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«Fruit of Hope»: Recruitment of Kyiv Academy Students to the Hospital Schools in the Mid-Eighteenth-Century Russian Empire

У статті на основі аналізу перших кампаній з набору вихованців Київської академії до госпітальних шкіл у Санкт-Петербурзі та Москві в середині XVIII ст. розглядається вибір студентами медичної кар'єри як способу соціальної мобільності. Дослідники давно відзначають, що студенти з Гетьманщини та Слобідської України були цінним внутрішньоімперським джерелом майбутніх медичних чиновників. Менше відомо про можливі мотивації охочих вивчати медицину з огляду на їхнє соціальне походження. У статті стверджується, що медична кар'єра була активним вибором для соціального просування, який робили не лише діти духівництва, а й козаки та посполиті. Серед охочих розпочати медичну кар'єру були і міщани. Для представників козацької еліти в досліджуваний період медична служба залишалася малопривабливою. У статті проілюстровано процес освітньої інтеграції багатьох студентів з нижчих соціальних станів на шляху до участі в імперському проекті як медичних чиновників. Спочатку розглянуто формування траєкторії соціального просування під впливом політики імперської медичної адміністрації, як задекларованої, так і реалізованої. Далі йдеться про подорожі студентів до столиць у світлі викликів, з якими вони стикалися, і рішень, які вони приймали на шляху до лікарської професії. Наприкінці проаналізовано соціальне походження студентів та їхню академічну успішність, аби зрозуміти, що означав вибір медичної професії для різних соціальних груп та наскільки цей шлях соціальної мобільності був інклюзивним.

Ключові слова: набори студентів, госпітальні школи, медична кар'єра, соціальне просування, Російська імперія, Київська академія.

In the history of medicine in the Russian Empire, students from the Ukrainian lands are justifiably recognized as an important source of imperial domestic physicians due to the lands' «fluid social structure» and the good teaching of Latin¹. A large percentage of native physicians in the Russian Empire came from the Kyiv Academy and Chernihiv, Kharkiv, and Pereiaslav colleges². More than a historiographical observation, it is a widely used example in public discussions about Ukrainian influence on the forming and growing empire. Together with the Baltic Germans and the sons of foreigners, who immigrated to the empire, they made up most imperial domestic physicians. The number of the latter started to steadily rise in the eighteenth century, shifting the balance between foreigners and natives in the imperial medical service³. They studied at the hospital schools: one in Moscow, two (infantry and naval) in Saint Petersburg, one in Kronstadt⁴. In the hospital schools, students became physician assistants (*podlekari*) and physicians (*lekari*). But to obtain a doctorate in medicine, they had to enter a foreign university, such as

¹ John Alexander, *Bubonic Plague in Early Modern Russia: Public Health and Urban Disaster* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 39.

² Михаил Бойчак, Римма Лякина, *Их путь в медицину начинался с Киево-Могилянской академии* (Киев: Мединформ, 2011); Людмила Посохова, *Харківський колегіум: XVIII — перша половина XIX ст.* (Харків: Бизнес-Информ, 1999), 130–132; Людмила Посохова, *На перехресті культур, традицій, епох: православні колегіуми України наприкінці XVII – на початку XIX ст.* (Харків: ХНУ імені В.Н. Каразіна, 2011), 221–222; Ольга Травкіна, «Чернігівський колегіум (XVIII ст.).» (Дис. ... канд. істор. наук, НАН України, Ін-т укр. археографії та джерелознавства ім. М. С. Грушевського, 2003), 190–192.

³ Andreas Renner, *Russische Autokratie und europäische Medizin. Organisiert-er Wissenstransfer im 18. Jahrhundert*, 1. Auflage (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010), 72–73.

⁴ A temporary school also functioned in Elizavetgrad in 1787–1797. In the last two decades of the eighteenth century, the schools were reorganized first into medico-surgical schools and then into medico-surgical academies. More on the hospital schools: Яков Чистович, *История первых медицинских школ в России* (Санкт-Петербург: Типография Якова Трея, 1883); Александр Алелеков, *История Московского военного госпиталя в связи с историей медицины в России к 200-летию его юбилею 1707–1907 гг.* (Москва: Типография Штаба Московского военного округа, 1907); Борис Палкин, *Русские госпитальные школы XVIII века и их воспитанники* (Москва: Государственное изд-во медицинской лит-ры МЕДГИЗ, 1959).

Leiden, Halle, Göttingen, or Strasbourg. The medical faculty of Moscow University only started to grant doctoral degrees in the last decade of the eighteenth century, while the Medical College in Saint Petersburg, which had the official right to grant M.D., rarely did so⁵. The modern research tends to focus on the next stage of the students' medical careers, when they were already physicians, imperial bureaucrats, and professional elite who strengthened imperial power and helped the state to know itself by producing medico-geographical knowledge about its regions⁶. The purpose of this article is, therefore, to reintroduce the topic of medical recruitment into the history of medicine as the process that was inevitably shaped by imperial medical policy and local responses. In this sense, the work contributes to the scholarship on the fate of imperial medical initiatives in the Ukrainian lands⁷. Not least due to the desire of students of the Kyiv Academy from lower social ranks to improve their status, the empire received new medical officials and bureaucrats.

In order to understand the choice of medicine as an educational strategy in terms of the social background of students, it is necessary to analyze them as a group. More is known about them as individuals, primarily those medical luminaries who became doctors and went down in history as the «fathers» of specific medical disciplines and new methods of treatment, such as Kasiian Yahelskyi, Danylo Samoilovych, Nestor Maksymovych, Martyn Terekhovskiy, to name just a few⁸. They constitute a medical pantheon that populates traditional history of medicine and medical profession, with its focus on the steady progress of medical science and the key role of outstanding physicians in it⁹. The

⁵ Renner, *Russische Autokratie*, 79.

⁶ Andreas Renner, «Progress through Power? Medical Practitioners in Eighteenth-Century Russia as an Imperial Elite,» *Acta Slavica Iaponica* 27 (2009): 29–54; *История медицины и медицинской географии в Российской империи*, под ред. Е. А. Вишленковой и А. Реннера (Москва: Шико, 2021).

⁷ Most recently: *Розчаклювання недуги. Локальна традиція, «старі» хвороби та «нова» медицина в Україні XVIII–XIX ст.*, за ред. В. Маслійчука та І. Сердюка (Харків: Видавець Олександр Савчук, 2021).

