
French in public education in eighteenth-century Russia: the case of the Cadet Corps

Introduction

The Cadet Corps

The Cadet Corps (Кадетский корпус) was founded in 1731-32, early in the reign of the Empress Anne, on the initiative of Anne's favourite Count Burkhard Christoph von Münnich (Миних in the Russian form of his name; 1683-1767). It was housed in the palace on the bank of the River Neva that Anna had recently confiscated from the favourite of Peter I (the Great), Prince Aleksandr Menshikov (1673-1729). It would become the main school for the Russian nobility for the rest of the eighteenth century. There were many other schools in eighteenth-century Russia, some of which pre-dated the Cadet Corps. These included the Naval Cadet Corps (Морской кадетский корпус, sometimes also translated as Sea Cadet Corps or Marine Cadet Corps), which originated in the Navigation School (Школа математических и навигационных наук) founded by Peter in Moscow in 1701¹ and in which the Englishman Henry Farquharson (c. 1675-1739) was the first teacher, and the Engineers' Cadet Corps (Инженерный кадетский корпус) founded in Moscow in 1712 as an engineers' school. However, the majority of such institutions for the nobility appeared later and outside Petersburg, and not only in Moscow but also in the provinces (for example, in order of appearance, in Shklov (in Mogiliov province), Omsk, Orenburg and Helsingfors (i.e. Helsinki)).

The Cadet Corps played an important role in the project of eighteenth-century Russian rulers to create a westernised elite, and the teaching of foreign languages was a key element in the education of that elite in the Corps, as in private noble households. In this sub-section of our website we therefore examine previously unpublished texts located in The Russian State Archive of Ancient Documents (RGADA) and The Russian State Archive for the History of the Armed Forces (RGVIA) in Moscow which give us an insight into various aspects of the teaching of French in this institution. The first group of the texts that we have selected consists of work which was evidently written by the best students in the Corps, including the future renowned Russian playwright Aleksandr Sumarokov (1717-77).² The second group consists of letters addressed by teachers of French in the institution to the Director of the Corps. These letters relate to the teachers' working conditions and articulate

their complaints. Before turning to the selected texts, though, we should briefly consider information that can be gleaned from other unpublished material about the numbers of students learning languages (especially French and German) in the Cadet Corps in the mid-eighteenth century and on the way in which those languages were taught there.

Language education in the Cadet Corps

From the very beginning, the Cadet Corps, or the Infantry Noble Cadet Corps (Сухопутный шляхетный кадетский корпус) as it would officially be called, was not merely a military school for boys from noble families but, more importantly, a school for general education. Pupils studied many disciplines: arithmetic, geometry, history, geography, drawing, fencing, dance and languages (French, German, Latin and Russian, and later Italian). However, not all of these disciplines were compulsory. For instance, students could choose which of the languages in the curriculum they would learn. They could also opt to take classes in horse-riding. Later, under Catherine II (the Great), they could elect to learn history and geography in either Russian or French.

The members of staff of the Cadet Corps, in the early years of the institution's existence, were generally either Russian or German. French teachers were still in a minority in the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1750, for example, 18 teachers were of Russian origin, 22 had names that clearly indicated German or Baltic origin, and only 3 were French.³ As one of the documents that we publish here suggests, teachers of French in the Cadet Corps were of various national origins. Several were indeed French, or at least they were French native-speakers. Teachers in these categories included Charles Sougy, Louis Boujot, who replaced Sougy in 1745,⁴ Henri de Lavie, who replaced Brice Gay in 1744,⁵ Daniel Feray, who came from a Huguenot family in Amsterdam and taught French in the Corps from the 1730s to the 1750s,⁶ and Dominique Dieudonné, who replaced Boujot in 1765 and became inspector after the death of another French teacher and inspector, Gréa, in 1773.⁷ However, many teachers of French in the Corps were not French. Thus, in the 1730s we find a Swedish teacher of French, a certain Amo Palm.⁸ In 1750 there were two teachers of French who were probably of German origin, Christian Messer and Bernte Moller.⁹ In 1781 there were two Italians, Peputi and Lucci.¹⁰ Russian teachers of French were a rarity. In the early 1740s one Sergeant Stepan Reshetov taught French to the cadets¹¹ and in 1750 we find Vasilii Bunin, who authored a French grammar of 158 pages for Russian students.¹² Some of the French teachers who came to Russia from German states and were probably of Huguenot origin undoubtedly had a good command of German as well as French. Charles Sougy, for example, had responsibility not only for teaching French pronunciation, grammar and spelling but also for translation from French into German.¹³ The same was true of another French teacher, de Lavie.¹⁴

