

CHAPTER 2

CATHERINE THE GREAT AND MOSCOW UNIVERSITY

During the reign of Catherine the Great, Moscow University played a great cultural role stimulating the Russian Enlightenment. She ascended the throne in 1762 and, by virtue of her contacts with the philosophes, personally helped to usher in the Russian Enlightenment. She, like Peter the Great, brought "a new atmosphere" to Russia.¹

Catherine the Great

Catherine's championing of Enlightenment values was crucial for Russian culture. Under her tutelage, Western philosophical ideas poured into the country, and a thoughtful obshchestvo (educated society) arose. For the first time society began to organize and debate the transformation of the country. The Vol'noe ekonomicheskoe obshchestvo (Free Economic Society), established in 1765 under Catherine's patronage, was the initial step in this direction. Freemasonry also became popular, and the most important branch of Masonry in Russia featured philanthropic activity. Members tried to improve themselves morally by living a good life while at the same time striving to

¹Simkhovitch, "History of the School," 501.

eliminate social ills.²

In this enlightened atmosphere, Catherine attempted to found an educational system but achieved only mixed results.

In 1764 she and her advisor, Ivan Betskoi, issued a General Establishment of Education for the Youth of Both Sexes, but the statute contained only "suggestions" and went unenforced. When Catherine reorganized the Russian Empire into gubernii (provinces) in 1775, she ordered the formation of Boards of Public Assistance to set up and supervise local schools, but this also went unfulfilled due to a lack of money.³

Catherine asked Joseph II, the Habsburg Emperor, for advice on educational reform in 1780, and with his approval, she invited Fedor Jankovich de Mirievo, a Serbian who had set up schools in the Eastern Habsburg Empire, to help. In 1782 she formed the Commission for the Establishment of Public Schools under the chairmanship of Petr Zavadovskii, one of her favorites, and four years later, the Commission produced a statute providing for a two-year school in each district town and a four-year main school in every guberniia city.⁴

²Alston, Education and the State, 12-13; Raeff, Origins of the Russian Intelligentsia, 154-55, 159-64.

³Hans, History of Russian Educational Policy, 17-32; Johnson, Russia's Educational Heritage, 43-62; and Alston, Education and the State, 12-19.

⁴Max Okenfuss, "Education and Empire: School Reform in Enlightened Russia," Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, 27

With regard to higher education, Catherine took few decisive steps. Efforts by both Denis Diderot, the French philosopher, and Osip Kozodavlev, a Russian statesman, to draw up a university statute failed. Kozodavlev had proposed that four universities (Moscow, Pskov, Chernigov, and Penza) serve as links in the educational system between the Commission and lower schools. He also felt that the number of chairs in each university should be expanded from ten to twenty-two. He further envisioned more university autonomy with professors electing the deans and a rector, and he also suggested the required use of the Russian language.⁵

Catherine continued the example set by Peter the Great of opening Russian culture up to the West and improving the educational system, but also like Peter, she achieved only limited success. In quantitative terms, the number of schools initially rose rapidly but then levelled off due to a lack of money, students, and teachers.⁶ Again, it was the

(1979): 44-45, 62.

⁵Denis Diderot, "Plan d'une université," in Oeuvres complètes, 20 vols. (Paris, 1875-77), 3: 429-52; V. Vorob'ev, "K istorii nashikh universitetskikh ustavov," Russkaia mysl', no. 12 (December 1905): 3; Pavel Miliukov, "Universitety v Rossii," in Entsiklopedicheskii slovar', 1890 ed.; Hans, History of Russian Educational Policy, 30-31; Steinger, "Government Policy," 11; and Ferliuden, Istoricheskii ocherk, 50-52.

