

UDC 930(477)(092)“18/19”:378.4(477.83-25)
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.33.317480

Vitalii TELVAK

PhD hab. (History), Professor at Department of World History and Special Historical Disciplines, Ivan Franko Drohobych State Pedagogical University, 24 Ivan Franko Street, Drohobych, Ukraine, postal code 82100 (telvak1@yahoo.com)

ORCID: 0000-0002-2445-968X

Researcher ID: X-5320-2018

Viktoria TELVAK

PhD (History), Assistant Professor, Department of World History and Special Historical Disciplines, Ivan Franko Drohobych State Pedagogical University, 24 Ivan Franko Street, Drohobych, Ukraine, postal code 82100 (viktoriateltvak75@gmail.com)

ORCID: 0000-0003-4671-743X

Researcher ID: 3026747/viktoria-teltvak/

Віталій ТЕЛЬВАК

доктор історичних наук, професор кафедри всесвітньої історії та спеціальних історичних дисциплін, Дрогобицький державний педагогічний університет імені Івана Франка, вул. Івана Франка, 24, м. Дрогобич, Україна, індекс 82100 (telvak1@yahoo.com)

Вікторія ТЕЛЬВАК

кандидатка історичних наук, доцентка кафедри всесвітньої історії та спеціальних історичних дисциплін, Дрогобицький державний педагогічний університет імені Івана Франка, вул. Івана Франка, 24, Дрогобич, Україна, індекс 82100 (viktoriateltvak75@gmail.com)

Bibliographic Description of the Article: Teltvak, V., & Teltvak, V. (2024). Mykhailo Hrushevskyy's path to the chair of Ukrainian history at Lviv University: an attempt at reconstruction. *Skhidnoievropeiskyy Istorychnyy Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 33, 51–62. doi: 10.24919/2519-058X.33.317480

MYKHAILO HRUSHEVSKYY'S PATH TO THE CHAIR OF UKRAINIAN HISTORY AT LVIV UNIVERSITY: AN ATTEMPT AT RECONSTRUCTION

Abstract. *The purpose of the study is to reconstruct the circumstances of Mykhailo Hrushevskyy obtaining a professorship at Lviv University. The methodological basis of the research is an interdisciplinary approach. Particular emphasis is placed on the structural and functional systematic analysis of historiographical facts and the comparative historical method, based on the principles of objectivity and historicism. In the study there have been also used methods of periodization, classification and typologization. The scientific novelty of the article consists in an attempt to reconstruct the process of M. Hrushevskyy's appointment to the Department of History of Ukraine at Lviv University in a holistic manner. Conclusions.* In conclusions, it is noted that M. Hrushevskyy's appointment to the Department of Eastern European History at Lviv University was made possible by the successful coincidence of many objective and subjective factors. The former includes a sufficiently high level of cultural development and political self-organization of Galician Ukrainians, who in the

second half of the 1880s and at the beginning of the 1890s articulated and brought to the public domain the issue of opening a university department for the history of their people, and managed to implement it despite numerous difficulties. The second is dominated by a personal factor: both the initiators of this educational campaign and the applicants for the chair were fully aware of the uniqueness of the historical chance, and therefore did not hesitate to put national duty above private interest. The situation was especially difficult for V. Antonovych, who, while realizing the importance of his personality at the beginning of the action, also understood that the challenges of the Lviv professorship were too much for him to bear. Skillfully playing a triple game (with Galician people's representatives, Viennese bureaucrats, and Kyivan community members), he "delayed" the opening of the department until his student received his master's degree. The considerable risks of this feat and the stormy emotions that raged among those involved were rewarded by M. Hrushevskiy's phenomenal work in Galicia. Moreover, as a result of this project, the Ukrainians entered the era of war and revolution conscious of their cultural identity and historical unity as a nation.

Keywords: M. Hrushevskiy, V. Antonovych, Department of History of Ukraine, Lviv University, "new era".

ШЛЯХ МИХАЙЛА ГРУШЕВСЬКОГО ДО КАФЕДРИ ІСТОРІЇ УКРАЇНИ У ЛЬВІВСЬКОМУ УНІВЕРСИТЕТІ: СПРОБА РЕКОНСТРУКЦІЇ

Анотація. Метою дослідження є реконструкція обставин отримання Михайлом Грушевським професури у Львівському університеті. **Методологічне підґрунтя** роботи становить міждисциплінарний підхід. Особливий акцент зроблено на структурно-функціональному системному аналізі історіографічних фактів і порівняльно-історичному методі, виходячи з принципів об'єктивності й історизму. У дослідженні було також використано методи періодизації, класифікації і типологізації. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у спробі цілісної реконструкції процесу спровадження М. Грушевського на кафедру історії України у Львівському університеті. **Висновки.** У підсумку відзначено, що потрапляння М. Грушевського на кафедру історії Східної Європи Львівського університету стало можливим завдяки вдалому збігу багатьох об'єктивних і суб'єктивних факторів. До перших варто віднести достатньо високий рівень культурного розвитку та політичної самоорганізації галицьких українців, які протягом другої половини 1880 – на початку 1890-х рр. артикулювали і винесли у публічну площину питання відкриття університетської кафедри для історії свого народу, а також спромоглися її реалізувати, незважаючи на численні труднощі. Серед других домінує персональний чинник – як ініціатори цієї освітньої акції, так і претенденти на кафедру виявилися вповні свідомими унікальності історичного шансу, тож без вагань поставили народний обов'язок вище приватного інтересу. Особливо складною ситуація була для В. Антоновича, який, усвідомлюючи вагомість своєї особи на початку акції, розумів також непосильність для себе викликів львівської професури. Майстерно ведучи потрібну гру (з галицькими народовцями, віденськими бюрократами та київськими громадівцями), він "притримав" час відкриття кафедри до моменту здобуття його учнем магістерського ступеню. Чималі ризики цієї гри та бурхливі емоції, що вирували в середовищі причетних до справи осіб, були варті феноменальної у своїх наслідках діяльності М. Грушевського на галицькому терені. Адже значною мірою завдяки їй, українці вступили у добу війни та революції свідомою своєї культурної самобутності й історичної єдності нацією.

