail Pogodin, was a notorious supporter of Uvarov's Official Nationality. Like the Slavophiles, he glorified the narod (people) and believed that Russia was inherently different, and better, than the West, but he diverged from the Slavophiles on the issue of Peter the Great, whom the Slavophiles hated but whom Shevyrev and Pogodin glorified, for they recognized that Peter's reforms were necessary for Russia's survival in the world. Pogodin and Shevyrev also placed a greater emphasis on autocratic government than the Slavophiles and felt that Russian people had to be pushed forward by the autocrat.³⁷

Shevyrev used a historical approach to the study of literature and an abundance of material and sources in his lectures. Still, Herzen felt that "it [was] doubtful whether [he] ever did anything at all as a professor." Shevyrev resigned from the University in 1854 in the midst of a scandal that occurred when he physically attacked Count Vasilii Bobrinskii for impugning Russian customs.³⁸

In 1842 Fedor Buslaev began to help Davydov and Shevyrev read their students' essays, and, in time, Buslaev became an important pioneer in the

universitet," 659.

³⁷Nicholas Riasanovsky, "Pogodin and Shevyrev in Russian Intellectual History," Harvard Slavic Studies, 4 (1957): 162, 165.

³⁸Herzen, My Past and Thoughts, 2: 544; Gudzii, Izuchenie russkoi literatury, 8-11; and Riasanovsky, "Shevyrev and Pogodin," 154.

history of the Russian language, folklore, and the comparative study of languages. His works included O prepodavanii otechestvennago iazyka (The Teaching of the Native Language, 1844), O vliianii khristianstva na slavianskii iazyk (The Influence of Christianity on the Slavic Language, 1848), and Istoricheskie ocherki russkoi narodnoi slovesnosti i iskusstva (Historical Essays on Russian Folk Language and Art, 1861, 2 vols.).

Buslaev founded the "mythological school" of Russian linguistics that identified mythological elements in ancient written and oral sources.³⁹ According to the historian Vasilii Kliuchevskii, Buslaev "explained to us the importance of language as a historical source." In fact, he was the one who taught the future historian how to read manuscripts in which words were "the language of the people ..., not an accidental combination of sounds, but a creative affair of the popular spirit, a fruit of its poetic creativity." Over time, words developed and added meanings, grammatical forms changed, and the original meaning was lost. "Thus, a language always grew along with the life of the people, and its history was a manuscript of that life."⁴⁰

Stroganov was crucial in aiding Buslaev's career. After graduating from the University, Buslaev started teaching Russian in the Second gymnasium. Then in 1839 Stroganov asked Buslaev to accompany his family to Italy for two

³⁹A. Ostrogorskii, "Bibliograficheskii ukazatel' materialov po istorii russkoi shkoly," Pedagogicheskii sbornik, supplement (1899-1900): 22-23; Gudzii, Izuchenie russkoi literatury, 12-18; and Kizevetter, "Moskovskii universitet," 108.

⁴⁰Vasilii Kliuchevskii, "F. I. Buslaev kak prepodavatel'," in Kliuchevskii, Sochineniia, 8 vols. (Moscow, 1956-59), 3: 290-92.

years as a tutor. After returning to Moscow in 1841, Buslaev continued to live with the Stroganov family.⁴¹ Stroganov began to give him pedagogical books to read and told him to prepare for his master's exam, which he passed in 1843. His reading of those books led to his work on the teaching of language. In 1846 after Davydov decided to leave for St. Petersburg, Buslaev took his place as a private instructor.⁴²

Osip Bodianskii, another linguist at the University, was the first in Russia to be trained specifically to hold the new chair of Slavic Dialects.⁴³ He had been an outstanding student at the University, finishing as a candidate in 1834. Konstantin Aksakov remembered how Nadezhdin once asked Bodianskii, who was sitting in the back of the hall, a question. Bodianskii's response seemed to be read from a book, and the rest of the students began to smile. Nadezhdin noticed the seemingly bookish answer, suspected cheating, and asked Bodianskii to continue while standing. When it still sounded too perfect, Nadezhdin politely asked Bodianskii to come to the front of the room where Bodianskii calmly continued exactly as before.⁴⁴

When Stroganov became curator, he attempted to recruit Pavel Shafarik,

⁴¹Buslaev, Moi vospominaniia, 131, 152, 154, 164, 270.

⁴²Ibid., 271-72, 276, 301, 304.

⁴³"Graf Stroganov," 526; Kizevetter, "Moskovskii universitet," 108; and L. N. Aleksashkina, "O. M. Bodianskii-- pervyi slavist Moskovskogo universiteta," Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta: Seriia istoriia, no. 5 (September-October 1973): 40-41, 50.

