

UDC 930(477)(092) "18/19":378.4(477.83-25)-057.875  
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.36.339346

**Vitalii TELVAK**

*PhD hab. (History), Professor of the Department of World History and Special Historical Disciplines, Drohobych Ivan Franko 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

**Oleh PETRECHKO**

*PhD hab. (History), Professor, Head of the World History and Special Historical Disciplines Department, Drohobych Ivan Franko State Pedagogical University, 46 Lesya Ukrainka Street, Drohobych, Ukraine, postal code 82100 (o.petrechko@ukr.net)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0002-5535-3730

**Віталій ТЕЛЬВАК**

*доктор історичних наук, професор, 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)*

**Олег ПЕТРЕЧКО**

*доктор історичних наук, професор, завідувач кафедри всесвітньої історії та спеціальних історичних дисциплін, Дрогобицький державний педагогічний університет імені Івана Франка, вул. Лесі Українки, 46, м. Дрогобич, Україна, індекс 82100 (o.petrechko@ukr.net)*

**Bibliographic Description of the Article:** Telvak, V., & Petrechko, O. (2025). Among the Youth: Mykhailo Hrushevsky and the Student Body of Lviv University. *Skhidnoievropeyskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 36, 63–74. doi: 10.24919/2519-058X.36.339346

**AMONG THE YOUTH: MYKHAILO HRUSHEVSKY  
AND THE STUDENT BODY OF LVIV UNIVERSITY**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the research* is to determine the nature of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's relationship with the students of Lviv University. **The methodology of the research** is based on an interdisciplinary approach. There has been given special emphasis on structural functional system analysis of historiographical facts and the comparative historical method, based on the principles of objectivity and historicism. There have been also used the methods of periodization, classification, and typologization. **The scientific novelty** of the research consists in its attempt at a comprehensive reconstruction of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's communicative strategies in relation to the student community of Lviv University. **Conclusions.** Taking into consideration the summarized material, it is possible to speak of Mykhailo Hrushevsky as an innovative pedagogue in higher education. Rejecting the patriarchal practices of demonstrative professorial superiority over the student body, the scholar laid

the foundation in our intellectual culture for a tradition of democratic engagement with the youth. At its core was the Enlightenment idea of the University as a harmonious community of the authoritative mentors and knowledge-seeking students. The communicative strategy chosen by M. Hrushevsky enabled the establishment of a productive, partnership-based dialogue with his students, which had several important consequences. First and foremost, the first national historiographical school emerged, whose representatives shaped the leading trends by large in the Ukrainian social sciences and humanities throughout the 20th century. The impact of bringing politically opposed student youth together behind the concept of higher education in their own mother tongue was equally important. This cultural maxim became the foundation of a long-term strategy and tactic, adopted by all Ukrainian political parties, in the struggle against discriminatory Polish policies in the region. Hrushevsky's undisputed leadership in these initiatives made him a cult figure among the Ukrainian youth.

For the same reason, his students of other nationalities, especially the Poles, often treated the scholar with a certain distance, and at times with outright hostility, echoing the rhetoric of their older peers. However, those among them not involved in political disputes and preparing for academic careers considered M. Hrushevsky to be a classic figure in Ukrainian studies and preserved a respectful memory of him. In general, it was precisely Hrushevsky's students, who became the main participants in the complex Polish-Ukrainian dialogue during the war years and the two decades that followed. Elucidating the influence of the Professor's ideas on the nature of this process remains a topical issue in the intellectual history of Central and Eastern Europe.

