

**RESEARCH AND TEACHING OF HISTORY AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF TARTU AT THE END OF THE 19TH AND THE
BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY**

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Abstract. This article examines research and teaching of history at the University of Tartu at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The conditions which determined the development of research and teaching of history at Tartu University at that time were created by administrative methods: the university reform in 1889–1895 and, as a consequence, the renovation of the professorship of the historical chairs of the Faculty of History and Linguistics. It was interrupted by administrative methods as well: the evacuation of university in 1918 due to the German occupation during World War I to Voronež. In this period the University of Tartu employed the historians graduated from Petersburg, Moscow, Kyjiv and Tartu universities. After Tartu these historians worked at the universities of Petersburg, Moscow, Kyjiv, Kazan and Voronež. The Petersburg historical school, represented at the University of Tartu from the beginning of the period under consideration, prevailed throughout this period. Remarkable research conducted by historians at the University of Tartu in this period expressed in the numerous publications of historical sources, of periodicals and also the successful training of specialists of history greatly enhanced the potential for further development.

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1. Introduction

The generally high level of the research of history in the pre-revolutionary Russian Empire acquired international recognition, evident in the fact that at the history congress in London in 1913 it was decided to organize the next congress in Russia in 1918. This did not take place because of World War I and the revolutions in Russia. Despite its international acclaim, the present-day researcher finds several drawbacks in the development of history research in the pre-revolutionary

Russia: ignoring diplomatic and military history, “little attention to the international context in which the imperial state arose and developed”, “neglect of the local and regional historical studies” and “ignorance of the multinational and multicultural features of the empire” (Raeff 1999:482). We shall have a look whether these drawbacks were characteristic of the development of history research at the University of Tartu in end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

2. Research of history at the University of Tartu in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century: general trends of the development

In the 19th century the research of history obtained a scientific-professional status which we have today. In the development of institutionalization of research and teaching of history at the University of Tartu we can distinguish four periods: 1) 1802–1820: at the Faculty of Philosophy there were complex chairs-professorships whose competence also included history; 2) 1820–1853: at the Faculty of Philosophy (existed until 1850) there was the Chair of History which dealt with all the branches of history; 3) 1853–1880: at the Faculty of History and Linguistics (established in 1850) there were two Chairs of History – General History and the History of Russia (the composition of the faculty was fixed by the University of Tartu Statutes of 1865 (Statut 1865:18)); 4) 1880–1918: one more Chair of General History was added for teaching Modern History, the Chair of General History before that had concentrated on the Middle Ages. Part of history subjects was also taught at other chairs of the Faculty of History and Linguistics, for example, Ancient History and Art History at the Chair of Classical Philology. Members of the teaching staff of other chairs of the Faculty of History and Linguistics and other faculties dealt with the research of some history subjects. However, in the present article the author examines only the treatment of the problems of research of Russian history at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century by the researchers at the Faculty of Law. The main emphasis is on the Chairs of History at the Faculty of History and Linguistics, their academic staff and their research.

2.1. Teaching history in the first half of the 19th century

In conformity with the University of Tartu Statutes from 1803 two Chairs of history – the Chair of General History, Statistics and Geography and the Chair of the History of Russia, especially of Estland, Livland, Kurland and Finland – were established. These were complex chairs at the Faculty of Philosophy which studied both natural sciences and humanities (Ustav 1803:15). The first professor of history was appointed even before the university started officially functioning. He was Georg Friedrich Pöschmann (1768–1812) (Levickij 1903:371–374, Siilivask 1982:158, 162, Hiio and Piirimäe 2007:177) who had obtained the degree *magister philosophiae* at the University of Leipzig in 1789. The University of Tartu curator

Count von Mannteufel invited him to the post of the professor of General History from 10 December 1800. G. F. Pöschmann was a professor of General History, Statistics and Geography lecturing on all these subjects in the years 1802–1812 including the history of Russian state, also historical ethnography. Pöschmann also published a paper about the influence of the Occidental culture on Russia in Tartu. In his work he proceeds from A. L. Schlözer's ideas.

The first professor of the Chair of the History, Statistics and Geography of Russia, especially of Estland, Livland, Kurland and Finland was Adam Christian Gaspari (1752–1830) (Levickij 1903:505–510, Siilivask 1982:160, 163, Hiio and Piirimäe 2007:180), who worked in Tartu in 1803–1809. Before that he had worked as Professor Extraordinary at the University of Jena. In Tartu he lectured on the history of some European states, the history of Baltic provinces and also the history of Russia in 1807–1809. He was practically not involved in the research of history but he published numerous textbooks, handbooks, geographical tables, etc. From Tartu he went to the University of Königsberg to occupy the post of the Professor of Geography and Statistics.

The graduate of the the University of Göttingen Johann Philipp Gustav Ewers (1781–1830) (Levickij 1903:374–375, Siilivask 1982:160, 161, 164, Hiio and Piirimäe 2007:180), came to Livland to be a teacher in an aristocratic family in 1803. Having studied the sources of Russian history, he analyzed critically the Norman theory and published a book which was warmly received by Russian historians. Thanks to this support, he was elected Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg in 1809 and on 1 January 1810 he began to work as Professor of the Chair of Russian History, Statistics and Geography at the University of Tartu, from the year 1817 also as professor of General History, Statistics and Geography and from the year 1820 as professor of Statistics and Geography although he continued lecturing on different history subjects until the year 1826 when he went to the Faculty of Law. Among the historians of the first half of the 19th century Ewers was one of the most outstanding at the University of Tartu thanks to his scientific contribution. Even in the 20th century he was considered to be a progressive historian in the first thirty years of the 19th century (Ševcov 1969:175, 190). Besides research he was also involved in administrative work occupying the post of the Rector of the University of Tartu in 1818–1830 (Leppik 2001).

