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Polish-Ukrainian relations at Lviv University in the documents of the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw: "The Hrushevsky Case"

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to examine the heuristic potential of documents from the collections of the Central Archives of Historical Records in order to elucidate the nature and dynamics of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's relationships with his colleagues at Lviv University. 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 this study lies in its first dedicated attempt to assess the heuristic potential of "The Case of Professor Hrushevsky in Lviv" as a source for reconstructing Polish-Ukrainian relations at the principal institution of higher learning in the Galician region. Conclusions.* As the analyzed documents from the collections of the Central Archives of Historical Records and the university fonds preserved in the State Archives of Lviv Region demonstrate, the fraught relations between Mykhailo Hrushevsky and his Polish colleagues were, in many ways, a mirror of the broader interethnic dialogue in the Dniester region. While both Polish and Ukrainian intellectuals were, at least in principle, united by an ideal of collegial cooperation and a shared understanding of the university's lofty civilizational mission, they ultimately stumbled over their parallel visions of Galicia as a national Piedmont – a starting point for the restoration of their respective nations' political agency. Accordingly, both the eminent scholar and his opponents viewed Lviv University as a forge for the national intelligentsia. Polish actors therefore sought by all means to marginalize Ukrainian influence within the institution, tolerating their presence only insofar as it was required by state legislation. For his part, the Ukrainian historian, pursuing a project of "catch-up" modernization for the East Galician community, strove to expand – at any cost – the limited opportunities available for national culture within the region's principal academic institution, opportunities that had already been curtailed by a long history of discriminatory policymaking by local elites. The mutual exclusivity of these discourses drove the conflict from a chronic into an acute phase. Although Polish elites largely succeeded in restricting the sphere of activity of their opponent, the traditions of cultural resistance he fostered, along with the cadres of the national intelligentsia shaped by his historical vision, exerted a significant influence on the course of Polish-Ukrainian relations in the interwar period.

Keywords: M. Hrushevsky, Lviv University, Central Archives of Historical Records, Polish-Ukrainian relations, "The Case of Professor Hrushevsky".

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ПОЛЬСЬКО-УКРАЇНСЬКІ ВЗАЄМИНИ У ЛЬВІВСЬКОМУ УНІВЕРСИТЕТІ В ДОКУМЕНТАХ ГОЛОВНОГО АРХІВУ ДАВНІХ АКТІВ У ВАРШАВІ: «СПРАВА ПРОФ. ГРУШЕВСЬКОГО»

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* полягає у відтворенні евристичного потенціалу документів з колекцій Головного архіву давніх актів для з'ясування характеру й динаміки взаємин М. Грушевського з його колегами по Львівському університету. **Методологічне підґрунтя** роботи становить міждисциплінарний підхід. Особливий акцент зроблено на структурно-функціональному системному аналізі історіографічних фактів і порівняльно-історичному методі, виходячи з принципів об'єктивності та історизму. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає у першій спеціальній спробі з'ясування евристичного потенціалу «Справи проф. Грушевського у Львові» для реконструкції польсько-українських взаємин у головній вищій школі галицького краю. У **висновках** відзначено, що документи з фондів Головного архіву давніх актів і матеріали університетського фонду у Державному архіві Львівської області доводять непрості взаємини М. Грушевського з польськими колегами, що були своєрідним дзеркалом міжнаціонального діалогу на Наддністрянщині. Прихильні ідеї товариської співпраці й об'єднанні розумінням високої цивілізаційної місії Університету, польські й українські інтелектуали натомість спіткнулися об подібність бачення Галичини як національного П'ємонту, з якого має розпочатися відновлення політичної суб'єктності їхніх народів. Відтак і Львівський університет визначний учений і його опоненти однаково розуміли як кузню кадрів національної інтелігенції. Тому польські діячі всляго відсували українців від впливів у цій інституції й терпіли їхню присутність єдино з огляду на вимоги державних законів. В свою чергу, український історик, реалізуючи проєкт навздогінної модернізації східногалицької спільноти, намагався будь-що розширити ті скромні можливості для національної культури в головному навчальному закладі краю, що залишилися після тривалої дискримінаційної законотворчості місцевих еліт. Взаємовиключність цих дискурсів зумовила переростання

конфлікту з хронічної фази у гостру. І хоча польським елітам вдалося значною мірою обмежити поле діяльності в краю свого опонента, сформовані ним традиції культурного опору й виховані на його історичній ідеології кадри національної інтелігенції, помітно вплинули на перебіг польсько-українських взаємин у міжвоєнний час.