The archives of the Cadet Corps give us an idea of how many students learned this or that language. Here are the figures for students entering the Corps in 1732, at the very beginning of the existence of the institution.¹⁵

<i>Origin of students</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number studying German</i>	<i>Number studying French</i>	<i>Number studying Russian</i>	<i>Number studying Latin</i>	<i>Number not studying any language</i>
Russian	104	104 (100%)	65 (62.5%)	0	1 (1%)	13 (12.5%)
Other	51	51 (100%)	40 (78.5%)	48 (94%)	3 (6%)	0
Total	155	155 (100%)	105 (67.5%)	48 (31%)	4 (2.5%)	13 (8.5%)

Table 1

For students entering the Corps in 1737 we have the following figures (the list contains the names of only 79 individuals, all of whom studied at least one foreign language).¹⁶

<i>Origin of students</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number studying German</i>	<i>Number studying French</i>	<i>Number studying Russian</i>	<i>Number studying Latin</i>
Russian	51	51 (100%)	15 (29.5%)	26 (51%)	4 (8%)
Other	28	27 (96.5%)	17 (60.75%)	26 (92.75%)	15 (53.5%)
Total	79	78 (99%)	32 (40.5%)	52 (65.75%)	19 (24%)

Table 2

In later years, the number of non-Russian students, who were mostly from Baltic German noble families, was about one-fifth of the total number of students in the Cadet Corps but at the outset they constituted a higher proportion than that. In the early years, German was the most studied foreign language there. French, as we see from the tables above, was by no means the first foreign language in the 1730s and this was still the case in the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, fifteen years later. Here are the figures for 1748.¹⁷

<i>Origin of students</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number studying German</i>	<i>Number studying French</i>	<i>Number studying Russian</i>	<i>Number studying Latin</i>
Russian	257	249 (97%)	98 (38%)	60 (23.25%)	13 (5%)
Other	63	59 (93.5%)	53 (84%)	44 (69.75%)	1 (1.5%)
Total	320	308 (96.25%)	151 (47.25%)	104 (32.5%)	14 (4.5%)

Table 3

Thus it is clear that a majority of Russian students in the Cadet Corps in the mid-eighteenth century did not learn French but that nearly all of them did learn German. In fact, the proportion of Russian students who learned French declined during the first two decades of the institution's existence.

The situation had changed to some extent by the early years of the reign of Catherine II, as we see from figures relating to students who were finishing their studies in the Corps in 1764.¹⁸

<i>Origin of students</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number studying German</i>	<i>Number studying French</i>	<i>Number studying Russian</i>	<i>Number studying Latin</i>	<i>Number studying Italian</i>	<i>Number studying History in French</i>	<i>Number studying Geography in French</i>
Russian	120	120 (100%)	65 (54.25%)	58 (48.25%)	8 (6.75%)	8 (6.75%)	7 (5.75%)	1 (0.75%)
Other	53	44 (83%)	48 (90.5%)	47 (88.75%)	10 (18.75%)	5 (9.5%)	2 (3.75%)	0
Total	173	164 (94.75%)	113 (65.25%)	105 (60.75%)	18 (10.5%)	13 (7.5%)	9 (5.25%)	1 (0.5%)

Table 4

Thus the number of Russian students studying French has increased from 38% in 1748 to 54% in 1764 (although the latter figure is based not on the overall number of students but on the number of students studying it at the end of their course, so it may be higher than the average number for all the students in the Corps).

However, closer analysis of the same source makes us wonder whether many students were reaching a high level in French, or at least whether they were gaining a deep and comprehensive knowledge of that language. The following table, for example, provides telling information on the numbers of students in the Cadet Corps who in 1764 were taking courses in translation (which could be done from a student's native language into a foreign language or even from one foreign language into another), in basic language acquisition and in orthography (both of which were studied by *ab initio* students), and in style (which was considered the most difficult aspect of foreign-language learning).