Ключові слова: М. Грушевський, В. Антонович, кафедра історії України, Львівський університет, "нова ера".

The Statement of the Problem. The Lviv period of Mykhailo Hrushevskiy's life and work has always been essential for the researchers of his work due to several reasons. First of all, it is the impressive scale of the scholar's scientific, organizational, and social achievements of the time, owing to which a young pupil of Volodymyr Antonovych's school became one of the most authoritative and recognizable representatives of the Ukrainians in the eyes of foreigners on the eve of World War I. This focus is also due to the well-preserved

source base: to date, M. Hrushevskyy's diary and a significant amount of epistolary material of M. Hrushevskyy and his colleagues, memoirs of contemporaries, office materials of many institutions, etc. have been published. All of this makes it possible to reconstruct the events of the prewar twenty years of the historian's life, sometimes by day and, in some cases, even by hour. We do not have as much information about any other chapter of the historian's life.

However, the circumstances that led the Kyivan scholar to Galicia are still represented in an extremely stereotypical way. Many contemporary historiographers believe that M. Hrushevskyy's appointment to the Lviv faculty was predetermined by the initiators of the Polish-Ukrainian understanding that went down in history as the "new era". However, the numerous diverse documents available today (diaries, memoirs, records of Lviv University, etc.) suggest that the young scholar's arrival in the capital of the crown land of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was rather the result of a happy coincidence for Ukrainian culture. Our research is devoted to its reconstruction.

The Review of Recent Research and Publications. Lubomyr Vynar began the scientific study of the problem of M. Hrushevskyy's transfer from Kyiv to Lviv by publishing government documents he found in the Vienna archives on the establishment of the Department of East European History and the appointment of a graduate of V. Antonovych's school (Vynar, 1986). Subsequent historiography, both diasporic (Telvak & Sabinskyi, 2022) and contemporary (Onopriienko, 1994; Zashkilniak, 1995), has long popularized the observations of the founder of Hrushevskyy studies. Their rethinking and deepening were proposed by researchers of the Lviv period of the author's life, such as Vitalii Telvak, Vasyl Pedych, Kostiantyn Kurylyshyn, and the others. In several publications (Telvak, Pedych & Telvak, 2021; Telvak & Telvak, 2022b), using materials from the Lviv University archives, correspondence of those involved in the action, and contemporary journalism, they also touched upon the circumstances of M. Hrushevskyy's transfer to Transnistria. However, there is no complete picture of the fostering and implementation of the idea of granting the young scholar a professorship in Lviv today. This is the reason for the relevance of the chosen topic.

The Purpose of the Research. The purpose of the study is to reconstruct the circumstances of M. Hrushevskyy obtaining a professorship at Lviv University.

The Results of the Research. Firstly, it is necessary to outline the very genesis of the idea of opening a department of Ukrainian history at Lviv University. The need for its establishment was first raised at a congress of Ukrainian students from Galicia and Bukovyna held on September 17, 1880, in Kolomyia. In accordance with its decisions, in 1881, a delegation of students submitted a petition to the Academic Senate of Lviv University to establish a department of Ukrainian history. The Senate responded to this petition with a letter on July 28, 1881, in which it noted that "for the time being" it could not positively consider the desire of Ukrainian youth (Levytskyi, 1926, pp. 182–183). Despite the negative response, the issue of the Ukrainian history department at Lviv University has not left the agenda of Galician politicians since then.

This issue was covered in particular detail in Hrushevskyy's well-known *Memoirs* by the prominent Galician public and cultural figure Oleksandr Barvinskyi, who was most immersed in the matter. According to his testimony, in the mid-1880s the idea of opening a department of Ukrainian history took on a new meaning for the establishment of the Department of Polish History at Lviv University. Galician public figures of the People's Party orientation, as well as their like-minded associates from the Dnipro region, united in the Kyiv group, began to implement this idea. Among them were O. Barvinskyi, Yu. Romanchuk, V. Antonovych,

O. Konyskyi, and the others, who were the founders of the Shevchenko Literary and Scientific Society. They managed to interest Prince Adam Sapieha, who had well-established contacts with Viennese bureaucrats, primarily with ministers Baron Paul Gauch and Count Gustav Kalnoki, who were responsible for translating this idea into practice. The initiators of the department planned to appoint the most authoritative Ukrainian scholar of the time, Professor Volodymyr Antonovych of St. Volodymyr's University in Kyiv, who was favourably disposed to the idea. However, A. Sapieha's illness and withdrawal from the case took away the project's chances of being realized (Barvinskyi, 1925, pp. 4–5).

