

National Research University Higher School of Economics

as a manuscript

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EVERYDAY STRATEGIES OF MOSCOW IMPERIAL
UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN THE MID 19th — EARLY 20th CENTURY IN
THE CONTEXT OF THE STATE'S REGULATORY POLICY.

Dissertation Summary
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Academic supervisor: A. Kamenskii, Doctor of Science, professor.

Relevance of the topic

In current Russia question of limits of freedom of the university and affiliated with its people was broadly discussed in the recent years, which might add a bit of a public applicability to the topic and the main theses of the presented Dissertation.

Are students allowed to form an alliance and conduct meetings in the university grounds? Should students be regarded only as “single visitors” of the university or should they be viewed as a corporation with its collective rights, corporative views on the educational process and legal possibilities to fight for their rights and interests? Astonishingly, how these questions seem relevant both for the students of Moscow Imperial university in the middle 19th — early 20th centuries, and for their successors in the 21st century — students, currently struggling with the educational policy of the state.

Similarly, the position of the university in the relationship between its student and the state remains a controversial topic ever since. What place has university in this relationship and in case of conflicts? Should the university protect its “nurslings” from the repressive policy of the state or should it create an alliance with the state and serve as another tool in this repressive policy both for the students, and for the society as the whole?

Universities in the modern Russia today, as their predecessors in the tsarist Russia have to answer these complex questions today, thus shaping the position, possibilities and future of the modern university students.

In the presented Dissertation was made an attempt to reconstruct the policy of the state towards the students and analysis of the coping strategies, used by the students in order to get through the years at the university.

Degree of scientific development of the topic

There is a tradition, created by historians in the in the middle 19th — early 20th centuries and continued by the Soviet historians of painting university students as “young generation of the revolution”. Many researches, conducted by the historians till this day, tend to still focus on this sphere of the history of the university students. Imperial university students as a group were however should be observed as much more diverse and complex part of the Russian society — the life of the students might had included participation in the revolutionary groups and other activities, but should not be reduced just to this part.

For the young man, prepared to become a university student, the university and the state had set a number of restrictions, rules and measures of non-overt police surveillance. Officially new students were familiarized with the appropriate rules of conduct at the university, penalty system, scholarship system and other means of potentially accessible rewards.

In the presented Dissertation was made an attempt to find some suitable answers for the following questions. How was organised the multi-level system of control towards the university students? How did the different parts of this system of control communicate with each other? Was this system of control effective? Could the university students be regarded as actors in this system of control or were they just the objects of this system? Could university students benefit from participation in this system of control, which was created by the state? What coping strategies did the university students used in order to survive in Moscow under this system of control? Why despite all the efforts made by the

state (including a system of various potentially accessible rewards designed for the university students) did university students rise against it again and again?

Historians, contemporary to the students of Moscow Imperial university in the middle 19th — early 20th centuries, didn't analyse the system of control towards the student as a whole (Chertkov, 1907, p. 60; Elenev, 1888, p. 46; Ferlyudin, 1893, p. 186; Frommet, 1912, p. 131; Kulakovskij, 1897, p. 66; Mel'gunov, 1904, p. 71; Mel'gunov, 1903, p. 103; Posse, 1902, p. 18; Svatikov, 1916, pp. 1–19; Svatikov, 1907, pp. 165–250; Vydrin, 1908, p. 36). They preferred to analyse some single significant legislative acts or choose for their consideration some narrow aspect of relationship between university students and the state (for instance, the dormitory system at the Moscow Imperial university).

