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MYKHAILO HRUSHEVSKY AND FRENCH SLAVIC STUDIES OF THE FIRST THIRD OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: PROBLEMS OF RECEPTION

- Abstract -

The article is dedicated to the study of the peculiarities of the discussion of historiographical concepts and socio-political initiatives of M. Hrushevsky in French scientific literature and journalism of the first third of the 20th century. The process of the Ukrainian historian establishing relations with French intellectuals (A. Mazon, P. Bouillet, J. Pelissier, etc.) and his purposeful work on popularizing the scientific achievements of Ukrainian studies in the French language have been reconstructed. The result was numerous reviews of the works of the Ukrainian historian on the pages of “Le Monde Slave”, “Revue des Études Slaves” and “Les Annales des nationalités”. The article has summarized that discovering the previously unknown East Slavic nation thanks to the works and periodicals of M. Hrushevsky, his French colleagues unanimously wrote about the scientist as a wake-up call for his compatriots and a tireless popularizer of Ukrainian cultural heritage among the Western European intelligentsia. In general, the analyzed French Hrushevsky studies became an important component of the Ukrainian-French intellectual dialogue of the first third of the 20th century.

Keywords: M. Hrushevsky; French Slavic Studies; A. Mazon; reception; the first third of the 20th century.

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INTRODUCTION

The receptive direction of modern Hrushevsky studies is gaining more and more popularity among researchers, as evidenced by its confident move beyond the confines of purely Ukrainian historiographical discourse¹. This surge has been encouraged by the discovery of a large number of texts left by Hrushevsky's compatriots that contained their reaction to historian's projects and initiatives. Thanks to the discovery of these texts, Hrushevsky studies scholars has been working to disprove the stereotypes about the reception of Hrushevsky's work. One of the most pervasive biases was that M. Hrushevsky allegedly wrote exclusively "for internal use" and that resulted in the total indifference of Western intellectuals to the historiographical proposals of their Ukrainian colleague. The very first attempts to verify this statement showed considerable interest in the ideas and texts of M. Hrushevsky among historians and publicists of the time². As a result, special studies of Russian³, Polish⁴, German⁵, Czech⁶, and Romanian⁷ Hrushevsky studies were conducted.

¹ V. Telvak, *Suchasne hrushevskoznavstvo: zdotuky, vtraty, perspektyvy* [Modern Hrushevskiy studies: achievements, losses, prospects], in "Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal", 2021, № 5, pp. 4-16.

² V. Telvak, *Tvorcha spadshchyna Mykhaila Hrushevskoho v otsinkakh suchasnykiv (kinets XIX – 30-ti roky XX stolittia)* [Creative heritage of Mykhailo Hrushevsky in the estimates of contemporaries (late nineteenth – 30s of the twentieth century)], Vymir, Kyiv-Drohobych, 2008.

³ V. Telvak, "Eresyarkh ukraïnskoho dvyzhenia" (*retseptsiia tvorchoi spadshchyny M.Hrushevskoho v rosiiskomu pravomonarkhichnomu seredovyshchi pershoi tretyny XX st.*) ["Heresiarch of the Ukrainian Movement" (reception of M. Hrushevsky's creative heritage in the Russian right-wing monarchist environment of the first third of the twentieth century)], in "Istoriografichni doslidzhennia v Ukraini", 2010, issue 20, pp. 131-154; V. Telvak, O. Salata, *Reception of Hrushevsky studies: epistolary aspect*, in "East European Historical Bulletin", 2021, issue 20, pp. 32-39.

⁴ V. Telvak, *Ukrainian historiography in the mirror of Polish journalism (Mykhailo Hrushevsky versus Francishek Ravita-Gavrinsky)*, in "East European Historical Bulletin", 2018, issue 7, pp. 46-53.

⁵ V. Telvak, B. Yanyshyn, V. Telvak, *Between history and politics: the image of Mykhailo Hrushevsky in German Slavic studies of the first third of the 20th century*, in "Przegląd nauk historycznych", 2021, r. XX, no. 2, pp. 103–125.

⁶ V. Telvak, V. Telvak, *Mykhailo Hrushevsky in Czech historiography (the first third of the 20th century)*, in "Codrul Cosminului", 2019, vol. XXV, no. 2, pp. 265-286.

⁷ V. Telvak, V. Ilytskyi, *Mykhailo Hrushevsky and Nicolae Iorga: scholars' struggle over the national history*, in "Codrul Cosminului", 2018, vol. XXIV, no. 1, pp. 53-64.

Continuing this important work for receptive historiography, we will now turn our attention to the phenomenon of French Hrushevsky Studies. In contrast to the Eastern and Western European traditions of interpreting the legacy of the author of the *History of Ukraine-Rus* just mentioned, French Slavic studies were more heavily influenced by Russian scholars, and its representatives for a long time did not recognize the disciplinary independence of Ukrainian studies, considering it a regional component of the cultural heritage of the nation's dominant in our territory. This partly explains the comparative modesty of the sources found for the reconstruction of M. Hrushevsky's relations with his French colleagues. This circumstance has also led to a shift in emphasis in contemporary attempts to understand French Hrushevsky Studies from the national to the linguistic and territorial factors, which causes a certain "blurring" of the reflections of French intellectuals in the mass of Ukrainian emigration writings⁸.

In view of the above, the purpose of our study is to clarify the peculiarities of the reception of M. Hrushevsky's scientific and socio-political activities among French intellectuals of the first third of the twentieth century.

AT THE BEGINNING OF XX CENTURY

M. Hrushevsky's first attempts to establish contacts with his French colleagues date back to the early twentieth century. They were part of his overall strategy to popularize the achievements of modern Ukrainians in Western Europe, which was to become a prologue to establishing a productive interethnic cultural dialogue. He had a lot to present to his western neighbors, as the Lviv professor already had the critically acclaimed first volumes of the *History of Ukraine-Rus* and the impressive achievements of the Shevchenko Scientific Society⁹, that he had put on the academic rails, with numerous humanitarian projects implemented by students of his

⁸ E. Luniak, *Study of Mykhajlo Hrushevsky's scientific heritage in France*, in "Istoriografichni doslidzhennia v Ukraini", 2013, issue 23, pp. 103-121.

⁹ V. Telvak, V. Telvak, *The First Institutional Encyclopaedia in Ukraine. Naukove tovarystvo imeni Shevchenka: Entsyklopediya (Shevchenko Scientific Society: Encyclopaedia)*, in "Studia Historiae Scientiarum", 2022, vol. 21, pp. 423-432.

scientific school¹⁰. Reflecting on this problem, the scientist wrote in his diary: “In these months, I have changed my mind a lot about the system of silencing us and about the current need to popularize our work. I made a big mistake by standing aside and relying on our work to make its way. No, it will not happen, because there are too many people who are interested in it”¹¹. Realizing this activist attitude to the promotion of national culture, and especially the Ukrainian version of the past of Eastern Europe, M. Hrushevsky decided in 1903 to publish a German-language translation of the first volume of his *History of Ukraine-Rus*, which was widely read in the Western European historiographic community¹².

