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A Squire – A Sailor – A Sea Voyager. The Formation of Stereotypes in Old-Polish Culture

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The original title of my article was to be: ‘A Sailor and a Homebody (from the History of Two Stereotypes in Polish Culture)’. More thorough analysis of sources, however, revealed that the latter was used only in a pejorative sense, as a negative stereotype. Nobody in Poland of the sixteenth or seventeenth century could have praised a ‘*piecuch, domak, legart, niebywalec, gniazdosz*’ (according to the definition of a homebody in Linde’s *Dictionary*). Of *piecuch* (in Polish it is someone who likes to be snug and warm, from the word *piec* meaning a stove) spoke in contempt Maciej Strykowski and Piotr Ciekliński, who wrote that: ‘services of brave people are secretly concealed from the master by homebodies’.¹

It was they who were contrasted with soldiers (F. Birkowski, K. Opałiński, W. Potocki), while their absence in public life was stigmatised and staying-at-home made almost equal with cowardice and narrow-mindedness. Piotr Skarga called on the nobility: ‘Let us not be such stupid homebodies, let’s be ashamed of our home pride’, while ex-Arian Wacław Potocki wrote that fame shunned cowards and homebodies. The poet devoted a separate derisive poem to the homebody who ‘could not recall

¹ M. S. B. Linde, *Słownik języka polskiego*, vol. 1, Warsaw, 1951, p. 482; *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, vol. 5, Wrocław, 1971, p. 323.

what Turks were called'.² Then, the question arises whether this notion did not enter the world of the so-called anti-models that were contrasted with the official model of culture. Even of a squire it was required, at least to the mid-seventeenth century, a certain activity in life. A positive character was a nobleman who, although loving to cultivate his native soil, was always ready to serve his country as a soldier, official or even politician.

Nobody would publicly boast that he was a 'homebody' (even in Krasicki's satire *Żona modna – The Fashionable Wife* – we read that she treated with contempt 'the heart of a homebody'). At the same time substitute terms, or broader, associated in a certain way with the praise of the hearth, were willingly used. The old-Polish political journalism texts and belles-lettres often contrasted the lot of a man who was satisfied with a small but stable income, obtained in a safe way, with the life of someone who for greater profits led life beset with many perils. This could have been both a sailor, like a conquistador, or a merchant who travelled the world with his goods. 'How he risks his life – it was written – a squire in a battlefield, a sailor at sea, a merchant in the world'.³

Undoubtedly, stereotypes dating back to ancient times were at play here (the antithesis between sailor and tiller known to ancient poets), and also a literary fashion, requiring frequent expressions derived from seafaring. But it was the hierarchy from the noble world that had a decisive role, where the highest values were embodied by a man related to land, and not to sea, in short: a tiller, agriculturalist in the broad sense of the world. At the same time, his way of life suited the ideals of the nobility, motivating the drive for mediocrity, for the golden mean, for being content with little. In the old-Polish literature we 'find – as Alina Witkowska rightly remarked – a beautifully written praise of isolation, superiority of the closed area over the macrocosm of wider community, of particularism over universality'.⁴

Like the peaceful and long life of a squire was contrasted with the short and venturesome life of a sailor (this cliché is often used in the Polish poetry of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), also treasures brought from over the seas lost their shine when compared with the riches that

2 Linde, *op. cit.*; *Poeci polskiego baroku*, vol. 2, Warsaw, 1965, pp. 55-56.

3 B. Herbest, *Nauka prawnego chrześcijanina*, Cracow, 1566, p. 7.

4 A. Witkowska, *Stawianie, my lubim sielanki...*, Warsaw, 1972, pp. 86, 83.

could be gathered in the home country. From many examples we will recall only the most typical ones. The poem *Flis* by Klonowic, who wrote that a Pole 'ploughing ardently, could not even know what the sea is', is both the most often quoted and the richest set of lines on the subject. From the less-known ones we should cite a poem by Daniel Naborowski:

Niech mię w drogę odległą więcej nikt nie wzywa.
 Chociaby mi indyjskie skarby ofiarował,
 Chociaby mi i flotę hiszpańską darował,
 Co przez Bóg za ślepotą zbiegać kąty świata?
 W trudach, pracach, niewczasiech trawić swoje lata.

