

**Vitalii Telvak**ORCID [0000-0002-2445-968X](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2445-968X)

Ivan Franko Drohobych State Pedagogical University (Drohobych, Ukraine)

[telvak1@yahoo.com](mailto:telvak1@yahoo.com)**Vasyl Pedych**ORCID [0000-0002-8942-8374](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8942-8374)

Ivano-Frankivsk National Technical University of Oil and Gas (Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine)

[pedychwasyl@gmail.com](mailto:pedychwasyl@gmail.com)**Viktoria Telvak**ORCID [0000-0003-4671-743X](https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4671-743X)






Ivan Franko Drohobych State Pedagogical University (Drohobych, Ukraine)

[viktoriatelvak75@gmail.com](mailto:viktoriatelvak75@gmail.com)

## Historical school of Mykhailo Hrushevsky in Lviv: formation, structure, personal contribution

**Abstract**

This article deals with the genesis and functioning of the Lviv Historical School of M. Hrushevsky. The plans to create a historical school of Ukrainian character at the University of Lviv were made by the initiators of the department of World His-

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tory – specializing in with the history of the Western Europe – i.e. O. Barvinsky, V. Antonovych, and O. Koninsky, as well as by M. Hrushevsky.

The school had a two-stage structure of formation and functioning: the historical seminar of the University of Lviv and the section for the history of philosophy of the Scientific Society of Shevchenko. It made it possible to gather creative young people on the first stage at the University of Lviv, and introduce them to the scientific work and to prepare and train the new employees on the second stage in the section for the history of philosophy of the Scientific Society of Shevchenko.

The composition of the school were elaborated relying on the firstly determined criteria (taking part in the scientific seminar, the work in the sections and commissions of the Scientific Society Shevchenko, scholar maturity etc). It was determined that the Lviv school counted 20 young historians, among whom one was a woman.

The Ukrainian Galician Center of Hrushevsky was characterized as a common school of the leadership type, whose didactic tasks were accompanied by the simultaneous creation of the new Ukrainian historical ideology.

It was concluded that the Lviv Historical School was undoubtedly the most important humanistic phenomenon in the Ukrainian science, both in terms of effectiveness and the temporal range of influence. Its appearance marked the entry of Ukrainian science into a new level of professionalization.

**Keywords:** *Hrushevsky, Lviv Historical School, University of Lviv, Scientific Society of Shevchenko, scholar maturity, students, Ukrainian science*

## Szkoła historyczna Mychajły Hruszewskiego we Lwowie: geneza i rozwój, struktura, twórcy

### Abstrakt

Niniejszy artykuł dotyczy genezy i funkcjonowania w nauce – lwowskiej szkoły historycznej M. Hruszewskiego. Dowiedziono w nim, że twórcy Katedry Historii Świata ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem historii Europy Wschodniej (Oleksandr Barvinsky,

Volodymyr Antonovych i Oleksandr Konysky) oraz sam Hruszewski mieli szerszy plan stworzenia historycznej szkoły badań ukraińskich na Uniwersytecie Lwowskim. Koncepcję tę w dużej mierze zrealizowali.

Szkoła ta powstawała dwuetapowo, w dwóch miejscach. Jej działalność związana była z seminarium historycznym Uniwersytetu Lwowskiego oraz Sekcją Historyczno-Filozoficzną Towarzystwa Naukowego im. Szewczenki (NTSz). Umożliwiło to na pierwszym etapie (na Uniwersytecie Lwowskim) wyłonienie twórczej młodzieży i wprowadzenie jej do pracy naukowej, a na drugim (w ramach Sekcji Historyczno-Filozoficznej NTSz) kształcenie i formowanie nowej kadry ukraińskiej humanistyki.

Skład osobowy szkoły Hruszewskiego został ustalony na podstawie kilku łącznych kryteriów (udział w seminarium naukowym, praca w sekcjach i komisjach NTSz, dojrzałość naukowa itp.). Ustalono, że liczyła ona 20 młodych historyków. Wśród nich znalazła się jedna kobieta.

Galicyski ośrodek studiów ukraińskich Hruszewskiego został scharakteryzowany jako uniwersalna szkoła naukowa typu przywódczego, polegająca na uznaniu pozycji mistrza i wyznaczonych przez niego celów. Koncentrowały się one na zadaniach dydaktycznych z jednoczesnym tworzeniem nowej ukraińskiej ideologii historycznej. Lwowska szkoła historyczna była bez wątpienia najważniejszym fenomenem humanistycznym w nauce ukraińskiej, zarówno pod względem skuteczności, jak i czasowego zasięgu wpływów. Jej pojawienie się oznaczało wejście ukraińskiej nauki na nowy poziom profesjonalizacji.

