

# The development of the teaching of Medical Police at higher medical schools in the Russian Empire

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## Abstract

This article explains that, around the turn of the nineteenth century, Medical Police was taught not as a separate, independent discipline at higher medical schools in the Russian Empire, but as a branch of Forensic Medicine. The authors shed light on the role played by Johann Peter Frank in the establishment of Medical Police as a separate discipline at higher education institutions in the Russian Empire, in which he worked first at the Imperial University of Vilna (Vilnius) from 1804, and then in Saint Petersburg from 1805 to 1808. From 1805, at his suggestion, Medical Police was separated from the course in Forensic Medicine at Vilna, and taught as an independent discipline by Professor August Bécu. In 1805, Frank drew up the charter and staffing table for the Saint Petersburg Academy of Medicine and Surgery, which stated that Medical Police was to be taught as an independent discipline. The academy's first lectures on Medical Police as an independent subject were given by Professor Sergei Gromov in 1808. Medical Police also emerged as an independent discipline at other higher education institutions in the empire: at the Imperial University of Dorpat (where it was first taught by Professor Martin von Styx) from 1803; at the Imperial University of Kharkov (under Professor Ivan Knigin) from 1811; at the Imperial University of Moscow (under Professor Yefrem Mukhin) from 1813; and at the Imperial University of Kazan (under Professor Johann Baptist Braun) from 1814.

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## Keywords

history of medicine, medical police, teaching at higher education institutions, higher schools in the Russian Empire, university charter, course in forensic medicine, independent discipline

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Unfortunately, the history of the teaching of Medical Police at Russian higher education institutions has not been studied as much as it might have been. Prior to the Soviet period, Medical Police remained a university discipline, but received little attention from historians of medicine. An apparent exception is a doctoral dissertation by Zosima Surovtsov (1898), on the history of the Department of Hygiene at the Saint Petersburg Military Medical Academy, in which the author

also looks at the period preceding the department's establishment (Surovtsov 1898).

In the Soviet period, historians of medicine focused mainly on the teaching of Social Hygiene in the USSR, starting from the early 1920s, while generally ignoring the teaching of Medical Police as a predecessor of Social Hygiene. An exception is provided by the work of Viktor Kalnin, a historian from the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Tartu (Kalnin 1964). In the post-So-

viet period, various articles have been written on medical police in the Russian Empire, but not on its teaching in medical higher education (Gryn-zovskiy 2013; Stotchik, Zatravkin, Stotchik 2013a; Stotchik, Zatravkin, Stotchik 2013b; Stotchik, Zatravkin, Stotchik 2013c; Stotchik, Zatravkin, Stotchik 2013d; Stotchik, Zatravkin, Stotchik 2013e; Grinzovskiy 2014).

This paper examines the origins of the development of the teaching of Medical Police in Russia and covers the second half of the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth.

It is common knowledge that the eighteenth century was the Age of the Enlightenment. However, opinions differ on the start and end dates of the Age of Enlightened Absolutism, which, in contrast to the Age of Absolutism preceding it, when supreme power was regarded as based on a divine right, was marked by the view that monarchs were entrusted with power under a social contract. Absolutism was characterised by the idea that the state represented the aggregate of the rights of the state authorities, whereas Enlightened Absolutism brought an understanding that authorities had obligations as well as rights, most importantly to look after the public good. At the same time, rulers were assumed to know their subjects' interests better than they did themselves, and therefore took on responsibility for them, precluding their involvement in the state's political life. The best-known figures of the age were King Frederick the Great of Prussia, Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II of Austria, and Catherine the Great, Emperor of all the Russias.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the term *police* meant maintenance of public order, justice, the rule of law, concern on the part of the authorities and the state for the physical and moral well-being of their subjects, and administrative authority in general. The term *medical police* emerged in the age of the Enlightenment. In 1764, Wolfgang Thomas Rau (1721–1772) became the first medical professional to use the term. Zakhari Frenkel defined medical police as the science of forms of state activity in the field of healthcare (Frenkel 1926, p. 32).