In 1903, M. Hrushevsky had another opportunity to popularize his scientific ideas. A senior friend of the scientist, the famous Ukrainian anthropologist Fedir Vovk, who had studied and worked in the French capital for a long time, offered him his own mediation in the matter of inviting him to the Russian Higher School of Social Sciences in Paris (L'École russe des hautes études sociales) to give a course of lectures on Ukrainian history in Russian. This idea of his Parisian colleague interested M. Hrushevsky primarily because of the prospects for popularizing Ukrainians. In response, the Lviv professor wrote: “Regarding your proposal for lectures [...]. I am not eager to tour, but I think that there is some national interest in this, and it might do good to read the lecture in Russian. Therefore, I give you full authority to nominate me whenever you wish and if you so desire”¹³.

In a short time, the matter was settled and during April 19 – May 4, 1903 M. Hrushevsky gave a course “Outline of the history of the Ukrainian

¹⁰ V. Telvak, V. Pedych, V. Telvak, *Historical school of Mykhailo Hrushevsky in Lviv: formation, structure, personal contribution*, in “Studia Historiae Scientiarum”, 2021, vol. 20, pp. 239–261.

¹¹ M.S. Hrushevsky, *Shchodennyk (1902–1914 rr.) [Diary (1902–1914)]: U dvokh tomakh. T. 1 (1902–1907) / Uporiad., vstupna stattia, komentari S. Pankova; naukovyi redaktor I. Hyrych, Instytut ukrainskoi arkheohrafii ta dzhereloznavstva im. M. S. Hrushevskoho NAN Ukrainy, Kiev, 2021, p 105.*

¹² V. Telvak, B. Yanyshyn, “*Geschichte des Ukrainischen (Ruthenischen) volkes“ of Mykhailo Hrushevsky in the discussions of the beginning of the XXth century*, in “Studia Historica Nitriensia”, 2021, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 71–90.

¹³ *Lystuvannia Mykhaila Hrushevskoho [Correspondence of Mikhailo Hrushevsky]*, vol. II / Ed. R. Maiboroda, V. Naulko, H. Burlaka, I. Hyrych, Kyiv, New York, Paris, Lviv, Toronto, 2001. p 173.

(little Russia) people”, which consisted of 18 lectures, which, according to the author’s scheme, consistently covered the Ukrainian past from ancient times to the era of the national revival of the nineteenth century¹⁴. This trip was the impetus for the Lviv professor to establish contacts with his French colleagues. The relevance of the trip to Paris was reinforced by the fact that the aforementioned publication of the first volume of the *Geschichte des Ukrainischen (Ruthenischen) volks* was virtually ignored by French critics.

We do not know much about M. Hrushevsky’s contacts of that time, and in his *Autobiography* he mentioned only “some established relations in Paris”¹⁵. The initiator of the French voyage of Lviv professor F. Vovk in one of his letters informed the correspondent that his colleague at the Russian Higher School of Social Sciences Paul Boissier “told me yesterday that he would be very glad to meet you”¹⁶. The authoritative French Slavist was at that time a professor of Russian (from 1902) and later the administrator of the well-known School of Oriental Languages in Paris (1908-37). The acquaintance proved fruitful, as Hrushevsky became friends with Paul Boyer and his students for many years, most notably with André Mazon. Reporting to the Galician public on his French visit, the Lviv professor described its national and cultural consequences to a correspondent of the *Literary and Scientific Herald*: “Prof. Hrushevsky’s stay in Paris and London eventually gave him the opportunity to establish quite valuable relations – from the standpoint of our national needs – with the French people. For example, professors at the Paris School of Living Oriental Languages (*Ecole des langues orientales vivantes*, which includes Slavic languages) expressed a desire to devote one semester of their Russian language classes to Ukrainian. They have also agreed to publish a short grammar of the Ukrainian language in French”¹⁷.

¹⁴ See: I.M. Borshchak, *M. Hrushevskiyi u Paryzhi 1903 r.* [*Hrushevsky in Paris in 1903*], in “Ukraina”, 1947, № 2, pp 36-37.

¹⁵ M.S. Hrushevsky, *Avtobiohrafiiia. 1926 r.* [*Autobiography. 1926*], in *Velykyi Ukrainets : Materialy z zhyttia i diialnosti Hrushevskoho / Uporiad. i pidhotov. tekstiv ta fotomaterialiv, koment. ta prym. A. P. Demydenka, Veselka, Kyiv*, p 232.

¹⁶ *Lystuvannia Mykhaila Hrushevskoho [Correspondence of Mikhaïlo Hrushevsky]*, vol. II, p 178.

¹⁷ *Khronika i bibliografiia [Chronicle and bibliography]*, in “Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk”, 1903, t. XXII, kn. VI, pp. 224–225

Along with the establishment of important personal relationships, M. Hrushevsky's first trip to Paris gave him hope for the popularization of his own historiographical ideas in French. According to the scientist himself, "one of the largest publishers in Paris decided to publish my lecture course at his own expense in French: it should be published before the end of the year"¹⁸. Therefore, upon returning to Lviv, the scholar, according to him, immediately "started with zeal" preparing the text of the essay with the aim of publishing it in Russian and French. He decided to implement the French project first. To this end, M. Hrushevsky sent the manuscript for translation to Mykola Ge (son of the famous artist Mykola Ge), who, however, lacked both professional knowledge of history and, ultimately, time for such a large-scale work. A similar story happened to another translator, V. Honcharova. As a result, a lot of time was lost and the French version of the synthetic essay on Ukrainian history was never published.

However, M. Hrushevsky's publishing plans in Paris brought him closer to the aforementioned A. Mazon. He became the Lviv professor's confidant in numerous academic matters related to France, as evidenced by Mazon's testimony more than 20 years later when congratulating his Ukrainian colleague on his 60th birthday¹⁹. This rapprochement was also largely facilitated by the circumstances of A. Mazon's professional life: from 1905 to 1909 he taught French at Kharkiv University, and in his travels between his homeland and the Russian Empire he sometimes stopped in Lviv. One such visit in early March 1906 is mentioned in M. Hrushevsky's diary: "Yesterday Mazon was on his way from Kharkiv"²⁰.