Soviet historians due to the ideological restrictions of their time described the university students only as “young generation of the revolution” (Bovykin, 1955, pp. 49–59; Buldashov, 1981, pp. 46–53; Ejmontova, 1986, pp. 198–211; Galiakbarova, 1975, pp. 40–48; Georgieva, 1985, pp. 87–96; Gessen, 1932, p. 142; Golovkin, 1961, pp. 231–253; Grishina, 1988, pp. 43–53; Gutnov, 1988, pp. 59–72; Gvencadze, 1983, pp. 113–116; Ivanov, 1984, pp. 111–130; Lenin, 1924, p. 42; Shchipanov, 1957, p. 470; Murav'ev, 1971, pp. 121–137; Orlov, 1934, p. 399; Ovchenko, 1989, pp. 66–68; Shchetinina, 1980, pp. 310–327; Skripov and Smol'nikov, 1976, pp. 3–14; Titkova, 1983, pp. 81–87; Tkachenko, 1978, p. 245; Trajnin, 1959, pp. 43–85; Uhalov, 1959, pp. 40–74; Veselaya, 1974, pp. 133–147; Vlasenko, 1986, pp. 67–75; Yudina, 1984, pp. 45–55). Therefore, the soviet historians mainly focused on evaluation of degree of participation of the university students in the revolutionary organisations, illegal publications and various other forms of rebellion against the state. The relationship between the state and university students because of it initially prescribed ideological view were also analysed by them in the same manner.

Historians today, free from ideological restrictions of the past, tend to invent new ways of analysis of history of the university students in Imperial

Russia (Bocharov, 2001, pp. 39–85; Chinennyj and Stoyan. 1999, pp. 141–148; Cygankov, 2009, pp. 371–460; Ivanov, 2010, pp. 84–96; Ivanov, 2010, p. 331; Ivanov, 1999, p. 414; Ivanov, 1991, p. 392. Margolis, 1996, pp. 656–670; Olesich, 1998, p. 205; Postnikov, 2003, pp. 96–110; Solomonov, 1994, pp. 20–34; Terekhov, 1998, p. 190; Zimin, 2005, pp. 107–121). Some of them, for instance, choose to analyse different spheres of the university students' everyday life.

Object of the research is a corpus of selected primary sources analysis of which allowed to reconstruct the mechanisms of state policy aimed at the control of the university students. The policy of state was designed to determine and enforce the “norm”, according to which the young men in the Imperial Moscow university were supposed to behave.

Subject of the research is the state policy towards students of Imperial Moscow university.

Aim of the research is the reconstruction of various behavioral coping strategies chosen by the students of Imperial Moscow university as their reaction on the system of the state policy aimed on them.

From the entire system of state policy towards the universities in the dissertation were chosen the components, which were aimed at the regulation of the life of university students. The combination of these components is described as the state policy towards the students, which represented a system of incentives, penalties and control. This system was analysed both from its structure (embodied in the instructions, rules and other regulative documents), and from its practical implementation (manifested and organised by university officials and the police in the control of Imperial university students within the walls of the university and in the city).

The possible behavioral strategies of students at the university were considered and described as their reaction to the existed system of the state policy. The Dissertation described the whole range of these coping strategies — from agreement with the requirements of the state to the expression of individual or collective disagreement with the current state of affairs.

Objectives of the research:

- consideration of the legal status of the students of Imperial Moscow university
- analysis of the state policy towards the students of Imperial Moscow university
- identification and description of the components of the state policy towards the students of Imperial Moscow university — system of incentives, penalties and control
- analysis of the students' opportunities to plan and organise their lives in Moscow during the years of their studies at the of Imperial Moscow university
- analysis of behavioral coping strategies of the students of Imperial Moscow university and opportunities to ensure their budget, available to them

Novelty of the study is acknowledged by those considerations:

- a corpus of archival materials, which were not previously accumulated into scientific research by historians, was used as the main source among other primary sources
- analysis of the accumulated primary sources provided me with an opportunity to further reconstruct the problems, which were already discussed by the historians, describing the everyday life of the Imperial

university students — such as budget planning, housing issues, meals, marital status and organisations of the young men in the Imperial Moscow university

- analysis of all regulatory documents, produced by the state towards the university, allowed to describe the state policy towards the students in all diversity of its restrictions and benefits (in particular — a detailed analysis of state scholarships and scholarships, provided by the philanthropists)
- the activities of the “Society for assistance to the students in need” were described in details as part of the public charity aimed at Moscow Imperial students
- among the variety of spheres of everyday life of the students was identified and reconstructed a new sphere — daily routine

Theoretical and practical importance of findings and conclusions of the Dissertation

Theoretical importance of findings and conclusions of the Dissertation is the following. In the framework of the study was conducted an attempt to describe system of the policy of the state towards the university students and regard the uprisings of the university students not as a component of pre-revolutionary uprisings and future revolution, but as the self-sufficient events. These university students’ uprisings therefore were described in the Dissertation as the way, chosen by some university students, to demonstrate their disagreement with the policy of the state and indicate some sufficient problems in the current organisation of the university life.