The idea of establishing a history department for the indigenous population of Eastern Galicia at the Lviv alma mater received a second chance in early 1891, when, as a result of early elections, members of People's Party, including the initiator of the whole affair, O. Barvinskyi, were elected to the Viennese Parliament. When he was putting the department's work into practice, he consulted with V. Antonovych, who visited the Galician capital in January 1891 to discuss the practical parameters of the Polish-Ukrainian agreement, including the establishment of the Department of Ukrainian History in Lviv. According to Mykhailo Pavlyk, in conversations with the Ukrainians in Lviv, the Kyivan scholar openly admitted that he was "trying to get the chair of Ukrainian history, which some Poles had promised him" (Drahomanov & Pavlyk, 1910, p. 105).

In accordance with the agreements with the Poles and the Naddniproians, on June 20, 1891, when discussing the budget of the Ministry of Education, O. Barvinskyi for the first time raised the issue of the need to open a department of Ukrainian history at Lviv University from the parliamentary rostrum. Since then, with his characteristic pragmatism, he persistently solved numerous problems that arose on the way to this important national cause. Describing them, the politician wrote in his memoirs: "All sorts of doubts, difficulties, and obstacles from the scientific, national and political, religious, and financial standpoints arose and intersected here, which had to be explained, fought with, and eliminated to reach the desired goal" (Barvinskyi, 1925, p. 6).

Detailing the problems just mentioned, O. Barvinskyi noted that despite the generally sympathetic attitude to the idea of opening the department, due to the Polish-Ukrainian rapprochement, the primary problems arose with its name. The point was that Viennese officials considered the disciplinary nomenclature of "Ukrainian history" not only unscientific but also dangerous for political reasons. First of all, they expected opposition to this name from the Polish rulers of the region, who considered it inconsistent with their tradition of "kinship" interpretation of the Ukrainians, who were consistently called the Rusyns. Also, the ethnonym "Ukrainian" could have provoked unnecessary protests from the Russian officials, as it was banned in the Romanov Empire. Finally, a reasonable assumption was made that this ethnonym would contribute to the nationalization of Ukrainian consciousness, which threatened the unity of the population of the crown land. These considerations were reflected in a document signed on March 22, 1892, by the Minister of Education P. Gauch, which generally supported the idea of the Ukrainian deputies. He emphasized that since Ukrainian history could not be considered a "concrete science", a second department of world history should be established at Lviv University, with instruction in Ukrainian, which should focus on the past of Eastern Europe (Vynar, 1986, p. 82).

Another major problem was the candidacy for the chair. The trouble was that it was difficult to predict the reaction to the invitation to a conservative Catholic country of V. Antonovych, a man of the Orthodox faith who had a dramatic history of breaking connections with the Polish

community in the Naddniproian part of the country. However, given that the Galicians insisted on the candidacy of Kyiv professor, P. Gauch had to agree. Thus, in the aforementioned document, he indicated that the Galician governor Kazimierz Badeni, offering him possible candidates for such a chair, “drew special attention to two teachers [...], namely university professors Antonovych in Kyiv and Levytsky in Krakow, both of them Ukrainians and well-known authors on the area of the European East” (Vynar, 1986, p. 83). It is noteworthy that P. Gauch did not consider it necessary at that time to disclose the fact of teaching a new history subject in Ukrainian, as well as the possibility of appointing a scholar from the sub-Russian lands to the department. This document contained Emperor Franz Joseph’s permission to open “the second chair of general history at the University of Lviv, beginning with the school year 1893/94, provided that it receives constitutional authorization for the necessary measures”. The emperor’s decree is dated March 31, 1892 (Vynar, 1986, p. 84).

As mentioned above, Galician Ukrainians saw only V. Antonovych as Professor of the new department. They were talking about the major scientific authority of the Kyiv professor and his recognition among Western European researchers of the past. The founder of the Kyiv school of source studies himself understood this, so he agreed to let Lviv residents use his name in negotiations with Viennese bureaucrats. However, V. Antonovych’s real intentions were quite different – he planned to pave the way for the opening of the department with his name and give it to his most prominent student, M. Hrushevskyy. We learn about this from the latter’s diary and Autobiography. He recalled that in early 1891, V. Antonovych, returning from a business trip abroad, reported on the imminent opening of a department of world history with Ukrainian as the language of instruction at Lviv University, which was essentially to be a department of Ukrainian history. The Kyiv scholar knew that Galician Ukrainians wanted to see V. Antonovych himself at the head of this department. However, the latter, due to a number of personal circumstances, did not agree to this proposal and recommended M. Hrushevskyy instead. “This plan,” he later recalled in his Autobiography, “...was accepted by me with enthusiasm against the significance that was then attached to the Galician movement in Ukrainian circles: in Galicia, they hoped to create an all-Ukrainian cultural centre, literary and scientific, with the work of writers and scientists from all over Ukraine, and with its achievements to break through the system of proscription of the Ukrainian word and nationality in Russia, to raise a national movement in Russia, etc.” (Hrushevskyy, 1965, p. 7).

The diary reflects the young historian’s mood about the teacher’s proposal: on the one hand, it certainly flattered his ego, but on the other hand, it imposed a huge responsibility. Mykhailo wrote in his diary: “My professorship was set very decisively, and worries me, especially since it was not thought out in advance. I want to talk about it today with Volodymyr Bonifatiyovych” (Hrushevskyy, 1997, p. 131). A few days later, such a conversation took place, and the interlocutors “came out in complete solidarity” (Hrushevskyy, 1997, p. 132). The opening of the department and the invitation of the young researcher to Lviv excited his imagination with great prospects for working for the Ukrainian cause. On January 21, 1892, he wrote in his diary that “it [the matter of the department] occupies my mental space”, and on January 24, “[...] I am tired of it, too many thoughts racing in my head”. It is interesting that not only the Galician initiators of the opening of the Lviv department, but also the Kyivan activist Oleksandr Konyskyi, who was immersed in the matter, did not know about these conversations between V. Antonovych and his student. In turn, the novice historian did not realize that his teacher was having conversations with him without agreement with the Naddniester people.

