

## IN THE FLAMES OF POGROM: KYIV JEWISH HOSPITAL IN OCTOBER 1919<sup>1</sup>

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## У ПОЛУМ'І ПОГРОМУ: КИЇВСЬКА ЄВРЕЙСЬКА ЛІКАРНЯ У ЖОВТНІ 1919 РОКУ

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*The article explores the situation of the Jewish Hospital in Kyiv during the pogrom of October 1919. For the first time, the chronology of attacks on the hospital has been comprehensively reconstructed: from the initial robberies of the hospital's cash desk, property, and staff apartments to the night raid of October 6–7, when patients of the surgical ward were killed. The study outlines the conditions under which the hospital functioned: shortages of medicines, food, and fuel, the inability to bury the dead, and the critical rise in patient mortality. Particular attention is devoted to the behavior of the medical staff under constant threat. Doctors and feldshers (medical assistants) worked at the limits of their abilities: some remained at their posts, striving to provide treatment with minimal resources, while others left the hospital in search of personal safety. This makes it possible to view the hospital's tragedy not only as an expression of external violence but also as a test of the moral compass of its staff. The article analyzes the reaction of non-Jewish employees, among whom different behavioral models were recorded: from passive observation and indifference to attempts at actively protecting their colleagues and patients. At the same time, it is emphasized that indifference did not equate to support or approval of anti-Semitic violence. As the sources show, many refrained from actively defending Jews out of fear of punishment or awareness of possible reprisals – warnings that were voiced directly by the attackers or circulated in the contemporary press. As a result of the assaults, the hospital suffered enormous material losses, its work was paralyzed, and the escape of patients contributed to the spread of epidemic diseases in the city. The pogrom in the Kyiv Jewish Hospital emerged not only as a local episode of the Kyiv pogrom but also as a symbol of the defenselessness of the Jewish population and the collapse of the principle of medical neutrality. It demonstrated that even a space dedicated to saving lives was not protected from military terror and anti-Semitic violence.*

*Keywords: pogroms, Jews, Jewish hospital, Kyiv, anti-Jewish violence.*

«Pogrom» and «hospital» – these words immediately and logically evoke a chain of associations in which, most likely, victims of anti-Jewish pogroms receive medical assistance. The hospital appears in the imagination as a sacred place where all harm is halted by the power of the Hippocratic oath. However, in the fall of 1919 in Kyiv, this was not the case. «Pogrom» and «hospital» were connected in the most literal sense.

Even before the February Revolution of 1917, the Jewish Hospital had gained a strong reputation. Its original complex at 1 Baggovutivska Street (now 1 Zagorivska Street) was built in 1884–1885 at the expense of Jewish philanthropists. It consisted of one- and two-story brick buildings and initially had four wards (barracks): surgical, therapeutic, obstetric, and epidemiological (Neishtube 1912, p. 37). Later, in the 1880s – 1910s, thanks to donations from wealthy Jewish families in Kyiv, the hospital was expanded. Each family took care of its own «family» building with a specific medical profile (Kalnytskyi 2017, p. 21–22). In addition to medical wards, the hospital complex also included apartments for medical staff. Data on the number of hospital buildings after the expansion vary slightly: Vitalii Kovalynskyi notes 14 as of 1914 (Kovalynskyi 1998, p. 212–213), while in the

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«Historical Note in Memory of the 50th Anniversary of the Kyiv Jewish Hospital» by Piotr Neishtube, the chief physician at the time, data on 15 buildings that the hospital had in 1912 is found (Neishtube 1912, p. 55). Nevertheless, the fact of its development remains indisputable. It should be noted that not only Kyiv Jews received medical care at the hospital. In 1912, 17% of inpatient clinic users and 35% of outpatient clinic visitors were Christians (Kalnytskyi 2017, p. 22). In addition to its own medical staff, the leading specialists treated patients at the Jewish hospital. Professors at St. Vladimir's University Friedrich Mering, Georgii Rein, Karl Tritschel, Vasilii Chernov, Feofil Yanovskyi, as well as the renowned ophthalmologist and Jewish public figure Max Mandelstam were among them (Kalnytskyi 1999, p. 477).

