CHAPTER 1

THE FOUNDING OF MOSCOW UNIVERSITY

The introduction of formal higher education occurred much later in Russia than in Western Europe. Only in 1631, did Peter Mogila, the Metropolitan of Kiev, found a school in Kiev to combat Jesuit influence in the then Polish Ukraine.[1]

Peter the Great

[1]Johnson, Russia's Educational Heritage, 21-22; Vladimir G. Simkhovitch, "The History of the School in Russia," Educational Review, 33 (May 1907): 493. All dates are according to the Old Style calendar, i.e., twelve days behind the West in the Nineteenth Century.

It was Peter the Great who set up the first system of secular schools in the country to provide trained men to carry out his military and administrative reforms. In 1710 Peter discussed the idea of establishing a university with Gottfried Leibnitz, the German philosopher, and a decade later, he pursued the matter further with Christian Wolff, the pietist philosopher and professor at the University of Halle. After deciding to create an academy of sciences, the tsar assigned the task of finding qualified scholars to Wolff and the writing of the statute to Lavrentii Blumentrost, the tsar's court physician, who became the first President of the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences in 1724. Peter intended the Academy to combine both pedagogical and research functions, but after it opened in 1726, problems arose, and it never fully developed its teaching role.[2]

Peter encountered one problem that would continue to plague higher education: the nobility refused to go to school. He once commented that "our people [are] like children who will never begin to study the alphabet for simple love of knowledge without being forced to by a master." At first, the tsar urged nobles to go abroad to study, but when results proved disappointing, he ordered

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[2]Boris Menshutkin, Russia's Lomonosov (Princeton, 1952), 20-22; Ikonnikov, "Russkie universitety," 176. On Peter's educational efforts, see, Hans, History of Russian Educational Policy, 10-16; Johnson, Russia's Educational Heritage, 27-36; and Alston, Education and the State, 4-7.

them to receive instruction in mathematics and report to him for examination on reaching the age of sixteen.[3]

More importantly, Peter changed Russian culture forever by opening up the country to the West, and in the process he set some important precedents.[4] The tsar created an educational system that subordinated education to state needs and that emphasized practical, technical schools. Peter also secularized education. When in 1721 the church became a department of the state (the Holy Synod), the tsar ensured that education too was under secular control. By means of the Table of Ranks, a system of fourteen hierarchical military and administrative ranks, he also tried to make ability rather than birth the criteria for successful advancement in his administration. Finally, for a model and for instructors, Peter looked to the West.

The Founding of Moscow University

After Peter's death, formal education in Russia languished until 1755 when his granddaughter Elizabeth granted Mikhail Lomonosov and Ivan Shuvalov permission to establish a university in Moscow.

Lomonosov was probably Russia's greatest eighteenth-century scholar.[5] He had studied at the Academy of Sciences

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[3]Marc Raeff, "L'État, le gouvernement et la tradition politique en Russie imperiale avant 1861," Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine, 9 (October-December 1962): 297.

[4]Riasanovsky, Parting of the Ways, 22.

[5]Mikhail Lomonosov, 1711-1765, was a true Renaissance man.

and at the universities of Marburg and Freiburg, and he had become convinced of the need for a "Russian" university when the Academy failed to develop into a center of enlightenment. Lomonosov was especially critical of the Academy's statute as granting excessive power to the chancellery beyond the control of the academicians.[6]

Shuvalov was an enlightened man who had become the empress's favorite in 1749. When the court moved to Moscow in 1752, Lomonosov travelled there to persuade Shuvalov to help establish a university in Moscow. The two then exchanged draft proposals.[7]

Lomonosov insisted on complete autonomy for the proposed university, with professors in full control. He also believed that the institution should include a gymnasium, or preparatory school, to get qualified students ready for admission: "A university without a gymnasium is like a ploughed field without seeds." For the university, he proposed three fakul'tety (departments) with a total of twelve professors: six in a philosophical department

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He was a first-rate physicist, chemist, geographer, poet, historian, linguist and dabbled in metallurgy and electricity.

[6]Menshutkin, Lomonosov, 11-12, 15-22; Mikhail Beliavskii, "M. V. Lomonosov i Moskovskii universitet," Istoricheskie zapiski, 47 (1954): 96-97.