As soon as M. Hrushevskiyi agreed in principle to move to Lviv, his teacher began preparing his Lviv friends to replace him. However, he did this in a somewhat strange way, because in April 1893, in a letter to O. Barvinskyi, he put forward financial conditions regarding monetary compensation for his wife and children in case of premature death (Barvinskyi, 1925, pp. 8–9). At the same time, V. Antonovych responded evasively to repeated requests from Lviv residents for his final consent to take the chair, each time raising new circumstances in his letters that prevented him from making a decision. This caused growing fears among the Galicians about the success of the whole project, since the issue of the professor's candidacy was a key one. Therefore, they delegated their representatives to Kyiv to discuss the case on the spot with V. Antonovych himself. For example, at the beginning of 1893, Ivan Beley, an editor of the Lviv newspaper "Dilo", came to Kyiv from Lviv for this purpose (Zashkilniak, 1995, p. 131). However, he did not manage to clarify the matter which confirmed the suspicions about V. Antonovych's reluctance to move to Lviv. This concern was expressed by O. Konyskyi in a letter to O. Barvinskyi, in which he summarized I. Beley's visit: "Probably nothing will come of Pasichnyk [V. Antonovych]" (Barvinskyi, 1925, p. 9).

Obviously, V. Antonovych himself realized that the final decision could not be delayed any longer. At the same time, he decided to address his explanations not to the initiator of the whole affair, O. Barvinskyi, but to Professor Omelian Ohonowskyi of Lviv University. In his letter, written in French, the Kyivan activist stated that, given his family relations and his advanced age, he could not accept the department's proposals (Barvinskyi, 1925, p. 9). In this letter, he publicly announced for the first time that he considered it appropriate to delegate his best student M. Hrushevskiyi to the chair. O. Ohonowskyi informed the initiators of the department about the letter from his Kyiv colleague. V. Antonovych refusal caused a real panic among the Galician supporters of the "new era" policy, as it could have negated many years of efforts to open the first university department of Ukrainian history in the history of our science. In his 'Memoirs', O. Barvinskyi recalls that "this news was like a thunderous defeat for me, because my long and difficult efforts to realize this far-reaching idea were dispelled in one wave like a gloom. With what face could I now appear before the ministers and the governor, with whom I had discussed this matter in every possible way [...]" (Barvinskyi, 2010, p. 626).

The Polish supporters of the "new era" K. Badeni and a well-known historian, the head of the regional school board Michał Bobrzyński, having learned about the content of V. Antonovych's letter to O. Ohonowskyi, began semi-official relations with M. Hrushevskiyi through the mediation of the university's affairs officer, Counselor Shavlovskiyi. In his letters, the latter asked Antonovych's student whether he would agree to run for the Lviv department. He sent these letters through the hands of O. Konyskyi, who was shocked by V. Antonovych behaviour, calling it "meddling" (Barvinskyi, 1925, p. 10). M. Hrushevskiyi was also caught off guard, as he imagined that the offer to take the chair would be made in a fully official manner. O. Konyskyi felt this confusion of the young scientist, so he strongly advised him to immediately respond with full consent in order not to ruin the whole departmental affair. Fortunately, M. Hrushevskiyi obeyed his mentor. As a result of the stress, O. Konyskyi even experienced another exacerbation of his heart disease.

At the same time, O. Barvinskyi still cherished the hope of influencing his Naddniproian friend. In agreement with the Galician governor, he once again went to Kyiv in December 1893 to persuade his colleague with his eloquence. At a meeting with V. Antonovych at

O. Konyskyi's house, where M. Hrushevskiy was also invited, O. Barvynskiy "in hot words" portrayed the need for the Kyiv professor to move to Galicia. However, as we know, the latter's refusal was determined long before the conversation. As O. Barvynskiy recalls, V. Antonovych responded to his request: "Take my best student, Mr. Hrushevskiy, he will perform his task very well, you will be satisfied with him" (Barvynskiy, 2010, p. 628). Reasonable remarks by O. Konyskyi and O. Barvynskiy that Galicia needed a "ready-made authority" that the young scholar would only have to become did not change V. Antonovych's position. Therefore, the Galician politician "was forced to return to Lviv with this idea to now name Mykhailo Hrushevskiy as a professor" (Barvynskiy, 2010, p. 629).

O. Barvynskiy faced the difficult task of getting the leaders of the region and the Ministry of Education to recognize the Kyiv professor's student as worthy of a university chair and the position of an ordinary professor, which, according to educational practices of the time, required not only a doctorate but also habilitation. The complexity of the new challenge is evidenced by the fact that O. Barvynskiy in his letters to his friends and in his Memoirs repeatedly mentioned unexpected problems, with understandable resentment toward V. Antonovych. Their solution took a lot of time, so the date of the department's opening had to be postponed for a year, until October 1894.

It also took some time to coordinate M. Hrushevskiy's affairs. Among them, was convincing him of the need to change his citizenship and take the oath of allegiance to the emperor. M. Hrushevskiy agreed to this demand, provided that the Russian authorities would have nothing against it. It should be noted that despite repeated reminders from Austrian officials, the scholar never changed his citizenship. The opinion of his parents about moving to another country was also important to the young historian. As we know from O. Konyskyi's letter, after a short period of deliberation, they sent their blessing to their son. Thus, all the problems on the part of the young nominee were resolved.

