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## Between history and politics: the image of Mykhailo Hrushevsky in German Slavic studies of the first third of the 20<sup>th</sup> century

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STRESZCZENIE

**Między historią a polityką: wizerunek Mychajła Hruszewskiego w niemieckiej slawistyce w pierwszym trzydziestoleciu wieku XX**

Artykuł poświęcony jest recepcji twórczości Mychajły Hruszewskiego w niemieckiej nauce i publicystyce w pierwszym trzydziestoleciu XX w., w latach I wojny światowej i w okresie międzywojennym. Autorzy podkreślają, że niemieccy komentatorzy na ogół rzetelnie odnosili się do dorobku i działalności ukraińskiego historyka. Pomimo sceptycznego nastawienia M. Hruszewskiego do antynormanizmu, uważnie śledzili pojawianie się jego głównych prac naukowych. W recepcji twórczości ukraińskiego historyka motywacją akademicka zdecydowanie dominowała nad polityczną, chociaż ta ostatnia pośrednio pojawiała się w wielu poświęconych mu wypowiedziach. Autorzy udowodnili żywą obecność myśli Hruszewskiego w niemieckim dyskursie slawistycznym omawianego okresu.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Hruszewski, niemieckie studia slawistyczne, historiografia, recepcja, dziennikarstwo

## ABSTRACT

The article is dedicated to the reception of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's academic achievements in German science and journalism during the first third of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in the years of World War I and the interwar period. The authors emphasize that German scientists were generally honest about the achievements and activity of the Ukrainian historian. Despite their scepticism towards M. Hrushevsky's Anti-Normanism ideology, they followed closely the emergence of his major scientific works. In the reception of the Ukrainian historian's work, the academic motivation definitely dominated over the political one, although the latter indirectly appeared in many statements devoted to him. The authors prove the vivid presence of Hrushevsky's thought in the German Slavic discourse of the period.

**Keywords:** Hrushevsky, German Slavic studies, historiography, perception, journalism

**Introduction**

Hrushevsky studies researchers repeatedly highlight that Hrushevsky's historiographical ideas were mainly interesting to German scientists. This fact is justifiably explained by a wide range of reasons, from the strong traditions of German Slavonic studies to the purely pragmatic interest in the Ukrainian liberation movement in political and expert circles. At the same time, Ukrainian activists aimed at acquainting German colleagues with the culture, history and modernity of one of the largest Eastern European nations. In addition, at that time, there was a particular conjuncture, as the German scientists were the generally recognised leaders of historical science, and the German language was the language of contemporary science. Another important factor was the ideological inclination of some Ukrainian public figures, primarily from the sub-Austrian lands, and their support of German political forces. Ukrainian activists hoped, largely naively, that the Germans would help them liberate Russian Ukrainians from Romanov rule. This hope was one of the results expected in the early 19<sup>th</sup>-century military conflict. Therefore, Ukrainian intellectuals have repeatedly stressed the importance of presenting the achievements of national culture to the German-speaking world. However, these plans were hampered by the chronic poverty of Ukrainian science.

Mykhailo Hrushevsky realised this need for self-presentation in the Western world. He promoted the importance of spreading

the Ukrainian view of Eastern European history by implementing translated projects. While contemplating on this problem, the scientist wrote in his “Diary” on March 13, 1904: “I was thinking a lot about the system of reticence as well as about the actual needs of our work’s popularisation. I mistook a lot, having stood apart and, relying on the fact that our work will fight the way on itself. No, it may not fight the way, as it has many adversaries”<sup>1</sup>. Implementing this belief in practice, the Lviv professor prepared several German-language translated projects developed by M. Hrushevsky himself and his students – representatives of the Lviv historical school. German scholars actively responded to the author of the “History of Ukraine-Rus” in numerous studies and articles. They are important for understanding the peculiarities of how German scientists perceived M. Hrushevsky and, more broadly, for clarifying the formation of German Ukrainian studies. Nevertheless, to this day, this diverse reception has not been the subject of a comprehensive historiographical analysis.

### **At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century**

The German reader discovered M. Hrushevsky at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> centuries after he obtained the position of professor at Lviv University. The Ukrainian scientist launched an intensive activity as the head of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. His edition of “Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeni Shevchenka” became the most authoritative Ukrainian publication and attracted the attention of the Western European professional community. German scientists accessed the journal via critical overviews prepared by Polish specialists (primarily by Alexander Bruckner, professor at the University of Berlin) familiar with the Ukrainian language. Due to reviews of Alexander Bruckner, Western Slavic studies scholars learned about the achievements of the Lviv group of Ukrainian Studies, headed by M. Hrushevsky.

The publication of “History of Ukraine-Rus”, the first synthetic study about Ukrainian people, made according to the canons of professional historiography, increased interest in the personality of Mykhailo Hrushevsky. Although few Slavists spoke Ukrainian at the free understanding of the text, with the publication

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<sup>1</sup> M. Hrushevskyyi, *Shchodennyk*, “Ukrainskyi istoryk” 2006–2007, № 4/1–2, p. 24.

of each new volume, Hrushevsky attracted more attention. The evidence is the letters of German Slavists where they mentioned an acquaintance with M. Hrushevsky and addressed him as a recognized authority in the field of East Slavic history. For example, here is an excerpt from a letter from a well-known German Rus history scholar, a private associate professor at the University of Berlin, Otto Götz. Intending to visit Lviv as part of a long scientific trip to Galicia, the German scientist asked his Ukrainian colleague for a meeting. Motivating his request, he wrote: “Pardon me, Your Excellency Professor, for my audacity, dictated by the researcher’s desire to meet the highest authority in his field”<sup>2</sup>. M. Hrushevsky, known for his sociability, was always willing to make new contacts, helping his German colleagues enter the Ukrainian scholars’ circle.