We learn from the few surviving letters of the French Slavic scholar that, despite the failure to find translators and the resulting termination of the publishing agreement, M. Hrushevski did not abandon his plans for a French-language edition of his popular essay on the history of Ukraine. Thus, after the publication of the *Outline of the History of the Ukrainian People* in 1904

¹⁸ Ibidem, p 224.

¹⁹ *Yuvilei akademyka M. S. Hrushevskoho: 1866–1926. I. Yuvileini zasidannia. II. Pryvitannia [Anniversary of Academician M.S. Hrushevsky: 1866–1926. I. Anniversary meetings. II. Greetings]*, Kyiv, 1927, p. 138.

²⁰ M.S. Hrushevsky, *Shchodennyk (1902–1914 rr.) [Diary (1902–1914)]*, p. 268.

and its mostly favorable reception by Russian scholarly criticism²¹, the author decided to return to his previous plans, especially since the majority of chapters had been translated. Sending the book to A. Mazon as a gift, M. Hrushevski also asked him to find possible publishers. The French colleague conscientiously responded to the request of the Lviv professor. According to their correspondence and the Ukrainian historian's diary, during 1905-1906 the manuscript of the Essay translated into French was reviewed by several Parisian publishers. However, even this time it did not come to fruition: A. Mazon pointed to the unsatisfactory quality of the translation²²; M. Hrushevsky was willing to explain the refusal by the "uncertainty" of the publishers of the author's historical ideology on which the book was based²³.

Despite the problems mentioned above, M. Hrushevsky gradually overcame the indifference of French intellectuals to the Ukrainian cause through intensive book exchange with his Parisian colleagues and scientific institutions. This was evidenced by the preparation and publication in 1912 of the issue of "Les Annales des nationalités", "Bulletin de l'Union des Nationalités". This journal was the organ of the Union of Nationalities, created in France to protect the oppressed peoples. It was published under the general editorship of French journalist, diplomat, and politician Jean Pélissier. It is noteworthy that the introductory article to the Ukrainian issue, eloquently titled *One Enslaved Nation*, was written by the famous French historian Charles Seignobos. The preparation of this thematic issue contributed to the expansion of M. Hrushevsky's French contacts, as they were invited for cooperation.

This collaboration led to publishing of two articles by the Lviv professor in "Les Annales". The first one opened with a block of Ukrainian studies essays by prominent Galician and Dnipro Ukrainian intellectuals of the time. M. Hrushevsky has also given a brief overview of the history of the

²¹ V. Telvak, *Naukovo-populiarni pratsi Mykhaila Hrushevskoho v istoriografichnykh dyskusiiakh pochatku XX stolittia* [Popular scientific works of Mykhailo Hrushevskiyi in historiographical discussions of the beginning of the 20th century], in "Drohobyt'skyi kraieznavchyi zbirnyk", 2006, vyp. X, pp. 348-358.

²² V. Telvak, Ye. Luniak, *Lysty Andre Mazona do Mykhaila ta Kateryny Hrushevskyykh* [Andre Mazon's letters to Mykhailo and Kateryna Hrushevskyyi], in "Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal", 2022, № 5, p. 211.

²³ M.S. Hrushevsky, *Avtobiografiia. 1926 r.* [Autobiography. 1926], p. 232.

Ukrainian people from ancient times to the beginning of the twentieth century. In the second article, *The Claims of Russian Ukrainians*, which was an expanded version of his earlier (1906) journalistic text *Our Demands*, M. Hrushevsky explained to the French reader the national-political platform of pro-Russian Ukrainians since the First Duma (the principle of national-territorial autonomy with a Ukrainian parliament in Kyiv) and their cultural claims in the early 1910s²⁴.

The Ukrainian issue of “*Les Annales*” received considerable publicity both in France and in other Western European countries, as evidenced by the rapid exhaustion of the magazine’s circulation. Reflecting on the reception of the cultural diplomacy of Ukrainian leaders at the time, an observer of the *Literary and Scientific Bulletin* edited by M. Hrushevsky noted: “In general, we can see that the great Paris became interested in Ukraine, its literature is discussed in books and speeches, and Ukrainian songs are performed in Parisian salons and concerts. “The Annals dedicated to Ukraine sold out in one month, and the European press drew attention to the abnormal situation of our nation”²⁵. It should be noted that such a growing interest of French intellectuals in Ukraine was extremely important on the eve of the Great War, which destroyed European empires and gave Ukrainians a chance to gain independence.

DURING WAR AND REVOLUTION

The outbreak of WWI led to M. Hrushevsky’s arrest and subsequent exile to the Russian hinterland. At this time, the scientist was forced to slow down the pace of his scientific work and virtually curtail his epistolary contacts with Western colleagues, realizing that his correspondence was being perused by the guards. However, at that time, the leaders of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (hereinafter referred to as the ULU), which was

²⁴ M. Zalizniak, [Rets.] *Les Annales des Nationalités / Bulletin de l’Union des Nationalités*, no. 3-4 (Numéros consacrés à l’étude de l’Ukraine), Paris, 1913, pp. 121-200, in “Zapysky NTSh”, 1913, vol. CXV, pp. 233–236.

²⁵ S. R., *Frantsuzka presa pro ukrainskyi narid. Les Annales des nationalités. Bulletin de l’Union des Nationalités / Numéros consacrés à l’étude de l’Ukraine*, ch. 3–4 [The French press about the Ukrainian people. *Les Annales des nationalités. Bulletin de l’Union des Nationalités / Numéros consecrated à l’étude de l’Ukraine*, part 3–4], in “Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk”, 1913, t. LXII, kn. 5, p. 380.

created at the outbreak of the war, were actively popularizing his ideas in Western European countries, including among French-speaking readers. They clearly chose an Austro and Germanophile orientation, hoping for support from the Central Powers for the idea of realizing Ukrainian independence in the postwar reformatting of the European political space. Promoting this idea, the creators of the ULU launched a fruitful information and propaganda activity, in which M. Hrushevsky's works had a special place as the most authoritative propaganda material that substantiated the historical duration of Ukrainian independence aspirations. Interestingly, the Ukrainian historian himself, who was virtually cut off from the outside world, did not know about the use of his works in the ideological struggle. And if he had known, he most likely would not have allowed such an instrumentalization of his work, as he was skeptical of the Germanophilia of Galician politicians²⁶.

Given the aforementioned political orientation, most of M. Hrushevsky's works republished by the ULU were published in the languages of the Central Powers. Only his article *The Problem of Ukraine and its Historical Development* in the "La Revue politique internationale" in Lausanne was published in French. It is noteworthy that most of the French-language publications of the time mentioning M. Hrushevsky by Ukrainian emigrants were published in neutral Switzerland, mainly in Lausanne. This can be explained by the obvious fact that French politicians, bound by allied obligations with the Romanov empire, distanced themselves from the "Ukrainian question", sharing the view of Russian chauvinists that Ukraine was an artificial creation of the Austro-German secret services. Hence, the reception of "Ukrainianism" and the activities of one of its leaders in France at the time was, if not openly hostile, at least extremely restrained²⁷.

