

Evacuation without return: World War I and the Historians of Warsaw Imperial University¹

by Hanna Bazhenova

The approaching Bicentennial of Warsaw University has inspired European scholars to delve more deeply into the controversial past of this academic institution. Warsaw's first university was founded in 1816 after the defeat of Napoleon and the creation of the Kingdom of Poland, a state which was included in the Russian Empire. Unfortunately, this first university did not exist for very long: It was closed after the Polish Insurrection of 1830/31. Within thirty years it was restored as the Main School (Szkoła Główna) and functioned as a university with four departments. Positive changes occurred during the rule of the Russian Emperor Alexander II who was renowned for carrying out a number of liberal reforms, including the noted 'university reform'. The Main School was very popular among the Polish youth who, instead of being forced to travel to Moscow and other distant cities, finally had the opportunity for a university education in what were considered the Polish lands of the Russian Empire. Approximately 3,000 students, including about 700 graduates, passed through its doors.²

In 1869, however, the Polish-speaking Main School was transformed into the Russian-language Imperial University. One of the principal motives for this reform was the Polish Insurrection of 1863/64. Interestingly, the faculty and students of the Main School did not openly support the uprising;³ however, the government authorities decided to ignore this and sought to eliminate all possible centers of dissent in partitioned Poland either by

- 1 The author wishes to thank the Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University, for its support during the author's tenure as a Eugene and Daymel Shklar Research Fellow in Ukrainian Studies from February through June 2014. This publication incorporates much of the research that was undertaken during the author's fellowship at Harvard. The author also wishes to thank Marciana Rossi (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, USA) for editing the text of the article.
- 2 Ol'ga S. Kashtanova: *Razvitie prosveshchenia i kul'tury v Korolevstve Pol'skom (1815–1830)* [Development of Education and Culture in the Kingdom of Poland (1815–1830)], in: *Pol'sha i Rossia v pervoi treti XIX veka. Iz istorii avtonomnogo Korolevstva Pol'skogo. 1815–1830*, Moscow 2010, pp. 433 f.; Joanna Schiller: *Uniwersytet Warszawski – czy uniwersytet i czy w Warszawie?* [Warsaw University – whether a University and whether in Warsaw?], in: *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki* 3-4 (2005), pp. 25-31; Stefan Kieniewicz: *Akademia Medyko-Chirurgiczna i Szkoła Główna (1857–1869)* [The Medical-Surgical Academy and the Main School (1857–1869)], in: idem (ed.): *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1807–1915*, Warszawa 1981, pp. 255-266; idem, *Warszawa w latach 1795–1914* [Warsaw in the Years 1795–1914], Warszawa 1976, p. 264.
- 3 Helena Brodowska: *Sytuacja polityczna Królestwa Polskiego po 1864 r. Pozytywizm warszawski* [The Political Situation in the Kingdom of Poland after 1864. Warsaw Positivism], in: *Historia Polski. Opracowanie zbiorowe pod red. S. Arnolda i T. Manteuffla*, t. III. 1850/64–1918, cz. I. 1850/64–1900, red. Ż. Kormanowa i I. Pietrzak-Pawłowska, Warszawa 1967, p. 431; Joanna Schiller: *Universitas Rossica. Koncepcja rosyjskiego uniwersytetu 1863–1917* [Universitas Rossica. The Concept of a Russian University 1863–1917], Warszawa 2008, pp. 132-151; eadem: *Powstanie Cesarskiego Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego w świetle badań archiwalnych* [The Establishment of Warsaw Imperial University in the Light of Archival Researches], in: *Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty* 41 (2002), p. 96.

closing them or by integrating them into the imperial system. Imperial rhetoric presented the transformation of the Main School into a university as the desire of the Emperor to provide the inhabitants of the Polish lands with the means of higher education, and clearly this education had to benefit the state.⁴ According to the Russian Minister of Public Instruction, Dmitrii Tolstoy (1866–1880), Warsaw University should not have stood separately on the outskirts of the Empire state; it had to enter the respectable family of Russian Imperial Universities.⁵ The new Russian-language University in Warsaw was to serve the political strategy of uniting the Kingdom of Poland with Russia.⁶

In all respects it joined the group of Russian Imperial Universities, which included the Universities of Moscow established in 1775, Derpt (1802), Kazan (1804), Kharkov (1804), St. Petersburg (1819), Helsinki (1827), Kiev (1834), and Odessa in 1865. However, the fear of negative consequences prompted the Russian government to create a special statute for Warsaw University.⁷ This statute greatly limited the autonomy of the university and in this respect it resembled the future University Statute of 1884. In addition, it reduced the number of divisions within its departments. Just as in the other universities there were four main departments: History and Philology, Physics and Mathematics and the two departments of Law and Medicine. Instead of the 53 divisions that usually existed in Russian universities according to the Statute of 1863, Warsaw University only had 47. The greatest differences were to be found mainly in the Department of History and Philology and the Law Department. For instance, the Department of History and Philology consisted of only nine divisions rather than the traditional eleven. There was no Division of Church History, mainly because the students were mostly Catholic, and no Division of Art History due to the unavailability of qualified lecturers.⁸ However, the Russian language, and Russian and World History were taught not only to future historians and philologists, but also to the students of law.⁹ Obviously these classes acted as a propaganda tool, with the desired effect

4 Cit. ex: A.A. Sidorov: *Russkie i russkaia zhizn' v Varshave (1815–1895). Istoricheskiĭ ocherk (So snimkami s kartin, portretov i medaleĭ)* [Russians and Russian Life in Warsaw (1815–1895). Historical Sketch (with Pictures of Paintings, Portraits and Medals)], Warsaw 1899, pp. 154 f.

5 Ibidem, pp. 155 f.

6 Anatoliĭ E. Ivanov: *Russkiĭ universitet v Tsarstve Pol'skom. Iz istorii universitetskoĭ politiki samoderzhavii: natsionalnyi aspekt* [Russian University in the Kingdom of Poland. From the History of the University's Policy of the Autocracy: National Aspect], in: *Otechestvennaia istoria* 6 (1997), p. 23.

7 *Ustav Imperatorskogo Varshavskogo Universiteta* [Statute of Warsaw Imperial University], in: *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshchenia* (hereafter: ZhMNP), iiun' (1869), pp. 124–155.

8 *Obshchiĭ ustav imperatorskikh rossiĭskikh universitetov* [General Statute of Russian Imperial Universities], in: ZhMNP, avgust (1863), pp. 25–30; *Ustav Imperatorskogo Varshavskogo Universiteta* (see note 7), pp. 126–129; Ireneusz Ichnatowicz: *Uniwersytet Warszawski w latach 1869–1899* [Warsaw University in the Years 1869–1899], in: Stefan Kieniewicz (ed.): *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1807–1915*, Warszawa 1981, pp. 392–394.

9 Kazimierz Król: *Urywek z pamiętnika. III. W Uniwersytecie* [An Excerpt from the Memoires. III. At the University], in: *Prace Naukowe Oddziału Warszawskiego Komisji do Badania Dziejów Wychowania i Szkolnictwa w Polsce, biuletyn za lata 1925 i 1926* (1927), p. 25; Sergei I. Mikhal'chenko: *Istoricheskie distsipliny na iuridicheskom fakul'tete Varshavskogo universiteta (1869–1917)* [The Historical Disciplines at the Law Department of Warsaw University (1869–1917)], in: *Rossiĭskie universitety v XVIII–XX vekakh. Sbornik nauchnykh stateĭ* 6 (2002), pp. 186–188.

of influencing the Polish youth. This University had existed in Warsaw for 46 years when, in 1915, it was evacuated because of the outbreak of World War I and the sudden retreat of the Russian army.¹⁰

The goal of this article is to ascertain the role of World War I and the subsequent fall of the Russian Empire in the fate of Warsaw Imperial University and its faculty members. The main focus will be on historians, many of whom were graduates of St. Vladimir University in Kiev and Warsaw University, particularly since their work was closely linked to the ideology of the state. This was of particular significance in the periods of great revolutionary change, as in 1917. On the eve of World War I Russian scholars formed the majority of the Warsaw Imperial University faculty and for this reason almost all of them were forced to leave their homes in search of another life. It is interesting to observe to what extent the caesura of the World War I affected the lives and academic careers of the historians who had at one time decided to come to Warsaw in order to educate the Polish youth. This article considers the activity of Warsaw University before the war, and analyzes the reasons for, and consequences of, its evacuation to Rostov. It pays close attention to the lives and professional careers of the historians who were working in the university at the outbreak of World War I. In particular, it highlights the difficulties the scholars faced during, and immediately following, the war. It shows that, despite all these difficulties, the major factor that influenced their future academic careers and research activity was the fall of the Russian Empire and the emergence of a completely new political landscape.