After V. Antonovych's final resignation and the nomination of his student to fill the chair, the Galician Ukrainians began to introduce M. Hrushevskiy to the local public. To this end, the Lviv press published several articles about the future professor. For example, "Dilo" openly explained that since there was no candidate among Galicians with the right professional level, the final solution was to invite a historian from the Naddniprian part of the country. At the same time, it was further explained, that one should not expect V. Antonovych to move to Lviv, given his advanced age and undermined health in the confrontation with the tsarist regime. Therefore, the only thing left to do was to look for the right scholar among the students of the famous Kyivan Ukrainianist, those who had not yet linked their fate to any of the Russian universities but had already proven themselves in science. In this way, the anonymous contributor to "Dilo" led his reader to the fact that there was no alternative to the candidacy of the best pupil of the Kyiv school: "P. Hrushevskiy became famous in the Slavic scientific world with his "History of the Kyivan Land", and professional critics in Russia and Poland gave his work well-deserved praise. Thus, just as M. Hrushevskiy is generally recognized as capable of occupying the chair of Ruthenian history in Lviv on the basis of his scientific qualifications, so on the other hand M. Hrushevskiy could most easily occupy this chair from the point of view that he had not yet, so to speak, chained himself, like other historians older than him, to any Russian university" (Katedra, 1893, p. 1).

Given these circumstances, M. Hrushevskiy made great efforts to prepare for the publication of the volumes of acts of the "Bar Starosta District" and to finalize the text of his master's thesis. He rightly believed that arriving in Lviv as an ordinary professor at the age

of 28 without a degree would not allow him to gain proper authority among his colleagues at the university. A letter to Hanna Yampolska gives an idea of the historian's workload at the time: "There is a lot of work, if there were 60 hours in a day instead of 24, it would probably be enough for me. Then I could cope with current affairs, work in the archive for my dissertation, prepare for the master's exam, and maintain relationships with close people" (CSHAUK, f. 1235, c. 273, p. 27v.).

In accordance with the order of the Ministry of Religions and Education in Vienna, a competition was announced in the spring of 1893 to fill the position of professor of the newly created department. According to the minutes of the meeting of the professorial board of the Faculty of Philosophy at Lviv University, when selecting candidates, its members were fully aware of the political importance of the new department: "The measure should be not only the scientific value of the published works of the candidates but, above all, the purpose of the new department and the tasks that the newly called professor will face. Our crowned land is the guardian of Western culture in the northeastern part of the country, and our alma mater has the difficult but honourable task of being its visible luminary from afar. And which academic discipline can provide more suitable fuel for this than historical scholarship? The professor of the newly created department will have to, on the one hand, familiarize university youth with the historical and literary products of the East, and on the other hand, process and apply them in the spirit of the West" (Pakholkiv, 2014, p. 272).

Three candidates agreed to participate in the competition: V. Antonovych, M. Hrushevskiy, and V. Milkovych. Two Ukrainian members of the philosophy faculty, I. Sharanevych, an Old Ruthenian, and O. Ohonovskiy, a Narodovets, offered a different understanding of the priority of these candidates. Thus, the former pointed out that the most appropriate nominee would be the famous Galician historian, Julian Tselevych. However, he noted, after his untimely death, there were only three candidates "whose qualifications and suitability for this position have been properly tested." Thus, Sharanevych gave the first place to the Kyiv professor, put V. Milkovych in second place, and M. Hrushevskiy in third. I. Sharanevych's preference for V. Milkovych, who had much more modest scientific achievements than the Kyiv student, can be explained by the similarity of their ideological sympathies, as both were prominent figures in Russophilia movement. Instead, O. Ohonovskiy put V. Antonovych in the first place, his student in the second, and gave the third place to V. Milkovych (SALR, f. 26, d. 5, c. 510, p. 35).

The professors of the Faculty of Philosophy, having studied the works submitted for the competition, spoke about the advantages and disadvantages of each of the three candidates. In the case of M. Hrushevskiy, it was noted that he "is well acquainted with the Russian historical sources and the latest the Russian historical publications, and has a wealth of historical material" (Pakholkiv, 2014, p. 276). Lviv scholars recognized the young scholar's monograph on the history of Kyivan Rus as very successful: "The author worked on his book extremely diligently, collected the material with great care, and if the purpose of his work was to work out a separate history of the Kyivan Rus, cutting it out, so to speak, from the history of the entire the Russian land, he achieved it" (Pakholkiv, 2014, p. 276). At the same time, since M. Hrushevskiy works of the time were based on published source material, Lviv professors pointed out that "he lacks a scientific historical methodology [...] based on an accurate critical analysis of sources, which is why his contribution to the enrichment of historical science is small" (Pakholkiv, 2014, p. 276). They also regretted "that such a capable and vigilant young scholar knows only Slavic languages, which somewhat limits his scientific outlook" (Vynar, 1986, p. 79). They meant that all of M. Hrushevskiy's works

submitted to the competition were published only in the Russian and the Ukrainian. As a graduate of the classical gymnasium and the Faculty of History and Philosophy, Hrushevskiy was fluent in several languages. In general, the members of the board concluded, given the applicant's considerable knowledge of East Slavic historiography and Ukrainian studies, that "he should be taken into account."