The concept of medical police emerged from the ideas of enlightened absolutism: a monarch's concerns needed to include public health. The monarchs of leading European countries in the Age of Enlightened Absolutism sought to strengthen their power by improving the lives of

their subjects. This led to the development of state medicine: the ideas of Enlightened Absolutism implied a policy of state paternalism, including looking after the health of the state's subjects.

Johann Peter Frank (1745–1821) used the term *medical police* in the title of his seminal multi-volume *System einer vollständigen medicinischen Polizey* ("A System of Complete Medical Police"). Professor Frank was one of the pioneers of this area of medicine, and is rightly regarded as "the father of Medical Police".

The phrase *Medizinische Polizei* has been translated from German into Russian as *vrachebnoe blagoustroystvo* or *meditsinskoe blagochinie*.<sup>1</sup> In the Russian literature, we also find phrases such as *vrachebnaya politsiya* and *vrachebnaya politseyskaya nauka*, but the main term used is *meditsinskaya politsiya*.

In practice, it took time for Medical Police to become a separate discipline in faculties of medicine. Initially, it was regarded exclusively as a branch of forensic medicine. In his book *Elementa medicinae et chirurgiae forensis* (Vienna, 1781), which was translated from Latin into Russian under the title *Selected subjects regarding forensic medico-surgical science* (Saint Petersburg, 1799), Austria's Professor Joseph Jakob von Plenck (1733–1807) identified four branches ("courts") of forensic medicine, the last of which was *Politia medica*, or *Medicina politia*, translated into Russian as *sud blagochiniya*.<sup>2</sup> Thus, Medical Police, under the name of *sud blagochiniya* (*Politia medica*, or *Medicina politia*), became part of forensic medicine as an academic discipline in German-speaking countries, and then in Russia.

When Medical Police was separated from forensic medicine and became an independent discipline, the two were often taught by the same professor. In this case, they were jointly referred to as State medicine (*Staatsarzneikunde* in German). Accordingly, State medicine, as a comprehensive academic discipline, consisted of two subjects: Medical Police and Forensic Medicine. In 1804, a Department of State Medicine was established at the University of Vienna's Faculty

<sup>1</sup> *Blagochinie* meant "institution monitoring order; police". See: *Blagochinie*, in Dictionary of the 18th-Century Russian, 2nd ed., Leningrad, 1985, p. 57. (In Russ.)

<sup>2</sup> Plenck identified the following four branches, or "courts", of forensic medicine: criminal, civil, spiritual, and police.

of Medicine, and the professor there taught both Medical Police and Forensic Medicine.

Professor Sergei Gromov clarified the term *Staatsarzneikunde* as follows: it was used not “to mix subjects belonging to a particular science as before” (i.e. with regard to Medical Police and forensic medicine), but to make some form of distinction between clinical medicine and the use of “medical knowledge to meet other requirements of the government, i.e. to further the protection of public health and compliance with appropriate Justice.”<sup>3</sup>

In the Russian Empire, the university departments were called departments not of State Medicine, but of State Medical Knowledge.<sup>4</sup> When Medical Police was taught, particular consideration was given to the medical legislation of the relevant country, and related topics were sometimes taught in a separate course, Medical Law.

When the Imperial University of Moscow (IUM) opened, in January 1755, one of its faculties was that of medicine. However, teaching at the faculty did not start until 1758, when it gained its first professor. The establishment of this faculty was a long and difficult process: at times, it did not have any students (Stochik and Zatravkin 1996). In 1764–1768, the professor of anatomy and surgery at the IUM was Johann Friedrich Erasmus (1713–1777). After him, anatomy and surgery were taught first by Semyon Zybelin (1735–1802), and then, from 1775 (from 1790 to 1804 only anatomy), by Ferenc Keresztúri (1735–1811). Historians of forensic medicine have shown that its teaching occasionally involved the use of cadavers provided to the university anatomy theatre by the police. For example, if Professor Erasmus found evidence of violent death, he provided additional clarifications of aspects of forensic medicine for his audience. In lecture catalogues from the last ten years of the eighteenth century, we find announcements that Professor Keresztúri “will show the structure of the