⁴⁴Aksakov, "Vospominaniia studentchestva," 195-96.

the famed Czech scholar, to teach Slavic dialects, but Shafarik refused. Stroganov then selected Bodianskii, who had earlier displayed an interest in ethnography. In May 1837 Bodianskii defended his dissertation on Slavic folk poetry and that summer set off to study in Europe. Bodianskii's plan of studies and travels in Europe also served as a model for the training of other Slavic scholars in the country.⁴⁵

In 1842 after five years of study abroad, Bodianskii returned to take up the chair after Kachenovskii's death. In Europe he had worked hard but also suffered tragedy when he fell seriously ill on the way to Budapest. He survived but lost both his feet. At the University, he did much to set up a curriculum and gave the library the collection of books that he had gathered while abroad. He also immersed himself in the work of the Historical Society as its secretary.

⁴⁵A. Kochubinskii, ed., "O. M. Bodianskii v ego dnevnike," Istoricheskii vestnik, 30 (December 1887): 510-12; Kochubinskii, "Graf Stroganov," 185-90.

Bodianskii was "round shouldered, with a huge head on a fat and short neck,"⁴⁶ and students called him "pigeon-toed Mishka" because of his clumsiness and lameness. "He was a Ukrainian from head to toe" and always stressed the "o" in his speech.⁴⁷ He basically taught four courses: antiquities, literature, dialects, and a general review of Slavic languages that served as the introduction for his later courses. His general course may have been his most successful one, because the upper-level courses were often too specialized. For example, one such course examined the significance of the hard sign in Slavic languages.⁴⁸

Timofei Granovskii, discussed below, and his pupil, Petr Kudriavtsev, dominated the teaching of universal history. Granovskii had begun to lecture in 1839 after studying at St. Petersburg and in Berlin.⁴⁹ Petr Kudriavtsev, the son of a priest, studied at the Moscow Theological Seminary, then under Granovskii before also going to Berlin. He began to teach in 1847. When they first met, Granovskii recognized that Kudriavtsev "really will be a remarkable professor," and the two complemented each other perfectly. Kudriavtsev would say that "Granovskii is more talented than I am," and Granovskii would say that

⁴⁶Kochubinskii, "Bodianskii v ego dnevnike," 506.

⁴⁷Georgievskii, "Moi vospominaniia," (September 1915): 423-24.

⁴⁸Kochubinskii, "Bodianskii v ego dnevnike," 510-12; Georgievskii, "Moi vospominaniia," (September 1915): 424; and Afanas'ev, "Moskovskii universitet," (August 1886): 390.

⁴⁹Kizevetter, "Moskovskii universitet," 103-05.

"Kudriavtsev is more scholarly than I am."⁵⁰ While Granovskii preferred to lecture in broad outlines, Kudriavtsev preferred details, monographic investigations, and specialized courses. His major work was Sud'by Italii ot padeniia zapadnoi Rimskoi imperii do vosstanovleniia ee Karlom (The Fate of Italy from the Fall of the Roman Empire to Its Re-establishment by Charlemagne).⁵¹

In his "O sovremennykh zadachakh istorii" (The Contemporary Tasks of History, 1853), Kudriavtsev was prescient in recognizing that the sphere of history was constantly expanding, "the historical idea seeks to approach humanity's past life from all sides and trace it in all directions." As a result, the task became ever more complicated as other disciplines, like mythology and literature, needed to be included in the field. Kudriavtsev believed that history was a form of art and the first condition of that art was "unity":

The practical characteristic of history, the application of its lessons, that was especially vividly felt and developed by the Romans...has still not lost its value.⁵²

⁵⁰Konstantin Bestuzhev-Riumin, "S. V. Eshevskii: biograficheskii ocherk," in Eshevskii, Sochineniia po russkoi istorii, xv; Granovskii, Granovskii i ego perepiska, 2: 423.

⁵¹Stepan Eshevskii, "P. N. Kudriavtsev," in Eshevskii, Sochineniia po russkoi istorii (Moscow, 1900), 363-70; Stepan Eshevskii, "Petr Kudriavtsev kak prepodavatel'," in Eshevskii, Sochineniia po russkoi istorii, 371-75; Galakhov, "Sorokovye gody," 47-50; and Polonskii, "Moi studencheskiia vospominaniia," 677.

⁵²Petr Kudriavtsev, "O sovremennykh zadachakh istorii" (1853), in Kudriavtsev, Sochineniia, 3 vols. (Moscow, 1887-89), 1: 33-69, 39, 46.

