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‘OFFICIAL HISTORY’ FOR A STATELESS NATION

MYKHAÏLO HRUSHEVS’KYĬ’S *ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF UKRAINE*

Mykhaïlo Hrushevs’kyï (1866–1934), historian and politician, came from a Ukrainian family loyal to the Russian Empire. His father was a teacher of Russian and worked in Poland and the Caucasus, where the young Hrushevs’kyï spent his childhood. During his studies at Kyïv University, Mykhaïlo Hrushevs’kyï proved to be the most talented student of Professor Volodymyr Antonovych (1834–1908), the prominent Ukrainian historian of Polish origin. At the age of 28, Hrushevs’kyï received a professorship in world history (in practice, in the history of Ukraine) at L’viv University in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

During his lifetime Hrushevs’kyï would go on to become the most productive and influential Ukrainian historian. His greatest achievement was the representation in his work of Ukrainian history as separate from and equal to the histories of the other East Slavic nations. Rooted in the populist historiography of the *narodniks*,¹ he accepted its interpretation of Polish, Turkish, and more general ‘oriental’ factors in Ukrainian history.² The main issue for him, therefore, was to achieve emancipation from the Russian historical narrative. Hrushevs’kyï, who had been raised in the Russian intellectual tradition, was faced with a problem. He denied the Russian tradition and yet simultaneously depended on it, both in terms of

¹ Narodnik historiography was an intellectual trend in the history writing of the 1830s–early 20th centuries which gave the leading role in Ukrainian historical development to the ‘people’ (*narod*) by which they mainly meant the peasantry.

² For more details see Natalia Iakovenko, ‘Koho i yak inshuie Mykhaïlo Hrushevs’kyï v “Istorii Ukraïny-Rusy”’, in *Obraz Inshoho v susidnikh istoriakh: myfy, stereotypy, naukovy interpretatsii*, materials of the international academic conference, Kyïv, 15–16 December 2005 (Kyïv, 2008), 89–103.

phraseology and of interpretation. This challenge was largely overcome through his seminal article, ‘The Traditional Scheme of “Russian” History and the Problem of a Rational Organization of the History of the East Slavs’.³ The central idea of the article evolved and was comprehensively expanded in his monumental *History of Ukraine-Rus*.⁴ This, however, was an immense academic work, which Hrushevs’kyi now wanted to popularize. So it was the *Illustrated History of Ukraine* (hereinafter the *IHU*) which facilitated the spread of Hrushevs’kyi’s historical narrative. The *IHU* also contributed significantly to the development of Ukrainian identity among generations of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and of the wider public, becoming something of an ‘official history’ for a stateless nation.

In this article, I would like to explore the factors which helped the *IHU* to achieve literary success. To do this, I will try to show that before competing for readers across the Russian Empire, Hrushevs’kyi sought to become a leader among the Ukrainian intelligentsia, and the methods he used were not always purely academic. Then I will depict the preparation of the *IHU* for publication, revealing some of the reasons for Hrushevs’kyi’s exceptional efficiency.⁵ I will also analyse the main themes of Russian–Ukrainian historical debate as they arise in the *IHU*. This debate, which in its political dimension boiled down to whether the Ukrainian nation should be independent or not, took place in various spheres, including in the public arena, where Hrushevs’kyi strove to attain and then maintain the advantage. Finally, I will analyse the reception of the *IHU*, both in academic circles and more broadly.

Hrushevs’kyi’s Idea and its Competitors

The *IHU* (1911) was preceded by another popular book of Hrushevs’kyi’s written in Russian: *An Outline History of the Ukrainian People* (1904) (hereinafter the *Outline*). This book broke the historiographical silence which had persisted since the appearance of the works of Dmytro

³ Michael Hrushevsky, *The Traditional Scheme of ‘Russian’ History and the Problem of a Rational Organization of the History of the East Slavs* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1965).

⁴ Mykhailo Hrushevs’kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy*, 10 vols. (L’viv, Kyïv, 1898–1936).

⁵ See idem, *Tvory*, 50 vols. (L’viv: Svit, 2002–20).

Bantysh-Kamens'kyi⁶ (1788–1850) and Mykola Markevych⁷ (1804–60). From the 1840s until the emergence of the *Outline*, not a single synthesis of Ukrainian history was published in the Russian Empire. Nevertheless, the most important factor for Ukrainian historiography was something else. For the first time in the *Outline*, the Ukrainian past unfolded as a separate history of the Ukrainian nation (*narodnost*).

However, the fame of the book was overshadowed by one particular story, discussed by Andreas Kappeler in his research on Aleksandra Efimenko⁸ (Oleksandra Iefymenko (1848–1918)), a specialist in Ukrainian studies of Russian origin who actively opposed the ban on Ukrainian publications in the Russian Empire. As it turns out, the *Outline* appeared first because the editorial board of the *Kievskaiia Starina* (a journal influenced by Volodymyr Antonovych) had deliberately delayed publication of a manuscript by Iefymenko which had won a competition run by the journal for writing a synthesis of Ukrainian history. Although Iefymenko in this generalizing piece of writing portrayed the historical development of Ukraine (Southern Rus') as separate from the Great Russian one, she did not escape accusations from Antonovych that she had deployed a 'Great Russian standpoint'.

This is interesting because in fact Iefymenko shared Antonovych's views on Ukrainian history. She wrote later that the studies of the "History of Rus'" concern only the northeastern part of it and "in other cases amount to a falsification of public consciousness".⁹ As Kappeler notes, Iefymenko's attitude to her research might be explained by a shift in the Ukrainian narrative between 1896–1900:

"According to the scheme of the narrative authored by Hrushevs'kyi, the story begins with the prehistory and origin of Rus'. This is why the historians from 'Kievskaiia Starina' might have had doubts about supporting the writing and publication of a history of Ukraine involving a more recent and less

⁶ See Dmitrii Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Istoriia Maloi Rossii: so vremen prisoedineniia onoi Rossiiskomu gosudarstvu pri tsare Aleksee Mikhaïloviche s kratkim obozreniem pervobytnogo sostoiianiia sego kraia*, vol. 2 (Moscow: Tipografiia S. Selivanovskogo, 1822).

⁷ See Nikolai Markevich, *Istoriia Malorossii*, 5 vols. (Moscow: Tipografiia Avgusta Semena, 1842–3).

⁸ Andreas Kappeler, 'Oleksandra Iefymenko ta Kyïvs'ka istorychna shkola', *Ukraina Moderna* 6, 17 (2010): 45–76. Kappeler developed his argument in Andreas Kappeler, *Russland und die Ukraine: Verflochtene Biographien und Geschichten* (Wien: Böhlau, 2012).

⁹ Aleksandra Efimenko, *Istoriia ukrainskogo naroda* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Aktsionernogo Obshchestva "Brokgauz-Efron", 1906), 1.