⁶Johnson, Russia's Educational Heritage, 56-57; Darlington, Education in Russia, 27-29; and Mikhail Beliaevskii, "Shkola i sistema obrazovaniia v Rossii v kontse XVIII v.," Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta: istoriko-filologicheskaia seriia, no. 2 (1959): 119.

state that took the initiative and the state that retained control, and like Peter, Catherine looked to Central and Western Europe for models. One difference between Catherine and Peter was in their emphasis. Whereas Peter desired the practical, Catherine, as part of the Enlightenment, stressed the intellectual.⁷

Moscow University during the reign of Catherine the Great

⁷Rozhdestvenskii, Istoricheskii obzor, 19; Johnson, Russia's Educational Heritage, 52; and Okenfuss, "Education and Empire," 48-50, 58-59, 67.

Occasionally, Catherine did turn to the University for advice on educational reform. In a November 1765 decree, she gave the professors three weeks to suggest improvements, and they responded with a number of recommendations, including more autonomy and the replacement of the state-appointed director with an elected rector. For financial security they requested that Catherine grant the school some serf villages which would provide a steady income, firewood, and maintenance for the school. The conference asked for higher salaries, better retirement pensions, more student stipends, and improved physical facilities. In stressing the need to follow Western practice, the professors also wanted to add a theological department, expand the Philosophical Department from four to seven chairs, and add assistant professors and language instructors, but Catherine considered the professors "petty" for not addressing the problem of teaching quality and did not implement their suggestions.⁸

Catherine also slowly increased state funding of the University. By 1775 the school budget reached an annual sum of thirty-five thousand rubles, but the school always experienced difficulties in actually getting the money from the government, which was one of the reasons why the

⁸"Mnenie ob uchrezhdenii i soderzhanii Imperatorskago universiteta i gimnazii v Moskve," Chteniia, no. 2 (1875): 190-212; Ferliuden, Istoricheskii ocherk, 47.

professors had asked for serf villages.⁹ Catherine eventually added six thousand rubles to the budget in 1782 and another nine thousand in 1787. By the end of her reign, the budget for the University had reached sixty thousand rubles.¹⁰

The University expanded its physical facilities, even though a request by the professors in 1775 to relocate the school to the Sparrow Hills (the present location) went unheeded. Instead, the University bought some properties adjacent to its original site in 1773 and 1782. Then, in 1785 Catherine ordered the purchase of the home of Prince Bariatsinskii across from the Kremlin and allotted 125,000 rubles for its renovation. The architect Matvei Kazakov supervised the project, and the building opened in 1793. The wealthy Nikita Demidov helped the construction by donating some construction material.¹¹

The University also improved its educational facilities. In 1765 an anatomical theater opened, and in 1789 the press moved into a new building.¹² In 1791 the

⁹Bakhrushin, "Moskovskii universitet v XVIII," 16.

¹⁰Mikhail Tret'iakov, "Imperatorskii Moskovskii universitet v vospominaniakh Mikhaila Tret'iakova," RS, 75 (July 1892): 111; Beliaevskii, Lomonosov i osnovanie, 149-50; and Zabelin, Moskva v eia proshlom, 90-91.

¹¹Beliaevskii and Sorokin, Nash pervyi, nash moskovskii, 18, 11-12; Beliaevskii, Lomonosov i osnovanie, 149-50; Sidorov, Moskovskomu universitetu, 31; Shevyrev, Istoriia, 109; and Fedosov, Letopis', 32.

¹²Fedosov, Letopis', 25; Trifonov, 225 let, 45.

school organized a museum from the natural history collections, which were constantly growing as a result of private donations, in the left wing of the building.¹³

University students continued to be scarce in number and uneven in quality. Though the enrollment in the gymnasium rose, transfers to the University remained minuscule, only twenty-three in 1764 and eighteen in 1769. By 1787 there were only eighty-two students at the University, and by the turn of the century, the school still had less than one hundred students. For years, Professor Dilthey had only one student in his law courses.¹⁴

The government repeatedly raided the University for trained students, and because of this, few students finished a full course of studies. For example, in 1764 the government's Medical College demanded and received twenty-five students from the University and gymnasium, and in 1767 the Legislative Commission took another forty-two students.¹⁵ Yet the state did not always put these students to good use. F. P. Lubianovskii recalled that in 1796 the tsar invited twelve of the best students to work in St. Petersburg. Lubianovskii later discovered six of them:

¹³Biograficheskii slovar', 2: 282-85.