During the revolutionary upheavals and subsequent political and military struggles, the hospital continued, despite all difficulties, to provide assistance to those in need. As of October 1919, the Jewish hospital had more than 450 patients. Almost half of them were people who needed medical assistance as a result of anti-Jewish pogroms, which were rapidly sweeping across Ukrainian lands at that time, particularly in the Kyiv Governorate. For example, the hospital treated seriously wounded Jews from Fastiv who had suffered there during the bloody pogrom in September. The list of just one group of such persons contains 79 names (TsDAVO, f. 3299, op. 1, spr. 48, ark. 30). In total, more than 200 patients were admitted to the hospital on the recommendation of the Red Cross Society's Committee for Assistance to Victims of Pogroms. In addition to providing assistance to persons of Jewish origin, the hospital continued to accept representatives of other nationalities: in October 1919, 150 patients were Christians (YIVO, RG 80, f. 211(4), p. 19204). At that time, the Jewish character of the hospital became a target for armed groups that terrorized the Jewish community of Kyiv.

These events have received almost no attention in scholarly works. Individual studies on the history of the Jewish hospital can be found in the works of Mykhailo Kalnytskyi, Oleh Tsiborovskyi, and Volodymyr Soroka. However, due to their chosen chronological boundaries, these authors did not examine the fate of the hospital during the outbreak of anti-Jewish violence in October 1919. The only relevant mention that could be found is in the work of Olena Boiko, dedicated to life in Kyiv in 1919. Nevertheless, even there, the description of the hospital's fate is limited to the fact that it «was looted» during the pogrom (Boiko 2015, p. 106). To a large extent, the state of research can be explained by the insignificant and rather scattered source base, the discovery of which requires the processing of a significant array of archival materials. Therefore, this article is based on sources related to the Kyiv pogrom of October 1919, which were created as a result of the activities of the League Against Anti-Semitism, an organization affiliated with the All-Russian Union of Cities, the Committee for Assistance to Victims of Pogroms of the Russian Red Cross Society, and the Central Jewish Committee for Assistance to Victims of Pogroms. It is known that the latter organization, as well as the League Against Anti-Semitism, conducted their own investigations into the events at the Jewish hospital, as well as the Kyiv pogrom itself. The research is based on twelve interviews with victims or witnesses of anti-Jewish actions at the Jewish hospital, number of letters from the leadership of the aforementioned organizations to government officials describing the situation at the hospital, individual reports from medical staff, and an excerpt from the newspaper «Die Welt». It should be noted that the dates of events are not always consistent in the documents, so comments on this will be provided in footnotes.

Therefore, the aim of this article is to conduct the first, as comprehensive as possible, study of the situation of the Jewish hospital in Kyiv during the pogrom in October 1919. To achieve this goal, the author has set the following tasks: to reconstruct the anti-Jewish events, determining their chronology, nature, and consequences, as well as to investigate the reaction and actions of non-Jewish staff.

*Chronology and nature of events.* The events that took place at the Jewish hospital were part of a wider wave of violence against the Jewish population of Kyiv in October 1919. From September 1, the city was under the control of the Armed Forces of Southern Russia<sup>2</sup>. According to the recollections of contemporaries, in the first days after the entry of Volunteer units, a special psychological state spread in Kyiv, which they called a «pogrom mood» (TsDAVO, f. 3299, op.1, spr. 49, ark. 23). This manifested itself in a series of assaults against Jewish merchants, which law enforcement officers were unable to stop due to threats from the military (YIVO, RG 80, f. 214, p. 19196). Soldiers felt they could act with impunity toward the Jewish population: they took goods and food without paying, attacked Jewish homes, and during the day seized boots and outer clothing from passersby on the streets (YIVO, RG 80, f. 334(1), p. 31350). However, a truly «organized pogrom» (TsDAVO, f. 3299, op. 1, spr. 78, p. 26) began after a sudden attempt by parts of the Red Army to capture Kyiv. The Volunteer Army lost control of part of the city on October 1, but the very next day they launched a successful counterattack and on October 5 pushed the enemy back beyond Irpin. During the operation

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<sup>2</sup> Here and below, dates are given according to the old style.

