

## The influence of the Tiflis entourage on the formation of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's personality

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### ABSTRACT

The proposed study analyzes issues related to the formation of M. Hrushevsky's personality in Tiflis (Tbilisi) - the cultural center of the South Caucasus, where he spent his youth, studying in a gymnasium. The peculiarities of this region were considered and it was clarified how the entourage of Tiflis influenced the personality of young Mykhaylo. This, in the opinion of the article's author, is important for a full understanding on the historical significance of the figure of Hrushevsky. In particular, the author draws attention to the influence of the Tiflis entourage in the matter of establishing the personality markers of young Mykhailo – the beginning of his intellectual biography formation, the way of establishing his Ukrainian patriotism, interests in Ukrainian studies, history of Ukraine, literature, folklore. Analysis of M. Hrushevsky's life gymnasium period permits to reveal the combination of creativity, innovation, unusual efficiency, ambition, and perseverance in his activities. Theoretical studies of authoritative foreign and Ukrainian scientists F. Brodel, L. Kjell, D. Ziegler, Ya. Vermenych, P. R. Magochy, S. Maksymenko and others are included in the analysis of the chosen subject. According to the interdisciplinary approach, the article combines elements of regional history, social psychology, and sociology.

### KEYWORDS

historical regionalism,  
the Tiflis intellectual  
entourage,  
the formation of  
Mykhaylo Hrushevsky's  
worldview,  
intellectual history

### Introduction

The personality of M. Hrushevsky – a talented scientist, statesman of Ukraine – invariably arouses the scientific interest of Ukrainian historiographers. The period of study at the 1<sup>st</sup> Tiflis Gymnasium (1880–1886) played an important role in the formation of his personality, when the foundation was laid on which the moral values and intellectual principles of Mykhailo Serhiyovych were based.

Ukrainian Hrushevsky experts analyze various aspects of this issue. N. Romantsova, highlighting the historiographic aspects of the Caucasian period in M. Hrushevsky's life, examines in the context of his intellectual biography beginning the works of his contemporaries and students D. Bagaliy, M. Vasylenko, D. Doroshenko, M. Korduba, I. Krypyakevich, foreign Ukrainian historians L. Vynar, O. Pritsak, modern scientists I. Verba, L. Zashkilniak, V. Masnenko, R. Pyrog, V. Telvak, Yu. Shapoval and others (*Romantsova, 2020*).

I. Verba, characterizing the Tiflis period of M. Hrushevsky's life, drew attention first of all to the fact that he met his youth in Tiflis, called Mykhailo a "dreamy young man." The historiographer also noted his great interest in reading Ukrainian, Russian, and world fiction, in historical works, which determined the formation of his historical and literary outlook, "the literary language of a scientist and literary style were developed." According to I. Verba, "persistent and well-read, Mykhailo studied easily", became "the best student ... of the gymnasium" (*Shapoval, Verba, 2005: 21-24*).

S. Plokhyy, analyzing the gymnasium period of M. Hrushevsky's personality formation, draws attention to

the fact that "the years spent ... in the Tiflis gymnasium tied him to his distant homeland like nothing else. It was during those years that his interest in Ukraine, under the influence of publications on Ukrainian and Russian history and literature, took clear forms" (*Plokhyy, 2011: 40*). Referring to the diaries of the young Mykhailo, S. Plokhyy expressed the opinion that "Hrushevsky's views in the last years of his studies at the Tiflis Gymnasium were much more radical than he would later admit" (*Ibid: 46*).

R. Pyrih and V. Telvak, authors of a biographical essay on M. Hrushevsky, characterizing the influence of the Tiflis entourage on the formation of the future scientist's personality during his studies at the first Tiflis gymnasium, emphasize that then his "path to an independent life" began, which "coincided with the beginning of M. Hrushevsky's worldview metamorphosis, connected with the change of social role and the transition from adolescence to youth" (*Pyrih, Telvak, 2016: 26*).

According to M. Hrushevsky himself (and the authors of the mentioned work draw attention to this), the Tiflis gymnasium was "the oldest among the nurseries of Russian education and Russification in the Caucasus", but, at the same time, it was "the most elite educational institution of the entire region" (*Ibid: 26-27*).