[7]E. V. Anisimov, "I. I. Shuvalov," Voprosy istorii, no. 7 (July 1985): 94, 96, 97, 101. Ivan I. Shuvalov, 1727-1797, was born to petty gentry in Moscow. He owned a fine library and corresponded with Voltaire. In 1757 he founded the Academy of Fine Arts.

(philosophy, physics, eloquence, poetry, history, and antiquities), three in a medical department (chemistry, natural history, and anatomy), and three in law (general jurisprudence, Russian jurisprudence, and politics). Shuvalov, however, agreed to only ten, combining philosophy with physics and eloquence with poetry.[8]

Shuvalov submitted a report to the Senate, and on 12 January 1755, Elizabeth signed the decree setting up Moscow University and naming Shuvalov and Blumentrost as the first curators. Aleksei Argamakov, the son of one of Peter the Great's aides who had studied abroad, became the first director of the school, which formally opened on 26 April.[9]

Elizabeth established the University for many reasons. First, the Academy had failed to produce a sizeable number of Russian scholars. Even though Lomonosov became director of the Academy's gymnasium in 1758, matters did not improve. There were only sixteen students in 1758, eighteen in 1760, and nine in 1765. Second, the government needed more trained people for the bureaucracy, and third, the school fit with the growing interest of society in foreign

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[8]"Proekt ob osnovanii universiteta" and "Pis'mo M. V. Lomonosova I. I. Shuvalovu ob uchrezhdenii Moskovskogo universiteta," in N. A. Penchko, Osnovanie Moskovskogo universiteta (Moscow, 1953), 25-32, 145-60, 166-70.

[9]Ivan E. Zabelin, Moskva v eia proshlom i nastoiashchem, 12 vols. (Moscow, 1910-12), 3: 76; Tikhomirov, Istoriia, 21. 12 January was the name day of Shuvalov's mother Tat'iana. Since then, Tat'iana has become the patron saint of Russian students, and her name-day is marked by festivities.

cultures. Finally, the regime believed that a Russian university would counter the increasing number of private schools run by foreigners.[10] The government was concerned about the growing influence of foreign teachers on Russian youth, and a task of both Moscow University and the Academy was to test foreigners who wanted to be domestic tutors or open their own schools.[11]

The government approved Moscow as the site for the school primarily because it would not compete with the Academy in St. Petersburg. Moscow was a large city of historical importance, located in the center of the country and possessing a mixed noble and raznochintsy (educated Russians not of noble birth) population with sizeable monetary resources. A large number of domestic tutors and students already resided in the city.[12] Further Shuvalov believed that a school in Moscow would help disseminate scientific information to nobles living on their nearby patrimonial estates, and finally, the city had a lower cost-of-living than St. Petersburg.[13]

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[10]S. V. Bakhrushin, "Moskovskii universitet v XVIII veke," Uchenye zapiski, no. 50 (1940): 8; Leary, Education and Autocracy, 36; and Shevyrev, Istoriia, 54.

[11]Shevyrev, Istoriia, 37; Great Britain, Board of Education, Special Reports on Education, vol. 23, Education in Russia, by Thomas Darlington (London, 1909), 18.

[12]Shevyrev, Istoriia, 11; Anisimov, "Shuvalov," 99, 100; and N. M. Sidorov, Moskovskomu universitetu--225 let (Moscow, 1979), 28.

[13]Beliavskii, "Lomonosov i Moskovskii universitet," 97; P.

The new University did enjoy a semblance of autonomy and a limited corporate existence, for Shuvalov succeeded in protecting it from local and church interference by subordinating it to the Senate. This autonomy gave professors and students the privilege of not having to appear in courts without the University's permission. The school's director decided all legal cases involving University personnel on the recommendation of the professors.[14]

A professorial conference, the director, and the two curators shared responsibility for supervision of academic matters. The conference comprised all professors, was presided over by the director, and met every Saturday morning. The director was a state-appointed official who managed the day-to-day affairs and revenues of the University, while the curators acted as mediators between the government and University. Actually, because of Shuvalov's personal influence with Elizabeth, he held the decisive voice in all matters.[15]

The formal structure of the University was straight-

Ferliuden, Istoricheskii ocherk mer po vysshemu obrazovaniiu v Rossii, vol. 1, Akademiia nauk i universitety (Saratov, 1894), 40.

