

# The Rand Transcript, Revisited

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## Introduction

With the publication of my book, *Ayn Rand: The Russian Radical* (Sciabarra 1995), I began an investigation into Ayn Rand's education in an attempt to identify possible influences on her intellectual development. Always of the belief that my historical inquiries were a "work in progress" (Sciabarra 1997), I extended my analysis in 1999 when I located a copy of Rand's transcript from Petrograd State University<sup>1</sup> (1921–24). In what constituted the very first article published in *The Journal of Ayn Rand Studies*, "The Rand Transcript" provided a detailed discussion of the university courses that Rand took and the orientations of the professors who were the most likely teachers of those courses (Sciabarra 1999b).

Even then, I knew that the analysis was hampered by the fact that the student records that I had in my possession were incomplete. The official transcript reported that Alissa Zinovievna Rosenbaum (Rand's birth name) had entered the university on 2 October 1921 and graduated from the Social-Pedagogical Division of the Faculty (or College) of the Social Sciences of Leningrad (formerly Petrograd) State University. I described the nature of the three-year course of the *obsbchestvenno-pedagogicheskoe otdelenie* (Department of Social Pedagogy), which, as part of the new social science curriculum at the university had united the existing faculties (departments) of history, philology, and law. As I explained: "The integration of the historical and philosophical disciplines sought to prepare students for careers as social science educators" (1). The transcript confirmed the "facts that I had previously uncovered in the official Rosenbaum dossier, dated 6 August 1992," as part of my *Russian Radical* research, and included additional information "that Rosenbaum had received her Certificate

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of Graduation (Diploma No. 1552) on 13 October 1924.”

In 2005, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the publication of *Ayn Rand: The Russian Radical*, I came into possession of a much more extensive academic dossier documenting Rand’s university years and lending further weight to my previous analyses. With assistance from a network of generous researchers and scholars, I present my findings below.<sup>2</sup>

## **The Archival Materials**

The personal file of the student Alissa Zinovievna Rosenbaum (Central State Historic Archive of St. Petersburg, Fond 7240, Inventory #5, file 3576) includes various documents, certificates, and photos. The following materials are most relevant to the current study:

### **1. Petition to the Rector: Secondary School Records**

Alissa Rosenbaum’s petition to the Rector of Petrograd State University is dated 14 August 1921. She was officially admitted to the university on 25 August 1921. (Rand fulfilled all the requirements of university study, passing all her requisite tests for 23 courses and 3 seminars, by 15 July 1924.)

Of most importance, the petition provides information concerning Rand’s secondary school studies. She graduated on 30 June 1921 from the IV Group of Level II in School N 4 (the former Zemstvo gymnasium of A. P. Rushchinskaia and A. A. Mironovich) located in the Crimean city of Evpatoria. Her secondary school courses are listed: Languages (Russian, French, German, Latin); Mathematics; Physics; Cosmography (general description of the world or universe); History; Geography; Natural Science; Logic; Psychology; Soviet Constitution; Drawing; Political Economy; and Shop (literally “Manual Labor” or “Hand Work,” which consisted in the development of “practical” skills in both boys and girls).

Typically, students were rated by the Academic Council for both academic “achievement” and “conduct.” All of Rand’s secondary school grades are reported as “very satisfactory,” with the exception

of “Soviet Constitution,” in which Rand received “credit” for having “studied” or “learned” the material. The secondary school certificate bears the signature of Mironovich, who served as Chairman of the School Council, and the signatures of other Council members.<sup>3</sup>

## **2. Handwritten University Records**

The handwritten university record cards for Alissa Rosenbaum do not include much more information than was brought to light in my previous work. The record documents that Rand was a student of the Social-Pedagogical Division (encompassing Literature and the Arts as well) of the Faculties (or Departments) of the Social Sciences of Leningrad State University.

Rand’s university coursework is documented across seven columns split over recto and verso pages. Column I lists the names of the courses, that is, the “subjects” or “practical studies” for which Rand received credit.

Column I of these handwritten records shows Rand’s coursework in a slightly different order from that presented in the typewritten transcript that I analyzed in 1999. The first seven courses are exactly the same. In the handwritten version, however, two of Rand’s senior seminar courses are misplaced: Course #24 below is listed as course #8, and Course #25 is listed as Course #9, thereby changing by two numbers the order of all subsequent entries (e.g., Course #8 in the typewritten transcript is listed as Course #10 in the handwritten version, and so on).