Ключові слова: М. Грушевський, Львівський університет, Головний архів давніх актів, польсько-українські взаємини, «Справа проф. Грушевського».

Problem statement. Studying the Galician period of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's life and work – particularly his years of teaching at Lviv University – we are often led to wonder how his academic activity was perceived by officials of the Viennese Ministry of Education. In this context, scholars have repeatedly pointed to the need to examine the archival holdings of that institution. For a long time, however, this task remained unfulfilled, largely due to the chronic financial constraints of Ukrainian scholarship.

As it turns out, the task is far less daunting than once assumed. A substantial body of documentation from Lviv University dating to Hrushevsky's tenure – materials that were originally dispatched to Vienna – was, in the interwar period, transferred to Warsaw. There, it found a concentrated repository within the collections of the Central Archives of Historical Records.

A close examination of this substantial – and in places still uncatalogued – collection reveals that references to Mykhailo Hrushevsky appear throughout, as one might expect. More than that, a separate archival file was assembled under the title “The Case of Professor Hrushevsky in Lviv.” It brings together documents reflecting assessments of the Ukrainian historian's work from the standpoint of the Polish university administration and the Faculty of Philosophy.

Within this file are concentrated the grievances voiced by Polish intellectuals against their Ukrainian colleague – grievances that mirror the broader complexity of interethnic relations within the walls of the region's foremost institution of higher learning, Lviv University. A careful analysis of this archival case makes it possible to reconstruct the causes behind the growing Polish–Ukrainian tensions at the university, while also offering a more nuanced understanding of the positions held by the opposing sides.

Analysis of recent publications. For the first systematic exploration of the holdings of the Central Archives of Historical Records as a source for reconstructing Polish–Ukrainian relations at Lviv University, we are indebted to the distinguished scholar Krzysztofa Michalewska, whose substantial article “The Question of the Ukrainian University, 1848–1914 [1] broke important ground in assessing their heuristic value. Later, the materials of the Central Archives of Historical Records were studied in depth by Jukasz Adamski during his work on a book about Mykhailo Hrushevsky.

Among other things, Adamski pointed to the existence of a separate file containing documents produced by the Polish leadership of the Faculty of Philosophy at Lviv University – documents that cast light on the renowned historian's struggle for the national rights of Ukrainian students [2, s. 26]. Given their importance for scholars investigating interethnic relations within the university, the materials gathered in this file call for a comprehensive analysis of their heuristic potential.

A considerable body of scholarship has by now been devoted to the Polish–Ukrainian confrontation at Lviv University, the epicentre of which lay in Mykhailo Hrushevsky's uncompromising stance in defending the national rights of his students. Existing studies typically present a stark picture of steadily mounting tensions between the Ukrainian historian and the Polish administration, and, consequently, with his colleagues at the Faculty of Philosophy.

In this interpretive landscape, Polish scholars – most notably Urszula Jakubowska [3], Krzysztof Stopka [4], and Jukasz Adamski [2, s. 94–112] – have tended, unsurprisingly, to place the blame on what they describe as Hrushevsky's “radical” demands. Ukrainian historians, for their part – above all Oleksii Sukhyi [5], Volodymyr Kachmar [6–7], and Vitalii Telvak [8–22] – have instead foregrounded the ethical dimensions of the Polish intellectuals' intransigence. This divergence of perspectives underscores the need for a comprehensive reconstruction of the problem – one that takes into account both the established interpretations and the newly available documents from the collections of the Central Archives of Historical Records.