However, M. Hrushevsky gained genuine acclaim in the German academic after the reprint of the revised first volume of the “History of Ukraine-Rus” in German, which was published in Leipzig in early 1906 under the original title of “Geschichte des ukrainischen (ruthenischen) Volkes”. Ukrainian intellectual circles had high hopes for the translation of M. Hrushevsky’s work into the language of contemporary science, and there was a general belief in the importance of implementing this project to promote the Ukrainian issue in Europe. Announcing the new book, Stepan Tomashivsky, a pupil of the Lviv Historical School, emphasized: “It [the German edition of the first volume of the work] will honor not only the author but also the nation, and only then the European Council will become truly and deeply interested in our past and present. The appearance of such a solid scientific work will do more in Europe for our people than hundreds of political journal articles”<sup>3</sup>. As the discussion below shows, this prediction came true.

M. Hrushevsky himself joined the distribution of “Geschichte des ukrainischen (ruthenischen) Volkes”, sending a book to some colleagues as a gift. He assumed that his colleagues, in response, would answer with reviews, thereby promoting the book. Otto Götz’s letter proved the success of this strategy: “I sincerely thank you for sending me your “History of the Ukrainian people”. I started

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<sup>2</sup> V. Telvak, O. Radchenko, *Lysty Otto Hetcha do Mykhaila Hrushevskoho*, “Arkhivy Ukrainy” 2018, № 2–3, p. 216.

<sup>3</sup> S. Tomashivskyi, *Nova knyzhka – novi chasy (Prof. M. Hrushevskyi – Ocherk ystoryi ukraïnskoho naroda. S-Pb., 1904)*, “Literaturno-naukovyi visnyk” 1905, vol. XXIX, p. 46.

studying it and will definitely respect it with a detailed review in one of the scientific journals”<sup>4</sup>. Later, Otto Götz honestly informed his Lviv correspondent about the process of writing and publishing a review.

In fact, Otto Götz’s letters contained the first impressions of M. Hrushevsky’s new book, similarly to other German reviewers of “Geschichte des ukrainischen (ruthenischen) Volkes”. First of all, the scientist expressed “the joy that this book has finally become available to the German scientific world”. He then made a few remarks about the linguistic texture of the translated text.

According to Otto Götz, the main problem was “the imperfection of the German translation: there are errors in the order of words, as well as a large number of Austrian expressions that are not known or used in the German Empire”. It should be noted that most of the reviewers of the “History of the Ukrainian People” made a similar remark. Therefore, when translating the following volumes (on the necessity of which emphasized Otto Götz), he advised to give the text for a preliminary proofreading to the native German speaker. The German scholar also stressed the need to continue popularizing his historiographical ideas: “I consider it necessary to urgently translate into German your Russian-language ‘Essay on the History of the Ukrainian People’ [...]”<sup>5</sup>. The majority of German reviewers of the book of M. Hrushevsky expressed a similar request.

Otto Götz deepened these observations in his extensive review published in the Leipzig magazine “Historische Vierteljahresschrift”. In general, in solidarity with the author’s ideology in “History of the Ukrainian people”, he stressed the importance to acquaint Western readers with this work as they mainly associate different peoples with empires that rule them. The fallacy of this perspective becomes especially obvious as the real civilizational contribution of Ukrainians to the treasury of Eastern European culture and the power of the Ukrainian national movement is quite significant. Tsarists’ restrictions and prosecutions did not reach their purpose, and Ukrainian historians, together with M. Hrushevsky, bring back from oblivion the glorious history of their people, demonstrating, according to Otto Götz, that “national historiography goes hand in hand with national awakenings, which accelerate

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<sup>4</sup> V. Telvak, O. Radchenko, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 217.

and productively influence each other”<sup>6</sup>. Therefore, the reviewer outlines the geographical areas of the Ukrainians’ settlement and supports his Ukrainian colleague regarding the integrity of the holistic image of the Ukrainian people in all its ethnic territories. Characterising the professional side of the work, the reviewer highlights: “As for this first volume, I can say that M. Hrushevsky works with the full ownership of huge and scattered material and with great methodical caution and foresight”<sup>7</sup>.

A significant number of controversial moments in the book, first of all, the criticism of Norman theory, according to Otto Götz’s words, is related not only to the efforts of M. Hrushevsky to present historical material but also to the general ambiguity of the interpretation of most of the events during the Eastern European Middle Ages. Despite this, the reviewer praises Hrushevsky’s research honesty, his balanced and objective approach to the researched problems, his attempt to reflect the whole spectrum of historiographical assessments followed by extensive comments and explanations. At the end of the review, the reviewer emphasised: “And finally, I can only rejoice, that this valuable and hard work is now available to the German world, and I wish the translator to proceed further. I would like to add that this first volume deserves attention from Slavic philologists, ethnographers and Byzantine researchers”<sup>8</sup>.

