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WITOLD OSTROWSKI

WALTER SCOTT IN POLAND

Part II

Adam Mickiewicz and Walter Scott

The label of "the Lithuanian Walter Scott" stuck to Mickiewicz since the beginning of his achievement in poetry and — later — Pan Tadeusz¹ suggested so many parallels with the novels of "the Great Unknown" that the names of both the Romantics have been mentioned together. Polish historians of literature have always been aware of some points in common between the two. Already in the early years of the present century S. Windakiewicz said something on the subject, that still remains valid: "Mickiewicz — he wrote — is the only Polish poet who was growing in strength, parallel to his gradual apprehension of Scott and for whom experiencing Scott was a problem of his own artistic life."² It is enough to read a study by K. Wyka,³ published forty years later in a new period, revolutionary to whatever had happened in Poland, to realize that Windakiewicz's formula may be accepted as a general statement even today.

It is when we try to explain and account for the parallels between Mickiewicz and Scott that a different course must be taken. Our idea of literary influence has become more complex, more precise, and more elastic.⁴ Trying to do justice to the uniqueness of personality, we have

¹ The English-speaking reader may find a choice of Mickiewicz's poetry in Konrad Wallenrodt and Other Writings of Adam Mickiewicz (Berkeley, California, 1925) and Pan Tadeusz translated into prose in the British Everyman's Library edition of world classics or into fine verse by Kenneth Mackenzie and published by The Polish Cultural Foundation, London, 1964. There is a good Esperanto translation in verse of the latter poem besides other translations into European languages.


³ Kazimierz Wyka, "Pierwiaski powiesciowe Pana Tadeusza" ["The Elements of the Novel in Pan Tadeusz"], Pamiętnik Literacki, XLVII, Special Issue III (1956), 44-92.


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learnt — at the same time — to see in writers some regularities of development resulting from their being conditioned by their times and social class. That is why, though some older studies may still remain collections of valuable observations, at present the problem of the parallelism between Mickiewicz and Scott cannot be reduced to a study of similarities in composition, of borrowed motifs, and of reminiscence. To explain the literary phenomena one is bound to consider them against the lives and works of the writers seen as a whole.

As a starting point of the research on Mickiewicz’s attitude to Walter Scott the following statement of J. Krzyzanowski may be accepted: "Both, Sir Walter’s and Mickiewicz’s young years passed in analogous conditions, in milieus which — it is true — were different in their culture, and yet showed a lot of features in common."  

Either poet was born and brought up in a small country connected by means of a political union with a larger, southern country which had developed earlier. Either of them was brought up and educated in the cultural tradition of the sister nation from which the ruling classes of his own country had received language and literature. Neither came from the capital of the joint political and cultural organism, and both of them lived in a province of the special type exemplified by Scotland in relation to England and by Lithuania in relation to Poland.

Their fathers belonged to a middle class of rather humble means. They were partly gentry and partly professionals. They were lawyers. Their sons were educated and influenced by provincial capitals — Edinburgh and Vilno — both centres of a flourishing intellectual and artistic culture.

In a similar pattern of political, social, and cultural life there is room for ambition to overtake the metropolis, room for rivalry with it. The ambition expressed itself in Mickiewicz’s critical attitude towards Warsaw intellectual circles and in his Lithuanian and Byelorussian regionalism.

The most important facts of the national past still living in the memory of the people surrounding young Scott were the Scottish

3 Cf. K. Wojciechowski, "Pan Tadeusz” a romans Waltera Scotta ["Pan Tadeusz" and Walter Scott’s Romance] (Krakow, 1919) and J. Ujejski, Byronizm i skotyzm w "Konradzie Wallenrodzie" [Byronism and Scotism in "Konrad Wallenrod"] (Krakow, 1923).

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risings of 1715 and 1745. Their purpose was not only to restore a
dynasty, but also to restore Scotland's political independence.

For young Mickiewicz the recent political past of Poland and Lithua-
nia was the partitions which deprived the two nations of their inde-
pendence and the armed attempts to regain it by Kosciuszko's insur-
rection [1794] and during Napoleon's war with Russia. Like Scott,
Mickiewicz saw in the political events of the past the failure of a noble
national cause.

The Napoleonic wars were the most important political experi-
ence shaping the attitudes of the writers towards their nations and
towards history. As G. Lukacs has pointed out, the great armies moving
quickly across the vast territories of Europe, the sudden fall of old
feudal states and the formation of some new, the experience of an
invasion as of liberation or a catastrophe affecting whole nations
brought about "the awakening of national feeling and a sense and
understanding of national history." 7 "The Napoleonic wars—con-
tinues Lukacs—evoke everywhere a wave of national feelings, of
national resistance, an experience of enthusiasm for national inde-
pendence." 8

This was exactly how young Scott experienced the beginning of the
war. His dual British-Scottish patriotism, historically analogous to the
dual Polish-Lithuanian patriotism of the Lithuanian gentry and known
to Mickiewicz, was also formed by the atmosphere of threatened inva-
sion.9 He even experienced a moment of the thought of a French
landing near Edinburgh though it turned out to be only a rumour. But
in 1815, while writing The Antiquary, he remembered that moment —
of alarm and mobilization — well enough to describe it vividly. At
the news of the invasion Monkburns, the main character of the novel,
seizes a sword which is a relic of the Uprising of 1745. This is a
symbolic gesture identifying the cause of the Scottish independence with
Britain's struggle against Napoleon's dictatorship.

Experiencing the Napoleonic wars as a chapter in British history
taught Scott to see universal history as a history of nations. Studying
the history of his own people and of the English people he began to
conceive the process of history as a struggle of political mass move-
ments blunted in their sharpness by time which ultimately shaped

8 Ibid.
9 Cf. his service in the volunteer cavalry after 1797 mentioned in J. G. Lockhart's The Life of Sir Walter Scott.
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reality into a compromise, into a synthesis of contradictory tendencies. Thus he presented the history of the Scottish risings in Rob Roy, Waverley, and Redgauntlet. In each of the novels the Jacobite readiness to fight gets weaker and the humanity of the English adversary in his treatment of the vanquished grows greater.

It would seem that when Napoleon ceased to be a menace to the United Kingdom, Scott's active patriotism ought to have undergone a change. But he thought that while the union brought some material and political advantage to Scotland, it led — through the agricultural and industrial revolution — to the loosening of national unity and to anglicization or cosmopolitanism.