²⁶ See: V. Telvak, "Istoriia na sluzhbi propahandy: pratsi Mykhaila Hrushevskoho v informatsiinii diialnosti Soiuzu Vyzvolennia Ukrainy [History in the service of propaganda: the works of Mykhailo Hrushevskyi in the information activities of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine]", in *Istoriia-mentalist-identychnist*, Vypusk IV: *Istorychna pamiat ukrainsiv i poliakiv u period formuvannia natsionalnoi svidomosti v XIX – pershii polovyni XX stolittia*, kolektyvna monohrafiia / za red. Leonida Zashkilniaka, Yoanny Pisulinskoi, Pavla Serzhenhy, PAIS, Lviv, 2011, pp. 87-96.

²⁷ H. Tsvenhrosh, "Ukrainske pytannia u frankomovnomu sviti. Ukrainska emihratsiia" ["The Ukrainian question in the French-speaking world"], in *Istoriia i suchasnist. Materialy*

This perception prevailed even after the collapse of the Russian tsar, when Ukrainians from the Dnipro region formed the Central Rada and elected M. Hrushevsky as its chairman in absentia. And in those revolutionary years, the author of the *History of Ukraine-Rus* had no time to continue his research projects, which affected the modesty of the academic reception of the time, both Ukrainian and Western. Instead, at the time, many observers turned to understanding the socio-political practice of the head of the Ukrainian parliament. And in this case, the evaluative optics depended on the attitude to the imperial ambitions of the Russian elite, whether white or red. This explains the skeptical responses of French politicians to the activities of the Central Rada headed by M. Hrushevsky. In their reports to Paris at the time, French emissaries J. Petit, M. Janin, and A. Nissel described the events in Kyiv as an action inspired by Russia's enemies aimed at dismembering its Entente ally. The stereotypical political thinking is reflected in A. Nissel's later observation: "The Ukrainian movement developed before the war thanks to the intrigues of Austria and Germany. The current president of the Rada, Professor Hrushevsky, became known for his Germanophilia"²⁸.

However, gradually the above-mentioned categorical approach was replaced by a more balanced approach. For example, the French general and diplomat Georges Tabouis, who held various diplomatic posts in Kyiv from December 1917 to February 1918, was much more open to the Central Rada's policy. It was his balanced attitude to Ukrainian political aspirations that led to France's actual recognition of the UPR in January 1918. In his later memoirs "How I Became the Commissioner of the French Republic in Ukraine," he denied M. Hrushevsky's Germanophilia and generally assessed his foreign policy with understanding²⁹.

M. Hrushevsky's colleague in the above-mentioned publication "Les Annales des nationalités", J. Aimable Pélissier was very sympathetic to the Ukrainian revolutionary movement. Consistently defending the right of every

mizhnarodnykh naukovykh konferentsii, prysviachenykh 100-richchiiu emihratsii ukrainsiv do Kanady, Kameniar, Lviv, 1992, pp. 271–299.

²⁸ H. Niessel, général, *Le triomphe des Bolchéviki et la paix de BrestLitovsk: Souvenirs 1917–1918*, Librairie Plon, Paris, 1940, p. 351

²⁹ G. Tabouis, general, *Comment je devins Commissaire de la République Française en Ukraine*, Varsovie, 1932, p. 157.

nation to self-determination, in his reports to the French government he refuted rumors of the Central Rada's Germanophilia, and in his journalism he presented Ukraine's civilizing mission as a barrier against Russian Bolshevism. While visiting revolutionary Kyiv, J. Aimable Pélissier had a number of meetings with M. Hrushevsky and his colleagues in the Ukrainian parliament. He shared his impressions, full of sympathy for the Ukrainian leaders of the time, in his memoirs *The Ukrainian Tragedy*³⁰.

The events of that time proved the French establishment's misconception of the Central Rada's complete devotion to its German ally, which in a short time turned into an occupier. As is well known, a coup d'état authorized by the Kaiser's troops removed M. Hrushevsky from the political helm, and the rapid Bolshevik occupation of Ukrainian lands forced the scientist to emigrate in April 1919. Focusing initially on the mission of creating a political lobby for the Ukrainian cause in Western European countries, the former head of the Central Rada traveled to European capitals. In search of like-minded people, the Ukrainian historian visited Paris twice (in the second half of June, in July and in November 1919)³¹. Describing his stay in France at the time, M. Hrushevsky mentions meetings with "several French scholars" but does not mention any names. However, in a short time, the historian realized the naivety of his political expectations, as it became clear that the idea of Ukrainian independence had no real support. With this in mind, M. Hrushevsky turned back to scientific and organizational work.

IN EMIGRATION

The scientific activity of the scientist during the five years of his exile was directly related to the founding of the Ukrainian Sociological Institute (hereinafter USI) in Geneva in the fall of 1919 and the development of research activities there³². M. Hrushevsky chose the location of the USI for

³⁰ J. Pelissier, *La tragédie ukrainienne*, Bibliothèque ukrainienne Symon Petlura; Imprimerie P.I.U.F., Paris, 1988.

³¹ R. Pyrih, V. Telvak, *Mykhailo Hrushevskyyi: zhyttiepys na tli doby [Mykhailo Hrushevskyyi: biography against the background of the times]*, Vydavnytstvo OLDI-PLIuS, Kherson, 2021, pp. 377-378, 380-381.

³² M. Hrushevskyyi, "V spravi ukrainskoho sotsiolohichnoho instytutu" ["In the case of the Ukrainian Sociological Institute"], in *Na perelomi. Zhurnal polityky, literatury ta mystetstva pid redaktsiieiu O. Olesia*, 1920, vyp. 3, berezen, pp. 11-12.

several reasons. First of all, he pointed to the need to create “a Ukrainian cultural center like the Polish Rapperswil in a neutral country, which would become the base for Ukrainian cultural work and for informing Europe about Ukrainian life, history and culture.” Switzerland was also chosen as a continuation of the traditions of the “old Drahomanov community” and “a traditional international center where there are many national organizations of various small peoples.” Another important motivation was the organization of Congress of the Second International in February 1920 which, in scientist’s words, “one cannot attend empty-handed.” Thus, M. Hrushevsky intended the institution to be “Ukrainian representation” in Europe, an instrument of people’s diplomacy. Given the place of its foundation, French was chosen as the language of the USI’s popular science publications. Although modern researchers add that this replacement of the German language for French was typical for the previous era, the turning to French as a way of popularization reflected M. Hrushevsky’s foreign policy sympathies of the time³³. This assumption is not ungrounded, since after the transfer of the USI to Prague in 1920 and Vienna in 1921, as cities with cheaper living costs, the language of the publications did not change.

