

VOCATIONAL SCHOOL AND STUDYING YOUTH IN THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1905

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Abstract. *In an attempt to study the “school factor” of the Russian Revolution of 1905, the author focused on the secondary vocational school of the Volga-Kama region and its students. The educational process in 1905 was disrupted by a petition campaign, strikes and falling discipline, as the students became a significant force of the revolution at that time. Despite the seemingly political nature of the “secondary school movement,” young people mostly struggled for their own corporate interests, aimed at making the school regime less strict. Due to this, the government made a number of concessions on non-political demands filed by students, meanwhile gradually increasing repressive disciplinary measures. These measures lead to the stabilization of the educational process in 1906.*

Keywords: *Russian Revolution of 1905, education, Russian Empire, students, school, Volga region.*

Introduction

In modern Russia, the forms of engagement and level of impact of students are again among the topical social issues. At the moment, the youth strata of Russian society are increasingly participating in various socio-political processes and socio-political movements and, due to their age, such individuals are subject to the influence of certain radical ideas. Eventually, these young people are likely to take key positions in all spheres of public life. Their goals, ideals and values, as well as ideological attitudes, are considered to form the basic characteristics of the individual and will contribute to their complete formation in the period of preparation for professional activity, thus largely determining the trend of the country's further development. Studying young people's degree of participation in public life in pre-revolutionary Russia thus provides an opportunity to better understand the characteristics and problems of modern Russian youth, by identifying the factors that determine the consciousness development vector of this dynamically transformed part of Russian society.

It is this context that determines the research activities aimed at studying the student movement during the Russian Revolution of 1905: the reasons for their stepping up, the various manifestations of action, the measures introduced by government institutions to reduce the intensity of this movement and their effectiveness, and the eventual transformation of the school environment and the school's role in both the city and the social

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life of the country. The study is based on the case of secondary vocational schools of the Kazan Academic District (KAD), which includes six provinces of the Volga-Ural region. The students of the said educational institutions, unlike classical secondary school pupils, were older and more active in the events of the revolution and came from the less well-off strata of society.¹

The writings of both Russian and foreign researchers contain a significant trove factual material on the functioning and participation of the school during the revolutionary events of the early twentieth century. Particular attention has been given to Russian students' participation in the revolutionary process. The secondary vocational schools, however, being relatively inconsiderable in number, are only briefly mentioned in general works on the history of the revolution, and then only as a part of the regional framework. The pluralism of modern historical science in Russia provides an opportunity to reconsider a wide range of dogmas of Soviet historiography, while the involvement of a sufficiently wide field of "local" sources concerning a large region of the empire allows us to overcome the problem of the insufficient historical sources that foreign historians have been facing.

Source materials and research methods

The multidimensionality of the declared topic required the use of various types of source. The records of various schools and educational authorities made it possible to show the transformation of school life during the revolution, as well as to clearly identify the forms of student protests, their demands and the reactions of the school administration. The periodical press provided an opportunity to consider the school factor in the events taking place in particular cities and around the country as a whole, and to understand the way problems with the school system were perceived by society. Personal documents offered a representation by certain individuals of the state of the secondary education movement, as well as revealing the identity of individual members of the movement.

Both the topic of this article and the selected source base allowed a combination of macro- and micro-approaches. The socio-cultural approach presented both pupils and teachers not only as passive subjects of the educational process, but also as actors within the educational and social environment; in addition, a certain dissonance was shown between social relations and the school "organism" of the country as it modernized. The educational authorities were considered, in terms of the bureaucratic theory of organization, to be elements that were holding things back, incapable of making independent decisions or finding alternatives, having lost flexibility in interacting with both external and internal environments. Both the

¹ Peretyatko, Zulfugarzade 2017, p. 370.

localization and personification of the events described in this study made it possible to understand the specificity of school life in the provinces and at the individual level in the “extreme environment” of revolutionary chaos.

The “school issue” on the threshold of the revolution

Despite all the positive aspects of the Russian education development in the second half of the nineteenth century – that is, increased spending on education, the growth of the school network and the number of students² – schools, being largely state-run or under strong bureaucratic control by the state, were recognized by the Russian authorities as important political institutions and as an instrument for disseminating state ideology.

Among the factors strengthening the civic engagement and radicalism of the students around the turn of the twentieth century, the researchers note certain common socio-political, cultural and historical prerequisites, as well as the specific negative aspects of the educational system generated by the state-bureaucratic nature of the Russian school. Among the latter, there are three groups of factors presented below.

1. Bureaucratic issues associated with the increasing administrative regulation and streamlining of all aspects of school life, growth of legal dissonance and increased disparity between the actions of various government bodies. Along with the so-called “protective policy” of tsarism and the interdepartmental activities of the Ministry of Education (ME), the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA) and the Holy Synod, this gave rise to the political, legal and religious-moral censorship and restriction of teachers’ and students’ rights, along with carrying out so-called “educative” (supervisory-repressive) measures. In the late nineteenth to early twentieth century, a large part of the population of the country was facing significant restrictions in both rights and freedoms, but even so the authorities treated the students in a special way. Secondary vocational school students were deprived of the right to participate in the social life of the empire. In addition, a new generation of Russians were to be cultivated in those ideological frameworks designed to make them law-abiding citizens in the future. While having sporadic conflicts with the students, the authorities treated them, first of all, as a source of socio-political discontent. That is why special attention was paid to the standardization of the students’ entire routine by introducing a complex set of binding rules. It was the Procrustean bed of those rules that intensified their discontent and contributed to the aggravation of radical elements within the student movement, turning educational institutions into arenas for political parties’ struggle for influence among the masses.³ This

² Cherkasov, Smigel 2016, p. 425-427; Shevchenko et al. 2016, p. 368-370.

³ Molchanova et al. 2013, p. 88.

was felt especially sharply during the Russian Revolution of 1905.

2. Pedagogical methods, administrative issues, and the school environment. These included the multidisciplinary nature of the curricula and congestion of programs with information; traditional teaching methods; authoritarian methods of pedagogical communication, teaching and management procedures; a shortage of teachers; a rigid marking system; and a sharp decrease in respect towards superintendents and mentors during that period, as no proper replacement was found for them. The poor sanitary state of certain educational institutions was also an issue.

3. Structural specificity of the student community. Modernization of the country⁴ made qualified personnel of extreme importance to the authorities, so the social structure of secondary vocational school became increasingly democratized. Most of the students in such schools came from social classes which tended to be subject to financial constraints, while the financial support from public organizations not only failed to meet their needs, but was dependent upon various factors, including the student's behaviour (i.e. their political loyalty). The territorial concentration of vocational schools in provincial capitals led to the "closed nature" of most educational institutions, as most of the students lived in boarding school dorms or private student apartments. Due to the fact that they were separated from their families and habitual social environments, students of varying ages had to share the same living space while studying in the same school (dorms) or different schools (apartments). In addition to other factors such as their age, class origin and financial constraints, this contributed to students' increased discontent and the enhanced coordination of their actions.

Thus, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the "school issue," became one of the most burning topics in Russia, and there were calls for its urgent solution. The problem was clearly recognized by the authorities; indeed, it was already partially clear by the end of the nineteenth century, when many problems with state schools were identified by N. P. Bogolepov, the Minister of Education.⁵ The Commission on Improvement in the Secondary School Sphere started work in January 1900, and in April that year, the Minister presented a report to the Emperor on the main problems within secondary schools, including a proposed program and a number of measures for reform. However, the cancellation of compulsory summer essays became the only significant measure N. P. Bogolepov managed to implement. P. S. Vannovskiy continued his work, initiating the drafting of Basic Provisions for the Establishment of the Secondary Comprehensive School, as well as drafting plans for the reorganization of vocational schools. In addition, under

⁴ Polyakova et al. 2017, p. 212.

⁵ Konstantinov 1956, p. 40-41; Filippov 2002, p. 152.

Vannovskiy, students were allowed to enter the next grade based on satisfactory annual marks alone, without any additional examinations.⁶ His successor G. E. Zenger completed the preparation of his predecessor's reform program. However, being, according to S. Yu. Witte, "a weak man" and "a useless administrator,"⁷ he was guided by the Emperor's plans, which had been worked out according to the advice of Prince V. P. Meshchersky, and he failed to carry out any reforms. The subsequent appointment of V. G. Glazov to the post meant the end of any reforms.

