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**ДОКУМЕНТИ ДЕРЖАВНОГО АРХІВУ
ЛЬВІВСЬКОЇ ОБЛАСТІ ЯК ДЖЕРЕЛО ДО ВИВЧЕННЯ
КУЛЬТУРНО-ОСВІТНЬОЇ ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ
МИХАЙЛА ГРУШЕВСЬКОГО**

Анотація. *Мета* дослідження полягає у з'ясуванні грушевсь-кознавчого потенціалу колекцій Державного архіву Львівської області. *Методологічне підґрунтя* становить міждисциплінарний

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підхід. Особливий акцент зроблено на структурно-функціональному системному аналізі історіографічних фактів та методі критичного аналізу документального матеріалу. **Наукова новизна** статті полягає у спробі комплексного аналізу грушевськіани у фондах ДАЛО. **Висновки.** З'ясовано, що найбільшою насиченістю матеріалів про М. Грушевського позначені колекції Львівського університету (фонд 26). Найбільш цінною їх частиною є особова справа вченого як професора університету. Вона містить 72 документи, написані німецькою, українською та польською мовами. Найбільш різнопланова грушевськіана відклалася в описі 7 університетського фонду, що містить численні діловодні матеріали філософського факультету. Особливу інформаційну цінність мають протоколи засідань ради професорів факультету. Іншою малознаною складовою цього опису є посеместрові програми лекцій і семінарів та пов'язане з цим листування М. Грушевського. З матеріалами університетського архіву пов'язані особові фонди колег українського професора по Львівському університету (К. Студинський, Л. Фінкель). Грушевськіана відклалася також в особових фондах інших галицьких діячів того часу (І. Калиновича та М. Кордуби). У фондах ДАЛО міститься документація галицьких культурно-просвітніх товариств, утім і тих, що їх створив чи з ними був пов'язаний М. Грушевський (наприклад, Товариство прихильників української літератури, науки і штуки у Львові). Малознаними для грушевськознавців є й матеріали значного за обсягом фонду дирекції поліції у Львові (ф. 350), де відклалася справа 3903, котра містить документи кримінального провадження проти М. Грушевського. У підсумку відзначено, що віднайдена грушевськіана дає підставу атестувати колекції ДАЛО як одні з найбільш інформативних для дослідження львівського двадцятиліття біографії М. Грушевського.

Ключові слова: М. Грушевський; Державний архів Львівської області; культурно-освітня діяльність.

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LVIV REGION STATE ARCHIVE DOCUMENTS AS A SOURCE FOR THE STUDY OF CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY OF MYKHAILO HRUSHEVSKY

Summary. *The purpose of the article is to investigate the Hrushevsky studies potential of SALR collections. The methodological basis of the work is an interdisciplinary approach. Particular emphasis is placed on the structural and functional system analysis of historiographical facts and the method of critical analysis of documentary material. The scientific novelty of the article lies in the attempt to comprehensively analyze Hrushevsky-related materials in the funds of SALR. Conclusions.* *The article has concluded that the collections of Lviv University (Fund 26) are marked by the biggest amount of materials about M. Hrushevsky. The most valuable document is the personal file of the scholar as a university professor. It contains 72 documents written in German, Ukrainian and Polish. The most diverse Hrushevsky-related materials are deposited in the 7th description of the university fund, which contains numerous office materials of the Faculty of Philosophy. Protocols of the faculty council meetings are especially informational as well. Another little-known component of this description is the semester programs of lectures and seminars and the related correspondence of M. Hrushevsky. The personal funds of*

Hrushevsky's colleagues at Lviv University (K. Studynsky, L. Finkel) are also connected with Hrushevsky-related materials. Hrushevsky materials are deposited in the personal funds of other Galician figures of the time (I. Kalynovych and M. Korduba). The SALR funds contain documentation of Galician cultural and educational societies, but also of those created by or associated with M. Hrushevsky (for example, the Society of Supporters of Ukrainian Literature, Science and Art in Lviv). The large fund of the police directorate in Lviv (file 350, case 3903), contains the documents of the criminal proceedings against M. Hrushevsky that are also little known to Hrushevsky studies scholars. The above-mentioned Hrushevsky materials allow us to certify the SALR collections as one of the most diverse and informative sources for the study of the biography of M. Hrushevsky during his twenty years of life in Lviv.

