

**Preconditions and peculiarities of H. von Kleist's creative work  
reception in Ukrainian literary process  
of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th century**

*У статті докладно розглядаються історико-літературні інтерпретації спадщини Кляйста в українському літературному процесі ХІХ – поч. ХХ ст., здійснені українськими літературознавцями – І. Франком, О. Пашуком, М. Євшаном, О. Грицаєм, В. Заїкиним, В. Державиним.*

*Ключові слова: літературна рецепція, переклад, німецький романтизм, літературні зв'язки, літературна критика.*

*В статье подробно рассматриваются историко-литературные интерпретации наследия Кляйста в украинском литературном процессе ХІХ – нач. ХХ вв., осуществленные украинскими и российскими литературоведами – И. Франко, А. Пашуком, М. Евшаном, А. Грицаем, В. Заикиным, В. Державиним.*

*Ключевые слова: литературная рецепция, перевод, романтизм, литературные связи, литературная критика.*

*The historical and literary interpretations of H. von Kleist's creative work by I. Franko, O. Pashuk, M. Yevshan, O. Hrytsai, V. Zaikyn and V. Derzhavin in Ukrainian literary process of the 19th-the beginning of the 20th century are considered in the paper.*

*Key words: literary reception, translation, German romanticism, literary connections, literary critic.*

Ukrainian literary process of the 19th-the beginning of the 20th century is marked by polycultureness due to the splitting of Ukrainian territory between the two empires which took place in 1772. Non-state status of the nation, Valuev Circular of 1863 and Ems Ukaz of 1876 as for Ukrainian culture in tsarist Russia did not contribute to the proper functioning of literary criticism in the frontpages of special and general periodicals. 1880's – 1890's were also not distinguished by the tendency towards censorial "thaw". On the contrary, they were accompanied by addenda (1881) to the Ems Ukaz, sharp restrictions (1884) of the import of Ukrainian books [3, p. 5]. It was ethnically mixed world of widely differing political features. Naturally, the question arises: when, why and how we began to perceive legacy of H. von Kleist in the original or in translation. Certain conditions for this process were established in the early nineteenth century

through the Polish staging of "Kethen of Heilbronn", which was first presented on stage of Lviv in 1826 in the form of remake featuring Polish relations. This play is considered to be lost, but the manuscript of the second Lviv staging of 1853 remained, which was the Polish adaptation of H. M. Holbein. In this piece, for example, the German kaiser is replaced by Polish king (Kazimierz Wielki), and the macrostructure of the work was expanded from 5 to 6 scenes [15, p. 154]. Polish adaptations of Kleist's texts in the nineteenth century are marked by triviality and adjustability to the tastes of the wide audience, which was typical of Germany (especially onstage, where the reception took place primarily through substantially altered adaptations). Thus, they covered only minor aspects of Kleist's legacy and underestimated, as the German adaptations, its complex artistic structure. But despite all this, direction of "Kethen of Heilbronn" of then unknown German writer bore evidence of internationality and high artistic and cultural level of the city of Lviv, and that the dramatic potential of the play could satisfy a wide range of audiences. It is commonly known that newspapers in Polish, which was widely spoken in Lviv, were published in the city. Notable in this regard is the daily newspaper "Kurier Lwowski". The annex to the Polish edition of 1902 featured translation of the novel "The earthquake in Chile" by K. Irzhykovski which partly contributed to the reception of German artist in Galicia.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century the new aesthetic believes emerged in the Ukrainian literary studies, a change of conceptual and methodological attitudes and restructuring of literary movements occurred. The peculiarities of these processes were determined by a large number of flamboyant personalities, however, Franko, who plays the key role in the Ukrainian literary process in the 19th – early 20th centuries draws the most attention.

In the context of German romanticism Ukrainian critic together with other artists often fondly mentions the name of H. Von Kleist. Franko was the first to discover the unknown at the time in the Ukrainian literary space famous German playwright and novelist. In critical reviews and the notes he at various times expresses his views on personality and creative work of Kleist. A total of 50-volume collection of works and scientific papers includes 14 mentions of Kleist, and all of them are positive. The papers were written in 1893–1899 – long before Kleist's countrymen turned onto him. Franko translated the novel "The Marquise of O..." (published in 1903 by Ukrainian-Rus publishing union) and wrote a lengthy preface to it, which became a substantial critical review of Kleist's creative work in Ukraine in the appointed period. Giving an overview of the key milestones in the life and work of H. von Kleist, Ukrainian critic clearly presented a range of

issues for future research in this area. It is clear that at the time literary scholar was not only well acquainted with the works of Kleist but was also impressed by his tragic fate as an artist and person. He emphasized the complexity and inconsistency of the author, touched upon privacy issues, noted, as German researchers, an aggressive nature of patriotism.

