

ВСЕОБЩАЯ ИСТОРИЯ

РОССИЙСКАЯ НАУКА В МЕЖДУНАРОДНОМ КОНТЕКСТЕ

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*E. D. Frolov*ACADEMIC LINKS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND GERMANY IN THE 18th–19th CENTURIES

It seems that there is no national culture, not even the most original and strong, which can be formed without absorbing external influences. The purpose of this article is to show how profoundly the development of Russian humanitarian culture was influenced by borrowings from German practice, in particular on the example of the science of world history and, even more precisely, of classical studies. The rise was taken in the reforms of Peter the Great. The Academy of Sciences was founded in St. Petersburg during his reign, and careful consideration of the Western European practice by the Russian Tsar and his staff preceded this event. L. Blumentrost, the German-born physician of Peter the Great, was in charge of preparations for the establishment of the Academy, and the German scientist G. S. Bayer represented the humanitarian class which was nearly identical to classical studies. The next important step was made at the turn of the 19th century when the harmonious system of education based on elementary schools, secondary gymnasia and universities was created in Russia. It was to a great extent a replica of the German example, the very system of standard classical education was also borrowed from Germany. From this point on this system of education was constantly fed by reference to German practice. Russian classical scholars fulfilled their education in German classical learning centers — the Professorial Institute in Dorpat and the Russian Seminar in Leipzig. The same was the goal of regular educational trips to Germany by Russian students who were trained there for the professorial career. Refs 13.

Keywords: classicism, antiquity, the higher school, historiography, general history.

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РУССКО-НЕМЕЦКИЕ УНИВЕРСИТЕТСКИЕ СВЯЗИ В XVIII–XIX вв.

По-видимому, нет национальной культуры, даже самой самобытной и сильной, чье формирование проходило без внешних влияний. Цель настоящей статьи показать, сколь велико было значение заимствований из немецкого опыта для развития русской гуманитарной культуры, в частности на примере науки всеобщей истории и, даже более точно, антиковедения. Начало было положено преобразованиями Петра Великого. При нем в Петербурге была основана

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Академия наук, учреждению которой предшествовало внимательное изучение русским царем и его сотрудниками западноевропейского опыта. Подготовкой к открытию Академии занимался лейб-медик Петра, немец по происхождению, Л. Блюментрост, а гуманитарный класс, практически совпадавший с антиковедением, представлял также немецкий ученый Г. З. Байер. Далее важным шагом явилось на рубеже XVIII–XIX вв. создание в России стройной образовательной системы, включавшей начальные училища, гимназии и университеты. Ее построение в большой степени было слепком с немецкого образца, откуда было также заимствовано и нормативное классическое образование. В дальнейшем эта система постоянно подпитывалась обращением к немецкому опыту. Для подготовки национальных кадров гуманитаров-классиков использовались элементы немецкой образованности — Профессорский институт в Дерпте и Русский семинар в Лейпциге. Той же цели служили регулярные командировки в Германию русских университетов, которых готовили к профессорской карьере. Библиогр. 13 назв.

Ключевые слова: классицизм, античность, высшая школа, историография, всеобщая история.

There is no need to demonstrate further the distinctiveness of Russian civilization. This has been the basis of her geopolitical code and has been demonstrated by the very course of her history, specifically, by the wars Russia had been waging against the tribes of the steppes, and even more — by everlasting confrontation with the West. However, it is not possible to discredit the fact that the Russian culture had been profoundly influenced from outside: by the Byzantine Empire in the ancient times, and later by conquerors from the Northern Germany (the Normans or the Varangians according to Russian tradition), and by Poland even later, in the 16th and 17th centuries. To round out the picture, in the Modern era, i. e. in the 18th and 19th centuries, Russian society came under the powerful influence of the West European countries, especially of the Germans and the French to a lesser extent.

The German impact was particularly strong from the eighteenth to the first half of the nineteenth century. It was encouraged by Peter I, who in order to diminish a development gap between Europe and Russia caused by Ivan the Terrible's detrimental domestic and unfortunate foreign policy centuries before, implemented a number of radical reforms in different facets of politics and society, in warfare and diplomacy, trade and industry, education and even in everyday life (though that being imposed only on the highest ranks of nobility). In pursuing this policy of modernisation and Europeanisation of Russia, the tsar-reformer drew naturally on the foreigners who lived within his easy reach — in the Foreign Quarter of Moscow. It was from among those foreigners, primarily Germans, where the first Western teachers and associates of Peter the Great came from.

