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**FORMATION OF MYRON KORDUBA AS AN INTELLECTUAL:
STUDENT YEARS**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research consists in the attempt to reconstruct the intellectual biography of M. Korduba when being a student. The research methodology is based on the traditional combination of principles peculiar to historiographic works (historicism, objectivity, holism and systematicity, as well as a value approach to the object of study) and general scientific (comparison, generalization, analysis and synthesis), special and historical (historical and genetic, historical and comparative, historical and typological, historical and psychological) methods of scientific research. The scientific novelty of the article: on the basis of a wide range of sources (scientific works, journalistic articles, artistic works, review, epistolary and memoirs) to carry out a comprehensive reconstruction of M. Korduba's intellectual biography. The period of his student years is under analysis. The Conclusion. In the conducted research it has been convincingly proved that the years of study at Lviv and Vienna Universities became the period of M. Korduba's rapid formation as an intellectual. Owing to his extraordinary talents and persistent,*

purposeful work, in a short period of time, a young man formed his own scientific style, mastering the profession of a historian perfectly. However, having obtained a doctorate diploma in the field of the Ukrainian Middle Ages, the historian-beginner did not shut himself up in the silence of libraries and archives. Feeling the needs of his people, M. Korduba immerses in the whirlpool of a public life actively, cooperating with youth associations and editorial offices of the leading Ukrainian periodicals (“Dilo”, “Bukovyna”, “Zoria”, etc.). Even at that time, his voice was noticeable in the polyphony of issues public discussion important for people. As a result, gradually, after his studies, M. Korduba became one of the most active figures of the national revival in the western Ukrainian lands.

Key words: M. Korduba, intellectual biography, student years, scientific work, public and journalistic activity, artistic creativity.

СТАНОВЛЕННЯ МИРОНА КОРДУБИ ЯК ІНТЕЛЕКТУАЛА: СТУДЕНТСЬКІ РОКИ

Анотація. *Мета* дослідження полягає у спробі цілісної реконструкції інтелектуальної біографії Кордуби-студента. **Методологія** спирається на традиційне для історіографічних праць поєднання принципів (історизму, об'єктивності, холізму і системності, а також ціннісного підходу до об'єкта вивчення) та загальнонаукових (порівняння, узагальнення, аналіз і синтез) і спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-порівняльний, історико-типологічний та історико-психологічний) методів наукової праці. **Наукова новизна** статті: на підставі широкого кола джерел (наукові праці, публіцистичні дописи, художні твори, рецензійні огляди, епістолярій та мемуари) здійснити комплексну реконструкцію інтелектуальної біографії Кордуби-студента. **Висновки.** Проведене дослідження переконливо довело, що роки навчання у Львівському та Віденському університетах стали періодом стрімкого формування Кордуби-інтелектуала. Завдяки небуденним природним талантам і наполегливій цілеспрямованій праці молода людина в короткому часі сформувала власний науковий стиль, досконало опанувавши фах історика. Втім, здобувши докторат у галузі українського середньовіччя, початкуючий історик не замкнувся у тиші бібліотек та архівів. Відчуваючи потреби свого народу, М. Кордуба активно занурюється у вир громадського життя, співпрацюючи з молодіжними товариствами та редакціями провідних українських часописів (“Діло”, “Буковина”, “Зоря” та ін.). Уже тоді його голос стає помітним у поліфонії суспільного обговорення важливих для народу проблем. У підсумку, завершивши навчання, М. Кордуба поступово стає одним із найбільш активних діячів національного відродження на західноукраїнських землях.

Ключові слова: М. Кордуба, інтелектуальна біографія, студентські роки, наукова праця, громадсько-публіцистична діяльність, художня творчість.

The Problem Statement. Strategies for construction of an intellectual biography involve an essential focus on the years of study, as the period of the most dynamic process of worldviews and professional interests formation in the life of every person. Such research focus is fully justified concerning an outstanding Ukrainian humanitarian Myron Korduba (1876 – 1947), who, owing to the intellectual environment of Lviv and Vienna Universities, got the opportunity to turn his natural gifts into an extraordinary talent of a historian-researcher. Despite the conviction of scholars, who do research on M. Korduba's biography, in the correctness of this thesis, to this day the period of M. Korduba's professional formation is one of the least known in his biography. Most of all, researchers briefly mention purely professional moments of the historian's intellectual development, completely neglecting other aspects of his creative interests. It is clear that such approach significantly impoverishes our ideas about the richness of the spiritual world of M. Korduba when being a student, making it impossible to create a complete panorama of his intellectual biography. Taking this into consideration, we will try to reconstruct the scholar's intellectual formation process during his years of study at the Universities, taking into account all possible cognitive perspectives.

