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**MYKHAILO HRUSHEVSKY ROUTINE PROFESSOR LIFE.
A TRY AT RECONSTRUCTION**

Summary. *The purpose of the study is to reconstruct M. Hrushevsky's didactic workload at Lviv University, the weekly schedule of his classes, the peculiarities of lectures and seminars, and communication with the faculty administration. The methodological basis of the work is an interdisciplinary approach with particular emphasis on the structural-functional systematic analysis of historiographical facts and the comparative-historical method, based on the principles of objectivity and historicism. The scientific novelty of the article lies in the first specific attempt at complex reconstruction of professorial work of Mykhailo Hrushevsky. Conclusions.* Mykhailo Hrushevsky's teaching activities at Lviv University were intended to implement the plan of Kyiv and Lviv nationalists to consistently transform Galicia into a national "Piedmont". The prominent historian had to implement the educational component of this cultural and social project, training new cadres of Ukrainianists from the students of the main educational institution of the region. In accordance with this mission, he developed and taught lecture courses on national history and the Eastern European region in successive periods. Encouraged by these issues, students deepened their Ukrainian studies in special courses and M. Hrushevsky's scientific seminar. This purely didactic process, focused on a comprehensive justification of the historical subjectivity of the Ukrainian people, had the expected social effect. It consisted in the unfolding of the struggle for the cultural rights of Ukrainians within the walls of Lviv University. It was M. Hrushevsky who became the ideologist of this struggle and in his own professorial practice fundamentally asserted the Ukrainian voice in the national polyphony of the university, setting an example for his more moderate colleagues K. Studynsky and O. Kolessa. The result of the professorial activity of the prominent scholar was numerous cadres of national intellectuals who, during the twentieth century, completed his large-scale work on the integration of Ukrainian stories into the world historical process.

Key words: M. Hrushevskyi, Lviv University, didactic load, class schedule, seminar, lectures, special courses.

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ПРОФЕСОРСЬКІ БУДНІ МИХАЙЛА ГРУШЕВСЬКОГО: СПРОБА РЕКОНСТРУКЦІЇ

Анотація. Метою дослідження є з'ясування викладацького навантаження М. Грушевського у Львівському університеті, розкладу його викладів протягом тижня, специфіки проведення семінарів і лекцій, а також взаємин із адміністрацією факультету. **Методологічне підґрунтя** становить міждисциплінарний підхід. Особливий акцент зроблено на структурно-функціональному системному аналізі історіографічних фактів і порівняльно-історичному методі, виходячи з принципів об'єктивності та історизму. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у першій спеціальній спробі комплексної реконструкції праці Грушевського-професора. **Висновки.** Педагогічна праця Михайла Грушевського у стінах Львівського університету мала на меті реалізацію планів львівських і київських народоців з перманентного перетворення Галичини на національний «П'ємонт». Визначний вчений властиво мав втілити освітню частину цього культурно-громадського задуму, виховуючи нове покоління українців зі студентів головного навчального закладу краю. Згідно з цим завданням, він опрацював і послідовно за історичними періодами викладав лекційні курси з минулого українських земель та східноєвропейського регіону. Зацікавлені цією тематикою студенти поглиблювали українознавчі знання на науковому семінарі і спецкурсах М. Грушевського. Такий суто навчальний процес, зосереджений на всебічному доведенні історичної суб'єктності української нації, досяг бажаного громадського результату. Він полягав у посиленні боротьби за культурні права українців у Львівському університеті. Власне, М. Грушевський став ідейним натхненником цієї боротьби і у своїй викладацькій діяльності послідовно утверджував український голос у національній поліфонії університету, тим самим показуючи приклад поміркованішим колегам О. Колесі та К. Студинському. Підсумком викладацької праці визначного вченого стали підготовлені кадри національної інтелігенції, які протягом ХХ ст. завершили його масштабний задум з інтеграції українського минулого до світового історичного процесу.

Ключові слова: М. Грушевський, Львівський університет, дидактичне навантаження, розклад занять, семінар, лекції, спецкурси.