The purpose of the article is to examine the heuristic potential of documents from the collections of the Central Archives of Historical Records in order to elucidate the nature and dynamics of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's relationships with his colleagues at Lviv University.

Presenting main material. The immediate impetus for the formation of “The Case of Professor Hrushevsky in Lviv” can be traced to the well-known events of 11 July 1901, which unfolded within the walls of Lviv University. To recall: at a meeting of the council of professors of the Faculty of Philosophy, during the discussion of whether to continue the Ukrainian-language lectureship held by Mykhailo Hrushevsky – who, in his dealings with Polish colleagues, principledly used Ukrainian – he was interrupted by the dean, Kazimierz Twardowski, who asked him to switch to Polish. When the Ukrainian historian

declined to comply, the chair requested another Ukrainian professor, Kyrylo Studynsky, to translate his colleague's remarks. Instead, however, of conveying the substance of Hrushevsky's position, Studynsky began to elaborate his own view of the matter. Thus deprived of the opportunity to communicate his stance to his colleagues, Hrushevsky left the meeting hall.

It should be noted that this was neither the first nor the last clash between Mykhailo Hrushevsky and the Polish regional and university authorities over the language question. In fact, such misunderstandings arose already in the very first days of his stay in Lviv, during a visit to the vice-president of the Regional School Council, the well-known Polish historian Michał Bobrzyński, who had made considerable efforts to bring the talented student of Volodymyr Antonovych to Galicia.

At that meeting, the newly appointed professor spoke, quite naturally, in Ukrainian. When Bobrzyński expressed the wish that he should try to use Polish, Hrushevsky replied that, in keeping with the principle of equality, his Polish colleagues ought likewise to command Ukrainian. This response evidently took the Polish politician by surprise, as he had expected a different kind of answer in return for his efforts. The young professor himself later confided to his mentor and friend Oleksandr Barvinsky that the encounter had been somewhat awkward, admitting in a letter that “my first meeting with Bobrzyński was not particularly successful” [23, c. 63].

Thereafter, the Ukrainian historian continued to receive increasingly insistent advice from his Polish colleagues to master Polish and to use it exclusively within the walls of Lviv University. The young professor repeatedly alludes to this pressure in his correspondence of the period. Thus, in a letter of July 1895 to Oleksandr Barvinsky, he writes: “At a meeting of the habilitation commission, Wojciechowski made a scene – he would not let me speak in Ruthenian and said all sorts of things. I was ready afterward to withdraw from the commission and, if he behaved similarly at the faculty, to declare that I could not attend under such circumstances. But that same evening, at a collegial gathering, ‘Poland’ came forward with a kind of pacification – Balasits drank to the health of his Ruthenian colleagues in my honor and spoke of the ‘Ruthenianization’ of the university, adding that the Poles did not begrudge it... Wojciechowski tried to persuade me, yet continued to insist on the same point, saying that next year the rector and the deans would make trouble for me if I did not speak Polish. Such is the situation!” [23, c. 96].

It is important to note that, in using Ukrainian in his everyday communication at Lviv University, Mykhailo Hrushevsky did not, in fact, seek confrontation with Polish circles. On the contrary, in his first months in Lviv he remained a supporter of the political course of the “New Era” and, for a time, was influenced by the illusions of his Kyiv mentors regarding the supposed goodwill of Galician Poles toward the Ukrainian cause. In this spirit, he attempted to meet his colleagues halfway and would not infrequently switch to Polish in private communication. Thus, in one of his letters to a senior colleague, he reported: “I try to act with the utmost caution, so as, especially at the outset, not to alienate or offend anyone. When you are in Lviv, you will see to what extent I have succeeded in this” [23, c. 63]. Advice to master spoken Polish as quickly and thoroughly as possible also came from Hrushevsky's mentors in Kyiv. His teacher in public and political matters, Oleksandr Konysky, emphasized to his protійгй: “You would do very well to ‘learn’ to speak Polish; all circumstances, courtesy, and our own interests require it!” [24, c. 81].

