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15. Goebbels J., Michael, s.152.
16. Tamże, s.12.
17. Tamże, s.12. W innym utworze Goebbelsa, Vom Kaiserhof zur Reichskanzlei, München 1942, wyd. 37, s.12, sformułowane jest to bardziej dobitnie "Oswaga, dzielność, wytrwałość, to były cnoty, które udchowiały ruch narodowosocjalistyczny od Führera począwszy, na ostatnim jego człowieku skoniczyszy, w ich drodze do władzy." (tłum. moje - H. I.)
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Zbigniew Mazur

The Savage and the Concept of "Civility" in Sixteenth-Century English Travel Reports

Throughout the sixteenth century the European knowledge of the world was greatly enhanced owing to numerous voyages of discovery and exploration to hitherto unknown parts of the globe. It was then that for the first time Europeans came into regular contact with primitive people. Voyages made it possible to learn more about primitive life and modify medieval ideas about it. The present study is an attempt to discover what image of the primitives English travel reports offered to their readers. It should be especially interesting to examine this image in connection with the development of the concept of "civility" which can be traced in the same texts. It seems that as early as in the sixteenth century the term "civility" served to represent the idea of "civilization" which developed fully only about three centuries later. One may claim that the primitives' arrival into the mental framework of Renaissance Europe helped the inhabitants of the Old World to realize their cultural identity more vividly: as representatives of civilization /or "civility"/ they saw themselves strikingly different from the "savage" primitives.

The material for the present study has been selected from Richard Hakluyt's The Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation... /London, 1599, 1598-1600/1 which is surely the most comprehensive collection of English travel reports written up to the end of the sixteenth century.

Both the scarce early texts published by Hakluyt and other medieval sources prove that in the Middle Ages contacts with primitive societies were sporadic and accidental. Medieval travellers journeyed mostly to Asia in the hope of finding there fairy kingdoms of fabulous wealth, heathen, but advanced in the arts of life.² Their reports /for example that of Marco Polo/ show that they were hardly ever disappointed in their expectations. Encounters with primitive tribes were comparatively less frequent and it seems that travellers treated them as mere curiosities.

The primitives were shown as either semi-beasts or part of the marvellous. Travel accounts brought news of human monsters: the one-legged Skiapods, the strange Hemiines with faces between shoulders, the dog-headed people - to mention only a few examples. Other, presumably primitive tribes, were characterized by their unusual habits and customs: the Ichthyophagi fed on fish, the Anthropophagi on human flesh; there were also exclusively male or female tribes /e.g. the Amazons/. Most descriptions were created out of inadequate information, and authors' imagination was often at work trying to fill the gaps and explain the details which had no counterparts in the European reality. The belief in human monsters was partly a result of fallacious reasoning on meteorology. The hot zone was thought to be uninhabitable, while in its neighbourhood people could live, but owing to the influence of the climate they were of unnatural shape or lacked certain organs.³

Needless to say, if the primitives were described in such a way, they could not be classified as genuine human beings. They failed to meet both the Christian criterion which defined man /they were incapable of receiving divine grace/ and the classical one, for they did not seem to be rational creatures.

Reports of medieval travellers enriched and supplemented the mythical lore. Fantasy and reality overlapped in medieval travel literature and neither writers nor readers seem to have been interested in separating the two. In centuries to come expectations of the European traveller were formed out of images derived from myths and tales of the marvellous, repeated and modified generation

after generation. A natural reaction of the readers of John Mandeville's Travels /this book was still extremely popular in the sixteenth century/ was to expect inhabitants of the New World to be of monstrous physical shape. In the Renaissance the newly discovered lands were still to a large extent seen in terms of the enchanted islands of medieval fantasy.⁴

In sixteenth-century England no definite idea about what primitive people were like prevailed. Views on the degree of their humanity differed enormously. Some thought that primitive man was just a beastly, vicious, "base" creature⁵, void of all morality and good conduct. The other extreme consisted in attributing all possible virtues to primitive man. Afterwards, adherents of this view coined the concept of the "noble savage".