The general upsurge in the social movement at the beginning of the twentieth century could be seen in all strata of Russian society. The vocational students actively participated in this, having long accepted the appeal of an anti-regime uprising which, at that time, gained a revolutionary justification. Both modern researchers and contemporaries note that the explicit politicization of the youth movement in vocational schools, including those of the KAD, began in 1904.⁸ Meanwhile, there is considerable evidence indicating that the influence of leftist propaganda on individual groups of students had been quite significant since the beginning of the century.⁹

It should be noted that, of all the types of educational institutions under consideration, it was the students of agricultural and vocational schools that were especially active in the events of 1905-1907.

Even before the revolution, the students of Kazan Industrial College (KIC) were involved in the activities of a clandestine political group, printing and illegally distributing various proclamations, leaflets, brochures and books. On 22 February 1904, the gendarmerie found two hectographs, 40 copies of the brochure *Podpolnaya Rossiya* by S. M. Stepanyak-Kravchinsky, a *Krasnoe znamya* brochure, and many printed revolutionary poems and songs in the KIC printing house.¹⁰ Such illegal groups also counted among their membership agricultural school students from the cities of Saratov, Samara and Vyatka, who also actively participated in the publication of illegal literature.¹¹

In addition to its indirect forms, such as an increase in suicides among students who were unable to withstand the hardships of the school regime, discontent was expressed in open conflicts, unrest, riots, strikes and demonstrations. For example, "on 17 November 1904, a bomb exploded in

⁶ Filippov 2002, p. 166-168, 192.

⁷ Ibid., p. 173.

⁸ Speranskii 1925, p. 10, 13; Semakov 1926, p. 13; *Yubileinyi sbornik* 1927, p. 116; Veselov 1959, p. 89-97.

⁹ Batyshev 1982, p. 88-89.

¹⁰ NART, fund 199, opis 1, delo 237, leaf 32; Veselov 1959, p. 91.

¹¹ *Letopis'* 1924, p. 135; Semakov 1926, p. 12-14; *Yubileinyi sbornik* 1927, p. 116-117; Godnev 1935, p. 162-163.

the building of the Kazan Industrial Vocational School, thrown by pupils of a political group in protest against the expulsion of several students for their political activities.”¹² Meanwhile, at Vyatskoye Secondary Agricultural Vocational College (VSAVC), in response to a statement made by the school administration concerning repressive measures in the form of expulsion for pupils who violated the school regime, an appeal was distributed calling for insubordination and revolutionary struggle against both the administration and the authorities.¹³

The secondary school movement in 1905

Although initially spontaneous, during the Russian Revolution of 1905 the student movement took on a more organized and socially significant character and later became a widespread phenomenon. “Bloody Sunday” (when unarmed protesters were fired upon by the Imperial Guard as they tried to deliver a petition to Tsar Nicholas II) further stirred up the students of secondary vocational schools. For instance, a telegram sent from the city of Saratov addressed to V. G. Glazov, the Minister, dated 17 January 1905, records that

[...] educational institution halted their classes, and after that, the next day, the majority of the students of Saratovskoye Vocational College, as well as the students of the upper grades of the 5th Non-classical College and the 1st Gymnasium refused to return to their studies.¹⁴

On 9 February 1905, a month after the events of “Bloody Sunday,” the students of the VSAVC organized a rally of the city’s students “with red flags and revolutionary songs.”¹⁵ A contemporary noted that the secondary school “during the academic year, namely, the spring season of 1905, was in a state of total disorganization.”¹⁶

The present study revealed various types of student activity during the revolution. These are considered in detail below.

Holding student meetings and filing petitions were among the most widespread type of activity in the first wave of the movement, which quickly spread across all schools. Meetings often took place within the actual school buildings. For example, on 18 October 1905, the students of the Simbirsk Commercial College (SimCC) stayed in the hall after the prayer, having removed the younger students. At first, the headmaster persuaded them to leave by promising to give them more time for meetings during a long break,

¹² Batyshev 1982, p. 89.

¹³ Semakov 1926, p. 14-15; *Yubileinyi sbornik* 1927, p. 117.

¹⁴ Konstantinov 1956, p. 48.

¹⁵ Semakov 1926, p. 19; *Yubileinyi sbornik* 1927, p. 118.

¹⁶ *Khronika* 1905, p. 109.

but once the first class was over, the students again gathered to discuss the petition. The administration was compelled to stop the classes immediately.¹⁷ In general, it was senior students who were most active in the revolutionary unrest.¹⁸ It seems that classes were cancelled as, due to a strike at the seminary, all other gymnasiums had already cancelled their classes. It is quite possible that students of commercial colleges were less active (closer to being loyal) and were being somewhat pressured by the strong-arm tactics of other student movement participants, just as they had been in the case of student strikes. This is indirectly evidenced by a record in the protocol of the SimCC teacher committee:

One of the students of the 6th grade addressed the headmaster with a speech saying that the students feel extremely nervous in view of the fact that all other schools were already closed [...] [T]he students had been reproached for the fact that they were the only ones still having classes and were even threatened with beating should they fail to stop their studies at the school.¹⁹

A few facts further support the plausibility of this version; for example, there are records of fights over strike-breaking among students of secondary schools in Saratov, carried out by patrol posts and combat squads whose members included, among others, students of Saratovskoye Aleksandrovskeye Vocational College (SAVC).²⁰

In schools with functioning student groups and other organizations, the riots were more serious, and the students' demands were more determined and well thought out.²¹ Students of these schools contributed to the initiation of student movements in other schools in their city. For example, following the example of the Samarskoye Secondary Agricultural College (SSAC) (4 February - 8 March 1905), the pupils of the Feldsher School stopped their studies six days later (10-21 February 1905), also filing a petition.²² After a number of students had been expelled, the classes were resumed. However, on 10 March, the dissatisfied students of the SSAC forced the headmaster to stop classes; even the zemstvo members who arrived the following day failed to persuade them, as the students later voted with a majority of 66 to 37 and two abstentions to continue the strike until 1 September. The second attempt to start classes on 16 March was also in vain. In response, on 17 March, 15 activists, taking advantage of the absence of the majority of students, wreaked havoc in the school building. On the same day

¹⁷ SAUR, fund 154, opis 1, delo 9, leaf 62v.

¹⁸ Znamenskii 1909, p. 33.

¹⁹ SAUR, fund 154, opis 1, delo 9, leaf 63v.-64.

²⁰ Petrov 1930, p. 53-54.

²¹ Speshkov 1908, p. 16.

²² Popov 1936, p. 58-60, 64; Speranskii 1925, p. 69-70.

(or, according to other sources, the next day) when about 30 police officers and soldiers arrived from the city of Samara, the instigators of the riots fled for home and the school was closed by order of the governor.²³

In addition to organizing rallies, filing petitions, cancelling classes and wreaking havoc in schools,²⁴ students printed and distributed appeals, organized student rallies and gatherings, and participated in large-scale city rallies and funeral services. The rallies were, as a rule, timed to highlight certain important political events and were the most massive manifestation of student activity in terms of the number of participants. In addition to the aforementioned “Bloody Sunday” protests, marches included May Day rallies and gatherings, along with rallies on the adoption of The Manifesto of 17 October.²⁵ The rallies commemorating deceased students attracted the greatest number of participants. For example, on 3 October 1905, the city of Samara saw

[...] a huge rally consisting of several hundred students. It took place to commemorate the death of the student Kazansky, who had taken poison due to being humiliated by the gymnasium’s proctor. [...] The students staged a rally at the funeral, giving it a pronounced political character by singing revolutionary songs. The police and the Cossacks did not impede the procession.²⁶

The huge number of participants in such gatherings often deterred the police. For example, on 3 May 1905, a rally took place near the Postnikov ravine out of Samara, where

100 people were present, mostly from among the students of the Feldsher School and the Agricultural School. A red flag could be seen over the assembled people, and, according to the police report, revolver shots could be heard. The police did not dare to approach, and the participants managed to leave the place in small groups.²⁷

The autumn-winter half of 1905 became a period of school anarchy. Upon returning to school after the holidays, being well-rested and more revolutionized, the students resumed the unrest. “It was the students who controlled the situation, not the teachers or parents. There was no such thing as school discipline. Classes were all but cancelled.”²⁸ Particularly striking is the following account, dated 10 December 1905, which recalls that “In the city of Yelabuga, classes at the non-classical college in the three senior grades

²³ Speranskii 1925, p. 70-71; Popov 1936, p. 68.

