

The Formation of National Intellectuals and the Development of a University Network in the Regions under the Rule of Russian Empire

(Proceedings of the Helsinki Conference, 14 th March 2011)

Nobuya HASHIMOTO (Editor)

June, 2011

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Nishinomiya, Japan

История Санкт-Петербургского университета
в виртуальном пространстве
<http://history.museums.spbu.ru/>

First Published 2011

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Ethnic Groups among Professors and Student Body of the Imperial Saint-Petersburg University in the First Half of XIX Century*

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Social history of Russian universities as a top priority of studying demands the examining of social and ethnic structure of professorial and student corporations in each particular university and in the context of interuniversity interaction.

The problem of European scientists' migration to Russia, their moving to different Russian universities, their adaptation and activity have not received all the attention it deserves. The main reason of it is that the study of horizontal contacts among universities demands the integrating efforts of historians dealing with different universities.¹ The study of ethnic structure of professorial corporation has been pursued only in respect of several distinct universities.

The examination of ethnic groups among students beyond any local and chronological frames is a much more demanding task, and as for Pre-Reform

* This article is prepared by supporting of project «Столичный университет в фокусе правительственной политики России (1819-1917)» of Federal purpose program «Научные и научно-педагогические кадры инновационной России» to 2009-2013. (Мероприятие 1.2.2. ГК № 14.740.11.1112) and Subject-matter of NIR SPb. State Univ. (5.38.51.2011 «История Санкт-Петербургского университета в контексте истории российского государства и общества»)

¹ European scholars have studied the social history of the Russian professoriate and studentship, but their works are mainly too general and don't touch the questions of ethnicity and international cooperation: Kassow S.D. Students, Professors and the State in Tsarist Russia. Berkeley; Los Angeles; L., 1989; Maurer Trude. Hochschullehrer im Zarenreich. Ein Beitrag zur russischen Sozial- und Bildungsgeschichte. Köln; Weimar; Wien, 1998; Friedman Rebekka. Masculinity, Autocracy and the Russian University. 1804-1863. L., Berkeley, 2003.

Position of the German professors in Russian universities are studied better. See, e.g.: Stieda W. Deutsche Gelehrte als Professoren an der Universität Moskau, Leipzig, 1930; Schippan M. Die Moskauer Universität und deutsche Gelehrte in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts // Russische Aufklärungsrezeption im Kontext offizieller Bildungskonzepte (1700-1825). Hrg. G.Lehmann-Carli, M. Schippan, B. Scholz, S. Brohm. Berlin, 2001.

university only few observations on this problem have been made.²

Various ethnic groups within Russian universities have been studied before as local cases and ethnic groups of the university corporation have not been thoroughly estimated at all. At the same time Russian Pre-Reform universities contrast to universities of the late XIX – the beginning of XX cent. have not been comprehensively examined. All these statements are fair to say about the historiography of the St. Petersburg University³ as well as of all other universities of the Empire.

Though we don't claim to present the exhaustive examination of the problem in this report, but we shall try to reveal the ethnic structure of professorial and student corporations at the St. Petersburg University in the stated period, and to mark perspective ways of its more profound studying.

In the first decades of the XIX cent. the Ministry of Public Education succeeded in forming several universities with international bodies of professors and students in the Russian Empire. Contrary to the Dorpat and even the Moscow Universities the metropolitan Pedagogical Institute that was transformed into the University in 1819 was more homogeneous in ethnic sense.

The findings and conclusions of the present report are based on systematic examination of the funds of the St. Petersburg University kept in the Central Historical Archive of St. Petersburg (hereafter, CGIA SPb.) and the Russian State Historical Archive (hereafter, RGIA). The historical sources on this topic particularly professors' career records, files on their assignments and movings are located in the archival collections of the Ministry of Public Education (the

² Social and ethnic structure of the Russian studentship of the later period has been studied by A.E. Ivanov. See his works: *Студенчество России конец XIX – начало XX века. Социально-историческая судьба*. М., 1999; *Студенческая корпорация России конца XIX – начала XX в.: опыт культурной и политической самоорганизации*. М., 2004.

³ Шадури В. *Ленинградский университет и деятели грузинской культуры*. Tbilisi, 1968; *Польские профессора и студенты в университетах России (XIX – начало XX вв.)*. Warsaw, 1995; Андреева Н.С. *Прибалтийские немцы – профессора Петербургского университета первой половины XIX в. // Немцы и развитие образования в России*. СПб., 1998. Pp. 80-87.

Department of Public Education (RGIA. F. 733. Op. 20–26, 77, 86) and of Minister's Office (RGIA. F. 735). The archival collections of the Office of the St. Petersburg educational district curator (CGIA SPb. F. 139) and the Head Board of Schools (RGIA. F. 732) are also valuable. We also use the documents of the University management and record keeping: Journals of the Pedagogical Institute Conference, records of the University Council, documents about students' enrollment and transfer, about awarding scholarship, examinations, allocations, inspectorial supervision and police control, offences and punishment. The sources which have been assembled show exceptional position of some ethnic groups among students. The most interesting documents are devoted to police control, disciplining and persecution for political disloyalty of the Polish students. We also examined legislation and memoirs of the stated period.

We must make an essential point about the determination of the subject being analyzed. The term "nationality" can't be found in the documents of the first half of the XIX cent., including university reports and career records of civil servants. However even if the ethnic identity of this or that person or group of people is missing the ethno-confessional affiliation which has usually been fixed in the documents can show clearly the nationality of an actor.

The ethnic groups among professoriate of the first generation of the St. Petersburg University likewise at the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences were quite diverse.

Inviting the desired number of foreign professors was the requirement for establishing several universities in Russia in early XIX. In this respect various mechanisms were engaged to contribute the European scientists' moving to Russia. We could name academic and bureaucratic networking, announcements in foreign press, active position of Russian diplomatic agents and of so called academic "correspondents" abroad who were paid by the Head Board of Schools.

The following idea was formulated in the project of the general university statute which was discussed in the Head Board of Schools on April 22, 1803: "If

an opportunity to attract a person who is renowned in academic sphere for his perfect knowledge appears to happen the University should apply for extraordinary salary to this person to its curator who is going to act in an appropriate way".⁴ Completing the staff of the majority of departments established in Russian universities in 1803–1804 took place upon an initiative of educational districts curators and with the help of "academic correspondents" abroad. The applicant was to submit recommendations of famous academics or to have significant research works.