¹⁴Tret'iakov, "Imperatorskii Moskovskii universitet," 112, 114; Bakhrushin, "Moskovskii universitet v XVIII," 17; Beliaevskii, Lomonosov i osnovanie, 121; Alston, Education and the State, 9; and Kizevetter, "Moskovskii universitet," 40-41.

¹⁵Fedosov, Letopis', 24-26.

In the cold, damp, and dark basement of a huge building that was the chancery of the St. Petersburg Commandant, Baron A. A. Arakcheev. Sad, pale, in junior officer uniforms, they were transcribing the personnel records of lower military ranks, and I will never forget the disappointment which they...expressed in their gloomy eyes.¹⁶

Catherine also hoped to entice nobles to attend the University, but the social composition of the student body never met the government's expectations. One of the few surviving student lists, for 1764, showed forty-eight students at the University, forty at state expense. Eight claimed to be of gentry origin; nineteen were sons of soldiers, six clergy, six chancellery clerks, two teachers, and one was an ex-serf. In 1765 only ten of fifty-five were noble.¹⁷

A major University overture to the nobility occurred in 1783 when Mikhail Kheraskov, the curator, founded the Vol'nyi blagorodnyi pansion (Free Noble Pension--or boarding school), in which nobles studied an encyclopedic range of subjects. The elite school soon became popular and proved

¹⁶Fedor P. Lubianovskii, "Vospominaniia," in Isaev, Moskovskii universitet v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, 47.

¹⁷Tikhomirov, Istoriia, 38-39. Beliavskii, "Lomonosov i Moskovskii universitet," 104, gives slightly different figures.

to be a lasting success.¹⁸

Life at Moscow University in the eighteenth century was difficult. Professors dealt with countless petitions from students requesting money to purchase coats; and though they had the right to wear a uniform, few did so for lack of money to buy one. Students were not even safe on the streets of the city, and one year the curator asked professors that "since it gets dark at 5:00...lessons after lunch [should] last only one hour so that students would not be attacked by dogs and robbers" on their way home. Professors did not monitor the academic progress of

University students very closely until Catherine ordered them in 1766 to send her reports, not only on gymnasium pupils, but also on University students.¹⁹

The professorial situation improved marginally under Catherine. Though the school's curators constantly searched for professors, by 1797 the University still had only two professors of law, six in medicine, five in philosophy, two in the natural sciences, and a few language teachers.²⁰ The

¹⁸Shevyrev, Istoriia, 214-15; Nikolai Sushkov, Moskovskii universitetskii Blagorodnyi pansion i vospitannikov Moskovskago universiteta, 2nd ed. (Moscow, 1858), 28-30.

¹⁹Penchko, Dokumenty, 1: 275; Penchko, Dokumenty, 2: 63-67, 262; Tret'iakov, "Imperatorskii Moskovskii universitet," 112-15; Lubianovskii, "Vospominaniia," 45; and Bakhrushin, "Moskovskii universitet v XVIII," 19, 12.

²⁰Kizevetter, "Moskovskii universitet," 60.

number of native Russian professors did, however, slowly increase. Five of the six students that Shuvalov had sent abroad in 1760 returned to teach: Zybelin in medicine, Veniaminov in botany, Afonin--natural history, Tret'iakov--Roman law, and Desnitskii--Russian law.²¹

Professors at the University performed a number of administrative duties beyond their teaching requirements, and most of these involved the gymnasia. These duties were typically exercised by means of the professorial conference that met on Saturday mornings. All conference decisions then passed to the curator for approval.²²

Many of the troubles of the professors concerned the slow payment of their salaries and the lack of adequate facilities. For example, in January 1763 the conference declared that since "the members of the University are for the most part foreigners, [they] demand that they be paid on time since they have no other income."²³ Salaries themselves could vary greatly, as the curators individually determined them by considering years of service. In 1800 for example, while Professor Chebotarev received thirteen hundred rubles, some others received only six hundred.²⁴

A common complaint of professors concerned equipment.

