

15. Pismo G.F. Daniłewskiego P.A. Żakulewemu /13.IV.1886/, IRL, Rukop. otd. f.559, Nr 36, l.10 /Znaczenie moje - L.M./.
16. Trojcinia nasiłlij Andriejewicz /1780-1857/, malarz-portrecista. Fochodzil z rodziny chłopskiej. Kresnas, doceniając jego zdolności, darował mu wolność i umożliwił ukończenie Akademii Sztuk Pięknych.
17. Durowa Kadieżda Andriejewna /1783-1866/, znana również pod imieniem Aleksandra Andriejewicza Aleksandrowa; bohaterka wojny 1812 roku.
18. Skabiecowski A.K., Literatura i jej historia, op. cit., s.1.
19. Artukul anonimowy, /w:/ "Znaskoje Bogatstwo", 1886, Nr 3.
20. Artukul anonimowy, Sożkomańa Moskwa. Istoricecki roman G.P. Daniłewskogo, /w:/ "Istoricecki Wiestnik", 1887, Nr 1, s.207 /Znaczenie moje - L.M./.
21. Wilenska E.S. Friediszowide, op.cit., s.7-8 /Znaczenie moje - L.M./.
22. Doguzławski G., Roman G.F. Daniłewskiego. Sożkomańa Moskwa, /w:/ Daniłewski G.P., Sożkomańa Moskwa, Moskwa 1968, s.6 /Znaczenie moje - L.M./.
23. Kuznizinskij P.G., Friediszowide, /w:/ Daniłewski G.P., Sożkomańa Moskwa, Moskwa 1939, s.4 /Znaczenie moje - L.M./.
24. Semczuk A., Lew Tolstoj, /w:/ Historia literatury rosyjskiej. Praca zbiorowa pod redakcją Lergiana Jakobsa, Warszawa 1976, t.II, s.323.
25. Kadziłkij N., G.F. Daniłewski, /w:/ "Spuđnik", 1991, Nr 4, t.1, s.243-244.
26. Semczuk A., Lew Tolstoj..., op. cit., s.390.

Резюме

Тригорий Данилевский /1829-1890/ принадлежал в своей эпохе к очень известным русским писателям, произведения которых вызвали большие литературные споры. Замечательный и своеобразный талант беллетриста с самой сильной проявился в исторических романах и повестях.

На этом поприще выступил тоже корифей русской прозы - Лев Толстой, с которым Данилевский поддерживал дружеские отношения.

Русские критики и советские исследователи неоднократно сравнивали эпоху Войны и Мир с романом Данилевского Сожженная Москва. Их мнение, однако, было сосредоточено на чисто внешних совпадениях.

Настоящая работа - это попытка решить вопрос в чем заключается влияние толстовских идей на автора произведения о пылающей в огне русской столице, какие оно приобрело формы, и к каким результатам привело. Статья рассматривает роман Данилевского с точки зрения его оригинальности и ведет к выводу, что, хотя в Сожженной Москве плодотворно использованы великие открытия автора Войны и Мира, но это не подражательно-увещательное произведение, а другая концепция подхода к эпохе Отечественной войны 1812 года.

Wojciech Kowalski

'Genere picaresco': the picaresque novel in Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

Like utopian fiction, the myth of Robinson Crusoe and the popular romance of love and adventure, the picaresque tale exerted a powerful influence on the rise of the novel and its subsequent development, even up to the present time. Curiously enough, the primitive figure of the picaresque and the crude egotistic composition of the tale seem to have provided the twentieth century novelists with adequate means of expressing their individual artistic purposes. Whether because of the essential likeness of the modern hero, lonely and disillusioned as he is, to the picaresque, or because the vicissitudes of the rogue's life lend themselves easily to interpretation in modern, existential terms, authors as different as Thomas Mann, Alan Sillitoe and J.P. Jones have each tried to revive the old tradition of the picaresque. In a sense, the picaresque tradition has never died. From the moment it was born in Renaissance Spain, it was imitated in virtually every country of Europe, in every age, and in America as well. Suffice it to mention here the names of Grimmschawzen, Lesage, Smollett, Dickens and Twain as examples of those fiction writers who were palpably inspired by the genre. Every country, of course, has its own literature of rogues, but the only one which transgressed the national boundaries was that of Spain. In modern criticism the term "picaresque" has been used frequently to describe certain recently published fictions, but at the same time it has been handled in a somewhat careless manner. In this paper we intend to limit its usage to a specifically historical