human body on cadavers” and “on occasion will show examples [on cadavers – *authors’ note*], concerning so-called forensic medicine”.<sup>5</sup> In addition, Keresztúri is called a professor of “anatomy and the art of forensic medicine” in announcements for the academic year 1795–1796. Historians of forensic medicine have shown that it was he who, in the second half of the 1790s, laid the foundations for the systematic teaching of forensic medicine at the IUM (Chervakov, Matova, Shershavkin 1955, p. 5–9).

In a graduation address titled *Oratio de politia medica ejusque in Rossia usu* (“A speech on Medical Police in Russia”), made on 28 June (9 July) 1795, in Latin, Professor Keresztúri distinguished between forensic medicine (*Medicina forensis*) and Medical Police (*Politia medica*). According to him, the task of Medical Police was to manage medical affairs and all the resources in the state appropriately, in order to protect people’s lives and health, increase the population, prevent the spread of diseases, and create “healthy conditions for the benefit of all subjects”. The state had to look after public health and take appropriate measures to this end (Lempel 1970).

Accordingly, it seems likely that Professor Keresztúri’s course on Forensic Medicine (from the second half of the 1790s to the early 1800s) included aspects of Medical Police. From 1799, a Russian translation of Plenck’s guide to forensic medicine began to be used in teaching.

The IMU’s charter and staffing table were adopted on 5 (17) November 1804.<sup>6</sup> According to this charter, the School of Medical or Medicinal Sciences was to have six professors (departments), including one of “anatomy, physiology and forensic medical science”. From 1804, anat-

<sup>3</sup> Gromov S.A. A brief explanation of forensic medicine for academic and practical use, Saint Petersburg, 1832, p. 34. (In Russ.)

<sup>4</sup> *Gosudarstvennoye vrachebnovedenie* in Russian. In the 18th-century Russian, the word *viedenie* meant “possession of certain information; knowledge of something”. (See: *Viedenie*, in Dictionary of the 18th-Century Russian, 2nd ed., p. 241.)

<sup>5</sup> F.F. Keresztúri, in Biographical dictionary of the professors and teachers of the Imperial University of Moscow in the past hundred years, from the date of its establishment on 12 January 1755, to the date of its anniversary on 12 January 1855, compiled by the efforts of the professors and teachers working in its departments in 1854, and arranged in alphabetical order, part 1, Moscow, 1855, pp. 404–406. (In Russ.)

<sup>6</sup> The Charter of the Imperial University of Moscow. 5 November 1804. *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii* (“A Complete Collection of the laws of the Russian Empire”) – *PSZRI, Sobranie* 1, Saint Petersburg, 1830, vol. 28, no. 21498; The Staffing Tables of the Imperial Universities of Moscow, Kharkov, and Kazan. *PSZRI, Sobr.* 1, vol. 44, part 2, nos. 21498, 21499 and 21500. (In Russ.)

my, physiology and forensic medicine at the IUM were taught by Ivan Vensovich (1769–1811). He taught forensic medicine “according to Plenck”.<sup>7</sup> Ilya Gruzinov (1781–1813), who had returned from “foreign lands”, where he had “improved himself” in medical sciences, became an assistant to Professor Vensovich in 1809, and a professor of anatomy, physiology and forensic medicine in 1811. He joined the army as a corps doctor in 1812, but in early 1813 he fell ill with “nervous fever”, from which he died.<sup>8</sup>

From 1813 to 1835, the professor of anatomy, physiology, forensic medicine and Medical Police at the IUM was Yefrem Mukhin (1766–1850). He stopped teaching anatomy in 1819, but continued to teach the other disciplines. It was during this period of his activity, that Medical Police became an independent subject, separate from Forensic Medicine. According to paragraph 31 of its charter, the university was able to run courses in addition to the core courses reflected in the names of its departments. Under this paragraph, Professor Mukhin taught Medical Police as an independent course.