²¹Ikonnikov, "Russkie universitetey," 506.

²²See, for example, Penchko, Dokumenty, 2: 127-28.

²³Penchko, Dokumenty, 1: 258.

²⁴Tret'iakov, "Imperatorskii Moskovskii universitet," 111.

In February 1766 Professor Rost lodged a grievance with the conference about Pierre Demolen, the University mechanic. Rost explained that a few medical students had asked him to demonstrate some experiments. He agreed and sent them to Demolin with a request to prepare the necessary instruments.

According to Rost, when he entered the laboratory with the students, "I found Mr. Demolen in the presence of two unknown persons, apparently French, and I asked if everything was ready for the demonstration." He replied, "Everything." After a brief introduction, Rost turned to use the instruments, but the "barometer...was broken, so that it was impossible to do this experiment, even though for the past six months Mr. Demolin has had nothing to do but fix the instruments." Rost then asked for the air bladder to show the expansion of gasses, but Demolin responded that "it had been eaten by rats," and it proved impossible to do that experiment. Rost next attempted to illustrate the compression of air and "took a cylindrical vessel--a compressor--and filled it with water, but it had a bad bottom and all the water leaked out."²⁵

Occasionally, a professor got into trouble with the authorities for his views. Dmitrii Anichkov was one of the first students to attend the University in 1755. After graduating in 1762, he did not study abroad but continued to work for his master's degree at the University while

²⁵Penchko, Dokumenty, 2: 226-27.

teaching mathematics and philosophy. In the summer of 1769, he presented a dissertation on the origins of religion for his degree and promotion to professor. The conference expressed some reservations about the work, and Anichkov implemented their suggestions and proposed to print it. Despite the University's autonomy, the Moscow archbishop sent a report to the Holy Synod that the dissertation refuted Christian teachings. Still, the professors continued to approve the revised version and endorsed its printing, but the Senate stepped in, prohibited its publication, and banned Anichkov from lecturing on such themes. Anichkov did not receive his chair until 1771, despite repeated petitions from the conference.²⁶

Semen Desnitskii was a success story at the University and has been called the "natural father of Russian jurisprudence." The son of a meshchanin (petty bourgeois, or burgher), he studied at the St. Sergii-Troitskii Monastery before being sent to Moscow University. Upon completion of the gymnasium course in 1759, he spent a few months at the Academy of Sciences before traveling with Ivan Tret'iakov to the University of Glasgow. There, under difficult material conditions, he studied under Adam Smith, learning a historico-pragmatic approach to the law, and received his master's in 1765. Two years later, he received

²⁶Ikonnikov, "Russkie universitety," 512-13; Mikhail Beliaevskii, 200-letie Moskovskogo universiteta (Moscow, 1958), 6-7.

his Doctor of Laws and the privilege of Scottish citizenship. After his return to Russia, he began to teach Roman law, and in 1783 he became the first instructor of Russian jurisprudence. Desnitskii left the school for unknown reasons in 1787 and died two years later.²⁷

Desnitskii was a well-published professor, including many of his orations, for example, "O priamom i blizhaishem sposob k izucheniiu russkoi iurisprudentsii" (The Direct and Quickest Way to a Study of Russian Jurisprudence).²⁸ He was also a competent translator, having translated Sir William Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England.²⁹

At the time, the study of Russian law presented special difficulties because of the lack of a codified collection of laws. Desnitskii proposed, as Dilthey had, to remedy this by setting up a special archive to collect all laws. In his proposal, he especially emphasized the importance of studying the origins of estate, or class, law:

Here, above all, must be shown by historical, metaphysical and political means the introduction in states of the enslavement and enserfment of peoples,

²⁷Biograficheskii slovar', 1: 297-301; Beliavskii, Lomonosov i osnovanie, 234.