[14]Penchko, Osnovanie, 60-61; Anisimov, "Shuvalov," 100; and William L. Mathes, "University Courts in Imperial Russia," Slavonic and East European Review, 52 (July 1974): 366.

[15]Rozhdestvenskii, Istoricheskii obzor, 10; Kizevetter, "Moskovskii universitet," 14-16; and Steinger, "Government Policy," 9.

forward. The school consisted of three departments and ten kafedra (chairs) with each professor holding his own chair. The Philosophical Department contained the chairs of Philosophy (logic, metaphysics, and moral), Physics (experimental and theoretical), Rhetoric (eloquence and poetry), and History (universal, Russian, antiquities, and heraldry). The Law Department had General Jurisprudence (natural, common, and Roman law), Russian Jurisprudence, and Politics. Medicine also consisted of three chairs: Chemistry (physical and pharmaceutical), Natural History, and Anatomy. All students spent their first three years in the Philosophical Department. Afterwards, they could either remain there or transfer to Law or Medicine for a total of seven years.[16]

In an effort to avoid the mistakes of the Academy of Sciences, where lectures had failed, the government strictly defined teaching duties. Professors had to deliver a two-hour lecture--open to the public--each day, except for weekends. On Saturdays, faculty meetings and student disputations took place. Professors could also give private lessons as long as the lessons did not interfere with the public lectures. In spite of the school's autonomy, professors could not lecture on what they pleased

[16]"Proekt ob osnovanii universiteta," 151-60; "Instruktsiia, prislannaia ot I. I. Shuvalova direktoru Argamakovu posle otkrytiia universiteta," in Penchko, Osnovanie, 166-70; Tikhomirov, Istoriia, 31-32; and Shevyrev, Istoriia, 13. See Appendix 1.

since lecture plans and textbooks had to be approved by the conference and the curators.[17]

All social classes except serfs could attend the University after passing an entrance examination. To ensure a continuous supply of qualified students, the University established a preparatory school or gymnasium, under the supervision of an inspector elected by the conference, containing noble and raznochintsy sections. Each section in turn had four schools: Russian, Latin, introductory sciences, and European languages. To attract students, the state provided stipends.[18]

In its first years, the University was mainly concerned with organizational concerns, rather than with the quality of education. From the outset, the school faced problems with regard to money, buildings, equipment, students, professors, and languages.

Funds for the school were tight. After a series of proposals, Elizabeth finally approved a budget of fifteen thousand rubles for all operations. A professor received a salary of five hundred rubles a year while a gymnasium teacher collected anywhere from fifty to three hundred

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[17]Shevyrev, Istoriia, 13; Kizevetter, "Moskovskii universitet," 14-15; and W. Gareth Jones, Nikolay Novikov (New York, 1984), 8-9.

[18]"Proekt ob osnovanii," 155-57; Shevyrev, Istoriia, 14-15, 42-44, 53-54; and "M. V. Lomonosov i osnovanie Moskovskogo universiteta (pervye studenty)," Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta: seriia obshchestvennykh nauk, no. 9 (1951): 181.

rubles. The budget also provided thirty stipends for students in the University and thirty stipends for gymnasium students. This gave a total of 13,320 rubles for salaries, leaving only 1,680 rubles for building maintenance and facilities.[19] In 1757 a report by the director, Ivan Melissino, pointed out that this sum was "entirely inadequate for the maintenance of the University not only...to pay the salaries of the teachers and pupils..., but also [to provide] many other necessities."[20]

Obtaining a suitable building posed a special difficulty. In August 1754 the Senate ordered the school to use the former Dom glavnoi apteki (Main Apothecary Building) near the Kremlin on the corner of Mokhovaia and Nikitskaia Streets where the present Historical Museum stands. It was a three-story building that had badly deteriorated because over two million rubles in bronze money (a weight of about 3.6 million pounds) had been stored there. The architect Dmitrii Ukhtomskii began a major renovation and pushed forward the work in an effort to finish before the onset of winter, but all the floors and walls, both inside and out,

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[19]"Shtat Moskovskogo universiteta i gimnazii," in Penchko, Osnovanie, 165.