Key words: *M. Hrushevsky; State Archives of the Lviv Region; cultural and educational activities.*

The statement of the problem. Reviews of Hrushevsky studies collections, deposited in Ukrainian and foreign archives, are extremely popular with specialists and are in constant demand. The reason for this is that archival heuristics takes a lot of time and effort. A lot of studies have been written about Hrushevsky materials in Ukrainian archival institutions. At the same time, only two well-known indexes, one by O. Martynenko and G. Svarnyk and other by I. Hyrych, are marked by completeness of material inventory. The rest of the archives are mostly uninformative causal reviews that do not allow to fully clarify the scientific potential of the collections mentioned in them.

The depicted situation was noticeably dynamized by the project "e-Archive of Mykhailo Hrushevsky" initiated and moderated in recent years by Oksana Yurkova. Among its most ambitious tasks there was a document-by-document description of the archival Hrushevsky-related materials, primarily in Ukrainian collections. Within the framework of the mentioned project, Vitaliy Telvak began to identify and study the Hrushevsky collection in the funds of the State Archives of the Lviv Region (hereinafter – SALR). The potential of this collection is the least explored among other Ukrainian collections. This situation is due to the fact that SALR turned out to be the only institution of such material diversity that does not have any complete guide to its own collections. After all, the existing one dates back to 1965 (!) when the documents of

Ukrainian cultural and scientific institutions of the late XIX – early XX centuries were mostly inaccessible to researchers. It is clear that this state of affairs significantly complicates the work on Hrushevsky studies because even a vague idea of the specifics of a fund can be formed only directly at the institution.

Analysis of previous research. Today, there is only one special study of V. Savchuk on Hrushevsky materials in SALR (Savchuk, 1997). The question of the peculiarities of these collections in SALR was also briefly covered in our article "Sources to the history of Ukrainian culture and science of Eastern Galicia during the autonomous period in the collections of the State Archives of Lviv region" (Yanyshyn, 2019).

The purpose of the article is to investigate the Hrushevsky studies potential of SALR collections.

The statement of the main material. Intensive search work in SALR allowed to find and describe more than a thousand documents that cover the life and work of Hrushevsky during the Lviv period of life. A brief description of the content of these documents is available on the website of the project "e-Archive of Mykhailo Hrushevsky". This heuristic work finally made it possible to find out the scale of Hrushevsky-related materials in the regional archives. Since the full sub-documentary description, as well as the planned compilation of the catalogue, is still a matter of the future work, we will try to briefly describe the specifics of Hrushevsky collections in SALR below.

The collections of Lviv University, stored in Fund 26, are marked by the greatest amount of materials about M. Hrushevsky. We would like to mention that this is one of the largest SALR foundations, as it covers a variety of materials on the history of the university from its founding to the outbreak of World War II. Deposited materials are combined in 18 descriptions. Interestingly, for reasons unknown to the employees themselves, the description 17 is immediately followed by the description 22.

The most valuable part of this fund is the personal file of M. Hrushevsky as a university professor, which was deposited in description 5 (SALR, f. 26, descr. 5, file 510). The case contains 72 documents written in German, Ukrainian and Polish. They shed light on all the key events of historian's twenty-year teaching career: his autobiographies, the protocols of the competition commission, the decree of nominating for a professorship, extensive official correspondence, numerous financial

documents, materials of disciplinary commissions, excerpts from Polish press of that time, characteristics of the scientific activity, materials of the investigation (protocols of testimonies, correspondence, inquiries, etc.) in the case of the forced departure of M. Hrushevsky from Galicia at the beginning of the First World War, etc. The study of these documents allows us to trace the process of "othering" M. Hrushevsky by his Polish colleagues within the university because of his consistent defending of the rights of Ukrainian students for education in native language.