²⁸Kizevetter, "Moskovskii universitet," 35-37; Archibald Brown, "S. E. Desnitskii i I. A. Tret'iakov v Glazgovskom universitete (1761-1767)," Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta: seriia istoriia, no. 4 (1969): 83-84.

²⁹Istolkovanie angliiskikh zakonov (Moscow, 1780-82, 3 vols.).

what kind of effect enslavement has had in regard to the entire nation, and by what means and for what reasons in some states it was eliminated, while in others it ossified.³⁰

Desnitskii did not advocate the elimination of serfdom but did argue for a clearer delineation of obligations.³¹

The most important aspect of the University's activity under Catherine was its continuing development of ties to society. The University responded to society's desire for Enlightenment thought and at the same time evoked that desire by disseminating scholarly and cultural knowledge. It offered publications that anyone could read and lectures, student disputations, and annual celebrations open to the general public.

Society, in turn, supported the endeavors of the University. The Demidov family was especially prominent in helping with the reconstruction of the Bariatinskii building and providing funds for student stipends. Major donations for the mineralogical and zoological collections came from the Demidov, Golitsyn, Stroganov, and Starikov families.³²

Under Catherine, the University also became an

³⁰Beliavskii, Lomonosov i osnovanie, 240.

³¹Ibid., 239-40, 243-44.

³²N. A. Lebedev, Istoricheskii vzgliad na uchrezhdenie uchilishch, shkol, uchebnykh zavedenii i uchenykh obshchestv (St. Petersburg, 1875), 127-29; "Letopis' mineral'nogo kabineta," 76-77; and Sergei Turov, Zoologicheskii muzei (Moscow, 1956), 3.

important literary center. From 1762 to 1779, a steady stream of books rolled off the University press, ranging from a high of seventy-two works in 1775 to a low of twenty in 1772.³³ Textbooks were common, for example, Professor Barsov's Azbuka tserkovnaia i grazhdanskaia (Church and Civil ABCs, 1768), as were translations of popular works, such as John Milton's Paradise Lost (1780), or Enlightenment literature like Jean Jacques Rousseau's Discourse on the Origin of Inequality (1770). The press published satirical journals like the monthly Svobodnye chasy (Free Hours, 1763). The University also printed Catherine's Nakaz (Instruction) to the Legislative Commission, perhaps the most important document of her reign, and began to publish historical works that indicated society's growing interest in the country's past. For example, Vasilii Tatishchev, Russia's first real historian, published Istoriia rossiiskaia s samykh drevneishikh vremen (History of Russia from Ancient Times, 1768-74, 3 vols.).³⁴

As before, professors and students played a major role in all press operations. Professors translated Western authors or published their own works. Students also helped with the translating and editing and sometimes formed unofficial literary societies. Professor Reichel supervised

³³Izdaniia Moskovskogo universiteta, 46-200; Trifonov, 225 let, 36.

³⁴Fedosov, Letopis', 27; Trifonov, 225 let, 34-39.

the publication of some of these student translations as Sobranie luchshikh sochinenii k rasprostraneniuiu znaniia (A Collection of the Best Works for a Dissemination of Knowledge, 1762-66).³⁵

The major phenomenon of this period in the history of the University was the formation of scholarly societies. Ivan Melissino, the curator, and Mikhail Priklonskii, the director, originated the idea of forming a literary and scholarly society in order to involve society more closely in University affairs. Following the example of the Free Economic Society, in August 1771 they formed the Vol'noe rossiiskoe sobranie (the Free Russian Gathering) which aimed to enrich the Russian language and aid in the publication of Russian literature. The Society counted fifty-one full members, including all of the professors, with Melissino as chairman. Other members included Denis Fonvizin, the playwright, Mikhail Novikov, the publisher, and Princess Ekaterina Dashkova, Catherine's close friend and the president of the Russian Academy. In promoting Russian literature, the Gathering worked on a Slovar' rossiiskii (Russian Dictionary) and published a Slovar' tserkovnyi (Church Dictionary) and Opyt trudov (Essays, 1771-83).³⁶

The Society ceased to function in 1787 because of the

³⁵Sushkov, Moskovskii universitetskii blagorodnyi pansion, 36; Ikonnikov, "Russkie universitety," 495.