It is worth noting that *Regulations on examinations for medical officials*, listing the academic disciplines to be included in the examination for the title of doctor, had been introduced back in 1810. These disciplines included not only Forensic Medicine but also Medical Police, which encouraged universities to introduce the subject in their faculties of medicine.<sup>9</sup>

Professor Mukhin drew up questions on the three disciplines he taught (Physiology, Forensic Medicine and Medical Police), “so that students may use them to test themselves on their knowledge and fill any gaps found through reading or conversations with people more knowledgeable”. With his permission, these questions were published in a special little book.<sup>10</sup>

Nikolai Pirogov was a medical student in Moscow in the 1820s. In his memoirs, he writes in considerable detail about Mukhin as a professor of physiology, and about the fact that he taught the subject using a book by Mihály Ignác von Lenhossék (1773–1840), a translation of which from Latin into Russian was published in Moscow with comments from Professor Mukhin, and that he “conscientiously, in his own way, of course, fulfilled the obligations of a professor and read out his physiology in lectures from cover to cover”. At the same time, Pirogov says nothing about Mukhin as a professor of Medical Police (Pirogov 1962, p. 219–220).

In 1825, when a new charter for Russian universities was being written, the IUM Council was invited to give its opinion on the matter. It emphasised the need to increase the number of departments in the Faculty of Medicine from six to seven, and to call one of them a Department of Anatomy, Forensic Medicine and Medical Police (Stochik, Paltsev, Zatravkin 1998, p. 222–224). No one doubted now that Medical Police needed to be taught as an independent discipline.

From September 1828, the IUM’s Faculty of Medicine began to move to a course-based teaching system under which all academic disciplines were strictly allocated to particular years of study, and Medical Police to the fourth (final) year (Stochik, Paltsev, Zatravkin, p. 255–257).

From the foundation of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Medicine and Surgery (renamed the Military Medical Academy in 1881), Medical Police was taught there as part of the course in forensic medicine (i.e. in the same form as it had been initially taught at the IUM). The Academy’s staffing table of 1799 specified six professors, and its staffing table of 1802 seven; both included a professor of obstetric and medical forensic science.<sup>11</sup> From 1799 to 1802, this position was filled by Johann Christian Ringebroig (1754–1802). More accurately, as a result of a reallocation of the academic disciplines among the academy’s professors, he was a professor of

<sup>7</sup> I.F. Bensovich, in *Biographical dictionary of the professors and teachers in the Imperial University of Moscow...*, part 1, pp. 153–155.

<sup>8</sup> I.E. Gruzinov, in *Biographical dictionary of the professors and teachers in the Imperial University of Moscow...*, part 1, Moscow, 1855, pp. 273–275.

<sup>9</sup> Rules on examinations of medical officials. *PSZRI, Sobr.* 1, vol. 31, no. 24298.

<sup>10</sup> Mukhin E.O. Questions from physiology, forensic medicine and Medical Police, suggested for private and public tests, Moscow, 1833, 51 pp. (In Russ.)

<sup>11</sup> The Staffing Table of the Medical College and the Positions Governed by it, 1799. *PSZRI, Sobr.* 1, vol. 44, part 2, section 4, pp. 382–384 (1st pagination); The Staffing Table of the Academy of Medicine and Surgery in Saint Petersburg, 29 November 1802. *PSZRI, Sobr.* 1, vol. 44, part 2, section 4, p. 10 (2nd pagination).

