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HISTORICAL SEMINAR AS A FORM OF THE PROFESSIONAL TRAINING OF HISTORIANS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LVIV IN THE SECOND HALF OF NINETEENTH CENTURY

The purpose of this research is to reveal the preconditions for the foundation and the process of development of the historical seminar at Lviv University in the second half of the nineteenth century. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism and scientific objectivity. Both, general science (induction, deduction, synthesis), and special-scientific methods (problem-chronological, historical-descriptive, historical-comparative, statistical) have been used. The scientific novelty lies in the fact that the introduction of a seminar-based format of teaching history at the University of Lviv has been analyzed on a broad background of changes that took place in the field of higher education at that time in Europe. Features of didactic-organizational activity of professors-heads of the historical seminar are shown for the first time in the history of Lviv historiography. On the basis of the annual reports on the work of the seminar, we determined the number of students, participants, and didactic forms of work in classes. Conclusions The beginning of the nineteenth century brought along significant changes in the methods of research, narration and study of history in the western world. History became a professional scientific discipline, and the mastery of historical specialty began to require special studies at the university. Important changes took place in didactic forms of historical studies; in most European universities seminars were set up, in which students began to critically examine documents and conduct independent research. In 1852, the history seminar was introduced at Lviv University, which at that time belonged to the educational system of the Habsburg monarchy. In 1873, the historical seminar was divided into two divisions – the general world and Austrian history. The most successful historical seminar in Lviv was under the direction of Professor Xavier Liske. Due to his fruitful didactic and organizational work, the seminar became an important component of the preparation of young historians and perhaps the most important prerequisite for the institutionalization of historical science in Lviv at the end of the nineteenth century.

Key words: historical seminar, Lviv University, professionalization of history.

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ІСТОРИЧНИЙ СЕМІНАР ЯК ФОРМА ФАХОВОГО ВИШКОЛУ ІСТОРИКІВ У ЛЬВІВСЬКОМУ УНІВЕРСИТЕТІ В ДРУГІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ ХІХ СТОЛІТТЯ

Мета дослідження – розкрити передумови заснування й процес розбудови історичного семінару у Львівському університеті у другій половині ХІХ ст. Методологія дослідження ґрунтується на принципах історизму та наукової об'єктивності. Використано як загальнонаукові (індукція, дедукція, синтез), так і спеціально-наукові методи (проблемно-хронологічний, історико-описовий, історико-порівняльний, статистичний). Наукова новизна полягає у тому, що запровадження семінарської форми навчання історії у Львівському університеті проаналізовано на широкому тлі змін, які відбувались у сфері вищої освіти у тогочасній Європі; вперше в історії львівської історіографії показано особливості дидактично-організаційної діяльності професорів – керівників історичного семінару; на основі збережених щорічних звітів про роботу семіна-

ру досліджено чисельність студентів, його учасників, і дидактичні форми роботи на заняттях. Висновки. Початок XIX ст. приніс значні зміни у способах дослідження, нарації та вивчення історії у західному світі. Історія стала професійною науковою дисципліною, а опанування історичного фаху почало вимагати спеціальних студій в університеті. Важливі зміни відбулись у дидактичних формах історичних студій, у більшості європейських університетів було запроваджено семінари, на яких студенти почали критично досліджувати документи й проводити самостійні наукові дослідження. 1852 р. історичний семінар було запроваджено у Львівському університеті, який у той час належав до освітньої системи монархії Габсбургів. 1873 р. історичний семінар було поділено на два відділення – загальної всесвітньої та австрійської історії. Найбільшого успіху історичний семінар у Львові набув під керівництвом професора Ксаверія Ліске. Завдяки його плідній дидактично-організаційній роботі семінар став важливою компонентою підготовки молодих істориків і чи не найважливішою передумовою інституціоналізації історичної науки у Львові в кінці XIX ст.

Ключові слова: історичний семінар, Львівський університет, професіоналізація історії.

Problem statement. With the professionalization of historical science in the nineteenth century there was a transition from a comprehensive education in the field of history (so-called all-round education) to restricted professional training of specialists. Respectively, the system of higher history studies underwent significant changes. The main form of the professional training of young adherents of history at universities was studying at the historical seminars, which replaced the lectures.