**Słowa kluczowe:** *Mychajło Hruszewski, Lwowska Szkoła Historyczna, Uniwersytet Lwowski, Towarzystwo Naukowe im. Szewczenki, autorefleksja naukowa, studenci, nauka ukraińska*

## 1. Introduction

Among the Ukrainian historians of science, there is a conviction which dominates that a considerable scholar phenomenon, from the point of view of effectiveness as well as temporal long-term time perspective, is Lviv Historical School of Mykhailo Hrushevsky, which meant an entry on the Ukrainian science to a new level of professionalism. Created by the great Ukrainian historian, the Galician centre is properly certified the first in the national culture by the creative group, representatives

of which implemented a proposal by their Head about the discovery work of Ukrainian studies nature. Although, despite the continuous professional interest in this phenomenon, these studies in the great part continue to be under a topical and conceptual impact of the interwar and diasporic historiography. It is because of their objectively determined fragmentation and disproportion upon the address to the problem of scholar Hrushevskiana. Scientists of 1990–2000 in majority only enriched with new sources the plots by favourite predecessors, without rethinking the school phenomenon itself.

The first attempt of the complex research of the Lviv school of Hrushevsky involves a wide range of new sources and the implementation of modern methodologic propositions which we realized in our monograph of 2016. The timelines of such a step were shown in a lively discussion of the book, which led to the appearance of about ten reviews.<sup>1</sup> Generally agreeing with our vision of the nature of the Lviv Ukrainian studies centre of Hrushevsky, our colleagues also mentioned the specific missings and thesis, which require more detailed reasoning. Reacting on told wishes, we, during the last few years continued the studying of the scientific and organizational activity of the author of *History of Ukraine-Rus'* in the Lviv period of his life. Below we will concentrate on the enlightenment of the most considerable plots of the chosen problem.

## 2. Methodological notes

A general theoretic and methodological ground of our work became the proposed and developed by Tetiana Popova sociocognitive approach. She is addressing the historiographies problem, which considers the study of the general impact on the development of the science of inside (internalists, cognitive) and outer (externalists, social) factors.<sup>2</sup> Our study is also oriented on the set of ideas of the cultural and intellectual history, which already proved its instrumental suitability for the studying of a wide range of Hrushevsky problems.<sup>3</sup> Compared to the traditional history of historiography, this direction, among others, orients the

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<sup>1</sup> Telvak, Pedych 2016.

<sup>2</sup> Popova 2007, pp. 72–75, 86–88

<sup>3</sup> Telvak 2010.

scientist on the studying of the intellectual activity and processes in the areas of classical, social and natural science knowledge in their social-cultural context. This leads to letting the Professor of Science always consider the wide historian and cultural background of the foundation and functioning of the discovered phenomena.

The key in the work is the definition of “Historical school”. With all debatable discussions of its context and the variability about specific necessary formal or informal indications, modern scientists highlight a list of solid criteria, with the availability of which it is possible to talk about the existence of the school. It is, mainly, about the scientific groups of the second part of 19<sup>th</sup> – the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Here, for us, there is a very similar point of view of Jerzy Maternicki, who pointed on the necessity of the following conditions of the school existence: 1) communicational connection between teachers and students, which consists of pedagogical and informal communication; 2) the unit of the theoretic and methodological (more often – methodical) positions of the historians, to which the categorical apparatus also belongs, with the help of which the process of studying history is being managed, principles and methods of the work with sources, understanding of the historical science, etc; 3) the familiarity with the concrete historical discoveries, the interconnectedness of the works’ topics; 4) the presence in the young scientists the scholar identity.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, it is rightly emphasized that the scientific school is a unique phenomenon. Therefore, for its highlighting among the other professional specific unities, inherent only to its criteria can be also used, which will fill the mentioned above matrix up.

### 3. The idea of the school

The second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century is related to the tradition of the populist direction of Ukrainian historical science. One of its leading representatives, Volodymyr Antonovych, for the first time in the Ukrainian humanities was in charge purposefully of the formation of the circle of students. Especially in the lay by him scholar tradition the scientists fairly see the leaks of the Lviv historical school of Hrushevsky. However,

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<sup>4</sup> Maternicki 2005.

unlike Antonovych, Hrushevsky put in the basis of teaching his own historiography model.<sup>5</sup> There is one more considerable difference, that the scientific school of Antonovych gave the representatives not only Ukrainian but also Russian and Belarus science. So we consider the conclusion of the Liubomyr Vynar who mentioned, that Lviv historical school was the way of the evolution of organizational practices and conceptual basis of the Kyiv documentarians school.<sup>6</sup>