to retake Kyiv, representatives of the Volunteer Army began committing atrocities against the Jewish population. The reason for these actions was revenge for the alleged «support of the Bolsheviks by Jews» and «shooting at soldiers from houses and pouring boiling water on them». Indeed, some of the local population did assist the Bolsheviks during the fighting in the city. At the same time, all the addresses that the press reported as places from which Jews allegedly fired shots turned out to be fictitious. We find the testimony of one brave man who asked the military if they had personally witnessed such actions by Jews. «We didn't see it, but the land is full of rumors», was the answer (YIVO, RG 80, f. 211(4), p. 19209). However, this did not prevent the pogrom from unfolding (Boiko 2015, p. 109). The outbreak of anti-Jewish violence lasted, according to various estimates, from October 1 to October 8<sup>3</sup>. The Jewish hospital became one of the targets for the attackers.

On October 1, the hospital grounds became a battleground for both sides, which affected life there. By October 3, it had become impossible to remain in the medical facility: patients were moved to the basement, resulting in the deaths of several patients. That same evening, a shell hit the hospital, injuring an elderly woman (YIVO, RG 80, f. 211(2), p. 19114). On October 4, due to dampness in the basement, lack of food, and other factors, 30 patients died there (YIVO, RG 80, f. 211(4), p. 19203). However, events of an anti-Semitic nature began later.

The first were robberies, which took place on the night of October 4–5. Three armed men in military uniforms came to the chief physician Lurie, robbed his home and family members, and took all the hospital's cash (YIVO, RG 80, f. 212(1), p. 19253). According to a doctor who worked at the institution, 46 000 rubles were stolen (YIVO, RG 80, f. 211(4), p. 19203). To do this, the robbers took the chief physician to the hospital supervisor, Isaac Berkovitz, who had the keys to the cash register. That night, the supervisor was hiding from the bombing in the basement with his family. When the armed men arrived with Dr. Lurie, they forced everyone in the basement to hand over their valuables, and also took a pair of boots and the key to the cash register (YIVO, RG 80, f. 212(1), p. 19254).

The next day, October 5, saw the largest number of documented cases of robbery and physical harm to Jews. After the nighttime looting, armed men in military uniforms came to the hospital again in the morning. First, a group led by an officer (probably from the Petrograd Regiment) took the hospital horses. They left behind one weak horse, which they later seized as well (YIVO, RG 80, f. 211(4), p. 19204). After that, they began to harm people directly: a group of 8–10 men robbed the aforementioned supervisor Isaac Berkovitz and his apartment. From 9 a.m. until 3 p.m., everything was taken away, «except for furniture and various small items» (YIVO, RG 80, f. 212(1), p. 19253). In another part of the hospital grounds – the pharmacy porch – robberies also took place at 10 a.m. A soldier approached Joseph Mishulem (a pharmacist and pharmacy manager) and Abel Penovich, a hospital clerk, who were talking near the pharmacy, and asked, «Did you Jews get whipped?» He then robbed both of them. Their last money and valuables were taken (YIVO, RG 80, f. 212(1), p. 19254). In addition to the aforementioned hospital employees, the rioters also harmed the accountant, robbing his apartment and beating him (YIVO, RG 80, f. 211(4), p. 19204). On the same day, Meylekh Spiegelman, a clerk at the Jewish hospital, was also attacked. He was detained behind the hospital fence by two men: one in a cadet's uniform and the other in a Volunteer soldier's uniform. The man was robbed and they wanted to take him «to the field to the captain», who had allegedly ordered that all Jews be brought to him, but they agreed to release the man for 4 000 rubles. Meylekh, knowing that there was an official with a guard in the hospital courtyard, led the robbers there under the pretext of returning for money. They began to rob those present in the courtyard, but when they saw the guard, they fled, taking Spiegelman with them. The guard turned them back and brought them to his boss, who refused to intervene. In the end, the clerk managed to negotiate with the robbers to return to the hospital for the money, but as soon as it became possible to leave, he fled to the city (TsDAVO, f. 3299, op. 1, spr. 71, ark. 145).