I. Franko's special delight by the comedy "The Broken Jug" as well as regret at the failure of its direction was caused by the fact that in 1884 at the request of Hrynevetskyi (the director of the theater "Ruska Besida") he had made a rehash of the drama for the theatrical performance but it had lain for 20 years (I. Franko wrote this in an annotation to the review of the play, which was staged only in 1905 in Lviv [13, p. 245]). Our attempts to find a published version and translation of the manuscript in the Franko's fund (the city of Kyiv), unfortunately, have not been successful. Records, posters, roles of individual actors ("Ruska Besida" theater fund) are stored in Lviv State Historical Archive. Among the posters and programmes of 1905 any information about the play "The Broken Jug" is missing. An excerpt from the script i.e. main role of Danko (fund № 514, description 1, case 107) on the title page of which there is a date (13.IV.1904), name (Broken Jug, 1-act folk comedy, Danko's role), number of pages (3 p.) and last name: Mr. Zakharchuk (perhaps, an actor)) can be one of the proofs that the translation was nevertheless carried out and the play was staged. The role was apparently rewritten because actually it consists of 13 handwritten pages and is dated 17.III.1904 [11, p. 13]. Review of the theater plays, in particular, "The Broken Jug" by Stepan Charnetskyi published in "Lviv Scientific Journal" in 1905 which states: "The dramatic repertoire among other performances includes "The Broken Jug" by Kleist-Frank" can be considered another evidence of the fact that the comedy was staged at the theater "Ruska Besida" in Franko's rehash [14, p. 238].

Critical groundwork by Franko as the discoverer of Kleist's creative work in Ukraine, as well as the founder of the critical reception of his work in the domestic literary studies were distinguished by objectivity, scientific insight and innovation. Factors which contributed to the Ukrainian scientist's appeal to German's legacy were primarily personal sympathy for him, special admiration by his creative manner, way of modeling reality and regret about his tragic fate and unimplemented plans. Thorough knowledge of the German language, which allowed to read the works in original, and led to the translation of his works into Ukrainian also contributed to the deeper acquaintance of the critic with the work of H. von Kleist. The merit of Ivan Franko is that he, one of the first, managed to see a playwright of genius and novelist in German writer at a time when he was not even recognized in Germany. This mindset of the scientist created favorable

conditions for the full reception of his legacy in Ukraine in the twentieth century.

The development of Ukrainian literature of the beginning of the twentieth century, despite its prohibition and harassment is marked by features that showed its typological affinity with European cultural process being a part of qualitatively new era of literary-historical process. Evidence of this are the main features that due to contemporary literary scholar V. Budnyi belong to objective criteria of the new era birth: the emergence of a new generation of artists and readers who have different aesthetic preferences; change of genre, stylistic and thematic trends in artistic practice; renewal of literary identity that captures, interprets and programs the artistic movement through critical reviews and discussions [2, p. 123].

In the first half of the twentieth century, a new generation of critics established a number of studies on the German writer, but fate of the studies and their authors proved just as fatal as the fate of the object of research. The initiative of Ivan Franko to introduce Kleist to the Ukrainian artistic space, "to acquaint the Ukrainian-Ruthenian readers" [13, p. 245] with the creative heritage of the German artist was not taken up by the critic's contemporaries. Attention of writers, translators, literary critics, who had the important task of strengthening national literature, was attracted by such classics of German literature, as Schiller, J. W. Goethe, H. Heine, L. Tieck, E. T. Hoffmann, Novalis, brothers Grimm, who were very popular in Germany, and well-represented in the literature. Thus, in the early years of the twentieth century domestic "kleistiana" was only limited to Franko's research, particularly one critical article, a translation and critical references. On this occasion, the famous Ukrainian bibliographer I. Kalynovych (1884–1927) in his file cabinet "All-Ukrainian Bibliography" (stored in the Department of Manuscripts of Lviv National Library named after Stefanyk of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Fund 57) on the reference card "H. von Kleist Marquise O... Translation with a preface by Ivan Franko (1903, p. 69. Price 40 sot)," noted: "It is a pity that except this little story there are no other stories of this author nor his dramas translated into our language. Only in more recent times, when attention was drawn to Kleist (he lived in 1777–1811) as the playwright, German criticism opened his mighty talent. The tragedy of his life, which ended in suicide provides his works that reveal his whole nature with more depth and value" [7, p. 355]. The bibliographer has managed to convey the tragedy of the German artist and specificity of his legacy reception both, in Ukraine and Germany with just a few sentences.

