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The unknown Zabludovsky: his early years

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Abstract

This article presents material for an academic biography of the leading Russian medical historian Professor Pavel Zabludovsky (1894–1993), based on an analysis of his unpublished memoirs and covering his early life – childhood, youth, student years at the University of Novorossiya, and service in World War I. The son of an engineering technologist who worked at sugar refineries in Podolia, Zabludovsky, after finishing secondary school in 1911, entered the Department of Natural Sciences of the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics at the University of Novorossiya in Odessa. After a year, however, he transferred to the Faculty of Medicine, where some of the most outstanding professors of the day taught – physiologist Bronislav Verigo, ophthalmologist Vladimir Filatov, pharmacologist Magnus Blauberg, and morphologist Nikolai Batuev. They encouraged him to study several foreign languages seriously, inspired his interest in medicine, and in general had a huge influence on his development as a scholar. Zabludovsky had not yet been awarded his degree when World War I broke out, and he was called up to the army and posted to the front as an *zauryad-vrach*. Until suffering shell shock near Baranovichi (Baranavichy) in 1916, he served as a junior doctor on the Russian Empire's Western and Southwestern fronts, and from autumn 1916 in evacuation hospitals and Red Cross mobile field and staging infirmaries on those fronts. He eventually received his doctor's degree in 1919, after passing the state exams at the University of Kiev. Zabludovsky's memoirs not only provide the information required for his academic biography: his accounts of the people he encountered and the events he took part in convey the spirit of that difficult period in our country's history.

Keywords

history of medicine, academic biography, P.E. Zabludovsky, higher medical education, World War I

The great Russian medical historian Professor Pavel Zabludovsky (20 May (1 June) 1894–18 September 1993) took Anatole France's advice to the young as an epigraph to his writings on his life, which was full and productive – he lived for almost a hundred years (Sorokina 1997; Sorokina 2014). In his preface to them, he writes: "I tried in my youth to follow these maxims of Anatole France. I tried to embrace the spirit of history – I studied history and tried to infect others with its spirit. And I tried to travel à la Anatole France – I may or may not have done, but I travelled."[1]

Zabludovsky began writing his memoirs at the end of his ninth decade, drawing on his rare, but very dear to him, notes and recollections about what, where and how things had happened to him and around him, about the people he had met, and the things he had seen and learned. He gave me a copy of these typewritten notes (comprising 16 fragments of autobiographical writing)[2] in the early 1990s (See fig.).

[1] See Zabludovsky P.E. Anatole France's advice on travel for young people. *Manuscript*, personal collection of T.S. Sorokina, p. 1. (In Russ.)

[2] Each section, from 3 to 23 typewritten pages in length, has its own page numbering and heading indicating the period of his life covered, or the time and place of the events described.

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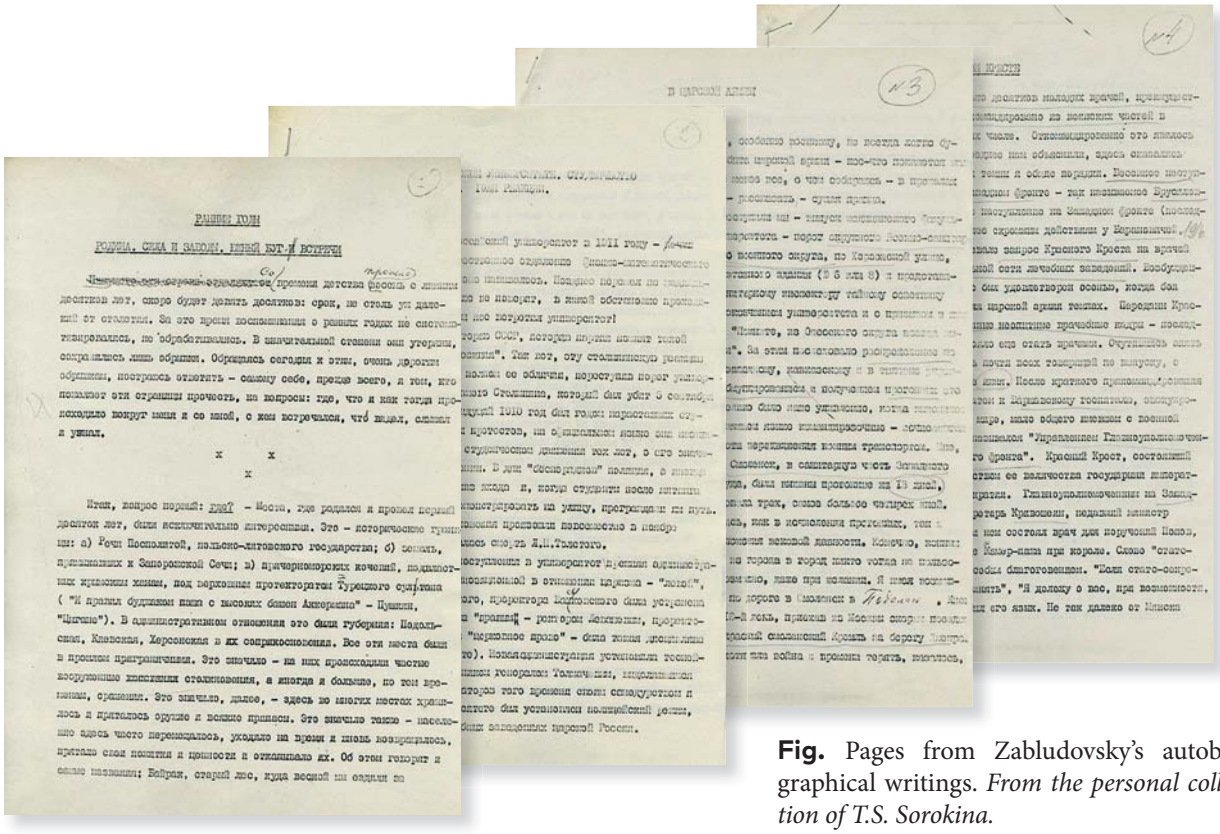