The 5th description contains the cases of other professors and associate professors of Lviv University that are interesting for Hrushevsky studies. For example, the personal file of Kyryl Studynsky includes a little-known text of M. Hrushevsky's review of his habilitation work "Caution" (SALR, f. 26, descr. 5, file 1833, sheets 27–29). We would like to emphasise that this text was not included in the corresponding fifty-volume collection of Hrushevsky's works (Telvak & Radchenko, 2019).

The most diverse Hrushevsky materials were deposited in the 7th description of the university fund. It contains numerous clerical materials of the Faculty of Philosophy, including ones concerning M. Hrushevsky. We would like to highlight the extraordinary informational value of the minutes of the meetings of the faculty council. These protocols allow us to reconstruct the daily routine of difficult communication between M. Hrushevsky and his Polish colleagues; they allow to reproduce the logic of his numerous initiatives to deepen the Ukrainian studies nature of historical lectures at the faculty; they clarify the causes and course of numerous conflicts between the historian and the Polish administration of the faculty and the university. These conflicts later became a favourite and most mythologized plot of the Polish Hrushevsky studies.

Even a superficial revision of these protocols allows us to trace a clear tendency: more and more determinate rejection of M. Hrushevsky's attempts to balance Polish and Ukrainian cultural influences at Lviv University, to stop the aggressive narrowing of Ukrainian language rights within its walls, after all, the state legislation enshrined the ultra-queistic (bilingual) nature of this main educational institution in Eastern Galicia. The greatest conflicts were the persistent attempts of Polish professors to force M. Hrushevsky to communicate exclusively in Polish about official affairs. However, being aware of the interests of Ukrainian students, the scholar insisted on his right to communicate in his native language. Therefore, more and more often his appeals in official matters

remained unanswered, as the representatives of the university administration demanded the use of the Polish language in correspondence. M. Hrushevsky, on the other hand, appealed to state laws and insisted on the correctness of his actions, sometimes writing official letters in Ukrainian with Latin transliteration. Such struggle for justice eventually led to berating of M. Hrushevsky by the Polish Galician press (Telvak, 2017).

Another little-known component of the abovementioned description is the semester-by-semester programs of lectures and seminars and related correspondence of professors and M. Hrushevsky (SALR, f. 26, descr. 7, file 365, sheets 6–7, 34, 90, 91, 98; file 383, pp. 27, 48; file 384, pp. 35–35, 51). These materials allow us to reconstruct what historical subjects M. Hrushevsky offered to introduce, as well as to clarify his weekly teaching hours. Based on these materials, we were able to establish that the range of proposed historical subjects reached several dozen, covering the history of all Ukrainian regions from prehistoric period to the end of the XVIII century. Interestingly, M. Hrushevsky, as the closest consistent opponent of the Polonization course of the Lviv University administration, also conducted official correspondence on these issues exclusively in Ukrainian or the state German language.

Description 7 also contains the reports on the work of scientific seminars and protocols of numerous faculty commissions attended by M. Hrushevsky. We would like to highlight interesting materials of the habilitation commissions where M. Hrushevsky participated as well. These materials prove active participation of M. Hrushevsky in habilitation colloquia of Ivan Franko (SALR, file 26, descr. 7, file 362, sheets 55–56) and Stepan Tomashivsky (SALR, file 26, descr. 7, file 623, file 6, 19).

Researchers of intellectual biography of M. Hrushevsky might find his documented requests for creative leave especially interesting. Almost every year, Hrushevsky applied to the Vienna Ministry of Education asking for one term free from teaching duties in order to carry out, as he wrote, "scientific travels" (SALR, f. 26, descr. 7, file 514, p. 14). Interestingly, sometimes the historian asked for the permission for scientific trips post factum, i.e. sending applications from the places of the planned stay (SALR, f. 26, descr. 7, file 611, sheets 44–49). It should be noted that even in spite of such inaccuracies, in most cases M. Hrushevsky's colleagues at the faculty supported his applications.