²⁴ Natolochnaya et al. 2016, p. 223.

²⁵ Speranskii 1925, p. 169, 171; Semakov 1926, p. 25, 29-30; *Yubileinyi sbornik* 1927, p. 119; Popov 1936, p. 75.

²⁶ Speranskii 1925, p. 166.

²⁷ Popov 1936, p. 75.

²⁸ Belentsov 2012, p. 52.

were cancelled due to over-strain and nervous breakdown among the school administration.”²⁹

The October general political strike caused chaos in the education system, practically paralyzing schools. In Samara, the general strike began on 12 October. Students of secondary schools were among the first to join the strikers (the first of these being the students of non-classical secondary schools, such as the vocational colleges), and from 13 October all educational institutions of the city were closed. The students of the non-classical secondary schools were joined by students from SimCC and the Trade College, and later by the students of the First Female Gymnasium and a large number of workers. A crowd of thousands closed state institutions, workshops and shops and sent elementary school students back to their homes.³⁰ The next day, all state institutions were heavily guarded and the governor issued an appeal to the residents in which he asked them not to let children and students out onto the street, since the strikers “would put them in the front lines.” He further declared that “all the rallies would be scattered by armed force.”³¹ A meeting of parents that was held on 13 October described children’s participation in politics “extremely abnormal”; the same idea was supported in a meeting of secondary and primary school teachers held on 17 October, which noted, however, that “under the present regime, it is inevitable.”³²

The student riots led to the temporary closure of schools in a number of major cities. Thus, from 18 November 1905 to 17 January 1906, the Kazan Educational District trustee closed all educational institutions in the city of Vyatka.³³ Even serious opposition to that measure from parents (in the case of gymnasiums in Samara, for example, the parents were supported by the Committee for Public Security, an influential local political force) failed to succeed.³⁴ The closures were only partly effective, as some of the politically active students left the school for their rural hometowns and started agitating there. For example, N. Yuklyaev, a student of VSAVC, “agitated the peasants to take land from the landlords, which resulted in a temporary revolutionary peasant movement in the Kovrizhskaya volost of the Orlovsky district” of Vyatskaya Province.³⁵ According to the Samara Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, it was the students who came from among the peasantry who were the main agitators for the Social Democrats in the

²⁹ *Pamyatnaya knizhka* 1907, p. 78.

³⁰ Speranskii 1925, p. 169, 171-173.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 185.

³³ Semakov 1926, p. 31; *Yubileinyi sbornik* 1927, p. 119.

³⁴ Speranskii 1925, p. 243.

³⁵ Konovalova 1986, p. 5.

country.³⁶ Following the December armed uprising in Moscow, on 15 and 18 December in the city of Vyatka there were armed clashes between the people and the police. Among the participants arrested were four students: two from the agricultural college and two from the non-classical secondary college.³⁷ Strictly speaking, the constant practice of student arrests began in February 1905, immediately after the strikes and petition-filing took place. For example, on 11 February, in Samara “two students of the Feldsher School and a student of the Kinelskoye Agricultural College were arrested. The latter had on him an appeal to students calling for a general strike.”³⁸

Considering the political activity of students, it should be noted that purely Bolshevik organizations were functioning in only a few vocational schools, and their activities were limited to mere auxiliary work. For example, V. V. Ryabikov, one of the organizers of the Simbirsk Bolshevik group, gives the following account of the role of party chapters in the secondary schools of Simbirsk (the home town of V. I. Lenin):

[...] these organizations did not matter much, but the students helped the organization by distributing leaflets, collecting funds and keeping in touch with the schools. [...] The students published their own magazine and had Marxist groups for self-education, led by Dmitry Ulyanov.³⁹

Regarding the protests by students in Vyatka (as an example of a pattern repeated in various schools across various cities in the region), S. D. Semakov noted that

[...] all the student strikes that took place were expressed mainly by disruption of classes, filing petitions [...] and carrying out peaceful short demonstrations on the streets of Vyatka, [which were] attended by an inconsiderable number of people.⁴⁰

“Academists” and “politicians”: students’ demands and social context

In historiography, the traditional point of view is that in the period of the revolution, students were divided into two main categories, that is, “academists” and “politicians.” The first group included those who stood for increasing the academic freedoms of students, advocating freedom of “self-development” through the democratization of school life, establishing discussion groups, visiting libraries, arranging public events, increasing the range of books available and enhancing the right to participate in public life in general. The other category of students advocated self-development

³⁶ Speranskii 1925, p. 490.

³⁷ Semakov 1926, p. 61; Konovalova 1986, p. 5.

³⁸ Popov 1936, p. 60.

³⁹ Ryabikov 1925, p. 36.

⁴⁰ Semakov 1926, p. 22.

alongside overcoming the barriers of the political regime, believing that positive change in educational institutions would occur as a result of changes in the state system.⁴¹ The politicization of society directly influenced the youth, so the political colouration of the secondary school movement during the years of the revolution is unquestionable. Both academic and political motives for student uprisings were, as often as not, intertwined and academic forms of protest always had a political coloration.

In our opinion, the historiographic debate on dividing students into the “academists” and “politicians” largely arises from the confusion associated with the prevalence of certain types of student demands at various stages of the revolution. At the beginning of the revolution, the students mainly demanded reforms in the sphere of education. After the proclamation of the Manifesto on 17 October 1905, that is, at the peak of revolutionary discontent, students’ demands were filled with political slogans⁴² combined with calls for academic reforms. Upon the retreat of the revolution, when both the defensive and adaptation mechanisms were increased, students focused on preserving the concessions achieved,⁴³ which were primarily academic ones. Another reason for the chaotic nature of the students’ demands is socio-psychological. During the crisis, young people failed to clearly identify their social roles and the reference group, which, upon a period of hesitation, led to their concentration on the inner world, a vision of the situation from the position of their own aspirations.

We have already spoken about the students’ petitions, drafted at meetings to be submitted to the school administration. Now we would like to consider their content in detail, taking an educational institution from each of the four provinces of the KAD as an example (**table 1**). The students of the three schools – namely KIC, SSAC and VSAVC – were the most active in the revolutionary movement of all the vocational schools in their cities, while the one commercial college studied (SimCC, in the city of Simbirsk) was much less active.

The table clearly shows a strong prevalence of so-called “academic” requirements over “political” ones, the highest priority being given to issues pertaining to the organisation of the educational process and the regulation of student life. Some of the political demands in this list relate to the extension of students’ rights, including the right to participate in the school’s management processes and the nature of supervision over students, but these requirements are to a large extent connected with school life and are traditionally referred to as “academic freedoms.”

⁴¹ Ishchenko 2010, p. 351-352.

⁴² Speranskii 1925, p. 171-172.

⁴³ Petrov 1930, p. 58-59.

| | College | SimCC | KIC | SSAC | VSAVC |
|--|--|-------------------------|----------------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Date of filing petition | c. 18.10. 1905 | c. 29.01. 1905 | 04.02. 1905 | 08.02. 1905 |
| Type of demand | Specific demand | Number of filed demands | | | |
| School organization and management | Study load reduction | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| | Legalizing school absences | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| | School vs religion interaction issues | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| | Changes to teaching methods and syllabus | 3 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Regulation of both students' way of life outside the school and their leisure time | Enlarging the range of books to read | 0 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| | Unlimited accommodation in private apartments | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | Optional wearing of school uniform | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| | Less strict out-of-school supervision | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Educational rights of the students | Extension of applicants' and graduates' rights | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| | Social support for underprivileged students | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Participation in managing the school | Student representation in school management bodies | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | Dismissal of undesirable teachers | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Political demands | No disciplinary action against student movement participants | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| | Other demands | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| TOTAL | | 5 | 12 | 15 | 12 |

Table 1. Demands filed by students of secondary vocational schools in their petitions in 1905

The mass character of the petition campaign, along with its liberalism and the close correlation between the content of the petitions and the students' actual needs, achieved due to the collegiality of their drafting, seems to show the students' general attitude to finding a liberal solution to pressing corporate problems, at least at the initial stage of the revolution.