Some "unfortunate circumstances of gymnasium life" (the father's decision to enroll Mykhailo in the 3<sup>rd</sup> grade instead of the 4<sup>th</sup>, strict regulation of life and studies, accommodation with a common bedroom for 100 beds, "burza customs and pranks", mocking of the French teacher A. Stadlen), as noted by R. Pyrih and V. Telvak, caused the young man's isolation, because until the gymnasium period he grew up as a "homely, very vulnerable



boy" who began to confide his secret thoughts only to his diary (*Pyrih, Telvak, 2016: 27*).

Examining the formation of M. Hrushevsky's personality, R. Pyrih and V. Telvak single out the influence of Ukrainian populism and Russian radicalism in his social views (*Ibid: 35*), point out the practical consequences of Mykhailo's interest in "history and Ukrainian studies" (*Ibid: 39*).

The authors paid special attention to the young man's first literary attempts, his poetic works, in which "the theme of choosing a life path sounded out loud, the motives of the conflict between the mundane, middle-class, low everyday life and a spiritual, rich, high life", sometimes they were lyrical, "lines full of ardent feeling and tenderness" to the opera singer O. Markovska (*Ibid: 41*).

R. Pyrih and V. Telvak also did not ignore the case regarding the scandal in the Tiflis gymnasium, related to the theft of final exams' secret tasks and their distribution among other gymnasium students, which had an extremely negative impact on Mykhailo's mental state, as it prevented him to receive a gold medal as one of the best graduates, which caused him "mental trauma" (*Ibid: 47*).

Among the studies devoted to the formation of M. Hrushevsky's personality, the investigations of H. Burlaka deserve attention, in which the author highlights the lectures of young Mykhailo in the pre-university period, his literary heritage (*Burlaka, 2002; 2011; 2013*). The researcher creates a pathetic image of Mykhailo Serhiyovych, emphasizing the "greatness" of his figure (*Burlaka, 2002: 311*). Characterizing the conditions of the future scientist's gymnasium education, she notes a number of factors that had an impact on him: "Another city, new circumstances, detachment from the family, multiplied by M. Hrushevsky's serious, self-absorbed personality" (*Burlaka, 2011, VII*). It proves the "exceptional erudition" of the future scientist, which developed in his young years, as evidenced by his awareness in many issues of humanitarian knowledge (*Burlaka, 2013: 296*).

V. Vashchenko believes that "M. Hrushevsky ... received a classical humanitarian education, typical for a nobleman, going from a gymnasium (in Tiflis) to a university (St. Volodymyr in Kyiv). According to the Hrushevsky expert, Mykhailo Serhiyovych had "a persistent negative assessment of ... classical philology, which remained unchanged for many years" (*Vashchenko, 2007: 145*). A modern historiographer notes that "Mikhailo felt this hatred already in the Tiflis gymnasium" (*Ibid: 147*). "Under the influence of classical philological education", there was a change in the "dominant thinking and worldview" (*Ibid: 151-152*).

M. Fedyai, in his publication on the website of the Mykhailo Hrushevsky Memorial Museum in Kyiv, highlighting his life in Tiflis, emphasizes that "it was in this city" that the personality of the future scientist was formed (*Fedyai, 2021*). At the same time, the issue of M. Hrushevsky's personality formation during the Tiflis period of his life was not specifically considered. There is a need to analyze the influence of the multicultural Tiflis entourage on the formation of the future scientist's personality.

Various peculiar origin sources of the future scientist and statesman (diaries, memoirs, autobiography, early poetic works, etc.) are of scientific interest for the analysis of these issues.

### Research methods

The studied subject requires complex application of modern methodological approaches. In the European scientific discourse, the concept of "cultural diversity" is widespread. This refers to the cultural interaction of dif-

ferent regions. One of the French school of Annals representatives in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century F. Braudel pointed out the "value of geographical observations" because, according to the scientist, "geography, which is modern and retrospective at the same time, offers us ... its explanations ... of the connections between yesterday and today." The scientist pointed out the importance of understanding the "entourage" in influencing a person (*Braudel, 2013: 22*).

The foreign Ukrainian scientist O. Pritsak, considering the regional aspect of history, noted that "territory (territorialized time) occupies a special place in the structure of the science of history" (*Pritsak, 2015: 204*). The representative of Ukrainian foreign historiography emphasized the need for historians to take into account the influence of one or another region on the historical processes in it, on the peculiarities of the socio-cultural development of a certain territory.