The publication of M. Hrushevsky’s works in French as part of the USI publishing program revived the discussion of his creative ideas among European intellectuals. The first publication was the scholar’s *Brief History of Ukraine*, which was prepared for print at the beginning of the century³⁴. The author sent copies of the book to his French colleagues, hoping to popularize it on the pages of academic publications. Thus, having once again received a book as a gift from a Ukrainian colleague, A. Mazon wrote in a letter dated December 11, 1920: “I am very grateful to you for sending me your *Abrégé de l’histoire de l’Ukraine*. This is exactly the work that we lacked so much in French, and you have filled such an important gap. I will not hesitate to mention its publication in the first issue of our “Revue des

³³ P. Barvinska, *Mykhailo Hrushevskiy i stanovlennia skhidnoievropeiskykh studii u nimetskomovnomu akademichnomu seredovyschi* [Mykhailo Hrushevsky and the process of institutionalization of the East-European Studies in the German-speaking academic milieu], in “Ukrainoznavchyi almanakh”, 2014, vyp. 17, p. 255.

³⁴ M. Hrushevsky, *Abrégé de L’histoire de L’Ukraine*, Paris, Genève, Prague, 1920.

Études Slaves”, which will be published at the end of January”³⁵. Realizing the importance of the appearance of the *Brief History of Ukraine* for the conceptual evolution of French Ukrainian studies, the addressee asked the author for a copy for the library of his scientific seminar.

A. Mazon kept his promise, and indeed the bibliographic review appeared on the pages of the new French journal, which in a short time gained a respectable reputation in Slavic circles. In his critical review, the scholar praised the extraordinary organizational talent of his Ukrainian colleague and his tirelessness in popularizing his native history and culture. “The Ukrainian movement gave impetus to the creation of the Ukrainian Sociological Institute in Prague,” the reviewer concluded, “This institute has published a significant number of works related to Ukraine for a wide range of readers. Western readers can be grateful for the appearance of the *Short History of Ukraine* in French to the famous professor of history at the University of Lviv and recent president of the Central Rada, Mykhailo Hrushevsky”³⁶. It is worth highlighting that since then the editors of the “Revue des Études Slaves” have been closely following M. Hrushevsky’s research work, informing their readers about its achievements. Sometimes such bibliographic reviews were made by A. Mazon himself.

Another work that received favorable reception was the *Anthology of Ukrainian Literature up to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century*³⁷ compiled by M. Hrushevsky and his daughter Kateryna. The fact that the preface to the book was written by Antoine Meillet, an authoritative linguist and sociologist, professor at the “Collège de France”, speaks to the extensive ties of the Ukrainian scholar in the French academic community at the time. In it, he emphasized the importance of M. Hrushevsky’s publishing initiative, noting that since “literature in the Ukrainian language is little known in other countries,” the *Anthology* will make it possible to understand “the attractive originality, intellectual nobility of ancient works, and the freshness and power of the portrayal of modern literature.” A contemporary researcher of

³⁵ V. Telvak, Ye. Luniak, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

³⁶ A. Mazon, *Chronique. Publications. Russe et Petit-russe*, in “Revue des Études Slaves”, 1921, tome 1, fascicule 1-2, pp. 159–160.

³⁷ *Anthologie de la littérature ukrainienne jusqu'au milieu du XIXe siècle / avec un avant-propos* de M. A. Meillet, Institut sociologique Ukrainien, Paris, Genève, Prague, 1921, XXIV.

the reception of the Anthology in Western humanitarian science, Yarema Kravets, citing the high praise of French linguists, noted that M. Hrushevsky's book was "the most outstanding work of a scholar in the field of Ukrainian-French literary relations [...], perhaps the only publication through which French-speaking scholars learned about the literary heritage of Ukraine and brought it to the general public"³⁸.

M. Hrushevsky's purposeful scientific and popularization activities, as well as the intense book exchange with French institutions he established, had the effect expected by scholars of a noticeable increase in interest in the Ukrainian intellectual movement. This is evidenced not only by the assessments of the works of the head of the Ukrainian Studies Institute, but also by the historian's epistolary of the time. For example, the repeatedly mentioned A. Mazon, skillfully fulfilling his colleague's instructions to popularize the publications of the USI, reported to M. Hrushevsky in one of his letters: "Your publications, I already know this for sure, have interested, among others, several specialists in political issues of Eastern Europe, including Monsieur Louis Eisenmann [...]; Monsieur Dominique, correspondent of "Le Temps" in Prague [...] Mademoiselle Louise Weiss of Europe Nouvelle [...]; Mr. Camille Bloch, director of the War Museum [...]; Mr. Parise, professor at the University of Strasbourg, director of the Institute of Modern History at the University. I will be happy to provide copies of the Ukrainian Sociological Institute's publications to those who contact me [...]"³⁹. As we can see, among the intellectuals mentioned by the French Slavist, there were prominent humanities scholars, as well as reputable journalists, publishers, and politicians, which significantly expanded the circle of people interested in M. Hrushevsky's cultural projects formed in previous periods.

³⁸ Ya. Kravets, "Mykhailo Hrushevskiy ta yoho «Anthologie de la littérature ukrainienne» (1921) u belhiiskykh ta frantsuzkykh vydanniakh XX-XXI st." ["Mykhailo Hrushevsky and his francophonic «Anthologie de la littérature Ukrainienne» (1921) in Belgian and French publications of the 20th and 21st centuries"], in *Visnyk Lvivskoho universytetu, seriia istorychna*, 2016–2021, spetsvypusk, pp. 162-169.

³⁹ V. Telvak, Ye. Luniak, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

THE LAST DECADE

The relations between the Ukrainian scientist and his French colleagues remained active after his return to Kyiv in March 1924. M. Hrushevsky then became the head of the historical institutions of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (UAS) and launched intense research work, promptly informing his Western, as well as French, colleagues about it. When they received various publications by the Kyiv academic as gifts, the latter spoke with great admiration of his energy. For example, the pages of the aforementioned “Revue des Études Slaves” noted that while the scholar was not young anymore, he remained “tireless” as he revived and established regular publication of the journal “Ukraine” and many works of the Historical Section of the UAS, which he led, and which found the room not only for purely historical but also for ethnographic and literary studies⁴⁰.