In the second half of the 1820s courses of General History, Statistics and Geography were delivered by Karl Ludwig Blum (1796–1869) (Levickij 1903:375). Friedrich Karl Hermann Kruse (1790–1866) (Levickij 1903:377, 640, Siilivask 1982:158,¹ Hiio and Piirimäe 2007:178) was elected Professor of General History until 1828. In 1813 he had obtained the degree of *doctor philosophiae* at the University of Leipzig. In the years 1821–1828 he was Professor Extraordinary at the University of Halle and he came to Tartu as a well-known researcher of the earlier

¹ In Siilivask 1982:158 an error is made and the year 1863 is given as the year of departure from the university.

history of Germany. At the University of Tartu he worked in 1828–1853 delivering all the most important lectures in General History and the History of Russia. The private docent August Heinrich Hansen (1813–1849) (Levickij 1903: 381, Siilivask 1982:159,² Hiio and Piirimäe 2007:178) who worked in Tartu in 1840–1849 obtained the degree of *doctor philosophiae* at the University of Jena in 1839 and the degree of *magister philosophiae* at the University of Tartu in 1840. He also delivered lectures on General History, the History of Russia and Baltic countries.

2.2. Chairs and professorships of history in the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century

The further development of science, specialization and the institutionalization of separate branches of science – the process characteristic of also the research of history in the 19th century – were expressed in dividing the Faculty of Philosophy into two independent faculties – the Faculty of History and Linguistics and the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics (with a special decree as of 13 March 1850). Already in 1853 at the Faculty of History and Linguistics, a separate Chair of Russian History was established with the graduate of the University of Moscow Pëtr Efimovič Medovikov (1816–1855) (Levickij 1903:537–539, 641, Siilivask 1982: 161, Hiio and Piirimäe 2007:180) as its first professor. In 1853 he defended his doctoral thesis about the period of the rule of Tsar Aleksej Mihhailovič in Russia. At the University of Tartu he was professor of Russian history from 17 August 1854 until 1 June 1855, he had fallen ill and died. He was followed by Nikolaj Aleksevič Ivanov (1813–1869) (Levickij 1903:539–541, Polovcov 1897:25–30, Hiio and Piirimäe 2007:180), who as a graduate of the Professors' Institute of Tartu University, defended in 1839 his degree of *magister artium liberalium et doctor philosophiae* (Oissar 1973: 74). In the meantime he worked at the University of Kazan and at the University of Tartu in 1856–1859. The next professor of Russian history in the years 1863–1869 was Carl Christian Gerhard Schirren (1826–1910) (Levickij 1903:541–546, Siilivask 1982:161, 165, Hiio and Piirimäe 2007:180–181, Neander 1986) who before that had taught geography at the University of Tartu in 1856–1863, being professor since 1858. As a supporter and defender of the Special Baltic Order he had conflicts with the ruling circles and writing his famous “Livländische Antwort an Herrn Juri Samarin”, was made redundant on 21 May 1869. He went to Germany where he was professor of the University of Kiel from 1874. Already his contemporaries considered him as the best expert of the history of Old Livonia and he deserved high recognition as the publisher of historical sources. In Tartu he was followed by Alexander Brückner (1834–1896) (Rosenberg 2004, Hiio and Piirimäe 2007:181), who worked as Professor Ordinary of Russian history at the University of Tartu in 1872–1891. He had obtained the degree *doctor philosophiae* in Heidelberg in 1860 and the degree *magister historiae universalis* in St. Petersburg in 1864. After that he worked at the University of Odessa. In the meanwhile in 1867, he defended his thesis for the

² In Siilivask 1982:159 the form of the name Heinrich August Hansen is given.

degree of *doctor historiae universalis* at the University of Tartu. Besides his long-term successful teaching he was also actively researching the history of Russian culture, politics and economy of modern times. The circumstances of his retirement were somewhat complicated. He was nominated to the post of Professor Ordinary of the University of Kazan from 3 June 1891 (to get a higher pension because the professor's salary was higher there). In fact, he went to Germany and retired after a year. Professor A. Brückner of the Chair of Russian History was followed by professor E. F. Šmurlo (1853/1854–1934) in 1891 who worked at the University of Tartu in 1891–1903.

