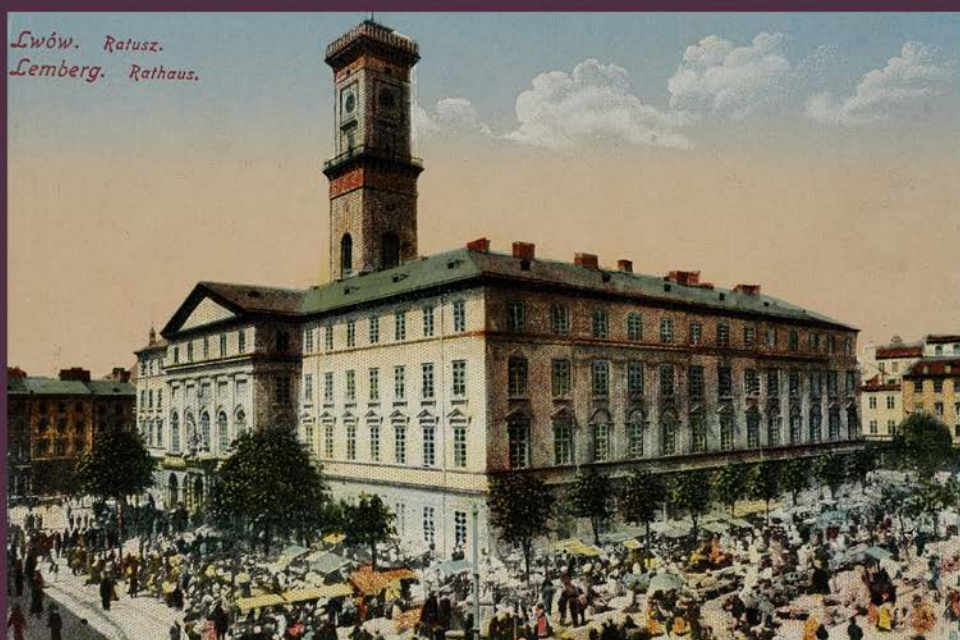


Magdalena Baran-Szołtys / Jagoda Wierzejska (eds.)

Continuities and Discontinuities of the Habsburg Legacy in East-Central European Discourses since 1918

Vienna University Press





unipress

Wiener Galizien-Studien

Band 3

Herausgegeben von

Christoph Augustynowicz, Kerstin S. Jobst, Andreas Kappeler,
Andrea Komlosy, Annegret Pelz, Dieter Segert, Olaf Terpitz,
Tatjana Thelen, Philipp Ther und Alois Woldan

Die Bände dieser Reihe sind peer-reviewed.

Magdalena Baran-Szołtys /
Jagoda Wierzejska (eds.)

Continuities and Discontinuities of the Habsburg Legacy in East-Central European Discourses since 1918

With 10 figures

V&R unipress

Vienna University Press



universität
wien



UNIVERSITY
OF WARSAW

DK
Galizien

DOKTORATSKOLLEG

„Das österreichische Galizien und
sein multikulturelles Erbe“



Wydział
Polonistyki
Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego

FWF

Der Wissenschaftsfonds.

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen
Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über
<https://dnb.de> abrufbar.

**Veröffentlichungen der Vienna University Press
erscheinen bei V&R unipress.**

Gedruckt mit freundlicher Unterstützung des DK Galizien, des Wissenschaftsfonds FWF und
der Universitäten Warschau und Wien.

© 2020, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Theaterstraße 13, D-37073 Göttingen
Alle Rechte vorbehalten. Das Werk und seine Teile sind urheberrechtlich geschützt.
Jede Verwertung in anderen als den gesetzlich zugelassenen Fällen bedarf der vorherigen
schriftlichen Einwilligung des Verlages.

Umschlagabbildung: Lemberg, Rathaus (Lwów: Wydawnictwo Kart Artystycznych D.G.,
[1911–1925]). Source: Biblioteka Narodowa, Call Number: Pocz.2234 (Public Domain).
Druck und Bindung: CPI books GmbH, Birkstraße 10, D-25917 Leck
Printed in the EU.

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlage | www.vandenhoeck-ruprecht-verlage.com

ISSN 2566-9710

ISBN 978-3-8470-0923-8

Contents

Introduction	7
Alois Woldan	
Jan Nepomucen Kamiński's <i>Helena</i> or Schiller in Galicia	15
Nadja Weck	
Lviv's Central Railway Station and its Fate after 1914	29
Jagoda Wierzejska	
The Idea of Galicia in the Interwar Polish Discourse, 1918–1939	51
Ievgeniia Voloshchuk	
Characters of Eccentrics from Galicia in the German-Language Prose of the Interwar Period	77
Francisca Solomon	
Bukovina's Yiddish Landscape in Habsburg and Post-Habsburg Context: Historical, Cultural, and Literary Interrelations	97
Danuta Sosnowska	
Traces of the Habsburg Heritage: Bohemia's Multicultural and Multilingual Tradition as a Source of the Multilingual Phenomenon in the Czech Literature in Exile	115
Halyna Witoszynska	
Public Parks and Gardens of Interwar Lviv in the Autobiographical Discourse after Second World War: Between Habsburg Tradition, National Aspirations, and Private Memories	135

Magdalena Baran-Szołtys	
Traveling to Post-Galicia and Uncovering the Habsburgian Past	155
Larissa Cybenko	
The Geopoetics of the Habsburg Heritage: Yurii Andrukhovych's	
Overcoming of Political Restrictions and Divisions	175
Katarzyna Kotyńska	
From Intellectual Trends to a Business Model: Habsburg Monarchy in	
Modern Ukrainian Culture	191
Authors	205
Index of Persons	211
Index of Concepts and Locations	219

Introduction

The history of creation of this volume reaches back to the year 2017, when the Annual Conference of the Austrian Studies Association “Inter-Texts: Correspondences, Connections, and Fissures in Austrian Culture” took place at the University of Illinois at Chicago, March 16–19. The conference was dedicated to exploration of multiple intertexts that inform our readings of the cultural and historical products and sites of modern Austria, the Habsburg Empire, and its former territories. As a part of this academic event we organized a panel titled “Continuities and Discontinuities: The Habsburg Legacy in East-Central European Discourses since 1918.” Although firstly conceived as a small undertaking, it ultimately grew to the size of a four-section-panel, which was attended by eleven scholars from six academic centres, in Austria, the Czech Republic, Poland, Romania, and the USA. Papers given during the panel aroused such an interest of its participants and audience, that we decided to extend the life of the project “Continuities and Discontinuities: The Habsburg Legacy in East-Central European Discourses since 1918” and publish an eponymous collective volume. The volume was being created for more than two years. It consists of ten articles. A few of them had not been presented at the 2017 Annual Conference of the Austrian Studies Association and were originally written for the purpose of this book. These, which had been presented in their initial versions, were later comprehensively revised, expanded, and updated for the publication. Now, the fruit of the authors’ and the editors’ effort is ultimately in the hand of readers.