Problem statement. In recent years, thanks to active heuristic work, primarily the publication of the student catalog (Telvak, Kachmar, Zhuravlov, 2023) and a number of official documents (Kachmar, 2016–2021, s. 127) from the university fonds of the State Archives of Lviv Oblast, Mykhailo Hrushevsky's professorship has finally ceased to be a field of Polish-Ukrainian historiographical manipulation. Today, we are generally well informed about the quantitative and ethnic parameters of the youth audience of the prominent historian, the specifics of its fascination and didactic tastes, the scientist's struggle for Ukrainian rights within the university, and so on. Clarification of these most

stereotyped problems encourages a more thorough study of many other subjects of Hrushevsky's professorial life, regarding which researchers have long operated with a limited set of facts that, in various combinations, have turned into interpretive clichés that require verification by extensive source material (Telvak, 2021).

One of the most important topics for research is the reconstruction of M. Hrushevsky's didactic work at Lviv University, which is still in the shadow of his chronic scandals with Polish colleagues and his methodological work on the formation of a scientific school. We still know little about such important components of Hrushevsky's image as a professor as, for example, his academic subjects, the specifics of their teaching, or the weekly workload. Fortunately, the well-preserved documentation of the afore-mentioned university archive makes it possible to clarify the issues just mentioned and other similar problems that often had a decisive impact on the success of the scholar's scientific, cultural, and public projects during the Galician twenty years of his life.

Analysis of recent research and publications. M. Hrushevsky's teaching activities have been most often addressed by historians of Lviv University Oleksii Sukhyi and Volodymyr Kachmar. In a number of publications, they touched upon a wide range of issues related to the ideological foundations of M. Hrushevsky's teaching, his didactic proposals, and the historian's struggle against the galloping polonization of the main university in Lviv (Kachmar, 1999; Sukhyi, 2016–2021). In turn, Vitaliy Telvak studied the problems of the student audience of the author of the *History of Ukraine-Rus'* (Telvak, Lazurko, Zhuravlov, 2023; Telvak, Vladyha, Zhuravlov, 2023; Telvak, Shtoma, Zhuravlov, 2023), and also found out the importance of university lectures for the formation of the Galician school of Ukrainian studies (Telvak, Pedych, Telvak, 2021). In the works of the above-mentioned researchers, the issue of M. Hrushevsky's teaching activity was articulated only occasionally, as a background for the elucidation of the above-mentioned subjects. Therefore, the professorial everyday life of the Ukrainian historian is still little known, which is why our research is relevant.

In view of the above, **the purpose of the study** is to reconstruct M. Hrushevsky's didactic workload at Lviv University, the weekly schedule of his classes, the peculiarities of lectures and seminars, and communication with the faculty administration.

Presentation of the main material. M. Hrushevsky's cooperation with Lviv University began long before his move to Lviv at the end of September 1894. The impetus for this cooperation was the victory of a Kyiv master's student in the competition for the professorship of the newly opened history department in the main educational institution of the capital of the Kingdom of Galicia and Volodymyria, in which his competitors were Volodymyr Milkovich and Volodymyr Antonovich (SALR, f. 26, d. 5, c. 510, ark. 3–16). A special commission of the Faculty of Philosophy left the Kyiv student out of the three candidates admitted to the competition, predictably recognizing the superiority of the founder of the Dnieper school of documentary writers. The latter, as expected for Ukrainian figures privy to the opening of the department, withdrew his candidacy, since he took part in the competition only in order to pave the way to the Lviv department for his beloved pupil with his authoritative personality. Therefore, M. Hrushevsky remained the only nominee and the Lviv professorial board had no choice but to propose his candidacy for approval to the emperor. Therefore, based on the decision of the competition commission, Franz Joseph I, by his decree of April 11, 1894, appointed M. Hrushevsky as an ordinary professor of Lviv University, with the decree coming into force on October 1, 1894 (SALR, f. 26, d. 5, c. 510, ark. 137). Interestingly, and few researchers know about this, the Lviv board of the Faculty of Philosophy, accepting the then little-known Kyiv master into its ranks, secured itself with a three-year probationary period for the newly appointed colleague. Therefore, M. Hrushevsky became a "full-fledged" professor only at the end of 1897.