For the sake of consistency with my 1999 essay, I repeat the more formal, chronological listing of courses here—without my detailed analyses of the courses’ contents or the professors who most likely taught those courses.<sup>4</sup> Those analyses remain valid.

1. General Theory of the State and the State Structure in the RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic) and the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)

2. History of the Development of Social Forms (or Institutions)

3. Psychology

4. Logic

5. French Language
6. Historical Materialism
7. History of World-Views (Ancient Period)
8. Biology
9. History of Greece
10. History of Rome
11. Russian History
12. Medieval History
13. History of Socialism
14. Special Course: Social Movements in 14th Century France
15. Special Course: History of the Crusades
16. Modern History (“Modern” might also be translated as “Recent”)
17. Modern History of the West
18. History of Modern Russia
19. History of Pedagogical Doctrines
20. Methodology of the Social Sciences
21. The Politics and Organization of Popular Education in the USSR
22. Special Course: History of Medieval Trade
23. Political Economy
24. Seminar in Modern History (16th Century England)
25. Seminar in Modern History (17th Century France)
26. Seminar in the History of the Middle Ages (the Medieval Estate)

The second block of columns appears on the recto page; it has two subsidiary columns—spaces within which might be listed (Column II) the number of hours attended for “lectures” and (Column III) the number of hours attended for “practical studies.” The information (or lack thereof) in Columns II and III is of some interest.

Jeff Britting (2004, 17–18), archivist at the Ayn Rand Institute, tells us that Rand enrolled in Petrograd State University “[i]n 1921, at the age of sixteen.” He adds: “Since the professors lectured mainly from their own published writings, she spent most of her time at home studying these texts, attending only the special seminars”

(21–22). In my own previous work on the Rand transcript, I had established that many professors lectured from their own published writings. But I found no evidence that Rand hardly attended lectures. Perhaps Britting derives this information from Rand’s biographical interviews, but I do not find any reference to Rand’s lack of attendance in either “Who is Ayn Rand?” (Barbara Branden’s authorized biographical essay in Branden and Branden 1962) or Branden’s biography, *The Passion of Ayn Rand*. In fact, Branden (1986, 42) informs us that “[e]ach day, [Rand] walked three miles to school and three miles back, wearing old, torn summer shoes”—odd for somebody who allegedly spent most of her time at home studying professorial texts.

Columns II and III of the actual student records do not provide any detailed information for the “number of hours” of student attendance in “lectures” or “practical studies.” In fact, the only writing in those columns are a few check marks, which indicate at the very least that Rand had attended the requisite number of lectures and/or fulfilled the requisite number of hours in “practical study.”

Of course, Britting’s implicit corroboration of my point—that “professors lectured mainly from their own published writings” and that Rand spent time “studying these texts”—only reinforces my thesis that she was, in fact, schooled in the dialectical methods endemic to the published works and spoken lectures of her Russian teachers.

I suspect that Britting is less interested in establishing these kinds of influences; his book, *Ayn Rand*, suggests that Rand was *sui generis*. He stresses that Rand

had studied philosophy, but—with the exception of Aristotle—found it unhelpful in defining her values. The philosophy she sought was not in the university, but was a growing body of knowledge within her—a philosophy of which the first written glimmers had begun to appear in her diary seven years earlier. (Britting 2004, 24)

There is nothing here that contradicts my historical thesis in *Russian*

*Radical.* The influence that I posit is *methodological*, not substantive. In her courses and in their accompanying textbooks, Rand would have been intellectually primed with the *methodological* idea that issues and problems must be grasped in the wider context of relationships within the system they constitute—and across the dimensions of time (inclusive of their past, present, and potential future implications). This attention to the “art of context-keeping” is key to a dialectical methodological orientation, key to the Silver Age into which Rand was born, key to the works and lectures of virtually all of Rand’s identifiable professors, and key to Rand’s own philosophical approach.