sense by recalling the circumstances of the rise of a group of similar texts which were later subsumed under the name of the picaresque novel /in Spanish the genre has been variously called as Eusto picaresco, novela picaresca, Genero picaresco, etc./.

The pre-history of the Spanish picaresque tale is among those numerous prose narratives in which a rogue described his adventures in a progress through a wide spectrum of society. The type of the protagonist /an impetuous witty rascal/ and the basic theme: his exploits on the road, go back to the Milesian tales of ancient Greece which in turn furnished material for such Roman narratives as The Golden Ass by Apuleius and the Satyricon by Petronius.

The Middle Ages prepared the ground for the rise of the picaresque through French fabliaux and Italian novellas, which featured the same type of anti-hero: an astute young man, usually of humble origin, predisposed to perform tricks and pranks. A powerful stimulus was also provided by folk tradition, in oral tales and anecdotes, in which a rascal's clever ruses constituted a common subject. In time, a welter of such anecdotes were joined to make up an integral whole - a jest-book, wherein a series of tricks came to be attributed to a single person. Such, probably, was the origin of the German Mullenspiegel at the turn of the fifteenth century.² All these texts, however, cannot be seen as belonging to the picaresque proper since no continuity of their poetics can be established between antiquity and modern times and so the similarity to the Renaissance picaresque of Spain is only of a typological kind.

It may have required the specific conditions, social, economic and religious, of sixteenth-century Spain for the first genuine specimen of the picaresque to appear. These factors, however, have been amply discussed by various scholars and their contribution to the birth of the genre has long been recognized. Here we shall follow the established view that Lazarillo de Tormes, an anonymous first-person narrative published in 1554, is the prototype of the picaresque romance. The full title of the work was: La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas

y adversidades /The Life of Lazarillo de Tormes and his fortunes and misfortunes/. It points at once to the basic form of the narrative, which is autobiography, and to the organization of its subject-matter which centres around the vicissitudes of a single hero. It also prompts the reader that the plot may be the function of the biographical formula, i.e. that the unravelling of the story depends entirely on the presentation of the protagonist's life.⁴

Lazarro's autobiography assumes the shape of one long episode in which he undertakes to clear his reputation in the eyes of a prominent patron of his and this is the immediate pretext for telling the story of his life. He begins with an account of his shameful parentage: born to a thief and a prostitute who are unable to provide for him, young Lazarro is commended to the care of a blind beggar and is soon taught by him the cruel ways of the world /or rather underworld/. A kind of initiation ceremony comes when the beggar asks the naive boy to bend over a stone bull and, when he does so, smashes his head against it. It is hard to overlook the symbolic meaning of the scene: innocence is lost and experience gained. Lazarro soon plays a similar joke on his master and goes in search of a better lot. He then suffers hunger at the hands of a miserly priest whom he tries to outwit to avoid starvation. The third master is in turn a proud Hidalgo whose honour prevents him from earning his living or even asking for bread, and Lazarro has to do the begging. His other employers are: a monk, a seller of indulgences, a painter, a constable, until - after many variations of fortune - he obtains the post of a town crier and marries the local archbishop's concubine.

Although the theme of a commoner struggling for moral and material survival had not been new at the time Lazarillo appeared, it was the original combination of a confessional form with a review of human types and situations that made the book generically distinct from other accounts of roguery and that passed into tradition as a seminal element to be utilized by generations of novelists in and outside Spain.