Yet the events of the late nineteenth century – above all, the obstacles deliberately created by the university authorities to the appointment of new candidates to Ukrainian chairs – repeatedly convinced Mykhailo Hrushevsky that the Polish administration of Lviv University regarded the institution as an exclusively Polish educational establishment. Within such a framework, the very presence of a Ukrainian voice was treated as an unwelcome necessity – one to be eliminated if possible, or at the very least reduced to a minimum [19]. Hrushevsky poured out his frustration at this realization in a letter to the aforementioned leader of the Galician narodovtsi: “But when it becomes clear that the Poles have no need of any Ruthenians – neither the compliant nor the unyielding – then there is no desire to be accommodating with them. You can well imagine what mood and inclination toward the university this leaves me with” [23, c. 96].

Thus, the eminent historian altered his course, embarking on a protracted and emotionally taxing struggle for a Ukrainian university in Lviv. Since this issue has already generated a substantial body of scholarship, suffice it to note that one important component of this struggle was his principled decision to use exclusively Ukrainian within the walls of Lviv University. Putting into practice his conviction that the Ukrainian language had the right to serve as a full-fledged instrument of academic communication at all levels – from teaching to administration – Mykhailo Hrushevsky conducted his official correspondence and communicated with colleagues solely in his native tongue. At most, he resorted to transliterating Ukrainian into the Latin alphabet; a considerable number of such letters have been preserved in the archives of Lviv University, now held in the State Archives of Lviv Region. The historian justified this

practice by invoking the relevant imperial rescript, which defined the university as a bilingual institution, as well as by pointing out that his imperial appointment as professor contained no requirement to possess proficiency in Polish.

It is hardly surprising that the university administration, consistently cultivating the Polish character of the institution, did not reconcile itself to such conduct on the part of its professor, repeatedly reminding him of the need to communicate in Polish. In his diary and correspondence of the time, Mykhailo Hrushevsky frequently alludes to minor clashes arising from this issue. The emotional strain caused by such misunderstandings is evident, for instance, in the following note: “I received a ‘remark’ from the dean (contemptuously!), in a rather arrogant tone, for a Ruthenian note by which I excused myself from a promotion” [25, c. 43]. Several years of such confrontation took a visible toll on the Ukrainian historian, a fact reflected even in the pages of his Autobiography of 1906: “...My relations with the Polish university collegium, which wished to see in me a compliant satellite of Polish domination, soon deteriorated completely and brought no small measure of distress” [26, c. 201].

Yet it was the events of July 1901 that were destined to become a turning point in the long-smouldering confrontation between Mykhailo Hrushevsky and the Polish-dominated leadership of Lviv University. This otherwise routine conflict acquired broader significance largely through the mediation of the Lviv press – both Ukrainian and Polish. The former focused on the disenfranchisement of Ukrainians and their language within the walls of the region’s principal university, portraying Hrushevsky as a champion striving to restore historical justice, given that from its very foundation the institution had been legally constituted as bilingual (*utrakvist*). On the other side, the Ukrainian historian was depicted as a wilful violator of both written and unwritten corporate norms, a persistent disturber of academic harmony – an image that Polish publicist writing would continue to reinforce and deepen up to the outbreak of the First World War. Moreover, in an effort to elicit the desired emotional response from its readers, a contributor to the newspaper *Gazeta Narodowa* claimed that, as he left the meeting, Mykhailo Hrushevsky had slammed the door. This fabrication was ultimately refuted by Ludwik Finkel, who succeeded Kazimierz Twardowski as dean [27, c. 2].