*Ukraine-Rus*¹⁶ (1908) by the amateur historian Mykola Arkas (1853–1909).¹⁷

The full argument against Arkas' book Hrushevs'kyi set out in a review. His central contention was that writing popular books required the services of a historian using academic methods.¹⁸ Hrushevs'kyi maintained that it was inadmissible to simplify a historical narrative at the expense of its quality. In his opinion, it was disrespectful to the reader that such an important book could have been written by someone who, though interested in the Ukrainian idea, was not a professional. His arguments are valid, but Hrushevs'kyi's uncompromising tone is also noteworthy. Researchers have called Hrushevs'kyi's intolerant attitude toward his competitor an "Arkas–Hrushevs'kyi conflict, artificially inflated and exaggerated by Arkas's defenders"¹⁹ and urged us to "consider his (the professor's – V. S.) sensitivity in relation to his own ambition".²⁰ Indeed, starting from the autumn of 1906, Hrushevs'kyi was considering the idea for the book. Arkas's work, however, appeared first. Moreover, it grew popular and Hrushevs'kyi in his review notes that "no book apart from *Kobzar* is selling as well as this one".²¹ But Hrushevs'kyi did not take the popularity of Arkas's book as evidence of its merit. He considered it exceptionally unsuccessful and even "injurious"²² to "the masses,

¹⁶ Arkas began to work on the book in 1902, planning it first as a tutorial for his son's homeschooling.

¹⁷ For more details see Ihor Hyrych, 'Shche do problem "Arkas i Hrushevs'kyi"', in *Istoriia, istoriosofiia, dzhereloznavstvo* (see note 14), 221–30; Vitaliï Sarbei, 'M. M. Arkas i ioho "Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusi"', *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* 7 (1990): 100–13; Vasyl' Ul'ianovs'kyi, 'Ukrains'ka sprava Mykoly Arkasa', *Kraïanyn* 4 (1993): 8–17; idem, '“Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusi”' (see note 14), 161–220; idem, 'Ukrains'ka ideia Mykoly Arkasa (Poperedni notatky z epistoly)', in *Ukraïna: kul'turna spadshchyna, natio-nal'na svidomist', derzhavnist'. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats'*, eds. Iaroslav Isaievych et al., vol. 2 (L'viv: Instytut ukraïnoznavstva imeni I. Krypiakevycha, 1995), 111–29.

¹⁸ Before that, Oleksandr Barvins'kyi (1847–1926), another extremely popular author among Galician readers, who wrote *The Illustrated History of Rus'* (1890), was criticized for a lack of professionalism.

¹⁹ Ul'ianovs'kyi, '“Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusi”' (see note 14), 172.

²⁰ Hyrych, '“Arkas i Hrushevs'kyi”' (see note 17), 224.

²¹ 'Vidhuk Mykhaila Hrushevs'koho. Do retsenziï d. Lypyns'koho', in *Tvory* (see note 5), vol. 2, *Suspil'no-politychni tvory (1907–1914)* (L'viv: Svit, 2005), 370.

²² Galician historian and bibliographer Bohdan Barvins'kyi (1880–1958) noted factual errors in Arkas' book. However, he called Hrushevs'kyi's review a manifestation of the professor's implacable attitude towards competition. He considered that Arkas' book was

who want to receive some good food for the mind from enlightened circles”.²³ His assessment overemphasized the significance of the errors of fact in Arkas’s writing, which was a mid-market book summarizing the studies of Ukrainian history available at the time.

Having published his review, Hrushevs’kyi proposed to the historian Viacheslav Lypyns’kyi (1882–1931) that he write on the same topic. The professor then proceeded to change the text without the author’s permission. Namely, he cut some passages in which Lypyns’kyi itemized the advantages of Arkas’s book. In a letter to the historian Vasyl’ Domanyts’kyi,²⁴ Lypyns’kyi wrote that it had been “an abuse – the distortion of my thought in order to advance his own. ... This is something damaging. It delegitimizes and destroys criticism and prevents exchange of thought”.²⁵ He further added:

“The revival of the Ukrainian nation cannot be identified with even the cleverest thoughts of Prof. Hrushevs’kyi or of any other individual. By doing that, we turn the ebullient *Ukrainian popular national movement* into the sectional (*hurtkovyi*) movement of an interest group, a party movement with leaders at its head, and that pattern and routine will bring our demise, in my opinion.”²⁶

As for Arkas himself – being a provincial official and an amateur collector of Ukrainian folklore – he never claimed that his book was proper scholarly research. It had been written purely for pleasure in his spare time. Despite the unexpected and disapproving reaction from Hrushevs’kyi, Arkas never allowed himself to express any disaffection in response. He

“harmful” only for Hrushevs’kyi, because it was selling well. See Bohdan Barvins’kyi, ‘Chy spravdi shkidlyva?’, *Ruslan*, 30 August 1908, 3–4.

²³ ‘Vidhuk Mykhaila Hrushevs’koho’ (see note 21), 374.

²⁴ Domanyts’kyi was the editor of Arkas’ book and wrote to the author: “... everyone says that the professor has been publicly ‘shown his real face’ and did not acquire fame because of this review – on the contrary. I must tell you that in the last year or year-and-a-half some bad change has befallen him: he has become excessively ambitious, selfish, and miserly... The Society (the Shevchenko Scientific Society – V.S.) has to *buy* all his books and publications. What a great head of the Society!” (Inna Starovoitenko, ‘Lystuvannia Domanyts’koho do Mykoly Arkasa (1907–1908)’, *Ukrains’kyi archeohafichnyi shchorichnyk* 10–11, 13–14 (2006): 566.)

²⁵ ‘Lyst vid 21–28.08.1908 r. vid Viacheslava Lypyns’koho do Vasylia Domanyts’koho’, in *Viacheslav Lypyns’kyi. Lystuvannia (A–Zh)*, vol. 1, ed. Iaroslav Pelens’kyi (Kyiv, Filadelfiia: Skhidnoievropeis’kyi doslidnyts’kyi instytut imeni V. Lypyns’koho, Vydavnytstvo “Smoloskyp”, 2003), 507–8.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 508.

acknowledged the validity of the criticism and began to prepare a revised edition of the book.²⁷

It might also be mentioned that a discussion of Arkas's book initiated by Hrushevs'kyi in the *Literary-Scientific Bulletin* he edited, and going beyond the realm of the purely academic, had the effect of dissuading some readers from continuing with their subscription to what was one of the few Ukrainian journals in existence at the time.²⁸

The Art Collector Who Publishes History Books

In his memoirs, Hrushevs'kyi wrote:

"At every moment, at every stage of my life, I need to have a certain goal before me to which I must devote myself completely and without reserve, straining my energies to the utmost, to self-oblivion, and I feel normal only when I can devote myself to the attainment of that goal without obstacle."²⁹

When Hrushevs'kyi was not engaged in scholarship, he found a focus in collecting. The collection of Professor Hrushevs'kyi was costly and exceptional (the wealth he inherited from his father made this possible³⁰) – Persian and Ukrainian carpets, Bohemian and Venetian glass, Saxon and Ukrainian porcelain, numerous archaeological findings, portraits of hetmans, rare 17–18th-century printed books, and contemporary Ukrainian paintings, including works by Mykhailo Boichuk, Fotii Krasys'kyi, Fedir Krychevs'kyi, and Ivan Trush.³¹ The *IHU* therefore represented a challenge not only for the careful scholar whose stylistic flaws had been

²⁷ The book was published three years after Arkas' death thanks to the efforts of his wife Ol'ha. See Mykola Arkas, *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusi: z maliunkamy*, 2nd ed. (Kraków: 1912).

²⁸ Inna Starovoitenko, 'Retsenzii ta vidhuky na "Istoriuu Ukraïny-Rusi", opublikovani u periodychnykh vydanniakh Naddniprians'koï Ukraïny ta Halychyny', in *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusi' u lystuvanni Mykoly Arkasa z Vasylem Domanyts'kym. 1906–1909 roky*, ed. Inna Starovoitenko (Kyïv: Tempora, 2009), 196.

²⁹ Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, 'Spomyny', *Kyïv* 9 (1988): 120.