The Soviet researcher N. A. Konstantinov concludes that

[...] it was the bourgeois background of the majority of secondary school students [...] that determined the political physiognomy of most student organizations and their demands, as well as predetermined their relatively rapid retreat from truly revolutionary positions.⁴⁴

This statement mainly concerns the classical secondary comprehensive school, but it is also true of the commercial colleges. In our opinion, the low participation level of "commercial students" in the revolutionary events can be explained not so much by the particular social structure of commercial colleges which distinguished them from other vocational schools, as by the more democratic nature of these educational institutions, as well as their slightly different inner life, with closer ties to the students' families built in from the outset. Within the KAD, only half of the commercial colleges had been established before 1905 (and none of them before 1900), while the first agricultural schools, whose students were more active, had been established in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the majority of the technical schools in the region were founded at the end of the nineteenth century. The political inertness of the commercial college students can also be explained by the fact that schools of this type in the region still had no senior grades, the pupils of which were the most active during the revolution. While these schools were teaching a lot of students at that time, there were still no graduates, traditions or experience of relations between the students of different grades.

One of the demands of the students of SimCC was the right to remove teachers at the request of the students. This demand particularly angered the teachers who, in a teachers' committee meeting, unanimously opposed it, since "the school itself might turn into something unimaginable, as it would be enough for just one student to be displeased with any teacher that the students would be entitled to ask for that teacher to be removed."⁴⁵ The demands for the removal of both teachers and reactionary administrators were quite frequent across the country.⁴⁶ The whole situation was so discouraging that it led to the fear "that every unsatisfactory assessment mark might raise a scandal; even the best teacher stated that teaching at that time

⁴⁴ Konstantinov 1956, p. 90.

⁴⁵ SAUR, fund 154, opis 1, delo 9, leaf 69v.

⁴⁶ Konstantinov 1956, p. 91.

was just next to impossible.”⁴⁷

The carrot and stick approach: government response to the transformation of the school world

The riots of the first months of the revolution were also caused by the slowness of the authorities. The bureaucratic management system, being quite complex, proved itself inefficient. The ministries in charge of the various types of vocational schools failed to immediately develop either an understandable policy or a clear program of response to “the abnormal course of school life.” The Ministry of Education’s confusion, as well as reciprocal accusations between that ministry and the Ministry of Internal Affairs concerning their mutual inability to curb the riots,⁴⁸ along with masses of bureaucratic correspondence between educational authorities and schools, only served to further distract the central administration from developing and implementing adequate responses to the student movement. As for the administrations of a significant number of schools, they acted in the worst traditions of bureaucracy, as they were not accustomed to making independent managerial decisions and instead continued to rigidly defend their corporate principles, especially when the central departments were reluctant to make any concessions.

As a result, they were unable to change the situation for the better. All they could do was avoid repressive disciplinary action, instead using measures to “admonish and persuade,” as well as protect their students from outside influences, especially those of activist students and workers, by merely strengthening supervision, mostly of senior students, both at school and at home.⁴⁹ Under these circumstances, the transfer of some powers to the regional authorities made it possible to work out a coordinated solution for local problems in a collegiate way. In addition, this did not just concern strengthening the administrative functions of the governors according to the Regulations on Reinforced (Emergency) Security Measures. With the appointment of I. I. Tolstoy as the Minister of Education, the long-awaited education reforms began, which included both the liberalization of the school regime and the strengthening of the local component of school management. The trustees of educational districts were given the right to allow school administrations to deviate from the current regulatory framework, whilst parent committees were formed with the right to delegate their representatives to school management bodies, along with local leaders of the

⁴⁷ Zubkov 2012, p. 195.

⁴⁸ Filippov 2002, p. 179.

⁴⁹ NART, fund 121, opis 1, delo 420, leaf 7, 17.

nobility and members of the city authorities.⁵⁰

With the expansion of the secondary school movement, the authorities had to make certain concessions concerning particular aspects of the regulation of school life. Thus, the Ministry of Education, upon issuing its guidance note dated 4 March 1905, suggested that parents of students be involved in the operational activities of educational institutions; “teachers, especially those who are nervous because of prolonged service or illness” were advised to use “less strict pedagogical methods,” that is, those that do not enrage children. It was pointed out that injustice and tactlessness in dealing with students were unacceptable, especially at this alarming time, as they could lead to “undesirable consequences.”⁵¹ From November 1905, teachers’ councils were entitled to form student libraries without taking into account the recommended list of books provided by the Ministry of Education Academic Council.⁵² Also, students no longer had to wear a uniform outside school, which both met the students’ requirements and protected “them from ‘insults and assaults’ made by ‘the Black Hundreds’ who were considered one of the main sources of unrest.”⁵³ For example, the victims of the Black Hundred pogroms at the end of October 1905 in Vyatskaya Province were “mostly students,” and in the city of Buguruslan in the Samara Province, all the victims were students participating in student rallies and funeral processions on 27-28 October.⁵⁴ In November 1905, the above-mentioned Committee for Public Security in Samara was able to obtain permission for students to meet in the buildings of the non-classical secondary college and First Female Gymnasium. The Committee’s success was due to the fact that “without a place to meet, the students had to walk in crowds around the city, organizing outdoor gatherings, and were at risk of being beaten by *the Black Hundreds*.”⁵⁵

The parent meetings, which were allowed in November 1905,⁵⁶ contributed much to appeasing young people, as they were aimed at finding measures to calm the students by discovering what their demands were and insistently encouraging senior staff at the school to meet those demands that were considered reasonable and not beyond the limits of what was thought permissible and possible.⁵⁷ Meetings of students’ parents, who were alarmed by the school chaos and student riots, and who were also often involved in

⁵⁰ Filippov 2002, p. 188-189.

⁵¹ Ishchenko 2008, p. 150.

⁵² Konstantinov 1956, p. 102.

⁵³ Zubkov 2012, p. 196.

⁵⁴ Semakov 1926, p. 31; Speranskii 1925, p. 199.

⁵⁵ Speranskii 1925, p. 252.

⁵⁶ Magsumov 2017, p. 840.

⁵⁷ *Iz obshchestvennoi khroniki* 1906, p. 879.

the country's social uprising, were spontaneously conducted before formal permission was granted by the Ministry of Education. Having allowed such meetings and given them a form that could be controlled by the school administration, the authorities may well have managed to find one of the most effective measures possible to restore order in schools. The degree of influence of parent meetings was summarized by a contemporary observer of these events in the capital, who stated that "parent meetings were quite helpful, as the uprising finally subsided."⁵⁸

D. Godnev, a teacher from the city of Samara who was an active participant in the revolutionary movement, wrote: "What were most students like at that time? The vast majority were obedient mama's darlings, sticking hard to their families' traditions."⁵⁹ The importance of the family in the stability of social activities of young people is emphasized by the sociologist J. Goldstone, who observes that "since most young people have fewer family ties or work duties, they can be relatively easily involved in social or political conflicts."⁶⁰ It seems that the fact that agricultural colleges were boarding schools (as a result of which their students, who were living away from their families, had stronger ties with their peers), along with limitations imposed on students' private lives, led to a more active participation in the revolutionary movement among their pupils. Equally important in their radicalization is the social background of students in technical vocational and agricultural schools, that is, their initial closeness to the social groups of workers and peasants. For example, the Vyatskaya Province governor reported to the Ministry of Internal Affairs about the influence of the social structure of VSAVC's student body on its political activity:

Almost all [VSAVC's] students come from peasant and lower-middle-class families, i.e. mostly poor families; thus, upon entering the school, they already envy everyone from the prosperous class as well as people enjoying status or privilege. As a result, [such students] are "the most fertile ground" for the perception and development of socialist and anarchic teachings, which have already taken root in them.⁶¹

In this context, B. N. Mironov makes much of the peasant youth's difficulties integrating into the urban environment, "once being free from community control while being unaccustomed to self-control, [such] young people easily let loose their aggression, their negative impulses and emotions."⁶²

Even Soviet researchers admitted that the students' parents (especially

⁵⁸ Pilenko 1906, p. 57.