Warsaw Imperial University in Polish and Russian Historiography

For many decades, Warsaw Imperial University remained a disputed issue in the 200 year history of Warsaw University. A famous Polish historian, Ireneusz Ihnatowicz, found a convincing explanation for this when he argued that the Russian-language University was resented by Poles who understood that this institution emerged from the closing of the Main School and viewed it as a 'Russification' tool. Thus, the university was perceived as a foreign body and as a part of the hostile imperial machine.¹¹ Scholars concentrated mostly on the periods of Warsaw University's past when it functioned as a Polish institution.¹²

10 Andrej G. Danilov: Rostovskiĭ period v istorii Varshavskogo universiteta (1915–1917 gg.) [Russian Period in the History of Warsaw University (1915–1917)], in: *Voprosy istorii* 9 (2011), pp. 88 f.

11 Ihnatowicz, *Uniwersytet Warszawski* (see note 8), p. 378.

12 Nevertheless, certain important studies on the history of Warsaw Imperial University were published in the period of the People's Republic of Poland. Among them were the articles by Jerzy Braun, Celestyna Orlikowska and Ireneusz Ihnatowicz (Jerzy Braun: *Położenie i ruch organizacyjny młodzieży akademickiej na Uniwersytecie Warszawskim w latach 1890–1904* [The Situation and the Societal Movement of Students at Warsaw University during the Years 1890–1904], in: *Roczniki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego* 4 (1963), pp. 23-105; Celestyna Orlikowska: *Z dziejów kształcenia biologów polskich. Działalność pedagogiczna i naukowa przyrodników rosyjskich na Cesarskim Uniwersytecie Warszawskim w latach 1869–1915* [From the History of the Education

The situation did not change until the early 1980s, with the publication of the two-volume “History of Warsaw University”. Two parts of this publication were devoted to the imperial period of the university.¹³ Russian scholars began exploring the history of Warsaw University from the very beginning of the twentieth century.¹⁴ In later Soviet times its history was studied mostly in the context of Rostov or Donskoy University, which was created in 1917 in the same location as the evacuated Warsaw University.¹⁵

Overall, the history of Warsaw Imperial University has been well studied both in Russian and Polish historiography. In Russia, research has concentrated on two main aspects, looking at the university’s past in the context of higher education in the Russian Empire and as a separate educational institution. The works of Anatoliĭ Ivanov¹⁶, Anatoliĭ Avrus¹⁷, Vladimir Zmeev¹⁸ and Vladimir Chesnokov¹⁹ represent the first approach. Juriĭ Ivanov²⁰,

- of Polish Biologists. Pedagogical and Scientific Activity of Russian Naturalists at the Warsaw Imperial University in the Years 1869–1915], in: *Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki Polskiej*, seria B, zesz. 6 (1962), pp. 113-149; Ireneusz Ihnatowicz: *Utworzenie Cesarskiego Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego w roku 1869* [The Creation of Warsaw Imperial University in 1869], in: *Roczniki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego* 12 (1972), pp. 55-70.
- 13 Stefan Kieniewicz (ed.): *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1807–1915* [The History of Warsaw University 1807–1915], Warszawa 1981, pp. 378-564.
 - 14 *Zapiska o sovremennom polozhenii Imperatorskogo Varshavskogo universiteta* [Note on the Current State of Warsaw Imperial University], Warsaw 1906; Vladimir V. Esipov: *Materialy k istorii Imperatorskogo Varshavskogo universiteta. Biograficheskie ocherki* [Materials for the History of Warsaw Imperial University. Biographical Sketches], in: *Varshavskie universitetskie izvestia* (hereafter: VUI), no. II (1914), pp. 1-59; idem: *Materialy k istorii Imperatorskogo Varshavskogo universiteta* [Materials for the History of Warsaw Imperial University], in: VUI, no. IX (1914), pp. 3-47; etc.
 - 15 *XX Let Rostovskogo na Donu gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Uchënye zapiski RGU* (Iubileĭnyĭ vypusk) [XX Years of Rostov-on-Don State University. Scientific Notes of Rostov State University (Anniversary Edition)], Rostov-on-Don 1935; Semën E. Belozërov: *Ocherki istorii Rostovskogo universiteta* [Sketches on the History of Rostov University], otv. red. V.I. Kuznetsov, Rostov-on-Don 1959; S.E. Belozërov (ed.): *Rostovskii Gosudarstvennyi universitet 1915–1965. Stat’i, vospominania, dokumenty* [Rostov State University 1915–1965. Articles, Memoires, Documents], Rostov-on-Don 1965; etc.
 - 16 Anatoliĭ E. Ivanov: *Vysshaia shkola v Rossii v kontse XIX – nachale XX veka* [Higher Education in Russia in the Late 19th – Early 20th Century], Moscow 1991; idem: *Studenchestvo Rossii kontsa XIX – nachala XX veka: sotsyal’no-istoricheskaia sud’ba* [Russian Students in the Late 19th – early 20th Century: Social and Historical Fate], Moscow 1999.
 - 17 Anatoliĭ I. Avrus: *Istoria rossiiskikh universitetov: kurs lektsyĭ: uchebnoe posobie* [The History of Russian Universities: a Series of Lectures: Tutorial], Saratov 1998.
 - 18 Vladimir A. Zmeev: *Evolutsiia vysshei shkoly Rossiiskoi imperii* [Evolution of the Higher Education in Russian Empire], Moscow 1998.
 - 19 Vladimir I. Chesnokov: *Obzor dvizhenia universitetov v Rossiiskoi imperii* [The Overview of the University Movement in the Russian Empire], in: *Rossiiskie universitety v XVIII–XX vekakh. Sbornik nauchnykh stateĭ* 3 (1998), pp. 4-24.
 - 20 Juriĭ F. Ivanov: *D.M. Petrushevskii v Varshavskom universitete (1897–1906)* [D.M. Petrushevskii at Warsaw University (1897–1906)], in: *Rossiiskie universitety v XVIII–XX vekakh. Sbornik nauchnykh stateĭ* 8 (2006), pp. 86-104; idem: *Zhyzn’ i tvorchestvo N.N. Liubovicha* [Life and Work of N.N. Liubovich], in: *Voprosy istorii slavian. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov* 18 (2007), pp. 168-190; etc.

Anatoliĭ Ivanov²¹, Liudmila Lapteva²², Andreĭ Danilov²³ researched the history of the university and its faculty. Sergeĭ Mikhal'chenko²⁴ and Konstantin Krakovskii²⁵ progressed from a panoramic view of the Russian university in Warsaw to a deeper study of its various departments and divisions.

In the last two decades, a new approach has emerged in the Polish historiography of the subject. The scholars still blame Warsaw Imperial University for its alliance with the Russian government; however, they have begun to recognize the importance of its contribution to the development of science and education in Polish lands. This new trend can be found in the works of Leon Tadeusz Błaszczuk²⁶, Joanna Schiller-Walicka²⁷, Ewelina Tylińska²⁸, Swietłana Parka²⁹ and Marzena Paszkowska³⁰.

- 21 Anatoliĭ E. Ivanov: Varshavskii universitet v kontse XIX – nachale XX veka [Warsaw University in the Late 19th – Early 20th Century], in: Pol'skie professora i studenty v universitetach Rossii (XIX – nachalo XX veka). Konferentsiya v Kazani 13–15 oktiabria 1993 g., Warsaw 1995, pp. 198-205; idem, Russkii universitet (see note 6), pp. 23-33.
- 22 Liudmila P. Lapteva: Istoriiia slavianovedenia v Rossii v XIX veke [History of the Slavic Studies in Russia in the 19th Century], Moscow 2005; eadem: Istoriiia slavianovedenia v Rossii v kontse XIX – pervoi treti XX v. [History of the Slavic Studies in Russia in the Late 19th – Early 20th Century], Moscow 2012.
- 23 Andrej G. Danilov: Intelligentsiya Iuga Rossii v kontse XIX – nachale XX veka [The Intelligentsia of the Russia's South in the Late 19th – Early 20th Century], Rostov-on-Don 2000; idem, Rostovskii period (see note 10), pp. 86-97.
- 24 Sergeĭ I. Mikhal'chenko: Iuridicheskii fakul'tet Varshavskogo universiteta. 1869–1917. Kratkii istoricheskii ocherk [Law Department of Warsaw University. 1869–1917. A Brief Historical Sketch], Bryansk 2000; idem: Istoriko-Filologicheskii fakul'tet Varshavskogo universiteta. 1869–1917: Ocherk istorii kafedr [The Department of History and Philology of Warsaw University. 1869–1917: Sketch of the History of Divisions], Bryansk 2005; etc.
- 25 Konstantin P. Krakovskii: Nit' vremeni (Biografii prepodavatelei iuridicheskogo fakul'teta Varshavskogo – Donskogo – Rostovskogo universiteta) [The Thread of Time (Biographies of the Professors of Law Department of Warsaw – Don – Rostov University)], Rostov-on-Don 2003; idem: Nit' vremeni (Istoria iuridicheskogo fakul'teta Varshavskogo – Donskogo – Rostovskogo universiteta) [The Thread of Time (History of Law Department of Warsaw – Don – Rostov University)], chast' 2, t. 1. 1808–1924 gg., Rostov-on-Don 2005.
- 26 Leon T. Błaszczuk: Filologia klasyczna na Uniwersytecie Warszawskim w latach 1816–1915 [Classical Philology at Warsaw University in the Years 1816–1915], cz. I–II, Warszawa 1995–2003.
- 27 Schiller, Powstanie Cesarskiego Uniwersytetu (see note 3), pp. 93-127; eadem, Uniwersytet Warszawski (see note 2), pp. 25-58; etc.
- 28 Ewelina Tylińska: Życie codzienne studentów Cesarskiego Uniwersytetu w Warszawie (1869–1904) [The Everyday Life of the Students of Imperial University in Warsaw (1869–1904)], in: Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty 40 (2000), pp. 23-58.
- 29 See for example: Swietłana Parka: Kształcenie kadry naukowo-dydaktycznej i system nadawania stopni naukowych na Uniwersytecie Warszawskim w latach 1869–1915 [The Academic Staff Education and the Awarding of Academic Degrees at Warsaw University during the Years 1869–1915], Warszawa 2001 (PhD thesis – Institute of the History of Science, Polish Academy of Sciences); eadem: Stopnie naukowe w Cesarskim Uniwersytecie Warszawskim (1869–1915) [Academic Degrees at Warsaw Imperial University (1869–1915)], in: Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty 39 (2000), pp. 129-146.
- 30 Marzena Paszkowska: Z dziejów wydziału prawa Cesarskiego Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego (1869–1915) [From the History of the Law Department of Warsaw Imperial University (1869–1915)], in: Studia Iuridica 42 (2003), pp. 151-161.