In the Chair of General History – already at the Faculty of History and Linguistics – professor Kruse was followed by the graduate of the University of Tartu Carl Albert Ratlef (1810–1895) (Levickij 1903:383–387, Hiio and Piirimäe 2007:178), who had studied in Tartu in 1828–1832 and graduated from the university as a Candidate of Philosophy 1832. He worked at the University of Tartu in the years 1854–1866. Alternatively he delivered courses of Ancient, Medieval and Modern History. At first, in 1854–1858 (until defending the Master's thesis) he was the Acting Professor Extraordinary and then until 1860 (until defending the PhD thesis) as the Acting Professor Ordinary. Then he worked as Professor Ordinary until his retirement in 1866. Eduard August Winkelmann (1838–1896) (Levickij 1903:387–388, Siilivask 1982:159, Hiio and Piirimäe 2007:178) who was then working as a docent of the Chair of General History, was connected with the University of Tartu in 1866–1869. Already in 1859 he obtained the degree of *doctor philosophiae* at the University of Berlin, then in 1866 he received the degree of *magister historiae universalis* at the University of Tartu. Having left Tartu, he was a professor at the University of Bern in 1869–1873 and at the University of Heidelberg in 1873–1896. Almost at the same time with him, in 1867–1869, professor Wilhelm Maurenbrecher (1838–1892) (Levickij 1903:390, Siilivask 1982:159, Hiio and Piirimäe 2007:178) worked as a professor of General History. He came to Tartu from the University of Bonn and after leaving Tartu he worked as a professor at the University of Königsberg. He was followed by the professor of General History Heinrich Uhlmann (1841–1931) (Levickij 1903:392–393,³ Siilivask 1982:159, Hiio and Piirimäe 2007:178) in the years 1870–1874 who had obtained the degree of *doctor philosophiae* at the University of Göttingen in 1863. He came to Tartu from the University of Giessen and in 1874 returned to the University of Greifswald. Then the Chair of General History was headed by Richard Hausmann (1842–1918) (Levickij 1903:394–397, Siilivask 1982:159–160, Hiio and Piirimäe 2007:178–179) who in the years 1862–1868 studied history at the University of Tartu where in 1871 he obtained the degree of *magister historiae universalis* and in 1880 *doctor historiae universalis*. He devoted himself to academic work from 1870, in 1871–1874 as a docent and in 1874–1897 as a professor at the University of Tartu. In 1896 he had been teaching for 25 years and the Minister of Education gave him permission to continue teach-

³ In Levickij 1903:392 the form of the name Uhlmann is given.

ing: in 1897 he was delivering lectures on supportive subjects to history teaching (Dubjeva 2005a:117–118). Like A. Brückner, he was nominated Professor Ordinary in 1897–1898 elsewhere, this time in Odessa (to get a higher pension because the professor's salary was higher there) and retired with the pension of a merited professor. The next professor of Medieval History was A. N. Jasinskij (1864–1933) who worked at the University of Tartu in 1896–1911.

Already at the time when R. Hausmann was professor, the parallel Chair of General History was established in 1880 in connection with the differentiation of history for teaching Modern History. Otto Ernst Christian Waltz (1844–1918) (Levickij 1903:399–401, Siilivask 1982:163, 324, Hiio and Piirimäe 2007:179) became professor of Modern History who already in 1875 delivered lectures at the University of Tartu. He had come to Tartu from the University of Heidelberg. At Tartu he worked as the Dean, Prorector and Acting Rector. After 25 years in the job he retired and returned to Germany. The next professor of Modern History after Waltz in 1901–1903 was P. N. Ardašev (1865–1924).

The main objects of attention of the historians, who worked at the chairs of history of the Faculty of History and Linguistics of the University of Tartu until the end of the 19th century, were – with some exceptions – different problems of history of the Baltic provinces which have deserved only rare and random mentioning in the scientific papers of the historians working at the university after the period of its reforms at the end of the 19th century.

3. The Chair of Medieval History at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, in the conditions of reforming the university and changing the language of instruction, the development of the research of history at the University of Tartu was affected by the gradual replacement of the academic staff. In the Chairs of History at the beginning of this period the graduates of St. Petersburg, Moscow and Kyjiv universities were playing an important role, thus different schools of thought were represented but the major school of history was St. Petersburg's school,⁴ where a number of his supporters became professors of history at the University of Tartu at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. The transition of professors took place in accordance with the appearing vacancies when the professors, having earned their pension, retired. The transition lasted for ten years from 1891 when E. F. Šmurlo started working as the professor of Russian history until 1901 when P. N. Ardašev was elected to the post of the professor of Modern history. The 1890s were the years of the decline of the Faculty of History and Linguistics – in 1896 there were only 33 students studying (Siilivask 1982:396).

⁴ About the development of the St. Petersburg school of history see: Valk 2000, Anan'ič and Panejah (2000).

General History was taught at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century by graduates of Universities of Kyjiv, Moscow and of St. Petersburg.