⁸ One of the oldest lists of doctors from the Kyiv Academy and colleges comes from: Гл. Л., «Список докторов медицины из малороссов, практиковавших в России в XVIII столетии,» *Киевская старина* 3 (1896): 98–103.

⁹ See, for example, the earliest works on the history of medicine in the Ukrainian lands, traditionally written by representatives of the medical profession:

native doctors were especially venerated during Soviet times, not least as a means of discrediting the influence of foreign doctors and science on Russian medicine¹⁰.

However, in the imperial medical community, doctors were significantly outnumbered by physicians and physicians' assistants. According to Andreas Renner, «the Russian medical profession of the eighteenth century numbered hardly more than 3000»¹¹. Only one sixth of them had doctoral degrees¹². In the group of students considered here, only a few became doctors¹³. Many more physicians and physicians' assistants hide behind numbers. Mykola Borodii suggested the general figure of 1200 young men from Ukrainian educational institutions who studied at the medical schools¹⁴. In particular, for the Kyiv Academy, Mykhailo Boichak and Rymma Liakina compiled biographical details and a list of 263 students of the Kyiv Academy and then the Kyiv Seminary who went to study medical science during the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century based on Kyiv archival holdings¹⁵. Vasyl Pliushch counted the total number of students of the Kyiv Academy who practiced medicine at 740, noting that the report from the time of the Legislative Commission stated that only from the synodal decree on sending students (1754) until 1768 there were more than 300 of them¹⁶.

This article is based on the data set of almost one hundred and a half students from around the same decade (1758–1769), reconstructed based on the archives of the Medical Chancellery (1721) and the Medical

Сергій Верхратський, «Матеріали з історії медицини на Україні (до часів введення земств)» (Дис. ... доктора мед. наук, Медицинский институт имени ак. А. А. Богомольца, 1944), 277–290; Василь Плющ, *Нариси з історії української медичної науки та освіти*. Кн. I: *Від початків української державності до 19 століття* (Мюнхен: Druckgenossenschaft «Cicero» eGmbH, 1970), 41–50.

¹⁰ For instance: Сергей Громбах, *Данило Самойлович (Ученые и проблемы)* (Москва: Центральный институт санитарного просвещения, 1951).

¹¹ Renner, «Progress through Power?» 39.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Apart from the ones already mentioned (Yahelskyi, Terekhovskiy, Maksymovych, Samoilyovych), there were also Illia Rutskiy, Denys Ponyrka, and Andrii Italinskyi.

¹⁴ Николай Бородий, «О развитии медицины Украины в XVIII веке», *Советское здравоохранение* 11 (1981): 56.

¹⁵ Бойчак, Лякина, *Их путь в медицину*, 277–284.

¹⁶ Плющ, *Нариси з історії*, 47–48.

College (1763) from the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts. Such an uneven chronological span, which does not cover the first four years of the recruitments, was defined by the sources that survived. This data set only partially overlaps with the names of students who studied medicine before the 1770s compiled by Boichak and Liakina, which allows us to add around forty names reconstructed by the authors. Taking into account the names of students found in the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, one can state that we know about 200 students who studied medicine before the 1770s by name. Bearing in mind that there could have been at least a hundred more, I must make a reservation: to further clarify the number and comprehensively cover the following decades, a thorough study of the aforementioned archival funds of the medical authorities kept in Moscow, where much more information about students from Left-bank and Sloboda Ukraine has been preserved, is necessary.

Organizing Recruitments. Ideas and Legal Provisions

The path to social mobility for the students of the Kyiv Academy was paved by the recruitment policy of the imperial medical establishment, which had to reconcile the urgent need for medical personnel, the interests of the Holy Synod, and the available resources. Before the establishment of the first military hospital in Moscow (1707), whose school became a model for the others that followed, the medical community in Muscovy was formed by inviting physicians from abroad and local apprenticeships. In the seventeenth century, the foreign medics were recruited through trustworthy diplomatic and trade contacts¹⁷. The invitation of foreign doctors was additionally motivated by security concerns. They were viewed as less likely to poison the tsar¹⁸. The foreign medics were experts in the Apothecary Chancery, the medical department at the court, and used their professional networks for the further recruitment of physicians, as well as accepted volunteers and

¹⁷ Clare Griffin, «The Production and Consumption of Medical Knowledge in Seventeenth-Century Russia: The Apothecary Chancery.» (PhD diss., UCL, 2012), 81–85.

¹⁸ Eve Levin, «The Administration of Western Medicine in Seventeenth-Century Russia,» in *Modernizing Muscovy: Reform and Social Change in Seventeenth-Century Russia*, ed. Jarmo Kotilaine and Marshall Poe (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), 356.

surgeons captured during military campaigns¹⁹. Its representatives also educated the local pharmacists and surgeons, like in 1654, when the Chancery founded a temporary school for 38 apprentices from the ranks of musketeers (*strel'sy*) and their children²⁰. Building a domestic medical education infrastructure was a cheaper and more effective alternative, given the urgent need for physicians in the growing empire, particularly in the army. The challenge was to find volunteers with adequate knowledge of Latin, such as, for example, students of Latin schools under the supervision of the Holy Synod.

The precedent of turning to the Holy Synod for the allowance to recruit students was already set by the former personal physician of Peter I, Nicolaas Bidloo, who was tasked with the establishment of the first hospital school in Moscow, mentioned above. In search for 50 young men to study medicine there, he launched a lengthy correspondence with the Holy Synod to persuade it to release students from the Slavic Greek Latin Academy in Moscow. With the reluctance of the Holy Synod, this Academy became the first permanent source of local future medics²¹. With the establishment of the Medical Chancellery, the body that substituted the Apothecary Chancery in the new administrative system of the state in 1721, the task of searching for new cadres for medical studies fell within its purview. The Chancellery supervised the medical part of the functioning of hospitals and set standard qualification requirements that allowed students to enter hospital schools²². It is believed that the head of the Medical Chancellery, Pavel Kondoidi, was behind the decree of the Holy Synod of 1754, which for the first time invited students from the Kyiv Academy, and Chernihiv, Pereiaslav, and Kharkiv colleges²³.

The invitation of students from the Hetmanate was a decision that allowed the use of the socio-cultural peculiarity of the western lands of the empire to accommodate the Holy Synod's policy on the clergy and

¹⁹ Ibid., 358–59; Maria Unkovskaya, *Brief Lives: A Handbook of Medical Practitioners in Muscovy* (London: The Wellcome Trust, 1999), 19, 34, 65, 71, 75–76, 79–83, 87.