The teaching of Russian history went through an important transitional period under Stroganov with the death of Kachenovskii in 1842, the retirement of Pogodin in 1844, and the beginning of Solov'ev's career in 1845. Mikhail Pogodin, the son of a serf, held the chair from 1831 to 1844 and was, according to some, at first an appealing teacher of history. Herzen asserted that he "was a useful professor who appeared with a new energy on the ash-heap of Russian history, which had been corroded and reduced to dust by Kachenovsky." Pogodin did use a critical method successfully in his work, for example, on the death of the Tsarevich Dmitrii.⁵³

Sergei Solov'ev, who was famous for his Istoriia Rossii s drevneishnikh vremen (History of Russia since Ancient Times, 1851-79, 29 vols.), followed Pogodin on the chair. He was the son of a priest, studied in the First Gymnasium, and then graduated from the University in 1842. His dissertations of 1845 and 1847 started him on a long career, capped by his monumental history, in which he stressed the organic continuity of Russian history and the fact that the history of the country was in essence a history of the government.⁵⁴

Solov'ev, a moderate liberal, began to teach after spending two years in Europe with the family of Stroganov's brother. On his return, Stroganov informed him that since Pogodin was retiring, he could have the chair if he successfully obtained his master's degree. Stroganov's support proved crucial to the young

⁵³Herzen, My Past and Thoughts, 2: 544; Istoriia Moskvyy, 495-96.

⁵⁴Kizevetter, "Moskovskii universitet," 106; Istoriia Moskvyy, 496

historian.⁵⁵

After his rather unsuccessful oral exam, Solov'ev prepared his dissertation, Ob otnosheniiakh Novgoroda k Velikim Kniaz'iam (The Relations of Novgorod to the Grand Princes). Pogodin did not help Solov'ev very much, partly because he was now harboring designs to return to teaching,⁵⁶ but at that point, Stroganov reassured Solov'ev that what was most important was his dissertation, not Pogodin's intrigues or the unfortunate oral exam. When Solov'ev finished the dissertation, Pogodin delayed signing it, but he finally did, saying that it was sufficient as a master's work but not for a professorial candidate. Solov'ev took it to Davydov, who gave it to Granovskii, who passed it on to Kavelin, who was overjoyed because it was "completely opposed to the Slavophile point of view." In July 1845 the faculty voted to allow Solov'ev to begin teaching.⁵⁷

Nikolai Vasil'ev held the chair of Political Economy until he left to set up the new chair of State Finances in the Law Department. Aleksandr Chivilev, who in 1837 had defended the first dissertation in political economy at the University, then took over. He was also the director of the Nobles' Institute, where he was well-liked by the students.⁵⁸

Mathematics

⁵⁵Solov'ev, Moi zapiski, 61-62.

⁵⁶Ibid., 88.

⁵⁷Ibid., 89-92.

⁵⁸Bestuzhev-Riumin, "Vospominaniia," 366; Georgieveskii, "Moi vospominaniia," (May 1915): 354; and Kizevetter, "Moskovskii universitet," 111.

The Physico-Mathematical division of the Philosophical Department (Mathematics) also possessed a solid nucleus of qualified professors, led by Dmitrii Perevoshchikov who had been at the University since 1819. He was a huge figure, and students liked his simple way of lecturing, though he was strict on exams. At times, Perevoshchikov had taught mathematics, but under Stroganov he taught mainly astronomy, for which he used his textbook Osnovaniia astronomii (Fundamentals of Astronomy, 1842). After 1835 he usually taught an introductory course to second-year students, spherical trigonometry and planetary theory to third-year students, and physical astronomy to fourth-year students. Saturday evenings were reserved for practical exercises at the observatory. Perevoshchikov left the University in 1851 when he moved to the Academy of Sciences.⁵⁹

Aleksandr Drashusov, who came to the University in 1836, assisted Perevoshchikov. The following year, Drashusov went abroad to observe facilities in Vienna and Munich, and he returned in 1840. Because of an illness, he did not begin to teach until 1844/45, when he and Perevoshchikov began to alternate courses every year. He also oversaw the expansion of the observatory.⁶⁰

The other professors in the Department included Nikolai Brashman, who taught applied mathematics, and Nikolai Zernov, who in 1837 had been the first

⁵⁹N. A. Chaev, "Otryvki iz vospominanii," Russkoe obozrenie, 38 (March 1896): 388-90; Blazhko, "Astronomiia v Moskovskom universitete," 11-12.

⁶⁰Blazhko, "Astronomiia v Moskovskom universitete," 16, 20-21, 21-22.