The volume is dedicated to analysis of ways the Habsburg heritage has been undermined and sustained in East-Central European discourses since the collapse of the Habsburg Empire. In 1918, in the wake of World War I, the Danube Monarchy ceased to exist and its crownlands and provinces became parts of the Monarchy’s successor states. Although the foundation of the new states initially resulted in hopes for a triumph of democracy in the region, their democratic governments often failed and they themselves increasingly assumed the character of nation-states, not infrequently of authoritarian character. The regimes of these countries were usually oblivious and / or hostile to remnants of the erst-

while Austrian rule due to ideological reasons: they treated them as traces of a superimposed imperial power and an alien – democratic, pluralistic, liberal – tradition. Such a tendency was marked in the interwar period, when authoritarian tendencies increased in East-Central Europe, and even more so during the Soviet totalitarian domination of the region after World War II. Notwithstanding that fact, erasing the Habsburg Empire from maps of Europe did not entail the entire cancelation of its legacy on the former Habsburg territories. Although officially neglected or suppressed, this legacy made itself felt, overtly or tacitly, in discourses present in the public sphere of the countries that superseded the Monarchy. It never constituted a dominant of those discourses but persisted as a kind of counter-discourse that recalled a broadly understood Habsburg past in order to contest the socio-cultural realities and formal politics of the post-Habsburg states.

The book highlights two phenomena: the ways in which the Habsburg legacy has been obliterated, as well as manifestations of its continued presence in East-Central European discourses since 1918 until today. Furthermore, the articles discuss how these phenomena have evolved over the last over hundred years in terms of domination, continuities, and discontinuities. In the center of our interest lie the northern territories of the erstwhile Danube Monarchy, especially Galicia but also Bukovina, Bohemia, and Moravia. The authors aim at analyzing discursive phenomena, first and foremost literary works, in which the Habsburg tradition of these lands has been, on the one hand, supplanted by national and Soviet models of culture, on the other hand, repeatedly reversed or resumed in different ways. They treat literature as a medium in dialog between history, which turned out to be continuative at least to the same extent as discontinuative towards the Habsburg legacy, and popular memory in which both trends followed one another, coexisted or even mixed up. The goal of the publication is to show ideological frames of both of these discursive moves – continuities and discontinuities of the Habsburg legacy in East-Central European discourses since 1918 – and to investigate issues, which relate but are not limited to the following questions:

- Why was the Habsburg past to be effaced from the cultural landscape of the successor states?
- What forms did such an effacement take?
- What were the costs of that phenomenon?
- Why did the effacement of the Habsburg legacy turn out to be not entirely possible in East-Central Europe?
- Who did sustain it and why?
- What were the manifestations of that phenomenon in East-Central European discourses, especially in Polish, Ukrainian, German, and Czech literatures, as well as in Jewish literature written in different languages?

- What political, historical, and aesthetic intertexts – correspondences, connections, discursive fissures – can be found in these manifestations?

The text, which opens the volume, is the article by the outstanding expert in the field of Slavic studies, Alois Woldan. His article has a somewhat separate character, because it does not fit into the time framework accepted in the book, after 1918, but, simultaneously, it constitutes a signpost for interpretations carried out in the rest of texts collected in the publication. The article presents an analysis of a drama by the Polish theatre director and translator who lived in Habsburg Galicia, Jan Nepomucen Kamiński; an analysis taking into account the work's literary and non-literary, socio-historical context. The nineteenth century Polish artist used his Polish translation of the drama by the now forgotten German author, Theodor Körner, to create his drama elaboration of the Koliyivshchyna, the so-called 1768 Haidamak Uprising, which culminated in their sacking of the city of Humań in central Ukraine. Woldan shows that the setting of Kamiński's drama was deeply inscribed into a Romantic Polish-Ukrainian context, while its presentation and plot fit rather a pre-Romantic German-Italian style. It does not seem to be a coincidence that these two contexts met each other in Galicia as, according to Woldan's thesis, that former Habsburg province constituted a special space predestined for the encounter of Slavic and Western European currents. A few other East-Central European lands, encompassed with borders of the Habsburg Empire during the time of its existence, had a similar character. Bohemia, Moravia, and Bukovina, just like Galicia, proved their qualities as places of meeting of miscellaneous cultural contexts. For this reason, after 1918, they were not only spaces of development of national ideas, although they became parts of different nation-states, each with severe minority problems. They were rather spaces of clashes of disparate ideas of political, social, and cultural kind. In discourses related to these lands after World War I, various traditions, which had created the Habsburg legacy, were being destroyed, blurred, sustained or abandoned and resumed again after some time. This is the topic the subsequent articles in the volume discuss.

The articles follow a chronological order in their analysis of the Habsburg legacy. The first article starts off with its fate in Lviv after 1914, the last one tracks it to the contemporary Ukrainian culture with sources up to the year 2017, so that more than hundred years are examined. The spatial containment allows monitoring the development of a particular region in various discourses over time. In this volume, resulting from the focus of the series "Wiener Galizien Studien," it rests on Austrian Galicia and especially on the city Lviv.