In the end of the sixteenth century primitive people were commonly called "Savages". The adjective "savage" is derived from Latin "salvaticus" /in popular Latin also "salvaticus" /via French "sauvage". "Salvaticus" meant "woodland, belonging to wood, wild".⁶ The word "savage" gained several other meanings during the Middle Ages. It meant "indomitable, valiant", "reckless, ungovernable", "rude, harsh, ungentler", or "fierce, ferocious, cruel".⁷ It is evident that its connotations were basically derogative.

The noun "savage" had not appeared in travel literature until about 1580 when it was first used to refer to primitive people. It is clear that the noun was derived from the adjective, which had been in common use throughout the sixteenth century. In 1579, for instance, Thomas Stevens wrote about Africa that it was full of people "that are savage and killers of all strangers".⁸ Fifteen years earlier John Sparke described the people of Florida as being "of more savage and fierce nature, and more valiant than any of the rest".¹⁰ The primitives were characterized as "savage" in virtually all travel reports from the newly-discovered lands. Slowly, the word acquired the function of not only characterizing, but also defining the specific type of human beings - the inhabitants of Africa and the New World.

The following quotation may exhibit one stage of the process of building up this concept. Thomas Gates wrote that the island of Dominica was inhabited with "savage people, which goe all naked, their skime coloured with some painting of reddish tawney, very personable and handsome strong men".¹¹ "Savage" was possibly not a characteristic here, but served to define to what kind of people

the author referred. Consequently, the noun "Savage" was coined to be used in this particular context. George Best was probably the first of the authors whose works are included in The Principal Navigations to use this term in a true discourse of the three Voyages of discovery from 1578.¹² "Savage" had also the variant "Salvage", and Best used both interchangeably. The term, however, was not introduced by all writers at the same time; it won acceptance gradually. It is particularly interesting that the term "Savage" was almost completely absent from the writings of Walter Raleigh and members of his circle /Arthur Barlowe, Lawrence Keymis, Thomas Hariot, Thomas Watsam and others/. The reason was, in all probability, that the negative connotations carried by the word were not in accordance with the very favourable portrait of the primitives presented by these authors.

Initially the Savage was just an inhabitant of a land which the English /or other Europeans/ had only recently begun to explore, and who turned out to be wild and ferocious in behaviour. As all-increasing amount of information flowed from far lands, the Savage began to acquire definite characteristics. When compared with Europeans, Savages were almost unanimously declared to possess no "civility". This seemed to be the basic difference from Europeans, as the numerous use of the word in generalizing statements indicates.

Therefore, before coming to the Savage himself, it should be worthwhile to pause for a moment at the Renaissance concept of "civility". "Civility" had several different meanings in the sixteenth century, all of which may be roughly divided into: a-senses connected with education, mannerly behaviour and politeness, and b-senses connected with citizenship and civil polity. It seems safe to assume, nevertheless, that towards the end of the century "civility" began to be used in yet another meaning, namely that of "civilization". Some of the first instances of this usage may be encountered in travel reports from the closing years of the century. "Civility" was employed in this new meaning when it came to comparing Savages with Europeans. It is evident that the new meaning was to a certain degree a generalization on the part of the earlier ones: being "civil" /civilized/ meant living in a society which developed essential forms of political organization and created refined and polished models of social behaviour.

Then, we should specify what the concept of "civility" as used in the quoted texts meant in detail. Savages were often depicted as "prutish and uncivill" people, and these epithets obviously referred to their behaviour and appearance. To start with, it may be noticed that the adjective "civil" was an antonym of "savage" /well-ordered, educated, decent, well-bred, polished, refined, humane, gentle, kind, polite, courteous vs. un governable, wild, rude, harsh, ungentle, cruel, indomitable, fierce, ferocious/. Travel reports contain a number of very favourable descriptions of Savages. Arthur Barlowe reported that Indians seemed to him "very handsome and goodly people, and in their behaviour as mannerly and civill as any of Europe".¹³ Another author wrote:

The people of this island /of Barbate/ are comely in body and stature, and of civill behaviour, just in dealing, and courteous to strangers, whereof we had the experience sundry wayes.

