OFFICIAL PHYSICIANS WITHIN THE MEDICAL LANDSCAPE OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE (1760s)

by

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Abstract

This thesis concerns professional paths of official physicians in the 1760s Russian empire, focusing primarily on the example of a group of students recruited from the Kiev-Mohyla Academy to the hospital schools in Saint Petersburg and Moscow. The recruitments of students created a basis for interaction between the Medical Chancellery, the local administration of the Hetmanate (Left-Bank Ukraine)—the semi-autonomous territory where the Academy was located—and the students who volunteered to study medicine. The research compares the Chancellery's vision of recruitment as embodied in the legal framework it created and the challenges it faced when it came time to implement these laws. It discusses the social and cultural considerations which pushed students to choose a medical profession. It also traces the graduates' careers, their involvement into the state service as surgeons, "armchair doctors" and public servants.

The thesis finds that the recruitment of students from the Academy to new educational centers and their subsequent engagement in the imperial structures reveal the process of an inadvertent integration of subjects from the Hetmanate into a broader imperial network. This study also demonstrates the increased role of the Medical Chancellery/College in juridification of medical practice.

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Introduction

Sociocultural history of medicine in early modern Russia is a developing field of research which provides historians with a new perspective to approach broader questions of early modern Russian state and society. This thesis traces medical career paths of official physicians of the Russian empire but concerns two broader themes of imperial history: the functioning of the legal system in the early modern state and the empire's interaction with its Western borderlands. I focus on the regulations and implications of two kinds of decrees initiated by the main medical institution, the Medical Chancellery, one regarding the recruitment of students to hospital schools in Saint Petersburg and Moscow from the Hetmanate/Little Russia—a semi-autonomous territory in the Western borderlands of the empire—and another about the condemnation of illegal healing. I show the increased juridification of the medical sphere, starting from the 1750s, which led to the spread of the authority of the Chancellery in the administration of medical matters, but also unintentionally precipitated the integration of imperial subjects from the Hetmanate into imperial structures.

The Medical Chancellery (1721) [1] was a governmental institution within the administrative system of the state. It held the authority over the lower medical administration such as city surgeons and hospitals, supervised public healthcare and was responsible for combating epidemics and licensing medical practitioners.[2] During the reign of Catherine II, the Chancellery was restructured and the Medical College (1763) was created with two separate offices for business and medical matters, with a doctor and a bureaucrat heading them

[1] Here I refer to the Medical Chancellery created according to the project of a new archiater—the ruler's chief physician and the head of the Medical Chancellery— Johann Blumentrost. The first Medical Chancellery dates back to 1714 - Clare Griffin, "The Production and Consumption of Medical Knowledge in Seventeenth-Century Russia: The Apothecary Chancery" (PhD diss., University College London, 2012), 7.

[2] Andreas Renner, *Russische Autokratie und europäische Medizin. Organisierter Wissenstransfer im 18 Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010), 46-47.

respectively. [3] The College broadened the Chancellery's purview: launching systematic information gathering across the empire, writing topographical accounts, dispensing medical advice to the population, and overseeing an expended system of medical offices, as new positions of civil doctors were created after the provincial reform from 1775.[4] By focusing on the analysis of decrees regarding medical matters, this thesis will demonstrate another largely unexplored role of the Medical Chancellery/College as an initiator of new decrees and their enforcer.

The study will reveal that the Medical Chancellery created texts for the first decrees on the recruitment of students to the hospital schools under the influence of foreign ideas on education which emphasized the importance of the creation of loyal servants through schooling. The issue of foreign impact on Russian medicine is not new.[5] The predominance of the foreigners among state medics till the second half of the eighteenth-century [6] and the adherence of Russian official medicine to a Western-style model, explain such considerable attention. Clare Griffin and Andreas Renner in their research on seventeenth and eighteenth centuries medicine, respectively, have shown that there was no direct transplantation of foreign models. Griffin emphasizes that physicians at the Muscovite court selectively implemented and critically assessed Western ideas.[7] Renner asserts that European medicine was adopted to new realities and, thus, inevitably underwent changes becoming in many respects different to its original.[8]

[3] John Alexander, *Bubonic plague in early modern Russia: public health and urban disaster* (Oxford: University Press, 2003), 42-44; The founding decree of the Medial College approved its body of eight voting members. "The medical department: three doctors, one staff-surgeon, one surgeon, one operator, and one apothecary assisted by two secretaries and a translator. The business office: a president, two secretaries and one Russian assistant." - Alexander, *Bubonic plague,* 43.
[4] Renner, *Russische Autokratie,* 58-59.
[5] Subine Dumschat, *Ausländische Mediziner im Moskauer Rußland* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006); Griffin, "The Production and Consumption"; Renner, *Russische Autokratie*.
[6] The second half of the eighteenth century was marked by the escalation in the number of native medics, who for the first time outnumbered foreign physicians in the state - Renner, *Russische Autokratie,* 72-73.
[7] Griffin, "The Production and Consumption."
[8] For the summary of Renner's points, see: Renner, *Russische Autokratie*, 322-330.

This thesis will demonstrate how the Medical Chancellery/College implemented foreign ideas on schooling, which implied systematic recruitments of new students, using the idiosyncrasies of Hetmanate educational institutions, which became the main source of native physicians. Historian John Alexander observes that the reasons for such recourse to Little Russian schools was a "longer tradition of classical learning" and "fluid social structure" in the Hetmanate.[9] Renner mentions that the medical profession in general provoked horizontal mobility of two kinds: frequent relocations of physicians to different post throughout the empire and the movement of students to study medicine from empire's borderlands.[10] These are insightful observations, but are marginal to the main focuses of both of these studies. The thesis will follow up on the information they presented. The study also relies partially on *internalist* historiography, i.e. written by doctors about their medical profession,[11] (mainly the book by Iakov Chistovich), to question, reconsider and contextualize some of the events typically deemed pivotal in the development of a medical community.

Recruitments in the Western borderlands offer a new context to probe imperial medical policy. Daria Sambuk in her book "Wächter der Gesundheit: Staat und lokale Gesellschaften beim Aufbau des Medizinalwesens im Russischen Reich, 1762–1831" concentrates on medical reforms during the reign of Catherine II and Paul I and shows how they facilitated the

[9] Alexander, *Bubonic plague*, 39.
[10] Renner, *Russische Autokratie*, 65-66.
[11] *Internalist* historiography interprets history of medicine as a progress of medical science and emphasizes pivotal role of illustrious medics in facilitating it. Imperial *internalist* historiography: Wilhelm Richter, *Geschichte der Medizin in Russland* (Moscow, 1817); Iakov Chistovich, *Istoriia pervykh medetsynskikh shkol v Rossii* (Saint Petersburg, 1883); Aleksandr Alelekov, *Istoriia Moskovskago voennago gospitalia v sviazi s istoriei meditsiny v Rosii k 200-letnemu ego iubileiu 1707-1907 g.g.* (Moscow, 1907); Soviet *internalist* historiography: Sergei Grombakh, *Russkaia meditsynskaia literatura XVIII veka* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii meditsinskikh nauk SSSR, 1953); Sergei Grombakh, *Uchenye i problemy (Nauchno-populiarnaia seriia): Danilo Samoilovich* (Moscow: Ministerstvo zdravokhraneniia SSSR, Tsentral'nyi institut sanitarnogo prosvishcheniia, 1951); Sergei Grombakh, *Peredovye cherty russkoi meditsyny XVIII veka* (diss., Moscow, 1954); Boris Palkin, *Russkie gospital'nye shkoly XVIII veka i ikh vospitaniki* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo meditsynskoi literatury MIDGIZ, 1959). A contemporary publication which is heavily based on the *internalist* historiography and provides detailed descriptions of the sources from Vernads'kyi National Library of Ukraine (Institute of Manuscript) about recruited students from the Kiev-Mohyla Academy is Boichuk, Liakina, *Ikh put' v meditsynu nachinalsia s Kievo-Mogilianskoi Akademii* (Kyiv: Medinform, 2011). However, the majority of described sources come from the later period than the temporal scope of this research.

involvement of regional social groups into local medical healthcare.[12] Alexander in his famous work "Bubonic plague in early modern Russia: public health and urban disaster" investigates medical policy to combat plague during Catherine II's time.[13] My study starts from considering medical reforms during Elizabeth's reign, when the decrees on recruitment and against unlicensed healing were issued. I aim to contribute to the recent trend in historiography to reveal the importance of Elizabeth's imperial policy, which is often silenced by much stronger emphasis on the reformist nature of the reigns of Peter I and Catherine II.[14]

Delving into unexplored records of the Medical Chancellery/College from the 1760s, this thesis brings into the spotlight the process of the recruitment of students from one of Hetmanate educational institutions, the Kiev-Mohyla Academy. This process involved the interaction among the Medical Chancellery/College, local Little Russian institutions and students who volunteered to study medicine. My thesis demonstrates how the creation of a medical career, which opened an avenue of social mobility, matched with students' social and cultural consideration. I argue that the recruitment of students can be viewed as an inadvertent integration[15] based on the channeling of imperial subjects from the borderlands to the alternative centers of education and by extension weaving them into the networks of imperial institutions and practices. Thus, starting with the recruitment campaigns, medics became part of the imperial medical community, established patronage connections and were able to cultivate their own self-perception of medical servants and participate in European scientific networks.

[12] Daria Sambuk, *Wächter der Gesundheit: Staat und lokale Gesellschaften beim Aufbau des Medizinalwesens im Russischen Reich, 1762–1831* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2015).
[13] Alexander, *Bubonic plague.*
[14] For example, Catherine Evtuhov's forthcoming book *Russia in the Age of Elizabeth (1741-61)* aims at this.
[15] For the unintended integration of imperial minorities, see: Christine Philliou, "Communities on the Verge: Unraveling the Phanariot Ascendancy in Ottoman Governance," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51 (1) (2009); for the unintended integration of imperial subjects in the nineteenth century Russian empire, see: Alexei Miller, Russification or Russifications in *The Romanov Empire and Nationalism: Essays in the Methodology of Historical Research* (New York : Central European University Press, 2008).

This thesis also considers the official physicians in the broader medical landscape of the early modern Russian empire, meaning—following the definition of Mary Lindemann—"a myriad [of other medical] practitioners in social, cultural and economic contexts" who "varied in number, but hardly at all in type."[16] The Medical Chancellery initiated a set of decrees to outlaw unlicensed healing. Renner emphasizes the symbolical value of these decrees and their actual limitations to be implemented.[17] I argue that from the perspective of legal history, the decrees reveal the expansion of the authority of the Medical Chancellery/College. Apart from supporting medics' claims for authority, the decrees vested the main medical institution with a right to administer justice in the cases of illegal healing. The Medical Chancellery/College defined a separate notion of "unlicensed healing" as a malpractice and launched medicalization of "magical healing".

Following the existing historiography, which defines early modern laws as malleable enough to be (re)negotiated,[18] I examine the aforementioned decrees, initiated by the College, which facilitated interaction between different intermediary actors of the state like the central governmental institutions, local administrations and individuals. This thesis will show that the decrees were sometimes neglected, accommodated ad-hoc or overruled by powerful patronage, and generally hinged on situational power relations and decreased in significance relative to the proximity of actors to the centers of power. By analyzing the decrees and their ramifications, this thesis aims to contribute to the study of the legal history in the eighteenth-century Russian empire, a very promising field deserving further inquiries[19].

[16] Mary Lindemann, *Healing in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 146.
[17] Renner, "Wiederstände – Von Scharlatanen und Scheinsiegen," in *Russische*; Renner, "The Transfer of Medical Charlatanism to Eighteenth-Century Russia," *East Central Europe* 40 (2013).
[18] For a summary of the views on the centralizing early modern state and the role of law there, see: Nancy Shields Kollmann, *Crime and Punishment in Early Modern Russia. New Studies in European History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 2-5.
[19] The fully-fledged researches on early modern legal history end with the reign of Peter I, like Kollmann, *Crime and Punishment*. The period of the second half of the eighteenth century has enjoyed less attention. The exceptions are researches on property rights, family law and sexual crimes: Jarmo Kotilaine, "Property rights and the economic development of early modern Russia," *Harvard University*, accessed 20 February, 2018,

The thesis comprises four chapters which discuss different stages in the creation of an official physician. The roadmap of their content is the following:

The first chapter focuses on the phenomenon of the recruitment of future medics in early-modern Russia. It seeks to trace a connection between shifts in the prevailing models of education and changes in the methods of recruitment. The chapter examines the first decrees pertaining to recruitments to hospital schools and illuminates the influence of Pietist-inspired ideas of education on their creation.

The second chapter analyses how these decrees created a viable legal framework for the integration of imperial subjects from the Hetmanate. It reconstructs the travel of the students from KMA to the capitals. Next, it provides different suggestions of how social and cultural considerations of students influenced their choice of becoming medical students.

The third chapter looks at how students were assimilated into the medical imperial service and became interwoven into the patronage networks, as well as a broader European medical community. Particular attention will be paid to two cases concerning the doctors' self-perception and their participation in the spread of enlightened ideas.

The final chapter reveals the medical landscape of the Russian empire and investigates how the Medical College and official physicians coped with the cases of illegal healing. It examines both the decrees outlawing non-licensed healing and their implementation. The chapter pays special attention to the moments of interaction the decrees precipitated and the tensions among local institutions, the state and other actors involved.

https://www.ucis.pitt.edu/nceeer/2004_817-05_2_Kotilaine.pdf; the first chapter from Ekaterina Pravilova, "Whose Nature?: Environmentalism, Industrialization, and the Politics of Property" in *A Public Empire: Property and the Quest for the Common Good in Imperial Russia* (Princeton ; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014); Marianna Muravyeva, "Russian Early Modern Criminal Procedure and Culture of Appeal," *Review of Central and East European Law* 38, no. 3–4 (2013); Marianna Muravyeva, "Emotional Environments and Legal Spaces in Early Modern Russia," *Journal of Social History*, May 3, 2017; Marianna Muravyeva, "Sex, Crime and the Law: Russian and European Early Modern Legal Thought on Sex Crimes," *Comparative Legal History* 1, no. 1 (May 15, 2013); Anna Joukovskaia, "A Living Law: Divorce Contracts in Early Modern Russia," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 18, no. 4 (2017).

Note on Sources

The thesis draws primarily on the laws from *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii* (Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire) and the holdings of the Medical Chancellery and the Medical College from the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (RGADA). They contain many manuscripts: the orders from these institutions and the Senate, reports from the Medical Office, the Commissariat, Chancelleries, individual physicians, graduation certificates from KMA, passports from Hetmanate's local institutions, the Police Chancellery's interrogation protocols, individual appeals and certificates. Several sources are from Vernads'kyi National Library of Ukraine (Institute of Manuscript), and in Chapter 3 I refer to a couple of published medical works.

The diversity of the source base reflects the vibrant interaction between different localized state actors, precipitated by the decrees initiated by the Medical Chancellery/College.

Chapter 1. "Fruit of hope": Recruitment for Educating Medical Servants

There were multiple methods of recruiting (future) medics,[20] which varied depending on the context of their time. An examination of this phenomena through the seventeenth-eighteenth century shows major changes in both the methods of recruitment and the cast of actors who were involved. This chapter starts with an overview of the early forms of recruitment campaigns of foreign physicians and a long-prevailing apprenticeship model of medical education which precluded the development of fully-fledged recruitment campaigns at home. This overview is followed by an analysis of the first legal decrees pertaining to the recruitment and how their genesis was precipitated or even engendered by the shift in understanding of education as means to cultivate loyal servants. The contention of this chapter is, that due to the formation of the specific model of medical education, the recruitment campaigns eventually became an avenue of social mobility, as well as precipitating integration of the imperial subjects from the Western borderlands.

1.1 First Recruitments and Apprenticeship

After the turmoil of the Time of Troubles (1598-1613) finally ended with the ascension of the Romanov dynasty, new embassy was dispatched to England (1613-1614). It was tasked with securing the acknowledgment of the Romanovs by James I of England. Secondary obligations were included in the memoranda giving instructions to the ambassadors. One of memorandum tasked them with the recruitment of English and Scottish doctors and apothecaries "to serve by their trade in the state [Muscovy]."[21] Another was to invite the doctor, Baldwin Hamey, who had experience working at the Muscovite court before the Times of

[20] "Recruitment" is an umbrella term I use to refer to different ways in which the state swelled the ranks of (future) physicians.
[21] Maija Jansson et al., *England and the North: The Russian Embassy of 1613-1614* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1994), 137-138.

Troubles, to renew his service.[22] Attempts to recruit physicians faced challenges: the merchant whom the ambassadors delegated to search for medics reported the latter's reluctance to go to Muscovy because "there is enough for them here"[23] and Hamey excused himself pointing at his need to take care of family in London.[24]

This demonstrates how physicians were recruited in early modern Muscovy, based on "established networks of diplomatic and mercantile contacts in whom they [The Muscovite court] already had trust."[25] Another kind of diplomatic link used to employ medics was the Muscovite ruler asking his "brother" or "sister", meaning another sovereign, to send him a physician to take care of him and his immediate surroundings; and another sovereign could kindly oblige.[26] The gesture revealed a sign of mutual affection between rulers and healthy political relationship between their states.[27] This symbolical gesture was probably a practical extension of the constant enquiries from one ruler about the health of another, a traditional part of diplomatic decorum.

As the case of the English embassy shows, the recruitments did not go always smoothly, physicians often hesitated to accept tsar's invitation and even asked for higher salaries, although the money was not always the determining factor.[28] Since at that time the infrastructure of medical education in Muscovy was not developed and no idea of public spirit existed there, foreigners catered to medical needs of rulers and their immediate surroundings.

[22] Jansson et al., *England and the North*, 144-145.
[23] Ibid., 181.
[24] Ibid., 180-181.
[25] Griffin, "The Production and Consumption," 85.
[26] For example, on the English doctors sent by Elizabeth I of England, see: Mark Mirskii, *Ocherki Istorii Meditsyny v Rosii XVI-XVIII v. v.* (Vladikavkaz: Reklamno-izdatel'skoe agentstvo Goskomizdata RSO-A, 1995), 7, 8-13; On the German doctors sent by the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I, see: Griffin, "The Production and Consumption," 83; Maria Unkovskaya, *Brief lives: a handbook of Medical practitioners in Muscovy* (London, 1999), 9.
[27] Griffin, "The Production and Consumption," 82; on the receptions of physicians in the hosting county, which often resembled the ways the ambassadors and envoys were greeted, see: Unkovskaya, *Brief lives*, 11, 14, 17, 27.
[28] Eve Levin, "The Administration of Western Medicine in Seventeenth Century Russia," *Modernizing Muscovy. Reform and social change in seventeenth century Russia* (London; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), 358.

Although, there was an attempt at the turn of the sixteenth century to educate their own physicians abroad, it failed since dispatched students never came back.[29]

The case of the doctor Hamey brings up another factor in the recruitment of doctors, namely loyalties. The doctor had been a court physician of Feder Ivanovich, before the Times of Troubles fifteen years before the embassy arrived. He certainly could have been a particularly skillful physician whose skills were remembered well past his time, but it could also be the case that he was singled out because he had already proved his loyalty to Muscovite rulers and could be trusted. The concern with the loyalty of medical practitioners at the Muscovite court holds true for the time of the Apothecary Chancery existence. As Eve Levin showed, the concern with tsar's security and the possibility of his poisoning, led to the Apothecary Chancery prefering foreign medics to local.[30]

The Apothecary Chancery launched recruitments based on professional networks, accepted volunteers and war prisoners, and introduced examinations of applicants to ensure quality.[31] However, as Clare Griffin aptly observed, personal considerations and trust more often than not exceeded qualifications, for some time, recommendations would suffice to recruit some physician.[32] The high-ranking members of the Apothecary Chancery frequently indulged in nepotism, and there could also be patrons outside the Chancery promoting their favorites to the medical offices.[33]

There was no urge at that point to introduce a systematic medical education; and the apprenticeship model of education was used in Muscovy for a long time: local students could simply be assigned to a practicing physician. In 1654 the Chancery even created a temporal school for apothecaries and surgeons and recruited 30 students from musketeers (*strel'tsy*) and

[29] Griffin, "The Production and Consumption," 98.
[30] Levin, "The Administration of Russian Medicine," 356, 361, 365.
[31] Ibid., 358-59.
[32] Griffin, "The Production and Consumption," 76-77.
[33] Ibid., 85-89.

their children.[34] The apprenticeship model of education provided a decent number of surgeons from the local population, who by 1660-70 started to outnumber their foreign counterparts.[35] There were opportunities to become a medical student abroad, an option which was for a long time open exclusively to the children of foreigners, who were more likely to be versed in Latin and other languages, "the prerequisite for admission to universities in the West."[36]

This option, however, started to be increasingly available during Petrine times mainly due to the ruler's cultural program to "create a European" which involved sending students to garner useful European knowledge and to integrate into the international scientific networks.[37] The most famous example is Petr Postnikov, the first local student to graduate from the medical faculty of Padua university in 1694, which Rachal Koroloff argues should be considered in the context of Peter's cultural problem. As his later career as a diplomat shows, Postnikov was not aiming at becoming a physician, but rather to become versed in the cultural codes of the Western-educated servant.[38] In this regard, Peter's dispatches of the students abroad, hardly established a local medical community, the recruitment of foreign medics remained in force during Petrine times.[39]

The traditional story on the development of Russian medicine considers the establishment of a hospital school (1707) at Moscow hospital as a pivotal moment ushering the beginning of the formation of medical education: the school became a blueprint for the Petersburg Admiralty and Infantry hospitals and the Kronstadt Naval Hospital which "employed surgical apprentices and formally added schools in 1733."[40] Regardless of the

[34] Mirskii, *Ocherki istorii meditsiny v Rossii 16-18 vv*., 1.
[35] Unkovskaya, *Brief lives,* 63.
[36] Levin, "The Administration of Russian Medicine," 358-360.
[37] Rachel Koroloff "Seeds of Exchange: Collecting for Russia's Apothecary and Botanical Gardens in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries" (PhD diss., Urbana, 2014), 162.
[38] Ibid., 160.
[39] Griffin, "The Production and Consumption," 84.
[40] Alexander, *Bubonic Plague,* 47.

institutional wrapping, however, Moscow school continued to bear traces of the traditional apprenticeship mode of education and as a corollary familiar to it types of the recruitment.

Peter tasked his previous personal physician Nicolaas Bidloo with creating this hospital, meaning it came about not via public decree but rather as an order from the ruler to his servant. According to the order, the goal of the inception of the hospital was the "treatment of people," but it was also pointed out that fifty people (*chelovek*) were to be found to study there.[41] Notably, there is no mentioning of the word "students" and the desire to find people to study at the hospital seems to be more as an additional task directed to the staffing of medical personal rather than creation of a systematic medical education there.

According to Iakov Chistovich, the order doesn't establish the method of recruiting medical students, but eventually this was taken up Bidloo. I would argue that this information was irrelevant exactly due to the apprenticeship model of the first school. It is likely that Peter assumed that Bidloo and his two surgeon companions would be able to help hone the surgical skills of the invited students, rather than him being the administer of a new fully fledged medical/educational institution. Thus, Bidloo alone embarked upon a search for young people, preferably with some knowledge of Latin and Dutch for educational purposes. The planned goal of fifty students was "reached" only in 1712 and Bidloo reports:

> I took in different towns fifty people of different ages for surgical science from which thirty-three remained, six died, eight ran away, two according to the order are taken to school, one because of intemperance (*nevozderzhanie*) is taken to the soldiers, altogether fifty people.[42]

The report demonstrates that Bidloo's recruitment was both time-consuming and not unequivocally successful. The targets of these recruitments were largely the sons of local foreigners. This traditional source of medical cadres faced just one change, now they were not send abroad, because Western-style education was available at home. While the

[41] Chistovich, *Istoriia pervykh meditsynskik shkol v Rosii*, 6.
[42] Ibid., 42-44.

aforementioned hospitals in Saint Petersburg and Kronstadt continued to turn to local foreigners for medical cadres, Bidloo started to invite Russian students from the Slavic Greek Latin Academy in Moscow, who had had a chance to learn Latin if in the highest classes.[43]

Trying to fulfill the task of his patron, Bidloo immersed himself into continuous negotiations with the highest authorities. There was no standardized legal regulation of recruitments[44] and the main medical institution, the Medical Chancellery was not involved in the recruitment process. Starting from 1720s, Bidloo became inundated with correspondence with the Synod, petitioning students to be sent to the hospital. The Synod at that time became in charge of all clerical educational institutions including the Slavic Greek Latin Academy. It was reluctant to send students who were supposed to swell the ranks of clergy to the medical school, but eventually complied.[45]

The examination of the historical events demonstrates that there was no systematized recruitment of local students into the medical field, largely the result of the prevailing apprenticeship model of education. During the reign of Peter's successors, the influx of new ideas of education into the medical sphere contributed to the creation of laws aiming at the large-scale medical schooling.

1.2 Legal Dimension of the Recruitment

"[…] the establishment of hospitals has twofold aim and fruit (result)"[46] was the opening sentence of one of the paragraphs in "The General Regulation on Hospitals", the

[43] Chistovich, *Istoriia pervykh meditsynskikh shkol v Rosii*, 220, 44. The Slavic Greek Latin Academy was established during 1685-1687 and became the first permanent source of future local medics.
[44] Chistovich mentions one public order inviting minors to the Slavic Greek Latin Academy to study Latin and then become hospital students, but nobody came, see: Chistovich, *Istoriia pervykh meditsynskikh shkol v Rosii*, 45-46.
[45] Ibid., 47, 82. Recruitments from the Slavic Greek Latin Academy with permission of the Synod (the year and the number of students): 1722 – 19, 1724 – 11, 1726 – 11, 1727 – 18.
[46] *uchrezhdenie gospitalei dvoiakogo namereniia i ploda imeet* - PSZ, vol.9, no. 6852 (December 24, 1735) (Saint Petersburg, 1830), 668.

thorough document on every detail of hospital life, issued in 1735. The twofold aim was to treat patients and to educate future medics.[47] The use of the word "fruit" in this respect suggests some ultimate result which should be achieved, like the recovery of sick people in the first case or the formation of a decent physician, a true servant of Her Imperial Majesty, in the second. By focusing of the rhetoric of the Regulation on Hospitals, this subchapter argues for the infiltration of new ideas on schooling into the understanding of the role of education in the formation of a physician. It also considers the continuity of such ideas in the first decrees on the recruitment and how they shaped its narrative.