German influence manifested itself in Russian education and research, which took on a European form and received a needed shot in the arm through the efforts of the German experts and their Russian pupils. One can safely say that in the Modern era, education and research in Russia was in no small degree moulded according to German patterns, having emulated the system of gymnasia and universities adopted in Germany during the 16th and 17th centuries after Philip Melanchthon. Established in Saint Petersburg in the early 18th century, the Russian Academy of Sciences, Saint Petersburg and Moscow universities, founded in the same century, the other universities set up later in different cities, along with the gymnasia, collectively made up the necessary elements of a proper secular educational system. These all were actually a cast from the mould of German institutions. However, this did not hamper the process of creating a proper Russian educational culture

on the basis of the German one. With special attention paid to the fate of science (the focus of this article and the field which dominated over the humanities in world history and classics), the most significant examples of Russian-German interaction will be dealt with in the following. The author has already once tried to touch upon this subject at a conference in Göttingen [Frolov 1996]. This article also relies heavily on the author's monograph [Frolov 2006].

To start our survey it is worth mentioning that prior to Peter I's rule there was neither a proper system of secular education, nor any advanced research in Russia. Peter was the one who in his strive for Russia's Europeanisation undertook a reform of national education by establishing schools of military engineering (so-called Nautical Schools) and the Cadet Corps, and by creating a distinct centre of research and education in the new capital of the Russian Empire, Saint Petersburg — the Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Arts. These reforms were preceded by an exhaustive investigation into the research and educational trends of the West-European academic hubs, Berlin, London and Paris, which took several years to be completed. A great deal was adopted from the German experience. It is noteworthy that Peter commissioned Laurentius Blumentrost, a German, his long-time friend and personal physician to draw up so-called Regulation (i. e. Charter) for the newly founded Russian Academy. Blumentrost was a man of great scholarship (he defended a dissertation and took a Medical Doctor's degree at Leiden University) and was no stranger to the European structure of education and research. His Draft Charter for the new Academy in Saint Petersburg was carefully read through, amended and approved by Peter I (1724–1725). However, the new Academy was inaugurated only under Peter's successor, the Empress Catherine I (1725–1726). Laurentius Blumentrost became the first president of Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences (for Blumentrost (1692–1755) see: [Pekarskiy 1870, Kopelevich 1977, Sobolev 2014]).

Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences in fact had been a quite complex network of institutions. It included the Academy itself, which was meant to be a corporation of scholars; a University, with the members of Academy having to work as its professors; and a Gymnasium, at which the pupils and assistants of the professors mentioned, or *adjuncts*, could teach. The Academy was supposed to have three branches: mathematics, physics and humanities, the latter being represented by a classical scholar, a historian, and an expert in law studies and ethics.

The Academic University had been a stunted institution as its students were scarce, and by the end of 1760s it fell into decay and finally ceased to exist. On the contrary, the Gymnasium turned to be far more resilient and endured until the turn of the nineteenth century, when the new institutions established within the Ministry of Education replaced both Gymnasium and the Academic University.

The first fellows of the Academy were comprised of the scholars from abroad, primarily Germans. This fact should not be surprising, as in the very beginning, there were no scientists of Russian origin. The most prominent among them was a classical scholar invited from Königsberg University, professor Gottlieb Siegfried Bayer (1694–1738) [Pekaskiy 1870, p. 7–21; Frolov 1996; Babinger 1915].

Bayer came of a refined Königsberg family — his grandfather was a protestant minister, his father was an artist. He received a brilliant classical education at a gymnasium and at the University of Königsberg. After his graduation and long-time traineeship in the German universities, he began to teach at a gymnasium and later at the University. By the

time he received an offer of employment from Russia he had already proved to be a young but qualified expert in classical studies, oriental languages and history.

In Russia Bayer plunged into scientific and educational activity. His range of expertise comprised three main areas: oriental languages, early Russian history and classics. As regards his research in oriental studies, it is worth mentioning the voluminous Chinese dictionary he compiled, the manuscript of which, though, has never been published. In his study of the early Russian history, Bayer examined a legend about the Varyags, recorded in a chronicle and used it to develop so-called *Norman theory*, which claimed that the Varangians — newcomers from Scandinavia — introduced statehood to Russia. Later this theory was widely criticized by the Russian scholars of patriotic stance (Mikhail Lomonosov and the others), though even now it still has its followers.