Reconstructing the genesis of the establishment of the Lviv historical school, we can state that its creation was in plans of all the people in charge to implement the plan of the opening in the capital of Habsburg Galicia of the University faculty of the Ukrainian History. The care of this belonged exactly to Hrushevsky. In his “Memories” one of the most active promoters of “the new era” Galician politician and historian Oleksandr Barvinsky wrote, that during the regular visit to Kyiv, wherewith Oleksandr Koninsky and Antonovych the question regarding the function of the Faculty of the Ukrainian history has been resolved, the last gave such an installation to his student Hrushevsky:

[...] To become a mentor and advisor for the young generation at the university, taking them from the social and political “empty talks”, still charging them to the considerable and the main scientific work, therefore, prepares them for the future service in favor of the Ukrainian people.<sup>7</sup>

Such an understanding of the tasks which faced the new Professor was also inherent to the other initiator of “the new era”, the Dnieper Koninsky. During the memories of Barvinsky, on the celebrations on the occasion of the departure of Hrushevsky to Lviv, he, from the Kyiv society wished to the young scientist to

care about the feeling of the national and social unity of the Ukrainians with his activities, to unify the young generation, especially, academic young people, as well as

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<sup>5</sup> Telvak 2002.

<sup>6</sup> Vynar 1995, pp. 63–64

<sup>7</sup> DMTS SIL, f. 135., spr. 24, ark. 370.

older workers for the scientific works and devoting them from the simply immeasurable dreams to the real scientific work.<sup>8</sup>

Being convinced of the exceptional importance of the assignment of the student of Antonovych professor of the faculty of Ukrainian History, in the letter to Mitrofan Dykariv Koninsky wrote: “In my opinion, the fact of the creation of the faculty and the assignment of Hrushevsky as a professor is the result of our 30 years work is the first step from which the new history of our culture and science will start”.<sup>9</sup>

But what is most important, the creation of the historical school was also in the plans of Hrushevsky. As the realization of ambitious scientific projects, which he brought before the departure to Lviv was impossible to do on his own. In his “Autobiography” he mentioned, the proposal of his teacher Antonovych of being in charge of the faculty of the History of Ukraine in the University of Lviv was considered by him “with enthusiasm considering the meaning which was given them in Ukrainian circles to Galician movement: in Galicia, they hoped to create the general Ukrainian cultural heart, literary and scientific [...]”.<sup>10</sup>

As for the presence of scholar ambitions at that time, Kyiv Magister allows talking about his mailing with the Head of the Philosophic Faculty Anthony Kalina. In spring 1894, still being in Kyiv, Hrushevsky discussed with him his studying capacity. In this, the newly appointed professor specially mentioned the need for implementation of the scientific-practical lesson, which had to become the main point of the formation of the new historians.<sup>11</sup> Hrushevsky knew with annoyance that since the faculty, he heads an additional second faculty of world history (its full name was “the second ordinary faculty of world history with a special review of the history of Eastern Europe with Ukrainian as the language of instruction”). Therefore, the full seminar does not belong to him, as it functioned with the main faculty of World History. Kalina pointed to Kyiv Magister under these circumstances. He described the two ways of solving and touched on his colleague’s problem. The first

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<sup>8</sup> Barvins’kyi 1925, p. 16.

<sup>9</sup> Voznyak 1929, p. 376.

<sup>10</sup> Hrushevs’kiĭ 1992, p. 200.

<sup>11</sup> LRSA, f. 26, op. 7, spr. 365, ark. – Арк. 6 зв.

one was about the seminar's implementation privately, free from work time. Therefore, as the newly named professor was talking about the formalization of his practical lessons, the Head of the Faculty advised him to give two of his obligatory five hours to the seminars, calling them upon the tradition "Historical exercises".<sup>12</sup> Hrushevsky did so.

Hrushevsky's inauguration lecture also says about the presence of his scholar plans, in which he specifically addressed the young part of the audience, "who has a desire to study with me the history of *viribus unitis*".<sup>13</sup> Calling his future students "collaborators-listeners", the scientists invited them to the solitary work on the walls of the University, calling on "always looking for but never being satisfied".<sup>14</sup> Herewith, his scholar plans the young professor related to the Lviv alma-mater, has a solid conviction, that

the university is not only a school, but, in fact, the scientific institution which gives the opportunity for the hundreds of people, and in the worst situation, tens of people, freely indulge in higher spiritual interests, scientific studies, not caring about the daily bread, but also puts on them the moral duty to nurture science.<sup>15</sup>

It should be noted that the University of Lviv at that period of time already had the tradition of the formation in its walls of historical schools. Let us remember at least the school of Polish historians and the first Head of the Historical assembly in Lviv of Ksawery Liske.<sup>16</sup> In the end, it was the simple practice in the high school of that time, when starting to be on board of the University faculty, the scientist tries to unite students around him for the realization of his own scientific program.