1.2.1 New Ideas of Schooling in "The Regulation on Hospitals" (1735)

"The Regulation on Hospitals" was issued during Iohann Fischer's stint (1734-1742) as the head of the Medical Chancellery (*archiater*). The traditional narrative goes that he submitted the project of the Regulation to the Cabinet of Ministers, which was successfully accepted. The project and subsequently the Regulation were informed by the strong interest of Iohann Fischer in the standardization of education and supplying more surgeons to the army. Furthermore, the Regulation reflected specific Russian medical experience and was not transplanted from foreign contexts.[48] However, I believe that the Regulation from the start was influenced by foreign contact, primarily in the understanding of the role of education.

The document was created during the reign of Anna Ioannovna (1730-1740) which was marked by the reforms of education and "qualitatively new" understanding of schooling "as a tool for producing subjects of a particular kind, loyal and zealous […]."[49] The policy was

[47] The whole name "The General Regulation on hospitals, offices, appointed doctors there and other servants of medical rank as well as commissars, scribes, craftsmen, workers and subordinated to them other people" - PSZ, vol.9, no. 6852 (December 24, 1735), 662.
[48] Chistovich, *Istoriia pervykh meditsynskikh shkol v Rosii*, 85-89.
[49] Igor Fedyukin, "The *German party* in Russia in the 1730s: exploring the ideas of the Ruling Faction," *Basic Research Program Working Papers. Humanities. National Research University, Higher School of Economics* (2016): 13.

driven by Pietist-inspired models stemming from the "intellectual and religious sensibilities" of influential "Germans" in the government.[50] The linchpin of this new mode of education was the cultivation of discipline within educational institutions "achieving exteriorization of prescribed models of thinking and behavior through monitoring, observation, formalized assessment, and regulation of the students' schedule and space."[51] In the new mode of education the emphasis is placed on the natural inclinations of students, their own choice of what to study and a strive to boost motivation by promotions according to merit with the ultimate cultivation of "zealous diligence".[52]

Fischer was working during time when the elements of the new model of education were being implemented, for instance, to the garrison schools created during 1730s, the Noble Cadet Corps,[53] or even to the reforms of noble service in 1736-37.[54] Not only Fischer worked within this context or reforms, he had an opportunity to experience such model of education himself by graduating from Halle University,[55] the hub of Pietist movement and a birth-place of Pietist-inspired education. Fischer was particularly interested in the development of "the system of military hospitals and surgical schools"[56] and the text of the Regulation bears the traces of its influence.

The Regulation was imbued with practicality: the students were primarily envisaged to replace the retired medics in the army, ruling out the need to turn to foreigners, and the number of students was to correlate with the number of sick people in the hospital.[57] The Regulation meticulously laid out schedule and disciplinary rules which students were to follow.[58] It also underscored the special need of the assessment of students during their first year of studies

[50] Fedyukin, "The *German party* in Russia," 4-6.
[51] Ibid., 14, 7.
[52] Ibid., 11.
[53] Ibid., 13-14.
[54] Ibid., 10.
[55] Richter, *Geschichte der Medizin in Russland,* 271.
[56] Alexander, *Bubonic Plague*, 41.
[57] PSZ, vol.9, no. 6852 (December 24, 1735), 679.
[58] Ibid., 670-671, 673-674, 679-680.

when it was to be checked whether they correspond to two crucial prerequisites of a good medic or rather a good servant of Her Imperial Majesty: whether a student possessed "understandability" (*udobponiatie*) in surgery and whether he did not have "natural aversion" (*natural'nuiu gnusnost'*).[59] The explanation of "understandability" given later in the text shows that it could also encompass the absence of "natural aversion," meaning an aversion to wounds and operations in general. "Understandability" also implied willingness (*okhotu*) to study medicine and the knowledge of Latin.[60] If a student had these qualities he was considered as eligible to be educated at the hospital school and become a good servant. His own welfare was deemed to be connected to this. On the other hand, "bad people" (*negodnye liudi*) were harmful and would not serve to Her Imperial Majesty properly, therefore, they were to be sacked. It was not specified what behavior was considered as harmful except from alcohol abuse, however, the Regulation claimed that this vice could be remedied by dint of punishment.[61]

The important novelty introduced by the Regulation is that hospitals, together with their schools now fell under the direct supervision of the Medical Chancelery, which now was vested with the responsibility to give the last word when the student were under the threat to be sacked from the hospital school. It was put in charge of establishing appropriate age and qualities of students.[62] As a consequence, the head of the Chancellery became responsible for conducting negotiations with the Synod about the recruitment of students and the decrees, to which I will turn in a minute, were now initiated by the Chancellery itself.

Even though the Regulation introduced novel ideas about the education of students and provided guidelines for their instruction (*vospitanie*), it had little to do with the very policy of recruitment. This being the reason why after the regulation *archiaters* continued to handle the issue of recruitment by sending appeals to the Medical Chancellery to dispatch some students

[59] PSZ, vol.9, no. 6852 (December 24, 1735), 674.
[60] Ibid., 679.
[61] Ibid., 670.
[62] Ibid., 674.

from the Slavic Greek Latin Academy or even from the garrison schools, although the latter idea was futile, and the Synod continued to be reluctant to send the sons of clergy.[63]

1.2.2 Inviting Those Who Want to Come: The Synod's Decree (1754)

The first decree dealing with the intricacies of the recruitment of students was issued in 1754 by the Synod on the appeal from the Medical Chancellery. Remarkably, the document is primarily inviting students from the spiritual seminaries[64] in the Western borderlands, namely from Kiev, Chernigov, Pereiaslavl' and Kharkov while mentioning the Moscow Slavic Greek Latin only at the end of the document.[65] This is the first time the legal decree summoned the students from these educational institutions. Taking into consideration that the Synod was reluctant to send the children of clergy from the Great Russian seminaries, it seems likely that the institutions from the Western borderlands were regarded as a perfect repository of the hypothetical medical cadres. Yet it is difficult to surmise what prompted the publishing of the decree exactly this year and whether there was a set of less formal negotiations between the Synod and the bishops—the recipients of the decree who were to inform the seminaries about them— preceding the decree.

Chistovich ascribes the idea of the decree to the *archiater* Pavel Kondoidi who was trying to rectify the shortfall of skillful students as well as to populate the medical community with Russian members. The appeal to Little Russians could be considered as one of his endeavors to do this. For instance, he also promoted the idea of sending students from the gymnasium of the Academy of Science to study medicine if they did not fit the defined number

[63] Chistovich, *Istoriia pervykh meditsynskikh shkol v Rosii*, 223-226.
[64] The Kiev-Mohyla Academy and the Collegiums of Chernigov, Pereiaslavl' and Kharkov were called spiritual seminaries here, although they were different from the seminaries of Great Russia. The Academy was a Jesuit-type ecclesiastical school subordinated to the Kiev metropolitan and the consistory.
[65] PSZ, vol.14, no. 10.195 (March 14, 1754), 39.

of students.[66] The urge to recruit Russian physicians explicitly transpires from the decree which highlights the preference to educate students from "the most natural Russian proficient people,"[67] not foreigners.[68]

Apart from the idea of "russifying", the decree also bears traces of the aforementioned ideas of schooling: the creation of devoted servants by dint of education, continuing in this way the train of thought from the Regulation and elaborating it even further.[69] It is likely that the decree was a collaborative project, and if so Johann Lerche, a *medicus consiliarius* of the head of the Chancellery from 1751,[70] probably contributed to its creation. His ideas are usually brought into the spotlight during his stint as an acting head of the Medical Chancellery, a temporal office when the position of *archiater* was abolished at the beginning of the reign of Catherine the Great. Back then he suggested to the empress different "means to multiply the medical cadres in state service."[71] In 1754 he could have been interested in this as well and since he was the graduate from Halle university,[72] the tenets of the new model of education must have been particularly familiar to him.

The decree was saturated with the ideas of education based on voluntarism, encouragement and the promotion based on merit. It invites only those students who "**have willingness** to study sciences" (*samookhotno k naukam prilezhaiushchie*), those who "**would like to** be appointed" (*ezheli pokhotiat uchastie priniat' opredeleniem*) and promises them an appointment at the hospital or apothecary which "they **would like**" (*sami pozhelaiut*). However, the distribution of students between apothecary or medical science was to be conducted based on their previous academic performance.[73] This detail also corresponds to the

[66] Chistovich, *Istoriia pervykh medetsynskikh shkol v Rosii*, 227-229.
[67] *iz samykh prirodnykh Rossiiskikh dosoinykh liudei* - PSZ, vol.14, no. 10.195, 37.
[68] Ibid.
[69] The Regulation also served as the main reference for the decree in the description of the hospitals' provisions for the medical students. PSZ, vol.14, no. 10.195, 38.
[70] Heinz Müller-Dietz, "Lerche, Jakob Johann," *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 14 (1985): 311.
[71] Alexander, *Bubonic Plague*, 42.
[72] Richter, *Geschichte der Medizin in Russland*, 292.
[73] PSZ, vol.14, no. 10.195, 38-39.

Pietist-style education which encouraged "to discover the capacity of the intelligences and what in particular each child is skilled for".[74] Therefore, students who came to the Medical Chancellery to be appointed as medical disciples were to bring their graduation certificates with the evaluation of their performance, and the Chancellery was to decide how to harness their potential most efficiently.

Encouragement in the decree was both an important mechanism in the education of servants as well as a simple pragmatic gesture to attract the students from the Western borderlands. The decree upholds the idea of a medical career as a means to reach welfare. There is a curious play of contrasts: it states that students from the seminaries of the Western borderlands suffer from "the highest deprivation" (*krainiaia nuzhda*) and goes on telling what can happen if a student decide to swell the ranks of medics, mentioning all stages of a medical career up to the office of the court physician and officer rank.[75] The document communicates an image of an opportunity of a rapid progression of social status. The only prerequisite was "to show a service of a loyal subject to Her Imperial Majesty solely by [expressing] diligence [in studying] those [medical and apothecary] arts."[76]

Not only the students were expected to show their professional diligence, "proficient results" (*dostoinye uspekhi*) and know Latin, but also have "virtuous and laudable behavior" (*blagonravnoe dostokhval'noe povedenie*). If such requirements were met, the decree promised promotion and reward, which, as emphasized, depended on them exclusively. Students were also to get money (*zhalovanie*) and be provided with accommodation and food (*dovol'stva*). The decree primarily targeted the students from the highest classes, those who had studied "grammar, rhetoric and at least a little bit of philosophy."[77] While promising bright future

[74] Fedyukin, "The *German party* in Russia," 8-9.
[75] As state servants, medics were included into the Table of Ranks, the hierarchy of state servants established by Peter I.
[76] *pri pokazanii Eia Imperatorskomu Velichestvu vernopoddannicheskuiu sluzhbu edinym prilezhaniem k tem iskustvam* - PSZ, vol.14, no. 10.195, 37-38.
[77] PSZ, vol.14, no. 10.195, 39.

perspective the Medical Chancellery expected to recruit future useful servants to Her Imperial Majesty, this was its goal, or, quoting the decree, "fruit of hope" (*upovaemyi plod*).[78]

1.2.3 Dealing with the Lack of Students: The Synod's Decrees (1755-1756)

The outcomes of the 1754 "advertisement" will be touched upon in the following subchapter, but the mood of the following decrees from 1755 and 1756 already suggests that the shortfall of medical students remained a painful problem. The Synod specifically directed the 1755 decree to the Kiev Academy on the request from the Kiev metropolitan Timofei (Shcherbatskii) to the Medical Chancellery, and it was about the reassurance of students who will decide to study medicine that their travel expenses will be compensated by the latter. The decree also urged other seminaries to send the list of volunteers to study medicine to the Synod.[79]

Leaving the intricacies of the decree on who should pay for what to the next subchapter, I would like to draw attention to the mood of the decree since it contrasts considerably to the one from 1754. The decree was driven by practical considerations, omitting the emphasis on the formation of good servants and their bright prospects altogether. There were a concern and urgency: apart from the Kiev Academy, no other seminary responded to the Synod's invitation to send students, so the lists of students also were to be sent "immediately" (*nemedlenno*) as well as the volunteers from the Kiev Academy. The 1754 decree orders to dispatch students in a more lenient manner, simply "without delay" (*bez zaderzhaniia*).[80]

The lack of the students is palpable in another decree from 1756 which was now directed to the Great Russia seminaries. It was issued by the Synod on the request from the

[78] PSZ, vol.14, no. 10.195, 38.
[79] PSZ, vol.14, no. 10.354 (February 9, 1755), 307.
[80] PSZ, vol.14, no. 10.195, 39.

Medical Chancellery asking to release the sons of clergy who wished to study medicine from the seminaries of Novgorod, Pskow, Tver', Smolensk, Kazan', the Trinity Lavra of Saint Sergius etc. and, of course, the Moscow Slavic Greek Latin Academy.[81] In fact, the Chancellery already asked the Synod for this a year ago, in 1755, but back then the request was declined "due to legal and real reasons," which unfortunately are not clarified. Nevertheless, one can assume that, like previously, the Synod did not want to share students from Great Russian seminaries who were supposed to become clergy; and it is specified in the decree that only those students will be recruited who will prefer to quit ecclesiastical path taking into account the considerations of the local bishops and rectors.[82] This also means that just one year after the invitation of Little Russians, the Chancellery returned to the traditional recourse to the Synod for medical students, likely because the results of 1754 decree were found to be deficient.

While the 1754 decree sounds more like an "advertisement" of a successful medical career, the narrative of the 1756 decree is driven by an urgent need to summon students. The Medical Chancellery reported an "absolute neediness" (*krainiaia nuzhda*) in disciples, since there was a lack in recruitment of the sons of foreigners and "people of various ranks" (*raznochintsy*). Strikingly, the students from the educational institutions of the Western borderlands are not mentioned in this context and the possible reason for this could be that the project of their recruitment was still considered to be a novelty and, thus, in the process of development. Furthermore, in regard to Great Russian seminaries, the Medical Chancellery asked only for a temporal and limited allowance to recruit students from there: up to fifty people. They were also expected to come with certificates about their academic performance and behavior, however, they were to be assessed upon their arrival whether they were capable

[81] At the end of the decree, where the Synod succinctly lays out its resolution, a range of other seminaries was added, Riazanskaia, Rostovskaia, Belgorodskaia, Vladimirskaia, Nizhegorodskaia - PSZ, vol.14, no. 10.521 (March 11, 1756), 526.
[82] Ibid., 525.

of studying medicine or not (*sposobny/nesposobny*), in the second case they dispatched back home.[83] Probably, this was an old concern with the level of Latin such students had, since only higher classes of the seminaries in Great Russia provided Latin classes.

New ideas of schooling nourished the narrative of the 1735 and 1754 decrees, the practical lack of student runs through the texts of the 1755 and 1756 orders. Together these documents created a legal framework for the recruitment of students. In the following chapter I will show how these decrees were implemented, how they triggered intra-imperial movement and social mobility, and how medical education squared with social and cultural considerations of the students from the Western borderlands, particularly from the Kiev-Mohyla Academy, which became a major source for the recruitment of medical students.

[83] PSZ, vol.14, no. 10.521, 525.

Chapter 2. "I Have a Keen Desire to Serve": Integration Through Education

This chapter considers the integration of the Western borderlands into the Russian empire and suggests that recruitment campaigns could be seen through the lens of this process. In the 1760s the integration of Little Russian students into the imperial educational institutions in the center was rather an inadvertent result of change in the vision of medical education and the attempts of the Medical Chancellery to boost the number of medical practitioners by searching for the alternative sources of recruitment because of the restrictions from the Synod. Until the end of the century, the recruitment campaigns became standardized. The chapter also investigates another side of the story, how recruitments reconciled with the interests of students, and argues that a medical career could be considered as a valuable option to secure one's position in the society.

2.1 Multifaceted Integration: Medical Recruitment within the Context of the Hetmanate

The Western borderlands in the eighteenth-century Russian empire were vast, encompassing different political units with their own traditions and expanding throughout the century due to empire's new acquisitions.[84] The aforementioned Kiev, Chernigov, Pereiaslavl' and Kharkov educational institutions, which were targeted by the 1754 decree, belonged to two of such units, the Hetmanate and Sloboda Ukraine, the first three to the former and the last to the latter. The following discussion will focus on the Kiev-Mohyla Academy, and hence the semi-autonomous territory of the Hetmanate[85] where the Academy was located, is of main interest here. This territorial entity was comprised of the lands which started to be incorporated

[84] Nancy Shields Kollmann, *The Russian Empire 1450-1801* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 104. Following Nancy Kollmann, by the Western borderlands I mean Livonia, the Hetmanate, the Duchy of Courland and lands of Right Bank Ukraine and Sloboda Ukraine.
[85] The territory of Left-bank Ukraine and Kyiv.

into Muscovy in 1654, as a result of the Treaty of Pereiaslav between tsar Alexei I and the Cossacks. The latter were military communities which during the uprising for their privileges within Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1648-1654) formed a semi-political body and struggled for its recognition by the sovereign neighbors.[86] A common name for the Hetmanate in the documents from the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries was Little Russia.[87] "Little Russians" was a typical way of referring to the natives from the Hetmanate, as I discuss in Chapter 1.[88]

The whole eighteenth-century in the life of the Hetmanate lands was a period of transition. They continued to be idiosyncratic in many respects, yet underwent important changes triggered by imperial reforms which led to a mélange of local and all-imperial institutions. The period of the 1760s in the Hetmanate bears remarkable traces of this transition, covering the end of the relatively lenient policy towards these lands during Elizabeth's times (1741-1762) and the beginning of Catherine II (1762-1796) reforms facilitating their integration into the empire's system. The most notable political change was the abolishment of the office of hetman, which was resurrected during Elizabeth's time, and the introduction of the Collegium of Little Russia in lieu of it in 1764.[89] As will be shown later, the changes in the highest administration will be also reflected in the cast of actors involved in the recruitment campaigns.

The 1760s was still a time when the Hetmanate enjoyed relative autonomy, there was still no systematic poll tax and military recruitments, and a specific local fiscal system as well

[86] Sometimes the incorporation is traced from the 1667 Treaty of Andrusovo which was signed after Thirteen-years' war when Muscovy and Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth divided the territories along the Dnipro river, although it is hard to determine an exact watershed date since the political reshuffling continued.
[87] Serhii Plokhy, *The Cossack Myth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 31.
[88] Students from the Kharkiv Collegium from Sloboda Ukraine were also counted as Little Russians.
[89] The hetman was a traditional office of the commander of the Cossacks' army, and from 1649 – the head of the Hetmanate. This office was substituted by the Collegium of Little Russia, established by Peter (1724-1727), but then renewed only to be once again substituted by the resurrected for some time by Anna Ioannovna (1734-1750) the Collegium of Little Russia. The last hetman to whom I refer here was Kirill Rozumovskii (1750-1763). The Collegium to which I refer in the text is, therefore, the Second Collegium of Little Russia.

as jurisprudence were preserved. The imperial government, however, reoriented Hetmanate's economy to the Russian capitals and Volga ports, canceled customs at its borders with Great Russia, kept many military troops in Little Russia obliging locals to support their presence there, issued new regulations for the Church, and introduced other restructurings facilitating the integration of the lands into the empire. The integration was fostered in 1780s with the imposition of a poll tax, official enserfment, a rendering of Cossacks' regiments to the empire's army, secularization of church lands etc.[90] However, as John LeDonne aptly observed:

> The integration was motivated not only by Great Russians' pressures and by the fact that the extension of the perimeter of Imperial security along the Dniestr and the Black Sea littoral ended the historical role of Little Russia as a borderland. It also came about as a result of developments within the Ukraine tending to create, within an economic system common to both Great and Little Russia, similar social institutions, judicial agencies, and fiscal obligations.[91]

That is to say that Little Russians could have been interested in some of the processes of imperial integration but also that there was its own political dynamics in the Hetmanate which could facilitate integration without rigid enforcement from above.

An illustrative example here was the creation of an enclosed and powerful group of Cossack artistocrasy, *starshyna*, striving to equate itself with the Russian nobility. The process of its separation from the rest of less powerful Cossacks had already started in the seventeenth century, when the Cossack nobility began to acquire more lands, expand their estates, keep peasants attached to their lands as well as restrict the transfer from peasants to Cossack community, but encourage vice versa.[92] They also had a range of privileges: "freedom from taxation, trade privileges, […] the right to produce alcoholic beverages and trade in certain commodities and to participate in councils and offices."[93] Moreover, they perceived themselves as justified bearers of their traditional rights which went back to the medieval times of Kiev

[90] Kollmann, *The Russian Empire 1450-1801,* 105-113.
[91] LeDonne, 310-11.
[92] LeDonne, 310-314.
[93] Kollmann, *The Russian Empire 1450-1801,* 108.

principality and were for them quite compatible with the imperial system. Many were able to get the status of nobility according to the 1785 decree.[94]

The Cossack nobles who ingratiated themselves into the empress's favor promoted from the capital the interests of the local nobility of their home towns.[95] The same holds true for Little Russians who became the members of the Synod and often helped with local problems in the Kiev metropolitan, sometimes even neglecting the decrees which they themselves initiated. At the same time many sons of Little Russian clergy aspired to go to the capitals, since this was the only way to reach some high clerical rank.[96]

What I want to consider here is another type of integration based on the channeling of Little Russian students to the new centers of education, hospital schools, and their further assimilation into the networks of imperial structures. Integration was an unintended process. As was mentioned in the previous subchapter, the Medical Chancellery in the 1754 decree aimed at the recruitment of Little Russians to boost the number of "the most natural Russian proficient people" (*samykh prirodnykh Rossiiskikh dosoinykh liudei*) in the medical community,[97] meaning that this intro-imperial issue implied no difference between Great and Little Russians.

However, there was another difference which undergirded the decision to turn to Little Russia educational institutions. As was mentioned, the Synod was reluctant to release students from Great Russia seminaries because they were envisaged to become clergy, and the reason for this was probably the fact that Orthodox clergy in Great Russia was a closed social group and any kind of its disturbance could be perceived as the thread to its integrity. Consequently, Great Russia seminaries were educational institutions preserving the reproduction of this

[94] Plokhy, *The Cossack Myth*, 225-239.
[95] Ibid.
[96] See: Maksym Iaremenko, „Stara i nova zbroia v bytvakh XVIII st.: Reaktsiia dukhovnoi elity na impers'ku tserkovnu polityku," in *Pered vyklykamy unifikatsii ta dystsyplinuvannia: Kyivs'ka pravoslavna metropoliia u XVIII stolitti* (Lviv: Vydavnytstvo UKU, 2017), 135-228.
[97] PSZ, vol.14, no. 10.195, 37.

enclosed social group. This was not the case in the Hetmanate where clergy became a more closed social group in 1780s.[98] The Kiev-Mohyla Academy, as well as other Little Russian Collegiums, in contrast to spiritual seminaries, were institutions catering to the educational needs of different groups, like clergy, Cossacks, commoners or city dwellers etc., until the turn of the century.[99]

Another reason why the Kiev-Mohyla Academy represented an attractive source of medical students was the high level of Latin education this institution provided; and Latin was unequivocally determined as a crucial prerequisite of becoming a student of the hospital school throughout the whole century. As Griffin suggested, in the seventeenth century the networks of trustworthiness were determinative in search for medical physicians.[100] With the formation of local medical institutions, the virtue of being educated in Latin became of a paramount importance in the recruitment process. All students who were recruited in the 1760s passed a Latin exam.

For the Academy, the fact that it was a source of future medical students served as an argument when its position as an educational center with a particular set of privileges was challenged. While the imperial government considered the Academy a spiritual seminary, as the Synod's decrees illustrated, The Academy perceived itself as a "corporation with its own laws, culture and moral code."[101] In the 1760s the Academy faced a threat coming from both imperial and Cossack elite initiatives pertaining to the creation of the university in Little Russia: the Academy's infrastructure was envisaged to serve as a basis for a new institution.[102] In this context, the general-governor Ivan Glibov submitted a report (1766)—the text of which

[98] Kollmann, *The Russian Empire 1450-1801*, 112.
[99] Maksym Iaremenko, *Akademiia ta Akademiki Sotsial'na Istoriia Ostvity i Osvichennosti v Ukraini XVIII st.*, Kharkiv: Akta, 2014, 59-60.
[100] Griffin, "The Production and Consumption," 108.
[101] Hanna Sheliah, "Honor, Tradition and Solidarity: Corporate Identity Formation at the Kiev-Mohyla Academy (1701-1765)" (MA thes., Central European University, 2016), 7.
[102] Iaremenko, *Akademiia ta Akademiky*, 195-197

was likely to be created by the representatives of the Academy—asking the empress to preserve the institution's privileges and provide material support.[103] Outlining the benefits of the Academy, Glibov mentions that its students swelled the ranks of clergy, translators. Fulfilling the Synod's decrees, they went to study at the hospital schools to be medics in the army or continued education abroad to become doctors.[104] In 1767 the Kiev metropolis created a document asking to confirm the traditional Little Russian privileges, including the ones enjoyed by the Academy.[105] As in the previous report, the document mentions how the Academy was educating future clergy, teachers, translators, but also medics:

> According to the decree of the Holy State Synod from 14 March 1754, the written invitations of the Medical College and [students'] voluntary decisions more than three hundred students were released to the medical science from whom some are serving as doctors at the army of Her Imperial Majesty, at Moscow and Saint Petersburg hospitals and many at the regiments as surgeons and surgeon companions. There is almost no year [during] which the local Academy's students were not voluntarily released to [study] medical science.[106]

The documents depict how the Academy benefited the empire and fulfilled the state's decrees creating an image of a smooth recruitment of medical students. However, from the point of view of the Medical Chancellery, as the Synod's decree from 1755 illustrates, the turnout of volunteers to study medicine was very low. Based on the sources pertaining to the conduct of recruitments, the next subchapter goes beyond the analysis of legal discourse and rhetoric and focuses on what was happening on the ground.

2.2 Those Who Want to Go: State Demands and Student Responses

The recruitment of students from the Kiev-Mohyla Academy is the story of the reconciliation of the state demands with the interest of incorporated subjects for whom the 1754

[103] Iaremenko, *Akademiia ta Akademiky,* 195-197, 215
[104] Quotation from: Iaremenko, *Akademiia ta Akademiki*, 15-16.
[105] *Sbornik Imperatorskogo Russkogo Istoricheskogo Obshchestva,* vol. 43, 63-92.
[106] Ibid., 90-92.

decree highlighted a new avenue of social mobility. This was undoubtedly a twofold process, the Medical Chancellery strived to harness students' potential for the empire's needs, while multiplying students' choices of career. This subchapter opens with the investigation of the recruitment campaigns and how, until the end of the 1760s they became the means to control the flow of the students. This is followed by the reconstruction of students' travels and how the Medical Chancellery tried to regulate them facing with other factors of influence like the stance of the local authorities. It ends by creating a general picture of the students and how their cultural and social considerations influenced their choice of medical profession.