Researcher of historical regionalism Ya. Vermenych claims that the development of historical regionalism "is due to the establishment of a new "spatial" research paradigm – the use of horological (areological) approaches to the study of societies." In her opinion, this requires taking into account the dependence of the human mentality on the socio-cultural conditions of its development and the influences of the external entourage (*Vermenych, 2012*).

The abstract theorems of Ya. Vermenych focus on the understanding that the subject field of historical regionalism in the context of interdisciplinary studies is formed at the intersection of historical geography and historical anthropology, and its application provides an opportunity to investigate regional influences in the process of forming an individual's personality (*Vermenych, 2018: 34*). The scientist draws attention to the need for "objective study of regions as socio-spatial integrity", to the need to use microanalysis (*Vermenych, 2007: 15*).

When considering the formation of the personality of high school student M. Hrushevsky, it is necessary to pay attention to the study of authoritative American psychologists L. Kjell and D. Ziegler, devoted to the theory of personality (2008). Their manual has aroused great interest among psychologists, as it provides a broad scientific understanding of various aspects of this issue. The above scientists claim that the features of human behavior need to be studied in the context of personality, which is "considered as a combination" of the most striking "characteristics of individuality" (*Kjell, Ziegler, 2008: 22*). According to the authors, "personality is characterized in the evolutionary process as a subject of the influence of internal and external factors, including ... social experience and changing environmental circumstances" (*Ibid: 24*).

S. Maksymenko examines the personality in the context of general psychology and gives a scientific description of its essence, which is of interest in the study of the problems of M. Hrushevsky's personality formation in the Tiflis period of his life." The scientist paid attention to the connection of an individual with a certain society, its "inclusion into a certain system of social relations, ... its psychological and social essence." The authoritative author of the guide emphasizes that "personality is always concrete-historical, it is a product of that era, and of the socio-economic relations of which it is a contemporary and a participant" (*Maksymenko, 2008: 51*).

The studies of V. Vashchenko are of methodological interest. Examining the personality of M. Hrushevsky, he pointed out the importance of "studying the interdisciplinary field of interaction between psychology and historiography from the perspective of the historical science's



history." The Hrushevsky expert, guided by the views of the world-famous Austrian psychologist Z. Freud, believes that it is in this context that it is appropriate to analyze the issue of the future scientist M. Hrushevsky's personality formation. (*Vashchenko, 2014: 25*).

This research aims to analyze the issues of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's personality formation in the context of the Tiflis entourage influence during his studies at the gymnasium.

### Results and Discussion

The formation of M. Hrushevsky's personality took place in his youth while studying at the first gymnasium of Tiflis, where he felt a certain influence of the local entourage in this process. This is evidenced by the "Memoirs" of Mykhailo Serhiyovych, who described the city of his youth, the impression it made on him and various influences from the entourage.

The way he described the city and its inhabitants in detail many years later testified to careful observation from a young age, a good memory and additional work with historical sources. Assessing the city of his high school youth, the future scientist noted that Tiflis "was rebuilt – mainly in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the pacification of the Caucasus, when its more intensive economic and cultural growth began"<sup>1</sup>

Talking about the "sights of old Tiflis", M. Hrushevsky noted with regret that excursions were never arranged for high school students to "see the old monuments, the precious objects of antiquity and art hidden in them", seeing in this the political approach of the imperial authorities – "not to stir up complex, international issues related to this antiquity, not to tease national antagonisms, not to touch politics", and not frequent walks, "instead of unusually interesting and valuable excursions, turned into ... a boring slog". Mykhailo Serhiyovych also mentioned visiting the "botanic garden", but the young high school students were never made aware of the "unusual plants that grew here", they did not explain in the Tiflis museum "naturalistic collections, living and dead, or picturesque ethnographic groups, represented in mannequins of different nationalities of this singular, as to its ethnographic wealth area, which was the Caucasus until recently, or monuments of local archeology and art – too, unusually rich and diverse, where Romano-Byzantine and Babylonian-Persian influences intersected"<sup>2</sup>. In "Memoirs", recalling his youthful interests, M. Hrushevsky complained that high school students were not shown "Tiflis bazaars, where small native antiquarians sold various authentic and fake antiquities"<sup>3</sup>.