The appearance of the first volume of “Geschichte des ukrainischen (ruthenischen) Volkes” became the impetus for the German Slavists to establish an epistolary dialogue with the Ukrainian author. Thus, the famous researcher of the Old Rus culture, professor of Bonn University Leopold Karl Goetz wrote in his first letter to Lviv: “I am elated about the publication of the German edition of the first volume of Your ‘History of the Ukrainian people’, I immediately acquired it from our university library and learned a lot from it”<sup>9</sup>. This letter of Leopold Karl Goetz became the impetus to the long correspondence between Ukrainian and German researchers.

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<sup>6</sup> O. Hötzsch, [Rev.] *Hruševskij, Michael Geschichte des ukrainischen (ruthenischen) Volkes. Leipzig: Teubner, 1906. I Band, “Historische Vierteljahrshrift”* 1907, Bd. X, p. 223.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 224.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 225.

<sup>9</sup> V. Telvak, O. Radchenko, *Lysty Leopolda Karla Gettsa do Mykhaila Hrushevskoho*, “Arkhiv Ukrainy” 2018, № 1, p. 249.

Having studied M. Hrushevsky's book, Leopold Karl Goetz wrote a short but meaningful review for the Berlin "Deutsche Literaturzeitung". Like other reviewers, he also noted the low level of awareness of the European reader about the past of Eastern Europe. The review emphasises that synthetic works have the greater weight and value, as they focus on the origins of historical life in a large area from the Carpathians to the Caucasus. Describing the work, Leopold Karl Goetz remarked: "There will probably not be a work for a long time that would study this branch of science as thoroughly and solidly [the history of Eastern Europe] as this history of the Ukrainian people"<sup>10</sup>. Next, the reviewer focuses on the ideas of "History", emphasising a large number of sources and literature analysed by the Ukrainian researcher. The latter circumstance, in his opinion, is very valuable for European specialists, as Russian and Ukrainian literature is largely inaccessible to them. Leopold Karl Goetz emphasises that M. Hrushevsky's vision destroyed the widespread among European researchers' stereotype of the past of Eastern Europe as a monocultural and monoethnic space. The reviewer admits that he has used the following volumes of the main work of M. Hrushevsky in his research, so he emphasises the need to translate further parts of it: "This would draw more attention in Germany to this unknown, almost entirely neglected branch of the science of European history and culture"<sup>11</sup>. In the review, there is no traditional critique of M. Hrushevsky's Anti-Normanism and disagreement with his historical model. The review itself is aimed at acquainting the reader with general ideas of the study. Much more critical was the review by historian and religious scholar Professor Rudolf Stibe, published in the Munich journal "Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung"<sup>12</sup>. At the beginning of his discussion, he paid attention to the originality of the peer-reviewed book as an ideological manifesto of the young Ukrainian movement: "The national aspirations of the Ruthenians gave birth to the great 'History of Ukraine-Rus' by Lviv professor M. Hrushevsky, who is an inspirational activist of the Ruthenian national movement".

<sup>10</sup> L.K. Goetz, [Rev.] *Hruševskij, Michael Geschichte des ukrainischen (ruthenischen) Volkes. Leipzig: Teubner, 1906. I Band*, "Deutsche Literaturzeitung" 1908, Nr. 8, p. 495.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 496.

<sup>12</sup> R. Stübe, [Rev.] *Eine Geschichte der Ruthenen (Hruševskij Michael, Geschichte des ukrainischen (ruthenischen) Volkes. I Bd. Leipzig, Teubner 1906)*, "Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung" 1907, Bd. III, pp. 617–623.

The critic expressed his admiration for the scale of the work and the number of sources and literature involved in its writing. The book, in his opinion, “with the biggest care and diligence”, summarises the range of possible sources, which allowed it to critically consider existing hypotheses and justify the legitimacy of its models.

In the researcher’s opinion, the best part of the first volume is the analysis of the family and tribal organisation of the Slavs, their culture and mythology. R. Shtibe also praises M. Hrushevsky’s portrayal of the time of Volodymyr the Great. According to the critic, this is “an example of great historical characterisation”. “My first impression, – notes R. Shtibe, – is the outstanding erudition and tireless diligence combined with the speed of thought and inspiration for work. The author is famous for his extensive knowledge of even often inaccessible literature. Thus, we have a great study, that we can trust, as it conveys all the facts in the broadest sense. I praise the amount of labour put into it, although in some respects I cannot agree with the opinion of the author”.