Bayer was a pioneer in classics as well. He researched the history of Eastern Hellenism, especially in Mesopotamia where the encounter of the Greek and Iranian cultures took place. He examined the political framework of one of the first federal states in Hellas, the Achaean League (3rd–2nd centuries BC). He also launched the systematic study into Herodotus' Scythia, having covered such questions as the ethnic origins of the Scythians, their dispersion over Eastern Europe, the contacts they made with the Greek states located in the northern coast of the Black Sea.

Bayer's writings also included a small but in-depth essay proving him to be an expert at the history of arts. It is an article on Aphrodite of Knidos, a Greek statue of Hellenistic origins, which had been brought by Peter's agents from Rome to adorn the tsar's Summer Garden in Saint Petersburg. Later on, under Catherine II, it was moved to the Tauride Palace (which gave her a sobriquet "Venus of Tauria"), and still later has become a gem of the Hermitage collection of antique statues.

An outstanding and creative scholar, a philologist, historian and an art expert at the same time, Bayer represented the whole branch of humanities in the Academy of Sciences during the first fifteen years of its foundation. Besides carrying out extensive research, he took great pains to set up a system of teaching the classical languages at the Academic Gymnasium. In fact, he single-handedly ran this school. It is remarkable that even then, in the early eighteenth century, he strongly opposed to the practice of reducing the teaching of, say, Latin, to a formal study of grammar, advocating the necessity of comprehending the meaning of the text in question.

Bayer's wide knowledge, fruitful research and writing were duly appreciated by new Russian intellectuals. An influential public figure, the Archbishop of Novgorod, Theophan Prokopovitch honoured him with his friendship. A pioneer of Russian classicism in literature, Antiochus Kantemir, took a course of his lectures in Academy and considered himself to be Bayer's disciple. Vasily Tatishchev included a number of Bayer's papers (in abridged translations from Latin) in his own *Russian History*. Finally, it was Bayer's immediate influence that helped the subsequent historian at Saint Petersburg Academy, Gerhard Friedrich Müller (1705–1783) to develop his scholarly skills.

These admirers of Bayer made up to some extent for the lack of the actual pupils, which he never had. It was early days yet then for a research school to be created. Unfortunately, Bayer's academic career in Saint Petersburg ended quite quickly. As a scholar of great integrity, he staunchly defended the concerns of the scholastic corporation against the intentions of the Academy's bureaucracy, chaired by mighty Johann Schumacher, which wanted to bring the scientists under its complete control. Having lost the fight with

Johann Schumacher, the head of Academy, Bayer decided to return back to Königsberg in 1737, but fell sick while preparing for departure and died early in 1738. His death had left abandoned the studies in the world history at Academy. His nominal successors at Academy, Johann Georg Lotter and Christian Crusius, also Germans, were third-rate men, and classical studies was preserved only by virtue of the enthusiasm maintained by the new academicians of the Russian origin, who, however, were rather competent amateurs than professional historians — Vasily Trediakovskii and Mikhail Lomonosov.

Research and education in Russia experienced another advance at the turn of the nineteenth century when Catherine II, Paul I and Alexander I put a great deal of effort to develop and implement a comprehensive education program, which implied establishing primary schools in small settlements, gymnasiums in the large towns and finally the universities in the major provincial cities. As a result, the Moscow University, founded back in 1755, was joined by new ones, established in the early nineteenth century in Dorpat (contemporary Tartu), Kazan, Kharkov, Saint Petersburg (to replace the late Academic University) and, shortly after, in Kiev. The education scheme in gymnasia and universities followed the German model, which was built upon the overwhelming dominance of the classical scholarship, with classical languages being thoroughly studied in gymnasiums and research in history and philology prevailing in the universities. The key role in constituting this academic system was performed by Count Sergey Uvarov (1786–1855), who in his early years had taken a course in classical studies led by the renowned classical scholar Christian Friedrich Gräfe and had produced several treatises on antiquity (on the Eleusinian Mysteries, Heracles' cult, the late Greek poet Nonnus etc.). Beginning from 1810, Uvarov had been in charge of the Saint Petersburg educational district. Since 1818 till the end of his life he had been the President of the Academy of Sciences and in 1833 he was promoted to the post of Minister of Education. In essence, he had been managing the entire research and education system in Russia in the first half of the nineteenth century and he used his high rank to introduce classical education in schools as well as to improve the classical studies in universities. Uvarov carried on his policy out of the conviction that Russia, while keeping her traditions based on Orthodoxy, Autocracy and Nationality, still should rationally use the benefit of European scholarship to a certain extent, which would allow Russian society to become familiar with the modern progressive culture, the classical culture at that time. Although seemingly reasonable, this stance concealed an inner reserve of conservatism, which rather quickly impelled the vanguard of Russian society, looking askance towards liberalism and materialism, to disprove of Uvarov's system of classicism.