#### 4. The school structure

As a professor of the University of Lviv, Hrushevsky rightly hoped that the role of Professor will give him the possibility to choose stu-

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<sup>12</sup> TsDIAK, f. 1235., op. 1, spr. 510, ark. 3–6.

<sup>13</sup> Hrushevs'kiĭ 1894, p. 149.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Hrushevs'kiĭ 1899, p. 89.

<sup>16</sup> Maternicki 2005.



dents among the group of people who are ready for the scientific work. Hrushevsky read two big lecture courses related to the history of Ukraine and Eastern Europe, which he synchronously taught during a few years during the historical periods from the early Middle Ages to the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Except for these lecture courses Ukrainian professor accordingly to the chronology led a few special courses (“Russian history”, “The great peoples’ movement”, “The fight for Galicia and Volhynia in the 14<sup>th</sup> century”, “Veliky Novgorod, history, structure and the life till the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century”, “The history of Crimea from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century”, “Ukrainian and Russian Paleography” etc.).

Expressive national convictions of Hrushevsky, his fame as the cultural envoy of Dnieper Ukraine and the reputation of a prominent historian attracted Ukrainian students, and, during the lecture by the young professor, on the later memories of his students, “signed up everybody who enrolled themselves to Ukrainians”.<sup>17</sup> These were people of different age generations, and some of them visited Hrushevsky’s lectures already possessing higher education, and sometimes, even the doctoral degree. Several students of the Ukrainian historian were Ukrainians from the Russian Empire, where Ukrainian culture was under complete prohibition. So, summing up his pedagogical work in the first years, Hrushevsky had all the reasons to be proud of his results: “[...] For this faculty to have the special value in our newest science, I will allow myself to announce decisively, it is not the impact of the faculty itself, but of my small person”.<sup>18</sup>

The part of the student audience of Hrushevsky showing a deep interest in history and wanting to collaborate more tightly with the Ukrainian scientist, signed up to the scientific seminar of Professor’s “Historical exercises”. As for its importance in the professional establishment of the students, Hrushevsky wrote in his Autobiography, mentioning that to “the seminars I tied the special attention, trying to evolve talented listeners to independent scientific knowledge”.<sup>19</sup> As university magazines state, “Historical exercises” were quite popular among the students, moreover among Polish, Jewish and Russian

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<sup>17</sup> Korduba 1916, p. 795.

<sup>18</sup> Hrushevs’kiĭ 1984, p. 232.

<sup>19</sup> Hrushevs’kiĭ 1992, p. 204.

students. The reason for this was the selected by the scientist style of their conduction: if the scientist's lectures, according to the majority of listeners, did not differ in emotional presentation and dialogue with the audience, then at the seminars the scientist completely transformed into a lively, witty and sociable interlocutor. As one of his students, Ivan Krypyakevych, recalled, at seminars, Hrushevsky "told us, "Mr Fellow", treated us as full-fledged historians, but when some of the youngs overdid too much, in his eyes there were sparkles of subtle irony".<sup>20</sup>

The key to the popularity and, ultimately, the success of Hrushevsky's scientific seminar was his own organization, which consisted in the individualization of creative cooperation, taking into account the ownership interests of young people in love with history. Also important was the psychological component of the organization of Hrushevsky scientific seminar, aimed at minimizing the distance between professor and students. Mykola Chubatyy mentioned that during the seminar the teacher "more often sat not in the chair, but among the students on the bench, that's why had the tone of talks, where not only the subject of seminar's work was discussed but also important problems related to the methods of historical research and source studies".<sup>21</sup>

It was thanks to the seminars that the scientific and historical worldview of young scientists was formed, and the methods of studying and interpreting sources were constantly improved. Here Hrushevsky's students received a solid training, which gave them the necessary methodological guidelines and solid knowledge of historiography, archaeography, bibliography, chronology, diplomacy, palaeography, sphragistics, heraldry, historical geography and more. Almost all representatives of the Lviv school mentioned the high level of organization and holding of the seminar. Yes, the same wrote Krypyakevych, saying that Hrushevsky "conducted the seminar in a very interesting way [...] At each meeting the works were read, there was a lively discussion, which was summed up by Hrushevsky; here he showed his experience as a researcher and great erudition".<sup>22</sup> In general, Hrushevsky's seminar became an important institutional foundation of the Lviv school.

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<sup>20</sup> Krypiakevych 2001, p. 99.

<sup>21</sup> Chubatyy 1975, p. 77–78.

<sup>22</sup> Zabolotna 2010, p. 478.

