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**Nikolay Andreev in Germany (1900-1905):
A Student and a Social Democrat**

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This paper focuses on the short period in an early life of the Russian sociologist Nikolay Andreev (1874-1956). The paper has been written on the basis of a research stay conducted at several archives in Germany, France, and the Netherlands. The research trip was supported by the Centre for German and European Studies, St. Petersburg.

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Abstract

This paper focuses on one short period in life of Russian sociologist Nikolay Andreev (1874-1956). During his youth he spent roughly five years in Europe being both a student of German universities and an activist of Russian social democratic party. The historical research is based on detailed archival work carried out in some European archives, namely in Berlin (Landesarchiv Berlin, Universitätsarchiv der Humboldt-Universität), Leipzig (Universitätsarchiv Leipzig), Heidelberg (Universitätsarchiv Heidelberg), Strasbourg (Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin), and Amsterdam (Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis), as well as the private archive of Andreev's family. Archival materials clarify the important details of Andreev's socialization as a future sociologist. The results will be an important part of a large biographical project aimed at publishing the sociological heritage of Andreev which remains largely unpublished or completely unknown to modern readers.

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Introduction

Partly N.N. Andreev's scientific career unfolded in pre-revolutionary times, and partly – in the Soviet era. Historic transition that he had to endure with the whole country had an indelible imprint on his work. Despite all the vicissitudes of life, Nikolay Andreev developed his scientific position early, under the influence of the growing revolutionary struggle, and invariably adhered to it until the end. He followed historical materialism, and his central research topic was the justification of objective historical regularity in public life. Despite the general nature of this problem, he studied a lot of private issues of public life, especially in the earliest period of his work. Nikolay Andreev insisted on historical specificity of sociological object. In Soviet times, he showed independence of thought in structuring sociological theory, deducing the main problems of sociology from the materialistic understanding of history. He formulated the original concept of historical and sociological process, manifested in lecture courses at the Faculty of Philosophy of Leningrad University. His historic role is to influence the continuity of sociological tradition in our country and in the connection of the pre-revolutionary and soviet stages.

Works of Nikolay Andreev are still poorly highlighted in academic literature (Kareev, 1996, Klushin, 1971, Galaktionov, 1995, Sinyutin, 2016), but the question of his work at German universities at the beginning of the 20th century is much less studied. Such research is possible on the basis of preparatory historiographical and archival work. A valuable source of information necessary for the study of the German period of N. N. Andreev's creative work appears to be publications on the history of sociology of this period. This applies both to the history of Russian sociology (Plekhanov, 1925-27, Kareev, 1996, Galaktionov, 2002, Chagin et al., 1978, Golosenko & Kozlovsky, 1995), to the history of German sociology (Lieberzon, 1988, Vandenberghe, 2008, Moebius & Ploder 2017, Guth & Pfefferkorn, 2019) and the general history of sociology (Sorokin, 1928, Aron, 1967, Coser, 1977, Lepenies, 1988, Levine, 1995, Waters, 1994, Münch, 1994). The content of these works allows us to reveal the general intellectual context of N. N. Andreev's socialization as a future sociologist.

More specific circumstances of social life and study of Russian students in Germany at the beginning of 20th century are laid out in quite extensive literature (Ivanov, 1998, Gergilov, 2002, Shchapov, 1987, Rogozin, 2015, Vasina, 2012, Brachmann, 1962, Williams, 1966, Weill, 1979, Peter, 2001, Peter, 2005). There are dedicated studies on Russian students in a number German cities where N. N. Andreev had lived – Berlin (Heideborn, 2009) and Heidelberg (Birkenmeier, 1995). The memories of those who were involved in the student life of Russians in Germany at the beginning of the 20th century (Zenzinov, 1953, Zenzinov, 2018, Stepun, 1956, Pushkarev, 1999), especially in Heidelberg, are undoubtedly valuable for biographical research. To a large extent, this segment of history is characterized by active involvement of Russian students in the political struggle. The political life of Russian students is reflected in the works on the history of Russian social democracy, the materials of revolutionary movement and the memoirs of its figures (Lyadov, 1956, Trotsky, 1991, Chernov, 2003).

However, most of the above sources are only useful for understanding the social milieu in which N. N. Andreev found himself in Germany, while the key biographical material may be found in archives: Andreev's Family Archive, the Archive of Leipzig University, the Archive of Heidelberg University, and the Archive of Strasbourg University. However, a search in the archives would be small-scale without prior development of broad historical sources. The first notes and records preserved in the personal archive testify to the intense internal work on the development of own insights into society. The earliest sociological reflections date back to 1898-1900, when he was still a young schoolteacher and had just reached the need to systematize and improve his views on social life. These reflections were not abstract, speculative in nature, but were filled with problems of the Russian reality of the late 19th century, in the form in which they were perceived by a young man in Novotorzhkovsky district of Tver province. Like many of his peers, who took the teacher's path, N. N. Andreev soon joined in the activities of revolutionary circles. Therefore, his theoretical quests in the field of sociology were connected with the desire to change the reality of Russian social life of the time.

Due to an increasing number of arrests among revolutionary activists, N. N. Andreev decides to flee from police control abroad, especially since he felt the urgent need to improve his education. It was during this period that the inflow of Russian youth to study in European countries increased significantly. Germany was the most popular, especially since the standard of German universities was then recognized worldwide. For instance, Pushkarev, who later became a well-known immigrant historian, explained his choice: "Now the question: Where do I go? Of course, to Germany. Why is that? Firstly, because German science and philosophy have always been at a high level, and secondly, because the German Social Democratic Party was the largest and most influential among the parties that were part of the Second International".¹ Similar motives were shared by many young people from Russia who wanted to go to Europe. N. N. Andreev was no exception.

One of the Russian social revolutionary students in Heidelberg V. Zenzinov shared: "For me, an 18-year-old boy, even then it was clear that I would devote my life to political activity. But I wanted to have knowledge, I wanted to be an educated person. I knew you couldn't be ignorant and undereducated to work for the good of your homeland and your people. And although my youth was impatient, although I was eager to give myself up to the revolutionary struggle against autocracy for the liberation of the people as soon as possible, I harnessed that desire and decided to go abroad to get the knowledge I needed in the free countries, in a calm atmosphere, to get the knowledge I needed and to take part in the struggle that I had already dreamt of, better prepared and better armed."²

¹ Pushkarev S. G. Memories of the historian 1905-1945. - Moscow: Posev, 1999.

² Zenzinov V. From the life of a revolutionary. - Moscow: Russian State Public Historical Library, 2018, p. 5.

Young people who went study from Russia to Germany were heterogeneous, both in terms of social status and motivation. No doubt, since university education in the Russian Empire was more accessible to the higher classes, it was the other classes that tried to pursue their interest in Europe. According to Peter's considerations (Peter, 2005), by the 1900s, the main motive of the previous century – the increase in educational and cultural level (mainly for wealthy families) – was becoming less and less important for Russian students in Germany, but the motive of joining the revolutionary movement (broadly limited in Russia) became dominant, and less and less often – the motive of earning money or exercising the right to education restrained in Russia (for Jews). And after 1905, the revolutionary motive of students will disappear, as their social and political life will fade away. Accordingly, the students' perception of staying in Germany as a forced step before the desired return home had been replaced by a focus on a local academic career, adaptation to German life with the possibility of further residence here.

The quantitative extent of Russian migration to Germany is reflected in Weill's paper (Weill, 1979). She estimates that the number of Russian citizens living in Germany had increased from 46,971 in 1900 to 106,639 in 1905, and the number of students among them had increased from 583 to more than 1,000. By the beginning of the 20th century, Russian students had become the largest foreign group in German universities. Although the number of Russian students in Germany followed those of France, Belgium and Switzerland. As prominent Russian revolutionist M. N. Mandelstam (alias Lyadov) explained (Lyadov, 1956), Russian political emigration in Europe was then divided into three parts. The first one, experienced people possessing wisdom of political struggle, were concentrated in Switzerland. The second group which was widespread in Germany was formed by students of the new socialist orientation. The third and the smallest group was made up of workers, often Jews, who stayed in the UK. According to Heidborn's estimates (Heidborn, 2003), with the growth of the inflow of students from Russia, the German government introduced more stringent requirements to applicants. This, of course, led to an increase in the overall level of qualification of Russian young people who came to study.

The certain moment and circumstances of N. N. Andreev's arrival in Germany are still shrouded in mystery. The Bio-bibliographic dictionary of the Revolutionary Movement³ published in 1931 states that he went abroad in 1899. N. N. Andreev's personal file from the archives of St. Petersburg State University contains the information provided by him in the 1920s-1940s, where there is no uniformity and most often the year 1900 is indicated as the date of his arrival to Germany. The first place of study mentioned in the file data is usually Berlin University, but less frequently the Heidelberg University. One of Andreev's archival notes contains

³ Figures of the revolutionary movement in Russia: from the predecessors of the Decembrists to the fall of tsarism: a bio-bibliographical dictionary / all-Union society of political convicts and exiled settlers; edited by Felix Cohn [et al.]. - Moscow: Publishing house of the all-Union Union of political convicts and exiled settlers, 1927-193, p 96.

information that prominent German academician Gustav Schmoller helped him to become a non-matriculated attendee of Berlin University for the winter semester 1900-1901.

Investigations at Berlin Land Archive⁴ and Berlin University Archive⁵, as well as data from Berlin Technical University Archive (former Berlin Technical High School)⁶ demonstrate no evidence of N. N. Andreev's attendance of universities in Berlin. Moreover, the staff of Berlin University Archives have repeatedly checked the available documents and came to the conclusion that N. N. Andreev did not study at the University of Berlin either as a student or as a non-matriculated attendee. First official proof from the German side which was obtained records N. N. Andreev's status of a non-matriculated (*unmatriculiert*) attendee at Heidelberg University in 1901.

Due to the lack of information we can only make a number of probable assumptions. So, most likely, N. N. Andreev really spent his first German period in Berlin. The German capital was the city that was originally visited by students from Russia. According to the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there were about 300 Russian citizens in Berlin by 1901, mostly students (Peter, 2003, p. 84). The large diaspora of Russian youth allowed to easier adapt to the German way of life. Many students came to study with insufficient knowledge of German and residing in the Berlin offered them a good chance of finding good mentors. In addition, Russian students led a relatively isolated lifestyle, with little interaction with German students (Heidborn, 2009, p. 459). The Germans often attributed it to poverty and lack of culture among the Russians. Pushkarev explained the lack of communication with German students: "I didn't want to, and couldn't get close to, the bulk of German students. Pure-blooded German storms were organized into closed corporations, where they would not accept strangers, especially Russians and Jews. I don't know their inner life, but it was obvious that two old customs – booze and duels – flourished in their midst."⁷ French historian Weill noted a kind of cognitive dissonance between the ideas of Russian and German students about each other. Germans, she argued, condescendingly viewed Russian students in the context of utilitarian goals seeking to gain knowledge for promotion back in Russia (Weill, 1979).