Column IV of the Rosenbaum student records lists the “grade received” for the test (or final examination). In this regard, I should note, once again, that there is still no documentation in the dossier to confirm Rand’s statement that she graduated with “highest honors” (see Branden 1986, 54; cf. Britting 2004, 24). As I indicated in my “Rand Transcript” article, academic performance was usually assessed as “pass or fail, with a ‘retake’ option for those students who received failing grades” (Sciabarra 1999b, 1–2). The student records show grades of “satisfactory” or “very satisfactory” or “studied” or “received credit for” or “fulfilled the requirements of” the courses in question. It is quite possible that “very satisfactory” might be interpreted as “honors” but it is not the equivalent of graduating with the “highest honors.” This remains unconfirmed.

Column V provides spaces for the signatures of *official* signatories. In my 1999 study, I had indicated that officials at the Ayn Rand Institute, who had first discovered Rand’s student records, noted that the signatures on the transcript were illegible.<sup>5</sup> University archivists confirmed this, but the newest group of documents that I and others have examined reveal a few details that were not previously disclosed. However, I can confirm once again that the signature of Rand’s philosophy professor, Nicholas Onufrievich Lossky, is not to be found. As I argued in “The Rand Transcript”:

[T]he signatures next to each listed course were not necessarily or ordinarily those of the teacher. In most, if not all,

cases, the signatures were of the rector, or the vice rector, or the dean of the social sciences, or the department chair. (During the period in question, the school moved to unite the social sciences and the humanities. Prior to 1922, the Rector was V. M. Shimkevich, while the dean of the Social Sciences was N. S. Derzhavin. There were many other officials who would have acted as official signatories on the document.) Given this fact, even *legible* signatures, analyzed by handwriting experts, would not necessarily yield more information on the specific teacher of each course. (Sciabarra 1999b, 2)

At the time, I stated that “a more detailed examination of the university archives might reveal additional information both about the courses offered and the professors who taught them,” and that such an “investigation awaits the attention of future scholars” (2).

Now in possession of this material, I can corroborate, indeed, that the bulk of these signatures are illegible, and that the signatures “were not necessarily or ordinarily those of the teacher.” Research assistants in St. Petersburg examined several additional publications that list university professors and did an even more thorough comparison of the surnames listed in these publications with the signatures that could be deciphered in the Rosenbaum dossier. But the very poor legibility of these signatures, the presence of abbreviated signatures, mere initials, or scribbled flourishes makes it *impossible* to come to any definitive conclusions about the signatories.

In addition to the kinds of official signatories I have mentioned above, those signatories listed are more typically deans, “examiners” (rather than lecturers, teachers, or professors), or other educational associates who had the authority to sign in an *official* capacity.

Given Lossky’s banishment to the university annex (the Institute for Scientific Research), he could not have provided a signature in such an *official* capacity. It appears that the “official signatory” for the Lossky course (Course #7) on the “History of World-Views (Ancient Period)” was most likely Ivan Abramovich Borichevsky. In previous studies, I have described Borichevsky as one of those amateur Marxist

professors who supplanted such purged ‘old world’ non-Marxist scholars as Lossky (Sciabarra 1999b, 4). Borichevsky would have been fully acceptable to university officials as an appropriate signatory. How ironic, in fact, that a newly appointed hack Bolshevik professor, whose “embarrassing mistakes . . . were the subject of the student’s ridicule” (Sciabarra 1995, 87), would be the signatory for the great Lossky’s course. In retrospect, it is an ultimate insult, an ugly vestige of the Bolshevik era, which is now forever etched into the written record.<sup>6</sup>

In this connection, there is another problem with the Rosenbaum file: Poor dating, at least for the first seven courses listed. Column VI shows dates in the traditional day-month-year format (usually rendered as number-Roman numeral-4-digit year). Such dates were usually certified after the fact—in some instances, much later. The Borichevsky signature, for example, is dated as 23 II 1923 (23 February 1923), but my former examination of the early placement of this course in Rand’s transcript (#7, as indicated in Sciabarra 1999b, 5) locates it in the Spring 1922 semester. The inaccurate dating of the first seven courses is implicitly acknowledged by an illegible signatory who certifies the credit earned for the earlier courses in question on 3 March 1923. The certification of the copy is etched vertically in the otherwise blank Column VII, stretching across the earlier entries, with three lines written horizontally below that vertical writing, within the column—“Check by Chief of the chancellery”—followed by the signature. Since Course #7 is included in this certification, I believe it supports my previous analysis of the transcript.