Along with regularly sending publications of the Historical Section of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences to Paris, M. Hrushevsky also tried to institutionally link his French colleagues to Ukrainian scientific institutions. Thus, he initiated the election of famous linguists A. Meyer and A. Mazon as foreign members of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, despite the fact that Ukrainian philologists should have been responsible for promoting their candidacies. At M. Hrushevsky’s suggestion, A. Mazon also became a foreign member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society at a time when it was headed by Kyrylo Studynskyi, a friend of the Kyiv academician at Lviv University. Finally, the fact that the titles and contents of the periodicals he edited were necessarily duplicated in French speaks to some extent of M. Hrushevsky’s orientation toward a French-speaking audience.

A real explosion of attention to M. Hrushevsky’s diverse activities, including among his French colleagues, was caused by the wide celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of his birth and the fortieth anniversary of his scientific and organizational activities, which took place in Kyiv in early October 1926. Despite numerous personal and institutional invitations, none of the French scholars could come to the Ukrainian capital to personally

⁴⁰ See: A. Mazon, *Chronique: publications. Russe, Petit-russe et Blanc-russe*, in “Revue des Études Slaves”, 1925, tome 5, fascicule 1-2, pp. 130–131; A. M. *L’Académie Ukrainienne des Sciences*, in “Le Monde Slave”, 1925, numéro 4, pp. 323–324.

congratulate the jubilarian due to financial and logistical circumstances. Instead, representatives of academic and university centers in Paris, Lille, Marseille, and others sent lengthy congratulation letters to the anniversary committee. In them, A. Lirondel, A. Mayeux, P. Boileau, S. F. Boileau, and A. Mazon expressed their solidarity with the fundamental contribution of Hrushevky to the socio-humanities studies of his time, emphasizing that “Mykhailo Hrushevsky’s scientific activity has already passed the test of criticism and can withstand the judgment of posterity: this activity will remain the cornerstone of Ukrainian patriotism of the early twentieth century”⁴¹.

Along with the above-mentioned congratulations, leading French Slavic journals also responded to M. Hrushevsky’s anniversary with brief informational messages. For example, the “Revue des Études Slaves” praised the solidity and diversity of the Kyiv academician’s contribution to Slavic studies, especially Ukrainian studies⁴². In this context, words of sincere admiration were expressed for his tirelessness and initiative. Sincere sympathy for the figure of the patriarch of Ukrainian historiography was also evident in the interest of French colleagues in Kyiv’s celebrations. Thus, on the pages of academic periodicals we can find quite detailed reviews of anniversary events and publications. Antoine Martel, for example, reviewing for the readers of the *Revue des Études Slaves* the anniversary collection in honor of M. Hrushevsky, noted that it “shows the admiration and gratitude of the scientific community to the historian who served science so well and is an example for all scholars of Slavic studies”⁴³.

Along with the book exchange and epistolary dialog, infrequent personal contacts also contributed to the deepening of M. Hrushevsky’s relations with his French colleagues. The scientist himself was not allowed to travel abroad: the Bolshevik authorities repeatedly refused his requests to

⁴¹ *Yuvilei akademika M. S. Hrushevskoho: 1866–1926. I. Yuvileini zasidannia. II. Pryvitannia [Anniversary of Academician M.S. Hrushevsky: 1866-1926. I. Anniversary meetings. II. Greetings]*, pp 137-139.

⁴² Le Secrétaire la Rédaction, *Chronique: informations*, in “Revue des Études Slaves”, 1926, tome 6, fascicule 1-2, p. 164.

⁴³ A. Martel, *Chronique. Petit-russe*, in “Revue des Études Slaves”, 1927, tome 7, fascicule 1-2, p. 132; A. Martel, *Cronique. Publications. Petit-russe*, in “Revue des Études Slaves”, 1928, tome 8, fascicule 3-4, p. 276.

accept invitations from Western colleagues or institutions under false pretenses. So, the academician could only receive infrequent foreign guests in Kyiv. Thus, shortly after the anniversary celebrations in the first half of March 1927, A. Mazon and A. Martel visited Kyiv at the invitation of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. We know little about the course of this visit. M. Hrushevsky himself, when the guests had already left, wrote in a letter to Kyrylo Studynsky: “We received Mazon privately, as an old acquaintance, and the Academy received him officially”⁴⁴. It was to be expected that the visit of reputable French intellectuals came to the attention of the Soviet secret services. Their spies drew the attention of their handlers to the fact that M. Hrushevsky ignored the gala event organized by the academic leadership in honor of the French guests. In the end, as remarked in the note, “this evening was not marked by anything interesting, it was an ordinary official ceremony with greetings and speeches”. It is worth noting that the arrival of the French Slavists was later actively used by Soviet security officials to falsify the high-profile case of the so-called “Ukrainian National Center”⁴⁵.

After leaving Kyiv, A. Mazon traveled home visiting Lviv on the way. He asked a colleague to assist him in establishing contacts with the Shevchenko Scientific Society (SSS) functionaries in order to obtain a complete set of the society’s publications, which were to form the basis of the Ukrainian collection at the Paris Institute of Slavic Studies. Taking advantage of this opportunity, M. Hrushevsky sent a letter to the then head of SSS, K. Studynsky, through A. Mazon, in which he asked them to meet the wishes of his French colleague: “Prof. Mazon is concerned with the compilation of the most important Ukrainian scientific publications at the “Institut des Études Slaves”, and we are helping him as much as possible. He is very eager to receive the entire set of *Notes* from you, and I think – and perhaps you do too – that it is in our interest that the Institute – just like Vienna seminar of Slavic studies earlier – had a set of publications by Shevchenko Society, so we

⁴⁴ *Lysty Mykhaila Hrushevskoho do Kyryla Studynskoho (1894–1932 rr.)* [*Letters of Mykhailo Hrushevskyyi to Kyryl Studynskyyi (1894–1932)*], Lviv; New-York, 1998, p. 208.

⁴⁵ V. Prystayko, Y. Shapoval, *Mykhailo Hrushevskyyi: Sprava “UNTs” i ostanni roky (1931–1934)* [*Mykhailo Hrushevsky: The UNC Case and the Last Years (1931–1934)*], K.: Krytyka, 1999, pp 104, 242.

should try!”⁴⁶. With this recommendation A. Mazon was received extremely hospitably by Ukrainians in Lviv.

Upon his return to Paris, he wrote a tearful letter to Kyiv in which he did not spare any words of gratitude: “I am very impressed by the reception I received from you in Kyiv, and I am incredibly grateful to you for it. [...] I am also very pleased with my stay in Lviv, where, *thanks to you*, I received the best possible reception from the Shevchenko Society. Monsieur Studynsky had the goodwill to obtain for our Institute of Slavic Studies the complete collection of publications of this society, a collection so necessary for the entire Slavic library, which is so respected, so that, little by little, but quickly enough, our Ukrainian collection is being organized. [...] You have helped us so much to achieve this result: we are very grateful to you for this” (emphasis added by A. Mazon)⁴⁷. The French scientist also shared his impressions of his Kyiv trip in an interview with the Parisian “Ukrainian News”. Describing the cultural life of the Ukrainians of the Dnipro region, he noted that “the historical section, headed by Academician Hrushevsky, is particularly noteworthy”⁴⁸.