Hrushevsky invited students who were especially successful and persistent in the work of the seminar to a closer circle of his students, with whom he studied at home in his free time. The mentioned form of classes, in the end, quite common then<sup>23</sup>, was called *privatissima*, i.e. private studios. The scientist himself attached special importance to this form of pedagogical work. In the “Autobiography” he mentioned: “[...] I conducted private science classes outside the university with students – my students and other people (handed out books with essays and assessments, then read those essays, disassembled, and printed the collection, which was better)”<sup>24</sup> At Hrushevsky’s home, his students had the opportunity not only to discuss professional issues in an informal atmosphere but also to work in the professor’s rich library. Another pupil of Hrushevsky, Myron Korduba, who was present at such private meetings, recalled that they “delivered and discussed essays on the latest scientific publications, smaller communications, causes, and more extensive works that Hrushevsky placed in the Notes of Scientific Society after the correction”<sup>25</sup> It should be noted that *privatissima* was a kind of symbolic initiation – the introduction of the scientists-beginners in a close circle of not only students but especially students of the Lviv professor. We learn about this from the later recollections of young people who considered the invitation to a private meeting at the Hrushevsky family home as evidence of the greatest implication for the teacher and his scientific work.<sup>26</sup>

In the mentioned classes, Hrushevsky continued to teach beginning historians the secrets of archaeological works and the art of interpreting source evidence, thus forming a style of scientific work. Such learning by imitation had a significant pedagogical effect – intensified the process of mastering the experience of scientific creativity. Thinking about this problem, one of the representatives of the Lviv school noted: “This is the merit of Hrushevsky, who himself was an unusually hardy researcher and as young people was able to inspire the admiration of the research work”<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>23</sup> Hulewicz 1972; Rutkowski 1948.

<sup>24</sup> Hrushevs’kiĭ 1992, p. 204.

<sup>25</sup> Korduba 1935, s. 404.

<sup>26</sup> Krypiakevych 1992, p. 460.

<sup>27</sup> Krypiakevych 2001, p. 98.

Hrushevsky's highest level of trust for young historians was to involve them in sections, commissions and publications of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (hereinafter – SSS), which was possible due to many years of chairmanship in this untitled Ukrainian Academy of Sciences for almost twenty years. Thus the researcher as the shrewd teacher gave at first simple tasks of an abstract character, gradually saturating them with a research component.

In this way, – he recalled, – more willing students practised scientific work, moving from abstracts in the bibliographic sections of the Notes of the Scientific Society of Shevchenko to independent assessments, from small works in Miscellanea to independent investigations.<sup>28</sup>

Constantly complicating scientific tasks, Hrushevsky always kept in mind the process of their implementation, and if necessary, gave advice to scientists-beginners and adjusted the result of their activities. According to the correspondence between the teacher and the students, such control was never annoying – the scientist always gave the advice in a friendly tone, and if necessary, helped to quickly solve problems that arose.

Sections and commissions of SSS became a real creative laboratory for Hrushevsky's students. It was because of the critical, often repeated, discussion at the meetings of the Historical and Philosophical Section of the SSS that the handwritings of the works of all, without exception, representatives of the Lviv school proceeded. It should be noted that Hrushevsky often reviewed the works of his students personally or other representatives of the school did it on his behalf. The success of the cooperation between young people and an experienced mentor at the meetings of sections and commissions of the SSS was facilitated by Hrushevsky's repeatedly noted openness, his democracy and tact in communicating with beginning researchers. Krypyakevych, for example, recalling his participation in the work of the Historical and Philosophical Section, chaired by Ivan Franko and Hrushevsky, wrote:

It was extremely valuable that both prominent scientists did not show their superiority and patiently listened

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<sup>28</sup> Hrushevs'kiĭ 1992, p. 204.

to the beginners, helped them in everything, corrected their work.<sup>29</sup>

However, the most important for the professional development of young historians was the Archaeological Commission of SSS (hereinafter – AC SSS). It should be noted that the archeographic component significantly dominated the scientific training of beginning researchers, and the Head of the Lviv school, as mentioned above, paid special attention to the methodology and practice of working with documents. This, in the end, corresponds to the then ideas about the priorities of scientific training in historical science. Krypyakevych, like other colleagues at the school, mentioned that Hrushevsky “sent us to the archives to copy the acts and encouraged us to work on archival materials”.<sup>30</sup> These were the best representatives of the Lviv historical school who undertook the preparation of the title of a multi-volume edition of AC SSS – *Sources for the history of Ukraine-Rus*.