Russian to defend a mathematics dissertation and who taught pure mathematics throughout the period.⁶¹ Rodion Heiman, a professor since 1826, taught chemistry, and after Mikhail Maksimovich left for Kiev in 1834, Alexander Fischer von Waldheim, the son of the natural scientist, taught botany. Ivan Sechenov, the famed physiologist, valued Fischer highly, even though he lectured "inexpressibly boringly, according to some ancient French textbook."⁶²

In 1835 Grigorii Shchurovskii took over the new chair of Mineralogy, formed from the breakup of the old Demidov chair of Natural History. He was a rather popular lecturer, but a severe grader, which meant well-attended lectures. He also led a series of important geological expeditions to the Urals in 1838, the Altai in 1844, and the Caucasus. His plan for teaching geology was long the Russian standard.⁶³

A series of professors taught physics: first Pavlov until 1836, Ivan Veselovskii to 1838, and then Perevoshchikov from 1838 to 1839. Finally, Mikhail Spasskii took over in 1839. Spasskii was one of a group of students who

⁶¹See Nikolai Brashman, "O vliianii matematicheskikh nauk na razvitie umstvennykh sposobnostei," Rechi 1841, 1-31.

⁶²Nikolai Berkut, "Zapiski," Istoricheskii vestnik, 126 (September 1911): 54; Ivan Sechenov, "V Moskovskom universitete," in Isaev, Moskovskii universitet v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, 287; and V. A. Petrov, "Pervye etapy razvitiia botaniki v Moskovskom universitete," Uchenye zapiski, no. 54 (1940): 259-68; and Istoriia Moskvyy, 489.

⁶³V. K. Popandopulo, "Po povodu vospominanii Smolenskago dvorianina (o professorakh Moskovskago universiteta)," RA, 34, bk. 3 (1896): 290; A. N. Mazarovich, "Geologicheskie nauki v Moskovskom universitete (1755-1940)," Uchenye zapiski, no. 56 (1940): 27-29; Berkut, "Zapiski," 54; Kizevetter, "Moskovskii universitet," 112; and Istoriia Moskvyy, 489.

had studied at the Main Pedagogical Institute and then in Berlin. Though he was the first to conduct systematic weather observations and though he has been called the "founder of Russian climatology," he was not really a physicist and did little to advance the study of physics.⁶⁴

Spasskii attempted not just to describe but also to explain the linkages that operated in the weather; and as a result of his observations, he devised thirteen basic laws of climatology. For example, law thirteen explained that:

The temperature of a given mass of air decreases on its expansion and increases on its compression, irrespective of other circumstances. Thus, the temperature of atmospheric air, on rising over the surface of the earth, decreases.⁶⁵

Another replacement for Pavlov after his death in 1840 was Iaroslav Linovskii, who had studied at Kiev and whom Stroganov had sent abroad to study agriculture. At the end of the summer of 1844, Linovskii returned and began his lectures, which soon turned into a public course, later printed as Besedy o sel'skom khoziaistve (Discussions about Agriculture, 1845-55, 2 vols.).⁶⁶ His other major work was his 1846 dissertation, Kriticheskii razbor mnenii uchenykh ob usloviakh plodorodiia zemli (A Critical Analysis of Scientific Opinions on Soil Fertility) in which he wrote that:

⁶⁴Kononkov, Istoriia fiziki v Moskovskom universitete, 190, 215; Kaptsov, "Fizika v Moskovskom universitete," 41.

⁶⁵Kononkov, Istoriia fiziki v Moskovskom universitete, 217-20.

⁶⁶Dimitr'ev, "Professor Linovskii," 89.

Involuntarily...after a review of the most differing opinions of natural scientists I came to almost the same idea with which I began my discussion, to the idea of Aristotle and other ancient philosophers that air, water, earth, and fire, in other words, air, water, warmth, and manure serve as the main sources of organic life and soil fertility.⁶⁷

Linovskii also succeeded in setting up the agricultural museum, but his servant killed him in October 1846. Nikolai Zheleznov then took over the chair.⁶⁸

A very popular professor at the University was Karl Rul'e who taught zoology after the death of Lovetskii in 1840. Rul'e was born in Nizhni Novgorod to a naturalized Frenchman and served in the military as a physician. He was a "rotund" man with curly hair who would sometimes sit in one of the nearby taverns reading the papers and send a message to the University that there would be no lectures that day. His lectures were well-attended,⁶⁹ and V. K. Popandopulo, a student, recalled how he and his friends often left the boring lectures of Klin and Menshikov for Rul'e's. Sechenov remembered that Rul'e "loved to philosophize in his lectures and read very rhetorically."⁷⁰

Rul'e has been called the Russian precursor of Charles Darwin. For

⁶⁷Dimitr'ev, "Professor Linovskii," 88; Kachinskii, Agronomiia v Moskovskom universitete, 18; and Iarilov, "Istoriia kafedry Zemledeliia," 63-65.