**Key words:** M. Hrushevsky, Lviv University, students, cooperation, conflicts.

## У КОЛІ МОЛОДІ: МИХАЙЛО ГРУШЕВСЬКИЙ ТА СТУДЕНТСТВО ЛЬВІВСЬКОГО УНІВЕРСИТЕТУ

**Анотація.** Метою дослідження є з'ясування характеру взаємин М. Грушевського зі студентами Львівського університету. **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 та історизму. У дослідженні було також використано методи періодизації, класифікації і типологізації. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у спробі цілісної реконструкції комунікативних стратегій М. Грушевського стосовно представників студентської спільноти Львівського університету. **Висновки.** Узагальнений матеріал уможливує говорити про М. Грушевського як педагога-новатора вищої школи. Відкинувши патріархальні практики демонстративного вивчення професури над студентською громадою, вчений заклав у нашій інтелектуальній культурі традицію демократичного спілкування з молоддю, в основі якої лежала просвітницька ідея Університету як гармонійної спільноти авторитетних наставників і спраглої знань молоді. Обрана М. Грушевським комунікативна стратегія уможливила налагодити зі своїми вихованцями продуктивний партнерський діалог, що мало декілька важливих наслідків. Передусім, постала перша національна історіографічна школа, представники якої значною мірою визначили провідні тренди української соціогуманітаристики в ХХ столітті. Не менш важливим ефектом стало об'єднання поділеної в політичному плані студентської молоді ідеєю рідномовної вищої школи. Ця культурна максима лягла в основу прийнятої всіма українськими партіями довголітньої стратегії й тактики боротьби з польсько-українською політикою в краї. Беззаперечне лідерство М. Грушевського в цих проєктах зробило з нього культову постать для української молоді.

З цієї ж причини його студенти інших національностей, передусім поляки, ставилися до вченого з певною дистанцією, а нерідко й відверто вороже, наслідуючи риторику старших колег. Утім та їх частина, яка не була заангажована в політичні суперечки і готувалася до наукової кар'єри, вбачала в М. Грушевському класика українознавства й зберегла про нього шанобливу пам'ять. Загалом же, саме студенти М. Грушевського стали головними учасниками складного польсько-українського діалогу в роки війни та подальше двадцятиліття. З'ясування впливовості ідей професора на особливості його протікання є актуальною проблемою інтелектуальної історії Центрально-Східної Європи.

**Ключові слова:** М. Грушевський, Львівський університет, студенти, співпраця, конфлікти.

**Problem Statement.** There has been paid special attention to the multifaceted scholarly and pedagogical work of the author of the History of Ukraine-Rus' in contemporary Hrushevsky studies at Lviv University. The above-mentioned notable interest is driven by a growing understanding of its significance in strengthening the cultural – and consequently, political – agency of the indigenous population of Eastern Galicia, which existed within a context of interethnic competition intensified by the challenges of modernization. There have been diverse scholars, drawing on newly discovered Ukrainian, Austrian, and Polish archival collections, which shed light on numerous organizational, didactic, and communicative aspects of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's professorial routine. Nevertheless, there are many issues, which still should be analysed more rigorously, particularly in light of the expanding source base and the enduring influence of historiographical stereotypes formed during the period of the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle. Hrushevsky's relationships with his students stand out as particularly complex among these unresolved issues. Its relevance is directly linked to the ongoing Polish-Ukrainian discussion regarding the influence or marginality of M. Hrushevsky's activities as the professor of the first Ukrainian History Department in the annals of our intellectual culture.

**Review of Recent Research and Publications.** Mykhailo Hrushevsky's relationship issue with his students was raised during the scholar's lifetime. Typically, on the occasion of his jubilees, his former students reflected – sometimes with more, sometimes with less depth – on their experiences interacting with him. Understandably, given the nature and motivations behind such writings, the above-mentioned reflections tended to be laudatory in tone (Lentsyk, 1984; Chubaty, 1975). There were similar discursive practices, which were carried on by Hrushevsky's students during the postwar period: a few of his former pupils from Lviv, who had the fortune of emigrating to the American continent, depicted the image of an eminent mentor of the youth in their memoirs (Telvak, & Sabinskyi, 2022). This somewhat one-dimensional portrayal of Hrushevsky as professor is largely reproduced by contemporary Ukrainian scholars addressing the topic (Kachmar, 2016–2021; Sukhyi, 2016–2021).