Fig. Pages from Zabludovsky's autobiographical writings. *From the personal collection of T.S. Sorokina.*

Childhood and youth

Zabludovsky found the places where he was born and spent the first ten years of his life exceptionally interesting. This was on the borders of the Russian Empire governorates of Podolia, Kiev and Kherson (now part of Ukraine), once possessions of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Zaporozhian Sich, and the Black Sea nomads, who were subjects of the Crimean khans and under the ultimate protectorate of the sultan of Turkey. In the past, these border regions had seen frequent armed conflict. Peasants ploughing the land or erecting outbuildings often found various types of ammunition and old weapons, household items, and coins that any museum would love to have today. Thus, the young Pavel ended up with a curved Turkish yataghan, a Cossack *shashka*,[3] and a huge Hungarian coin the size of a child's palm, with the Latin legend "Rudolfus Rex Hungariae"[4] around the edge.

From the high veranda of their house, the Zabludovsky family could see the sands stretching away into the distance in a bend of the Southern Bug (where, according to tradition, Bohdan Khmelnytsky had fought the Poles), two huge kurgans (burial mounds), and the remains of former military fortifications, which drew the interest not only of the teachers interested in the local area history, but also of the local boys, who, even though they did not understand the historical value of their discoveries, developed a genuine interest in history.

The population of the location where Zabludovsky spent his childhood "could be divided into two groups, closely connected, but at the same time distinct: the peasants, 100% Ukrainian (they were called Little Russians then), and the workers at the two sugar refineries, who were more complex in their composition – Ukrainians, Poles, Jews and Great Russians, along with a few Czechs, Austrians and Moldovans. After the February Revolution of 1917, a social-democratic organisation was established at the refineries. It may have existed even before this, but it avoided making its presence felt in the reactionary environment." Zabludovsky goes on to write: "Not once did I hear of strikes at the refineries. Clearly, there weren't any. ...An event

[3] When Zabludovsky served in the Tsarist Army, he would have his own *shashka*.

[4] Rudolf King of Hungary.

such as a strike would inevitably have been the centre of public attention and discussion."[5]

The sugar refineries – the Mogilyansky (in the village of Mogilnoye) and the Salkovsky (in Salkovo) – were the only industrial enterprises in the immediate vicinity. Life there was quiet and uneventful. The refineries were the economic centre of the local area. They processed sugar beet ("*buraks*") – the main crop that the local peasants cultivated in abundance and brought to the refineries in string of carts drawn by horses and oxen. The refineries also had their own sugar beet plantations – around 2,000 desyatinas,[6] from which they obtained at least a tenth of their sugar beet.

Zabludovsky's father, honoured citizen Yefim Zabludovsky, a qualified engineering technologist, worked at the refineries his whole life. After graduating from the Saint Petersburg Institute of Technology, then named after Peter the Great, in 1886, he got a job in the chemical laboratory at the Mogilyansky sugar refinery, where he rose to become vice-director, and later became the director of the new Salkovsky refinery, built six versts away,[7] which he played a direct role in establishing. In his last ten years (1908–1918),[8] he headed both refineries, which by then had merged into a single joint-stock company headquartered in Kiev. Pavel's mother, Berta Zabludovskaya, was awarded her female doctor's degree in 1887, and was registered in the Russian Medical List as a private practitioner in Mogilnoye (Vasilyev 2008, p. 212–213).

Until the age of ten, Pavel was home-schooled. At the age of eight, he was taken to Uman to prepare for the atmosphere of his gymnasium school entrance exam. There, he frequently visited the famous Sofiyevka – one of the best parks in Europe at the time, established by Poland's Count Stanisław Potocki, a politician and military man, who gifted it to his wife, Zofia Potocka, a Greek by descent, in 1802. Created by the labour of thousands of serfs supervised by gardeners and architects brought in from Paris, Sofiyevka was the equal of the royal parks of Saint Petersburg, and had a huge influence on the impressionable boy's aesthetic education.

It was in these years that he became friends with a 17-year-old called Sam – future poet Samuil Marshak. Sam had been brought up in Saint Petersburg in the impoverished family of a travelling salesman and had lost his mother early. His father was constantly away on business, and Sam spent a lot of time with no one to look after him. He often went hungry and was frequently ill, but had already produced poems and translations from English (which his mother had managed to teach him). His writing attracted the attention of the literary and music critic Vladimir Stasov and the composer Modest Mussorgsky. They decided to help the talented youth and sent him to stay with the family of a friend of theirs, an accountant at the Salkovsky sugar refinery, on the banks of the Southern Bug, where the climate was better for him. Here, the two boys developed a friendship that, despite the seven-year difference in their age, lasted all their lives. Pavel took Sam to the secret local caves, and Sam read Pavel translations of Shelley and Shakespeare, poems by Russian poets and his own verses.[9] Zabludovsky never lost his love of poetry: he could read Horace in Latin and weave poetry into conversations, and impressed the audiences at his lectures with quotations from ancient and mediaeval writers.