²⁰ Марк Мирский, *Очерки истории медицины в России XVI–XVIII вв.* (Владикавказ: Рекламно-издательское агентство Министерства печати и информации РСО-А, 1995), 25.

²¹ Alexander, *Vibonic Plague*, 44–48.

²² *Полное собрание законов Российской империи* (Санкт-Петербург, 1830) (далі – ПСЗ), 9: 662, 674.

²³ Ibid., 14: 37–39.

empire's medical needs of the time. The Holy Synod was unwilling to authorize the enrollment of students from Russian seminaries in hospital schools. The seminaries were institutions for educating clergy, which was a closed social group in Russia. Likely, the Holy Synod did not want to disturb its integrity. The Left-bank Ukraine was different in this respect. Its clergy was only to become a more enclosed social group after the unification reforms in the 1780s²⁴. The Kyiv Academy and colleges continued to serve the educational needs of various social groups, including the clergy, Cossacks, towners, and commoners²⁵. Tellingly, when the Holy Synod allowed the recruitment from the seminaries in 1756 and the order was sent to the seminaries in Novgorod, Pskov, Tver, Smolensk, Kazan, the Trinity Lavra of Saint Sergius, and others, it was distinctly specified that the release of seminarists was a temporary measure. It was also limited to 50 students²⁶.

The decree of 1754 advertised the path to social advancement for students of the Kyiv Academy and colleges, relying on the Pietist ideal that diligent study led to merit-based promotion and thus to the creation of good servants for the ruler. It invited diligent students who had reached the philosophy class, and were of laudable behavior. The Medical Chancellery noted in the decree that it was aware of the financial hardships of students in the Little Russian schools. Medical career, by contrast, ostensibly implied an easy promotion of a medical official up the ranks, with the prospect of even becoming a court physician, and students were provided with payments, accommodation, and food during their studies²⁷. Developing further the Pietist ideas already present in the Hospital Statute of 1735²⁸, the decree emphasized the voluntary nature

²⁴ Nancy Kollmann, *The Russian Empire 1450–1801* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 111–112.

²⁵ Максим Яременко, «Академіки» та Академія. Соціальна історія освіти й освіченості в Україні XVIII ст. (Харків: Акта, 2014), 58–60.

²⁶ ПСЗ, 14: 525.

²⁷ Ibid., 14: 37–39.

²⁸ Ibid., 9: 670–671, 673–674, 679–680. The Statute was conceived by Johan Fischer, the *leib*-medic, and the head of the Chancellery. Fischer must have been inspired by the prevailing Pietist models at the time, as his program envisioned discipline and student evaluations as a way to ensure the cultivation of good imperial servants; more on the new understanding of the purpose of schooling and related educational reforms inspired by Pietist models in: Igor Fedyukin, «The German Party in Russia in the 1730s: Exploring the Ideas of the Ruling Faction,»

of medical training, encouraged diligence in study, and promised promotion. Wanting to create useful servants for the empress, the medical authorities viewed those who wanted to study medicine as a «fruit of hope»²⁹. The decrees created the legal premises for the recruitment of students by the Medical Chancellery as well as its successor, the Medical College, a new medical institution that emerged during the reign of Catherine II in 1763.

Inviting students

Medical authorities had to come up with ways to ensure that prospective students were informed about the benefits of changing their lives' path. The follow-up decree of the Holy Synod of 1755 showed dissatisfaction with the implementation of the previous order. Only the Kyiv Academy responded and prepared the list of students for dispatch. The colleges had to send the lists of volunteers «immediately». But even in the case of the Kyiv Academy, the Holy Synod had first to confirm to Metropolitan Tymofii Shcherbatskyi that students' travel expenses would be reimbursed³⁰. One way to attract students was to organize recruitment campaigns, the most famous of which was the one organized by the doctor Ivan Poletyka in 1761. A former student of the Kyiv Academy himself, he reportedly initiated the recruitment in Kyiv, convinced many students to pursue medical science, and selected 55 of them, an outstanding number³¹. His recruitment campaign is also considered a precedent that paved the way for subsequent similar campaigns³².

Basic Research Program Working Papers. Humanities. National Research University, Higher School of Economics (2016): 7–14, <https://www.hse.ru/data/2016/06/16/1117472361/132HUM2016.pdf>. Fischer also studied in Halle, the center of the Pietist movement. Wilhelm Richter, *Geschichte der Medizin in Russland* (Moskau: Gedruckt bei N. S. Wsewolojsky, 1817), 271.

²⁹ ПСЗ, 14: 37–39.

³⁰ Ibid., 14: 307.

³¹ Борис Криштопа, «Политика (Полетика, Політика) Іван Андрійович,» в *Киево-Могилянська академія в іменах XVII–XVIII ст.* (Київ: Видавничий дім «КМ Академія», 2001), 434. The sources analyzed here do not indicate that Poletyka delivered a speech, but mention that he tried hard to convince students to go to the hospital schools.

³² Чистович, *История первых медицинских школ*, 328. Sending physicians

However, a closer look at the campaign suggests that it was rather accidental and did not meet all expectations, revealing a somewhat feverish search by the medical establishment for ways to put synodal decrees into practice and attract more students. The Medical Chancellery explained to the Senate that it had exhausted «all possible means» in search of new volunteers, but despite multiple appeals to the local consistories to comply with the Holy Synod's decrees, the flow of students ceased³³. Obviously, Poletyka was aware of the problem, and he did initiate the trip himself, but for more prosaic reasons than is commonly believed. In 1761, he asked the Medical Chancellery for a four-month leave to his hometown Romny for family reasons. Since he wanted to continue to receive money for his office as a military physician in the Saint Petersburg Division, he asked the Chancellery to entrust him with a task in Little Russia. It was then that the Chancellery decided to use his trip to invite students from the Ukrainian lands to the hospital schools. His trip was authorized by the Senate and the plan was to organize a large-scale recruitment, bringing 30 or more students to the hospital schools in October.

The implementation of the plan was full of obstacles. Poletyka reached his destination only in August due to problems with his passport when students were already on vacation. Hence, he did not have enough time to convince students to come, and the «autumn slush», according to him, would make the students' trip expensive, not to mention how unhealthy traveling in such weather conditions could be. He asked for an extension of the deadline, hinting at the possibility of recruiting up to 100 students, probably as compensation. He was allowed to stay until the end of December «so that these efforts were not in vain, and because a lot of state money had been spent on them»³⁴. Poletyka invited many students (55), but no more students were recruited to approach the number of 100. Furthermore, he did not seem to have visited Kharkiv or Pereiaslav colleges, although this was initially planned. Apparently, some students decided to leave medical training shortly after their appointment, asking

to Latin schools to invite new students was not an unusual practice for the medical authorities. For instance, in 1758, the doctor Anastasius Nyck was sent to the Slavic Greek Latin Academy to inquire whether there was anyone interested in medical studies. In: Российский государственный архив древних актов (далі – РГАДА), ф. 346, оп. 1/4, кн. 224, 1758, д. 135.