It is clear that with his candidacy, V. Antonovych only wanted to pave the way for his student, and he eventually succeeded. After the voting of the professors, V. Milkovych's candidacy was dropped because the issues of the research papers he submitted to the competition did not align with the department's profile. And since the Kyiv professor withdrew his candidacy, citing his advanced age, M. Hrushevskiy was the only candidate left. Therefore, Lviv scholars had no choice but to recommend him to the ministry for the position of professor of the newly created department. However, the board of the Faculty of Philosophy, accepting a 27-year-old historian without a doctorate, decided to protect itself by giving him a three-year probationary period. Summarizing the election of the Kyiv master's student to the Lviv department, we fully agree with Sviatoslav Pakholkiv observation: "So, Hrushevskiy's appointment was a double success. First of all, he was lucky for himself, because the professors saw his young age as a chance for a new start, and Galician Ukrainians benefited greatly from Hrushevskiy's further activities in Lviv" (Pakholkiv, 2014, p. 278).

It is interesting that the Viennese bureaucrats collected information not only about the scientific qualifications of the candidates, but also about their political beliefs. In the Austrian archives, L. Vynar managed to find the official description of the Ministry of Religions and Education for M. Hrushevskiy. The public credo of the young Kyiv applicant was characterized quite objectively: "He belongs to the direction of the Young Ruthenian nationals of the so-called Ukrainian direction, so he is not a supporter of either pan-Slavistic or ultra-nationalist tendencies" (Vynar, 1986, p. 79). Obviously, such political preferences completely satisfied both the metropolitan and regional administrations, because there were no reservations in this regard.

On March 27, 1894, an appeal was sent from the office of the Austrian Minister of Religion and Education Von Madriski to the Emperor of Austria-Hungary with a request to appoint M. Hrushevskiy as a professor of the second department of world history with a special overview of Eastern Europe at Lviv University (Vynar, 1986, pp. 85–86). The result of this appeal was a rescript signed by the emperor on April 11, 1894, which nominated "fellow" M. Hrushevskiy as a full professor at Lviv University, effective October 1 of the same year (SALR, f. 26, d. 5, c. 510, p. 1). This news caused elation in Ukrainian patriotic circles. The Lviv newspaper "Dilo" wrote: "The newly appointed prof. M. Hrushevskiy [...] is a young man, at the best age for professorial and scientific work, one of the most capable young scientists of V. Antonovych school [...]. With such scientific strength, Lviv University will win, Ruthenian youth will win at the university, and the Ruthenian cause outside the university will win. Prof. M. Hrushevskiy will become our link of scientific interests between Austrian and sub-Russian Ukraine-Rus [...]" (Novyny, 1894, p. 1).

There was great joy among the creators of the idea of founding the Lviv department. Thus, in a letter dated April 19, 1894, O. Konyskyi wrote to Mytrofan Dykarev: "Please be pleased with our very important news: the tsar approved Hrushevskiy as an ordinary professor at the history department in Lviv. Personally, this is an indescribably great joy for me! This is the moment from which the history of our national education and culture will begin" (Vozniak, 1929, p. 375). Similar were the emotions of the other initiator of the case, O. Barvinskyi, who

wrote in a letter to a young colleague: “This [nomination of M. Hrushevskiy as a professor – Author] made us unusually happy, and I am the first to express to you this sincere and heartfelt consolation and the warmest congratulations for you to a very important matter” (Telvak & Telvak, 2023, p. 61).

After defending his thesis on May 24, 1894, M. Hrushevskiy completed the publishing work related to his master’s thesis and prepared for future lectures. As evidenced by his contemporaneous epistolary, the newly appointed professor felt a burdensome need to expand the department’s issues from the past of Ukrainian territories to the history of the entire Eastern European area. However, later the obligation to teach the history of Eastern Europe course imposed by the nomenclature of the department revealed its positive possibilities. First of all, it allowed the scholar to expand the event context for the reconstruction of the Ukrainian past. Also, thanks to this course, students of non-Ukrainian origin joined M. Hrushevskiy’s teaching audience (Telvak & Telvak, 2023), which contributed to the popularization of his historiographical hypotheses in Polish (Telvak, Yanyshyn & Telvak, 2023), Czech (Telvak & Telvak, 2019), Romanian (Telvak & Ilnytskyi, 2018), German (Telvak & Yanyshyn, 2021; Telvak, Yanyshyn & Telvak, 2021), French (Telvak & Telvak, 2022a) and other historiographic environments.

At that time, M. Hrushevskiy imposed the first epistolary contacts with the administration of Lviv University, proposing and defending his vision of both the nomenclature of educational Ukrainian studies courses and the specifics of their teaching. Thus, coordinating his academic load with the dean of the Faculty of Philosophy Antonii Kalina, M. Hrushevskiy separately noted the need to introduce a scientific seminar for students, emphasizing that “a seminar on the study of sources [...] I consider necessary for the presentation of the ancient period of the Russian history” (SALR, f. 26, op. 365, p. 6).

Gradually immersing himself in Galician affairs, M. Hrushevskiy, in his letters to O. Barvinskyi, became more and more interested in the problems of the development of Shevchenko Scientific Society and the content of its “Notes”. The Galician politician, understanding the importance for the young colleague to have full awareness of the intricacies of Lviv life, persuaded him to come to Lviv for a few days before the summer vacation, to give a speech at the meeting of the National Academy of Sciences and to make the necessary acquaintances. However, tired of preparing and defending his master’s thesis, the Kyiv scientist refused: “The spirit is eager, but the flesh is weak and requires rest for autumn work; it would not be possible for me to travel to Lviv for 2-3 days, because I would have to visit a lot of people so as not to offend anyone. I sincerely hope you will not take offense.” (Telvak & Telvak, 2023, p. 62).