Being a Scottish patriot, Scott wished that Scotland might retain as much as possible of her own law, culture, and manners. In 1826 the British Government tried to abolish differences between the currencies of the two countries. The plan prompted Scott to action. In a series of fervent letters to the press, signed with the name of Malachi Malagrowther he protested against the change. To his son he wrote:

10 He wrote in the preface to The History of Scotland (London, 1830), i, 1, that he wished to treat the history of Scotland "not merely as relating to one small kingdom, but as forming a chapter in the general history of man." In his Life of Napoleon Bonaparte (Edinburgh, 1855), p. 63 he remarked: "If there were no Whigs, our constitution would fall to pieces for want of repair, if there were no Tories, it would be broken in the course of a succession of rash and venturous experiments."

11 There was no great divergence between this idea and the reality, at least in some respects. The last of the Stuarts lived in Rome on a pension paid by the English Treasury and when he died, the Prince of Wales (later George IV) — a representative of the victorious Hanoverian dynasty — erected a monument in St. Peter's basilica in 1819, bearing an inscription which recognized the Stuart claims: To James III, Charles III, and Henry IX.

12 Scott was perfectly aware of these changes. About 1824 he wrote in the opening passage of St. Ronan's Well: "Few, if any, of the countries of Europe have increased so rapidly in wealth and cultivation as Scotland during the last half-century . . . Accident or local advantages have, in many instances, transferred the inhabitants of ancient hamlets from the situations which their predecessors chose, with more respect to security than convenience, to those in which their increasing industry and commerce could more easily expand itself." In 1829 he made in his Journal the following note of his impression of a conversation with a Scotsman who had arrived from the south: "In London, he says, there is a rapid increase of business and its opportunities. Thus London licks the butter off our bread, by opening a better market for ambition. Were it not for the difference of the religion and laws, poor Scotland could hardly keep a man that is worth having; and yet men will not see this." (Entry of 24.3.1829)
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"I think the Ministers have for ten or twelve years back been pursuing a system highly insulting towards Scotland and this sudden and violent change of currency will produce the greatest mischief."\textsuperscript{13}

In the \textit{Journal} he simply accused the ministers of "gradually destroying what remains of nationality." He welcomed "the uproar about Malachi" among the Scots which he had anticipated, writing: "I should rejoice to see the old red lion ramp a little and the thistle again claim its \textit{nemo me impune}."\textsuperscript{14} The patriotic feeling and pugnacity were so strong that he had to restrain them. "It is difficult — he admitted — to steer betwixt the natural impulse of one's national feelings setting in one direction and the prudent regard to the interests of the empire and its internal peace and quiet, recommending less vehement expression. I will endeavour to keep sight of both. But were my own interest alone concerned, d - n me but I wad give it them hot!"\textsuperscript{15}

Thus in his own way Scott was a patriot and a champion of the legal, cultural, and economic independence of Scotland.

Already in his youth his country had begun to change gradually from a feudal country into a country at least partly capitalistic and as that change had come from England, the old national habits and customs began to change or disappear. This made him an antiquarian and a writer who tried to record in his works the image of life which had just passed or was beginning to pass away.

The action — as we know — consisted in publishing state documents, Scottish memoirs, old metrical romances, orally transmitted ballads, songs, tradition, and anecdotes. \textit{The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border} 1802, \textit{Border Antiquities of England and Scotland} 1814, and the \textit{History of Scotland} for the young people [1828-1830] belong here.

Scottish history and folklore have entered into the majority of Scott's poetical romances. The action of seventeen out of about thirty novels written by him takes place in Scotland. The bulk of his writings reflects a nation's existence seen in the perspective of history and has been steeped in discreet but militant patriotism full of care for the future.

When we compare Scott with Mickiewicz, side by side with considerable differences, some fundamental parallels are to be seen. Like Scott, Mickiewicz was obsessed by history. Emerson's essay "History"


\textsuperscript{14} Cf. \textit{The Journal}, entries of 23.2.1826, 2.3.1826, 14.3.1826.

\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Ibid.}, entry of 25.2.1826.
with its words "Man is explicable by nothing less than all his history" attracted his attention so strongly that he wrote a paraphrase translation of it, significantly rendering "all his history" through "universal history of mankind." The history of each nation and universal history were inseparable for him. Writing *The Books of the Polish Nation*, he presented a history of mankind in them. *The Books*, though the most complete and direct expression of Mickiewicz's historiosophy, are not the only such expression. Practically all important works of the poet — from *Grażyna* and *Konrad Wallenrod* to *Pan Tadeusz* — deal with problems of history. The extraordinary poetic drama *Forefathers' Eve*, Part III does not only continue his interpretation of Poland's fate against the background of European history (in Father Peter's vision), but also presents the problem of the birth of patriotism. The transformation of a lover suffering in his love for a woman into a patriot, who suffers "for millions," presents the process of integration of an individual into a national history. Besides, *Forefathers' Eve* is an attempt to write current history.16

For Mickiewicz, as for Scott, the present was the fruit of the past and the seed of the future. Scott saw a threat for the continuity of the national tradition in the absence of a national state and in the progress of capitalism; Mickiewicz saw the menace of discontinuity in the downfall of the Polish state and in foreign imposition. He made constant efforts to maintain the nationality by salvaging the past of Poland either in a work of art like *Pan Tadeusz*, or in a handbook of the *History of Poland*, which he meant to bring up to 1830 for the benefit of the young, but which he did not complete.

*A History of the Future* ought to be also mentioned among Mickiewicz's works on history. He began it in 1829 and tried to continue it in different versions17 during several years, adopting in it a generally

16 This is evident in a scene in a Warsaw drawing room. In the scene Adolph tells an appalling story about a Pole, a political prisoner of the tsar. Then a young lady asks a man of letters: "Why don't you want to write about it, gentlemen?" The answer is: "Let old Niemcewicz put it into his memoirs. I hear he is collecting all kinds of stuff. It's history!" The continuing conversation reveals that the Warsaw literary circles of the times thought — in accordance with Neo-classicist ideas — that recent political history was not a suitable subject for poetry because of its topicality ("one must wait until . . .") and because of its unpleasant reality ("I hope you don't mean that one might put it into verse — that somebody ate herring.")

accepted historiographic style instead of the biblical and prophetic tone
of his forecasts of the future in The Books of the Polish Nation and
The Books of the Polish Pilgrimage.

Mickiewicz's attempts to calculate the future or to have it revealed
mark the greatest difference between him and Scott. The attitude
towards the future resulted from a difference between the political
situations of the two countries and from different political views of the
poets. The problem of regaining her political independence did not
exist for Scotland any more. For Poland it was still alive. For Scott,
Napoleon was an enemy, for many Poles he was the hope of deliverance.
Scotland had growing chances of economic development and, owing to
Scott, cultural development also. Poland had none. Her only chance
lay in the future in the form of a great international upheaval — a
"universal war for the Freedom of the Peoples" or revolution. Besides,
Mickiewicz saw in history a wider field for the intervention of God
and of moral law than Scott.¹⁸

In spite of these and other differences it seems undeniable that
both the poets used to think in categories of history and to be moved
by patriotism — ardent, anxious about the continuity of national exist-
ence, but not chauvinistic. Their works spring from these inner
attitudes.

