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**O. M. BOHDASHYNA**

Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor,

Professor of the Department of History

e-mail: [bohdashyna@gmail.com](mailto:bohdashyna@gmail.com) ORCID ID <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8505-5075>

*Ukraine of H. S. Skovoroda Kharkiv National Pedagogical University,*

29 Alchevskikh Street, Kharkiv, Ukraine, 61002

### **UNIVERSITIES OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE IN THE LIFE AND WORKS OF M. KOSTOMAROV**

**The purpose of the article** is to determine the role of Universities of the Russian Empire in the life and work of the famous historian and ethnographer M. Kostomarov, and on the other hand to show how his multilateral activities influenced the development of the higher education system in the country. This analysis is accompanied by our comments on discrepancies in biographical facts in sources and literature.

**The research methodology** consists of general scientific principles of historicism and objectivity, special historical methods, in particular problem-chronological, problem-historiographic, historical-comparative, historical-genetic, historical-typological, as well as biographical approach.

**Scientific novelty.** The role of Universities of the Russian Empire in the life and work of the famous historian and ethnographer M. Kostomarov is clarified; the influence of his pedagogical work on the higher education in the country is shown; several discrepancies in the sources are commented on.

**The results.** The article examines the role of universities of the Russian Empire in the life and work of the famous historian and ethnographer M. Kostomarov. In particular, the role of Kharkiv University in the formation of M. Kostomarov as a young scientist is shown in detail. Kharkiv University played the greatest role in the development of M. Kostomarov as the scientist. M. Kostomarov's studies at this university, and especially the defense of both master's theses of the young scientist, were accompanied by artificial obstacles. Not only ill-wishers, but also M. Kostomarov himself is to blame for creating problems (with obtaining a candidate's diploma, with defending both master's theses).

A certain role in the intellectual biography of M. Kostomarov was played by Moscow University. M. Kostomarov's listening to lectures by Moscow university professors in 1838 was temporary and situational. In our opinion, this was a search for support among the local professorship in a scientific career, in the preparation and defense of a master's thesis.

Short periods of lecturing at Kiev (1846-1847) and St. Petersburg (1859-1862) universities were held in more favorable conditions. But the termination of teaching at the Kiev University of St. Vladimir logically ended with the arrest in the case of the Secret Society of Cyril and Methodius. Kostomarov's lecturing activity at St. Petersburg University ended with a student boycott. In our opinion, both sides were guilty of the conflict.

The unreliable historian's attempts to find a job after exile at Kazan, Kharkiv and Kiev universities were unsuccessful due primarily to subjective factors.

These difficulties enriched his life experience, allowed him to get to know the academic environment better, showed him that scientific activity is inseparable from struggle in a professional environment.

M. Kostomarov devoted his life to education and science. 5 universities of the Russian Empire played a role in the life of an outstanding historian, in three of them he managed to work. For a teacher and scientist, university life is the main, most valuable part of his intellectual biography. At the same time, M. Kostomarov's teaching activity has become an important fragment in the history of the above-mentioned universities.

**Key words:** Mykola Kostomarov, autobiographies, university, career as a scientist and lecturer

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The creative destinies of famous scientists of the past, in our opinion, should be taught today taking into account the new principles of biographical studies and intellectual history. In the works of I. Aisenstock [1], O. Bahaliy [2], O. Gonchar [9, etc.], V. Mikheeva [25], Yu. Pinchuk [23, 31–32, etc.], O. Yas' [23, 38, etc.] and other authors, the scientific career and pedagogical activity of M. I. Kostomarov were studied.

Our task is to clarify the role of Universities of the Russian Empire in the life and work of the famous historian and ethnographer M. Kostomarov, and on the other hand to show how his multilateral activities influenced the development of higher education in the country; at the same time to comment on several discrepancies in sources.

The analysis of the M. Kostomarov's correspondence, historian's «Autobiography» in various versions [14–17], his article about himself in the «Biographical Dictionary of professors and teachers of the Imperial University of St. Vladimir» [4, p. 283–297], Memoirs of N. Belozerskaya [3], F. Neslukhovsky [28] and other colleagues and acquaintances about M. Kostomarov helped to systematize the available source information [8, 13, 24, 26, 29, 30, 33, etc.].