2.2.1 Standardizing Recruitment Campaigns

In total, 149 disciples of the Kiev-Mohyla Academy decided to embark on the path of medical servants in the 1760s. The analysis of the documents shows that students became medical servants in two ways, either individually by asking for the release from the Academy or by being accepted into the process of recruitment campaigns. The traditional interpretation goes that a systematic influx of the Academy's students to the hospital schools was launched after the successful recruitment campaign (1761) conducted by a doctor Ivan Poletika and supervised by the Medical Chancellery. Reportedly, he delivered a speech at the Kiev-Mohyla Academy which convinced more than enough students. He approved the worthiest 55 young men to travel to Saint Petersburg and Moscow.[107] Chistovich saw in Poletika's enterprise a successful precedent which paved the way for the latter recruitment campaigns by a surgeon Ivan Fedoseev in (1766) and Feder Matkovskii in (1777).[108]

[107] Borys Kryshtopa, "Poletyka Ivan," *Kyevo-Mohylians'ka Akademiia v imenakh* (Kyiv: KM Akademiia, 2001), 434. Sources do no indicate that Poletika delivered a speech but mention that he tried hard to convince students to go to the hospital schools.
[108] Chistovich, *Istoriia pervykh medetsynskikh shkol v Rosii*, 328.

In this subchapter, by analyzing Poletika's recruitment campaign and comparing it with the one conducted by Fedoseev, I argue that even though the former was an unequivocal success in numerical terms, it did not serve as a model for later recruitments. The recruitment campaign of Fedoseev, in turn, demonstrates a shift in the policy of the Medical College towards more systematized control of recruitments and the flow of students from the Academy.

The Medical Chancellery dispatched individual physicians to invite students from the educational institutions as an ad hoc measure when there was a need to bring new blood to the hospital schools. This was also a way to galvanize the Synod's decrees, the issuing of which did not lead to their obedient and immediate execution. In March 1758, for example, the doctor from Moscow hospital school, Anastasius Nyck, was asked to go to the Slavic Greek Latin Academy to find out whether there was anyone who wanted to study medicine.[109] Poletika's trip was the extension of such practice: the dispatch of the doctor to the Kiev-Mohyla Academy involved both a long-distance and time-consuming trip. The stakes were higher and correspondingly the number of recruited students as well. (See *Figure 1*)

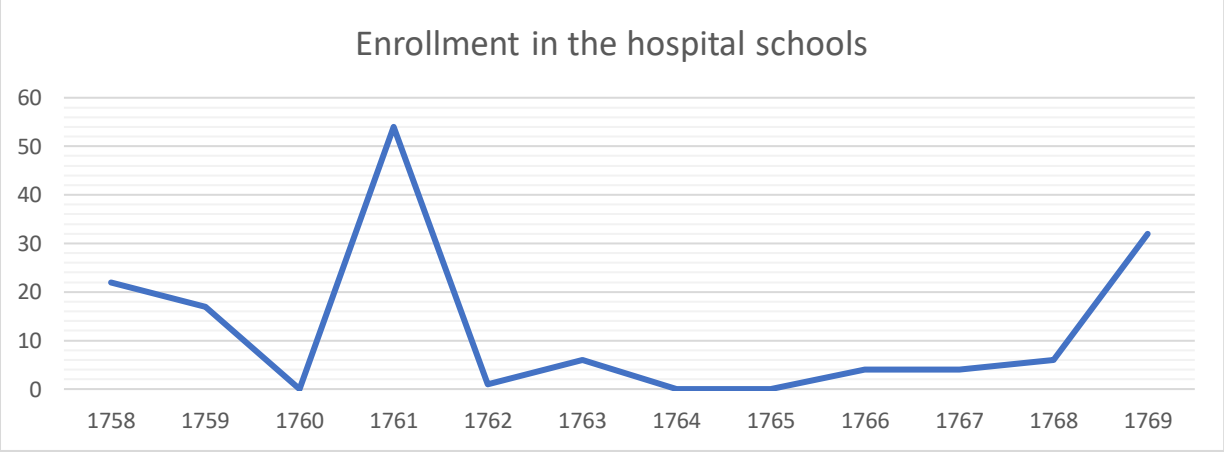

Figure 1[110]

[109] RGADA, f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 224, d. 135, "Report from the Medical Office to the Medical Chancellery" (1758).
[110] Orders from the Medical Chancellery/Medical College to the Medical Office: RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 224, d. 135, (1758); f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 227, d. 369 (1758); f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 226, d. 289 (1758); f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 238, d. 14 (1759); f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 238, d. 16 (1758-1759); f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 238, d. 64 (1759); f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 285, d. 379 (1762); f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 374 (1761); f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 297, d. 364 (1763); f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 294, d. 176 (1763); f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 12, d. 124 (1766); f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 20, d. 186 (1767); f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 17, d. 23 (1767); f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 17, d. 27 (1767); f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 24, d. 24 (1768); f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 24, d. 44

Figure 1 shows that the 54 students who reached Saint Petersburg and Moscow hospital schools in 1761 was truly an unprecedented number. At the same time, the graph does not support the idea that the campaign triggered a systematic influx of the Academy's youth, the numbers of students from the years before the recruitment were higher than during the ones which followed, until the 1769.

It is unclear whether the Medical Chancellery had already conceived of the idea to dispatch a physician to the Hetmanate educational institutions before Poletika asked for a four-month leave to Little Russia (Romny) for family reasons in May 1761. Poletika was a doctor from the Saint Petersburg division of Alexander Shuvalov, and since he did not want to be exempted from his salary (*zhalovalie*) for these four months, he asked the Medical Chancellery to assign him some task in Little Russia.[111] The Medical Chancellery saw in this an opportunity to send him to the local institutions to invite students and appealed to the Senate to allow Poletika's mission. The recourse to the Senate was important for several reasons. The Senate decided on the issue of the doctor's salary, it was to be notified about the planned large-scale recruitment, and it could vest Poletika with the necessary authority to create an unproblematic interaction between him and the local institutions.

In the appeal, the Chancellery included an extensive explanation of the importance of creating new medical servants for Her Imperial Majesty and emphasized its special diligence in "searching for all possible means" to recruit students.[112] Notably, the Chancellery presented the shortfall in students as a result of the failure of the local consistories to comply with the Synod's orders from 1754, 1755 and 1756. According to it, "only a few [students] showed up from those institutions, and the dioceses' consistories were many times notified about this with

(1768); f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 37, d. 317 (1769); f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 35, d. 177 (1769); f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 35, d. 179 (1769); f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 35, d. 202 (1769); f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 33, d. 129 (1769); f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 34, b. 145 (1769); f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 34, d. 151 (1769); f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 32, d. 92 (1769).

[111] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 355 "Poletika's appeal to the Medical Chancellery" (1761).

[112] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 355 "The report of the Medical Chancellery to the Senate" (1761).

the requests to release volunteers, however nobody shows up now."[113] From this perspective, Poletika was sent to trigger the decrees' implementation. The Synod approved the doctor's four-month trip obliging him to come back in October.[114] He was to visit local seminaries and invite students "in a descent manner" (*pristoinym obrazom*) to go to the hospital schools; 30 or more students "with good certificates".[115]

Poletika failed to accomplish his task in four months. He already got stuck in Moscow, due to an imprecise travel document,[116] and when he finally reached Little Russia in August, he found that the students were on vacation and would come back to the seminaries only in September. He presented two other reasons which postponed his return, the impossibility to "convince and send such students in a short time" and "autumn slushy weather" which made travelling expensive and was harmful to health. Thus, the doctor asked the Medical Chancellery for an extension of his stay in the Hetmanate so that he could accomplish his task "diligently and without haste." He also hinted at the recruitment of 50 or even up to 100 students, probably in order to mitigate the effect of his failure to meet the deadline.[117]

The extension of the doctor's stay led to additional expenses,[118] since he kept receiving his salary but so did the doctor who temporarily replaced him at Shuvalov's division. The Medical Chancellery transferred Poletika's request to the Senate,[119] and the latter agreed to let him stay until the end of December threatening, however, to take away his salary if he got delayed again.[120] The Medical Chancellery informed the doctor about Senate's resolution

[113] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 355 "The report of the Medical Chancellery to the Senate" (1761).
[114] Ibid; RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 355 "The Senate's order to the Medical Chancellery" (1761).
[115] Ibid.
[116] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 355 "Poletika's report to the Medical Office" (1761): the passport was issued only for a travel to Kiev, omitting the locations of Little Russia collegiums, contained only his name without mentioning his retinue and provided too few carts and horses. It took some time to wait for the resolution from the Medical Chancellery, since Medical Office refused to be responsible for dealing with these matters.
[117] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 355 "Poletika's report to the Medical Chancellery" (1761).
[118] Poletika's salary was paid by the Commissariat, the military department responsible for the supply of the army. This department was also responsible for some medical expenses. It partially covered the salaries of hospital students (more in subchapter 2.2.2).
[119] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 355 "The report of the Medical Chancellery to the Senate" (1761)
[120] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 355 "The order from the Senate to the Medical Chancellery" (1761)

adding that he could stay longer "so that this endeavor would not be in vain as well as much state money spent on it."[121] It also endorsed the recruitment of up to 100 people, although emphasized that Poletika should choose them thoroughly.[122]

There was a clear discrepancy between what the Chancellery wanted and what Poletika did because of the inevitable delays in correspondence. The Chancellery wrote about the expansion of the number of students in November, whereas in October Poletika already sent a list of 55 young men reporting that he did not invite more because of the absence of the permission to do so.[123] In a follow-up letter he added to this list one very promising student from the theology class, Mikhailo Trokhimovskii.[124] Upon receiving Poletika's letters, the Medical Chancellery responded by highlighting two concerns. Firstly, all recruited students preferred Saint Petersburg hospital schools to Moscow's, but the former lacked available accommodation: two buildings were destroyed by fire. Secondly, the Chancellery expected more than one student from theology class. The Medical Chancellery saw the solution to these problems in the recruitment of more students. The doctor was to continue inviting students, but from the theology class, and every new volunteer would go to Moscow hospital school.[125] Neither of these happened.

Poletika dispatched the recruited group to Saint Petersburg through Moscow, where 12 students remained at the local hospital, and others proceeded with their travel.[126] Nobody else was invited; there is also no hint in the documents that the doctor visited other Little Russia collegiums as it was initially planned. Poletika arrived at Saint Petersburg eight days after the deadline, excusing himself by being sick.[127] He resumed his work at the division, but was

[121] *daby ne vtune predpriniatoe namerenie i ne naprasno nato mnogoi kazennoi kosht upotrebn byl* - RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 355 "The Medical Chancellery's order to Poletika" (1761).
[122] Ibid.
[123] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 355 "Poletika's report to the Medical Chancellery" (1761)
[124] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 355 "Poletika's follow-up report to the Medical Chancellery" (1761)
[125] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 355 "The order from the Medical Chancellery to Poletika" (1761).
[126] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 374 "The report from the student of philosophy school Il'ia Rutskii to the Medical Chancellery" (1761).
[127] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 281, d. 16 "Poletika's report to the Medical Chancellery" (1761).

required to submit the last report on the number of students who were appointed at the hospitals.[128] Reportedly, some students upon their appointments, did not want to stay there and asked for the dismissal so they could serve somewhere else.[129] What happened to these students needs further investigation, but there evidence that in 1762 Dionisii Shydlovskii and Vasilii Timonovskii took away their graduation certificates, most likely because they left service.[130] The first recruitment campaign brought many students, but was time-consuming, expensive and not fully controlled by the Medical Chancellery. It seems like ultimately the Chancellery did not find its format effective: it did not send medics on such long-distance journeys to invite students anymore.

In 1766 the Medical College reconsidered its general policy regarding the invitation of students from the Hetmanate. According to the College's order from March, recruitment became a permanent part of the duties of particular local physicians who were vested with the responsibility to invite students to the hospital schools on the notice of the College. The physicians accepted applicants and informed the College about their number, names and time when they headed out beforehand. When there was no need in inviting them, surgeons were ordered to stop invitations until further notice.[131] In this way, particular local surgeons served as constant and controlled mediators between the College and its sources of medical servants.

The 1766 order was sent to a surgeon from the Kiev battalion, Ivan Fedoseev, but also to the medics from Pereiaslavl' and Chernigov, Frants Vul'f and Ioanim Uznanskii respectively.[132] Fedoseev was obliged to invite students from the Kiev-Mohyla Academy "by using decent means […] to try as much as possible". The requirements for such students were

[128] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 281, d. 16 "The order from the Medical Chancellery to Poletika" (1761).
[129] Ibid.
[130] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 374 "Shydlovskii's graduation certificate" (1761); "Timonovskii graduation certificate" (1761).
[131] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 24, d. 24 "The order from the Medical College to Ivan Fedoseev" (1766); RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 17, d. 27 "The order from the Medical College to Frants Vul'f" (1766).
[132] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 17, d. 27 "The order from the Medical College to Ivan Fedoseev, Frants Vul'f and Ioanim Uznanskii" (1766).

standard, the knowledge of Latin and appropriate behavior.[133] Fedoseev was charged with the recruitment in 1766 and held this responsibility for the several following years.[134]

Another means to regulate the flow of students, which was mentioned in the letter of the Medical College from 1767, was to deprive students who traveled without notifying the local surgeons from the reimbursement of their travel money, although they were still appointed at the hospitals and received *zhalovanie* there. There is evidence that this decision was implemented at least once. Four students who went on their own to Saint Petersburg at the end of 1767, Timofei Ianovskii, Luka Kolonetskii, Petr Zemskii and Damian Bovenskii, did not receive reimbursement.[135] The recruitment of students through the mediation of local surgeons remained a viable means for staffing hospital schools. In 1770, the Kiev physician Mitrophanov got this task,[136] and in 1777 the surgeon of Kiev battalion Feder Matkovskii was in charge of inviting students.[137]

The reconsideration of Poletika's campaign as a pivotal event for the establishment of systematic recruitment and its comparison with the campaign by Fedosees shows that the Medical College was able to enforce fuller control over the flow of students from the Kiev-Mohyla Academy in the second half of the 1760s

2.2.2 Students Travel to Saint Petersburg and Moscow

In the 1754 decree the Medical Chancellery drew up guidelines of recruitment which, nevertheless, did not regulate all the intricacies of the process, and furthermore its main points

[133] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 12, d. 124 "The report from Ivan Fedoseev to the Medical College" (1766).
[134] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 12, d. 124 "The report from Ivan Fedoseev to the Medical College" (1766); RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 17, d. 23 "The report from Ivan Fedoseev to the Medical College" (1766); RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 24, d. 24 "The order from the Medical College to the Medical Office and hospitals" (1768); RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 35, d. 202 "The appeal from Afanasii Konstantinov to Her Imperial Majesty" (1769); RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 34, d. 151 "The report from Ivan Fedoseev to the Medical College" (1769).
[135] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 24, d. 24 "The order from the Medical College to the Medical Office and hospitals" (1768).
[136] Boris Palkin, *Russkie gospital'nye shkoly XVIII veka i ikh vospitaniki*, 28.
[137] Vernads'kyi National Library of Ukraine. Institute of Manuscript, f. 301, spr. 26, ark. 43-44.

were (re)negotiated when it came to its implementation. By reconstructing students travel to Great Russia, this subchapter analyses how the Medical Chancellery imposed the aforementioned guidelines from the 1754 decree and its own orders and how their implementation was influence by the local authorities, patronage and students' agency.

The travel from Kiev to Saint Petersburg or Moscow required a lot of money for transport and accommodation. In the 1755 decree, the Synod, in view of the students' poverty which precludes their traveling, obliged the local dioceses' offices[138] to give 10 rubles per student before their departure. The Medical Chancellery had to reimburse this sum to the dioceses upon students' arrival.[139] The internal decree from the Medical Chancellery to the Medical Office from 20 July 1758 indicates the change in the distribution of money expenses. Instead of dioceses' offices, the local chancelleries became obliged to pay 5 rubles to the volunteers to go to Moscow.[140] Probably, another 5 were supposed to be paid by students themselves and to be reimbursed by the Medical Chancellery upon their arrival.

From 1767, the documents from Medical College started to indicate the differentiation in the sums of money: those who went to Saint Petersburg received 15 rubles, while those who remained in Moscow only 10.[141] It is likely to be connected to the fact that many students went directly to Saint Petersburg bypassing Moscow, and the documents started to reflect the sum of money which they received at the capital. This omission of Moscow also shows that the paragraph from the 1754 decree determining the town as an important stop from where the Medical Office dispatched students to the hospital schools, could be ignored.

Remarkably, the students' appeals reveal that the local Kiev Chancellery almost never complied with the 1758 order to fund students' travels, forcing them to search for the alternative

[138] *iz domovykh Arkhiereiskikh dokhodov*.
[139] PSZ, vol. 14, no. 10.354 (March 11, 1755), 307.
[140] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 238, d. 16 "The report from the Medical Office to the Medical Chancellery" (1758).
[141] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 17, d. 23 "The order from the Medical College to the Medical Office" (1767).

sources of money.[142] A student received the refund signing a promise that he would pay it back if turned out he did not have "inclination and diligence towards surgical science."[143] During Poletika's campaign (1761) the Kiev Chancellery failed to circumvent the obligation to cover travel expenses. This was, probably, because Poletika's recruitment was backed by the Senate and he obtained its order prescribing the Kiev Chancellery to give students passports and money.[144] However, this was rather an exception, new and new students' appeals appeared asking for the reimbursement of travel money.[145]

Apart from the travel money, students needed to obtain travel documents to get to the capitals. The state was concerned with the issue of uncontrolled intra-imperial movement and the passports testified to the legality of students' travels to Great Russia. A passport could be issued for one or several students by the Kiev Chancellery, the Kiev magistrate or the Little Russia College located in Glukhov,[146]—an important administrative center and an obligatory stop for students on their way to the capitals from Kiev.[147] The absence of a passport could lead to the dispatch of a student back home. When Peter Nesterovich and his fellow Pavel Leontovich came to Moscow in 1758, the former was unreservedly sent back to Kiev, since, when checking students' documents, the Medical Chancellery found out that his name was not mentioned in the passport. Instead, two names were found, Andrievskii and Khmel'nitskii, who,

[142] See, for example: RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 227 d. 369 "The appeal from Aleksei Onisievich to Her Imperial Majesty" (1758); RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 226., d. 289 "The appeal from Kassiian Iagelskii to Her Imperial Majesty" (1758); RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 238, d. 14 "The appeal from Matvei Romanovskii" (1759) RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 12, d. 124 "The appeal from Ivan Mogilianskii to Her Imperial Majesty" (1766).
[143] See, for example: RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 238, d. 14 "The order from the Medical Chancellery to appoint at the hospital schools Matvei Romanovskii, Ivan Pashkovskii, Radion Pomaranskii" (1759); RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b.238, d. 16 "The order of the Medical Chancellery to appoint 14 students at the hospital schools" (1758).
[144] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 355 "The Senate's order to the Medical College" (1761).
[145] For example: RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 294 d. 176 "The appeal from Nikifor Chernishevskii to Her Imperial Mejesty" (1763). In this appeal the student directly indicated that he did not receive 10 rubles from the Kiev Chancellery.
[146] For example: RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 17, d. 23 "The passport from the Kiev Chancellery to Evsevii Smirnitskii" (1766); RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 20, d. 186 "The passport from the Kiev magistrate to Egor Ianovskii" (1767); RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 35, d. 179 "The passport from the Little Russia College to Stefan Komarovskii" (1769).
[147] Before, it was the residence of the hetman.

by the way, never reached the Medical Office.[148] The support from a powerful patron, however, could help to solve the problem of the lack of a travel document. For example, Nikifor Chernishevskii, arriving at Moscow in 1763, did not have a passport to certify his persona and turned for help to the hetman Kirill Ruzumovskii whose Travelling General Military Chancellery[149] happened to be at that time in Moscow. The Chancellery issued a passport proving Chernishevskii's Little Russian identity (*malorosiiskaia poroda*) and allowing his further travel to Saint Petersburg.[150]

In contrast to passport, the certificate from the Academy was much less important document which could be substituted by the evidence from family friends and relatives. When Andrei Tomashevskii applied for study at Moscow hospital in 1768, he said that he was a former student of the Kiev-Mohyla Academy and upon his studies received a certificate in 1766. Unfortunately, he accidentally (*nezapnym sluchaem*) lost it on his way to Moscow. However, it did not pose serious problems. His cousin, a regimental surgeon, at whose house he stayed in Moscow, confirmed that Tomashevskii studied at the Academy and got a certificate when he decided to be by the deathbed of his father and work in trade.[151]

Another example is the case of Fedor Kanevskii, who applied to study at Saint Petersburg hospital school in 1769 but did not possess a graduation certificate. He took a leave from the Academy, but due to his mother's involvement in a court case in Saint Petersburg went there. Instead of going back to resume studies, he decided to become a student at Saint Petersburg hospital school. To testify to his studies at the Academy, he turned for help to the treasurer of Kobeliatskaia sotnia of Poltava regiment Feder Mogilevskii who happened to be in Saint Petersburg and knew Kanevskii and his parents well.[152] Mogilevskii confirmed that

[148] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 238, d. 64 "The order from the Medical Chancellery to the Medical College" (1758).
[149] *pokhodnaia getmanskaia generalnaia voiskovaia kantseliariia*.
[150] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 294, d. 176 "The passport from the Travelling General Military Chancellery to Nikifor Chernishevskii" (1768).
[151] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 24, d. 44 "The report from the Medical Chancellery to the Medical College" (1768).
[152] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 35, b. 177 "Feder Mogilevskii's testimony" (1769).

Kanevskii was of Little Russian origin and his conduct was good and he studied at the Academy in the class of rhetoric.[153] This together with Latin exam was enough for the Chancellery to accept Kanevskii as a hospital student.

Sometimes students traveled alone, but more often with a company. For instance, Kassiian Iagelskii traveled to Saint Petersburg in 1758 together with a merchant Simion Drashkovich who was on his way from the Habsburgs lands to visit his uncle in Saint Petersburg,[154] while a student Afanasii Konstantinov in 1769 enjoyed the company of ober-hieromonk Agei Kokhosadskii.[155] More commonly, however, students traveled with their fellows.[156] During Poletika's campaign, the doctor dispatched fifty-two students who traveled together to Moscow.[157] To secure the travel of this group, Poletika turned to the Senate asking them to appoint a *reitar* to escort students to Saint Petersburg as they were foreigners to these lands and the trip was unusual for them (*dlia inostranstva i neobyknovennosti*).[158] This specific reference of Poletika to a *reitar* is remarkable in itself, since *reitary* was a specific group of Kiev garrison, a command of curriers (*reitars'ka komanda*) whose main task was "to sustain a connection between the College of Foreign Affairs and the Russian resident in Stambul."[159] However, as Vadym Nazarenko illustrated, this was only the tip of the iceberg of their activities, since they were heavily involved in dealing with private correspondence, deliveries, trade and various missions within and beyond the empire. Their service was hereditary, entailed a range of privileges and *reitary* were directly subordinated to the governor, the College of Foreign affairs and the Senate making them a specific "socio-professional group,"[160] and

[153] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 35, b. 177 "Feder Mogilevskii's testimony" (1769).
[154] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 226, d. 289 "Passport from Kiev province" (1758).
[155] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 35, d. 202 "The appeal of Afanasii Konstantinov to Her Imperial Majesty" (1769).
[156] This holds true for all students highlighted in gray or blue in the Appendix.
[157] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 374. "The report from Poletika to the Medical Chancellery" (1761). Eventually, however, 51 continued travelling, since Adrian Viridarskii was left in Glukhov (more on this case in subchapter 2.2.4).
[158] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 355. "Poletika's report to the Medical Chancellery" (1761).
[159] Vadym Nazarenko, "Kur'ery «dlia osobykh posylok»: kyivs'ki reitary XVIII st.," *Historians.in.ua*, June 21, 2016, http://archive.li/a3TqB#selection-835.1-835.74.
[160] Vadym Nazarenko, "Kur'ery «dlia osobykh posylok».

apparent go-betweens from the perspective of a new diplomatic history. The active involvement of the Senate in the 1761 recruitment campaign made it possible for Poletika to employ a *reitar* and to use the travel experience of the latter in a new context of the "delivery" of future medical servants for the empire. This *reitar* was Petr Kozlov, and he escorted students all the way to Saint Petersburg where he was supplied with one cart to travel back home.[161]

Upon students' arrival to Saint Petersburg or Moscow, they were expected to submit an appeal (*chelobytnaia*) addressed to the empress about their "keen desire to be in service of Your Imperial Majesty."[162] During their studies at the Academy, all students took an oath to the ruler,[163] but to become medical servants they took another one (*kliatvennoe obeshchanie*) "to be devoted, good and obedient slave and subject."[164] The ceremony took place in church,[165] and was witnessed by medics from the Medical Chancellery or College.[166]

Another mandatory part upon students' arrival was to pass a Latin exam. The examinations were usually conducted by physicians from the Medical College or Medical Office. Although there is one reference from 1758, Moscow, that the examination was held by a Latin teacher Tsviker.[167] The records of the Medical College contain short certificates written by the aforementioned Lerche, who at the end of the 1760s held Latin exams in Saint Petersburg. His certificates are rather formulaic but includes final reports on students: "knows

[161] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 377 "About a cart for the reitar" (1761).
[162] Some appeals do not contain "keenly" (*revnostnoe*), indicating different formats used by scribes.
[163] Time and place of this ceremony were indicated in the students' graduation certificates. In 1750s the students swore an oath at Kievo-Pecherska Fortress in the church of Theodosius of the Caves - RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 226, d. 289; f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 238, d. 16; f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 238, d. 14; f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 274; f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 374; f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 20, d. 186. At least from 1762, the certificates start to indicate that the ceremony happened at the Brotherhood monastery in the church of the Epiphany - RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 12, d. 124; f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 24, d. 24.
[164] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 238, d. 14 "The oath to Elizabeth and her successor" (1759).
[165] See, for example: RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 238, d. 16 "The report from the Medical Office to the Medical Chancellery" (1759); RGADA, f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 226, d. 289 "The report from the Medical Office to the Medical Chancellery" (1758).
[166] See, for example: RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 238, d. 14 "The report from the Medical Office to the Medical College" (1759); RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 12, d. 124 "The oath to Catherine II" (Ivan Mogilianskii) (1766); RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 17, d. 23 "The oath to Catherine II" (Evsevii Smirnitskii) (1767).
[167] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 238, d. 16 "The report from the Medical Office to the Medical Chancellery" (1758).

enough Latin and deserves to be a medical student"[168] or "can read, write, and speak in Latin and is able to be a surgical student."[169] There was no occasion in the 1760s that a student from the Kiev-Mohyla Academy failed this exam.