Wespazjan Kochowski, on the other hand, who several times expressed his lack of interest in gold in Mexico to where he transferred – in an amusing way – the landscape known to him ('Złotem niech błyszczą meksykańskie knieje [...]'), wrote as a farewell to his homeland wealth – the Grove (*Gaj*):

Fraszka Indyja, Pers, Japonija,
 Meksyk i Kataja –
 Intratą złotą, ale nie cnotą
 Przewyższają Gaja.⁵

An ostentatious disregard for riches brought by sailors from their exotic journeys, however, arouses suspicion that in certain cases we deal with the Polish variation of the story about the fox and the green grapes known from La Fontaine. The nobility, deep in the soul jealous of 'Indian' treasures of Spanish, Portuguese or Dutch sailors, consoled themselves not only with the reflection that it was not worth to risk life for overseas jewels, gold and spices. At the same time, they stated that the superiority of political system successfully compensated for material poverties. Thus, Joachim Bielski wrote:

Niech włoskie kraje siła nad nas mają,
 Indyjskie rzeki złota dosyć dają:
 Ma Polska nad nie, ma nad złote wody

5 J. Tazbir, *Szlachta a konkwistadorzy. Opinia staropolska wobec podboju Ameryki przez Hiszpanię*, Warsaw, 1969, pp. 79-80.

Droższe swobody.⁶

The opinion of the nobility about sailing is best summed up by Wacław Potocki in his lines:

Lepsza rzecz jest ubogim w ziemi być niepłodnej
Niż bogatym pod strachem dyskrecyjej wodnej.⁷

Such an attitude was comprehensively justified, from the perspective of landowning ideology, by Andrzej Zbylitowski, who in his poem *Żywot szlachcica we wsi* (Life of a nobleman in a village) wrote the following:

Nie zajrzę ja nikomu ani morzem pływać,
Ani bogactw rozlicznym sposobem nabywać
Bo ja nie myślę żebym tureckie zawoje
Miał rąbać i szykować do potrzeby boje:
I w nawach do dalekich krain pielgrzymować
I do insuł po morzu głębokim żeglować:
Gdzie mię sroga Charybdis i okrutna Scylla
Zgubić może, i morska niepogodna chwila
Albo wiatry szalone zapędzić na bystre
Wody, lub Triton porwać lub Syreny chytne.
Wolę patrzeć na pługi, kiedy ciągną w pole,
I na brony, którymi uprawują rolę,
Niż na działa straszliwe abo nawę zbrojny,
Bo te szkody a owe rozkosz dadzą hojną.⁸

The praise of hearth and home, and the rebuke of long voyages have found their expression in paremiography, not only the Polish one. It was Cnapius who wrote with contempt: 'Komu modlitwa nie smakuje, ten niech po morzu żegluję' (he who doesn't like a taste of prayer should go sailing across the sea), what – exceedingly – reminds another well-known proverb, saying that who doesn't listen to his father and mother then will listen to a dog's skin. In the paremiography of all the globe (apart from the islanders) the praise of the hearth and home clearly surpasses the admiration for the sea. In a new collection of proverbs only 5 are related to sailors,

6 Ibid., p. 83.

7 B. Miazgowski, *Morze w literaturze polskiej*, Gdynia, 1964, p. 170.

8 A. Zbylitowski, 'Żywot szlachcica we wsi', in *Niektóre poezje Andrzeja i Piotra Zbylitowskich*, Cracow, 1860, pp. 9-10.

while as much as 89 to home, and a great part of them is laudatory, such as: 'he who feels good at home shall not roam about the world' or 'east or west, home is best'.⁹ But the life of a sailor was criticised not only from the perspective of noble self-sufficiency or under the conviction that an abundant harvest could fully balance the benefits of Germans, Spaniards, Italians or Frenchmen, 'who, even the greatest lords, to Western and Eastern India trade and play at commerce'.¹⁰ At the same time, when contrasting a homebody with a sailor, an attempt was made to compromise the latter.