At the same time, there developed a sharply contrasting interpretation of Hrushevsky's pedagogical role within the Polish historiography. Our western neighbours echoed the rhetoric of the interethnic tensions consistently that marked the turn of the 19th to 20th century. They generally either denied the Ukrainian professor any meaningful role within the university community of the time or, conversely, depicted him as a demagogic figure, who incited the Ukrainian youth to resist the administration of Galicia's leading institution of higher education (Telvak, Yanyshyn & Telvak, 2023). Unfortunately, even contemporary Polish historiography of Lviv University during the autonomous period reproduces frequently these outdated historiographical clichés uncritically (Adamski, 2011). Taking into account the circumstances, there is a drastic need for a comprehensive analysis of the issue on “Hrushevsky and the youth of Lviv University,” given the expanded body of sources now available and the accumulated historiographical experience in interpreting this topic.

**The purpose of the research** is to determine the nature of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's relationship with the students of Lviv University.

**Research Results.** It could be easily seen in the body of Hrushevsky studies that his decision to accept the Galician narodovtsi' offer to head the newly established Department of Ukrainian History at Lviv University was primarily driven by his desire to develop a national historiography within the constitutional Austro-Hungarian monarchy – a state where

the Ukrainian language was not subject to the same discriminatory restrictions as in the Russian Empire. However, an equally important motivation was Kyiv University graduate's aspiration to engage the Galician youth in the study – and subsequently the study – of their native past. The evidence could be found in the Memoirs of Oleksandr Barvinsky, the initiator of the University department. He asserted that during one of his regular visits to Kyiv, where the priorities for the newly established department's Professor were discussed with the participation of O. Konysky and V. Antonovych, the latter gave M. Hrushevsky the following guidance: "[...] To become a guide and advisor to the younger generation at the University, to steer them away from empty social and political rhetoric, and to direct them towards serious and substantive scholarly work, thereby preparing them for future service to the benefit of the Ukrainian people" (DMCT IL, f. 135, c. 24, p. 370).

The young professor understood, no less than his mentors, the importance of establishing a trusting and collaborative dialogue with his students. His ambitious plans to search for documents in the Russian and Western European archival collections and, on that basis, to undertake a comprehensive reconstruction of the Ukrainian history in all its thematic dimensions could only be realized through the organization of collective scholarly work. Keeping in mind the above-mentioned, he addressed the younger members of his audience already in his inaugural lecture at Lviv University, specifically inviting those, "who are eager to study history with me *viribus unitis*" (Hrushevsky, 1994, p. 14). Calling on the students in attendance to collaborate, Hrushevsky emphasized: "I consider any dogmatism in my discipline unnecessary and any *juratio in verba magistri* [blind acceptance of the teacher's word] – unacceptable. I would like to see the same spirit of inquiry and critical thinking in my collaborators – my students – as much as possible, and I sincerely hope that, above all, they will apply that spirit to my own words as well, not accepting them uncritically" (Hrushevsky, 1994, p. 14).

This emotional appeal by the newly appointed professor to the youth had a powerful mobilizing effect. One of his first students, Myron Korduba, noted that after the inaugural lecture, "everyone at the university, who identified as the Ukrainian enrolled in Hrushevsky's lectures – not only philosophy students from various groups, but also law and theology students – and he had to lecture in the largest auditorium" (Korduba, 1916, p. 795). Such enthusiasm was fueled by Hrushevsky's personal demeanor as a professor, which, according to Korduba, "was entirely unlike the typical university professors I had become accustomed to encountering in Lviv" (Korduba, 1916, p. 795). This referred to the professor's distinctly democratic style of communication with students, most vividly reflected in his habit of addressing his younger colleagues as *pane-tovaryshu* [Mister Comrade] (Krypiakievych, 1935, p. 34), thereby reducing the psychological distance and fostering a collegial dialogue. This communicative strategy contributed to the dynamic formation of Lviv School of History significantly, whose representatives formed the closest circle of Hrushevsky's students.