On the night of *October 5–6*, there was a second attack on the apartment of the chief physician (YIVO, RG 80, f. 211(4), p. 19204). According to various accounts, either on the night of October 5–6 or October 6–7, feldshers and doctors were robbed. Among them were Ita-Bina Weintraub, Eva Spiegelman, Vera Genina, Khaya Weinstein, Klara Alman and a woman named Beilina (YIVO, RG

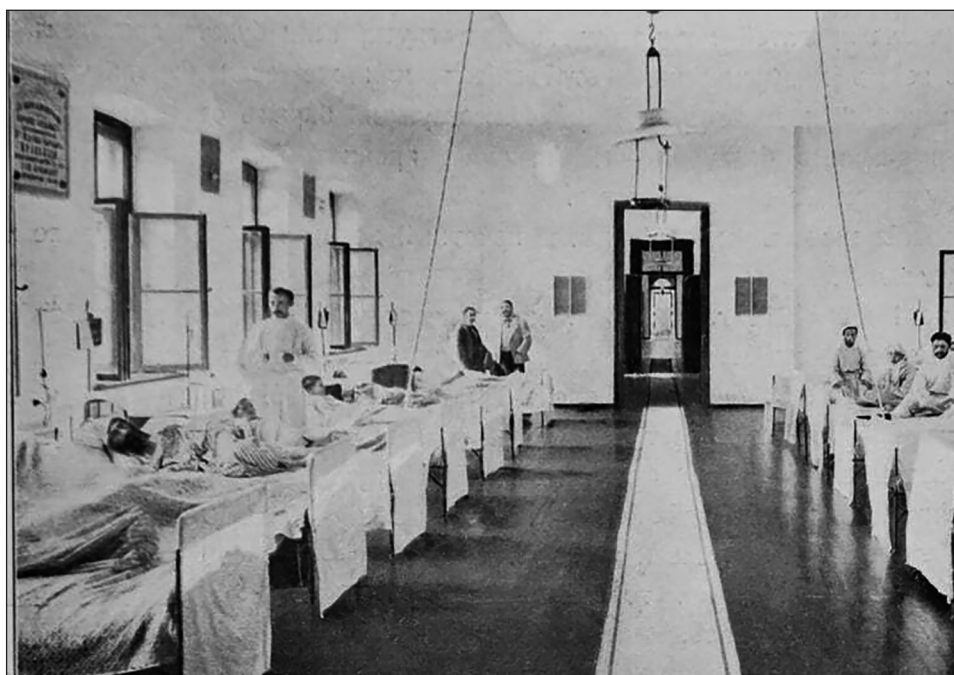
<sup>3</sup> According to Zelman Ostrovskii, the pogrom began on October 1 and lasted «about five days» (Ostrovskii 1926, p. 49–50), Victoria Khiterer adheres to the same dating (Khiterer 2015, 57). These dates are also mentioned in the documents of the Jewish Committee for Aid to War Victims (YIVO, RG80, f. 211(1), p. 19078), whereas data from the Jewish Community Committee defines the Kyiv pogrom of October 1–6 (DAKO, f. 3050, op. 1, spr. 162, ark. 1), Central Jewish Committee for Aid to Victims of Pogroms – 2–8 (TsDAVO, f. 3299, op. 1, spr. 49, ark. 23), Committee for Assistance to Victims of Pogroms of the Red Cross Society – 1–7 (TsDAVO, f. 3299, op. 1, spr. 10, ark. 27).

80, f. 212(1), p. 19253–19254). On October 6, a group of soldiers arrested the son of a feldsher and the brother of a feldsher, but released them for ransom (YIVO, RG 80, f. 211(4), p. 19204).