In his aspiration to implement classical studies and education in Russia, Uvarov relied on support from the Western experts and apostles of classicism. To name a few, he was in lively correspondence with a distinguished scholar, a public figure, and a founder of the University of Berlin, Wilhelm Humboldt, and with a leader of the German Enlightenment, Johann Wolfgang Goethe, whose advice he largely followed. In Russia, his main associates were the German classical scholars, members of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Heinrich Karl Ernst Köhler, Christian Friedrich Gräfe and Ludolf Stephani, who comprised the Academy's classical studies and antiquity department, restored in the early 19th century. Their contribution bears mention.

Heinrich Karl Ernst Köhler (1765–1838), a scholar well known in Germany for his studies in antiquity and his erudition, was invited to Saint Petersburg in 1797 to sort out

the books designated for the West European collection of the future Public Library, which would be opened in 1811. In 1804 Köhler transferred to the Emperor's Hermitage, where he assumed an office of a director of the First Department (currently, Antiquity Department). He took great pains to classify and identify the pieces of the antique art in the Hermitage. In addition, he was a prolific writer, having published numerous books on antique literature, art and religion. In 1817, he became a full member of the Russian Academy of Sciences and afterwards influenced deeply the advance of the studies in the ancient history. Incidentally, he was the first professional classical scholar in Russia, to take an interest in the antiquities of the Black Sea coast, he visited Crimea twice and advocated the delicate handling of ancient relics found there. His articles and reviews of the books by the archaeologists of his time (by the French scholar Désiré Raoul-Rochette in particular) facilitated the adoption of academic accuracy in research in history and archaeology to a great extent.

The advance of classical studies and classical education in Russia was also contributed by Christian Friedrich Gräfe and Ludolf Stephani, Germans by birth, who were granted a membership in the Academy of Sciences on the recommendation of Sergey Uvarov. Christian Gräfe (1780–1851) launched his career in Russia as a teacher of classical languages at the Saint Petersburg Theological Academy and later transferred to Saint Petersburg University. He endeavoured and managed to set up a special academic branch of classical studies there, which started dominating over rest of the historical and philological disciplines. Gräfe was not only an outstanding teacher, but also a gifted scholar. His list of publications is topped by a critical edition of the voluminous poem *Dionysiaca* by the late Greek poet Nonnus of Panopolis (5th century BC). As for Ludolf Stephani (1816–1887), he actually succeeded Köhler in his post at the Hermitage, where he studied pieces of ancient art, and, among other things, prepared a large survey of the Emperor's collection of ancient Greek vases. Stephani participated in exploration of Black Sea coast antiquities as well. He contributed to a seminal book *The Antiquities of Bosphorus the Cimmerian* with a publication of the Bosphoran inscriptions, the list of which took up the whole second volume of the edition. Until the corpus of the Greek and Latin inscriptions of the northern coast of the Black Sea was issued by V. Latyshev at the turn of the 20th century, Stephani had been considered to be Russia's most eminent epigraphist.

Along with the above mentioned classical experts Köhler, Gräfe and Stephani, another one should be referred to — August Nauck (1822–1892), enrolled to the Academy later, after Uvarov had passed away. Nauck had been the most distinguished classical scholar of the nineteenth century. He published perfect scholarly editions of the fragments belonging to a Hellenistic savant Aristophanes of Byzantium, Euripides' tragedies and fragments of the Greek tragedians. Along with research work, Nauck did a good deal of academic teaching at the Saint Petersburg Institute for History and Philology, where for many years he had been a tenured professor and had trained many a generation of Russian classical scholar (such renowned scientists as Pyotr Nikitin and Vasily Latyshev were among his students). Together these four classical philologists constituted the successive school of thought, which tended to dominate over the classical studies throughout the nineteenth century.