[20]N. A. Penchko, ed., Dokumenty i materialy po istorii Moskovskogo universiteta vtoroi poloviny XVIII veka, 3 vols. (Moscow, 1960-63), 1: 69. Ivan I. Melissino, 1718-1795, was the son of a Greek physician from Venice who came to work for Peter the Great. Melissino was director of the University, 1757-1763, Ober-Procurator of the Holy Synod, 1763-1771, and curator of the University, 1771-1778.

had to be rebuilt. Finally, the Senate ordered Ukhtomskii to refrain from any further work so that the school could open, even though problems still remained.[21] Because of the lack of space in the building, the University requested, and the Senate approved in late 1755, the purchase of a three-story stone house owned by Prince Petr Repnin on the opposite corner of the street.[22]

Possessing a building was only the first step for the new University; it also had to find equipment. For a physics laboratory, the school turned to the Academy of Sciences and Professor Peter van Musschenbroek of Leyden University who made the necessary purchases in Europe. Materials for a mineralogical laboratory came in the form of a donation from the heirs of Akinfii Demidov, a wealthy industrialist who had bought a collection in Freiburg of approximately six thousand pieces. Finally, in late 1758 Professor Johann Kerstens supervised the construction of a small, stone building for the chemistry laboratory.[23]

The University had basically four sources for students:

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[21]Penchko, Osnovanie, 91-92, 87; "Lomonosov i osnovanie," 178; Mikhail Beliavskii and Viktor Sorokin, Nash pervyi, nash moskovskii, nash rossiiskii (Moscow, 1970), 9; and Mikhail Beliavskii, M. V. Lomonosov i osnovanie Moskovskogo universiteta (Moscow, 1955), 148.

[22]Shevyrev, Istoriia, 22, 27-28; Beliavskii and Sorokin, Nash pervyi, nash moskovskii, 9; and I. A. Fedosov, Letopis' Moskovskogo universiteta, 1755-1979 (Moscow, 1979), 19.

[23]Penchko, Osnovanie, 109-11, 116-17, 118-19; "Letopis' mineral'nogo kabineta," Uchenye zapiski, no. 54 (1940): 76.

its own gymnasium, the Holy Synod, the general population, and the nobility. Lomonosov had viewed the gymnasium as the main solution for producing qualified students for the University, and to augment its numbers, the University opened another gymnasium in Kazan in 1758.[24] The two gymnasia were, however, only a long-term solution to the problem, as the first nineteen graduates did not enter the University until April 1759. Of those, three became professors, three received their magister (master's) degrees, and seven became instructors. The following year twenty more transferred to the University.[25]

For the school's first students, it turned to the Holy Synod and the Slavonic-Greek-Latin Academy in Moscow, which had long provided students, including Lomonosov, for the Academy of Science. In April 1755 the Holy Synod heard the personal reports of Shuvalov and Argamakov and agreed to transfer students to the University. At the end of May, the first six students arrived, and another thirty trickled in over the summer.[26]

Though Shuvalov, in his "Instructions to the Director," had affirmed that the school was open to all social classes,

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[24]Tikhomirov, Istoriia, 66-67; Ferliuden, Istoricheskii ocherk, 49.

[25]"Lomonosov i osnovanie," 184; Beliavskii, Lomonosov i osnovanie, 121; and Penchko, Osnovanie, 132.

[26]"Lomonosov i osnovanie," 181, 182-83; Beliavskii, "Lomonosov i Moskovskii universitet," 103.

serfs could be admitted only if they had been freed by their owners and released from their tax obligations. Serf owners, though, often sent their serfs to the University "privately," and then recalled them before graduation since a diploma would give them noble privileges.[27]

The Russian government made many efforts to lure the nobility to the University. A decree in May 1756 allowed the gentry to count time spent at the school towards their service requirements. On admission, all students received the right to wear a uniform and carry a sword, the symbols of state service, which for a young man was an exciting prospect.[28] Even at the beginning of the nineteenth-century, E. F. Timkovskii spoke enthusiastically about the entrance ceremony. "With what joyous trembling [a student] takes from the hand of his scholarly superior a small sword. He is already an officer, an important man...in Russia." On graduation, nobles could proceed into service at the higher rank of ober-ofitser (upper-officer) than those who had not gone to school.[29]

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[27]"Instruktsiia," 166-70; Penchko, Osnovanie, 74-75.