Also, in the aforementioned letter of gratitude, A. Mazon raised the issue of Mykhailo and Kateryna Hrushevski’s visit to France, which was probably discussed during their meeting in Kyiv: “We would be very happy to receive your several-day visit to Paris. Do not make us wait too long. As for your daughter, it is entirely up to you, and we will not hesitate to facilitate the realization of this planned voyage: we will do everything in our power to make this journey easy and useful for her research”⁴⁹. M. Hrushevsky’s letter to a Parisian friend, a draft of which was stored in the family fund, was devoted to this problem. Here we learn about the Hrushevskys’ decision to send Kateryna and Maria Sylvestrivna to France, for which the academician asked his colleague to prepare the necessary permits. M. Hrushevsky himself

⁴⁶ *Lysty Mykhaila Hrushevskoho do Kyryla Studynskoho (1894–1932 rr.) [Letters of Mykhailo Hrushevskyi to Kyryl Studynskyi (1894–1932)]*, p. 208.

⁴⁷ V. Telvak, Ye. Luniak, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-214.

⁴⁸ *Franko-Ukrainskyi kulturnyi zviazok (Rozмова z prof. Andre Mazonom) [Franco-Ukrainian Cultural Relations (Interview with Prof. André Mazon)]*, in “Ukrainski visty”, 1927, №. 27, p. 1.

⁴⁹ V. Telvak, Ye. Luniak, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

spoke of the trip as excessive preoccupation, but added: “Perhaps this voyage of my wife and my daughter will give me the courage to make the same trip later and pay a visit to you, which you told me about in your letter”⁵⁰.

André Mazon kept his promise to promptly resolve the preparation of permits, so Kateryna Hrushevka, accompanied by her mother, left for a six-month foreign business trip in late December 1927. The main purpose of the trip was Paris, but due to her illness, Catherine arrived in the French capital only in April 1928. There, she worked in libraries, attended scientific and artistic events, made the necessary acquaintances etc.⁵¹ In addition to possible meetings with A. Mazon and his colleagues, Kateryna, on her father’s instructions, studied the novelties of the French Ukrainian and sociological literature of the time, abstracting them on the pages of Kyiv academic publications. It is worth noting that it was a trip to Paris and the establishment of contacts with French intellectuals that became one of the pretexts of the criminal case fabricated against K. Hrushevka after the death of the family patriarch.

During the second half of the 1920s, thanks to well-established private and institutional ties, M. Hrushevsky’s name often appeared on the pages of French Slavic periodicals. The employees of the Paris Institute of Slavic Studies were most attentive to his work were. Later, on the pages of the “Revue des Études Slaves” and “Le Monde Slave”, they informed about the activities of the academic institutions headed by M. Hrushevsky⁵². Thus, A. Mazon, reviewing the publications of the Historical Section of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (UAS), noted: “The activity of the UAS deserves admiration and recognition of all researchers. The publications of the Historical Section are rich in original research and materials.” Referring to numerous scientific publications of his Kyiv friend, the French researcher enthusiastically noted, for example, “a solid book on the history of Kyiv,

⁵⁰ Ibidem, p. 216.

⁵¹ I. Matiash, *Zirka pershoi velychyny : zhyttiepys K. M. Hrushevskoi [A star of the first magnitude: the biography of K. M. Hrushevka]*, Instytut ukrainskoi arkhieohrafii ta dzhereloznavstva im. M. S. Hrushevskoho, Kyiv, 2002, pp. 142-146.

⁵² See reviews: “*Lia Mond Sliav*” i *Ukraina* [“*Le Monde Slave*” and *Ukraine*], in “Ukrainski visty”, 1927, №. 18, p. 1; *Ukrayinika*, in “Ukrainski visty”, 1928, №. 62; Yu. S. “*Le Monde Slave*” pro *Ukrainu* [“*Le Monde Slave*” about *Ukraine*], in “Novyi chas”, 1935, ch. 46, p. 4.

beautifully edited by M. Hrushevsky, a tireless historian of Ukraine”⁵³. French observers also praised the appearance of another work edited by M. Hrushevsky, a “great book” on Chernihiv region⁵⁴.

Just like A. Mazon, another friend of the Kyiv academician, A. Martel, also wrote about the high level of publications of the Historical Section of UAS. In one of his reviews, he praised M. Hrushevsky’s “extraordinary activity” as a tireless organizer of Ukrainian humanities⁵⁵. The thematic issues of the “Ukraine” edited by M. Hrushevsky, devoted to the comprehension of the national service of prominent representatives of the Ukrainians of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – Panteleimon Kulish, Mykhailo Drahomanov, Oleksandr Lazarevsky, Ivan Franko, and others⁵⁶ – were especially admired among French Slavists. French scholars also treated with considerable attentiveness many serial publications of historical institutions headed by M. Hrushevsky⁵⁷.

We should note that despite the above-mentioned attention and commitment to M. Hrushevsky’s diverse scientific activities, his French colleagues were extremely slow to abandon the imperial terminological traditions of French Slavic studies. Thus, despite the experience of Ukraine’s political subjectivity in 1917-1921, as well as the loud achievements of the national and cultural revival, the professional literature was for a long time dominated by the definition of Ukrainian studies as “little Russian”. An eloquent illustration of this is the repeatedly mentioned leading Slavist tribunal “Revue des Études Slaves”, run by M. Hrushevsky’s close friends A. Mazon and A. Martel, who were well informed about the Kyiv academic’s longstanding struggle for the academic subjectivity of Ukrainian studies. The

⁵³ A. Mazon, *Chronique. Russe, Petit-russe et Blanc-russe*, in “Revue des Études Slaves”, 1926, tome 6, fascicule 1-2, pp. 126–127.

⁵⁴ A. Martel, *Cronique. Publications. Petit-russe*, in “Revue des Études Slaves”, 1928, tome 8, fascicule 1-2, p. 126.

⁵⁵ A. Martel, *Chronique. Publications. Petit-russe*, in “Revue des Études Slaves”, 1927, tome 7, fascicule 1-2, p. 132.

⁵⁶ A. Mazon, *Chronique: publications. Russe, Petit-russe et Blanc-russe*, in “Revue des Études Slaves”, 1926, tome 6, fascicule 3-4, p. 287; A. Martel, *Cronique. Publications. Petit-russe*, in “Revue des Études Slaves”, 1928, tome 8, fascicule 1-2, p. 127.