It was in his interaction with aspiring researchers of the national past that the author of *The History of Ukraine-Rus'* most fully revealed himself as a mentor and scholarly guardian of the youth. It should be noted that his remarkable patience and willingness to teach students the intricacies of the historical craft, despite his heavy involvement in numerous academic projects and public engagements, were of utmost importance. His students often recalled this, noting that "he never begrudged his precious time for conversations with the unexperienced ('half-baked') scholars" (Krypiakievych, 1935, p. 34).

M. Hrushevsky's effort to align the personal scholarly interests of young researchers with the foremost task of contemporary national historiography is also striking – the creation of a

comprehensive reconstruction of the Ukrainian past. With this in mind, he often brought in the research topics that reflected his own focus on the Cossack era, which, according to Ivan Krypiakevych, “became, as it were, their [representatives of the Lviv school’s] specialization” (Krypiakevych, 1991, p. 397). Nevertheless, if a student clearly expressed a desire to pursue an independent topic, Hrushevsky was always supporting and consistently helped guide those early efforts toward a publishable standard. This is evident in the acknowledgments many students included in their first publications. For instance, Melania Bordun, in her first article dedicated to the socio-cultural history of the Ukrainian clergy in the 18th century, expressed gratitude to her mentor for his scholarly guidance (Bordun, 1912, p. 39). Alongside her, other students developed their own research interests: Bohdan Buchynskyi (Western European medieval history), Zenon Kuzelia (ethnography), Stepan Rudnytskyi (geography and cartography), among others. This clearly refutes the stereotype – common in conservative historiography – that the author of *The History of Ukraine-Rus’* “exploited” his students for scholarly gain.

Alongside his scientific leadership, Mykhailo Hrushevsky considered it essential to provide comprehensive support to his students in their daily life concerns. First and foremost, as head of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, he facilitated the establishment of a number of scholarship funds aimed at financing research by freshmen (Telvak, & Telvak, 2022). Due to the above-mentioned, the motivated young people were interested in the academic work gained the opportunity to prepare for their doctoral studies. In addition, the Ukrainian professor made significant efforts to keep his most talented students in Lviv, where they had the opportunity to engage in the research work, as teaching in the Galician provinces made archival work practically impossible. One example is the case of Stepan Tomashivsky, whom the historian, through repeated appeals to the Ukrainian parliamentarians, managed to secure a teaching position at Lviv gymnasium, thereby enabling him to prepare his habilitation thesis. Not infrequently, Hrushevsky also rescued his protégés from difficulties using his own funds. A vivid example is the case of the arrest of M. Zalizniak in the affair known as the “Trial of the 101”. Having ended up in prison, this native of Russian-ruled Ukraine had no close contacts in Lviv, who could post bail for him. It was Hrushevsky himself, who secured his student’s release by posting a rather large bail for the time – 20,000 crowns (CSHAUK, f. 1235, d. 1, c. 672, pp. 36–51).

Such comprehensive support was highly valued by the Ukrainian professor’s students. Evidence of this is the unfailingly grateful content of their letters to their teacher, which reflect their understanding of the significance of the assistance received. For instance, M. Korduba considered it his student duty to “express gratitude that melts my heart” (Kupchynskyi, 2016). S. Tomashivsky wrote “sincerely thanks” to Mykhailo Hrushevsky many times (CSHAUK, f. 1235, d. 1, c. 792, p. 97). D. Korenets consistently asked him to accept his “heartfelt thanks for the great kindness now shown to me again” (CSHAUK, f. 1235, d. 1, c. 553, p. 76). M. Zalizniak thanked the teacher for “the warm attitude towards me, as well as for sincerity” (CSHAUK, f. 1235, d. 1, c. 485, pp. 150–151). Vasyl Herasymchuk repeatedly expresses his “very deep and heartfelt gratitude” (Hyrych, & Samsonyk, 1994, p. 84). Many similar examples could be cited.