³⁰ Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi's father, Serhii Hrushevs'kyi, gained his wealth by selling Church-Slavonic textbooks for public schools. In particular, his first textbook of the Church-Slavonic language (Kyïv, 1872) has been reprinted more than 30 times.

³¹ For more details see Ihor Hyrych, 'Znyshchena mystets'ka zbirka i arkhiv Mykhaila Hrushevs'koho v ioho kyïvs'kii oseli', *Pamiatky Ukraïny* 1 (1995): 103–4; Nataliia Sheludiakova, *Hrushevs'kyi – kolektsioner u konteksti naukovoï ta mystets'koho zhyttia Ukraïny kintsia 19 – pochatku 20 st. Dysertatsiia kandydata istorichnykh nauk* (PhD diss., Kyïv, 2016).

noted by some critics,³² but also for the art lover. As Hrushevs'kyi wrote, 403 images³³ of excellent quality were used in the *IHU* (1912):

"I only gave for publication the most 'authentic' illustrations from old portraits, drawings, engravings and houses, not compositions by modern painters. At most I allowed myself to include several drawings taken from old coins and stamps which try to recreate the portrait or likeness of a person."³⁴

It was important to Hrushevs'kyi to convey the sense of an epoch and the impression of a historical figure as he or she had been imagined by people in the past, so he selected the illustrations with care. At the same time, he considered it possible to treat fantasy images on a par with portraits from life. And quite in the spirit of Romantic historiography, he would often not mention that some of the images were products of the imagination.

Hrushevs'kyi was inspired, as evidenced by his diary entries in early 1909, by August Sokołowski's *Illustrated History of Poland*.³⁵ He called it "very weak", but it was precisely this work which prompted Hrushevs'kyi to reflect on his own book. It is notable that the idea of illustrated histories was in vogue at the time. In Poland, the most popular publications were by August Sokołowski³⁶ and Julian Baczyński,³⁷ in the Czech lands, by Jan Dolenský, Jaroslav Kosina, and Antonin Rezek,³⁸ and

³² For example, the literary historian and literary critic Serhii Iefremov wrote in his diary about Hrushevs'kyi's six-volume *History of Ukrainian Literature*: "If this man had not been immersed in chatter and had cut his work down to a quarter of the size, it would have been four times more interesting." (Serhii Iefremov, *Shchodennyky: 1923–1929* (Kyiv: ZAT "Hazeta RADA", 1997), 521.) Although Iefremov had different – at first benevolent, and later increasingly strained – personal relations with Hrushevs'kyi, he cannot be blamed for lack of professionalism. For example, Iefremov's remarks were one of the reasons why the *Outline* is one of Hrushevs'kyi's stylistically best-written books.

³³ Most of the plates with the drawings are stored in the Hrushevs'kyi Family Fund No. 1235 at the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine and in the Fund of Professor Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi at the L'viv National Scientific Library of Ukraine (LNB). Technical processing of the documents from the Fund of Professor Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi at the LNB remains incomplete, so the materials contained there are unfortunately not accessible to researchers.

³⁴ Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, *Iliustrovana istoriia Ukraïny*, 2nd ed. (Kyiv, L'viv, 1912), 4.

³⁵ 'Shchodennyk Mykhaila Hrushevs'koho (1904–1910)', *Kyïvs'ka starovyna* 1 (1995): 10–30.

³⁶ August Sokołowski, *Dzieje Polski ilustrowane*, 2 vols. (Warszawa, 1899–1900).

³⁷ Julian Baczyński, *Dzieje Polski ilustrowane*, 2 vols. (Poznań, 1904).

³⁸ Jan Dolenský, Jaroslav Kosina, and Antonin Rezek, *Obrázkové dějiny národa českého* (Praha, 1893).

in Germany by Wilhelm Zimmermann.³⁹ It is therefore obvious that Hrushevs'kyi would understand the necessity of a similar book depicting the history of the Ukrainian nation. It was important in addition to publish this work before Russian historians undertook a similar task, which must also have prompted Hrushevs'kyi to hasten the realization of his plan.

However, it took time and considerable effort to collect all the illustrations (from different cities and even from different countries). To give a general impression, I will list only a few of the institutions from whose collections the illustrations were taken: the Shevchenko Scientific Society and Ossolineum, then in L'viv, the Kyiv City Museum (now the Ukrainian National Museum of Art), the Synodal Library in Moscow, and the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg (now the National Library of Russia). Illustrations also came from private collections. To find the names of those who did substantial work on this book, I turned to the Hrushevs'kyi Family Fund at the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine.⁴⁰ In particular, there is a detailed business correspondence with the Kyiv printers Stepan Kul'zhenko,⁴¹ describing the preparation of the book for printing. At the same time, the correspondence allows us to understand Hrushevs'kyi's approach to his work. He was a demanding person for the contractors, bargaining for price reductions, giving detailed instructions on the use of a particular font, paper, or method of typing and requiring a report on the receipt of each drawing.⁴²

Hrushevs'kyi acted as manager while others were entrusted with the technical work.⁴³ From the letters of the staff of the *Literary-Scientific*

³⁹ Wilhelm Zimmermann, *Illustrierte Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1873).

⁴⁰ Ihor Hyrych, ed., *Epistoliarna spadshchyna Hrushevs'koho: Pokazhchyk do fondu No 1235 y TsDIA Ukrainy u Kyievi* (Kyiv, 1996).

⁴¹ The printing house was engaged in publishing the first (1911) and second (1912) editions of the *Illustrated History of Ukraine*.

⁴² Lysty drukarni i fotolitohrafiï "Kul'zhenko", 1907, 1910–1914 years, arkush 481, 482 (zvorot), 496 (zvorot), 500–502 etc, sprava 96, opys 1, fond 1235, Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi istorychyi arhiv Ukrainy, Kyiv (hereinafter: TsDIAUK).

⁴³ The Historian Viktor Petrov (1894–1969), characterizing the working style of the poet and literary critic Mykola Zerov (1890–1937), aptly noted his fundamental difference from Hrushevs'kyi: "Zerov never outsourced his work to others: he did everything himself. He even did what he need not have done. This was the exact opposite of Mykh. Hrushevs'kyi, who only left points of organization to himself." Quoted in V. Domontovych, 'Bolotiana lukroza', in *Proza. Rozмовы Ekhartovi z Karlom Gottsi ta inshi opovidannia i narysy*, vol. 3, ed. Yuri Sheveliov (Munich: Suchasnist', 1988), 242.

Bulletin, Leopold Budaï and Iuriï Tyshchenko (Siryi)⁴⁴ (1880–1953), we learn that both helped with his publishing plans. Budaï talked with the censor, negotiated with the publisher, chose the right quality paper, and dealt with the delivery of the illustrations. Tyshchenko was also involved in these arrangements and showing interest in Hrushevs'kyi's new book. For example, he wrote to the professor:

"I believe that the history should be published as soon as possible and priced the same as Arkas's book because there is a great demand for it, not only from the intelligentsia but from the common folk too. During my time at the bookshop I have become deeply convinced of the need for a book like this."⁴⁵

The correspondence between Hrushevs'kyi and Lypyns'kyi concerned the selection of illustrations for the *IHU*. While he was working in the archives in Kraków and the libraries of Czartoryscy, Hutten-Czapscy and Krasińscy, Lypyns'kyi had found many interesting illustrations. He published them in the collection *On the History of Ukraine (Z dziejów Ukrainy)* (1912) and sent engraved plates of them to Hrushevs'kyi.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Lysty Leopold Budaia do Mykhaila Hrushevs'koho, 1905–1912 years, 148 arkushiv, 48 lystiv, sprava 364, opys 1, fond 1235, TsDIAUK; Lysty Iuriia Tyshchenka do Mykhaila Hrushevs'koho, 1907–1910, 558 arkushiv, 198 lystiv, sprava 582, opys 1, fond 1235, TsDIAUK; Lysty Iuriia Tyshchenka do Mykhaila Hrushevs'koho, 1911–1913 years, 370 arkushiv, 128 lystiv, sprava 583, opys 1, fond 1235, TsDIAUK; Lysty Iuriia Tyshchenka do Mykhaila Hrushevs'koho, 1907–1909 years, 20 lystiv, sprava 874, opys 1, fond 1235, TsDIAUK. Thanks to Ihor Hyrych who drew my attention to this correspondence.