William Bats, the commander of a voyage to Africa, was quoted to say, when describing a Negro tribe, that "although the people were black and naked, yet they were civill".¹⁵ He must have referred to their behaviour.

Nevertheless, when "civility" was used in the wide sense, that of "civilization", Savages were never found to be "civil" by Elizabethan reporters. Differences between the civilization of Europe, or Christendom, as it was still called at the time, and primitive societies were more than obvious to contemporary Englishmen. "Civility" implied more or less "a condition which should characterize a member of European culture". Thus, it was a distinguishing feature of any European, and hence the opinions that the more savage societies are like European ones, the more "civil" they are.

Apart from a few authors cited above, the majority wrote about Savages unfavourably and with evident aversion. We easily notice that the reports tend to give quite a uniform and consistent picture of the primitives. We should try to show now what image of Savages one could get from the texts, and where Savages seemed to be most at odds with the ideals of "civility".

It appears that wearing clothes was an essential of "civility" both in the narrow sense of "proper behaviour" and the wide one of "civilization". John Fiwit, an Elizabethan travel reporter, gave the following evaluation of an Indian tribe:

These Savages were farre more civill than those of Dominica: for besides their countre, they covered their privities with a platted mat of Greene straw.¹⁷

Another voyager, Thomas Markham, wrote that in the lower parts of Guiana the Indians went naked, while in the upper parts they wore some clothes, "being as it seemeth of a more civill disposition".¹⁸

Several culture seems to have been a very important factor in deciding whether someone was "civil" or not. Generally, Savages were presented as poverty-stricken in material skills and re-

-sources. In respect of us they are a people poor" - one author said about the Indians of Virginia.¹⁹ Savages had hardly any clothes on, were able to use only primitive tools, and lived in "huts", "barrels", or "barnes". The Savages' "ravenous and bloody disposition in eating any kind of raw flesh or carrion howsoever stinking" shocked George Best very much.²⁰ Writers seemed to be of the opinion that preparing food before consumption and correct "table manners" were crucial demands of "civility", which Savages rarely lacked. Dionise Settle remarked that the things found among the inhabitants of Meta Incongnita were "more to be wondered at for their strangeness, then for any other commodity needful for our use".²¹ Then he went on proving how poor the material basis of their existence was:

Those beasts, fishes, and fowles, which they kill, are their Meat, drinke, apparel, houses, bedding, hose, shoes, thread, and sails for their boates, with many other necessaries, whereof they stand in need, and almost all their riches.²¹

The sphere of customs had also its share in placing Savages outside the borders of "civility". For instance, Savages seemed not to care much about cleanness:

They defile these denes more filthily with their beastly feeding, and dwell so long in a place/as we thinke/ untill their stinkiness Ioving them, they are forced to seeke a sweeter ayre, and a new seat.²²

The primitives wore very coarse clothes /if any at all/ and some-times painted or tattooed their skin which maketh them to seem very ugly and terrible to behold.²³ Crude clothes could be a cause for questioning Savages' ability of rational thinking.

Robertson Cabot "found also the people of these regions, covered with beastes skins, yet not without the use of reason".²⁴

To a large degree social organization of primitive people seems to have been another factor contributing to the image of "uncivill

Savages". More often than not, it was assumed that Savages lived in societies without any social order. If any form of political organization was discovered, it was usually equated with European moralities. In a great many cases, however, the primitives were depicted as living in "huts" and "barrels". The inhabitants of Frobisher's Meta Incongnita were told of "civility and good order". Other Savages were described as "people of beastly living, without God, lawe, religion or common wealth".²⁵