#### **Kharkiv Imperial University**

In 1833, Mykola Kostomarov graduated from the Voronezh Men's Gymnasium and entered Kharkiv University. The student period (1833–1837) is the time of M. Kostomarov's perception of the ideas of liberalism, romanticism, and the formation of his scientific interests.

In «Autobiography» M. Kostomarov divided Kharkiv students into several groups. The first group included wealthy students-revellers, for whom a diploma was needed to hold a non-burdensome position (for example, a deputy of a local noble Assembly). For the second group of students university education is necessary only for a successful official career (preferably in the capital). To the third group of students M. Kostomarov included real adherents of science, who mostly became teachers. The main task for the fourth group of students was not to fail another exam. They could not financially rent apartments from professors, and therefore could not use their help. In addition, they did not have special talents for learning or science [15, p. 23–24]. The memoirist obviously used such a criterion as motivation for learning for such a division into groups.

In his memoirs M. Kostomarov highly appreciated only two lecturers of Kharkiv University: professor of world history M. Lunin and teacher of Greek literature A. Valitsky [15, p. 22]<sup>2</sup>.

Unlike other researchers, S. Kudelko criticizes the memoirist for subjective, supercritical assessments of his teachers [19, p. 123]. In our opinion, O. Yas' correctly believes that the memoirs

<sup>2</sup> High marks of the lecturing skills of only these two teachers of the Faculty of Philosophy of Kharkiv University in the 1830s –1840s are also found in other memoirs [See: 7, p. 321–322; 12, №1, p. 88–91].

of M. Kostomarov «mostly accurately reflected the general atmosphere of the provincial university» [38, p. 29]. Even earlier, O. Grushevsky expressed a similar assessment [10, p. 3].

M. Kostomarov negatively described other teachers of Kharkiv University: for weak knowledge, bribery (by providing short paid lessons on the eve of exams). M. Kostomarov characterized professor Nicolas Paquis de Sauvigny as a limited teacher, familiar only with old French literature and not familiar with the latest literature. The memoirist describes in detail how professor forced students to take private lessons in order to successfully his exam. Leçon (lesson) was valued at 10 rubles. M. Kostomarov gave 20 rubles to get a higher grade on the exam («eminent») [15, p. 25].

M. Kostomarov criticized boardinghouses: professors rent out their rooms to students for apartments for significant funds. In return, the professors helped their tenants pass exams. M. Kostomarov noted that he has never used such help. In his memoirs the historian warmly recalled his residence in the House of a Latin professor P. Sokalsky [15, p. 24–25].

M. Kostomarov, on the contrary, had an extremely negative attitude towards the professor of Russian history P. Hulak-Artemovsky, from whom he rented a room (August 1835–January 1837). O. Yas' explains M. Kostomarov's assessment about P. Gulak-Artemovskiyi the professor's «demonstrative aristocratic habits» and reading lectures exclusively based on the works of M. Karamzin and M. Ustryalov [38, p. 29]. In our opinion, this is also connected with a personal offense against P. Hulak-Artemovskiyi.

In the memoirs of F. Neslukhovsky, a quarrel between the owner and the tenant in January 1837 was described in detail. P. Hulak-Artemovskiyi called an orgy a stormy student party in the room of M. Kostomarov. Instead of apologizing, the tenant kicked the professor out of the apartment [28, p. 130].

In the memoirs M. Kostomarov recalled in detail how housing in the rector's house led to the deterioration of their relationship. Soon, during dinner, there was a dispute about Lzhedmitry I. According to M. Kostomarov, if the first impostor had a longer time to reign, he would have become a great historical figure. The young man even compared it to the Russian Tsar Peter I [28, p. 130]. The professor abruptly interrupted the young man and demanded to immediately stop this «crazy speech» [28, p. 130].

After this dispute, the offended tenant left P. Hulak-Artemovsky's house forever. Since then, the rector's attitude towards M. Kostomarov has changed. P. Hulak-Artemovsky openly spoke negatively about M. Kostomarov: «His mind is not in place; he cannot avoid either the fortress or exile» [28, p. 130].

The domestic dispute between the owner and the young man turned into hostility on the part of the professor, who soon became rector. Hostility played a negative role in the defense of two master's theses of M. Kostomarov, and later in the dismissal from the position of the inspector.

Comparing the problematic defenses of M. Kostomarov with the more successful careers of his friends shows that the young man unsuccessfully communicated with the management of the University. It is significant that three of his best friends defended their dissertations faster and stayed to teach at alma mater.