³³ РГАДА, ф. 346, оп. 1/4, кн. 273, 1761, д. 355.

³⁴ Ibid.

for the appointments elsewhere. These could be Dionisii Shydlovskiy and Vasylii Tymonovskiy, who in 1762 took possession of their graduation certificates. One student did not go further than Hlukhiv³⁵. Also, a comparison of the years preceding the campaign and the years following it does not show any particular increase in the inflow of students from the Ukrainian lands after it.

The campaign turned out to be expensive, time-consuming, and not sufficiently controlled by the Medical Chancellery, even though the campaign was successful in terms of numbers. It is suggested that there were around 1100 students per year at the Kyiv Academy between 1744–1770s³⁶. That means that around 5% of all Kyiv Academy's young men went to study medicine in the year of Poletyka's recruitment. In the end, the medical authorities opted for other ways to attract future medical students. In 1766, the Medical College established recruitment as a permanent duty of a particular physician who was already working on site. This physician effectively became an intermediary between students and the College. He invited students exclusively at the request of the latter and accepted applications from students who wanted to study medicine. He notified the College in advance of the number, names, and planned departure of students³⁷. Voluntary departures of students, i.e., circumventing the intermediary, were supposed to be penalized: the students did not receive reimbursement for travel expenses³⁸. In this way, the Medical College established control over the student recruitment process and attempted to regulate the inflow of students in accordance with the needs of hospitals and offers on the spot. Through legislation and experience in organizing recruitment, the medical authorities established

³⁵ Ibid., д. 374.

³⁶ Зоя Хижняк, Валерій Маньківський, *Історія Києво-Могилянської академії* (Київ: Видавничий дім «КМ Академія», 2003), 115.

³⁷ From 1766, this physician was a surgeon from the Kyiv battalion, Ivan Fedoseev (and, respectively, Frants Vul'f in Pereiaslav, and Ioakim Uznanskij in Chernihiv). Fedoseev was entrusted with this duty in the following years as well. In: РГАДА, ф. 344, оп. 1/1, кн. 24, 1768, д. 24; кн. 17, 1767, д. 27; кн. 12, 1766, д. 124; кн. 17, 1767, д. 23; кн. 35, 1769, д. 202; кн. 34, 1769, д. 151. Then, in 1770, this responsibility was assumed by the Kyiv physician Mitrofanov. Палкин, *Русские госпитальные школы*, 28; and in 1777, another surgeon from the Kyiv battalion, Fedor Matkovskij, was in charge. In: Національна бібліотека України ім. Вернадського. Інститут рукопису, ф. 301, спр. 26, арк. 43–44.

³⁸ РГАДА, ф. 344, оп. 1/1, кн. 24, 1768, д. 24.

general guidelines to ensure students' mobility, both in terms of their physical travel and changes in social status.

Students Travel to Saint Petersburg and Moscow

The general rules of recruitment paved the way for those students who volunteered to study medicine. Now they had to embark on a journey to the capitals via Hlukhiv, in some cases demonstrating their active choice of a medical career by overcoming the travel and financial challenges they faced along the way. They traveled based on passports issued by the Kyiv Chancellery, the Kyiv magistrate, or the Little Russian Collegium in Hlukhiv – a mandatory stop for students on their way to Moscow and Saint Petersburg from Kyiv³⁹. Notably, to ensure the safety of a large group of students during a long journey, Poletyka asked to appoint an escort with the argumentation that the road was «foreign and unusual» for them (*dlya inostranstva i neobyknovennosti ih v doroge*)⁴⁰. The member of a special group of couriers of the Kyiv garrison (*reitary*)⁴¹, Petr Kozlov, accompanied students all the way to Saint Petersburg⁴². There was a clear preference for traveling in the company of fellow students or with someone else. For instance, Yahelskyi, the son of a Kyiv townier, traveled to the capital in 1758 with Simion Drashkovich, who was on his way from the Habsburg lands (Petrovaradin) to join his merchant uncle in Saint Petersburg⁴³. In 1769, Afanasii Konstantynov, the son of a Kyiv commoner, traveled with the naval hieromonk (*ober-ieromonakh*), Agei Kokhosadskii⁴⁴.

Another challenge for students was that they needed money for travel, reimbursed by the medical authorities upon their arrival. Initially, the Holy Synod obliged to give each student 10 rubles from the archepiscopal

³⁹ Ibid., кн. 17, 1767, д. 23; кн. 20, 1767, д. 186; кн. 35, 1769, д. 179.

⁴⁰ Ibid., ф. 346, оп. 1/4, кн. 273, 1761, д. 374.

⁴¹ More on this group of couriers, who sustained «a connection between the Collegium of Foreign Affairs and the Russian diplomatic residents in Istanbul» and delivered private correspondence, participated in trade, and carried out various missions in the empire and beyond, see in: Вадим Назаренко, «Кур'єри «для особых посылок»: київські рейтари XVIII ст.» *Historians.in.ua*, 21 червня, 2016, <http://archive.li/a3TqV#selection-835.1-835.74>.

⁴² РГАДА, ф. 346, оп. 1/4, кн. 273, 1761, д. 377.

⁴³ Ibid., кн. 226, 1758, д. 289.

⁴⁴ Ibid., ф. 344, оп. 1/1, кн. 35, 1769, д. 202.

household income⁴⁵. The sources indicate that in the late 1750s, the local chancelleries were expected to provide the money, as it happened, for instance, during Poletyka's campaign⁴⁶. In 1767, the sum constituted 10 rubles for traveling to Moscow and 15 to Saint Petersburg⁴⁷. But the Kyiv Chancellery often did not fulfill the order to finance the travels, and students had to find money somewhere else⁴⁸.