The Analysis of Recent Research Papers. The issues of M. Korduba's student years were analyzed to one degree or another by the majority of the researchers of his work. However, as it was mentioned above, such analysis was superficial mostly, limited to mentions of the main dates and events. Oleh Pih and Yuriy Polishchuk wrote about the future historian's studies at the University in details (Pih, 2012, pp. 10–18; Polishchuk, 2019, pp. 130–135). Vitaly Telvak and Vasyl Pedych analyzed this issue in their book about the Lviv M. Hrushevsky historical school briefly (Telvak & Pedych, 2016, pp. 54–107). However, the aforementioned researchers focused on the issues of M. Korduba's professional formation only, leaving out of sight other important aspects of his intellectual searches. This superficial analysis of M. Korduba's student years determines the topicality of our research.

The purpose of the research consists in the attempt to reconstruct the intellectual biography of M. Korduba when being a student.

The Results of the Research. M. Korduba became a student of the Faculty of Philosophy at Lviv University in 1893. In the history of the main higher school of the capital of the Kingdom of Galicia and Volodymyria, the period of the last years of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries was special, because a powerful group of outstanding intellectuals was formed there, who were prominent figures of the German, Polish and Ukrainian historiography. In fact, the young man attended their lectures and seminar classes, mastering the secrets of the historical profession. As evidenced by the certificate of classes attended by M. Korduba at Lviv University, during the period of 1893 – 1895 academic years, he attended, among other things, the lectures conducted by L. Finkl (“Introduction to General History” and “The Era of the Crusades”), O. Ohonovsky (“History of the Ukrainian Literature”), T. Wojciechovsky (“History of Poland, Lithuania and Russia in the 14th – the 15th Centuries”, “History of Austria in 1804 – 1867”, “History of the Slavic Peoples until the Year of 1000” and “Latin-Polish Paleography”), I. Sharanevych (“History of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy” and “History of Slavic Peoples and States in the Territory of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in the Middle Ages”), B. Dembinsky (“Review of History from the Collapse of the Roman Empire till the 13th Century” and “History of Political Theories”), O. Baltser (“The Most Important Periods in the History of Polish Law”). He also attended courses on Geography by A. Rehman and Philosophy by V. Didushytsky and V. Skursky. Along with this, M. Korduba worked at scientific seminars on Austrian History by I. Sharanevych, on the History of the Polish System by O. Baltser, and on General History by B. Dembinski (Telvak & Polishchuk, 2020, p. 160).

But Mykhailo Hrushevsky became a real mentor to a young scholar. As it is known, he began his scientific and pedagogical career at Lviv University in October of 1894 as the head of the Department of World History the focus of which was a special analysis of the past of Eastern Europe, and actually it was the first Department of History of Ukraine in our intellectual culture (Telvak, 2017, pp. 28–35). The acquaintance of a young Professor and his future student took place in the residence of the latter's distant relative O. Barvinsky on October 17, 1894. M. Korduba recalled this significant meeting with M. Hrushevsky in his creative biography: “The first impression of the person did not correspond to the image created in my imagination at all. Not tall, thin, with an unusually bushy beard, M. Hrushevsky did not look like the types of University Professors I was used to meeting in Lviv at all. I was introduced to the Professor as his future student, and the very title of “fellow”, the way he addressed me, sounded unusual to me from the mouth of a University Professor and confused me” (Korduba, 1916, p. 796). Like other Ukrainian students of Lviv University, who looked

forward to M. Hrushevsky's arrival in order to study the Ukrainian past professionally, M. Korduba also enrolled in all the courses conducted by a young Professor.