⁶⁸Kachinskii, Agronomiia v Moskovskom universitete, 22; Dimitr'ev, "Professor Linovskii," 47.

⁶⁹Chaev, "Otryvki iz vospominanii," 956-57.

⁷⁰Popandopulo, "Po povodu vospominanii Smolenskago dvorianina," 295; Eimontova, Russkie universitety, 72-73; and

example, Rul'e once lectured to a group of critics:

You [gentlemen] are describing animals as if they had existed as such since the beginning of time and as you know them now--we will not be content with your authority: there are more facts against you than for you.

Man has a history--just as existing animals are not deprived of it, only they have produced fewer historians for themselves.⁷¹

Rul'e examined closely the dependence of the organic world on the environment, which he summed up in the aptly named book, Zhizn' zhivotnykh po otnosheniiu ko vneshnim usloviiam (Life of Animals in Relationship to the Environment, 1852). His main point was that an organism adapts itself to external surroundings:

Ivan Sechenov, Avtobiograficheskie zapiski (Moscow, 1952), 80.

⁷¹Shchipanov, Moskovskii universitet i razvitie, 154.

An animal is the expression of a more or less long series of gradually changing phenomena which are dependent, on the one hand, on the life forces of the same animal and, on the other,...on external conditions.⁷²

In his "O zhivotnykh Moskovskoi gubernii" (Animals of Moscow Guberniia, 1845), Rul'e emphasized that since external conditions changed over the course of time, so too did the flora and fauna of a region.

Animals are found under the constant influence of the action of the external world...with a different geographical distribution of them, a suitable system of each animal relative to [its] surrounding conditions.⁷³

Law

The 1835 university statute made the Law Department more practical in nature by requiring more specific courses on Russian law. With the addition of Krylov, Redkin, and later Kavelin, the Department became the bastion of the

⁷²Kulagin, "Pervye etapy razvitiia zoologii," 26-28; Turov and Dement'ev, "Ocherk istorii zoologicheskogo muzeia," 180.

⁷³Karl Rul'e, "O zhivotnykh Moskovskoi gubernii," Rechi 1845, 1-4.

Westerners on the faculty.

The careers of professors Petr Redkin and Nikita Krylov proved to be closely intertwined. Redkin taught his encyclopedia of law course, which was an introduction, and his other courses in a Hegelian spirit. He was an ardent Hegelian and, in fact, wrote the first article on Hegel in Russia in Moskvitianin in 1841. He taught until 1848, when he quit in a protest over the alleged bribe-taking of Krylov. Krylov taught Roman law after 1835. He was very talented, and an excellent lecturer, yet published little. He was at the heart of the scandal that led to the resignations of Redkin and Kavelin.⁷⁴

Fedor Moroshkin held the chair of Civil Law and Procedure and was important for bringing a historical viewpoint to the study of Russian jurisprudence, as in his master's dissertation, O postepennom obrazovanii zakonodatel'stva (The Gradual Formation of Legislation, 1832).⁷⁵ In his famous "Ob Ulozhenii i posleduiushchem ego razvitii" (The Ulozhenie [1649 Code of Laws] and Its Subsequent Development, 1839), Moroshkin analyzed the law code of Tsar Alexis and the reasons for its promulgation.⁷⁶ One of his more interesting views

⁷⁴S. F. Kechek'ian, "Voprosy teorii gosudarstva i prava na iuridicheskom fakul'tete Moskovskogo universiteta," Uchenye zapiski, no. 180 (1956): 66; Kizevetter, "Moskovskii universitet," 110; and Istoriia Moskvyy, 500.

⁷⁵M. U. Koshevnikov, "Kratkii ocherk istorii iuridicheskogo fakul'teta Moskovskogo universiteta," Uchenye zapiski, no. 180 (1956): 18; P. N. Galanza, "Razvitie istoriko-iuridicheskoi nauki," Uchenye zapiski, no. 180 (1956): 205; and S. M. Korneev, "Nauka grazhdanskogo prava i ee predstaviteli v Moskovskom universitete," Uchenye zapiski, no. 180 (1956): 113.