But there is a certain split of opinion on that score. Scholarly literature and the Catholic Church representatives emphasised repeatedly that such sailors as Columbus were driven by their desire to spread 'the real faith' on the other side of the ocean and to expand the ecumene inherited from the antiquity, which was becoming too cramped. These praises, however, were more often questioned than approved of. Thus also some Catholics thought that the main driving force behind sea voyages was not the desire to convert pagans or to explore the world but the greed for wealth. Jan Kochanowski wrote that 'ci, co za bogactwy gonią, niech do krajów indyjskich płyną' ('those who chase after wealth should sail to the Indian countries'). In the preface by Jakub Siebeneicher to Anzelm Gostomski's treatise on farm management (*Gospodarstwo*, 1588) we read that it was the belly that led the steps of a sailor, soldier or merchant. 'And we see how they are filled by the desires of wealth and fortune, so that even though they face a short life and have death a short way ahead of them, searching food or bread too much, they barely stay in India or new worlds'. Similar thoughts were expressed also by poets; thus Tobiasz Wiśniowski wrote that many were running away from poverty to foreign countries, and Klonowic said outright:

Mnodzy się wazą Indyjej dochrapać.
Żądając bogactw gwałtownych nałapać.¹¹

The same lust for gold was seen under the cover of missionary voyages; even such a zealous representative of the Counter-Reformation as Samuel Twardowski wrote:

9 *Nowa księga przysłów polskich*, ed. by J. Krzyżanowski, vol. 1, Warsaw, 1969, pp. 468, 470.

10 Tazbir, *Szlachta...*, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79; J. Kochanowski, *Dzieła wszystkie*, vol. 1, Cracow, 1883, p. 55.

Ale co! my do Indów żeglujem i Chiny.
 Z nagimi się w Afryce bijem Abissyny;
 Płaszczem się religijnej pokrywa ochota,
 A w rzeczy nic innego, jedno chciwość złota.¹²

This opinion was shared also by Spanish theologians, who maintained that God deliberately created the lands of pagans full of precious metals and stones so that Christians, if driven not by religious beliefs but by the lust for gold, go for the abundant missionary harvest. Also the courage of sailors instead of being admired was more often the subject of various coarse verses, like those of Potocki, who wrote:

Pojmując dla pieniędzy baby, chłopci młodzi
 Puszczają się w przegniętej na nowy świat łodzi.¹³

A sailor was – according to the old-Polish opinion – exposed to horrible perils that would never threaten a squire. Melchior Pułłowski wrote (in his poem *Do łakomego* – To the Greedy):

Ty, co to pilnie szafujesz okręty.
 Zbytnim łakomstwem człowiecze nadęty,
 I wążysz gardło, szukając pieniędzy,
 Przedsię swój żywot trawisz w wielkiej nędzy.
 Bo starając się tak pilno o złocie.
 Chleba swojego używasz w kłopotcie,
 Za szyję-ć kapie, słońce cię upali
 Ten żywot chyba szalony pochwali.
 Kiedy na morzu wiatr gwałtowny wstanie,
 A od portu cię daleko zastanie.
 Albo gdy w drodze rozbójnik opadnie.
 Gardła tam pewnie wnet pozbędziesz snadnie.
 Wiedz to zapewne, iż wszystko zebranie
 Twoje łakome po tobie zostanie.¹⁴

12 J. Tazbir, *Rzeczpospolita szlachecka wobec wielkich odkryć*, Warsaw, 1973, p. 99.

13 W. Potocki, *Moralia* (1688), vol. 2, Cracow, 1919, p. 458.

14 *Melchior Pułłowski i jego pisma*, ed. by T. Wierzbowski, Warsaw, 1898, p. 57.