According to the dean's catalogue, during the period of the academic year of 1894–1895, the historian-beginner attended the lecture courses "History of Rus", "Historiography of Rus, the Ancient Period", "History of Order and Mode of Life of Velyky Novgorod", as well as the scientific seminar "Historical Exercises" (Telvak, 2021, pp. 204–205). The impressions of M. Hrushevsky's lectures, which M. Korduba shared in his memoirs, were somewhat ambivalent. On the one hand, true admiration was caused by the disciple's erudition of the V. Antonovych school, and his fluent command of modern historiographical practices. "The citations of a whole mass of works from the Russian historical literature sounded as if it were the discovery of America for us, the existence of which we had not yet had the opportunity to learn, because the rich Russian literature was completely ignored by the Polish professors and the University library management, – M. Korduba recalled the lectures of M. Hrushevsky. – The background of the first course of lectures was a basic discussion of the entire Norman issue with a full scientific apparatus, and we all immediately became staunch anti-Normanists" (Korduba, 1916, p. 796). On the other hand, students repeatedly pointed out the shortcomings of M. Hrushevsky, the lecturer, who neglected a rhetorical aspect of his lectures. On this occasion, M. Korduba wrote: "He taught us in a strict manner, maybe a little being hard on us. He spoke very quickly, without pausing for a moment, and those of us, the listeners, who recorded his lectures, often fell into a frenzy, unable to keep up with the Professor (Korduba, 1916, p. 796).

M. Hrushevsky recognized M. Korduba's thirst for knowledge immediately, that is why, he invited him to a closer circle of his students, whom he also taught at home during his spare time (Telvak & Pedych, 2016, pp. 54–107). This form of classes was called *privatissima*, i.e., private classes. Recalling such informal gatherings, M. Korduba wrote that at them "lectures on the abstracts about the latest scientific publications were conducted and discussed, there were communications, analysis of reasons and more extensive works, which M. Hrushevsky, after correction, published in "The Notes" or in the review folder, or in "Miscellaneous", or finally among the articles" (Korduba, 1935, p. 404).

In 1895 after two courses of study in Lviv, M. Korduba moved to the University of Vienna to continue his studies. It was a common educational practice at that time, when students studied at several universities, forming professional competencies according to their own preferences. At that time, famous Austrian and German intellectuals conducted lectures at the capital University, and the Ukrainian student was particularly impressed by the lectures of H. Zeisberg, O. Huber, M. Budinger, F. Tomashek, V. Penk, V. Zimmerman, E. Milbacher and N. Yodl. In the Austrian capital, a young historian also met such famous Slavists as V. Yahych, L. Niederle and J. Irechek (Telvak & Polishchuk, 2020, pp. 157–163).

M. Korduba completed his studies at the University by writing a doctoral dissertation on the topic "History and Relations in the Principality of Galicia until the Middle of the 13th Century". The scholar's supervisor was M. Budinger, a specialist in medieval Austrian history. The promotion of a young historian to the Doctor of Philosophy was held on May 18, 1898 successfully. It should be noted that modern researchers of the Lviv school of the Ukrainian studies proved that M. Hrushevsky contributed a lot to the preparation of this work, who consulted the student on various issues in his letters constantly (Telvak & Pedych, 2016, p. 98). In the scientific review there was a quite favourable analysis of M. Korduba's doctoral research. In their review, J. Irechek and V. Yahych mentioned an appropriate professional

education of a young scholar and noted that the reviewed work “contains a thorough analysis of the research issue” (Telvak & Polishchuk, 2020, pp. 157–163).

In general, during his student years, M. Korduba wrote several serious scientific research papers. They are dominated by the issues of the European and Ukrainian Middle Ages: in addition to the aforementioned doctoral dissertation, there should be mentioned the studies on the first Slavic state Samo (Korduba, 1896a) and a successful attempt to reconstruct Prince Danylo’s participation in the Battle of Kressenbrunn (Korduba, 1896b). From the section of institutional history, there should be mentioned the massacre concerning the Ukrainian youth society “Sich” (Korduba, 1898a). The scholar’s interest in the Ukrainian pysanka painting – the section of Ukrainian ethnography, to which he would devote many innovative works during later years – dates back to his student days. In 1896, a young historian developed a special questionnaire regarding the collection of materials about Easter eggs (pysanka) from the Ukrainian regions of Austria-Hungary, distributing it to the public by means of “The NTSh Notes”. After all, in the creative output of M. Korduba, the student, we can see a number of popular scientific works on the history of Ukraine.