The content of many documents of the faculty description is directly related to the materials of the Rectorate of Lviv University, which are deposited in three (12, 13, 14) descriptions. For example, the above-mentioned conflicts in the relationship between M. Hrushevsky and his Polish colleagues at the university are repeatedly confirmed by the materials of 13th description. Thus, the first case of this description, concerning the secession of Ukrainian students, contains a letter from Rector Riediger to the Ukrainian historian about his participation in the farewell meeting of Ukrainian students, as well as a letter from M. Hrushevsky himself, in which he emphasises his right to free communication with youth and expresses his own vision of the Polish-Ukrainian conflict within the walls of Lviv University (SALR, f. 26, descr. 13, file 1).

This description also contains extremely informative protocols of the Senate of Lviv University, little-known before to Hrushevsky studies scholars. These documents allow us to significantly enrich our awareness of M. Hrushevsky's struggle for the rights of Ukrainian students at the university and the collective efforts of the Polish professors to hinder this activity (SALR, f. 26, descr. 13, files 52, 53, 81). For example, the protocols of the University Senate for February 1916, that considered the disciplinary case concerning M. Hrushevsky's departure from Galicia, provides extremely interesting data for Hrushevsky studies scholars. We can learn not only about the nuances of the case itself, but we can confidently state that until that time the Ukrainian scholar was formally considered a professor at Lviv University (SALR, f. 26, descr. 13, file 748, pp. 36–45, 77–86, 89–93; file 868). These materials significantly supplement the documents of cases 841 ("Protocols of secret meetings of the disciplinary commission at the Senate about the cases of Professors Hrushevsky, Grabsky, Dobryansky, etc. and the list of participants") and 842 ("Disciplinary case of Dr. Mykhailo Hrushevsky").

A significant number of cases of the 13th description contain materials discussing the problem of creating an independent Ukrainian university in the capital of Galicia. At the same time, many of them, already in the title, mention the name of M. Hrushevsky as the main initiator of this movement (SALR, f. 26, descr. 13, files 46, 52). Hrushevsky's support of the studies in Ukrainian language within the university was the reason for several disciplinary proceedings against him, the materials of which were deposited in 13th description (SALR, f. 26, descr. 13, files 409, 747, 748, 841). The fact that part of the meetings

of Polish professors was indicated as "secret" (SALR, file 26, descr. 13, files 343, 345, 492) speaks volumes about the interethnic tension at Lviv University. We would like to mention that these cases contain many thematically selected materials of the Galician press of that time.

Finally, description 13 contains materials of the chronicle of Lviv University during the professorship of M. Hrushevsky. Among these materials there are autobiographies and lists of works written by the Ukrainian historian during the relevant period (SALR, f. 26, descr. 13, files 6, 54, 116). The value of these materials lies in the fact that the printed version of the annals of Lviv University includes only fragments of these manuscript reports.

Similar materials were deposited in 12th description of the rector's documents. It includes many cases with the programs of lectures by M. Hrushevsky and instructions on the start and end of classes (files 956, 1022, 1055, 1090, 1054). Other interesting cases include working materials for the university chronicle (files 1088, 1089). Hrushevsky studies scholars would particularly appreciate the case with M. Hrushevsky's biography and the list of his scientific works (files 931, pp. 184–185), as well as the case of the historian's acceptance of citizenship of the Danube monarchy – another vocal topic of that time and that is still little-known to biographers of the Great Ukrainian (file 961).

The content of the previous descriptions echoes the cases of 14th description, which also contains the materials of the Rector's Office. Among the least known materials there is the case 2315 that contains an excerpt from M. Hrushevsky's biography for the Lviv period of his life.

The largest number of documents was deposited in the description 15, which contains absolutariums (certificates of graduation) and catalogues of student performance of all faculties of Lviv University. These documents allow to reconstruct M. Hrushevsky's student audience over the years and to dismantle common negative stereotypes in historiography about the students' attitude to him as a teacher. Long-term work with this large documentary array, which contains tens of thousands of sheets, will allow to draw convincing conclusions about the significant popularity of M. Hrushevsky's lectures among students. Today we have managed to establish the names of about two thousand (!) of his students. Interestingly, the most significant fraction of audience was represented by law students, as the Faculty of Law was the largest at the university. Other groups were represented by students of philosophical and theo-

logical faculties. Only a few students of the medical faculty attended Hrushevsky's lectures. The biggest national group was represented by Ukrainians. Another fairly large group of students was of Jewish nationality. Despite the long-standing Polish-Ukrainian antagonism within the walls of Lviv University, there were a lot of Poles among M. Hrushevsky's students. All this data indicates the need for a comprehensive analysis of these documents and revision of many established theses in Hrushevsky studies.