<i>Origin of students</i>	<i>No. of students</i>	<i>No. of students taking courses in translation</i>			<i>No. of students taking certain courses in German</i>			<i>No. of students taking certain courses in French</i>		
		<i>Russian/German</i>	<i>German/French</i>	<i>Russian/French</i>	<i>Basics</i>	<i>Orthography</i>	<i>Style</i>	<i>Basics</i>	<i>Orthography</i>	<i>Style</i>
Russian	120	Nearly all	6 (5%)	27 (22.5%)	60	89	24	29 (24.25%)	10 (8.25%)	8 (6.75%)
Other	53	7	17 (32%)	4 (7.5%)	3	4	44	26 (49%)	6 (11.25%)	11 (20.75%)

Table 5

As we see from the above figures, only quite a small number of Russian students (33 in all, or 27.5% of this group) tried their hand at translating into French and only 8 of them (less than 7%) studied French style. In other words, only a small minority of Russian students left the Cadet Corps with knowledge of French which we can be sure was quite thorough. The situation was different, though not markedly so, among the non-Russian students, nearly 21% of whom had studied French style by the time they graduated and about 40% of whom had studied translation into French.¹⁹

The figures we have given, which suggest the depth and breadth of the students' attainment in the French language, may at first sight seem surprising in the Age of Enlightenment, when French was already the main international language in Europe. However, it is possible to explain this apparent oddity. As the Director of the Cadet Corps,

Abel Friedrich von Tettau (1688-1761), noted in a report addressed to the Empress in 1739, many cadets did want to learn French, but the main method of learning foreign languages at this time was through translation and unfortunately there were few French and German teachers who knew Russian. The Russian students therefore needed first to learn German before they could start to learn French.²⁰ For a long time the situation was similar in other teaching institutions, such as the school attached to the Academy of Sciences (*Академическая гимназия*), where it was laid down in 1735 that only those who had already learned Latin or German to a sufficiently high level would be admitted to the French class.²¹

As far as internal communications within the Cadet Corps were concerned, both Russian and German seem to have been used in the early years of the institution's existence. It was not unknown for written communications to be sent to the Director in French, as we see, for instance, from Amo Palm's letter of 1735, which is among the texts reproduced here. However, reports written in French in the 1730s by officers of French origin in the Corps, such as Captain Charles de Bodan and Major de Gonnon, were generally translated into Russian.²² This state of affairs probably changed during the reign of Catherine II. At any rate, the complaint that we publish here, which was written in French by the Italian teachers Peputi and Lucci, is addressed to the Director of the Corps without being translated, which suggests that French had now become a new *lingua franca* in this institution, as in so many other domains. We know from the memoirs of students in other privileged educational institutions, such as the Corps of Pages, that French was occasionally used during Catherine's reign in everyday communication between teaching staff and students, although the general level of teaching in language classes seems to have been poor.²³

Documents illustrating the use of French in the Corps

The samples of the cadets' best work which we include in our selection of texts on the use of French in the Cadet Corps were presented to the Empress by the Director of the Corps in 1739. They are all translated letters or translated passages of text. Translation, combined with study of grammar and vocabulary, was a widespread method of language tuition in Europe at that time. Students would study samples of translated texts and then translate simple texts themselves, applying the knowledge of grammar and vocabulary that they had gained from these samples. In the Cadet Corps too translation was used as one of the principal means of teaching foreign languages: the cadets were trained to translate from German into French and from French into German and, later, at least from the beginning of the reign of Catherine, from and into Russian as well. Sergeant Reshetov, for example, was using Fénelon's *Aventures de Télémaque* in German translation as well as in the French original, so we may suppose that he was teaching French, in the 1740s, through translation from and into German. In 1759, as we know from Jacob Stählin's memoirs, the Cadet Corps even started publishing a weekly periodical which contained short articles translated by the cadets from German and French,²⁴ but this initiative does not seem to have lasted for long.

The translated texts were for the most part letters written according to well-established patterns. The examples we reproduce are packed with set phrases that were obligatory in polite correspondence in French, such as « j'ai l'honneur », « je vous supplie très humblement », « je vous prie d'agréer », « vous m'obligerez infiniment » and so forth (these phrases were also extensively used by Prince Ivan Shcherbatov when he was learning French in London in 1717-19). Students were thus not only learning a foreign language but also being introduced through these written patterns to a type of relationship with which they were unlikely to be familiar, that is to say relationships marked by the conspicuous politeness and civility that these formulae were intended to express. The following letter is particularly noteworthy as an example of locutions that offered students this new view of human relations:

Monsieur,

Il n'y a que deux jours que vous êtes parti, et il me semble qu'il y a déjà presque un siècle sans la satisfaction de vous voir, me rend votre absence insupportable, j'espère pourtant qu'elle ne diminuera rien de votre amitié, et je me promets de prouver de sa continuation par l'honneur que vous me ferez de m'écrire quelquefois, et de m'assurer de l'état de votre santé, vous n'ignorez pas la part que j'y prends, et vous êtes trop juste pour me refuser la grâce que je vous demande, c'est par là que vous pouvez soulager mes chagrins, et par le soin que vous prendrez de vous bien divertir. Je tâcherai d'être content si j'apprends que vous l'êtes et que vous me permettiez toujours de me dire