The situation in the hospital at that time was extremely difficult – there was no food, as supplies had been cut off due to military action, terror, and the loss of transportation. Mortality among children and the wounded was very high, mainly due to exhaustion. As soon as the temperature dropped, the sick fled into the city to escape starvation, thereby spreading disease. The hospital also ran out of firewood for heating. There was a severe shortage of medicines – cardiac drugs, camphor, caffeine, digitalis (YIVO, RG 80, f. 211(4), p. 19203). Due to the lack of transport, hospital staff were unable to bury the bodies of 32 people who had died of typhus and scarlet fever in the Jewish cemetery (YIVO, RG 80, f. 211(4), p. 19205). This situation also affected those who formed the backbone of the hospital – its staff. Despite a certain moral obligation, doctors were also human beings who could behave differently in critical circumstances. It should be emphasized that this is not about condemning, justifying, or otherwise evaluating certain actions, but rather about the different reactions of the medical staff in the context of the situation in which the Jewish hospital found itself. Thus, one of the doctors working at the institution wrote in a letter that the medical staff was absent due to the state of constant terror, as well as the lack of money and food. Those who remained threatened to leave because of this. For example, 11 orderlies and nurses stated that they would not work under such conditions (YIVO, RG 80, f. 211(4), p. 19203, 19205). Feldsher Eva Anopolskaia mentioned in her testimony that she fled the hospital in order to save herself (TsDAVO, f. 3299, op. 1, spr. 70, ark. 6). Some of the staff, however, continued to work and provide assistance. One of the doctors described his actions and those of his colleagues during those days: «...for 100 rubles, we managed to buy only 2,5 pounds (a little more than 1 kilogram) of bread and feed the workers who remained at my post: two feldshers and Dr. Blank. The orderlies were persuaded to bring potatoes and cook soup for the staff. I personally distributed it to patients with typhoid fever, giving each of them two spoonfuls of the dish». Problems arose not only with food but also with drinking water. At night, together with the nurses, one of the doctors managed to fetch water, from which they made a sort of «tea» – simply boiled water with a small amount of sugar (YIVO, RG 80, f. 211(4), p. 19203). Given these conditions, patients could not receive the necessary care. These days vividly illustrate the patterns of human behavior in a crisis, especially when one's own survival was at stake.

The largest and most tragic attack on the hospital occurred on the night of October 6–7. At this point, the looting that had characterized the earlier stages of the pogrom escalated into murder. Whereas previously the main victims had been members of the hospital staff, now the patients themselves became targets. According to eyewitness accounts, the assault began with loud banging on the door of the surgical ward (illustration 1), after which a group of armed men in military uniforms burst inside.

Various sources report that there were between five and seven attackers (YIVO, RG 80, f. 212(1), p. 19253). Nurse Magdevich testified that they were intoxicated. At that time, both Jewish and Christian patients were in the room. Those with minor injuries fled and hid in advance. The intruders de-



*Illustration 1. Men's room of the surgical ward (barrack). Photo from the book «Historical note in memory of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Kyiv Jewish Hospital, 1862–1912», 1912 (Neishtube 1912, p. 61).*

manded that the Christians be identified, which was eventually done. Two chairs were placed next to their beds to avoid mistakes, after which the hospital staff were forced to leave the room (YIVO, RG 80, f. 211(2), p. 19114). Within minutes, the attackers began killing and wounding the Jewish patients. A loud bell ringing from the room eventually forced them to retreat. As a result of the assault, six – or more likely seven – patients were killed. Among the injured was a woman who had been sitting by the bed of her wounded son (TsDAVO, f. 3299, op. 1, spr. 71, ark. 1). Dr. Yakov Dinerman of the surgical ward provided the following names of the deceased along with brief details of their backgrounds:

1. Itzko Berkholz – a refugee from Łódź (possibly one of those displaced or who fled from the Congress Kingdom of Poland during World War I);
2. Aron Kryvinsky – hospitalized as a victim of the Fastiv pogrom (YIVO, RG 80, f. 212(1), p. 19253);
3. Shmul Nulman – same;
4. Simcha Burakovsky – hospitalized as a victim of the Kyiv pogrom (TsDAVO, f. 3299, op. 1, spr. 78, ark. 146);
5. Abel Rudenko – hospitalized as a victim of the Fastiv pogrom (YIVO, RG 80, f. 212(1), p. 19253);
6. Menachem Guslesky (or Gusovsky) – same, later died from his injuries;
7. Isaac Knyzhnyk – same.