Imminence of the Evacuation

When studying the history of Warsaw Imperial University one should remember that it was created at a time when Russian authorities were actively implementing the policy of administrative, social and cultural integration in the various parts of the Empire in terms of language, outlook and faith. This policy is often referred to as ‘Russification’.³¹ As a consequence of this policy Russian became the only language of instruction in all the educational institutions of the former Kingdom of Poland.³² All faculty of the new Warsaw University were required to learn the Russian language and to initiate teaching in Russian within two years. When a Polish professor began teaching in Russian his salary immediately doubled. For instance, a full-time professor earned 3,000 roubles instead of 1,500, and an extraordinary professor’s³³ salary rose from 1,000 to 2,000 roubles. In addition, all faculty members who had received their degrees from outside Russian universities were obliged to go through a re-certification process. Thus, the majority of the university faculty members had to either re-defend their dissertations or to write a completely new doctoral thesis on a different subject. This re-certification process lasted for three years.³⁴ As a result, a mere

31 In the scholarly literature different evaluations of the Russification process of the Kingdom of Poland can be found. I support the opinion that it was primarily a means of ideologically and politically weakening Polish society. However, Poles of the former Kingdom of Poland were in a better situation than the inhabitants of the so-called Western lands (*Zapadnyi kraj*) of the Russian Empire, because the government’s Russification policy did not plan to assimilate Poles. St. Petersburg had other plans for the Western lands – they were to be merged with the internal provinces of the Empire, in particular in terms of ethnicity. In reality, this meant limiting or preventing Polish influence and strengthening Russian culture by banning Poles from purchasing lands in this region, by removing the Polish language from schools and the public sphere, by closing Catholic churches and monasteries, and by limiting the activities and mobility of the Catholic clergy (Valerii G. Babin: Gosudarstvennaia obrazovatel’naia politika v Zapadnykh guberniakh vo vtoroi polovine XIX – nachale XX v. [State Educational Policy in the Western Provinces in the Second Half of 19th – Early 20th Century], in: *Vlast’, obshchestvo i reformy v Rossii (XVI – nachalo XX veka)*. Materialy nauchno-teoreticheskoi konferentsyi 8–10 dekabria 2003 g., Sankt-Peterburg 2004, pp. 200 f.; Mikhail Dolbilov: Russification and Bureaucratic Mind in the Russian Empire’s North-western Region in the 1860s, in: *Kritika* 5 (2004), no. 2, pp. 245-271; Darius Staliūnas: Did the Government Seek to Russify Lithuanians and Poles in the Northwest Region after the Uprising of 1863–64?, in: *Kritika* 5 (2004), no. 2, pp. 273-289; Theodore R. Weeks: Religion and Russification: Russian Language in the Catholic Churches of the “Northwest Provinces” after 1863, in: *Kritika* 2 (2001), no. 1, pp. 94 f.; Valentin S. Diakin: Natsyonal’nyi vopros vo vnutrennei politike tsarizma XIX – nachalo XX vv. (k postanovke problemy) [The National Issue of the Internal Policies of Tsarism in the 19th – Early 20th Centuries. (About Stating the Problem)], in: idem: *Natsyonal’nyi vopros vo vnutrennei politike tsarizma (XIX – nachalo XX vv.)*, Sankt-Peterburg 1998, pp. 19 f.).

32 Aleksandra Iu. Bakhturina: *Okrainy Rossiiskoi imperii: gosudarstvennoe upravlenie i natsyonal’naia politika v gody Pervoï mirovoi voïny (1914–1917 gg.)* [The Outskirts of the Russian Empire: Governance and State Policy during the First World War (1914–1917)], Moscow 2004, p. 15.

33 Equivalent to an associate professor.

34 *Ustav Imperatorskogo Varshavskogo Universiteta* (see note 7), pp. 140-149; *Shtat Imperatorskogo Varshavskogo Universiteta* [The Staff of Warsaw Imperial University], in: *ZhMNP, iium’* (1869), p. 155; Schiller, *Powstanie Cesarskiego Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego* (see note 3), p. 125; eadem, *Uniwersytet Warszawski* (see note 2), p. 35; Kieniewicz, *Akademia Medyko-Chirurgiczna i Szkoła Główna* (see note 2), pp. 269 f.

34 of the 78 former lecturers and professors of the Main School continued to work in the 'new' university.³⁵

Many Polish professors, who could not or did not want to get chairs in the newly created university, left Warsaw seeking employment in Cracow and Lemberg (Lwów). Others settled in their country estates or made the difficult transition to non-university professions.³⁶ Most of the 'fired' Polish professors were replaced by professors from various Russian universities. By integrating the faculty and introducing the Russian language, the government intended to prevent revolutionary movements in Warsaw University and to secure the political safety of the institution. This was the objective of Dmitrii Tolstoy, the Minister of Public Instruction of the Russian Empire.³⁷

It is important to emphasize that Warsaw was the usual starting point in the academic careers of many Russian scholars. It attracted young lecturers because it was possible to obtain an extraordinary professorship with only a Master's Degree.³⁸ Moreover, the work in the provinces of the Kingdom of Poland gave Russians the right to receive a pension after 20 years of work instead of 25 as in the rest of the Empire.³⁹

Statistics indicate that during the period 1870–1900, of the professors at Warsaw University, only 21% were Poles, whereas 63% were Russians, 11% Germans and Jews, and the remaining 5% were Czechs, Italians, Frenchmen and others. The lowest lecturer turnover was observed in the Department of Medicine, while the highest turnover was in the History

35 Ihnatowicz, *Uniwersytet Warszawski* (see note 8), p. 419. According to the other source, 38 of 91 lecturers and professors stayed in the university, see Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv (hereafter: RGIA), fond (hereafter: f.) 733, opis' (hereafter: op.) 147, edinita khraneniia (hereafter: ed. khr.) 758, list (hereafter: l.) 183-326.

36 Bronisław Chlebowski: *Znaczenie Szkoły Głównej warszawskiej w dziejach umysłowości i nauki polskiej. Odczyt wygłoszony na publicznem posiedzeniu Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego w dniu 25 listopada r. 1912* [The Significance of Warsaw Main School in the History of Polish Mentality and Science. The Lecture Delivered at a public meeting of Warsaw Scientific Society on November 25, 1912], Warszawa 1912, p. 15.

37 Raport ministra oświecenia publicznego hr. Dymitra Tołstoja z inspekcji szkół w Okręgu Naukowym Warszawskim w 1868 r. [Report by the Minister of Public Instruction Count Dmitri Tolstoy on the School Inspection of the Warsaw Educational District in 1868], in: *Walka caratu ze szkołą polską w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1831–1870. Materiały źródłowe, wybór, wstęp i opracowanie K. Poznański*, Warszawa 1993, p. 288. See also: Szymon Askenazy: *Uniwersytet Warszawski* [Warsaw University], Warszawa 1905, p. 38.

38 Hanna Bazhenova: *Historycy w Cesarskim Uniwersytecie Warszawskim. Próba portretu zbiorowego* [Historians of Warsaw Imperial University. An attempt of a collective portrait], in: *Rocznik Instytutu Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej* 3 (2012), pp. 139-173; eadem: *Istoriki imperatorskogo Varshavskogo universiteta: uslovia formirovaniia pogranichnoi identichnosti* [Historians of Warsaw Imperial University: the Conditions for Developing the Frontier Identity], in: E.A. Vishlenkovoï, I.M. Savel'evoi (eds.): *Soslovie russkich professorov. Sozdateli statusov i smyslov*, Moscow 2013, pp. 248 f.