*materia medica* and obstetric and medical forensic science. Ringebroig died in 1803, and in the academic year 1802–1803 Grigori Sukharev (1770–1807) replaced him. He managed to teach just one subject, the Art of Obstetrics, since in April 1803 he was appointed Chief Physician of the Caucasian Mineral Waters. That same month, Nikolai Diakov (1780–1806) took over lectures in these two disciplines. The teaching plan for Forensic Medicine (1804) shows that, like his predecessor, Professor Ringebroig, he used the work of the “esteemed Plenck” in explaining this discipline and “divided the science into four courts” (Evropin 1898, p. 38).

At the end of 1805, illness forced Professor Diakov to give up lecturing. In March 1806, the professor of pathology and therapy, Thomas Friedrich Sabler (1768–1812), agreed to take on forensic medicine temporarily, while obstetrics were temporarily assigned to another professor. From September 1806, Sergei Gromov (1774–1856), who had just returned from three years working abroad, took over teaching in the Department of Obstetric and Medical Forensic Science.

From 1805 to 1808, the academy’s rector was Johann Peter Frank, whose name was Russified as Ivan Petrovich. He presented the Ministry of Internal Affairs with a plan for reforming the academy, which involved a significant expansion of teaching. The list of mandatory disciplines for medical students included Medical Police. As there were significantly more subjects than departments, each department taught several disciplines. A situation typical for the period developed: a professor lectured on multiple subjects. Frank proposed establishing a Department of Military Medicine, Medical Police and Forensic Medicine; its professor, under his plan, was to teach three disciplines (Vasilyev, Vasilyev 1980).

Alexander I approved Frank’s charter and staffing table for the academy on 18 (30) December 1805, but reversed his decision two days later following comments from Surgeon-in-Ordinary Sir James Wylie (1768–1854), who oversaw the development of a new charter and staffing table for the academy, which was approved by royal command on 28 July (9 August) 1808.<sup>12</sup> The medical section of the Academy of Medicine and

Surgery (from then on the “Imperial Academy”) was to have eight professors, and Medical Police remained on the list of academic disciplines. It was taught in the Department of the Art of Obstetrics, Forensic Medicine and Medical Police.<sup>13</sup> This department was headed by Gromov (until his retirement in 1837). As such, Medical Police was taught at the academy as a separate discipline from 1808, and the first person to teach it was Professor Gromov (Surovtsov 1898, p. 12).

The University of Dorpat opened in April 1802.<sup>14</sup> Its deed of foundation was signed by Alexander I on 12 (24) December 1802.<sup>15</sup> Its “medical school” had just four departments, including one of Dietetics, State Medical Knowledge, Popular Medicine and *Materia medica*. In 1802, the school had just six students. Forensic medicine and Medical Police were taught as part of the course in state medical knowledge. The department was headed by Professor Martin Ernst von Styx (1759–1829). This combination of academic disciplines in the department lasted for just one academic year: 1802–1803.

Alexander I signed the University of Dorpat’s charter and staffing table on 12 (24) September 1803.<sup>16</sup> Its Medical School was to have five departments, including one of Anatomy, Physiology and Forensic Medical Science. Professor Martin von Styx headed the Department of Dietetics, *Materia medica*, Medical History and Medical Literature, and took on the lectures on Medical Police, while forensic medicine was left to a professor in the Department of Anatomy, Physiology and Medical Science (Kalnin 1964; Kalnin 1981).

A new charter for the University of Dorpat was approved on 4 (16) June 1820.<sup>17</sup> It increased the number of medical departments to six, including

<sup>12</sup> The Charter of the Imperial Academy of Medicine and Surgery. 28 July 1808. *PSZRI, Sobr.* 1, vol. 30, no. 23185.

<sup>13</sup> The Staffing Table of the Imperial Academy of Medicine and Surgery, 28 June 1808. *PSZRI, Sobr.* 1, vol. 44, no. 23185.

<sup>14</sup> The University of Dorpat was renamed the University of Yuryev in 1893, and the University of Tartu in 1919.

<sup>15</sup> Act of Establishment for the Imperial University in Dorpat. 12 December 1802. *PSZRI, Sobr.* 1, vol. 27, no. 20551.