Monsieur

vôtre très humble serviteur

[Sir,

It is only two days since you left and it seems like almost a century, so much does the pleasure of seeing you make your absence intolerable to me, I hope though that it will not lessen your friendship at all, and I hope for proof that it will continue by the honour that you will do me by writing to me occasionally and assuring me of the state of your health, you are not unaware of the interest that I take in it, and you are too good to refuse me the favour that I ask of you, it is in that way that you can relieve my sorrows, and by taking care to enjoy yourself. I shall try to be content if I learn that you are too and that you will always allow me to call myself, Sir, your most humble servant]

We see here an expression of close friendship, concern for the health of the addressee and, of course, the ability to express these feelings verbally. Another text, one of those translated by Sumarokov, dealt with questions of religion and politics in Tudor England. As so often in this period, the study of history here was a vehicle for political and moral education.

The translations into French that we publish here bear witness to the linguistic talents of the students of the Cadets Corps. Of course, the Director would not have presented examples of mediocre work to the Empress, so we may assume that the work that has been

preserved was among the best that the students were able to produce. That is not to say that the work is altogether free of errors. There are some obvious reflections of Russian usage, for instance, in Sumarokov's translation of the history of the reign of Henry VIII:

- « après la mort devoit le suivre sa fille Marie »: inversion of subject and verb is commonplace in Russian but awkward in French, in which it would be more natural to say « après sa mort sa fille Marie devoit le suivre » or « après sa mort c'est sa fille Marie qui devoit le suivre »;
- « les deux angloises universités Oxford et Cambridge »: the adjective precedes the noun here, as it does in Russian, whereas in French it should follow the noun (« les deux universités angloises d'Oxford et de Cambridge »);
- « avec des gens de celle Religion en estoient remplis »: Sumarokov again resorts to an inversion which is alien to French. He also confuses the pronoun « celle » with the demonstrative adjective « cette ». The correct version would be « étoient remplis de gens de cette religion »;
- « ce qui concerne » instead of « en ce qui concerne »;
- « dans la quinzieme l'année »; the possessive adjective « sa » is omitted and the article « l' » is redundant. It would be more correct to say « dans sa quinzième année ».

Further mistakes in these texts show that the achievement of the best students was by no means outstanding.

The letter written to the Director of the Cadet Corps by the Italian teachers Peputi and Lucci also gives us some insight into the students' level of attainment in foreign languages and, in addition, it affords a glimpse of the conditions in which foreign languages were taught in this institution. Even in the reign of Catherine (Peputi and Lucci wrote their letter in 1781) there seem still to have been teachers who were unable to speak or understand Russian. As their students were only just beginning to study French, the teachers and students were unable to understand one another and had no reliable means of communication. As the two Italians put it bluntly, the students are 'barbarians to us and we are barbarians to them' (« des barbares pour nous, et nous sommes des barbares pour eux »). Peputi and Lucci explain in detail how unsatisfactory they think their situation is and how unhappy they are as employees at the Cadet Corps. They complain of bad food, serious health problems, the continual noise made by the students, with whom the teachers lived in close proximity, and the difficulty of attending the Catholic church during Catholic religious holidays. They also find it impossible to maintain their level of academic expertise, to satisfy their intellectual interests or to mix with other educated people. We should add that teachers in the Corps often complained too of low wages; this was the reason given by Amo Palm for his resignation in 1735.

It is no doubt poor conditions of the sort that Peputi and Lucci describe that account for the frequent departure of teachers from public educational institutions in Russia and their preference for private teaching posts. In the Russian Academy of Fine Arts, founded in 1757, for example, the turnover of language teachers was so great in the 1760s and 1770s that the

delivery of a normal teaching programme became very problematic.²⁵ The existence of such difficulties may lie behind the change in the policy of hiring teachers for the Cadet Corps during Catherine's reign. Ivan Betskoy (1704-95), who was Catherine's adviser on educational matters and who also served as the head of the Cadet Corps at this time, searched for talented young teachers by using reliable intermediaries such as Denis Diderot, who recruited three teachers for the Cadet Corps in 1773. These included the Frenchman Pierre-Charles Levesque, the future French historian of Russia, professor of the Collège de France and a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres, which had been founded in 1663 as one of the five academies of the Institut de France.