To move to Russia, Foreigners had to get passports at Russian diplomatic agents abroad, and on the arrival they were to deliver these documents to the chief of local police. The invitation into a University didn't oblige the applicant to take out Russian citizenship, he just swore fealty to the Russian crown in a definite form.⁵ If a person decided to stay in Russia for a long time he needed to nationalize. Sometimes an applicant had lived in Russia for many years without university employment, and it was the time of his entering into university staff when he took out Russian citizenship. For example, F. Videbourg who arrived in Russia in 1805 had not been a Russian subject until his assignment to the University when he wished to "take an oath in the service of Russia".⁶ A Frenchman A. Dugour who had served at the Kharkov University for about 10 years took out Russian citizenship and changed his surname into Dugourov just in 1817 when he was enrolled on the staff of the Pedagogical Institute in St. Petersburg.

Some foreigners bothered the Emperor himself with the requests of engagements in schools. However direct appeal to the Emperor broke the system of seniority and could hardly contribute to the success of an applicant. This approach was usually utilized by people who didn't have the required qualifications, recommendations or academic degrees and reckoned on personal

⁴ RGIA. F. 732. Op. 1. D. 1. L. 49 (verso).

⁵ CGIA SPb. F. 13. Op. 1. D. 1811.

⁶ RGIA. F. 733. Op. 20. D. 160. L. 9.

networks at the Russian court. Nevertheless this way of acting might complicate the established procedure of the foreign professors' employment. This could be illustrated by the file on the appointment of an alien Shaumburg who "served to the House of Orange" till the invasion of Napoleon into the Netherlands. In October 1804 he presented the request about his enlisting to the Emperor. Alexander I with the help of the curator M.N. Muravyov announced Shaumburg that he could come to Russia. After Shaumburg did so, he "was sent with the complimentary letter to the Dorpat University to be appointed as a chancellor". The foreigner had to be paid 1000 rubles before his assignment. But in the Dorpat University this suggestion was refused. The Emperor ordered to "express his surprise to the University" but didn't insist on the employment of Shaumburg. Alexander I entrusted the President of the Academy of Sciences baron Nicolai with a task to appoint Shaumburg to the Academy. But knowledge of foreigner was unwanted in the Academy. Hence Shaumburg had not been employed for more than 3 years.⁷

In February 1804 the Head Board of Schools discussed the petition of P. Ceplin about the terms and conditions "under which he would accept the proposal to enter the Kazan University as a professor of historical studies".⁸ All requirements of the applicant were agreed. Ceplin got into Russia and became the first German professor in Kazan where he continued to work for about 3 years.⁹

Data about arriving of foreign professors in Russia and their locating was published in the departmental magazine of the Ministry of Public Education. So, information about the assignment of professor Johann Bellerma from Erfurt who had been advised by the Dorpat University for the Department of clerical history and philology appeared in one of the first issues.¹⁰ On the suggestion of the

⁷ RGIA. F. 733. Op. 86. D. 83.

⁸ RGIA. F. 732. Op. 1. D. 77. L. 2.

⁹ Немецкие ученые – профессора Казанского университета. Kazan, 2004. Pp. 112-115.

¹⁰ Периодическое сочинение об успехах народного просвещения. 1803. Part. 2. P. 157.

minister P.V. Zavadovskij the Head Board of Schools confirmed the contract of the Dorpat University with Vienna professors Johan Peter Frank and his son Joseph, who were appointed the professor of clinic and therapy and the professor of abnormality respectively.¹¹

Obligations towards invited professors were carried out even in case of their untimely death. Even if a professor died soon after his arrival in Russia a University undertook the welfare assistance to his widow and children. On October 9, 1804 the curator of the Moscow University informed the Head Board of Schools about unexpected decease of the professor of statistics Grelmin who had come from Gottingen in the same year. The curator explained that "the professor was noted not only for his profound knowledge but also for rare heart merits". He concluded that the Moscow University being in mourning because of the death of "the glorious man who had left his homeland only to contribute to the advancement of sciences in Russia brought in human-loving measures to endow his poor widow and her children".¹²

From the times of the Academic University of XVIII cent. all professors had been divided into Russian and foreign groups, and in the first half of the XIX cent. it remained the same. The peculiarity of the St. Petersburg University was that the group of foreign professors was more diverse in ethnic sense. At the same time in other universities the Germans prevailed.

Invitation of foreign professors to the St. Petersburg University likewise to other Russian universities was a purposeful process. Preparations for the establishing of the metropolitan university had been making since 1802. The Pedagogical Institute was established in 1804 just as a single part of the prospective university.

We suggest that it is correctly to approach the history of the Pedagogical Institute before 1819 and the St. Petersburg University after 1819 as a one whole continuing process; the former was given a new title and made its legal position

¹¹ RGIA. F. 732. Op. 1. D. 77. L. 7 (verso).

¹² Ibid. F. 732. Op. 1. D. 114. L. 93.

more stable in 1819, but neither staff nor nature of its activity was changed. Until 1824 the statute of the St. Petersburg University had been the one of the Central Pedagogical Institute.

In total staff of Pedagogical Institute consisted only 4 vacant positions of ordinary professors, 3 of extraordinary professors and 5 of assistant professors and foreign language instructors. These figures could be compared with the existing 28 departments of the Moscow University and 23 departments of the Dorpat University.¹³

The selection of this or that professor to be invited largely depended on contacts of educational districts curators and attractiveness of the concise town where a university was situated. St. Petersburg being the capital of Russia and the seat of the Academy of Sciences was a more attractive place for alien scholars than other town of the Empire. That's why extensive campaigning on calling foreigners to St. Petersburg was not needed. Otherwise the organizers of education faced the problem of getting rid of accidental people.

In 1803 the curator of the metropolitan educational district N.N. Novosiltsev through the involvement of the surgeon at the court I.S. Orlay invited 3 professors of Slavonic origin from the universities of the Austrian Empire. They were M.A. Balugjanskiy, P.D. Lodiy and V.G. Kukolnik. The two former graduated the Vienna University and Kukolnik studied at the Lemberg Academy. All of them had doctoral degrees and experience in teaching. Before their arrival in Russia Lodiy taught in Lviv, Balugjanskiy at the Pest University, and Kukolnik in Crakow and in lyceum in Zamość. All three professors could adapt to the living in St. Petersburg quite easily and soon they started lecturing in Russian. This last thing was the principal difficulty for the majority of their colleagues. Having been advised by the curator they were appointed to the Teachers high school in view of its planned converting into university. Kukolnik

¹³ "Statute" of the Pedagogical Institute specified only the total number of professors (11) who had to keep positions of the staff professors and instructors and to share teaching disciplines among them. // Сборник постановлений по министерству народного просвещения. Vol. 1: 1802-1825. SPb., 1864. Column 207.

was employed at 2 departments as the professor of physical science and agriculture. P.D. Lodiy became the professor of philosophy and M.A. Balugjanskiy the professor of political economy.¹⁴ In May 1803 the Governing Senate issued an edict according to which all three foreigners were approved to be the seventh grade servants that corresponded to the position of university professors.¹⁵

On the whole the invitations of foreign professors to St. Petersburg at that time seemed to be an exceptional event, not typical one, because there were a lot of Russian scholars and teachers of the required qualification who were trained in the Academy of Sciences, the Medico-Surgical Academy, Corps of Mining Engineers, military educational institutions. Therefore professorial corporation of the Pedagogical Institute, later the St. Petersburg University, was multi-ethnic but it consisted mostly of naturalized immigrant scholars but not newcomers. The academics of German origin predominated among them. The German scholars could in their turn be divided into several groups.