Every time a student came to Saint Petersburg or Moscow, he was appointed within the *komplet* (the determined number of the student body), provided there were vacant places.[170] If not, he was taken beyond the *komplet*, which also implied the same salary, but some money instead of food.[171] This happened because there was to synchronization between the number of students needed to fill the *komplet* and the number of students who actually came to be appointed at hospital schools. According to the decrees, the Moscow hospital school was envisaged to have the largest number of students (50), while other hospitals were determined to have each 20, a number that was expanded later.[172]

According to a 1754 decree, students from the hospitals in Saint Petersburg and Kronstadt received 2 rubles per month in addition to "accommodation, firewood, candles and sufficient amounts of food," plus a servant for several people. The amount of money that students received at Moscow hospitals varied.[173] The 1754 decree did not specify the exact source of money for students' *zhalovaniia*, but it transpires from the sources that Naval

[168] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 285, d. 379 "The certificate from Lerche" (1762).
[169] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 35, d. 179 "The certificate from Lerche" (1769); RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 35, d. 202 "The certificate from Lerche" (1769); RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 33, d. 129 "The certificate from Lerche" (1769); RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 34, d. 151 "The certificate from Lerche" (1769); RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 32, d. 92 "The certificate from Lerche" (1769).
[170] For example, 5 vacant places at Saint Petersburg hospitals - "The order from the Medical Chancellery to the Medical Office" RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 24, d. 369 (1758); RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 17, d. 27; 3 vacant places at Moscow hospital - RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 17, d. 27 "The report from the Medical Office to the Medical College" (1767); 10 vacant places at Saint Petersburg hospitals - RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 35, d. 177 "The order from the Medical College to the Medical Office" (1769); 17 vacant places at Saint Petersburg hospitals - RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 33, d. 129 "The order from the Medical College to the Medical Office" (1769).
[171] For example, in January 1767 Evsevii Smirnitskii was accepted beyond *komplet* and instead of food received 10 kopeek per day - RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 17, d. 23 "The order from the Medical College to the Medical Office" (1767).
[172] Chistovich, *Istoriia pervykh medetsynskikh shkol v Rossii,* 84-85, 218.
[173] PSZ, vol.14, no. 10.195 (March 14, 1754), 38.

hospitals were to be supported by the Navy College, and infantry hospitals by the Main Commissariat.[174]

This uncertainty about the number of students in the *komplet* created complications which, however, could be harnessed by the Medical Chancellery for its benefit. For instance, in 1763 the Medical Chancellery appointed a student Martin Terekhovskii as a student at Saint Petersburg land hospital with the Commissariat's salary. The Commissariat refused to pay since Terekhovskii was beyond the *komplet*. It underscored that the Senate's decree from 1761, which obliged the Commissariat to pay for some students beyond *komplet*, was exclusively related to Poletika's recruitment campaign, an *ad hoc* regulation, but not a long-lasting decree.[175] The Medical Chancellery, in turn, informed Terekhovskii that he had been appointed to a free place after Maksim Korniskii, another student, was dispatched as a regimental surgeon.[176]

Another challenge to the smooth recruitment was the clear preference of students to go to Saint Petersburg hospital schools rather than to remain in Moscow. The Medical Chancellery/College's policies around the restriction of students' agency in this context was inconsistent. The decree from 1754 allowed students to decide where exactly they wanted to study, however, the first two students recruited that year, Andrei Vezhitstkii and Grigorii Makar'evskii, regardless of their wish to go to Saint Petersburg, were appointed to Moscow hospital, since there were no vacancies at the former.[177] During Poletika's recruitment campaign in October 1761 nobody wished to go to Moscow, but the Medical Chancellery obliged one part of the students to remain there.[178] However, the restrictions were temporary,

[174] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 355 "The order from the Senate to the Medical Chancellery" (1761).
[175] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 297, d. 364 "The report from the Commissariat to the Medical Chancellery" (1763).
[176] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 297, d. 364 "The report from the report from the Medical Chancellery to the Commissariat" (1763).
[177] Chistovich, *Istoriia pervykh medetsynskikh shkol v Rossii*, 229.
[178] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 355 "The report from the student of philosophy school Il'ia Rutskii to the Medical Chancellery" (1761).

and students continued to go directly to Saint Petersburg. Around 77% of recruited students in the 1760s were appointed there.

There were students who had enough money to study for some time or in general at their own expenses. For instance, Andrei Tomashevskii and Grigorii Iukhnovskii, who applied approximately at the same time, promised to sustain their studies themselves before being included in the *komplet*.[179] Stefan Komarovskii and Nestor Maksimovich applied to study at Saint Petersburg hospitals as volunteers at their own expenses in 1769, in July and December respectively.[180] The status of "volunteers" allowed them to attend lectures at the hospitals and "take care of the sick under doctor's supervision."[181] Probably, the status of "volunteers" instead of "students" exempted from some obligations of the latter, thus was more attractive for those who could pay for their studies.

2.2.3 Recruited Students

Being a famous educational institution, the Academy was a magnet for students from all over the Hetmanate and beyond. From 149 disciples of the Kiev-Mohyla Academy, 112 were the natives (*urozhentsy*) of all ten regiments (*polki*), administrative units of the Hetmanate spearheaded by colonels (*polkovniki*). [182] A big number of students were from Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, including two from Right-bank Ukraine. Six students came from Sloboda Ukraine and two from Great Russia (see *Figure 2*). This diverse palette suggests that the hospital schools received the representatives of the different territories of the Hetmanate

[179] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 24, d. 44 "The appeal from Andrei Tomashevskii to Her Imperial Majesty" (1768); RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 24, d. 44 "The appeal from Grigorii Iukhnovskii to Her Imperial Majesty (1768).
[180] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 35, d. 179 "The appeal from Stefan Komarovskii to Her Imperial Majesty" (1769); RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 37, d. 317 "The appeal from Nestor Maksimovich to Her Imperial Majesty" (1769).
[181] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 35, d. 179 "The order from the Medical College" (1769); RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 37, d. 317 "The order from the Medical College" (1769).
[182] In 1781 the regiments were restructured into *namestnichestva* (Kyiv, Chernigov and Novgorod-Severskii) in the context of the imperial administrative reforms - Kollmann, *The Russian Empire 1450-1801*, 105-113.

who had been already gathered by the Academy. In the hospitals this group further mixed with recruited foreigners and Great Russians comprising a diverse students' body in these state institutions and contributing to the process of imperial amalgamation.

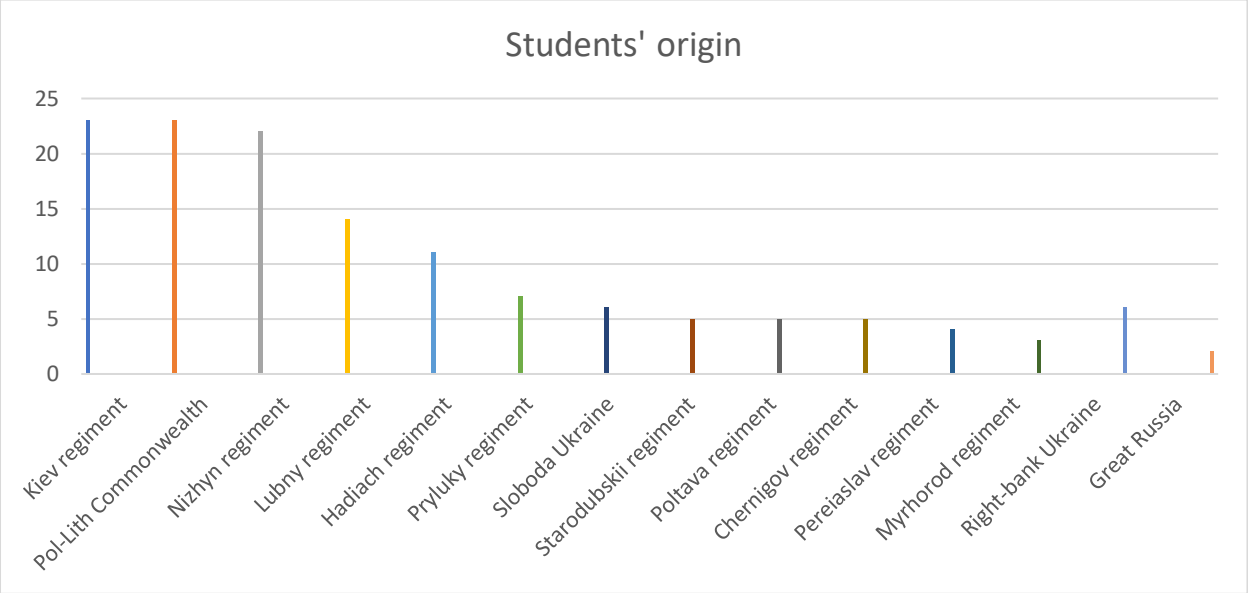

Figure 2[183]

Rough estimates suggest that there were approximately 1,100 students per year at the Academy during 1744–1770.[184] The most successful year of recruitment brought 54 students which comprised around 5% of all Academy's young men. As for a qualitative sense, the 1754 decree obliged students to come with certificates from the seminaries showing that they had already studied "grammar, rhetoric and at least a little bit of philosophy,"[185] meaning that the decree clearly favored students who had reached the class of philosophy—that is the first of the two highest classes, philosophy and theology. Before these classes, a student had to accomplish the class of *piitika* and then rhetoric.[186] Notably, the Medical Chancellery could

[183] See footnote 110 - Orders from the Medical Chancellery/Medical College to the Medical Office. Apart from this, the same *dela* contain either graduation certificates or copies from them where students' origin, classes and social affiliations are mentioned.
[184] Zoia Khyzhniak, Valerii Man'kivs'kii, *Istoriia Kyevo-Mohylians'koï Akademii*, (Kyiv: KM Akademia, 2003), 115.
[185] PSZ, vol.14, no. 10.195 (March 14, 1754), 39.
[186] The elementary classes were analogy, infima, grammar and syntaksima.

occasionally increase its demands. For instance, during the recruitment campaign conducted by doctor Ivan Poletika, which will be analyzed below, the Chancellery could invite more students from the class of theology. However, only six students throughout all the decade would be the representatives of the theology class. The most numerous, however, will the group of students from the class of rhetoric, but not the envisaged philosophy and some students from philosophy had just started to study it, when they applied to become hospital students.[187] (See *Figure 3*)

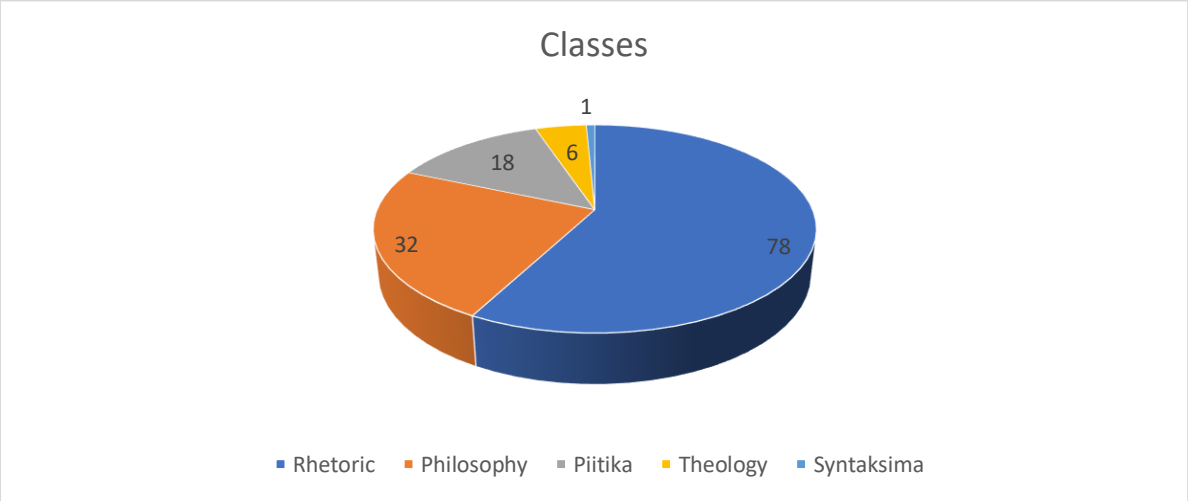

Figure 3[188]

In general, this was quite common for the Academy's students to graduate after six-seven years of studies from the classes of rhetoric and philosophy, firstly, because students could be short of money to sustain their further studies[189] and secondly, the theology class was another three years of studies and primarily of use for those who devoted themselves to the clergy.[190] A smaller number came from *piitika* classes, which would suggest that the 1754 decree was not so strict. Evidentially, no students but one came from the lowest classes of the

[187] For example, see: RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 355 "The graduation certificate of Dionisii Shydlovskii" (1761); f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 374 "The graduation certificate of Ivan Slonetskii" (1761); RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 374 "The graduation certificate of Ivan Vasil'evich" (1761).
[188] See footnotes 110 and 183.
[189] Oksana Prokopyuk, "Vykhovantsi Kyevo-Mohylians'koi Akademii v kantseliarii Kyivs'koi Dukhovnoi Konsystorii," *Kyiv Academy*, 2-3 (2006), 151-154.
[190] Khyzhniak, *Istoriia Kyevo-Mohylians'koï Akademii*, 87.

Academy. However, the document from the Medical College pertaining to this one student, Peter Titov, do not indicate that the fact that he was from the *syntaksima* class somehow precluded his appointment at Moscow hospital school.[191]

The presence of students from theology evidences that medical profession was considered as a viable option for some individuals from this class as well, sometimes very promising students. For instance, Martin Terekhovskii traveled to Saint Petersburg in 1763 and submitted his appeal which rather extraordinary was written by himself with a breath-taking elegancy. He was versed in Latin, but also studied German, French, Greek, Hebrew, the art of drawing and engraving and was highly praised in his certificate.[192] Nestor Maksimovich applied to be a volunteer at the hospital upon four-year study of theology at the Academy, from which he graduated "with an excellent success and [brought] many benefits to the Holy Church."[193] Mikhailo Trokhimovskii was also versed in foreign languages and had flattering recommendations from rector and other teachers, who praised his "excellent qualities."[194]

There was no strict correlation between the age of the students and their class at the Academy.[195] The records about the age of students recruited to the hospitals schools are rather scarce until middle of the 1760s, while from 1766 it starts to be more regularly recorded, which allows to conclude that at that time the age of applicants fluctuated from 17 to 22 years old, and twenty-year-old students were most common. Such record keeping of the age was probably prompted by the new regulations from the Medical College to invite students from the Academy in the diapason of 14–20 years old.[196] This regulation was almost fulfilled: 4 out of 34 students from available data were 1–2 years older; moreover, it transpires from the scarce

[191] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 17, d. 27 "The order from the Medical College" (1767).
[192] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 297, d. 364 "The appeal from Martin Terekhovskii to Her Imperial Majesty" (1763) and "The graduation certificate of Martin Terekhovskii" (1763).
[193] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 37, d. 317 "The graduation certificate of Nestor Maksimovich" (1768).
[194] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b, 273, d. 355 "The follow-up report from Poletika to the Medical Office" (1761).
[195] Iaremenko, *Akademiia ta Akademiky*, 60-61.
[196] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 17, d. 27 "The order from the Medical College to Ivan Fedoseev, Frants Vul'f and Ioanim Uznanskii" (1766).

data on the first half of the 1760s that back then 24-year-old students succeeded in being accepted.

Graduation certificates also contain information about the students' academic performance and behavior. The 1754 decree does not have any specifications regarding this, apart from specifying at the very beginning of the document to invite "decent people."[197] Probably, the evaluations of students in the decrees helped to check this. The Academy "graded" its students by describing their studies.

Figure 4 (most students were from "good" category; highlighted in bold; "perfect" - above, "middle" - below)[198]

Students' academic performance	
Excellent	*preizriadno*
Perfect	*izriadno*
Commendable success	*s uspekhom pokhval'nym*
Very skillfully	*obkhozhdeniezhe*
Good	***dobrago***
Confidently	***blagonadezhno***
Successfully	***blagouspeshno***
Diligently	***prilezhno***
Thoroughly	***tshchatel'no***
Exemplary	***primerno***
Reliably	***nadezhno***
Average	*sredstvenno*
Moderate	*umerennogo*
Mediocre	*posredstvenno*
Not the last success	*uspekha neposledniago*

The "grade" in the certificate indicated how a student studied in the class from which he graduated. There was no unified way of evaluating students: it could be based on the comparison of students within class or indicate the effort which a student showed during studies, rather than his results. Nevertheless, it is possible to separate between "grades" which signified "perfect," "good," "middle," and "weak." Based on the assessment of students during 1737–1738, Maksym Iaremenko shows

[197] PSZ, vol.14, no. 10.195 (March 14, 1754), 37.
[198] The arrangement of grades is based on Iaremenko's tables for 1737-1738; almost all of the "grades" from *Figure 4* were present in 1737-1738 and hardly changed their meaning. Iaremenko, *Akademiia ta Akademiky*, 449-452.

that most of the students at the Academy belonged to the "middle" category, followed by "good," "bad" and the smallest percentage of "perfect."[199] Unfortunately, there is no such data for the 1760s. The comparison of "grades," available for more than a half of recruited students (see *Appendices*) allows to say that the majority had "good" assessment of their performance, followed by "perfect" and "middle"; no "weak" grades. There are also a few idiosyncratic evaluations. For instance, Ioakim Kopachevskii got in 1758 the assessment "studied till losing his mind."[200] Probably, this was a metaphorical way to describe an extremely diligent studies. Danil Afonas'ev received a more perplexing evaluation of his performance "according to the abilities of his mind."[201] Whether it was a way to hide not so brilliant performance or it marked average skills remains unclear.

In contrast to the diversity of "grades" to assess academic performance, the description of behavior was rather standardized and basically the same. Students conducted themselves "respectable" (*dobroporiadochno*), "well-behaved" (*dobronravno, dobroporiadochno*), "honestly," "without suspicion" (*bezpodozritel'no*), "like a good student should," "as an honest and a respectable person should."[202] How important the evidence of good behavior was for the Medical Chancellery, can be seen in its response to Poletika's idea to recruit up to 100 students:

> […] chose and send exclusively diligently and thoroughly by observing that the willing students are educated enough as well as [conduct] honest and virtuous life [and] are with corresponding certificates of education and behavior, from whom one can expect the great benefit of service to Her Imperial Majesty.[203]

[199] Iaremenko, *Akademiia ta Akademiky*, 68.
[200] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 238, d. 16 "The graduation certificate of Ioakim Kopachevskii" (1758).
[201] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 238, d. 16 "The graduation certificate of Danil Afonas'ev" (1758).
[202] For instance, see: RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 12, d. 124 "The graduation certificate of Ivan Mogilianskii" (1766); RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 226, d. 289 "The graduation certificate of Kassiian Iagelskii" (1758); RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 238, d. 14 "The graduation certificate of Ivan Pashkovskii" (1758); RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 238, d. 16 "The graduation certificate of Ivan Kainskii" (1758), "The graduation certificate of Roman Krasovskii" (1758), "The graduation certificate of Maksim Mikhalevich" (1758), "The graduation certificate of Ivan Zavadinskii" (1758).
[203] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 355 "The order from the Medical Chancellery to Poletika" (1761).

To what extend this was formulaic and corresponded to the actual behavior of students is hard to asses, but as for the "grades" it seems that a medical career was able to attract students with rather "good" performance, and hence was considered to be a worthy enterprise. Probably, a medical career was closed for not successful students and they were not allowed to apply for such studies in the first place. Not only the cases of applicants with poor performance are absent, but there are also no cases of rejection of such students based on their bad certificates. It seems that "filtration" was done already on the level of Academy.

2.2.4 Social Affiliations

In October 1761 during Poletika's recruitment campaign, a student from *piitika* school Adrian Viridarskii, together with a group of other students who sought to be appointed at hospital schools, was waiting in Glukhov, a transitional point on the way from Kiev to Saint Petersburg or Moscow. However, he did not manage to go further, a letter with the approval of the highest authority, hetman Kirill Rozumovskii, reached the local General Military Chancellery and obliged him to remain there. The letter was composed on the appeal from Adrian's father Ivan Viridarskii to the hetman pleading to hold up his son on his way to Saint Petersburg, since Andrei—the way the father refers to Adrian—went there without notifying his father and not obtaining his permission. Ivan stressed the young age of his son and, more importantly, that he was his only heir. He explicitly laid out the future perspective of his son, namely that he would substitute his father in the military service when the latter would get older.[204]

Unfortunately, Adrian's side of the story, his underlying intentions and reasons remain obscure, apart from his eventual decision to study medicine against another life path which his

[204] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 273, d. 374 "The certificate from the General Military Chancellery" (1761).

father planned for him, and which he considered to be more beneficial for his child. Adrian's father was not an ordinary Cossack in the military service, but *znachkovyi* companion (*tovarysh*) of the Nizhyn regiment. This rank meant that Ivan belonged to a particular group of Cossack elites, the society of noble military fellows (*znatne viis'kove tovarystvo*)[205] which often enjoyed different privileges as well as the hetman's protection. This rank was of hereditary nature commonly bequeathed by father to his son, or occasionally to some relative. Although sometimes colonel and later Military Chancellery and Little Russian College could confer this rank.[206]

In contrast to Adrian, his fellows from *piitika* class Andrei Lvovskii and Ivan Kalinichenko as well as a graduate from rhetoric class Elisei Vadarskii, all the sons of *znachkovi* companions who were recruited by Poletika, managed to go to Moscow hospital school. Another student of rhetoric class from the same recruitment campaign, Nikolai Dovgelia, was a son of a military companion (*viis'kovyi tovarysh*), got an appointment at Saint Petersburg hospital. He belonged to another privileged group under hetman's protection from the society of noble military fellows. The rank of military companion was usually conferred to the sons of *starshyna* before their further career advancement.[207]

These five students from the families of Cossack elite were the only representatives of this group who applied to study medicine throughout the 1760s. As was described in the previous subchapter, the Cossack elites clearly separated themselves from unprivileged Cossack fellows and perceived themselves as true holders of a particular range of privileges, which were to be kept within family, transferring them from father to son. An illustrative example of how a student from Cossack elite understood and articulated the peculiarity of his

[205] The society of noble military fellows included *bunchukovi*, military and *znachkovi* companions; these ranks were abolished by the 1784 decree after the Cossacks' regiments with all their traditional hierarchical structure of military positions were transformed into the regular military units of the Russian empire.
[206] Vira Panashenko, "Bunchukovi, viis'kovi i znachkovi tovaryshi v Get'manshchyni," 291, 308-309, 314-315.
[207] Ibid., 303.

social stance studying at the Academy is a notorious case from 1750s of a contentious student from philosophy class, Vasyl' Zurudnyi. Under the heat of his conflicts within the Academy and beyond, he perceived the offences as directed to "his whole house (family)," despite the Academy's regulations kept saber "a marker of his belonging to the elite strata of the Hetmanate,"[208] and emphasized his sole subordination to the hetman rejecting any other jurisdiction over him.[209]

The fact that the social group of the sons of Cossack elite was clearly underrepresented among the 1760s volunteers to study medicine speaks to their self-perception as a separate privileged group with clear future perspectives and not interested in changing their social status to medical state servants. The outrage from Adrian's father also confirms this vision. The question remains, however, what prompted Viridarskii, Lvovskii, Kalinichenko, and Vadarskii to decide to go to the hospital schools or rather why their social affiliation, which was crucial in other situations, surprisingly ceased to play a significant role here.

It is difficult to surmise why they decided to do this and why medical state service became such attractive to them. It has been already discussed in the historiography, that the Academy was a university-type institution able to cultivate a collective, although not homogeneous identity[210] with a specific set of values, like "corporative students honor," which could be collectively offended and subsequently produce collective response.[211] This alternative type of identity crossed the borders of social affiliations, without their erasing; this could probably contribute to the decision of the students to travel together with the representatives of other social groups (see *Figure 4*) to the capitals, other social groups amid which they had already studied in the Kiev-Mohyla Academy.

[208] Maksym Iaremenko, "Do mene-de nikhto ne imiet vlasti, krom' jasnevelmozhnoho": samoidentyfikatsia Mohylians'koho studenta kriz' pryzmu konfliktu 1754 roku," *Socium* 7 (2007): 236.
[209] Ibid., 234-238.
[210] Sheliah, "Honor, Tradition and Solidarity," 76.
[211] Olena Dziuba, "Chest' i bezchestia students'ke" u spryiniatti studentiv ta profesoriv Kyevo-Mohylians'koi Akademii (na meteriali konfliktiv 1730-1760-kh rr.)," *Kyiv Academy*, 2-3 (2006): 135-137.

On the other hand, the fact that all five students from the same social group were traveling together, two and three of whom were classmates provokes thinking that it was their collective decision. Furthermore, they all were invited during Poletika's recruitment campaign, and Ivan Poletika was himself a descendant of Cossack elite from the Lubny regiment[212] who before getting his medical education in Germany was a student at the Kiev-Mohyla Academy and came to the Academy already in the status of a doctor. All four students who got their appointments at the hospital schools also were the natives of the Lubny regiment. Were they inspired by their fellow countrymen already experienced in changing social status?

A less hypothetical interpretation could be that students who volunteered did not want to be involved in military service. Historian Vira Panashenko gives an example of how, in the Nizhyn regiment in 1750s, there was a lack of *znachkovi* companions and thirteen sons of *starshyna* were reluctant to swell their ranks because they wanted "to live free without service."[213] Regardless of their wish, they were listed as such.[214] It seems that in this case, a medical career could represent a way to avoid military service and become a servant of Her Imperial Majesty in a different way with the perspective of climbing the ladder of the Table of Ranks which a medical career promised.