The case of Simcha Burakovsky links the tragedy of the Jewish hospital with the broader calamity of the Kyiv pogrom in early October 1919. The man lived at 33 Kadetskoe Shose (Highway) with his family. When the pogrom began on October 5, his wife Polina recalled that they remained calm because they «did not participate in political life». Nevertheless, the pogromists broke into their home, looted it, and beat Simcha in an attempt to extort more money. Trying to protect her husband, Polina pleaded with the attackers not to harm him. They replied: «Get out of here and shut up, all Jews must be killed, and we will not spare your Jew. You are all communists». They then cut off his fingers with a sabre. His wife summoned military doctor Vyshensky to dress the wounds, but four soldiers drove the doctor away. On October 6, Polina brought her severely injured husband to the Jewish hospital, and on October 7 she learned of his death (TsDAVO, f. 3299, op. 1, spr. 78, ark. 146–146). Most likely, he was among those killed in the surgical ward during the attack.

On October 8 or 9, another raid took place around 9 p.m., but this time the attackers were searching not for patients but for doctors. Fortunately, they managed only to enter the children's ward (illustration 2), where no doctors were present at the time. The intruders stole a few items and then left (YIVO, RG 80, f. 211(2), p. 19114; f. 212(1), p. 19253).

*Reaction and attitude of non-Jews.* Based on the available evidence, two main patterns of behavior can be traced among the non-Jewish (primarily Christian) staff who were present in the hospital during the crimes described above: acts of intercession (including attempts to protect Jews) and passive observation. Far less is known about conscious or unconscious collaboration with the perpetrators.



*Illustration 2. Children's ward (barrack), 1920s. (Photo album 1-a Worker's hospital, National Museum of Medicine of Ukraine, KN. 24-17401, F. 6-5413).*

At least three instances of assistance and attempts to protect Jews have been documented. On October 5, during the robbery of hospital supervisor Isaac Berkovitz, a Christian servant and a senior janitor tried to defend him (YIVO, RG 80, f. 211(4), p. 19204). At that time, the military doctor refused to loot the apartments of the hospital supervisor, clerk, and accountant, but his requests were unsuccessful (YIVO, RG 80, f. 212(1), p. 19254). Feldsher Khaya Weinstein also confirmed the generally «good» attitude of Christian hospital staff, although it remains unclear whether this referred to their conduct during the looting or more broadly to the events of October (YIVO, RG 80, f. 212(1), p. 19254).

Alongside these examples of intercession, there are numerous accounts of indifference – sometimes even occurring simultaneously with attempts to help. For instance, after mentioning the woman and janitor who tried to protect Berkovitz, the same witness recalled other Christian employees who reacted with «indifference». Ita-Bina Weintraub also reported the passive attitude of Christians during the robbery of her apartment, as did a clerk who was robbed together with the pharmacy manager and another colleague (YIVO, RG 80, f. 212(1), p. 19253–19254). None of the Christians present attempted to rescue Meylekh Spiegelman (TsDAVO, f. 3299, op.1, spr.71, ark. 145). Some testimonies point to behavior that lay on the border between indifference and open hostility. For example, feldsher Eva Spiegelman described the robbery of her apartment (and those of her colleagues), noting the «unsatisfactory» conduct of Christian staff during the pogrom. In another statement she elaborated: «...there are *suspicions* that some of the Christian staff who had been on good terms with us Jews before the pogrom took an active part in the destruction of the hospital. But I have *no factual proof*. In general, the attitude of Christians can be described as passive, perhaps even hostile» (YIVO, RG 80, f. 212(1), p. 19255; TsDAVO, f. 3299, op. 1, spr. 71, ark. 146).

It is important to stress that passive observation or inaction did not necessarily imply approval or support of anti-Semitic violence. As in the case of the pogrom in the city more broadly, Christian staff may have refrained from intervening out of fear that such actions would provoke reprisals against them. This awareness came either from word of mouth in the city or from threats issued directly by the perpetrators. For example, this was precisely what happened to the aforementioned senior janitor and Christian servant when they attempted to prevent the robbery of Berkovitz (YIVO, RG 80, f. 212(1), p. 19254). The fear of consequences was also reinforced by the press. One Kyiv Jew recalled: «...at first, the janitor willingly hid people for a fee, like many others, but when [articles accusing Jews appeared in the newspapers – author's note] Vechernie Ogni and Kievlyanin, everyone became convinced that the Jews would be killed, and they became afraid to hide them» (TsDAVO, f. 3299, op. 1, spr. 77, ark. 161).