It is possible that *some* of the examiners listed throughout the transcript were also among Rand’s lecturers. A poorly legible signature for Rand’s course in “Logic,” for example, might be the last name of Ivan Ivanovich Lapshin prior to his arrest and exile (with Lossky) in August 1922; Lapshin, however, was in a precarious situation with Soviet authorities. (In Sciabarra 1999b, 3, I had suggested that he might have taught Course #3.) But a competing record card for those first courses, which is in even poorer condition, lists the name of V. Serebrennikov in place of Lapshin (perhaps yet another “cleansing” of the record). The “bureaucratic mess that was

Leningrad State University in the 1921–24 period,” as the researchers describe it, might be partially to blame for these various confusions. But, as we have seen, the need to pass a Bolshevik ‘political correctness’ test in order to be an official signatory introduces additional problems for the authenticity of the record.

In any event, other examiners, deans, or official signatories are semi-legible, and possibly include such names as: Magaziner, Radlov, Kutishchev, Zelenko (whom I mentioned as Rand’s possible teacher of Courses #19 and #21) and Grevs (whom I also mentioned in Sciabarra 1999b as among Rand’s probable history professors), as well as A. Larond for French. Other names are even less legible, but we can guess: The name Solntsev appears, but is crossed out, replaced with a surname that appears to be Kulisher (written above the deleted entry); [M. V.] Serebriakov; N. Botkina-Vraskaia (twice); K. Adrianova (or, perhaps, Adriasova or Abriasova or Abriakova or Adriakova); S. Teplov or S. Ya. Teplov; possibly E. A. Engel; Presniakov;<sup>7</sup> an abbreviation that might be Shchip or Tsip or Schep, which might refer to F. I. Shcherbatskoi; an abbreviation of “Iv. Kli.,” who might be a member of the Science Academy named I. I. Konrad; Piren or Tren; Mikhailova; A. Tsel, which might be Tsvikida; A. Kuprianov or Kuprianova; V. Ivash (might be Ivashin or Ivashev); Agenov; and N. Gredeskul for Course #2, the “History of the Development of Social Forms” (or “Institutions”).<sup>8</sup>

Gredeskul is of some interest. Like other intellectuals and writers of his generation, he expressed a Silver Age fascination with Friedrich Nietzsche. As Mikhail Agursky (1994, 263–64) tells us:

Nikolai Gredeskul . . . a professor of social science and former Rector of Kharkov University, was a founder and prominent member of the Cadet Party. He, too, quickly accepted the October Revolution as a Russian national revolution. In his zeal he joined the Bolshevik Party and became a Marxist philosopher. In 1926 he published a book, *Russia, Before and Now (Rossia prezhde i teper)*, in which he confessed his fascination with Nietzsche, claiming that the bourgeoisie abuses Nietzscheanism. Meanwhile, “Superman,

if one looks only at his internal meaning . . . is a man of superior will and superior doubts . . . in this internal meaning [the image of Superman] is glorious to a proletarian, not at all so to a bourgeois.”

That’s actually a quoted passage from a Gredeskul essay on dialectics, entitled “Is it the Fate of Natural Science To Be Mechanistic or Should It Become Dialectical?” (“Byt’li estestvoznani mekhanicheskim ili stat’ dialekticheskim?”). Russian archivists have also documented that Gredeskul’s daughter Ludmila was a student who had attended the Stoiunin gymnasium—the school Rand herself attended as a girl, which was founded by N. O. Lossky’s in-laws, and in which Lossky himself taught.<sup>9</sup>

## **N. O. Lossky, Revisited**

On the issue of Lossky, a few curiosities remain. One is rooted in material from Rand’s notebook for the novel, *We the Living* (which, in draft, she had entitled “Airtight”). As Shoshana Milgram (2004, 6) tells us:

In the “Airtight Notebook,” Ayn Rand listed among the proposed characters a professor, who was to represent the best of the old world. In part I, chapter 4, she wrote, but crossed out, a description of such a professor:

“Beauty is the sublime individual experience,” lectured a professor of Esthetics with a graying beard and childishly clear, blue eyes to a crowd of sheepskin coats and leather jackets, who blew on their frozen hands in an auditorium that had not been heated.