Since the Kiev-Mohyla Academy welcomed students from various social groups, its diverse body reflected on the group of students who were recruited. Apart from a couple of students from the society of noble military fellows, other secular students came from a small group of city dwellers, and two big groups of commoners[215] and Cossacks. In total, approximately 65% of all students were of secular origin while 35% comprised the sons of

[212] Borys Kryshtopa, "Poletyka Ivan," *Kyevo-Mohylians'ka Akademiia v imenakh*, 433.
[213] Panashenko, „Bunchukovi, viis'kovi i znachkovi tovarishi," 315.
[214] Ibid., 316.
[215] In the eighteenth century „commoners" comprised people from the countryside, but the term could also be used to refer to city dwellers; non-Cossack population which was not obliged to military service - Iaremenko, *Akademiia ta Akademiky*, 303-306.

clergy.[216] This distribution almost corresponds to the general picture of the number of secular and clerical students in the Academy in 1660s, when at the beginning of the decade secular students constituted 58% and 53% at the end of the decade.[217]

The emergence of a more profound rift between enriching Cossack elite and impoverishing rank and file Cossacks has been already emphasized, thus a medical career could be an attractive option for the latter to escape this fate and to avoid expensive and time-consuming military obligation or becoming peasants. The Cossacks were the second most numerous group to go to the hospital schools (28 students).

The number of commoners is practically similar (27 students) which seems to be a lot taking into account their underrepresentation in the Academy considering how numerous this group was in the Hetmanate.[218] Elaborating on the possible career paths of the sons of commoners after the Academy, Iaremenko comes to conclusion that even though education/becoming literate opened for such students an occasional opportunity to shift their social affiliation to white clergy, become perish teachers or get office at some lower chancellery, such transfers were not so palpable.[219] Iaremenko does not consider a medical career to be a special avenue of social mobility for such students appealing to the fact that only two commoners became doctors in the eighteenth century,[220] meaning only those who gained doctoral status. The recovery of the names of medical volunteers who remained at the level of surgeons, however, allows one to see that at least during the 1760s commoners did consider a medical career as an attractive way to change their social status.

The most numerous group both in Academy and among recruited students was the clergy. Throughout the eighteenth century according to imperial regulations the sons of clergy

[216] Here I also counted students whom I marked as "others" on the pie chart (*Figure* 4). There I included 1 monk, 3 szlachta, 1 merchant, 1 magistrate official, 3 perish teachers (d'iaky), 1 "in service of osavul" and 1 kompaneets.
[217] Iaremenko, *Akademiia ta Akademiky*, 58
[218] Ibid., 353.
[219] Ibid., 348-353.
[220] Ibid., 353.

were obliged to get education so that to be consecrated in the future.[221] However, as was pointed out before, until the turn of the century the clergy was not an enclosed group as in Great Russia, meaning it allowed transfers to it from other social layers as well as vice versa, and as Iaremnko says, the clerical students of the Academy could shift to secular occupations.[222] This clarifies why in the 1760s the Synod did not seem to bother with the outflow of the sons of clergy from the Academy in contrast to its policy towards spiritual seminaries. In this respect medical profession represented another alternative secular career for clergy, making their choices of future paths more diverse and 45 students found this option attractive in the 1760s.

The lack of church positions in the Hetmanate which could push the sons of clergy to search for other career trajectories was not highlighted in historiography,[223] thus it remains a question whether this could play some role in their decision to become physicians. However, in my opinion, it is possible to assume that cultural rather than economic consideration could hide behind students' decision to continue their studies at the hospital schools. It has been already argued that education was a backbone of the Academy students' collective identity and honor.[224] This cultural value of education gained at the Academy, however, was not of a paramount importance for a son of a priest to get a position at parish church, it was enough to have elementary education.[225] In contrast, Academy's education, mainly high level of Latin was of a great importance for schooling at the hospitals, and the 1754 decree made this clear. Thus, the invitation of students to become medical state servants could reinforce this educational-based values and medical profession could represent a means to harness the knowledge of Latin for new purposes.

[221] Iaremenko, *Akademiia ta Akademiky*, 368-369.
[222] Ibid., 376.
[223] Iaremenko, *Akademiia ta Akademiky*, 378-400.
[224] Sheliah, *Honor, tradition and solidarity*," 78.
[225] Iaremenko, *Akademiia ta Akademiky*, 400.

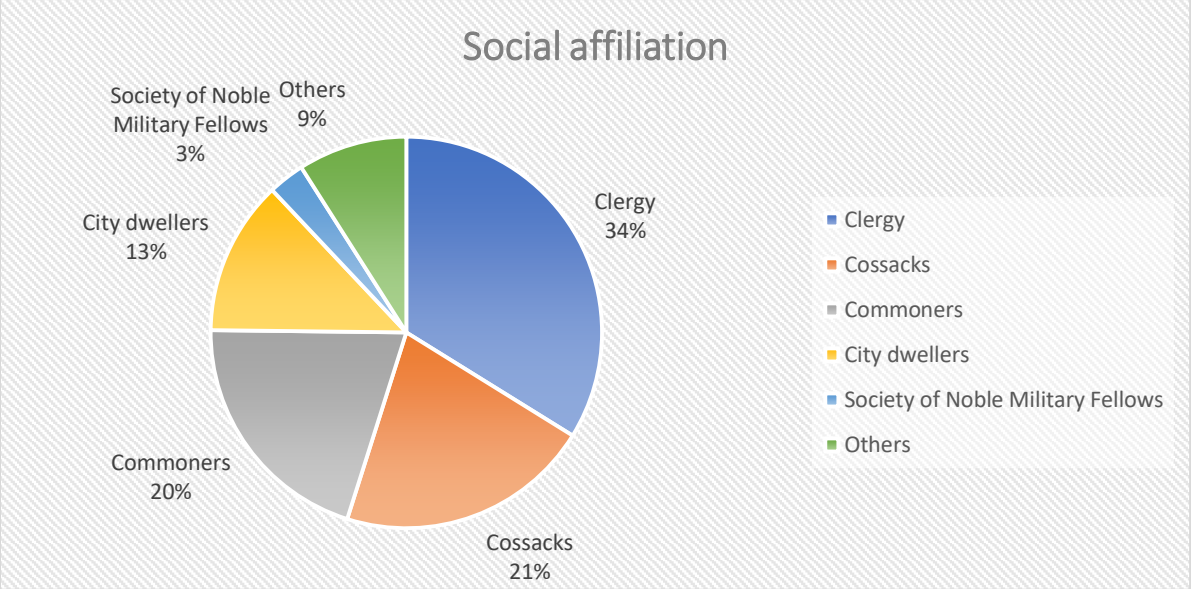

Figure 4[226]

Some graduates of the Kiev-Mohyla Academy became interested in medical careers after they had already experienced other life trajectories. The most vivid example is the case of the aforementioned Chernishevskii who lacked his passport and asked the hetman for help. He came to Saint Petersburg in 1763 when he decided to become a medic.

Initially Chernyshevskii studied at Chernigov Collegium but then transferred to the Kiev-Mohyla Academy and in 1761 was released from the latter to start teaching practice.[227] Having become a tutor, Chernishevskii joined many other students and graduates from the Academy and collegiums who educated children from the families of Cossack *starshyna*. The combination of Cossack elite's educational ambitions and relatively cheap education which such (former) students provided made home tutorship quite wide-spread in the Hetmanate.[228] This home education could include the study of religious books, reading, writing as well as Latin, French, and German, and it aimed at preparing a child for the enrollment in one of the local educational institutions or universities.[229]

[226] See footnotes 110 and 183.
[227] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 294, d. 176 "The graduation certificate of Nikifor Chernishevskii" (1761).
[228] Liudmyla Posokhova, "Vchyteliuvannia studentiv pravoslavnykh kolegiumiv Ukrainy u rodynakh kozats'koi starshyny," *Kyivs'ka starovyna*, 5 (2008): 11.
[229] Posokhova, "Vchyteliuvannia studentiv," 7-9.

Chernishevskii left the Academy upon finishing rhetoric class which was a common practice if a student decided to switch to educating children.[230] A recommendation from a *bunchykovyi* companion Mikhail Dunin Borkovskii, however, evidences that Chernishevskii started to teach children while he was still a student at the Academy. In 1759 he already was a tutor (*informator*) of the companion's children teaching them foreign languages.[231] Apparently, Chernishevskii received *conditiones*, a position of a private teacher who signs a contract with a family to teach its child(ren), suspending his own studies for some time while remaining a student at the Academy.[232]

Both recommendations, from Borkovskii and from the second *bunchukovyi* companion Lizogub are very flattering. The former recommended "his honor and dignity in his duty wherever he would wish [to go]."[233] The latter described Chernishevskii as "absolutely conscientious," told that he had many reasons to recommend him and regretted that he needed to let him go.[234] The document from administration of Sednevskaia sotnia affirms that Chernishevskii was also a teacher of French on the family of another *bunchukovyi* companion Skoropadskii,[235] although no recommendation from the latter was attached.

The formulation of the reason of Chernishevskii's travelling to Saint Petersburg from the passport issued by Rozumovskii's Chancellery shows that he planned to go there "for the most perfect education" (*dlia sovershenneishago obucheniia*) at the Academy of Sciences and he was allowed to live wherever he wanted in Great Russia. Probably, this was Chernishevskii's initial plan. Unfortunately, it is unknown why he changed his mind and what

[230] Posokhova, "Vchyteliuvannia studentiv," 7.
[231] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 294, d. 176 "The recommendation from Mikhail Dunin Borkovskii" (1759).
[232] Posokhova, "Vchyteliuvannia studentiv," 6.
[233] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 294, d. 176 "The recommendation from Mikhail Dunin Borkovskii" (1759).
[234] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 294, d. 176 "The recommendation from Lizogub" (1763).
[235] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 294, d. 176 "The certificate from Sednevskaia sotnia" (1763).

obstacles arose on his way of becoming Academy's student, but upon his arrival to Saint Petersburg he became a medical student.[236]

Petr Donchevskii, for instance, finished his studies at the Academy in 1765 and lived with his father in Kiev when in 1769 he found out about the call for volunteers to study medico-surgical science and decided to go. Donchevskii's appeal does not indicate his occupation in Kiev and he requested his graduation certificate just before he embarked on his travel to Saint Petersburg. His academic performance was assessed post factum based on the Academy's records, notes and catalogues.[237] Roman Stafanovich graduated from the Academy one year after Donchevskii and similarly to him did not plan to become a physician initially, but probably went back to his home in Sosonka, Chernigov regiment, to take care of his ill father, and later made his choice to study medicine.[238] Some students decided to go study medicine very soon after their graduation, but not during their studies. In this case, certificates indicate that students were released "to find some service" (*dlia priiskaniia sebe sluzhby*) or it was written in passport "to find some place" (*dlia priiskaniia sebe mesta*).[239]

The analysis of the practice of recruitment and the general picture of students shows that the Medical Chancellery/College did not manage to enforce all the regulations from the 1754 decree. Students' choice at what school to be appointed was not always restricted, the local authorities were reluctant to pay travel money, patronage could save from the absence of travel documents, a graduation certificate could be substituted by the confirmation of relatives and friends etc. The Academy largely determined the diverse body of recruited students comprising representatives of all regiments and different social groups. The reasons of the choice of a medical profession largely depended on students' social affiliations.

[236] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 294, d. 176 "The order from the Medical Chancellery" (1763).
[237] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 32, d. 92 "The graduation certificate of Petr Donchevskii" (1769).
[238] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 34, d. 145, "The graduation certificate of Roman Stafanovich" (1766).
[239] See, for example: RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. "The appeal of Andrei Levitskii to Her Imperial Majesty" (1762); RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 17, d. 27 "The report from the Medical Chancellery to the Medical College" (1767); RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 33, d. 129 "The order from Rumiantsev allowing Trofim Ol'khovich to travel" (1769).

To be appointed at the hospital school, a student was obliged to take an oath to the ruler to be a devoted servant. This symbolical integration of a student into the imperial service will be followed up in the next chapter which deals with students' integration into imperial structures and broader scientific networks.

Chapter 3. "Servants of Your High Imperial Majesty": Medics as Public Servants

This chapter deals with how medics became interwoven into the imperial structure, first and foremost as surgeons in the army– less as civil servants– and how doctors became a part of a broader imperial patronage networks. It is followed by an analysis of how the Medical College, by encouraging publishing activities of the doctors, created a space for the cultivation and articulation of their self-perception as well as channeled their intellectual endeavors towards the spread of enlightened ideas. The investigation of the two cases of doctors Peter Pogoretskii and Martin Terekhovskii, respectively, demonstrate both trends.

3.1 Surgeons and Doctors

Having been relegated to a doctoral position at Siberian corpus, Petr Pogoretskii resorted to various means to escape this unflattering fate, eventually writing an appeal to the highest authority, the empress, in November 1768 asking for a dismissal from service altogether. As the structure of an appeal requires, Pogoretskii starts with presenting himself going into details on his medical career and achievements, creating a narrative about a truly exemplary medical servant:

> Having studied at my own expense verbal sciences (slovesnye nauki), I joined the service of Your Imperial Majesty in 1751 and served amid medical faculty at Saint Petersburg hospitals as a medical student, surgeon companion, in the office of a surgeon, as a surgeon, and for some time was dispatched to the Navy. From 1761 I studied at the expense of Your Imperial Majesty at Leiden University and upon my return from there in 1765 was appointed by the Medical College as a doctor to General Moscow Hospital for teaching surgeon companions and medical students, where except from teaching a medico-surgical practice and materia medica, engaged in translating encyclopedia, translated Aloizii Kornar "The experience of the benefits of sober living", and for the benefit of my students at the hospital and at my own expense [translated] Schreiber's manual for the determining and treating of diseases, according to which I taught with all my diligence even until 21 July 1768 and in the meanwhile had the pleasure of supplying to the state from my school 8 natural Russian (prirodnykh ruskikh) surgeons and 18 surgeon companions. […][240]

[240] RGADA f. 346, op. 1/4, b. 34, d. 139 "The appeal from Pogoretskii" (1761).

The intricate story preceding the submission of this appeal will be considered later. For now, its entry is notable for it encompasses almost all medical career options which opened for graduates of the hospital schools. Pogoretskii traces back his medical path to the studies of *slovesnye nauki* which took place at the Kiev-Mohyla Academy.[241] During his education at the hospital school, he became a surgeon companion and later a surgeon whose skills were channeled into taking care of the soldiers – catering in this way to the empire's military interests.

The fate of a surgeon (companion) at some military unit was shared by a great number of physicians in the Russian empire. According to Renner's estimates, the distribution of medics in the military sphere equated to 1 medic per 300 people, which was much higher in comparison to physicians' presence in civil service.[242] Although from the 1730s more civil medical posts appeared, giving medical students a chance to become town doctors and town surgeons in the long run.[243] Overall in the eighteenth century the hospital schools educated approximately 2000 surgeons, who were then dispersed to different posts throughout the empire.[244] They comprised a large part of the general number of physicians of the century: around 3000 men.[245] Thus, there is no surprise that the overwhelming majority of students from the 1760s recruits became surgeons and surgeon companions.

Throughout the eighteenth century, only one sixth of all medics became doctors.[246] To become a doctor, a student was required to get a doctorate abroad; the medical faculty at

[241] Borys Kryshtopa, "Peter Pogoretskii," *Kyevo-Mohylians'ka Akademiia v imenakh* (Kyiv: KM Akademiia, 2001), 429.
[242] Andreas Renner, *Russische Autokratie*, 69.
[243] Ibid., 47.
[244] Ibid., 56. After period under consideration, the 1760s, new hospital schools emerged, in toto 6, in 1786 they were separated from the hospitals and became medico-surgical schools (*mediko-khirurgicheskie uchilishcha*), from 1798 the medico-surgical academy was established.
[245] Renner, "Progress through Power," 39 "266 medical doctors and medical doctors and several hundred surgeons were invited from abroad in the course of the century, mainly from the Germanies and Scotland." "In the light of the total population of 38,8 million and the army of 379000 men (in 1801)"; Renner, *Russische Autokratie*, 69.
[246] Renner, *Progress through Power*, 39.

Moscow university (1755) started to award doctoral degrees only from 1794.[247] Pogoretskii's alma mater, Leiden University, was a famous hub for the study of natural sciences including medicine. During the eighteenth century it attracted more than 100 students from the Russian empire, 30 of whom received their medical doctorate there.[248] From the students of the 1760s, 6 became doctors, 3 of whom – Kassiian Iagelskii, Daniil Samoilovich and Martin Terekhovskii – went to Leiden, while Denis Ponyrka, Il'ia Rutskii and Nestor Maksimovich studied at Strasbourg University [249] Similarly to Pogoretskii, everyone except from Samoilovich[250] practiced teaching at the hospital schools, preparing new medical cadres for the Russian empire.[251]

The Medical College encouraged doctors to translate foreign medical treatises and create compilations, as well as publish their own works.[252] Daniil Samoilovich, for example, published his compilation "The current method of treatment with the instructions for common people of the bite of a rabid dog and the bite of a snake" (1783) on direct order from the Medical College, dedicating the book to its president Aleksei Rzhevskii. The doctor was tasked with this work when he was still abroad and his dedication, where he expresses his gratitude and respect to Rzhevskii, was written in Leiden (1779).[253] Similarly to many other doctors from the second half of the eighteenth century, Samoilovich aimed for his work to bring benefit to the society and fatherland, however, there were other implications of the medical treatises as well.

[247] The Medical College had a formal right to award doctorate bur barely used it - Renner, *Russische Autokratie* 79
[248] Koroloff, *Seeds of Exchange*, 164.
[249] "Spisok doktorov medetsyny iz malorossov, praktikovavshykh v Rossii v stoletii," *Kievskaia starina* (1896): 100-102.
[250] Grombakh, *Danilo Samoilovich*, 30.
[251] Chistovich, *Istoriia pervykh meditsynskikh shkol v Rosii*, 120, 197, 166, 198.
[252] Alexander, *Bubonic plague*, 42; on medical books from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries see: Clare Griffin, "In Search of an Audience: Popular Pharmacies and the Limits of Literate Medicine in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century Russia," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 89, no. 4, (2015).
[253] Daniil Samoilovich, *Nyneshnii sposob lecheniia s nastavleniem kak prostomu narodu lechitsia ot ugryzeniia beshanoi sobaki i ot uiazvleniia zmei*. 2nd ed. Moscow (1783), 5-6.

The doctors' publications served as a means to strengthen the patronage connections. The dedication of the book could serve the purpose of glorifying the patron and his/her largesse, and promoting his/her image as a true lover and supporter of science. Nestor Maksimovich, for instance, "dared" to dedicate his treatise on plants and their medical qualities to Catherine the Great.[254] The work was written "at the highest behest" (*po vysochaishemu poveleniiu*), meaning that it enjoyed the empress's patronage from the outset. In the dedication, the doctor praised Catherine's favor to him and the whole "scientific society," which was blossoming under her rule, as well as her reign as a true caring Mother of her children in general.[255] The third volume of the doctor's book contained a similar glorification, but now in a form of a poem written by Vasilii Sankovskii.[256]

Patrons could sponsor publications promoting both their own image and a doctor's work. For example, the publication of Maksimovich's translation "Medical advice about love diseases which happen in different parts of human body" (1800) was sponsored by Egor Naumov, the Major General and the member of the Military College.[257] Maksimovich, in turn, dedicated this book to him and praised Naumov who carved out time for reading medical treatises, notwithstanding his busy work, and suggested that his patronage would bring success in the treatment of this disease and many "deserving pity young men who sometimes blindly follow the emotions of unrestrained passions" and felt ashamed to ask for surgeon's advice, would be grateful to him.[258]

When dedicating his translation of "A guide to recognition and treatment of diseases" (1781) to Ivan Betskoi who was an Active Privy Councillor**,** school reformer, the President of

[254] Nestor Maksimovich, *Vrachebnoe veshchestvoslovie ili opisanie tselitel'nykh rastenii vo vrachestve upotrebliaemykh, s iz'iasneniem pol'zy i upotrebleniia onykh i prisoedineniia risunkov, prirodnomu vidu kazhdago rasteniia sootvetstvuiushchikh.* Saint Petersburg (1783) Part 1 (unpaginated).
[255] Ibid.
[256] Nestor Maksimovich, *Vrachebnoe veshchestvoslovie ili opisanie tselitel'nykh rastenii* part 3 (Saint Petersburg, 1788) (unpaginated).
[257] Nestor Maksimovich, *Vrachebnye nastavleniia o liubostrastnykh bolezniakh, koi prikliuchaiutsia v raznykh chastiakh chelovecheskogo tela.* 2nd ed. (Saint Petersburg, 1800) (unpaginated).
[258] Ibid.

the Academy of Arts etc., Maksimovich also promoted the image of his patron as a "true lover of sciences and art."[259] At the same time, he wanted "to evidence his gratitude" and praise Betskoi's charitable and educational activities.[260] The Councillor was responsible for choosing the recipients of the money bequeathed by the deceased princess Ekaterina Golitsyna for students to study medicine abroad. His choice fell on Maskimovich, who due to this "scholarship" and Betskoi's constant "patronage, protection and supply" spent six months abroad and received his doctorate at Strasbourg University.[261] Apart from praising his patron, Maksomovich did not miss a chance to emphasize his own dedication to his work, mentioning that he was the first to receive a doctoral degree amid chosen students which made him "the first pupil to fulfill the subject of the will of the blissfully resting in peace generous patron (*popechitel'nitsy*) [Golitsynoi]."[262]

The book *Rukovodstvo k poznaniiu i vrachevaniiu boleznei* which Maksimovich rendered into Russian was originally the work of a doctor Schreiber. In Pogoretskii's appeal, from which I started this chapter, Pogoretskii referred to his own translation of Schreiber, but into Latin. While Maksimovich used his work to promote his patron and himself, Pogoretskii used his as a "weapon" against the Medical College and his colleagues. The next subchapter deals with the notorious case of Pogoretskii, and analyses how a doctor saw his stance in the medical community as well as how he used his works when his position was challenged.

[259] Nestor Maksimovich, *Rukovodstvo k poznaniiu i vrachevaniiu boleznei chelovecheskikh naruzhnykh i vnutrennikh s pribavleniem glavnykh nemoshchei zhenskago pola i maloletnykh detei.* (Saint Petersburg, 1781) (unpaginated).
[260] Ibid.
[261] *pokrovitel'stvovat', zashchishchat' i snabdevat'* - Maksimovich, *Rukovodstvo k poznaniiu i vrachevaniiu.*
[262] Ibid.

3.2 The Text of Petr Pogoretskii

The notorious case of Petr Pogoretskii is generously described in the literature, although some details of it are still missing. Here I want to draw attention specifically to the place of publications in conflicting situations and how the doctor protected his position in the medical community by referring to his works.

Upon his arrival from abroad, Pogoretskii was appointed as a doctor at Moscow Hospital, from where he wrote reports to the Medical College recommending a set of improvements. Reportedly, the College was not responsive to his advice. It was also reluctant to increase his salary (*zhalovanie*), and his request from 1767 asking to provide him with means to publish his works, and in this way to improve the performance of his students, remained unanswered. In addition to this, he did not get along with his colleagues at the hospital, and eventually received an order from Saint Petersburg to serve in Siberia at the end of July 1768.[263]

Pogoretskii was transferred to Siberian corpus in the process of the redistribution of medical offices triggered by the death of a doctor at Revel hospital, Liudvikh Knoblokh. Pogoretskii's office was granted to Iagelskii, a student from the recruitment of the 1760s and one of the aforementioned 6 young men who received their doctorate abroad. On August 26 Iagelskii already reported that he took his office and made arrangements concerning his lecturing of students.[264] Pogoretskii, in turn, instead of going to Siberia wrote a report expressing his perplexity: „neither in the order [from the Medical College] nor in myself do I find any faults."[265] He remarked that he was satisfied with his position, deserved a surplus to his salary, and knew that there were other suitable candidates without offices to go to Siberia.[266]

[263] Chistovich, *Istoriia pervykh meditsynskikh shkol v Rosii*, 118-119; 343-344.
[264] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 34, d. 139 "The report from Iagelskii to the Medical College" (1768).
[265] *ni v ukaze ni sam v sebe ne nakhozhu nikakikh vin*.
[266] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 34, d. 139 "The report from Pogoretskii to the Medical College" (1768).

The doctor also promised to remain and serve the empress and his fatherland for free "if the Medical College […] finds no other reward than to appoint to the most remote place."[267]

Remarkable here is the argumentation which Pogoretskii lays out in his letter to prove how beneficial his work was. Linking his position as a teacher to his translation endeavor, the doctor stresses that his work rests upon a three-year teaching experience, and he is going to print it at his own expense for the benefit of the students. The dispatch to Siberia was perceived by Porogoretskii as an insult, the encroachment on his identity as an academic doctor. In this case books were not only a proof but also an embodiment of Pogoretskii's stance in the medical community. The doctor ends his report by assuring that he believes that his works will reward him in the future, since "an armchair teacher (*nepodvizhnyi uchitel'*)" is more and more praised by his people (*narod*) and "over time will certainly bring more honor, glory, benefit and preeminence to Russia."[268]

The disobedient behavior of the doctor intensified the College's measures to organize his prompt dispatch. The College ordered the Medical Office to supervise his departure, and even asked the Office to assign guards (*karaul*) to him,[269] although the Office complained that it did not have enough soldiers to escort (*vyprovodit'*) him.[270] Starting from September the emissaries from the Office frequented Pogoretskii's home to remind about the College's order and to check whether he had started to prepare for his travel. On the first visit the emissaries could not catch Pogoretskii at home; then he was too busy to receive visitors; later he announced that he was waiting for winter because an autumn weather hindered his travel; and a little bit later he claimed that the document the emissaries handed to him was of no importance.[271]

[267] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 34, d. 139 "The report from Pogoretskii to the Medical College" (1768).
[268] Ibid.
[269] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 34, d. 139 "The order from the Medical College to the Medical Office" (1768).
[270] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 34, d. 139 "The report from the Medical Office to the Medical College" (1768).
[271] *v uchinennoi emu povestke pisano pustoe* "RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 34, d. 139 "The report from the Medical Office to the Medical College" (1768).