Highlighting Tiflis influences on the formation of M. Hrushevsky's personality, it should be noted that the young high school student paid attention to the multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-confessional composition of the population in the city where he studied. According to Mykhailo Serhiyovych, during the years of his studies in Tiflis, about "100,000 people lived in the suburbs, most of them native, Georgian and Armenian – almost half"<sup>4</sup>.

And in the center of the city, according to M. Hrushevsky, lived "the Russian government and the native aristocracy and the Armenian plutocracy"<sup>5</sup> Economically, Armenians prevailed, who also dominated

social life. According to the author of "Memoirs", Armenians were "the main financial and economic force in the city, and in the elections to the City Duma, an Armenian was always the leader". But attention was drawn to the fact that "the Russian intelligentsia lived very well in the Caucasus, began to consider it their second homeland"<sup>6</sup>.

In the first Tiflis gymnasium, the ethnic composition of students to some extent repeated the situation in the city. M. Hrushevsky, characterizing the peculiarities of the of high school students' polyethnic composition, stated that "The student brotherhood was ... diverse" Most of them were the children of government officials, the so-called "Russians", but among them "there were also Ukrainians, and various Russified Germans, and even Poles." All of them felt like guests, "colonists". Among the Ukrainians, Mykhailo Serhiyovych was the only one who "advertised his nationality"<sup>7</sup>.

The second largest group of high school students were Armenians. Examining the inter-ethnic relations of high school students with them, M. Hrushevsky drew attention to the fact that "there was no clear enmity, sharp alienation ... but a certain dislike was felt – as in general towards the Armenian people: ... they, in contrast to other nationalities, Georgians, Tatars and various mountain tribes, play a role here similar to the Jews". Examining the relationship between high school students and Georgian students, the author of "Memoirs" emphasized that they felt like "masters in the land", but at the same time, they were "people of easy, sociable, good-natured, and sometimes stupid, and it was generally easy for us to live with them"<sup>8</sup>.

A separate group among the students of the first Tiflis gymnasium, which was examined by Mykhailo Serhiyovych, was made up of "Mohammedans", who united "Caucasian Tatars" and "Azerbaijani Turks" on a religious basis. There were not many of them, but, according to the author, they demonstrated essential cultural and everyday features: "they were self consistent, behaved independently, with dignity; they were respected more than Armenians", but they were not friends with them as with Georgians<sup>9</sup>.

Summarizing the coverage of this issue, M. Hrushevsky drew attention to the fact that Tiflis gymnasium students were apolitical, there was no sense of "national enmity" between them<sup>10</sup>. On the other hand, observations were made that "between our students' brotherhood" there was almost no "spiritual connection", the cultural level of most students was low, they read little, sometimes showed interest in opera<sup>11</sup>.

A good memory and intellectual abilities contributed to Mykhailo's successful studies at the gymnasium. "With a good memory and decent abilities, I mastered all these things of our school quite easily, with a small investment of time and effort." It is no wonder that the young high school student was diligent in his studies and achieved significant success in academic affairs. These traits characterized the personality of M. Hrushevsky throughout his life.

M. Hrushevsky entered the gymnasium with modest results obtained at the exams (only one "five" in the law of God, and he passed the other subjects with grades 4 and 3)<sup>12</sup>. Thanks to his high intellectual abilities and work

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, p.133.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p.134.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, p.133.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, p.135.

<sup>12</sup> Hrushevsky, M. (1988). *Memoirs*. Kyiv. No.11, p. 132.

<sup>1</sup> Hrushevsky, M. (1988). *Memoirs*. Kyiv. No.11, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p.137.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p.136.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, p.134.

capacity, Mykhailo quickly became the best student of the Tiflis gymnasium and kept the positions of "straight A" and "first student" and made every effort not to allow himself to be demoted in this position in case of any changes – teachers, subjects, requirements<sup>13</sup>. Considering himself in this entourage, M. Hrushevsky emphasized that as a "straight a student" he gained special attention "of superiors and respect of comrades"<sup>14</sup>.