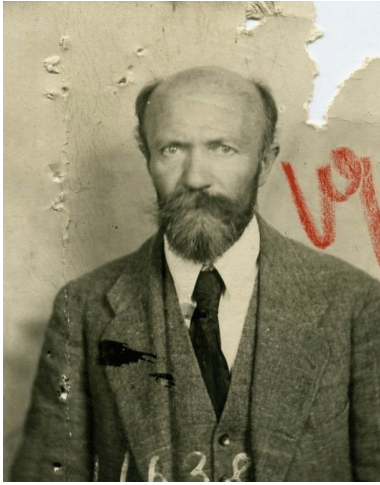
Milgram continues: “The professor, who explicitly connects beauty with individualism, is distinguished (‘graying beard’) and youthfully innocent (‘childishly clear, blue eyes’).”<sup>10</sup> In her “second

attempt to describe the aesthetics professor, in the first draft of chapter 6 of part I,” Rand writes:

Professor Leskov had the blue eyes of a child, the blond beard of a Greek statue, the sunken chest of a consumptive and the chair of the History of Esthetics at the State University of Petrograd. His lectures were held in the largest auditorium, but he still had to turn his eyes, occasionally, down to the floor, in order not to miss any of his audience: for part of that audience had to sit on the floor in the aisles. No auditorium had ever been large enough for Professor Leskov’s lectures. There were few red bandannas in his audience, and few leather jackets. Professor Leskov had never been known to explain the Venus de Milo by the state of the economic means of production in ancient Greece. He was known to speak Latin better than Russian, to talk to each masterpiece of art since the beginning of history tenderly and intimately, as if children of his mind, and to shrug in surprise when his learned colleagues in the Scientific Academies of Europe called him great. He spoke his lectures fiercely and solemnly, as if he were delivering a sermon, and the silence of his auditorium was that of a cathedral. (7)

Milgram explains that in the early drafts of the novel, Kira finds “spiritual support” in the Leskov character (8), an intellectual of the pre-Bolshevik era, whose classes were “extraordinarily popular,” except for those Communist students who “would have to go elsewhere” for their dose of Marxist aesthetics (7). But once “Rand changed Kira’s major subject from history to engineering,” the Leskov character was less relevant. For a variety of reasons, Milgram argues, the introduction of this character “would have been to start a trail the novel was not designed to travel” (8).

Milgram’s points are intriguing. Over the past year, in communication with N. O. Lossky’s grandchildren Alexis and Marie (son and daughter of the late historian Andrew Lossky) and Nicolas (son of the late theologian Vladimir Lossky), I have ascertained that the great



professor had blue eyes. In fact, Marie Lossky observes that even in an “oil-paint portrait of [her] grandfather,” which she owns, N. O. Lossky is depicted with “medium brown/auburn hair, graying beard, and piercing blue eyes” (personal correspondence, 16 June 2005).<sup>11</sup>

Moreover, as my previous studies suggest, Lossky had been under severe stress from Soviet authorities due to his own fervent anticommunism; he had also been very sick with a gallstone illness, and suffered from jaundice for a period of time. Having just emerged from that lengthy illness around the time that he had most likely taught Rand in Course #7, he had indeed lost weight—which may have given him the appearance of having a “consumptive chest.”

A 1922 black and white photograph of Lossky (see above), recently recovered from the file the GPU kept on him while he was under investigation for anti-Soviet activity, provides further evidence of his blue eyes, auburn hair, and graying beard. (This photo would have been taken a few months after he taught Course #7.)

It should be noted too that many former students of Lossky have attested to both his fierceness and solemnity—which were on display in lectures that typically concluded with his own passionately stated perspective on the issues. Indeed, his voiced “contempt for dogmatic, simplistic, Marxist-Leninists” is partially what got him into trouble with the State Scientific Council, chaired by M. N. Pokrovsky, who was the best known Marxist historian of the 1920s and the Deputy Commissar (the #2 position) of Narkompros, the “Commissariat of Enlightenment,” which formulated principles of educational policy (Sciabarra 1995, 74, 86–87).