The first and the largest group was the local Germans of St. Petersburg who had come into Russian service long ago and sometimes being the second or even the third generation of immigrants they resided in St. Petersburg for many years. For example, in spring of 1806 the Chief Master of the mines Meder who had previously been the inspector of Mining Cadet Corps and had instructed in geognosy was invited to the Pedagogical Institute to lecture on mineralogy. The assistant professor of the Academy of Sciences K.F. German who had been in Russian service since 1795 was invited to read lectures on statistics in the Institute, and A. Sherer was appointed as a professor of chemistry and technology. Each of the invited scholars was paid 1000 rubles a year and A. Sherer was given besides 500 rubles "for correspondence and experiments".¹⁶ F.B. Graefe who was invited to the Pedagogical Institute in 1811 also belongs to this

¹⁴ RGIA. F. 732. Op. 1. D. 114. L. 15.

¹⁵ Idid. D. 77. L. 16 (verso).

¹⁶ CGIA SPb. F. 139. Op. 1. D. 178. L. 1-2.

group. Before the appointment he got education and obtained doctoral degree in the lyceum in Chemnitz and then taught languages at the Alexander Nevsky Ecclesiastic Academy. The head of the Teaches' high school and the first head of the Pedagogical Institute I.I. Koch who had been in Russian service since 1762 is also a representative of the group.

The following two actors hold an intermediate position. The first is E. Raupakh who had been an alumnus of the Halle University. He was invited to the Pedagogical Institute after he had been living in the Russian capital trying to find a job for several years. The second one is the Doctor of Philosophy Videburg who graduated the University of Helmstedt. He was appointed as an assistant professor of Greek philology in 1815. By that time the German had been residing in St. Petersburg for 10 years and had taught in the Head Lutheran School at Piterkirhe, but he was not a Russian subject.¹⁷

The children of St. Petersburg German artisans and petty traders can also be referred to this group. They got education in the Academic school at the expense of their parents or on a state's sponsorship. After that they became the students of the Academic University and after graduation they stayed in the University to lecture and to write there theses (F. Busse, A. Schumacher).

To the second group of the German professors we could place immigrants from the Baltics who as a rule graduated German universities, but started their professional career in Russia long before the invitation to the St. Petersburg University. F.F. Middendorff, the native of Pärnu (Estonia), graduated the University of Jena and then he taught in Petersburg school. In 1811 he accepted a vacancy without paying at the Pedagogical Institute but owing to the reorganization of the Institute in 1815 he was elected a staff professor.¹⁸ From 1828 till 1845 Middendorff was the head of the Main Pedagogical Institute at the University. Another Baltic German was V. Shneider. He was born in Revel, graduated the Dorpat University. Then he lectured at the Moscow University till

¹⁷ RGIA. F. 733. Op. 20. D. 160.

¹⁸ Ibid. L. 3, 5, 9.

1822, when he was appointed not on the staff professor of Roman law, and later he became staff professor. One more person who belongs to this group is enlightened enthusiast E.A. Engelgardt who was born in Riga. He didn't have university education but held an office of the head of the Pedagogical Institute in 1811–1817, and after that he was the head of the Tsarskoe Selo Lyceum.

It's possible to include to this group the people who studied or even finished the Dorpat University and then immigrated to Petersburg. Among them is Alexander Postels who moved from Dorpat to the St. Petersburg University and then became not on the staff professor of mineralogy at the University. We also could mention E.H. Lenz about whom we will talk in details a bit later.

The third group of the German professors is composed of the people who had academic degrees and were invited from abroad. For instance a map-maker Lavrenti Pansner, an alumnus of the Vienna University, was the professor of mineralogy at the St. Petersburg University in 1819–1822. Foreign professors were invited most actively in the times of transformation of the St. Petersburg University in 1803, 1816, 1819.

When S.S. Uvarov was the curator of the St. Petersburg University and of the educational district (1811–1821) the general consolidation of the corporation was evident and invitation of foreign professors became more selective. Moreover in 1811–1812 12 scholars who had been sent abroad to continued their education after their graduation of the Pedagogical Institute returned home (all of them were born in Central provinces). In 1810-s the professorial corporation had been enriched by the professors of philology E. Raupach, G. Gedike, the instructors in languages Tillo, Perro, Polner, Sheller.

After the establishment of the Department of Oriental languages in St. Petersburg the young French scholars that is the arabist F. Demange and the specialist in Persian philology F. Sharmua were invited on the recommendation of Silvestre de Sacy. In 1817 the French Dugour who would soon change his surname into Dugourov moved from the Kharkov into the St. Petersburg University. As a rule foreigners were the instructors in newly taught languages.

Besides French and German languages the English (by Polner) and the Italian (by the "lecturers" Maroketti and Mancici) were taught in St. Petersburg.

In 1804 among the members of the respectively small professorial corporation of the Pedagogical Institute 12 professors and 7 instructors were not Russian.¹⁹ In 1819/1820 academic year that was the first year after the reorganization of the Pedagogical Institute into the University the professorial corporation embraced the following ethnic groups. The total number was 33 people among whom 16 were the Russians and the Ukrainians (Little Russians) (or the Orthodox) and 17 were not Russians.²⁰ So we have reasons to state that the corporation was divided into nearly equal parts.