⁷⁶Fedor Moroshkin, "Ob Ulozhenii i posleduiushchem ego razvitii," Rechi 1839, 8.

concerned a tsar's powers, which he believed were not hereditary but, instead, transmitted through the Zemskii sobor. He also felt that in a Western, legal sense, with the exception of Novgorod, there were no cities in Russia.⁷⁷

Konstantin Kavelin, who also fell under the influence of Hegel, taught the history of Russian legislation from 1844 until he resigned in 1848. Kavelin was born in 1818 into a noble family whose family estate was in Riazan guberniia. He studied law at Moscow University from 1835 to 1839, worked for a while, and then finished his master's in 1844. He began teaching the history of Russian legislation, but he resigned in 1848 over Professor Krylov's treatment of his wife, the oldest sister of Kavelin's wife. He later taught at St. Petersburg University.⁷⁸

Kavelin was renowned, albeit incorrectly, as being one of the founders of the "juridical" or "state" school of Russian history because of his pathbreaking master's dissertation Osnovnyiia nachala russkago sudoustroistva i grazhdanskago sudoproizvodstva v periode vremeni ot Ulozheniia do Uchrezhdeniia o guberniiaakh (The Basic Origin of the Russian Judicial System and Civil Legal Procedure from the Ulozhenie to the Establishment of the Gubernii). According to the "state" school, the state was the highest form of development of a people, and the evolution of that state was a historical inevitability. In Russia, the process came from above, not from below as in the West, and the "main feature of the historico-political process [was] the

⁷⁷Ibid., 10, 23, 24, 40, 43-44, 45.

⁷⁸Derek Offord, Portraits of Early Russian Liberals (New York, 1985), 175-76; Okun, Ocherki istorii SSSR, 364-65.

subordination of the people to the state."⁷⁹

Sergei Barshev taught criminal law. Barshev was no supporter of liberal ideas until after 1855 when he suddenly did an about face and became a champion of judicial reform. He had studied in the Second Section under the supervision of Speranskii and then in Germany where he grew to respect the German jurists so much so that his life's goal was to somehow approach their level of expertise. He was the first Russian to examine the origins of criminal law and not just describe the law.⁸⁰

In that regard, Barshev was a competent jurist. For example, he explained some of his views in his 1840 oration, "O vmenenii v prave" (Imputation in Law). He began with the assertion that the "necessary condition of...legal imputation is human freewill."⁸¹ He then carefully explained that legal and moral imputation differed:

The latter extends a bit farther than the first....From the view of the moral judge, the internal thoughts of man are not hidden...; on the contrary, the state judge has a more restricted view and therefore always judges only

⁷⁹E. N. Kuprits, "Ob izuchenii gosudarstvenno-pravovykh ditsiplin v Moskovskom universitete," Uchenye zapiski, no. 180 (1956): 90; Kechek'ian, "Voprosy teorii gosudarstva i prava," 67.

⁸⁰Anatolii Koni, "Iz let iunosti i starosti," in Koni, Sobranie sochinenii, 7 vols. (Moscow, 1966-69), 7: 105; V. S. Orlov, "Istoriia prepodavaniia i razvitiia nauki ugolovnogo prava," Uchenye zapiski, no. 180 (1956): 155; Koshevnikov, "Kratkii ocherk," 17; and Polianskii, "Predstaviteli nauki ugolovnogo protsessa," 173.

⁸¹Sergei Barshev, "O vmenenii v prave," Rechii 1840, 1, 17.

from the external and concludes the internal. The first judges, therefore, a man both for his innermost thoughts and wishes, and the latter imputes from his behavior alone.⁸²

There were a number of conditions that excused one from legal liability, for example, defense from an attacker, but also: immaturity, being a deaf/mute, or having physical defects, madness, rabies, melancholia, or assorted illnesses. The latter included drunkenness, which Barshev called an uncontrollable illness.⁸³

Medicine

⁸²Ibid., 19.

⁸³Ibid., 25-30, 37.

The teaching of medicine underwent an especially fruitful period of development under Stroganov. Among the significant medical professors of the time were Nikolai Anke, who taught pharmacy, Ivan Glebov, who taught comparative anatomy, and Aleksandr Over, who headed the Faculty Therapeutic Clinic. Professor Over had received over thirty honorary foreign awards for science, but though he was a gifted surgeon, his lectures in Latin, according to one student, "were rather disorganized and not systematic."⁸⁴ Aleksei Filomafitskii, who had been in the Professors' Institute, taught physiology and anatomy. His book, Fiziologiia (Physiology), won him a Demidov Prize from the Academy of Sciences in 1841, but unfortunately, he died in 1849.⁸⁵

Iosif Varvinskii began his career in 1838 as an adjunct to the chair of Private Pathology and Therapy. He had also studied in the Professors' Institute where he wrote his dissertation on the human nervous system. After spending two years at Dorpat in the mid-1840s, he returned to Moscow to head the new Hospital Therapeutic Clinic.⁸⁶ According to one of his listeners, "students, after the unscientific and useless Therapeutic Clinic of the fourth year, fell on

⁸⁴Nikolai Belogolovnyi, "Iz moix vospominanii o Sergee Botkine," in Isaev, Moskovskii universitet v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, 319-20; Popandopulo, "Po povodu vospominanii Smolenskago dvorianina," 291-94; and B. S. Matveev, "Sravnitel'naia anatomiiia v Moskovskom universitete (1755-1940)," Uchenye zapiski, no. 54 (1840): 63.