In the light of Rand’s descriptions of “Professor Leskov” from her early drafts of *We the Living*, this information on Lossky’s physical

appearance is important. As Scott McConnell (2004, 47) emphasizes, *We the Living* was Rand's most autobiographical novel, and "some of the characters . . . were inspired by or modeled on actual people and names in Russia."<sup>12</sup> With a parallel between their physical descriptions and their anticommunism, and with that none-too-subtle *sounding* parallel between their names, could Rand have used Lossky as a model for Leskov?

## Conclusion

Back in 1999, I wrote:

*Ayn Rand: The Russian Radical* proposed a daring idea—that Rand had absorbed a dialectical orientation from her teachers. Because there was not much archival information available at the time that I authored my book, I was compelled to "combine significant factual evidence with a certain degree of reasonable speculation." The recovered transcript provides more persuasive evidence of Rand's exposure to some of the finest dialectically-oriented Russian scholars of the Silver Age. Many of these scholars I had previously identified and discussed in *Russian Radical* as among Rand's most probable teachers. We now have a clearer picture of the high caliber of Rand's education; indeed, the quality of her undergraduate coursework was on a par with current *doctoral* programs in the social sciences—minus the dissertation requirement.

Most importantly, the transcript strengthens the central historical argument of *Russian Radical*, a thesis quite apart from the question of whether Rand studied with Lossky, or with any other particular scholar. Ultimately, it is the content and method of her education that matters. Indeed, "[w]hether she was reading her Marxist texts or attending the lectures of her non-Marxist professors, Alissa Rosenbaum was fully exposed to the dialectical methods distinctive to Russian

thought and scholarship.” We now have more credible evidence than ever in support of this contention. . . .

While we will never be completely sure just what Rand *learned* from her studies, we are now in a better position to understand, at the very least, *what* Rand studied. On the basis of the transcript, I reaffirm my deeply-held conviction that Rand was educated in the methods of dialectical inquiry, and that this sensibility informed her entire literary and philosophical corpus.

In the most recently discovered archival materials, I see nothing that undermines my historical thesis from *Ayn Rand: The Russian Radical*—ten years after it was first proposed.

## Notes

1. I generally refer to the university as Petrograd State University, but sometimes as Leningrad State University—when this is the name used in the documents. It was previously the University of St. Petersburg, but became Petrograd State University from 1914–24, and thereafter Leningrad State University from 1924–91, until the city and school returned to the St. Petersburg name.

2. This dossier was secured through Anne Heller, who is currently working on *Ayn Rand: An American Life*, a biography of the novelist and philosopher scheduled for publication by Doubleday in 2007. I want to express my appreciation to Ms. Heller for sharing her discoveries with me; such generosity of spirit is a rare scholarly virtue. I would also like to express my appreciation to those who assisted me in the translation and analysis of the dossier and/or of earlier drafts of this paper, including especially George L. Kline and Blitz Information Services, as well as Michael David-Fox, Peter Konecny, and Bernice Rosenthal. The usual caveats apply.

3. For his assistance in translating and analyzing this document, thanks especially to George L. Kline (personal correspondence, 5 May 2005).

4. In this connection, it should be noted too that in the first drafts of *We the Living*, Rand mentions a number of courses taught at the university, quite clearly drawn from the courses she herself took, as documented in this list. Rand mentions courses in historical materialism, the history of socialist movements, the Constitution of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, Marxist theory, Greek philosophy, and the history of the Crusades—all of which she took while in attendance at the university (see Milgram 2004, 9, 13). Scott McConnell (2004, 50) reports that Rand’s description of “Kira’s first year at university was practically ‘autobiographical, in the sense of background.’” Rand herself stated in her biographical interviews with Barbara Branden that she had been “somewhat reckless” in her overt anti-communism in her first year at university. The conditions of the student purge that Rand describes in *We the Living* were also autobiographical; Rand herself was expelled in December 1923 but was “later readmitted.” Garmong (2004, 86 n. 24) tells us that Rand was actually “readmitted three months later” (March 1924), and that she

graduated in July 1924. As I reported in *Russian Radical*, Rand escaped the purge by “sheer accident” (Sciabarra 1995, 77). As McConnell (2004, 51) puts it, “visiting foreign scientists who had complained about the purge” put pressure on Soviet authorities, who “let the purged students in their last year complete their degrees.” Among the documents in the current dossier is one that confirms the decision of the Board of Petrograd State University, dated 13 December 1923, discharging Rosenbaum for “not fulfilling academic activity.” Also of interest is a document that provides evidence of university tuition policies under the Soviets: because Alissa’s mother, Anna Borisovna Rosenbaum, was a teacher, tuition payment requirements were dropped, allowing the young Rand to receive a free university education. The petition to the Payments Commission of Leningrad State University is dated 7 February 1923.