Describing his studies at the gymnasium, Mykhailo Serhiyovych later noted that he had "a lot of time left", and he "passionately read everything he could get from the history, history of literature and ethnography of Ukraine, at the same time strengthening his knowledge of the Ukrainian language through book lecturing, which took out of the house, spent his strength in fiction – prose and poems"<sup>15</sup>. At the same time, the student was interested in various historical issues: "the controversy between the Slavophiles and the Westerners, the theory of the Cossacks' origins, not to mention the disputes between the Ukrainophiles and the centralists, the defense and denial of the rights of Ukrainian literature and national development aroused great interest in me- high school student of grades V-VIII"<sup>16</sup>.

In his "Autobiography" M. Hrushevsky emphasized that while reading a variety of literature, "making certain leading ideas of history from these lectures, without anyone else's guidance (among the teachers or acquaintances in Tiflis, there was no one to give anything in this field) and, going to enter the university, had a solid stock of factual and theoretical knowledge"<sup>17</sup>.

Mykhailo was older than other classmates, and as a successful student, the son of a prominent superordinate in education, he had authority among the gymnasium teachers, some of whom he had the opportunity to visit at home. Mykhailo often visited the teacher of the Russian language Hryhoriy Klimovskiy<sup>18</sup>. The young man became close to some teachers during the preparation for the feast of Cyril and Methodius. He especially appreciated the acquaintance with the teacher of Russian literature Mykola Goryaev and Yakshich<sup>19</sup>.

Mykhailo Serhiyovych remembered the first with great respect: "Mykola Vasyliovych Goryaev, a teacher of Russian literature, who in general had the reputation of a very intelligent and independent person against his superiors in the gymnasium"<sup>20</sup>. The young author showed him one of his first stories, "the exotic picture "Beh-al-Jugur" – on the subject of the British occupation of Sudan at the time" and was very pleased to receive a "favorable review"<sup>21</sup>.

The young high school student had no close friends among his peers. Characterizing these circumstances, M. Hrushevsky noted: "From time to time there were rapprochements that interested me"<sup>22</sup>. Among those high school students with whom the young man "got quite

close", he especially noted the Armenian Mykhailo Paladzhanov, who was later a member of the State Duma, a cadet-Armenian leader. Considering the relationship with him, M. Hrushevsky noted: our friendship was never too warm, but it remained warm throughout the entire gymnasium, and as far as I can remember, there were never any conflicts or quarrels between us"<sup>23</sup>. Mykhailo also had friendly relations with Volodymyr Purtseladze<sup>24</sup>. But the circumstances did not allow them to develop "or the mutual interest was exhausted". Not having strong friendship with other high school students, the young man was often "bored"<sup>25</sup>.

In general, the Ukrainian high school student in Tiflis often felt lonely, which is confirmed by his entries in the "Diary" of 1883 and later works. Beginning the diary notes, on September 14, he noted that "I was especially moved by the thought of ... loneliness, ... alienation, about ... unspoken thoughts and feelings that were like boiling tears"<sup>26</sup>. Later, he called himself "a handsome, dreamy young man"<sup>27</sup>. The motif of the young man's loneliness was also reflected in his poem written on December 5, 1882:

Broken idols  
Gone are the dreams  
And the heart remained cold  
There is only one feeling – emptiness<sup>28</sup>.

Young Mykhailo wrote with sadness about the influence of the "dead barracks life" that he felt in the Tiflis gymnasium<sup>29</sup>, when he forgot even about his relatives. According to him, this damn state system "eats, kills every bright thought, discourages the will to think"<sup>30</sup>. Mykhailo, a high school student, explained his sad thoughts by studying in the distant Caucasus, being separated from his family, from the Ukrainian land, and the absence of close friends.

From the diary of M. Hrushevsky, it can be seen that during the Tiflis period of his personality formation, the young man felt insecure and experienced internal fluctuations. He noted in his "Diary": "The most diverse feelings pass through my brain in a motley stream – from the feelings of my own superiority over the people around me, I turn to almost despair, contempt for my personality"<sup>31</sup>. On the one hand, Mykhailo aspired to fame as a poet, and on the other hand, he was unsure of his poetic talent. In connection with these doubts, an entry appeared in his "Diary" in October 1883: "I am always perplexed when I think about my graphomania – should I take it as a silly children's game, unworthy of a person who claims some mental development, or maybe I have a real poetic talent"<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Hrushevsky, M. (1992). *Memoirs*. Kyiv. No.2, p.110.