Among foreign professors apart from the ethnic Germans we could mark 3 groups. The first group is composed of the professors of the Slavonic origin that is the above-mentioned "Carpatho-Rusyns" (the ethnic Slovaks) who were the first to be invited to the University. But as far as M.A. Balugjanskiy and P.D. Lodiy were alumni of the Vienna University, their colleagues and students could consider them "the Germans" in habits of mind, character and methods of teaching. The opinions of students about Balugjanskiy may serve a good example of it. It is necessary to note that for a long time Balugjanskiy had written official papers in French and Lodiy in German. The Serbian Terlaich invited in 1806 is close to this Slavonic-German group. It should be added that the first head of the Teachers' high school was the Serbian F.I. Jankovic Mirijevski who had been invited from Austria by Cathrine II to organize schools.

The second group of professors combines the French (A. Dugourov, F. Demange, F. Sharmua, J. Ballen de Ballu, instructors in languages de la Molinier, Perro, Tillo). Among the natives of France A.A. Degourov who moved from the Kharkov University seems to be the most outstanding figure. At first he

¹⁹ CGIA SPb. F. 13. Op. 1. D. 1: About formation of Pedagogical Institute. F. 13. D. 281: Records of service of professors (1807).

²⁰ Материалы по истории С.-Петербургского университета. Vol. 1. 1819-1835. Petrograd, 1919. Pp. 22-24, 28.

taught only French philology, but after the notorious “professorial affair” and E. Raupach’s ejection he added the Department of history to his duties. Since 1825 till the enforcing of new universities’ statute Degourov had been the Rector for three times, but he was likely to advance his interest, but not to make profits for the University.²¹ Jakov Jakovlevitch Balle de Ballu, the professor of the Greek philology, came from the Kharkov University in 1811. Jean Perro was appointed as an instructor in French in 1818.²²

The third group is the Polish professors. V.G. Kukolnik, who was born in Galicia, seems to be the first ethnic Pole. Before his arrival in Russia Kukolnik had published several works in Polish and lectured at some Polish institutions. By the way he was an Uniate, but his children, born in Russia, were christened in Orthodox church. Another Pole at the University was Osip Senkovsky, an alumnus of the University of Vilno, who was the pioneer of oriental studies at St. Petersburg. In 1830–1850-s the number of Poles was increasing due to the students who stayed at the University after graduation and started lecturing the Polish jurisprudence and legal proceedings (M. Stasulevitch, K. Spasovitch).

Professorial corporation had been developing rapidly as did also the university science and teaching. In 1818 the Tatar Jafar Topchubashov began to train students in the Arabic and the Persian. After the dismissal of Demange and Sharmua he was the only specialist in the oriental languages. Later Mirza Kazem-bek, born in Persia, was invited from the Kazan University for teaching oriental languages.

Conflicts between the representatives of different groups within the corporation were not an exceptional thing, but they seldom went beyond the professional controversies. So in 1812 P.D. Lodiy voiced his disagreement with the early appointment of professor Y.F. Zyablovskiy’s student K.I. Arsenyev as an assistant professor. The latter was assign to do lecturing and got the rank of

²¹ RGIA. F. 733. Op. 49. D. 80; Op. 20. D. 187. Op. 22. D. 60; CGIA SPb. F. 13. Op. 1. D. 1750.

²² CGIA SPb. F. 13. Op. 1. D. 1807.

Titular Councillor. To the point Arsenyev would soon be recognized as a brilliant scholar and professor. The members of the Conference (or meeting) at which that situation was examined decided that the reason of such an unpleasant accident was that Lodiy and Zyablovskiy were too emotional while settling an argument. Lodiy demanded to maintain order in appointments and lecturing. He assured that his young colleagues were trying to avoid this system. Zyablovskiy suggested that Lodiy's criticism was excessive and Lodiy accused Zyablovskiy of the lack of respect. The affair about displacement of lectures was arranged soon but hard feelings between the professors remained unchanged.²³ The Conference had made 3 attempts to overcome the conflict but the efforts failed because of the Lodiy's sensibility.

The norms of the universities' statutes including the regulations about judicial autonomy didn't spread over the Pedagogical Institute. That was the reason of addressing to the curator to settle the controversy. The curator asked the head of the Institute E.A. Engelhardt for using his authority to force Lodiy to make at least outward peace in order "not to damage the general order at the Institute". The peace-loving director was successful in achieving the façade of reconciliation. However this disagreeable story posed a question of extension of the universities' regulations fixed in the statutes of 1804 over the Institute. It's significant that the parties to the conflict did not appeal to the norms according to which other universities were ruled.

However conflicts between foreign professors and native scholars were inevitable although the government tried to minimize it by providing ideal facilities for work and life of the guests. The conflict lay not in academic, teaching, religious or language spheres (although it was difficult for many visitant professors to make themselves understood by students). The root of the conflict could be found in the mentality of European professors who were educated at the European universities and got a view of corporate traditions and rights there.

²³ CGIA SPb. F. 139. Op. 1. D. 868: About displacement between the professors Lodiy and Zyablovsky.

These views were completely different from the notions and experience of native professors fostered in the Academic school or in the Teachers' high school. The illusions of the invited professors that the regimes of newly established Russian universities and of their German prototypes were rather close rested on liberal principles of the universities' statutes. But all these illusions were dispelled because the foreigners faced everyday violation of widely declared autonomy rules.

The first serious ethnic conflict within the professorial corporation occurred in 1819 while the election of the University's Rector. During the first voting in August there was equal division of votes between E. Raupach and M.A. Balugjanskiy. The election instruction written by the curator due to the absence of the University statute prescribed to settle the situation of the equality of votes by lot. Raupach was chosen by this method. But the minister A.N. Golitsin and the Emperor was dissatisfied with the figure of the German who had started lecturing not long ago. In the beginning of new academic year the minister forced to organize the repeat elections and more desired by the authority Balugjanskiy was the winner (at that time he was engaged in the codification law).²⁴

Imbalance between the atmosphere at the University and the governmental policy on the one hand and the declaration of autonomy on the other hand disturbed the invited professors. In the years of functioning of the Pedagogical Institute during discussions on the burning questions foreign professors appealed to the experience of the Dorpat University which was considered to be a close analogue of the European universities. (There would have been no sense to refer to the regulations of the European universities themselves).

The notorious "professorial affair" of 1821 became the bitterest conflict in which different ethnic group within corporation clashed.