I. Sreznevsky worked as an adjunct professor at the Department of Economics and statistics of the Faculty of philosophy of Kharkiv University after defending of the master's theses «Experience in the essence and content of theory in Political Sciences» in 1837. A. Metlinsky defended in 1839 the master's theses «On the essence of civilization and the meaning of its elements» and lectured on the history of the Russian literature at University until 1850. M. Kostomarov, together with O. Roslavsky-Petrovsky, rented an apartment. O. Roslavsky-Petrovsky studied at the Faculty of philosophy a year later than M. Kostomarov. But O. Roslavsky-Petrovsky defended his master's theses «On the true meaning of pragmatic history» earlier in 1839 and in the same year was appointed an adjunct. Later, O. Roslavsky-Petrovsky became a professor, dean of the Faculty of History and Philology and rector (1859–1862) of Kharkiv University.

Unexpectedly M. Kostomarov left Kharkiv at the beginning of 1837 and enrolled in the Kinburn Dragoon Regiment, located in Ostrogozhsk. For a month, the young man gets bored with military service and leaves «inability» [4, p. 284].

M. Kostomarov finished Kharkiv University with the degree of a reall student, not a candidate. The University Charter of 1835 provided for three grades – bene (good), optime (very good), and eminenter (excellent). To get a candidate's degree, most subjects had to be passed with an eminenter score, and two exams were allowed to get an optime score. Young man forgot about assessment of theology (bene). M. Kostomarov and then researchers of his life explain this by the historian's forgetfulness. O. Yas' writes: «His impracticality and constant forgetfulness made an evil joke with M. Kostomarov» [38, p. 32]. Therefore, in 1837, he passed the candidacy exams [4, p. 284; 16, p. 155]. M. Kostomarov received his university graduation certificate only on November 28, 1838 [34, p. 723].

On November 24, 1840, M. Kostomarov successfully passed the master's exams in Russian history, world history, and on December 4, 1840, – in Philosophy, Political Economy, Statistics and French [1, p. 21–22; 38, p. 44–45].

At the request of Dean of the first department of the Faculty of Philosophy A. Valitsky, on March 13, 1842, the University Council appointed the public defense of M. Kostomarov's master's thesis for March 27, 1842 at 11.00 and opponents: M. Lunin, O. Roslavsky-Petrovsky and V. Yakimov. 3 days after on March 16, 1842, P. Hulak-Artemovsky suspends the publication of the announcement of the master's thesis defense [1, p. 22–24].

P. Hulak-Artemovsky decided to play it safe, as Bishop of Kharkiv and Okhtyr Innokenty (Borisov) wrote to him and assistant of trustee of the Kharkiv educational district M. Zertelev (Zereteli) regarding the future defense of a dubious dissertation.

During the visit of M. Kostomarov and the dean of the first Department of the Faculty of philosophy A. Valitsky, the bishop pointed out the controversial provisions in the text of the dissertation. However, he assured the visitors that his comments allow them to defend themselves. We agree with comment of O. Yas' that the young researcher's dissertation annoyed the bishop [38, p. 55–56]. The facts of unworthy behavior of the Orthodox clergy (corruption, debauchery, cowardice, etc.), the circumstances of the adoption of the Brest church Union in 1596, the «reunification» of the Uniates with the Russian Orthodox Church in 1839 showed the negative side of the activities of the Russian Orthodox Church.

On April 2, 1842, M. Zertelev wrote an order to suspend the defense until further notice and sent a copy of M. Kostomarov's master's thesis with a cover letter. In a letter to the Vice-Minister of public education P. Shirinsky-Shikhmatov, M. Zertelev wrote about «harsh and unsubstantiated places» in the dissertation, that are harmful not only for scientists and clergy, but also for the general public [1, p. 22–24].

Usually in literature Bishop of Kharkiv and Akhtyr Innokenty (Borisov) is called the main culprit. M. Kostomarov also thought so for a long time. In St. Petersburg in the 1860s, he was shown a letter from one of the Kharkiv professors among the documents of the Minister of National Education S. Uvarov. Who exactly-the historian does not name in «Autobiography». M. Sukhomlynov [36, p. 52], I. Aisenstock [1, p. 24] believe, that M. Zertelev organized the cancellation of the master's thesis defense. O. Yas' is not so categorical: «It is unlikely that we will find out exactly who it was – Bishop Innokenty, Prince M. Zertelev, Rector P. Hulak-Artemovsky or one of the university professors» [38, p. 57].