Throughout the book, and especially in the first three chapters, which occupy the bulk of the story, first-person narration serves as a unifying framework and, simultaneously,

creates an ironic distance between the telling "I" and the events narrated; between the seemingly complacent stance of the old Lazaro-narrator and a morbid picture of physical and mental squalor in which the young Lazarillo moves.⁵

There is a morbidity in the protagonist's milieu which is apparent already in the family background: the boy's mother consorts with a coloured slave and they all live on the brink of starvation. It is hunger and poverty that produce a convincing motivation for the hero's departure from home and his subsequent fluctuating career as a servant.

The total conception of the character-narrator in the tale rests on stressing the conditioning process. Lazarillo experiences constant adversity, his spiritual values are moulded to the prevalent system of corruption in society and so the outcome is the authorial construction of a flat character who exists merely in relation to his milieu; who can be described only in terms of reactions to common hostilities. Consequently, the hero practises what the world practises - deception and fraud. He hides behind the protective mask of a servant which not only secures him physical survival but also gives him an advantageous position for observing men and manners. The conditioning process finds its reflection compositionally in a series of similar episodes in which the hero first tries to satisfy his needs, is then subjected to harassment because of that, attempts to find a way out and, in the end, falls into another predicament.⁶

Until the end of the sixteenth century there probably existed no imitations of Lazarillo de Tormes, except for a spurious continuation published in 1555.⁷ The appearance of the novel did not result in the crystallization of a genre pattern. It was established only after devices from Lazarillo had been conventionalized, which process took place in several works written in the first decade of the seventeenth century. These are regarded as the core of the Spanish tradition of the picaresque and the most prominent role is given to Guzman de Alfarache by Kateo Aleman /2 Parts: 1599, 1604/.⁸ Guzman, like its predecessor, is an apology for the life of a rascal ostensibly written by himself who wanders through

various quarters of society. Guzman is an illegitimate child of a Genoa usurer and a Sevillian courtesan, a circumstance which determines his future progress in life. A series of misadventures - a robbery, a beating, arrest and desertion - toughen him and make him take on "mild colouring", i.e. in order to stay alive he quickly learns to steal, beg and cheat; sometimes he goes into service. The important structural similarity to Lazarillo de Tormes is the rhythm of alternating success and failure. Yet, unlike in Lazarillo, misfortune often leads to delinquency and even to hard crime.

The narrative exhibits the scheme of events well known from Lazarillo: the picaresque's humble provenance, home-leaving, initiation, a life of vagabondage and the final withdrawal from it. However, Aleman's novel is made more extensive by the broader panorama since the main character travels in several countries outside Spain, and by the interpolated stories, sermons and digressive comments on the part of the character-narrator. Despite these differences the contemporary readers immediately associated Guzman with its predecessor, Lazarillo. In fact, the publication of Aleman's work triggered off a genuine popularity of Lazarillo de Tormes, for several editions of it were turned out following the publication of the first part of Guzman. From that time onwards the two books were as a rule thought to constitute a common genre pattern. As Claudio Guillen puts it, the success of Guzman "sparked a 'combination'... a double acceptance, a convergence, from which there arose during the years immediately following the publication of Aleman /1599/, the idea of a 'genero picaresco'".⁹ Richard Johnson notes that, irrespective of the satiric aims or the delirant notes of the authors, "the coupling of the two novels was based upon their being considered entertaining stories of clever, carefree rogues".¹⁰