The presence of religion appears to have been one of the major features which distinguished a "civil" society from a primitive one. Richard Johnson, the chronicler of Richard Chancellor's voyage in search of the Northeast Passage, reported having come across a nation of the "scrickifness". In his account they are "a wilde people which neither know God, nor yet good order". Their neighbours, the Lapians, "are much like them in al conditions", and still they seem more "civill", since they believe in the "Russes God".²⁶

Savages were frequently declared to possess no form of religion, to be "pagans" and "infidels". Sometimes they were found idolaters or worshippers of the Sun, but the poverty and coarseness of their ritual were emphasized. The idols worshipped by the Samoyeds of North Russia were described as "the worst and the most unartificiall worke" that the voyagers had ever seen, "very grossly wrought", sometimes just "an olde sticke with two or three natches, made with a knife in it".²⁷ It was nothing unusual to identify primitive ritual with the cult of the devil:

These people wholly worship the devill, and often times have conference with him, which appeareth unto them in most ugly and monstrous shape.²⁸

The conviction of the powerful might of savage witchcraft must have been very strong, as the episode with an old savage woman caught by Frobisher's men well illustrates:

The old wretch, whom divers of our Saylers supposed to be eyther a devill, or a witch, had her buskins plucked off, to see if she were cloven fygged, and for her ugly haw and deformity we let her go.²⁹

Religion was closely associated with the realm of morality. Generally, travel reports gave the picture of Savages as members of an amoral society. Savages were ignorant of almost all norms of decent behaviour in the European sense. Voyagers were surprised to discover that although some Savages went naked, yet they felt

no shame. An amoral sexual life, excessive temperament, and various perversions were often ascribed to them. Polygamy was encountered in nearly every primitive tribe. Thomas Mashaan was of the opinion that Indians kept "no order of marriage".³⁰ Another chronicler, John Chilton, was convinced that:

They love women and maidens exceedingly, which they call the daughters of the Sunne, and some of them are Sodomitists.³¹ Sexual promiscuity, incest, and all kinds of sexual perversion were reported to be common among Savages:

In their drunkenness they use and commit Sodomy; and with their mothers and daughters they have their pleasures and pastimes.³²

Many of the accusations raised by reporters were due to the apparent lack of institutionalized forms of social behaviour /like law similarly to European models/ in primitive society.

Another "vice" of Savages was their incorrigible thievery. They seemed to be completely ignorant of any rules, legal or moral, governing the concept of private ownership. Hence such epithets as "theevisch micreants" or "simple theevisch Islanders",³³

Sometimes Savages seemed to behave like children who had still not managed to learn how to behave in a given situation. Edward Cliffe remarked on South American Indians that "they be much given to mirth and jollity, and are very sly, and ready to steal any thing that comes within their reach".³⁴

Voyagers' prejudice against ferocious and violent behaviour of Savages has already been pointed at. The primitives were not infrequently accused of cruelty and brutality. They also seemed to be madly courageous in battles. Sometimes their behaviour was completely uncor- rivable for observers:

There came a great multitude of Salyages to the ship, throwing dust in the ayre, leaping and running like brute beasts, having vizards on their faces like dogs faces, or else their faces were dog faces indeed.³⁵

With hardly any exceptions it was maintained that the primitives were cannibals, or "man eaters". John Sparke, comparing two neighbouring African tribes, the "Samboses" and the "Sapiers", thought the latter to be more "civil". The Sapiers, in contrast to their neighbours, were cannibals only when driven by necessity. They were quite skillful farmers and did not desire war, contrary to the warlike Samboses who were cruel and bloodthirsty cannibals

of disgusting customs.