There are also other parallels to be found in Scott and Mickiewicz.
Both belong to the first Romantic generation of writers in their
countries — the generation which laid the foundations of a national
Romantic literature. Mickiewicz's Poezje of 1822 and his preface to the
volume played a role similar to that of Lyrical Ballads with Words-
worth's famous introduction. In search of a new poetry Mickiewicz,
like Scott and Coleridge before him, was looking for inspiration and
models in the German poetry of the Sturm und Drang Periode and like
Scott, he picked Lenore for translation. But when he was doing it, he
discovered Scott and Byron and they became a precedent and an inspira-
tion for him. They taught him the form of the poetic tale which
assumed a greater importance in Poland than in England.

Another parallel between Scott and Mickiewicz is to be seen in the
development of their artistic forms in the service of fuller and fuller

¹⁸But it is worth stressing that Scott ascribed Napoleon's defeat in Russia
to the immoral and criminal nature of the invasion ("a moral error or rather
a crime") and even saw in the disaster a punishment for Napoleon's base
treatment of the Pope. "Without expecting miracles... we know that the
world is subjected to moral as well as physical laws, and that the breach of the
former frequently carries even a temporal punishment along with it," he wrote
in the Life of Napoleon Bonaparte (Edinburgh, 1855), p. 604.
realism. This statement involves a very delicate problem of the realism of form. To ask whether the form of a novel or the form of a ballad is more realistic is indeed dangerous. But anyone can see that the ballad can be realistic only in a different way from the novel. The ballad can give an outline of what happened while the novel is capable of presenting events with greater precision. The number of characters in the ballad is limited while scores of persons may be introduced and top-to-bottom sections of societies presented in the novel. In this sense the novel is a literary form which permits a wider range of realism.

The succession of literary forms with Sir Walter was as follows: ballads — poetic tales — novels. The succession of epic genres with Mickiewicz was similar: ballads — the poetic tales Grazyna and Konrad Wallenrod — Pan Tadeusz, a poem with a plot which exactly corresponds to the standard plot of Scott’s historical novel, a poem giving a complete panorama of national life and manners, epic in its truth, lyrical in its sympathy and humour.¹⁰

One of the reasons for Scott’s development along this line was his tendency to a fuller realism. We know from his own statement that The Lay of the Last Minstrel had been planned as a ballad, but grew in writing into a new kind of poem because the author wished to draw the background more precisely and to complicate the story more than the form of the ballad allowed. “The form of a romance divided into cantos” was the result as the Cambridge History of English Literature says.²⁹ In the Advertisement to Marmion the poet wished “to paint the manners of feudal times on a broader scale and in the course of a more interesting story.” In The Lady of the Lake the stress was put on the incident. In Rokeby his interest turned upon the character. Waverley combined the background, manners, plot, and characters into a unity enriched with a historical interpretation of the last Scottish uprising.

All this shows a tendency to make the artistic picture of life as complete as possible, to make it a vision of the historical situation of a

¹⁰ The likeness between the plot, characters, and the humour of Mickiewicz’s epic, and those of Scott’s novels has been explored in K. Wojciechowski, “Pan Tadeusz” a romans Waleria Scotta [“Pan Tadeusz” and Walter Scott’s Romance] (Crakow, 1919); K. Wyka, “Romantyczna nobilitacja powieści” [“Romantic Nobilitation of the novel”], Twórczość, Nos. 7-8 (July-August 1946), pp. 225-245; K. Wyka, O formie prawdziwej “Pana Tadeusza” [The True Form of “Pan Tadeusz”] (Warsaw, 1955); S. Skwarczynska, Mickiewiczowski powinowactwa z wyboru [Mickiewicz’s Affinities through Choice] (Warsaw, 1957).

²⁹ Cambridge History of English Literature, XII, p. 7.

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whole society in a certain period. Later on the line of development was broken, owing to various reasons, especially economic, but the greatest achievements of Scott are to be found in this line and nowhere else.

It seems that Adam Mickiewicz followed a similar line of development. *Pan Tadeusz* — the equivalent of a historical novel among the poet’s epic poetry — has long been recognized as a poem only in part romantic. Juliusz Słowacki, Mickiewicz’s great rival, in one of his worst moods, has found some “porkiness” or vulgar naturalism about it. Today *Pan Tadeusz* is held precious just because of the alleged earthiness which in fact is nothing else but Mickiewicz’s realism, mainly consisting in a factual vision of the passing of a certain way of life among nations, social classes, and individuals, including both Father Robak who organizes a national uprising and Sak Dobrzyński who is able only to plunder a poultry pen.

The fact that Mickiewicz, who had known Scott’s novels early, has not tried to imitate or to rival them from the very beginning of his literary career, seems to testify that then he was satisfied with a narrower range of realism. That is, the period of writing ballads and poetic tales ought to be considered as early stages of the development which culminates in *Pan Tadeusz*.

The wealth of the contents and the realism of the epic made Mickiewicz use many and various forms of expression, among which the fabular composition characteristic of Scott’s novels takes one of the foremost places.21

*Forefathers’ Eve* is, in many respects, a serious deviation from this line of development. But even in that unique synthesis of supernaturalism and realism one may find parts which impress one as taken out of a novel.22

When one considers all the parallels mentioned here the label of “the Lithuanian Walter Scott,” which stuck to the Polish poet about

21 Cf. K. Wyka’s statements: "In the foreground of *Pan Tadeusz* Walter Scott stands for a tendency to realism," and "The epic of *Pan Tadeusz* has developed along the line of telling possibly the fullest truth about a national community . . . by means of modern ways of expression, derived mainly from Walter Scott’s novel." ("Pierwiastki powieściowe *Pana Tadeusza*" ["The Elements of the Novel in *Pan Tadeusz*"]), Pamiętnik Literacki, XLVII, Special Issue III (1956), 59 and 89.

22 E.g. the narrative parts in Part IV, beginning with the words "I remember: in autumn, on a cold evening — I was going to leave on the following day — I strolled in the garden . . . . Recently I revisited my late mother’s house . . . . Listen, I’ll tell you more . . . . I was also in the garden about the same time on a cold evening in autumn . . . ." In Part III of the drama such passages are much more numerous.
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the time of his literary debut, takes deeper significance—much deeper than contemporaries might have thought. At the same time, the awareness of the parallelism in attitudes and in development makes the question of Scott's influence on Mickiewicz complicated. Just because of some personal similarities it is sometimes difficult to say how much Mickiewicz owed to the reading of Scott. The more so as Mickiewicz, a poet of greater depth and art and a man for whom writing was an august vocation, was not subject to Scott's influence, but rather profited by his experience.23

With all this in mind we may tackle a detailed study of Mickiewicz's reception of Scott with its consequences.