It was precisely with the royal nomination that his correspondence with the dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, Professor Antoni Kalina, regarding his future teaching activities began. Its parameters were determined by the name of the newly created department – "the second ordinary department of world history with a special overview of the history of Eastern Europe with the Ukrainian language of instruction". Such an unusually verbose title was a reflection of a difficult compromise between the Ukrainian initiators of the establishment of the new department (primarily, O. Barvinsky, Yu. Romanchuk and V. Antonovych) and

the Viennese bureaucrats. The point was that the original version of the name – “Department of Ukrainian History” – desirable for Lviv and Kyiv figures and quite understandable given current disciplinary traditions, was resolutely rejected by the heads of the Ministry of Religions and Education. They were talking about both the unwillingness to irritate Russia, where the ethnonym “Ukrainians” was banned, and the Galician Poles. For the latter, Ukrainian history was an organic component of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth past, and granting it disciplinary legitimacy would provoke “separatist” sentiments among the local population, as they believed. Such unwillingness was also greatly hindered by the lack of consensus among Slavists at that time regarding the scientific status of Ukrainian studies. The latter was eloquently expressed in the response of the Minister of Education P. Gauch to the delegation of Galician Ruthenians that Ukrainian history could not be considered a “specific science” (Vynar, 1986, p. 82).

The name of the department determined the nomenclature of courses that its professor was to teach. Despite the absence of any mention of the history of Ukraine, all parties involved in the opening of the department were aware that the newly appointed professor would place scientific and didactic emphasis on the Ukrainian past. That is why, by the way, during the competition everyone feared the victory of V. Milkovich, who was a prominent figure in the Muscovite camp and could, in his practical teaching activities, profane the national-awareness nature of the lectures, which were the initiators of the establishment of the department. By the way, he did this, having occupied a similar department in Chernivtsi University in a few years. M. Hrushevsky actually went to another unknown state precisely for such “reconstruction” work in the Ukrainian “Piedmont”, as Galicia was then certified, by means of science and culture. The historian repeatedly mentioned this in later public speeches, responding to the reproaches of Lviv’s compromise politicians about his ingratitude for being transferred to Lviv. The plan to open a department of Ukrainian history at Lviv University, he later recalled in his Autobiography, “was accepted by me with enthusiasm, despite the significance that was then attached to the Galician movement in Ukrainian circles: in Galicia they hoped to create an all-Ukrainian cultural center, literary and scientific, through the work of writers and scientists from all over Ukraine, and with its achievements to break the system of proscription of the Ukrainian word and nationality in Russia, to raise a national movement in it, etc.” (Hrushevskyi, 1992, p. 200).

In view of the above, immediately after defending his master’s thesis, M. Hrushevsky began preparing lectures on Ukrainian history, as evidenced in his diary and epistolary of the time. Thus, justifying his refusal to O. Barvinsky’s repeated requests to come to Lviv to make the necessary acquaintances, the Kyiv master mentions intensive preparation for lectures: “The spirit is vigorous, but the flesh is weak and requires rest for the autumn work...” (Telvak, Diadiuk, 2018, p. 50). To a certain extent, the scholar did not have much trouble preparing lectures for the first year of his teaching career, because his voluminous medal monograph on the Kyiv land of the Old Rus period provided the necessary material for this.

In his first year of teaching, the scholar intended to call his course on the history of the native past “The Course of the History of Ukraine’s Rus,” as he informed the dean of the Philosophy Faculty in a letter (SALR, f. 26, d. 7, c. 365, ark. 6 zv.). This title was expected in view of the toponymic construct “Ukraine-Rus” propagated during the second half of the nineteenth century by O. Barvinsky and Galician nationalists in the Austria influenced territories, which had a conciliar and general historical meaning, uniting not only the territories divided by the Zbruch River but also ancient Rus times with the Cossack era. Instead, in his reply letter, A. Kalina showed complete unfamiliarity with the popularization efforts of Galician Ukrainians. Among other things, he noted: “<...> In Galicia, this name is unknown among Poles and Ruthenians alike, and it is not known what it is supposed to mean. The accepted term here is Rus, to denote the Little Russian people, and therefore the appropriate name is Rus history or also Little Russian history.” (CSHAUK, f. 1235, d. 1, c. 510, ark. 6). For M. Hrushevsky, the ethnonym “Little Russia” was not acceptable because of its imperial connotations. With this in mind, the young professor named his course “The Course of the History of Rus long ago”.