The first article of the historian Nadja Weck studies the Habsburg legacy in this multicultural city from the micro perspective of its central railway station building opened in 1904 and existing, as well as being in use, also nowadays. The

author chooses an innovative way to analyze the heritage manifested until today in the architectural specifics of the multitude of former Galician cities. Two relevant sources are utilized: a comparison of the architecture of the original main building with the current one and an analysis of memoirs by Alexander Granach and Józef Wittlin that describe the station building at length. The article opens a panorama of representations of this Habsburg legacy expressed not only in real space, but also as an intellectual depiction in different discourses and times.

Jagoda Wierzejska's article focuses on the decades shortly after the downfall of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1918 and discusses the concepts of the idea of multinational and transnational Galicia in the Polish discourse between 1918 and 1939, which originated from the Habsburg political culture. She shows that the idea of Galicia was a subject of specific transfers and disassembled in the circumstances of the crisis of democracy and the Second Polish Republic's hostile policy toward national minorities, especially Ukrainians and Jews. According to the concept of the volume, the article traces the overt destruction and tacit continuation of the Habsburg idea of multinationalism and transnationalism in the former Austrian Galicia, and uses various archival and literary sources.

The interwar period is further point of reference for the next article by Ievgeniia Voloshchuk, who examines the character type of eccentrics from Galicia, which has gained popularity in the German-language literature of the interwar period. Voloshchuk works also with concepts and shows that the characters of Galician eccentrics were largely determined by the constructs of Galicia produced within the Galician German-language discourse of the interbellum under the influence of the Habsburg and the Galicia myth and in this sense were crops of the Habsburg legacy.

In the next papers new spatial points of reference are taken into account: Bukovina and Bohemia. In Francisca Solomon's paper Bukovina's Yiddish landscape is discussed in Habsburg and post-Habsburg context. She argues that a singular "Austrian" constellation crystallized in Bukovina, above all reflected in the strong local patriotism in Czernowitz and the feeling of belonging to the Austrian state. Therefore, the 1918 downfall of the Habsburg Monarchy marked a painful identity-disturbing experience in which the language proved to be a fundamental vehicle that supported and maintained the (Austrian) Bukovinian consciousness with all its historical, cultural, and literary interrelations.

The language is also central in the next analyses by Danuta Sosnowska, who examines the influence of Habsburg heritage on the multilingual tradition present in Czech literature created abroad. Some Czech writers in exile, like Milan Kundera, abandoned writing in their vernacular language and have chosen the language of their new host country, some used even both languages. Sosnowska explains this phenomenon in terms of the multilingual tradition in

the Czech culture and the *humanitas austriaca* that partly remained in Czech culture along with a multilingual tradition; even when linguistic “nationalism” prevailed in Czech official culture.

The next four papers focus again on Galicia, the following two pay particular attention to the complex structure of entangled, sometimes even contested narratives concerning Galicia. Similar to Nadja Weck, Halyna Witoszynska examines spatial elements in the city of Lviv: the Jesuit Gardens, Stryiski Park, and High Castle. These public parks and gardens of interwar Lviv exemplify a space of divided memories and contested national narratives, which this article uncovers through the autobiographical texts written after World War II. She especially points out three of their functions: (1) they evoke the Habsburg traditions of urban development and political representation; (2) they represent contested symbolic space, reflected in the collective historical memory of Ukrainian and Polish residents; (3) they function as sites of individual memory that became parts of personal memories of both national groups.

These complex interrelations between Habsburg rule and legacy combined with national narratives are also the focus of the article by Magdalena Baran-Szołtys who argues that Habsburg Galicia was a superficial construct that owed its existence to produced depictions and different narratives from historical and literary sources from its beginnings in the eighteenth century. Via a multidisciplinary and transnational approach to the historical space of Galicia, Baran-Szołtys shows which concepts, texts, and material heritage are used to construct an image of the Habsburg Galicia in contemporary literary or journalistic texts and what they are used for. As a result, the article illustrates the polyphony of Galician narratives with help of various national literatures and cultures.

In the last two articles, the focus shifts to contemporary Ukrainian discourse. Larissa Cybenko analyzes the work of the Ukrainian author Yurii Andrukhovych from the perspective of geopoetics. Using geopoetics, Andrukhovych develops his own geoculturology that become a criticism of Soviet and National Socialist geopolitics of the former Galicia. The geographical conditions, which Andrukhovych presents in his literary essays and novels, allow him to re-read former Habsburg territories in Ukraine and describe the causes, conditions, and forms of extinction of the cultural tradition of the Danube Monarchy.

Katarzyna Kotyńska investigates the reasons for awakening of interest in the Habsburg era of Galician history in recent fifteen years: chosen elements of the “Habsburg” history entered the resources of popular literature and gained recognition of the wide audience. The article examines two series of modern Ukrainian detective novels by Bohdan Kolomyichuk and Andriy Kokotyukha, showing the ways of transformation of old local stories into a successful market product, attractive for a nationwide audience. With this analysis of reasons of

today's popularity of Galicia and, thus, establishing its attractiveness for narratives since the eighteenth century, the volume concludes.

For the cover of the book we have chosen an old postcard of the *Rathaus* – the City Hall of Lemberg / Lwów / Lviv located in the heart of the city in the middle of the Market Square. It was erected in the Habsburg times, in the years 1827–1835, in classicist style, according to the design of the architects Alois Wondraszka, Jerzy Głogowski, Joseph Markl, and Franz Trescher, and has been already the fourth town hall building in the history of the city. It stands at the site of the former town hall which finished its existence on July 14, 1826, when its tower collapsed, destroying a large part of the building and burying eight people under its rubble, including the trumpeter, quite a symbolic tragedy. The history of this building is symptomatic for the history of so many places in East-Central Europe, which constituted parts of the Habsburg Empire. First, built in the years 1827–1835 by the Austrians, then, on November 2, 1848, burned down, as a result of the bombardment of Lviv by the Austrians, in 1851 again reconstructed by the Austrians. Before World War I, it was planned to rebuild the building in the style of the Polish Renaissance, but these plans were not realized due to the outbreak of the war. After the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy, in the years 1918–1919, Poles and Ukrainians were fighting for national belonging of Eastern Galicia and for whose national colors would decorate the City Hall in Lviv. Ultimately, on September 25, 1921, the Polish White Eagle was unveiled at the top of the Town Hall tower in place of the double-headed Austrian eagle, which was removed on May 3, 1919. In the interwar period, the Lviv City Hall was decorated with the “Lviv Defense Cross” and the plaque in memory of Hugo Kołłątaj destroyed in 1939 by the Soviets. In post-World War II Lviv, Polish traces on the walls of the City Hall were dismantled. The wall paintings inside the building and portraits of the former Lviv presidents were dismantled either. Nowadays the Ukrainian city administration resides there and has had the attic – the topos of memory par excellence – rebuilt due to a lack of office space. The central entrance has been flanked with sculptures of lions with shields made by the sculptor Yevhen Dzyndra, in the 1940s. The new Lviv City Hall witnessed a lot of historical events. Despite the fact that the center of Lviv's urban life has shifted from the Main Square to the surroundings of the so-called Hetman Ramparts, the building has always been not only the seat of municipal authorities, but also one of the most expressive symbols of the city and the region that once belonged to the Habsburg Monarchy.