<sup>16</sup> The Charter of the Imperial University of Dorpat. 12 September 1803, in the Collection of resolutions according to the Ministry of National Education, Saint Petersburg, 1875, vol. 1, col. 124–181. (In Russ.)

<sup>17</sup> The Charter of the Imperial University of Dorpat. 4 June 1820. *PSZRI, Sobr.* 1, vol. 37, no. 28302.

one of Anatomy and Forensic Medical Science. Professor Styx's department kept its name. As such, the charter did not include Medical Police in the list of core courses. However, the university decided to separate it from Forensic Medicine as before, and Professor Styx continued to teach it.

Karl Ernst von Baer (1792–1876) was a medical student at the University of Dorpat in 1810–1814. In his autobiography, he recalls that when professors Daniel Balk (1764–1826) and Martin von Styx were chosen for the faculty of medicine, he, then still a schoolboy, heard people joking that the faculty had ensured itself a passage to the Underworld, “by laying a balk across the Styx.” Baer rated Styx highly as a professor of *materia medica*, but says nothing about him as a professor of Medical Police (Baer 1950, p. 137).

On 4 (16) April 1803, the Principal School of Vilna was renamed the Imperial University of Vilna,<sup>18</sup> and on 18 (30) May, Alexander I approved its charter and staffing table, according to which the School of Medical or Medicinal Knowledge was to have seven core courses, and, accordingly, seven professors.<sup>19</sup> At the same time, there were also to be additional courses, determined by the university, to supplement the “essential education”. While the core courses were taught only by professors, who also had to take on an additional course, additional courses, according to paragraph 21 of the university charter could also be taught by assistants.

Jan Lobenwein (1758–1820) was a professor of anatomy at the University of Vilna from the time of its foundation. He had taught Anatomy and Forensic Medicine there when it was still the Principal School of Vilna, so he is rightly regarded as the founder of teaching in the subject in Lithuania.<sup>20</sup>

From 1804 to 1805, Johann Peter Frank worked at the University of Vilna. On learning how teaching was organised there, he drew up a plan to improve the teaching of medical sciences, which

was adopted at a general meeting of professors on 15 (27) October 1804, and approved by the minister on 23 November (5 December) 1804. It is worth noting that, under Frank's plan, Medical Police was also to be taught as an additional course.<sup>21</sup>

From the start of the academic year 1805–1806, Medical Police was taught as a separate discipline at the Imperial University of Vilna, in line with Frank's plan. Lectures in the subject were given by the professor of physiology, hygiene and Medical Police (*Physiologiae, Hygienae et Politiae Medicae*), August Bécu (1771–1824).<sup>22</sup> As for Forensic Medicine, it was entrusted to assistant Benedykt Borsuk (1769–1808) in 1806; after his death, Professor Lobenwein took over the subject again.

It is worth noting that on 28 June (10 July) 1806, at a celebratory meeting at the Imperial University of Vilna marking the end of the academic year, Johann Peter Frank's son, university professor Joseph Frank (1771–1842), gave a speech in French *On the Medical Police that should be observed in public prisons*.<sup>23</sup>

On 5 (17) November 1804, Emperor Alexander I signed not only the IUM's charter but also those of the universities of Kazan and Kharkov, which were practically identical.

The University of Kazan actually opened not in 1804, but in February 1805, when it welcomed its first students. Initially, it had no schools or faculties; it did not begin full-scale operations until 1814, when its 1804 charter took effect in full. Its School of Medical Sciences (“School of Medical or Medicinal Sciences”) was established in May 1814. Under the 1804 charter, the Medical School in Kazan, as in Moscow and Kharkov, was to have six departments.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Act of Establishment for the Imperial University in Vilna. 4 April 1803. *PSZRI, Sobr.* 1, vol. 27, no. 20701.