It is indicative that in their desire for social mobility to a medical profession, some students were ready to take on debt to get to the hospital schools. Let us take as an example the abovementioned Konstantynov and Yahelskyi. Both, shortly after arriving in Saint Petersburg, asked the medical authorities to reimburse them for the travel expenses they had paid on their own, invoking their difficult financial situation. We also know from sources that both young men lost their fathers long before they traveled to the capital. We do not know the exact source of Konstantynov's money, but Yahelskyi clarified that he had borrowed money for his journey from «the friendly strangers» (*po priyazni ot postoronnih lyudej*), now he had to pay it back⁴⁹. Similarly, the sons of commoners, Luka Kolonetskyi and Damian Bovenskyi, and the sons of priests, Tymofii Yanovskiy and Petr Zemskiy, independently financed their travels. The fathers of the first three had also passed away. Apparently, in some cases, the death of the head of the family served as (additional) incentive to search for career prospects outside of one's social status. Their trip to the capital can even be interpreted as a risky venture, as at that time, in 1768, the medical authorities did not authorize their intermediary in Kyiv to invite new students. Bypassing the rule of notifying the intermediary of their desire to travel, they all found the financial means and set out on the journey. Because they broke the rule, they were not reimbursed, but the risk paid off, and they all entered the imperial service⁵⁰.

⁴⁵ ПСЗ, 14: 307.

⁴⁶ РГАДА, ф. 346, оп. 1/4, кн. 238, 1759, д. 16; кн. 273, 1761, д. 355.

⁴⁷ Ibid., ф. 344, оп. 1/1, кн. 17, 1767, д. 23.

⁴⁸ See, for example: Ibid., ф. 346, оп. 1/4, кн. 227, 1758, д. 369; кн. 226, 1758, д. 289; кн. 238, 1759, д. 14; кн. 238, 1759, д. 16; кн. 294, 1763, д. 176; ф. 344, оп. 1/1, кн. 12, 1766, д. 124. In this sense, Poletyka's campaign was an exception, as the Chancellery went along with the requirement to pay. Probably, this was because the campaign was backed by the Senate itself. The Chancery issued passports and money to the students. РГАДА, ф. 346, оп. 1/4, кн. 273, 1761, д. 355.

⁴⁹ Ibid., кн. 226, 1758, д. 289.

⁵⁰ Ibid., ф. 344, оп. 1/1, кн. 24, 1768, д. 24.

Similarly, some students found financial means to become volunteers at the hospital schools, i.e., to cover their own living expenses if they did not find a place in the *komplet* tally (the total number of students at the hospitals)⁵¹. For instance, Maksymovych and Stefan Komarovskiy – both sons of priests – applied for studies in Saint Petersburg under the status of volunteers⁵². For students in the *komplet* tally of Saint Petersburg hospitals, the money for «housing, firewood, candles», food, plus a servant shared by several students⁵³, was to be provided from the Admiralty for students of the naval hospital. The Main Commissariat would pay for students of the infantry hospital, accordingly⁵⁴. But they could be reluctant to pay if a student was assigned to a hospital school that was already full⁵⁵. Students who entered the hospital schools as volunteers probably had the advantage of being able to choose the exact place of study. Most wanted to go to Saint Petersburg, not Moscow. Even though the 1754 decree allowed the students to select the place of study⁵⁶, the very same year, Andrei Vezhytskyi and Hryhorii Makarievskiy were left at the Moscow hospital against their wishes⁵⁷. Similarly, students' agency was restricted during Poletyka's campaign, when some of them were left in Moscow⁵⁸. But the restrictions do not always seem to have been enforced, since about 77% of all students recruited at the time in question still received appointments in Saint Petersburg.

The Latin exam, which took place upon the students' arrival to Saint Petersburg or Moscow, never posed a challenge. No student of the Kyiv Academy in the period under investigation failed this exam, whereby examiners were usually the physicians from the Medical Office and Medical Chancellery/College, or Latin teachers⁵⁹. On many occasions in the late 1760s, it was the doctor Johann Jakob Lerche, who held Latin

⁵¹ The total number of students at the hospitals (*komplet*), according to the Hospital Statute of 1735, was 50 in the Moscow hospital and 20 in each of the two hospitals in Saint Petersburg: Чистович, *История первых медицинских школ*, 218.

⁵² РГАДА, ф. 344, оп. 1/1, кн. 35, 1769, д. 179; кн. 37, 1769, д. 317.

⁵³ ПСЗ, 14: 38.

⁵⁴ Чистович, *История первых медицинских школ*, 84–85.

⁵⁵ РГАДА, ф. 346, оп. 1/4, кн. 297, 1764, д. 364.

⁵⁶ ПСЗ, 14: 39.

⁵⁷ Чистович, *История первых медицинских школ*, 228.

⁵⁸ РГАДА ф. 346, оп. 1/4, кн. 273, 1761, д. 374.

⁵⁹ Ibid., кн. 238, 1759, д. 16, д. 64.

exams in the capital, determining whether a young man «deserves to be a medical student»⁶⁰. After that, as anyone entering imperial service, the students had to take an oath to Her Imperial Majesty, which happened during the ceremony in the church in the presence of the representatives of medical authorities⁶¹. From that moment on, no longer students of the Kyiv Academy, they entered the lowest rung of the medical hierarchy as medical students.

Those Who Volunteered to Go. Social Affiliation and Motivation

In 1761, a student from the poetics class, Adrian Vyrydarskyi, along with his fellow students invited by Poletyka, stopped in Hlukhiv on their way to imperial centers. He did not go much further: a letter with the approval of Hetman Kyrylo Rozumovskyi reached the General Military Chancellery in Hlukhiv, obliging Vyrydarskyi to stay there. The letter was based on the appeal from Vyrydarskyi's father, Ivan, who pleaded with the hetman to hold his son back in Hlukhiv. Andrei – that was how his father called Adrian – went there without warning and without his permission. Ivan emphasized his son's young age and, more importantly, that he was his only heir, supposed to replace his father in the military service in due time⁶².

We do not know Vyrydarskyi's side of the story and his underlying intentions, apart from his ultimate decision to study medicine against the other life path his father had planned for him. The same can be said for other students, but what can be done is to interpret the choice of medicine as an educational strategy in view of their social background. The case of Vyrydarskyi and four other students from Poletyka's recruitment campaign was exceptional, as they all belonged to the Cossack elite and were the rare representatives of this social group to decide to study medicine at the time in question (Figure 1). Vyrydarskyi's father was *znachkovyi* companion of the Nizhyn Regiment. The fathers of Andrei Lvovskyi, Ivan Kalenichenko, and Elisei Vadarskyi belonged to *znachkovi* companions as well. Additionally, Poletyka managed to invite

⁶⁰ Ibid., кн. 285, 1762, д. 379; ф. 344, оп. 1/1, кн. 35, 1769, д. 179, д. 202; кн. 33, 1769, д. 129; кн. 34, 1769, д. 151; кн. 32, 1769, д. 92.