First, those Russians who, like N. N. Andreev, wanted to continue their political activity in Germany as part of revolutionary groups, had a reason to settle in Berlin. It was here that foreign clandestine ties were established for the first steps. From the correspondence of Russian social democrats⁸ it is clear that during this stay N. N. Andreev became a member of the Berlin transport group of the Russian Social Democratic Party (RSDLP), having received the pseudonym of "Nikolin".

⁴ Landesarchiv Berlin.

⁵ Universitätsarchiv der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.

⁶ Universitätsarchiv der Technischen Universität Berlin.

⁷ Pushkarev S. G. Memories of the historian 1905-1945. - Moscow: Posev, 1999.

⁸ Correspondence of V. I. Lenin and the RSDLP institutions led by him with party organizations. 1905-1907 Volume 2. Book 2nd - Moscow: Mysl', 1982.

Since this group which was established in Berlin in 1900 led by I. A. Pyatnitsky and engaged in transportation of literature and people between Europe and Russia, we might guess that N. N. Andreev must have been in Berlin. Russian revolutionist M. N. Lyadov confessed, "Following an old tradition, most students going abroad considered it their duty to enter an illegal circle. There were few sincere, real revolutionaries among them... They collected funds for the party and provided it with some services in transportation of literature, in search of addresses, etc... At that time, the main source of material resources for the central institutions was the collection from foreign colonies."⁹



Nikolay Andreev at the beginning of the 20th century. Andreev's Family Archive.

Early into his illegal political activity in Berlin, N. N. Andreev, nevertheless decides to move to the quieter and calmer Heidelberg, where many Russian students traditionally came. Although a number of internationally renowned scholars (Windelband, Fischer, Jellinek) taught philosophy and social sciences at the local university at the time, the University of Berlin was at least as good (Dilthey, Simmel, Schmolter). Perhaps the goal of N. N. Andreev was to study under specific professors. However, there were probably other reasons. In February 1901, Minister of Public Education N. P. Bogolepov was killed in St. Petersburg. The student P. V. Karpovich, who shot him, came specially from Berlin for this purpose, where, in addition to his studies, he joined a group of young socialist revolutionaries, although in Russia, like N. N. Andreev, he was a member of the

⁹ Lyadov M. N. From the life of the party in 1903-1907 (Memories). - Moscow: Gospolitizdat, 1956, p. 9.

social democratic movement and was engaged in smuggling of illegal literature. One of P. V. Karpovich's friends at that time, V. Zenzinov, later reminisced: "No matter how young and carefree we were at the time, we couldn't help but think that Karpovich's shot might be on our circle. Karpovich was always seen here with us. And we decided to leave Berlin just in case, and the winter semester was over."¹⁰ Since N. N. Andreev was also familiar with P. V. Karpovich's student networks, it became very risky for him to stay in the German capital, too. Besides, the Baden government treated the Russian student with much more tolerance than Prussia.

It should be noted that N. N. Andreev's transfer to Heidelberg coincided with the arrival of a group of Russian students who later became vigorous socialist-revolutionaries (Zenzinov, Fondominsky, Gavronsky, Gotz) after their initial training in Berlin. In Heidelberg N. N. Andreev, I. I. Fondominsky, A. R. Gotz settled next door to each other on a small street called Karpfengasse; Andreev and Gotz shared a house (number 2). Finally, N. N. Andreev's personal acquaintance with I. I. Fondominsky is confirmed in the letters of those years from his family archive. It's highly likely they met earlier in Berlin. On the same day, May 8, 1901, Russian students N. N. Andreev, J. S. Fürstenberg, I. I. Fondominsky and I. L. Klausner were registered in the book of non-degree students of Heidelberg University. Particularly noteworthy is the personality of J. S. Fürstenberg who stayed in Heidelberg only one summer semester of 1901. An active member of the RSDLP Overseas Centre, a fiduciary person of F. E. Dzerzhinsky and then V. I. Lenin, a participant of several first congresses of RSDLP, who after the revolution of 1917 became a high-ranking official of the People's Commissariat of Finance and People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, and executed in 1937, he was actively engaged in smuggling of illegal literature during his studentship, for which he was expelled from Prussia in 1902. The crossing with J. S. Fürstenberg on the list of students hint that N. N. Andreev was already involved in the illegal work for the RSDLP, including the transport group, when he arrived in Heidelberg. The aforementioned I. L. Klausner, after graduating from Heidelberg University with dissertation, became an outstanding Jewish historian, political activist and presidency candidate at the first Israeli presidential election in 1949.

Russian students, on the threshold of the First Russian Revolution of 1905, were under close supervision of both the German police and Russian agents. According to historians (Weill, 1979; Heidborn, 2009), from 1898 to 1899 the German authorities were dominated by the belief that revolutionary moods prevailed among Russian students, which were undesirable for Germany. In a summary police report of the end of 1910, the police identified 166 students from Russia who had actively participated in revolutionary activities during their studies since 1901 (Heidborn, 2009). The majority of these students were found to adhere to social democracy. However, on the other hand, German social

¹⁰ Zenzinov V. Bygone. - New York: Chekhov Publishing house, 1953.

democracy viewed Russian students as a powerful source of like-minded people from Russia, and actively used it to fight against the German government, which was especially common in Berlin.

N. N. Andreev's autobiographical data states that since 1895 he was a member of the local social democratic organization of Novotorzhkovsky district of Tver province. Membership in RSDLP is regarded from 1898 to 1917. N.N. Andreev had noted that he was working in foreign bodies of RSDLP. Consequently, from the beginning of his stay in Germany he was able to establish party contacts. In his autobiography N. N. Andreev had noted more clearly on his party formal affiliation that he had become a member of RSDLP after the Second Congress in 1903, where not only the organizational approval of the party took place, but also a split into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. As the leaders of Russian social democracy abroad began to concentrate in Switzerland, it was better to be closer to the Swiss border to keep abreast of events and regularly attend popular Russian student presentations and debates of party leaders. It is highly likely that political interests at some point outweighed the scientific and educational interests of N. N. Andreev.

In accordance with N. N. Andreev's personal archive, in 1900 he began to penetrate seriously into the sociological discourse. He reflects on the subject matter and method of sociology, examines the views of Mikhailovsky, Leturno, Lvov, Kont, Mills, Ricardo, and Chernyshevsky, and is particularly interested in the problem of social pattern, the action of public forces, and the problem of free will. His understanding of sociology at that time is closely linked to the establishment of interdisciplinary boundaries, and is particularly relevant to philosophical issues. However, N. N. Andreev is already trying to bring his theoretical reasoning to the level of specific social problems of Russian reality, especially focusing on the problems of peasantry, rural life and remnants of serfdom. As can be seen, his experience does not yet reflect the German sociological thought. There are only rare references to Simmel, taken, apparently, from secondary sources.

Starting the freshman year. Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg. 1901

An interest in social life and its improvements led N. N. Andreev to the decision to study philosophy and history. Heidelberg University was exactly the place where a young man could satisfy this interest. N. N. Andreev's plans were to reach finally the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, as indicated by the notebooks preserved in his family archive, where materials for the proposed dissertation project were recorded.

A miniature university town, Heidelberg instantly surrounded everyone who came to study with a unique academic aura. A student at Heidelberg University was doomed to meet university professors regularly, even in everyday life, and to observe the organization of academic life from within.

V. Zenzinov skillfully conveyed a vivid picture of urban life: “The town lived and breathed the university – that was the meaning of its existence. There were no plants and no factories in Heidelberg. The population of the town actively shared the interests of the university, professors and students. Everyone on the street bowed down to the professors, everybody knew them. Shops mainly served students, and renting rooms to them also seemed to be the main profession of Heidelberg citizens. Thanks to students the city flourished by means of the Bierhalle, restaurants and bookstores. Sometimes on the main streets, and there were two: Hauptstrasse and Plöck, there were processions of students with brightly colored banners, wearing colorful ribbons and small colorful student hats – red, green, blue, yellow, some of them had picturesque foil rapiers with big hanks on their sides: almost all Heidelberg students were members of the so-called “corporations”, student community organizations that have survived from the Middle Ages: Borussia, Renaissance, Thuringia, etc. All this really looked like some kind of carnival holiday, it was a holiday: a holiday of spring, youth, students, the university. The festive air was generally typical of Heidelberg, not only at the beginning of the semester, but also during all university classes.”¹¹

Prominent Russian philosopher F. A. Stepun, being a student in the 1900s, saw Heidelberg University from a different perspective: “Heidelberg University, founded in 1386,... impressed me with the darkness of its entrance, the narrowness of its main staircase, the small classrooms, the uncomfortable benches and with its old servants loyal until death to their “alma mater” (i.e. the University) – in a word, by all their monastic, idyllic and ascetic spirit.”¹²

Historian Treiber depicts the atmosphere in a more academic way: “Sociologically trivial knowledge of provincial universities” (Heinrich, 1988, p. 25) includes not only gossip as a common form of knowledge of “modest immodesty”, but above all the notion that it is impossible not to meet in Heidelberg. For university professors and their relatives, as well as for students, Heidelberg at that time resembled a cruise ship: even if different “decks” had completely isolated and different forms of communication, i. e. more or less “open”, as was the Heberlein Cafe at 35 Leopoldstrasse (phone 98), or “closed”, like clubs such as the “salon”, “journals” or the academic discussion circle, all Heidelberg characters were “networked” due to one circumstance only: close proximity (with the addition of kinship or love connections). ... Not only was the street the place of inevitable (daily) meetings in Heidelberg at that time, but the lectures were also “forced” to be held regularly. For several months and even years, the same people had been gathering there, which led to the formation of not only free groups, such as those linked to a single academic teacher (“Vindelbandits”), but also long-term associations, often united by ties of friendship and common projects.”¹³

¹¹ Zenzinov V. Bygone. - New York: Chekhov Publishing house, 1953, pp. 84-85.

¹² Stepun F. Former and unfulfilled. - New York: Chekhov Publishing house, 1956, p. 100.

¹³ Treiber G. The Birth of Weber Rationalism: Heidelberg and Introduction of Russian History Philosophy to Weber as (Reflections on the Publication of the First Volume of Max Weber's Complete Works of Art). // Bulletin of the Russian Christian Humanitarian Academy. 2010. Volume 11. Come on, let's go. 2., pp. 137-8.