Alongside the above-mentioned comprehensive support, M. Hrushevsky also considered the moral education of students to be his own duty. It is most eloquently illustrated by the situations when rumors reached him about the frivolous attitude of the young people towards their commitments or their squandering of funds received from the Shevchenko Scientific



Society (NTSh) on entertainment. Then, the scholar would adopt a completely “fatherly” style of behavior and clarify straightforwardly such an unsightly situation. For example, when rumors of M. Korduba’s dissolute behavior in Vienna reached him, he wrote directly to the student: “And now I must fulfill a very unpleasant duty regarding you. Several times since my return I have heard that you have the reputation of being a reveler, constantly spending time at the restaurants [...] etc. I don’t immediately believe such gossip, but the mere existence of it is very unpleasant to me. Of course, you may reply that it’s none of my business, but I think – you won’t do that. [...] So, it would be unpleasant for me to give up on you” (Kupchynskiy, 2016, p. 133). Further, M. Hrushevsky described his ideal of a Ukrainian scientist to the young scholar: “[...] The scientific work always demands a certain asceticism from a person, and someone who is too drawn to taverns cannot be a serious worker, devoted to the research and the national interests that Rus’ requires”. At the end of the letter, the professor emphasized the importance of honest communication: “In any case, tell me the honest truth in your reply!” (Kupchynskiy, 2016, p. 134).

Interestingly, such frankness did not offend the predominantly older audience – many of whom already had families – but rather was regarded as a sign of the teacher’s sincere concern and deep engagement. For instance, in response to the above-mentioned letter, M. Korduba first noted: “You have indeed provided yet another proof of your devotion by writing to me about this” (Kupchynskiy, 2016, p. 135). Subsequently, mirroring his teacher’s directness and sincerity, the young man described the hardships of his life in Vienna. This left M. Hrushevsky with no doubt that the student had become a target of a defamation campaign led by ideological opponents from the Russophile circles.

M. Hrushevsky was no less demanding of his students as a scholarly advisor. Although it was essential for members of his academic school to publish their initial studies as part of the doctoral process, the professor consistently upheld high professional standards. He refused to compromise and often required extended and meticulous work on academic texts. A vivid example of this is case of the above-mentioned M. Bordun and her first study on the history of the Greek Catholic clergy. In a letter to her mentor, she described candidly her fatigue from prolonged work on a single topic and appealed for understanding, given her limitations as a novice researcher: “Most Honorable Professor, As requested, I am sending the introduction to my work. At the same time, I dare to ask you, if possible, to kindly accept my work in its current form, as I am very eager to obtain an academic degree as soon as possible. I have been working on this research for more than two years. I am really worn out, and the thought of revising it once more is, quite frankly, overwhelming” (CSHAUK, f. 1235, d. 1, c. 303, pp. 246–247).

A similar combination of goodwill and high expectations characterized Mykhailo Hrushevsky’s communication with the Ukrainian students at Lviv University, even with those, who were not working with him directly as their academic advisor. After the professor publicly advocated in 1897 for the establishment of a Ukrainian institution of higher education in Lviv (Hrushevsky, 1897), the students chose him as a trusted Counselor in their protracted struggle to defend their national rights within the university. M. Hrushevsky accepted willingly this psychologically taxing role, despite the fact that it led to a rupture in his relationship with the Polish professorial colleagues. From that point on, he launched a vocal media campaign in support of the Ukrainian students’ demands and emerged as the moral leader of their movement. This role is evidenced by numerous contributions to Lviv newspapers, which reported his presence at many student gatherings and *viche* [public assemblies] where tactical

decisions were made in response to the Polish discriminatory practices in the cultural sphere (Telvak, Kurylyshyn, & Telvak, 2022). At the same time, the professor's involvement was extremely important for both sides of the Polish-Ukrainian conflict, as he was able in every situation to find arguments to prevent the radicalization of emotionally inclined the youth and to keep their protest impulses within legal boundaries, something the opponents would have readily exploited.