The formation of M. Korduba as a scientific reviewer falls on his student years. The available sources allow us to state confidently that his Lviv mentor was directly involved in this important direction of a young historian intellectual activity (Telvak, Pedych & Telvak, 2021). It was M. Hrushevsky who involved a younger colleague in reviewing the novelties of historiographical literature published in the “The NTSh Notes” and reformed by him. M. Korduba described this process of involvement in detail: “The Professor dragged us, his students, to the review department. At once it seemed strange to us, because we did not feel to be ready to discuss or even criticize the works of learned specialists. But quickly M. Hrushevsky was able to dispel doubts and lack of confidence. He handed out a book to be discussed and told us to read it. Then he advised me to compare what I had read with one or another older work on this topic, and during our conversation I asked him about the results of comparison, impression the new book made, etc. After listening to the oral essay patiently, he made his notes here and there, advised to focus on one or another point of view, and said: “Now, fellow, try to write all that”. That’s how he made of us, 18–20 year old boys, reviewers, and that’s how the first student reviews were published in “The NTSh Notes” (Korduba, 1916, p. 796).

M. Korduba had a great taste for scientific and critical work, because during his student years he wrote more than forty reviews. A young historian was interested in this work, had a certain idealistic zeal, as evidenced by the letter to his Lviv mentor: “I will gladly take up further work in the review department, which only the Honorable Mr. Professor will determine, because I consider work for the common good to be the best goal of life” (Kupchynskiy, 2016, p. 93). We would like to note that the review component will continue to dominate the historian’s work quantitatively. During his student years, M. Korduba, the reviewer, cooperated with the Ukrainian periodicals (“The NTSh Notes” and “Zoria”) actively, as well as with the authoritative Polish magazine “Kwartalnik Historyczny”. It is noteworthy that the fact of the student’s cooperation with the latter surprised M. Hrushevsky frankly. Being convinced of the need to devote all his strength and time to the development of his native culture, Lviv Professor emotionally asked his student: “I saw your review in Kwartalnik; why are you publishing your reviews there?” (Kupchynskiy, 2016, p. 113). In response, M. Korduba explained that for cooperation with the Polish magazine, he receives this periodical, which is expensive, for free.

The reviews issues of the scholar-beginner are impressive with the diversity of topics and immersion in different historical eras, which illustrates his extraordinary erudition. Thus, we see reviews of works by the classics of contemporary European historiography: K. Lamprecht, J. Burkhard, H. Zeisberg, K. Gebler, O. Redlich, and the others. There were also many reviews of the Slavistic and Ukrainian studies novelties. In particular, M. Korduba reviewed books by K. Grot, I. Filevych, A. Kraushar, D. Yavornytsky, R. Kaindl, F. Vovka, and the others. At the suggestion of M. Hrushevsky, starting from his student days, M. Korduba conducted annual comprehensive bibliographic paper “Reviews of Western European Literature on Cultural and Political History, History of Literature”, which played an important role in the review department of “The NTSh Notes”. In these reviews, a young historian, fluent in many European languages, reviewed the works of English, Italian, German, French, Russian, and Hungarian researchers critically.

Owing to his active immersion in critical and bibliographic work, it was at the student bench that the stylistics of M. Korduba-the reviewer, took place. In our opinion, he was good at a detailed and comprehensive discussion of the reviewed text, focused on finding its strong and debatable sides. Despite his youth, M. Korduba is extremely confident in polemics with famous authors, often using irony in relation to controversial issues. In particular, in the review of D. Yavornytsky’s well-known “History of the Zaporizhzhia Cossacks”, the student openly criticizes the narrative style of his senior colleague: “The author limits himself to gathering facts, and this is far from the entire task of the historian. And the very way of telling a story in the form of a memoir is completely inappropriate in this work” (Korduba, 1895b, p. 41). Along with this, M. Korduba also notes the shortcomings of the architectonics of the reviewed book – its excessive documentary material: “This was in fashion in the last century, but nowadays it is impossible. Due to such interpretation, the author becomes boring – what can be said in several lines covers several pages” (Korduba, 1895b, p. 42).