In 1904, Zabludovsky passed the entrance exams for the 4th Odessa Gymnasium school, and was accepted into the second form. There, he studied Latin, French and German. The school was located in central Odessa, on Pushkinskaya Street, a block away from Deribasovskaya Street, and was regarded as the "professors' school" because the children of Odessa's professors studied there. They included Vladimir Levashov (son of the rector of the University of Novorossiya, Sergei Levashov (Vasilyev 2008, p. 213)), whom Zabludovsky met at university.

After leaving the school with a gold medal in 1911, Zabludovsky entered the Department of Natural Sciences of the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics at the University of Novorossiya in Odessa, but transferred to the Faculty of Medicine in his second year.

[5] Zabludovsky P.E. Early years. My homeland, the villages and factories. The Southern Bug. Meetings. *Manuscript*, personal collection of T.S. Sorokina, p. 3. (In Russ.)

[6] A desyatina is an obsolete Russian unit of area equal to 1.09 ha.

[7] A verst (*versta* in Russian) is an obsolete Russian unit of length roughly equal to 1.06 km.

[8] Zabludovsky was 24 when his father passed away.

[9] Zabludovsky P.E. Early years. My homeland, the villages and factories. The Southern Bug. Meetings, p. 10–11.

At the University of Novorossiya

The Imperial University of Novorossiya,[10] one of twelve imperial universities in Russia, was founded in Odessa in 1865 on the basis of the Richelieu Lyceum, and initially had three faculties, of history and philology, physics and mathematics, and law. The Faculty of Medicine opened later, in 1900. Nikolai Pirogov had a direct relationship to the university's foundation, having proposed its establishment in 1856, when he was a superintendent of schools in the Odessa Educational District. In addition, in 1897, he established its university student library, which had roughly 15,000 volumes (Solovyev 1913).

The University of Novorossiya – the flagship of science and higher education in the region – was renowned for its academic traditions, established by prominent academics from the Russian Empire. In the 1870s, future Nobel laureate microbiologist Ilya Mechnikov, the father of Russian physiology, Ivan Sechenov, the well-known zoologist Alexander Kovalevsky and Professor of Mathematical Physics A.A. Umov taught there. Over time, they formed a circle of friends, with Mechnikov, renowned for his inexhaustible wit, at the heart (Sechenov 2012, p. 178–179). "We lived quietly," writes Sechenov, "doing our work in the laboratory in the morning, and spending most of the evening in friendly conversation in our salon. ...Our circle's salon was the Umovs' flat." (Sechenov 2012, p. 179, 182). They immersed themselves in research, and did not consider themselves competent in politics, which they avoided (Mechnikova 2007, p. 81). This creative atmosphere was retained by their pupils and successors, who were still working at the University of Novorossiya when Zabludovsky studied there. For example, the Department of Physiology was headed by a pupil of Sechenov, Bronislav Verigo, known for his work in electrophysiology. Lectures in biochemistry[11] were given by Anatoly Medvedev, the first head of the Department of Medicinal Chemistry, which he had established in 1901. The Faculty Surgical Clinic Department was headed by Kirill Sapezhko, who was particularly popular with the students, who addressed him not as "Mr. Professor", as was the custom at the time, but by his first name and patronymic. Three times a week, at precisely at 10:00 am, he would start his lectures, after which came analysis of patients and two or three operations (Vasilyev 2008, p. 91). Eye disorders were taught by the founder of the Odessa School of Ophthalmology, Sergei Golovin, and his successor, future academician Vladimir Filatov, whom Zabludovsky also ran into later – twice in Pitsunda, which Filatov visited more than once. Concerned about the fate of a relictual pine grove in Pitsunda, which was threatened by the construction of some multi-storey health resort buildings, he fought hard to save it, making the local authorities aware of his view: "This species of pine is unique in Europe; there is another somewhere in South America and, by the way, it is sung of in the verses of Horace: 'Pontica pinus, silvae filia nobilis'.[12]"[13]

Nikolai Batuev, who had previously taught at the Saint Petersburg Women's Medical Institute, made an unforgettable impression on the students. A brilliant orator, he was extremely erudite, taught morphology as if it were an exciting novel, and attracted students from all faculties to his lectures: the theatre was always packed to capacity. Zabludovsky wrote: "I remember how he talked about the structure of the peritoneum, which envelops all the organs in the abdominal cavity, while demonstrating this with a silk handkerchief or towels – the visual illustration was astounding. Or how he described individual varieties of pleural recess and added, with genuine sadness: however much I would like to see my own pleural recess, I just will not! Perhaps one of you will see it, but there is no way that you will tell me about it!"[14]

Pharmacy and pharmacognosy were taught with infectious enthusiasm by Professor Magnus Blauberg, who had come to Odessa from the University of Dorpat. He taught this apparently dull subject, which requires memorising the names of medicines and their formulas, with such love, and presented complex medicines and their difficult Latin names with such artistry, "in the spirit of mediaeval academic traditions", that it is more than

[10] Because of its location, the University of Novorossiya was often called Odessa University (since 2000, it has been known as the Odessa I.I. Mechnikov National University).