On 9 October he finally showed up in the Office and signed a promise to receive travel money and go, but the next day he did not do this. After five days he appeared in the Office once again, telling that after his appointment to the Siberian corpus he dealt with "not less important state matters than [his] dispatch to that corpus."[272] He also found out that the Commissariat would not provide him with travel money, and he was offended that Office planned to send him at his own expense without an explicit order from the College. Pogoretskii announced that only forceful measures could make him go.[273] In fact, the Commissariat notified that it did not sponsor long distance travels without a resolution from the Senate which was long in coming.[274] In December 1768 the Senate, asked for further clarifications from the Medical College on who should go and why, and only in April announced a source of money to be used.[275] However, money issues did not seem to be determinative for the doctor, and were rather another excuse to remain in Moscow.

The last emissary from the Office was sent to Pogoretskii on October 28, only to find out that around ten days before the doctor had gone in an unknown direction. Upon further investigation, it turned out that Pogoretskii requested a travel document and a cart from the Iamskii office explaining that he had to go to Saint Petersburg for important matters. Having managed to outsmart everyone and leave without notification to Saint Petersburg, Pogoretskii sent post factum a small report to the Medical College:

> "In the meanwhile, when the request for travel expenses [to Siberia] was sent from the Medical Office to whom it may concern, I used my idle time (*praznoe vrem'ia*) and came to Saint Petersburg to present a book to His Imperial Majesty. And I report to the Medical College on this matter. November 4, 1768."[276]

The doctor used books as his "shield and weapon" for the second time showing that as a doctor he was capable of translating a work good enough to even dare be dedicated to the successor

[272] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 34, d. 139 "The report from the Medical Office to the Medical College" (1768).
[273] Ibid.
[274] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 34, d. 139 "The report from the Commissariat to the Medical College" (1768).
[275] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 34, d. 139 "The order from the Senate to the Medical College" (1768).
[276] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b.34, d. 139 "The report from Pogoretskii to the Medical College" (1768).

of the throne, Pavel. This was also an elegant move to veil an otherwise illegal travel to the capital by seeking the protection of a powerful patron which could overweight the order of the Medical College. The book "The experience of the benefits of sober living" (1768) was a translation yet complemented by Pogoretskii's comments and clarifications. The book on dietetic rules and was, according to Pogoretskii's preface, "to such an extent renowned in Europe that there is no ruler who has not seen it in his own language."[277] Thus, Pogoretskii felt that it was his duty to render this text into Russian and hoped that the successor would "honor [him] with the acceptance" of the book. His appreciation and the benefit of this book to Russia were enough for him.[278]

Pogoretskii reached Saint Petersburg and submitted the appeal to the empress with which I started this chapter, and after presenting himself and his loyal service, he asked for a dismissal, wanting to return home to take care of his old mother and his house which he left 12 years ago. According to him, such reasons created obstacles to his "zealous desire to continue the service to Your Imperial Majesty."[279] The Medical College regarded Pogoretskii's deeds as unconditionally illegal, called them "crimes" (*prestupleniia*), and so felt justified to hold an interrogation on 11 November 1768. The record of the interrogation (*voprosnyie punkty*) clearly reveals the tension between the doctor and the College as the former even refused to sign this document. Even though Poletika argued that he came to present his work to the successor and was planning to come back to Moscow, though other obstacles emerged, the College concluded that: "[he] unlawfully remained all three months in Moscow and illegally without allowance went from Moscow to Saint Petersburg" against Military Statute on the dismissal from service.[280]

[277] Petr Pogoretskii, *Ludovika Korneliia Venetsiianina, opyt' o pol'zie trezvoi zhyzni.* Moscow (1768), 6.
[278] Ibid, 7.
[279] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b.34, d. 139 "The appeal from Peter Pogoretskii" (1768).
[280] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b.34, d. 139 "The interrogation protocol of the Medical College" (1768).

Pogoreskii was arrested and sent to Moscow with two soldiers from the Military College at his expense. The doctor remained detained in the Medical Office so that he could be sent to Siberia, when the senator Petr Saltykov sent an officer and Senate's recorder (*protokolist*) to declare that the guard which was attached to him was withdrawn. According to the decree of Her Imperial Majesty, Pogoretskii was summoned to Saint Petersburg. He probably remained there until in June 1769 when Catherine signed an order to dismiss Pogoretskii from service according to his appeal by giving him *zhalovanie* until the very day of dismissal.[281]

When Pogoretskii remained at the Medical Office, the story of his books continued. In November, the Medical College required the Office to take away all "snarky prefaces" of Pogoretskii's books and to make him sign that he does not have anymore. These books were the translations of Schreiber which Pogoretskii had promised to publish for the benefit of his students. The preface, however, he used for other purpose. There, he critically evaluates his colleagues from the Moscow hospital school mentioning only the initials of their names.[282] It is unclear what eventually happened with these prefaces, but when Pogoretskii was summoned to Saint Petersburg, he declared that he would not give away these books, but rather sell them, and that he "has no business to do with the Medical Office according to the declared decree."[283]

3.3 The Poem by Martin Terekhovskii

This subchapter deals with another aspect of doctors' publications, mainly how they aimed at the spread of enlightened ideas—not exclusively constrained to medical issues, reflected broader intellectual tendencies of the epoch and weaved doctors into the networks of European intellectual community. This is a case study of one poem by Martin Terekhovskii

[281] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b.34, d. 139 "The report from the Medical Office to the Medical College" (1769).
[282] Chistovich, *Istoriia pervykh meditsynskikh shkol v Rosii*, 119.
[283] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b.34, d. 139 "The report from the Medical Office to the Medical College" (1769).

and its connection to the scientific discourse of natural economy. It starts with the general overview of the concept of natural economy and its central tenets and then introduces a source which bears traces of the ideas of Linnaeus on the natural economy.

Natural economy was and early modern intellectual pursuit involving the active participation of man in the management of nature. Historian Lisbet Koerner summarizes natural economy aims to be transforming the potential of nature, which by itself was in a harmonious state of entropy, into an advantageous resource of humankind. Human intervention was needed in order to "transform the wilderness into the most wonderful land."[284] The natural economy presupposed the inner coherence (primarily, balance) of nature, its susceptibility to be controlled and was applicable on both macro and micro levels. Thus, one can talk about natural economy of one state or even the economy of one body; the former was to be controlled by people, the latter by soul.[285] In the context of the eighteenth century, there was generally little separating between natural and political economies, and naturalists frequently served as public servants.

I would argue that naturalist thought also influenced the medical community of the Russian empire. This subchapter considers one such work, a poem, "The usefulness which plants bring to the mortals". It was written in 1796 by a doctor, a member of the State Medical College, Terekhovskii, who got interested in botany studying at Saint Petersburg hospital school. [286] Use of naturalist poetry wasn't unprecedented—one can recall at least Lomonosov's verse, "A letter about the usefulness of glass" (*Pis'mo o pol'ze stekla*). There was a long tradition naturalist references within the odes and eulogies by the eighteenth century high-ranking state servants.

[284] Lisbet Koerner, *Linnaeus: Nature and Nation* (Cambridge; Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 102.
[285] Emma Spary. "Political, natural and bodily economies," in *Cultures of Natural History*, eds. N. Jardine, J. A. Secord, and E. C. Spary. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 181.
[286] Chistovich, 166.

Terekhovskii's poem can be seen in the broader context of a larger fascination with plants, the study of which was the most popular branch of natural history in the eighteenth century.[287] Beyond this, the poem praises the many practical uses of plants, which corresponds to the Enlightenment obsession with utility. The existence of plants on earth is explained by the same token as any other resource in the natural economy. They were given by the Creator to be of service to people, "for our various needs and various wishes."[288] The poem presents plants as not just an intrinsic part of the natural economy, but its very backbone, providing food for every living creature either directly or indirectly. Without it "our mortal body" (*brenno nashe telo*) and by extension life cannot be sustained. In the first lines of the verse, Terekhovskii points out that one's own life, according to God's will, should be the primary concern of a living being.[289] Therefore, it is not hard to draw the conclusion that plants are an essential part of God's great plan. Meat cannot substitute plants, since in order to exist cattle also needs grass. By the same token Terekhovskii explains the impossibility of relying on fish: if one does not have firewood from forest there is no way to cook it.[290]

The most detailed part of the poem concerns the plant's larger utility: plants don't just feed humanity, they also provide the clothing necessary to protect people from cold and mud. The author praises a large range of different textiles, including fiber, rough fiber (*pen'ka*), yarn, cotton, satin, velvet, taffeta and silk, the production of which would not be possible without having plants in the first place.[291] It is possible that such fixation on textiles might be a response to the spread of textile manufacturing in the eighteenth century. Besides, the textile manufactures were well known to the medical community as incubators for plague. The usage

[287] Spary, "Political, natural and bodily economies," 188.
[288] Martin Terekhovskii, *Pol'za kotoruiu rasteniia smertnym prinosiat* (Saint Petersburg, 1796), 8.
[289] Ibid., 1.
[290] Ibid., 4.
[291] Ibid, 5.

of plants as natural dyers, building materials and source of warmth and light, is also glorified in his poem.[292]

Plants, according to Terekhovskii, were even able to restore the fading beauty which inevitably accompanies aging. He focuses this section of the poem for ladies for whom the beauty is a useful means, mainly for fascinating lovers. This also has a double meaning, as there was a wide-spread eighteenth century perception of nature as a female entity. According to him, women's love to embellish themselves is their inner inclination which nature endowed them with. At the same time, it is an intrinsic inclination of nature itself. Terekhovski continues this equation by arguing that by using natural means—like berries for washing the face—women "beautify nature in their face."[293]

Terekhovskii saved the most familiar benefit of plants for last, namely plants as "viable remedies." Since humans are extremely susceptible to various kinds of diseases, and the latter could be fatal even if caused by "contemptible worms" (*prezrennyia glisty*), the usage of plants as medicines once again fulfills God's order to preserve life as the most valuable gift from heaven. Terekhovskii also mentions that plants improve the quality of air, which seems to be an especially relevant remark at the time when the miasmas theory was still a viable explanation for contagious diseases. Apart from the acknowledgment of the curative powers of plants, the author hints of the necessity to research and understand these powers.[294] The research of the qualities of plants does not bear in the poem any implication of hard work. In contrast, agriculture is presented like a punishment for original sin. "The Paradise was full of earthly blessings," but after the Fall came the age, "harrowing, excruciating and lachrymose," when to get food one should work arduously.[295]

[292] Terekhovskii, *Pol'za kotoruiu rasteniia smertnym prinosiat*, 6.
[293] Ibid., 7.
[294] Ibid, 7.
[295] Ibid., 1.

Terekhovskii's narration about the benefits of plants is a reminiscent of Linnaeus' perspective on their utility. The research on plants was the main occupation of the Swedish naturalist throughout his career, and he felt this was his greatest achievement.[296] He treated the knowledge of plants as an essential part of education and thus every graduate from university should eventually possess a clear understanding of the benefits of every species of plants. For instance, a graduate should be able to explain "how to harvest resin, how to produce rosin, pitch, tar, charcoal, firewood, and timber, how to bake bark bread, and how to use saps and shoots to cure scurvy" from a fir tree.[297] It is possible that the poem's naration was fueled by Linnaeus' theory of natural economy. Although every naturalist in the Russian empire must have been more or less familiar with Linnaeus' theory of natural economy, in the case of Terekhovskii, one can assert that he directly engaged with the study of Linnaeus' thought.[298] While studying at the university of Strasbourg, he wrote his dissertation on Linnaeus' chaos.[299]

The poem also had an instructive purpose, it states that one needs to know "these sacral sciences" (*nauki te sviashchenny*) with the help of which "enlightened peoples can reach the essence of plant, preserve and multiply them in the world."[300] These sacral sciences could be natural economy, although it is not explicitly mentioned. Later, Terekhovskii asserts that "enlightened peoples…can cultivate gardens in the snow during winter, to have fresh medicines and fruits."[301] This resonates with Linnaeus' conviction that climate conditions are not insurmountable obstacles for the propagation of plants. The Swedish naturalist believed in "transmutationist botany" which implied that floral transplants if reasonably used could take root in other countries.[302] He asserted that "the task of economics is to collect [plants] from

[296] Koerner, *Linnaeus: Nature and Nation*, 110.
[297] Terekhovskii, *Pol'za kotoruiu rasteniia smertnym prinosiat*, 108.
[298] On the relationship between the naturalists of the Russian empire and Linnaeus see: Koroloff "Seeds of Exchange," 180-91.
[299] Amoeboid organisms.
[300] Terekhovskii, *Pol'za kotoruiu rasteniia smertnym prinosiat*, 8.
[301] Ibid.
[302] Koerner, *Linnaeus: Nature and Nation*, 108.

other places and cultivate [at home] such things that don't want to grow [here] but can grow [here]."[303] Under the conditions of the Swedish climate such ideas look ambitious, although the same goes for the Russian empire.

The poem illustrates a peculiar "contest" between the natural resources of the natural economy. Since the poem is a sort of an ode to plants, other natural resources like metals pale in comparison to them. Terekhovskii illustrates his point with an instructive and terrifying story about barbarous and greedy Spaniards who, craving for gold, enslaved the local Americans, forced them to mine precious metal from "holes close to hell," defiled and looted the graves of local kings. They loaded their ships with gold and hastened back to their fatherland cheerfully. But suddenly a great storm blew up, ripped apart the sails and they were left alone amid the ocean waters with their treasures which proved to be worthless. They ate leather from boots, sucked the morning dew and even turned to cannibalism in order to survive. They were carried by wind to the same shore from which they headed out, where they had to eat the rotten corpses of locals whom they had killed before. By eating corpses, they poisoned themselves; and in this was the Almighty punished them for their avarice.[304]

By presenting this story, Terekhovskii kills two birds with one stone. The poem obviously bears an instructive tone, it links precious metals with the vices, and condemns greediness. By acting in his role of a public servant, he is not just an expert in natural history, but also has a right to contribute the moral education of the citizenry. Secondly, Terekhovskii is here a "mediator between nature and society."[305] The linchpin of the verse is the interaction of human body with nature. Nature embodied in plants enables the very human existence and reveals itself within it. Although metals are natural resources as well, they fail to provide such direct link between the latter and the human.

[303] Koerner, *Linnaeus: Nature and Nation*, 2.
[304] Terekhovskii, *Pol'za kotoruiu rasteniia smertnym prinosiat*, 3-4.
[305] Spary, "Political, natural and bodily economies," 194.

Chapter 4. Outlawing "Vagabond Treatment"

This chapter investigates the purpose and ramifications of a set of decrees against unlicensed healers in the Russian empire in the 1760s based on several case studies. It examines the interaction between different state institutions involved in the investigation, interrogation and adjudication processes which were launched by charges against unlicensed healing, including traditional medical practice and magic. Beyond their legal purpose, the decrees accomplished other functions: sporadic prevention of illicit healing and supporting professional medics' claims for status and authority. The state's ability to enforce these laws was limited, and their implementation was highly susceptible to the situational constellations of power relations and patronage networks. This chapter argues that the laws against unlicensed healing contributed to the establishment of the State Medical College as the central government institution responsible not just for providing expert consultations, but also for the administration of justice. A quick and dry description of decrees regarding illegal medical practices sets out the contemporary changing legal framework for this study. The chapter will then turn to the practice of law on the ground, examining legal procedure, the participants' strategies and the role of early modern law in its social context.

4.1 The Legal Framework

On 4 March 1685, a careless surgeon (*lekar'*), Mishka Tuleishchikov, reportedly got drunk and accidentally gave his colleague a mercury-based drug (*sulema*) instead of prescribed crayfishes' eyes. The resulting tincture proved fatal for the unfortunate undersecretary (*pod'iachii*), Iurii Prokof'ev. Prokof'ev must have worked at some upper governmental office

(*prikaz*) in Moscow, since his death created the precedent for a new decree[306] that sentenced medics to capital punishment if they caused the death of their patients.[307]

Fifteen years later, the servant Aleshka Kamenskoi was charged with the murder of his master, Petr Petrovich Saltykov. Aleshka had administered the boyar a medical overdose which prompted another decree. This broadened the scope of the 1685 law, as the charge now expanded from punishing incompetent medics to condemning those "ignorant in medical sciences who due to their ignorance in the usage of medicines kill the sick."[308] However, the decree did not presuppose that only learned medics were allowed to practice. Rather, it implied that anyone dispensing drugs must be versed in medical matters. In this decree, the Apothecary Chancery—the main medical government institution at the time—recognized Aleshka's improper use of medicines.[309] Both cases look at medical malpractice, but neither found fault in the amateur use of medicine per se, instead passing judgement only when it resulted in death. The decrees were not intended as medical regulation: instead, they expanded the existing understanding of homicide. The decrees called for capital punishment, but this was amended in both cases to exile and hard labor.

In 1721, as part of the Petrine reform projects, the state issued a decree that established the Medical Chancellery, replacing the Apothecary Chancery. Importantly, the decree also changed the legal understanding of harmful treatment. As historian Andreas Renner summarized, while the Apothecary Chancery's medical authority was limited only to official doctors, the Medical Chancellery had a monopoly over all medical concerns within the empire, including unlicensed healing.[310] Only the Medical Chancellery had the power to grant licenses.

[306] This new decree was from both of the highest order of the rulers (*Imennoi Velikikh Gosudarei Ukaz*) and Boyars' Sentence (*Boiarskii Prigovor*), emphasizing the concord of rulers and boyars.
[307] PSZ, vol.2, no. 1171 (March 4, 1685) (Saint Petersburg, 1830), 747-748.
[308] PSZ, vol.4, no. 1756 (February 14, 1700) (Saint Petersburg, 1830), 10.
[309] Ibid, 11.
[310] Renner, *Russische Autokratie*, 50.

Any unlicensed healing was prohibited by law.[311] The decree bestowed many prerogatives upon the Medical Chancellery, but over time its regulation of unlicensed healers would become a decree unto itself. It was followed by three other prohibitions from the Senate against unlicensed healing (1729, 1750, 1756), each building upon its predecessor.

The decrees unequivocally designate unlicensed healing itself as harmful, rather than just its consequences. Although the decrees applied to everyone, they particularly targeted the lowest social groups (*podlye liudy*), deemed to be especially prone to dishonest deeds in the eighteenth century Russian empire.[312] These people inappropriately applied medicines, according to the doctors, but since they also turned to traditional medical practices, herbal medicine or any other kinds of traditional healing must have been also outlawed by virtue of new legislations. In the 1756 decree unlicensed healers are also called unlicensed healers "reckless vagabonds" (*nesmyslennye brodiagi*) hinting at their illegal itinerant life without documents attesting their identities.[313] The term "vagabonds" was commonly used in connection to police activities that hunted down people roaming in the streets to be sent to forced labor.[314] The spread of this term was probably the result of close interaction between the Medical Chancellery and the police which will be considered later. "Unlicensed," "uneducated," "unworthy" and "artless," the illegal healers were to be punished. The decree from 1721 just warns those who "dare to practice" medicine to give up their ways.[315] The penalty resulted a fine in 1729 and ultimately became a "cruel fine" and, finally, corporeal

[311] PSZ, vol.6, no. 3811 (August 14, 1721) (Saint Petersburg, 1830), 412.
[312] *Illiustrirovannyi entsiklopedicheskii istoriko-bytovoi slovar' russkogo naroda. XVIII- nachalo XXv.* edited by Leonid Belovinskii (Moscow: Eksmo, 2007), 497.
[313] PSZ vol.14, no. 10.586 (July 18, 1756) (Saint Petersburg, 1830), 600.
[314] *Illiustrirovannyi entsiklopedicheskii istoriko-bytovoi* slovar', 67. See law in: PSZ vol.5, no. 3369 (May 11, 1719) (Saint Petersburg, 1830), 698.
[315] PSZ, vol.6, no. 3811 (August 14, 1721) (Saint Petersburg, 1830), 412.

punishment in 1750.[316] The decree from 1750 also prohibited the summoning of illegal healers to the sick and encouraged denouncing of unlicensed healers by rewards taken from fines.[317]

The decrees reflect the gradual involvement of the Medical Chancellery in the creation of the legal framework pertaining to illegal healing. The founding decree (1721) and the Senate decree (1729) embody the initiatives of the state to bestow upon the Medical Chancellery the power/obligation of the supervision of unlicensed healing. What makes the decree of 1750 different from its predecessors is the fact that the Medical Chancellery itself now started to sanction medical practices as opposed to receiving legal orders from above. The Chancellery's own agency in countering unlicensed healing was triggered by a famous case of the trade of petroleum as medicines by a merchant, Fedor Priadunov. The Medical Chancellery conducted its own investigation (*sledstvie*) of this case while seeking the Senate's support.[318]

Another decree, from 1756, was also based on a report from the Medical Chancellery. This time the issue of the trade of medicines was at stake; and in the restriction of this trade the Medical Chancellery saw the means to eliminate unlicensed healing. The report suggested the introduction of a system for the purchase of simple medicines, like harmless ointments and patches, by using notes (*tsidulki*) written by the stewards of noble households or owners, including a kind of prescription or an indication of what kind of remedy was needed. This system was aimed at discouraging the purchase of ointment or patches by *podlye liudy* and thus at curtailing their illegal behavior.[319] Similar to the previous decree, the Medical Chancellery presented itself as actively engaged in investigations and with extensive knowledge of active secret medics.

[316] PSZ, vol.8, no. 5449 (July 25, 1729) (Saint Petersburg, 1830), 219 and PSZ, vol.13, no. 9717 (March 16, 1750), 203.
[317] PSZ, vol.13, no. 9717 (March 16, 1750) (Saint Petersburg, 1830), 203.
[318] Ibid.
[319] PSZ vol.14, no. 10.586 (July 18, 1756) (Saint Petersburg, 1830), 600.

Apart from its role as reformer, the Medical Chancellery also started to shape the legal discourse regarding unlicensed healing. The law from 1756 included a passage from the Chancellery's report where unlicensed healing was equated to a violation of divine command since it brought death not healing. This theological condemnation increased the seriousness of the malpractice: no longer a mere secular offense, unlicensed healing was a mortal sin, to be accounted for in the Last Judgement.[320] Despite this spiritual condemnation, the concept of "magical healing" is absent in these decrees, although it was an outlawed practice. "Magical healing" was deemed to be a spiritual crime, falling within the Synod's jurisdiction, along with the spiritual consistories, the Investigation Department (*Sysknoi Prikaz*), the Secret Chancellery (*Tainaia kantseliariia*) or the Secret Expedition (*Tainaia ekspeditsiia*).

However, there was a palpable decrease in the number of spiritual crimes based exclusively on magical healing throughout the eighteenth century.[321] I would argue that probably many cases which would be previously treated as magical healing now were redefined and dealt with according to the decrees against unlicensed healers and consequently fall into the remit of the Medical College. This could be the result of the general "disenchantment with magic" among educated elite in the eighteenth century when, among other things, magic started to be medicalized.[322] Law and legal procedure played a significant role in the process, so much so that it appears useful to revisit the history of medicine in eighteenth-century Russia from the perspective of legal history. From the time of Peter I, magic was already defined as "idolatry, superstition and blasphemy" and "fraudulent impositions on the gullible."[323] In the eighteenth

[320] PSZ vol.14, no. 10.586 (July 18, 1756) (Saint Petersburg, 1830), 600.
[321] Elena Smilanskaia, *Volshebniki, bogokhul'niki, eretiki v setiakh rossiiskogo syska veka* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Lomonosov, 2016), 148.
[322] Matthew Ramsey, *Professional and Popular Medicine in France, 1770-1830: The Social World of Medical Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 15-20.
[323] Will Ryan, "The Witchcraft Hysteria in Early Modern Europe: Was Russia an Exception?," *Slavonic and East European Review* 76, no. 1 (January 1, 1998): 65-66.

century any folk healers were persecuted not as heretics, but as "imposters" (*moshenniki*) or "liars" (*obmanshchiki*).[324]

Traditional magical beliefs certainly continued, but their presence could have been obscured behind the official language of legal documents. Official narratives could still bear some traces of traditional understanding of diseases which were intrinsically linked to magical beliefs. Expressions like "his skin was possessed by an unclean thing" (*na tele ego vselivshiiasia nechist'*)[325] or "she was sick on a black spirit (*porcha*)" (*byla bol'na porcheiu*)[326] reveal underlying traditional interpretations of diseases. *Nechist'* and *porcha* were understood as "anthropomorphic creatures" on their own which were send by somebody to attack a targeted victim.[327] In contrast, the discourse that the Medical College introduced began to conceptualize disease on the basis of legal terms. This was the first step towards the *Verrechtlichung* (juridification) of medical practice in eighteenth century Russia.

To summarize, unlicensed healing was designated as a special form of illegal activity, to be prosecuted and opposed by the Medical Chancellery. In 1763 the Medical Chancellery was transformed into the Medical College, but the decrees remained in force; and their function in the 1760s Russian Empire is considered in the following pages. What did this new normative legal reality in the realm of medicine look like in practice?

4.2 Procedure and Institutions Involved

"Have you heard about the decrees outlawing vagabond treatment?" was the classic question of an interrogator to one suspected of unlicensed healing. Generally, the accused

[324] Smilanskaia, *Volshebniki, bogokhul'niki, eretiki,* 148.
[325] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 21, d. 225 "The report from the Zavolotskaia and Pustorzhevskaia Voevodskaia Chancellery to the Medical College" (1765)
[326] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 27, d. 185 "The interrogation of Nikita Trusov by the Medical College" (1768)
[327] Aleksandr Lavrov, *Koldovstvo i religiia v Rossii, 1700-1740* (Moscow: Drevlekhranilishche, 2000), 89-90.

feigned ignorance of the laws, or were actually unaware, and usually this was enough to soften the authorities' verdict. Mitigating circumstances such as old age or malpractice of the victims themselves—like the voluntarily decision to take too much medicine—also counted. Any of the above excuses would lead to a suspect being released after signing a promise not to practice medicine again.[328] The harsh penalties suggested by the decrees were never implemented, though reports do suggest the Medical College pushed for harsher treatment for second offenders.