Let us highlight that later, the title of the main course of the Ukrainian professor underwent transformations in accordance with the evolution of the conceptual and terminological apparatus of the scientist himself. Thus, from the first years of the 20th century, the toponym “Ukraine” and its

derivatives began to dominate the titles of M. Hrushevsky's subjects, most of all those focused on the past times of our Cossack era. Thus, in the academic year 1901–1902, the professor began teaching the course “Ukraine in the XVII–XVIII centuries” (SALR, f. 26, d. 7, c. 478, ark. 31). Over time, we see the ethnonym “Ukrainian” in the titles of chronologically earlier courses, which was due to M. Hrushevsky's deliberate efforts to popularize this conciliar ethnonym, in his understanding, and to replace the traditional names “Russian” and “Little Russian” with it. For example, in 1905–1906, the historian taught the course “Ukrainian-Ruthenian Paleography” (SALR, f. 26, d. 7, c. 528, ark. 16) and in 1906–1907, “Economic and Cultural Life in the Ukrainian-Ruthenian Lands in the 16th and 17th Centuries.” (SALR, f. 26, d. 7, c. 558, ark. 8).

Another compulsory lecture course, due to the nomenclature of the department, was to focus on the past of Eastern Europe. M. Hrushevski was notoriously bitter about the need to teach such a subject, as preparation for lectures distracted him from his main studies of Ukrainian history and took up a lot of his precious time. Realizing the difficulty of simultaneously preparing for two lecture courses, the newly appointed professor in late May 1894 asked the aforementioned dean of the Faculty of Philosophy whether it was possible to postpone the teaching of the course on the past of Eastern Europe to later academic years or, at least, to replace it at first with a special course on the history of the Russian Middle Ages (SALR, f. 26, d. 7, c. 365, ark. 6–6 zv.). A. Kalina was sympathetic to the difficult situation with the preparation of several courses that his young colleague found himself in. This is evidenced by the curriculum for the Lviv University for the academic year 1894–1895, in which in the first semester of teaching M. Hrushevsky taught only subjects on the history of Ukraine, and in the second he taught the proposed special course on a particular aspect of the East European past “History of the structure and life of Great Novgorod” (SALR, f. 26, d. 7, c. 365, ark. 34–90). The young professor began to teach the lecture course on world history provided for by the didactic nomenclature of the department only a few years later, in the summer semester of 1897–1898. Usually, in weekly schedules and student catalogs, this course was called “Selected Issues in the History of Eastern Europe”.

We underline that despite the considerable effort he put into preparing lectures for the course on the history of Eastern Europe, M. Hrushevsky's complaints were more likely evidence of his overload with numerous affairs. In fact, giving lectures on the Eastern European past soon demonstrated considerable positive scientific and didactic effects. Sviatoslav Pakholkiv drew attention to the first, emphasizing that M. Hrushevsky's teaching of such a course proved to be a real chance for Ukrainian historical science, as it immersed the scientist in an important event context in the reconstruction of our past (Pakholkiv, 2014, p. 279). The didactic impact of the course on the history of Eastern Europe was no less significant, because thanks to it, non-Ukrainian youth of Lviv University (mostly Poles and Jews (Telvak, Telvak, 2023, p. 57–69)) came into the teaching orbit of the Ukrainian professor, whose representatives later made a significant contribution to the popularization of M. Hrushevsky historiographical ideas in the intellectual space of Central and Eastern Europe (Telvak, Telvak, 2018, p. 46–53; Telvak, Kurylyshyn, Telvak, 2022, p. 347–371; Telvak, Salata, 2021, p. 32–39; Telvak, Yanyshyn, Telvak, 2021, p. 103–125; Telvak, Ilnytskyi, 2018, p. 53–64; Telvak, Yanyshyn, 2021, p. 71–90; Telvak, Luniak, 2022, p. 244–256; Telvak, Telvak, 2022, p. 120–138; Telvak, Yanyshyn, 2021; Telvak, Telvak, 2019).

While the lecture courses just mentioned were determined by the problematic and thematic nomenclature of the department, all other subjects proposed by M. Hrushevsky were exclusively his own didactic initiative. First of all, the newly appointed professor raised the issue of his scientific seminar, realizing its indispensability for the full training of new Ukrainian studies staff. Therefore, in his first letter to the dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at Lviv University, M. Hrushevsky emphasized that “I consider the study of sources <...> necessary in teaching the ancient period of Russian history.” (SALR, f. 26, d. 7, c. 365, ark. 6 zv.). The response of the Polish colleague showed the Kyiv addressee that his department was in a kind of second role at the faculty, as it was created *ad personam* as a result of Polish-Ukrainian understanding. Therefore, since the scientific seminar was already functioning at the main department of world history, it was not envisaged for the second M. Hrushevsky chair. The problem was that in the didactic practice of that time, the functioning of the seminar was accompanied

by considerable expenditures from the state budget for rewarding the best student works, paying the head extra and forming a library.