⁶¹ Ibid., ф. 346, оп. 1/4, кн. 238, 1759, д. 14, д. 16; кн. 226, 1758, д. 289; ф. 344, оп. 1/1, кн. 12, 1766, д. 124; кн. 17, 1767, д. 23.

⁶² Ibid., ф. 346, оп. 1/4, кн. 273, 1761, д. 374.

another student of an elite origin, Mykola Dovhelia, the son of a military companion (*viiskovyi tovarysh*)⁶³. The holders of these ranks were members of the privileged society of noble military fellows (*znatne viiskove tovarystvo*) who enjoyed the protection of the hetman and passed their ranks on to their sons⁶⁴. Representatives of the Cossack elite separated themselves from other Cossacks and clearly articulated their privileged social status, also while studying at the Kyiv Academy⁶⁵. This explains why members of this group rarely chose the medical path in the 1760s, and the indignation of Ivan Vyrydarskyi illustrates the perception of this path among the Cossack elite.

Why, then, did the five students mentioned above decide to choose an alternative career path, bypassing the advantages of their social affiliation? On the one hand, it has been elaborated in historiography that the Kyiv Academy as a university-type institution cultivated a collective, albeit not homogeneous, identity⁶⁶. It constituted a special set of values and corporate honor, so students could be collectively offended and collectively respond⁶⁷. Poletyka addressed the entire student body with an invitation to the hospital schools, and the sons of the Cossack elite may have been swept up in the general wave of enthusiasm to embark on a different path in life.

But the exceptional presence of students from the Cossack elite during a particular campaign, especially given that some of them were from the same classes, hints at the possibility that this could have been a decision they made jointly as members of a privileged social group.

⁶³ Ibid., д. 355.

⁶⁴ Віра Панашенко, «Бунчукові, військові і значкові товариші в Гетьманщині», в «Істину встановлює суд історії»: Збірник на пошану Федора Павловича Шевченка, за ред. В. Смоля та ін. (Київ: Інститут історії України НАН України, 2004), 2: 291–315.

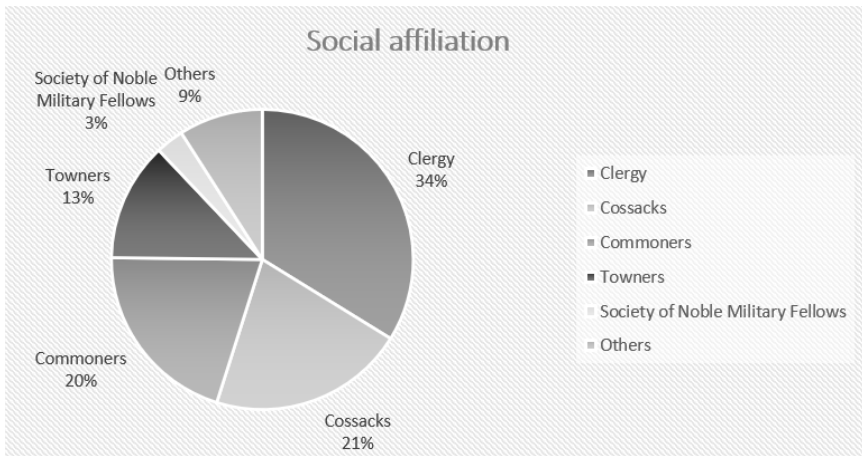
⁶⁵ Максим Яременко, «“До мене-де нікто не имеетъ власти, кромъ ясневелможного”: самоідентифікація могилянського студента крізь призму конфлікту 1752 р.» *Соціум. Альманах соціальної історії* 7 (2007): 236–238.

⁶⁶ Hanna Sheliakh, «Honor, Tradition and Solidarity: Corporate Identity Formation at the Kiev-Mohyla Academy (1701–1765).» (M.A. thesis, Central European University, 2016), 76.

⁶⁷ Олена Дзюба, «“Честь і безчестя студентське” у сприйнятті студентів та професорів Києво-Могилянської академії (на матеріалі конфліктів 1730-1760-х рр.)» *Київська Академія* 2–3 (2006): 135–137.

Moreover, three of them came from the Lubny Regiment, as did doctor Poletyka, who was also a descendant of the Cossack elite and a graduate of the Kyiv Academy⁶⁸. Perhaps the students' decision was influenced by the successful medical career of their fellow countryman, who came from the same social background as them.

Figure 1⁶⁹



In general, the diversity of a social composition and origin of students who embarked upon the medical career around the 1760s mirrored that of the Kyiv Academy itself, which attracted students from all over the Hetmanate and beyond. Around 79% stemmed from the administrative units of the Hetmanate and Sloboda Ukraine, with the biggest number of those from the Kyiv and Nizhyn Regiments. Around 15% came from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. A couple of students were from other parts of the empire. As a rule, the medical recruits were young people in their twenties (the youngest was 17 and the oldest was 24)⁷⁰. In accordance with the general social composition of the Kyiv Academy's students, the largest number of future medics came from the clergy.

⁶⁸ Криштопа, «Политика (Полетика, Політика)», 433.

⁶⁹ The category «Others» includes the sons of: monk (1), *szlakhta* (3), merchant (1), magistrate official (1), parish teachers (3), «in service of *osavul*» (1) and *kompaniiets* (1).

⁷⁰ The new regulation of the Medical College of 1766 gave preference to young men not older than 20 years. РГАДА, ф. 344, оп. 1/1, кн. 17, 1767, д. 27.

It was not unusual for the students from clergy to switch to secular occupations⁷¹. Medical practice was one of them. It could also be a more culturally conditioned decision. Education was the basis of the collective identity of the Kyiv Academy's students and their honor⁷². And yet, it could matter little when the priest's son received a position in the parish church, where an elementary education sufficed⁷³. In contrast, for medical education, good academic performance, graduation from the highest classes, and a high level of Latin were much valued. Thus, inviting students to become medical servants could reinforce their education-based values, and the medical education could become a means of applying knowledge of Latin to new purposes.