On our point of view the "professorial affair" revealed the conflict between

²⁴ Ibid. F.14. Op. 1. D. 73.

the university corporate traditions and the traditional Russian obedience. The motives of the “judgement” over professors and its connections with the beginning of ideological reaction period have been already examined thoroughly. The three-day trial was recorded not only by its initiator D.P. Runitch but also by the assistant professor M.G. Plisov. It is essential to underline that during the trial the administration (the curator Runitch and the head of the Institute D.A. Kavelin) played off the professors against each other, intimidated and provoked them in order to gain more discreditable materials. Besides four people who were initially blamed (they were Galitch, Raupach, Arsenyev and German, that is 2 Germans and 2 Russians) that “judgement” stopped the careers of Demange and Sharmua in Russia and worsened the positions of M.A. Balugjanskiy and Lodiya who had tried to defend at least the form of impartial inquiry. Professors’ behavior reflected in protocols revealed the conflict of mental and juridical identities.²⁵ The irony of this situation is that there were people among Russian professors (although having 3-year experience of living abroad) who were able not to be servile (D.S. Chizhov, M.S. Plisov), and some foreigners played along with the authorities and didn’t understand the norms of professional ethics (A.A. Dugourov).

The outcome of the inspired false accusations was the removal of all four defendants from the University and the expulsion of E. Raupach from Russia who was accused of “free-thinking and atheism”. It is possible to assume that if Raupach had not been accused he would have left Russia on his own free will because that row deprived him of an opportunity to communicate without confrontation with all the members of professorial community. Before 1821 there were just 2 foreign professors who had left the St. Petersburg University (Kukolnik and Terlaich) but their departure could be explained by some personal circumstances (health deterioration and more favourable offer).

²⁵ Дело о Санкт-Петербургском университете. Краткая записка об общем собрании Императорского С.-Петербургского университета 3, 4 и 7-го числа ноября сего 1821 г. М., 1866.

The students of that time P. Savelyev and A. Nikitenko recollected that in 1820-s "German fraction" of the professors of the St. Petersburg University kept themselves close and avoided any contacts with others.²⁶ These circumstances complicated the adaptation of new lecturers, made them more reserved, and impeded the academic activities and the process of succession that is the preparation of Russian staff to replace invited professors.

Until 1840-s poor teaching especially of humanitarian disciplines was the characteristic of the university education. People from different universities who wrote memoirs at that time agreed on it. The student Pecherin who had left the University and had a negative attitude towards all Russian things wrote: "Professoriate is impossible thing in Russia... Indeed our honourable Graefe being the German and member of the Academy could hardly become a minor assistant professor in Oxford".²⁷ Then the memoirist mentioned a curious piece of advice given to him by N.I. Gretsch before his leaving abroad: "Why are you going to study abroad? When you need some German studies we will deliver a fresh German from Germany".²⁸

In 1840-s owing to increase in the level of academic knowledge and teaching many alumni of the St. Petersburg University became worldwide renowned cosmopolitan scholars for whom there were no frontiers between Russian and European academic knowledge. The brightest of them was E.H. Lenz, born in Dorpat, who had studied at the Dorpat University under the supervision of F.I. Giese and G.F. Parrot. When he was a student but had not finished his education yet Lenz was sent to the expedition around the world with O.E. Kotzebue. Lenz's physical research during the voyage resulted in the defense of the doctoral thesis and soon he was invited at the Academy of Sciences. In 1834 he became the professor of the St. Petersburg University, the Dean of the

²⁶ Савельев П. О жизни и трудах О.И. Сенковского // Сенковский О.И. Collected works in 9 vol. SPb., 1858. Vol. 1. P. LIV.

²⁷ Печерин В.С. Замогильные записки // Русское общество 30-х годов XIX века. М., 1989. P. 166.

²⁸ Ibid.

section of Mathematics and Physics at the Philosophy Department, and in 1863 he was elected the Rector of the University.²⁹

University is cosmopolitan in its nature. However the tradition of forming “nations”, communities or the groups of students according to ethnic principle was established in the Middle Ages. In Russian universities the structuring of student corporation in accordance with ethnicity became possible just after the number of students had grown significantly. It happened in 1830-s–1840-s and was synchronized, on the one hand, with the rise of national romanticism as a stage of nation-building process which intensified historical, philological and ethnographic studies and contributed to establishing new specializations and on the other hand with revision of the Imperial policy in the Kingdom of Poland, Western and other provinces. This policy was rested on the training of political loyalty, more or less soft Russification of culture and language and the incorporation of ethnic elites into the body of the Imperial bureaucracy.

The studentship of the stated period was quite a changeable group particularly in its social and ethnic structure. Until 1820-s the majority of students came from the ecclesiastic schools and were state-funded. They were often born in the Great Russian or less frequently in the Little Russian provinces. There were 8 Ukrainians among the first graduates of the Pedagogical Institute and other students laughed at their language and customs. At the Institute Conference on October 7, 1805 the memo written by the inspectors I.I. Martynov and M.A. Balugianskiy was discussed. It was stated that according to students’ opinion Ukrainians had their own dialect, that’s why they should be advised to try to speak in Great Russian dialect. The inspectors begged the Conference to take all due measures to achieve that purpose. It was decided that students should be accommodated in a way that the Russians were mixed with the

²⁹ CGIA SPb. F. 139. Op. 1. D. 4627, 6040, 6214.

Ukrainians.³⁰ The Ukrainians were gradually adapting to the life in St. Petersburg largely thanks to the democratic composition of the first graduates of the Pedagogical Institute and the living of Russian and Ukrainian students together. There were not many self-funded students at that time (for example, 14 in 1819), and the Germans prevailed among them.

The Ukrainians were among students of the University also in a later period. The graduates of the Kiev Academy Pavel and Aleksandr Maksomovitches were admitted to the Pedagogical Institute in 1816 at the direction of the curator.³¹ In 1834 Djakonov-Nosik who had Cossacks origin graduated the University.³²

In 1810-s several Serbian students entered the Pedagogical Institute. It could be explained by the fact that Russia at that time tried to patronize the Serbian national movement. In 1820-s the Caucasians studied at the University although the majority of them were not the Caucasus-born mountain dwellers but the residents of South who had appropriate knowledge to enter the University. However we could name several students who were the ethnic Caucasians. Children of the noble Georgian families initially studied at schools in St. Petersburg to be able to enter the University. In June 1825 by the initiative of the minister brothers Zhafaridzevs, the natives of Imeretia, became the students with free attendance of the school in St. Petersburg. They were paid 30 rubles in paper money a year from personal finances the Emperor. The Georgian brothers came to St. Petersburg in October 1825³³, but they didn't enter the University after finishing the school. In 1820 a certain Zahar Korganov was admitted to the University and his study was also funded by the Cabinet of His Imperial Majesty. But Korganov was soon expelled because of his inability to study.

³⁰ CGIA SPb. F. 13. D. 123 (1805).

³¹ Ibid. F. 139. Op. 1. D. 1472. L. 4.