Anticipating the Kyiv master's embarrassment at such explanations, and sharing his scientific and pedagogical idea of comprehensive training for researchers of the Ukrainian past, A. Kalina pointed out in his letter possible ways to solve the problem raised by his colleague. The first was to conduct the seminar privately in his spare time. However, since the newly named professor reasonably wanted to formalize his practical classes, the dean advised him to give two of his mandatory teaching hours to the study and interpretation of sources from the medieval and modern periods. According to the established practice of didactics in Austro-Hungarian higher education, A. Kalina recommended that such classes be called "Historical Exercises" (CSHAUK, f. 1235, d. 1, c. 510, ark. 3–6). After receiving these suggestions, M. Hrushevski shared them with his Galician guardian O. Barvinsky and asked if he could, through his close ties in Viennese government circles, achieve the introduction of a full-fledged seminar. After many consultations, O. Barvinsky pointed out to his young colleague that the case was hopeless. Therefore, M. Hrushevsky conducted his scientific seminar under the title "Historical Exercises" until the outbreak of the Great War. Despite its formally secondary status, the "Historical Exercises" fulfilled its important mission of training new cadres of Ukrainian historians and became the basic institution for the formation of M. Hrushevsky's Lviv historical school (Telvak, Pedych, Telvak, 2021; Telvak, Telvak, 2022, p. 423–432).

After all, the professor of Ukrainian history announced, developed, and taught numerous special courses over the years. Over twenty years of teaching, the list of these courses and their diversity of issues and topics is impressive. Studying student catalogs and curricula, we see subjects from the political ("The Struggle for Galicia and Volyn", "The Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 14th and 15th centuries", "The History of the Union of Lithuania and Poland", "The Social and Political System of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania" etc.), socio-cultural ("From the Culture of Rus" "Economic and Cultural Life in the Ukrainian-Rusyn Lands in the 16th and 17th centuries", "History of the Culture of the Rus Lands", "History of Rus Culture in the 11th–13th centuries", "From the Cultural Movement of Eastern Europe", "Cultural and Spiritual Life in the Ukrainian Land", "Social Relations and Cultural Life in Rus" and others) and regional (for example, "History of the Crimea in the 13th–18th centuries") history. No less representative was the range of special courses of source and historiographical nature: "Russian Historiography", "Review of Sources for the History of Rus in the 12–13th centuries", "Ukrainian-Russian Paleography", etc. (Telvak, Yanyshyn, Nakonechnyi, 2024). When we examine the didactic functionality of the special courses, we can quite plausibly assume that they performed a compensatory function. The point is that important scientific problems or thematic blocks that were not included in the main lecture courses due to their cumbersomeness were presented by M. Hrushevsky for discussion in special courses. Most of all, they were intended to supplement the picture of political history that dominated the lectures.

Such a component of M. Hrushevsky's practical teaching work as a weekly teaching load was already defined in the imperial decree that nominated the historian to the Lviv department. The newly appointed professor himself mentions this part of his workload in a letter to the dean of the philosophy faculty: "The above decree states that I am to teach world history with a special focus on the history of Eastern Europe, at least five hours a week." (SALR, f. 26, d. 7, c. 365, ark. 6). It should be noted that in the case of the didactics of that time, it was astronomical hours, not didactic hours (the so-called "pairs"), as is now common for us.

Not knowing the educational traditions of the Austro-Hungarian state, which was alien to him, M. Hrushevsky asked the Lviv dean for advice on how to best distribute these hours between compulsory lecture courses, a scientific seminar, and special courses. The Kyiv master's student saw his weekly workload as follows: "a) a course on the history of Ukraine-Rus, ancient period, 2 hours; b) sources for the history of Ukraine-Rus, ancient period, 1 hour; c) seminars for studying sources, 1 hour; d) newer historiography of Ukrainian-Rus (19th century), 1 hour". In the event that a scientific seminar was not included in the minimum number of hours, M. Hrushevsky proposed to increase the number of lectures on Ukrainian history to 3 academic hours (SALR, f. 26, d. 7, c. 365, ark. 6 zv.).