In the Dissertation were also described new spheres of the Moscow Imperial university students’ everyday life (for instance, the timetable of the university students). It seems the finding and conclusions of the Dissertation

might be used in the further research on the relationship between the state and the society in the Russian empire.

The practical importance of findings and conclusions of the Dissertation is the following. These findings and observations might be used in writing of school textbooks, educational and methodical materials on history of the higher education, social history, history of the everyday life.

Academic novelty of findings and conclusions of the Dissertation is the following. During the process of creation of the Dissertation was accumulated a considerable selection of archival materials, which were not previously used by historians. Analysis of these materials and other accommodated historical primary data allowed to add and specify some findings and observations already made about Russian Imperial university students. Thus, were described the following spheres of Moscow Imperial students' everyday life: budget, the housing problem, the diet, the marital status and the illegal organisations of university students.

Reconstruction of the regulating policy of the state towards the university students allowed to create a detailed description of this policy from analysis all the regulations and directions of the state. In the Dissertation all the scholarships accessible to the university students were described in more detail (their amount, conditions for access, candidate specifications etc.), which haven't previously been discussed in such details by historians.

In the Dissertation was also discussed the question of charity of the society towards the poor Imperial Moscow university students. In the Dissertation in more details was described the activity of "Society for assistance for university students in need" (its charter, main areas of activity, ways of assistance towards the university students in need), which haven't previously been analysed in details by historians.

Among the spheres of the Moscow Imperial university students' everyday life, which were already described by historians in the research literature in the

Dissertation some of these spheres were reconstructed in further details. In the Dissertation was also reconstructed the timetable of the Imperial Moscow university student — the sphere of the everyday life, which hasn't previously been analysed in details by historians.

Primary historical sources base

This Dissertation is based on a wide range of primary historical sources, selected in accordance with the aim and objectives of the study. Among the used primary historical sources were analysed both the published data, and the vast collection of the archival materials (including many documents, which were not previously accumulated into scientific research by historians). All used primary sources can be divided into those groups of types of primary historical sources: statistical data, legislation, administrative documents, police manuals and records, periodicals and memoirs.

The analysis of all legislative acts, aimed at the Moscow Imperial university students in 1863 — 1904 years, allowed in the presented Dissertation to reconstruct the state system of demands, expectations and rewards for the university students — the state system of control, designed for maintenance of the desired behavior from the university students.

The main collection of primary historical sources, used for the Dissertation, were analysed at the Moscow Central state archive. For the analysis of the regulatory policy of the state towards the university were used archival funds 46 ("Chancellery of the town governor of Moscow"), 418 ("Moscow Imperial university"), 459 ("Chancellery of the curator of educational district of Moscow") and 475 ("Moscow metropolitan police"). In addition to this archival collection in the analysis for the Dissertation were also used necessary primary historical sources, located at the Warsaw state archive (Archiwum Państwowe w Warszawie Oddział) — archival fund "Warsaw Imperial university" («Cesarski

Uniwersitat w Warszawie») and State archive of Voronezh region — archival fund “I-1”.

Analysis of various legislative acts, aimed at the Moscow Imperial university students in 1863 — 1904 years, allowed to reconstruct a state policy towards the university students. These legislative acts were published in the “Complete collection of laws of the Russian empire” and in the “Journals of the Ministry of education”. Analysis of these primary sources allowed also to find all scholarships, sponsored by state or private philanthropists and assess the amount of each scholarship, prepared for the students of the Imperial Moscow university.

Analysis of the many versions of the rules of conduct for the students of the Imperial Moscow university allowed to reconstruct the practical side of the regulatory policy of the state. For the analysis were used the rules of conduct for the students of the Imperial Moscow university, published in 1860, 1864, 1873, 1885, 1889 and 1902 years. Administrative documents of the Imperial Moscow university and police records provide the historian with valuable source of insight of the mechanism of the implementation of the regulatory policy of the state. Reports on the activities of the Imperial Moscow University were published in the «Journals of the Ministry of education» (in the Dissertation were used the reposts for 1860 — 1904 years).