5. For a discussion of the problems I encountered in trying to secure the original Rosenbaum student records from the Ayn Rand Institute, see Sciabarra 1999a. It should be noted too that the problem of legibility is not distinctive to this transcript or even this period. Historian Michael David-Fox explains that “signatures with initials or scribbled flourishes are very typical of Russian signatures today, as well,” so illegibility is true not only for this transcript or transcripts in general, but “the way a lot of people sign all the time.” Personal correspondence, 15 June 2005.

6. As Peter Konecny mentions (personal correspondence, 15 June 2005), many of these “young communist ‘careerists’” among both students and teachers were rising in their professions in the late 20s, only to find “themselves victims of Stalinist witch-hunts in the mid-late 30s.” On this point, see Konecny 2001. On Borichevsky, in particular, David-Fox informs me that “WorldCat shows an Ivan Abramovich Borichesvskii, born in 1892, as the author of a book called *Introduction to the Philosophy of Science: Science and Metaphysics*, published by the Petrograd branch of the state publishing house in 1922” (personal correspondence, 16 June 2005). Konecny mentions further (personal correspondence, 16 June 2005) a footnote in an article by L. D. Shirokorad entitled “N. D. Kondrat’ev v Sankt Peterburgskom (Petrogradskom) Universitete” [“N. D. Kondrat’ev at St. Petersburg (Petrograd) University,” online at: <[http://gallery.economicus.ru/cgi-ise/gallery/frame\\_rightn.pl?type=ru&links=./ru/kondratiev/biogr/kondratiev\\_b2.txt&img=brief.gif&name=kondratiev](http://gallery.economicus.ru/cgi-ise/gallery/frame_rightn.pl?type=ru&links=./ru/kondratiev/biogr/kondratiev_b2.txt&img=brief.gif&name=kondratiev)>]. Konecny translates the relevant note from Russian into English: “In 1921, Borichevsky became a professor at Petrograd University. From the 1920s he became an active member of the Scientific Association of Marxists.”

7. In *We the Living*, the last name of the villainous character “Comrade Sonia” was “Presniakova,” which McConnell (2004, 61) believes is an instance of a name Rand created for “symbolic” or “comical” effect. “Comrade Sonia’s last name,” writes McConnell, “means ‘bland.’” However, “Presniakova” is also the feminine of Presniakov; I had identified previously Aleksandr Evgen’evich Presniakov as Rand’s most likely teacher for Course #13, “History of Socialism.” So there might be a possible parallel here. (On Rand’s use of real people as inspirations for her characters in *We the Living*, see pp. 12–13 in the current article, and note 12 below.) David-Fox remarks that “Presniakov was a very illustrious historian in the Petersburg School, a non-party historian who was influenced by Marxism in an unconventional (i.e., nonorthodox) manner in the 1920s.” Personal correspondence, 15 June 2005.

8. In a report dated 26 May 2005, the researchers of Blitz Information Services confirm that “[i]n 1921, the Pedagogical Institute, where the pro-rector was L. P. Karsavin, was liquidated.” (And, confirming my points in Sciabarra 1995, 81–82, 92, the researchers note that Karsavin—who may have taught Course #12—was among the university professors exiled on the ship “Prussia” on 15 November 1922, along with N. O. Lossky, I. I. Lapshin, A. A. Bogolepov, B. N. Odintsov, D. F. Selivanov, and P. A. Sorokin. See also Finkel 2001; thanks to David-Fox for bringing that work

to my attention.) In Fall 1921, the researchers continue, “178 students who had been enlisted in the Department of Russian Language and Literature were transferred to the Ethnology-Linguistic Division of the Faculty of the Social Sciences of the University. In addition, 83 persons were transferred to the Social-Pedagogical Division of the same Department. [The] Chairman of the first Presidium of the Association of Marxist Scholars (located at #11, Universitetskaia embankment) was Professor E. A. Engel. Then the association was headed by Professor M. V. Serebriakov (1879–1959). He became the rector of the University in 1927.” As noted on page 9 in the current article, Serebriakov’s name appears among the signatures in the Rosenbaum dossier.