A. Kalina understood the question of his younger colleague, who was unfamiliar with the educational traditions of the Danube Monarchy in general and Lviv University in particular. He confirmed to him that “every professor is obliged to” the minimum five-hour weekly workload, and seminar hours are indeed not counted towards this minimum. In this regard, the dean of the Faculty of Philosophy advised him to read a three-hour presentation from the course on the history of Rus and to devote one hour to studying old and new sources. At the same time, A. Kalina politely added: “This is my advice, of course it does not limit the will of yours any way” (CSHAUK, f. 1235, d. 1, c. 510, ark. 6). A. Kalina’s advice, rethought by the young professor, was reflected in the curriculum drawn up by M. Hrushevsky for the winter semester of 1894–1895. In it, he proposed: “A course on the history of Rus, the ancient period, 3 hours <...>. Historiography of Rus, the ancient period (general overview and critical analysis of the most important sources) 2 hours <...>” (SALR, f. 26, d. 7, c. 365, ark. 34). A similar approach to the distribution of hours was also used in the second semester of 1894–1895, with the only difference that the “Course of History of Rus, the Ancient Period” was taught for 4 hours a week, and one hour was allocated to a subject from the circle of Eastern European issues – “Great Novgorod, its history, structure and life until the end of the 15th century” (SALR, f. 26, d. 7, c. 365, ark. 90).

The logic of the distribution of the five-hour weekly workload outlined below underwent changes due to the introduction of the course of Eastern European history by M. Hrushevsky into the teaching practice. As evidenced by the curricula (SALR, f. 26, d. 7, c. 383) stored in the archives of Lviv University, the professor from the summer semester of 1897–1898. It was customary to teach courses on Ukrainian history and the Eastern European region (along with related special courses) for two hours per week. The seminar “Historical Exercises” was present in almost every semester and was traditionally allocated one hour.

Another issue related to the organization of the educational process concerned teaching days and hours. Interestingly, this problem was raised by A. Kalina in his repeatedly mentioned response to M. Hrushevsky’s letter regarding the specifics of teaching work at Lviv University. On this occasion, he noted: “As for teaching hours, it is necessary to keep in mind that there should be no collision with other lectures on related subjects. Since all the hours before lunch until 1 o’clock are already taken, only the afternoon hours remain for you. Which of them you will take for yourself, however, will depend on you only. In the meantime, in the printed version of the program, we will note that the hours will be determined later. Maybe it would be convenient for you to teach from 4 to 5 o’clock every day except for one day, for example, Saturday, or any other day” (CSHAUK, f. 1235, d. 1, c. 510, ark. 5). In this case, the young professor also completely followed the advice of the dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and in the first winter semester of teaching work, he determined Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday as his teaching days. On these days, he always taught at the same time – from 16:00 to 17:00. According to this schedule, M. Hrushevsky worked continuously until 1902–1903. It is worth mentioning that the scientist’s biographers unanimously indicate that he chose a lifestyle in Lviv in such a way that he would work at home until lunch, and in the afternoon go to the university and on public affairs. They explain this feature by the specifics of the historian’s psychotype, who was an early riser and preferred to spend the most productive morning hours at his desk. As we can see, the documentation of Lviv University explains the professor’s working day schedule with more prosaic circumstances.

After 1902–1903 M. Hrushevski’s chosen teaching hours tended to shift to the morning. We do not know at this time whether this was due to the “windows” that appeared in the schedule or the professor’s own desire to have the afternoon free, when meetings were usually held at the Ukrainian cultural institutions he headed, primarily the National Academy of Sciences. Since then, M. Hrushevsky also practiced sometimes giving two consecutive hours of lectures on the same day, apparently wanting to free himself one more day from attending Lviv University. However, the logic of the week’s lectures remained virtually unchanged: Friday was usually a day off, the main courses were taught from Monday to Thursday, and the “Historical Exercises” were mostly held on Saturdays.

After M. Hrushevsky sent proposals to the dean’s office regarding the content of teaching hours and their weekly arrangement, the schedule based on this information was published by the university

printing house and became available to the youth audience and the interested public. Meanwhile, the Ukrainian professor faced such an unpleasant phenomenon as differences in his presentation and the published version of the curriculum. The prevalence of this situation is evidenced by M. Hrushevsky's almost constant footnote to his proposals, which contained similar content in different stylizations: "NB. I ask the Hon. Secretary to show me the proofreading, because that time there was a striking error" (SALR, f. 26, d. 7, c. 389, ark. 35).