M. Hrushevskiy spent his summer vacation with his parents in the Caucasus. In mid-August, he returned to Kyiv to complete some business and publications. As a part of sending off Hrushevskiy to Galician Ukraine, the Kyiv community held a farewell meeting. Oleksandr Lototskyi, a participant, described these gatherings as “extremely solemn” (Lototskyi, 1934, p. 62). While sending the young professor to Lviv, the senior citizens of Kyiv fervently wished that he would “nurture the feeling of national and cultural unity of the Ukrainian people with his activities, so that the young generation, namely the academic youth, as well as older workers, would take a step forward from the empty, immeasurable dreams and rally for real scientific work” (Barvinskyi, 1925, p. 16). All the speeches at the farewell party were dominated by the discourse of “sacrifice”, which the young historian brings to his people by moving to an unfamiliar country.

It is expected that the historian's parents were very worried about their son's departure to a distant country that was little known to them. Giving instructions to Mykhailo before the long journey, Glafira Zakharivna was especially worried that he would be lonely in a foreign land. She recalled: "Dad also, when he decided to leave his homeland, thought about getting married so as not to go alone" (Kucherenko, Pankova & Shevchuk, 2006, p. 409). The father's instructions to his son were imbued with experiences: "To work under science and not to interfere in politics [...]" (Kucherenko, Pankova & Shevchuk, 2006, p. 117).

M. Hrushevskyy left Kyiv by train and arrived in the Galician capital on Saturday, September 17 (29 – according to the new style) of 1894. To some extent, it was symbolic that a new chapter in the young scientist's biography began on the day of his birth. As we know, after moving to Lviv, the historian started a new chapter in the history of the cultural and socio-political life of his people.

The Conclusions. In conclusion, we note that M. Hrushevskyy's appointment to the Department of Eastern European History at Lviv University was made possible by the successful coincidence of many objective and subjective factors. The former includes a sufficiently high level of cultural development and political self-organization of Galician Ukrainians, who in the second half of the 1880s and early 1890s articulated and publicized the issue of opening a university department for the history of their native people, and managed to implement it despite numerous difficulties. The second is dominated by the personal factor: both the initiators of this educational campaign and the applicants for the chair were fully aware of the uniqueness of the historical chance, and therefore did not hesitate to put their national duty above private interest. The situation was especially difficult for V. Antonovych, who, while realizing the importance of his personality at the beginning of the action, also understood that the challenges of the Lviv professorship were too much for him to bear. Skillfully playing a triple game (with Galician people's representatives, Viennese bureaucrats, and Kyivan community members), he "delayed" the opening of the department until his student received his master's degree. The considerable risks of this game and the stormy emotions that raged among those involved were worth M. Hrushevskyy's phenomenal work in Galicia. After all, it was largely thanks to him that Ukrainians entered the era of war and revolution as a nation conscious of its cultural identity and historical unity.

Acknowledgement. The authors express their gratitude to the members of editorial board.

Funding. The authors did not receive any financial support for the publication of this article.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barvinskyi, A. (1925). Zasnovannia katedry istorii Ukrainy v Lvivskomu Universyteti [Foundation of the Department of History of Ukraine at Lviv University]. *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeny Shevchenka – Notes of the Shevchenko Scientific Society*, 141–143, 1–18. [in Ukrainian]

Barvinskyi, O. (2010). *Spomyny z moho zhyttia* [Memories from my life]. Vol. 2. Kyiv: VD "Stylos". [in Ukrainian]

Derzhavnyi arkhiv Lvivs'koi oblasti [State archives of Lviv Region – SALR]

Drahomanov, M. P. & Pavlyk, M. I. (1910). *Perepyska Mykhaila Drahomanova z Mykhailom Pavlykom (1876 – 1895). T. 6: (1890 – 1891)* [Correspondence between Mykhailo Drahomanov and Mykhailo Pavlyk (1876 – 1895). Volume 6: (1890 – 1891)]. Chernivtsi. [in Ukrainian]

Hrushevskyy, M. (1965). *Avtobiohrafia, 1906* [Autobiography, 1906]. Toronto: Acropolis Press. [in Ukrainian]

Hrushevskyy, M. (1997). *Shchodennyk (1888 – 1894 rr.)* [Diary (1888 – 1894)]. Kyiv: Instytut ukrainskoi arkhеоhrafii ta dzhereloznavstva im. M. S. Hrushevskoho. [in Ukrainian]

Katedra. (1893). Katedra ruskoy ystoriy na universytete Ivovskom [Department of Rus' History at Lviv University]. *Dilo – Work*, 187, 188, 1. [in Ukrainian]

Kucherenko, M. O., Pankova, S. M., & Shevchuk, H. V. (2006). *Ya buv yikh starshyy syn (rid Mykhaila Hrushevskoho)* [I was their eldest son (Mykhailo Hrushevskyy's family)]. Kyiv: Kyi. [in Ukrainian]

Levytskyi, K. (1926). *Istoriia politychnoi dumky halytskykh ukrainsiv 1848 – 1914 na pidstavi spomyniv* [History of political thought of Galician Ukrainians 1848 – 1914 based on memories]. Zhovkva: Drukarnia oo. Vasylilian. [in Ukrainian]

Lototskyi, O. (1934). *Storinky mynuloho* [Pages of the past]. Ch. 1. Varshava. [in Ukrainian].