3.1. Professor A. N. Jasinskij

In the years 1896–1911 Anton(ij) Nikitič Jasinskij (1864–1933), graduate of the University of Kyjiv, worked as professor of the Chair of Medieval History, in 1896–1901 being Professor Extraordinary and in 1901–1911 Professor Ordinary (after the defence of the his thesis for the degree of *doctor historiae universalis* in 1901 in Kyjiv) (Dubjeva 2005a). Being the best specialist in the field of Czech history in Russia, he researched the Czech history of the Early Middle Ages also during his working period in Tartu (Jasinskij 1901). His monograph about the Czech social-economic history in the Middle Ages, defended as the thesis for the degree of *doctor historiae universalis*, contains a detailed analysis of the agrarian situation in the Czech village, proves the independent Czech development. The author concluded that the Czech social development followed the same pattern as in other Central European countries. A. N. Jasinskij's works on Czech history are outstanding achievements in European and Russian historiography and belong to the best research papers written about the Czech history (Lapteva 2001:121). His contribution in the research of history was internationally recognized. In 1902 he was elected Corresponding Member of the Royal Czech Scientific Society (Estonian Historical Archives=EHA 384-1-3454, 52back) and in 1907 he was appointed Member of the Czech Academy of Arts and Sciences of Kaiser Franz-Joseph (EHA 384-1-3454, 53back, Jasinskij 1969). Besides the main course of the history of the Middle Ages, he also delivered numerous special courses of the history of Germany, England, France, Byzantine, Crusades and Arabs. When E. F. Šmurlo left for Rome in 1903, he wished that his successor as professor of the Chair of Russian History could be A. N. Jasinskij. Professor A. N. Jasinskij delivered lectures on the history of Russia in the vacant post at the chair. In 1911 he was appointed Director of the Pedagogical Institute named after Šelaputin in Moscow. The post of the professor of the Chair of Medieval History at the University of Tartu remained vacant until 1912 because the university was waiting for the return of his disciple, the private docent of the University of Tartu Mitrofan Vasiljevič Brečkevič, from abroad where M. V. Brečkevič was finishing his thesis for degree of *magister historiae universalis* on the history of Western Slavic nations which was started under the supervision of professor A. N. Jasinskij and defended in 1912 (Brečkevič 1911, EHA 402-1-3202, 50-51). Professor A. N. Jasinskij wished he would be his successor at the University of Tartu (Lapteva 1995), but V. È. Regel was elected, who was actively involved in the research of history already from the 1880s and won great recognition as a scholar of Byzantine history.

3.2. Professor V. È. Regel

In December 1912 Vasilij Èduardovič Regel (1857–1932) (Dubjeva 2005e), Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg, was elected professor of the Chair of Medieval History; he was appointed to the post in April 1913 (about the procedure of elections see the part devoted to E. V. Tarle). Professor V. È. Regel was the graduate of the University of St. Petersburg, where he was a disciple of an outstanding Byzantine scholar, Academician V. G. Vasil'evskij and famous specialist on Slavonic History Academician V. I. Lamanskij. V. È. Regel's thesis for the degree of *magister historiae universalis* written about the Czech history was defended in 1892 in Tartu (Regel 1892). Professor V. È. Regel, who in the meantime had become world famous as an editor of the Byzantine Journal *Vizantijskij vremennik*, in spite of the difficulties during World War I began to publish a new journal devoted to Byzantine studies *Vizantijskoe obozrenie* in Tartu which was the only journal – as Regel wrote in his letter to the People's commissar of education A. V. Lunačarskij as of 9 April 1918 (Lapteva 1991:138) – which came out regularly during World War I. He began to work at the University of Tartu in the autumn term of 1913. As a professor at the university where he lectured on the history of the Middle Ages and the Byzantine history, he also worked as a professor at the higher courses for women in Tartu and acted as the course director (EHA 402-3-414, 1, Lapteva 1991:133, 1997:95). 1918 Regel went to Voronež together with the evacuated university. He worked there as the first Rector of the University of Voronež in 1918–1925. V. È. Regel could leave Russia before the persecutions, which started at the end of the 1920s. He went to Kaunas (Akin'sin 1992:176⁵, Lietuvių enciklopedija 1961:65–67) to his son and died there.⁶

4. The chair of modern history at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century

The first professor of the Chair of Modern History at the University of Tartu was Otto Ernst Christian Waltz (1844–1918) who came to Tartu from the University of Heidelberg and returned to Germany in 1900 when his period of work finished (see this article 2.2).

4.1. Professor P. N. Ardašev

In 1901 the graduate of the University of Moscow Pavel Nikolajevič Ardašev (1865–1924) was appointed to the post of Professor Extraordinary (Dubjeva 2006b:[147–155]). He was a disciple of professor V. I. Ger'e representing the

⁵ In this article it is said that Regel left for Riga but in reality he went to his son in Kaunas who was professor of the University of Kaunas (Lietuvių enciklopedija 1961:65–67).

⁶ V. E. Regel's place of death is also mentioned as Riga (Karpačev 1998:93) but in reference literature it is Kaunas (Lietuvių enciklopedija 1961:67, Slavjanovedenie 1979:291).

école russe. In the second half of the 19th century a school in Russian history research was established for studying the history of France in the 18th century – the *l’Ancien Régime* and the French revolution, – which the French historians have named *école russe* (Pogodin 1997:4–5) and to which belong as the most outstanding representatives N. I. Kareev, I. V. Lučickij and M. M. Kovalevskij, but also P. N. Ardašev who represents the school’s right wing (Pogodin 1997:6, 92–94). He studied the provincial administration of France (Ardašev 1900–1906) in the 18th century and worked for a longer time in the archives of France. He defended his thesis for the degree of *magister historiae universalis* in 1901 and the thesis for the degree of *doctor historiae universalis* in 1906. In 1898 P. N. Ardašev was a private docent of the University of St. Petersburg, then moved to Novorossijsk (Odessa) University in 1899 to work as a private docent at the university and in May 1901 became the Professor Extraordinary of the Chair of General History at the University of Tartu. Already in 1902 he participated in the contest to the post of the professor of General History of the University of Kyjiv. He won the contest and in the autumn term of 1903 went to Kiev. The period of his work in Tartu was so short most probably because in Tartu he did not have sufficient sources and literature for studying the history of France but, however, his years in Tartu were most fruitful. Besides delivering the main course of Modern History he could also offer different special courses of the history of France, ancient Rome, the courses of the history of Western European and French literature. In Tartu he was preparing his doctoral thesis and also publishing French sources of his doctoral research (Ardašev 1903).