[11] Medvedev's lectures on physiological chemistry were republished multiple times in Odessa between 1905 in 1919.

[12] "A pine of Pontus born / Of noble forest breed" (See: Horace. Odes I, 14, *The Odes and Carmen Saeculare of Horace*. Translated by John Conington, George Bell and Sons. 1882).

[13] Zabludovsky P.E. At the University of Novorossiya. The students and the professors. The years of reaction. *Manuscript*, personal collection of T.S. Sorokina, p. 4. (In Russ.)

[14] Zabludovsky P.E. At the University of Novorossiya. The students and the professors. The years of reaction, p. 4.

possible that it was in his student years that Zabludovsky developed his passion for studying Latin and foreign languages. Subsequently, he became the only modern Russian medical historian to knew Greek and Latin, and read, wrote and thought in all the main languages of Western Europe (Sorokina 2007). It is entirely possible that, having developed a strong interest in science, he adopted the exciting lecturing style of his outstanding teachers and professors at the University of Novorossiya.

The period when Zabludovsky was studying at university is known in Russian history as the "Stolypin reaction"[15] (which outlasted Pyotr Stolypin himself, who was assassinated in Kiev on 5 (18) September 1911). The unrest and rallies that swept the country also swept through its universities.

Zabludovsky recalls: "The previous year, 1910, had seen growing numbers of student speeches and protests; in official language, they were called 'disturbances'. ...On the days of the 'disturbances', the police, and sometimes even troops, gathered near the entrance, and when the students emerged after a rally in the lecture theatre to demonstrate outside, they blocked their path. There were particularly serious clashes everywhere in November 1910, when people marked the death of Leo Tolstoy."[16]

In response to the student unrest, the new and extremely right-wing administration of the University of Novorossiya, headed by rector Sergei Levashov, established "a harsh police regime not seen at other educational institutions in Tsarist Russia". According to Zabludovsky, "'building monitors' were appointed to all the University blocks – police officers and detectives", who "kept watch on the students and provided information to the police".[17] On the days of the student protests, the police swamped the building and were even to be found in the lecture theatres during classes. Armed groups of student Black Hundredists also helped to break up the student demonstrations – "another sorrowful distinction of the University of Novorossiya".

The situation was further complicated by the multinational composition of the students at the University of Novorossiya, which distinguished it from Russia's other universities: students flocked to Odessa from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova and the Balkan countries that did not have their own academic centres at the time, as well as from Western Ukraine, then part of Austria. The political problems facing the nations of these countries, were echoed among the young, leading "to extremely complex ethnic relationships ...such as, between the Bulgarians and the Serbs, or between the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis, something that the student cohorts in other centres in Russia knew not at all or felt to a far lesser extent." This, Zabludovsky believed, lay behind the "celebrated distinctiveness of the University of Novorossiya".[18]

The diverse and multilingual atmosphere of student life and the experience of spending time with students of various nationalities and learning, even if very much from a distance, about other traditions and religions, had a huge influence on Zabludovsky. This may be why his professional development training at TsOLIUV[19] for teachers of the history of medicine at medical schools included a full course on the global history of medicine, and not just the history of medicine in Russia and the Soviet Union taken separately from its history abroad, as was usually offered. And when, in 1972, the administration of the Peoples' Friendship University (now the Peoples' Friendship University of Russia), a unique international university, where students from more than 100 countries around the world studied, faced the question of whom to ask to give the foreign students a few lectures on the history of medicine, they turned to him – the only medical historian in the USSR at the time with extensive knowledge of the development of medicine in different civilisations in different countries throughout history.

In general during Zabludovsky's years of study, the atmosphere at the University of Novorossiya, and throughout Odessa, was "extremely right-wing". "Pro-left" activism in the Odessa press was swiftly suppressed. The university's rector, Professor Sergei Levashov, who had a reputation

[15] The "Stolypin reaction" was the reactionary policy followed in Russia in 1906–1911 by the Minister of Internal Affairs Pyotr Stolypin with the aim of suppressing revolutionary sentiment in the country following the First Russian Revolution of 1905.

[16] Zabludovsky P.E. At the University of Novorossiya. The students and the professors. The years of reaction, p. 1.

[17] Zabludovsky P.E. At the University of Novorossiya. The students and the professors. The years of reaction, p. 1–2.

[18] Zabludovsky P.E. At the University of Novorossiya. The students and the professors. The years of reaction, p. 3.

[19] The TsOLIUV was the Central Institute for Continuing Medical Education of the Order of Lenin (now the Russian Medical Academy of Continuous Professional Education).

as "monarchist number one", was elected to the Fourth State Duma from the first curia (of homeowners, mill owners and factory owners), after which the "extreme right" faction in the Duma elected him as its chairman. At the same time, Professor Levashov, a disciple of the scientific school of Sergei Botkin, "was one of the best, both as a scholar and as an educator".[20]

Levashov's replacement as rector, Dmitry Kishensky, a professor of pathological anatomy, and a disciple of the scientific school of Mikhail Nikiforov, held the same political views, yet likewise remained an acclaimed professional in his field.