On the other hand, from time to time, Savages were charged with cowardice and weak will. They appeared to be extremely lazy, for they worked only to the point when enough food was gathered to satisfy their hunger. They seemed to be idle, for they were neither much interested in gold, nor bothered to plant more corn than was necessary for their own needs. Dionise Settle wrote about it with contempt:

As the Country is barren and unfertile, so are they rude and of no capacity to culture the same to any perfection: but are contented by their hunting, fishing, and fowling, with raw flesh and warme blood to satisfy their greedy panches, which is their only glory.³⁶

When reporters' opinions about Savages were positive, the same facts could be interpreted to the advantage of the primitives. Walter Raleigh in this way spoke about an Indian tribe with which, surprisingly, his relations were not at all friendly:

These natives are a very goodly people and very valiant, and have the most manly speech and most deliberate that ever I heard, of what nation soever. They lead an easy life, with nature supplying them with all they need.³⁷

Last, but not least, the race had its impact on assigning people to the domain of "civility", as has already been evidenced by the statement of William Bats.³⁸ The fact that Savages belonged to a different race was often enough to exclude them from the "civil" world. Because of their alleged descent from Ham, Negroes began to be unconditionally associated with sin and vice.

It must be remembered, however, that even in the Renaissance the savage world still remained submerged in the dominion of the fantastic. For example, both Raleigh and Keymis placed the mythical nation of the headless people among savage tribes in South American jungle:

They are reported to have their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouths in the middle of their breasts, and that a longe traine of haire groweth backward between their shoulders.... They are most mighty men of all the land, and use bows, arrows, and clubs thrice as big as any of Guiana.³⁹

However, the reality of Africa and America more and more disproved medieval preconceptions. For a greater part, Renaissance voyagers did not discover developed civilizations, but encountered primitive tribes. Primitive people gradually shed their monster-like image and proved to be capable of rational social life.

In the Renaissance no one seriously questioned their human nature any longer, as they were also found able to receive faith.⁴¹

It is interesting that Elizabethan reporters seemed to be sure that it was possible to evolve from the stage of "savageness" to higher forms of social and economic development, with an aim of achieving "civility" in the near future. John James remarked that Savages were "easie to be brought to civility or good order".⁴²

Another chronicler, Thomas Heriot, was also convinced that "if means of good government be used", the Indians might "in short time be brought to civillite, and the embracing of true religion".⁴³ Let us now summarize the facts briefly. In the course of

sixteenth-century exploration of the world the European came across and learned much about a human being whose style of life was strikingly different from his - the Savage. The Savage was a new arrival into old ancient and medieval typologies of man which divided humankind into such categories as Greeks and barbarians or Christians and non-Christians. If the Savage was to be considered in terms of the old classifications, undoubtedly he would be defined pagan, but he was even more than barbarous. There were obvious differences between him and the Turk or the Moor.

And yet the primitives proved to be rational human creatures and shed their early image of men in a degenerate form. Travel accounts brought the picture of the Savage who was backward in regard to material possessions and lacked many institutionalized forms of culture in comparison with the Christians as well as with the Mohammedans. The primitives' economy and material culture were extremely poor. Although rational creatures, Savages seemed not to have moved far from the level of beasts. All mores of the contemporary English society appeared to be alien to them. Their behaviour seemed to a large degree instinctive. Savage tribes proved capable of developing only basic forms of social organization.

Savages appeared even not to have family bonds, not to have developed the sphere of morality: they did not know the difference between good and evil. Also their ideals were utterly different from European ones; for instance, the idea of progress was unknown to them, Savages had no desires of wealth or power, by contrast - seemed lazy and indolent.⁴⁴

It is evident that travel reports of sixteenth-century Englishmen put stress on the absence rather than the presence of cultural qualities in a savage society. Voyagers sought for things

they were used to have at home, and it turned out that Savages were no cultural rivals for Renaissance Europe. They neither had anything valuable to offer, nor even posed any serious threat as enemies.

On the other hand, the praises of primitive life came from the critics of the state of contemporary Europe. Those people considered Savages to live still in that primitive state of nature from which the ancestors of "civil" people had once been their development in an apparently wrong, ill-fated direction. The theory of the "noble savage" was a utopian postulate to go back to that primordial time and begin, or at least rethink, the world's history anew.⁴⁵

It was generally agreed, though, that it was possible to evolve from the "savage", primitive, natural condition to a more advanced one through the progress of reason in the realms of culture and morality. Consequently, the Savage could become more "civil" if he adopted some European mores.