³⁶Ikonnikov, "Russkie universitety," 506.

competition from other societies like the Uchenoe druzheskoe obshchestvo (Friendly Learned Society), founded in Moscow, and the Imperatorskaia rossiiskaia akademiia (Imperial Russian Academy), founded in St. Petersburg. Mellissino remained undaunted by the failure of his Society and opened a new one in 1789, the Obshchestvo liubitelei uchenosti (Society of the Lovers of Wisdom), but it was never a major success.³⁷

The activities of three men who were Freemasons at Moscow University in the 1780s showed how important the University already was to society. In 1778 Mikhail Kheraskov, a Mason, became curator, and Mikhail Novikov, also a Mason, moved to Moscow. The final link was Johann Georg Schwartz, a Transylvanian German who had come to Russia as a tutor. Schwartz too was active in Freemasonry, and he began to teach at the University in the fall of 1779. Their activities quickly put the school at the forefront of cultural developments.³⁸

When Novikov moved to Moscow, Kheraskov asked him to take over a press whose newspaper circulation had declined drastically. Novikov, who had successfully published a series of satirical journals in St. Petersburg, including Utrennii svet (Morning Light, 1777-80), proposed an annual rent of 4,500 rubles, more than double the current amount,

³⁷Shevyrev, Istoriia, 182-84, 241-42, 253-54.

³⁸Jones, Novikov, 156-57.

and Shuvalov quickly agreed to a ten-year contract. The press turned out to be very profitable for Novikov, who made over 150,000 rubles in four years, and his extensive publishing activity proved to be a landmark event in Russian history.³⁹

From his base in Moscow, Novikov began to create a publishing empire. He expanded the press by ordering new equipment from abroad, gathered the best students to help with the work, and improved the quality of the press, bookstore, and newspaper. Moskovskiiia vedomosti now appeared two times a week with eight regular pages of news and additional material as supplements. The paper still printed information about court events, government decrees, and academic news but now also began to quote directly from foreign newspapers. As a result of his changes, circulation rose to over four thousand.⁴⁰

Novikov published much the same variety of works as the press had done earlier. Religious books, language primers, and textbooks were popular and profitable items. He printed a large number of Western translations, including light reading like Dostopamiatnosti natury (Curiosities of Nature) and serious works like Blackstone, but Novikov printed few Russian literary works--mostly because few could be found: only eleven Russian works out of a total of forty-seven

³⁹Ibid., 4-10, 149-50, 141-45, 145-47.

⁴⁰Ibid., 152-53.

books in 1779, ten out of one hundred seventy in 1780, and nine out of seventy-three in 1781.⁴¹

Novikov also published successful satirical journals, including Vecherniaia zaria (Evening Twilight, 1782), edited by students in a special University seminar headed by Schwartz. Additionally, the supplements to the newspaper were popular: Ekonomicheskii magazin (Economic Magazine, 1780-89), Detskoe chtenia dlia serdtsa i razuma (Children's Reading for Heart and Mind, 1785-89), and Magazin natural'noi istorii, fiziki i khimii (Magazine of Natural History, Physics, and Chemistry, 1788-89).⁴²

The scale of Novikov's activities was unprecedented for the time in Russia. In the 1780s about one-third of all books printed in the country came from his press. All told, he published numerous journals, his newspaper, and over seven hundred books in large printings, and he controlled book shops in sixteen cities. In many ways, he created the Russian reading public.⁴³

Another center of activity at the University was Schwartz, who was an extremely popular lecturer, attracting hundreds of people to his lectures. Schwartz was also a

⁴¹Ibid., 165-67.

⁴²Ibid., 176, 192-93.