It was also important that in his criticism the scholar-beginner tries to proceed from the position of the Ukrainian historical interest, resolutely defending the right of our people to an independent historical existence. The latter is especially striking when M. Korduba criticizes the traditional view of the Polish historians on the key events of the Ukrainian past. For example, in the review of A. Kraushar’s work, the Polish historian, “Kartki historyczne i literackie”, the historian accused the researcher of emotions excess when interpreting the documents of B. Khmelnytsky period: “In the end, we would draw the author’s attention to the fact that when he tried to explain the documents against the background of contemporary events, he should have used a cold mind rather than a fantasy. Such calling of B. Khmelnytsky’s movement as “scenes of the wildest animal passions” has already gone out of fashion, especially in scientific publications that claim to be scientific” (Korduba, 1895a, p. 39).

Evidently, M. Hrushevsky was of a high opinion of his student’s critical talent and diligence, because he asked him to review the most difficult to understand historiographical novelties of a theoretical and methodological nature. In the letters of Lviv Professor to Viennese student, the issue of writing critical reviews for “The NTSh Notes” is constantly present. Lviv historian, in order to support his disciple financially and “tie” him to the bibliographic department of “The NTSh Notes”, even paid for his review work in advance. However, when M. Korduba prepared to obtain a doctorate diploma, M. Hrushevsky dismissed the student from work in the bibliographic department of “The NTSh Notes” temporarily: “Now you must study for doctorate, so I don’t give you any orders concerning writing reviews; obtain your doctorate diploma first” (Kupchynskiy, 2016, p. 134).

M. Korduba's research activity, as well as his cooperation with the Shevchenko Scientific Society, became the basis for electing a young historian to be a member of the most authoritative Ukrainian scientific institution. On the recommendation of M. Hrushevsky, this happened in 1895. Despite the fact that at the end of the 19th century the scholar was far from Lviv, in Vienna, every time when he came to visit his parents, he participated in the meetings of the historical section of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. Thus, in 1896, M. Korduba made a speech under the title "The First Slavic State". Therefore, one should fully agree to the opinion of O. Pih, "that cooperation with the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv not only expanded scientific opportunities, promoted intellectual education, popularization of scientific ideas and research of the scholar, but also influenced his worldview formation" (Pih, 2012, p. 16).

The formation of M. Korduba as a fiction writer, is also connected with the period of University studies. Actually, his first published works were fiction stories. During his student period, the historian published ten works ("Brus (From the Life of a Village Teacher)", "The Dull. Social Model", "The Future Generation", "Withered Roses", etc.), which were published on the pages of the authoritative Ukrainian magazines "Sunday", "Zoria", "Bukovyna", etc. Their content is marked by a considerable humanistic pathos, which shows the author as a supporter of the ideals of the individual intellectual development freedom. For example, let's cite the short story "The Dull", which appeared on the pages of the Viennese Almanac "Sich". In it, a young writer reflects on a difficult fate of a travelling bookbinder. The latter is the son of a village priest, who grew up as a boy immersed in the world of his own fantasies, little understood by those around him. Despite his originality, they tried to teach him according to usual educational patterns, which caused a dislike for reading and science in general. Realizing the futility of their own efforts, village teachers, instead of finding an individual approach to the child, attached the offensive nickname "the dull" to the boy and made the child learn the craft profession he did not like. However, upon closer acquaintance, a young man turns out to be an emotionally developed and intellectually meaningful person, who was prevented by patriarchal stereotypes from realizing his life dreams. At the end of the story, M. Korduba, on behalf of the main character, painfully asks: "I couldn't sleep for a long time last night. The thin face of the bookbinder kept staring into my eyes. I asked myself: Why is a man whose development does not follow the average pattern condemned to be a scum of society? But I couldn't find an answer to this question" (Korduba, 1898b, p. 85).

In turn, the largest literary work of his student days – the novel "The Future Generation" – was marked by a considerable public pathos. In it, the author created a frankly caricatured image of a "hero" of his time, for whom the highest goal of life is banal careerism. The writer shows how, in their pursuit of career ladders, young people disregard moral laws openly, cynically treating the others as a means to achieve their own goals. M. Korduba ironically called such youth the "future generation". It should be noted that other literary works of a young historian are imbued with a similar public pathos.