Shifting the focus from the Academy of Sciences to the Russian universities, the great impact of the German scholars should be noted likewise. The example of classical philology will make this statement obvious, as due to the very essence of this discipline, dilettantism of any kind would have been impossible and only recognised experts could perform

the job. For instance, such were Dietrich-Christoph von Rommel and Johan Christian Kroneberg, who figured prominently at the University of Kharkov, and aforementioned Gräfe at in Saint Petersburg. The teaching of world history had been less encouraging as in the absence of the real experts only amateurs and mediocre hacks worked there. To illustrate, Nikifor Cherepanov, although being totally ungifted, had been reading a course in the world history at Moscow University for many years; the same course at Saint Petersburg University was being held by a French emigrant Anton Degurov, who was interested more in promoting his career than carrying out research. The poor state of education in several areas in the Russian universities impelled the government of Russia to take urgent measures for training the experts required, who were to be “recruited out of Russians by birth”, as it was stressed in the governmental resolution. To this end, a collegiate Institute of Professors was established within the University of Dorpat (present day Tartu) in 1827. [Petrov 2004, p. 23–39; Kostina 2011]. About twenty Russian top universities graduates were enrolled there to complete a refreshment course and then to perform a two-year training session in Berlin, Germany.

It is essential to emphasise that it was not a mere coincidence that Dorpat had been chosen as a place for this unique postgraduate school. The University of Dorpat was inherently German: it was such when it was freshly opened in 1632 by order of Swedish King Gustav II Adolf, who set it up in order to meet the wishes of German nobility in Livonia. During the Great Northern War, the University of Dorpat rejected Peter I's offer to stay in Russian service and moved bodily to Sweden, where it was dispersed and therefore ceased to exist. In the late eighteenth century, the Livonian nobility applied to Paul I to re-open the University in Dorpat. This request was granted and in 1802 the University in Dorpat was reborn, and once more it came to be German in its essence due to the German origins both the students and professors shared. This university had become an enclave of German research in Russia: the German language dominated there, traditions of German universities were preserved, and, most importantly, the academic staff was comprised of the best German professors, who were to teach Russian postgraduate students.

The most distinguished among the experts in classical studies of Dorpat was Karl Simon Morgenstern, a brilliant scholar, teacher and a competent administrator. Through his efforts, a model university library was established in Dorpat; meanwhile, he launched the publication of special issues on ancient culture, which had paved the way for the academic journals that appeared later.

There were three Russian trainees in the Institute of Professors who had chosen world history as their profession. These were Dmitry Kryukov from Moscow, Mikhail Lunin from Kharkov and Mikhail Kutorga from Saint Petersburg. They completed their education at Dorpat and defended their dissertations there: Kryukov on Tacitus' *Agricola*, Lunin on the prehistory of Achaean Greece, Kutorga on the structure of the early Athenian society. Thereupon they underwent the training at the University of Berlin, having attended the lectures there by August Böckh and Leopold Ranke. As is obvious from what has been said, there can be no doubt that the Russian academic tradition, both classical studies at Academy and research in world history at the universities, had fallen initially under a strong German influence.

The Dorpat Institute of Professors had been the first but not the last attempt to settle refreshment training for Russian students basing on German expertise. The next step revealed itself in launching so-called Russian Seminar (*Russische Seminar*) at the Leipzig

University in 1873 [Maksimova, Almazova 2003; Schroder 2013]. This Workshop was also initiated by the Russian government in order to acquire the competent classical scholars for Russian gymnasia and universities by training. Under the guidance of renowned German academics Friedrich Ritschl and Justus Hermann Lipsius, Russian trainees had been improving their command of classical languages, studying the legal practices of the ancient world, mastering the skills of critical reading and interpretation of ancient texts. Among the others, the future Russian professors Faddey Zielinskii, Ernest Stern and Adolf Sonny received a three years' training at the Russian Workshop in Leipzig. Zielinski presented his first dissertation in Leipzig and was appointed to a chair at Saint Petersburg University later; Stern was granted a professorship at NovoRossiia University (in Odessa), and Sonny in Kiev. The Leipzig Workshop lasted only for a comparatively short period (1873–1890) but nevertheless it contributed to the education of the Russian classical scholars.