The attitude of the nobility towards sailors was influenced, to a certain degree, also by the fact that seafaring was regarded as a kind of manual labour, usually performed by 'plebeians'. And as Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro piercingly noted, 'the marine troops consist only of infantrymen', enrolled from among townsmen or peasants. Thus – as he writes – the Polish nobility transfer their contempt from the infantry, where only those of noble birth could be commanders, to sailors. Sebastian Petrycy of Pilzno (referring to Aristotle) warned against keeping 'marine soldiers' in camps in great ports, 'because of the perils of the sea they became more daring and are not used to tamely suffer the yoke to be put upon their necks of the laws and constitution'.¹⁵

The prevailing conviction was that the career of a seaman, either in the merchant marine or the navy, was not seemly for the Polish nobility settled on the land, travelling it on horseback and rightly avoiding ships. We have heard of only one nobleman who was a professional seafarer (Stanisław Wąsowski, in the Gdańsk sources known as Knebelhardt), while the ennoblement of four privateers by King Sigismund Augustus was not looked kindly on by the noble society. Krzysztof Opaliński wrote (in the satire II: *Kto jest prawdziwie wolnym szlachcicem* – Who is a truly free noble) that reason forbade the members of that estate to engage in anything they could not do well by their very nature:

Tak powszechnie prawo,
Tak i natura każe. Nie tykaj się lekarstw,
Jeśliś nie medykiem. Zaniechaj regała,
Jeśli i na dudach zabeczyć nie umiesz!
Nie puszczaj się na morze, jeśliś roli przywykł,
Insza kmicć, insza żeglarz, nie współ to chodzi.¹⁶

Even more explicit was Kasper Miaskowski:

Bezpieczniej Polak w polu z kopiją poskoczy
I na ziemi do szable barziej on ochoczy –

15 Z. Rynduch, 'Morze i flota w trzech traktatach XVII w. w Polsce', *Libri Gedanenses*, 8, 1974 (1976), pp. 53-54; S. Petrycy, *Polityki arystotelesowej część wtóra*, Cracow, 1605, p. 405.

16 K. Opaliński, *Satyry*, ed. by L. Eustachiewicz, Wrocław, 1953, p. 16; S. Bodniak, *Polska a Bałtyk za ostatniego Jagiellona*, Kórnik, 1946, pp. 30-31.

A maszt, żagiel i kotew krzywą niech ci mają,
Co nad słonym Neptunem od pieluch mieszkają!¹⁷

Thus, seafaring was an occupation better left for foreigners. And it was they who were recruited when the need arose. 'It is not costly to summon sailors from Italy, and also from Gdańsk and Riga, those who know a thing or two about sea life' – wrote Szymon Starowolski.¹⁸ The ideal of the nobleman-agriculturalist, called in this article a squire, praised so much in landowners' poetry, was seen every day in the neighbouring field. Not only was he a fellow citizen, sharing the same estate privileges, but also a fellow countryman. The ideal of the true sailor, however, was embodied by Christopher Columbus; in the recognition of his contributions to the whole Christian Europe laid the sense of its community and shared interests that benefited from daring expeditions of Columbus, Magellan or Vespucci. At the same time, however, the nobility's opinion did never forget that the Great Genoese was both of different nationality and social standing. The admiration for the achievements of the explorer who was the first to bridge Europe and America did not mean the desire to follow in his steps.

If, as Czesław Hernas rightly pointed out, landowners' poetry contrasted the rural life with the life of a soldier and noticed the clash between the vocation of a landowner and a knight,¹⁹ the profession of a sailor was excluded *a limine* by the occupation of a landowner. Enthusiastic opinions about seafaring were to be found only in the comments of foreigners or the inhabitants of Gdańsk or Königsberg. Botero (translated into Polish by Paweł Łęczycycki) in his *Relazioni universali* (Universal Relations) wrote: 'do we indeed have to hold a sailor in greater esteem [than a horseman], who in the middle of turbulent waters of vast ocean, could with the only sure stone steer the uncertainty of winds, restrain the instability of times, measure the depth of the sea and safely navigate his vessel through dangers? Who could connect the East with the West? Who will make the things which are born here or there commonplace to all [...]'. In another

17 R. Pollak, 'Morze w poezji staropolskiej', in idem, *Wśród literatów staropolskich*, Warsaw, 1966, p. 317. Cf. also W. Kubacki, *Żeglarz i pielgrzym*, Warsaw, 1954, passim; W. A. Drapella, *Żegluga – nawigacja – nautyka*, Part 1: *Wiek XVI-XVIII*, Gdańsk, 1955, passim.