The idea of a historical seminar was first born in German universities. According to one version, a history lesson in the form of a seminar on which students studied sources and wrote research papers about them was proposed by Professor Johann Christoph Gatterer at the University of Göttingen in the 1770s (Iggers, 2005: 25). Other researchers argue that it is impossible to clearly determine the time of the first seminar, and state that the first seminars appeared in the introduction of a new system of higher education in the German lands at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and they were formed on the basis of student circles and societies of historical orientation operating at universities (Torstendahl, 2014: 86). According to the German researcher Marcus Güttner, prototypes of historical seminars were operating in Königsberg, Breslau and Frankfurt-am-Main in the first decade of the nineteenth century. However, Leipzig, where the philological seminar was in place in the 1810s, became the most important center for the seminar, and in the 1830s a special workshop on history was also launched. It was the University of Leipzig where «the father of the German classical history» Leopold von Ranke studied from 1817 to 1817 and also attended a philological seminar and the Greek studies student society (Torstendahl, 2014: 87).

The introduction of seminars on history is traditionally associated with this name. L. Ranke, who since 1825 worked at the University of Berlin, began to carry out the so-called historical «exercises» («Übungen») that were informal in nature and were held in his home surrounded by selected students interested in the subject. The professor taught them the basics of historical critique and analysis of sources, and also directed the path to independent historical research (Torstendahl, 2014: 86). It is clear that L. Ranke was not the creator of the seminar form of studies as such, but due to his fruitful scientific and didactic activity, it became an essential component of the specialized training of historians and the basis for the professionalization of history. By 1848, the historical seminar had been introduced at most German universities, by the end of the century it spread to other universities in Europe and North America.

After reforms in the education sector in 1849 conducted by the ministry of Leopold, Count von Thun and Hohenstein, the German «Humboldt model» of education was taken

over by the Habsburg monarchy. As a result of the reform of higher education, Austrian universities began to turn from utilitarian institutions that were primarily concerned with the training of civil servants, to the centers of scientific thought, in other words, they became universities in the modern sense of the word. The role of the philosophical faculty changed, which now meant to prepare graduates for independent scientific and pedagogical work. In this context, the Austrian universities, based on the German model, also introduced a historical seminar (Finkel, 1894: 316–317). In 1850, according to the order of The Ministry of Religions and Education, such a seminar was founded at the University of Vienna and two years later, according to the Ministry's rescript of September 23, 1852, at Lviv University. Classes in the historical seminar that took place at Lviv University became almost the most important prerequisite for the institutionalization of historical science in Lviv and the creation of a professional community of the Lviv historians.

The analysis of sources and recent researches. The first classes within the infrastructure of the Lviv historical environment appeared at the end of the nineteenth century. In 1894, the fundamental two-volume history of Lviv University was published, written by Lviv scientists Ludwik Finkel and Stanislav Stazhynsky. L. Finkel worked on the history of Lviv University since its foundation till 1869, in particular, an important period of the transformation of the philosophical faculty and the change of the teaching staff of the historical and philosophical department since the beginning of the 1850s. S. Stazhinsky highlighted the history of the Lviv alma mater and the peculiarities of the development of the philosophical faculty until 1894. It was he who first considered the main aspects of the seminar on the World and Austrian history, named his most outstanding pupils and presented statistics of attendance at the seminar in 1871/72 – 1893/94. Today, the works of S. Stazhinsky remain the most complete source for the history of the historical seminar. The significance of the historical seminar in the formation of the Lviv historical environment in the second half of the nineteenth century has not yet become the subject of a separate historiographical study.

The purpose of the article is an attempt to show the history of the creation of a historical seminar and its departments on the basis of archived materials and to find out the place of historical seminars in the system of contemporary historical education.

Statement of the basic material. Taking into account the philological component of the education of that time, the historical seminar consisted of two branches – philological and historical and focused primarily on the training of teaching staff for the newly-created eight-class gymnasiums. The purpose of the study, in accordance with the statute of the Lviv historical-philological seminar, was «to provide the students with the necessary training in the field of philology and history in order to ensure a thorough penetration into these sciences and prepare for their future profession as teachers of educational institutions» (Statuten, 1852: 3).