4.2. Professor A. A. Vasiliev

In 1904, Doctor of General History Aleksandr Aleksandrovič Vasiliev (1867–1953) (Dubjeva 2005d) was appointed Professor Ordinary of the Chair of Modern History. He was a graduate of the University of St. Petersburg and also, like V. È. Regel, a disciple of Academician V. G. Vasil’evski. A. A. Vasiliev was already a recognized specialist of Arab and Byzantine history who defended both his thesis for the degree of *magister historiae universalis* in 1901 and for the degree of *doctor historiae universalis* on the history of Byzantine and Arab relations (Vasiliev, 1900, 1902). Later he became the founder of Byzantine studies also in the USA (Slavjanovedenie 1979:92, Kuklina 1995:313,330, Bongard-Levin and Tunkina 1996:260). In Tartu he was actively participating in the university’s life. Besides lecturing he was the director of the university library in 1906–1909. In connection with modernizing history teaching he was deeply interested in the work of the student library at the Faculty of History and Linguistics (Dubjeva 1997:24–25, EHA 402-5-1415, 76–78). At the same time his scientific ties were extensive – reaching from Melbourne in Australia to Buenos Aires in Argentina where he attended scientific conferences, also participating in similar events in Europe. While in Tartu, A. A. Vasiliev continued his earlier research of the World History by the Arab-Christian historian Agapius (Mahboub) of Menbidj which he published in Paris in volumes V, VII, VIII, XI of *Patrologia orientalis* in the years

1910–1915 (Gruševoj 1998:20). A very special importance of his work is expressed by the fact that Agapius has preserved Josephus Flavius's text, the so-called *Testimonium Flavianum* in the Arabic version which was devoted to Jesus Christ's life on earth and his death. This is different from the traditional version in the Greek language. Professor A. A. Vasiliev established differences of these texts but researchers deal with the problem even today (Amusin 1975:296–301, Hallik 2001:118, Hallik and Klaassen 2002:122).

As a specialist of Byzantine history A. A. Vasiliev considered Modern history not his topic although he came here to occupy the post of the professor of Modern History (EHA 402-9-540, 148back). He wanted to have the post of the professor of the history of the Middle Ages when it became vacant after Jasinskij had left (EHA 402-3-2059, 70a; 402-9-543, 147back) but he went to St. Petersburg earlier than the problem of the professorship of the history of the Middle Ages was solved in Tartu. When in 1927 he was congratulated in the USA on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the defence of his doctoral thesis from his colleagues at the Russian Academy of the History of Culture, he responded in his letter: "Having done so little within the last 25 years I started looking for excuse: during professorship in Yuryev I had to devote almost all my time to Modern history which was far for me."⁷ He left Tartu in 1912 to become Professor Ordinary and the Dean of the Women's Pedagogical Institute in St. Petersburg, working also as a professor at the University of St. Petersburg and from 1925 as a professor at the University of Wisconsin.

4.3. Professor E. V. Tarle

Professor A. A. Vasiliev wished to see Evgenij Viktorovič Tarle as his successor in Tartu (EHA 384-1-3421, 1). E. V. Tarle (1874–1955) (Dubjeva 2006a:212-228) was a private docent of the University of St. Petersburg at that time where he defended his thesis for the degree of *doctor historiae universalis* and became "an organic part of the St. Petersburg school of history" (Kaganovič 1995:108) although he was a graduate of the University of Kyjiv.

When professor A. A. Vasiliev returned to St. Petersburg, two chairs in the field of General History at the University of Tartu became vacant. The Chair of Medieval History in 1911 as a result of A. N. Jasinskij's departure and the Chair of Modern History, invited applications for filling these posts. Both the specialists of the history of the Middle Ages and the Modern History participated. The contest was very tense. At the faculty and the university council extreme opinions were exchanged. Other participants besides E. V. Tarle were the corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences V. È. Regel, M. V. Brečkevič, a private docent of the University of Tartu, and P. V. Bezobrazov, *magister historiae universalis* who, like A. A. Vasiliev and V. È. Regel, had been V. G. Vasil'evskij's disciple. Not a single candidate obtained the majority of votes at the faculty and on

⁷ A. A. Vasiliev's letter to the St. Petersburg historian S. A. Žebelev as of 5 November 1927. A quotation from the article Kuklina 1995: 321.

7 December 1912 voting took place at the university council meeting where E. V. Tarle was elected with 20 votes for and 12 against him. V. È. Regel. was elected second professor of General History. M. V. Brečkevič was elected and appointed by that time on the Order of the Minister of Education as of 23 June 1913 to the post of Acting Professor Extraordinary in Kazan. From 22 August 1913 professor Tarle was Professor Extraordinary and from 13 December 1916 Professor Ordinary at the University of Tartu where he remained until the summer of 1918.