Contacts With Scott

Adam Mickiewicz got acquainted with Scott's works mainly through French, German, or Polish translations. This is evident from his correspondence. In 1828 he knew "only as much of English as is necessary to understand thoughts. The appropriateness and delicacy of phrases, the metre and the harmony of the [English] verse" were lost "on the ear and the perception of the continental man." 24

By that time he had certainly read The Lady of the Lake, Rokeby, The Lord of the Isles, Old Mortality, Kenilworth and possibly Marmion. It is hard to say anything certain about other works because "Scott's romances" usually appear in Mickiewicz's correspondence in the plural, without titles. He must have read many of them during his compulsory stay in Russia where, as he wrote, "each romance by Walter Scott [was] in immediate circulation." 25

The contacts with Scott's poetry were constantly maintained by Antoni E. Odyniec who had begun writing — like Scott — with a translation of Der Wilde Jäger, who made a paraphrase of Lochinvar and published a Polish translation of The Lady of the Lake (Dziewica Jeziora) in 1828.

23 It is worth remembering that Scott did not care much for the art of his creation though he was aware of its imperfections and frequently wrote about them. "'I'd rather be a kitten and cry Mew!' than write the best poetry in the world on condition of laying aside common sense in the ordinary transactions and business of the world," he wrote to Allan Cunningham on 27th April 1822 (The Letters of Sir Walter Scott, VII, London, 1934, p. 147). Mickiewicz did not go so far in giving priority to life and not to poetry, just because poetry was an important part of his life.


25 Dziela, XIV, p. 354.
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Odyniec was an enthusiast of Scott and as early as his friend’s stay in Russia he used to send him samples of his translations from English. "Adam" was not always pleased with them. He did not like a translation of a ballad taken out of Rokeby. He kept distorting the name of Littlecote Hall into Little-Kot, Kitl-Kazl and Kiel-Kat-Kutl. Having read a translation of The Eve of St. John he disgustedly implored Odyniec "to count syllables on his fingers" and to correct it.26

But, treating the translations—as they deserved—lightly, Mickiewicz was not biased against the originals. "Why, looking for a subject of your drama, did you not look into Tacitus or Walter Scott’s romances?"—he rebuked Odyniec and, on another occasion, writing about B. Zaleski whom he respected, he said: "Undoubtedly Zaleski can write a historical romance worthy of Walter Scott."27

The contracts between Mickiewicz and Odyniec became closest during their journey from Russia through Germany to Rome (1829-1830). Then Odyniec was able to display his knowledge of Sir Walter. Opportunity was not lacking, for in Odyniec’s mind almost anything aroused associations with Scott’s poetry, especially with The Lay of the Last Minstrel and The Lady of the Lake: the battlefield at Kulm, the fortress of Mainz, Charlemagne’s tomb, the cathedral of Cologne, the rocks on the Rhine, a prison in Venice, a Russian friend of Mickiewicz, Miss Anastasia Khustin, even Mickiewicz himself in company with Miss Henrietta Ankwicz (one of the poet’s unhappy loves). Once only he had an association with Meg Merrilies and once he recognized in Manzoni’s I Promessi Sposi a "faithful reflection of W. Scott’s method."

With characteristic profusion of undisciplined fantasy Odyniec has drawn in his letter from Weimar the picture of his literary heavens. For him Byron was a setting and Mickiewicz a rising sun. Goethe was the moon at the zenith. Chateaubriand, Scott, and Cooper were solar stars of the first magnitude, Pushkin an aurora borealis and V. Hugo a comet. Manzoni, Moore, Béranger, Lamartine, Tieck, Tenier, and Niemcewicz were the planets. Despite its weak logic, the picture gives an idea of the relative value and importance of Scott in the opinion of the

26 As the ballad was published in 1801 in Tales of Wonder and in 1802 in The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, it is possible that Odyniec had one of those books.

27 Dziela, XIV, pp. 394 and 289.

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man who helped to introduce Mickiewicz to a friend of the Scottish writer.28

The friend was William Allan (1782-1850) of Edinburgh, a painter of historical scenes, later the president of the Royal Scottish Academy, knighted for his merits. In 1805 Allan had gone to Russia, had been Count Potocki’s guest in the Ukraine, had made acquaintance with a gifted Polish poet Trembecki, had travelled to Turkey and Tartary, had been a witness of the retreat of the Napoleonic Army and had returned home only in 1814. To help him, Scott and other of his friends had organized a lottery in which the prize had been one of Allan’s paintings exhibited by the Royal Academy. Later he painted some scenes of the history of Scotland, suggested by Scott’s novels.

The meeting of the artist and the two Poles occurred on their way from Bologna to Pianoro when Allan, who tried to speak Italian began—to Odyniec’s astonishment—to interlard his sentences with Polish names of food. They became acquainted and travelled together until their arrival in Rome. Allan corrected Odyniec’s English, admired with the Poles Italian art and imparted correct information on Sir Walter’s looks, habits, and financial troubles. He had witnessed the moment when Scott had been told of his ruin and admired his courageous and noble bearing at the time.

While travelling—Odyniec informs us—William Allan exchanged letters with Scott. Odyniec added a few words of his own to one of the letters. At Naples Allan received the news of the first attack of Scott’s paralysis. The last recorded contact with the painter was his letter in which he wrote to the two poets about leaving for Cadiz and Edinburgh.

"Allan . . . melted and gushed when he saw how perfectly we knew his friend’s works," writes Odyniec.29 One can hardly doubt that Scott and his works were one of the important links between the travellers. Through his friend’s presence Scott became a living man to the Poles, not merely a literary figure. It is good to remember this in connexion with Pan Tadeusz in which the discussions on painting may be a memory of the visits with Allan to Italian galleries.

Mickiewicz had shown his respect for the Scottish writer before. "Oh, mighty they that accuse [Mickiewicz] of being drunk with the smoke of flatteries and of looking down on friendly people, might

28 For this and other facts quoted here see Antoni Edward Odyniec, Listy z podróży [Letters of Travel] (Warsaw, 1961), 2 vols. The letter from Weimar is dated 28th August 1829.