⁴⁵ Lysty Iuriia Tyshchenka do Mykhaila Hrushevs'koho, 1907–1909, arkush 472, sprava 874, opys 1, fond 1235, TsDIAUK.

⁴⁶ Thus, two portraits of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi appeared in the book, as well as portraits of Iuriï Khmel'nyts'kyi, Pavlo Teteria, Ivan Mazepa, Maksym Kryvonis, Petro Doroshenko, and Danylo Apostol. In turn, Lypyns'kyi received from Hrushevs'kyi consent to the use of reproductions from the *Illustrated History of Ukraine and the Cultural and National Movement in Ukraine in the 16th–First Half of the 17th Centuries*. See Lysty Viacheslava Lypyns'koho do Mykhaila Hrushevs'koho, 1908–1913, 164 arkushi, 55 lystiv, sprava 604, opys 1, fond 1235, TsDIAUK; Iaroslav Pelens'kyi et al., eds., *Lystuvannia Viacheslava Lypyns'koho*, vol. 1 (Kyiv: Smoloskyp, 2003). For more details about Hrushevs'kyi's relationship with Lypyns'kyi see: Ihor Hyrych, 'Derzhavnyts'kyi napriam i narodnyts'ka shkola v ukrains'kii istoriohrafii (na tli stosunkiv Mykhaila Hrushevs'koho i Viacheslava Lypyns'koho)', in *Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi i ukrains'ka istorychna nauka: Materialy naukovykh konferentsii, prysviachenykh Mykhailo Hrushevs'komu*, materials of the international conference dedicated to Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi (L'viv, 1999), 47–64; Frank Sysyn, 'Hrushevsky Confronts Lypynsky: The Historian's Final Assessment of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky and the Khmelnytsky Era', in *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, by Mykhailo Hrushevsky, vol. 9, bk. 2, pt. 2, *The Cossack Age, 1654–1657* (Edmonton, Toronto: CIUS, 2010), LX–LXXVIII.

The founder of the Ukrainian Art Nouveau movement, the painter and architect Vasyly Krychevskyi (1873–1952), was involved with the artistic design of the *IHU*, creating the title page (fig. 1) and vignettes for the book at Hrushevskyi's behest.⁴⁷ Krychevskyi also made sketches of antiquities for the *IHU*, including some from the professor's collection at his house in Kyiv, where Krychevskyi's studio was also located. In 1918 the revolution would intervene, and his studio, together with Hrushevskyi's carefully assembled collection, would be burned down during street fighting as the Bolsheviks approached.

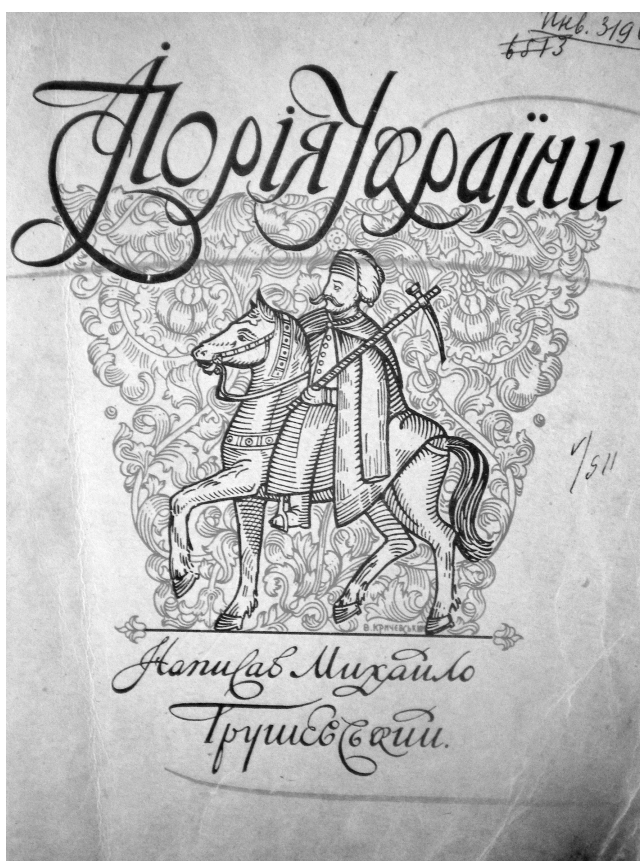


Fig. 1: The Title Page of the *IHU* Made by Vasyly Krychevskyi.

⁴⁷ Lysty Vasylia Krychevskyi do Hrushevskyi, 1908, 1912, 9 arkushiv, 5 lystiv, sprava 572, opys 1, fond 1235, TsDIAUK.

The *IHU* and the Russian–Ukrainian Historical Debate

In this part of the article, I will briefly analyse the topics in the *IHU* most significant for Russian–Ukrainian historical debate. For Hrushevs'kyi and his contemporaries, these were the following questions: the legacy of Kyïvan Rus' and the figure of prince Volodymyr (960/963–1015); hetman Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi (1596–1657) and the uprising under his leadership; and the figure of hetman Ivan Mazepa (1639–1709). I will also try to show how the context of Russian–Ukrainian debate influenced which historiographical tradition, whether positivist or neo-romantic, Hrushevs'kyi referred to in describing certain historical events and figures.⁴⁸

The scheme of Ukrainian history used in the *IHU* corresponds to the academic *History of Ukraine-Rus'* and the popular *Outline*, some comparisons with which will follow. The structure of the *IHU* consisted of six chapters: “Before the Establishment of the Kyïvan State”, “The Life of the State”, “The Polish-Lithuanian Era”, “The Cossack Era”, “The Decline of the Cossacks and Ukrainian Life” and “The Ukrainian Revival”. As we can see from the chapter headings, Hrushevs'kyi united into one narrative of the princely era (*kniazha doba*), the period of the existence of Kyïvan Rus' and the period of the Principality of Galicia-Volhynia. He also emphasized the common history of the Ukrainian lands, which had first been part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Polish Crown, and later – of the Habsburg and Romanov empires.

Kyïvan Rus' and Prince Volodymyr

According to the late-imperial narrative, the Russian Empire derived its origin from Kyïvan Rus' via the principality of Vladimir-Suzdal' and the tsardom of Muscovy.⁴⁹ At the same time, Ukrainian historians were

⁴⁸ The historian Natalia Iakovenko explained Hrushevs'kyi's usage of positivist and neo-romantic discourses, referring to the psychological concepts of the conscious and the subconscious. Obviously, her article should be considered in the context of the interest on the part of Ukrainian researchers in the 1990s in the psychoanalytic approach, caused, in particular, by texts by Solomiia Pavlychko and later by Oksana Zabuzhko. See Natalia Iakovenko, ‘Osoba iak diiach istorichnoho protsesu v istoriohrafii Mykhaila Hrushevs'koho’, in *Hrushevs'kyi i ukrains'ka istorichna nauka* (see note 46), 86–97.