As his predecessor A. A. Vasiliev, E. V. Tarle, as a professor at the University of Tartu, did not cut his relations with St. Petersburg. He continued to be a private docent at the University of St. Petersburg. He had arranged his work so that he lectured on Friday and Saturday, having his office hours also on the same days after lectures. As a result, he could spend most of his time in St. Petersburg. Later, during the time of the revolution, J. V. Tarle was in Tartu for a longer time but he did not join the university's evacuation to Voronež. Instead, he returned to Petrograd in 1918.

In E. V. Tarle's life the period in Tartu was his creative peak. Before coming here, on 27 April 1911 he defended his doctoral thesis titled *The working class in France during the revolution* (Tarle 1909–1911) in which he concluded that the industrial revolution had not yet taken place in France, industrial technology was at a very low level and the workers did not play an independent role in the revolution. In his time these conclusions were disputed but at present the researchers agree with him (Kaganovič 1995:LXXVI). Then he began to devote attention to economic history and the problems of international relations but he was still interested in social history. E. V. Tarle's famous monograph *The continental blockade*, published in Moscow in 1913 deals with the issues of French industry and foreign trade during the time of Napoleon I (Tarle 1913). Continuing his research in this field, Tarle planned to publish several research papers devoted to the influence of the continental blockade on the economics of European countries. The second volume of *The continental blockade* was published in Tartu (Tarle 1916). The present-day researchers see a strong impact of positivism in E. V. Tarle's views and opinions between the 1905 and the 1917 revolution, which is characteristic of *école russe* in the framework of which Tarle developed into a researcher (Hösch 1964:16, Mjagkov 1988:14, Tyrsenko 2004:448) as disciple of professor I. V. Lučickij. At the same time we cannot deny the influence of legal Marxists and the 19th century revisionism on him (Hösch 1964:67–68, Venturi 1956:196). E. V. Tarle was highly appreciated as a superb lecturer whose lectures were also attended by students from other faculties: because of big audiences, they were also held in the university's assembly hall (Semel 1918:115).

5. The chair of Russian history at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century

At the end of the 19th century the Chair of Russian History was the first of the historical chairs of the Faculty of History and Linguistics which was constituted by the graduates of the University of St. Petersburg.

5.1. Professor E. F. Šmurlo

The first representative of St. Petersburg's school of history who was appointed to the post of Professor Extraordinary of the Chair of Russian History at the University of Tartu at the end of the 19th century, was Evgenij Frantsevič Šmurlo (1853/1854–1934) (Dubjeva 2004a:105–134).

Having been a student of academician K. N. Bestužev-Rjumin, he graduated from the University of St. Petersburg in 1879 with the candidate's degree and in 1888 defended his Master's thesis in Russian history in Russian history. His thesis in the field of historiography was devoted to the Metropolitan Evgenij Bolhovitinov as a historian. In Tartu Šmurlo replaced professor Alexander Brückner in the post of the professor of the Chair of Russian History who could not retire until the successor was found (EHA 384-1-3445, 3). At the University of Tartu E. F. Šmurlo was Professor Extraordinary in 1891-1895 and Acting Professor Ordinary in 1895-1903. In the years 1895-1900 he worked as the Director of the University Library. In 1892 he was elected *doctor honoris causa* of the University of Padua.

In 1899 he published the biography of his teacher K. N. Bestužev-Rjumin (Šmurlo 1899) whose favourite student he had been (Bračev and Dvorničenko 2004:61). This biography is considered one of the best even today (Bračev and Dvorničenko 2004:54) although newer treatments are also available (Kireeva 1990). In his research E. F. Šmurlo, when studying the themes of the historiography of Russian history, moved to the period of Peter the Great (Šmurlo 1903) and the growing relations between Russia and Europe observing the political and cultural contacts between Russia and Western Europe in a wider chronological aspect (also the 16th-17th century). E. F. Šmurlo's research was based on the materials of Russian and foreign archives. Having set himself an aim to explain the influence of Catholic Europe on the reform of Peter the Great (Beljaev 2003:150–151), he reached the main aim in his research career – he discovered Italian archives for the Russian history (Sahanev 1937) dealing with publishing the documents from these archives and making the objects of active research. The discoveries, made in this field during the working period in Tartu, gave him deserved recognition which was expressed in the fact that E. F. Šmurlo was elected Learned Correspondent of the Academy of Sciences of Russia in 1903 residing in Rome (where he remained until 1924). He was also elected Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of Russia in 1911.