For Heidelberg's philosophical environment, the beginning of the 20th century was a period of overcoming the crisis in social and humanitarian knowledge by new methodological developments. The leaders of the Baden Neo-Kantian School include professors from Heidelberg University (Windelband, Rickert, Weber)¹⁴. They tried to find a solution to the question of the relationship between reality and necessity, which allowed to prepare the transition of sociological theory to the concept of social action. However, by 1900, the first two were not yet in Heidelberg, and Weber reached a turning point in his academic career and suspended teaching. Despite the fact that Heidelberg was Max Weber's hometown, his *alma mater*, where he was offered the honorary positions of the authoritative professor Karl Knies, he began to gravitate with the old atmosphere of the traditional spirit of the state councilors. He preferred free seminar work to the old hierarchical methods of teaching communication. Gradually, he saw more clearly the strengthening of bureaucratic rationality in society and the importance of confronting it. And although his attitude is echoed by his academic colleagues Jellinek, Tröltzsch, Hensel, Neumann, from the fall of 1900 Weber goes on vacation until the spring of 1902. So, in the first year of his stay in Heidelberg N. N. Andreev couldn't know Weber well, though the house where Weber lived at that time, on the corner of Hauptstrasse and Karpfengasse, was only 80 meters from the place where N. N. Andreev lived (Karpfengasse, 4).

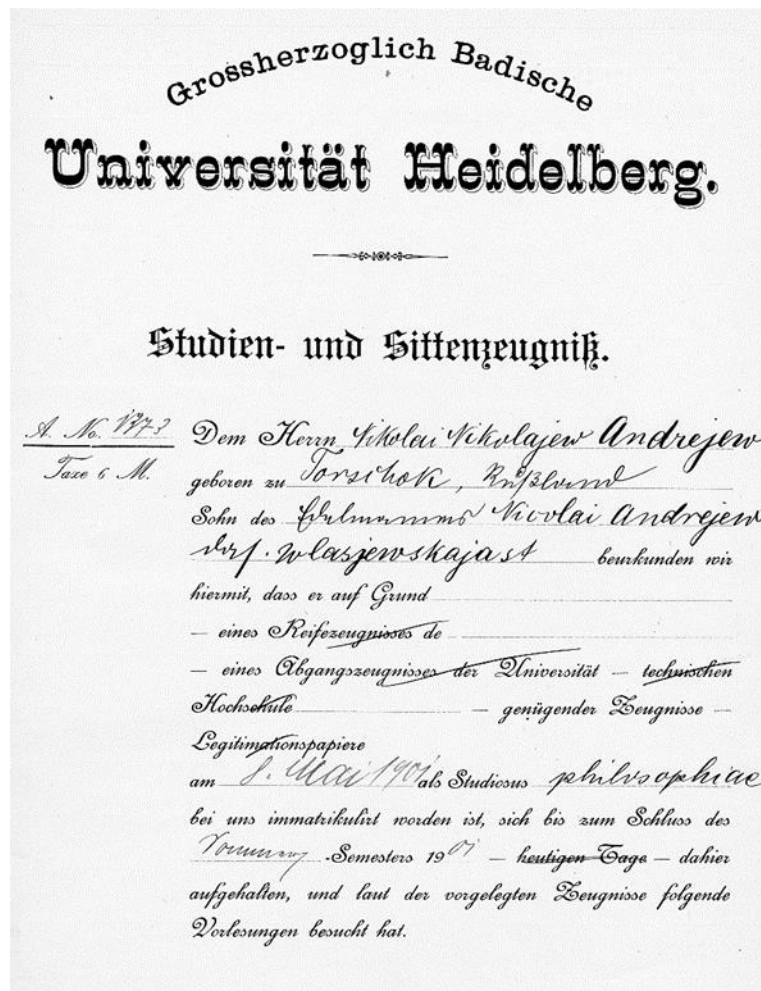
N. N. Andreev approached the beginning of student life with already mature Marxist ideas. Most likely, his critical attitude to Neo-Kantianism was formed before his arrival in Germany owing to the works of G. V. Plekhanov of the late 1890s. On the other hand, in his book "Religion, its origins and initial stages of development" (1926) N. N. Andreev pointed out how crucial for his socialization was to get to know the works of Spencer and Taylor. They helped to understand his tormented reflections on religion. It is known that similarly, under the influence of Marx and Spencer, the worldview of A. V. Lunacharsky, one of the prominent figures of RSDLP, who had contact with N. N. Andreev, was formed in those years (Lunacharsky, 1963). However, his reflections on the nature of religious feelings led to empiriocriticism, which was a distinctive symptom of a prominent group of Russian social democrats, and with which G. V. Plekhanov and V. I. Lenin began their theoretical struggle in the early 1900s. N. N. Andreev supported authentic Marxism, as evidenced by his review of A. Bogdanov's book "Empiriomonism" published in a leading Russian philosophical journal¹⁵. This historical story became very important for the subsequent development of historical materialism in the Russian sociological tradition (Iyankov, 1980; Volodin, 1985).

In the summer semester of 1901 N. N. Andreev in the status of a non-matriculated attendee took one single course of professor Kuno Fischer called "The History of Greek Philosophy". It was quite logical to start studying philosophy from its historical origin, Ancient Greece. Lectures were given from Tuesday to Friday

¹⁴ History of theoretical sociology. In the 4 vol., vol. 2 // ed. Yu. N. Davydov. - Moscow: Canon+, 2002.

¹⁵ Andreev N. N. Review: A. Bogdanov. Empiriomonism. // Questions of philosophy and psychology, book II (92), March-April 1908, pp. 270-277.

from 4 p.m. to 5 p.m. The Heidelberg University Archive shows that there were 161 people in the classroom attending the course. For reference, there were a total of 231 students and 17 non-degree students in the philosophy department and 1464 students and 161 non-degree students at Heidelberg University. Excluding non-degree students, Russia was represented by 51 students, 14 of them at the Faculty of Philosophy. For the vast majority of Russian philosophy students, this semester was the first or second in Heidelberg. Together with N. N. Andreev, the following students from Russia enrolled in Professor Fischer's course of "The History of Greek Philosophy": Osip Potkov, Hirsch Goldman, M. Karabekiantz, Viktor Golubev, Abram Gotz, Ilya Fondominsky, Samson Keilson.



Andreev's certificate of admission to Heidelberg University. Universitätsarchiv Heidelberg.

Famous ethnographer and folklorist N. F. Sumtsov, who attended Fischer's lectures in the 1870s, described him as "the father of philosophy". "Being at Heidelberg then, he argued, and not attending Kuno Fischer's lectures was tantamount to being in Rome and not seeing the Pope."¹⁶ In the Heidelberg

¹⁶ Sumtsov N. Memories of Kuno Fisher. // Southern edge, no. 1119, 1907.

University Archive, in the personal file of Kuno Fischer, there is only one note in a foreign language among the documents related to his death: the memoirs of Professor N. F. Sumtzov. He described Kuno Fischer's lecture as a student: "Students have already filled the audience like ants. In the distance there was a tall, spacious pulpit, and suddenly, a round, full blonde, low-cut, shaved man in a tailcoat, in a white tie, moving, lively, with a loud, beautiful voice stepped behind it, and began the lecture cheerfully. It was Kuno Fisher. Then he spoke about Faust Goethe, spoke without notes, with such skill, which I never saw afterwards, easily, freely, without the slightest hesitation, content and clear. Each lecture was a harmonious whole and extremely easy to keep in the listener's memory, which depended on the skill of construction and accuracy of expressions. Kuno Fischer used a reception that I had never seen in a Heidelberg professor at the time, or in a Russian professor later. Having presented a number of facts of biography, history or literature within 15 or 20 minutes, Kuno Fischer posed a general question, asked his audience precisely what the meaning of the statement was, and immediately answered, summed up, consolidated the main idea, emphasizing the importance of the facts described.

In this way, he stirred the minds of his listeners, forced them to think about the content of the lecture and prepare for the answer, introduced them into the laboratory of his mental work, awakened thoughts and provoked curiosity. Only a person with a rare talent could possess such mastery of the lecture material and so skillfully guide it to the greatest intellectual use.

From the outside, the lectures were spectacular. Evil tongues would say Kuno Fisher prepared for them in front of a mirror. The gestures he made with his hands, his turns in different directions, frequent changes of the posture were almost too much, but in general, the exaggeration was not noticeable; everything came out naturally and was associated with the transition to new topics, so that the conclusion was in favor of the professor, who was capture the attention of the audience and impressed it with his talented personality, the richness of knowledge and the skill of sharing it."¹⁷

Kuno Fischer was the greatest historian of philosophy of the 19th century, especially in the German classical philosophy. During his long academic career, he had taught more than one generation of students his methodology of historical and philosophical research, which allowed him to consider the spirit of each system both with the author's personality and in relation to other systems. Much later, in the second half of the 1940s, N. N. Andreev was invited to the Philosophy Department of Leningrad University to give lectures on the history of philosophy, which became very popular among students. The experience of Kuno Fischer's lectures played a significant role in this course, despite the Marxist reworking. His works, translated into Russian even before the revolution, were recommended by N. N. Andreev to Soviet students for additional reading as the most systematic works on the history of philosophy.

¹⁷ Sumtzov N. Memories of Kuno Fisher. // Southern edge, no. 1119, 1907.