Then the reviewer lists several remarks. The critic believes that the desire of the Ukrainian researcher to scrupulously, with all possible details, describe the subject of his research sometimes creates much trouble for the reader. After all, the leading idea of the story is sometimes lost, while “reading the book becomes tedious, and we end up dissatisfied”. R. Shtibe’s other accusation is conceptual in nature. The reviewer repeatedly draws attention to the fact that the book also improbably outlines the geographical area of the settlement of Ukrainians in the early Middle Ages, and the beginnings of their history were moved too far into the historical retrospective. “I cannot agree with the author’s aspirations”, – the critic sums up. However, this problem, noted R. Shtibe, is inherent not only in the peer-reviewed book but is inherent in the historiography of all “young” nations, especially the Slavs, who compete for the oldest possible origin and the largest-scale settlement of their peoples. Thus, the critic accuses M. Hrushevsky of the artificiality of arguments and the misinterpretation of famous events and phenomena. The author disagrees with Hrushevsky’s reconstruction of the ways of origin and directions of evolution of state institutions in the Eastern Slavs. R. Shtibe criticises the polemical fervour of the Anti-Norman theory of the Ukrainian scientist, considering the relevant pages the most controversial in the peer-reviewed book. “The work is steeped in a trend that is noteworthy in itself but has

hurt the idea of the book – he concludes. – Hrushevsky wants to use the national aspirations of his passionate, gifted and active people. Because of this, he sometimes distorts some well-known facts: this sometimes leads to distortions and exaggerations. This tendency also adversely affects the presentation of the subject; the story is often replaced by clarifying individual questions”<sup>13</sup>.

Finally, M. Hrushevsky’s new book got a short review by the German-renowned historical magazine “Historische Zeitschrift”<sup>14</sup>. The author, like other observers, noted that the work of the Ukrainian scientist is essentially the first, after Engel’s “History of Ukraine” in 1793, attempt to completely recreate the early history of one of the largest East Slavic peoples. Briefly outlining the main ideas of the work, the reviewer notes that due to the review’s size restrictions, he cannot stop on all the contradictory points of the publication. The most controversial idea is M. Hrushevsky’s denial of the validity of the Norman theory. Another interesting aspect, the reviewer notes, is the author’s map of Eastern Europe during the formation of Kievan Rus, which visualizes the scale of state-building aspirations of Ukrainian ancestors. Despite some disagreement, the critic outlines the importance of the book’s publication, which acquainted vast readers’ circles with the history of the Ukrainian people.

Among all the mentioned critical overviews, the review by R. Shtibe affected the Ukrainian author the most. In his diary, this is the only critical review mentioned. M. Hrushevsky’s reaction was provoked by the rebuke of a German colleague about the excessive amount of secondary sub-plots. In the note dated with 30<sup>th</sup> of October 1907, he wrote: “As for [...] review of Shtibe, where he criticised the lack of continuity, overwhelmed with details text, I am thinking of ‘simplifying’ the ‘History’ – and I regret that I could not create the simplified German version in the first place”<sup>15</sup>. Responding to the remarks of R. Shtibe, the Ukrainian historian, decided to translate into German the “Essay on the History of the Ukrainian People”, as his first edition in 1904 was published in Russian.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 623.

<sup>14</sup> J.L., [Rev.] *Hruševskij Michael, Geschichte des ukrainischen (ruthenischen) Volkes. Leipzig: Teubner, 1906. I Band*, “Historische Zeitschrift” 1908, Bd. CI, pp. 180–182.

<sup>15</sup> Tsentral’nyy derzhavnyy istorychnyy arkhiv Ukrainy, m. Kyiv (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv) [hereinafter: CSHAUk], collection 1235, entry 1, case 25, sheets 163 zv. and 164.

However, the search for a suitable translator and the coordination of organizational aspects took a long time, so the first part of the translation appeared only during the First World War.

The discussion of “Geschichte des ukrainischen (ruthenischen) Volkes” convinced M. Hrushevsky in the validity of his efforts to promote the Ukrainian view of the Eastern European past through the implementation of the translated projects. Influenced by a lively discussion, the author wrote to his Russian colleague Alexander Lappo-Danilevsky: “My first volume of the “History”, published last year in German, is now experiencing a fiery baptism. Along with more or less harsh antics dictated by hostility to my “innovations” or personal and political accounts, I was pleased to see that even the most unfriendly critics did not show me any real flaws in my conclusions or method; on this side, these unfriendly reviews should perhaps be appreciated even more than friendly, especially unfounded compliments. I am positively looking forward to the new revision of the book”<sup>16</sup>. However, this idea was hampered by the chronic financial insecurity of Ukrainian science.

Ukrainian patriotic journalism highlighted the approving discussion of the first volume of “Geschichte des ukrainischen (ruthenischen) Volkes” on the pages of western European magazines and, mostly, in the German magazines. The articles emphasized that the favourable assessments are evidence of the book’s high quality and the scientific level of young academic Ukrainian studies in general. Instead, for the first time, M. Hrushevsky’s ideological opponents from the camp of Galician Muscovites pointed out to the author the political motivation of German colleagues. One of the Muscovite camp leaders, Professor Volodymyr Milkovych of Chernivtsi University, wrote about this openly in a polemical fervour. When other colleagues pointed out that compared to Western reviewers of the book, he was the only one to react so sharply towards the author of “Geschichte des ukrainischen (ruthenischen) Volkes”, Milkovych mentioned that it was the political bias of German reviewers angered him. Answering the accusations of the editorial board of “Dilo”, he emphasized: “When the work of prof. Hr[ushevsky] was praised by the Germans, then they did it out of political tactics, which, apparently, the gentlemen of “Dilo” do not even understand”<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> V. Telvak, *Lysty Mykhaila Hrushevskoho do Oleksandra Lappo-Danilevskoho*, “Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeni Shevchenka” 2016, vol. CCLXX, p. 330.