5.2. Professor I. I. Lappo

After E. F. Šmurlo had left for Rome, the Chair of Russian History had a vacant professor's post until 13 May 1905 when the new professor, Ivan Ivanovič Lappo (1869–1944, in Tartu in 1905–1918), was appointed (Dubjeva 2005c). He, like E. F. Šmurlo, was also the graduate of the University of St. Petersburg who had studied under the supervision of professor S. F. Platonov (Tsamutali 1999), the disciple of K. N. Bestužev-Rjumin and the representative of St. Petersburg school. Platonov's school was characterized by public-patriotic orientation and emphasized objectivism inherited from Bestužev-Rjumin (Bračev and Dvorničenko 2004:102). In 1902 Lappo defended his Master's thesis in Russian history thesis in Russian history in St. Petersburg University (Lappo 1901). S. F. Platonov mentioned at the defence that the topic of Lappo's thesis was of 'modern character' – it was devoted to the history Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 16th century (Bračev and Dvorničenko 2004:122). During the years in Tartu I. I. Lappo retained close relations with his teacher, proved by I. I. Lappo's letters in 1905–1918 to S. F. Platonov kept in Platonov's personal archive.⁸ Before coming to Tartu he had been a private docent at the University of St. Petersburg. At the University of Tartu I. I. Lappo was Professor Extraordinary in 1905–1911 and after the defence of his doctoral thesis Professor Ordinary in 1911–1918. In Tartu he continued to study the history of Grand Duchy of Lithuania (mainly in the 16th century) which he had started in St. Petersburg. In 1911 I. I. Lappo defended his doctoral thesis (Lappo 1911) at the University of Moscow. He also published sources of Lithuanian history of law (Lappo, ed. 1910, Lappo, ed. 1914). His research papers, based on the rich source material, are written in the legal-historical style typical of the public-legal school (Siilivask 1982:327). In 1918 I. I. Lappo evacuated to Voronež together with the university and during the Civil War emigrated first to Prague (Russkie v Prage 1928), later to Kaunas⁹ from where he went to Dresden during World War II where he was killed on 23 December 1944 during bombing.¹⁰

Consequently, during the observed period – from the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century – the Chair of Russian History was headed by the representatives of St. Petersburg school of history.

⁸ The Russian National Library 585-1-3344, l. 1-39. (Platonov S. F.) The author is grateful to professor S. V. Chebanov and Mrs E. G. Popova-Jackiewicz from St. Petersburg who guided her to these materials.

⁹ It is interesting to mention that in I. I. Lappo's file at the Vitautas Great University Archives the time when he worked in Tartu, at the University of Tartu, is marked 1905-1919 (State Central Archive of Lithuania (Lietuvos Centrinio valstybės archyvo), 631-3-378, 6back), although in 1918-1919 he already worked at the University of Voronež (Moskalenko 1969:7).

¹⁰ Chebanov S. V. I. I. Lappo: Lithuanian Statute and philosophy of history. <http://www.filosofija.vu.lt/500/chebanov.pdf> (2007-10-15)
http://kfinkelshteyn.narod.ru/Tzarskoye_Selo/Uch_zav/Nik_Gimn/NG_prep_Lappo.Htm (2008-02-19)

5.3. *Researchers of Russian history in other chairs at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century*

Research papers and source materials of Russian history were published during this period also by historians of law. Mihail Aleksandrovič D'jakonov (1855–1919) was a graduate of the University of St. Petersburg who worked at the University of Tartu as Professor Extraordinary of the history of Russian law in the years 1889–1900 and as Professor Ordinary in 1901–1904. His close friendly relations with E. F. Šmurlo were established already at the University of St. Petersburg where both participated in the history circle (Kireeva 1990:225, Bračev and Dvorničenko 2004:65). M. A. D'jakonov as a graduate of the Faculty of Law and the student of professor Vasilij Ivanovič Sergejevič (1832–1910) was a representative of the public-legal school (Siilivask 1982:329) but in his research of the history of peasantry (D'jakonov 1898, D'jakonov 1895–1897, D'jakonov 1907) he proceeded from V. O. Ključevskij's conception of making peasants the objects of coercion showing that it took place unlawfully. In 1905 M. A. D'jakonov was elected a member of the Academy of Sciences of Russia and in 1912 he became an academician. After the departure of M. A. D'jakonov, the course of history of Russian law was delivered by I. I. Lappo that again proves that he was connected with the public-legal school.

Fëdor Vasil'evič Taranovskij (1875–1936) who worked as professor of the history of Russian law in 1908–1917 was a graduate of the University of Warsaw. Assessed by the Kyjiv school, he was considered to be a representative of the younger generation of the Kyjiv school branch of the history of Western Russian law (Mihal'čenko 1996:13–15, 134–135). Besides the articles following the neopositivist viewpoints in the philosophy of law and the textbook how to use the encyclopaedia of law, he published new data about the Code of Law of 1649 and also a research paper about the pre-revolutionary French public law. Students of history also participated in M. A. D'jakonov's lectures and wrote about them in their memoirs (for example, G. A. Zamjatin, see: Dubjeva 2005b:504, EHA 5311-1-158, 125) but in the lists of students who had registered to F. V. Taranovskij's lectures we could not find the names of history students. Besides being a professor in Tartu, F. V. Taranovskij delivered lectures in several higher schools of St. Petersburg and in 1917 he went to work to the University of Petrograd.

The graduate of the University of Moscow, the future Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences Aleksandr Nikitič Filippov (1853–1927), professor of the Chair of Public Law, also dealt with the problems of Russian history. Working in Tartu in 1892–1903, he studied the history of higher state agencies in the 1730s, he also published the sources of the history of Russian law (Filippov 1895, Filippov, ed. 1898–1915) and acted as Vice-rector (1893–1895) and Rector (1901–1903). In 1903 A. N. Filippov left Tartu to work at the University of Moscow.