On the whole, it was a quite common practice in pre-revolutionary Russia to send the graduates from Russian universities to German academic centres, especially Berlin, for additional training. It bears reminding that it was in Berlin where the first graduates of the Dorpat Institute of Professors, Dmitry Kryukov, Mikhail Lunin and Mikhail Kutorga had studied. Altogether, they had played an essential role in development of Russian academia and research. Kryukov's profound knowledge and his art of teaching were admired by the students in Moscow greatly. It should be mentioned that one of those who appreciated his methods and who was trained under his guidance in classical studies was Sergey Solovyov. Later he also had a tenure as a professor at the Moscow University and produced the most comprehensive research on the history of Russia. Coming back to Kryukov, he had never lost touch with Germany: in 1842 he published his seminal work *The Reflections on the Initial Difference in the Religious Attitudes between the Roman Plebeians and Patricians* under the pseudonym Pellegrino, the first original research work on Roman history written by a Russian scholar. Similarly to Kryukov, Lunin and Kutorga were also renowned for their erudition and the mastery in teaching. Moreover, Kutorga was the leading Russian expert in ancient history, a scholar and an academic teacher, who had trained quite a number of pupils of his own, and together with Nikolay Ustryalov had become a founding father of Saint Petersburg school of history.

The mantle of Kutorga at Saint Petersburg University was taken up by Fyodor Sokolov (1841–1909), who had also received a two-year training in Berlin. Having started with research in early Sicilian history, Sokolov later created an excellent analytical study of the Homeric question. What was even more important, he managed to transplant epigraphy, a new and essential discipline, being a study of the ancient Greek and Roman inscriptions, from German to Russian ground, thus constituting the foundation for the study of antiquity, foundations which were to be built upon in the nineteenth century.

In Saint Petersburg University, Sokolov developed a new type of international internship, designed for the students who were, as it was usually formulated back then, “to stay in the University in order to be trained for professorship”. According to the new plan, the graduates who gave a good account of themselves were to be sent for a couple of years to the countries of the classical history — Italy and Greece. There, under the guidance of qualified mentors, again Germans mostly, they acquired the expertise of archaeological fieldwork and gained the skills of analysing epigraphic material. Having secured an approval for his project from the Ministry of Education, Sokolov personally brought in 1880 two of his students, Victor Jernstedt and Vasily Latyshev to such an internship in

Athens. There, in a manner of speaking, he handed them himself, to the prominent Western scholars who chaired the archaeological institutes in Greece: Ulrich Köhler, the director of Athenian branch of the German Archaeological Institute, and Paul Foucart, the head of the French School at Athens.

Victor Jernstedt (1854–1902) continued his training in Italy, and later he became the most distinguished palaeographer in Russia, a top specialist in manuscript tradition of the classical era. Unlike him, Vasily Latyshev (1855–1921) abided by epigraphical research, which was introduced to him by Sokolov and Köhler. Having spent two years in Greece, he developed into a peerless expert in epigraphy. During his international internship, Latyshev gained a reputation for a number of brilliant papers he had published in the Western journals, and even before he finished his training he had received a flattering offer from the Russian Archaeological Society to collect and print all the Greek and Roman inscriptions found in the northern coast of the Black Sea. He coped with his task flawlessly and issued the three-volume corpus of the Black Sea inscriptions (*Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini*, vol. I–II, IV, Petropoli, 1885–1901). This publication made Latyshev known internationally and he was bestowed with a membership in the Berlin Academy of Sciences, an honour rare to be awarded.

Following Jernstedt and Latyshev, some other students of Sokolov also undertook an archaeological fieldwork at Athenian branch of the German Archaeological Institute — Dmitry Korolkov, Alexander Nikitskii, Nikolay Novosadskii, Alexander Shchukarev and the others. Among them was another student worth to be mentioned, a pupil of Faddey Zielinskii at Saint Petersburg University, Mikhail Rostovtsev (1870–1952). He also won a scholarship for a three-year international internship (1895–1898), in the course of which he went to Asia Minor, Greece and Italy, visiting the key centres of classical studies in Europe, including Rome, Vienna, Berlin, Paris and London. In Vienna, he participated in the workshops run by the archaeologist Otto Berndorf and an epigraphist Eugen Bormann. The latter drew Rostovtsev's attention to the issue of tax collection in Rome by urging him to examine the 2nd century AD inscription from Halicarnassus, which provided the information on publicans who collected the harbour duties in the Asian province. A study of this inscription had become a starting point for Rostovtsev's interest in the financial and, more broadly, economic history of the ancient world, which constituted a subject matter of his seminal works, published in Russian and in English. On the whole, his international training greatly facilitated Rostovtsev's encounter with the academic world of the West, particularly German scholars, among whom he especially admired Eduard Meyer, whose ideas influenced him considerably.