29 Ibid., I, p. 500.
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they witness how Adam speaks of Byron, Moore, Goethe, Scott!"—wrote F. Malewski with whom the poet lived in Russia—"How he respects their works, how modestly—too modestly—in my opinion—he estimates his relative position."30

On November 13th, 1833, Mickiewicz confirmed Malewski's opinion about his modesty. He wrote to Odyniec about the growing Pan Tadeusz: "It is difficult to send some passages, for you won't learn anything from them—just as from a few leaves torn out of Walter Scott (forgive an immodest comparison!)"31

Walter Scott did not keep the first place in Mickiewicz's hierarchy of poets. The Pole was attracted, first of all, by high or passionate poetry for which he looked in vain in the works of the Scotsman who could not and would not write about his most personal, deepest experience. "Byron and Schiller have inebriated us; like drunks, we are seeking the strongest drinks!"—was Mickiewicz's watchword in 1826.32

But this does not mean that Mickiewicz did not recognize in Scott's works a historic event, as is evident from the Preface to Poezje of 1822. According to the Polish poet, Scott was "an Ariosto." And Ariosto in Mickiewicz's opinion (in which he followed a German critic F. Bouterwek) belonged to the poets who "in accordance with the disposition of the age in which they lived, preferred to choose subjects from the world of romance and arrange them in an appropriate composition, but strove to model the particulars and the language on the ancients."33 This implies that Mickiewicz distinguished in Walter Scott's poetry romantic, or medieval, themes expressed in the form of a romance from his style and treatment of details in which he recognized "the ancients" i.e. some kind of Classicism. This implication is confirmed in another place of the text where it is said that Scott had published "popular tales of the romantic world elaborated in a classic way." Here Mickiewicz was not far from the truth because Scott retained a lot of the eighteenth century style.

In Mickiewicz's opinion, Walter Scott's historic role of one of "the two geniuses" (the other one was Byron) of nineteenth century Britain consisted in the fact that he "devoted his talent to national history, publishing folk tales" and in this way "created national

30 Dziela, XVI, p. 52.
31 Dziela, XV, pp. 103-104.
32 Dziela, XIV, p. 296.
33 A. Mickiewicz, Prace estetyczno-krytyczne [Essays in Aesthetics and Criticism] (Krakow, 1924), p. 56.
poetry." He also belonged to those who "restored its splendour to the old genre of the serious Scottish ballads" without forfeiting—contrary to Schiller—their "natural simplicity."

**Mickiewicz's Attitude To Scott In His Works**

These words belonged to the preface to a collection of ballads and romances frequently bearing the subtitle from a folk song. To those readers who knew The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border the young Vilnius poet appeared in the first volume of his poetry in the role of Sir Walter which he himself presented in the preface. Apart from the question to what extent does the Ballads and Romances reflect Lithuanian and Byelorussian folklore, one can hardly doubt that it was meant by the poet to achieve two things: to preserve the "folk song" from being forgotten and to repeat in Poland the process of the transformation of folk poetry into national literature, a process already accomplished in Britain and in Germany. To become "the Lithuanian Walter Scott" in this sense was Mickiewicz's desire.

His poetic tales *Grażyna* and *Konrad Wallenrod* are an expression of this wish, but a fuller and more Scott-like expression. A great deal has been written in Poland on this subject and all the possible details discussed, but some essential things ought to be stressed and some differences in the views of the Polish students of Scott's influence resolved.

When he wrote the romances, Mickiewicz used historical, medieval matter and the form of a poetic tale, both characteristic of Scott. The action of both the poetic romances takes place on the German-Lithuanian border against the background of the wars between the Teutonic Order of Prussia and the Lithuanian nation. In *Grażyna* it is politically complicated by private ambitions and petty politics of the Lithuanian feudal overlords.

International wars are to be found in *Marmion* and in *The Lord of the Isles; The Lady of the Lake* presents a conflict between the Highlands and the Lowlands—unintegrated ethnic groups of the Scottish nation; *Rokeby* has the English Civil War as the background of an intrigue and struggle. Feudal dissents and feuds appear in five of Scott's poetic tales.

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35 J. Ujcski, *Byronism i Skotyzm w "Konradzie Wallenrodzie" [Byronism and Scotism in "Konrad Wallenrod"]* (Krakow, 1923) may serve as a convenient review of what had been written on this subject.

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In both of Mickiewicz's romances the element of mystery—as J. Kleiner and J. Ujejski have pointed out—is not an aim in itself as with Byron, but merely a romantic technical means of composition like a disguise and subsequent complications. Scott uses the mysterious in the same way in nearly all his metrical romances.

Scott's technique of composition is obvious in Konrad Wallenrod. The poem is divided into the Introduction and six cantos, various metres are used within the framework, whole smaller poems are introduced into the cantos: Hymn, Song, Song from the Tower, Song of the Wajdelota, The Tale of the Wajdelota, and the ballad of Alpjaara. The Hymn is a counterpart of Scott's Dies irae in his Lay and of the Hymn to the Virgin in The Lady of the Lake. There are four internal poems of this kind in Marmion, ten in The Lady of the Lake, eight in Rokeby.

Like Walter Scott, whose Lay was "to illustrate the customs and manners which anciently prevailed on the Borders," Mickiewicz took every opportunity in Grazyna and Wallenrod to present the customs and manners of the Prussian-Lithuanian border against the background of a beautiful, exactly localized nature.

The notes to both these romances are of the same character as Scott's. They imitate the comments of an editor of an old relic of literature, both explaining and completing the main text. Contrary to Byron, who in some of his footnotes to Giuver assumes towards his own text the attitude of a satirist, Sir Walter treated the notes most seriously.

In the notes—he wrote—it has been my object to throw together, perhaps without sufficient attention to method, a variety of remarks, regarding popular superstitions, and legendary history, which, if not collected,

86 In Grazyna the heroic Lithuanian duchess puts on her husband's armour while he is asleep, in order to reverse his plan of aligning himself on the German side against the forces of the Grand Duke of Lithuania. In this patriotic act she loses her life, but saves her country and her husband's honour. The atmosphere of mystery is incidental and subordinate to the purpose of the story. On the contrary, the atmosphere of mystery, which pervades Giuver and The Corsair, emanates from the hero's secret which ought to explain everything when revealed, but is neither satisfactorily revealed nor does it fully justify the hero's behaviour.