The political situation also affected the composition of the university's teaching faculty, as some progressively minded professors left the reactionary University of Novorossiya. For example, Bronislav Verigo continued his electrophysiological research at Perm University, founded in 1916.

Following the 1917 Revolution, the University of Novorossiya's reactionary minded professors began to leave Russia. They became political émigrés in Bulgaria and other Balkan countries: "These reactionaries who had left their country found themselves in a completely opposite role – extremely useful and progressive. Reactionaries in politics, they appeared here, in Bulgaria and other countries, as bearers of advanced Russian science. From our Bulgarian colleagues – academics and administrators at medical schools, we have repeatedly heard, and continue to hear, earnest expressions of gratitude to Professor D.P. Kishensky and other Russian émigré academics as the organisers of the Faculty of Medicine at Sofia University, as figures in the training of Bulgarian doctors and their development".[21] All this shows the high academic standard of the University of Novorossiya's professors and the productive academic atmosphere in which Zabludovsky emerged as a scholar who became the most erudite and most educated Russian medical historian of his day.

In the Tsarist Army

As strange as it might seem, the outbreak of World War I did not affect the usual pattern of education at the University of Novorossiya, but it did accelerate the graduation of the fifth-year students. In spring 1916, after receiving all the test results for their tenth semester, all the students in the fifth and final year in the University of Novorossiya's Faculty of Medicine (around 100) were awarded the rank of *zauryad-vrach*[22] without taking their state exams and called up to the army. On 5 (18) May 1916, they joined the Odessa Military District Medical Department, received their uniform, and were allocated to the front lines.

Thus, Zabludovsky was prevented by World War I from receiving his degree from the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Novorossiya. He was 22 when he began his army service, which lasted for two years – from May 1916 to May 1918.

Zabludovsky opens his recollections of serving in the Tsarist Army with the following words: "To someone today, particularly in the military, it will not always be easy to believe many aspects of life in the Tsarist Army – some things will seem incredible. Even so, everything I am going to talk about (within the limits of what remains in my memory) is the honest truth."[23] Zabludovsky's first assignment as a junior doctor was to a medical unit of the 3rd Siberian Corps, which had been evacuated to Smolensk on the Russian Empire's Western Front. It consisted of two divisions (the 7th and 8th), each with four regiments. He was assigned to the Fourth Battalion of the 32nd Siberian Rifle Regiment.

On the day he arrived at his duty station at the end of May 1916, he presented himself to the regiment's commander, Colonel Kostyaev, so awkwardly that a warrant officer was assigned to him to teach him how to salute and report, and other military ways.

Despite the war, life in Smolensk was uneventful. At headquarters, special occasions continued to be celebrated noisily. In his recollections of his early service, Zabludovsky is extremely critical of some of those he served with – the regiment's commander, General Staff Colonel Kostyaev, who made his "frontline career" in this benign atmosphere, and a doctor called Muratov, whom he laconically describes as "a repulsive individual". This is surprising,

[20] Zabludovsky P.E. At the University of Novorossiya. The students and the professors. The years of reaction, p. 5, 7.

[21] Zabludovsky P.E. At the University of Novorossiya. The students and the professors. The years of reaction, p. 7–8.

[22] The most junior military medical rank, it was held by undergraduate physicians.

[23] Zabludovsky P.E. In the Tsarist Army. *Manuscript*, personal collection of T.S. Sorokina, p. 1.

because Zabludovsky never spoke badly of people: the highest extent of his disapproval or dislike was silence.

In June 1916, the 3rd Siberian Corps moved to new positions on the way to Baranovichi, where a major offensive was being prepared. For ten or twelve days, they travelled by night, hiding from the German aircraft, and halting by day in the forests, which were often subject to bombardments. There were few decent roads then, and they often had to wade through marshland in which their heavy artillery kept getting stuck, slowing them down considerably.

A serious problem for them during this move and the summer in the Belarusian forests was scurvy, which was widespread among the soldiers: weakened by the disease, they would fall down, traipse along at the 'tail' of the column and get left behind. As a result, the regiment was so depleted when it reached its new halting place that it needed reinforcements. However, Kostyaev and Muratov deliberately understated the figures for scurvy, attempting to stand out for the low rate of infection among their soldiers, so "the junior doctors were forbidden from giving a diagnosis of 'scurvy'."[24] To combat the scurvy, the units were supplied with thick red wine, rich in tannin, but the soldiers received almost none of it: most of it ended up in the officers' mess.[25]

However, even during the exhausting cross-country slog with the heavy artillery, Zabludovsky managed to notice the splendours of the mediaeval feudal castles – the residence of the Svyatopolk-Mirsky dynasty in Mir (an old, ruined fortress) and that of the Radziwiłł family in Nesvizh. He took an interest in the old inscriptions in the Radziwiłł crypt (where founders of the dynasty who lived in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are buried) at Nesvizh's Corpus Christi Church, and the splendid frescoes in the roof vaults of the Belarusian Orthodox and Polish-Lithuanian Catholic churches – the two competing national and religious traditions in the region.[26]