[28]Zabelin, Moskva v eia proshlom, 3: 80; Marc Raeff, Origins of the Russian Intelligentsia: The Eighteenth Century Nobility (New York, 1966), 135.

[29]E. F. Timkovskii, "Moskovskii universitet v 1805-1810," in Isaev, Moskovskii universitet v vospominaniiakh sovremennikov, 60; Kizevetter, "Moskovskii universitet," 16; and Penchko, Osnovanie, 131. According to the Table of Ranks, ober-ofitser ranks included those up to the rank of captain. In military service, the first ober-ofitser rank bestowed hereditary nobility.

Still, rarely did the very wealthy enroll, and though nobles entered the gymnasium by the hundreds, few stayed the full course or entered the University. This led to a sharp difference in social composition between the two institutions. In the gymnasium, the overwhelming majority of the students was noble, while in the University, it was mainly raznochintsy.[30] The conference felt that the problem was that "the majority of students from the gentry enjoy[ed] the right to leave any time and enroll[ed] at the University for only that period of time needed to enter service." Usually, they stayed a year or two, studied the modern languages, drawing, and fencing, and then entered a regiment or state office without graduating from the University. The professors repeatedly issued certificates to students leaving school, such as the following: "Stepan Doronin, listed [as a student] for two years, had showed some success in German and arithmetic and left."[31]

Russians simply did not respond with enthusiasm to academic studies. In 1758 the professors examined fifty state-supported students, expelled six for laziness and nonattendance, and gave eight others a four-month

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[30]"Lomonosov i osnovanie," 184; Beliavskii, Lomonosov i osnovanie, 121; and Penchko, Osnovanie, 132.

[31]Penchko, Dokumenty, 1: 148; Beliavskii, Lomonosov i osnovanie, 170; "Lomonosov i osnovanie," 185; Shevyrev, Istoriia, 14-15, 42-44, 53-54; and Russia, Kommissiia po ustroistve Vserossiiskoi promyshlenno-khudozhestvennoi vystavki v Moskve, 1882 g., Istoriko-statisticheskii ocherk obshchago i spetsial'nago obrazovaniia (St. Petersburg, 1883), 36.

probationary period to do better. Many students just did not go to their classes, and the conference cited numerous cases such as: "Peter Stein, listed [as a student] for two years, studied nothing because he was absent. He was dismissed." Among those expelled in 1760 for lack of attendance were Nikolai Novikov, later a prominent Freemason, and Grigorii Potemkin, later Catherine the Great's most famous favorite. The University director even petitioned the curators not to grant leaves to the students, because the two school vacations, family holidays, church festivals, and weekends left only about one hundred school days in the academic year, and some students attended classes for only thirty to forty days.[32]

Many students had financial problems, and the professors often noted that the "students and pupils on state stipends, for whom the salary is just barely sufficient to cover food, ask your highness to order us [the professors] to provide them with clothes." In 1757 Shuvalov felt compelled to issue funds for the students to purchase boots, coats, and food. Later, Mikhail Kheraskov, the director, reported that "for a lack of boots, nine noble pupils and six raznochintsy were not in class."[33]

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[32]Penchko, Dokumenty, 1: 119, 147, 175, 368, 236; Shevyrev, Istoriia, 60-61; Ferliuden, Istoricheskii ocherk, 42; and Jones, Novikov, 7-8.