87 Cf. his remarks about the scorpion's alleged suicides, women in the Moslem Paradise, the Al-Sirat Bridge, and the two punishing angels. Giuver is an example of Byron's dissociation in relation to his own experience. This inner split made him a poseur in some of his early poems. Only Don Juan gave an opportunity to the suffering satirist to display freely all the aspects of his personality. It is interesting that in Mickiewicz's translation of Giuver the irony of the footnotes has been lost.
must soon have been totally forgotten. By such efforts, feeble as they are, I may contribute somewhat to the history of my native country; the peculiar features of whose manners and character are daily melting and dissolving into those of her sister and ally. And, trivial as may appear such an offering to the manes of a kingdom, once proud and independent, I hang it upon her altar with a mixture of feelings which I shall not attempt to describe.\footnote{Minstry of the Scottish Border (Edinburgh, 1812), p. cxxxii.}

Writing the poetic tales Mickiewicz not only added something to the history of manners in Lithuania which he introduced into Polish literature thus provoking numerous followers, but also charged the romances with such powerful ideas and patriotic enthusiasm that he greatly surpassed Scott. The idea shaping the stories of Grazyna and Konrad Wallenrod is the idea of sacrificing all personal interest and happiness for the sake of the nation. This problem appears in no poem by Scott. In his novels only Fergus Mac-Ivor of Waverley might exemplify the idea, but even his patriotic Jacobitism is combined with ambitious plans for elevating his family, in which he is helped by his sister. On the contrary, the need for sacrifice in Grazyna arises in the conflict between private feudal interests and the interest of the nation; in Wallenrod the sacrifice is made in a desperate situation in which an open war is useless because of the enemy’s superior strength. The hero can save his country only by renouncing his love and people, going over to the enemies and eventually bringing about their fall. As all this involves a moral problem, even the victory does not make Konrad happy. In a sense he is a pioneer of the Polish conspiracy, facing an extremely difficult moral choice from which history generally spared later underground fighters.\footnote{I do not know of any Polish conspirators who would take advantage of being trusted officials or commanders in the service of a foreign power and would use their influence to bring the power to ruin. Wallenrod’s Byronic behaviour follows from such a morally unbearable situation. It is good to remember, however, that the problem of a Machiavellian renegade was frequently presented in fiction published in Poland before 1830. Teodora, a story of the Greek uprising against the Turks, written by J.N.A. Scheder and published in Wroclaw (1823) and Renegat by V. d’Arlincourt, published in Vilno in 1825 preceded Grazyna (1823) and Wallenrod (1827), respectively, and might have stimulated Mickiewicz. I owe this information to the kindness of Professor Zdzisław Skwarczynski.}

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tant change which distinguishes him from Scott. While history shapes the life of an individual in Scott's poems, in Mickiewicz's it is shaped itself by the individual because he wishes to influence the fate of his people and he achieves his aim. But this may be done only at the price of an energetic renunciation of private life, first of all of one's love-life. Grazyna exposes herself at least to her husband's anger, Konrad poisons Aldona's life and his own. Both Grazyna and Konrad have to die in the end.

The idea of patriotism raised to a heroic power sets the two poems on a level of tragedy, above the patriotic idealism of the author of The Lay of the Last Minstrel. But for both the poets their patriotic attitude resulted in creating a literature.

That is why so important a part is played in Wallenrod by the waj- delota, the "last minstrel of the land . . . to sing a Lithuanian song." The "folk lay," the "folk song" mentioned by Mickiewicz in his ballads was for him—just like for Scott—a link between the national past and present. In Wallenrod he apostrophises it in the following words:

Sage! thou art of that most holy plight
Between the years of yore and younger years,
In thee the folk lays armor of its knight,
Fabric of thoughts, blossoms of joy and tears.
Ark! thou canst not be broken, while thy own
Take heed of thee! O folk song! thou dost stand
On guard before the nation's inmost shrine
Of memory, and wings and voice are thine
Of an archangel—but not these alone,
For an archangel's sword is in thy hand.
The flames will gnaw away a painted tale;
The fruits of conquest, vandals will despoil:
The song unscathed springs from the mark and moil . . .

The song then, or poetry preserves the social consciousness of the people ("fabric of thoughts, blossoms of joy and tears") and the continuity of the national tradition ("thou dost stand, On guard before the nation's inmost shrine of memory"). It may become, by its contents, a powerful weapon in a nation's struggle for independence ("an archangel's sword is in thy hand"); it is immaterial and therefore indestructible—unlike the fine arts ("the flames will gnaw away a painted tale")—and it may survive everything unless its own people forget it.

*In his poetical introduction to Marmion Scott extols Nelson, Pitt, and Fox as great patriots, but only Nelson might have claimed the heroicism of giving his life for his nation, like Grazyna. With all his cares, the Scottish patriot lived in a fortunate country in which such heights of heroism as these were unnecessary.
STUDIES IN SCOTTISH LITERATURE

Mickiewicz's faith in poetry as a social force was as much more fervent and impassioned than Walter Scott's as his temperament and the scale of his art surpassed that of the Scottish poet. That is why, though their development from the poetic romance to an epic realism was parallel, it made Scott express himself in the novel while Mickiewicz wrote his great epic poem.

Pan Tadeusz was begun in the beginning of December, 1832, two months after Sir Walter's death, and was finished twenty years after Waverley. The process of writing of both the works provides conclusive evidence that parallels between them resulted mainly from similar attitudes of the authors and not because Mickiewicz borrowed from Scott.

Neither Pan Tadeusz nor Waverley were written according to a plan, but they developed while their authors were groping for a new form which might enable them to present a complete picture of a national life recently gone.

"My early recollections of the Highland scenery and customs made so favourable an impression in the poem called The Lady of the Lake that I was induced to think of attempting something of the same kind in prose," wrote Walter Scott. However, the seven chapters of Waverley, written in 1805, met with an unfavourable criticism and were forgotten in an attic until 1813. An accidental discovery of the manuscript and the fame of Maria Edgeworth inclined Sir Walter to continue the story.

I felt [he wrote] that something might be attempted for my own country, of the same kind with that which Miss Edgeworth so fortunately achieved for Ireland—something which might introduce her natives to those of the sister kingdom, in a more favourable light than they had been placed in hitherto, and tend to procure sympathy for their virtues and indulgence for their foibles. I thought also, that much of what I wanted in talent, might be made up by intimate acquaintance with the subject which I could lay claim to possess, as having travelled through most parts of Scotland, both Highland and Lowland: having been familiar with the elder, as well as more modern race; and having had from my infancy free and unrestrained communication with all ranks of my countrymen, from the Scottish peer to the Scottish ploughman.

Let us concentrate on some phrases in this confession. "That something might be attempted for my own country" points to a continuity of patriotic intentions. Similarly, Mickiewicz writing Pan Tadeusz

See Introductions and Notes and Illustrations to the Novels, Tales, and Romances of the Author of Waverley (Edinburgh, 1833), p. 9.

Ibid., p. 12.
thought "about his country," about "the homeland of his childhood," about "the regions of childhood" where "everything belonged to us," (see the Epilogue).

"Sympathy for virtues and indulgence for foibles" offered to the past generations also reminds us of Pan Tadeusz which has not only the features of a heroic historical poem, but also some features of a mock-heroic poem.