<sup>14</sup> Hrushevsky, M. (1988). *Memoirs*. Kyiv. No.11, p. 135.

<sup>15</sup> Hrushevsky, M. (1992). *Autobiography*. 1906. In: *Velykyy ukrayinets': Materialy z zhyttya ta diyal'nosti M. S. Hrushevs'koho*. Kyiv, Veselka, p. 198.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, p.198-199.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, p.199.

<sup>18</sup> Hrushevsky, M. (1988). *Memoirs*. Kyiv. No.11, p. 121.

<sup>19</sup> Hrushevsky, M. (1992). *Memoirs*. Kyiv. No.2, p. 113.

<sup>20</sup> Hrushevsky, M. (1988). *Memoirs*. Kyiv. No.10, p. 137.

<sup>21</sup> Hrushevsky, M. S. (2011) *Yak ya buv kolys' beletrystom?* In: *M. Hrushevsky. Tvory: u 50 t.* Vol. 12. Lviv, Vydavnytstvo "Svit", p. 3.

<sup>22</sup> Hrushevsky, M. (1988). *Memoirs*. Kyiv. No.11, p. 135.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, p.121.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, p.122.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*, p.135.

<sup>26</sup> Hrushevsky, M. (1993). *Shchodennyk (1883–1884 rr.)*. *Kyivska starovyna*. No. 3, p. 29.

<sup>27</sup> Hrushevsky, M. S. (2011) *Yak ya buv kolys' beletrystom?* In: *M. Hrushevsky. Tvory: u 50 t.* Vol. 12. Lviv, Vydavnytstvo "Svit", p. 2.

<sup>28</sup> Hrushevsky, M. S. (2011) *Razbity kumiry*. In: *M. Hrushevsky. Tvory: u 50 t.* Vol. 12. Lviv, Vydavnytstvo "Svit", p. 2.

<sup>29</sup> Hrushevsky, M. (1993). *Shchodennyk (1883–1884 rr.)*. *Kyivska starovyna*. No. 3, p. 31.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*. No.4, p. 12.

<sup>31</sup> Hrushevsky, M. (1993). *Shchodennyk (1883–1884 rr.)*. *Kyivska starovyna*. No. 3, p. 30.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*. No.5, p. 13.



M. Hrushevsky, a Tiflis high school student, showed the national consciousness of a Ukrainian in every possible way. For him, separation from the homeland, from the national roots was a great trouble. Explaining his attitude to this issue, Mykhailo noted in his "Diary": "The fact that I spent my childhood in the Caucasus, far from my family, among foreigners<sup>33</sup>, has already brought me great harm". During the Tiflis period of his personality formation, the young man very acutely perceived the issue of the Ukrainian language, the establishment of national consciousness, "the sweet, familiar, soulful sounds of the Ukrainian language...", "the rainbow prism of his love for Ukraine"<sup>34</sup>

Mykhailo sadly wrote: "You live and never hear your native language for a whole year". In connection with this, he had a growing desire to return to Ukraine as soon as possible: "I would like to return to my native Ukraine as soon as possible, although there were trouble and disaster, and poverty in Ukraine, but everything is better than here in a foreign country"<sup>35</sup>. Feeling that he was behind in mastering the Ukrainian language, the young man considered it necessary to properly master it.

In the context of the national consciousness formation in the Ukrainian student of Tiflis Gymnasium, a certain idealization of his native land and its inhabitants is observed. He noted that "in Little Russia, if only ... he has not completely degraded, this quiet, clear love for his family, for his motherland, is always noticeable ... to such most lovable features I attribute more or less sincere piety, a calm attitude towards others..."<sup>36</sup>.

Showing a great interest in Ukrainian literature and history, Mykhailo paid special attention to the works of "Mr. Kostomarov, our distinguished writer and historian". The future scientist was interested in the work "Tasks of Russian Ukrainophilism", in which the author analyzed the anti-Ukrainian chauvinist statements expressed by "Muscovites, and some Ukrainians also think" that there is neither a Ukrainian people nor a Ukrainian language, but rather "incorrect speech, mutilation of the Russian language". The young high school student agreed with the objections of M. Kostomarov, who believed that "what those Moscow literates say is a lie," because there is a Ukrainian people and their "language is not distorted, but pure and beautiful"<sup>37</sup>.