[33]Penchko, Dokumenty, 1: 95, 40; Beliavskii, Lomonosov i osnovanie, 171-72. Mikhail M. Kheraskov, 1733-1807, was a Freemason, writer, and poet. He was director of the University

While finding qualified and conscientious students was difficult, supplying the school with ten professors turned out to be anything but easy. The University had several options. A student could finish the University with a master's degree, begin teaching in the gymnasium, and work his way up to the University, like Professor Khariton Chebotarev, who taught history. Another method was for students to study abroad, as Lomonosov had done. In 1758 nine of the first gymnasium students, on Shuvalov's order, were sent abroad: Danil Iastrebov, Ivan Svishchov, Petr Veniaminov, and Semen Zybelin went to Königsberg and Leyden to study medicine and the natural sciences; Matvei Afonin and Petr Karamyshev travelled to Upsala for metallurgy, botany, and chemistry; and Semen Desnitskii and Ivan Tret'iakov journeyed to Glasgow to study law.[34]

For the opening of the school, Shuvalov looked to the Academy of Sciences for instructors. Nikolai Popovskii and Anton Barsov, both students of Lomonosov, received their master's degrees from the Academy in 1753. Popovskii, who

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press, 1755-1763, director of the University, 1763-1770, director of the Mining College, 1770-78, and curator of the University, 1778-1802.

[34]Penchko, Osnovanie, 37; Beliavskii, "Lomonosov i Moskovskii universitet," 108-09. Svishchov returned in 1760 because of bad conduct. Iastrebov returned in 1762 and became an instructor in the Cadet Corps, and Karamyshev worked in the Mining College on his return. The rest became professors at Moscow University: Veniaminov taught botany from 1766 to 1775; Zybelin taught theoretical medicine from 1765-1802; Afonin taught natural history from 1769 to 1777; Desnitskii taught Russian law from 1768 to 1787; and Tret'iakov taught Roman law from 1768 to 1776.

translated Alexander Pope's Essay on Man, came to the University and held the chair of Rhetoric. He initiated lectures at the University in the summer of 1755, and when he died five years later, Barsov, who had been teaching mathematics, began to teach rhetoric.[35]

For the rest of the initial contingent of professors, Shuvalov turned to Europe and located Johann Fromann, Johann Shaden, and Philipp Dilthey. Fromann came from the University of Tübingen and taught logic until his return to Germany in 1765. Shaden, also from Tübingen, was the rector of the gymnasium and taught a variety of philosophical subjects. Dilthey was the only law professor.[36]

A second contingent of six professors arrived in 1757. Christian Kellner, from the University of Leipzig, taught universal history until his death in 1760, and Johann Reichel, from Leipzig, taught German before taking Kellner's position. Johann Rost, from the University of Göttingen and fluent in five languages, taught English before he began to teach mathematics, mechanics, and optics. The first medical professor, Johann Kerstens, studied at the universities of Halle and Leipzig and arrived in 1758 as a specialist in chemistry and mineralogy.[37]

Teaching was uneven in quality. The gymnasium

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[35]Kizevetter, "Moskovskii universitet," 22-30.

[36]Ibid., 22-30.

[37]Ibid., 30-32.

inspector claimed that many teachers set a bad example for their students by being late for class. Others loved to drink. Denis Fonvizin, the famous playwright, recalled that:

> In my stay at the university, our studies were very haphazard. One reason was our childish laziness, but the other was the worthlessness and drunkenness of our teachers. Our arithmetic teacher drank himself to death. Our Latin teacher was an example of depravity, drunkenness, and all the base vices, but he did have a sharp mind and knew both Latin and Russian.[38]

A number of scandals at the University centered on Philipp Dilthey. A native of the Tyrol, he had studied at Innsbruck and Strasburg Universities before receiving his Doctor of Law from the University of Vienna in 1753.[39] He arrived in Moscow in 1756 as a professor of law and began teaching that November. He also gave private lessons in French on Natural Law, and his private teaching soon evoked bitter reproaches from his colleagues who felt that he spent too much time on his private lessons in order to make money--he charged twelve rubles per year for each subject. After only four years, he had accumulated enough money to buy a

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[38]Penchko, Dokumenty, 1: 236; D. I. Fonvizin, "Chistoserdechnoe proznanie v delakh moikh i pomyshleniiakh," in Isaev, Moskovskii universitet v vospominaniiakh, 50.