<sup>17</sup> V. Mylkovych, *Vidpovid moim napasnykam*, “Ruslan” 1907, № 214, p. 3.

We do not know how exactly M. Hrushevsky reacted to this accusation. Since that time, he treated the proposals of German colleagues for cooperation with suspicion. He reluctantly considered the request of O. Getz to collaborate in the newborn scientific magazine about the Western Europe history “*Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte*” (1911–1914). The magazine had to become a specific media ground for presenting national requirements and achievements of non-governmental peoples of Central Western Europe. M. Hrushevsky himself mentioned the importance of the appearance of such a periodical edition as it would play an essential role in informing the European public about the ambitions of modern Ukrainians. At the same time, the Lviv scholar feared the appropriate ideological and political direction of the new edition and the presentation of the Ukrainian liberation movement on its pages as an organic and independent phenomenon. The historian explained his fears to O. Getz. In a note in his diary from 23 of September 1906, he wrote: “Before the evening I met with Getz. He did not impress much as a person with his particular Prussian mindset. His interest in Ukraine also does not seem very important to him, but for some *pro foro externo*”<sup>18</sup>. Hrushevsky expressed similar doubts regarding the other editor of the planned magazine by Theodore Schimann. Having received from him a letter with the proposal of collaboration, M. Hrushevsky noted in his diary: “I thought about the plan of publishing a magazine, thinking about dark sides and whether there is anything risky regarding the relations with Schimann [...]”<sup>19</sup>. He doubted the solidity of this idea in the letter to O. Lappo-Danilevsky: “I, as you know, appreciate much the appearance of such a magazine, but in a decent direction and in a decent company”<sup>20</sup>.

In the end, M. Hrushevsky’s fears proved to be in vain – the publishers of the projected magazine responsibly approached their mission of “discovering” Eastern Europe for the interested Western reader. The project was implemented through mediation and, to a large extent, through the efforts of the region’s intellectuals, which was associated with the outlying lands of the Russian and Danube monarchies. As it was mentioned in the editorial introduction to the first issue of the magazine, its goal is to be “the central

<sup>18</sup> CHAUK, collection 1235, entry 1, case 25, sheet 128 zv.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, sheet 196 zv.

<sup>20</sup> V. Telvak, *Lysty Mykhaila Hrushevskoho...*, p. 323.

unifying authority of the historical works from the West and East in the domain of the history of Western Europe, contributing to the scientific exchange between the Western European and Eastern European historians and, presenting works of Eastern European colleagues<sup>21</sup>. The seriousness of the publishers' intentions was evidenced by M. Hrushevsky's facilitation of the necessary acquaintances with the leaders of Ukrainians on both sides of Zbruch. According to the plan of O. Getz, the achievements of Ukrainian humanities, first of all the historiography, had to be widely present in the newly founded magazine. M. Hrushevsky himself never submitted any of his texts to the magazine. Instead, on his advice, a talented representative of the Lviv Historical School<sup>22</sup>, Myron Korduba, closely collaborated with the German editorial.

On the eve of World War I, the authority of M. Hrushevsky among his German colleagues was quite significant, as evidenced by their numerous letters. Apart from the ones already mentioned, let us name the names of Hans Ubersberger, Otto Schrader and Oswald Redlich. While addressing the Ukrainian colleague regarding the scientific questions, they almost unanimously asked whether he planned to continue translating into German the following volumes of the "History of Ukraine-Rus". Leopold Karl Goetz was exceptionally persistent. In his letters, he asked: "Are you planning to continue the German edition of the other parts of Your 'History', and is there any chance to publish its following parts at least in the shortened form?"<sup>23</sup>.

### **In the years of World War I and the interwar period**

At the beginning of World War I, the attention to the Ukrainian cause increased and got a clear political tone. In West Europe, the active popularisation of the Ukrainian issue by many patriotic parties and organizations spread awareness and shed light on events on Ukrainian territory. The opposing parties also used the national liberation struggles of conquered peoples to advance their political agenda.

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<sup>21</sup> "Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte" 1911, Nr. 1, p. 1.

<sup>22</sup> V. Telvak, V. Pedych, V. Telvak, *Historical school of Mykhailo Hrushevsky in Lviv: formation, structure, personal contribution*, "Studia Historiae Scientiarum" 2021, vol. XX, pp. 239–261.

<sup>23</sup> V. Telvak, O. Radchenko, *Lysty Leopolda Karla Gettsa...*, p. 253.

Union for the Liberation of Ukraine's work notably increased the popularisation of the Ukrainian issue. Its' founders distinctly chose Austrian and German orientation, hoping to get Central Powers' support of the idea of the realization of Ukrainian independence in the post-war reformatting of the European map. Therefore, activists of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine launched propaganda activity in the Austrian and German press and magazines of many countries on the European and American continents. The first considerable step of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine was the publication in different languages with an appeal to the European society at the beginning of September 1914. In their statement, they highlighted the necessity of Ukrainian independence after the victory Central Powers. The extensive information work soon paid off. As detailed reviews in the "Visnyk Soiuzu vyzvolennia Ukrainy" testified under the heading of "The press review", "The foreign press about us", "Voices of the press about the Ukrainian cause", the Ukrainian question interested European and American reviewers. The tone of the assessments depended on the affiliation of a country to one of the warring parties.