Unfortunately, M. Hrushevsky's Polish colleagues, focused on consolidating their dominance at Lviv University, failed to appreciate the pacifying influence of their Ukrainian counterpart properly. On the contrary, they unjustifiably suspected him of inciting the students. The evidence was a letter from the Rector of Lviv University, Ludwik Rydygier, addressed to Hrushevsky, requesting an explanation of his participation in the general assembly of the Ukrainian youth held at the *Narodnyi Dim* [People's House] on December 7, 1901. The meeting marked the beginning of the student secession from Lviv University (SALR, f. 26, d. 13, c. 1, p. 15). In his response, Hrushevsky emphasized that his presence had a constructive influence on the course of the discussion: "[...]As I heard from more than one person, my participation, given the respect I command among the youth, could only contribute to a serious and composed atmosphere, free from outbursts against the Senate [...]". In concluding the letter, Hrushevsky reaffirmed his constitutional right to communicate freely with the student body: "Finally, I must note that, as far as I am concerned, the practice of Lviv University to date has not imposed any restrictions on professors' freedom in their relations with the academic youth. In this light, I can only interpret the Senate's present inquiry as a reaction to the exceptional nature of the current troubling circumstances" (SALR, f. 26, d. 13, c. 1, pp. 20–21).

Despite this more than comprehensive explanation, the Polish administration remained under the influence of Lviv tabloid press, which consistently portrayed M. Hrushevsky as a disruptor of interethnic "harmony". As a result, he was blamed unjustly not only for allegedly inciting student protests, but also for the students' decision to leave Lviv University en masse as a demonstration against national discrimination. It was reflected in a letter from K. Studynsky to O. Barvinsky: "I will also add that the Poles are pointing to Hrushevsky as the provocateur (Wojciechowski stated this publicly, in Kolessa's presence), although Hrushevsky was in fact strongly opposed to the student secession. I ask you to possibly clarify this to the Minister, because here they would very much like to devour Hrushevsky" (DM LSL, f. 2483, c. 149, pp. 54–55).

Alongside defending the interests of the Ukrainian youth within the university, M. Hrushevsky also repeatedly acted as their advocate in the public sphere. This concerned an orchestrated media campaign launched by the Polish chauvinist press, which sought to discredit Ukrainian students by claiming that they had become so immersed in political struggle that they no longer produced individuals with scholarly inclinations. The goal of such publications was to justify to the Viennese authorities the increasingly restrictive anti-Ukrainian policies implemented at Lviv University. As someone thoroughly familiar with the daily hardships faced by his students, M. Hrushevsky acknowledged that "intense struggle, the ever-restless, troubled atmosphere, and strained relations at the university in recent years have, understandably, not been conducive to calm academic work" (Hrushevsky, 1907, p. 1). At the same time, he exposed the manipulative nature of the Polish press's assertions and, through numerous examples, demonstrated that the detrimental conditions for the education of the region's native population, caused by the university administration, did not diminish the youth's

inclination towards learning. “And still, I say this emphatically”, the historian continued, “it is simply untrue that the Ukrainian youth have become so politicized that they have lost any academic interest and have stopped educating people with scientific qualifications. Even though nine years have passed since the great university assembly of 1899, which launched the campaign for a Ukrainian university, serious academic interests among the Ukrainian students have never faded, despite the long, drawn-out, and extremely abnormal conditions. Nor have there ever been a shortage of individuals, who pursued scientific work intensively, even at the height of the university struggle” (Hrushevsky, 1907, p. 1).

M. Hrushevsky's care for the Ukrainian students also had a distinctly practical dimension. As it was noted earlier, he established numerous scholarship funds to support students with scientific ambitions. His efforts expanded more broadly through an initiative aimed at ensuring dignified living conditions for the wider student community. In response to numerous complaints from younger colleagues about the hardships they faced in finding affordable housing, Hrushevsky offered the construction of an *Akademichnyi Dim* [Academic House] in Lviv. According to his vision, the foundation charter of the “Academic House” stated: “There has long been an urgent need for a home where the Ukrainian-Ruthenian students of higher education institutions could find decent hygienic and reasonably priced accommodation and meals – if necessary, even on credit – where they would be educated in an atmosphere of diligence, elevated intellectual interests, social and national responsibility, and where, without wasting their energy in hardship or unsuitable conditions, they would enter life's difficult struggle with untarnished reserves – of energy, fresh interests, and ideals of public service” (Diialnist Vydilu, 1905, p. 6). This project by Hrushevsky received financial backing from Kyiv philanthropist Yevhen Chykalenko, and by 1906, the first dormitory for the Ukrainian students in Lviv had begun to fulfill its mission of providing both unity and care.