The Lazarillo-Guzman tandem was responsible for creating the model of the picaresque in world literature. The features of the picaresque can be summarized in the following way: he is a trickster and a delinquent, but also a philosopher of sorts capable of benevolent or cynical reflection. He becomes a vagabond at a certain moment in life and often ceases to be a rogue in the end. His life can be epitomized in a certain schematic plot: he is

orphaned early, departs from home and suffers a shock when left on his own/initiation moment/; society does not accept him, but he is unable to live completely outside it and therefore assumes different roles and disguises for the sake of adaptation/usual-ly such protective shape is that of a servant to merry masters./ at the end of his eventful career the picaresque retires in order to record all his past experiences. The narrative form is consequently that of the first person, a kind of pseudo-autobiography, and is therefore marked by subjectiveness and a bias of the character-narrator. ¹¹

A uniform reception of Guzmán de Alfarache as a work of entertainment was an important factor in the subsequent evolution of the picaresque. The majority of its recipients came from aristocracy, who preferred to overlook the implicit social criticism contained in the novels and looked for amusement instead. So, for instance, Ubeda in La Picaresca Justina /1605/ and Espinel in La Vida de Jarcos de Obregon /1615/ conformed to prevalent demand and deprived their novels of the incisive motif of social "education" that had characterized both Lazarillo and Guzmán. While the authors of these novels depicted resilient, solitary figures whose contact with the hostile environment necessitated some sort of primitive development of their souls /if only in terms of experience accumulated by them during their peripatetic life/, the followers tended to transform their heroes into mere adventurers and comic caricatures, retaining the basic outline of the story and the use of trickery. The presentation of the picaresque as process was replaced by the notion of character as unchangeable nature and such modification was quite in line with the upper-classes belief in the stability of the world. Further changes in the genre occurred as a result of the pressure of other prose conventions of the time such as the comic novel, the adventure story and the romance. ¹²

Thus, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, even in the first years after the establishment of the conjoint Lazarillo/Guzmán model, there was a movement away from it. The movement was accelerated by the process of migration. When the picaresque left its native Spanish soil and was translated and adapted in accordance with the local traditions of France, Germany and England, the conception of the rogue hero had to conform to the

taste and ideology of those classes which at the moment constituted the bulk of the reading public. Whereas in Spain the ambitious commoner had virtually no opportunities for social advancement due to the rigid structure of society ruled by noblemen, in Europe, particularly in England, the rising bourgeoisie accepted the image of a plebeian searching for material comfort in a society which was, at least theoretically, democratic. ¹³ In seventeenth-century England a picaresque story suited in a sense the Protestant tradesman's ethic of acquiring possessions and might have been read as a variant of the success story. ¹⁴ That the writers and translators of the picaresque invariably took into consideration the taste of their own audiences is best illustrated by the final destiny of the anti-hero: with the possible exception of Grimmelshausen's Simplicissimus, ¹⁵ the European rogue almost always succeeds in life as opposed to his Spanish counterpart.

Before it reached other countries, the picaresque first passed through France, where it was naturalized mainly in the form of translations into which, to make them more palatable for the native public, were introduced devices from the comic novel, adventure story and romance. For instance the 1635 version of El Zuscón /1626/, an extremely popular novel by Francisco Quevedo, rewrote the unscrupulous rascal into a noble, sentimental hero. These "translations" as well as the currently popular novels of Sorel and Scarron, which featured romance-like heroes of noble lineage, paved the way for the appearance of Gil Blas by Lesage in the eighteenth century. In the words of A. J. Fenwick, "they" are the bridge between Aleman and Lesage and can alone explain the changes that the picaresque tradition underwent as it moved into the eighteenth century". ¹⁶

Lesage's Gil Blas, although born to poor townsmen, is bent on keeping up appearances of gentility and indeed is capable of achieving success after a life-time of adventures on the road. Alain Rene Lesage, himself a translator of the chief Spanish picaresques into French, was drawing for his novel on the untypical Jarcos de Obregon rather than on Lazarillo or Guzmán; nevertheless, the original genre pattern is still recognizable in that the hero is a lonely fighter for social better-

ment as well as a satirist exposing the follies of humanity and co-ordinating through his own point of view the string of episodes of which the novel typically consists. However, Gil Blas represents already a changed form which is the result of bringing the Spanish convention into contact with the local literary system. For example, greater stress on humour and adventure testifies to the influence of the comic novel. The impact of the French heroic romance is revealed in the conception of the hero as a noble-souled adventurer, which suited the taste of aristocratic readers. On the other hand, as Bjornson points out, the idea of social mobility that Gil Blas also embodies appealed to the bourgeois audience.¹⁷