Towards the end of June 1916, the 32nd Regiment took up new positions on the River Servech.[27] In early August 1916, Zabludovsky was transferred to the 30th Siberian Rifle Regiment, also in the 3rd Siberian Corps, and continued to serve on the front line in the fighting around Baranovichi.[28] Unlike Kostyaev and Muratov, the commander of this regiment, the grey-bearded Colonel Izyumov, and the senior doctor, Panov (who had taken part in the Manchurian campaign of 1904–1905), were not interested in building a career, but were instead "anxious that nothing should prevent them from ending it happily". Apart from providing everyday medical assistance to the battalion, the junior doctors' duties also included duty shifts (every three or four days) in front-line positions, in the trenches. "The hardest memory of these battles for me was the following," writes Zabludovsky: "Some of the older soldiers ...ran from the firing to the first aid point in the front-line trenches and the shelters near the front-line trenches, with wounds, sometimes genuine, sometimes imaginary, and they were driven back into battle with sticks. 'I'll smash your head in with this stick!' shouted the grey-haired captain, hitting out left and right with a big stick with an iron knob on the end. He was assisted by someone else armed with a similar stick. This, evidently, was what is called 'discipline by the rod'."[29]

During the protracted fighting around Baranovichi, Zabludovsky suffered shell shock.[30] This happened on the high right bank of the River Servač at a site known as the Fetashin Estate, near the house of a Polish landowner, the walls of which were decorated with remarkable carving (later, this

[24] Zabludovsky P.E. In the Tsarist Army, p. 5.

[25] Zabludovsky P.E. In the Tsarist Army, p. 4–5.

[26] Zabludovsky P.E. In the Tsarist Army, p. 5.

[27] Now the southeastern part of Belarus's Grodno Region.

[28] Zabludovsky writes that at around this time, not far from where he himself was, Sergei Yudin, a graduate of the Faculty of Medicine at Moscow University, who would go on to become a great surgeon, a virtuoso in the surgical treatment of stomach and duodenum ulcers, the founder of a major school of science, and an academician of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, was serving as a junior doctor in the Dukhovshinsky 267th Infantry Regiment. In the early days of the war, in August 1914, Sergei Yudin, while still a student yet to take the state exams (he passed them with flying colours later, in January 1916, while away from the front), went as a volunteer to the army in the field as an *zauryad-vrach*. On 15 (28) June 1916, during the fighting around Baranovichi, Yudin, who was in an advanced position near the burnt-out village of Gornoye Skrobovo, was seriously wounded by shrapnel near an exploded shell (he suffered a spinal fracture with paralysis) and was evacuated to Moscow for lengthy treatment, after which he did not return to his unit (Yudin 2012, p. 17, 19, 33).

[29] Zabludovsky P.E. In the Tsarist Army, p. 7.

[30] Zabludovsky P.E. In the Tsarist Army, p. 8.

house was riddled by the systematic German shelling). Towards the end of August, the protracted fighting around Baranovichi died down, and the war there became a trench war there, as it did along the entire front.

Later, Zabludovsky returned to these places more than once, "recognising" the familiar trenches, overgrown with bushes and running under a recently built kolkhoz farmyard. "Thanks to the kindness of comrade Alexander Konstantinovich Kesach in Minsk, I have twice had the opportunity to tour the places memorable to me, where there was fighting for many days in summer 1916, as the reports put it, 'east of Baranovichi Station' ... (this is now Haradzeya Station)".[31]

In the Red Cross

In autumn 1916, the Russian offensive on the Empire's Southwestern (known as "Brusilov offensive") and Western (around Baranovichi) fronts required the deployment of an additional network of treatment facilities. In response to a Red Cross request, several dozen junior doctors, primarily *zauryad-vrachs* from military units were put at its disposal – "the least valued, inexperienced medical personnel from the latest graduation year, who had yet to become doctors".[32]

Thus, Zabludovsky ended up in Minsk in the Office of the Chief Representative of the Russian Red Cross on the Empire's Western Front, where he met almost all his fellow former students. He was sent initially to the Smolensk casualty clearing station, and then to the Warsaw military hospital, which had been evacuated to Minsk, where he found himself "in a world that had little in common with the military environment". The Red Cross, which was under "the most august patronage of Her Imperial Majesty the Empress", was a refuge for the aristocracy. The Chief Representative of the Red Cross on the Empire's Western Front was State Secretary Alexander Krivoshein, recently Minister of Agriculture in Stolypin's government. Under him was special physician Popov, "who performed his role like a page of the king's chamber".

Not that far from Minsk, there were trenches, and in them soldiers in the most appalling conditions, covered "in mud and lice, sick with scurvy",[33] whereas for the Red Cross workers on the Empire's Western Front, the war was "something like an extended holiday". A similar atmosphere prevailed on Gubernatorskaya Street in Minsk, where balls and parties were not uncommon.

Zabludovsky encountered similar circumstances in northern Volhynia, at the intersection of the Empire's Western and Southwestern fronts, where he served in several front-line dressing units, and in the Yekaterinoslav Red Cross infirmary with the Special (13th) Army. After the fighting in the middle of 1915, there was little work in the infirmary, and there was a general air of tedium, which was broken on special occasions, for which wine and "gastronomy" were sent for from Kiev. The Red Cross communities sometimes became refuges for dignitaries. For example, Count Alexei Ignatyev, formerly Governor of Kiev, was an assistant to the Special Representative of the Red Cross with the Special Army and often came to the infirmary where Zabludovsky was serving to dine there at the invitation of the chief physician.[34]