The mentioned description contains interesting protocols on passing doctoral exams and conclusions on doctoral dissertations. These documents provide valuable information about a small group of the most loyal students of M. Hrushevsky, who devoted themselves to science and obtained doctorates. Among those who obtained doctorates there are representatives of the Lviv historical school: S. Tomashivsky, O. Terletsy, O. Sushko, I. Krypyakevych, I. Dzhidzhora, F. Sribny, V. Gerasymchuk, I. Krevetsky, I. Shpytkovsky, B. Barvinsky and others. It is worth mentioning that M. Hrushevsky's reviews of his students' doctoral dissertation have already been published (Telvak & Pedych, 2016, pp. 380–391).

Other interesting cases of this description include the book of registration of seminar papers and doctoral dissertations with lists of students who took the first steps in science under the guidance of M. Hrushevsky, as well as the topics of their research (SALR, f. 26, descr. 15, file 1336). The names of Hrushevsky's students are also mentioned in the case which contains an album of doctoral diplomas (SALR, file 26, descr. 15, files 1344–1349).

The first manuscript scientific works of M. Hrushevsky's students (essays, reviews, articles) can be found in description 11 ("Master's works, articles"). The most prominent documents in this case are little-known manuscript versions of S. Tomashivsky's research carried out under Hrushevsky's supervision ("The Bourgeoisie of Lviv and the Khmelnytsky Uprising in 1648") (SALR, f. 26, descr. 15, file 1880), a review of M. Chechulin's work (SALR, f. 26, descr. 15, file 1881), M. Korduba ("The Attitude of Bela III to Byzantium and the Third Crusade") (SALR, f. 26, descr. 15, file 1652) and a few abstracts by O. Terletsy (SALR, f. 26, descr. 15, file 1867–1873).

The personal funds of Hrushevsky's colleagues at Lviv University also contain valuable materials for Hrushevsky studies. For example,

we can find unknown before letters of M. Hrushevsky's to the well-known Polish historian Ludwik Finkel in Finkel's personal file. However, the case with the letters turned out to be largely ransacked, as only four sheets of eleven remained. Among the documents there was only one letter and the rest were envelopes (SALR, f. 254, descr. 1, file 313). Interestingly, the mentioned letter, apparently for a better understanding of its content by the addressee, was written in Ukrainian with a Latin transcription. In addition, in L. Finkel's fund there is a well-known brochure of the anonymous "Committee of the Public Good" entitled "Before the General Meeting of the Shevchenko Scientific Society". The document contained baseless accusations against the head of SSS. The presence of this brochure among the documentary heritage of the Polish scientist proves his meticulous attention to the activity of the Ukrainian colleague in Lviv intellectual circle.

Hrushevsky materials can be found in the personal funds of other Galician figures of the second half of the nineteenth – first third of the twentieth century. For example, there are interesting Hrushevsky-related documents in the personal fund of the well-known Ukrainian bibliographer Ivan Kalynovych (f. 306). One of the most interesting files is an obituary of M. Hrushevsky, published in the pages of the German-language Prague newspaper "Prager Presse" (SALR, f. 306, descr. 1, file 163, sheet 88).

Other little-known Hrushevsky materials can be found in the personal fund of the iconic representative of the Lviv historical school Myron Korduba (F. R. 2923). First of all, let us mention the article of the scientist "Mykhailo Hrushevsky as a researcher of the princely era of Ukrainian history" (SALR, f. 2923, op. 1, file 8) that was the final chord of Korduba's works related to Hrushevsky studies (V.V. Telvak & V.P. Telvak, 2018). In this text, contrary to the expectations of the communist authorities, M. Korduba praised the legacy of his teacher. The article was the reason for slandering the author, which eventually led to his premature death. Hrushevsky studies elements can be found in other creative materials of M. Korduba, e.g. university lectures, reviews, abstracts, etc.