⁵⁹ Godnev 1935, p. 161.

⁶⁰ Goldstone 2002, p. 10-11.

⁶¹ Semakov 1926, p. 28-29.

⁶² Mironov 2013, p. 96.

those taking part in organizational events such as parent meetings/gatherings), as well as secondary school teachers, who enjoyed “a relatively good financial position while being closely associated with bourgeois circles,” were “normally not ‘infected’ with revolutionary sentiments.”⁶³ The “liberals” formed the bulk of all secondary school teachers in the city of Samara.⁶⁴ The Students’ Parents Union, established in the city of Samara on 3 November 1905, put forward demands that generally echoed the students’ slogans on specifically school issues:

- 1) Opening educational institutions for students to meet, along with the right to invite lecturers on social and political issues; 2) Abolition of extracurricular supervision; 3) Cancellation of the mandatory uniform.⁶⁵

In addition to change in mood among the urban middle-class, which had a significant impact on the reduction of the scale of the secondary school and university student movement,⁶⁶ certain specific features of the students’ social characteristics played a significant role, such as their “inability to wage a tense, long struggle, a propensity for radicalism and carrying out spectacular actions of antisocial nature, [and] impulsiveness and quick refusal of active actions in case of failure.”⁶⁷

As they were very concerned about the mass student movement, the school administration treated teachers quite severely, as the latter, though fewer in number, were more dangerous than students themselves, due to their potential impact on the hearts and minds of their pupils should they be radicalized.⁶⁸ Such actions seem to have been especially harsh (or even offensive!) for teachers: in November 1905, for example, in Vyatskaya Province, the activities of the Urzhum Branch of the Society for Mutual Assistance to Students and Teachers in the Primary Public Schools of Vyatskaya Province were suspended from the first half of the year (however, on 12 January 1906, their activities were restored); while on 26 December 1905 the Society for Assistance to Needy Students of the Vyatka 4th-Grade Vocational School was opened, and on 7 December 1905 five scholarships were founded on behalf of the Czarevitch at Lazovskaya Male Pro-gymnasium.⁶⁹ It should be noted that Teachers’ Mutual Assistance Societies were closed everywhere. This was connected with the fairly radicalized teacher trade union movement, its mood being greatly determined by the

⁶³ Konstantinov 1956, p. 92.

⁶⁴ Godnev 1935, p. 175.

⁶⁵ Speranskii 1925, p. 235.

⁶⁶ Buldakov et al. 1981, p. 109.

⁶⁷ Vatnik 2016, p. 117.

⁶⁸ Taran et al. 2016, p. 231, 234.

⁶⁹ *Pamyatnaya knizhka* 1907, p. 72, 74, 77, 89.

absolute dominance among its members of primary school teachers, who were in a much more constrained financial and social situation than secondary school teachers. Thus, in June 1905, the Union of Teachers in Samara numbered over 150 people, but there were only five secondary school teachers among them.⁷⁰

A school headmaster might lose his job if his students displayed “excessive activity” during these revolutionary times. There was a separate case of the resignation of the head and at the request of the students. It all began at the beginning of the 1905/06 school year, when two students from Saratovskoye Aleksandrovskoye Vocational College were expelled “for conflict with the administration over poor nutrition.” The school’s political circle, after a week’s work, was able to organize a collective protest among the students in which a deputation demanded the reinstatement of the expelled students and the dismissal of the superintendent. After that, the leaders of the strike visited a few members of the city’s дума (town council) and the editorial office of *Privolzhskiy Krai* newspaper with their complaints. The effect was colossal: after a week or two, a deputation of two students was invited to a meeting at the city дума (the city society was the founder of the school). All the students and a number of their parents went there as well. The interrogation of the students was held as a non-public session, and the following day, the city’s mayor, V. A. Korobkov (who was also the chairman of the school’s board of trustees⁷¹) announced that both of the students’ demands had been satisfied. However, two days later it was found out that the post of superintendent had been temporarily given to the religious education teacher. The students visited V. A. Korobkov, who subsequently made this teacher step down as well, appointing the engineer Dobryakov instead; after that, the mayor suggested the students stop negotiating any further.⁷²

Drawn from the existing educational policy, a set of disciplinary methods were used to repress protests in schools. In addition to the temporary closures of schools discussed above, and the arrest and expulsion of the most politically active individuals, students could be deprived of scholarships and welfare assistance⁷³, while boarders could even be temporarily deprived of the food usually provided to them, and students who were not orphans could be evicted from the boarding school.⁷⁴

Taken together, these kinds of standard repressive measures, combined

⁷⁰ Speranskii 1925, p. 160.

⁷¹ *Adres-kalendar'* 1902, p. 151.

⁷² Petrov 1930, p. 18-30.

⁷³ Speranskii 1925, p. 70.

⁷⁴ Petrov 1930, p. 51-52.

with the persecution of young people by “the Black Hundreds,” the concessions made to students’ demands, and the involvement of parents, formed a “carrot and stick” approach to subduing mass student activity, which led to a minimization of the school movement by 1906. Thus, in Samara, by the beginning of December 1905, the student movement had “declined” and “the December strike only slightly affected school life.” Meanwhile, “those students who were among the most active participants in the revolutionary movement had to go underground for a long time”⁷⁵ or were arrested. The last large-scale action over the year of the secondary school movement took place on the first anniversary of Bloody Sunday.⁷⁶

After the climax: a revolution in recession and the return of old problems

By 1906, the activity of the movement across the country had declined, although it did not completely disappear. The types of activity transformed, while the number of participants and the frequency of actions decreased. Thus, in 1906, in Siberia, the number of student actions decreased by a factor of 2.7 in comparison with the previous year.⁷⁷ In 1906, only two student actions were recorded at KIC. On 26 April, first-grade students gathered in the hall after class where they made speeches, sang *La Marseillaise* and the funeral march, and left after a quarter of an hour. After examination of the hall, an incision was found on the portrait of the Emperor. On 14 and 16 October, the students of the Secondary Chemical and Vocational School arranged two gatherings to discuss the boycott of the new post of supervisor; the students were reprimanded for both meetings, and 50 students were expelled from the school until they were reformed. On the same day, the school was closed.⁷⁸ However, a week later, those students were reinstated after promising to behave,⁷⁹ and the educational process was restored.

On 1 May 1906, in the city of Kazan, there was a one-day strike of students, who joined the workers’ strike:

On 1 May, the students of the Agricultural College marked that day with a one-day strike. A chain of guards surrounded the school. None of the students were allowed into the city. [...] On May 1, the students of the first and middle grades of the vocational college joined the general proletarian holiday. Up to 40 people refused to join the celebration.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ Godnev 1935, p. 167-168.

⁷⁶ Petrov 1930, p. 57.

⁷⁷ Ishchenko 2010, p. 298.

⁷⁸ Amirkhanov 2004, p. 336.

⁷⁹ NART, fund 121, opis 1, delo 459a, leaf 7.

⁸⁰ Amirkhanov 2004, p. 332.

The movement of vocational college students throughout Russia forced the Ministry of Education to hold a conference of headmasters and teachers of secondary technical colleges in July 1906 on the issue of “developing measures for the restoration of normal activity in these schools.”⁸¹ A special commission considered the requirements filed in the students’ petitions. Political demands were ruled out as imposed from outside, and the commission analysed only those pertaining to the management of educational institutions, the school regime, the content of teaching methods and upbringing. However, even the generalization of the requirements that were left cast doubt on the continued existence of the entire system of secondary vocational education in Russia in an unchanged state. All these demands were so justified, so well-founded, that even the members of the commission realized the need for many of them to be implemented. As a result, the participants in the conference recognized the need for the establishment of trustee councils at educational institutions, the expansion of the rights of teacher councils, and the abolition of extracurricular supervision, penalty system rules and uniforms.⁸²

Of course, not all the decisions of this meeting were implemented, nor could they decisively influence state policy in the field of education, but some were issued in the form of a ministerial circular dated 9 August 1906. The rights of teacher councils, along with control and assessment of students’ knowledge and extracurricular work, were expanded, while the 1894 rules on penalties, the extracurricular supervision of students and the obligatory wearing of uniforms were annulled. Also, the establishment of alumni societies was permitted in accordance with the law.⁸³

Prior to this, on 28 July 1906, the new Rules for Students of Secondary Vocational Colleges were introduced, which somewhat mitigated the regime in those institutions. On 18 March 1906, I. I. Tolstoy, the Minister of Education, “issued a circular [...] on admission to universities without any additional examinations for the grade of classical gymnasium for graduates of non-classical secondary colleges and commercial colleges.” Furthermore, teachers were allowed to rent out their apartments to boarders and give private lessons without getting permission from the academic district superiors.⁸⁴

But many of these concessions were later eliminated after the decline of the revolution. On 15 November 1906, any type of secondary school student meeting was banned; in February 1908, students were also banned

⁸¹ *Trudy soveshchaniya* 1907, p. 5.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 15-18; *Otchet* 1906, p. 2-3, 12-14.