The press of Entente about the Ukrainian movement usually replicated the thesis of Russian journalism about the "German intrigue". As researchers point out, the emergence of anti- or pro-Ukrainian publications should be seen as attempts by various political groups to influence the parliaments and governments of their states through the creation of public opinion. The press reviews and the analysis of purely political aspects of the Ukrainian national movement paid attention to Ukrainian history and culture, which aimed to acquaint readers of their countries with that part of Eastern Europe. Every such publication mentioned the name of M. Hrushevsky. The arrest of M. Hrushevsky by the tsarist police caused a considerable resonance in the European press from the Carpathians to the Pyrenees. Moreover, the democratic press sympathised with the Ukrainian movement about Hrushevsky's exile without a court sentence deep into Russia<sup>24</sup>.

In publishing and propagandistic activities of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, M. Hrushevsky's studies were an essential propagandistic material for popularising the Ukrainian cause

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<sup>24</sup> More precisely in: V. Telvak, *Tvorcha spadshchyna Mykhaila Hrushevskoho v otsinkakh suchasnykiv (kinets XIX – 30-ti roky XX stolittia)*, Kyiv–Drohobych 2008, pp. 159–161.

in Western Europe. Being a political exile, the Ukrainian historian himself did not know that his works were used in the ideological struggle. If he had known, then, most likely, he would not have permitted such an instrumentalization of his work, as he was sceptical of the Germanophilism of Galician politicians. Instead, most of M. Hrushevsky translated works that appeared in World War I were published exactly in German. The editorial forewords gave a brief description of their author as the most famous Ukrainian scientist and public figure, indicating that his works have gained significant recognition in the professional environment. Publishers described M. Hrushevsky as a sacrificial fighter for the Ukrainian cause, whom the Russian government severely persecuted. To avoid accusations of bias, it was outlined that translated works of M. Hrushevsky were written long before the explosion of World War I, and their ideas are in no way the result of the search by Ukrainians of their place in the confrontation of the European Powers<sup>25</sup>. These publications also explained the terminology Ukrainian scientists used in their works, and the legality of the use of the toponym "Ukraine".

The introductions of M. Hrushevsky, reprinted from pre-war publications, traditionally mentioned the insufficient acquaintance of the Western reader with the past and present state of the Ukrainian people and provided arguments about the originality of Ukrainian history and culture and their civilisational contribution to European heritage. These reprints also emphasised the paradoxical situation that in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Europeans were much better acquainted with Ukraine and Ukrainians than at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>26</sup>.

Translations of the scientific and journalistic works of M. Hrushevsky received the most positive reviews in the press of the Central Powers. Austrian and German magazines wrote a lot about the Simbirsk prisoner. Many editions expressed condolences to Hrushevsky and highlighted his role in the general awakening of the national liberation movement in the Ukrainian lands. Reviews of Hrushevsky's historical works published by Union for the Liberation of Ukraine praised professionalism that proved that Lviv professor is one of the most authoritative experts of the past of

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<sup>25</sup> M. Hruschewskyj, *Die ukrainische Frage in historischer Entwicklung*, Wien 1915, pp. 1–3.

<sup>26</sup> *Ide m*, *Geschichte der Ukraine*, Teil I, Lemberg 1916, pp. V–VIII.

the East European region, and his view on the modern condition and the perspectives of the development of Eastern Europe is a considerable alternative of the generally accepted Moscow-centric model<sup>27</sup>. Addressing the creative heritage of M. Hrushevsky, German reviewers unanimously recognised him as “the first historical authority of Ukraine”<sup>28</sup>. Nevertheless, despite the sincere sympathy towards the scientific and social-political work of M. Hrushevsky, German scientists traditionally argued with his Anti-Normanism, seeing it as a politically motivated stance<sup>29</sup>.

Russian revolution and the disintegration of the House of Romanov brought M. Hrushevsky to the political Olympus as the Head of the Parliament of the revived Ukrainian state – Central Council of Ukraine. While defending its independence against the aggression of the Russian Bolsheviks, the Ukrainian government was forced to seek armed support from European allies. Under the conditions of signing the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the young Ukrainian Government accepted military assistance from Germany and Austria-Hungary. For such services, Ukrainians had to pay an entirely fantastic quantity of supplies for that time. In fact, due to the inability of the Ukrainian authorities to fulfil their obligations, numerous conflicts arose between the leaders of the Central Council of Ukraine and the Allied military administration. Furthermore, critical informational messages regarding M. Hrushevsky were sent from Kyiv to Berlin. These messages described the picture of a chaotic state led by an old and helpless Head of the Ukrainian Parliament, manipulated by anyone. So, it is not surprising that Germans replaced “social”, in their regard, the Central Council of Ukraine, setting up a *coup d'état*. However, this did not improve the situation, and soon Germany itself plunged into revolutionary chaos.

Revolutionary events in Germany, the unsuccessful political career of M. Hrushevsky, considerably slowed down scientific work, and difficulties of the scientific communication considerably lowered the attention to Hrushevsky among Western European

<sup>27</sup> W.K., *Die Union der Ukraina mit Moskau*, “Reichspost” 1915, Nr. 571, p. 2.