The SALR funds also contain documentation of several Galician cultural and educational societies of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, as well as those created or associated with M. Hrushevsky. First of all, let us recall the Society of Supporters of Ukrainian Literature,

Science and Art in Lviv, founded in February 1904 by scientists and Hrushevsky colleagues I. Franko, I. Trush and V. Hnatyuk. The materials of this group materials were deposited in the fund 298. The most important thing is the protocol book of member and board meetings where among different signatures we can see the autographs of the head of the institution M. Hrushevsky. The mentioned protocols of the Society are currently published by the Lviv researcher Oleg Kupchynsky (Kupchynskyyi, 1994), and Bohdan Yanyshyn (Yanyshyn, 2018). The latter conducted a detailed investigation of the characteristics of the Society's activity.

Excerpts from the protocols of member and board meetings, deposited in the fourth case, as well as drafts and originals of the statute of the Society (files 1 and 2) will be interesting for researchers of scientific and organizational activities of M. Hrushevsky. The letters of the members of the Society to its chairman can be found in the fifth case. Institutional correspondence is preserved in the sixth case ("Letters of the Regional Department, Kyiv Literary and Artistic Society, editor of the publishing house «Rus Writing» Yu. Romanchuk on sending information about the society's preparation for the publication of works by Mark Vovchok"). Finally, the documentation of two major cultural and educational events organized by M. Hrushevsky under the auspices of the Society, the Higher Summer Vacation Courses and the Exhibition of Ukrainian Modern Art, were collected in 8th and 9th cases of the mentioned fund.

Researchers of the Lviv period of M. Hrushevsky's life and activity are much less familiar with the documents of the board of the "Committee of Academic House" society in Lviv, which were deposited in the fund 292. The fund has 33 cases that allow to fully reproduce the genesis and implementation of Hrushevsky's idea to build a dormitory for Ukrainian students in the Galician capital. The scholar devoted a number of journalistic articles to this idea, thus drawing the attention of the Ukrainian public to this important issue. The fund contains various documents (invoices, contracts, cadastral maps, etc.) related to the acquisition of land for the construction of the Academic House (file 1), cash book of the Academic House (file 2), information on the calculation of taxes on the premises of SSS (file 3), appeal of the head of SSS to Ukrainians on both sides of Zbruch about collecting voluntary donations for the construction of the Academic House (file 5), various financial

materials regarding the construction and operation of the Academic House (files 7, 8, 13, 14, 18, 20, 21, 23, 25–32), numerous inventory descriptions (file 9), regulations (file 11), etc. Hrushevsky studies scholars would particularly value the fourth case which preserved the unnoticed correspondence of the head of the SSS M. Hrushevsky on many issues related to the construction and operation of the Academic House.

The materials of the large fund of the Lviv Police Directorate (f. 350) are also little known to Hrushevsky studies scholars. First of all, let us draw the researchers' attention to case 3903, which contains various documents of criminal proceedings against M. Hrushevsky opened in 1916. At that time, the Ukrainian scholar was suspected of treason for giving well-known journalistic speeches in the Russian newspaper "Rech", which allegedly called for the separation of Eastern Galicia from the Danube monarchy and its annexation to the Romanov empire. We are convinced that a careful study of the materials of the police fund will reveal interesting information for Hrushevsky studies scholars.

Conclusions. In conclusion, we would like to note that our brief overview is far from exhaustive. Pointing to the most important Hrushevsky-related materials, we strive to outline the directions of further research for Hrushevsky studies scholars. However, the above-mentioned Hrushevsky materials allows us to certify the SALR collections as one of the most diverse and informative sources for the study of the biography of M. Hrushevsky. They provide information about Hrushevsky's extremely productive creative achievements during his twenty years in Lviv. The study, along with the compilation of the above-mentioned catalogue of Hrushevsky studies, should result in the creation of a synthetic study of the Galician era of life of the Great Ukrainian.

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