Along with activities in sections and commissions of SSS, extremely important for the scientific progress of young Ukrainian historians was participation in numerous periodicals and serials of the Society: *Notes of SSS*, *Sources for the history of Ukraine-Rus*, *Notes for Ukraine – Russian literature*, *Ethnographic Bulletin*, *Literary-Scientific Bulletin*, etc. The presence of such scientific periodicals as sites of professional communication has become an important component of the formation and functioning of the scientific school. Active participants in the historiographical process of the early twentieth century wrote about this. Thus, on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the *Notes of SSS* the representative of the Lviv school Ivan Krevetsky noted:

[...] They became the main body of the new school in modern Ukrainian historiography....<sup>31</sup>

Thus, the scientific school created by Hrushevsky had its own specifics. It consisted of a two-stage structure of its formation and functioning: the historical seminar of Lviv University and the Historical and Philosophical Section of SSS. This made it possible at the first

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<sup>29</sup> Zabolotna 2010, p. 483.

<sup>30</sup> Krypiakevych 2001, p. 89.

<sup>31</sup> Krevet'kyi 1907, p. 68.

stage (at the University of Lviv) to select creative youth and introduce them to scientific work, and at the second stage (within the work of the Historical and Philosophical Section of the SSS) – to train and educate new staff of Ukrainian humanitarians. Krypyakevych, one of its most prominent representatives, noted the peculiarity of the Lviv school, noting that:

Mykhailo Hrushevsky put the main emphasis on attracting young adherents of science who had just graduated from university and had appropriate methodological training. He encouraged the scientific work of his students, students of his own scientific seminar, taught them easier work, especially in the review department of Notes [SSS], published the scientific reasons and materials collected by them and tried to keep them in constant contact with the Shevchenko Scientific Society.<sup>32</sup>

## 5. Personal school composition

The outline of the personal composition of Hrushevsky's Lviv historical school is one of the most confusing and mythologized scholarly problems in Ukrainian historiography. Even during the life of the outstanding scientist, mainly on the occasion of jubilee celebrations, lists of representatives of his Lviv school, who were different in number, were published. Already in the mentioned lists, a methodological error was laid down, which influenced the further erroneous construction of its personnel by researchers. It is a question of erroneous identification of the researchers of beginning students of the professor at the Lviv University with beginning representatives of his scientific school.

So who can we consider a representative of the Lviv historical school of Hrushevsky? The answer to this question requires a clear criteria approach. The first of our chosen criteria is maximally formalized and built into the system of “teacher-student” relations. It will be recalled that according to the school structure reconstructed above, all its representatives were students of the Ukrainian professor, attending his lectures and scientific seminar. At the same time, one should take

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<sup>32</sup> Krypiakevych 1991, p. 395.

into account the inevitability of the work of beginning historians in a scientific seminar, because this form of professional training is still considered the classic and was inherent in almost all historical schools of the second half of the nineteenth – first third of the twentieth century. According to student catalogues of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Lviv, as well as catalogues of those wishing to work at the scientific seminar of Hrushevsky, on average, during the semester “Historical Exercises” were attended by about 15–20 people.<sup>33</sup> In fact, this figure should be higher, as the facts of attending a scientific seminar of a Lviv professor by persons who were not formally connected with the university are known. Of course, not all of them became professional historians and left behind at least some trace in science.

In addition, as we have already mentioned, a close circle of his students were invited at Hrushevsky home to the so-called *privatissima*, which was a kind of continuation of the scientific seminar, as well as the replacement for those young researchers who studied not at university but in other higher education institutions to learn Ukrainian history from Hrushevsky. This, by definition, informal form of teacher-student communication did not involve any fixation of the circle of its participants. Therefore, to some extent, we know them, mainly from memories (for example, Korduba and Krypyakevych).

Instead, thanks to the protocols of the Historical and Philosophical Section of the SSS, we know those students of Hrushevsky whom he involved in cooperation in the structures and publications of the Society. The latter, along with the scientific seminar of the university, was the next institutional foundation of the Lviv school. Therefore, these are those students of Hrushevsky who worked in his scientific seminar, and later participated in the work of the Historical and Philosophical Section and the commissions of SSS, presenting the results of their own research and later publishing them on the pages of scientific periodicals edited by the Head of SSS, in our opinion, we can consider them representatives of the Lviv historical school.

However, taking into account only the formal criteria when determining the circle of Hrushevsky’s students is obviously not enough. Against the background of constant scientific discussions around the

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<sup>33</sup> TsDIAK, f. 1235, op. 1, spr. 85, ark. 209–210.

issue of the specifics of the Lviv historical school, the school self-reflection of Hrushevsky's students acquires special significance. Therefore, in addition to the above-mentioned formal criteria, we note the need for students of Lviv professor to be aware of their belonging to the immediate circle of his staff. Such a kind of scholastic self-reflection was especially justified for Hrushevsky's Lviv students for several reasons.