*Consequences.* As a result of the looting, the total damage to the hospital was estimated at 200,000 rubles (not including property taken from staff) (YIVO, RG 80, f. 212(1), p. 19252). For a period of time, medical care became virtually impossible, both during and after the pogrom. The lack of food, medicines, and heating further worsened the condition of the patients. Many patients fled into the city, spreading infectious diseases, and refused to return to the Jewish hospital (TsDAVO, f. 3299, op. 1, spr. 10, ark. 26). This situation severely undermined the hospital's ability to provide urgent treatment to those in need. For example, the Red Cross Society Committee was unable to send refugees with infectious diseases for care, and it became impossible to transfer patients from the refugee dormitory on Kostiantynivska Street to the hospital. Nevertheless, by the end of October, 23 new patients had already been admitted (TsDAVO, f. 3299, op. 1, spr. 10, ark. 16–17). The most significant consequence was the stark demonstration of utter defenselessness, which was epitomized by the murders of patients within the hospital itself. The pogrom at the Jewish hospital became a symbol not only of anti-Semitic violence but also of the collapse of basic security in Kyiv in 1919. It revealed that even institutions dedicated to saving lives were not immune from terror, and that the principle of medical neutrality and humanitarian protection proved powerless in the face of armed brutality.

*Conclusion.* For the first time, the chronology of the assaults has been reconstructed in detail: from the looting of the hospital's cash register, staff apartments, and pharmacy property to the night attack of October 6–7, when patients in the surgical ward were murdered. The evidence highlights different patterns of behavior among the hospital staff – ranging from flight and passivity to selfless attempts to save patients' lives in conditions of extreme scarcity, without adequate medicine, food, or even drinking water. As a result of the assaults, the hospital sustained material losses amounting to hundreds of thousands of rubles, its work was effectively paralyzed. The tragedy of the hospital was not only an episode of the Kyiv pogrom but also a symbol of the vulnerability of the Jewish community and the collapse of the principle of medical neutrality.

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### **У полум'ї погрому: київська Єврейська лікарня у жовтні 1919 року**

*Стаття присвячена дослідженню становища Єврейської лікарні у Києві під час погрому жовтня 1919 року. Уперше комплексно реконструйовано хронологію нападів на лікарню: від перших грабунків лікарняної каси, майна та квартир персоналу до нічного нальоту 6–7 жовтня, коли жертвами стали пацієнти хірургічного відділення. Подано характеристику умов, у яких функціонував заклад: брак медикаментів, харчів, палива, неможливість ховати померлих та критичне зростання смертності серед пацієнтів. Особливу увагу приділено поведінці медичного персоналу в умовах постійної небезпеки. Єврейські лікарі та фельдшери працювали на межі можливостей: частина залишалася на робочих місцях, намагаючись забезпечити лікування навіть мінімальними засобами, інші – залишали лікарню задля власного порятунку. Це дозволяє розглянути трагедію лікарні не лише як прояв зовнішнього насильства, а й як випробування моральних орієнтирів її працівників. Окремо проаналізовано реакцію неєврейських співробітників, серед яких зафіксовано різні моделі поведінки: від пасивного спостереження й байдужості до намагання активно захистити своїх колег та пацієнтів. Водночас підкреслено, що байдужість не тотожна підтримці чи схваленню антиєврейського насильства. Як свідчать джерела, багато хто утримувався від активного захисту євреїв через страх покарання або через усвідомлення можливої розправи, про що прямо попереджали самі грабіжники чи публікації в тогочасній пресі. Внаслідок нападів лікарня зазнала величезних матеріальних збитків, її робота була паралізована, а втеча пацієнтів сприяла поширенню епідемічних захворювань у місті. Погром у Київській Єврейській лікарні постав не лише як локальний епізод київського погрому, а й як символ абсолютної беззахисності єврейського населення та краху принципу медичної нейтральності. Він продемонстрував, що навіть простір, покликаний рятувати життя, не був убезпечений від воєнного терору й антисемітського насильства.*

*Ключові слова: погроми, євреї, єврейська лікарня, Київ, антиєврейське насильство.*

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