⁸⁵I. L. Kan, "Istoriia fiziologii zhivotnykh i cheloveka v Moskovskom universitete," Uchenye zapiski, no. 54 (1940): 119; Rossiiskii, 200 let meditsinskogo fakul'teta, 74-75; and Istoriia Moskvy, 490.

⁸⁶Zinov'ev, K istorii vysshego meditsinskogo obrazovaniia, 22, 23; Rossiiskii, 200 let Meditsinskogo fakul'teta, 92.

Varvinskii's lectures as if on Promised Land."⁸⁷

Fedor Inozemtsev taught practical surgery. After attending Kharkov University, he too had attended the Professors' Institute, and in 1835 he arrived in Moscow.⁸⁸ There students recalled how "his ideas inspired us," because for the first time we heard the words "Russian science, Russian medicine."⁸⁹

Inozemtsev also strongly believed in the scientific method, and in 1847 he became the first to use a narcotic gas in Moscow.⁹⁰ Solov'ev, however, remained dubious of the talents of Inozemtsev and Varvinskii: "I do not know how they ever became stars of the first magnitude in the medical heavens."⁹¹

Grigorii Sokol'skii held the chair of Private Pathology and Therapy of Internal Illnesses under Stroganov. He had been a student of Professors Mudrov and Mukhin and had also studied at Dorpat, and when Uvarov forced Professor Diadkovskii into retirement, Sokol'skii took over the chair.⁹² He was an instructor who "did not seek popularity with the students. He was demanding, hard, and merciless in his criticism [but] unintentionally inspired respect with [his] witty and

⁸⁷Belogolovyi, "Iz moikh vospominanii," 325.

⁸⁸S. A. Smirnov, "Vospominaniia o F. I. Inozemtseve," RA, 10 (1872): 720-29.

⁸⁹Ibid., 727, 729-30.

⁹⁰M. Buturlin, "Zametka k vospominaniu o F. I. Inozemtseve," RA, 10 (1872): 1458-59; Smirnov, "Vospominaniia o Inozemsteve," 720-32; Berkut, "Zapiski," 55; Rossiiskii, 200 let Meditsinskogo fakul'teta, 100; and Kizevetter, "Moskovskii universitet," 114.

⁹¹Solov'ev, Moi zapiski, 101.

⁹²Zinov'ev, K istorii vysshego meditsinskogo obrazovaniia, 29, 32.

brilliant exposition." He also insisted that practice was crucial in medical study. He once said that "the scalpel is more necessary for this discipline than metaphysics," but, by relying solely on the facts for his diagnoses, he sometimes went to the other extreme. He left the University in 1848 because of his materialist and critical views.⁹³

The last chair in the Medical Department was that of Legal Medicine, Police Medicine, History and Literature of Medicine, Encyclopedia, and Methodology, which the regime intended to use to train doctors to aid in police investigations. Aleksandr Armfel'd, who was an active participant in various Moscow literary salons, held the chair. Armfel'd emphasized fairness and accuracy and told students that "when you are asked for an opinion, give it without any preconceived idea and rely only on a careful review and investigation of the matter."⁹⁴

One of the drawbacks to being a professor was that despite the benefits derived from Stroganov's patronage, there still remained significant government pressure to toe the official line. For example, in 1843 Granovskii and Stroganov had a long conversation about Granovskii's liberal, Westernist views. Granovskii

⁹³Ibid., 33, 35-39, 40, 76-77.

⁹⁴Buslaev, Moi vospominaniia, 18; Chervakov, 150 let kafedry Sudebnoi meditsiny, 34, 42-43, 54, 51.

recalled that:

He told me that I could not stay at the University with such convictions....I replied that I was not threatening the existing order and that my personal beliefs were none of his concern. He replied that a negative attitude was insufficient and that what was necessary was a love of the existing [order].

In short, he demanded analogy and justification in [my] lectures. The Reformation and revolution had to be expounded from a catastrophic point of view and as a step backward. I proposed not to lecture in general about revolution, but I could not yield on the Reformation. Then, what would history be? He concluded with the words: there is the good of a higher order that must be preserved even it was necessary to close the universities and all schools.⁹⁵

Stroganov also told Nikolai Liaskovskii, the professor of pharmacology, "Please be good enough to teach the ability to make up plasters and grind powders, and do not philosophize."⁹⁶ Later, Rul'e got into trouble with Uvarov's deputy minister of education for an article that he thought was contrary to Biblical teaching.⁹⁷

This kind of administrative pressure plus the stiffer censorship conditions in Moscow sometimes made it hard to publish scholarly works, as evidenced by

⁹⁵Granovskii, Granovskii i ego perepiska, 2: 462-63.