Analysis of the correspondence between officials of different departments (for instance, officials of the Imperial Moscow university and officials of the Moscow educational district and police officials of different ranks) allowed in the presented Dissertation to reconstruct the practical side of the implementation of the regulatory policy of the state towards the university students.

The correspondence between rectors of the Imperial Moscow university and the heads of the Moscow police provided the information for the analysis of practices of the police control of the Moscow university students’ everyday life. In this correspondence were discussed and formulated regulations of the legalization of the university students’ side jobs (usually, tutorship) and rules for

the university students, who would plan to get married during their university years.

Analysis of the collection of the administrative and juridical documents from Professorial disciplinary court at the Imperial Moscow university allowed to reconstruct activities of the institution, originally designed as a barrier between students and the officials at the university, but then transformed into yet another tool of the regulatory policy of the state towards the university students. The archival collection of the Professorial disciplinary court at the Imperial Moscow university consists of 117 cases and contains both administrative documents, and the court materials — findings, records, judgment of court.

Police manuals, secret instructions and orders were used for regulation of the police forces in order to maintain a system of control over university students. Police officials observed the behavior of the university students in order to find among them those, who were considered potentially threatening for the state. Analysis of these police reports allows to find out reasons behind these observations and other details of university students' everyday life under non-overt police surveillance. Police records also provide information about those university students, who had actually broken the law.

Various types of the primary sources were used in order to reconstruct different spheres of Imperial Moscow university students' everyday life. Analysis of reports of "Society for the assistance of Imperial Moscow university students in need" in addition to the scholarships, sponsored by private philanthropists, showed, what help received university students from philanthropists in Moscow. Reports on the activities of the "Society for the assistance of Imperial Moscow university students in need" were published annually published by the "Society", starting from 1875 — the year of its creation (in the Dissertation were used the reports for 1875 — 1904 years).

Statistical data was also used in analysis of the organisation of the university students' everyday life. In the mid 19th — early 20th centuries in

Russian empire were organised two huge censuses (in 1882 and 1902 years). Students of the imperial universities were also described in these censuses alongside all other inhabitants of the Russian empire.

Changes of prices on food and other basic products, medium price for a flat rent, price, paid for pleasures and entertainment — this information was used in order to reconstruct the monthly budget of the university student. For this purpose, were analysed state statistical materials for 1881 — 1904 years — “Supply and Material Reference Price records” (published monthly) and “One-third records” (published three times a year).

Periodicals (especially advertisements, posted in periodicals) also became a valuable primary source for analysis of the everyday life. University students advertised in attempt to find a part-time job or a good deal for a rented flat. These advertisements were placed by university students in the cheap newspapers, available for them because of the price. For the Dissertation were analysed all issues of the daily Moscow newspaper “Moscow sheet” for 1882 — 1904 years.

“Sexual census”, organised by dr. M.A. Chlenov (1909, p. 104), gets a unique insight into the sexual and everyday life of the university students. The voices of the Imperial Moscow university, left in their memoirs, obviously, were also used in the presented Dissertation among other primary sources. The memoirs, printed in collections, were both published by the students themselves (Bobrinskij, 1934, p. 222), and published in the Soviet times (Zajonchkovskij, 1956, p. 487; Emel’yanov, 1989, p. 734.). In the Dissertation were analysed both memoirs, printed in collections, and separately printed memoirs (Filatov, 1913, pp. 142–152; Garkavi, 1913, p. 368; Gol’cev, 1900, p. 136; Gol’cev, 1899, p. 270; Kirpichnikov, 1899, pp. 133–168; Kurbskij, 1912, p. 203; Lebedinskij, 1915, pp. 210–218; Mel’gunov, 2003, p. 527; Shestakov, 1888, pp. 203–223; Tihomirov, 2000, p. 712; Trajnin, 1991, pp. 56–64; Veger, 1936, pp. 40–43; Vysotskij, 1910, pp. 150–170).

Therefore, during the work on the Dissertation was selected and analysed a huge base of broad primary sources, in which were included as printed data, as archival materials.