The introduction of the historical seminar at Lviv University in practice belonged to the then professor of the general world and state Austrian history Antony Vakhgolts. Starting from the winter semester of 1853/53 he began conducting «Practical Exercise for History for Future Gymnasium Teachers» (Ordnung, 1853: 7). The information about this first seminar is not sufficient; one can only see that the university curriculum included classes in ancient history, history of middle ages and the history of modern times. However, it should be noted that the head of the seminar A. Vakhgolts was himself a pupil of the University of Lviv and belonged to the representatives of the «old philosophy» about understanding the history of science (Finkel, 1894: 318; Lundgreen, 2004: 108). This, apparently, had little influence on the methodology of conducting their seminars, their didactical goals and objectives.

The beginning of modern historical studies at the university is associated with such names as professor Gottfried Muis, who worked there in 1859 – 1861, and his successor in the history department – Heinrich Rittner von Taisberg. Professor Muis was interested primarily in the history of antiquity and the ancient world, so in the work of the historical seminar he concentrated mainly on critical analysis of the works of ancient authors. It is known, for example, that in the summer semester of 1859 the students read and analyzed «The Histories» by Herodotus» (Akademische Behörden, 1859: 18), in the summer semester of 1860 – «Annals» by Tacitus (Akademische Behörden, 1860: 18) and in the winter semester of 1860/61 1st book «History of Rome *Ab Urbe Condita*» by Tit Livy (Akademische Behörden, 1861: 19). According to scientific research and reviews of the works of students which appeared due to their work in the seminar, one can conclude that in his studies G. Muis also touched sources such as «Dlugosh Chronicle *Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*» and Primary Chronicle by Nestor the Chronicler, which obviously were close to his pupils – Poles and Rusyns-Ukrainians (DALO, f. 26, descr. 15, case 133b).

More information is available on the seminar by Heinrich Zeissberg, which he conducted since the winter semester of 1863/64. The themes of the Teissberg seminars were generally consistent with his lecture courses on world history. Most of his classes were dedicated to ancient and medieval history. In addition to the seminar, the professor conducted additional source study courses for its participants, which, during the whole semester, considered a separate historical source. So, in the summer semester of 1866/67 each week there were classes on «reading and interpretation» («Lectüre und Erklärung») of the selected passages from the «Chronicles» by Thietmar of Merzeburg (Akademische Behörden, 1867:18) and in the summer semester of 1867/68 – «Chronicles of the Kings and Princes of Poland *Chronica seu originale regum et principum Poloniae*» by Wincenty Kadłubek (Akademische Behörden, 1868: 17). One of the participants of those practical lessons on history was, in particular, a Ukrainian historian Alexander Barvinsky, who later in his «Memoirs» noted that Professor Taisberg «conducted very clever and skillful exercises in the historical seminar and prepared very good candidates for historical work of scientific and historical criticism» (Barvinsky, 2004: 104–105).

In June 1869, Edward Robert Rösler, docent of the University of Vienna was appointed head of the chair of Austrian history. Starting from the winter semester of that year, he began to conduct lecture courses and a separate historical seminar on Austrian history (DALO, f.26, descr.7, case 134, p. 22). In fact, the division of the historical seminar (the historical department of the history-philological seminar) actually took place into the two departments – world and Austrian history. Since that time was characterized by significant changes in the internal life of the university as a whole, the period of the late 1860's – early 1870's was very unstable in terms of training, in particular, conducting historical seminar. The fact is that, according to the demand of certain teachers to conduct classes in Polish, the gradual degermanization of the educational institution that was met with resistance from the German professors. Thus, in September 1870, the Ministry of Religions and Education granted a permission to hold lectures on world-wide history in Polish to privat-docent Xavier Liske, who had been recently habilitated at a university. Since then, fearing that patriotically-minded students would prefer the classes of his Polish colleague (Professor Taisberg began to compete with him), a kind of conflict between the teachers arose, and the atmosphere at the faculty became quite tense (Wöller, 2014: 101).