6. The graduates of the University of Tartu – the academic staff of the chairs of history at the beginning of the 20th century

At the end of the period under discussion, graduates from the University of Tartu also worked at the Chairs of History beside the members of the academic staff who had come from other universities. In the years 1906–1911 Mitrofan Vasil'evič Brečkevič (1870–1963) (Dubjeva 2006b:[133–144]) worked as a private docent delivering courses of overviews and on special subjects in the history of Southern and Western Slavic nations. In 1912 he defended his Master's thesis on the history of the Western Slavic nations (Brečkevič 1911) which he had started to write under the supervision of professor A. N. Jasinskij. Having lost the professor's post in the contest to the more famous researchers from St. Petersburg, he received the professor's post at the University of Kazan where he worked until 1923, then moved to the Ukraine where he worked at different higher schools and a museum. He finished his academic career as the Head of the Chair of Medieval History at the University of Kyjiv (Dubjeva 2006b:[143]). It is the Tartu period in his life which is considered to be the peak of his creative activity when he made the most valuable contribution to the study of history (Lapteva 1995:8; Moskalenko 1972:102). Pětr Aleksandrovič Jakovenko (1879–1920) (Dubjeva 2004b) worked in the years 1909–1917 as a private docent, from October 1917 to March 1918 as a docent and from March 1918 as Professor Extraordinary. Under the supervision of professor A. N. Jasinskij he began to study the history of Western Slavic nations (the Candidate's thesis) but during his Master's studies he concentrated his attention on the problems of the Byzantine history which allowed G. Vernadsky to call him A. A. Vasiliev's disciple (Vernadsky 1998:226). He defended his Master's thesis on the respective issues in February 1918 (Jakovenko 1917). The docent of the Chair of Modern History German Andrejevič Zamjatin (1882–1952) (Dubjeva 2005b) became a researcher under the more direct influence of St. Petersburg school of history. G. A. Zamjatin studied at the University of Tartu in 1902–1905, from the year 1906 at the University of St. Petersburg (instruction in Tartu had been interrupted because of the revolutionary events). He graduated from the University of St. Petersburg in 1907 having studied under the supervision of professor S. F. Platonov whose influence can also be seen in the choice of the theme of his Master's thesis – the relations between Sweden and Russia at the beginning of the 17th century. In Tartu he continued his studies at the Master's course from 1909. In 1913 he was a private docent and in 1917 a docent. In the spring of 1918 he handed in his completed Master's thesis but he could not defend it in Tartu because the town was occupied by the Germans and the university was evacuated to Voronež. He defended this thesis at the University of Voronež already in 1921 and many years later, in 1943, defended his doctoral thesis at the University of Moscow, which was also devoted to the relations between Russia and Sweden at the beginning of the 17th century.

7. Summary

In the fundamental treatment *Historiography of Imperial Russia: The profession and writing of history in a multinational state*, professor Marc Raeff in his article (Raeff 1999) underlined the so-called 'white spots' (insufficient research) in pre-revolutionary Russian historiography: ignoring the military and diplomacy history, the lack of interest in international context, ignoring the multinational and multi-cultural Russian Empire. When we look at the contribution of the historians who worked at the University of Tartu at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, it becomes evident that the criticism of the study of history in the Russian Empire made at the end of the 20th century did not hold for the historians who worked at the University of Tartu at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. We cannot speak of ignoring the multinational and multicultural approach to the history of the Russian Empire because here the history of Lithuania was studied by professor I. I. Lappo. Professors E. F. Šmurlo, E. V. Tarle, docent G. A. Zamjatin and others dealt with the history of diplomatic and international relations. We can therefore say, on the basis of profound social-historical and economic-historical research that the study of history at the University of Tartu at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century was at a high level and met all the requirements of the period.

The environment in which the research in the field of history took place at the University of Tartu at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century was established by administrative measures – in the conditions of the university reform and the change of the language of instruction the teaching staff was gradually changed. Also, evacuation to Voronež in the conditions of the 1918 German occupation was carried out by administrative measures. In the mentioned period no changes took place in the structure of the chairs of history, only some posts of private docents and docents were added for a certain time after the interval of twenty-five years. For the historians who had worked here the importance of the years in Tartu was different – for P. A. Jakovenko it was the work of his lifetime, for A. N. Jasinskij it was an important period in his life, for P. N. Ardašev and E. V. Tarle it was only an episode in their life but for all these people the years were quite significant. During the reviewed period the graduates of the universities of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kyjiv and Tartu worked at the chairs of the University of Tartu. They left Tartu for universities, depending upon the situation, in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kyjiv, Kazan. The school of history of St. Petersburg was represented at the University of Tartu during the whole period under discussion, but the representatives of the school dominated at the end of the period. The teaching staff of the Chair of Russian History consisted only of the graduates of the University of St. Petersburg, whereas General History was taught by graduates of several universities, and only at the end of the period by the graduates of the University of St. Petersburg. The representatives of the school of history of St. Petersburg who were in majority here played a great role thanks to their scientific recognition and superb preparation. The geographical location was also important because at the

beginning of the 20th century fast and convenient railway connections made Tartu closer to St. Petersburg. Also, the continuing intensive scientific connections of the representatives of St. Petersburg school contributed to bring Tartu and St. Petersburg closer. Particular historicism supported by facts and historical resources and exact methods of researching resources were also characteristic of the representatives of the school working in Tartu who paid great attention to publishing historical resources, issuing collections of historical documents. During the whole reviewed period active and high level research work was under way. Numerous publications, and the teaching of historians laid the foundation and provided a serious potential for further development which is confirmed by the future career of the historians who studied and worked at the University of Tartu at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

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