Moreover, the facts revealed in this study lead to the conclusion that although the word "civilization" clearly appeared only in the eighteenth century, the idea of "civilization" began to emerge in England already in the Elizabethan period. The word "civility" /or "civilite"/ served then to render the meaning of "civilization". From what has been said so far we may gather what constituted this European "civility", which Elizabethan England aspired to represent, too. "Civility" unified all Europeans, members of the white race. It meant a common secular culture, with advanced economy, intensive trade, refined manufacture and agriculture. The countries of Europe had similar political and legal systems. Finally, "civil" people apparently lived according to the instructions of the common religion - Christianity, which shaped their morality and showed models of good conduct.

As has been indicated, some of the first instances of the appearance of "civility" in this meaning come from contemporary travel reports, where the "civility" of Europeans was discovered to be in complete opposition to the "savagery" of the primitives. It was easier for Europeans to become aware of their cultural identity by comparing themselves with "Savages".

The development of this new notion was obviously triggered by other factors, too. In the sixteenth century the old concept of Christendom weakened, although Europe was still equated with it, and

even most militant English Protestants considered themselves to be part of the Christian world. The idea of Christendom, however, took on distinctly new shades of meaning. The word was retained in common vocabulary with its religious connotations, but was employed in a variety of new ways. As a result, the concept of Christendom as not only a religious, but also a cultural unity developed. Religion was only one factor which marked Europe off from the rest of the world; others were a common secular and a common feeling of cultural affiliation. Actually, the word "Christendom" was not particularly well-suited for this new meaning. A new word was needed and occasionally such terms as "the civil world", "the learned world", or "the western world" were used as its synonyms. In some ways the adjective "civil" suited this purpose, as it implied the secular as opposed to the sacred, but its specific legal and political associations prevented its usage in an exclusively cultural sense⁴⁷, as could be seen in the passages quoted from travel literature. Gradually, however, Europeans were moving away from a narrow and primarily political definition of "civility" toward the broader concept of "civilization", which was not equated with Christendom⁴⁸. The evidence from The Princelhall Navigations allows to argue that already during the reign of Elizabeth I "civility" began to render the meaning of "civilization"; the condition of a complex, urban, sophisticated society, which transformed to this stage from a primitive, natural one, by means of moral, intellectual, and social culture.

It seems that the opposition "savage" vs "civil" acquires yet another dimension when contrasted with the older distinction - "Christian" vs "pagan". The Savage was non-Christian, but he was certainly different from the Turk or the Arab /the Moor/ who had usually fallen into this category earlier. In the sixteenth century the Turkdom constituted an antagonistic, expansionist culture, with Islam as a religion competitive to Christianity. The Turkdom developed its own original mores, a system of social and political organization, refined arts and an advanced economy. It must have seemed to be another, alternative form of "civilization", contradicting European cultural norms. It could be interesting to compare the respective images of the Savage and the Turk in Renaissance travel reports. This was not a purpose of the present study, and, therefore, it must be treated only as a

hypothesis to be confirmed by a detailed textual analysis, but one might suppose that if the European civilization was termed Culture, the Turkdom of the sixteenth century would be seen as Anticulture. On the other hand, in primitive society many cultural norms failed to be discovered at all; it produced few "civil" institutions and rules regulating its life. Consequently, in comparison with the Turkdom, it could be termed Non-culture, and an area of a possible cultural expansion.⁴⁹ This difference, together with a sense of European cultural unity, was realized by Henry Blount, who in Voyage Into Levant observed that the nations which constituted "Christendom" possessed a definite unity as to "customs and ordinances" and in "arms, religion, justice, and moral customs" were clearly different from the Ottoman empire. Blount thought, however, that Turkish customs should not be judged as "barbarous", as they only represented "another form of civility, different from ours".⁵⁰

Notes

¹ All quotations in this paper come from the Everyman edition of this work: Richard Hakluyt, Voyages, 8 vols /London, 1962/.