The media attention compelled both sides of the conflict to explain the rationale behind their conduct to the public. The position of the Polish professors was recorded in the minutes of the Faculty Council meeting. According to this account, Mykhailo Hrushevsky ignored Kazimierz Twardowski’s repeated request to switch to Polish and, after Kyrylo Studynsky began translating at the dean’s suggestion, left the session without offering any explanation [28, ф. 26, оп. 7, спр. 452, арк. 97–97зв.]. Hrushevsky, for his part, emphasized that Studynsky, instead of translating his remarks, chose to contribute his own views to the discussion. Thus deprived of his voice, he was effectively forced to withdraw from the meeting. This explanation largely vindicated the Ukrainian historian in the eyes of the public and cast the entire incident in an unfavorable light for the Polish side. Indeed, it was evident that, having lived for a long time in the multicultural environment of Lviv, the Polish professors possessed sufficient command of Ukrainian to understand their colleague’s speech and allow him to finish. At the same time, it was no less clear that Hrushevsky himself had by then acquired a solid command of Polish, enabling him to articulate his position in that language if he had so wished. In this sense, both sides were defending matters of principle.

Thus, the opposing sides set about inscribing their own “truth” of the events of 11 July into the public discourse. At the subsequent meeting of the council of professors of the Faculty of Philosophy on 16 July 1901, the customary verification of the previous minutes took place. At this session, which the Ukrainian historian did not attend, the dean read out his request to include in the record the above-mentioned explanation. However, his Polish colleagues concluded that this line of argument advanced by the Ukrainian scholar “did not reflect the actual state of affairs” [28, ф. 26, оп. 13, спр. 46, арк. 3–3зв.]. Accordingly, they unanimously supported the dean’s proposal to retain the previous version of the document, in which Mykhailo Hrushevsky’s conduct was presented as unethical. It was entirely predictable that the Ukrainian historian refused to sign such a version of the minutes, appending instead a *votum separatum*, in which he once again explained his actions by the impossibility of making himself heard by his colleagues. Moreover, in response to the rumors circulating in Lviv, in the autumn of 1901 the scholar published the aforementioned explanation together with an open letter to the dean in the Lviv newspaper *Dilo*. Addressing Kazimierz Twardowski, Hrushevsky emphasized the ethical dimension of the issue: “Not being under any obligation to know Polish, the undersigned is at the same time convinced that the principle of equality of the two regional languages at Lviv University... is incompatible with the exclusion of the Ruthenian language from use in faculty meetings and in the dealings of individual professors with the university authorities; any restriction in this respect would constitute an injustice toward professors holding Ruthenian chairs” [29, c. 2–3].

Evidently, it was precisely this *votum separatum* that prompted the Polish professors to take more decisive action. According to the academic regulations of the time, all faculty council minutes were translated into German and forwarded to the Ministry of Education in Vienna. This created an urgent need to neutralize the potential implications of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's appended explanation, which suggested that Ukrainian professors at Lviv University were being subjected to discrimination on linguistic grounds. To this end, it was decided to inform the Ministry of Education about Hrushevsky's alleged repeated violations of university regulations. The initiative for this move came from Ludwik Finkel. The minutes of the professors' council recorded the following: "Professor Finkel proposes that the dean's office, when forwarding the minutes of the meeting to the Ministry, also inform it that, contrary to the provisions of the imperial decree of 27 April 1879, Professor Hrushevsky uses the Ukrainian language at faculty meetings and in official university documents" [28, ф. 26, оп. 13, спр. 46, арк. 4].

As a consequence of this initiative, a memorandum by Kazimierz Twardowski was produced, the scope of which, however, extended well beyond the incident under discussion. In this document, dated 24 July 1901, the then dean sought to bring together the full range of grievances that Polish professors had accumulated against their Ukrainian colleague over the preceding period. It should be noted that this document remains virtually unknown to Hrushevsky scholars and has never been translated from German. Its contents have only been briefly summarized in the monograph of the aforementioned Łukasz Adamski. At the same time, Twardowski's text proves highly informative for clarifying a number of aspects of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's Galician-period biography. For this reason, we publish it in full in the appendix to this article [30, zespół C. K. Ministerstwo Wyznań i i Oświaty, sygn. 87u (Affaire prof. Hruszewski in Lemberg), k. 383–389].