During the summer semester of 1870 G. Taisberg took a creative holiday to prepare for the participation in the scientific competition of the Leipzig Society of Prince Yablonovsky;

therefore, the faculty returned to the joint historical seminar, which was headed by Robert R. Rössler (DALO, f. 26, descr. 7, case 134, p. 22; Akademische Behörden, 1870: 24). In the winter semester of 1870/71 the historical seminar on world history was conducted by G. Zeisberg; Professor Rössler, despite the fact that he submitted his application for lectures and the historic seminar for that semester, however, did not conduct classes for unknown reasons (DALO, f. 26, descr. 7, case 144, p. 23, Akademische Behörden, 1871a: 24). After the approval of the decree of July 4, 1871, on the introduction of study at the University of Lviv in the national languages, G. Zeisberg moved to Innsbruck not seeing the prospects of his further work in the polonized institution, therefore, the seminar was led by his colleague R. Rössler (Akademische Behörden, 1871b: 21–22).

The turning point in the history of the historical seminar in Lviv was the winter semester of 1871/72 when there were new appointments in historical departments. Since Zeisberg had left Lviv, lectures on world history were passed to X. Liske. At the end of 1871 Professor Rössler was transferred to Graz, thus the historical seminar was left without a leader (in the program, two departments of the historical seminar remained under the note «wird supplirt») (DALO, f. 26, descr. 7, case 143, p. 75; Akademische Behörden, 1872: 24). In the same semester, Rusyn Isydor Sharanevych took the post of privat-docent. In the end, he and X. Liske were entrusted with the leadership of the historical seminar. The Ministry of Religions and Education officially confirmed the separation of the seminar into two divisions with its rescript of April 29, 1873, at the same time the autonomy of the historical seminar from the philological was officially approved, as well as its new statute (Starzyński, 1894: 381–382).

Professor X. Liske became the master of the historical seminar, which glorified him far beyond the boundaries of Lviv. His student, Ferdinand Bostel, wrote: «Liske's historical seminar was the best school of critical, conscientious study of history, an arena in which young start-ups refueled their talents, sharpened their critical minds, armed and trained to act on a wider field of science» (Bostel, 1891: 216). The German seminar on history served as an example the professor including the seminar of Johann Gustav Droisen at the University of Berlin, in which he participated in 1865 – 1867 (Finkel, 1904: 530).

Thanks to the annual reports on the results of the seminar on general history, as well as X. Liske's students' recollections, it is possible to recreate the forms of work during the classes and the atmosphere prevailing at the seminar in general. To a large extent, the work in classes was determined by the statute of the seminar: the main components were: students' oral presentations on historical themes, the critical processing of their historical sources, the writing of their own scientific research, and participation in scientific disputes (so-called «disputationes») (Statuten, 1852: 4) X. Liske, of course, adhered to these provisions of the statute but introduced many innovations in the work of the seminar, which created a special atmosphere inherent in the class, and distinguished them from among others. It is interesting that often it seemed that the methods of X. Liske, on the contrary, should have pushed students away: for example, to get access to the seminar, at his request, students were required not just to enroll at the university quaestor's, but also to undergo a preliminary interview for the readiness for work at the seminar and the classes themselves were very strict and demanding – the student had to adhere to the dates for the delivery of scientific works and could be expelled from the university for plagiarism. However, the unique combination of organizational talent, discipline and positive attitude and commitment of X. Liske towards his students provided the seminar with a significant number of attendants and made him an attractive center for student youth (Sawzyński, 1891: 57–67).

His student Henryk Sawzyński described a typical seminar lesson: «We read the work of one of the ancient historical authors, such as Tacitus' *Annals* or *Germania*, translating it and analyzing it, or discussing a certain problem, in which the students at home had to be prepared for a dispute; or one of the members had a so-called trial statement, that is, such a statement that he would have to give a lecture on world history in high school, after which such a statement was criticized; or in the end some of the students read their own work, another – its review, followed by a discussion in which everyone could make and substantiate their remarks» (Sawzyński, 1891: 59).