39 *Ustav Imperatorskogo Varshavskogo Universiteta* (see note 7), p. 140; *Ukaz Pravitel'stviushchego Senata (po 1-mu Departamentu. – S prilozhenien pravil o sluzhebnykh preimushchestvakh chinnikov russkogo proishozhdenia, sluzhashchich v guberniach Tsarstva Pol'skogo, 21 avgusta 1867 g.)* [Decree of the Governing Senate (the 1st Department). – With the Enclosure of the Rules of the Service Benefits of the Officials of Russian Origin, Working in the Provinces of the Kingdom of Poland, August 21, 1867], in: *Sobranie zakoneniï i raspriazheniï pravitel'stva (1867), polugodie pervoe, Sankt-Peterburg 1867*, pp. 1304-1306.

and Philology Department, where the Russians prevailed.⁴⁰ For 30 years, until 1900, the faculty was comprised of 77 professors and lecturers.⁴¹ It is worth mentioning here that state authorities were especially strict in their control of the History and Philology Department, mainly because these professors were entrusted with the task of educating students in patriotism.

A more refined Russification policy was applied to the students of Warsaw University. After all, the university was created not for Russians, but for Polish youth with the aim of turning Poles into loyal skilled officials for the local administration.⁴² This explains why the ratio between Russian and Polish students was invariably on the side of the Poles until the First Russian Revolution 1905–1907 (data calculated on January 1st of each year).

Year	Russians	%	Poles	%
1899	223	20.1	654	58.7
1901	226	18.8	755	62.8
1902	249	19.0	849	64.7
1905	259	16.7	1032	66.3 ⁴³

However, at the beginning of the twentieth century this situation changed. From 1905 through 1908 – during the Russian Revolution and immediately following it – Warsaw University was closed due to endless protests by Polish students who claimed the right to study in their native tongue. Some of the faculty, among them the historians and philologists Dmitrii Petrushevskii, Alexandr Pogodin and Alexandr Pridik, advocated reversing the use of Russian as the university's language and re-introducing the Polish language. A group of Russian students also supported the aspirations of Polish youth to have a separate Polish university. The Russian Minister of Public Instruction, Ivan Tolstoy (1905/06), shared this view, but his successor Piotr Kaufmann (1906–1908) turned down this proposal. There were even plans to transfer Warsaw University to one of the cities of Central Russia, with Smolensk, Saratov and Yaroslavl listed as possibilities.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, the Russian government decided to keep the existing university in Warsaw. As a result, Polish society

40 Ihnatowicz, *Uniwersytet Warszawski* (see note 8), p. 434.

41 *Ibidem*, pp. 426 f.

42 Ivanov, *Russkii universitet* (see note 6), p. 24; *idem*, *Varshavskii universitet* (see note 21), p. 198.

43 *Izvlachenie iz otcheta o sostoianii i deiatel'nosti Imperatorskogo Varshavskogo universiteta za 1898 god* [Extract from the Report on the State and Activity of Warsaw Imperial University in 1898], in: *VUI*, no. VI (1899), p. 6; *Izvlachenie iz otcheta o sostoianii i deiatel'nosti Imperatorskogo Varshavskogo universiteta za 1900 god* [Extract from the Report on the State and Activity of Warsaw Imperial University in 1900], in: *VUI*, no. VI (1901), p. 7; *Kratkii otchet o sostoianii i deiatel'nosti Imperatorskogo Varshavskogo universiteta za 1901 g.* [A Brief Report on the State and Activity of Imperial Warsaw University in 1901], in: *VUI*, no. VI (1902), p. 38; *Kratkii otchet o sostoianii i deiatel'nosti Imperatorskogo Varshavskogo universiteta, za 1904/5 akademicheskii god* [A Brief Report on the State and Activity of Warsaw Imperial University, in academic year 1904/5], in: *VUI*, no. IX (1905), p. 34.

44 Jerzy Rózewicz: *Polsko-rosyjskie powiazania naukowe (1725–1918)* [Polish-Russian Scholarly Contacts (1725–1918)], Wrocław et.al. 1984, p. 288; Joanna Schiller: *Profesorowie Cesarskiego Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego wobec wydarzeń rewolucji 1905 roku* [Professors of Warsaw Imperial University and their Attitude towards the Events of the Revolution of 1905], in: *Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty* 17 (42) (2008), pp. 94 f.; Belozërov, *Ocherki istorii Rostovskogo uni-*

began boycotting the university. This boycott greatly reduced the number of Polish students, and in the 1913/14 academic year there were 1824 Orthodox students and only 323 Catholic Polish students.⁴⁵

One of the most important and difficult challenges of the Warsaw University situation was the absence of Polish-oriented divisions. Although Poles formed the majority of the student body, during the 46 years of the university's existence there were no separate divisions of Polish History and Polish Language or Literature.⁴⁶ It was only after the Russian Revolution (1905–1907) that one full-time professor of Polish Language and History of Polish Literature, Wladimir Wierzbowski, was assigned to the Department of Slavic Literature.⁴⁷ With respect to the regionally-oriented divisions, the situation at Warsaw University was not exceptional. The situation was similar in the Universities of Kharkov, Kiev, Kazan and Derpt.⁴⁸ Derpt University, for example, was a German-language educational institution; however, the processes of administrative, social and cultural integration into the Russian Empire caused the gradual Russification of that university during the 1890s. In 1893, even the city name Derpt was replaced by the ancient Russian name Juriev.⁴⁹

Warsaw Imperial University and World War I

After the outbreak of World War I in July 1914, the governing body of Warsaw Imperial University immediately began to consider evacuation. However, according to the Russian scholar Konstantin Krakovskii, secret evacuation plans were developed long before the war. The outbreak of hostilities only intensified the evacuation plans of the university authorities.⁵⁰ In August 1914 part of the university archive and equipment were sent to Moscow University. At the beginning of the 1914/15 academic year, the military situation remained stable, and so the decision was taken to commence studies. However, in the spring of 1915, the Russian defence line was broken, and the Russian army was forced to retreat.⁵¹

versiteta (see note 15), pp. 34-38; Ivanov, *Russkii universitet* (see note 6), pp. 26-29; Sergeĭ I. Mikhal'chenko: *Imperatorskii universitet v Varshave: problemy pol'sko-rossiiskich vzaimootnoshenii (1869–1915)* [Imperial University in Warsaw: Problems of Polish-Russian Relationships (1869–1915)], in: Ryszard Paradowski, Szymon Ossowski (eds.): *Polska w Rosji – Rosja w Polsce. Stosunki polityczne*, Poznań 2003, p. 94.

45 Esipov, *Materialy k istorii Imperatorskogo Varshavskogo universiteta* (see note 14), p. 27.

46 However, some issues of Polish history were discussed in the lectures devoted to Polish literature, as well as to the history and literature of the Western Slavs.

47 Archiwum Państwowe m. st. Warszawy, zesp. 214, sygn. 378, k. 2; Joanna Schiller, *Profesorowie* (see note 44), p. 92; *Kratkii otchet o sostoianii i deiatel'nosti Imperatorskogo Varshavskogo universiteta za 1908 g. i pervoe polugodie 1909 g.* [A Brief Report on the State and Activity of Warsaw Imperial University in 1908 and the First Half of 1909], in: *VUI*, no. VI (1909), p. 6.

48 Ihnatowicz, *Uniwersytet Warszawski* (see note 8), p. 394.

49 Mikhail Karpachev: *Peremeschenie universiteta iz Jurieva v Voronezh* [The Displacement of the University from Juriev to Voronezh], in: *Logos* 6 (51) (2005), p. 253.