Whoever listened to Kuno Fischer's lectures had an unforgettable experience for life. For instance, Russian lawyer, philosopher and sociologist P. I. Novgorodtzev, who had attended his classes in the 1890s, as well as his last lecture in 1903, noted: "The pure youthful freshness of the voice, the musical rhythm of speech, the brilliant oratory form perfectly harmonized with significant content. And over all this calmly flowing, then inspiring speech dominated by that special philosophical wisdom, the depth of thought, which is given by penetration into the mysteries of philosophical knowledge. The professor spoke, and the audience was presented with a picture of the consistent growth of philosophical thought, its slim and, as it were, unhindered and irresistible desire to move forward, on the way to the discovery of the truth. Without jumps and breaks, but with logical inevitability and strict consistency, as it could only be according to the law of reason, he depicted the historical movement of philosophy. It was not a tragedy of human search with constant dissatisfaction with the eternal desire; it was a triumphal procession of the victorious mind, to which the mysteries of the world are gradually revealed. The pathos of Hegel's panlogism, uniquely refracted in the professor's soft and artistic nature, was reflected in his presentation with even greater consistency and, as it were, in the artistic beauty and completeness of the philosophical evolution. This was particularly evident in his presentation of German philosophy, which he knew and loved so much. His inspirational narrative was also helped by German poetry, from which he often and masterfully recited philosophical passages. And then, in particular, his audience was experiencing those moments of upheaval and hobbies, when it seemed that the trend of the great spirit revealed in the history of philosophical knowledge was spreading over us."¹⁸

Since N. N. Andreev attended only one course during his starting semester, it is quite possible that he spent a lot of time on political activities. RSDLP was still in the process of creation, until the Second Congress was held, which adopted the charter and organized the work of the party, but at the same time pinpointed a split into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. One of the tasks of party work was to provide Russian social democratic groups with literature from abroad. One of the Russian social democratic leaders, P. B. Akselrod, reported in his letter to Y. O. Martov dated July 18, 1901: "Recently we have had excellent transportation, so now the literature has been delivered to Russia in quite large quantities. In the fall, we must hope to reap the fruits."¹⁹

At the same time, Russian social democrats abroad had to actively engage in advocacy work with Russian students. In Heidelberg, there was acute confrontation between social democrats and social revolutionaries. It was also attended by students from Bund²⁰, who were more inclined towards the former. One of the organizers of the Socialist Revolutionary Party, V. M. Chernov, mentioned in his memoirs receiving an important task to travel around the

¹⁸ Novgorodtzev P. Kuno Fischer's memory. // Philosophy and psychology. Book IV (89), 1907, pp. VII-VIII.

¹⁹ Archive of the International Institute of Social History (Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis).

²⁰ Jewish secular socialist party at Russian Empire at 1900-1910s.

Russian student colonies in Germany and Switzerland to recruit like-minded people. The Heidelberg group of young social revolutionaries seemed the most promising to him. “Here, as it should have been, was, as a representative of optimistic romanticism, with a “straightforward Göttingen soul”, I. Fondominsky, who later became rich in capricious spills of thought from Neo-Kantianism to the “Christians of the Third Testament”, then to the renewed “Order of the Russian intelligentsia”, then to the “mladoross”, then to some other “neo” and “young”. There was also a representative of energetic realism, Abram Gotz, who later proved to be a powerful political leader, and the absent-minded Dmitry Gavronsky, a faithful pupil of Hermann Cohen with his pure “logism”, who proved that classical Judaism is a cocoon, in which the elegant butterfly of German ethical socialism matured; and Vladimir Zenzinov, in which he felt something from the Moscow-Siberian old-believer, who was wearing a long buttoned-up shirt and combining the rank severity with the softening sentimentality; and B. Rudnev, with his leadership skills and a hard hand in a soft velvet glove; and young Maria Tumarkina, nicknamed “Madonna” for her beauty; finally, the aesthetic direction in the circle was represented by M. O. Zetlin, who came to us in the “Revolutionary Russia” with poems dedicated to Hirsch Leckert, and finished his contribution to Russian literature known book about Russian music and the famous “Mighty Handful”.²¹

However, Chernov had to admit that all the “commanding heights” in the student colonies were occupied by social democracy. “We couldn't even think of pushing it out; we were looking for a place next to it, in alliance with it and in addition to it... As a result, young people were soon divided into two camps, albeit unequal, spending a huge part of their energy in a dramatic desperate fight”²².

Social revolutionaries preferred to separate political struggle from ideological and philosophical issues, allowing both materialists and idealists to join their ranks. This, of course, had several consequences, but in Heidelberg's student environment it allowed for lively communication with those who shared very different ideas. V. Zenzinov wrote: “Almost all evenings we spent together in endless arguments and conversations over a cup of tea. We discussed the political events of the world, eagerly listened to the news coming from Russia, discussed the latest books and the lectures we had attended together and argued, argued, argued, argued: about the social ideal, about the meaning of life, about the purpose of man, about the possibility of revolution in Russia... What is the question, what phenomenon in life: in politics, science, literature, art, in our situation and at our age could be of no interest to us? For our spiritual development, these disputes were no less important than the lectures of the professors”²³.

²¹ Chernov V. M. Before the storm. – Moscow: Posev, 2003.

²² Chernov V. M. Before the storm. – Moscow: Posev, 2003.

²³ Zenzinov V. Bygone. - New York: Chekhov Publishing house, 1953, p. 74, p. 79.

Expanding opportunities. Universität Leipzig. 1901-1902

According to archival sources, N. N. Andreev spent two semesters as a non-matriculated student at Leipzig University. He originally settled in a house on the corner of Nürnbergerstrasse and Goldschmidtstrasse, one block from the University. Afterwards he moved closer to the university library at 34 Grassisstrasse for the summer 1902. Probable reasons for coming to Leipzig could have been very different. But it is important to keep in mind that the educational practice in Germany not only allowed, but even directed students to alternate study periods in multiple universities, with distinct professors. V. Zenzinov wrote: “There was a wonderful custom in the German higher education system of the time: the right to change university. The school year was divided into two semesters – winter and summer, but each student had the right to listen to lectures at any university. The vast majority of German students used the opportunity: they studied at the University of Berlin for one or two semesters, then moved to Munich, after Munich they listened to lectures in Göttingen, etc. And all semesters were taught to them. Part of the reason for this system was probably that German scientific forces were scattered throughout the country, and each university had its own local celebrity who was proud not only of the university, but also of the city in which the university was located. And the celebrities themselves cherished the opportunity to live and work in their own city and loved what the Germans call “Gemütlichkeit”²⁴. Local patriotism is characteristic of all German cities, all German scientists, German students and Germans in general...”²⁵

Supposedly N. N. Andreev considered attractive the courses of certain Leipzig's professors. Psychologist Wilhelm Wundt, historian Karl Lamprecht and economist Karl Bücher were the outstanding scholars at the Faculty of Philosophy. Potentially engaging classes were taught by Wilhelm Wirt, Raoul Richter, Max Heinze, Gustav Stöhring, Paul Bart, Johannes Volkelt, Georg Steinförff, Wilhelm Steeda, Franz Eilenburg and other leading scholars. Since Leipzig University, after Berlin University, was considered the largest institution of higher education in Germany, the best teachers were concentrated there. N. N. Andreev studied there during the winter semester of 1901-1902 and the summer semester of 1902.

S. G. Pushkarev, who was trained a bit after N. N. Andreev by Leipzig professors, recalled: “Philosophy lectures here were given by the famous psychologist Wilhelm Wundt. At that time, he was already a man well-advanced in age, but at German universities there was no American custom of kicking out professors when they reached the age of 68, and no one could think of removing Wundt until he himself handed in his resignation. He was lecturing standing up, leaning on the stand with trembling hands. My chief lecturer was Professor Lamprecht, author of the multi-volume history of German culture. He was also a bearded old man, but much younger than Wundt. He spoke in a lively and emotional manner, lecturing around the auditorium. Criticizing someone else's account of events that

²⁴ Cosiness.

²⁵ Zenzinov V. Bygone. - New York: Chekhov Publishing house, 1953, p. 82.

seemed wrong to him, he waved his hands and exclaimed: “Gentlemen, this can’t be happening!” and slapped himself on the thighs. Despite some rhetoric, his lectures were informative and interesting.”

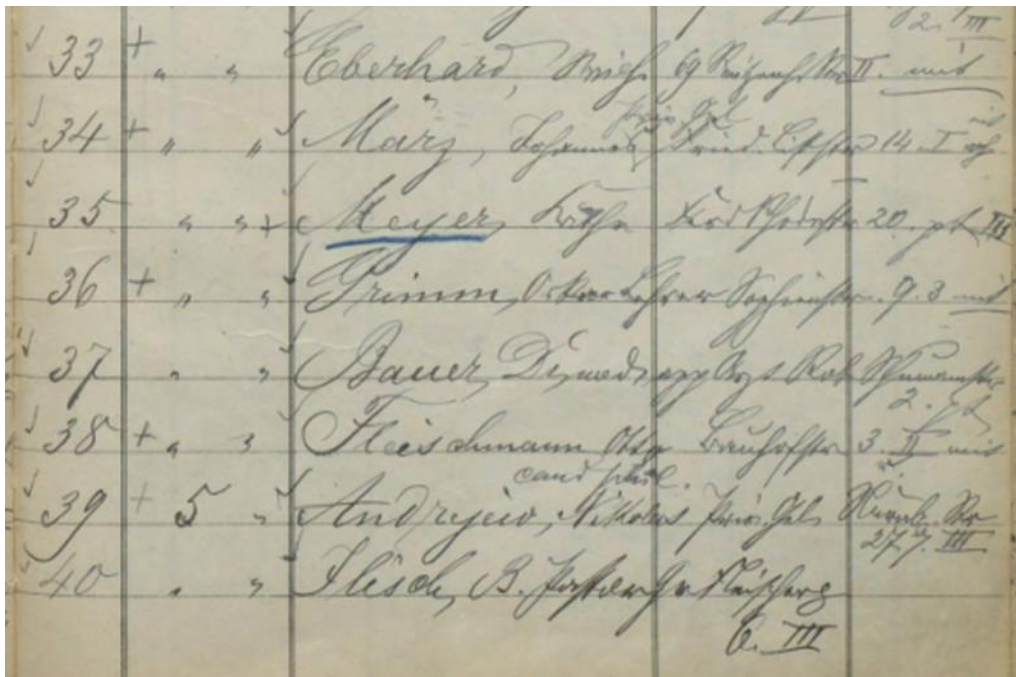


House at the corner of Nurnbergerstrasse and Goldschmidtstrasse, where N. N. Andreev lived during the winter semester of 1901-1902. Heidelberg. Photo taken by author in 2019.

Russian students at Leipzig University made up an even larger share of foreigners than at Heidelberg University. Although the absolute numbers were comparable. In the winter semester of 1901-1902 109 Russians out of 384 foreigners studied here, and in the summer semester of 1902 the number of Russians reduced to 98 out of 350 foreigners. At the Faculty of Philosophy, the number of Russians shared top positions with students from Austria-Hungary. In the winter of 1901-1902, out of 74 foreign philosophers, 22 were students from Russia and 21 from Austria-Hungary. The next semester, 18 of the 70 international students of philosophy were Russians and 19 were Austro-Hungarians. Among the Russian students at these years there were N. D. Auxentiev, a friend and leader of the Heidelberg Social Revolutionaries, and the future famous Russian novelist M. M. Prishvin. Brilliant Leipzig Psychological School has undoubtedly influenced the intellectual development of both. It is unlikely that N. N. Andreev could miss out on it. Although it is no less likely that his cognitive interest at the time was focused on historical science, led by Karl Lamprecht in Leipzig. After all, he did not simply believe that he had undergone

training in philosophy and history in Germany, devoting a lot of time to writing historical works, and finally prepared a dissertation on the relationship between history and sociology in 1946 (Andreev, 1946).