In the gymnasium, Mykhailo showed ambition regarding his future life plans in the development of the Ukrainian movement. He noted that he aspired to "become the leader of the Ukrainian group, ... an advanced fighter of all boys who love their Ukraine"<sup>38</sup>.

The Tiflis period of M. Hrushevsky's personality formation ended with great nervous tension of the young gymnasium graduate. There was a graduation scandal, because of which he, the best student in the group of other graduates of the first Tiflis gymnasium, was deprived of the gold medal award. For Mykhailo, it was a real disaster that he remembered for the rest of his life. On this occasion, 40 years later, he noted: "Instead of a

triumph, such a shame. We were deprived of medals, we were interpreted as lazy"<sup>39</sup>.

For a hard-working student, this was unacceptable and did not correspond to the markers of his personality, which were formed in the Tiflis period. Mykhailo Serhiyovych proved the injustice of that unfortunate final with his unusual capacity for work and intellectual abilities that developed during his studies at the gymnasium.

### Conclusions

The Tiflis period was a very important time in the formation of M. Hrushevsky's personality, because it fell on the late teenage and young years of the future scientist's life. Tiflis Gymnasium was the educational and cultural center of the South Caucasus, it was an important regional educational center and had a great influence on young Mykhailo. His entourage was diverse in terms of age (gymnasium students, classmates, teachers of the institution); by ethnicity (Russians, Armenians, Georgians, etc.); by confession (Orthodox, Mohammedans). These multi-ethnic, multi-confessional, multicultural influences strengthened young Mykhailo's sense of national consciousness, his desire to acquire knowledge that would enable him to help the disadvantaged Ukrainian people. It was at this time that he made the final choice of his future professional interest in favor of history. So, at that time, the main personality markers of the future scientist were formed in Tiflis: ability to work, tolerant attitude towards representatives of other nations, which was repeatedly revealed later in his writings.

Gymnasium life contributed to the development of communication of a rather closed, "domestic" teenager and already prepared him for the Kyiv university period. The gymnasium contributed to the development of young Mykhailo's intellectual level. Thus, his Tiflis entourage, thanks to various vector influences, contributed to the formation of M. Hrushevsky's personality and the possibility of realizing his intellectual potential at a new stage of life.

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid. No. 4, p. 13.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. No. 3, p. 32.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. No. 3, p. 34.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. No. 3, p. 31.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. No. 4, p. 12–13.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. No. 5, p. 17.

<sup>39</sup> Hrushevsky, M. S. (2011) *Yak ya buv kolys' beletrystom? In: M. Hrushevsky. Tvory: u 50 t.* Vol. 12. Lviv, Vydavnytstvo "Svit", p. 5.



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## Вплив тифліського оточення на формування особистості Михайла Грушевського

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У пропонуваному дослідженні аналізуються питання щодо формування особистості М. Грушевського у Тифлісі – культурному центрі Південного Кавказу, де він провів свої юнацькі роки, навчаючись у гімназії. Розглянуто особливості цього краю та з'ясовано, як тифліське оточення впливало на особистість юного Михайла. Це, на думку автора статті, є важливим для повноцінного осягнення історичної значимості постаті Грушевського. Зокрема авторка звертає увагу на вплив тифліського оточення у питанні утвердження маркерів особистості юного Михайла – початку становлення його інтелектуальної біографії, шляху утвердження його українського патріотизму, інтересів щодо українознавства, історії України, літератури, фольклору. Аналіз гімназійного періоду життя М. Грушевського дозволяє розкрити, поєднання в його діяльності творчого начала, новаторства, незвичайної працездатності, амбітності, наполегливості. До аналізу обраної теми долучені теоретичні студії авторитетних зарубіжних та українських вчених Ф. Броделя, Л. Х'єлла та Д. Зіглера, Я. Верменич, П. Р. Магочого, С. Максименка та інших. Згідно з міждисциплінарним підходом у статті поєднані елементи регіональної історії, соціальної психології, соціології.

**Ключові слова:** історична регіоналістика, тифліське інтелектуальне середовище, формування світогляду Михайла Грушевського, інтелектуальна історія.