50 Krakovskii, *Nit' vremeni (Istoria iuridicheskogo fakul'teta)* (see note 25), pp. 222-225.

51 Joanna Schiller: *Materiały do dziejów Cesarskiego Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego w Rostowie nad Donem* [Materials for the History of Warsaw Imperial University in Rostov-on-Don], in: *Nauka Polska, jej Potrzeby, Organizacja i Rozwój* 14 (39) (2005), pp. 237 f.; M. Szmit: *Kancelaria*

The final decision to evacuate from Warsaw was made in June. All university employees who wanted to leave the city received special tickets. These tickets permitted them to enter the train station and guaranteed passage for them and their families. According to Konstantin Krakovskiĭ who researched the Warsaw City State Archive, office workers and some of the university faculty left Warsaw with their families between June 17th and June 24th, 1915 and relocated to Moscow.⁵² Krakovskiĭ disagrees with the opinion of another Russian historian, Andreĭ Danilov, who worked with the documents of the State Archive of Rostov Oblast. The latter believes June 23rd, 1915 to be the date of a sudden evacuation of the Warsaw University faculty and staff, and states that the preparation time before departure to Moscow was only 11 hours.⁵³

However, Moscow was not their final destination. It was the southern Russian city of Rostov-on-Don that was selected for the following reasons: rapid economic development of the region which had caused a huge demand for highly skilled professionals, a favorable geographical location at the “gates” to the Caucasus, the wealth of the city, as well as potentially sufficient student numbers.⁵⁴ The final resettlement of all four university departments to Rostov began in mid-September 1915. The majority of the permanent faculty and students moved together with the university, and on December 1st the new academic year finally began.⁵⁵ The lectures at the Department of History and Philology began only ten days later, on December 10th, 1915.⁵⁶

From 1915 to 1917 there were two ‘Warsaw Universities’: one in Rostov-on-Don and the other in Warsaw occupied by the German Army. The inauguration of the latter took place in Warsaw on November 15th, 1915. The final decision about the future of the Russian-language Warsaw Imperial University in Rostov-on-Don was made only when it became clear that it could not return to Warsaw. On May 5th, 1917, the Provisional Government issued a decision about the establishment of the new Donskoy University to be officially inaugurated on July 1st, 1917.⁵⁷ It was renamed the Northern Caucasus State University in 1925 and again in 1934 as the Rostov-on-Don State University.⁵⁸

i archiwum Cesarskiego Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego (1869–1915) [Office and Archives of Warsaw Imperial University (1869–1915)], in: *Archeion* 61 (1974), pp. 188 f.; Bakhturina, *Okrainy Rossiĭskoi imperii* (see note 32), pp. 52-57.

52 Krakovskiĭ, *Nit’ vremeni* (Istoria iuridicheskogo fakul’teta) (see note 25), pp. 226 f.

53 Danilov, *Intelligentsyia Iuga Rossii* (see note 23), pp. 128 f.; idem: *Universitet: Varshava – Rostov-na-Donu (1915–1917)* [University: Warsaw – Rostov-on-Don (1915–1917)], in: *Rossiĭskie universitety v XVIII–XX vekakh. Sbornik nauchnykh stateĭ* 5 (2000), p. 128.

54 Schiller, *Uniwersytet Warszawski* (see note 2), pp. 44 f.

55 Ibidem, p. 45; Gosudarstvennyiĭ arhiv Rostovskoi oblasti (hereafter: GARO), f. 527, op. 1, ed. khr. 274, l. 42 v.; Aleksandr V. Belokon’: *Rostovskiĭ universitet: vchera, segodnia, zavtra* (Po materialam doklada na iubileĭnom zasedanii Uchenogo soveta RGU 4 oktiabria 1995 g.) [Rostov University: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow (On the Materials of the Report at the Jubilee Session of the Academic Council of Rostov State University, October 4, 1995)], in: *Rostovskiĭ gosudarstvennyiĭ universitet: Ezhegodnik ’95. RGU–80 let* 5 (1996), p. 4.

56 GARO, f. 527, op. 1, ed. khr. 103, l. 56.

57 Schiller, *Uniwersytet Warszawski* (see note 2), p. 45; GARO, f. 527, op. 1, ed. khr. 290, l. 6 v. – 7.

58 *XX Let Rostovskogo na Donu* (see note 15), pp. 9-13; Belozĕrov, *Rostovskiĭ Gosudarstvennyiĭ universitet* (see note 15), pp. 11 f.

Warsaw Historians and World War I

At the beginning of World War I there were still four departments in Warsaw University: History and Philology, Physics and Mathematics, and the Departments of Law and Medicine. The first of these had nine divisions: Philosophy, Greek Philology, Roman Philology, Comparative Grammar of Slavic and other Related Languages, Russian and Church Slavonic Language and the History of Russian Literature, History of World Literature, Slavic Philology, World History, and Russian History.⁵⁹ The two divisions of History employed four lecturers: Nikolai Liubovich⁶⁰ (1880–1929)⁶¹ and Leonid Berkut⁶² (1909–1922) in the Division of World History, and Ivan Kozlovskii⁶³ (1909–1916; 1918–1930) and Grigorii

59 *Ustav Imperatorskogo Varshavskogo Universiteta* (see note 7), pp. 126 f.

60 Nikolai Liubovich (1855–1935), Russian historian; Corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences (1924). A teacher of history at the ‘gymnasium’ in Kamenets-Podolskiy (1877–1878); docent (1880–1884), extraordinary professor (1884–1890), full professor (1890–1905), professor emeritus (since 1905) of the Division of World History, Dean of the Department of History and Philology (1892–1896) of the Warsaw Imperial University; a professor at the Donskoy and Northern Caucasus State Universities (1917–1929) and of the Higher Women’s Courses in Warsaw and Rostov-on-Don, RGIA, f. 740, op. 31, ed. khr. 290, l. 17-32; *ibidem*, f. 733, op. 156, ed. khr. 638, l. 220 v. – 221; GARO, f. P-46, op. 3, ed. khr. 460, l. 9 v.; *ibidem*, f. 528, op. 1, ed. khr. 6, l. 1-90; Iuriĭ F. Ivanov: *Nauchnaia deiatel’nost’ N.N. Liubovicha* [Scholarly Activities of N.N. Liubovich], in: *Sovetskoe slavianovedenie* 4 (1980), pp. 82-93; *idem*, *Zhyzn’ i tvorchestvo* (see note 20), pp. 168-190.

61 These dates show the years when each historian worked in Warsaw Imperial, Donskoy and Northern Caucasus State Universities.

62 Leonid Berkut (1879–1940), Russian and Soviet historian, specialist in mediaeval and modern history and historiography. Acting docent (1909–1915), extraordinary professor (1915–1917) of the Division of World History at Warsaw Imperial University and for the Higher Women’s Courses in Warsaw and Rostov-on-Don; extraordinary professor of the Donskoy University (1917–1922); from 1922 a professor at the Kiev Institute of Public Instruction, RGIA, f. 733, op. 226, ed. khr. 241, l. 35-39; *ibidem*, f. 733, op. 156, ed. khr. 638, l. 226 v. – 227; GARO, f. 528, op. 1, ed. khr. 6, l. 1-90; Oksana V. Iurkova: *Berkut Leonid Mykolaïovych* [Berkut Leonid Mykolaïovych], in: *Istorychnyi fakul’tet Kyïv’skogo natsional’nogo universytetu imeni Tarasa Shevchenka: mynule i s’ogodennia* (1834–2004 rr.), pid redaktsiieiu G.D. Kaz’myrchuka, Kyiv 2004, p. 154; etc.

63 Ivan Kozlovskii (1869–1942), Russian historian and archivist. A teacher at ‘gymnasiums’ and of the 1st Kiev Commercial School (from 1892); a lecturer of Russian history for Kiev Women’s Courses (from 1907), privat-docent of the Division of Russian History at Kiev University (1907/08 academic year), lecturer at the Nezhin Prince Bezborodko Historical-Philological Institute (1907–1909); an extraordinary professor (1909–1912), acting full professor (1912–1916), full professor (1916) of the Division of Russian History at Warsaw Imperial University; professor for the Higher Women’s Courses in Warsaw and Rostov-on-Don; a director of the Nezhin Historical-Philological Institute (1916–1918); professor at the Donskoy and Northern Caucasus Universities (1918–1930), of the Don Archaeological Institute (from 1919); head of the Central Historic Archives in Rostov-on-Don (from 1920), head of the Archive of the Don Regional Archival Office (1923), and a scholarly consultant, RGIA, f. 740, op. 18, ed. khr. 319, l. 5-12, 38; GARO, f. 528, op. 1, ed. khr. 6, l. 1-90; *Instytut rukopysu Natsional’noi biblioteki Ukraïny imeni V.I. Vernads’kogo* (hereafter: IR NBUV), f. III, *odnyntsia zberigannia* (hereafter: od. zb.) 49703, arkush (hereafter: ark.) 1 v.; Petro P. Motsiiaaka: *Nizhyns’kyi Istoryko-filologichnyi instytut kniazia Bezborod’ka u portretach ŭogo dyrektoriu* [Nezhin Prince Bezborodko Historical-Philological Institute in the Portraits of its Directors], Nizhyn 2011, pp. 180-215; N.A. Kazarova, S.S. Kazarov et al.: *Istoriki*

Pisarevskii⁶⁴ (1910–1924) in the Division of Russian History. Some other professors in the Department of History and Philology were also involved in historical research. These included Sergei Vechov⁶⁵ in the Division of Roman Literature (1882–1919), Aleksandr Pridik⁶⁶ in the Division of Greek Literature (1904–1920), Teodor Wierzbowski (1882–1915)⁶⁷ and Vladimir Frantsev (1900–1920)⁶⁸ from the Division of Slavic Literature.