Legacy seems to be the last link in the sequence of the picaresque which started in mid-sixteenth-century Spain and developed more or less continuously until the beginning of the eighteenth century, i.e. when the first part of GIL BLAS was published /1715/.

N o t e s

1. This possibility is suggested by Robert Scholes and Robert Kellogg in The Nature of Narrative /New York, 1966/, pp. 73ff.
2. On the "pre-history" of the picaresque in European literature, see F.W. Chandler, Horaces of Roguery /New York, 1899/, ch. 1.
3. These matters, apart from Chandler, have been discussed recently by the following critics: Richard Bjornson, The Picaresque Hero in European Fiction /Madison, 1977/; Maria Kystrycka, "Tollyczny i spoleczny rownowad picaresizmu hiszpańskiego", Przedkulturowy i spoleczny picaresizm Elias L. Rivers, "The Anti-hero in Spain", Studies in the Literary Imagination, IX /1976/, 25-7; Javier Herrero, "Renacimiento Forery and Laramillo's family: The Birth of the Picaresque Genre", ELIA, 94 /1979/, 276-287.
4. Such a view is presented by Bjornson, op.cit., p. 7. The name of the picaresque novel derives from the Spanish word of uncertain origin "pícaro", meaning "a rogue, a rascally vagabond", for its etymology see F.W. Chandler and K. Schwartz,

- A New History of Spanish Literature /Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1961/, pp. 179ff.
5. Cf. Ulrich Wicks, "Narrative Distance in Picaresque Fiction", College Literature, VI /1979/, 185-181.
 6. Wicks has pointed to the existence of such an internal rhythm within each episode of the picaresque story and called it aptly the "Sisyphus rhythm", see "The Nature of Picaresque Narrative: A Social Approach", ELIA, 89 /1974/, 244.
 7. Such is the opinion held by most critics, e.g. Bjornson and Chandler.
 8. Cf. for instance Claudio Guillen, Literature as System /Princeton, 1971/, pp. 142ff; Harry Sieber, The Picaresque /London, 1977/, pp. 14-12, 17-24; Howard Mumford, "The Picaresque Novel: A Protean Form", College Literature, VI /1979/, 185-6; Bjornson, op.cit., ch. 5.
 9. Guillen, op.cit., p. 144; cf. also pp. 137-40.
 10. Op.cit., p. 67; cf. also ch. 3 in the book.
 11. Cf. Guillen, op.cit., pp. 75-82; W.W. Irons, "The Idea of the Picaresque", Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature, 16 /1967/, 43-52; Wicks, "The Nature of Picaresque Narrative"; Alexander Blackoun, The Myth of the Picaresque /Chapel Hill, 1979/; J. Rodriguez-Luis, "Picaresque: The Social Approach to the Picaresque", Comparative Literature, 31 /1979/, 23-47.
 12. Bjornson, op.cit., ch. 4; Sieber, op.cit., pp. 24-37.
 13. On the contemporary reading public and the background to the reception of the picaresque in England see A.S. Collins, "Authorship in the Days of Johnson /Clifton, 1975/, pp. 232-259; G.D. Jarvis, Fiction and the Reading Public /Harmondsworth, 1979/, pp. 102-25; Ian Watt, The Rise of the Novel /Harmondsworth, 1972/, pp. 36-65.
 14. Bjornson, op.cit., ch. 7.
 15. Hans Grimelshausen /1821-1876/ produced the most famous German version of the picaresque novel in Der Abenteuerliche Simplicissimus /1668/, followed by a few continuations. The adventures of the protagonist are set against the atrocities of the Thirty Years War, and the book contains elements of romance, religious allegory, fantasy, historical account, etc.