Thus, at the end of July 1901, the chancellery of Lviv University dispatched to Vienna – according to the corresponding entry in the register of official correspondence – German-language translations of the minutes of the meetings of the Faculty of Philosophy professors' council of 11 and 16 July, Mykhailo Hrushevsky's *votum separatum*, and the memorandum of Kazimierz Twardowski. These documents formed the core of the case concerning the Ukrainian professor assembled at the Viennese Ministry of Education. Several accompanying letters were also added to the file. The most noteworthy among them was signed by the Galician governor, Leon Piniński. This document, dated 30 October 1901, was produced in response to a request from the Ministry of Education of 10 September 1901, which sought to obtain the opinion of the regional authorities regarding the conflict at the local university. It is worth recalling that Piniński – a prominent Polish political figure and scholar – was closely connected with Lviv University, having at one time even served as its rector. It is therefore hardly surprising that, in the conflict with Hrushevsky, he sided with his colleagues and, in his letter to the Minister of Education, pointed to the Ukrainian professor's violation of official regulations [30, zespół C. K. Ministerstwo Wyznań i i Oświaty, sygn. 87u (Affaire prof. Hruszewski in Lemberg), k. 382].

Given that Mykhailo Hrushevsky's conflict with his Polish colleagues coincided with the close of the academic year, the consideration of his case at the ministry did not begin until the autumn. As indicated by the dates on the incoming and outgoing correspondence, the above-mentioned letter of the governor reached the Ministry only on 4 November 1901. For this reason, the distrust expressed by Ukrainian parliamentarians toward the statements of the Minister of Education, Wilhelm von Hartel, proved unfounded. Responding to their interpellation on Hrushevsky's case, submitted in early autumn, the minister declared – according to a correspondent of the Lviv newspaper *Dilo*: "I know nothing of the matter, nor that professors or docents at Lviv University who lecture in Ruthenian might have any complaints against the university authorities" [27, c. 2].

On 14 November, Hrushevsky's case was submitted for consideration to the Minister for Galician Affairs in the government of Austria-Hungary, Leonard Piktak – another Polish scholar and politician whose career was closely tied to Lviv University, where he had served as dean of the Faculty of Law and twice (1881–1882 and 1888–1889) as rector. The matter was handled with notable promptness: by 17 November 1901, it had already been reviewed. Although the documents preserved in Warsaw contain no record of Piktak's formal resolution, the circumstances outlined above leave little doubt that its outcome was unfavorable to Mykhailo Hrushevsky.

As indicated by the stamp of the ministerial presidium, on 19 November 1901 Hrushevsky's case was forwarded further up the administrative chain to the chancellery of the Prime Minister of Austria-Hungary, Ernest von Koerber. There it remained under review until the end of March 1902. Preoccupied with matters of greater importance, the Viennese bureaucracy appears to have shown little urgency in addressing the case. Indeed, having received no information, the Galician governor submitted a formal

inquiry on 20 March 1902. Following this reminder, the case was reviewed on 26 March and again on 30 April 1902, after which the decision of the ministerial presidium was forwarded to Lviv. In this instance as well, the exact content of the resolution remains unknown. Yet, given the united stance of the university administration, the Galician governor, and the responsible minister, its outcome was effectively predetermined. Interestingly, as the notations in Hrushevsky's file indicate, the case was revisited by the minister on 23 May 1902 and by the presidium on 26 May 1902. Although the precise motives for these renewed considerations are not documented, it is highly likely that they were prompted by further interpellations from Ukrainian deputies in the Viennese parliament, who had become aware of decisions unfavorable to Ukrainian interests.

The university administration of Lviv University was informed of the outcome of the final review by the governor. In his letter to the dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, Leon Pinicki reported that the Minister of Religion and Education had determined that Polish was to be the official language of administrative proceedings at the university. Accordingly, the letter continued, the council of professors of the Faculty of Philosophy had taken a correct position in response to Mykhailo Hrushevsky's disregard for conducting official business in Polish. The faculty administration made a point of communicating this resolution – favorable to its own position – directly to the Ukrainian professor, and the document was subsequently placed in his official file [28, ф. 26, оп. 5, спр. 510, арк. 69–69 зв.].