- Varshavskogo universiteta. Vremia i sud'by [Historians of the Warsaw University: Time and Fates], Rostov-on-Don 2014, pp. 6-80; etc.
- 64 Grigorii Pisarevskii (1868–1952), Russian historian. A teacher of specialized schools and 'gymnasiums' (1892–1909); privat-docent at Moscow University (1909/10); extraordinary professor (1910–1914), acting full professor (1914–1916), full professor (1916/17) of the Division of Russian History at Warsaw Imperial University, later – a professor of the Department of Social Sciences at Donskoy University (1917–1924). Afterwards he became a professor and head of the Division of World History at Smolensk University (1925/26) and a professor of Russian history at Azerbaijan University (from 1926). Pisarevskii also worked in the Institute of History of the Azerbaijan Branch of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, RGIA, f. 740, op. 17, ed. khr. 138, l. 1, 5-11; GARO, f. 528, op. 1, ed. khr. 6, l. 1-90; Irina V. Cherkaz'ianova: Pisarevskii Grigorii Grigor'evich: izvestnye raboty neizvestnogo istorika [Pisarevskii Grigorii Grigor'evich: the Well-known Works of the Unknown Historian], in: Rossiiskie nemtsy / Die Russlanddeutschen 2 (50) (2007), pp. 16-18; Kazarova, Kazarov et.al., Istoriki (see note 63), pp. 90-123; etc.
- 65 Sergei Vechov (1857–1919), Russian philologist. A sublibrarian at Moscow University Library (1882); teacher of Latin at Warsaw 1st Male 'Gymnasium' (1882–1885); librarian at Warsaw Imperial University (1888–1914); acting docent (1882–1888), extraordinary professor (1888–1893), acting full professor (1893–1907), professor emeritus (from 1907) of the Division of Roman Literature, Dean of the Department of History and Philology (1908–1913), Rector (1913–1919) at Warsaw Imperial and Donskoy Universities and professor for the Higher Women's Courses in Warsaw and Rostov-on-Don, RGIA, f. 740, op. 31, ed. khr. 290, l. 3-16; GARO, f. 528, op. 1, ed. khr. 6, l. 1-90; Pavel N. Cherniaev, Materialy dlia istorii byvshego Varshavskogo Universiteta (8.VI.1869–1.VII.1917), Kafedra rimskoï slovesnosti v biograficheskikh ocherkach eë predstavitelei [Materials for the History of the Former Warsaw University (8.VI.1869–1.VII.1917). The Division of Roman Literature in the Biographical Sketches of its Representatives], Rostov on Don 1919, l. 228-250 v.
- 66 Aleksandr Pridik (1864–1936), classical philologist and an art historian of Baltic-German origins. Privat-docent (1892–1897), docent (1897–1904) of old classical philology at Derpt/Juriev University, extraordinary professor (1904–1912), acting full professor (1912–1917) of the Division of Greek Literature at Warsaw Imperial University; a professor (1917–1920) at Donskoy University, Dean of the Department of History and Philology (1917–1918) at Warsaw Imperial and Donskoy Universities; lecturer for the Higher Women's Courses in Warsaw and Rostov-on-Don; founder and Rector of the Don Archaeological Institute; professor of Ancient History and Art History at Derpt University (since 1921), RGIA, f. 740, op. 8, ed. khr. 54, l. 91-100; GARO, f. 528, op. 1, ed. khr. 6, l. 1-90; Pridik, Heinrich Alexander, in: Wilhelm Lenz (ed.): Deutschbaltisches biographisches Lexikon 1710–1960, Köln et.al. 1970, p. 600.
- 67 Teodor Wierzbowski (1853–1923), Polish historian of political history and literature, philologist, literary critic, archivist, public activist. Acting docent (1882–1886), extraordinary professor (1886–1889), full professor (1889–1907), professor emeritus (since 1907) at the Division of Slavic Literature of Warsaw, Imperial University; Director of the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw (1896–1919), RGIA, f. 733, op. 153, ed. khr. 481, l. 130-139, 143; Gaca-Dąbrowska Z. Teodor Wierzbowski (1853–1923). Studium bibliologiczne [Teodor Wierzbowski (1853–1923). Bibliological Study]. Część I, in: Roczniki Biblioteczne 17 (1973), no. 3-4, pp. 665-718.
- 68 Vladimir Frantsev (1867–1942), specialist in Slavic history and philology; Corresponding (1915) and Full Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences (1921). Teacher of Russian language and literature, history and geography of the 2nd (from 1891), 1st and 3rd (from 1896) Warsaw Women's

The length of time they worked at the Warsaw Imperial and then in the Donskoy and Northern Caucasus State Universities differed greatly. Liubovich worked in the university from 1880, Vechov and Wierzbowski from 1882. Frantsev and Pridik arrived in 1900 and 1904, respectively. The others came to Warsaw only after the revolutionary events and the reopening of the university. Berkut and Kozlovskii came to the university in 1909 and Pisarevskii the following year. Almost all persons referred to in this article graduated from Kiev and Warsaw Universities, including Liubovich, Kozlovskii, Berkut, Wierzbowski, Frantsev and Pisarevskii, except Vechov and Pridik who studied in Moscow and Derpt. Subsequently they obtained a *magistr* degree, the equivalent of PhD degree. Liubovich and Frantsev defended their PhD dissertations in Kiev, Berkut and Kozlovskii in Kharkov, Wierzbowski and Vechov in Warsaw, Pridik in Derpt, and Pisarevskii in Kazan. They obtained Doctoral degrees, the equivalent of a Habilitation degree (qualification for a professorship), from the Universities of Kiev or St. Petersburg. Most of them arrived in Warsaw with a *magistr* degree and obtained a Doctoral degree at a later date.

Before coming to Warsaw, Kozlovskii taught in Kiev *gymnasiums*, Kiev Women's Courses, St. Vladimir University and Nezhin Prince Bezborodko Historical-Philological Institute. Pisarevskii worked as a teacher of specialized schools and *gymnasiums* and as a private-docent at Moscow University. Pridik worked as a docent at Juriev University. Liubovich, Vechov, Wierzbowski, Frantsev and Berkut were just at the beginning of their university careers when they came to Warsaw.

With regard to their ages, records indicate that Liubovich, Vechov and Wierzbowski arrived in Warsaw before their thirtieth birthdays, and Berkut shortly thereafter. The other four lecturers ranged in age from 33 to 41. They began lecturing at the university either as extraordinary professors, assistant professors or as acting docents prior to advancing their university status. Generally speaking, the Warsaw period was an important step forward in the careers of each scholar. Berkut was an acting docent prior to the outbreak of World War I and attained the position of extraordinary professor on May 15th, the eve of the evacuation. Pridik, Kozlovskii and Pisarevskii were acting ordinary professors, while Frantsev was an ordinary professor. Both Liubovich and Wierzbowski were already professors emeriti in 1905 and in 1907, and Vechov served as the university rector.

The evacuation of Warsaw University occurred during the holiday period when the vice-rector, the deans and the majority of professors were out of the city. Almost the entire library, laboratories, and other essential university property were left in Warsaw. Only the most important manuscripts, books and easily transportable items were taken to Moscow. In addition, the university faculty left almost all of their personal and professional possessions in Warsaw. Only some professors managed to store their belongings, while others entrusted their possessions to their landlords.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ 'Gymnasiums'; acting docent (1900–1903), extraordinary professor (1903–1907), full professor (1907–1917) of the Division of Slavic Literature at Warsaw Imperial University; professor for the Higher Women's Courses in Warsaw and Rostov-on-Don; professor in the Department of Social Sciences of Donskoy University (1917–1920) and professor of Slavic studies (from 1921) at Charles University in Prague, RGIA, f. 740, op. 18, ed. khr. 282, l. 332-345; GARO, f. 528, op. 1, ed. khr. 6, l. 1-90; Lapteva, *Istoriia Slavianovedenia v Rossii v kontse XIX* (see note 22), pp. 288-375.

⁶⁹ GARO, f. 527, op. 1, ed. khr. 274, l. 3; Krakovskii, *Nit' vremeni (Istoria iuridicheskogo fakul'teta)*

Surviving lists of abandoned items by the Warsaw faculty, including three lists written by the history and philology professors, show the drama of the evacuation. Pridik, who was at that time acting Ordinary Professor of Greek Literature,⁷⁰ and eventually became Dean of the Department (February 1917), left his home at Marszałkowska Street carrying only his summer clothes. He left behind his most valuable possessions including handwritten lectures, materials for two extensive research works, a 'valuable' library on Greek epigraphy and law, the latest edition of Meyer's encyclopedic dictionary, a rich collection of music notes consisting of operas, symphonies, sonatas, both Russian and foreign, in the original editions, an 'excellent' piano and the furnishings of the six-room apartment, hundreds of large engravings and negatives, and much more.⁷¹

Pisarevskii left behind precious books, manuscripts and other belongings which he put in the vestibule of the university library and also a wardrobe filled with books, manuscripts and lithographic editions of lecture classes which he placed in a lecture room.⁷² Frantsev who resided at 36 Złota Street abandoned his furniture and his personal library of precious books collected during 25 years of scholarly activity.⁷³ These lists of professional valuables were prepared by men who intended and hoped to return to their lives when the war ended. Sadly, they never returned.⁷⁴

Just prior to the 1915 evacuation, the university employed 66 lecturers, including 43 ordinary professors, 14 extraordinary professors and nine assistant professors (private-docents). And it is important to note that at that time, Russian scholars formed the majority of the faculty. By January 1st, 1916, the total number of lecturers was 63, among them 44 ordinary professors, 14 extraordinary professors and five associate professors.⁷⁵ Although the relocation to Rostov did not significantly affect the structure of the departments, it did severely affect working conditions, due to the fact that the university proper no longer existed and instruction took place at various locations throughout the city.