Scott's modesty "what I wanted in talent" reminds one of Mickiewicz's underestimation of his work ("I, a bird of short flight") most emphatically expressed in the words: "I will never again use my pen for trifles ... I would have dropped Tadeusz, but it was drawing to a close. So I finished it, just yesterday ... A lot of poor stuff, a lot of good things too ... I just managed to bring it to an end; for the spirit drove me elsewhere, to further parts of Forefather's Eve." 43

In the first chapter of Waverley the author says that he tried to find a title for the new novel, which might distinguish it from the Gothic novel, from the sentimental novel, and from the drawing-room novel. "Neither a romance of chivalry nor a tale of modern manners" was his aim. His object was "more a description of men than manners," a description of "the characters and passions of the actors," passions "common to men in all stages of society" and thus exciting the interest of the reader in what happened sixty years ago and was gone. Presenting the recent past critically, with sentiment and humour in the form of an epic story with some psychological insight, Scott collected into an organic whole the elements scattered in his poetic tales and created something new that he could not name. In the introduction to the third edition he called it merely "a sketch of an ancient Scottish manners." In this way the modern historical novel of tradition was created, a novelty immediately recognized by the readers. John Murray, the publisher, welcomed in it a wonderful relief from the irreality of the Gothic fiction.

Adam Mickiewicz did not know, either, what name he should give to his growing work. "A gentlefolk poem of the Hermann and Dorothea kind," "an idyllic poem," "a poem of countryside," "A Gentleman," "a long affair," "the longest poem I had ever written"—these are the designations which he used in his letters. Even as late as November 13th, 1833, when five books of the epic were ready, he thought he

43 In a letter to Odyniec, written in Paris in February 1834.

"This seems to be implied in the sentence "It is difficult to send a few passages, for you won't learn anything from them—just as from a few leaves torn out of Walter Scott." (Dziela, XV, pp. 103-104).
would complete it in eight books. Then also he found some likeness between the poem and Sir Walter's novels. Later he called the poem "a poetic romance of domestic life in Lithuania" and finally—in the subtitle—"a gentlefolk story." 46

Today we know that Pan Tadeusz was a new literary work, a synthesis of various literary genres, as has been pointed out by recent research. 46 This was felt by contemporary readers. Z. Krasiński, the author of The Undivine Comedy, saw a synthesis of Don Quixote and The Iliad in the poem; J. Slowacki admired it or blamed, according to which aspect of the poem impressed him more strongly at the moment; Michal Grabowski, a critic, found in it "beautiful things," but also "a bastardly foreign genre which will go out of favour some day." 47

It is significant that the readers who read the new poem felt that it contained the elements of Scott's historical novel. "A very beautiful poem, like Walter Scott's romance written in verse," said Slowacki at once. Even a not very friendly critic like Stanisław Ropelewski associated it with Scott by saying that "it does not even achieve the dignity of a high romance like The Talisman, Ivanhoe, or Old Mortality." And he called the poem "the first truly Polish romance and the first romance in our literature." 48

Subsequent critics had no doubts about the resemblance. A most detailed analysis of the parallels between the technique of the composition of Scott's novels and that of Pan Tadeusz has been made by Konstancy Wojciechowski, who analysed the three motifs of the action: love, family feud, and political struggle; the character and the position of the titular hero; the so-called leading character, and the eccentrics;

47 The full title of the poem consisting of about ten thousand lines (in tridecaasyllabic pentameter couplets) is: Pan Tadeusz, or the Last Foray in Lithuania, a Gentlefolk Story of the Years 1811 and 1812 in Twelve Books of Verse.

48 Cf. the previously quoted K. Wyka, "O formie prawdziwej Pana Tadeusza" and "Pierwsi kartki powiescowe Pana Tadeusza." Also in S. Skwarczyńska, Mickiewiczowskie powieściowstwo z wyboru (Warsaw, 1957), pp. 605 ff. where the author has pointed out the presence in Pan Tadeusz of the aspects of a heroic historical poem, a social and political utopia, fairy tale, a poem of manners, a mock-heroic poem, a romantic descriptive poem, a didactic poem, and of a love idyll.


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the development of the tempo and such features as mystery, sentiments, and prognostics, a death-bed confession which explains everything, sudden rescue, local and historical colour, humour and optimism. Wojciechowski came to the conclusion that "perhaps Mickiewicz . . . used Walter Scott's composition consciously, accepting its general framework, because his purpose was the same as Scott's and it might be achieved more easily by means of that composition." 49

Even if this statement is debatable, one can hardly disagree with Wojciechowski's opinion that there exists:

an extremely strong bond between Pan Tadeusz and Scott's works for the precedent of which we would look in vain in what was written earlier. It is the unusually lively interest in the public and national cause, the love of it, the way of looking at everything sub specie nationis. That loving interest in the disappearing national manners, disappearing types, that ability to catch and render the essential features of the character of a nation—Walter Scott was a past master in that and it was he who stimulated Mickiewicz with his Waverley to display all the creative powers of a genius, the powers which enabled him to present a vast picture of the life of a nation. 50

Kazimierz Wyka has completed the analysis of Mickiewicz's attitude towards Scott through an assessment of the inspiration in Pan Tadeusz by Goethe, Byron, and the Polish gentlefolk tale (gałowa szlachecka), but he also has come to the conclusion that:

the epic in Pan Tadeusz by virtue of modern means of expression derived mainly from Walter Scott's novel and assigning an important role to dramatic elements, has developed along the line of telling the fullest truth about a national community. The truth which sanctions all dramatic means, as well in the author's narrative, its course and rhythm, as in presentation and description, for the sake of most complete reproduction if only this serves the patriotic intention of the work. 51

Wyka adds: "Considering the background of its times, Pan Tadeusz was the most innovative Polish novel." 52

When he was about to finish Pan Tadeusz, Mickiewicz impatiently longed to continue Forefathers' Eve. "The spirit was driving him

50 Ibid., p. 126.
51 K. Wyka, "Pierwiatki powiesciowe Pana Tadeusza," Pamiętnik Literacki, XLVII, Special Issue III (1956), 89.
52 Ibid., p. 91.
"elsewhere," the masterpiece was, if not "a trifle," certainly not "the only work worth reading." The high tide of Scott-like realism was at its ebb. The poet was returning to "the matrix idea" of Forefathers' Eve — the belief in the influence of the invisible world of spirits on human thought and action. A few years later this faith was exploited for his own purposes by A. Towiański, one of those self-appointed doctrinaires of political mysticism who kept turning up in that period. Mickiewicz returned then to Scott only in his lectures on Slavonic literature at the Collège de France and only in the vein of severe criticism.

This is not evident in the early lectures. In his second lecture the poet, who was speaking about J. C. Pasek's Memoirs (a Polish chronological and literary counterpart of Pepys's Diary) first published in 1836, said about the writer's descriptions of battles: "He had, so to speak, guessed the genre of historical romance . . . Only as late as with the romancers of the historical school, e.g. Walter Scott, we find interesting details about soldiers' life . . .”