<sup>19</sup> The Charter or General Regulations of the Imperial University of Vilna and the Schools in its District. 18 May 1803. *PSZRI, Sobr.* 1, vol. 27, no. 20765; The Staffing Table of the Imperial University of Vilna. *PSZRI, Sobr.* 1, vol. 44, no. 20765.

<sup>20</sup> A History of Vilnius University, 1579–1979, Vilnius, 1979, p. 52. (In Russ.)

<sup>21</sup> The new structure of the medical school at the University of Vilna according to Professor J.P. Frank's plan, in the Collection of materials for the history of education in Russia, taken from the archive of the Ministry of National Education, vol 2, Saint Petersburg, 1897, col. 1117–1125.

<sup>22</sup> A timetable of lectures at the University of Vilna in the academic year 1805–1806, in the Collection of resolutions according to the Ministry of National Education, vol. 3, Saint Petersburg, 1898, col. 282–290.

<sup>23</sup> Report of the Curator of the Vilna Educational District for 1806, in the Collection of resolutions according to the Ministry of National Education, vol. 3, col. 653–683.

<sup>24</sup> The Charter of the Imperial University of Kazan. *PSZRI, Sobr.* 1, vol. 28, no. 21500.

The first head of one of the six medical departments at the Imperial University of Kazan was Ivan Kamenski (1773–1819). On 6 (18) January 1806, he was appointed as a professor in the Department of Anatomy, Physiology and Forensic Medical Science. He arrived in Kazan in early March. In the spring semester (March, April and May), Professor Kamenski taught “fragments of anatomy and physiology”. At the time, the university had just 39 students, 13 of whom had enrolled to learn “the principles of medicine”. In the autumn semester, he started teaching Forensic Medicine, but on 14 (28) November 1806 he was dismissed without completing his course (Zagoskin 1902, p. 119–122). Because of this, it is unlikely that he managed to get to Medical Police as a branch of forensic medicine in his lectures. The Imperial University of Kazan’s first students in 1805 included future author Sergei Aksakov. In his memoirs, he describes Kamenski as a lecturer “with a wonderful gift of speech,” but does not say which course he taught (Aksakov 1955, p. 157).

Thus, all the medical departments at the Imperial University of Kazan were again vacant at the end of 1806. From 15 (27) May 1807, Johann Baptist Braun (1777/1778(?)–1819) was appointed professor of anatomy, physiology and forensic medical science. He began lecturing at the start of the academic year 1807–1808, and had semesters when there were no more than two or three students (Anisimova and Pospelova 2006).

The establishment of the School of Medical Sciences in 1814 led to the creation of conditions for better-organised teaching. Professor Braun taught Physiology, Anatomy and Forensic Medicine, and became the university’s first teacher of Medical Police (Bulich 1887, p. 174–175).

Professor Braun qualified as a Doctor of Medicine and Surgery from the University of Vienna in 1802. In 1803, he joined the Russian education system as a prosector at the anatomy theatre at the Imperial University of Vilna.<sup>25</sup> At the end of 1806, the curator of the Kazan Educational District, within which the Imperial Uni-

versity of Kazan fell, asked Frank, who had taught in Vienna from 1795, to recommend candidates for the vacant departments at Kazan.<sup>26</sup> Frank suggested Janem Braun, as Johann Braun was called in the Polish fashion in Vilna.

Before Frank left Russia, the Russian government bought his splendid library (“approximately 3,520 works; 5,240 volumes”). In 1809, the collection was donated to the library of the Imperial University of Kazan, giving the provincial city the guidance needed for a Medical Police course.

Thus, the Imperial University of Kazan had no faculties or schools in its first ten years, and there was a shortage of teachers, which in general did not help Medical Police to be established quickly as an independent subject, rather than part of the course in forensic medicine.