By order of the Ministry of Public Education, M. Ustryalov conducted an expert examination of M. Kostomarov's master's thesis. In an official response, the St. Petersburg professor called the young author a «lover of paradoxes», who disregards long-recognized «truths» [36, p. 53–54]. By order of the Minister of Public Education on April 24, 1842, copies of the book were ordered to be destroyed, and the defense of the dissertation was finally canceled. M. Kostomarov personally collected and destroyed part of the hundred copies of the monograph. He reported in detail in a report addressed to the rector dated July 10, 1842 [1, p. 25–26]. I. Aisenstock rightly believes, that actually

65 books were not burned, as indicated in M. Zertelev's report dated January 12, 1844. At the same time the researcher refers to the memoirs and report of M. Kostomarov [1, p. 26–27].

The historian has prepared a new master's theses «On the historical significance of Russian folk poetry». There were also problems with the admission of the 2nd master's theses to the defense. Professor M. Protopopov believed that the topic related to «peasant songs» was generally unworthy of a dissertation work. Professor P. Hulak-Artemovsky also negatively assessed the topic of the second master's thesis. Opponent I. Zreznevsky supported the dissertation. Three members of the council (the second official opponent V. Yakimov, V. Chernyaev, Bishop Innokenty) criticized the dissertation during the defense. But the dissertation was defended on January 12 or 13, 1844 (M. Kostomarov and researchers gives different dates) [2, p. 469; 4, p. 285; 16, p. 117].

The scientific community was also quite critical of M. Kostomarov's work. An anonymous reviewer from the journal «Library for reading» [«Библиотека для чтения»] (presumably I.-Y. Senkovsky) and V. Belinsky in «Patriotic notes» [«Отечественные записки»] criticized the monograph. Only I. Sreznevsky's review was positive in M. Pogodin's magazine «Moskvityanin» [«Москвитянин»].

M. Kostomarov belonged to the «Kharkiv School of romantics». The formation of his worldview and scientific interests was influenced by such famous Kharkiv writers, poets, historians, ethnographers and folklorists as G. Kvitka, I. Sreznevsky, A. Metlinsky, P. Gulak-Artemovsky, Ya. Shchegolev and others [9, p. 17].

M. Kostomarov worked for less than a year (from August 26, 1842 to April 30, 1843) as an inspector's assistant of state-funded students. According to the testimony of F. Neslukhovsky, he did not have any abilities to perform such official duties and did not want to be an informer [28, p. 146–147]. M. Kostomarov refused to come to a domestic dispute between students and a priest at the wedding of provincial actors and was reprimanded for this. The historian explained his behavior to F. Neslukhovsky by his unwillingness to «play the role of a gendarme, expose students, subject them to severe punishment» [28, p. 148].

The young historian decided to marry a poor girl-governess. Girl seemed to agree, but later rejected M. Kostomarov, preferring another, who flirted and quickly left her. M. Kostomarov demanded that the scoundrel marry the girl and challenged him to a duel. The duel did not take place, because the opponent agreed, but called the police. I will add from myself: fortunately, because the scientist was a bad shooter. M. Kostomarov was dismissed from his job.

After returning from exile on December 5, 1864, The Academic Council unanimously elected M. Kostomarov is a professor at the Department of Russian history of Kharkiv University. However, on February 11, 1865, he resigned from his post [2, p. 471].

#### **Moscow Imperial University**

In the spring of 1838, M. Kostomarov listened for several months at Moscow university lectures by professors M. Kachenovsky, S. Shevyrev, M. Pogodin [28, p. 140]. Perhaps the historian considered the option of passing candidate's exams and defending his dissertation not at his alma mater. The scientist was friends with M. Pogodin until the public dispute of 1861. This «friendship», according to our assessment, was more like a scientific competition, with a transition to personality.

#### **Kiev Imperial University of St. Volodymyr**

After the death of M. Lunin, O. Roslavskiyi-Petrovskiyi began teaching at the Department of world history of Kharkiv University. Therefore, M. Kostomarov was looking for a new place of service outside his alma mater. For some time he worked as a teacher at the Rivne and the first Kyiv gymnasiums.