At the beginning of the 20th century, Leipzig was not only one of Germany's largest academic cities, center of chemical industry, publishing and banking, but also a stronghold of social democracy, firmly established in the urban working class milieu. It was the home town of the left-wing movement leader, Carl Liebknecht, who later in 1918 became one of the founders of the German Communist Party. In Leipzig at Hermann Rau's printing house V. I. Lenin published the first issue of the Marxist newspaper "Iskra". Since those years Leipzig had become the most important point of transportation of the revolutionary press to Russia. N. N. Andreev's appearance here and exactly in 1901 had weighty political grounds, taking into account that he continued to work in the RSDLP transport group. Besides N. N. Andreev publishes here his first article in the fourth issue of the social democratic magazine "Zarya", printed under the pen name of "L.B.K." with the title "Village Memories" (Andreev, 1902), which dealt with the life of rural youth in the Tver province. From the experience of his life in the countryside when he was a teacher in the village of Golenishchevo, Novotorzhkovsky district, the author showed the contradictions of the current state of Russian peasant life, the influence of industrial migration of peasants on the life strategies and views of the village, as well as the gradual emergence of "sparks of oppositional thought". Thus, during the years of his studies in Leipzig, N. N. Andreev began his intensive publication work, which lasted for almost half a century.



Record (№39) of Andreev's attendance of Leipzig University. Leipzig. Universitätsarchiv Leipzig.

However, in March 1902, a student of Heidelberg University, familiar with N. N. Andreev, social revolutionary Ilya Fondominsky, was arrested at the border. The conspiracy work in this party was much less streamlined. Almost all of Russian student leaders had been known to the German police since their arrival in Germany and had been under surveillance. They were regularly reported on their activities. After his detention and a short time in prison, Ilya Fondominsky returned to his studies and hurried to marry Amalia Gavronskaya, the sister of his friend Jakov Gavronsky and future philosopher Dmitry Gavronsky, who studied in Heidelberg. This case, which became widely known in Russian student circles in Germany, was nevertheless quite illustrative in relation to the life whirlpool in which young people found themselves at the time.

Despite the scarcity of information about N. N. Andreev's activities during the Leipzig period, one episode had a significant impact on his subsequent life. It was at this time that he met Elena Geller, who later became his wife and most reliable friend. It is no surprise that Russian students in Germany were prone to romance. The age and relative isolation of the emigrant groups, together with the detachment from home, contributed to this. Running far ahead, we can say that they lived together for more than 50 years, having gone through many vicissitudes of one of the most critical periods of Russian history. It is appropriate to quote the memories of N. N. Andreev's nephew, who became an emigrant historian and lecturer at Cambridge University in England. "Uncle Kolya's and Aunt Lena's love was subjected to great trials before they were united, in the opinion of almost all the many relatives, in a completely harmonious marriage. Aunt Lena came from an orthodox family of Russian Jews, who did not want to hear about her marriage to an Orthodox, because for this she would have had to become Orthodox herself, renouncing Judaism. After severe storms, a compromise was found: both sides left their ancestors' faith and went into the "neutral" Lutheranism foreign to both. They married before the 1905 Constitution of Vitte, which came into force in 1906, that is, according to old laws, when Orthodoxy was the dominant religion of the Russian Empire and Nikolay Nikolaevich's conscious disaffiliation from this religion was considered a negative act. That is why even outstanding persons, friends of my grandfather Nikolay Andreev, a famous Zemstvo activist of Tver and Novotorzhkovsk Zemstvo, a friend of Petrunkevich, Rodichev and other radical Zemstvo, immediately told his uncle that he acted recklessly by limiting the development of his professional abilities. Grandfather also exploded: "Disaffiliation from Orthodoxy in the Russian Empire is impractical, to put it mildly"... Kolya's academic path will be difficult to walk. Grandma Dunya managed to persuade her husband "not to add oil to the fire" with black prophecies and let the young people build their lives according to their understanding. My grandfather, however, was right. Before the revolution, my uncle was not admitted to teaching at a university²⁶. This turn in personal life of N. N. Andreev means a lot. But more widely, the Leipzig period increased academic networks and scientific experience of N. N. Andreev and strengthened his connections within social democrats of Russian community in Europe.

²⁶ Andreev N. E. Andreev is what he remembers. From the family memories of Nikolay Andreev (1908-1982). - St. Petersburg: Dmitry Bulanin, 2008, p. 68.

Alma Mater. Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg. 1902-1904.

After a year of training in Leipzig N. N. Andreev returned to Heidelberg. He settled down not in the city centre as it had been a year ago, but in the southern district, on the Gaisbergstrasse, which stretches along the mountain, in a small cozy house number 36. In the same house there were two more students from the USA (John Brown and James Walton) and a German student Julius Grupe. About 50 students lived on Gaisbergstrasse, including six from Russia (philosophers Mikhail Drey and Solomon Ryvkin, physicians Lazar Granovsky, Mordukh Levontin and Sergey Noskov, as well as naturalist A. Gerasimovich). Andreev also met a fellow countryman from Torzhok, Tver province, Nikolay Plowal-Schweikovsky, who had just arrived to study philosophy. His apartment was located very close to Rohrbacherstrasse 45, where 6 more students, including one of the Russian students (Woldemar Buchheim, signed up for kameralistik (Kameralwissenschaft), but next year switched to philosophy), lived in a large house.

The total number of students at the University of Heidelberg decreased by almost a hundred people compared to the first semester of N. N. Andreev's study here and became 1352 students and 182 non-matriculated students. But the number of students of the Philosophy Department had grown to 300 people. The number of students from Russia reached 59, significantly exceeding the number of students from other countries. There were 16 Russian philosophy students out of 19 foreign philosophy students. However, during the whole period of N. N. Andreev's stay in Heidelberg, the share of Russian students in the Philosophy Department never even exceeded 1%, remaining the most numerous philosophical diaspora of the University.

N. N. Andreev was enrolled in the Philosophy Department of Heidelberg University on October 29, 1902. In the winter semester of 1902-1903 N. N. Andreev chose three courses. He attended the course "History of Modern Philosophy: Kant and His School" with Professor Fischer. Professor Kuno Fischer had taught for the past year and there were many students who signed up for his lectures. Lectures were given daily from Tuesday to Friday from 16.00 to 17.00. According to documents from the Heidelberg University Archive, there were 252 students enrolled. Russian students, together with N. N. Andreev, included Mikhail Drey, Nikolay Powalo-Sheikovsky, Victor Golubev, Ilya Blumenfeld, Solomon Ryvkin, Ilya Zaitsev, Gerhard Schlüter, Jachim Stern, F.A. Poplavsky, M.M. Koronevsky, as well as Elena Geller and her friends Esther Elyasheva and Rosa Reichenstein.



House at the Gaisbergstrasse 36, where N. N. Andreev lived during the winter semester of 1902-1903. Heidelberg. Photo taken by author in 2019.

Kuno Fischer presented Immanuel Kant like probably none of his contemporaries could. For the philosophers of Heidelberg, this was extremely important because the new school, which dominated here at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, was based on the ideas of the Königsberg thinker. Kuno Fischer was able to show how philosophical ideas come from the lives of philosophers. In the book on the history of new philosophy, based on his lectures, Kuno Fischer started developing his approach to the work of I. Kant: "Kant's life does not represent anything brilliant in appearance, except for his fame, which he deserved and experienced to the fullest extent, although he did not look for it. Hardly ever had such a glorious name to cover up such a quiet, modest life. From the philosophers of the new time, Kant's share of the hardest task has fallen to him. If we measure the strength of thinkers in terms of the magnitude and strength of the resistance to the difficulties they have to overcome, then its strength, without a doubt, was the greatest. And in terms of character, it was a man of one kind."²⁷

²⁷ Fisher K. History of a new philosophy. - Moscow: DirectMedia Publishing, 2008, T. 4., c. 43.

The construction of the lecture material immediately captured the listeners and made them keep the utmost attention in order to understand the outcome of the discussion to the end. Students who attended Kuno Fischer's lectures on Kant became qualified professionals in this field. Most likely, N. N. Andreev was also very attentive to these lectures. Although he did not share the position of Neo-Kantianism, it was important for him to gain the most in-depth knowledge of the subject at the University of Heidelberg, which had glorified this tradition of philosophical thought. In this case, for N. N. Andreev, the critical assessments and critical analysis of Kuno Fischer's ideas were particularly important. Well aware of Kant's system, the Heidelberg professor himself was not his follower, but rather a philosopher closer to Hegel. This was very suitable for N. N. Andreev, because the historical materialism he wanted to adhere to was formed thanks to Hegelian philosophy.

Two more courses N. N. Andreev took in the winter semester of 1902-1903, "Fundamentals of philosophy of law" and "Policy of modern states" were delivered by famous professor of law Georg Jellinek. Jellinek had become world-renowned for developing the idea of state sovereignty, especially in relation to multinational states, empires and federations. In addition, he contributed greatly to the formation of the sociology of law, and used the concept of ideal types, later developed in the work of his friend M. Weber. Apparently, the choice of Professor Jellinek's courses was influenced by N. N. Andreev's interest in political activity, which in Germany was in a much more developed form than in Russia. Especially since he was a master lecturer, and students loved to listen to him.

The course "Policy of modern states" by G. Jellinek was attended by 51 students. As for Russian students, classes were attended by Nikolay Powalo-Schveykovsky, Woldemar Buchheim, Moritz Grünberg, Sergei Svatykov, Gorbatsevich, Elena Geller, Nikolay Andreev. Lectures were held on Mondays and Tuesdays from 17.00 to 18.00. In this course, G. Jellinek could develop his ideas about the state of sovereignty in the modern era. He proceeded from the tendency of absorption of some states by others, which, as a consequence, gave rise to two types of statehood: sovereign and non-sovereign. Non-Sovereign states had limited self-determination and are weak in pursuing their own policies. It is clear that for Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia such a problem was acute, and therefore it attracted students. According to German historians, Russian students stood out in G. Jellinek's class (as well as W. Windelband) "by the power of their speeches".²⁸

58 students enrolled in the course "Fundamentals of Law Philosophy" by G. Jellinek. Among Russian students the same Nikolay Powalo-Schveikovsky, Woldemar Buchheim, Moritz Grünberg, Sergei Svatykov, Gorbatsevich, Elena

²⁸ Honigsheim, R, 1963: Max Weber in Heidelberg, in: Sonderheft 7 der Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie: Max Weber zum Gedächtnis, hrsg. v. R. König und J. Winkelmann. S. 240; Treiber G. The Birth of Weber Rationalism: Heidelberg and Introduction of Russian History Philosophy to Weber as (Reflections on the Publication of the First Volume of Max Weber's Complete Works of Art). // Bulletin of the Russian Christian Humanitarian Academy. 2010. Volume 11. Come on, let's go. 2., c. 142.