<sup>28</sup> O. Kuraiev, *Pershyi istorychnyi avtorytet Ukrainy. Mykhailo Hrushevskyyi i nimetske ukraïnoznavstvo*, “Visnyk Natsionalnoi Akademii nauk Ukrainy” 2000, № 3, p. 58.

<sup>29</sup> *Pro nimetsku istoriiu Ukrainy M. Hrushevskoho*, “Visnyk Soiuzu vyzvolennia Ukrainy” 1916, № 135, pp. 78–79.

and German researchers. Besides, while emigrating during 1919–1923, the historian published his works in French due to the political circumstances of that time.

The reason for another wave of interest in the personality of M. Hrushevsky was the precocious death of the scientist. His German colleagues perceived this tragic event with great anxiety and published several articles about the scientist. A few days later, the country's leading magazines responded to the tragic news from Kislovodsk. The traditional interest of German scientists in Ukrainian studies coincided with the intensive activity of Ukrainian scientific and cultural institutions in interwar Germany that aimed to attract the general public's attention. The personal factor should not be ruled out either – German Slavists who personally met with M. Hrushevsky during pre-war times, lived and worked at that time published a detailed reflection on the tragic news from the Soviet state.

The friend of the Ukrainian scientist and the promoter of his ideas in the German World, O. Getz, wrote his obituaries-memories simultaneously for a few German Slavic magazines. Remembering the circumstances of his acquaintance with M. Hrushevsky and the collaboration with him in the pre-war times, O. Getz stated that German science always attentively observed the creative achievements of the Ukrainian scientist even though he critically reacted to some of his opinions<sup>30</sup>. Nonetheless, the “History of Ukraine-Rus” with its fundamentality and criticism attracted European researchers, gradually convincing them of the legitimacy of Hrushevsky's historical model. Besides typical scientific achievements mentioned by O. Getz, M. Hrushevsky was also an outstanding organizer of academic life, founder of the historical school that promoted his ideas. The scientist also notes the national meaning of the heritage of the Ukrainian colleague: “With his great historical and scientific work M. Hrushevsky created the basis of national ideology for his people”<sup>31</sup>.

The author emphasised that the deceased was not just an office scientist – during the difficult period for his people, he became the Head of the Ukrainian Parliament. O. Getz noticed that only the first volume of the “History” was published in German and the part

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<sup>30</sup> O. Hoetzsch, *Michael Hruschewskij*, “Osteuropa” 1935, heft 4, p. 212.

<sup>31</sup> *Idem*, *Michael Hruschewskij*, “Zeitschrift für Osteuropäische Geschichte” 1935, Bd. IX, p. 162.

of the famous course. Due to the lack of German acquaintance with Ukrainian history, it would be important to translate his major popular science books. "Should M. Hrushevsky be considered as a great historian of the East Slavs, I will not dare to decide – assumes O. Getz – His great importance in this field is undeniable. [...] The fact that he could not fully end his main study is a big loss for the history of East Europe and its researchers would keep kind and respectful memories about the deceased [...]"<sup>32</sup>.

Hans Koch, responded to the death of his long-time colleague with an obituary for the "Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven"<sup>33</sup>. Demonstrating a good acquaintance with the biography of the great scientist and his versatile activity, the German scientist called M. Hrushevsky "not only the son, but the embodied symbol of Ukrainian people". He attempted to determine the historian's place on the background of his rapid epoch. H. Koch stated that the deceased scientist with his titanic work saved Ukrainians from oblivion and embedded them in the history of European peoples, convincingly proving their differences from Slavs-neighbours. Exhausting source searches, comprehensive scientific interests and the unusual erudition, which were consequences of the hard work, do not allow, the scientist thinks, calling the "History of Ukraine-Rus" a genial book, but more an inexhaustible source of knowledge and thoughts for all the future scientists of East Europe. However, the historical scheme, which was the basis of the work, had a revolutionary meaning for the whole Eastern-European historiography, letting the specialists review the postulates of Russian science. As H. Koch outlines, historical and literary, sociological and religious studies of M. Hrushevsky feature similar thoroughness.

The obituary has also mentioned the scientific-organizational activity of the Ukrainian scientist that proved the cultural resourcefulness of one of the biggest Slav peoples. Relating different aspects of M. Hrushevsky's activity, the German scientist rightly indicated that his historiographical views determined the character of the public and state work of the Ukrainian colleague. Even though the latter, H. Koch thinks, was less successful, the Ukrainian national revival of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is related to M. Hrushevsky.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 163–164.

<sup>33</sup> H. Koch, *Dem Andenken Mychajlo Hruševskij's* (29. September 1866 – 25. November 1934), "Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven" 1935, Bd. XI, pp. 3–10.

The genuine interest in M. Hrushevsky manifested in the publication of an editorial in the official newspaper of The National Socialist German Workers' Party "Vöelkischer Beobachter". At its very beginning, emphasizing the All-Ukrainian significance of the diverse activities of the prominent Ukrainian, the article outlined: "To speak about the significance and role of M. Hrushevsky means to depict the entire development of the Ukrainian liberation movement over the last half-century. With his limitless love for his people and his tireless long scientific activity, firstly, as a historian, he forever connected his name with the Ukrainian idea"<sup>34</sup>.