² In fact, the popular legend of Prester John told about a rich, powerful, Christian kingdom somewhere in Asia or Africa, and many travels were undertaken with an aim of finding this mythical country.

³ Bolesław Oleszewicz, Legendy geograficzne średniowiecza /Kraków, 1927/, pp. 70-77.

⁴ J.H. Elliott, The Old World and the New 1492-1650 /Cambridge, 1969/, pp. 23-24.

⁵ Robert R. Cawley in The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama /Boston, 1938/ observes that the most regular words used in drama with "Indian" were "ruder" and "base".

⁶ The Oxford English Dictionary, 12 vols /Oxford, 1961/, IX, p. 134.

⁷ Ibid., p. 135.

In sixteenth-century texts this word was always spelt with a capital S. In this study by "Savages" we mean primitive people as described by Elizabethan travel reporters.

⁹A letter written from Goa... in R.Hakluyt, op. cit., II, pp. 237-239.

¹⁰John Sparke, The voyage made by M. John Hawkins... to the coast of Guinea and the Indies of Nova Hispania.../1594/ in R.Hakluyt, op. cit., VII, p. 12.

¹¹Thomas Gages, A summorie and true discourse of sir Thomas Drake's west Indian voyage, begun in the yeere 1595 in R.Hakluyt, op. cit., VII, p. 87.

¹²R.Hakluyt, op. cit., V, pp. 170-276.

¹³Arthur Barlowe, The first voyage made to the coast of America.../1584/ in R.Hakluyt, op. cit., VI, p. 124.

¹⁴The course which Sir Francis Drake held... in R.Hakluyt, op. cit., VIII, p. 72.

¹⁵Walter Wren, The voyage of M. George Fenner to Guinie.../1566/ in R.Hakluyt, op. cit., IV, p. 143.

¹⁶John Twitt, A true report of a voyage undertaken for the West Indies by M. Christopher Newport.../1591/ in R.Hakluyt, op. cit., VII, p. 150.

¹⁷Thomas Masham, The third voyage set forth by sir Walter Raleigh to Guiana.../1596/ in R.Hakluyt, op. cit., VIII, p. 11.

¹⁸Thomas Ferriot, A briefe and true report on the newe found land of Virrinda... in R.Hakluyt, op. cit., VI, p. 187.

¹⁹George Best, A true discourse of the three voyages of discoverie... in R.Hakluyt, op. cit., V, p. 270.

²⁰Dionise Settle, The second voyage of Master Martin Frobisher.../1577/ in R.Hakluyt, op. cit., V, pp. 145-146.

²¹Ibid., p. 149.

²²George Best, op. cit., p. 213.

²³Miles Phillips, A discourse written by.../1582/ in R.Hakluyt, op. cit., VII, p. 307.

²⁴Another testimony of the voyage of Sebastian Cabot... in R.Hakluyt, op. cit., V, p. 89.

²⁵The second voyage to Guinea set out by Sir George Banne.../1554/ in R.Hakluyt, op. cit., IV, pp. 47-66.

²⁶Richard Johnson, Certaine notes imperfectly written by... in R.Hakluyt, op. cit., III, p. 353.

²⁷The navigation and discoverie toward the river of Ob... in R.Hakluyt, op. cit., III, p. 347.

²⁸Francis Pretty, The admirable and prosperous voyage of the worshipful Master Thomas Candish.../1598/ in R.Hakluyt, op. cit., VII, pp. 238-239.

²⁹Dionise Settle, op. cit., p. 145.

³⁰Thomas Masham, op. cit., p. 5.

³¹John Chilton, A notable discourse of... in R.Hakluyt, op. cit., VI, pp. 266-267.

³²Henry Hawks, A relation of the commodities of Nova Hispania, and the manners of the inhabitants.../1572/ in R.Hakluyt, op. cit., VIII, p. 286.

³³John Davis, The second voyage attempted by.../1588/ in R.Hakluyt, op. cit., V, p. 301.