* * *

The publication of this volume would not have been possible without financial support of Austrian and Polish academic institutions, as well as intellectual

contribution of many persons. First and foremost, we would like to thank the Doctoral Program “Austrian Galicia and its Multicultural Heritage,” affiliated at the University of Vienna and funded by the Austrian Science Fund, and the Faculty of Polish Studies, including the Institute of Polish Literature, at the University of Warsaw, for co-financing the publication. Then we would like to express our great gratitude to all contributors of the volume for their inspiring ideas, which they were willing to forge into articles and share in this form with a wide circle of readers. A special thank goes to the translator of a few articles from German into English and the copy-editor of the whole volume, Mikołaj Golu-biewski. Last but not least, we want to thank the reviewers of the volume, who supported the publication of the book and contributed to its high intellectual level.

Magdalena Baran-Szołtys, Jagoda Wierzejska
Vienna / Warsaw, August 2019

Alois Woldan

Jan Nepomucen Kamiński's *Helena* or Schiller in Galicia

Abstract

The article shows how the Polish theater director and translator Jan Nepomucen Kamiński (1777–1855) uses his Polish translation of the drama *Hedwig* by the now forgotten German author Theodor Körner (1791–1813) to prepare his later drama elaboration of the 1768 *Koliyivshchyna*. Scholars of the Polish Romantic literature usually associate Kamiński's *Helena* with Seweryn Goszczyński's well-known long poem *Zamek kaniowski* (The Kaniów Castle; 1828). This paper simultaneously references the larger context of this theme like Michał Suchorowski's drama *Wanda Potocka*, which Kamiński's treatment has significantly influenced. These literary testimonies also prove that the underlying historical event from central Ukraine saw a great response in Galicia.

Keywords: Galicia, Polish literature of the nineteenth century, German influences

Kamiński, a Lviv Playwright

Jan Nepomucen Kamiński (1777–1855) is hardly present in the history of Polish literature, but he is considered a pioneer in the Polish in Galicia, especially its capital city Lviv, in the early nineteenth century, where he had to struggle with a powerful German repertoire. Kamiński was a real “Theatermacher:” organizer of traveling acting troupes, director of own and other plays, actor, and – for more than forty years – director of the Polish theater in Lviv.¹ We must add here his work as a playwright: he produced more than a hundred – some sources say even 180 pieces² – of which only a dozen were really own work. The vast part of Kamiński's plays were adaptations of German, English, Italian, Spanish, and French productions, usually not only translated but also “polonized” by him, that is travestied into a Polish environment. Moreover, Kamiński wrote nu-

1 For more about Kamiński's biography, cf. Lasocka 1972, pp. 6–48.

2 Gabrjel Korbut names nearly 180 translations and adaptations (Korbut 1929, p. 365), Bernacki names 3 printed and 115 not printed dramas (Bernacki 1911, pp. 21–23), Wiktor Hahn speaks of 180 dramas, out of which 8 are to be Kamiński's original works (Bernacki 1911, p. 279).

merous articles for Lviv magazines and poems – a few also in German – especially sonnets and panegyrics. For instance, a poem on the marriage of the young Emperor Franz Joseph with Elisabeth von Bayern (“Sissi”) appeared one year before Kamiński’s death.³

According to Wiktor Hahn, Kamiński has written 110 plays based on German sources, thirty-nine on French, four each on English and Italian, three on Spanish, one each on Russian and Czech.⁴ Whereas Barbara Lasocka speaks of about forty adaptations and about eighty translations,⁵ but the boundaries between the two types of elaboration are fluent. Among the authors that Kamiński introduced to the Polish stage, we find not only world literature greats like Shakespeare, Schiller, Goldoni, and Calderon, but also many more playwrights that today are completely forgotten. From German literature, the most popular were Friedrich Schiller – one of the first authors to be translated by Kamiński into Polish⁶ – and August Kotzebue, who is probably better known today because of his murder by the student, Sand. Kamiński especially favored Schiller. Besides Schiller’s ballads and poems, Kamiński translated his dramas *Die Piccolomini* (The Piccolomini), *Wallensteins Tod* (Wallenstein’s Death), and *Die Räuber* (The Robbers); the most relevant in below considerations. Kamiński’s great success partly stemmed from the Polish play *Cud mniemany, czyli Krakowiacy i Górale* (The Presumed Miracle, or Krakovians and Highlanders; 1793), a comic opera by Wojciech Bogusławski to which Kamiński wrote a continuation *Zabobon czyli Krakowiacy i Górale, zabawka dramatyczna ze spiewkami w 3-ch aktach* (Superstition, or Krakovians and Highlanders, a Playful Drama with Songs in Three Acts; 1816).