Among the professors and lecturers of the Department of History and Philology, who moved to Rostov in 1915 and remained at the university until the establishment of Donskoy University, we can find the names of almost all persons mentioned in this article.⁷⁶ Only Wierzbowski, a Pole by birth and a patriot of his fatherland, decided to stay in occupied Warsaw, where he continued to work as the Director of the Central Archives of Historical

(see note 25), p. 228; Z.N. Lipatova, A.N. Shachanov: *Sud'ba rukopisnogo otdela i arhivov profesorov Varshavskogo universiteta* [The Fate of the Manuscript Department and Archives of the Warsaw University Professors], in: *Otechestvennye arhivy* 3 (1992), p. 26.

70 GARO, f. P-46, op. 3, ed. khr. 619, l. 120.

71 *Ibidem*, f. 527, op. 1, ed. khr. 274, l. 76 v.

72 *Ibidem*, l. 79-80.

73 *Ibidem*, l. 81.

74 It is important to mention that a special commission was sent from Rostov to Warsaw in 1918. This commission consisted of Vladimir Frantsev and Leonid Berkut who had to examine the situation with regard to the belongings and libraries of the former Warsaw Imperial University faculty and staff. They found some belongings, but the libraries had disappeared from the landlords' houses. Some of the books had been plundered, the rest had been appropriated by the restored Warsaw University (*ibidem*, f. 527, op. 1, ed. khr. 274, l. 3-4 v.).

75 Danilov, *Universitet* (see note 53), p. 131.

76 RGIA, f. 733, op. 156, ed. khr. 638, l. 219 v. – 232; GARO, f. P-46, op. 3, ed. khr. 619, l. 10 v. – 11, 37; *ibidem*, f. 527, op. 1, ed. khr. 71, l. 19 v.; *ibidem*, f. 527, op. 1, ed. khr. 126, l. 110 v.

Records.⁷⁷ Kozlovskii did not remain in Rostov for long. In August 1916 he moved to the Ukrainian town of Nezhin where he was appointed Director of the Historical-Philological Institute. What the scholar lost in the financial sense of a lower salary and pension benefits, he gained in professional satisfaction. Kozlovskii's personal correspondence indicates that the appointment was the culmination of his lifetime goal of combining scholarly and pedagogic activity.⁷⁸ Even during the severe conditions of the war and revolution Kozlovskii proved to be an enterprising and far-sighted director. He made admirable attempts to save the institute, its library and the museum collections. Due to reorganization at the Nezhin Institute he resigned his position as director in November 1918 to become a member of the faculty at Donskoy University. And in August of 1919 he returned to Rostov as a professor.⁷⁹

The majority of the above-mentioned professors were forced to reconstruct their lives in the completely new Soviet political system. Two of them who were already advanced in age at the time of the evacuation, remained in Rostov until the end of their lives: the rector of the university Vechov worked until 1919, and Liubovich retired in 1929. The most difficult task fell to Vechov who as rector led the university during the extensive difficulties of the evacuation and civil war. At one point he requested a dismissal but continued as rector when he received no response. The burden of these responsibilities was a factor in shortening his life and the scholar died on March 15th, 1919.⁸⁰

Liubovich lectured at the Donskoy and Northern Caucasus State Universities and was one of the few scholars who represented the older generation of Warsaw professors. For many years he succeeded in not becoming involved in various affairs that could have been perceived as counterrevolutionary by the representatives of the Soviet regime. There were several attempts to dismiss Liubovich from office, but the Department of Social Sciences, which took the place of the former Department of History and Philology, successfully interceded on his behalf. The professor was known to maintain his professional dignity even during difficult times. One of his colleagues, A. Ivanovskii, recalled that Liubovich was an aged bachelor who was always very carefully and neatly dressed at a time when this was a rarity. Ivanovskii wrote that "in domestic life he was extremely helpless and the wives of some other professors took care of him. At this time he was very old, but he held himself upright, even with some smartness. He was probably handsome".⁸¹ In fact, Liubovich was not particularly concerned about his personal life and he dedicated his time to rewriting his lectures according to the new curriculum. The lack of scholarly literature, however, posed a major obstacle for him. Liubovich was forced to retire with a pension in 1929, a time when the persecution of historians, especially those related to the Academy of Sciences,

77 Wierzbowski Teodor Feliks, in: *Biogramy Uczonych Polskich. Materiały o życiu i działalności członków AU w Krakowie, TNW, PAU, PAN* [Biograms of Polish Scientists. Materials about the Life and Activity of the Members of the Academy of Learning in Krakow, Warsaw Scientific Society, Polish Academy of Learning, Polish Academy of Sciences], cz. 1: Nauki społeczne, zes. 3: P-Z, opracowali A. Śródka, P. Szczawiński, Wrocław et.al. 1985, pp. 500-504.

78 IR NBUV, f. III, od. zb. 49656, ark. 2; ibidem, f. III, od. zb. 49658, ark. 4 v.

79 Kazarova, Kazarov et.al., *Istoriki* (see note 63), pp. 39-43.

80 Cherniaev, *Materialy*, l. 228-250 v.; N.A. Reshetova: *Intelligentsyia Dona i revoliutsyia* [Intelligentsyia of Don and the Revolution], Moscow 1998, pp. 188 f.

81 Cit. ex: Ivanov: *Zhyzn' i tvorchestvo* (see note 20), p. 186.

began. The former Warsaw university professor had been a corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences since 1924.⁸²

In 1916, Kozlovskii left Rostov and accepted the position of Director of the Nezhin Prince Bezborodko Historical-Philological Institute. However, Kozlovskii returned to Rostov in August of 1919 as Professor of Russian history at Donskoy University and Donskoy Archaeological Institute. He remained at the university until October 1st, 1930⁸³ when he was dismissed because of his religious beliefs and his political views. Nevertheless, Kozlovskii continued to work in archival administration until February 4th, 1931 when he was arrested as one of the founding members of the Northern Caucasus Regional Society of Archaeology, History and Ethnography, which he had chaired (1925/26). He was accused of counterrevolutionary activity and blamed for maintaining contact with Sergei Platonov, a known member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, who was accused of taking part in a royalist conspiracy. The result of this civil action denied Kozlovskii the right to a fixed address for three years. In all probability, he was then sent to the Urals and moved to Kazakhstan after this. The former professor of Warsaw Imperial University spent the last years of his life in the town of Uralsk, where he lectured history and source studies at the Pedagogic Institute.⁸⁴

Pridik, the former Dean of the Department of History and Philology (1917/18), also decided to leave Donskoy University. In 1920 he moved to the newly independent Estonia and the next year became Professor of Ancient History and Art History at Derpt University. Pridik was born in Reval, later named Tallinn, to the family of the Russian Major-General Friedrich Heinrich von Wendrich. He studied in Berlin and Derpt where he lectured for twelve years (1892–1904).⁸⁵

Another professor who decided to emigrate from Russia was the famous scholar of Slavic studies Frantsev, who dedicated his entire life to the study of languages, literature, history and ethnography of the western and southern Slavs. Frantsev's doctoral dissertation addressed the issue of Polish Slavic studies at the end of eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century. After the evacuation of Warsaw University, Frantsev found himself distanced from the subject of his studies, mainly Czech and Polish Slavs. And most importantly, Frantsev, a mature scholar, faced an agonizing challenge because he had been forced to abandon his extensive personal library in Warsaw and therefore he felt his time in Rostov would be limited. In his letter of August 28th, 1915 to the academician Aleksei Shakhmatov, the scholar wrote that he did not see any way he could work in Rostov since the city's library did not cover Slavonic studies and, specifically, the history of Slavic literatures.⁸⁶ Frantsev remained in Rostov until 1920 when the Soviet powers came to this region. By the next year, he was living in Prague where he remained for the last 20 years

82 Ibidem, pp. 186 f.

83 It is important to emphasize that while talking with the people he trusted Ivan Kozlovskii called his lecturing voluntary or involuntary ideological sabotage. Thus, he expressed concern that a lot of material for a sabotage charge could easily be found in his lectures, see Kazarova, Kazarov et.al., *Istoriki* (see note 63), p. 56.