Firstly, because Hrushevsky's faculty was additional in status, the hours spent on "Historical Exercises" were not credited to the student's ten compulsory study hours, which he was required to complete during the week.<sup>34</sup> Secondly, Hrushevsky's students also participated in scientific seminars of other professors in parallel or later (when they transferred to other educational institutions). From them, young Ukrainian historians also received topics of seminary works, the results of which were also sometimes published in print, but at the same time considered themselves students of Hrushevsky and representatives of his Lviv historical school. Traces of the mentioned scholar self-reflection – due to special forms of address – are present in the letters of students to the teacher and are often traced in the mutual correspondence school students.

Finally, when studying Hrushevsky's school, the phenomenon of self-reflection deserves attention also because his students repeatedly spoke about the presence of a certain circle of like-minded authors of the *History of Ukraine-Rus* and recognized the powerful impact of the teacher on their formation as historians-professionals, thus beginning the studying of this scientific community in the scholarly stream. Young Galician historians mentioned their belonging to the Lviv historical school in various memoirs (memoirs, anniversary and obituary notes, historiographical studies, etc.).

Therefore, the representatives of the Lviv scientific school of Hrushevsky, in our opinion, include those of his students who worked in the scientific seminar of the scientist (and/or his *privatissima*), received from him the topic of scientific work, the results of which were discussed both on "Historical Exercises" and at the meetings of sections and commissions of SSS and, finally, the prepared research was

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<sup>34</sup> Kawalec 2015, p. 380.



published on the pages of periodicals edited by him (*Notes of SSS, Literary-Scientific Bulletin, Ukraine*, etc.). In addition, the young researchers had to acknowledge their affiliation with Hrushevsky's inner circle.

Thus, the formal component of apprenticeship in combination with the self-reflection of historians about their affiliation with the Hrushevsky school makes it possible to outline the personal number of students of the historian. The question arises – which of Lviv's students Hrushevsky falls under the above criteria? A certain hint, in this case, was given to us by the Ukrainian scientist himself, who for the first time gave an incomplete list of his closest students in the “Autobiography” written on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary:

Going chronologically, these were Omel. Terletsky, D. Korenets, Mir. Corduba, Steph. Tomashivsky, Steph. Rudnytskyi, Ol. Tselevich, Jur. Kmit, Zen. Kuzelya, Os. Tchaikovsky, Vas. Gerasimchuk, Ol. Sushko, Fed. Goliychuk, Iv. Jijora, Iv. Krevetsky, Iv. Kripyakevich and others.<sup>35</sup>

The correctness of the above criteria are evidenced by the fact that all the above-mentioned researchers were trained in lectures and scientific seminars of Hrushevsky, received from him topics of scientific works, discussed them at meetings of the historical and philosophical section of SSS, and later presented the results of their searches.

Yuriy Kmit, who studied not at the University of Lviv, but at Lviv Theological Seminary, does not fully meet the above-mentioned criteria. However, as Hrushevsky himself mentioned, Kmit took part in the work of his *privatissima*, where he received topics for scientific work and had the opportunity to discuss their implementation among other representatives of the school. Subsequently, the prepared researches of the young researcher were repeatedly personally summarized by the teacher at the meetings of the historical and philosophical section of the SSS and after receiving the necessary approbation they were published on the pages of *Notes of SSS*. The first steps in Kmit's science are evidenced by the manuscripts of the early texts of the Galician scholar found in the archives of the author of the *History of Ukraine-Rus*,

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<sup>35</sup> Hrushevs'kiĭ 1992, p. 204.

with numerous edits and final advice from the teacher on ways to improve them.<sup>36</sup>

The situation with Oleksandr Sushko was also special. Here we can note an interesting and, to some extent, unique in the history of Ukrainian science phenomenon of scholar interference, after all, quite characteristic of scientific schools in the humanities fact, which consisted in the simultaneous belonging of one person to two scientific traditions. It is said that Sushko made his first steps in science under the leadership of Kirill Studynsky. We learn about this both from the extensive correspondence of the scientist<sup>37</sup> to him, as well as from the letters of the Ukrainian literary critic to the Head of the SSS. There he recommends publishing in the *Notes of SSS* the first work of the “18 years old fellow”.<sup>38</sup> It was Studynsky’s scientific seminar that Sushko received an interdisciplinary topic of scientific work – the life and work of Herbest. But the discussion of the stages of its implementation took place at Hrushevsky’s seminars. Quite interestingly, this situation was described by the young scientist himself in the preface to his work “Forerunner of the Union”, thanks, as usual, to Hrushevsky (“to whose historical seminar the work was prepared”) and Studynsky (“whom I thank for choosing my studio”).<sup>39</sup>

In addition to the above-mentioned fifteen students of Hrushevsky, seven other people meet the defined criteria. Note that the names of most of them in various combinations are mentioned in studies on the characteristics of scientific and organizational work of a prominent scientist of the Lviv period. According to the chronology of entering the studio at the University of Lviv, we will name Bohdan Barvinsky, Bohdan Buchynsky, Mykola Stadnyk, Fedor Sribny, Ivan Shpytkovsky, Melania Bordun and Mykola Zaliznyak.