In general, M. Korduba's contemporaries reacted to his early pen tests quite favourably. This is evidenced, for example, by Ivan Franko's review of the short story "Bobo", submitted by a young historian to the periodical "Zoria" literary contest. Describing the short story, Kameniar, among other issues, noted: "In the short story "Bobo" (the author – Myron Korduba), the commission sees good work of the author-beginner. Good knowledge of life can be seen there, and the type of "a priest-aristocrat" family is derived quite faithfully and plastically. This story, with some amendments, can be published" (Franko, 1895, p. 219).

The formation of M. Korduba as a public figure also takes place during his student period. It should be noted that he was interested in public work since his youth. Thus, for demonstrating his pro-Ukrainian views, he had to give up going to the Ternopil gymnasium, where he studied during the period of 1885 – 1891, and he finished the Lviv Academic Gymnasium. While studying at Lviv University, a young man became one of the leaders of the Ukrainian student community, taking an active part in its life.

But M. Korduba's public interests were the most fully manifested during his years of study at the University of Vienna. Among the Ukrainian student organizations, that operated in the capital of the Danube Monarchy, a young historian gave preference to one of the oldest – the "Sich" society, established in 1867 (Korduba, 1932, p. 28). M. Korduba immersed in the society's work with considerable energy. Soon he joined its board. The scholar-beginner devoted a lot of time to scientific popularization lecture activities of the society. As the historian's friend of those times, Zenon Kuzel, recollected, M. Korduba's public lectures "About Easter Eggs in Galician Volyn" and "History as Art" were very popular among the Ukrainian community of the Austrian capital (Kuzelia, 1908, pp. 471–472).

M. Korduba's energetic activity at the forum of Vienna "Sich" society was duly appreciated by his colleagues at the University, because on November 7, 1897, he was elected the head of the institution. A young head of the society had a lot of responsibility, because that year the "Sich" society celebrated its thirtieth anniversary. That is why, the newly elected head had to arrange various actions, the most important of which was the publication of the jubilee almanac, which contained historical, fictional and poetic texts by invited authors. On its pages, M. Korduba published the above-mentioned study of the history of "Sich". Heading the society, a young scholar lobbied for the appointment of his teacher M. Hrushevsky as an honorary member of the "Sich" society. Lviv Professor accepted this high honourable appointment with much gratitude: "I received a diploma from the "Sich" and I am grateful, and I thank you, because I guess you were the initiator of it" (Kupchynskiy, 2016, p. 133). It should also be noted that being interested in practical politics, M. Korduba attended a special course of Political History in Vienna under the guidance of M. Budinger in 1897 – 1898.

At that time an important component of M. Korduba's social activities was cooperation with the Ukrainian magazines of Austria-Hungary. It was during his student years that the historian began writing articles as a regular correspondent to such authoritative periodicals as Lviv "Dilo" and Chernivtsi "Bukovyna". Being in the capital and having a peculiar view of current politics, the scholar-beginner became the Viennese correspondent of the above mentioned periodicals. The journalistic posts of M. Korduba, signed under the pseudonym "xyz", made up a kind of thematic cycle "Letters from Vienna". In the thematic cycle, the author expressed his own critical observations regarding the policy of the Governor of Galicia, Count Badeni, and also informed about the reception of the behind-the-scenes parliamentary struggle in the Austrian, German, Czech and Polish press (xyz [Korduba, M.], 1897). The popularity of a young journalist's articles among readers is to some extent evidenced by the fact that they were published on the front pages of the periodical "Dilo".

The Conclusion. Thus, according to the above mentioned facts, the student years became the period of a rapid formation of M. Korduba, the intellectual. Owing to his extraordinary natural talents and persistent, purposeful work, in a short period of time, a young man formed his own scientific style, mastering the profession of a historian perfectly. However, having obtained a doctorate diploma in the field of the Ukrainian Middle Ages, the historian-beginner did not shut himself in the silence of libraries and archives. Feeling the needs of his people,

M. Korduba immersed in the whirlpool of a public life actively, cooperating with youth societies and editorial offices of the leading Ukrainian magazines (“Dilo”, “Bukovyna”, “Zoria”, etc.). Already at that time, his voice was noticeable in the polyphony of public discussion of issues important for people. Gradually, after completing his studies, M. Korduba became one of the most active figures of the national revival in the western Ukrainian lands.

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