³² Воронов А.С. Историко-статистическое обозрение учебных заведений С.-Петербургского учебного округа с 1775 по 1853 гг. SPb., 1849. P. 50.

³³ CGIA SPb. F. 139. Op. 1. D. 3918. L. 1.

In 1825 Solomon Dodaev (Dodashvili) entered the Department of Philosophy and Law as a student with free attendance. He graduated the University in 1827 and returned to Georgia where he published textbooks on Georgian grammar and logic. In 1830 he was arrested as a participant of the Georgian secret society and deported to Vyatka.³⁴

Later the residents of the Southern provinces were purposefully admitted to the Oriental Studies Section of the Department of History and Philology, although as in early times not all of them were the representatives of Caucasus peoples. By the order of the Academy of Sciences the student of the Philological Section of the Philosophy Department the Georgian David Chubinov-Georgiev had been busy with the composing of Georgian-Russian-French dictionary for several years. Instead of the Latin translations of Georgian words he used their interpretations in French. In 1838 the University Council applied for publishing of this manual on oriental lexicography.³⁵ In 1840 the Georgian prince Zaharij Palavandov graduated the University.

According to the official report of the Rector in 1838 there were 132 nobles, 65 children of junior officers, 19 representatives of church estate, 40 children of merchants, 31 burgers, 9 of "various ranks" and 5 foreigners among the students of the University.³⁶ Under "foreigners" the Rector is likely to have meant the students whose fathers did not nationalize. No evidence is available to prove that there were students at the University who had come independently from Western Europe. But in 1830–1840-s among the students of the St. Petersburg University were the children of French immigrants who had come into Russian service at the turn of XVIII–XIX cent. (Petr Demaison, Pavel Oubri, Aleksandr Delacroix, Ivan Ribeapierre), of the Italians and the Greeks (Karl Rospini, Gavriil Destunis), and the offsprings of the Swedish immigrants (Lindqvist,

³⁴ Фельдман М.А. Новое о студенте Соломоне Ивановиче Додашвили // Очерки по истории Ленинградского университета. Vol. VI. Leningrad, 1990. Pp. 163-167.

³⁵ [Шульгин И.П.] Краткий отчет о состоянии Императорского СПб. университета за минувший 1837-1838 академический год. SPb., 1839. P. 23.

³⁶ Ibid. Pp. 24-25.

University for three times.

By the way the German impact on the models of students' everyday behavior is the obvious example of transmission of the German universities traditions through the immigrants from Dorpat. In 1830–1840-s in the St. Petersburg University student corporations were widespread. These were the communities of the Poles, the Germans and the Russians who tried to imitate the Germans. The German corporation called *Baltika* was headed by P. Preis who was expelled from the Dorpat University for participation in a street demonstration. The Russian corporation called *Ruthenia* was founded as opposed to the German one by the future renowned poet N.M. Yazykov who had studied in Dorpat earlier. Colours of corporations that is the colours of banners and caps were almost the only distinctive feature of these unions. As in any closed communities there was a strict hierarchy within the corporation. Students often arranged sword fightings and merry holidays "in German spirit", so called kneips and kommerses. The evidence of memoirists proves that the corporations in St. Petersburg unlike in Dorpat were not numerous; they have never united the majority of students and the corporation rules were not very strict. Contrary to the Dorpat students, the members of St. Petersburg student corporation didn't have any conflicts with the administration and the city police. At least we have no written records about it. The corporations *Baltika* and *Ruthenia* in St. Petersburg had existed just for several years, but at the beginning of XX century . there were some attempts to restore them.

In 1830-s the self-funded students born in the Kingdom of Poland and the Western provinces prevailed among the Polish students. However in course of time the Poles were admitted as boarders (since 1845 they were called scholarship holders) of the Kingdom of Poland itself. Some Polish boarders became teachers in not Polish provinces. For example Joseph Krzyżanowski was sent to the school in Ekaterinoslav where he had served for 20 years. Favourable, but not discriminating conditions were provided for the boarders of the Kingdom of Poland at both metropolitan universities.

The reasons of fast-spreading “Polonisation” of the St. Petersburg University were the following. At first the self-funded wealthy students were attracted by the perspective to start their career in the capital of the Empire. After the graduation this part of the Poles began to work in central institutions or joined the army. The second reason of the attraction of St. Petersburg and Moscow for Poles was the virtual ban on study at German universities. That prohibition was initially established in 1820-s.³⁹

In the time of Nicholas I when the Polish Vilno and Warsaw Universities were closed and a diploma of any European University was not an argument for civil service this ban was revised and now just young Poles were embraced by this regulation. Moreover the Poles under 25 years old didn't have the right to leave the Empire. However the most important reason that could explain the intention of young Poles to go to St. Petersburg and Moscow was the establishment of a big number of scholarships which were financed by the nobles of the Western province, the Warsaw educational district and the administration of the Kingdom of Poland.

According to the circular of the minister signed on November 14, 1836 the natives of the Kingdom of Poland with the permission of the governor could award the status of “pupils of the Kingdom of Poland” and became free from tuition fees. They might claim the material support out of the funds of the Warsaw educational district (no more than 250 rubles a year). In this case they were named “the boarders of the Kingdom of Poland”. After their graduation of a university they had to be civil servants for 10 but not for 6 years as the state-funded students did. From this 10 year term they should be employed in Central provinces of Russia for 5 years. By the way the graduates could hold an office of the 10th grade in the Kingdom of Poland and people who had got

³⁹ О распространении на все вообще губернии запрещения отправлять юношество для обучения в Университеты Гейдельбергский, Иенский, Гиссенский и Юрибургский // Сборник постановлений по Министерству народного просвещения. SPb., 1875. Vol. 1: 1802-1825. Column 1699-1705.

candidate degrees could be employed as the 9th grade servants.⁴⁰

These requirements were preserved by the Regulation on scholarships for the natives of the Kingdom of Poland which was published on August 11, 1846. According to the document scholarships were divided into "juridical" and "pedagogical" parts, each of them amounted 300 silver rubles a year. The former was awarded by the decision of the governor of the Kingdom of Poland. The latter came under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Education. The boarders were compensated their transport expenses for the travelling at home while vacations and for the coming to the place of service. "Juridical" scholarship holders entered the Law Section of the St. Petersburg and Moscow Universities where the Departments of Polish Jurisprudence and Jurisdiction had been established. These students were obliged to return to the Kingdom of Poland after graduation and to serve in their specialization for no less than 6 years.⁴¹ "Pedagogical" scholarship holders studied at both the Section of Cameral Sciences of the Law Department and other Departments. They were also employed in the Polish provinces, but in absence of vacancies or in some other special circumstances they could hold an office in the Central provinces. In any case the term of compulsory service remained the same.