In 1846–1847 M. Kostomarov worked as an adjunct professor at the Kiev Imperial University of St. Volodymyr until his arrest in the case of the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius. He was approved for this position on August 1, 1846, a month after he delivered a trial lecture before the council and was unanimously elected as a teacher of Russian history (the scientist himself indicates a different date of election – June 4, 1846). [4, p. 286]. At the same time, at the invitation of professor M. Ivanishev, the scientist worked in the Kiev archeographic commission. He prepared for publication the first part of the Chronicle of S. Velichko.

After returning from exile on April 5, 1858 the Academic Council elected M. Kostomarov as an extraordinary professor of the University. However, the Ministry of Public Education did not approve him as professor of University. In 1862, 1863, 1868 and 1869 University again invited M. Kostomarov to Kyiv to take the chair, but the Ministry of Public Education opposed this. On April 10, 1864, the university council awarded M. Kostomarov a doctorate in Russian history. On September 8, 1884, the council awarded him the title of honorary member Kiev Imperial University of St. Volodymyr. M. Kostomarov attended the university in 1873 and 1874, when he participated in the preparation and holding of the III Archaeological Congress in Kyiv. At the congress, he read his essay «On the Prince's Wife». According to Kostomarov's will, the widow of scientist A. Kostomarova transferred his library to Kyiv University in 1894 [23, p. 201].

M. Kostomarov himself really wanted to teach at this university. In a letter dated September 8, 1864 to M. Maksymovich, he wrote: «I wanted to move to Ukraine to spend the rest of my days in my country...but, alas! - the powers of this world... did not let me in. I have loved Ukraine, its people, its nature all my life: for this I should be deprived of the opportunity to live and die there» [11, p. 233–234].

### **Kazan Imperial University**

After exile in 1857–1858, Kostomarov submitted a corresponding request and program for the course «Russian Antiquities» to University. The historian by the decision of the Academic Council was elected an extraordinary professor of this university. But the Minister of Public Education A. Norov refused to approve such an appointment. In November 1859, the next minister, E. Kovalevsky, in November 1859 appointed Kostomarov professor at St. Petersburg University [23, p. 189].

### **St. Petersburg Imperial University**

Alexander II gave permission for the employment of M. Kostomarov at the capital's University. The Emperor before making such a decision read the monograph «The Revolt of Stenka Razin» in the summer of 1859. On November 6, 1859, M. Kostomarov was approved as an extraordinary professor of Russian history at St. Petersburg University. «At another whim of fate», as O. Yas' emphasizes, the scientist replaced professor M. Ustryalov at the Department of Russian history, who «at one time had a hands in destroying his first master's thesis» [38, p. 151].

In one of my articles statement of Yu. Pinchuk «about the scientist's attraction to positivism» during the period of writing the first master's thesis (late 1830s – early 1840s) was refuted. At that time, «The Course of Positive Philosophy» of O. Comte's had just appeared in France, and the works of J. St. Mill, H. Spencer have not yet been printed in England. We did not find in the archives made by M. Kostomarov extracts from the works of the above-mentioned founders of positivism, as well as H. T. Buckle and other popularizers of the new teaching. Meanwhile, another famous late romantic P. Kulish, made detailed extracts from the works of A. Comte, H. Spencer, H. T. Buckle, American positivists [39, f. 1, №28442, №28500].

In the period of the spread of the doctrine of early positivism (1860s – 1880s), M. Kostomarov's views, in our opinion, changed somewhat. He partially implemented positivist methods of studying and publishing historical sources in his archeographic work. The scientist in his latest works actually applied the positivist theory of factors in its early version and the civilizational approach. The historian presented a limited interpretation of the theory of social progress. At the same time, M. Kostomarov did not accept Spencer's theory of social evolution. He denied the existence of regularities in the historical process [5].

M. Kostomarov's introductory lecture at St. Petersburg University took place on November 22, 1859 [18]. G. Vashkevich recalls that after her graduation, hundreds of students and outsiders stood up and applauded. Students carried the professor in their arms from the university building to the carriage [8, p. 36–37].