Geller, Nikolay Andreev and Baron von Rosen attended the classes. The lectures were given once a week on Mondays from 16.00 to 17.00. Therefore, for N. N. Andreev as for all who attended the same two courses of Jellinek, this lecture was always followed by another one. Jellinek taught that law was objective and formed in the process of social interaction, not by the decision of the state. Therefore, he developed the idea of a constitutional state as a form of the government ensuring the rights of citizens. Following Rudolf Ihering, he emphasized that law was to submit the state power to the legislation, which it itself formulated. R. Ihering and G. Jellinek became two key figures in the formation of the Russian school of sociology of law, which was only formed in that period (S. A. Muromtzev, M. M. Kovalevsky, B. A. Kistyakovsky, P. I. Novgorodtzev, L. I. Petrazhitsky, etc.). At the same time, Russian students wanted to develop their legal consciousness theoretically, which was not easy to implement at home. F. A. Stepun preserved in his memoirs his impressions how gladly he was in those years (but in another semester) “listening to Georg Jellinek, a melancholic, red Austrian with a crooked pince-nez on his nervous nostrils and a vanishing gaze over it. Equally a historian and lawyer, Jellinek was one of the first sociologists among German state scholars. His lively and very scientifically instructive lectures were distinguished by the stereoscopic plasticity of scientific analysis and polemical zeal not devoid of creative pathos.”²⁹

Generally, as summer approached, the number of students in Heidelberg would increase. It wasn't an exception in 1903. Among 1671 students there were 210 non-matriculated students. 92 students from Russia were enrolled. The number of students of the Faculty of Philosophy increased to 359 people, 28 of them Russian students. N. N. Andreev moved to a new place of residence, where he spent the next two semesters. From Heisbergstrasse, where he used to live, he smoothly moved to Steigerweg, which, turning southeast in the gorge between the two peaks and gradually climbing towards the dominant point of Königstuhl in the direction of the city, had been transformed into a forest path convenient for walks. On the west side of the street there was a city cemetery, and on the east side of the Heisberg Mountain slope there were several houses scattered chaotically, so that they could not form a solid street facade in their usual form. N. N. Andreev moved into the most remote house, number 51. It was hardly possible to find a more secluded place available to students in Heidelberg. None of the university professors lived on this street. The students were only accommodated in one house on Steigerweg. However, N. N. Andreev was not the only tenant here. There were two Russians living with him: philosopher Woldemar Buchheim from St. Petersburg, physician Alexei Dashkov from Egorjevsk, and also German student Ernst Merklin from Hannover.

As in the summer of 1902, in 1903 N. N. Andreev chose only one course taught by professor Wilhelm Windelband “Logic (General Theoretical Philosophy and Methodology)”. It was a unique opportunity to communicate with the leader of the philosophical school, which was on the rise at that time, and had a strong influence on the sociological thought of the era. W. Windelband was the biggest

²⁹ Stepun F. Former and unfulfilled. - New York: Chekhov Publishing house, 1956.

philosopher who had just been invited to Heidelberg from Strasbourg. His main works had already been written, and he was in the zenith of fame, willingly sharing his knowledge with listeners in university classrooms. Logic was the most fundamental subject that could be studied at his lectures. In one of his articles of those years, Windelband made an significant judgment about the importance of logic: “Die Eule der Minerva, hat Hegel gesagt, beginnt ihren Flug erst in der Dämmerung. Das Leben muss gelebt sein, ehe es gedacht wird. Das gilt auch von den Wissenschaften in ihrem Verhältnis zur theoretischen Philosophie, zur Logik. Erst wenn das Leben einer Wissenschaft seine Höhe erreicht, seine Erfolge gewonnen, seine Eigenart bekräftigt und befestigt hat, erst dann wird es die Sache nachkommender philosophischer Ueberlegung, die gedanklichen Formen zu verstehen, die zu solchen Ergebnissen geführt haben, und die methodische Arbeit analysierend zu formulieren, die mit unmittelbarer Entfaltung an den Gegenständen selbst ihre Früchte gezeitigt hat.”³⁰

One of the Russian students, F. Stepun, noted about Windelband: “a man with a very large stomach and a small head on wide shoulders; instead of a neck, a red fold over a very low collar. I never imagined a philosopher like that. My misunderstanding didn't last long, though. Sitting in the velvet chair indicated to me and looking into the eyes of the scholar, I immediately felt that this “brewer”, as I immediately christened him, was a very special brewer. In front of me sat a living Socrates, as Windelband described him in his “Preludes”, which I had just read: the same “head on the puffy shoulders”, the same “impressiveness of the hanging stomach”, the same ease of movement typical of heavy people. The similarity with Socrates was felt by me also in his incredibly alive, clever, acutely perceptive, but by no means contemplative eyes and in a wary expression of his face, as if he were waiting for an exact answer to an “ironically” posed question.”³¹

Windelband gave lectures on “Logic” in the summer of 1903 daily from Tuesday to Friday in the evening from 20.00 to 21.00, attended by 134 students. There are more than 20 students from Russia on the list. First of all, it is worth mentioning the students of the Faculty of Philosophy such as Mikhail Catarji, Igor Arnoldi, Woldemar Buchheim, Aron Dolmatovsky, Ilya Fondominsky, Pavel Kananov, Leonid Tarasevich, Trifon Trapeznikov, Chaim Golodets and Nikolay Berdyaev. There was a neighbor of N. N. Andreev, medical student Alexey Dashkov, there was Evgeny Levine, a German Communist born in St. Petersburg, who headed the Executive Council of the Bavarian Soviet Republic in 1919. There was a group of Russian students together with Elena Geller, Rosa Reichenstein and Esther Elyasheva. Among the listeners there were some very famous people, such as Russian lawyer Bogdan Kistyakovsky, who had already defended his thesis

³⁰ “Hegel said the Owl of Minerva only starts its flight at dusk. Life must be lived before it can be conceived. This also applies to the sciences in their attitude to theoretical philosophy and logic. Only after the Life of science reaches its height, finds its own success, confirms and consolidates its originality, only then will the matter of subsequent philosophical reflection begin to understand the thinking forms that led to such results, and formulate methodological work, which, directly unfolding on the subjects themselves, has yielded its fruits.” (Windelband W. Die Gegenwärtige Aufgabe der Logik und Erkenntnislehre in Bezug auf Natur- und Kulturwissenschaft.)

³¹ Stepun F. Former and unfulfilled. - New York: Chekhov Publishing house, 1956.

“Society and Individuality” a couple of years ago, as well as the famous American sociologist Robert Park, who just defended his thesis “Mass and Public” under the guidance of W. Windelband and geographer Alfred Gettner.

The following winter semester of 1903-1904, the University of Heidelberg hosted a total of 1535 students, including 81 Russians. The Faculty of Philosophy hosted 326 students, 28 of whom were Russians, as in the previous semester. Although N. N. Andreev had kept his former dwelling, all three neighbors changed. Now two German students lived next door: Heinz from Herxheim and Gustav Niemann from Göttingen, as well as Leonid Tarasevich from Russia.

During the semester N. N. Andreev attended two courses: Professor W. Windelband's “Theory of Knowledge and Metaphysics” and Professor of Geology Salomon-Calvi's “General Geology”, which was open to students from all departments of the University of Heidelberg. 93 students were enrolled in the course of Professor W. Windelband, with about two dozen people from Russia. Mainly they were the same students who had attended the semester before his logic course. Among the students of the Faculty of Philosophy were Mikhail Catarji, Ilya Fondominsky, Viktor Golubev, Fyodor Stepun, Aron Dolmatovsky, Franz Gebhard, Joseph Pinkus, Emil Gengenbach, F.A. Poplavsky, Ilya Goryainov, Moses Rubinstein, Abram Gotz and Vladimir Zenzinov. The new neighbor of N. N. Andreev Heinrich Heinz attended the class. Even Marianne Weber, Max Weber's wife, was among attendees of these lectures. The students had the opportunity to gather in the university classroom to communicate with Professor W. Windelband on this course twice a week, on Thursdays and Fridays from 12.00 to 13.00.

W. Windelband viewed scientific knowledge in close connection with philosophy. “As soon as a scientific thought asserts itself as an independent aspiration to cognition for the sake of knowledge itself, he wrote, it receives the name of philosophy; and as soon as a single science then divides into its branches, philosophy becomes a generalizing knowledge of the world. When scientific thought is reduced again to the degree of a means of ethical education or religious contemplation, philosophy becomes the science of life or the formulation of religious beliefs. But once scientific life is liberated again, philosophy also regains the character of an independent knowledge of the world, and, starting to abandon this task, it transforms itself into a theory of science.”³² He guided students to understanding philosophical foundations of the cognitive activity of the scholar. And this attitude was understandable and close to the young N. N. Andreev, despite the already established critical attitude to Neo-Kantianism.

It is difficult to explain the reasons for N. N. Andreev's choice of geology course, but we hope that he was confident in the correctness of his decision. Professor Wilhelm Salomon (Calvi) was a young but already well-known specialist in paleontology and stratigraphy, who soon headed the Heidelberg Institute of Paleontology and even became an honorary citizen of the city. In his historical

³² Windelband W. Cultural Philosophy: The Chosen One. - Moscow: INION, 1994, p. 39.

works, which N. N. Andreev actively published in the 1910s-1920s, he undoubtedly kept in mind the knowledge of the historical evolution of the Earth, periodically using bright images, perhaps, taken in lectures by V. Salomon (Calvi).

For Russian students in Heidelberg, diaspora communication was of great importance. The reading club, which was located in the heart of the city at Merzgasse 4, played an important role in this. The Russian Reading Room was a second home to the majority of Russian students throughout its existence from 1862 to 1914. Founded by Herzen's and Ogarev's brothers N. I. and V. I. Bakst, from the very first day it accumulated in its funds acutely political literature generally prohibited in Russia. It made it a center of free thought in the eyes of Russian youth, where ideas of a predominantly socialist nature dominated. The Russian reading room was the most important means of political socialization of Russian students, satisfying the desperate need of young people in the Russian Empire.

Alien to the revolutionary impulses of young people and focused on self-reflection, F. Stepun, having got into the Russian Reading Room in 1903, took away from there “a bad impression” of the frowning, unfriendly students from Russia and “frowning cast eyes”, leaving there “feeling more lonely than he did when he entered it.”³³ However, due to circumstances, he began to periodically attend events at Merzgasse 4, leaving rare and vivid memories, as usual, filled with his perceptions, experiences and assessments.