⁸³ *Srednie* 1909, p. 278-279.

⁸⁴ Konstantinov 1956, p. 102; Zubkov 2012, p. 59.

from any kind of performance at parties or concerts outside the school walls. In 1907, transfer examinations were restored, and in the 1907/08 academic year, wearing a uniform was again made obligatory.⁸⁵

In 1907, there were no uprisings. In a report to the governor, the headmaster of Votkinskoye Secondary Mechanical and Vocational College writes,

In 1907, in the colleges there were no uprisings, demonstrations, petition filing, etc. The classes [...] were attended regularly (a total of 3.2% of the classes were cut [within the norm - author's note]). Nothing was found reprehensible in the students' behaviour. Attitude to the Scripture knowledge classes is conscientious.⁸⁶

After the defeat of the revolution, the government's course in the field of vocational education and education as a whole returned to the old, pre-revolutionary ways. Sporadic plans and reform attempts were mired in bureaucratic discussions and finally put off. Thus, for example, the transformation of agricultural schools under the Regulations on Agricultural Education dated 1904 began in 1908. However, this policy was completely inconsistent with the current situation in the country. The events of 1905-1907 and the freedoms being extended only fuelled radical sentiments among the masses and especially among students, who were the most receptive social group. It was the "street" that had taken over the minds of these young people, who became both the object and subject of political games.

Summarizing the participation of schools in the revolutionary events, D. Godnev, a teacher from the city of Samara, observes:

In general, the role of Samara teachers in the First Russian Revolution was negligible. Only a few students took part in the student movement, and the teacher organization died without progressing beyond an embryonic state.⁸⁷

Nevertheless, the experience gained by students as active participants in the events of the beginning of the twentieth century contributed to their political growth, and among them the political players of the coming revolutionary events were formed. A huge number of revolutionaries came from the city of Vyatka. Among the most famous of these is Sergei Kostrikov (also known as S. M. Kirov, 1886-1934), a KIC graduate and one of the most prominent party and state leaders, born in the city of Urzhum of Vyatskaya Province, whose murder triggered "the Great Terror" in the Soviet Union.

Conclusions

The very act of attending school (and the associated confidence of pupils that

⁸⁵ Konstantinov 1956, p. 105-106; Batyshev 1982, p. 92-93; Zubkov 2012, p. 197.

⁸⁶ ADAV, fund 319a, opis 1, delo 1, leaf 6.

⁸⁷ Godnev 1935, p. 180.

it would help them to climb the social ladder), as well as the actual knowledge and training obtained in the classroom, contributed to the increasing discontent among the student body regarding its current circumstances. Students of non-privileged schools found it difficult to adjust to their new status, role and urban environment. The school environment, as imposed by the paleoconservative aspirations of the state, along with everyday practices that failed to meet the needs of a modernizing society, became a basis for mass discontent among students.

The very existence of “the school issue;” the collegiality involved in developing and filing student petitions aimed at solving problems within individual or the regional network of educational institutions; the students’ personal interests in finding a solution; and the reactions of the educational bureaucracy in implementing palliative transformations in the school environment, all speak in favour of the academic dominant in the aspirations of the student masses, albeit one with an explicit political colouration. Students particularly opposed the system of strict regulations and restrictions imposed on school life, but the very nature of the revolution inevitably politicized their demands, as they were drawn into political events and manipulated by radical parties, as was vividly seen in the autumn and winter of the 1905/1906 academic year.

At the same time, political parties, especially on the left, were quite popular with young people, who sometimes formed a significant part of the regional party chapters. Therefore, it cannot be denied that a large number of students took an active part in the revolutionary events, speaking out with political slogans or through propaganda, spurring other students into such actions.

The general upsurge around the country of disrupted classes and strikes, along with a sharp decline in discipline and a disregard for studies and teachers, had a significant effect on the educational process in 1905, which affected the educational level of students of those years.

Revolutionary events that clearly highlighted both the drawbacks of the school system and problems in the development of education in the country had a significant impact on the course of school life, thus making this period in the history of the school somewhat unique. The educational process, school management, and behaviour and interaction patterns of both students and teachers all underwent significant transformation.

The educational departments actively, albeit quite slowly, reacted to the new demands made by the public by creating an appropriate regulatory framework for changing the nature of school life. More effective was the increase in the authority of local power structures, which were more capable of adopting and implementing crisis management decisions that took due account of specific local characteristics. Repressive disciplinary measures

were used to suppress outbreaks of the civil movement, but the understanding of the need for reforms by the beginning of the century, as well as the widespread nature of the mass discontent, required a number of concessions to be made by the central authorities to students, primarily concerning their academic demands. One of the main factors in appeasing the students was the involvement of the family in dealing with school issues and a simultaneous change in the mood of the urban middle-class.

The measures initiated by the government, despite the collegiality of the discussion of changes and the large number of proposals for implementation, were of a non-systemic, inconsistent nature, as they were limited in many ways by the paleoconservative views of the authorities regarding educational institutions.

Despite the almost complete rolling back of the transformations of the first year of the revolution, during the crisis period of the First World War, the authorities were forced to use these experiences of educational reform by P. N. Ignatyev, and the strong similarity of the public's demands for educational reform in this period revealed serious ongoing problems facing the Russian school.

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| Academe | - Academe. The American Association of University Professors. Washington. |
| ACNLU | - Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Upsaliensis. Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Uppsala 2009). Leiden. |
| ActaHASH | - Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest. |
| ActaMN | - Acta Musei Napocensis. Muzeul de Istorie a Transilvaniei. Cluj-Napoca. |
| AÉ | - Archaeologiai Értesítő a Magyar régészeti, művésztörténeti és éremtani társulat tudományos folyóirata. Budapest. |
| AI | - Anale de Istorie. Institutul de Studii Istorice și Social-Politice de pe lângă CC al PCR. București. |
| AIAC | - Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca. |
| AIIAI/AIIX | - Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie „A. D. Xenopol” Iași (din 1990 Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol” Iași). |
| AIIN | - Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională. Cluj, Sibiu. |
| Alba-Iulia | - Alba-Iulia. Alba Iulia. |
| AM | - Arheologia Moldovei. Institutul de Istorie și Arheologie „A. D. Xenopol” Iași. |
| AnB | - Analele Banatului (serie nouă). Muzeul Național al Banatului. Timișoara. |
| Antik Tanulmányok | - Antik Tanulmányok. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest. |
| AO | - Arhivele Olteniei (serie nouă). Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane. Craiova. |
| Apulum | - Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis. Muzeul Național al Unirii Alba Iulia. |
| ArhSom | - Arhiva Someșană. Revistă istorică-culturală. Năsăud. |
| ArhMed | - Arheologia Medievală. Reșița, Cluj-Napoca. |
| Astra Salvensis | - Astra Salvensis. Cercul Salva al ASTRA. Salva. |
| AT | - Arhivele totalitarismului. Institutul Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului. Academia Română. București. |
| AUASH | - Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica. Universitatea „1 Decembrie 1918” din Alba Iulia. |
| AUMCS | - Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Sklodowska. Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Sklodowskiej. Lublin. |