The methodological basis of the presented Dissertation lies in the methods and approaches of the history of everyday life, statistical methods and the method of historical reconstruction (Kur'yanovich, 2001, pp. 35–45; Pushkareva, 2002, pp. 49–63; Pushkareva, 2006, pp. 121–141; Pushkareva, 2006, pp. 160–163; Pushkareva and Lyubichankovskij, 2014, pp. 7–22; Senyavskij, 2001, pp. 25–35).

In the Dissertation was continued the tradition of studying the history of the university students' everyday life. Within the framework of the history of the everyday life in the chosen topic of the presented Dissertation it was possible to study the complex phenomenon — history of the university students — “from the point of view of the individual”.

The Dissertation is based on the general principles of objectivity, primary historical sources study methods and method of historical reconstruction.

Theses, presented for the defense

- The state pursued a consistent policy towards the students of Moscow Imperial university, which was based on a system of rewards and penalties and was aimed at maintaining order in the university in accordance with the ideas of “rightful” behavior for the students.
- The everyday life of the students of Imperial Moscow university in and out of the university depended on the state policy towards the students and whether students agreed to get some benefits from state in exchange for demonstration of their loyalty to the state (for instance, state scholarships,

legal access to earning money through teaching or possibility to get married)

- Police, university administration and professors monitored the behavior of the young men in the university in accordance with the state policy towards the university students
- Police used various means of surveillance towards the students in an attempt to discover the “unreliable students” among their peers. By the end of the 19th century system of undercover surveillance remained the main method used by the police, in addition to the public surveillance and practice of searchers in the houses of the “unreliable students”.
- Despite significant efforts made by the state in order to correctly identify all “unreliable” students among the whole mass of the students, the majority of collective violations of the rules by students were caused by internal crisis in the organisation of the university and not by some evil “unreliable” influence on the minds of the young people.
- Collective violations of the rules and regulations at the university were considered by the state as manifestations of corporatism of the students, which was forbidden by the state and therefore was punished more severely, than any individual violations of the rules or other student misdeeds.
- Analysis of the conduct of the University court (from 1863 to 1884) showed that this court merely really functioned, therefore its liquidation (by the University charter of 1884) should be mainly explained by its lack of efficiency and not by the “conservative” nature of the University charter of 1884.
- The initial idea of creation of Professorial disciplinary court as a mediator between students and university administration was in reality perverted by

the state and transformed into another additional institution for control and punishment for the students.

- Students' unrests and other forms of collective violations of the rules and regulations at the university was a reaction of young men to the internal problems in the university system and was the only way available to them to demonstrate their disagreement with the current policy of the state towards university and its students.

Degree of reliability and evaluation of results

The degree of reliability of the Dissertation is determined by a wide range of primary sources, which were chosen in accordance with the aim and goals of the research and formed the basis of the study.

During the preparation of the Dissertation its findings and conclusions were presented and discussed on several occasions in two schools, three seminars and four conferences:

1. Second conference of the university students at the Department of History (Faculty of Humanities, HSE, Moscow, 2012). Paper "Everyday life of Moscow Imperial university students in the late 19th — early 20th centuries".
2. Third conference of the university students at the Department of History (Faculty of Humanities, HSE, Moscow, 2013). Paper "The payment system at the Moscow Imperial university after ratification of the university charter of 1884".
3. Seminar "University stories" (Saint Petersburg, 2013). Paper "Economical situation of Moscow Imperial university students in the middle 19th — early 20th centuries".

4. Seminar “University stories: memory and narratives” (Kazan, 2013). Paper “Marital status of university students in the middle 19th — early 20th centuries”.
5. School-conference of young scholars of Institute of Russian History, Russian Academy of Sciences (2015). Paper “University students and the state: practical side of the relationship”.
6. Russian-Polish School of Young Historians (HSE, Moscow, 2016). Paper “Polish university students at the Imperial Moscow university in the middle 19th century”.
7. “Microhistory and history of the everyday life: new look at the historical and cultural heritage” (Braslav, Belarus, 2017). Paper “Culture and policy of memory in the Russian universities (on example of tradition of celebration of st. Tatiana day in the Imperial Moscow university).
8. International research students conference (HSE university, Saint Petersburg, 2018). Report: “Students of Imperial Moscow University and some spheres of their everyday life: an attempt of reconstruction”.
9. Seminar of “Institut für Osteuropäische Geschichte und Landeskunde”, Eberhard Karls University in Tübingen (Tübingen, Germany, 2019). Paper: «Studenten der Kaiserlichen Moskauer Universität: Eine Analyse der Wirkung staatlicher Disziplinierungspolitik auf ihr Alltagsleben».