The Imperial University of Kharkov opened in 1805. According to its charter of 5 (17) November 1804, its School of Medical or Medicinal Sciences had six departments, including one of anatomy, physiology and forensic medical science.<sup>27</sup> That same year, Ludwig Vannoti (1771–1819) became an assistant and prosector in this department. Having qualified as a Doctor of Medicine from the University of Freiburg in 1798, he had been a military doctor, and then spent a year “improving himself” in medicine in Vienna, where Frank, who might have influenced him, was working. From the second half of 1806 to June 1811, Vannoti advertised lectures on Anatomy, Physiology, Forensic Medicine and Medical Police (Popov 1900), and taught Medical Police, “adapting it for the benefit of both medical workers and those engaging in sciences of another form” (Popov 1900, p. 16). The lectures in the faculty of medicine were open to students from all the university’s faculties, which was important for the lecturer, as the Faculty had no Medical students at all in 1805–1808, just two in 1809–1810, nine in 1811, and 17 in 1812, while the other faculties already had 82 students in 1808.

We do not know how successful Vannoti’s lectures were. From the middle of 1811, Doctor of

<sup>25</sup> On the invitation of Viennese doctor Braun to the position of prosector at the anatomy theatre at the Imperial University of Vilna, in the Collection of resolutions according to the Ministry of National Education, vol. 2, col. 580–581.

<sup>26</sup> The curator of the Kazan Educational District and Frank were members of the Main Directorate of Schools of the Ministry of National Education, whose meetings took place roughly once a month, chaired by the minister.

<sup>27</sup> The Charter of the Imperial University of Kharkov. *PSZRI, Sobr.* 1, vol. 28, no. 21499.

Medicine Ivan Knigin (1773–1830) became a professor of anatomy, physiology, forensic medicine and Medical Police at the University of Kharkov. He had moved for health reasons from Saint Petersburg, where he had been a professor of “zootomy, comparative physiology and the study of livestock diseases” at the Academy of Medicine and Surgery, where Medical Police was a separate subject. We can be reasonably confident that in Kharkov he continued the Saint Petersburg tradition of teaching Medical Police as an independent discipline.

The following conclusions may be drawn from all this. Around the turn of the nineteenth century, Medical Police was taught as a branch of Forensic Medicine rather than as a separate discipline at higher education institutions in the Russian Empire.

The charters and staffing tables of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Medicine and Surgery (1799, 1802), and the universities of Dorpat (1803), Moscow (1804), Kazan (1804) and Kharkov (1804), unlike those of the University of Vilna (1803), envisaged Forensic Medicine as a core course. At the same time, they all had the right to introduce additional courses, as was done by the University of Vilna, where Forensic Medicine was taught as an additional course.

Johann Peter Frank made an outstanding contribution to the establishment of the teaching of Medical Police as a separate discipline. From 1804, he worked in the Russian Empire, first at

the Imperial University of Vilna, and then, from 1805 to 1808, in Saint Petersburg. At his suggestion, Medical Police was separated from the course in forensic medicine at Vilna, and taught as an independent additional discipline. Frank’s charter and staffing table for the Saint Petersburg Academy of Medicine and Surgery (1805) specified, for the first time in the Russian Empire, that Medical Police be taught not just as an independent discipline, but also as a core one.

The Saint Petersburg Academy of Medicine and Surgery’s 1808 charter defined Medical Police not just as a separate subject but also as a core academic discipline. The first person to teach Medical Police as a core subject at Russian higher education institutions was Saint Petersburg’s Professor Sergei Gromov in 1808.

In the academic year 1802–1803, the University of Dorpat, following the German tradition, taught State Medical Knowledge (under Professor Styx), and the course covered both forensic medicine and Medical Police. From the academic year 1803–1804, Professor Styx taught Medical Police as an independent additional discipline.

At the IUM, Medical Police was taught as an independent subject (additional discipline) by Yefrem Mukhin. In the School of Medical Sciences at the Imperial University of Kazan, Medical Police was taught as an independent additional subject by Professor Johann Baptist Braun. At the Imperial University of Kharkov, Medical Police was taught as an independent additional academic discipline by Ivan Knigin.

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