According to the reports of the seminar on general history, which X. Liske sent to the Ministry of Religion and Education, three to four pilot lectures were held each year at the seminar, which served as a kind of trial lessons at the school. Throughout his leadership time Tacitus' works were read at the seminar from year to year and scientific-historical discussions were often held. Nevertheless, the most important part of the seminar was the students' independent research work, writing their own scientific research, which they subsequently presented in classes. Annually, up to twenty such scientific discoveries appeared (many students wrote several works), the best ones, thanks to the assistance of X. Liske, were published (DALO, f. 26, descr. 12, case 466).

The first works of the students were of a general nature: mainly these were reviews of source publications or known monographs or research, which compared the different views of historians to a particular problem («referaty sprawozdawcze»). The next, most often of Polish history and law, had a critical basis; they were works written with the use of sources. Students who were prone to being superficial but had «a literary vein and fantasy» were given themes that required the elaboration of wider conclusions and generalizations, and those who did not have a special literary talent, wrote a study that disassembled doubts about the authenticity of documents, the year of their editions, etc. (Sawzyński, 1891: 62).

The model of the seminar on Austrian history led by Isydor Sharanevych was in general similar to the Liske model – the students worked on oral lectures, critically worked out the printed historical sources from the Austrian history and were engaged in writing their own source search. Looking at the annual reports on the results of work in this department of the seminar, one can be impressed with the diversity of texts that were read and analyzed in the classroom: if Professor Liske during the entire leadership of the seminar considered only Tacitus' «*Annals*», then Sharanevych seminar each semester analyzed a few sources different in time and origin. It is important to note that Professor Sharanevych made an attempt to introduce practical seminars of Rus-Ukrainian history. Throughout 1884/85 and 1885/86 he conducted «Exercises in the field of Rus history» devoted to the past of the Galician-Volodymyr Rus and the history of the Dnieper Ukraine C. K. Uniwersytet, 1885a: 27; C. K. Uniwersytet, 1885b: 27; C. K. Uniwersytet, 1886: 27). Those lessons also had a source-learning character. For instance, in the summer semester of 1885/86 they were devoted to the critical consideration of the chronicle of Samiilo Velychko.

The students of the Faculty of Philosophy who studied history and geography and those who specialized in other subjects, namely, linguistic disciplines, but were interested in history took part in seminars on history as well as students of the law and theological faculty. Students of Polish, Ukrainian, Jewish, Armenian, and Czech descent worked side by side in the two sections of the historical seminar. Contemporaries note that friendly and peaceful relations dominated between the Poles and Ukrainians until the middle of the 1890's (Nazaruk, Okhrymovych, 1908: 32). The students mostly took part simultaneously in the two sections

of the seminar, for example, the pupils of Xavier Liske were Ukrainians – Lev Rudnytsky, Mikhaïlo Vahilevych, Volodymyr Paslavsky, Omelyan Kalitovsky, Kornilo Zaklinsky, Volodymyr Kotsovsky, Ivan Matiyiv, Vasil Beletsky, Severyn Zarytsky, Ivan Priyma, Jeronim Kalitovsky, Grygory Velichko, Yevhen Levytsky, and under the guidance of Isydor Sharanevych, famous Polish historians of the time studied – Alexander Semkovich, Roman Maurer, Karol Raver, Stanislav Lukas, Franz Zich, Henrik Bigelaisen, Ludvik Finkel, Bronislaw Charnik, Ferdinand Bostel, Iozhytsky Casimir, Alexander Cholovskyy and others. (DALO, f.26, descr.12, case 466).