In addition to their regulatory laws, the decrees also created the legal basis for the interaction between the Medical College and various institutions and individuals. To investigate a case of unlawful healing, an accuser—often a victim, an official medic or a third party—needed to formally complain. The investigators would interrogate suspects and sometimes claimants, and scribes would write down accusations from the largely illiterate population. The investigation would be documented in case notes and transcriptions, which would then be collated into a single special interrogation form (*rassprosnye rechi*), which would contain biographical questions and the details of the inquiry including examples of misconduct or felonies.[329] Since the outcome of the interrogations was predictable, the questions were mostly symbolical, underpinning the role of the Medical College in accomplishing the decrees and investigating unlicensed healing.[330] Since the interrogation involved the questions about the medicines that unlicensed healers used and where they bought them, these interrogations had some value in the attempts at curtailing illegal trade of *materia medica*. Usually the complaints reached the Medical College through the mediation of some

[328] Signing promise in this context means that somebody else signed instead of them since the accused healers were mostly illiterate.
[329] Evgenii Akeleev, *Povsednevnaia zhizn' vorovskogo mira Moskvy vo vremena Van'ki Kaina* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 2012), 106.
[330] On the limitations of the Medical College to execute decrees see: Renner, "Wiederstände – Von Scharlatanen und Scheinsiegen," in *Russische Autokratie*; and on the symbolical power of the laws and their protective function of "the supposedly superior knowledge" of licensed medics see: Renner, "The Transfer of Medical Charlatanism to Eighteenth-Century Russia," *East Central Europe* 40 (2013).

other institution. For instance, when in 1765 a surgeon of the Novgorodskii Carabineer Regiment, Mikhail Dmitrovskii, was displeased that one of the patients from the infirmary gave preference to an unlicensed treatment of a peasant, Egor Danilov, rather than taking his lawfully prescribed medication, the colonel immediately transferred this case to the Medical College.[331]

Since medicine was now a legal issue and required lawful enforcement, in St. Petersburg, the efforts to prosecute unlicensed healers led to a close collaboration between the Police Chancellery (*Politsmeisterskaia Kantseliariia*) and the Medical College. Although the police was initially tasked with guarding streets against any disturbances and keeping peace of the city, the Police Chancellery primarily did administrative work, including, for example, the collection of reports about violations in the city.[332] So it was the police who would first hear complaints of harmful treatment, such as when the widower Nikita Trusov, a sergeant of the Salt Office in Petersburg, while walking at the Sea Market (*morskoi rynok*), ran across Andrei Ekimov, a healer whom he believed to be responsible for the death of his wife. The police, in turn, forwarded the case to the Medical College for consideration.

In another case, again in the Sea Market, a servant, Natalia Ivanova, met her former healer Anna Nikiforova, who was allegedly drunk, and caused a scene, leading to the arrival of the police. Ivanova had purchased Nikiforova's services to cure her French disease (syphilis), but the cure failed, and upon a second meeting tempers flared. Both were sent to the Medical College.[333] The Police Chancellery could also organize a search (*sysk*) if the accused healer was missing, such as when Ivan Leonov, a worker from the Sestoretskii weapons factory, came to the Police Chancellery to denounce the healer Afimiia Timofeeva who he claimed had driven his daughter crazy rather than curing her. She was found and sent for further interrogation to

[331] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 7, d. 113 "The report from the colonel to the Medical College" (1765)
[332] George Munro, *The Most Intentional City: St. Petersburg in the Reign of Catherine the Great* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2008), 93, 112.
[333] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 28, d. 224 "The report from the Police Chancellery to the Medical College" (1768)

the Medical College.[334] All three accused healers were released after signing a promise not to practice medicine.

The interaction between institutions regarding unlicensed healing was complicated when the cases took place outside of the scope of immediate influence of the Medical College. When in 1766, the Velikoustiuzhskii town surgeon Ivan Kassel' wanted to curtail unlicensed healing in the town, he approached the local Chancellery and Consistory. His report to the Medical College reflects some conflict between him and local powers. Not criticizing the local Chancellery explicitly, he mentions the he had already reported to the Chancellery and Consistory two cases of illegal healing in the town evoking all four decrees outlawing it. He specifically quoted the part of the decree from 1756 about the sinfulness of illegal healing, probably with the purpose of making his appeal more relevant to the Consistory, which oversaw spiritual matters. He ends his letter expressing the hope that the local institutions will take care of illegal healing and abide by the law, since the Medical College is too far away.[335] Kassel' heavily relied upon laws to reinforce the medical authority in a view of the absence of the influence of the Medical College. Since the laws were not enough to make the local institutions care about unlicensed healing, his only recourse was to report to the Medical College.

The Medical College satisfied Kassel's request and ordered both illegal healers not to practice medicine. The Chancellery needed to question the local healer, Erema Lugovitsckikh, but he never signed a promise. Lugovitsckikh showed up in the local Chancellery and confessed that he was a fugitive from the Hetmanate (left-bank Ukraine), the former hieromonk Gerasim, who now wandered from town to town with a faked document allowing free travel (*pashport*). Things took a turn for the worse for Gerasim: he was sent under escort from the Chancellery

[334] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 27, d. 184 "The report from the Police Chancellery to the Medical College" (1768)
[335] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b.15, d. 298 "The report from Ivan Kassel' to the Medical College about illegal treatment" (1766)

directly to the Moscow Office of the Synod.[336] Gerasim's case ceased to be the concern of the Medical College, now his renunciation of monasticism was at stake. His ultimate fate is unknown, but his case shows how competing legal spheres emerged when medical practices overlapped in their definition as unlawful, be it in spiritual or purely medical contexts.

Another alleged illegal healer, Avdot'ia Rebtsovska, who was under the supervision (*v vedomstve*) of the local consistory, was interrogated there and signed a promise not to treat patients again in the future. However, the consistory states in its reply (*promemoriia*) to the Medical College that it does not find her guilty. In fact, Rebtsovska was asked by an official from the oral court of provincial magistrate to treat the bruise on Ustin'ia Soboleva's hand. In contrast to Kassel', who claimed that Rebtsovska had applied a bad bandage (*neporiadochnuiu pereviazku*), made some special patch, and administered some herbs, the consistory claimed that she only washed her hand from pus and applied bandages.[337]

Looking at these cases and realizing that the decrees against unlicensed healing were not implemented the question arises: were they even supposed to be executed? On the one hand, legal sanctions prevented unlicensed healing sporadically while supporting official medics in their claims to authority over medical matters, marginalizing traditional forms of healing. On the other, they were not really meant to induce fines and corporeal punishment on illegal practitioners. These two functions were complicated with the "infrastructural" problem of the usage of decrees where the Medical College fails to exercise direct influence.

[336] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b.15, d. 298 "The report from Ivan Kassel' to the Medical College about Gerasim" (1766)
[337] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b.15, d. 298 "The report from the Consistory to the Medical College" (1766)

4.3 Participants and Their Strategies

The effects of these decrees primarily affected the lower classes, many of whom turned to unlicensed medicine to get additional income. For instance, Afimiia Timofeeva, who was charged by Ivan Leonov for failed treatment of his daughter Irina Ivanova in the summer of 1768, had understandable reasons for her actions. She was the wife of Petr Ermolaev, a disciple of instrumental art (*instrumental'noe khudozhestvo*) at the Academy of Sciences where he crafted tools.[338] Urban residents who were employed either in industry or craft suffered much from shortages of money and increased prices throughout the eighteenth century.[339] Since Ermolaev was from the lowest rank, a disciple (before apprentice and artisan), his family was likely to need extra income. Timofeeva made sure to get her payment beforehand, and despite her unsuccessful cure she doesn't seem to have given the five earned rubles back.[340]

Many practitioners were soldiers' wives, who needed money due to their husband's absence, and often engaged in such illegal activity.[341] Anna Nikiforova was the wife of a soldier of the fourth border battalion of Petersburg. In the autumn of 1768 Nikiforova agreed to treat a servant Natalia Ivanova, for three rubles. If one is to take Ivanova's testimony at face value, this equaled her three-month salary. Moreover, there was another illicit healer living in the same district of Petersburg where Nikiforova resided, probably her competitor, and to whom Ivanova applied when Anna failed to cure her. This new healer took an even larger amount of money, fifteen rubles.[342] Andreas Renner found similar cases involving a deacon, a blacksmith, a wife of a sailor, a corporal's wife, and a Cossack taking up the practice.[343]

[338] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b.27, d. 184 "The report from the Police Chancellery to the Medical College" (1768)
[339] Boris Mironov, *Sotsyal'naia istoriia Rosii perioda imperii (XVIII-nachalo XX v.) Genezis lichnosti, demokraticheskoi sem'i, grazhdanskogo obshchestva i pravovogo gosudarstva* (Saint Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2003), 316.
[340] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b.27, d. 184 "The report from the Police Chancellery to the Medical College" (1768)
[341] Akeleev, *Povsednevnaia zhizn'*, 224-225.
[342] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b.28, d. 224 "The interrogation of Natalia Ivanova by the Police Chancellery" (1768)
[343] Andreas Renner, *Russische Autokratie*, 253-255

The claimants were from the same social groups, and their own deprivation might play a role in their accusations. The law from 1750 promises reward for those who denounced illegal healers and although forbidden, there was no punishment for using their services,[344] though there is no recorded instance of accusers receiving payment. Likely because there are no instances of fines collected, there was no source for reward money. Apart from the reward, the simple desire to punish an alleged perpetrator of death or health damage of a beloved one, that is, vengeance should not be ruled out as motive.

For instance, the aforementioned widower, Trusov, states in his report that he denounces the healer "only for the reason to get him punished; so that he no longer could poison people."[345] The way Nikita presents his case in the report syncs with the general "instrumental approach" of eighteenth-century Russian appeals. This approach was outlined by the historian Marianna Muravieva who examined the eighteenth-century appeals, or petitions, (*chelobytnye*), and concluded that the litigators constructed an emotional environment beneficial for them "not through emotionally charged words but […] focusing on actions (dynamics) but not words (statics)." [346] Seemingly "unemotional text" in fact contains "operative emotions."[347] Detailed descriptions of action and spaces, quoting the participants of the conflict, constructed a specific emotional environment against the backdrop of legal procedure, conveying a clear idea about particular abuse.[348]

For example, Trusov meticulously tells the story of his wife, Katerina Mikheeva, how somebody five years ago cast a black spell (*porcha*) on her resulting in constant headaches and nausea; how they found out about a healer, the dismissed corporal Andrei Ekimov; and how he visited their house. However, the most remarkable part comes during Trusov's interrogation

[344] PSZ, vol.13, no. 9717 (March 16, 1750) (Saint Petersburg, 1830), 203.
[345] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b.27, d. 185 "The report from the Police Chancellery to the Medical College" (1768)
[346] Marianna Muravyeva, "Emotional Environments and Legal Spaces in Early Modern Russia," *Journal of Social History*, May 3, 2017, 266.
[347] Ibid. 257.
[348] Muravyeva, "Emotional Environments," 262-63.

and how he thoroughly explains the preparation of medicines and her death. He tells how Katerina took the herbs brought by Andrei, boiled them in beer and poured this potion into a jug that he coated with dough. According to the healer's prescriptions, this tincture was to be left in a heated clay oven until his next visit. Even though Nikita was not present at home when Katerina took medicine, he resurrects the action by telling a dialogue between his wife and a daughter who was there. "Why, mother, are you drinking these herbs without Corporal Ekimov?"[349] was the question Katerina's daughter asked her, when Katerina had already drunk her third beer mug of the tincture from the jug. Katerina, in turn, replied that "it has been the sixth day of my healer's absence, and I cannot bear this disease no longer."[350] Two minutes later, she fell on the ground, started vomiting, foaming at the mouth, then calmed down that "only breath was left" from her. A day later, she died and was buried near a church.[351]

A similar focus on the action and places could be seen in the accounts of the witnesses who were asked by claimants to testify to the harmfulness of unlicensed healing. When Nikiforova failed to cure Leonov's daughter, a local priest and other witnesses left a testimony of how insane she had become:

> […] Ivan Leonov's daughter was truly insane and, in such madness, she was running in her house as well as in other places and was screaming in a weird way and not her words and torn her clothes off and the clothes of [other] people and in mentioned house broke window panes and crockery and now even though she is a little bit better, [she is] still not sane like she was before[352]

In both cases, the healers Ekimov and Nikiforova were released after signing a promise. Afimia's treatment was acknowledged as harmful. Andrei's herbs were too, but the Medical College hesitated to condemn him as unequivocally guilty, since a small bundle of herbs he

[349] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 27, d. 185 "The interrogation of Nikita Trusov by the Medical College" (1768)
[350] Ibid.
[351] Ibid.
[352] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 27, d. 184 "The testimony of the priest Vasilii Ioannov and other people" (1768)

gave to Katerina would not have caused such harm if she had not drunk three beer mugs of the tincture in a row.[353] The law was subject to negotiation and mitigating circumstances.

There were also medics who reported cases of illegal healing to the Medical College. The reason is obvious: unlicensed healers encroached on their livelihood as well as their authority. The law, then, became a vehicle of official doctors' attempts at bolstering their status and position in society. Even though official medics got state salaries (a surgeon companion earned 250 rubles a year, a main surgeon 600), the payment was often postponed for months.[354] The aforementioned Velikoustiuzhskii town surgeon Kassel' did not explicitly tell the Medical College that the healer Lugovitsckikh encroached upon his livelihood. However, the report mentions that Lugovitsckikh "practiced medicine in different houses" of Veliky Ustyug almost for a month,[355] implying he had more clients than the two who were dissatisfied with his treatment. All of them could have been Kassel's clients. Moreover, Kassel' was searching for means to reduce his expenses. Two months later he once again reported to the Medical College with the request to get free firewood from the local magistrate. This was done in the first year of his appointment and Ivan knew that medics from other places had this perk. He complained about the harsh climate in his locality with long and cold winters and by telling that to "buy firewood from the local salary seems to be inappropriate" [356] for him. The Medical College denied his request.

[353] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b.27, d. 185 "The order from the Medical Chancellery" (1768)
[354] Andreas Renner, *Russische Autokratie*, 71.
[355] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b.15, d. 298 "The report from Ivan Kassel' to the Medical College about illegal treatment" (1766)
[356] Ibid., "The order from the Medical College to Ivan Kassel' " (1766)

4.4 From Examination to Adjudication

The decrees against unlicensed healing created a legal space where the Medical College had the final say. Outside of these laws the participation of the Medical College in the legal sphere had a more limited character, such as contributing medical expertise in criminal cases. There the main investigation and adjudication institution (until the 1775 reform) was the guberniya's or provincial Chancellery.[357] In the eighteenth century the Chancelleries were obliged to call an expert medic, but also to report to the Medical College in case of suspicious murder.[358]

For example, in 1766 the retired corporal of the Astrakhan' garrison, Lareon Marenkov, suddenly died, which raised the suspicion that he could have been poisoned. The Chancellery launched an investigation of this matter, conducted an interrogation of Marenkov's wife Natalia and household servants (*dvorovye liudi*), and ordered the local doctor to examine the corpse. The Chancellery gave the doctor guidelines on what questions he should answer, asked for a sample of the poisonous substance for itself and finally wrote a request to the Medical College "for consideration" of this matter. Of course, the doctor was free to provide his expert opinion, but the Chancellery's guidelines emphasized its power of supervision. Furthermore, the Chancellery delegated to doctor and his medical staff some investigation responsibilities, gathering evidence for his suspicious death. After Natalia was interrogated and released from the Chancellery, the doctor received a copy of her answers to compare with what he would find on his own. Thus, apart from the description of the poison received after the autopsy and its chemical analysis, doctor's report also includes the information of who was

[357] Marianna Muravyeva, "Russian Early Modern Criminal Procedure and Culture of Appeal," *Review of Central and East European Law* 38, no. 3–4 (2013), 306.
[358] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 20, d. 190 "The report from the Saint Petersburg Guberniya Chancellery to the Medical College" (1767)

present during Marenkov's death, where his wife was, how reluctant she was to give away the corpse of her husband for an autopsy etc.[359]

The Medical College received a request from the Chancellery, the local doctor's report and a sample of poison from the bottom of Marenkov's stomach. To reply, the Medical College issued a certificate which provided a conclusion similar to the opinion of the local doctor: the poison was arsenic, and it was in the meal that Marenkov ate at home, not in the medicines that his wife had given to him. The certificate thoroughly described all steps of the examination. Observing poison in a microscope and warming it up was done by a surgeon and the high-ranking doctors of the Medical College. The latter were absent, however, during "less noble" experiments which involved catching a little dog, feeding it with the buckwheat mixed with poison and observing the reaction, as well as mixing poison with sugar and observing the reaction of flies. The surgeon oversaw these experiments and he was also the one to issue this certificate.[360]

A similar contribution of the Medical College to the investigation process can be seen in the case from 1767 when a steward of the count Grigory Orlov reported a suspicious death from the village Tikhovits to the St. Petersburg Gubernia Chancellery. Two peasants, Iurii and Martyn, had an argument because Martyn's horse came to Iurii's house and broke four sheaves of harvested wheat. Iurii was fuming and punched Martyn two times in his head. Martyn took the horse and went home, but did not make it, fell down on the threshold and died. Tikhovits was situated in the relative vicinity of St. Petersburg, thus the Chancellery commissioned a medical expert directly from the Medical College to give its opinion on Martyn's death.[361]

[359] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 15, d. 268 "The report from the Astrakhan' Guberniya Chancellery to the Medical College" and "The report from a doctor Fonlauterburkh to the Astrakhan' Guberniya Chancellery" (1766)
[360] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 15, d. 268 "The certificate" (1766)
[361] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 20, d. 190 "The report from the Saint Petersburg Guberniya Chancellery to the Medical College" (1767)

In this case, again one encounters how the medical experts not only dissected the corpse, but also questioned the neighbors to get additional information, although here it was mostly to find out his state of health while he was alive. The evidence of the neighbors helped to determine that Martyn was already slight, pale and sickly before this tragic event. His old age and the evidence from the autopsy proved that there was an extensive bleeding of the body and inflammation of the lungs and no external injuries which would support that it was homicide. Iurii's angriness, however, provoked the coagulation of Martyn's blood which escalated his health problems and ended with suffocation leading to death.[362]

Both cases show that the expert opinion of the Medical College was required in the cases of suspicious death. It was crucial in determining the causes of death, and the medical staff actively participated in the process of investigation. However, the involvement of the Medical College ended with the testimony of an expert opinion. Since the cases were taken from the records of the Medical College, the license with an expert opinion will be the last document one encounters in the documentation of cases. After this the investigation could go on, as likely to happen in the case of Marenkov. In the case of Martyn, even though everything was much clearer and the suspicion that there was a homicide could be easily ruled out, the final verdict was the prerogative of the Chancellery. Thus, the expertise gave the Medical College legal authority, but failed to empower them with the right of adjudication which, by contrast, the supervision of illegal healing provided.

An illustrative example of how the laws against unlicensed healing provided the Medical College with more legal authority than a mere medical expertise in murder comes from the Zavolotskii district (*uezd*), in the year 1765. There a peasant, Trofim Gorlo, attempted to cure an official (*kantseliarist*) from the Zavolotskai Chancellery, Mikhail Chernousov, who suffered from an unknown disease and eventually died. The Zavolotskaia and Pustorzhevskaia

[362] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 20, d. 190 "The certificate" (1767)

Voevodskaia Chancellery were certain that it was Gorlo's medical treatment that killed Chernousov. The Chancellery presented this case to the Medical College as an already solved matter. Relying on the testimony of the Collegiate Assessor (*Kollezhskii assessor*) and boarder commissioner Petr Karaulov, the Chancellery concluded that Gorlo poisoned Chernousov by mixing too much sulema with vodka "either because of his own anger towards him or somebody's else instruction."[363] The Chancellery also conducted the interrogation of Gorlo and his answers allegedly supported the already made judgement. Gorlo did not possess a license, thus practiced medicine illegally, and he had a potent potion (*zel'e*) that was illegal to use for treatment. At the same time, the Chancellery quoted the laws outlawing unlicensed treatment two times, mentioning that the Medical Chancellery was responsible for its supervision and acknowledging that Gorlo's fate depends on it.[364]

Such representation of Chernousov's death could be explained by the failure of the Chancellery to present this case to the Medical College in time. The Chancellery found out about the death on 18 June but reported to the Medical College on 11 November. To circumvent all complications which could follow, it tried to present the case as totally unambiguous, a homicide that after the agreement from the Medical College could be dealt with accordingly. The Chancellery hoped that the information obtained from the Collegiate Assessor and their interrogation of Gorlo sufficed to find the latter guilty. It did not even send the copy of interrogation based on which the Medical College traditionally delivered its decision. This strategy failed, since the Medical College was not satisfied with such an encroachment on its adjudication power in the matters of illegal healing. It started to criticize the Chancellery regarding the core of the illegal healing investigation, the interrogation, stating that it seems from the report that the peasant Gorlo was not interrogated "with a proper rigor about

[363] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 21, d. 225 "The report from the Zavolotskaia and Pustorzhevskaia Voevodskaia Chancellery to the Medical College" (1765)
[364] Ibid.

appropriate details."[365] This point of criticism is followed by another mistake on behalf of the Chancellery such as like failing to realize that there was no Medical Chancellery but College instead. The last failure pertained to the medical expertise part since the Chancellery did not provide the College with basic information, when Chernousov took the medicine, the time of death, the color of the medicine. It is also remarkable here that the College never refers to Gorlo's medicine as 'poison," hinting at the absence of the evidence to argue this. The College even specifies the names of a voivode and voivode's fellow (*voevodskii tovarishch*) who signed the document to make a precise accusation: "Everything considered, it is seen neither voivode Feontist Tolstoi nor voivode's fellow Bogdan Skobel' either did not know the value of their positions or (what is worse) knew it but did not perform [their duties]."[366]

To correct the Chancellery's mistakes and compensate wasted time, the Medical Collegium tasked the Novgorod city surgeon, Beiman, to go to Zavolotskii district and to investigate more profoundly the medication Gorlo used for treatment and well as circumstances of his death. The emissary was then to head out immediately to St. Petersburg with his conclusions. Since a dissection was impossible, eventually it stayed unclear whether Gorlo's medicines contributed to the tragical death or it was a consequence of Chernousov's disease. Gorlo's age (claimed to be 90 years old) and his ignorance of prohibitive decrees also served as traditional mitigating circumstances, and he was released from detention. The Medical College decided to punish the Chancellery which did not bother to consult in time with it in the matters of unlicensed healing and even inflicted punishment: all the travel expenses of the doctor were to be covered by voivode and his fellow, overall 30 rubles and 94 kopecks, not a small sum.[367] The law, it appears, raised the competition between different state institutions.

[365] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b. 21, d. 225 "The order from the Medical College to the Zavolotskaia and Pustorzhevskaia Voevodskaia Chancellery" (1765)
[366] Ibid.
[367] Ibid.

4.5 In Front of the Medical College and Behind its Back

On the tenth of January 1764 two high-ranking representatives of the Medical College, Georg von Asch and Georg Samuel Polman, headed out to a hospital (*goshpital'*) in St. Petersburg. In fact, what they meant by "hospital" was a specific place of treatment led by a peasant, Trofim Stepanov.[368] The available sources paint a rough sketch of Stepanov's hospital. It was situated in the city, in the backyard building belonging to the state councilor and *oberzeremonienmeister*[369] Graf Santi. When Georg von Asch and Georg Samuel Polman dropped by, it included seven patients and had already been working for at least ten weeks. Strikingly, all patients were from the same social group, the servants of high-ranking officials: two lackeys, a hairdresser, a stable boy, a cook, an apprentice of the court cook (*kukhmister*) and a personal attendant (*kammerdiener*), hence why they could pay for their treatment.[370] The sources did not indicate that Stepanov had any assistance, so it is assumed he worked alone.

Stepanov's hospital received harsh criticism from the doctors. They found the cutlery he used for preparing medicines so dirty "that just one look at them can arose disgust," the herbs were rotten and harmful, and finally his medicines were so potent that they "can cause worst seizures" and "pathetic death" for people with weak constitution. According to the doctors, this is what actually had happened three years ago when Stepanov unsuccessfully treated an English feldsher, Wilhelm Gregam. The doctors accused him in poisoning Gregam so badly that no bloodletting, laxatives and "all possible medical means" could save him.[371] The story ended with Trofim pledging not to treat anybody anymore and signing a promise.[372]

This case is somewhat unusual compared to other examples. Firstly, there is a lack of an accuser in this story who would charge Stepanov of illicit healing and so launch the process

[368] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b.1, d. 40 "The appeal from the Medical College to Her Imperial Majesty" (1764)
[369] The main curator of ceremonies at the Russian court, occupies the fourth class in the "Table of Ranks".
[370] Ibid
[371] Ibid., "The description of Wilhelm Gregam's disease" (1764)
[372] Ibid., "The order from the Medical College" (1764)

of an investigation by the Medical College. Secondly, to accuse Stepanov the members of the Medical College resurrected the story of death, allegedly caused by the peasant's treatment, which happened three years ago. In fact, this story was investigated and reported by one doctor immediately after Gregam died, so it is unclear why Stepanov was not accused of illegal treatment at that point. Finally, to abolish Stepanov's treatment the Medical College asked for a direct order from Her Imperial Majesty[373] which was not usually needed since the Medical College according to the decrees against unlicensed healings could adjudicate on its own.

I would argue that Stepanov`s treatment and the existence of his hospital were for some time tolerated due to the patronage exercised over his activities. It transpires from the report of Gregam's death that Stepanov "lived in Graf Santi's home."[374] Stepanov's hospital, was situated in Graf Santi's building, thus it is likely that Stepanov was a peasant from Graf's household. The owner was obviously aware that there was a hospital in his backyard and could protect his peasant's activities. In 1761 Santi still occupied the position of *oberzeremonienmeister*, which made him an influential person in close proximity to the court. In addition, he was in good graces of the empress Elisabeth, who signed an order of his release from exile in Siberia when she came to the power and remembered his loyal service to her father, Peter I and her.[375] The patronage of such a person as Graf Santi could have been a sufficient support for Stepanov. The very fact that all patients of his hospital were the servants of high-ranking officials does not seem to be a coincidence; perhaps it was not only Graf Santi, who supported his practice. This is where, in the early modern period, traditional patronage relationships could easily override the law.

After the Elisabeth`s death in 1762 and the Graf Santi`s retirement in 1763, Graf become less influential and probably the Medical College decided to use this in its favor in

[373] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b.1, d. 40 "The appeal from the Medical College to Her Imperial Majesty" (1764)
[374] Ibid, "The description of Wilhelm Gregam's disease" (1764)
[375] Olga Ageeva, *Diplomaticheskii tseremonial imperatorskoi Rossii XVIII vek* (Moscow: Novyi Khronograf, 2012), 62, 70.

order to take down its old rival, Stepanov, with his hospital. Furthermore, to circumvent any possible complication, the Medical College asked for the highest order from Catherine, to take away from Stepanov "any possibility of further harming society."[376] On February 1, the empress passed an oral order threatening to sentence Stepanov to hard labor till the end of his days if he ever violates it.[377] The decrees were enforced once the influence of the patron was no more.