[39]Moscow, Universitet, Biograficheskii slovar' professorov i prepodavatelei Imperatorskago Moskovskago universiteta, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1855), 1: 301-11.

sizeable house for fifteen hundred rubles.[40]

In the fall of 1761, the conference dealt with a dispute between Dilthey, the gymnasium inspector at the time, and Boyer de Roquet, a French teacher. Roquet complained about Dilthey's "inaccurate" reports on his teaching ability and added that Dilthey, "while drunk," had assaulted him in a tavern. The conference listened to the complaint and allowed Dilthey a response in "which he, instead of refuting the accusations against him, spoke in gross and insulting terms against the accuser and accused the conference of partiality." Eventually, the University removed Dilthey from his position as inspector.[41]

For ten years Dilthey remained the only law professor at the University. At first he took an active interest in learning Russian, lecturing, supervising the gymnasium, and working in the University. He could teach Natural, Roman, Feudal, Criminal, and State law in any of four languages, but his specialty remained Natural Law. Dilthey also recognized the major hurdle preventing a thorough study of Russian law--the lack of a codified collection; and in 1764 he proposed his own plan of teaching Russian jurisprudence.[42]

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[40]Shevyrev, Istoriia, 62-64, 131-33; Kizevetter, "Moskovskii universitet," 28-29; and Penchko, Osnovanie, 108.

[41]Penchko, Dokumenty, 1: 226-31.

[42]"Pro studio juridico instituendo," in Penchko, Dokumenty, 1: 283-85.

Over the course of time, Dilthey's private teaching and other activities distracted him from his lectures. According to Professor Reichel, Dilthey showed up to lecture only five times in a sixteen-month span. His poor Russian pronunciation also did not help matters, and in 1765 the other professors protested to the director that "nothing good ha[d] come of Dilthey." The empress Catherine agreed and relieved him of his duties. Dilthey, however, appealed to the Senate with a counterclaim against the University for nonpayment of his salary and denial of his seniority. A long correspondence ensued until the empress ordered him to resume teaching in 1766.[43]

During his second tenure as professor, Dilthey taught universal, military, and naval law until his death in 1781. Most of his publications date from his second teaching career, and most aimed to fit Russian law into the existing understanding of Roman law. Ten of his celebratory orations were published, for example, in 1780 "O pol'ze znaniia sudebnykh deloproizvodstv" (The Advantage of a Knowledge of Judicial Record Keeping). He published a number of major books including, Pervyia osnovaniia universal'noi istorii (Origins of Universal History, 1762-68, 3 vols.) and Nachal'nyia osnovaniia Veksel'nago prava, s osoblivo rossiiskago kupno s Shvedskim (Basics of Promissory Law,

[43]Penchko, Dokumenty, 2: 35-36.

Especially of Russian with Sweden, 1768-72 with reprints in 1787, 1794 and 1801).

In addition to problems with students and professors, the University faced a divisive language issue. The language of instruction was a problem because the foreign professors could not speak Russian very well. As a result, French, German, and Latin were used for lectures, and students who knew these languages translated for the others. The foreign professors scoffed at the idea that Russian could ever replace Latin as a language of instruction, and when Popovskii began to read some philosophy lectures in Russian, he was reprimanded and his course given to Fromann.[44] Only in 1767 did Catherine approve Desnitskii's request that law be taught in Russian.[45]

With these problems to be overcome, the University only slowly began to operate smoothly. At first, the gymnasium opened in barely adequate material conditions. Only a year and a half later did the professorial conference begin to meet and take an active role in discussing the needs of the school. The University hit a peak of about one hundred students in 1758, but then enrollment began to decline quickly, as the initial excitement wore off. Evidence of the poor state of affairs occurred in 1761 when the

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[44]Bakhrushin, "Moskovskii universitet v XVIII," 13; Beliavskii, "Lomonosov i Moskovskii universitet," 107; and Menshutkin, Lomonosov, 41.

[45]Penchko, Dokumenty, 1: 135; Shevyrev, Istoriia, 140-41.

government demanded a report of the University accounts for the first five years, and Shuvalov could not do so.[46]

In spite of these troubles, the University began to develop important ties to society in its early years that fit with Lomonosov's intent to create a national center of enlightenment, not just an institution of higher education. These fledgling "transmission belts" later became a firm mechanism for transmitting scholarly, cultural, and intellectual information to society and thus influencing society's development. Among these "transmission belts" were the lectures which were free and open to the public. In addition, the public could attend the student disputations at the end of each semester. The school also opened its library to the public in the summer of 1756 and that year started a very popular student theater.[47]

More importantly, a decree of 5 March 1756 allowed the University to own and operate a printing press and book shop. Shuvalov intended that revenues from the press would be adequate to meet the school's needs and allow the government to reduce its monetary support.[48] The press, in which students and professors played a major role, was set

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[46]Penchko, Osnovanie, 106-07, 62-63, 56; Ferliuden, Istoricheskii ocherk, 46.