Three years later, in 1819, Kamiński achieved another great success in Lviv, but also in Cracow, Vilnius, and Warsaw, which is the main focus of this paper: *Helena, czyli Hajdamacy na Ukrainie. Drama w trzech aktach podług Körnera [Hedwig] przez J. N. Kamińskiego naśladowane i do zdarzeń w roku 1768 zastosowane* (Helen, or Haidamakas in Ukraine. Drama in Three Acts by J. N. Kamiński Imitated after Körner’s *Hedwig* and Applied to the Events of the Year 1768). This piece appeared in print only in 1963,⁷ whereas the vast majority of Kamiński’s plays never saw the printing press. Kamiński names his source in the subtitle, which is the 1812 drama *Hedwig oder die Banditenbraut* (Hedwig, or the Bandits’ Bride) by Theodor Körner (1791–1813). Kamiński most likely noticed *Hedwig* in theater reviews from Vienna, which also appeared in the Lviv newspapers. Moreover, Kamiński untypically gives *Helena* a new setting: in 1768

3 Kamiński 1854, p. XXVIII.

4 Hahn 1911, p. 279.

5 Lasocka 1972, p. 13.

6 Korbut 1929, p. 365.

7 Makowski 1963, pp. 19–87.

occurred the so-called Haidamakas Uprising (Koliyivshchyna), which culminated in their sacking of the city of Humani in central Ukraine, then still part of the Polish Commonwealth. Polish literature only knows an echo of Koliyivshchyna from the ten years younger Goszczyński's Romantic long poem *Zamek kaniowski* (Kaniów Castle, 1828), the still younger Słowacki's drama *Sen srebrny Salomei* (The Silver Dream of Salomea, 1843), and Taras Shevchenko's poem "Haidamaky" (1841) in Ukrainian literature. The title and setting of Kamiński's drama is in a Romantic Polish-Ukrainian context, while its presentation and plot in a pre-Romantic German-Italian manner. Both these contexts meet each other in Galicia, a space predestined for the encounter of Slavic and Western European currents.

Körner, a Forgotten German Author

Who was the author of *Hedwig*, Karl Theodor Körner (1791–1813)? Despite his short life of only twenty-four years, Körner's biography⁸ is as rich as Kamiński's who lived seventy-eight years. After studies in Freiberg, Leipzig, and Berlin – where Körner gained experience not only as young poet but also as a daring duelist – he moved to Vienna, where he discovered the theater and its protagonists. He composed several short comedies, all very successful, and fell in love with a Viennese actress, whose father was a singer esteemed by Mozart. But not even the unexpected well-paid job offer of an official court theater poet could keep him in Vienna. (Unlike Körner, Kamiński received the poorly paid position of a dramatist at the Skarbek Theater in Lviv only in his last years). When Napoleon's troops on their return from Russia occupied several German cities, Körner joined the famous Lützow Free Corps and not much later received a heavy wound. Barely recovered, Körner returned to his unit only to fall in August 1813, a few weeks before the Battle of Leipzig. During his brief life as a soldier, Körner's wrote his most famous poems inspired by the pathos of the struggle for freedom. Numerous commemorative plaques, monuments (one in Sobótka in Silesia), and trees bear witness to the intensity of his heroic legend, which only faded in the twentieth century.

Let us return to *Hedwig*, not the best of Körner's plays.⁹ The action takes place in the inhospitable mountains "on the border of Italy"¹⁰ near Fiume, which is mentioned once,¹¹ so in the region of today's Slovenia or Carinthia, in the castle

8 All information about Körner's biography after Auerswald [1911], pp. 3–35.

9 Auerswald 1911, p. 28.

10 Blocking from *Hedwig*. *Ein Drama in drei Aufzügen* 1812, in: Körner 1908, p. 146: "an der Grenze von Italien."

11 Ibid., p. 145.

of Count Felseck. The text gives no clue about the time of events but is likely to occur at the end of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the center of the plot is a love story and a love triangle. Hedwig, a foster daughter in the Count's family, loves Julius, the count's son, who loves her as well. However, Hedwig wants to renounce this love, as she knows that class difference makes marriage with the young Count impossible. In turn, Hedwig is loved by the hunter Rudolf, who saved the old Count during a hunt and, as a reward, requests for himself the hand of the foster child Hedwig. This first conflict that stems from the classic love triangle is resolved quickly: after a discussion of the young Count with his father, the latter and his wife give consent to his marriage with Hedwig as, regardless of their aristocratic status, they enlightened people who value the character of their future daughter-in-law more than her middle-class origins.¹² Love overcomes class differences in this play, but this is not its actual theme.

The too early "happy end" is followed by the dramatic escalation of the second act, in which revenge-seeking Rudolf invades the castle with two robbers in the absence of the Count and his son, to make Hedwig his wife by force. She agrees only to save the life of the old Countess, her future mother-in-law. Nevertheless, Hedwig manages to trap the two robbers in the treasury and beat Rudolf to death with a rifle butt, which is almost her last action in the play, just before she faints to awaken as a purified Hedwig, already after the curtain has fallen.

One figure deserves special attention in this configuration of dramatis personae, which is the vengeful Rudolf who is different from what he pretends to be. Behind the unsophisticated hunter Rudolf hides Rudolfo, a nobleman, who was deprived by his guardian of his great inheritance and then charged with treason; innocent, Rudolfo is exiled and declared an outlaw. He then becomes an avenger, outlaw, and bandit who may only return to a normal, morally flawless existence when he finds a wife who loves him unconditionally. The forced renunciation of Hedwig also means for Rudolfo a final loss of the possibility of salvation, as he drastically puts it, he now belongs to hell.¹³ On the other hand, Hedwig would have opened for him the way to heaven. There is a tragedy in this figure of the avenger, but it does not break through in the course of the plot with its happy ending.

The figure of an avenger, who knows no bounds in his revenge but has become an avenger by the guilt of others – not to mention the love story – reminds us of Karl Moor from Schiller's *The Robbers*. There are also some similarities in the

12 Makowski considers this twist as an influence of enlightened didactics. Cf. Makowski 1963, p. 10.

13 Körner 1908, p. 177: "Der Hölle bin ich, ihr gehör ich zu, die ist die einzige, die treugeblieben" (I am hell, I belong to hell, it is the only thing that remains faithful to me).

course of action and in the characters, which we could compare with another work. The Italian ingredients in the play, especially the robber names Zanaretto and Lorenzo,¹⁴ point to another context. They recall the most famous robbers of the eighteenth century: the eponymous protagonist of Christian Vulpius' 1798 novel *Rinaldo Rinaldini*, Heinrich Zschokke's 1793 *Abellino, der große Bandit*, and finally the famous *Fra Diavolo* (in reality, Michele Pezza), who owes his popularity to the Daniel Auber's 1830 opera. Schiller's work was undoubtedly known to Körner, as his father was a personal acquaintance of Schiller,¹⁵ as was *Rinaldo Rinaldini*, a success story of Goethe's brother-in-law. Incidentally, like Rudolfo in *Hedwig*, Rinaldo is also of high descent.