Contemporaries repeatedly emphasized the great success not only among students, but also among free listeners of subsequent lectures by M. Kostomarov [3, issue 3, p. 610; 30, p. 146–147, 24, p. 66]. Memoirists recall that the large university hall, where M.I. Kostomarov gave lectures, was always full of listeners [13, p. 15; 33, p. 22–23; 8, p. 37]. V. Modestov recalled: «Whether

Kostomarov read well or poorly, it was of little interest. It was enough that he read in a different way.....and it was enough that these lectures were attended by students of all faculties, writers, officials, officers, students of other institutions, ladies» [26, p. 145]. According to V. Menchits, «at his lectures there was a roar of applause and exclamations. As if a scientist, like a theater artist, needs applause!» [24, p. 66].

On March 19, 1861, professors M. Pogodin and M. Kostomarov held a public debate on the foundation of the Old Russian state, including about the Norman theory. Funds from the sale of tickets (three thousand rubles) went to the needs of state-funded students [8, p. 38]. The majority of those present, especially the students, clearly supported M. Kostomarov [8, p. 38–39]. H. Vashkevich admitted that among the hundreds present at the debate hardly more than a dozen understood «all the subtleties of the arguments of both opponents» regarding ancient languages and their grammar: «The audience grasped the general meaning and applauded successful expressions» [8, p. 39].

Students' fascination with M. Kostomarov's lectures ended in obstruction. On September 22–23, 1861, the capital's University was closed due to student riots, in particular due to the refusal of most students to submit to innovations. The police arrested several hundred students.

M. Kostomarov's project on a higher education institution like the Collège de France was perceived as the destruction of the professorial corporation and the classical university as a whole. On the pages of the «St. Petersburg Vedomosti» [«Санкт-Петербургские ведомости»] in the autumn of 1861, a polemic took place between M. Kostomarov and M. Stasyulevich [29, p. 260].

After the second closure of the University on December 20, 1861, five university professors (K. Kavelin, O. Pypin, V. Spasovych, M. Stasyulevych, B. Utin) resigned [35, issue 3, p. 338–340]. Students and part of the professors considered M. Kostomarov's decision treason [29, p. 260].

The reading of public lectures in City Duma was the compromise. The money raised at public lectures was intended for poor students. During the week 36 lectures were given. M. Kostomarov's lectures on all-Russian history on Thursdays in the Alexander Hall of the City Duma, as a rule, gathered at least 500 people [8, p. 39; 29, p. 261].

After the arrest of one of the Lecturers (professor P. Pavlov) on March 5, 1862 students called for stopping public lectures [8, p. 40–41]. The lecturers supported this proposal with the exception of M. Kostomarov. Professor received 24 letters (23 were anonymous) with threats regarding his decision [27, p. 135]. On March 8, 1862, during the next lecture, students interrupted M. Kostomarov and announced the termination of public lectures [8, p. 41].

P. Lavrov, a direct witness of the events, in a letter to G. Plekhanov dated November 25, 1888, named M. Chernyshevskiy, as one of the instigators of the student boycott of M. Kostomarov. M. Chernyshevskiy, who together with P. Lavrov, was a member of the Literary Fund and participated in the organization of lectures for students of St. Petersburg University at the St. Petersburg City Duma, «had the opportunity to stop» student aggression against the professor. but «considered it unnecessary» [20, p. 115]. Of course, this behavior of the «Lord of thoughts» became known to the scientist. In March 1862, M. Kostomarov wrote him a letter about the breakup of friendly relations: «Goodbye, Nikolai Gavrilovich; we really were once friends... what brought us apart? I don't know. But I know that we will never do it again! Our paths are different» [21, p. 195].

On April 20, 1862, after a personal meeting with the Minister of Public Education O. Golovnin, M. Kostomarov wrote a letter of resignation. At his request, for another three years he was given benefits of 1,564 rubles a year [37, p. 208, 247–248], which was slightly more than the salary of private docent for an year. The historian continued to receive an additional 3,000 rubles annually for his work in the Archeographic Commission [22, p. 944].

The article proves the different importance of the universities of the Russian Empire in the intellectual biography of M. Kostomarov. Kharkiv University played the greatest role in the development of M. Kostomarov as a young scientist. At the same time, M. Kostomarov's

studies at this university, and especially the defense of both master's theses of the young scientist, were accompanied by artificial obstacles. M. Kostomarov's listening to lectures by Moscow university professors in 1838 was temporary and situational. In our opinion, this was a search for support among the local professorship in a scientific career, in the preparation and defense of a master's thesis. Short periods of lecturing at Kiev (1846–1847) and St. Petersburg (1859–1862) universities were held in more favorable conditions. But the termination of teaching at the Kiev University of St. Volodymyr logically ended with the arrest in the case of the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius. Kostomarov's lecturing activity at St. Petersburg University ended with a student boycott. The unreliable historian's attempts to find a job after exile at Kazan, Kharkiv and Kiev universities were unsuccessful due primarily to subjective factors.