Novyny. (1894). Novyny [News]. *Dilo – Work*, 84, 1. [in Ukrainian]

Onopriienko, V. (1994). Persha kafedra ukrainskoi istorii [First Department of Ukrainian History.]. *Kyivska starovyna – Kyiv antiquity*, 4, 76–81. [in Ukrainian]

Pakholkiv, S. (2014). *Ukrainska intelihentsiia u Habsburzkii Halychyni: osvichena verstva y emansypatsiia natsii* [The Ukrainian intelligentsia in Habsburg Galicia: the educated class and the emancipation of the nation]. Lviv: LA “Piramida”. [in Ukrainian]

Telvak, V., & Ilnytskyi, V. (2018). Mykhailo Hrushevskyyi and Nicolae Iorga: scholars' struggle over the national history. *Codrul Cosminului*, XXIV, 1, 53–64. [in English]

Telvak, V., & Sabinskyi, M. (2022). “Boi za Hrushevskoho”: doba Ukrainskoi revoliutsii v dyskusiakh diaspornykh intelektualiv poviennoho dvadtsiatylittia [“Battles for Hrushevskyyi”: era of Ukrainian Revolution in diaspora intellectuals discussions of post-war twenty years]. *Eminak*, 1 (37), 100–109. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.33782/eminak2022.1\(37\).574](https://doi.org/10.33782/eminak2022.1(37).574) [in Ukrainian]

Telvak, V., & Telvak, V. (2019). Mykhailo Hrushevskyyi in Czech historiography (the first third of the 20th century). *Codrul Cosminului*, XXV, 2, 265–286. DOI: 10.4316/CC.2019.02.002 [in English]

Telvak, V., & Telvak, V. (2022a). Mykhailo Hrushevskyyi u koli frantsuzkykh koleh: problemy retseptsii [Mykhailo Hrushevskyyi in the works of his French colleagues: problems of reception]. *Eminak*, 4 (40), 120–138. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.33782/eminak2022.4\(40\).610](https://doi.org/10.33782/eminak2022.4(40).610) [in Ukrainian].

Telvak, V., & Telvak, V. (2022b). The First Institutional Encyclopaedia in Ukraine. Naukove tovarystvo imeni Shevchenka: Entsyklopediya (Shevchenko Scientific Society: Encyclopaedia). *Studia Historiae Scientiarum*, 21, 423–432. DOI: 10.4467/2543702XSHS.22.013.15979 [in English].

Telvak, V., & Telvak, V. (2023). Studentska audytoriiia Mykhaila Hrushevskoho Lvivskoho universytetu neukrainskoho pokhodzhennia: sprobha rekonstruktsii [Mykhailo Hrushevskyyi's student audience of non-ukrainian origin at Lviv University: reconstruction attempt]. *Eminak*, 4 (44), 57–69. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.33782/eminak2023.4\(44\).674](https://doi.org/10.33782/eminak2023.4(44).674) [in Ukrainian]

Telvak, V., & Yanyshyn, B. (2021). “Geschichte des Ukrainischen (Ruthenischen) volkes” of Mykhailo Hrushevskyyi in the discussions of the beginning of the XXth century. *Studia Historica Nitriensia*, 25, 1, 71–90. DOI: 10.17846/SHN.2021.25.1.71-90 [in English]

Telvak, V., Pedych, V., & Telvak, V. (2021). Historical school of Mykhailo Hrushevskyyi in Lviv: formation, structure, personal contribution. *Studia Historiae Scientiarum*, 20, 239–261. DOI: 10.4467/2543702XSHS.21.009.14040 [in English]

Telvak, V., Yanyshyn, B., & Telvak, V. (2021). Between history and politics: the image of Mykhailo Hrushevskyyi in German Slavic studies of the first third of the 20th century. *Przegląd nauk historycznych*, XX, 2, 103–125. DOI: 10.18778/1644-857X.20.02.05 [in English]

Telvak, V., Yanyshyn, B., & Telvak, V. (2023). Between cooperation and conflict: Mykhailo Hrushevskyyi through the eyes of Polish intellectuals of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. *Echa Przeszłości*, XXIV/2, 89–104. DOI: 10.31648/ep.9668 [in English]

Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukrainy, m. Kyiv [Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, Kyiv – CSHAUK]

Vozniak, M. (1929). Ol. Konyskyi i pershi tomy “Zapysok” (Z dodatkom yoho lystiv do Mytrofana Dykareva) [Ol. Konyskyi and the first volumes of “Notes” (With an appendix of his letters to Mitrofan Dykarev)]. *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeny Shevchenka – Notes of the Shevchenko Scientific Society*, 150, 339–390. [in Ukrainian]

Vynar, L. (1986). Avstriiski uriadovi dokumenty pro pryznachennia M. Hrushevskoho profesorom lvivskoho universytetu [Austrian government documents on the appointment of M. Hrushevskyyi as a professor at Lviv University]. *Ukrainskyi istoryk – Ukrainian historian*, 3–4, 76–89. [in Ukrainian]

Zashkilniak, L. (1995). M. Hrushevskyyi i Halychyna (do pryzidu do Lvova 1894 r.) [M. Hrushevskyyi and Halychyna (before coming to Lviv in 1894)]. *Mykhailo Hrushevskyyi i Lvivska istorychna shkola. Materialy konferentsii – Mykhailo Hrushevskyyi and the Lviv Historical School. Proceedings of the conference*, (pp. 114–138). Lviv. [in Ukrainian]

*The article was received April 22, 2024.
Article recommended for publishing 29/11/2024.*