84 Kazarova, Kazarov et.al., *Istoriki* (see note 63), pp. 39-79.

85 Pridik, Heinrich Alexander, in: Wilhelm Lenz (ed.): *Deutschbaltisches biographisches Lexikon* (see note 66), p. 600.

86 Lapteva, *Istoriia Slavianovedenia v Rossii v kontse XIX* (see note 22), pp. 298 f.

of his life. He worked at the Charles University,⁸⁷ and correspondence confirms that the scholar remembered his former Rostov colleagues and tried to support them. For instance, the letter of April 8th, 1923 from Professor Kozlovskii indicates that Frantsev had shipped sugar to the university and each professor had received 57.3 kg.⁸⁸

Berkut, who specialized in the medieval and modern history of Europe and participated in the 1913 4th International Congress of Historians in London, left the Donskoy University of Rostov in 1922. He then became a professor at the Kiev Institute of People's Education, which is Kiev University in Soviet Ukraine, where he remained until the beginning of the 1940s.⁸⁹ Since the scholar was born in Kiev and graduated from the local university, we can establish that he returned to the place of his birth.

Pisarevskii, whose name and precise date of death were obscured for many years, was a famous specialist for the German colonization of Russian lands. The scholar remained in Rostov for a relatively long period of time. To earn a living he lectured at Donskoy University, Higher Women's Courses of History and Philology Department, Polytechnic of Water Transport and at several other educational institutions. In 1924 when the Law Division of the Department of Social Sciences of the University was abolished, Pisarevskii was dismissed. In February 1925, he became a professor and chaired the Division of World History of Smolensk University. The following year, he became a professor in the Division of Russian History, later the Division of the History of the USSR Peoples of the Pedagogic Department in the distant University of Azerbaijan. He also held a position as a research fellow at the Institute of History of Azerbaijan branch of the Academy of Sciences of USSR in Baku.⁹⁰

The severely altered living and working conditions of the former Warsaw professors show us that after leaving Warsaw University, these peoples' lives were plagued with extreme difficulties and uncertainties: low salaries and consequently poor nutrition worsened their situations. In a letter dated August 24th, 1920, Aleksandr Iactsymirskii wrote "I do not want to write about high prices. I look after the household and distribute things for sale: otherwise it is impossible to exist even with a threefold salary".⁹¹ Kozlovskii wrote to his teacher, a professor at Kiev University Vladimir Ikonnikov, that he lived decently in January 1923, at least much better than when his family "almost starved to death" from December 1920 through July 1921.⁹²

As a consequence of the Soviet government policy of confiscating property some of the lecturers faced problems concerning living quarters and were forced to live in their work place in Donskoy University or to share their apartments with strangers. Liubovich and Pisarevskii were evicted from their residences.⁹³ Kozlovskii, his wife and three daughters were forced to live in one room of the Central Historic Archives in Rostov, which he headed,

87 Ibidem, pp. 300-375.

88 IR NBUV, f. 46, od. zb. 429, ark. 2.

89 Iurkova, Berkut Leonid Mykolaïovych (see note 62), p. 154.

90 Kazarova, Kazarov et.al., Istoriki (see note 63), pp. 103-122.

91 Cit. ex: Mikhail A. Robinson: Sud'by Akademicheskoi elity: otechestvennoe slavianovedenie (1917 – nachalo 1930-kh godov) [Fates of Academic Elite: Domestic Slavic Studies (1917 – early 1930es)], Moscow 2004, pp. 87 f.

92 IR NBUV, f. 46, od. zb. 425, ark. 2-2 v.; ibidem, f. 46, od. zb. 426, ark. 2 v.

93 Kazarova, Kazarov et.al., Istoriki (see note 63), p. 108.

although the salaries of the professor and his wife were quite high in the summer of 1922.⁹⁴ In January 1923 the Kozlovskiis received a four room flat in the university library; however, the rooms were not connected but located throughout the building.⁹⁵

Other challenges facing the scholars in Rostov were a lack of literature, especially foreign books and magazines, and the ban on foreign travel. And as previously mentioned, the professors suffered both in teaching and scholarly activity due to having abandoned their personal records and libraries in Warsaw. For example, Liubovich, a famous specialist in the Polish Reformation, and a participant in both the 3rd and 4th International Congresses of Historians had abandoned his books, manuscripts and works ready for publishing. In 1923 the professor requested permission for a scholarly trip abroad, but the request was denied by the Central Administration of Professional Education. Due to the lack of research material, Liubovich ceased his research and during Soviet times published only one article entitled “The Emergence of a Capitalist Economy in Western Europe (the overview of works on economic history in the 13–15th centuries)”. He based this on materials available in the libraries of Moscow and Leningrad.⁹⁶

Conclusion

In conclusion, this article attempts to ascertain the influence of World War I and the subsequent fall of the Russian Empire on the history of Warsaw Imperial University and the lives of its historians. The war was the catalyst which extinguished Warsaw Imperial University, an institution which had, since its establishment in 1869, represented an integral part of the Russian university system with regard to both the language of lecturing and its organizational structure. Nevertheless, despite all the difficulties faced by the university and its faculty during the wartime period and the subsequent evacuation, the major factor that influenced their future was the fall of the Russian Empire and further revolutionary changes. These factors greatly affected the university system, the established university traditions and the manner in which history was taught. On July 1st, 1917 the new Donskoy University emerged in place of Warsaw Imperial University.

The caesura caused by World War I had extreme and permanent influences on the private lives and the careers of each Warsaw professor. Most of them had relocated to Rostov. Only Wierzbowski who was a Pole by birth decided to remain in Warsaw. Eventually he was forced to leave the university because new university authorities perceived him as a “Russian oriented” lecturer who had collaborated with the Russian government for many years. A well-established way of life and years of dedicated professional research were lost. Residences, permanent possessions, private libraries and archives, handwritten works and lecture courses were lost. These professors, once respected members of society, were forced into inferior living conditions and were often in need of the basic necessities, including food. These wartime occurrences negatively and permanently influenced their future scholastic and scholarly activity: Liubovich, for example, ceased his research.

94 IR NBUV, f. 46, od. zb. 426, ark. 2 v.; *ibidem*, f. 46, od. zb. 427, ark. 2.

95 *Ibidem*, f. 46, od. zb. 429, ark. 2.

96 Ivanov, *Zhyn' i tvorchestvo* (see note 20), pp. 185-187.

Thus, the former professors of Warsaw Imperial University had to create new lives in completely new political and economic environments. Understandably, they were not prepared for these abrupt changes. And eventually both Pridik and Frantsev emigrated from Russia. Others attempted to adapt to the new situation. It is important to note that only Vechov and Liubovich remained in Rostov until the end of their lives. In search of employment, Berkut relocated to Kiev, Kozlovskii to Nezhin and Pisarevskii to Smolensk and Baku. Kozlovskii differed from the others because he had left Rostov for only three years and afterwards worked at the university until 1930. The lives of Frantsev and Pisarevskii were obscured for many decades.

As to the dismissals of faculty from previously held positions, it can be assumed that the main reason involved suspected political views, religious beliefs and political affiliations. Liubovich and Kozlovskii were fired because of their contacts with Platonov, the former professor of St. Petersburg University, later known as Petrograd University, and a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences. In fact, this situation was characteristic and extremely significant for other Russian universities, including Juriev University.⁹⁷ The account of the disruptions at Warsaw Imperial University is instructive because it reveals the extreme challenges that war brings to universities, faculties and students in conflict zones.

Zusammenfassung

2016 feiert die Universität Warschau ihr 200-jähriges Jubiläum. Anlässlich dieser kommenden Veranstaltung haben russische und polnische Forscher damit begonnen, ihre Geschichte, insbesondere den „russischen“ Abschnitt (1869–1915), neu zu überdenken. Das Ziel dieses Artikels ist es, festzustellen, welche Auswirkungen der Erste Weltkrieg und der daran anschließende Niedergang des Russischen Reichs auf das Schicksal der Historiker an der Kaiserlichen Universität Warschau hatten. Unter den Lehrenden gab es acht Professoren an fünf Fakultäten: Weltgeschichte, Russische Geschichte, Römische Literatur, Griechische und Slawische Literatur. Da am Vorabend des Krieges die Mehrheit der Professoren an der Universität Russen waren, wurden fast alle von ihnen, auch die Historiker, dazu gezwungen, in die südrussische Stadt Rostov-am-Don zu flüchten. Dort mussten sie sich an vollkommen unbekannt politische und wirtschaftliche Bedingungen gewöhnen. Nach der Evakuierung verlief das Schicksal von jedem Historikern anders: Manche verließen Russland; andere wechselten ihre Arbeitsstellen und zogen nach Kiev, Nezhin, Smolensk oder Baku. Nur zwei Professoren blieben bis zum Ende ihres Lebens in Rostov. Auf diese Weise wurden das Privatleben und die Karriere von jedem an der Universität Warschau tätigen Historiker durch den Ersten Weltkrieg tief- und durchgehend beeinflusst.

⁹⁷ See for example: Karpachev, *Peremeschenie universiteta iz Jurieva v Voronezh* (see note 49), pp. 253-268.