³⁴Edward Cliffe, The voyage of M. John Winter into the South sea... begun in the yeere 1577... in R.Hakluyt, op. cit., VII, p. 94.

³⁵John Janes, The last voyage of the worshipful M. Thomas Candish... in R.Hakluyt, op. cit., VIII, p. 307.

³⁶John Sparke, op. cit., pp. 15-17.

³⁷Dionise Settle, op. cit., p. 132.

³⁸Walter Raleigh, The discovery of the large, rich and beautiful Empire of Guiana.../1595/ in R.Hakluyt, op. cit., VII, p. 309.

³⁹Op. cit. Note 17, p. 7.

⁴⁰Walter Raleigh, op. cit., p. 238.

41 J.H. Elliott, op. cit., p. 43.

42 John James, op. cit., p. 297.

43 Thomas Herriot, op. cit., p. 187.

44 The above statements are only generalizations based on all descriptions of Savages included in The Principal Navigations. In individual cases views of chroniclers could be quite different. Besides, the problem of how Renaissance voyagers arrived at such conclusions is another matter. Some of their assertions were based on inadequate or just false information. The influence of ethno-centrism, prejudices and preconceptions, comparing real culture of the primitives with one's ideal culture, or the ignorance of the fact that, as aliens, voyagers were outside the rules of a savage society make part of the answer. The question has been discussed more thoroughly in my unpublished MA thesis The Primitive Savage in Sixteenth-Century Travel Literature /Lublin, 1983/.

45 Although the concept of the "noble savage" must be attributed to Rousseau, its first traces may be found in Michel de Montaigne's essay Of Cannibals, which was first printed in English as early as in 1603 in John Florio's translation.

46 George Huppert argues in his article The Idea of Civilization in the Sixteenth Century /in Renaissance. Studies in Honor of Hans Baron, ed. Anthony Molho and John A. Tedeschi, Firenze, 1971/ that the concept of "civilization" was present also in French in the second half of the sixteenth century and that the word "civiliter" was used to render it.

47 Franklin Le Van Baumer, The Conception of Christendom in Renaissance England, "Journal of the History of Ideas", VI/1945/, No. 2, pp. 131-156.

48 J.H. Elliott, op. cit., p. 44.

49 J. Jotman, B. Uspieński, O semiotycznym mechanizmie kultury, in E. Janus, M. R. Mayenowa /eds/, Semiotyka kultury /Warszawa, 1977/, pp. 147-171.

50 Osborne, Collection of Voyages and Travels, I, p. 513 /after Le Van Baumer, op. cit., p. 149/.

Maciej Maciejowski

Mechanized paradise - Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.'s Player Piano as an example of modern anti-utopia

The subject of Kurt Vonnegut's first novel, Player Piano, is at least partly, technology, and therefore, the majority of critics refer to it as science-fiction. The aim of the present paper is to show, how exactly Player Piano fits into the stream of modern anti-utopian fiction, together with such works as Zamyatin's We /1924/, Huxley's Brave New World /1932/ and Orwell's 1984 /1949/, to mention only the most important ones.

Because of the lack of agreement, among the critics, as to the generic status of anti-utopia /some of them assume that anti-utopia is a branch of science-fiction, whereas others claim that it is a separate literary genre/, in the present paper, we assume that it is a separate literary genre, subject to the dynamic genre theory. According to this theory, a literary genre constantly develops because of internal, structural tensions, as well as some extratextual factors intervening.^{1/} Assuming this approach, a conclusion should be made that anti-utopia has emerged from utopia, that is the literary genre represented by such works as More's Utopia, Bacon's New Atlantis and Campanella's Civitas Solis. The modern, 20th century anti-utopia can be defined as a verbal construction^{2/} of an imaginary society, where the social organization, ethical norms, and individual relationships are shown as unsatisfactory, being the hypothetical continuation of certain negative tendencies existing in the empirical world of the author.^{3/} Anti-utopia then, criticizes the ideals of traditional utopia, and constitutes the continuation of utopianism in literature.