Enough has been said to demonstrate how crucially German expertise influenced Russian classical studies. There is no doubt that the German impact prevailed during the period in which classical education had been dominating. However, there were other influences as well: in the Modern era, Russia readily absorbed the achievements of many other national schools of thought. Therefore, it is necessary to admit that France to some extent also affected Russian research and education. In this respect the Tsar Peter's visit to Paris in 1718 was rather indicative, as he took a great interest in the system of scholarship at Sorbonne and the French Academy.

Later on, there were numerous examples of an impact the French scientific thought exerted on academia in Russia [see: Frolov 2005]. The first instance to provide is Vasily Trediakovskii (1703–1769), who had a completed five-year course at the University of

Paris under the guidance of Charles Rollin, the rector of Sorbonne of the time and an outstanding classical historian, who personally handed to Trediakovskii his University diploma. Having returned to Russia, Trediakovskii became a bearer of French cultural influence: he translated into Russian the first courtesy novel *Journey to the isle of Love* by French writer Paul Tallemant; versified *The adventures of Telemachus*, Fénelon's well-known book, which thus was modified into the Russian heroic poem *Telemachida*. To top it all, for many years he had been working over a Russian translation of Charles Rollin and Jean Crévier's works on the ancient history, having published a total of 29 volumes.

French influence can be traced in Mikhail Kutorga's output as well. In the dissertation written during his studies in Dorpat, Kutorga highly esteemed the works of François Guizot, having borrowed his theory of class struggle originating from initial submission suffered by one nation from another. In the following years, as a professor of Saint Petersburg University, he came in contact with the French Academy and kept in touch with it. In Paris, he frequently issued fragments of his works on Athens and Greco-Persian Wars translated in French, the publications which made his works renowned in Europe.

Finally, Ivan Grevs (1860–1941) might represent another instance of close ties with French culture. A student of a celebrated expert in history of Hellenistic Greece and the Byzantine Empire, Vasily Vasilievskii, he succeeded him as a chair professor at Saint Petersburg University. Since his studentship Grevs has been fascinated by the works of the great French historian Fustel de Coulanges, and in his dissertation *An Outline of History of Roman Land Ownership (in the era of the Roman Empire)* he developed a key idea expressed by the French scholar he admired, that the feudal land ownership in medieval Europe originated from Roman latifundia system. It is remarkable that Grevs realised his own uniqueness in academia of those times because of his commitment to French tradition instead of the German one [Skrzhinskaia 1946, p. 233].

At any rate, the prevailing influence of German research and education on Russian humanities in the Modern era is beyond doubt. The reasons of this can be easily explained. It should be noted that Tsar Peter relied heavily on German teachers who lived in the close vicinity in the Foreign Quarter in Moscow, and it was there where he had his first encounter with the experience and achievements of the foreign Western world. Moreover, we have to take into account the relative proximity of Russian and German lands, flourishing commercial and cultural relations, which until the 20th century were not hampered by the military conflicts arising from time to time. The dynastic relations between the Romanovs and the German princely families as well as German colonisation of the North-West of Russia, Saint Petersburg area and the Volga region turned out to be no less important. When being compared to these factors, the addiction to the French fashion in everything that Russian nobility had imported from the West would seem to be rather insignificant, as actually it affected just the surface of the everyday life of the nobility.

The First World War that triggered October Revolution of 1917 had considerably weakened the German impact on Russia, and the new war which followed drew a line under this historic phenomenon once and for all. Simultaneously (or rather after October Revolution) the entire system of classical education built upon the German model was totally swept away and the heart of it, classical studies, were pushed aside. Even though some elements of the cooperation between Germany and Russia have been preserved, for instance, the overall structure of universities, still the face of Russian culture has changed dramatically on the whole. And yet after the war the academic community took great pains to restore at least

some centres of classical education and therefore some traditions adopted from the German experience. However, over the last decades of the Soviet era and especially during so-called Perestroika, Anglo-American academic culture started to exert its influence, which, through such reforms as adopting the Bologna system, brought these attempts to nothing once more.

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