16. Literature and the Delinquent /Edinburgh, 1967/, quoted after Sieber, Op.cit., p. 47.
17. Op.cit., pp. 226-7.

Streszczenie

Powieść pikareska od dawna inspirowa powieściopisarzy wielu literatur. Wszakże termin 'picaresque' nie zawsze bywa używany precyzyjnie. Artykuł zawiera jego denotację do zjawiska historycznego, jakim był wzorzec gatunkowy oparty o dwa teksty: anonimowy Lezarrillo de Torres /1554/ i Guzman de Alfarache /1599, 1604/ autorstwa Mateo Alemana, napisane po hiszpańsku i w Hiszpanii opublikowane. W świadomości odbiorców współczesnych oba teksty pojmowane były jako wspólna tradycja, jako wspólny model, którego najistotniejszą cechą była postać rotnicza /picaero/, czyli plebejusza zmuszonego doświadczeniem do wędrówki, imania się rozmaitych zajęć, a także do oszustw. W owym pierwszym wzorcu gatunkowym istotny był również element edukacji kryminalnej bohatera, który zniknął jednak w dalszym rozwoju gatunku, gdy Lezarrillo i Guzman zaczęto odbierać w sposób spłycony, w rezultacie czego bohater przestał być nosicielem sensów filozoficzno-społecznych i sprowadzony został do roli awanturnika. Kiedy pikareska przekroczyła granice Hiszpanii i przyjęła się w innych krajach Europy, presja rodzajowych konwencji literackich doprowadziła do dalszych zmian w strukturze gatunku.

LUBELSKIE MATERIAŁY NEOFILOLOGICZNE • 1984

Alina Orłowska

Pełen religijno-filozoficzny Nicholas Chieraskow Prózdziemierny

Okres panowania Piotra III /styczeń - lipiec 1762/ a następnie pierwsze lata władzy Katarzyny II to epoka wzrostu znaczenia i aktywności ruchu wolnomularskiego w Rosji. Podobnie jak w poprzednich dekadzie oświeceniach, również w latach 60-tych loże wolnomularskie pozostają jedną niezależną od władzy oficjalnej organizacją społeczną, wyrażającą postulaty szlacheckiej opozycji liberalnej.

Etap ten znamionuje się współistnieniem dwu systemów masonickich, jeżegimowskiego, podporządkowanego Wielkiej Łoży Anglii, i berlińskiego-szwedzkiego, kierowanego przez P.B.Reichella. System reichelowski, cechujący się większym uduchowieniem i kładący nacisk na problematykę moralną i samodoskonalenie się jednostki, zyskiwał sobie szeroką popularność, której wyraz stanowiło przechodzenie do warsztatów Reichella coraz większej liczby uczestników Łoży jeżegimowskich. „Tej sytuacji w 1776 roku doszło do utworzenia wspólnej obediencji obrządku berlińsko-szwedzkiego, Wielkiej Łoży Prowincjonalnej, której wielkim mistrzem został I.Jeżegim. Wybitną rolę w dziele zjednoczenia obu systemów odegrał Chieraskow.

Autor Rosajedny wstąpił do Łoży masonickiej systemu Reichella najprawdopodobniej w latach 1774-1775¹. Teza A.Zapadowa, który na podstawie analizy drobku poety, a zwłaszcza utworów zawartych w czasopiśmie "Poleznoje uwiesielenijsie", twierdzi, że na początku lat 60-tych istniała w Łoskwie jakaś loża wolnomularska, której wybitnym działaczem, jeśli nie organizatorem był Chieraskow, wydaje się nieuzasadniona². Najnowsze badania I.Hässe wykazują, że życie wolnomularskie w Rosji do końca lat 60-tych skupione było wyłącznie w Petersburgu³.