As mentioned above, the scholarly self-reflection of the school itself – both Hrushevsky and his younger colleagues – is important for the characterization of the school. The sources available to us allow us to speak about the awareness of the representatives of the Lviv branch about their belonging to a certain informal scientific team. The Head

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<sup>36</sup> TsDIAK, f. 1235, op. 1, spr. 246, ark. 1–12.

<sup>37</sup> TsDIAL, f. 362, op. 1, spr. 394, ark. 1–54.

<sup>38</sup> TsDIAK, f. 1235, op. 1, spr. 778, ark. 115.

<sup>39</sup> Sushko 1903, p. 4.

of the school repeatedly mentioned “my students” for various reasons, and even considered it a moral duty to take care of them.<sup>40</sup> Hrushevsky also mentioned the quantitative parameters of his school, writing in 1905 about “at least a dozen young people, respectively, versed in the historical and archeographic method, and at the same time well acquainted with certain periods of the historiography of Ukrainian history”.<sup>41</sup>

The understanding of the belonging to the creative centre headed by the author of *History of Ukraine-Rus* was also a characteristic of Hrushevsky’s young colleagues. It should be noted that the most novice scientists, recognizing themselves primarily as students of the Lviv professor, only after some time talked about the perception of each other as colleagues in the scientific community. Here the figure of the teacher became decisive for the existence of the school – his charisma gradually cemented the internal school ties. Therefore, only from the beginning of the twentieth century, in letters to Hrushevsky, as well as in mutual correspondence of young historians, we come across evidence of their understanding of belonging to a certain creative community. As an example, let us remember one of the greatest representatives of the Lviv School Stefan Tomashevsky, who in his letters to Kodruba wrote not once: “[...] We, students [...] Prof Hrushevsky ...”.<sup>42</sup>

Even more – the realization of the existence of a certain scientific team around Hrushevsky gradually developed among the observers of the Ukrainian scientific literature of that time. And if at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, most often it has been about the “community of students of Hrushevsky”, then in the early twentieth century, more and more instructions about his school appeared.

It is noteworthy that the initiators here were the students of Hrushevsky, who first spoke about the existence of the Ukrainian historical school in Lviv. Thus, already mentioned Krevetsky at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, thinking about the results of the pedagogical work of the teacher wrote, that his scientific seminar

soon became a formal historical school where a number of young people are being taught, with their scientific

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<sup>40</sup> DM VSNSLU, f. 61, op. II, spr. 79, ark. 41 zv. 42.

<sup>41</sup> Hrushevs’kiĭ 1905, p. 20.

<sup>42</sup> DM VSNSLU, f. 61, op. II, spr. 234, ark. 5.

works inaugurated a new period in the history of Ukrainian historiography, the so-called historical school prof. Hrushevsky.<sup>43</sup>

Thus, according to the criteria substantiated above, we include twenty-two Hrushevsky students in the Lviv school. Given the relatively short duration of the school (less than twenty years) and generally unfavourable conditions for the development of Ukrainian science in the absence of its own state and the persecution of Ukrainian culture in the Russian Empire – on the one hand, and, on the other, – the fundamental contribution of Hrushevsky's students in the modernization of the Ukrainian historical science, we can safely call the Lviv school a notable scholastic phenomenon in the Slavic world.

## 6. Conclusions

In conclusion, let us note that revised sources and literature give us the ground to characterize the Ukrainian Galician Centre of Hrushevsky, a universal school of the leadership type. The leadership of the outstanding scientist was unconditionally recognized by his pupils and had an intellectual and institutional character. In turn, the mentioned Universalism consisted of combining the didactic tasks of the school with the simultaneous creation of a new Ukrainian historical ideology. His theoretical model was proposed and constantly improved by the school's founder, while all its representatives built up the conceptual skeleton constructed by the teacher with the "muscles" of historical reconstruction. In this case, we can note the gradual acquisition by the school of the features of a new historiographic direction, which was actually completed by Hrushevsky's students in the postwar period in the form of a "state direction". Such a combination of features of classical "didactic" and "historiographic" schools in one scholarly phenomenon was unique in Ukrainian scientific culture. Therefore, it becomes clear that the research traditions created by the Lviv Historical school largely determined the ways of the development of the Ukrainian humanities in the twentieth century.

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<sup>43</sup> Krevec'kyi 1907, pp. 67–68.

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**Vitalii Telvak, Vasyl Pedych, Viktoria Telvak**  
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