[47]Fedosov, Letopis', 20; Menshutkin, Lomonosov, 44-45.

[48]"Proekt ob osnovanii," 151; Beliavskii, "Lomonosov i Moskovskii universitet," 113; and Ferliuden, Istoricheskii ocherk, 44.

up with help from the Academy and headed by Mikhail Kheraskov, later the University's director and curator.[49] The conference decided which books to print, especially those selected as textbooks, and acted as an informal censor. Since foreign languages were a major part of the University's curriculum, students benefitted from the practical experience of translating for the press, and as a result the school came to act as kind of a "translation bureau." Still, it was no easy task to establish the press, and printing went slowly at first.[50]

The initial issue of Moskovskiia vedomosti (Moscow News), the city's only newspaper, appeared on the first anniversary of the school's opening, Friday, 26 April 1756. Edited by Professor Barsov with help from student translations of the foreign press, the paper appeared twice weekly and contained information on government decrees, court events, foreign news, academic courses, faculty activities, student disputations, and awards.[51]

From April to December 1756, the press published fifteen books. In 1757 the first gymnasium textbook, Azbuka

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[49]O. N. Trifonov, ed., 225 let izdatel'skoi deiatel'nosti Moskovskogo universiteta, 1756-1981 (Moscow, 1981), 23.

[50]Shevyrev, Istoriia, 23-25, 46-47; Raeff, Origins of the Russian Nobility, 138-39; and V. I. Krasnobaev, "Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta v sisteme russkoi kul'tury vtoroi poloviny XVIII v.," Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta: seriia istoriia, no. 3 (1981): 20-21.

[51]Shevyrev, Istoriia, 23-25, 46-47.

latinskaia (The ABCs of Latin) was printed, and language textbooks quickly became a large part of the press's output. Translations were another popular items, and that year Popovskii's translation of Pope came out. In 1758 fifteen works again were published, including the first part of Lomonosov's collected works in an edition of twelve hundred copies. In 1759 and 1760 fifteen titles appeared each year, including Popovskii's translation of John Locke's Thoughts on Education.[52] More importantly, in 1760 Kheraskov gathered together a group of young literati and edited the press's first literary journal, Poleznoe uveselenie (Useful Amusement), which lasted for two years. Among the twenty-three items published in 1761 was Kheraskov's Bezbozhnik (Godless), one of the few original Russian literary works printed by the press. The press tried to publish more

[52]Moscow, Universitet, Biblioteka, Izdaniia Moskovskogo universiteta, 1756-79 (Moscow, 1955), 26, 30-32, 33-35, 36-40; Krasnobaev, "Izdatel'stvo," 17; Trifonov, 225 let, 28.

original works but had trouble finding suitable ones.[53]

Since Moscow University remained the only university in Russia for almost fifty years, its experiences proved to be very important to the founding of later universities. The state, not society, created the school to fill a "state" need. As a result, even though the University had a measure of autonomy, the state really controlled University affairs by means of the curators, the director, and the budget. A reading of the surviving conference protocols reveals that the curators wielded enormous power, and Shuvalov, as curator, was especially powerful because of his family and court connections. Another characteristic was that in addition to worrying about the University's academic needs, the professors had to deal with the management of two gymnasia and the testing of foreign tutors. Also important was the fact that the church played no role in the new University. Like Peter, the University had to rely on foreigners, with the concomitant language problem. Finally, though not a class institution, the school made a concerted effort to appeal to the nobility who, however, rejected that

[53] Izdaniia Moskovskogo universiteta, 41-45; Jones, Novikov, 9.

appeal.

More interestingly, the school began to develop an institutional mechanism for interaction with society that would, over time, ensure its position as a center of enlightened Russian society. Through the lectures, disputations, annual ceremonies, library, theater, newspaper, and press, the school began the process of becoming not just a center of scholarly research but a leading center of cultural and social change.