Structure and summary

Structure of the Dissertation was created in accordance with the aim and its objectives. The study consists of introduction, three chapters, conclusion, list of references and applications.

First chapter “Students of the Imperial Moscow university under the control of the state and university administration” analyses the regulation of the life of the young men in the university and considers all forms of control and

regulation, used by the state in an attempt to keep students within the established rules and limits.

First paragraph “Regulation of the life of students of Imperial Moscow university” is devoted to the reconstruction of the system of norms and orders, which was designed for the students by the state.

As the analysis showed, the state pursued a special policy, described in a significant number of legislative acts, aimed at the students of the Imperial Moscow University, that determined the life of university students, sometimes in such details as, for example, prescription of the color of the students uniform jacket. The state wished to raise from the university “nurslings” devoted to the throne officials and made efforts to ensure that this vision would become a reality.

Second paragraph “System of penalties, developed for students of Imperial Moscow university” described the system of penalties and punishments for various violations of the rules.

University students were faced with a system of penalties, in organisation of which were involved both university officials (the rector, vice-rector, the university council, the inspector (and his assistants), and the police officers who followed the university students through out the city.

Third paragraph “Police surveillance, established for students of Imperial Moscow university” is devoted to the reconstruction of the system of undercover surveillance, mainly used by police in order to discover the “unreliable students” among their peers.

The police applied various surveillance practices to the university students, foremost measures of non-overt police surveillance used on the university students as a whole in attempt to rule out potentially “unreliable” young men. During the 19th century the practice of police searches and detentions underwent a number of changes. For example, by the end of the 19th century the detention of a suspect who was searched by the police became an optional and not a mandatory

practice. The detention could be carried out only if during the search police had confirmed its suspicions of the unreliability of the student.

Second chapter “Everyday life of student of the Imperial Moscow university in the context of available privileges and opportunities” analyses all means of support, which could be useful for the students, who were involved into the process of planning their life in Moscow.

First paragraph “System of state support, designed for the Imperial Moscow university” is devoted to the reconstruction of all means of state support available for those students, who were ready to prove their loyalty to the state.

Those university students, who agreed to live according to the established rules from the state (such loyalty could be confirmed by a special certificate of loyalty issued by the police) got access to the various forms of support and encouragement from the state — scholarships, places in dormitories, permission to marry and legally earn money by teaching etc.

Second paragraph “System of penalties, developed for students of Imperial Moscow university” described those means of support, which were available for the students by charities and philanthropists.

A variety of scholarships, cheap meals, help with arranging of a legal side-job — students were provided by charities and philanthropists with various forms of assistance and support.

Third paragraph “Everyday life of the students of Imperial Moscow university” is devoted to the reconstruction of different spheres of everyday life of the students.

Monthly budget, search for the suitable accommodation, planning of the diet and entertainments — everyday life of the students was quite varied and replete, therefore apart of the studies young men were constantly preoccupied with search for money.

Third chapter “Crime and punishment” in the life of students of Imperial Moscow university” analyses different cases of students’ violations of the rules — both individual, and collective examples of young men’ unruly behavior.

First paragraph “University students as violators of the order in the university and in the city” is devoted to the analysis of the consequences of various examples of students’ disobedience. In the paragraph were considered those cases, when guilty students were caught either by police, or university officials.

The form of punishment for the delinquent student depended not only on the severity of the misconduct, but also on the number of participants, involved in this violation of the established order. Violation of university rules for a student could result in, at best, a reproof or a reprimand, but in the case of a serious misconduct, students were faced with removal, dismissal, or, in the worst case, exclusion from the university.

Second paragraph described examples of students’ collective defiance of the established norms and analysed the consequences, which faced the rebellious young men in the university.

University student, who became an administrative offender, would be not only accused in a magistrate's court and face, for instance a fine or a several days of arrest for his misconduct, but not immediately lost his title of a university student. Students, who became subjects of so-called “political court cases” usually quickly lost their title and status of a university student.