However, Ukrainian readers had the opportunity to get acquainted with the work of Kleist owing to the Russian version of the work of Danish

scholar, literary historian G. Brandes "Main currents of literature of the nineteenth century" issued in Kiev in 1903, under the editorship of M. Luchytska. In the chapter about H. von Kleist the literary scholar describes him as a person and writer, points to the originality of Kleist-romanticist, emphasizing the flexibility and definiteness of his works' style, and pathos which is "not typical of Goethe" [1, p. 208]. G. Brandes' works were known among Ukrainian writers, in particular references to him are found in texts by Lesia Ukrainka (e. g. in the paper "New Prospects and Old Shadows" (1900) [12, p. 83]), and Ivan Franko, although they were not related to the H. von Kleist's creative work.

The first person, who after Franko got interested in H. von Kleist, was Ukrainian translator and public activist, co-creator of the first part of Franko's "Universal Library" (1909–1912) Onufrii Pashuk (1981 – not earlier than 1914). Ukrainian version of the H. von Kleist's novel "Betrothal in St. Domingo" (published by "Universal Library") under his editorship was published in the end of the first decade (approximately 1909) in Lviv as a separate edition. Unfortunately, there remained not much information about the interpreter, even his death date is indicated tentatively, although he translated such famous works as "Sketches from the Ancient World" by H. Taine, "The Ancient History of Oriental Peoples" by G. Maspero (both – Lviv, 1905), "The Deer slayer" by F. Cooper (Lviv, 1905), "Holiday in Cosqueville" by E. Zola (Lviv, 1909), "Caesar and Cleopatra" by B. Shaw (Kolomyia, 1913), "The Gods will have Blood" by Anatole France (Lviv, 1914) [9].

Besides the novel "Betrothal in St. Domingo" the publication also contains a small introduction, in which the translator does not only give a brief analysis of the work of art, but also expresses his understanding of Kleist's personality, his creative genius. As well as Franko, O. Pashuk expresses admiration for the powerful talent of the German outstanding writer, his unusual style which he called unique in German literature. This interest prompted the Ukrainian to translate one of the Kleist's best novels. On the other hand, the author lamented over the tragic fate of the German and circumstances which did not allow him to fully fulfill himself as an artist. O. Pashuk's work, especially translation was a significant step towards reception of the creative work of the writer, but it remained unnoticed in the Ukrainian literary criticism of the time. Neither translation nor foreword were republished, nothing is mentioned about them in modern publications devoted to H. von Kleist.

The year of 1912 can be considered an epochal era of the Ukrainian kleistiana. On the occasion of 100th anniversary of the death of H. von Kleist the voluminous paper of outstanding Ukrainian critic, cultural activist

M. Yevshan entitled "Heinrich von Kleist and German literature" was published in Lviv Scientific Journal. Due to its depth and range of issues raised it belongs to the greatest phenomena of not only Ukrainian but also European kleistiana. The monograph of W. Herzog "Heinrich von Kleist. His life and creative work." (Wilhelm Herzog "Heinrich von Kleist. Sein Leben, sein Werk") published in 1911 was an impetus for writing the paper. This monograph was the first thorough writing about Kleist in European literature. M. Yevshan's appeal to W. Herzog's work was, on the one hand, evidence of a deep awareness of Ukrainian scientist with European literary process, on the other hand – his great desire to integrate Ukrainian literature into this process.

Perhaps Ivan Franko in some way influenced the selection of M. Yevshan's research object, because M. Yevshan is one of the most active critics of world literature after Franko. In the indicated studies there are no direct links to the works of the Ukrainian classics but some harmony of the young scientist's views with Franko's ones can be seen. Yet M. Yevshan is a representative of a new generation of Ukrainian literary scholars. His articles published in the journals "Ukrainska Khata" (Ukrainian House), "Literary and Scientific Bulletin" according to M. Ilnytskyi, became a true "catalyst" of the literary process, brought in a spirit of the controversy and struggle [6, p. 152], were a manifestation of the new thinking in the literature.