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The texts published in this sub-section of our corpus give us fresh insight into the process of learning French in the major educational institution for the Russian nobility, the Noble Cadet Corps. For a long period, at least up to the 1760s, French was not the main foreign language learned in the Cadet Corps and it was unable to compete with German. The status of French in the Cadet Corps may be partly explained by the nature of the institution's complement of language-teaching staff. Since the number of Russian teachers in the Corps who were capable of teaching French was quite small, as we have seen, French was taught mainly through the medium of German. Russian students therefore had to learn German before they could start learning French. Nor were matters helped by the poor working conditions and consequent rapid turn-over of staff, which made it difficult to teach and learn French to a high standard. (Some of the texts published in this section tend to confirm this impression.) Admittedly the situation had changed to some extent by the beginning of the reign of Catherine, in the early 1760s, when it became possible (at least in some years) to learn French from Russian teachers or from foreign teachers who had a good command of Russian. Nevertheless, the number of students studying French remained well below the number of students studying German. The reasons for this fact may in the last analysis lie in a certain conservatism in the Russian petty gentry, from which the bulk of the students of the Noble Cadets Corps came. Nobles from this milieu were not affected by court culture, which in the 1760s was being shaped by the French model and in which the French language played a very important role. Nor were the petty gentry so frequently or deeply involved in the various activities and networks that shaped the linguistic and cultural behaviour of the highest Russian nobility, such as the Grand Tour, long stays in western countries and participation in salon life in Europe's leading cultural centres, as well as presence at royal courts. Despite all the efforts of those who directed the various educational institutions for the nobility in late eighteenth-century Russia, including the Cadet Corps, there remained a considerable cultural gap between the petty gentry and the aristocracy. Command of French seems to have been a litmus test for cultural and social distinctions within the Russian elite.

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¹ The school was moved to St Petersburg as the Naval Academy (Морская академия) or Naval Guards Academy (Академия морской гвардии) in 1715. It was renamed the Noble Naval Corps (Морской шляхетный корпус) in 1752.

² We are grateful to Igor Fediukin for drawing our attention to these documents.

³ RGVIA, f. 314, op. 1, d. 2321, fols 45-46 v.

⁴ RGVIA, f. 314, op. 1, d. 2272.

⁵ RGVIA, f. 314, op. 1, d. 1640, fol. 44.

⁶ He was still working in the Corps in 1750: RGVIA, f. 314, op. 1, d. 2321.

⁷ RGVIA, f. 314, op. 1, d. 3252. An 'inspector' (инспектор) was responsible for supervision of both teachers and pupils.

⁸ RGVIA, f. 314, op. 1, d. 1667.

⁹ RGVIA, f. 314, op. 1, d. 2321. The names of these two teachers are transliterated from Cyrillic; we do not know for certain how their names were written in the Latin alphabet.

¹⁰ RGVIA, f. 314, op. 1, d. 3680.

¹¹ RGVIA, f. 314, op. 1, d. 1960.

¹² *Французская грамматика [...] / Сочиненная в Сухопутном шляхетном кадетском корпусе подмастерьем Васильем Буниным [French Grammar [...] / Compiled in the Infantry Noble Cadet Corps by Apprentice Vasilii Bunin]* (St Petersburg: [Тип. Sukhoput. kadet. korpusa], 1758). This grammar was dedicated to Prince N. B. Iusupov (1750-1831), a future senator, director of the Imperial Theatres and the Hermitage and a well-known patron of cultural life. See RGVIA, f. 314, o. 1, d. 2321.

¹³ RGVIA, f. 314, op. 1, d. 1640, fol. 43.

¹⁴ RGVIA, f. 314, op. 1, d. 1640, fol. 44.