The number of scholarships established for the St. Petersburg University was much bigger than for the Moscow University.⁴² But even before the Regulation of 1846 was published the amount of the Polish students at the St. Petersburg University was not less than one-third of the total number. This figure is much bigger than at the Moscow, the Kharkov or the Kiev Universities. There were 26 Poles among 63 graduates of the St. Petersburg University in 1842, and 33 Poles out of 113 graduates in 1847.⁴³ Correlating these figures with

⁴⁰ О распространении на все вообще губернии запрещения отправлять юношество для обучения в Университеты Гейдельбергский, Иенский, Гиссенский и Вюрцбургский // Сборник постановлений... СПб., 1875. Vol. 1. Column 1699-1705.

⁴¹ RGIA. F. 733. Op. 77. D. 74, 75: About Sholarships from Kingdom of Poland. Ll. 92-95.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Estimated according to: Воронов А.С. Историко-статистическое обозрение... Пр. 59-60;

the total number of students we should say about 100–120 Polish students who studied at the University at the same time.

Since the end 1830-s special lists of the Polish students had been drawn at universities to be presented to the Ministry of Public Education. There are no doubts that Nicholas I himself who kept under his own control all actions of disloyalty of the Polish subjects including accidents with students looked through these lists. Since 1849 the practice of Polish students enlisting was changed into the composing of the general list of students with information about their background, confession, etc.

According to statistics the number of ethnic Poles among the graduates was much bigger than the number of Polish scholarship holders. It could be explained by the large amount of students who was born in the Western province and whose study was funded at their own expense. In this connection we can say that confession but not ethnicity was recorded in the documents of the period under examination. However the complex of significant signs (such as name and surname, confession, social origin, the school the person finished before his enrollment and the place of employment after the graduation) gives us an opportunity to identify the Poles among other students. The student lists for different academic years are kept in the archival collections of the University, but they include also students with free attendance and people who had not finished their study. The complete list of the graduates for 30 years (1823–1853) are drawn by A.S. Voronov.⁴⁴

The special “Rules...” confirmed on November 27, 1847 were established for the students born in the Kingdom of Poland at the St. Petersburg University. According to the document the “juridical” scholarship holders were to take the whole course on the Polish legislation but at the same time they were excused from attending the lectures on financial legislation, public law of the European

67-69. See the lists of the boarders of the Kingdom of Poland for various years: RGIA. F. 733. Op. 77. D. 74, 75.

⁴⁴ See: Воронов А.С. Историко-статистическое обозрение... Pp. 280-283. Supplements. Pp. 45-77.

powers and foreign languages.⁴⁵

The Regulation of August 11, 1846 had been in operation until the end of the reign of Nicholas I. The exact number of awards for both "juridical" and "pedagogical" scholarships was defined annually. The number of people who wanted to hold "juridical" scholarship always exceeded the quantity of vacant positions. However by the decision of the minister a worthy applicant could be awarded "pedagogical" scholarship without obligation to have a teaching employment in the Warsaw educational district after graduation the University or during the process of studying the person could change "pedagogical" scholarship to "juridical" one. A scholarship holder avoided compulsory service if he could prove his poor health with medical documents.

Despite all the advantages the study of the Poles at the St. Petersburg University was complicated by the unnecessarily suspicious attitude towards them of the University administrators and inspectors. In addition to the Regulation about scholarships the minister S.S. Uvarov suggested that 1000 rubles were given from the scholarship money annually to "elaborate the methods of supervision over the Polish students in universities of the Empire".⁴⁶ Inspectors tried to find political motives in all the offences of the Poles, and in this case the punishment could be the expulsion of a student. So the students Krupskij, Polubinski and Walicki who had gone to Minsk province for vacation time were arrested there because of the denunciation that they had said something offensive about the government. The investigation showed up that the students hadn't had any political motives and the denunciation couldn't be proved by any facts. However the young men were punished for keeping the forbidden books. Nicholas I who always examined such accidents scrupulously was pleased to "allow the students to pass an exam after their arrest, so that that case wouldn't impede their promotion to the next classes or the obtaining some

⁴⁵ Сборник распоряжений по Министерству народного просвещения. СПб., 1866. Vol. 2. Column 590.

⁴⁶ RGIA. F. 733. Op. 77. D. 74. L. 105.

benefits after the graduation".⁴⁷

At a certain moment an increase in numbers of the Poles at the metropolitan University led to forming the organization of the Polish students in a mode that was permitted by the University administration. It happened in the second part of 1830-s, at the time when the German and the Russian student corporations had been forming. In 1838 the Poles created the first student library at the University, soon they began to issue a handwritten journal "Pamiętnik" and the almanacs "Forget-me-not", "Pamiętnik północny".⁴⁸ The Polish community (which was called *Ogół* – *society*) was not closed, vice versa its representatives often visited literary and musical soirees arranged by the Rector P.A. Pletnev and the student inspector Fitzthum von Eckstedt.

The contemporaries wrote in their memoirs that by the end of 1850-s the Polish community differed from the corporation although it was named so. It was headed by the delegate committee and the proposals of that committee were confirmed at the general meetings. L.F. Panteleev who studied at that time recollected that "the Polish students kept themselves apart from the Russians and didn't try to establish some close relations with them". This society was headed by the "koroniarze", that is to say the natives of the Kingdom of Poland. The community at that time had "an excellent library and the special Polish money-box".⁴⁹

The "ritual" side of corporate life of the Polish *Ogół* was hidden. At the same time the mutual help in everyday life was at the forefront like in the later students communities of 1860–1870-s. The compact settlement of the Poles contributed to it: the Polish boarders lived at the University building, and the self-funded Polish students preferred to live in groups at the Vasiljevskaja and

⁴⁷ CGIA SPb. F. 139. Op. 1. D. 5146. L. 1 (verso).

⁴⁸ Слотвинский Витольд. Польские студенты в Петербургском университете в 30-40-х гг. XIX в. // Петербургский университет и революционное движение в России. Leningrad, 1979. Pp. 117-124.

⁴⁹ Пантелеев Л.Ф. Польская студенческая корпорация // Ленинградский университет в воспоминаниях современников. Vol. 1. Leningrad, 1963. Pp. 68-71

the Admiralty parts. The lists of the self-funded students' places of living which are kept in the archive prove this statement.⁵⁰

The new growth in numbers of the Poles at the St. Petersburg University could be fixed in the first years of the reign of Alexander II when after removal of all enrollment restrictions the total number of students had been increasing in 150–200 people a year. It's a well known fact that in October 1861 and almost till August 1863 the St. Petersburg University was closed because of the unrest among students. The Poles were active participants of the unrest, some of them were sent away from St. Petersburg and many of the Polish students left the University on their own decision.