As an example, on May 13, 1904 the Russian reading room hosted lectures of Lev Deich, one of the leaders of the Russian social democracy, and Boris Stolpner, who later became a member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and professor of philosophy famous for his translations of Hegel's works. It is noteworthy that representatives of the social democratic and social revolutionary parties came together in an open debate. Abram Gotz and Ilya Fondominsky were actively arguing with the social democrats. Fedor Stepun disagreed with the historical and materialistic approach of some people and with the absence of any sociological method of the others.

Russian student colony in Heidelberg was visited by Leo Trotsky. “From Paris, he wrote in his memoirs, I travelled with essays to the Russian student colonies of Brussels, Liège, Switzerland and German cities. In Heidelberg, I listened to old Kuno Fischer, but I wasn't tempted by the Kantianism. Normative philosophy was organically alien to me. How can you prefer dry straw if you have soft and juicy grass next to you? Heidelberg was known as the nest of Russian idealistic students. Among them was Avxentiev, the future Interior Minister under Kerensky. I broke more than one blade in the hot struggle for materialistic dialectics.”³⁴ However, according to the memories of S. Pushkarev (Pushkarev 1999), L. Trotsky was in Heidelberg even later (in 1910s). “The most prominent guest lecturers in my presence were two future Leninist drug addicts, L. Trotsky and A. Lunacharsky. Maybe L. Trotsky was there more than once. But it is

³³ Stepun F. Former and unfulfilled. - New York: Chekhov Publishing house, 1956, p. 114.

³⁴ Trotsky L. My life. - Moscow: Panorama, 1991.

important to note that he probably had an early visit to Heidelberg and had a relationship with N. N. Andreev, which follows from personal correspondence. N. N. Andreev's nephew, in his memoirs, also points to his uncle's personal acquaintance with A. Lunacharsky, without specifying the time when it took place.³⁵ During this stay Trotsky contacted N. N. Andreev.

From the memoirs of F. Stepun it becomes known that in those years the chairman of the Russian reading room was Tovbin, “a lopsided young man with completely overgrown thick hair on the forehead”, in addition to “a poor, stunted idealistic Marxist”. Lists of Heidelberg University students for 1902-1905 do not include such a person. From correspondence of RSDLP figures,³⁶ we know that the document called “Heidelberg Address”, adopted at a meeting of the local section of the “Foreign League of Russian Revolutionary Social Democracy” was signed by T. Tovbin. His address correlates to N. N. Andreev's correspondence as a place to host friends, and with the names of Russian students Lazar Landau and Matvei Solovejczyk, who can be considered members of the social democratic group. We can include some more: Jacob Fürstenberg, Sergei Svatikov, Sergei Chutzkaev, Vladimir Altschuller, Mikhail Drey – people who were active revolutionists.

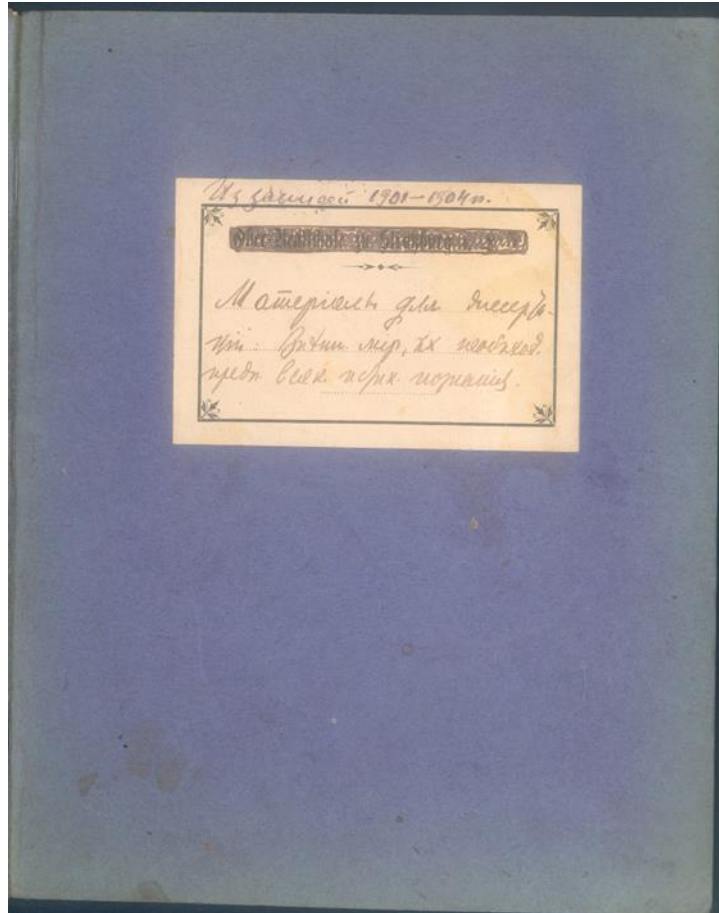
Russian young people who studied at German universities, especially in the south, liked to spend time in Switzerland, combining political agenda with rest in the mountain resorts of the Alps. Following letters and memories, Lake Lucerne (Vierwaldstättersee) was a favorite destination for such trips. The social democrats preferred gathering at the town of Weggis, east of Lucerne, on the lake shore. N. N. Andreev and Elena Geller used to attend such events and really enjoy the time of “Swiss holidays”.

Philosophy and/or social democracy. From Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität Strassbourg to Berlin. 1904-1905

Having successfully completed the spring semester of 1904, N. N. Andreev decided to prepare his doctoral thesis. His archive has a notebook dated 1901-1904 and signed “Materials for dissertation: the outer world as a prerequisite for all true knowledge”. He even moved to new apartments in the heart of Heidelberg at 101 Plock Street, 400 meters from the Russian reading room and 200 meters close to University library. But something goes wrong.

³⁵ Pushkarev S. G. Memories of the historian 1905-1945. - Moscow: Posev, 1999.

³⁶ Correspondence of V. I. Lenin and the RSDLP institutions led by him with party organizations. 1905-1907 Volume 2. Book 2nd - Moscow: Mysl', 1982.



Andreev's notebooks during his German studentship. Andreev's Family Archive.

N. N. Andreev's personal file, which is kept in the Archive of Heidelberg University, contains a note of May 7, 1904 about satisfaction of student request of Nikolay Andreev to approve a break in study. And in a later document dated October 4 there is an entry about his transition to another German university. So it turns out that in the summer semester of 1904 N. N. Andreev did not attend any courses at Heidelberg University. I will take the risk and explain this by two circumstances, which are, however, relatively interconnected. The first is related to his personal life, and the second to the work of Berlin Transport Group.

With the end of the winter semester of 1903-1904 N. N. Andreev illegally went to Russia, carrying with him in a suitcase with hidden prohibited Marxist literature for the Russian social democratic movement. According to the biographical information drawn up after N. N. Andreev's death by his son, he visited his native Torzhok, where he became a participant of the May Day rally near the Mitino and gave a speech. The fact became known to the police and the rally was dispersed. Moreover, N. N. Andreev's brother Platon, with whom he was closest, was killed and drowned in the river. Forced to hide from the police, N. N. Andreev could not even attend the funeral. Such an event would have had a profound impact on his educational plans in Germany.

N. N. Andreev's correspondence of summer 1904 shows a difficult spiritual period in his life. After being granted the right to take a break from the University of Heidelberg, he went to Switzerland around 8-10 May for Latterbach near Lake Thun (Thunersee). From there, he writes to Elena Geller about family troubles, perhaps referring to what happened to his brother. N. N. Andreev also shares his thoughts about the possibility of spending the winter semester in Heidelberg, where he returns in July. From the letters it follows that in August N. N. Andreev spends days in Heidelberg in communication with L. Trotsky, who commented on his life during this period: "The whole of 1904 was for me in political and organizational conflicts with the leading group of Mensheviks. Conflicts unfolded around two points: attitudes towards liberalism and attitudes towards Bolsheviks. I stood up for an irreconcilable response to the liberals' attempts to lean on the masses and at the same time I was increasingly demanding the unification of both social democratic factions. In September, I formally announced my withdrawal from the minority, which I had not been a member of since April 1904. During this period, I spent several months away from the Russian emigration, in Munich, which was then considered the most democratic and artistic city in Germany."³⁷ At the end of summer N. N. Andreev makes another trip to Weggis, returning to Heidelberg only in September. During the fall of 1904 N. N. Andreev finally decided to continue his studies in winter semester at Strasbourg University. Whether this is related to personal relationships, academic choices, or party work is hard to tell.

To understand the events around Berlin Transport Group in 1904 one has to consider the general situation in Russian social democracy. In the summer of 1903 in Brussels and London the Second Congress of RSDLP, which approved the party and the leadership of V. I. Lenin in it, as well as divided the social democrats into two factions: the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, took place. Many years later Lenin stressed that "Bolshevism has existed as a flow of political thought and as a political party since 1903" (Lenin, 1981). The internal party struggle became more acute, especially through the confrontation between the central bodies united by the leadership of Lenin and the central committee, which was separated by factionalism. The struggle for authority influenced literature transportation, which was of crucial importance in the work on consolidation of social democracy in Russia.

On one hand, after the Second Congress of RSDLP redistribution of functions and optimization of management structure produces some uncertainties and tensions,³⁸ increased by the split between the two party groups. On the other hand, personal conflict between leaders I. A. Tarshis, who's party name was Pyatnitsky, and V. L. Kopp, better known as Syurtuk, set up an open fight for control over transport. N. N. Andreev supported V. I. Lenin and adhered to explicitly Bolshevik positions, which was recognized by the Mensheviks themselves at that time. But similarly to Kopp he took a conciliatory stance towards the Mensheviks, believing that the split would harm the party, and trying

³⁷ Trotsky L. My life. - Moscow: Panorama, 1991.

³⁸ Lenin's collection // ed. V. V. Adoratsky V. M. Molotov [et al.] 1-37. - Moscow: Partizdat, 1924-1970, vol. 15, 1930, 124-125.

to block the factionalism. Some Bolsheviks gave the situation an excessively distorted meaning, believing that the “reconcilers” are driven by the desire to build a third line to become the dominant faction of Russian social democracy. Lenin and Krupskaya wrote to M. M. Litvinov in Riga on December 20, 1904, describing the transport conflict between Tarshis and Kopp as a fragment of a broad struggle: “the fact that Lenin openly accuses the Central Committee and demands arbitration, and publishes a number of “secret” documents that show what the Central Committee dissembles and how it deceives the party. After Lenin's speech, an open breakup will be inevitable. Circumstances are pushing for this. The Bureau of the majority committees should therefore also make an open statement as soon as possible. Insist on it with all your might. We don't want to act in secret, we want to be open.”³⁹



House at the corner of Wimpfelringstrasse and Geilerstrasse, where N. N. Andreev lived during the winter semester of 1901-1902. Strasbourg. Photo taken by author in 2019.