⁴⁹ This narrative was developed by all Russian historians who were the contemporaries of Hrushevs'kyi. For example, see Nikolai Karamzin, *Istoriia gosudarstva Rossiiskogo*, 12 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1816–29); Vasilii Kliuchevskii, *Kurs russkoï istorii* (St. Petersburg,

working on their counter-narrative,⁵⁰ given in complete form by Hrushevs’kyi in the *History of Ukraine-Rus’*. In the popular *Outline* he summarized the results of his great research only briefly: “the life of the state, princely tradition and the way of life of the *druzhyna* (a princely army – V.S.) were retained to a greater extent in the second half of the 13th century in western Ukraine, in the state of Galicia-Volhynia”.⁵¹

Accordingly, the legacy of Kyïvan Rus’ should have belonged not to Russian but to Ukrainian history. This idea reached the mass reader almost simultaneously with the publication of his programmatic article ‘The Traditional Scheme of “Russian” History...’, which from the beginning of Hrushevs’kyi’s research career brought him fame as ‘the Ukrainian separatist’.

However, Hrushevs’kyi created his narrative not only by (de)constructing historical myths but also, where possible, by using some of them. Such was the fate of the imperial myth of Saint Vladimir. A long historiographical tradition, beginning with the writings of the church authors of the 17th century, set Prince Vladimir apart from all the other princes of the Kyïvan Rus’ era, emphasizing his exceptional role as the baptizer of Kyïvan Rus’. Hrushevs’kyi followed this tradition.

“Volodymyr’s rule became an extraordinarily important time in the life of our people, an *epoch*, so to speak, especially since the work he started was carried on and reinforced by his son Iaroslav, who followed faithfully in the footsteps of his father, continuing his work.”⁵²

Prince Iaroslav Volodymyrovych, however, who in the 1860s received the epithet ‘Wise’, was lost in the shadow of his father, achieving for Hru-

1904–22); Sergeï Solov’ëv, *Istoriia Rossii s drevneishikh vremen*, 6 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1851–79). However, the innovation of Mikhail Pogodin was to completely deprive the Ukrainians of the right to inherit the legacy of Kyïvan Rus’. See Mikhail Pogodin, ‘Zapiska o drevnem iazyke russkom M. P. Pogodina (Pis’mo k I. I. Sreznevskomu)’, *Izvestiia Otdeleniia russkogo iazyka i slovestnosti* 5, 2 (1856): 70–92.

⁵⁰ See the answer to Pogodin’s writings in Mikhail Maksimovich, ‘O mnimom zapustenii Ukrainy v nashestvie Batyevo i naselenii ee novoprishlym narodom (Pis’mo k M. P. Pogodinu)’, in *M. Maksimovich: Sobranie sochineniï*, vol. 1 (Kyïv, 1876), 131–45; Vladimir Antovonich, ‘Kiev, ego sud’ba i znachenie s 14 – po 16 stoletie (1362–1569)’, *Kievskaiia starina* 1 (1882): 1–48. On Pogodin–Maksymovych discussion see Aleksei Tolochko, ‘Spor o nasledii Kievskoi Rusi: Maksimovich versus Pogodin’, in *Kievskaiia Rus’ i Malorossiiia v 18 veke* (Kyïv: Laurus, 2012), 205–36.

⁵¹ Mikhail Grushevskii, *Ocherk istorii ukrainskogo naroda* (St. Peterburg, 1904), 78.

⁵² Hrushevs’kyi, *Iliustrovana istoriia* (see note 34), 81.

shevs'kyi only a “weakened reiteration of his father’s reign”.⁵³ After the reattribution of the legacy of Kyivan Rus’ in favour of Ukraine, Saint Vladimir became Volodymyr the Great. He remained on this pedestal largely as a result of the flexibility of his mythos. The attributes of Prince Vladimir as described in the Kyiv Cycle of *byliny* (epic poems) and in church circles, such as humility, gentleness and care for the poor, transferred easily into his new image in the *IHU* and the *Outline*. Volodymyr, as a living embodiment of development (the favourite word of the positivists, among whose number Hrushevs'kyi counted himself), contrasts with his predecessors, who were called *kniiaz'ia-naezdniki*⁵⁴ – conqueror princes, the destroyers of this peaceful, gradual development.

Why does Hrushevs'kyi choose these features from the much more complex image of Volodymyr depicted in medieval sources? According to positivist and populist (*narodnik*) notions about the good of the “people”,⁵⁵ which Hrushevs'kyi shared, the ruler of a state should “seek to make relations between the authorities and citizens gentler, take trouble over rapprochement with the citizenry and over creating better rules”.⁵⁶ Since such a historical character already existed, it was enough to make him ‘ours’ in order to fill the vacant position of national hero.

Hetman Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi and his Uprising

The Cossack myth is the key to the Ukrainian historical narrative.⁵⁷ In early modern times, the Cossacks had been hired warriors in service of the Rzeczpospolita. Their main duty was to protect the steppe border with the Ottoman Empire. However, they also claimed a more important role. The uprising led by the Cossack Hetman⁵⁸ Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi began with demands from the Cossacks for privileges exclusive to the nobility and it evolved into war with the Rzeczpospolita, which then lost control of the situation. Because of this war, the Hetmanate – the early

⁵³ Grushevskii, *Ocherk* (see note 51), 68.

⁵⁴ Mikhail Grushevskii, *Ocherk istorii ukrainskogo naroda*, 2nd ed. (St. Petersburg, 1906), 78.

⁵⁵ By “people” Hrushevs'kyi understood mainly the peasantry, compare also note 1.

⁵⁶ Hrushevs'kyi, *Iliustrovana istoriia* (see note 34), 81.

⁵⁷ For example, see Serhii Plokhy, *The Cossack Myth: History and Nationhood in the Age of Empires* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); idem, *The Cossacks and the Religion in Early Modern Ukraine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

⁵⁸ The Hetman was the elected head of the Cossacks.

modern Ukrainian polity – was created. Soon afterwards, the Hetmanate fell under the overall rule of the tsar, while retaining some distinctive political traditions. Imperial historiography at the time of Hrushevs'kyi described “the desire of the Russian people to break away from the Polish-Lithuanian Union and unite with (*prisoedynitsia*) single-faith East Russia”.⁵⁹ The uprising was therefore deemed a “self-evident” consequence of this desire. Hrushevs'kyi, however, considered Khmel'nyts'kyi's goals contextually – from the defence of the interests of the Cossacks as a distinct social stratum to the war for Ukrainian independence.⁶⁰

Hrushevs'kyi was also interested in the reasons for the failure of the uprising. According to the *IHU*, just as in the *Outline*, Khmel'nyts'kyi's greatest fault (and the main reason for the decline of the whole movement) had been that he did not seek or build support among the peasantry. In a positivist spirit, Hrushevs'kyi explains this fact with reference to the hetman's origins as part of the privileged Cossack-noble estate, beyond the interests of which, as a ‘product’ of this society, Khmel'nyts'kyi could not reach. It was in the interests of this class to create a social structure close to that of the Rzeczpospolita defence – the only one they knew. Hrushevs'kyi wrote in the *IHU* (1912):

“The people launched the Uprising to free themselves from the lords' yoke; ... Meanwhile, the Cossack officer stratum (*stars'hyna*), now holding power in their own hands – and supplanting the nobility – wanted to follow in its footsteps: to own the lands, to rent the villages, to subjugate the peasants. ... But the Ukrainian people had already sensed that the new nobility was tread-

⁵⁹ Sergei Solov'ev, *Sochineniia*, vol. 10, bk. 5, *Istoriia Rossii s drevnei shikh vremen* (Moscow: Golos, 1995), available at http://militera.lib.ru/common/solovyev1/10_01.html (last visited January 15, 2020).