A cross-comparison with the surnames of university professors in the 1920s and 1930s as listed in a variety of publications turned up very little. Such lists do not provide information about the specific departmental and programmatic connections of the professors or about the exact years in which they worked at the university. Among the names listed: L. P. Karsavin, P. A. Pletnev, I. I. Sreznevski, A. N. Veselovski, L. V. Shcherba (a philologist who was arrested in 1919), I. Yu. Krachkovski, V. F. Shishmarev, I. I. Tolstoy, B. A. Larin, V. V. Struve, G. A. Bialyi, V. A. Manuilov, G. P. Makogonenko, L. R. Zinder, F. A. Abramov, G. A. Gukovski, V. I. Sreznevski, I. P. Borodin, S. P. Glazenap, N. N. Glubokoski, S. A. Zhebelev, V. V. Latyshev, Yu. P. Novitski, V. E. Tishchenko, V. M. Shimkevich, A. E. Favorski, S. I. Kovalev, I. I. Meshchaninov, and E. V. Tarle (who is mentioned in Sciabarra 1995, 80–81 and Sciabarra 1999b, 15–18). The Blitz researchers derived this information from a publication by Yu. A. Endolotsev, *Dvoretz Petra II. Universitetskaia naberezhnaia, 11. Sobytiia i ludi* (Peter II Palace. #11, University Embankment. “Events and People,” Saint-Petersburg, 2002), which also includes photos of professors.

9. See Sciabarra 1995, 69–71; 1999, 5–6, 8. I had uncovered the fact of Rand’s attendance in the Stoiunin gymnasium when I was doing research for Sciabarra 1995. I characterized that conclusion as a reasonable speculation, which was confirmed further by the memories of Helene Sikorski, sister of the writer Vladimir Nabokov, and Olga Vladimirovna Nabokov, a childhood friend of Rand’s. See Sciabarra 1999b, 5–6. Rand’s attendance at the Stoiunin gymnasium has now been confirmed by Blitz Information Services. A collection of documents for the Stoiunin gymnasium is kept in the Central Historic Archive of St. Petersburg (Fond 148). Blitz emphasizes that “the personal files of schoolgirls were not preserved. After looking through the files, we found only one mention of Alissa Rosenbaum. She is mentioned in the list of schoolgirls of the second year for the 1915–1916 academic year (Fond 148, Inventory #1, file 420, pages 1–2). 39 girls in total are listed in her class for the 1915–1916 academic year there, according to alphabetic order. Alissa is under number 27: ‘Rosenbaum Alissa. Address: #120, Nevski Avenue, Apt. 1. Parents: Anna Borisovna and Zinoviy Zakharovich.’” See Britting 2004, 10 for a photo of the Stoiunin gymnasium building.

10. Bernice Rosenthal reminds me (phone conversation, 6 June 2005) that a genuinely pre-Bolshevik Russian professor would not have meant “individualism” in the same way that a Western philosopher would use the term. For most Russian thinkers, individualism consists of developing one’s individuality within a community. This relates to the doctrine of *sobornost’*. See Sciabarra 1995, 24, 28, 32–33, *passim*.

11. In a phone conversation on 10 May 2005, Alexis Lossky mentioned that he only possessed black-and-white photos of his grandfather, but his own father, the late Andrew Lossky, had blue eyes, and he believes his grandfather had them as well. Nicolas, Vladimir Lossky’s son, also confirms that his grandfather had blue eyes (phone conversation between Alexis and Nicolas Lossky, 16 June 2005). I was saddened to learn that my old friend, Boris Lossky (another of N. O. Lossky’s sons)

—who assisted me immeasurably in my previous transcript analyses—passed away in 2002. None of the famed professor’s sons survives.

12. McConnell (2004) discusses a number of “parallel lives” in *We the Living*, that is, parallels between characters and real people: the main character Kira Argounova and Rand herself; Leo Kovalensky and Rand’s first love, Lev Bekkerman; Vasili Dunaev and Rand’s father; Galina Argounova and Rand’s mother; and Irina Dunaeva and Rand’s sister Nora.

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