Such large-scale mentorship and protective activity by the professor was highly appreciated by his younger colleagues. M. Hrushevsky's principled stance in defending the Ukrainian interests transformed him, in the eyes of students, into a national hero, who did not succumb to either official incentives or administrative punishments. Evidence of this includes the repeated ovations with which the professor, to his own surprise, was greeted when entering the lecture hall to deliver his lectures. The reports on such events can be found in the Lviv press (Telvak, Kurylyshyn, & Telvak, 2022). This occurred, for example, at the first lecture of the 1903 – 1904 academic year, when, on behalf of the assembled Ukrainian students, their colleague Dombrovsky addressed Hrushevsky with words of support: “[...] I must express my indignation at the fact that part of the Polish press, taking advantage of recent university events, has launched an attack against you – our respected and beloved professor, a true man of science who has nothing to do with political agitation and struggles – with vile denunciations and slanders, aiming to undermine your position. [...] Let, at this moment, at least a partial reward for all of this be the respect and sympathy of the Ukrainian-Ruthenian youth for you, and a guarantee that we will not allow anyone, whoever they may be, to violate your honor and person with impunity” (Ovatsiia, 1903, p. 3).

It is characteristic that, as in other similar cases, M. Hrushevsky did not use the manifestation of sympathy toward him to inflame the Polish-Ukrainian tensions, as his colleagues in the faculty accused him of doing, but rather to temper emotions and redirect them into a constructive channel. Thus, responding to the previously mentioned words of student solidarity, the professor addressed those gathered: “I thank you, gentlemen, for your expressions of sympathy. Indeed, any honest man should be outraged by the behavior of a



certain segment of the Polish press – these efforts to turn against me, as a weapon, those heartfelt relations that from the beginning have bound me to my audience, and which should bind every professor to his audience. But do not let such antics upset your composure. Let us remain calm and proceed to what we have gathered here for – to the lecture I had announced” (Vid Vp. Prof. Hrushevskoho, 1903, p. 3).

While supporting the Ukrainian students in their struggle for national rights at Lviv University, M. Hrushevsky reacted quite sharply to displays of political maneuvering, factionalism, and demagoguery within the youth environment itself. Since such delicate issues from a reputational standpoint concerning the Ukrainian youth movement were not appropriate for public discussion, the scholar expressed his attitude toward these unappealing phenomena on the pages of his diary usually. Based on it, we found out about Hrushevsky’s stern conversations with those student representatives, who turned the youth activism into an end in itself and neglected their academic responsibilities. One example of such a reaction can be found in a March 1904 entry: “A law student came asking me to attend the law students’ assembly. I delicately made it clear that this was a dishonest move. Of course, I wouldn’t go. They completely messed up the university’s affairs” (Hrushevsky, 2021, p. 103).

The representatives of other nationalities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire also studied at Lviv University along with the Ukrainian students. The Poles dominated clearly in number. M. Hrushevsky had rather complicated relations with them. The student catalogs show a relatively small, yet stable, presence of non-Ukrainians at the lectures and seminars of the author of the “History of Ukraine-Rus” (Telvak, & Telvak, 2023). Although the scholar was equally tolerant of all national groups in the university’s student community, he, nevertheless, had certain prejudices against the Russophiles, whom he considered to be the national renegades. This is evident from his reaction to the presence of the Russophile youth at his lectures during the Ukrainian students’ secession – an act that undermined the unity of resistance to the discriminatory Polish policies systematically implemented by the university administration. In a letter to his brother Oleksandr, he described the situation the following: “[...] I had a lecture today [...]. There were two – one Russian, and one *katsap*, as they say in Ruthenian (a Russophile). They said they would attend, but I will not conduct a lecture for two people for 5 hours a week; somehow that will be resolved” (Hrushevsky, 2021, p. 133).