From "Hedwig" to "Helena"

Let us move from Vienna, where Körner wrote his *Hedwig*, back to Lviv, the capital of Galicia. Kamiński's worship of Schiller came not only from Körner. Kamiński's translation of *The Robbers* – a proper translation this time – was staged in 1819,¹⁶ the same year when Kamiński imitated Körner's drama. Shortly before, Kamiński published a translation of Schiller's *Balladen und Gedichten / Ballady i pieśni* (Ballads and Poems; 1818), followed by other of his dramas. Kamiński himself played great Schiller roles like the President from *Intrigue and Love* and Philip II of Spain in *Don Carlos* in 1829.¹⁷ It seems quite possible that the "robber character" of Rudolf / Rudolfo from Körner's *Hedwig* was the reason for Kamiński's interest in the play. But Kamiński also probably knew the Italian-German robber tradition, as he already staged *Rinaldo Rinaldini* in 1817 – either directly based on the novel or on an already existing dramatization¹⁸ – and he prepared Zschokke's *Abellino* for the Polish stage.¹⁹

In his adaptation of *Hedwig*, Kamiński replaces the robbers with the haidamakas, travesties the Austrian-Italian setting into the Polish-Ukrainian world of the Commonwealth shortly before the First Partition of Poland, and loosely references the Koliyivshchyna at the level of action. In such way does Kamiński strive to position the action of his *Helena* in history: it is to happen one and a half

14 These are the names of Rudolf / Rudolfo's accomplices with whom he attacks the Count's castle: Körner 1908, p. 145.

15 Cf. Auerswald 1911, p. 4.

16 Gąsowski 1984, p. 415.

17 Lasocka 1972, p. 114ff.

18 Hahn 1911, p. 280.

19 Bernacki 1911, p. 62: *Abellino straszny bandyta wenecki, drama w 5 aktach z niemieckiego przełożona w Krakowie 1832* (Abellino, a Fearsome Venetian Bandit, a Five-Act Drama Translated from German in Cracow 1832).

years after the sacking of Humań,²⁰ thus at the beginning of 1770. Moreover, Kamiński also moves the action closer in space to the Hajdamakas Uprising, as the title of one of the characters reads “Starosta na Czechrynie” (Baron of Chechryn), which undoubtedly means Chyhyryn,²¹ a stronghold on the Dniepr River, confused in blocking note with the Dniestr River: “Rzecz dzieje się nad Dniestrem w zamku starosty” (The thing happens over Dniestr, in the Baron’s castle).²² This may well be a mistake of the copyist, as Kamiński was very familiar with the geography of Eastern Galicia and visited Odessa, so he would hardly confuse these two rivers. Notwithstanding such minor inconsistencies, by such a localization of the plot, Kamiński intends to build on a historical event that was evidently also known in Galicia, even though the events happened not on Galician soil or during the time of Galicia, that is before 1772.

This attempt to combine a robber play with historical drama, for which Kamiński shared a typical Romantic taste,²³ becomes clear with a look at the list of characters. The number of robbers was not only doubled – from two robbers in Körner’s play to four haidamakas in Kamiński’s – but there also appear two prominent, historically documented figures, namely the leaders of the 1768 Koliyivshchyna: Gonta and Zalizniak. However, as the plot of the play quickly reveals, these figures have virtually nothing in common with their historical prototypes apart from names. Not to mention that, in the time of action, one and a half years after the massacre of Humań, both of them were absent: Gonta was executed and Zalizniak banished to Siberia.²⁴ Despite the historical overcoat, Kamiński’s piece remains in an invented robber story true to Körner’s model.

What is even more forceful than this attempted historicization of the plot is the rich polonization of the characters and setting. In Kamiński’s drama, Count Felseck becomes Starosta, Countess – Starościna, Julius – Wacław (ten years later, Malczewski gives his protagonist of the poem *Maria* the same name). Finally, the eponymous heroine changes from Hedwig to Helena, as the Polish variant of Hedwig – Jadwiga – apparently sounded insufficiently eastern. Polish motifs appear in such dialogs as that about the love of the motherland or the proper education of the youth. In Kamiński’s drama, the Count’s future daughter-in-law can not only embroider or play a harp but also knows Polish language and

20 Gonta recalls before the attack on the castle: “Będzie temu około półtora roku, jakieśmy sobie na Humań zęby ostrzyli” (It was nearly a year and a half ago that we planned to attack Humań): Makowski 1963, p. 62.

21 Makowski 1963, p. 19.

22 Makowski 1963, p. 19.

23 Cf. Lasocka 1972, p. 46f.

24 Makowski 1963, p. 9: “Kamiński never aspired to historical precision. He presents Gonta i Żeleźniak as active long after the Humań events.”

history, and she favors the beauty of our, that is Polish, poets.²⁵ Otherwise, however, Kamiński changed little in Körner's original. The former converts some scenes²⁶ but for the most part closely follows the original story along with most of the original dialogs. The term "naśladowanie" (imitation), which Kamiński himself uses in the subtitle of his version of Körner's drama, seems to suit this way of dealing with the original. The contemporary Polish critics liked this approach, they praised the qualities of Kamiński's piece, while later Ukrainian gave it only bad press.²⁷ Nevertheless, one thing is beyond doubt: Kamiński's Haidamakas remained robbers who only seek prey and, in one case only, revenge for injustice they suffered. We find in the Haidamakas no trace of the historically true social, national, or religious concerns, namely their fight against the unjust upper class, the Polish overlords, and everything that is not Orthodox. The allusions to the historical events seem all in place, what lacks is a corresponding historical background.