Lista abrevierilor de periodice

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| AUS | - Acta Universitatis Szegediensis De Attila József Nominatae. Acta Historiae Litterarum Hungaricarum. A József Attila Tudományegyetem-Bölcsészettudományi Kar. Szeged. |
| AVSL | - Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde. Sibiu. |
| Banatica | - Banatica. Muzeul de Istorie al Județului Caraș-Severin. Reșița. |
| BAR | - British Archaeological Reports (International Series). Oxford. |
| BC | - Biblioteca și cercetarea. Cluj-Napoca. |
| BCȘS | - Buletinul Cercurilor Științifice Studentești. Universitatea „1 Decembrie 1918” din Alba Iulia. |
| BHAB | - Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Banatica. Muzeul Banatului Timișoara. |
| Boabe de grâu | - Boabe de grâu. Revistă de cultură. București. |
| Brukenthal | - Brukenthal. Acta Musei. Muzeul Național Brukenthal. Sibiu. |
| București | - București. Materiale de istorie și muzeografie. Muzeul Municipiului București. |
| Bylye Gody | - Bylye Gody. International Network Center for Fundamental and Applied Research. Washington. |
| Caietele CNSAS | - Caietele CNSAS. Consiliul Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității. București. |
| CB | - Călăuza bibliotecarului. Biblioteca Centrală de Stat București. |
| CBAstra | - Conferințele Bibliotecii Astra. Biblioteca Județeană Astra. Sibiu. |
| Cărți românești | - Cărți românești. |
| CCA | - Cronica cercetărilor arheologice. cIMeC. București. |
| CEHF | - Cahiers d'Études Hongroises et Finlandaises. Université Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris 3. |
| CollMed | - Collegium Mediense. Comunicări științifice. Colegiul Tehnic „Mediense” Mediaș. |
| Colloquia | - Colloquia. Journal of Central European History. Institutul de Studii Central-Europene al Facultății de Istorie și Filosofie a Universității „Babeș-Bolyai” Cluj-Napoca. |
| ComȘtMediaș | - Comunicări Științifice. Mediaș (este continuată de CollMed). |
| Contimporanul | - Contimporanul. Revistă de avangardă, cu program constructivist. București. |
| Corviniana | - Corviniana. Acta Musei Corvinensis. Muzeul Castelului Corvineștilor. |
| Cumidava | - Cumidava. Muzeul Județean de Istorie Brașov. |

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| Ĉitatel | - Ĉitatel. Matica slovenská. Martin. |
| Discobolul | - Discobolul. Revistă de cultură. Uniunea Scriitorilor din România. Alba Iulia. |
| Drobeta | - Drobeta. Seria Etnografie. Muzeul Regiunii Porților de Fier. Drobeta-Turnu Severin. |
| Drobeta. Artă Plastică | - Drobeta. Seria Artă Plastică. Muzeul Regiunii Porților de Fier. Drobeta-Turnu Severin. |
| eClassica | - eClassica. Centro des Estudos Clássicos. Lisabona. |
| EF | - Einband-Forschung, Informationsblatt des Arbeitskreises für die Erfassung, Erschliessung und Erhaltung Historischer Bucheinbände (AEB). Berlin. |
| EJCE | - European Journal of Contemporary Education. Academic Publishing House Researcher. Bratislava. |
| EJST | - European Journal of Science and Theology. Gheorghe Asachi Technical University of Jassy. |
| EO | - Etnograficheskoye obozreniye. Institut etnologii i antropologii RAN. Moskva. |
| EphNap | - Ephemeris Napocensis. Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei Cluj-Napoca. |
| EPK | - Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest. |
| ER | - Exportgut Reformation. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. Göttingen. |
| ESTuar | - ESTuar. Online. București. |
| Familia | - Familia (seria I: 1865-1906). Oradea. |
| FI | - File de Istorie. Muzeul de Istorie Bistrița (continuată de RB). |
| FM | - Europäische Zeitschrift für Mineralogie, Kristallographie, Petrologie, Geochemie und Lagerstättenkunde. Deutschen Mineralogischen Gesellschaft. Stuttgart. |
| Folklore | - Folklore. Centre de Documentation et le Musée Audois des Arts et Traditions populaires. Carcassonne. Montpellier. |
| Gazeta ilustrată | - Gazeta ilustrată. Literară. Politică. Economică. Socială. Cluj. |
| GeoJournal | - GeoJournal. Spatially Integrated Social Sciences and Humanities. Springer Science and Business Media (Netherlands). |
| GT | - Geographia Technica. Geographia Technica Association. Cluj University Press. Cluj-Napoca. |
| HE | - Historia Ecclesiastica. Prešovská univerzita. Prešov. |
| HHCT | - History and Historians in the Context of the Time. Academic Publishing House Researcher. Bratislava. |

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- HHR** - Hungarian Historical Review. Institute of History, Research Centre for the Humanities. Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Budapest.
- Hierasus** - Hierasus. Muzeul Județean Botoșani.
- Historica Carpatica** - Historica Carpatica. Zborník Východoslovenského múzea v Košiciach. Košice.
- HL** - Humanistica Lovaniensia. Journal of Neo-Latin Studies. Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae. Leuven.
- HQ** - The Hungarian Quarterly. The Hungarian Quarterly Society. Budapest.
- HS** - Historické štúdie. Historický ústav slovenskej akadémie vied. Bratislava.
- Hyphen** - Hyphen. A Journal of Melitensia and the Humanities. The New Lyceum (Arts), Msida, Malta.
- IJCS** - International Journal of Conservation Science. Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Jassy.
- IJHCS** - International Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies. University of Gafsa.
- INT** - Istoriya nauki i tekhniki. Izdatel'stvo „Reaktiv”. Ufa.
- IV** - Istoricheskii vestnik. Moskva.
- IS** - Izvestiya Samarskogo tsentra Rossiiskoi akademii nauk. Samara.
- IYZGU** - Izvestiya Yugo-Zapadnogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Yugo-Zapadnyi gosudarstvennyi universitet. Kursk.
- Izvestiya ANKSSR** - Izvestiya Akademii Nauk Kazakhskoy Sovetskoy Sotsialisticheskoy Respubliki. Seriya obshchestvennykh nauk. Alma-Ata.
- Îndrumător bisericesc** - Îndrumător bisericesc misionar și patriotic. Episcopia Aradului. Arad.
- Îndrumător pastoral** - Îndrumător pastoral. Episcopia Ortodoxă Română de Alba Iulia.
- JBS** - The Journal of Baroque Studies. International Institute for Baroque Studies at the University of Malta.
- JIA** - Journal of International Affairs. School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia University. New York.
- JSRI** - Journal for the Study of Religions & Ideologies. The Academic Society for the Research of Religions and Ideologies. Cluj-Napoca.
- Kniha** - Kniha. Matica slovenská. Martin.
- Knižničný zborník** - Knižničný zborník. Matica slovenská. Martin.
- LAR** - Literatură și artă română. Idei, simțire, formă. București.

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| Limba română | - Limba română. Institutul de Lingvistică al Academiei Române „Iorgu Iordan - Al. Rosetti”. București. |
| Luceafărul | - Luceafărul. Revistă literară (1902-1945). Budapesta. |
| MA | - Mitropolia Ardealului. Revista oficială a Arhiepiscopiei Sibiului, Arhiepiscopiei Vadului, Feleacului și Clujului, Episcopiei Alba Iuliei și Episcopiei Oradiei. Sibiu (1956-1991). |
| Magyar Nyelvőr | - Magyar Nyelvőr. A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelvtudományi Intézet. Budapest. |
| Magyarország | - Magyarország. Budapest. |
| MCA | - Materiale și cercetări arheologice. București. |
| ME | - Memoria Ethnologica. Centrul Județean pentru Conservarea și Promovarea Culturii Tradiționale Maramureș. Baia Mare. |
| MH | - Melita Historica. Malta Historical Society. |
| MK | - Magyar Könyvszemle. Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Budapest. Irodalomtudományi Intézet Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Budapest. |
| MKS | - Magyar Könyv-Szemle. A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia - Irodalomtudományi Intézet. Budapest. |
| MLN | - Modern Language Notes. The Johns Hopkins University Press. Baltimore. |
| MN | - Muzeul Național. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României. București. |
| MP | - Magyar Pedagógia. A Magyar Pedagógiai Társaság. Budapest. |
| Muzeum | - Muzeum. Muzejní a vlastivedná práce. National Museum. Prague. |
| NLWJ | - The National Library of Wales Journal. The National Library of Wales. Aberystwyth. |
| Noema | - Noema. Comitetul Român de Istoria și Filosofia Științei și Tehnicii. București. |
| NNI | - Novaya i noveishaya istoriya. Rossiiskaya akademiya nauk. Moskva. |
| NP | - Novoe proshloe. Yuzhnyi federal'nyi universitet. Rostov-na-Donu. |
| NS | - Nasledie i sovremennost'. Rossiyskiy nauchno-issledovatel'skiy institut kul'turnogo i prirodnogo naslediya im. D. S. Likhacheva. Moskva. |
| NVBU | - Nauchnye vedomosti Belgorodskogo universiteta. Seriya Istoriya. Politologiya. Ekonomika. Informatika. Belgorodskiy natsional'nyy issledovatel'skiy universitet. Belgorod. |
| OK | - Orvostörténeti Közleményel (Communicationes de historia artis medicinae). Budapest Semmelweis |