Students from the secular groups, the most numerous of whom were Cossacks and commoners, also joined the ranks of medics. The towners considered medical prospects to be attractive a little less. For the Cossacks, a medical career could be a way out of impoverishment in the context of the growing divide between the Cossack elite and the rank-and-file Cossacks⁷⁴. A substantial number stemmed from a varied group of commoners. In general, this social group consisted of people from rural and urban areas who were not obliged to military service, and it was underrepresented in the Kyiv Academy compared to how numerous it was in the Hetmanate. Education offered them the occasional opportunity to join the white clergy, become parish teachers, or clerks. They could also become medics⁷⁵. And I would argue that, given the percentage of people who chose this option, at least in the period in question, medicine was a popular educational strategy for many commoners to change their social status.

Medicine as an avenue of social mobility also remained a relevant option after a student had tried other activities after studies. Not all students were recruited during their studies. The certificates of some of them state that they were released to find some kind of service. And

⁷¹ Яременко, «Академіки» та Академія, 376.

⁷² Sheliah, «Honor, Tradition and Solidarity,» 78.

⁷³ Яременко, «Академіки» та Академія, 400.

⁷⁴ John LeDonne, *Ruling Russia: Politics and Administration in the Age of Absolutism, 1762–1796* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 312–313.

⁷⁵ Яременко, «Академіки» та Академія, 303–306, 348–353.

only afterward did these students go into medicine⁷⁶. A townier Petr Donchevskiy, for example, finished his studies at the Kyiv Academy in 1765 and was living with his father in Kyiv when, in 1769, he heard a call for volunteers to study medico-surgical science and decided to go⁷⁷. Roman Stefanovych was the son of a priest from the Chernihiv Regiment. We do not know for sure whether Stefanovych returned home to his sick and retired father after he discontinued studying syntax in 1766, but only three years later he went to study medicine⁷⁸.

The best documented case is that of Nikifor Chernyshevskiy, a Cossack by birth whose father died and who, in 1763, applied for a position as a medical student in Saint Petersburg. He studied first at Chernihiv College and then at the Kyiv Academy. Probably while still a student, he began to practice teaching⁷⁹. By choosing to tutor, he joined many other students of Ukrainian schools who educated the children of the Cossack elite, preparing them for admission to local schools or universities⁸⁰. Chernyshevskiy taught foreign languages to the children of *bunchukovi* companions, Mykhailo Dunin-Borkovskiy, Yakiv Lyzohub, and (likely Tymofii) Skoropadskiy. The former two provided him with flattering recommendations. But Chernyshevskiy aspired to continue his education and eventually obtained a passport to travel to Saint Petersburg to enter the Academy of Sciences for that purpose⁸¹. At least, this was his initial plan, which for some reason did not materialize, as he approached the medical authorities in Moscow, asking to be accepted at the hospital schools in Saint Petersburg.

Academic Performance

The evidence of academic performance of the recruited students allows us to get a closer look at how inclusive the path of social mobility

⁷⁶ For instance: РГАДА, ф. 346, оп. 1/4, кн. 285, 1762, д. 379; ф. 344, оп. 1/1, кн. 17, 1767, д. 27; кн. 33, 1769, д. 129.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, ф. 344, оп. 1/1, кн. 32, 1769, д. 92.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, кн. 34, 1769, д. 145.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, ф. 346, оп. 1/4, кн. 294, 1763, д. 176.

⁸⁰ Людмила Посохова, «Вчителювання студентів православних колегіумів України XVIII ст. у родинях козацької старшини,» *Київська старовина* 5 (2008): 6–9.

⁸¹ РГАДА, ф. 346, оп. 1/4, кн. 294, 1763, д. 176.

through the medical career was. In other words, how rigorous the selection process was in terms of the expectations of medical authorities from medical recruits. Based on the available information, it can be argued that the dire need for physicians tended to lower the bar, subsequently presenting an option of a social mobility also for those who did not meet the precise requirements.

Many students did not meet the desired requirement for admission to hospital schools from the class of philosophy⁸², although the medical authorities preferred to receive students from the highest classes. During Poletyka's campaign, the Medical Chancellery encouraged the doctor to invite more students from the highest class of theology. In the order of classes, theology and philosophy were the highest courses, preceded by rhetoric, poetics, and syntax. From the available data, only a few students came from the final class of the Kyiv Academy. The most numerous group came from the class of rhetoric, followed by those who were from the class of philosophy, including those who had just started the course. Some came from the class of poetics, and very rarely the young men were from the class of syntax. Similar distribution was observed by Liudmyla Posokhova regarding Chernihiv, Kharkiv, and Pereiaslav colleges⁸³. It was also a general pattern for the Kyiv Academy students to leave studies at the level of rhetoric or philosophy classes⁸⁴. In this respect, the medical recruits were no different from other graduates of the Academy. However, the presence of representatives of the lower classes indicates that the requirement of the medical authorities could not have been strict given the shortage of medics in the empire, and that even students from the lower classes could change their career prospects.

Evidently, the students from theology class, though few in numbers, represented very promising candidates. Future doctor Terekhovskiy, who came to the capital in 1763, submitted an appeal to Her Imperial Majesty, handwritten with a breathtaking elegance. Versed in Latin, he also studied German, French, Greek, and Hebrew, learned drawing and engraving, and received a very laudable certificate from the Kyiv Academy⁸⁵. Similarly, Mykhailo Trokhymovskiy was

⁸² ПСЗ, 14: 39.

⁸³ Посохова, *На перехресті культур*, 221–222.

⁸⁴ Оксана Прокоп'юк «Вихованці Києво-Могилянської академії в канцелярії Київської духовної консисторії,» *Київська Академія* 2–3 (2006): 151.

⁸⁵ РГАДА, ф. 346, оп. 1/4, кн. 297, 1764, д. 364.

praised by the rector and other teachers for his «excellent qualities»⁸⁶. Maksymovych finished the theology class «with an excellent success and [he brought] many benefits to the Holy Church»⁸⁷.

The comparison of available «grades» from all students' certificates shows that the majority received «good» assessment, followed by «perfect», and «middle», according to the instrumental division of «grades» proposed by Maksym Yaremenko, as there was no unified system of students' evaluation and different terms were used⁸⁸. There were no students with «weak» «grades». A couple of original «grades» stand out. For instance, Yoakim Kopachevskyi studied «according to the abilities of his mind». Similar assessment received Daniil Afonasev⁸⁹. The description of behavior was rather similar: «respectable», «honest», «without suspicion», «as a good student should» etc.

Considering these «grades», the medical career appears to have been an attractive option for social mobility for those who succeeded in their studies. After all, the medical authorities specified that they needed diligent students. During Poletyka's campaign, the Medical Chancellery instructed the doctor to be selective: «choose and send 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»⁹⁰. Hence, the selection of students with good performance and conduct happened already at the level of Kyiv Academy.