⁴³Trifonov, 225 let, 39-40; Shevyrev, Istoriia, 216-19, 256-

Freemason and a close friend of Novikov and Kheraskov.⁴⁴ In 1779 Kheraskov decided to establish a Pedagogical Seminar for future teachers at the gymnasium, and Schwartz became inspector of that seminar. The Demidov family contributed twenty thousand rubles for the support of six students in the seminar, and by 1782 thirty students had enrolled. Schwartz also set up the Sobranie universitetskikh pitomtsev (Society of University Alumni) in 1781--the first such society in Russia. His activities also included a Special Translation Seminar that he established to translate Western moral works. A number of wealthy Russians supported the seminar with subsidies that enabled a house to be bought where students from both seminars lived with Schwartz as their director.⁴⁵

Masonic activities at the University peaked in November 1782 with the founding of the Friendly Learned Society at a party attended by high society and professors. Approved by the Moscow general-governor and the Archbishop Platon, the Masons formed the Society to disseminate scholarly knowledge and to print and distribute books.⁴⁶

Troubles, however, soon arose for both Schwartz and Novikov. When in 1782 Melissino returned from abroad, he

⁴⁴Kizevetter, "Moskovskii universitet," 45-52.

⁴⁵Jones, Novikov, 158-60, 168-69.

⁴⁶Jones, Novikov, 169; Shevyrev, Istoriia, 219-22.

heard denunciations from Professors Shaden and Barsov about Schwartz's activities. They liked neither the overt Masonic connections nor the fact that the young flocked to hear his lectures. Melissino himself found the Friendly Learned Society a threat to his own Free Russian Gathering. As a result of administrative pressure, Schwartz retired from the University in the fall of 1782 and died less than two years later, leaving behind a short but important impact on the school and society.⁴⁷

In the mid 1780s, Novikov too began to face a number of administrative hindrances as the regime became alarmed at his growing influence. The number of his publications temporarily dropped but then rebounded by the end of the decade. The series of events that led to his arrest began in 1785 when, on Catherine's order, the church and local authorities investigated him to see if any of his activities were illegal. Two years later, Archbishop Platon reviewed 455 works published and sold by Novikov and found six to have been banned. Because of clerical protests, Catherine decreed that all religious books had to be printed by the Holy Synod, which was a serious blow to Novikov's income. Then in 1788 Catherine said that Novikov could not renew his lease when it came up the following May. When his contract did end, Novikov tried to continue his publishing activity

⁴⁷Jones, Novikov, 177; Kizevetter, "Moskovskii universitet,"

with his own press, but he was arrested in April 1792, declared to be a "dangerous state criminal," and sentenced to fifteen years in Schlüsselburg Fortress.⁴⁸

With the death of Schwartz and the arrest of Novikov, Masonic activities at the University ground to a halt. The school had, however, as a result of their activities, for the first time initiated developments in Russian culture.

To sum up, during the reign of Catherine the Great, Moscow University developed but did not flourish academically. The state continued to view the school with a narrow utilitarian purpose in mind and repeatedly took students from the school for state tasks before they finished their studies. Even though the school enjoyed a degree of autonomy, that did not prevent the interference of the church in its affairs, as with Anichkov's dissertation.

Finally, although the school underwent a physical expansion, problems remained with regard to faculty quality, the language of instruction, and the lack of students. The Russian nobility, in particular, continued to show little enthusiasm for higher education.

⁴⁸Jones, Novikov, 199-200, 191-92, 210-14; Tikhomirov, Istoriia, 61-63.

More important, however, was the great cultural role that the University played. No other institution of the period, outside of the government itself, came close to possessing the kind of cultural and social influence that the school had. This was a direct result of its press, the scholarly societies, lectures, and student activities. The school became a center for the propagation of Enlightenment values and attracted to itself progressive members of society, especially the Freemasons. After a quarter of a century, the University had succeeded in creating and expanding an institutional infrastructure that tied it permanently to society and allowed it to both react to and lead cultural developments. These institutional means, or "channels," ensured that as personalities, tsars, and ideological currents changed, the University would continue to play a prominent role in Russian culture.