⁹⁶V. V. Morkovnikov, "Istoricheskii ocherk khimii v Moskovskom universitete," in Lomonovskii sbornik (Moscow, 1901), 75; Eimontova, Russkie universitety, 52.

⁹⁷L. Davitashvili and S. Mikulinskii, "K. Rul'e-- vydaiushchiisia russkii estestispytatel' evoliutsionist," Nauchnoe nasledstvo, 2 (1951): 556.

how little Granovskii and some others published. Granovskii lamented that:

I read fifty volumes of speeches and documents relating to the French Revolution, but meanwhile I know that not only is it forbidden to write one line about it but it is also impossible to discuss it in lectures.⁹⁸

That censorship could be a major problem was evident from the Chaadaev Affair that occurred in late 1836. In October 1836 Nadezhdin's journal Teleskop published Petr Chaadaev's famous "First Philosophical Letter." Nicholas found the "Letter" despicable, and he closed the journal and dismissed Boldyrev, the rector, and Nadezhdin, who lived with Boldyrev, for failing to censor Chaadaev. He also exiled Nadezhdin and placed Chaadaev under house arrest.⁹⁹

The Moscow professors were a very small group of people that led intellectual developments in the country. In fact, one scholar has affirmed that:

Seldom in the history of any one country has so much intellectual power been concentrated within the walls of a single teaching institution.¹⁰⁰

When this talented group began to break up at the end of the decade, an era had

⁹⁸Boris Chicherin, "Studencheskie gody," in Isaev, Moskovskii universitet v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, 385.

⁹⁹Buslaev, Moi vospominania, 19; Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 23; and Fedosov, Letopis', 65-66. Petr Chaadaev, Sochineniia i pis'ma (Oxford, 1972), 194-96, wrote a letter to Stroganov assuring him that the article was not his "profession de foi" but "only the expression of a bitter feeling which has long since vanished" and that he had not yet spoken of "the profits of our isolated position."

¹⁰⁰Darlington, Education in Russia, 79, 81.

passed.¹⁰¹ In 1845 Kriukov died, and the next year Linovskii was killed.

Stroganov left in November 1847, Nakhimov in January 1848, and Golokhvastov in September 1849. In 1848 Kavelin and Redkin left, and Bodianskii was suspended. In 1849 Chivilev left, and Filomafitskii died. Granovskii died in 1855, and Kudriavtsev and Rul'e in 1858.

¹⁰¹K. P. Medvedskii, "Liudi sorokovykh godov," Trud, 17 (February 1893): 375.

TABLE 42
End of the Stroganov Decade

There were 57 professors listed as teaching in 1845
 In 1845 left: Hildebrandt, Knirim, Kriukov, and Vasil'ev.
 In 1846 left: Efremov, Evenius, Linovskii, and Strakhov.
 In 1847 left: Davydov.
 In 1848 left: Courtener, Kavelin, Redkin, Sokol'skii, and Zalozetskii.
 In 1849 left: Chivilev, Filomafitskii, and Hoffmann.
40 were still teaching in 1850. (70 percent)
 In 1851 left: Katkov, Perevoshchikov, and Richter.
 In 1852 left: Kikin, Ternovskii.
 In 1853 left: Sevruk.
 In 1854 left: Heiman, Shestakov.
32 were still teaching in 1855. (56 percent)
 In 1855 left: Granovskii, Klin.
 In 1857 left: Brosse, Glebov, Moroshkin, and Shevyrev.
 In 1858 left: Kudriavtsev, Rul'e, and Spasskii.
 In 1859 left: Zernov.
22 were still teaching in 1860. (38 percent)
 Source: Biograficheskii slovar', 1: ix-xiv.

This change was almost as dramatic as the rejuvenation carried out by Stroganov. Moreover, the numbers do not tell the whole story, as Kavelin and Redkin were irreplaceable, but though Moscow University's Golden Age came to an abrupt end, the school did not; and, besides, some professors, including Bodienskii, Varvinskii, and Solov'ev, who began to teach under Stroganov enjoyed long careers into the 1870s. While Stroganov was curator, the definition of a Moscow professor became clearly defined at an elevated level--younger, more formalized training, including study abroad--as did society's expectations of him--publications, specialized courses, administrative duties, and social role.