However, the recruitment of students with mediocre performance indicates that this requirement was negotiable as well. In addition, in exceptional cases, students did not have Kyiv Academy certificates at all, which meant that they were enrolled in hospital schools without sufficient information about their performance. The certificates were replaced with testimonies from friends and relatives that students had studied there. Andrei Tomashevskyi lost his certificate on his way to Moscow. His cousin, a regimental surgeon with whom he lived in Moscow,

⁸⁶ Ibid., кн. 273, 1761, д. 355.

⁸⁷ Ibid., ф. 344, оп. 1/1, кн. 37, 1769, д. 317.

⁸⁸ Яременко, «Академіки» та Академія, 67–68.

⁸⁹ РГАДА, ф. 346, оп. 1/4, кн. 238, 1759, д. 16.

⁹⁰ Ibid., кн. 273, 1761, д. 355.

testified to his studies⁹¹. Fedir Kanevskyi decided to quit his studies at the Kyiv Academy while he was on leave in Saint Petersburg because his mother was involved in a court case there. A family friend, who was in Saint Petersburg at the time, confirmed that he studied at the Kyiv Academy. This friend was the treasurer from the Poltava Regiment, Fedir Mohylevskyi⁹². In this flexible recruitment setting, students evaluated the benefits of choosing a medical career given their initial social status.

Conclusions

The article was devoted to how students of the Kyiv Academy chose medicine and went to study in Saint Petersburg and Moscow. The consideration of medical recruits as a group allowed to step beyond the history of great men, graduates of the Kyiv Academy who became luminaries of medicine, and observe the subtleties of the recruitment process and students' agency in it. The found biographical data of almost one hundred and a half students recruited in the years 1758–1769 revealed their shared experience of initial recruitment to medical schools. Some reconsidered their choice of medical career shortly after their appointment, one did not go further than Hlukhiv, but the majority managed to become military medics and civil medical officials. And only a small number went on to complete their doctoral degrees abroad.

It was argued that medicine opened a path of social mobility for students from lower social groups (clergy, as well as commoners, and Cossacks), who made up the largest percentage of medical recruits. Studying medicine was an educational strategy that for some students could be a way out of impoverishment. In the time under consideration, the towners also chose a medical career, albeit somewhat less frequently. It was assumed that in the case of all these groups, the death of the head of the family could serve as an incentive for a son to seek career prospects outside of his social status. Importantly, the medical career remained an accessible path of social mobility for former students of the Kyiv Academy who were not recruited during their studies, but chose this path afterward. The representatives of the Cossack elite were very rare among the medical recruits. Tellingly, a few of them decided to choose the medical path

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, ф. 344, оп. 1/1, кн. 24, 1768, д. 44.

⁹² *Ibid.*, кн. 35, 1769, д. 177.

during Poletyka's recruitment campaign, which most likely happened due to Poletyka's personal participation in the recruitment. He served for these medical recruits as a living example of a former member of the Cossack elite who advanced in the medical profession.

The social mobility of students became possible through the policy of the medical authorities, but not least because of the students' desire to improve their social status, the empire received new medical officials who ultimately participated in the imperial project. In their wish for social mobility, some students were ready to take risks and travel to Saint Petersburg, without obtaining a proper authorization from the medical authorities first. They were willing to take on debt to finance their travel to the hospital schools, and some found means to study at their own expense there as volunteers.

In a cultural sense, medical education could reinforce the education-based values fostered at the Kyiv Academy. The previous education at the Kyiv Academy gave students a key to mastering the science of medicine, which was an integral part of the imperial Enlightenment. In turn, the medical authorities, inspired by Pietist ideals, promised a clear path of social advancement through diligent study on the way to becoming loyal imperial servants. In addition to requiring a good knowledge of Latin, the medical authorities were looking for students with good academic performance who could be expected to continue to study diligently in hospital schools. Furthermore, the medical establishment clearly preferred more advanced students from philosophy and especially theology classes.

But the contingent of students enrolled in hospital schools did not quite meet the expectations of the medical authorities. In its policy of recruitment, the medical authorities had to reconcile the interests of the Holy Synod, the available resources, and the urgent need for medics. Therefore, in practice, the requirements were lowered. As a result, most students came from the rhetoric class, followed by students from the class of philosophy. There were a few from the theology class, but a more significant number went to hospital schools from the class of poetics. A couple of students were even accepted into hospital schools from the syntax class. Similarly, while the majority of students had good «grades», there were some who entered with mediocre results or whose exact «grades» were unknown.

The famous Poletyka recruitment campaign was examined in this article as the embodiment of a somewhat feverish attempt by the medical

authorities to attract new students. It was indeed an unprecedented success in terms of numbers, but it also appears from the sources that it was too expensive and time-consuming. It did not achieve all that it promised and slipped out of the control of the medical authorities in terms of implementation. Hence, in the following decades, the medical authorities preferred to recruit students through their intermediaries, medical officials who were already working on site. They provided an important link between Saint Petersburg, the seat of the Medical College, and Kyiv.

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Abstract

«Fruit of Hope»: Recruitment of Kyiv Academy Students to the Hospital Schools in the Mid-Eighteenth-Century Russian Empire

The article examines the choice of medical career as a way of social mobility by students of the Kyiv Academy, focusing on the first recruitment campaigns to hospital schools in Saint Petersburg and Moscow in the mid-eighteenth century. Researchers have long noted that students from the Hetmanate and Sloboda Ukraine were a valuable source for imperial domestic physicians. Lesser is known about possible motivations of the volunteers to study medicine in view of their social background. The article argues that a medical career was an active choice for social advancement made not only by clergy students, but Cossacks and commoners as well. Among those who wished to pursue a medical career were also towners. It was rarely attractive to representatives of the Cossack elite at the time under consideration. The article illustrates the process of educational integration of many students from the lower social ranks on their way to becoming participants in imperial project. First, the article examines how this trajectory of social advancement was

shaped by the recruitment policy of the imperial medical administration, both declared and implemented. Then, it discusses the students' travels to the capitals in light of the challenges they faced and the decisions they made on their way to join the medical ranks. The final part examines the social background of the students and their academic performance to understand what the choice of medical profession meant for different social groups and how inclusive this path of social mobility was.

Keywords: medical recruitment, hospital schools, medical career, social advancement, Russian Empire, Kyiv Academy.