⁶⁰ Hrushevs'kyi wrote that Khmel'nyts'kyi was fighting for the interests of the Cossacks until his famous entry into Kyiv in January 1649, after which he began to rethink the goals of the movement he led. The incompleteness of the plan of further action and Khmelnyts'kyi's constant hesitation between the Cossacks' demands and the defence of the ‘people's interests’ are emphasized in the *IHU* and the *Outline*. The biggest aim of the Hetman the *Outline* describes as “the desire to go beyond the framework of the Polish régime and Cossack ordinances and to look for new living conditions for the Ukrainian people” (Grushevskii, *Ocherk* (see note 51), 234). How exactly Khmelnyts'kyi saw these new conditions (if he had such a vision) Hrushevs'kyi does not specify. Whereas the *IHU* states that the goal was the independence of the Ukrainian people within its ethnographic boundaries, Hrushevs'kyi wrote of Khmelnyts'kyi: “Perhaps he did not envisage these new plans very clearly. However, the main point was, as I said above, a consciousness of the need to fight for the whole Ukrainian people, for all of Ukraine, for its liberation, independence and self-determination” (Hrushevs'kyi, *Iliustrovana istoriia* (see note 34), 303).

ing this old path and was hostile to them because they suspected these selfish intentions.”⁶¹

An emphasis on the abnormality of social conflict between the peasantry and the Cossack officer stratum is a necessary element of the narrative in Hrushevs'kyi's popular writings. In fact, in an early modern society divided into estates, national unity in that particular sense was fundamentally impossible. Nevertheless, were it not for the social conflict he described, how could Hrushevs'kyi explain the victory of the rule of Moscow over the Hetmanate, unless the explanation lay in the relative weakness of the movement itself? We should also keep in mind that Hrushevs'kyi described himself as a positivist (though far from consistently). For him, the arrow of progress and all best hopes lay in the future. Conflicts between masses and elites in the past were therefore largely an inversion of that national unity, which must arise in the future.⁶²

It was also possible to explain the failure of the Khmel'nyts'kyi Uprising by setting aside a positivist view of the role of the individual in history and turning to a neo-romantic vision of it: namely one where accidental, rather than predictable, almost natural forces of history explain the defeat of an individual and his work. And Hrushevs'kyi used this explanation. In his opinion, both external aggression and internal social conflicts might not have become insurmountable obstacles to the establishment of the Hetmanate, had it not been for Khmel'nyts'kyi's early death. He portrayed the Hetman as a kind of Moses, who died untimely without accomplishing his forty years of wandering. In an article from 1898, he wrote: “the Khmel'nyts'kyi Uprising began with the break with Poland and should have ended with a break with Moscow; but at that moment Khmel'nyts'kyi died, leaving everything in uncertainty”.⁶³ On the other hand, following the expectations of the genre, Hrushevs'kyi stated with pathos in the popular *IHU*: “At the most decisive moment, when its

⁶¹ Hrushevs'kyi, *Iliustrovana istoriia* (see note 34), 325.

⁶² Hrushevs'kyi wrote: “Using the old historiosophic terminology, these two epochs of Ukrainian political life – the old, the princely and the new, the people's (the Cossacks) – could be called the thesis and antithesis that reach a synthesis in the century of the Ukrainian Renaissance (in the 19th century – V.S.). The struggles of the people are renewed and clarified in light of the progressive European ideas which are being adopted by our new intelligentsia ... a cultural struggle has begun to achieve the ideals which bind together the masses and this new intelligentsia”. Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy*, 1 vol. (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1991), 20.

⁶³ Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, ‘Khmel'nyts'kyi i Khmel'nyshchyna’, *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeni Tarasa Shevchenka XXIII–XXIV* (1898): 27.

entire fate lay in the balance, Ukraine lost its long-time leader – the only man capable of leading it ... It was one of the most tragic moments in the history of Ukraine”.⁶⁴

In spite of these positivist and neo-romantic variations, I share Omeljan Pritsak's opinion that the only radical change in Hrushevs'kyi's previous assessments of the Hetman as an indispensable leader appeared “under the impression of the role of Khmel'nyts'kyi he developed as a result of his own experiences during 1917–19”.⁶⁵

The Figure of Hetman Ivan Mazepa

The idea of Hetman Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi (mentioned above) and Hetman Ivan Mazepa as polar opposites was prevalent in the historical narrative and public opinion of the late Russian Empire. If the first had the reputation of the ‘loyal man’, the second was the ‘traitor’ to the tsar. Khmel'nyts'kyi gained this reputation by joining the Hetmanate to Russia at the Council of Pereiaslav (1654). The image of Mazepa arose as a result of his military alliance with Charles XII of Sweden against Tsar Peter I during the Northern War of 1700–21. In Ukrainian historiography, however, Mazepa's decision was considered a last powerful attempt at liberation from Russian domination. Thereafter Ukrainians suspected of disloyalty were called *mazepintsy* (English: mazepists; the word had strong pejorative connotations). In this way, the past was politicized for contemporary use.

There is however another point of interest. To bring closer his portrayal of both hetmans, Hrushevs'kyi underscored Mazepa's aspirations for autonomy and his personal qualities. He emphasized how Mazepa tried to strengthen the authority of the hetman and the influence of the Cossack officer stratum; at the same time, he was in fact an executor of tsarist policy. At first glance, the Ukrainian historical narrative could not benefit from this:

“The times of Samoïlovych and Mazepa were important and constituted almost forty years of that significant period when the fate of the free society

⁶⁴ Hrushevs'kyi, *Illiustrovana istoriia* (see note 34), 320.

⁶⁵ This refers to the fact that during 1917–18 Hrushevs'kyi was in charge of the revolutionary parliament (*Tsentral'na Rada*) of the Ukrainian People's Republic. See also this article about romanticism, positivism, and the sociological school in the intellectual biography of Hrushevs'kyi: Omeljan Pritsak, ‘Istoriosofiia Mykhaila Hrushevs'koho’, in *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy* (see note 62), XL–LXXIII.

established as a result of the great Uprising of 1648–9 was decided. On the ruins of the unfinished construction of this free society was built a new enslavement of the Ukrainian people, which then absorbed all the remains and beginnings of that free society.”⁶⁶

In Hrushevs’kyi’s narrative, siding with Charles XII was not the decision of Mazepa but the result of pressure from his advisers from among the Cossack elite (here Hrushevs’kyi is a positivist for whom the individual is only a ‘product’). The Cossack elite wanted to unite with the Swedes and intended thereby to continue the political tradition established by Khmel’nyts’kyi. Hrushevs’kyi, however, interpreted Mazepa’s stance as indecisive and weak. He emphasized the Hetman’s old age, as a result of which he was not prepared for radical change. Hrushevs’kyi had written in the *Outline* about the Hetman’s reflections on the threat of Swedish troops invading Ukraine: “The situation became critical. But the old Hetman, hesitant and incapable of courageous risk, dared not take a decisive step”.⁶⁷ Hrushevs’kyi went on to add condescendingly in the *IHU*: “it is also true that the risk was great and the danger terrible”.⁶⁸

However, the matter did not lie in Mazepa’s alleged indecision. As Tatiana Tairova-Iakovleva proves, the Hetman was a cautious and experienced politician.⁶⁹ So why did Hrushevs’kyi portray Mazepa like this? Of course, it was not a deliberate distortion of the past by the researcher, who believed in his own ‘objectivity’. It is important to remember the context in which Hrushevs’kyi worked. He sought to legitimize Mazepa’s decision in the eyes of a hostile public whose opinion it would have been foolish to ignore. The historian intended to show how easily any loyal citizen could be made a ‘traitor’ by the tsarist authorities.⁷⁰ Interestingly, when Hrushevs’kyi experienced the rare opportunity of leading a state in circumstances requiring swift reactions, he stopped repeating this thesis about Mazepa’s “indecisiveness”.⁷¹

⁶⁶ Hrushevs’kyi, *Iliustrovana istoriia* (see note 34), 363.