Stepanov managed to continue his practice in St. Petersburg where the Medical College had its most profound and direct influence. The remoteness of some territories from the capital made this influence even more susceptible to the external factors, like local constellation of powers, as in the example from the Western borderlands of the Russian empire (the Hetmanate). In 1751 the metropolitan of Kiev, Halych and Little Russia, Timofei, received a letter of appeal from a teacher of syntax from the local Kiev-Mohyla Academy, David Nashchins'kii. The emotional tone of the letter is one of desperation with a glimmer of hope. Nashchins'kii's focuses on his futile attempts for his year long quest to cure his two students who were gradually losing their vision. To supplement his own diligent effort to help them, he tuned to local military medics who were officially appointed in each regiment (an administrative unit) of the Hetmanate.[378] However, they also failed to help and clearly stated that this eye-disease was irreversible. The last glimmer of hope was an itinerant woman from the *Polish region*[379] who was practicing medicine and planned to stay in Kiev till the summer and then to head out to St. Petersburg. Moved by desperation, Nashchins'kii appealed to the

[376] RGADA f. 344, op. 1/1, b.1, d. 40 "The appeal from the Medical College to Her Imperial Majesty" (1764)
[377] Ibid., "The order from the Medical College" (1764)
[378] Serdiuk I, *Polkovykh horodov obyvateli istoryko-demohrafichna kharakterystyka miskoho naselennia Hetmanschyny druhoi polovyny XVIII st.* (Poltava: ASMI, 2011), 55.
[379] The denomination of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the writings of the eighteenth century Ukrainian clergy.

itinerant healer. To elevate her skillfulness in the eyes of metropolitan, he pointed out that she has the credential letters from her patients successfully cured from eye-diseases.[380]

From the legal perspective though, she was undoubtedly an illegal healer who expected to get money for her treatment. The governor of the Kiev gubernia, Mikhailo Ivanovich Leontiev, in turn, forbade this woman to cure anybody in fear to be fined. The decree 1750 was officially published,[381] thus Leontiev must have been perfectly aware of the illegality of her treatment and the punishment it included. Reportedly Nashchins'kii does not seems to be threatened and he decides to appeal to another local power. Since the Academy was under the direct jurisdiction of the Church authority, it is clear why Nashchins'kii sought metropolitan's protection.[382] And Timofei seems to have satisfied his wish. It is doubtful that the Medical College at all found out about the illegal healing of the two students from the Kiev-Mohyla Academy.

The decrees against unlicensed healing delineated a new malpractice in the legal discourse of the eighteenth-century Russian empire. They also created a basis for interaction between different state institutions within which the Medical College could exercise limited powers of adjudication. Even though the penalty for illegal healing existed on paper, the decrees had other functions and ramifications such as the prevention of individual healers from their activities and the broadening of the scope of prerogatives of the Medical College. The implementation of the decrees was exposed to a variety of factors. The remoteness of the Medical College could complicate the enforcement of the decrees, make them subordinate to local interests, power relations, for example, when an unlicensed healer enjoyed sufficient patronage to defy the legal incursions by the College against his activities.

[380] *Institut rukopysu Natsional'na biblioteka Ukrainy im. Vernads'kogo* (Institute of Manuscripts Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine) f. 301, spr. 13.
[381] PSZ, vol.13, no. 9717 (March 16, 1750) (Saint Petersburg, 1830), 203.
[382] Iaremenko, *Akademiia ta Akademiky*, 30.

Conclusion

By focusing on the formation of a self-sufficient medical community in the 1760s Russian empire, this thesis raised two broader issues: the role of legislation in the early modern state and the relationship between the empire and the incorporated subjects from its borderlands. The thesis traced the dynamics between the legal framework created by the decrees of the Medical Chancellery/College and its ramifications in practice when the regulations were (re)negotiated with other localized state agents.

The examination of two sets of decrees, on the recruitment of students to the hospital schools and those outlawing unlicensed healing, demonstrated that starting from the 1750s, the Medical Chancellery became increasingly involved in a juridification of the medical sphere, shaping the legal discourse concerning medical issues and enforcing decrees initiated by it. The historiography has highlighted that the influence of the Medical Chancellery/College was limited in many respects. This thesis argues that if viewed from the perspective of early modern law, the decrees which the Chancellery initiated created the basis for negotiation between different actors, rather than enforced prescribed matters. Moreover, the decrees had broader implications, both unintended and envisaged.

The laws pertaining to the recruitment of students to the hospital schools in Saint Petersburg and Moscow were precipitated by the 1730s shift in the vision of medical education triggered by the influence of foreign ideas. The Chancellery started to oversee the schooling of local medical servants, and the 1754-1756 decrees for the first time created a legal basis for the recruitments of students to the hospital schools. The students were summoned primarily from the Kiev-Mohyla Academy and collegiums of the Hetmanate. As historiography argued, the main reasons of this recourse to Little Russian educational institutions lies in the permeability of the social groups and relatively high availability of Latin education in the Hetmanate.

This thesis argues that by having initiated the aforementioned decrees, the Medical Chancellery prompted the establishment of alternative centers of education for Little Russian students and, by extension, imperial subjects from the Hetmanate, facilitating their inadvertent integration into the imperial practice of medical service. It was inadvertent in a sense that integration was not a goal, but rather an unintended consequence of the Chancellery's policy to create a self-sustainable medical community.

The focus on how the recruitments were conducted is noteworthy, as they became points where imperial and borderland contexts crossed and illuminate intricate relationship between the Medical Chancellery/College as an imperial institution and local actors. In the first half of the 1760s, the recruitments as well as the first recruitment campaign (1761) were planned on an ad hoc basis. Starting from 1766, however, the Medical College issued orders directed at their systematization, vesting selected surgeons from the Hetmanate with the responsibility of inviting students on the College's notice. The local context, in turn, determined the diverse body of the recruited students, since the Academy educated people of different origins and social affiliations.

Inviting students from the Hetmanate, The Medical Chancellery/College triggered not only an intra-imperial movement, but also a social mobility of imperial subjects for whom a medical career matched with their social, cultural and economic considerations. For different social groups of the recruited students, a medical career could be a way up the social ladder, a way to avoid impoverishment or a military service, a realm where students could continue to harness their knowledge and cultivate their educationally based values.

The medical career weaved students into imperial structures further upon their graduation from the hospital schools. Apart from considering their engagement as surgeons in the army or civil servants, the thesis touched upon other kinds of engagements such as a patronage and scientific networks. It also showed two models of the self-perception of doctors:

an “armchair physician”, who benefited the fatherland by publishing medical treatises and teaching new generations of medical students and a public servant who engaged in both the intellectual trends of the contemporary scientific community and moral issues to instruct people.

By treating the decrees against unlicensed healing and their implications from the perspective of legal history, I reconsider the historiographical assumption that they represented only symbolical claim for power. The decrees are especially revealing of the increased role of the Medical Chancellery/College in the legal sphere. The Medical Chancellery/College delineated a new malpractice, “unlicensed healing” and medicalized “magical healing”. It also obtained a right of the administration of justice in cases of illegal treatment and could even inflict punishment when somebody encroached on this right. The provision of an expertise in the cases of crimes, a traditional occupation of the Chancellery/College in legal sphere, did not vest it with such authority.

This thesis dealt with an understudied issue of the increasing role of the Medical Chancellery/College in the legal sphere and demonstrated the broader implications of its decrees than just a creation of Russian medical community and a protection of the authority of the latter. By reforming medical education, the Medical Chancellery/College prompted the inadvertent integration of imperial subjects to the empire’s institutions. This integration brings an important nuance to a general multifaceted incorporation of Little Russia and complements other aspects which facilitated the integration such as imperial reforms and the inner dynamics within the Hetmanate. The thesis can also contribute to studying social groups of the Hetmanate and how their aspirations squired with state interests.

By demonstrating a specific power of the Medical Chancellery/College in the juridification of medical sphere, I wanted to draw attention to the diversification of legal

authorities in early modern Russia and the importance of further inquiries into the role of other governmental institutions in the administration of justice.

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Appendices

Name	Birthplace	Social status	Loss of social status	Enrollment to KMA	Graduation from KMA	Outh	School	Academic performance	Age	Appointemt (Y)	Appointment (P)
Stepan Komarinskii	Kiev Regiment	Clergy		1754	1758		Rhetorik	diligently		1758	Moscow
Aleksei Onisievich	Nizhyn	Clergy	Father became a monk	1751	1758	21 December 1752	Philosophy	diligently and successfully		1758	Saint Petersburg
Semion Levanovskii	Kiev	Clergy		1751	1757		Rhetorik			1758	Saint Petersburg
Karim Kholchanskii										1758	Saint Petersburg
Grigorii Grushinskii										1758	Saint Petersburg
Ivan Grigorievich	Nizhyn Regiment			1753	1758	10 May 1754	Philosophy	diligently and confidently		1758	Saint Petersburg
Mikhail Dimitrovskoi	Chigirin	Clergy		1752	1758	1 May 1753	Philosophy	diligently and confidently		1758	Saint Petersburg
Kassiian Iagelskii	Kiev	City dweller	Father died	1745	1758	17 December 1746	Philosophy (logic)	diligently and successfully	24	1758	Saint Petersburg
Matvei Romanovskii	Poltava Regiment	Registered Cossack (vybonyi kozak)	Father died	1754	1758	10 May 1754	Rhetorik			1759	Saint Petersburg
Ivan Pashkovskii	(Ol'shevka) Polish land	Merchant (in Kiev)		1754	1758	10 May 1754	Rhetorik	diligently		1759	Saint Petersburg
Radion Pomaranskii				1747	1754 (Chernigov Collegium 1757)		Rhetorik/philosophy	dligently		1759	Saint Petersburg
Ivan Bogonovskii	Kiev	Commoner			1758					1759	Saint Petersburg
Kiril Shcherbanevich	Ladyzhyn	Commoner			1758		Theology	exemplary		1759	Saint Petersburg
Ioakim Kopachevskii	Putivl'skii uezd	Clergy			1758		Theology	till losing his mind		1759	Saint Petersburg
Konstiantin Liavretskii	Chernigov	City dweller			1758		Rhetorik	confidently		1759	Saint Petersburg
Leontii Belovol	Ichnia	Clergy			1758		Rhetorik	average		1759	Saint Petersburg
Ivan Zvenigorodskii	Velikie Budishcha	Clergy			1758		Piitika	diligently		1759	Saint Petersburg
Ivan Maslavskii	Pryluky Regiment	City dweller			1758		Piitika	average		1759	Saint Petersburg
Ivan Datsevich	Starodubskii Regiment	Clergy			1758		Piitika	?missing		1759	Saint Petersburg
Kiril Sheremeta	Hadiach Regiment	Commoner			1758		Piitika	diligently		1759	Saint Petersburg
Danil Afonas'ev	Kiev	City dweller			1758		Philosophy	according to the abilities of his mind		1759	Saint Petersburg
Maksim Mikhalevich	Pavoloch	Commoner			1758		Piitika	reliably		1759	Saint Petersburg
Roman Krasovskii	Pereiaslav regiment	Cossack			1758		Rhetorik	confidently		1759	Saint Petersburg
Ivan Kainskii	Gusakov	City dweller			1758		Rhetorik	confidently		1759	Saint Petersburg
Ivan Zavadinskii	Nizhyn Regiment	Cossack			1758		Rhetorik	reliably		1759	Saint Petersburg
Pavel Leontovich	Khmelev	Clergy		1754	1758		Rhetorik			1758	Moscow
Petr Nesterovich										1758	Went home (no name in passport)
Grigorii Khaletskii	Polish region (oblast')	City dweller			1758		Rhetorik			1758	Moscow
Pavel Kozlovskii	Polish region (oblast')	Clergy			1758		Rhetorik			1758	Moscow
Timofei Radozhitskii	Polish region (oblast')	Clergy			1758		Rhetorik			1758	Moscow
Grigorii Agnevskii	Nizhyn Regiment	Clergy			1758		Rhetorik			1758	Moscow
Iakov Samburskii	Nizhyn Regiment	Clergy			1758		Rhetorik			1758	Moscow
Feodosii Vereshchakii	Polish region (oblast')	City dweller			1758		Rhetorik			1758	Moscow
Trofim Konstiantinovich	Nizhyn Regiment	Clergy			1758		Rhetorik			1758	Moscow
Ivan Adamovskii	Polish region (oblast')	City dweller			1758		Rhetorik			1758	Moscow
Aleksei Tikhonovich	Pereiaslav regiment	Commoner			1758		Piitika			1758	Moscow
Luk'ian Rubanov	Nizhyn Regiment	Cossack			1758		Piitika			1758	Moscow
Ivan Sheblovskii	Nizhyn Regiment	Cossack			1758		Piitika			1758	Moscow
Samoil Tomaskii	Nizhyn Regiment	Cossack			1758		Piitika			1758	Moscow
Ivan Grinevskii	Nizhyn Regiment	Clergy			1758		Piitika			1758	Moscow
Andrei Italinskii	Lubny Regiment	Clergy			1761		Philosophy	not the last success		1761	Saint Petersburg
Ivan Petrashevskii	Myrhorod Regiment	No info			1761		Philosophy			1761	Moscow
Ivan Rezovich	Starodubskii Regiment	Commoner			1761		Philosophy			1761	Moscow
Dionisii Shydlovskii	Kiev	Clergy	Father died	1755	1761	18 May 1755	Philosophy (just started)	perfect		1761	Saint Petersburg
Dionisii Khorutovskii	Pryluky Regiment	Cossack			1761		Philosophy			1761	Saint Petersburg
Dmitrii Kartashevskii	Hadiach Regiment	D'iak			1761		Philosophy			1761	Moscow
Vasilii Timonovskii	Kiev Regiment	Clergy		1755	1761	8 May 1755	Philosophy	confidently		1761	Saint Petersburg
Ivan Slonetskii	Nizhyn Regiment	Clergy		1755	1761	17 May 1756	Philosophy (just started)	perfect		1761	Saint Petersburg

Il'ia Rutskii	Pryluky Regiment	Clergy			1761		Philosophy			1761	Saint Petersburg
Ivan Vasil'evich	Nizhyn Regiment	Cossack		1753	1761	21 May 1756	Philosophy (just started)	perfect		1761	Saint Petersburg
Pavel Maksimovich	Myrhorod Regiment	Cossack			1761		Philosophy			1761	Saint Petersburg
Daniil Samoilovich	Chernigov Regiment	Clergy			1761		Rhetorik	not the last success		1761	Saint Petersburg
Nikolai Dovgelia	Nizhyn Regiment	Military companion			1761		Rhetorik			1761	Saint Petersburg
Grigorii Goroshkevich	Polish nation	Szlachta		1758	1761	18 May 1758	Rhetorik	not the last success		1761	Saint Petersburg
Feder Tomoshevskii	Polish nation	Commoner		1757	1761	30 April 1758	Rhetorik	good		1761	Saint Petersburg
Stefan Veshatitskii	Polish nation	Commoner		1757	1761	30 April 1758	Rhetorik	not the last success		1761	Saint Petersburg
Petr Kozminskii	Polish nation	Szlachta			1761		Rhetorik			1761	Saint Petersburg
Miron Danilevskii	Nizhyn Regiment	Cossack		1755	1761	18 May 1755	Rhetorik	not the last success		1761	Moscow
Stefan Levandovski	Polish nation	Polish nation			1761		Rhetorik			1761	Moscow
Ivan Strebchevskii	Kharskovskoi Slobotskii Regimen	Commoner			1761		Rhetorik			1761	Saint Petersburg
Danila Malinovskii	Lubny Regiment	Clergy		1755	1761	16 May 1755	Rhetorik	not the last success		1761	Saint Petersburg
Afanasii Konstantinovich	Nizhyn Regiment	Clergy			1761		Rhetorik			1761	Saint Petersburg
Semen Stankevich	Polish nation	Szlachta			1761		Rhetorik			1761	Saint Petersburg
Eleferei Shevelev	Starodubskii Regiment	Commoner			1761		Rhetorik			1761	Saint Petersburg
Stefan Kleopovich	Lubny Regiment				1761		Rhetorik			1761	Saint Petersburg
Grigorii Pavlovskii	Chernigov Regiment	Clergy			1761		Rhetorik			1761	Saint Petersburg
Mikhailo Minutovskii	Nezhin	Commoner			1761		Rhetorik			1761	Saint Petersburg
Petr Ianovskii	Hadiach Regiment	Clergy			1761		Rhetorik			1761	Saint Petersburg
Matvei Sakolovskii	Polish nation	Commoner			1761		Rhetorik			1761	Saint Petersburg
Petr Chepelevskii	Lubny Regiment	Clergy			1761		Rhetorik			1761	Saint Petersburg
Mikhailo Iv'iashchinskii	Hadiach Regiment	Cossack			1761		Rhetorik			1761	Saint Petersburg
Dem'ian Seredinski	Nizhyn Regiment	Clergy			1761		Rhetorik			1761	Moscow
Danilo Mikhailovskii	Hadiach Regiment	Cossack			1761		Rhetorik			1761	Saint Petersburg
Elisei Vadarskii	Lubny Regiment	Znachkovyi companion			1761		Rhetorik			1761	Moscow
Moisei Razganovich	Polish nation	Commoners			1761		Rhetorik			1761	Saint Petersburg
Grigorii Kastinskii	Nizhyn Regiment	D'jak			1761		Rhetorik			1761	Moscow
Petr Troianskii	Kiev Regiment	Clergy			1761		Rhetorik			1761	Moscow
Aleksei Rezovich	Starodubskii Regiment	Commoner			1761		Rhetorik			1761	Saint Petersburg
Kirilo Orlovskii	Lubny Regiment	Commoner			1761		Rhetorik			1761	Saint Petersburg
Ivan Liashovskii	Polish nation	Cossack			1761		Rhetorik			1761	Saint Petersburg
Ivan Grigorovich	Cherkasy	Clergy		1758	1761	18 May 1758	Rhetorik	perfect		1761	Moscow
Grigorii Stopakovskii	Pryluky Regiment	Cossack			1761		Rhetorik			1761	Saint Petersburg
Iosif Belokonskii	Slobotskii Regiment	Cossack			1761		Rhetorik			1761	Moscow
Iakov Fedorovich	Polish nation	Commoner			1761		Rhetorik			1761	Moscow
Andrei Lvovskii	Lubny Regiment	Znachkovyi companion			1761		Piitika			1761	Moscow
Ivan Kalenichenko	Lubny Regiment	Znachkovyi companion			1761		Piitika			1761	Moscow
Ivan Shchepulinski	Starodubskii Regiment	Clergy			1761		Piitika			1761	Moscow
Nikita Dovgopolskii	Nizhyn Regiment	Cossack			1761		Piitika			1761	Saint Petersburg
Ivan Ianovskii	Lubny Regiment	Clergy			1761		Piitika			1761	Saint Petersburg
Adriian Viridarski	Nizhyn Regiment	Znachkovyi companion			1761		Piitika			1761	Father summoned home
Ivan Rybianskii	Hadiach Regiment	Cossack			1761		Piitika			1761	Saint Petersburg
Iosif Bazilevich'	Kiev Regiment	Commoner			1761		Philosophy			1761	Saint Petersburg
Anton' Enitskii	Kiev	Clergy			1761		Philosophy			1761	Saint Petersburg
Luka Vishinskii	Nizhyn Regiment	Clergy			1761		Philosophy			1761	Saint Petersburg
Mikhailo Trokhimovskii					1761	4 May 1753	Theology	excellent		1761	Saint Petersburg
Andrei Levitski	Lubny Regiment	Clergy	Father died	1753	1762	9 January 1762	Philosophy	moderate		1762	Saint Petersburg
Martin Terekhovskii	Hadiach Regiment	Clergy	Father died	1754	1763	15 July 1762	Theology	perfect	24	1763	Saint Petersburg
Nikifor Chernishevskii	Lubny Regiment	Cossack	Father died		1761	8 May 1754	Rhetorik	perfect		1763	Saint Petersburg
Iakov Sherafet					1763					1763	Saint Petersburg

Vasilii Protopop					1763					1763	Saint Petersburg
Gavrilo Kreaturskii					1763					1763	Saint Petersburg
Grigorgii Savetskii					1763					1763	Saint Petersburg
Ivan Mogilianskii	Poltava Regiment	Cossack	Father died	1759	1766	10 July 1762	Philosophy (1 year)	quite perfect		1766	Saint Petersburg
Denis Ponyrka					1766					1766	Saint Petersburg
Ivan Fedorovich					1766					1766	Saint Petersburg
Evstafii Troianskii					1766					1766	Saint Petersburg
Feder Silenko Nichai	Kiev	Magistrate official			1767	10 July 1762	Philosophy	excellent	20	1767	Saint Petersburg
Egor Ianovski	Letovishche	Commoner	Not known	1756	1767	14 May 1763	Rhetorik	average	21	1767	Saint Petersburg
Evsevii Smirnitskii	Pogar	City dweller		1760	1766	18 July 1762	Rhetorik	perfect		1767	Saint Petersburg
Stefan Filipovich											Did not show up in the Medical Colle
Petr Titov	Kiev	City dweller	Father died		1766		Syntax	perfect	17	1767	Moscow
Timofei Ianovskii	Poltava	Clergy	Father died	1762	1767	14 May 1763	Philosophy	reliable	20	1768	Saint Petersburg
Luka Kolonetskii	Hadiach	Commoner	Father died	1761	1767	14 May 1763	Rhetorik	perfect	20	1768	Saint Petersburg
Petr Zemskii	Kiev Regiment	Clergy		1762	1767	14 May 1763	Rhetorik	perfect	19	1768	Saint Petersburg
Damian Bovenskii	Pereiaslav	Commoner	Father died	1761	1767	10 July 1762	Rhetorik	perfect		1768	Saint Petersburg
Grigorii Iukhnovskii	Uman'	Commoner			1767		Rhetorik	excellent	21	1768	Moscow
Andrei Tomashevskii	Kiev	City dweller	Father died		1766		Piitika		17	1768	Moscow
Nestor Maksimovich	Hadiach Regiment	Clergy		1757	1768	14 May 1763	Theology (4 years)	excellent		1769	Saint Petersburg
Fedor Kanevskii	Lubny Regiment	City dweller	Father died	1762	1769		Rhetorik			1769	Saint Petersburg
Stefan Komarovskii	Kiev Regiment	Clergy			1764	14 May 1763	Theology	diligently and promising		1769	Saint Petersburg
Afanasii Konstantinov	Kiev	Commoner	Father died		1769	14 May 1763	Philosophy			1769	Saint Petersburg
Trofim Ol'khovich	Romny	City dweller		1762	1768	26 May 1762	Philosophy	confident success	19	1769	Saint Petersburg
Roman Stefanovich	Chernigov Regiment	Clergy	Father retired (sick)		1766	5 May 1764	Syntax	reliable		1769	Saint Petersburg
Sava Kopytovskii	Pryluky Regiment	In service of a general osavul			1769		Philosophy	good	18	1769	Saint Petersburg
Foma Figulinskii	Chernigov Regiment	Commoner (serv. of bunch. comrade)		1763	1769		Philosophy	good	20	1769	Saint Petersburg
Grigorii Nezhynets	Kiev Regiment	Clergy		1760	1769		Philosophy	reliable	20	1769	Saint Petersburg
Ivan Barashchanskii	Ladyzhyn	City dweller			1769		Philosophy	perfect	19	1769	Saint Petersburg
Mikhail Gamaliia	Lubny Regiment	Cossack			1769		Philosophy	reliable	20	1769	Saint Petersburg
Laventii Menzykhovskii	Kiev Regiment	Clergy			1769		Rhetorik	excellent	19	1769	Saint Petersburg
Klim Pakhomovskii	Lubny Regiment	Cossack	Father died		1769		Rhetorik	confident success	20	1769	Saint Petersburg
Stefan Malishevskii	Hadiach	Commoner		1762	1769		Rhetorik	commendable success	20	1769	Saint Petersburg
Andrei Iasnovskii	Pereiaslav regiment	Kompaneets			1769		Rhetorik	commendable success	22	1769	Saint Petersburg
Onufrii Grigorovich	Kiev Regiment	Cossack			1769		Rhetorik	good	17	1769	Saint Petersburg
Vasilii Shidlov'skii	Korets (Poland)	Protoiereus	Father died		1769		Rhetorik	excellent	20	1769	Saint Petersburg
Iosif Bogdanevich	Poland	D'iak			1769		Rhetorik	mediocre	19	1769	Saint Petersburg
Pavel Milgevskii	Hadiach Regiment	Clergy			1769		Rhetorik	excellent	20	1769	Saint Petersburg
Ivan Shtaba	Poltava Regiment	Cossack			1769		Rhetorik	commendable success	18	1769	Saint Petersburg
Maksim Rizhevskii	Kiev Regiment	Cossack			1769		Rhetorik	commendable success	18	1769	Saint Petersburg
Petr Chaikovskii	Myrhorod Regiment	Cossack			1769		Rhetorik	commendable success	20	1769	Saint Petersburg
Iakov Iaroshevskii	Pryluky Regiment	Cossack		1764	1769		Rhetorik	confident success	20	1769	Saint Petersburg
Ivan Lazarevskii	Sumskoi slobodskoi provintsyi	Commoner		1761	1769		Rhetorik	excellent	19	1769	Saint Petersburg
Stefan Krasovskii	Kiev	Commoner			1769		missing	confident success	19	1769	Saint Petersburg
Ivan Kurdinovskii	Poland	City dweller			1769		Rhetorik	excellent	19	1769	Saint Petersburg
Aleksei Shchurovskii	Poland	Clergy			1769		Rhetorik	confident success	20	1769	Saint Petersburg
Emeliian Khmel'nitskii	Glevakha (village)	Commoner		1761	1769		Rhetorik	commendable success	18	1769	Saint Petersburg
Feder Davidovich	Poland	City dweller			1769		Rhetorik	confident success	19	1769	Saint Petersburg
Vasilii Advenaburskii	Nizhyn	Monk			1769		Rhetorik	commendable success	21	1769	Saint Petersburg
Iakov Adamovskii	Poland	Cossack			1769		Rhetorik	good	20	1769	Saint Petersburg
Petr Donchevskii	Kiev	City dweller		1756	1765 (got certificate in 1769)		Philosophy	excellent		1769	Saint Petersburg

[383] See footnotes 110, 183.