Taken as a whole, the case of Mykhailo Hrushevsky and the outcome of its across all relevant state institutions revealed the true state of affairs concerning Ukrainian higher education in autonomous Galicia. It became clear that, having secured control over the regional administration, Polish elites had effectively nullified the rights of the Ukrainian language at Lviv University – an institution which, ironically, had originally been established with the educational needs of the local population in mind, and thus, above all, those of Ukrainians. The imperial authorities in Vienna, for their part, proved entirely willing to accept this state of affairs. The foreordained defeat of Hrushevsky – one that had no tangible impact on either his academic career or his chosen strategy of maintaining Ukrainian-language communication with his Polish colleagues – was, in reality, a defeat for Ukrainian society of the time within the walls of the oldest university on Ukrainian lands. The significance that the Polish administration attached to this conflict is underscored by the fact that copies of the faculty council minutes of 11 and 16 July 1901 were preserved in a separate file that brought together materials documenting the struggle against Ukrainian presence at Lviv University [28, ф. 26, оп. 13, спр. 46, 176 арк.].

From that point on, emboldened by support at every level of the state, the Polish professors adopted a course of aggressive Polonization at Lviv University, curtailing even the modest rights still afforded to Ukrainians. As archival documentation makes clear, secret meetings of the Polish professoriate became ever more frequent, and they revolved around a single issue: how to limit the Ukrainian presence within the walls of the institution. Not infrequently, such gatherings were convened by the rectors themselves – and even in their private residences (!) – despite the fact that, at least in appearance, they ought to have remained equally distant from competing factions while governing the university. It is hardly surprising that Ukrainians, and the student body in particular, did not remain indifferent to such an injurious policy on the part of the university authorities. Thus began a prolonged and exhausting struggle, one that assumed a variety of forms and meanings – secessions, obstructions, boycotts, public assemblies, and more. As we know, this struggle often had tragic consequences for Ukrainian youth. It was, therefore, precisely the anti-Ukrainian stance of the Polish professors that turned Lviv University into a field of permanent interethnic confrontation, right up to the outbreak of the Great War. Many little-known yet important nuances of this struggle are preserved in the documents of the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw. With this article, we seek to encourage our colleagues to undertake a careful and thorough study of its collections.

Conclusions. As the analyzed documents from the collections of the Central Archives of Historical Records and the university fonds preserved in the State Archives of Lviv Region demonstrate, the fraught relations between Mykhailo Hrushevsky and his Polish colleagues were, in many ways, a mirror of the broader interethnic dialogue in the Dniester region. While both Polish and Ukrainian intellectuals were, at least in principle, united by an ideal of collegial cooperation and a shared understanding of the university's lofty civilizational mission, they ultimately stumbled over their parallel visions of Galicia as a national Piedmont – a starting point for the restoration of their respective nations' political agency. Accordingly, both the eminent scholar and his opponents viewed Lviv University as a forge for the national intelligentsia. Polish actors therefore sought by all means to marginalize Ukrainian influence within the institution, tolerating their presence only insofar as it was required by state legislation. For his part, the Ukrainian historian, pursuing a project of “catch-up” modernization for the East Galician community, strove to

expand – at any cost – the limited opportunities available for national culture within the region’s principal academic institution, opportunities that had already been curtailed by a long history of discriminatory policymaking by local elites. The mutual exclusivity of these discourses drove the conflict from a chronic into an acute phase, manifesting itself in student boycotts, unrest, secessions, and even the убийство of Adam Kotsko. Although Polish elites largely succeeded in restricting the sphere of activity of their principled opponent, the traditions of cultural resistance he fostered, along with the cadres of the national intelligentsia shaped by his historical vision, exerted a significant influence on the course of Polish–Ukrainian relations in the interwar period.

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