In circumstances of the second Polish uprising the question about the number of students at the University became sharp again. In May 1864 the minister inquired "how many students of the Polish origin or of catholic religion studied at the St. Petersburg University each year from 1853 through 1863". On June 2, 1864 the Rector of the University A.A. Voskresenskiy responded through the curator that it was impossible to find information about the number of the Poles because of absence of the accurate sources. However the University provided reference information from the Office of the University Council about the quantity of students of Roman-Catholic religion for the stated period. The data were the following: 81 Poles in 1853 (the total number of students was less than 400), 72 in 1854, 75 in 1855, 106 in 1856, 227 in 1857, 269 in 1858, 301 in 1859, 425 in 1860. After the closing of the University the number of the Catholics registered by the inspection dramatically fell: 126 in 1862, 151 in 1863 (among 2057 students studied in 1863).⁵¹

Thus from 1853 till 1860 we can fix 5-fold growth of the Polish students whereas the total number of students for the same period increased thrice. In 1861 the University was closed that's why for that year the inspection registered only the students who stayed in St. Petersburg. In 1862 and especially after the

⁵⁰ CGIA SPb. F. 139. Op. 1. D. 5132: Lists of Students and his Addresses (1848).

⁵¹ CGIA SPb. F. 14. Op. 2. D. 830. Ll. 1-2.

beginning of the Polish uprising the Polish students started leaving St. Petersburg and this fact naturally caused anxiety of the government.⁵²

Summing up the results of our research we may conclude that contrast to the Kazan and the Moscow Universities in 1800–1820-s or to the Academic University in the mid-XVIII century at the St. Petersburg University we didn't find any signs of separation of the German professors within the professorial corporation. Almost all invited foreign professors adopted the system of relations within the University smoothly and quickly. In 1820–1830-s professors from German universities stopped coming to St. Petersburg, but professors from the Dorpat University continued going there.

It is possible to say about more mixed composition of the professorial corporation at the St. Petersburg University than at other universities. The ethnic Germans were the predominant but not monolithic group among the foreign professors. The German professors included the representatives of different groups that is the Ost-see Germans graduated the Dorpat University or moved from Dorpat to St. Petersburg in their students years, the Carpatho-Rusyns invited from the Austrian Empire and the offsprings of the St Petersburg Germans who finished schools in the Russian capital. Concerning the St. Petersburg University unlike provincial universities the terms "German" and "foreigner" which defined the origin of the professors were not synonyms. Until 1820-s the teaching process had been deeply influenced by the invited professors.

There were just few conflicts between different groups of professors, we could name the controversy about "professional courtesy" between P.D. Lodiy and Y.F. Zyablovskiy (1811), the Rector's election in 1819, "professorial affair" (1821). According to the reports of the Conference and the University Council there were not any other conflicts.

Even being engaged in the system of imperial administrative institutions

⁵² CGIA SPb. F. 14. Op. 2. D. 773 (1863).

the invited professors didn't achieve high social positions. Although P.D. Lodiy, M.A. Balugjanskiy and V.G. Kukolnik got the rank of Civil Councilor (VII grade) in 1803, but they achieved the rank of Collegiate Assessor (VIII grade) which gave the right to hereditary nobility just after 10 years of service in Russia. All in all marginal position of foreign professors hindered them to become the part of the St. Petersburg society. The process of social adaptation of the invited professors at the provincial universities, for example the Kazan one, was much more intense.⁵³

The composition of the St. Petersburg studentship of the first part of the XIX century was also original and different from the one of other universities. The large Polish community had existed at the St. Petersburg University for about 30 years – till 1861. That was the result of establishing new principles of Polish politics in the reign of Nicholas I. They were the following: the Russification of the Western province, political subjection of the Kingdom of Poland to the Russian Empire while preserving its cultural independence. A big number of Polish students was a distinctive feature of the St. Petersburg University only in Pre-Reform period. According to the legislation of the next decades the position of the Poles at universities of the Empire was made equal to the position of other ethnic groups, and in mid-1860-s the national Polish University in Warsaw was opened again after long pause.

These directions were reflected in the university politics. Since 1820-s the rate of the Baltic and the Petersburg Germans among the students had been growing but it hadn't exceeded 25 % of all students. This figure correlates with the size of the large German community in military-bureaucratic St. Petersburg.

The network of universities and military educational institutions which provided civil servants and military elite for the imperial institutions became the instrument of forming the new identity of the young Poles, Ukrainians and Caucasians. This new identity shouldn't be opposed to the dominant idea of

⁵³ See: Костина Т.В. Мир университетского профессора Казани. 1804-1863. [Dissertation] Kazan, 2007.

“Russian” “official nationality” on which the state ideology was based.⁵⁴ This statement is fair in regard to all ethnic groups including the Poles who could in a generation lose or distort their ethnic identity as a result of cultural extraterritoriality and confessional restrictions. The study at Russian universities and the compulsory service at imperial institutions after the graduation could be estimated as the first stage of training the loyalty among the “rebellious” young Poles.

It's necessary to underline one more essential point. At that time we didn't find the direct impact of Russification (or to be more precise unification) policy of the imperial government on dealing with Russian universities. The universities had too many academic goals to be achieved. In this case discriminatory measures against “Polishness” as a symbol of “rebellion” didn't impede the study and teaching of the Polish legislation, history and language equally with other Slavonic languages at Russian universities. So the goal of the governmental policy was not only to control but also to direct intellectual activities, ideological and professional education of ethnic elites.

⁵⁴ See About the official interpretation of “official” nationality, the roots of this ideological project and its evolution: Зорин А.Л. «Кормя двуглавого орла...» Литература и государственная идеология в России в последней трети XVIII – первой трети XIX в. М., 2001. Pp. 337-374; Zhukovskaya T. Count Sergei Uvarov and the Cyril and Methodius Society: the crisis of ‘official nationality’ // *Defining Self. Essays on emergent identities in Russia Seventeenth to Nineteenth centuries*. Compl. and edited by M. Branch. Helsinki, 2009. Pp. 271-284; Miller A. “Official Nationality”? A reassessment of Count Sergey Uvarov's triad in the context of the politics of nationalism, 1820-1850 // *Ibid*. Pp. 227-230.