### ***Конфлікт інтересів***

*Автор заявляє, що конфлікту інтересів щодо публікації цього рукопису немає. Крім того, автор повністю дотримується етичних норм, включаючи плагіат, фальсифікацію даних та подвійну публікацію.*

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**О. М. БОГДАШИНА,**

доктор історичних наук, професор,  
професор кафедри історії України

e-mail: [bohdashyna@gmail.com](mailto:bohdashyna@gmail.com) ORCID ID <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8505-5075>

*Харківський національний педагогічний університет імені Г. С. Сковороди,  
вул. Алчевських, 29, Харків, Україна, 61002*

## УНІВЕРСИТЕТИ РОСІЙСЬКОЇ ІМПЕРІЇ У ТВОРЧІЙ ДОЛІ М. КОСТОМАРОВА

**Мета.** Стаття «Університети Російської імперії у творчій долі М. Костомарова» присвячена з'ясуванню ролі п'яти університетів імперії у житті та творчості відомого історика та етнографа, визначенню впливу його багатосторонньої діяльності на вищу освіту в країні. Цей аналіз супроводжується нашими коментарями щодо різночитань біографічних фактів в джерелах та літературі.

**Методологію дослідження** становлять загальнонаукові принципи історизму та об'єктивності, спеціально-історичні методи, зокрема проблемно-хронологічний, проблемно-історіографічний історико-порівняльний історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, а також біографічний підхід.

**Наукова новизна** статті полягає в уточненні ролі університетів Російської імперії у житті та творчості відомого історика та етнографа М. Костомарова; виявленні впливу його педагогічної роботи на вищу освіту в країні; коментарях декількох різночитань в джерелах та літературі.

Досліджена у статті роль університетів Російської імперії показує їх різне значення в інтелектуальній біографії М. Костомарова.

**Результати.** Найбільшу роль у становленні М. Костомарова як молодого вченого зіграв Харківський університет. Водночас навчання М. Костомарова у цьому університеті, а особливо захисти обох магістерських дисертацій молодого науковця супроводжувалися штучними перепонами. Не лише недоброзичливці а й сам М. Костомаров винуваті у створенні проблем (з отриманням диплому кандидата, з захистами обох магістерських дисертацій).

Певну роль в інтелектуальній біографії М. Костомарова зіграв Московський університет. Слухання М. Костомаровим у 1838 р. лекцій професорів Московського університету було тимчасовим і ситуативним. На нашу думку це було пошуком підтримки серед місцевої професури у науковій кар'єрі, у справі підготовки та захисту магістерської роботи.

Короткі періоди лекторської роботи у Київському (1846–1847) та Петербурзькому (1859–1862) університетах проходили у більш сприятливих умовах. Але припинення викладання у Київському університеті св. Володимира логічно закінчилося арештом за справою таємного товариства кирило-мефодіївців. Лекторська діяльність М. Костомарова у Петербурзькому університеті закінчилася студентським бойкотом. Винними у конфлікті, на нашу думку, були обидві сторони.

Спроби неблагонадійного історика працевлаштуватися після заслання у Казанському, Харківському та Київському університетах стали невдалими завдяки насамперед суб'єктивним чинникам.

Ці труднощі збагатили його життєвий досвід, дозволили ближче пізнати академічне середовище, показали, що наукова діяльність невіддільна від боротьби в професійному середовищі.

Вільний від викладацької роботи час М. І. Костомаров присвятив творчості, яка активізувалася саме у 1860-ті – першій половині 1880-х років.

М. Костомаров присвятив своє життя освіті та науці. 5 університетів Російської імперії відіграли свою роль у житті видатного історика, в трьох з них йому вдалося попрацювати. Для викладача та науковця університетське життя становить головну, найбільш ціннісну частину

його інтелектуальної біографії. Водночас і педагогічна діяльність М. І. Костомарова стала важливим фрагментом в історії вищеназваних університетів.

**Ключові слова:** М. Костомаров, університет, кар'єра вченого і лектора.

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