The choice of study of M. Yevshan was obviously influenced by factors of various kinds, including harmony of eras in which they lived (Romanticism and Modernism), Kleist's uniqueness as an artist and person, his strongly pronounced tragic fate, an existing civil pathos, ambiguity of reception and other factors which, taken together, have become an important impetus and suitable ground for Ukrainian scientist's own generalizations.

The literary scholar divided his study into four parts: the first one considers the issue of the German writer and society of that time; the second one deals with Kleist's internal nature as an artist as well as the influence of Kant's philosophy on his world view; the third one analyzes the writer's legacy; the last one features summing-up.

From the first lines of the article we notice the highest appreciation of the work of the German author, and his commitment to his native land. Literary scholar calls Kleist a poet "who are scarce not only in Germany but in the whole world literature" [5, p. 363].

Ukrainian researcher did not set a goal to deeper consider the artistic legacy of the writer, he only wanted to present it against the background of the era and trace its destiny throughout the centuries. On this occasion he

said: "Should I have touched upon his life, his work became clear itself [5, p. 367]." As an idealist-philosopher M. Yevshan emphasizes Kleist's life fatalism, which affected his whole creative work, as well as largely influenced the principles of characters modeling and the overall tone of the works: "[...] everywhere we can see only the terrible force of external circumstances that each time bind a person by stronger chains until he loses balance and disaster happens" [5, p. 367].

Thus, M. Yevshan's approach at that time was quite innovative and original, offering an alternative vision. And this is a great merit of the Ukrainian scientist. Building on ideas of Franko and based on the work of the German critic W. Herzog, he summed up the receptive experience of "kleistiana" at the beginning of the twentieth century, offered his own concepts, laid the foundations of fresh approach to the study of Kleist's creative work not only in Ukrainian, but also in European literature. As a representative of a new generation of critics, "philosophy of the heart" follower, the scientist considered the artist's work as inseparable part of his life, pointing to "life fatalism" as a dominant feature of Kleist's artistic world. M. Yevshan noted the high artistic level of his works, originality and eccentricity, and individual style. In addition, in the experience of critic today we can see many points of the study program of important issues – perception, evaluation and reconsideration of the writer's work, who back than was not recognized by his countrymen as well as the next generation of critics and historians of literature. M. Yevshan's research in times of Sovietism, like many of his other works was, unfortunately, forgotten and ignored. It was reissued only in 1998 in a collection of critical studies "Criticism. Literature. Aesthetics," which became an important phenomenon of Ukrainian "kleistiana".

Next study on H. von Kleist after M. Yevshan's one appeared only 15 years later. It was undertaken by a publisher, historian and literary critic Viacheslav Zaikyn. It is worth brief look at the history of life and activities of the scientist who, according to A. Portnov, can "serve as an illustrative example of a thoroughly forgotten scholar" [10, p. 89]. V. Zaikyn was born in 1886 in the town of Vovchansk of Kharkiv province (it is interesting that he doesn't provide his birth date even in personally written biographies). He studied at the Kharkiv grammar school № 3, and after school he entered the Law Faculty of Kharkiv University, and simultaneously attended lectures on history and philology. Later living as an emigrant he called himself an apprentice of Mykola Maksymenko and Mykhailo Klochkov.

"Careless expressions", as Zaikyn put it, prompted him to emigrate to Warsaw; soon he returned to Lviv, which caused a wave of speculations surrounding the scientist. He became a permanent author of the Greek-

Catholic and conservative periodicals: "Nova Zoria" (New Dawn), "Zapysky chyna sv. Vasyliia Velykoho" (Notes of the rite of St. Basil the Great), "Dzvony" (Bells). On the other hand, the position of the Polish government did not encourage moving of immigrants from above-Dnipro regions to Eastern Galicia, especially to Lviv [10, p. 96]. Although V. Zaikyn was in the first place historian of the Church, he was also the author of publications on Ukrainian nation-building, numerous personological explorations, historical considerations that he published under various pseudonyms and cryptonyms (for example, V. Z., Z. V. Maksymovych, V. Myropilskyi, T. B). In his works he expressed his views that differed from the official ideology of the Soviet Union. This led to his execution in 1941 in the Kiev region.