Not far away, noblewomen including Baroness Fitinhof-Schell, Princess Shirinskaya-Shakhmatova, Princess Golitsina, and others, served in neighbouring communities of nurses. In 1916, almost 25,000 Russian Red Cross nurses worked on the front line, an indication of the high sense of duty and patriotism felt by Russian women from all sections of society (Romanyuk, Lapotnikov, Nakatis 1998, p. 78). One of them was Leo Tolstoy's youngest daughter, Alexandra, who was initially a nurse on the Empire's Southwestern Front, was transferred the Turkish Front in October 1914, and then headed a health unit on the Empire's Western Front (Ovcharenko 1990, p. 92–94; Posternak 2001, p. 180–198), where Zabludovsky served. The younger sister of Emperor Nicholas II, Grand Duchess Olga Alexandrovna, patiently cared for the wounded, who had no idea that the nurse looking after them was a daughter of Emperor Alexander III (Romanyuk, Lapotnikov, Nakatis 1998, p. 77–78). During the war years, Empress Alexandra Feodorovna and her oldest daughters Olga and Tatiana completed short courses on looking

[31] Zabludovsky P.E. In the Tsarist Army, p. 8.

[32] Zabludovsky P.E. In the Red Cross. *Manuscript*, personal collection of T.S. Sorokina, p. 1. (In Russ.)

[33] Zabludovsky P.E. In the Red Cross, p. 2.

[34] Zabludovsky P.E. In the Red Cross, p. 2–3.

after the wounded and worked as nurses at the Tsarskoye Selo Infirmary (Tyutyunik 1993).

The February Revolution of 1917 brought almost no changes to the practices of the Red Cross establishments, either centrally or locally, but after October 1917, those establishments were nationalised and became part of the state healthcare system (Ivanyushkin and Khetagurova 2003, p. 25–26). A major reorganisation of them began, in which the head of the Western Division of the Russian Red Cross, prominent Bolshevik Leon Popov, who became one of the founders of the Soviet Red Cross, played an active role. Zabludovsky knew him well: in early 1918, they – both graduates of the University of Novorossiya – had spent several days together in Minsk when Zabludovsky was on a duty trip there.[35] Later, a museum of Popov's life was established in Belgorod-Dnestrovsky (formerly Akkerman), where he was born, and a statue of him was erected in Ishim, where he died.[36]

Towards the end of the war, Zabludovsky served in various Red Cross mobile field and staging infirmaries with the Special Army on the Empire's Western and Southwestern fronts. He writes especially warmly about the commander of the Special Army, General Vasily Gurko. After the February Revolution, in spring 1917, General Gurko (the grandson of a famous general who commanded Russian troops in the Russo-Turkish War in 1877) commanded the Western Front. When, at the end of 1917, "contagious diseases – parasitic and, especially, intestinal – significantly increased among the troops, General Gurko, as the army's commander, showed exceptional consideration for health issues and a readiness to heed the advice of doctors and to do everything possible on his part, violating the established 'treasury' procedures if necessary. I recall two army health meetings, conducted by him with rare tact. It seemed that they were chaired not by a Tsarist Army general, but by a medical academic."[37]

Sadly, we have no photographs of Zabludovsky's time in the military. He ends his recollections of this difficult period in his life with words containing both the memory of the past war and a warning to future generations: "More than once since the war, up until the most recent years, have I seen its preserved traces, such as around Baranovichi, by Lake Narach, where there is now a resort, and especially those preserved in the Baltic region, along the Western Dvina/Daugava, where the Northern Front ran from 1916 to 1918 during World War I: the trenches of the Russian troops stretch for dozens and dozens of kilometres along the north bank [there – *author's note*], while along the south are the same trenches of the German troops. The river's steep slopes are unsuitable for ploughing, and [on them – *author's note*] the traces of battery positions, machine gun nests and fortified positions, overgrown with trees in places, are well preserved. The architecture of the war has been preserved and continues to make its presence felt: there are both traces of the past and the threat of a possible future here."[38]

October 1917

"It is rare for individuals living through great historical events to be fully aware of them. More often than not, the day, or days, that later become significant are lived through like any other days. And the quartet doing their latest duty shift at the Rovno castle of Prince Lubomirski (in the Volhynian Governorate) on the night of 25–26 October, Old Style, had no inkling that a page of history was turning." Thus does Zabludovsky begin his account of that memorable night.[39] On that night, he, a junior Red Cross doctor with the Special (13th) Army, was on duty in the three-storey castle of Prince Lubomirski on the eastern outskirts of Rovno (Rivne), where the Soviet of Soldiers' Deputies of the Special Army, as well as the Rovno Soviet of Workers' Deputies, had been located since mid-summer 1917. This small provincial town in the Volhynian Governorate, situated at the intersection of two fronts – the Southwestern and Western, stood between two camps – two worlds with different attitudes to the Revolution: to the north up to Red Saint Petersburg, the Bolsheviks and the left-wing Socialist Revolutionaries; to the south down to Kiev, the area of influence of the Central Council of Ukraine. Regarding the relationship between the two in the Special Army, Zabludovsky writes: "The members of our Soviet, like those of all the other Soviets then, military and civilian, apart from being divided into parties and factions – there were a lot

[35] Zabludovsky P.E. In the Red Cross, p. 3.
[36] Zabludovsky P.E. In the Red Cross, p. 3.
[37] Zabludovsky P.E. In the Tsarist Army, p. 9.
[38] Zabludovsky P.E. In the Tsarist Army, p. 9.
[39] Zabludovsky P.E. The Great October. *Manuscript*, personal collection of T.S. Sorokina, p. 1.