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| | Orvostorteneti Muzeum Es Konyvtar And Magyar Orvostortelenmi Tarsasag. Budapest. |
| Orizont | - Orizont. Timișoara. |
| ORP | - Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce. Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk. Warszawa. |
| PA | - Patrimonium Apulense. Direcția Județeană pentru Cultură Alba. Alba Iulia. |
| PB | - Patrimonium Banaticum. Direcția Județeană pentru Cultură Timiș. Timișoara. |
| Pediatria | - Pediatria de Atención Primaria. Publicación Oficial de la Asociación Española de Pediatría de Atención Primaria. |
| PH | - Prace Historyczne. Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Uniwersytet Jagielloński w Krakowie. |
| Poarta Inimii | - Poarta inimii. Alba Iulia. |
| Programm Mühlbach | - Programm Mühlbach. Programm des evaghelischen Untergymnasium in Mühlbach und der damit verbundenen Lehranstalten. Sebeș. |
| PS | - Protestáns Szemle. Magyar Protestáns Irodalmi Társaság. Budapest. |
| RA | - Russkii arkhiv. Academic Publishing House Researcher. Bratislava. |
| RAPPS | - Revista de Administrație Publică și Politici Sociale. Universitatea de Vest „Vasile Goldiș” din Arad. |
| RB | - Revista Bistriței. Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud. Bistrița. |
| RE | - Revista economică. Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu. |
| REF | - Revista de Etnografie și Folclor. Institutul de Etnografie și Folclor „Constantin Brăiloiu”. Academia Română. București. |
| Revista Arheologică | - Revista Arheologică. Centrul de Arheologie al Institutului Patrimoniului Cultural al Academiei de Științe a Moldovei. Chișinău. |
| RFR | - Revista Fundațiilor Regale. Revistă lunară de literatură, artă și cultură generală. București. |
| RH | - Roczniki Humanistyczne. Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II. Lublin. |
| RHSEE/RESEE | - Revue historique du sud-est européen. Academia Română. București, Paris (din 1963 Revue des études sud-est européennes). |
| RI | - Revista de Istorie (din 1990 Revista istorică). Academia Română. București. |
| RJMH | - The Romanian Journal of Modern History. Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Jassy. |

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| RM | - Revista Muzeelor. București. |
| RMM | - Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor. București. |
| RMV | - Revue de médecine vétérinaire. Ecole Nationale Vétérinaire de Toulouse. |
| România literară | - România literară. Săptămânal de literatură și artă. București. |
| Rossiiskaya istoriya | - Rossiiskaya istoriya. Akademicheskii nauchno-izdatel'skiy, proizvodstvenno-poligraficheskiy i knigorasprostranitel'skiy tsentr Nauka. Moskva. |
| RRH | - Revue Roumaine d'Histoire. Academia Română. București. |
| RT | - Revista Teologică (între anii 1956 și 1991 a apărut sub denumirea de Mitropolia Ardealului). Mitropolia Ardealului. Sibiu. |
| SA | - Sovetskaya arkheologiya. Akademiya Nauk SSSR. Moskva. |
| SAI | - Studii și articole de istorie. Societatea de Științe Istorice și Filologice a RPR. București. |
| Samus Sargetia | - Samus. Muzeul Municipal Dej. - Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis. Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane Deva. |
| SCA | - Studii și Cercetări de Antropologie. Institutul de Antropologie „Francisc I. Rainer”. Academia Română. București. |
| SCIA | - Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei. Seria Artă Plastică. București. |
| SCIV(A) | - Studii și cercetări de istoria veche (din 1974, Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie). București. |
| Slavyanskii al'manakh | - Slavyanskii al'manakh. Institut slavyanovedeniya Rossiiskoi akademii nauk. Moskva. |
| SMIC | - Studii și materiale de istorie contemporană. Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga” al Academiei Române. București. |
| SMIM | - Studii și materiale de istorie modernă. Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga” al Academiei Române. București. |
| Sovremennik | - Sovremennik. Sankt Petersburg. |
| SPST | - Sovremennye problem servisa i turizma. Russian State University of Tourism and Service. Moscow. |
| SS | - The Social Sciences. Western Social Association. Dubai. |
| Studia Studii | - Studia. Transilvania Express. Brașov. - Studii. Revistă de istorie (din 1974 Revista de istorie și din 1990 Revista istorică). Academia Română. București. |

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- SUP** - Studi Umanistici Pieni. Istituto Internazionale di Studi Pieni. Sassoferato.
- Századok** - Századok. A Magyar Történelmi Társulat. Budapest.
- Terra Sebus** - Terra Sebus. Acta Musei Sabesiensis. Muzeul Municipal „Ioan Raica” Sebeș.
- TIIAE** - Trudy Instituta Istorii, Arkheologii i Etnografii. Akademii Nauk Kazakhskoy Sovetskoy Sotsialisticheskoy Respubliki. Alma-Ata.
- TNK** - Trudy NII kul'tury. Ministerstvo kul'tury RSFSR. Moskva.
- TR** - Transylvanian Review. Centrul de Studii Transilvane al Academiei Române. Cluj-Napoca.
- Transilvania** - Transilvania. Centrul Cultural Interetnic Transilvania. Sibiu.
- TS** - Theologiai Szemle. A Magyarországi Egyházak Ökumenikus Tanácsa. Budapest.
- TT** - Testimonia Theologica. Evanjelická bohoslovecká fakulta Komenského univerzity v Bratislave.
- Unirea** - Unirea. Alba Iulia.
- UR** - Ungarische Revue. Magyar Tudományos Akadémia. Budapest.
- VAH** - Varia Archaeologica Hungarica. Budapest.
- Valori bibliofile** - Valori bibliofile din patrimoniul cultural național. Cercetare, valorificare. Consiliul Culturii și Educației Socialiste. Muzeul Județean Vâlcea. Râmnicu Vâlcea.
- VChGU** - Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Chelyabinskii gosudarstvennyi universitet. Chelyabinsk.
- VE** - Vestnik Evropy. Sankt Petersburg.
- Verbum** - Verbum. Revista catolică. București.
- Vestnik Tverskogo** - Vestnik Tverskogo Gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Seriya Istoriya. Tver.
- Vestnik VEGU** - Vestnik VEGU. Vostochnaya ekonomiko-yuridicheskaya gumanitarnaya akademiya. Akademiya VEGU. Ufa.
- VI** - Voprosy istorii. Institut russkoy istorii Rossiyskoy akademii nauk. Moskva.
- Viața românească** - Viața Românească. Revistă literară și științifică. Iași.
- VMKK** - A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei. Veszprém.
- Vox libri** - Vox libri. Biblioteca Județeană „Ovid Densusianu” Deva.
- VS** - Voennyi Sbornik. Academic Publishing House Researcher. Bratislava.
- VV** - Vestnik vospitaniya. Moskva.

- Zalai Múzeum** - Zalai Múzeum. Zala. Múzeumok Igazgatósága. Zalaegerszeg.
- ZfE** - Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde und Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie Ethnologie und Urgeschichte. Berlin.
- ZfhWK** - Zeitschrift für historische Waffen- und Kostümkunde. Dresdner Verein für Waffenkunde. Berlin.
- ZfTZ** - Zeitschrift für Tierzüchtung und Züchtungsbiologie: Organ der Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft Tierzucht im Forschungsdienst (continua: Zeitschrift für Züchtung. Reihe B, Tierzüchtung und Züchtungsbiologie). Berlin, Hamburg.