According to M. Hrushevsky's diary, the weekly schedule of classes was not categorically binding. If necessary, the professor could withdraw a particular lecture or change the day and hour of its holding. At the same time, such a change was his sole responsibility, because he did not inform the dean, but only the university's technical officer responsible for the schedule. According to the historian's diary, he most often canceled his lectures when he did not want to be distracted from writing scientific works, especially the *History of Ukraine-Rus'*. For example, in a note dated February 7, 1908, we read: "I did not teach today (I had to cancel on Monday) so as not to interrupt my work on Volume VII." (Hrushevskiy, 2021, p. 25). The entry of November 10, 1909, was similar in content: "Only today I could take up the History; I decided not to teach on Thursday, so as not to have to break away into the field of chronicles and finish the section on archeology." (Hrushevskiy, 2021, p. 329). Sometimes M. Hrushevski proofread his hours more intensively, which most often happened when he was planning a long trip out of town.

Often, adjustments to the weekly class schedule were also made by objective circumstances such as natural disasters, student strikes, or funerals of colleagues. But most often, the reason was major religious holidays: if they fell on a weekday, traditionally no one went to the university and those hours were not worked. Sometimes such holidays, such as Launch, Christmas, or Easter, lasted a week or more. Interestingly, M. Hrushevski, as a man of Orthodox religious culture, did not always follow the schedule of Catholic holidays and often learned about such days off only when he arrived at the university. We learn about his embarrassment at these situations from the pages of his diary.

The linguistic texture of M. Hrushevsky's curricula is also worthy of attention. Historiography has repeatedly drawn attention to the professor's principled struggle for the rights of the Ukrainian language at Lviv University (Telvak, 2017; Telvak, Yanyshyn, Telvak, 2023), which was quite burdensome for him from a moral and psychological point of view. Despite this, the historian has consistently insisted that the state-determined 'Utraquist', i.e. bilingual, character of Lviv University was completely voluntarily leveled by the Polish administration, which, through a system of internal regulations, actually took away cultural rights from the local population, for whom the university in the capital of the crown land was founded by Joseph II in 1784.

This conviction was manifested in the fact that M. Hrushevsky consistently conducted all official documentation, including curricula, in Ukrainian. At the same time, in accordance with ministerial requirements, he duplicated his wishes regarding courses and teaching days in the state language of German, but never in Polish. Moreover, when filling out curricula in the relevant forms, which were made in Polish by typographical means, he was not lazy to cross out all Polish-language elements of the form (name of the faculty and position of the teacher, place and date of filling, indication of the academic semester, etc. (SALR, f. 26, d. 7, c. 528, ark. 16). It should be noted that the Polish side was no less principled: in several forms corrected in this way by M. Hrushevsky, we see the crossing out of the professor's Ukrainian text and the return of the Polish-language equivalents! (SALR, f. 26, d. 7, c. 558, ark. 8). Thus, even such a completely trivial technical document as class plans and schedules, resembling a schoolboy's draft due to repeated crossings, turned into a field of Ukrainian-Polish cultural competition.

M. Hrushevsky's teaching of the material had its own peculiarities: similar to the didactic practice of today's history faculties, the professor taught the course of the Ukrainian past in periods from one academic year to the next. Thus, during the first year, ancient Russian history was taught; the next year, the "middle period," the third year, the "new period," and so on. Thus, within seven semesters M. Hrushevsky brought the teaching of Ukrainian history to the end of the 18th century. Subsequently, the same course was repeated by him in 1898–1901 according to the outlined logic. The professor chronologically coordinated the main subject of Ukrainian history with his other courses –

“Selected Issues in the History of Eastern Europe” and the above-mentioned special courses. Thus, the subjects read by M. Hrushevsky during the academic semester allowed students to gain a stereoscopic understanding of the processes, events, and facts of the Ukrainian past in the broader context of the history of the Eastern European region. This chronological and problematic interconnectedness of the Ukrainian scholar’s didactic proposals encouraged history students to attend all of his courses. Finally, the dean’s catalogs confirm that young people oriented toward professional realization in Ukrainian historical science systematically enrolled in M. Hrushevsky’s courses.