In Lecture XXVIII of June 7, 1842, Mickiewicz spoke about Pushkin: "After a period of his imitation of Byron, Pushkin unconsciously imitated Walter Scott. Everybody talked then about local colour, historicity, need of recreating history in poetry and in the romance. Pushkin's later works: Gipsies, Mazeppa waver between the two tendencies. At one time he is a Byron, at another time — a Walter Scott. He is not himself yet."

At first glance one can see in these statements the objective, cool mind of a historian and critic of literature. One might see in them, as well, a backward look by Mickiewicz at himself. But Lecture XV of February 2, 1842, supplies a context in which both statements may and even ought to be taken for criticism of Scott. The context is:

The method popularized by Walter Scott has already made great devastations in Slavonic literature and it threatens with even greater ones. Nobody wants to understand Walter Scott's idea which is pride, perhaps even greater than Byron's pride. He presumes that he has known all the characters introduced into his romances to the very depth of their souls; he thinks that he has fathomed all their purposes and nature, that he has measured all their career, both spiritual and terrestrial. Like a juggler, casting shadows for spectators' enjoyment, he creates his heroes, always describes them patronizingly, with some kind of a very offensive familiarity. Besides, Sir Walter Scott wrote to amuse his readers, to amuse crowds of idle public. Is there a public of this kind in Slavonic countries?

66 In the quoted letter to Odyniec, of February 1834.

66 All the quotations from Dziela.
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A strange attack! In eight years' time after making friends with the master of Abbotsford, Mickiewicz discovered in him a corrupter of Slavonic literature!

Let us tackle this puzzle. In contact with the hardships and annoyances of life in France, a country which Mickiewicz in his heart of hearts hated, everything Slavonic became almost sacred to him. In the atmosphere of mystical Pan-Slavonism mere statements of facts assumed special colour and sense. Pasek was a man of genius anticipating Scott in his technique of battle-pieces by two centuries. Pushkin, instead of becoming himself at once, was unnecessarily at one time Byron, at another, Scott. This was one of the reasons of the disaffection.

The other reason though not quite rational and just, might be detected in the practice of mechanical and superficial "walter-scottation"—certainly undesirable for any national literature. But the practice was at its ebb at the time Pan Tadeusz was being written. Besides, Mickiewicz explicitly states what makes Sir Walter's influence baneful. It is the "pride" expressing itself in his treatment of his characters as not men equal to him, ultimately unknowable, and unaccountable, but as his creatures treated familiarly and patronizingly. Creatures designed and called to existence by the writer acting in the novel like God in the world which He created.

Mickiewicz scandalized at this literary practice may evoke a smile, but his attitude followed from a specifically ideological evaluation of one of two novelistic techniques. One of them would be Joseph Conrad's technique: modestly striving to get to know his characters. The other technique is H. Fielding's: knowing everything about his characters and looking at them with the eye of an eighteenth century satirist. Sir Walter assimilated a lot from the technique of the great novel of Fielding's times, but with a difference: he was kind and as indulgent towards his characters as Mickiewicz himself in Pan Tadeusz. He was a humorist who did not like satire. But in his novel the Romantic hero has lost—except humanity of feelings and honesty in dealings—all heroic features, all his greatness and stature. This was a result of Scott's conception of history, according to which the hero, representing an average man, combines in his experience the struggling forces and in his human way brings them closer to the reader, representing in himself the continuity of historical development—the average people in between— as G. Lukacs has said. Scott's heroes are usually young, inexperienced men like Tadeusz Soplica. No wonder, therefore, that at times their creator kindheartedly laughed at them. He

even called Waverley a sneaking piece of imbecility. But that sharpest criticism was expressed outside the novel. It is easy to contrast it with the wonderful character of the heroine of *The Heart of Midlothian*, perhaps Scott's best novel. But, then, Mickiewicz may have not read it.66

The last point of Mickiewicz's statement is a reproach for Scott's writing "to amuse crowds of idle public" allegedly non-existent in Slavonic countries. Slavophilism combined here with an ideological pandidacticism of the man who then lived in the atmosphere of prophetic literature and prophetic vocation and to whom a writer's humourous attitude to his characters and writing for the purpose of diverting his readers must have seemed scandalously out of keeping with the dead seriousness of life.

This is evident from what the lecturer says further. There his butt is Juliusz Slowacki, his great rival in poetry. In Mickiewicz's opinion Slowacki sacrilegiously exploited "a noble idea" of which "a poet and a prophet" Father Marek was "an apostle and martyr" by "dedicating poems to his glory" though he, Slowacki, scoffed at the idea itself.67 The sacrilege resulted from pride like Sir Walter's pride.

Reading literature in the spirit of growing Tovianism, Mickiewicz discovered one vice more in his former guide — an ignorance about the contacts of this world with the other. He propounded the idea in Lecture XVI of April 4, 1843. It came out in the lecture that most poets did not even know how to manipulate the supernatural. Homer was comparatively most Christian:

With him, everything happens first in Heaven i.e. in the region of spirits; only later man fulfills God's design. But man is not a blind tool; he may accept the counsel and the help of the deity; he may also reject them and then he suffers; but all his power to act depends on that mysterious influence.

And now—continued Professor Mickiewicz—let us take the romances of Walter Scott who does not even know the mystery of the contact between Heaven and earth, or Cooper's romances: there all the heroes, all those

66 A possible, but not convincing, proof of the poet's ignorance of the story of Jennie Deans is the fact that in his letter to Miss Vera Khlustin in June 1843 he set the example of Praskova Lupalova, daughter of a Russian soldier exiled to Siberia. The girl had walked all the way to the tsar to obtain pardon for her father. De Maistre used the story for his *Priscovia ou la jeune Sibérienne* (1815). The astonishing concurrency of the exploits of the Scottish and the Russian heroines did not provoke Mickiewicz to any comment. (Cf. *Dziela*, XV, p. 563).

67 Fr. Marek was a leader of a conservative-patriotic movement called the Confederacy of Bar. He combined religious mysticism with political aims of which the most important was armed resistance to tsarist imperialism.
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Mac-Ivors, all those Richards, are always equally brave, noble, high-minded. Cooper has developed the mistake to the extremes. It is sad that after so many centuries none of the poets has matched even Homer in his knowledge of the great mysteries of humanity. 28

Thus the author of Pan Tadeusz ultimately was unable to forgive the author of Waverley that he was not the author of a Forefathers' Eve.

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28 All the texts quoted from Dziela, X and XI. Writing this Mickiewicz was forgetting, or ignorant of, The Fair Maid of Perth in which Scott deliberately chose to present the problem of a man whose courage fails him unexpectedly.

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