⁵⁷ A. Martel, *Cronique. Publications. Ukrainien*, in “Revue des Études Slaves”, 1929, tome 9, fascicule 1-2, p. 163; B. Unbegaun, *Chronique. Publications. Ukrainien*, in “Revue des Études Slaves”, 1932, tome 12, fascicule 1-2, pp. 116–117.

inertia of the thinking of French intellectuals is evidenced by the fact that only in 1929 the “little Russian” section of the scientific chronicle was renamed “Ukrainian Studies” in the journal. We do not have information about M. Hrushevsky’s possible influence on this terminological and conceptual evolution of his French colleagues, as no letters from the scientist to them have been found so far. Although there is a lot of evidence of his persistent popularization of the concept of “Ukrainian studies” among German Slavists⁵⁸.

With undisguised concern, the French Slavic periodicals reported the facts of the brutal destruction by the Bolshevik authorities of the organizational structure of Ukrainian studies developed by the Kyiv academician in the early 1930s⁵⁹. French observers reacted most alarmingly to the repression of the head of the Ukrainian studies journal in the Dnipro Ukraine. The “reorganized” “Ukraine,” they noted, was “imbued with a Marxist spirit,” and Ukrainian studies topics were completely ignored⁶⁰. The attentiveness of reviewers of French academic publications to M. Hrushevsky’s activities of that time is evidenced by the fact that not only his monographs, such as the ninth volume of the *History of Ukraine-Rus’*, but also his article scientific publications often became objects of friendly referencing⁶¹.

As is well known, the spring of 1931 brought M. Hrushevsky’s arrest and “honorable exile” to Moscow, where he spent the last years of his life under the constant surveillance of People’s Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the USSR agents. Despite the shocks he experienced, the disgraced academician tried to continue his scientific work with the sacrificial support of his daughter and wife. At that time, the historian, for obvious reasons, curtailed his epistolary and collegiate contacts. Nevertheless, M. Hrushevsky’s acquaintances who were on business in the Soviet capital did

⁵⁸ V. Telvak, B. Yanyshyn, V. Telvak, *Between history and politics: the image of Mykhailo Hrushevsky in German Slavic studies of the first third of the 20th century*, pp. 103–125.

⁵⁹ P. Vostokov, *L’U.R.S.S. en 1933*, in “Le Monde Slave”, 1934, № 1, p. 96–115.

⁶⁰ B. Unbegaun, *Chronique. Publications. Ukrainien*, in “Revue des Études Slaves”, 1933, tome 13, fascicule 1-2, p. 141.

⁶¹ A. Martel, *Cronique. Publications. Ukrainien*, in “Revue des Études Slaves”, 1930, tome 10, fascicule 3-4, p. 267-274; B. Unbegaun, *Chronique. Publications. Ukrainien*, in “Revue des Études Slaves”, 1934, tome 14, fascicule 3-4, pp. 262–263.

not avoid the academician's scanty house. Kateryna Mykhailivna's biographer Iryna Matiash mentions A. Mazon's name in the list of visitors to the disgraced academician. Her book states that "Professor André Mazon came from Paris [to Moscow] to buy books (who probably refused to go to the Ukrainian capital after learning about the «Ukrainian affairs»)"⁶². Such a meeting could indeed have taken place in 1932, when the French scientist, in the status of a foreign member of the USSR Academy of Sciences (he was elected in 1928), visited the Soviet capital at the invitation of the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. However, we have not yet been able to substantiate this assumption with direct evidence.

Obituaries on M. Hrushevsky's untimely death became akin of final chord of French Hrushevskt Studies. Leading Slavic journals and the French daily press responded to this tragic event for Ukrainians. However, most of the memorials were written by Ukrainian emigrants who had settled in Paris as a representative diaspora in the interwar period. The only voice of condolence that came from a group of French Slavists about this tragic loss was the obituary of A. Mazon⁶³. On the pages of the "Revue des Études Slaves", he stated with regret: "Ukraine has lost its historian: Mykhailo Hrushevsky has died [...], leaving the richest legacy that the Ukrainian tradition has ever had. This scholar was the most prominent intellectual of his country in the early twentieth century". Having retold the main events of his colleague's life and work in a biographical manner, A. Mazon emphasized the fundamental nature of M. Hrushevsky's comprehensive work for the benefit of his native people. The French Slavic scholar was convinced that his sacrificial service to Ukraine made the scholar lead the revived Ukrainian state, and later called him to organize Ukrainian studies in Soviet Kyiv. The author notes that the great scientific and organizational work of M. Hrushevsky is universally recognized. Even if we take into account only two multi-volume historical studies of the scientist and the achievements of the scientific institutions he headed, he points out, we can confidently speak of the epoch-making nature of his contribution to the treasury of Ukrainian

⁶² I. Matiash, *op. cit.*, p 190.

⁶³ A. Mazon, *Nécrologie: Mychajlo Hruševs'kyj*, in "Revue des Études Slaves", 1935, tome 15, fascicule 1-2, pp. 185-187.

culture. “The Institute of Slavic Studies in France,” concludes A. Mazon, “whose work was closely followed and strongly supported by Mykhailo Hrushevsky, considers it an honor to pay tribute and bow to the memory of this outstanding researcher [...]”. Since then, as far as the sources we know allow us to say, until the outbreak of WWII, French intellectuals did not turn to analyzing the legacy of their Ukrainian colleague.

CONCLUSIONS

The material analyzed leads to the conclusion that the reception of Hrushevsky studies in the French intellectual culture of his time had a mosaic nature. This specificity is especially noticeable in comparison with systematic Polish, German, or Czech references to M. Hrushevsky’s creative heritage. Its reason was the embryonic state of the French Ukrainian studies of the time, which, overcoming imperial Slavic stereotypes that had been established for a long period, was only trying to form an idea of the disciplinary independence of Ukrainian linguistics, literary studies, and, most recently, historical science. An eloquent testimony to this is the fact that in the researched period, there was not a single historian *sensu stricto* among the reviewers of M. Hrushevsky’s texts. The aforementioned French philologists and linguists focused not so much on the professional aspects of the historiographical discourse of the scientist as on the national and cultural significance of his diverse work. Thanks to M. Hrushevsky’s works and periodicals, his French colleagues constructed the image of the scientist as a wake-up call for their own compatriots and a tireless promoter of Ukrainian cultural heritage among Western European intellectuals. In general, the analyzed French Hrushevsky scholarship became an important component of the Ukrainian-French intellectual dialogue of the late nineteenth and first third of the twentieth century.