Briefly depicting the main milestones of the deceased's creative biography, the author of the article pointed to his consistent struggle for the liberation of the Ukrainian people from Russian oppression. He mentioned that this struggle motivated Hrushevsky-politician to organise the Ukrainian social-political movement and inspired Hrushevsky-scientist to refute stereotypes about the cultural inferiority of Ukrainians and fight for their right to an independent state. Hrushevsky's success, even before the war, deservedly secured for him the title of the "father" of his people and aroused hatred on the part of the eternal oppressors of Ukraine. The article also mentioned the impact of the enormous scientific heritage of the Great Ukrainian on European science: "Nine volumes of his most important work (there is a range of other works as well) together with five volumes of the history of Ukrainian literature create that spiritual heritage to which sooner or later might attract modern German scientists. Some Russians have already begun their analysis and must recognise the correctness of Prof. Mykhailo Hrushevsky"<sup>35</sup>.

German scientists also took an active part in a few memorial actions in honour of M. Hrushevsky. Thus, in mid-January 1935, a solemn Mourning Academy was organized at the University of Berlin, dedicated to the memory of a prominent Ukrainian. In addition to representatives of the Ukrainian emigration of the city, German scientists, officials and the press were present there. The curator of the Institute Prof. Anton Palme made a dedicated to M. Hrushevsky report<sup>36</sup>. In his speech, he focused on characterizing the

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<sup>34</sup> *Michael Hruschewskij*, "Vöelkischer Beobachter" 1935, Nr. 69–70, p. 5.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>36</sup> *Zasidannia pamiaty M. Hrushevskoho v Ukraïnskim Naukovim Instytutu v Berlını*, "Novyi chas" 1935, № 28, p. 6.

great personality of M. Hrushevsky as a great activist in the history of the Ukrainian people. The reporter outlined the extraordinary influence of the late scientist on his nation and noted the need for a holistic approach to understanding his phenomenon. M. Hrushevsky, as A. Palme stated: “successfully worked in all the spheres with outstanding energy and diligence for the welfare of his people. The main trait, inherent in his personality, was a boundless love for the Motherland and a constant willingness to sacrifice for the sake of the nation”<sup>37</sup>.

Describing the general context of the formation of the Ukrainian national movement in the second part of the 20<sup>th</sup> – the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the reporter highlighted the difficulties, which M. Hrushevsky had to overcome in his fight for the right of his people for the free cultural and political growth. In the general biographical narrative, the reporter uncovered the main achievements of the deceased: his scientific activity focused on proving the historical identity of Ukrainians, the institutional activity aimed to modernize the Ukrainian cultural life, the social-political leadership in mobilizing Ukrainians from all the ethnic lands for the solving problems related to national consolidation and state formation.

Anton Palme focused on describing the scientific visions of M. Hrushevsky, noting the revolutionary impact of the “History of Ukraine-Rus” related to the rethinking of the past of East Europe within the circle of Western-European specialists. Less successful was the state formation-related activity of the scientist, which Palme called the “tragedy of his life”. The reporter described the scientist’s last years of life, who fell victim to his unjustified trust in the Bolsheviks, with sadness and sympathy. Expressing his condolences to Ukrainians on behalf of German science, A. Palme concluded: “Hrushevsky was not destined to lead his people to the destination he defined; however, he clearly set this goal for his people, and his life work has become an important part of modern Ukrainian statehood and it will always influence the national consciousness by his example”.

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<sup>37</sup> A. Palme, *M. Hruschewskij als Persönlichkeit*, [in:] *Prof. Michael Hruschewskij Sein Leben und sein Wirken (1866–1934). Vorträge des Ukrainischen Wissenschaftlichen Institutes anlässlich der Todesfeier an der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin*, Berlin 1935, p. 5.

The death of M. Hrushevsky sparked the interest of the German-speaking audience in his life and works. Reacting to this public interest, the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin published in German the iconic conceptual article about a prominent historian: "The general scheme of 'Rus' history and the rational structure of the history of Eastern Slavism". It was included as an addition to the book of speeches at the aforementioned Mourning Academy at the University of Berlin.

## **Conclusions**

Making conclusions regarding the research of the German Hrushevsky studies of the first third of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, we can state that the academic motivation notably dominated upon the political conjuncture in Hrushevsky's work, even though the latter implicitly appeared in the abovementioned studies. In general, German scientists favourably acknowledged his cultural activism and actively responded to the emergence of new scientific works. The friendliness and objectiveness of German scholars' reactions to Hrushevsky's scientific work drastically contrast with the emotional response of Russian and Polish intellectuals. Despite the sceptical attitude to the Anti-Normanism of the author of "History of Ukraine-Rus" and some warnings about the boldness of his historical modelling, German scholars had a great appreciation for the diverse cultural activities of their Ukrainian colleague, closely monitoring the emergence of his major scientific works. M. Hrushevsky's historiographical and archeographic work gained the most outstanding recognition of German intellectuals, which, in their opinion, legitimized Ukrainian studies as a stand-alone direction of Slavic studies. German science also produced the most numerous Hrushevsky studies works in the non-Slavic world: extensive reviews and special publications demonstrate the image of a tireless Slavic scholar and a talented organizer of scientific life.

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