The history of Mykhailo Hrushevsky’s relationship with the Polish youth was no less complex. On the one hand, the Polish students were regularly enrolled in his courses and, along with the Jewish students, formed the majority of the non-Ukrainian ethnic group attending the professor’s lectures. On the other hand, they could not have remained unaffected by the powerful smear campaign launched by the Polish press, which portrayed M. Hrushevsky as a “mortal enemy of Poland” and a “Haidamak instigator”. The historian himself began to notice that the Polish students were increasingly avoiding him. A manifestation of this distancing was their refusal to attend his lectures during the Ukrainian student secession (Telvak, Pedych, & Telvak, 2021). The scholar observed such distancing in the following years as well. For example, in March of 1907, he noted in his diary: “In the university library, it seemed the Polish youth were glaring at me – *nie dajmy się sprowokować!* [let’s not allow ourselves to be provoked]” (Hrushevsky, 2021, p. 399). In turn, in July of 1910, when Adam Kocko died as a result of a Polish-Ukrainian clash on university premises, the Polish youth paradoxically placed the moral responsibility for their own crime on M. Hrushevsky. A proclamation from a Polish assembly stated: “As the intellectual culprits [of A. Kocko’s killing], the Polish youth consider Prof. Hrushevsky and Dnistriansky, whose immediate

removal as apostles of slaughter is an essential condition for peace within the walls of Lviv University” (Adamski, 2011, p. 105). Amid such an atmosphere, and with well-grounded fears for his personal safety, M. Hrushevsky, as he noted several times in his diary, was forced “to lecture with a revolver in his pocket” during periods of heightened interethnic conflict! (Hrushevsky, 2021, pp. 261, 470). Nonetheless, despite the intense ethnic struggle within the university, non-Ukrainian students focused on academic careers, as evidenced by student catalogs, continued attending the Ukrainian professor’s lectures right up to the outbreak of World War I. It was the most outstanding among them, who laid the foundations for national traditions of interpreting Hrushevsky’s work in the historiographies of Central and Eastern Europe (Telvak, & Telvak 2019).

**Conclusions.** Taking into consideration the summarized material, it is possible to speak of Mykhailo Hrushevsky as an innovative pedagogue in higher education. Rejecting the patriarchal practices of demonstrative professorial superiority over the student body, the scholar laid the foundation in our intellectual culture for a tradition of democratic engagement with the youth. At its core was the Enlightenment idea of the University as a harmonious community of the authoritative mentors and knowledge-seeking students. The communicative strategy chosen by M. Hrushevsky enabled the establishment of a productive, partnership-based dialogue with his students, which had several important consequences. First and foremost, the first national historiographical school emerged, whose representatives shaped the leading trends by large in the Ukrainian social sciences and humanities throughout the 20th century. The impact of bringing politically opposed student youth together behind the concept of higher education in their own mother tongue was equally important. This cultural maxim became the foundation of a long-term strategy and tactic, adopted by all Ukrainian political parties, in the struggle against discriminatory Polish policies in the region. Hrushevsky’s undisputed leadership in these initiatives made him a cult figure among the Ukrainian youth.

For the same reason, his students of other nationalities, especially the Poles, often treated the scholar with a certain distance, and at times with outright hostility, echoing the rhetoric of their older peers. However, those among them not involved in political disputes and preparing for academic careers considered M. Hrushevsky to be a classic figure in Ukrainian studies and preserved a respectful memory of him. In general, it was precisely Hrushevsky’s students, who became the main participants in the complex Polish-Ukrainian dialogue during the war years and the two decades that followed. Elucidating the influence of the professor’s ideas on the nature of this process remains a topical issue in the intellectual history of Central and Eastern Europe.

**Acknowledgement.** We express sincere gratitude to all editorial board members for the consultations provided during the preparation of the article for printing.

**Funding.** The authors did not receive any financial assistance for the research and publication of this scientific work.

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*The article was received November 15, 2024.  
Article recommended for publishing 30/08/2025.*