⁶⁷ Grushevskii, *Ocherk*, 2nd ed. (see note 54), 338.

⁶⁸ Hrushevs’kyi, *Iliustrovana istoriia* (see note 34), 378.

⁶⁹ See Tatiana Tairova-Iakovleva, *Mazepa* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 2007).

⁷⁰ Compare Mikhail Grushevskii, ‘Novoe znamia natsionalistov’, *Ukrainskaia zhizn’* 2 (1912): 16–21; Mykhailo Hrushevs’kyi, ‘“Mazepynstvo” i “Bohdanivstvo”’, *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk* 15, 1/3 (1912): 94–102.

⁷¹ This apt remark was made by Tairova-Iakovleva (see note 69).

Hrushevs'kyi Among Friendly Critics and Grateful Readers

Omeljan Pritsak once remarked that Hrushevs'kyi had been unlucky not to have faced any truly critical response in his lifetime.⁷² Recognition from the Ukrainian intelligentsia came early to Hrushevs'kyi,⁷³ and like his other major writings, the *IHU* was received warmly. One reviewer wrote:

"Prof. Hrushevs'kyi's book reminds us of an epic because of its unusually lively and figurative language ... [The book] might be read with interest and pleasure both by someone intelligent, cultivated, and knowledgeable about history, and by the common reader, a man of the people becoming acquainted with the history of his fatherland for the first time."⁷⁴

Another reviewer was highly approving that Hrushevs'kyi had depicted the continuity of Ukrainian history from the times of Kyïvan Rus' to the 20th century: "The culture created by the upper classes of the Ukrainian people managed to root itself in the masses ... [and] came together with the cultural creativity of the masses in one organic entity – the national culture of the Ukrainian people".⁷⁵

Almost the only critical remark, or rather wish, referred to the limited attention paid to economic history.⁷⁶ However, another reviewer explained, "the elaboration of Ukrainian history is still at a stage where

⁷² Pritsak, 'Istoriiosofiia' (see note 65), XLV. Almost the first critical text on Hrushevs'kyi's research was the article written by Pritsak himself. It came out 32 years after Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi's death. First published: Omeljan Pritsak, 'U stolittia narodyn Hrushevs'koho', *Lysty do pryiateliv* 157–9, 5–7 (1966): 1–18.

⁷³ In 1910, on the celebration of the 25th anniversary of Hrushevs'kyi's research activity, superlatives were brought out for the occasion. He was called a "giant", likened to Leo Tolstoy, and exalted over "all other comrades of MS who are some feeble and fragile creatures; he alone knows where he is going, what he is doing and what others should do". The *History of Ukraine-Rus'* was called the "Gospel of the Ukrainian movement". In general, his activities were assessed as an "epoch-making". Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, *Tvory v 50 tomakh*, vol. 47, bk. 1, *Iuvilei na hrushevs'kiiiana* (L'viv: Svit, 2016), 42, 45, 59, 63.

⁷⁴ Dmytro Doroshenko, 'Retsenzii. Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi. Ilustrovana istoriia Ukraïny. Kyïv-L'viv, 1911', in *Retsenzii na pratsi Hrushevs'koho (1890–1914). Seriia Dopolizhnyi materialy: Dovidnyky, pokazhchyky, arkhivy*, vol. 46, bk. 1 (L'viv: Svit, 2015), 413.

⁷⁵ Mykola Zalizniak, 'Retsenzii. Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi. Ilustrovana istoriia Ukraïny. Kyïv-L'viv, 1911', in *ibid.*, 286.

⁷⁶ Sofiia Rusova, 'Retsenzii. Prof. M. Grushevskii. Illiustrirovannaia istoriia Ukraïny (Avtorizovannyi perevod so vtorogo ukrainskogo izdaniia). St. Petersburg, 1913', in *ibid.*, 447.

generalizations are extremely difficult and sometimes impossible due to a lack of materials and preparatory studies”.⁷⁷

Already after 1917 the *IHU* was criticized for a narrow ‘party-political’ logic (*partiïnist*)⁷⁸ in its approach to the revolution in Ukraine. It was meant by this that Hrushevs’kyi openly endorsed the Ukrainian People’s Republic (*Ukrain’s’ka Narodna Respublika*, the UNR) in his book and condemned the newly-proclaimed Hetman Pavlo Skoropads’kyi (1873–1945) whose rule succeeded the UNR. In agreeing with such an assessment, one should not forget that the criticism was also politically motivated⁷⁹ and fitted into the broader context of the interwar discussion among Ukrainians in emigration about the reasons for the defeat of Ukrainian independence.

As for the reading public, at the beginning of the 20th century the Ukrainian movement gained more and more supporters. So the *IHU* fell on fertile ground and aroused great interest (as evidenced by numerous reissues). Its popularity was aided by a coherent narrative, the quality of the illustrations and a general recognition of Hrushevs’kyi as the leader of the Ukrainian movement. All this resulted in the quick purchase of the six thousand copies of the first edition.⁸⁰ In his monograph *Unmaking Imperial Russia: Mykhailo Hrushevs’kyi and the Writing of Ukrainian History* – which is the most comprehensive intellectual biography of the professor to date – Serhii Plokhyy notes how many people commented enthusiastically on the book, talked about it to each other and wanted to

⁷⁷ Mykola Vasylenko, ‘Retsenziia. Prof. Mykh. Hrushevs’kyi. Illiustrirovannaia istoriia Ukrainy (Avtorizovannyi perevod so vtorogo ukainskogo izd.). St. Peterburg, 1913’, in *ibid.*, 489.

⁷⁸ Hrushevs’kyi was one of the leaders of the Ukrainian Party of Socialist Revolutionaries.

⁷⁹ Dmytro Doroshenko, ‘Retsenziia. Mykhailo Hrushevs’kyi. Iliustrovana istoriia Ukraïny. Kyïv–Viden’, 1921’, in *Mykhailo Hrushevs’kyi. Retsenzii na pratsi Hrushevs’koho (1890–1914)*, vol. 46, bk. 2 (L’viv: Svit, 2015), 69; Mykola Rozhkov, ‘Retsenziia. Prof. Mikh. Grushevskii. Illiustrirovannaia istoriia Ukrainy (Avtorizovannyi perevod so vtorogo ukrainskogo izdaniia). St. Petersburg, 1913’, in *Retsenzii* (as in note 74), 455–6. These critics represented the first reviewer, Dmytro Doroshenko, as a member of the Ukrainian Party of Socialist Federalists and a liberal democrat, and the second, Nikolaï Rozhkov, as a member of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP); he later became a Menshevik.