¹⁵ These statistics have been compiled on the basis of information in RGVIA, f. 314, op. 1, d. 1654, fols 1-176. The percentages given in this and other tables in this section have been rounded to the nearest quarter. The cadets in question were between 17 and 22 years of age. Our list may not include all the students who were studying in the Corps at the time. Our figures differ from those published by Piotr Luzanov, who calculated that in 1732 there were 223 Russian cadets, of whom 163 were learning German, 45 French and 64 Latin. See P. Luzanov, *Сухопутный шляхетный кадетский корпус (ныне 1-й кадетский корпус) при графе Минихе (с 1732 по 1741). Исторический очерк [The Infantry Noble Cadet Corps (nowadays the 1st Cadet Corps) at the Time of Count Münnich (1732-1741). An Historical Survey]* (St Petersburg: Schmidt, 1907), p. 31. Figures published by Count Dmitrii Tolstoy are quite close to our own figures for 1737 (see the following table; but NB our figures are based on a smaller sample of students). Tolstoy does not specify the year he has in mind, but it is early in the existence of the Corps. Tolstoy calculated that out of 245 Cadets (of all origins), 237 were learning German, 51 French and 15 Latin: see D. A. Tolstoj, 'Ein Blick auf das Unterrichtswesen Russlands im XVIII. Jahrhundert bis 1782' ['A glance at instruction in Russia in the eighteenth century up until 1782'], in *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Russischen Reiches und der angrenzenden Länder Asiens. Zweite Folge [Contributions to Knowledge of the Russian Empire and Adjacent Countries of Asia. Second Edition]* (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1969), vol. VIII, pp. 1-121, cited in Kristine Koch, *Deutsch als Fremdsprache im Russland des 18. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Fremdsprachenlernens in Europa und zu den deutsch-russischen Beziehungen [German as a Foreign Language in Russia in the Eighteenth Century. A Contribution to the History of Foreign-Language Learning in Europe and to German-Russian Relations]* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2002), p. 148.

¹⁶ RGVIA, f. 314, op. 1, d. 1654, fols 306-84.

¹⁷ RGVIA, f. 314, op. 1, d. 2178.

¹⁸ RGVIA, f. 314, op. 1, d. 3213 (1764).

¹⁹ As a final point on the linguistic proficiency of the individuals who studied in the Cadet Corps, we should add that some of them may already have been capable of using French as a social language and a language of intimacy. However, such proficiency at that stage of their lives was probably exceptional and due to the personal circumstances of the individual in question, as in the case of Count Aleksei Bobrinsky (1762-1813), the son of Catherine II, who wrote memoirs, partly in French, while he was still a student: see A. G. Bobrinskii, «Дневник графа Бобринского, веденный в кадетском корпусе и во время путешествия по России и за границую» ['The diary kept by Count Bobrinskii at the Cadet Corps and during his travels in Russia and abroad'], *Русский архив [Russian Archive]*, 1877, vol. 3, no. 10, pp. 116-65.

²⁰ RGADA, f. 177 (1739), d. 70, fol. 5 v. Von Tettau writes about Russian students: «а еще додальных прогрессов несилины, тому много воспрепятствовало им что доопределения в корпус немецкому языку ничего незнали а учителя у которых они подиспозиции в науках все иноземцы и пороссийски ничего незнают изатем в таком случае те кадеты с принуждением [понеже наиболее к французскому нежели к немецкому языку охоту имеют] прежде обучаны понемецкие дабы потом учителя показывать а они разуметь лутче могли.» ('They have not yet achieved very good results because before they entered the Cadet Corps they did not know any German at all, and the teachers who taught them were all foreigners and don't know any Russian and so the cadets [because they liked French more than German] had to be taught German first so that the teachers could then explain it to them and they would understand the teachers better.')

²¹ Koch, *Deutsch als Fremdsprache im Russland des 18. Jahrhunderts*. p. 148.

²² RGVIA, f. 314, op. 1, d. 1635.

²³ N. P. Brusilov, «Воспоминания Н.П. Брусилова» ['The memoirs of N. P. Brusilov'], *Исторический вестник* [*The Historical Herald*], no. 4, 1893, electronic version at http://www.vostlit.info/Texts/Dokumenty/Russ/XVIII/1780-1800/Brusilov_N_P/text2.htm (accessed on 25.02.2013).

²⁴ Jacob Stählin, «Записка Штелина» ['A note by Stählin'], in *Материалы для истории русской литературы* [*Documents for the History of Russian Literature*] (St Petersburg: tip. I. I. Glazunova, 1867), pp. 162-67; see p. 166. Stählin describes this periodical as *еженедельный листок*.

²⁵ V. Rjéoutski, «Французские гувернеры в Академии Художеств в 1760-1770 гг.» ['French governors in the Academy of Arts in the 1760s and 1770s'], in *Восемнадцатый век как культурно-исторический феномен (Проблемы изучения). Сборник научных трудов* [*The Eighteenth Century as a Culturo-Historical Phenomenon (Research Problems). A Collection of Academic Work*], ed. E. B. Mozgovaia (St Petersburg: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Khudozhestv, Sankt-Peterburgskii akademicheskii Institut zhivopisi, skul'ptury i arkhitektury im. I. E. Repina, 2002), pp. 65-74.