Kamiński's *Helena* appears as an attempt to combine Schillerian characters with Polish history. Kamiński's Horejko again embodies the figure of the noble robber – unjustly deprived of his beloved bride and paternal inheritance – who in revenge becomes an outlaw, until he succumbs to the dynamics of violence that he unleashed, as Karl Moor does in *The Robbers*. However, in contrast to Körner's Rudolf, Horejko's historical background involves him in a historical movement, Koliyivshchyna, which he joins to avenge the injustice that befell him, much like Nebaba in Goszczyński's *Zamek kaniowski* or Jarema in Shevchenko's *Hajdamaky*. But Schiller himself offers in his dramas a whole range of historical heroes, who combine individual fate with a more comprehensive historical event, from Wallenstein through Don Carlos to Maria Stuart. In this respect, Schiller also offers plenty of ideas for the reworking of Slavic Romanticism and national history in drama.

Koliyivshchyna as a Problem of Historic Memory

Koliyivshchyna is indeed part of national history, but not regional, Galician. It belongs to central Ukraine and is only mentioned by authors who belong to the "Ukrainian school" of Polish Romanticism: Michał Czajkowski, Seweryn Goszczyński, Juliusz Słowacki. As far as the "outlaws" are concerned, Galicia has something else to offer – *opryszki* – the Hutsul robbers who appear even more

25 Starościna characterizes her future daughter-in-law as follows: "to thoroughly know national history and language, read with ardour and feel the beauty of our poets": Makowski 1963, p. 54.

26 For a precise scene after scene comparison, see Bryk 1920, p. 125f.

27 Cf. Bryk 1920, p. 130f.

frequently in the literature of Galicia than the Haidamakas in the “Ukrainian school.” They also briefly appear in Bogusławski and, after him, in Kamiński. We notice the Hutsuls in *Krakowiacy i górale*, behind the Highlanders who attack the Cracovians. This tradition also has a historical core in the person of Oleksa Dobosz. Thus, *opryszki* would be much better suited as a counterpart to Körner’s robbers than the Haidamakas when transferring his drama into the Polish setting. Körner’s text speaks of remote inhospitable mountains, which is exactly the living space of *opryszki*, but not the Haidamakas who operate in the planes. Then, why is it that Kamiński resorts to a tradition foreign to Galicia?

The famous French historian Daniel Beauvois proposed in 1999 an interesting thesis about the Koliyivshchyna.²⁸ Much has been done after the Uprising to banish the atrocities of 1768 from Polish historical memory. Szczesny Potocki, possessor of the city of Humań, created a magnificent park named after his wife Sofia – Sofiówka – at the site of the massacre in Humań. He had the poet Stanisław Trembecki compose an idyll on Sofiówka in the eponymous 1804 poem, but without a word about the dramatic past of the site. However, according to Beauvois, this fiction could not have been sustained in the long run, as Romanticism and its interest in local history began to recount the events of 1768; for the first time with Goszczyński’s *Zamek kaniowski* (1828).

Kamiński’s *Helena* was not known to Beauvois, which would require him to modify his idea. These were not only the Romantics who disagreed with the concealment of the sensitive moments from the history of Polish-Ukrainian relationships but also Kamiński – already ten years earlier – touched on the veil of silence covering the Koliyivshchyna. Kamiński again proves to be a forerunner of Romanticism,²⁹ which positions his *Helena* more in the early Romantic than classical paradigm.³⁰ Kamiński could obviously also presuppose the knowledge of the 1768 events among his Galician contemporaries, a minor innuendo in the text was enough to remind them of the events. The Koliyivshchyna left its mark in later East Galicia because a group of Haidamakas was brought to Lviv for execution, four years before the city became Austrian. Many certainly remembered the event forty years later, when Kamiński staged his play. The piece was very successful, as it was very often performed and remained in the repertoire of the Lviv Polish Theater for more than twenty years.³¹ The success indicates that the Galician audience knew about the Haidamakas and was interested in this side of the story.

28 Beauvois 1999, pp. 80–92.

29 Lasocka 1972, p. 102: “Kamiński was probably the one who prepared the works of others. He discovered Schiller before Mickiewicz and Krasiński; before Słowacki – Shakespeare, Calderon, and the beauty of Podolia and Ukraine.”

30 Cf. Makowski 1963, p. 10.

31 Cf. Hahn 1930, p. 483.

Kamiński is also a forerunner of the Romantics in another respect: he undoubtedly influenced Słowacki. His most important Haidamaka is Horejko, exactly as one of Słowacki's protagonists in *Sen srebrny Salomei* (1843). In both cases, Horejko is a character with a double identity. Before his service for Starosta, Kamiński's Horejko was named Tymenko – involved in the massacre of Humań – whereas Słowacki's Horejko transforms from a valiant valet to a bloodthirsty leader who now calls himself Tymenko, as soon as the Koliyivshchyna breaks loose. Both characters are in love affairs in which their masters are their rivals. Kamiński's Horejko loves the eponymous Helena who nevertheless prefers Starosta's son, Wacław. Whereas Słowacki's Horejko loves the eponymous Salomea, but she prefers Leon, the son of Regimentarz. Wiktor Hahn pointed out this dependency for the first time in 1930, when he also explained that Kamiński's piece several times appeared in Vilnius, where Słowacki may have seen it.³² On the other hand, we should not overestimate this influence as Słowacki's drama undoubtedly attempts to address the Polish-Ukrainian relationship history and ask questions about their future after the November Uprising. What testifies to this approach is the figure of Wernyhora which – apart from M. Czajkowski's novel *Wernyhora* – appears only in Słowacki's work. Kamiński's *Helena* completely neglects the historiosophic perspective of Polish-Ukrainian relationships and, instead, concentrates on the melodramatic love story, which loosely ties in with the events of 1768. However, Kamiński's *Helena* might well have been a stimulus for Słowacki's idea of the theater along with his preference for horror stories and horror scenes.