The number of students participating in the historical seminar on general history was somewhat higher than in the department on Austrian history. In the first half of the semester, 21 persons on average participated in the Liske seminar, in I. Sharanevych – 14. The smallest number of students in the semester: X. Liske – 11, I. Sharanevych – 4 (see Table 1.). «Such intensive work as in the seminar of Liske in the years 1874 – 1878 at Lviv University was not and will not be so soon,» wrote O. Kalitovsky, who at that time was studying at the seminar of a Polish historian (Chornovil, 2007: 206). In the future, attendance at the seminar remained high. It is worth noting that from 1874/75 till the time of his death, Liske had classes at the same time – Wednesday afternoon from 3 pm to 5 pm. The historical seminar was much more important for him than lectures at the university, thus he continued to hold seminars in his own home even during a severe illness, being paralyzed (Finkel, 1904: 529). Since 1887, every week the students gathered in the professor's house at 13, Dlugosh Street (today – 13, Kyryl and Mefodiy Street), near the university, where they continued their studios under his leadership (Sawzyński, 1891: 69). The number of participants was significant, for example, in the last three semesters: 27, 23 and 21 students, respectively, were studying in the seminar before the death of the professor (see Table 1.).

After X. Liske's death in February 1891, the seminar on history in accordance with the rescript of the Ministry of Religion and Education of March 17, 1891 was conducted by the professor of Polish history Tadeusz Wojciechowski; from the summer semester of 1892, the leadership of the seminar passed to the successor of X. Lyske at the Department of General History – Professor Bronislaw Dembinsky (Starzyński, 1894: 382). I. Sharanevych, in turn, held a seminar on Austrian history until 1899, after which it was headed by Ludwik Finkel.

It should be added that with the development and deepening of the specialization of historical science at Lviv University, in addition to the historic seminar (World and Austrian history), additional seminars on history («ćwiczenia») began to be held here. Thus, Professor Tadeusz Wojciechowski, who in 1883 headed the Department of Polish History, accompanied his lecture courses with practical lessons called «the analysis and reading of the main sources from the Polish medieval history» (C. K. Uniwersytet, 1883: 28). Similar sources study classes in their own courses were introduced in 1892/1893 by Professor of Austrian History Ludwig Finkel who received the position of Professor extraordinary (C. K. Uniwersytet, 1892: 29). And with the opening of the Department of World History in 1894 with a special review of the history of Eastern Europe, de facto – the Department of Ukrainian History, headed by Mykhailo Hrushevsky, practical lessons where students were engaged in a critical analysis of historical sources and the writing of scientific research was introduced there (C. K. Uniwersytet, 1894: 32). However, the aforementioned teachers, unlike the heads of the two departments of the historical seminar, did not have the right to promote the doctors of sciences.

Conclusions. Thus, the best examples of German historical seminars were implemented on the ground of Lviv historical science. By the end of the nineteenth century the classes at

the historical seminar became necessary and even compulsory, a component of the professional training of all historians. Those classes became the starting point for mastering critical method and skills of independent research work. Moreover, as a result of the constant cooperation of professors with students at the historical seminar, the growth of scientific communication between them formed a kind of academic community of young historians, who continued to work in student historical circles and scientific societies, forming and building the Lviv historical environment as a whole. It was on the basis of the historical seminar that the famous historic-didactic school of X.Liske developed, which became the core of this environment in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Tabl. 1

The number of students participating in the historical seminar at Lviv University in 1871/1872 – 1893/1894 academic years.

Academic year	Department of General History		Department of Austrian History	
	I semester	II semester	I semester	II semester
1871/1872	17	25	6	14
1872/1873	33	27	23	27
1873/1874	34	28	25	20
1874/1875	26	24	25	27
1875/1876	25	20	15	18
1876/1877	20	18	10	10
1877/1878	20	19	11	12
1878/1879	27	27	18	21
1879/1880	28	21	18	15
1880/1881	30	21	19	14
1881/1882	24	23	13	16
1882/1883	19	17	10	6
1883/1884	21	18	13	10
1884/1885	13	15	7	4
1885/1886	20	18	7	10
1886/1887	20	19	13	22
1887/1888	16	15	11	9
1888/1889	11	15	9	7
1889/1890	20	20	6	8
1890/1891	27	13	13	9
1891/1892	21	14	13	11
1892/1893	18	18	15	15
1893/1894	17	15	12	9

Data taken from the annual reports of the professors – history seminar department heads, Xavier Liske and Isydor Sharanevych to the Ministry of Religion and Education (DALO, f. 26, op. 12, case 466) and the information of Stanislaw Stazhynsky (Starzyński, 1894: 382–383).

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