⁸⁰ The book was distributed through the bookstores of the *Literary-Scientific Bulletin*, *Kievskaiia Starina*, and the Shevchenko Scientific Society. See Lysty drukarni i fotolitohtafii “Kul’zhenko”, 1907, 1910–1914 years, arkush 510 (zvorot), 513, sprava 96, opys 1, fond 1235, TsDIAUK.

move on to reading the *History of Ukraine-Rus'*. For instance, a teacher from Tarashcha, O. Hrun'ko, confessed to Hrushevs'kyi: "This year I managed with great difficulty to obtain a copy of your *Illustrated History of Ukraine*, which I read with ardour, heatedly, without even stopping to take a breath. There I learned certain things about Ukraine that conventional Russian textbooks did not offer".⁸¹

Despite the reasonable price not everyone was able to buy the book. Parts of the provincial intelligentsia could not easily afford even this level of expense (the first edition cost only 2 rubles). Some people asked for a free copy. For example, a political exile from Ust'-Sisol'sk, Hryhorii Porevych, wrote: "Your work is so popular and of such substance that it is my heart's desire to obtain it".⁸²

The second edition of the *IHU*, like the first, appeared in the edition of the aforementioned Kul'zhenko printing house in Kyiv in 1912. This time, Hrushevs'kyi had expanded the last chapter entitled "Ukrainian Revival", covering the development of the Ukrainian national movement in the 19th and early 20th centuries. He added and replaced some illustrations. Eventually, this chapter became as large as the others and much more detailed than the writing on earlier, much longer periods. As a 'historian-awakener', Hrushevs'kyi made this emphasis so that there could be no doubt about the exceptional role of the contemporary period in the 'revival' of the Ukrainian "nation" (a rare word for Hrushevs'kyi, who preferred the word 'people').

The Russian language translation of the *IHU*, which was printed in 1913 by the St. Petersburg publishing house Enlightenment, also became popular. This book was based on the second edition. Its reviewer wrote: "The book is translated into good Russian; is very interesting and is easy to read. It is printed beautifully: great paper, readable, clear font, perfectly made illustrations".⁸³

However, all efforts to sell the *IHU* beyond the Russian Empire and Habsburg Galicia were unsuccessful. There was a lack of knowledge about the Ukrainian issue in the West. For example, the professor's correspondence with Vasyli Stepanenko, a Ukrainian folklorist who ran the Ukrainian Bookstore in Kyiv, reveals the attempt to publish an English-lan-

⁸¹ Quoted in Serhii Plokhyy, *Unmaking Imperial Russia: Mykhailo Hrushevsky and the Writing of Ukrainian History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 209.

⁸² Quoted in *ibid.*

⁸³ Mykola Vasylenko, 'Retsenziia. Iliustrovana istoriia Ukraïny. Rosiis'koïu movoiu (Bibliohrafichna zamitka)', in *Retsenzii* (as in note 74), 410.

guage translation of the *IHU*.⁸⁴ Stepanenko negotiated with one of London's largest publishing houses, founded in 1882 by Thomas Unwin. On reading an overview of the Ukrainian movement, the publisher was initially interested in the idea of the book. However, as Stepanenko added: "Due to the complete unfamiliarity of English society with our affairs, he doubts that the book could be profitable in English. The publisher used as a comparison his publication of a book on the Polish question, which for a long time has sold very poorly".⁸⁵

Unwin wanted to insure himself and share the financial risk with his client; Hrushevs'kyi, however, refused. Later, Stepanenko sought other opportunities to publish the professor's book but he was unsuccessful. The main reason for the failure, as Stepanenko explained, was that in the UK "we have to contend with an absolute ignorance about us and this really complicates things".⁸⁶ It would not be a mistake to extend this statement to the entire European book market at the time.

The following editions – the third (1913), the fourth (1917) and the fifth (1918) – were published by the Kyiv printing house of Petro Bars'kyi. In the fifth edition, the story ended with the revolt against the Rada led by Hetman Pavlo Skoropads'kyi. The last edition in Hrushevs'kyi's lifetime was printed in 1921 in Vienna,⁸⁷ where he was in exile. It was difficult to do the work abroad, however, because of the absence of the original plates and engravings. The illustrations were made from a previous edition, which was also not ideal, as a result of revolutionary unrest. The review of the Vienna edition noted: "As for the illustrations, because of the poor-quality paper, they are not worth a tenth of the earlier ones, and some look like spots or caricatures. It is a great pity because the illustrations were the real pride of previous editions".⁸⁸

There were no further editions of the *IHU* published during his lifetime. After political persecutions and the death of Hrushevs'kyi in unexplained circumstances in 1934, the book was blamed for 'bourgeois nationalism' and withdrawn from public circulation in the Soviet Union.

⁸⁴ Lysty Vasylia Stepanenka do Mykhaila Hrushevs'koho, 1901–1913, 56 arkush, 29 lystiv, sprava 771, opys 1, fond 1235, TsDIAUK.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 87.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 88–9.

⁸⁷ Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, *Iliustrovana istoriia Ukrainy* (Kyiv, Viden': Dniprovskyi Soiuz spozhychykh soiuzyv Ukrainy "Dniprosoiuz", 1921).

⁸⁸ Doroshenko, 'Retseziia' (see note 79), 69.

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The *Illustrated History of Ukraine* by Mykhailo Hrushevs’kyi played a great role in the spread of the Ukrainian historical narrative in the early 20th century, before and during the revolutions of 1917. The book gave to its readers ‘our’ own heroes and answered the unspoken question – ‘why are we not the “Russian people”?’ On buying the book, the reader already knew that he or she would be getting ‘true’ Ukrainian history from the best-known historian, whose primacy was never contested by the Ukrainian intelligentsia during his lifetime (and long after his death).

The *IHU* also had a role in the early years of the Soviet Union, and later – though the book had been removed from libraries – its narrative, peculiarly, entered Soviet textbooks. In the 1990s, the *IHU* gained a new popularity. It was republished, and the first textbooks in independent Ukraine were based on the scheme the *IHU* had adopted. One might criticize the book for its essentializing and teleological narrative, for writing the history of the Ukrainian people but not the multi-ethnic history of Ukraine, for the negation of the role of elites in Ukrainian history, etc. All these make the *IHU* behind the times. However, something omitted (intentionally?) in the *IHU* remains relevant for modern researchers. This is an issue that Hrushevs’kyi left unclarified in his anti-elitist narrative, as Ivan Lysiak-Rudnyts’kyi once aptly formulated:

“How can one explain the fact that a movement which at the turn of the century numbered barely several thousand adherents became massive by the year 1905 and exploded in 1917 with the birth of a nation of more than 30 million?”⁸⁹

Right after that, he offered the following:

“There can only be one answer to this (question – V.S.): there were also other forces among the population of Ukraine, which, while not identical to the national movement, had the same direction and goal. And, as if attracted by strong gravity, they eventually became absorbed by it.”⁹⁰

Such an explanation implies that landlords (*pomeshchiki*) in Ukraine, Marxists, liberal *zemstvo* activists, and monarchists were also part of the history of the Ukrainian movement. Are Ukrainian studies now ready to give them legitimacy within their own boundaries?

⁸⁹ Ivan Lysiak-Rudnyts’kyi, ‘Rolia Ukraïny v novitnii istorii’, in *Istorychni ese*, vol. 1 (Kyïv: Osnovy, 1994), 147.

⁹⁰ Ibid.