V. Zaikyn dedicated his research paper to H. von Kleist (using the pseudonym Myropilskyi) under eloquent title "Singer of the national struggle (Herman Kleist and his drama "Hermansschlacht")", which was published in medical journal "The life and knowledge" (1927) to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the artist. The modern researcher of V. Zaikyn's life and career A. Portnov in his study does not mention the paper on Kleist and does not include it into the list of V. Zaikyn's papers.

A year after the V. Zaikyn's publication an article of another Ukrainian researcher, former member of "Moloda muza" (an informal modernist group of writers and artists in Western Ukraine, founded in 1906) Ostap Hrytsai was published. The spirit of the paper is very similar to the previous one. The fate and fortunes of the two scientists have much in common (national consciousness, severe social and political living conditions, immigration, and oblivion). In 1920–1930s he gains the authority of a known literary critic, publicist, translator, poet, writer in Western Ukraine and abroad. At this time a number of important critical essays devoted to the works of T. Shevchenko, I. Franko, O. Kobylinska, V. Stefanyk, Marko Vovchok appears. They are printed in Vienna, Lviv, Berlin, Chernivtsi periodicals ("Ukrainskyi prapor" (Ukrainian flag), "Ukrainskyi skytalets" (Ukrainian wanderer), "LNV", "Nova khata" (New house), etc. ). O. Hrytsai as well as M. Yevshan, was a member of the editorial board of the magazine "Ukrainska Khata" (Ukrainian House), members of which promoted modernistic tendencies in Ukrainian literature, sought combining of European ideas with national ones.

O. Hrytsai's aim was to familiarize the Ukrainian reader with the excellent works of world literary writing. Actually, this was a major factor in writing the paper "Heinrich Kleist. [Life and Work]" to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the birth of the artist, which was published in Lviv Scientific Journal in 1928. The research paper begins with an epigraph, which is an excerpt of the aesthetic work of Kleist "Zoroaster's Prayer"

(currently, it is the only Ukrainian translation of the piece of writing). It is an essay in which poet, addressing God, asks him to fill him up with the "sufferings of bitter troubled years" of his time, and to give strength to overcome this troubled years and help all those in need [4, p. 343]. It was right to use this passage as the epigraph. Here Hrytsai as well as Kleist wanted to show all the pain he felt for his people, nation, its past and future. On the other hand, the scientist, understanding the responsibility that lies before him may have asked that God helped him to understand such a complex problem as creative work of H. von Kleist and convey everything he had planned to the readers.

O. Hrytsai's paper had something in common with separate opinions of I. Franko, concepts of M. Yevshan and S. Zweig, but in its entirety it was distinguished by stylistic originality and original approach to the legacy of the German artist, his place in the world literary process and was a new step in the development of Ukrainian kleistiana. But the fate of the research paper has turned to be the same as of the previous ones – it has not been reissued yet, and remained on the periphery of Ukrainian critical thought of the twentieth century.

1930 was next important stage of Ukrainian kleistiana when a book "H. Kleist. Stories" was published in Ukrainian. From German it was translated by O. P. and M. H., under the editorship of M. Hilov and V. Derzhavyn (published in Kharkiv – Odesa). It contained four stories: "The Marquise of O...", "Betrothal in St. Domingo", "The Earthquake in Chile", "The Foundling", and the last two have been translated for the first time in Ukraine. The publication also included a foreword of Ukrainian literary critic, linguist, orientalist and translator V. Derzhavyn (1899–1964). Without getting involved in the painful problems related to tragedy of German writer or influence of Kantian philosophy on him, the author provided thorough characteristic of genre and language features placed in the publication of short stories. He pointed to concise and matter-of-fact style of works, lack of stylistic ornamentation, pathetic and sentimental speeches, rational approach to the interpretation of the tragic plots, focus of artistic attention on a certain emotional situation i. e. affect. Kleist's skill, according to the author, is that he was able to produce a consistent literary style, "correctly understand his fictional talent" [8, p. 6]. The value of the study presented in the publication and the critic's merit is that German romanticist appeared as unsurpassed master of novel, novator of form and content, an outstanding artist of his time, as well as future epochs.

Although, the development of Ukrainian "kleistiana" in the first decades of the twentieth century, was held intermittently, was not marked by a special breakthrough and should have been more ambient and

comprehensive. Yet it took place: over three decades five essays of the artist were published and a number of works translated. This should be attributed primarily to O. Pashuk, M. Yevshan, O. Hrytsai, V. Zaikyn, V. Derzhavyn – companions in the field of national culture that sought to introduce Ukrainian literature to the world, preserving its national identity.

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