“Helena’s” Echo: “Wanda Suchorowska”

What also shows the influence of Kamiński's work, and simultaneously the interest in a historical tradition that links Haidamakas with Lviv, is another drama that recalls *Helena* in many ways. In 1832, the Lviv publishing house of brothers Piller published the drama *Wanda Potocka, czyli Schronienie w Lasku ś. Zofji, wielkie melodrama wojenne, ze śpiewkami i tańcami* (Wanda Potocka, or Refuge in the Forest of Saint Sophia, a Great Wartime Melodrama with Songs and Dances) by Michał Suchorowski who also composed the musical score. Suchorowski is so much forgotten that even most works of reference do not mention him,³³ with the exception of Wurzbach's *Biographisches Lexikon des*

32 Cf. Hahn 1930, p. 484.

33 He is not mentioned in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. XLV, or *Bibliografia Literatury Polskiej Nowy Korbut*, vol. 6, part 1 (Oświecenie: personal entries P-Ż, addendum) or vol. 9 (Romantyzm: personal entries P-Ż, supplements). Cf. Romanowski et al. 2007/2008, Aleksandrowska et al. 1970.

Kaiserreichs Österreichs (Biographical Lexicon of the Austrian Empire) and Orgelbrandt's *Encyklopedia Powszechna* (Universal Encyclopedia).³⁴ Vasyl Shchurat – a famous Galician philologist and author – not only discovered this drama but also reconstructed Suchorowski's adventurous biography,³⁵ which we have to omit from this article. Also, we cannot determine whether Lviv theaters ever performed *Wanda Potocka*.³⁶ Already in the preface, Suchorowski emphasizes the historical character of his play and points to the events of 1769. According to him, the remnants of Haidamakas vanquished under Humań tried to attack Lviv in June 1769 to liberate their comrades and save them from execution. But to get into the city unrecognized, they disguised themselves as Bar Confederates and so deceived the defenders. However, a brave girl, the eponymous heroine, uncovered this scam, which allowed the defenders to beat the attackers and execute the captured Haidamakas.³⁷ There is a considerable amount of historical truth to this affair. In fact, the Bar Confederates invaded Lviv in 1769 and were only removed after hard fighting that severely affected the southern suburb.³⁸ However, the fact that these were the Hajdamakas disguised as Confederates was entirely authorial fiction, which is perhaps based on a legend of a heroic virgin, which is the central link to Kamiński's *Helena*.

The first connecting moment is the scene in the Forest of Saint Sophia near Lviv, which is mentioned in the subtitle of Suchorowski's drama. There the disguised Hajdamakas gather under their leader Szwaczka;³⁹ Suchorowski knows that Gonta was killed and Zalizniak is exiled at the time, so he introduces a figure who is still free before the raid on the city. In the forest, the Haidamakas not only deceive the beautiful miller Jagusia and her half-witted husband Gapiello, the eponymous heroine Wanda also appears in the forest to intervene for the first time: she replaces the poison cup that Haidamaka Mykoła prepared for Gapiello to molest his wife. In contrast to Helena, Suchorowski's Wanda is deaf and dumb, can only communicate with gestures and written messages, and does not kill with own hands, but only by exchanging the cups. But she also becomes the savior of those threatened, just like Helena. The forest is reminiscent of the mountainous wasteland in Körner's *Hedwig*, which Kamiński replaced by an equally remote steppe landscape. Salvation of Lviv also comes from the forest, not only in the person of

34 Cf. Shchurat 1910, p. 13.

35 Cf. Shchurat 1910, pp. 12–15.

36 The author of a very detailed information about Lviv theater repertoire, Jerzy Got, knows neither the name of the author nor the play. Cf. Got 1997.

37 Suchorowski 1832, "Przemowa" [sic!].

38 Cf. Zubrzycki 1844, qtd. after the Ukrainian translation: Zubrytsky 2006, p. 437.

39 Szwaczka appears in Goszczyński's *Zamek kaniowski*, Suchorowski knew Goszczyński's poem, published four years earlier, as evidenced in a footnote with sources. Cf. Suchorowski 1832, "Przemowa."

Wanda, who gains access to the Commander-in-Chief in the disguise of a Confederate, but also Jagusia who, after having learned from Wanda about the true character of the Confederate guests, manages to lock them and render harmless; Kamiński's *Helena* also imprisoned Horejko and his bandits.

A second important parallel between Kamiński's and Suchorowski's dramas is the eponymous female protagonists, *Helena* and *Wanda*. While Kamiński's *Helena* only becomes a murderer out of self-defense, Suchorowski presents *Wanda* as a heroic maiden who understands enemy plans and, thus, saves not just a single person but the entire city. The young woman who can only do her great work in male clothes reminds us of both Schiller's *The Maid of Orleans*⁴⁰ and Mickiewicz's *Grażyna*. *Wanda Potocka*'s name recalls Maria Potocka of Mickiewicz's *Crimean Sonnets*. Suchorowski doubles and then even triples his female protagonist toward the end of the drama. The coy miller Jagusia becomes a fighter under the influence of *Wanda*, in the final battle reinforced by Bronisława, daughter of the Commander-in-Chief. The last scene happens without words, it consists entirely of gestures and music, as the three heroic virgins appear in an apotheosis, carried on the shoulders of male soldiers.

The last common feature between the dramas is that both elaborate the story of Hajdamakas, which they moreover imbue with a melodramatic character. While Kamiński's *Helena* introduces these elements from the plot's character and conflict's resolution, Suchorowski's *Wanda Potocka* is a real melodrama, which consists of dramatic and musical parts. The plot is often interrupted by songs and dances, which alludes to idyllic remains from pre-Romantic pastorals. Like Kamiński, Suchorowski tries to attach his melodrama in history, thus employing it with a tragic dimension.

Today, Jan Nepomucen Kamiński is rather forgotten,⁴¹ while his "successor" Michał Suchorowski is even less known. Kamiński's pieces are difficult to access, mostly available as stage manuscripts in archives. What remains from Suchorowski's dramas are only *Zabawki dramatyczne* (Drama Playthings, Vienna 1831) along with one book of poetry and some textbooks. However, the theatrical activity of both authors represents a fragment of history that has hardly any equal, which is still poorly understood. It does not seem to be a coincidence that the network of these relationships developed in Lviv, the capital of Galicia, which once again proves its qualities as a meeting place.

Translated from German by Mikołaj Golubiewski

40 To assess how strongly was Suchorowski influenced by Schiller would require the examination of the former's entire oeuvre, which is not the goal of this article.

41 There is an excellent sketch on him in the recently published book by Markus Eberharther. Cf. Eberharther 2018.