Third paragraph “Professorial disciplinary court at the Imperial Moscow university” is devoted to the analysis of this institution in the Moscow Imperial university — from its original idea to the reality of its work.

The initial idea of creation of Professorial disciplinary court as a mediator between students and university administration was in reality perverted by the state and transformed into another additional institution for control and punishment for the students.

Despite significant efforts made by the state to identify "unreliable" young men among university students, for the most part, collective violations of the rules by university students were caused not by some "evil" external influence on the minds of young people, but by internal problems of the university (conflicts between students and professors or university officials).

In university students, both police officers and university officials did not see equal partners of a dialogue, whose words could be heeded. Thus, any collective actions of the university students were never considered as a sign of the presence of possible systemic problems at the university, but were regarded only as a deviation from the prescribed order and norms of behavior, which were therefore solved and punished by force. In the eyes of many professors, as well as university officials and police officers, students were deprived of subjectivity. It is quite symbolic therefore, that in the university rules of conduct they were defined as only "individual visitors" of the university.

By not recognizing the right of university students to express some collective opinion and generally not leaving them any legal opportunities to defend their corporate interests, the university officials actually were inevitably faced with students unrests as the only possible left way for university students to campaign for their rights and interests in feeble hope, that their needs would be heard and taken into consideration.

Students, formally deprived by the regulatory policy of the state of any corporative rights, could not be regarded as legitimate actors in a dialogue with the state, and therefore, although students unrest were a reaction to the internal problems of the university, in practice they remained the only available and rather desperate way for them to express their dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in the university. Any changes in the university could only happen "from above", and neither the university officials, nor the government were ever ready to hear the voices of the university students, therefore all real transformations in the position of students at the university, such as permission for students to establish

their own organizations (which became legal only in 1903), happened too slowly or didn't happen at all.

Thus, the state, being too busy looking for "evil provocateurs", who might have influenced minds of the university students, and creating the complex systems of control and punishment, turned out to be unable to detect and respond in a timely manner to the real imperfections in the organisation of life of the students at the Imperial Moscow University and was therefore faced with constant uprisings from the dissatisfied university students.

List of author's main publications in the journals, included in the list of high-level journals, recommended by NRU "Higher School of Economics", as well as indexed by Scopus and Web of Science:

1. Fadeeva, M.V. (2014) 'Opyt rekonstrukcii ezhemesyachnyh byudzhetov studentov Moskovskogo universiteta konca XIX — nachala XX v.', *Istoricheskij vestnik*, vol. 9 (156), pp. 44–82.
2. Fadeeva, M.V. (2016) 'Studenty Moskovskogo Imperatorskogo universiteta v pravovom pole Rossijskoj imperii: pod nadzorom tryoh instancij', *Voprosy obrazovaniya*, no. 4, pp. 251–275.
3. Fadeeva, M.V. (2022) 'Student uchitel'stvuyushchij: studenty Imperatorskogo Moskovskogo universiteta v poiskah sredstv k sushchestvovaniyu', *Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Istoriya*, no. 79, pp. 84–92.

Other publications:

1. Fadeeva, M.V. (2013) 'Izo dnya v den': shtrihi k portretu russkogo studenta', *Gefter* [electronic source]. Available at: gefter.ru/archive/8161.

2. Fadeeva, M.V. (2013) ‘Russkoe studenchestvo: zhiznennyj mir’, *Gefter* [electronic source]. Available at: gefter.ru/archive/7946.
3. Vishlenkova, E.A., and Fadeeva, M.V. (2014) ‘Sem’ya, lyubov’ i “studencheskij vopros” v Rossii konca XIX veka’, *Adam i Eva. Al'manah gendernoj istorii*, no. 22, pp. 55–75.
4. Fadeeva, M.V. (2014) ‘Brak v zhizni studentov Moskovskogo universiteta konca XIX — nachala XX vv.’ in Smilyanskaya, E.B. (ed.) *Gishtorii rossijskie, ili opyty i razyskaniya k yubileyu Aleksandra Borisovicha Kamenskogo*. M.: Drevlekhramilishche, pp. 288–298.
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