of them, in particular national ones – Ukrainian, Polish, Jewish – were sharply divided into two main camps: those in favour of the Soviets seizing power, and those against this (i.e., for retaining the coalition between the Soviets and the bourgeois parties, more specifically the Constitutional Democrats, that had existed since spring 1917). The Bolsheviks and the left-wing Socialist Revolutionaries pushed for the Soviets to take over power. In our army, the Bolsheviks called the social democrats internationalists – both Troyanovsky and Sobashvili fell under this banner. They were joined by a small group of Poles... The left-wing Socialist Revolutionaries were joined by the Ukrainian left-wing Socialist Revolutionaries – the *Borotbists*."[40] Although dominated by Bolsheviks, the Special Army also included national military units – Ukrainian and Polish.

In the week before 25 October (7 November) 1917, with anarchy reigning and armed attacks and looting increasingly prevalent, the Army Soviet established a permanent daytime and night-time duty rota. The Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies was awaited with anxiety. The Special Army sent a delegation led by Alexander Troyanovsky (later a Soviet economist and diplomat, and the USSR's ambassador to Japan and the USA; his son would become the USSR's representative to the UN Security Council) to this congress in Petrograd (Saint Petersburg). It was clear that the question of whether the Soviets should seize power would be raised at the congress. An emergency message was expected "every day and every hour": the Soviet's Chairman, Huzarski (a Pole who had been a student at the Warsaw University of Technology before the war), lived permanently in an attic room on the castle's third floor and "always took part in the duty shifts, heading the duty quartet; he did not dress like a soldier, but smartly; he spoke with a Polish accent, but in perfectly correct Russian".[41] Zabludovsky describes the events of that memorable night as follows: "Towards morning, near the end of our night duty, the telephone operator received a telephonogram from Mogilev, notifying all the Army Soviets of the information received from Petrograd that the Provisional Government had been overthrown and the All-Russian Congress of Soviets had given orders for the Soviets to seize power and the Soviet of People's Commissars to be established...

On receiving the telephonogram, two of the four – Kopystin and I – ran with it up the steep spiral staircase to the third floor and handed it to the Chairman of the Soviet, Huzarski. ...Huzarski was sitting doing some sort of work with a tired expression; his revolver lay on his desk, and he had nodded off – he had slept little in recent nights. After reading and rereading the telephonogram, he gave an order for the Army Executive Committee to meet immediately. Soon it was morning, and our quartet's duty shift ended. As we later learned, the Executive Committee ordered the appointment of the Chairman of the Soviet, Huzarski, as Commander [of the Special Army – *author's note*] that same day. ...The leader of the Constitutional Democrats among the officers, Colonel of the Guard Gerua, criticised Boldyrev's voluntary relinquishment of the command as a betrayal of his military duty and oath. The Constitutional Democrats were not represented in the Soviets of Soldiers' and Workers' Deputies but there was quite a substantial group of them among the officers. In general, the officers of the Russian Army, and especially those of the Imperial Guard, did not get involved in politics, and had hardly any idea of the manifestos of the different parties...

Much has faded from my memory over the past decades, more than half a century. But what has not faded, has stayed in my memory, is the night of 25–26 October, Lubomirski Castle on the outskirts of Rovno ... our duty shift ... the narrow spiral staircase up which we ran to bring the telephonogram ... and the tired face of Huzarski, reading and rereading the telephonogram, about the historic revolution."[42]

Many years later, Zabludovsky was saddened to learn that the commander of the Special Army, Huzarski, was shot to death by order of a tribunal for "military adventurism". Zabludovsky believed that a possible reason could have been his lack of experience and specialist military training: the recent student, after becoming the army's commander, might have committed ill-conceived and erroneous acts entailing serious consequences, which would have been construed as "adventurism".

1918–1922

Following the signature of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918, Zabludovsky was demo-

[40] Zabludovsky P.E. The Great October, p. 1–2.

[41] Zabludovsky P.E. The Great October, p. 2.

[42] Zabludovsky P.E. The Great October, p. 3–5.

bilised. In 1919, he finally completed his higher medical education. Having joined the fifth year at the University of Kiev in June 1919, he graduated in December, after passing the state exams. After this, he was called up to the Red Army and posted to the front line – the Southern and Southwestern fronts – to the mobile field hospitals and evacuation receiving stations. He did not finish his Red Army service until June 1922, and his final position was head of the Kiev Military Feldsher School (which ran courses for Red medical assistants).

After being demobilised for health reasons, Zabludovsky was sent by the Kiev Gubprofsoviet[43] to help in the famine relief effort in the Donbas, and then, at the end of 1922, transferred to the People's Commissariat of Health of the RSFSR in Moscow as a specialist physician at the Medical and Sanitary Board of Transport. By order of the People's Commissariat of Health, he was at the same time the editor of popular scientific medical literature at the State Publishing House of the RSFSR.

This was the start of a new period of Zabludovsky's life, involving healthcare organisation and in-depth study of the history of medicine, based on analysis of original works of prominent writers from different periods, and teaching the subject to doctors and scholars interested in the history of their specialism.

[43] Apparently the Governorate Trade Union Council.

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