A separate explanation is needed for the fact that in rare cases M. Hrushevski marked the planned lectures as “in publice,” i.e., public. Such a comment can be seen not only near lecture courses on Ukrainian and East European history, but also a scientific seminar. The point was that, according to the practice of higher education in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, lectures were divided into public or open (mandatory for attendance, with these classes being paid for), and extraordinary (i.e., those that were not mandatory for attendance and could be either paid or free). Later, the term “public lectures” was replaced by “compulsory courses”, i.e., those that students of all other specializations at the faculty had to attend (Kachmar, 2021, p. 121–122).

As we mentioned above, M. Hrushevsky’s department had a secondary institutional status at the Faculty of Philosophy. One of its consequences was that all the courses he offered were essentially optional and were chosen by students outside the mandatory curriculum and beyond the ten-hour minimum that each student had to complete within a week. Despite this, his reputation as a prominent Ukrainian scholar attracted a large number of young people, and not only Ukrainians (Telvak, 2023; Telvak, Telvak, 2023). Proud of his own popularity among students, M. Hrushevski wrote in 1898: “<...> The fact that this department had a special significance in the most recent development of our science, I will allow myself to state decisively, is not the influence of the department itself, but of my small personality. I teach a subject that is not included in the examination program; therefore, it is not obligatory for anyone, I do not ask questions during exams, in general I have all the chances against me, and if, with all this, the influence of this department is evident in our scientific development, then this is only my personal merit, no one else’s” (Hrushevsky, 1898, p. 2).

The quality of the knowledge gained at lectures and seminars was to be demonstrated by students at exams and colloquiums. “Before the colloquiums”, recalled one of M. Hrushevsky’s students, “we studied directly from the volumes of his history” (Krypiakevych, 2001, s. 89). In general, in the memory of his students, the Ukrainian scientist appears as a demanding but benevolent professor who set the professional maturation of his students as a top priority. Ivan Krypiakevych wrote in his memoirs about the teacher that M. Hrushevsky “demanded a lot, but set high notes” (Krypiakevych, 2001, p. 89). Volodymyr Herynovych spoke similarly about the teacher, who many years after his studies during the anniversary celebrations in 1926 recalled: “At the colloquiums and exams, Mykhailo Serhievych was demanding and not submissive, but sociable and persuasive, forcing him to study and work. “Mykhailo Serhievych’s history exam, in the eyes of his fellow students, was a Scylla and Charybdis. There were desertions on this occasion, but whoever wanted to work became close to his professor” (Yuvilei, 1927, p. 21–22).

But the principledness of Hrushevsky as a teacher in assessing students was not reckless and for him the vital interests of the young man were more important than formal exam scores. For example, let us recall the situation with Oleksandr Sushko, who received a lower than expected grade for the colloquium from his teacher. In this case, the young man decided to ask M. Hrushevsky to abandon his previous decision and rewrite the colloquial certificate with a higher grade (!). The young man motivated his tearful request by financial need and the need to be exempted from considerable university fees (the so-called “honest”), which could not be obtained if not all semester grades were the highest (in the vocabulary of that time – “famous”) (CSHAUK, f. 1235, d. 1, c. 780, ark. 1–5). In his subsequent letters, O. Sushko did not raise this topic, but their grateful tone allows us to assume with great probability that M. Hrushevsky still went to meet the student.

Conclusions. Mykhailo Hrushevsky’s teaching activities at Lviv University were intended to implement the plan of Kyiv and Lviv nationalists to consistently transform Galicia into a national

“Piedmont”. The prominent historian had to implement the educational component of this cultural and social project, training new cadres of Ukrainianists from the students of the main educational institution of the region. In accordance with this mission, he developed and taught lecture courses on national history and the Eastern European region in successive periods. Encouraged by these issues, students deepened their Ukrainian studies in special courses and M. Hrushevsky’s scientific seminar. This purely didactic process, focused on a comprehensive justification of the historical subjectivity of the Ukrainian people, had the expected social effect. It consisted in the unfolding of the struggle for the cultural rights of Ukrainians within the walls of Lviv University. It was M. Hrushevsky who became the ideologist of this struggle and in his own professorial practice fundamentally asserted the Ukrainian voice in the national polyphony of the university, setting an example for his more moderate colleagues K. Studynsky and O. Kolessa. The result of the professorial activity of the prominent scholar was numerous cadres of national intellectuals who, during the twentieth century, completed his large-scale work on the integration of Ukrainian stories into the world historical process.

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