While the conflict was gaining momentum, N. N. Andreev went to Strasbourg to continue his studies. Strasbourg University was the most unique university in Germany at the time (Craig, 1984; Guth & Pfefferkorn, 2019). In the second half of the 19th century, under Bismarck, Alsace was directly governed by the imperial government, and Strasbourg University received the role of German cultural center, demonstrating the superiority of German education system and German

³⁹ Correspondence of V. I. Lenin and the RSDLP institutions led by him with party organizations. 1905-1907 Volume 2. Book 2nd - Moscow: Mysl', 1982.

scientific method. Teachers received much higher salaries and more freedom than in other universities of the country. Leaders of German science were invited: Hermann Baumgarten, Wilhelm Dilthey, Theodor Mommsen, Friedrich Kapp, Gustav Schmoller. A new model of university education was being introduced, with an empirical focus on laboratories and the world's best library, for which new spacious buildings were being built. The academic status of the social sciences had been increasing and the number of bets for social scientists had gone up. The University was oriented towards education, which Gustav Schmoller expressed as follows: "Soon the word was out: anyone who wishes to learn must go to Strasbourg; in Strasbourg they are more industrious than elsewhere; there one finds institutes, there one learns something from the professors."⁴⁰ The atmosphere between teachers and students is very warm. But life here is very expensive. In the 1900s, with the change of political line, the state intervention in the life of the university began, limiting the former autonomy and weakening the belief of teachers in a special mission. So Andreev visited Strasbourg University right at the top of the glory.

N. N. Andreev was registered as a student of Strasbourg University on November 9, 1904 for the winter semester. His place of residence was Wimpfelringstrasse 38, three hundred meters from the University. Elena Geller stayed at the same address, being registered as a student of the Faculty of Philosophy. The number of Russian students was significantly lower than in Heidelberg, about a dozen people. However, Aron Dolmatovsky and his future wife Adelia, who also became students at the Faculty of Philosophy, were transferred here from Heidelberg. They're settling on the next street to Nikolay Andreev and Elena Geller at Schwarzwaldstraße 8. Since the Heidelberg period, both couples have been in close companionship. It follows from N. N. Andreev's letters that in Strasbourg another student couple of Gutkin had communicated within the same group. Some other Russian students worth mentioning were mathematician Leonid Semenov, who later became a major astronomer, and physicist Samuel Lifschitz, future famous researcher in acoustics.

Unfortunately, courses attended by N. N. Andreev in Strasbourg are still unknown. According to available data, in 1904, the most famous teachers at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Strasbourg were Georg Friedrich Knapp, Clemens Baeumker, Harry Bresslau, Georg Dehio, Friedrich Meinecke, Martin Spahn, Theobald Ziegler. But at the middle of the semester, revolutionary events had started in Russia, a strike and then a shooting of a march of workers in St. Petersburg. N. N. Andreev, reflecting on the events, writes sharply on the political work. In February he sent a letter from Strasbourg to Lenin in Geneva asking to publish his political brochure "The Tzar and the people" in social democratic publishing house "Vperyod". He also noted that under the influence of the latest materials of "Iskra", namely the article by Martov "Ninth of January", he finally decided to join the Bolshevik line. N. N. Andreev emphasizes the need to improve organizational activities. At the end of the letter, he asked Lenin to

⁴⁰ Craig J. Scholarship and Nation-building. The Universities of Strasbourg and Alsatian Society (1870-1939). – Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984, p. 75.

send him the Leninist brochure “Statements and documents on the break of the central institutions with the party”. The last sentence shows N. N. Andreev's desire to understand the situation affecting the transport group.



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|----|--|---------|---------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|---|
| 82 | Joseph | Hornig | Geographie u. Französisch | Neukirchweier | Neulhausen | Heinrich 1/2 Strasbourg 1/2 Paris |
| 83 | Kernmann | Nollanp | Geographie | Prömpfen | Sickelfeld | Wimmert. St. |
| 84 | max 4- 18-10-1904 1904 9. November 1904 | Breider | Geographie u. Philologie | Statten u/2 | Löffelgrund Strasbourg | Strasbourg |
| 85 | Nikolaus | Andreev | Philologie | Torschok Russland | | Heidelberg Leipzig |
| 86 | Otto | Barth | Philologie (germanisch) | Kandern Baden | Gymn. Baden Baden | Techn. Hoch- schule Karlsruhe |
| 87 | Carl | Arnold | Philologie u. Geschichte | König (Schweiz) | Gymnasium König | Freiburg i. B. |
| 88 | Kaas | Breuer | Philosophie | Pápa (Ungarn) | Gymnasium Kadamacz | Leipzig |
| 89 | Rupp | Fisch | Philologie | Erstein | Strasbourg | |

Record (№85) of Andreev's stay at Strasbourg University. Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin.

In 1905, invited by bolshevik M. S. Olminsky, N. N. Andreev came to Geneva to take part in the activities of the central bodies of the party. However, the exact date of this arrival has not yet been determined. According to a record from the Strasbourg University Archives, he left his studies before the end of the semester, namely on March 25, 1905. In this way, he interrupted his studies at German universities and completely immersed himself in social democratic activities; in particular, he continued his work in the Bolshevik newspaper “Vperyod”.

Supposedly, at the end of May N. N. Andreev appeared in Berlin for the transport business. He was most likely there during the month of June, as party correspondence indicated that he was engaged in important negotiations together with Kopp and Dargoltz. L. B. Krasin, member of the RSDLP Central Committee, meets with the transport group several times. Unlike Tarshis, he was not inclined to aggravate the conflict and tried to solve the situation in the most pragmatic way. He did not see any betrayal or danger in the position of the Berlin Transport Group, believing that they did not intend to create any new party or party group, that their position is largely supported by the belief in the forced observance of factional neutrality in transport, and that they would eventually side with the Bolsheviks. Therefore, the contract was signed with minor amendments. In addition, the Berlin group refused to cooperate with Tarshis for personal reasons, to which Krasin did not attach much importance, because he knew about the imminent departure of the latter to Russia.

At the beginning of June in Berlin Ivanovsky presented a report at the Third Congress of RSDLP. There were about 200 people present. Since the rapporteur defended the Bolshevik point of view, this provoked controversy on the part of the Mensheviks present. It is known that more than ten people participated in the discussion after the report. Among them was N. N. Andreev. As A. Stern reported in his letter to the committee of the foreign organization RSDLP in Geneva on June 9, N. N. Andreev “praised and blasphemed both Bolsheviks and Mensheviks and called for reconciliation.”⁴¹ Apparently, all these reports served as a basis for some members of RSDLP to blame N. N. Andreev in reconciliatory and even Menshevik position.

Since N. N. Andreev was so seriously busy all summer with the problems of the transport group, he probably stayed in Berlin. During last two years (1904-1905) N. N. Andreev completely missed two semesters. Studying had clearly been overtaken by events. But, firstly, he continued to take notes of the theoretical plan for scientific work, and secondly, he began to write articles for Russian social democracy, also of theoretical nature. During this time, his three works were published in the Pravda newspaper. Two articles were a review of sociological concepts (“Scholarly Empty Thought (Rudolf Schtammer's Social Philosophy)” and “Philosophy of a Craftsman (Joseph Ditzgen)”) (Andreev, 1905b, Andreev, 1908). The third article was an analytical study of the education system in Germany (Andreev 1905a). If we take into account the brochure “The Tzar and the people” published in early 1904, we can conclude that by the end of his student period, N. N. Andreev began regular publication activities. According to N.N. Andreev, as early as during these years he writes materials in accessible style on historical topics, which will soon be published in Russia in the publishing house of F. Pavlenkov. A period of very intensive work on writing articles, brochures and books awaited him ahead. But it was in Germany that creativity began.

At the beginning of the 20th century there was a strong tendency of combining development of historical materialism and participation in political activism. It had benefited both. Mainly it was linked to Marxism and leftist ideology. Karl Kautsky, Georgy Plekhanov, Vladimir Lenin, Nikolay Bukharin, Georg Lukács are the most prominent figures who represent this tendency. N. N. Andreev was a person of the same generation, and lived under the influence of the same tendency. Therefore, in his studentship at German universities during 1900-1905 his sociological education had been interrelated with his social democratic political activism among Russian students abroad.

Conclusion

Summarizing the conducted biographical research of the German period of life of the Russian sociologist N. N. Andreev we can draw several conclusions. First, his academic interests had been under constant pressure from political interests

⁴¹ Correspondence of V. I. Lenin and the RSDLP institutions led by him with party organizations. 1905-1907 Volume 2. Book 2nd - Moscow: Thought, 1982.

throughout the student's tenure. Even the decision to go abroad to study was motivated by the political situation. In view of the tasks arising from social democratic activity, N. N. Andreev had to break the regularity of the educational process. The main area of his revolutionary work is the organization of delivery of illegal literature from Europe to Russia as part of the so-called Berlin Transport Group. Finally, due to the revolution that broke out in Russia, he, as well as many figures of the Russian revolutionary movement who were abroad, hurried back to their homeland to actively participate in the events. Secondly, N. N. Andreev is purposefully attending the courses of leading German professors (K. Fischer, W. Windelband, G. Jellinek) to improve his philosophical training. He is already beginning to adhere to the line of historical materialism, and is therefore interested in the arguments of his savviest opponents. In addition, the chosen line of work requires good preparation in the field of history of philosophy, which also explains the choice of lecture courses. N. N. Andreev's notes and records of those years testify to the fact that in philosophy he is primarily attracted by the dialectical views of K. Marx and F. Engels, which he notes from German primary sources.

N. N. Andreev's scientific work during his student years was aimed at developing an epistemological concept. His planned dissertation theme reflects this orientation: "The outside world as a necessary prerequisite for all true knowledge". He formulates his research tasks as follows: "The work to be done has the task of justifying a materialistic view of the world. We need to investigate how the human concept of the world is formed, i.e. how the knowledge of the world turns out and what the difference between true and false knowledge is based on. The subject matter of cognition, the way of cognition, the criterion of cognition, the clarity of cognition – these are the issues within the scope of our study."⁴² However, N. N. Andreev connects the search for the cognitive method with the comprehension of the historical process. As a result, the most important topic for him is the problem of regularity of public life.

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⁴² N.N. Andreev's family archive.

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