18 Sz. Starowolski, *Pobudka abo rada na zniesienie Tatarów perekopskich*, Cracow, 1858, p. 117.

19 Cz. Hernas, *Barok*, Warsaw, 1973, p. 74.

place the Italian geographer expressed his admiration for the man, who 'having set off on a trifle boat into deep sea, restrains winds and amidst the dangerous waters finds his way in the middle of the ocean [...], he indulges himself in the water like a fish and in the air like a bird'.²⁰ Also Bartłomiej Keckermann on the question, whether seafaring was not too brave and against the nature of man, said that it was the necessity of life, especially for the people from unfertile lands, far distant from the seas. The polyhistor from Gdańsk gave a detailed list of the state's benefits of sea trade and tried to demonstrate the superiority of war on sea over war on land, for the first one did not harrow towns and provinces.²¹

Also Marcin Kwiatkowski, who spent a large part of his life in Königsberg, maintained that 'the craft of sailing rescues people from great dangers and makes them braver towards the battles of ships as well as seafaring'. Whereas funeral sermons for people of noble origin who had made long travels willingly praised the superiority of the landowner's way of living over the life of a sailor, the latter was eulogised in songs composed in Gdańsk in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the coats of arms of the nobility a vessel prompted the praise of the family bearing that coat, but not of the sea itself or sea voyages.

The praise of seafaring found in works by Gdańsk poets could not count on the applause of the noble opinion. In the inland territories the ancient authors quoted by Keckermann were more eagerly believed; they argued, like Bias, that a sailor was neither dead nor alive, while the contemporaries warned that he who sailed the sea would 'perish of the water'.²²

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In the opinion of the nobility, the term of sailor encompassed not only a seaman at the helm, someone who belonged to the crew, but also

20 J. Botero, *Relatiae powszechne*, Cracow, 1609, Part 1, Book 1, p. 2; Linde, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, p. 1009. Only one hundred and fifty years later the thought would be taken up by Franciszek Bohomolec, who wrote that his contemporary seafaring was much safer, when 'the settlements, multiplied on those seas, offer their ports, and meals that the first ships, wandering without guides near wide and unknown countries, didn't have. Here the first steps are truly worthy of praise and merit the only fame' (F. Bohomolec, *Historija o podróżach*, vol. 1, Warsaw, 1763, p. 138).

21 Rynduch, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-37.

22 K. K. Sakowicz, *Problematyka o przyrodzeniu ludzkim*, Cracow, 1620, p. 221; *Słownik warszawski*, vol. 8, Warsaw, 1927, p. 703.

a merchant earning his living off the sea trade, a pirate lurking at sea waiting for ships piled high with gold or even a conquistador who set off to conquer distant lands. All these characters, called often by the common name of sailor, the nobility considered to be deserving condemnation. And even if they came to a sticky end, the nobility repeated the words from Moliere's play *Les Fourberies de Scapin* (The Cheats of Scapin), referring to them: 'What the devil was he doing in that galley?' But the same nobility had much more understanding for those who travelled the sea for specific purposes. They accepted without surprise diplomats sailing to foreign courts, missionaries and pilgrims or even tourists, that is the people who made a single voyage and did not derive any material profit from it. If, however, when going to the Netherlands one preferred to travel by sea instead of by land (through Northern Germany), it was always a trip near the coast, during which the land was within eyesight almost all the time, with frequent stops in ports along the coast.

Such a short excursion tempted even Jan Chryzostom Pasek himself, who describing his stay in Denmark, remarked that he had savoured 'a walk on the sea', which 'gave him once a great fright'.²³

The fact of sea voyage itself (like a longer, foreign trip by land) did not contribute to raise the prestige of a voyager in the eyes of his contemporaries (which happens today, especially in the case of trips to Western Europe). It showed the courage of a daring adventurous, who entrusted his life to the sea; and the greater the distance from the sea, the greater were the dangers described. Thus, Pasek could indeed quite reasonably describe 'wonders' of the bottom of the sea he saw with his own eyes, while Mikołaj Rej, who stayed away from seafaring, displayed before his readers an almost apocalyptic vision of the sea and the terrible monsters that lurked in the water. And horror was taking hold of the author of the *Wizerunek* (The Image of a Good Man's Life) when he recalled, known to him only from the tales told by adventurers, 'turbulent seas, with whales swimming, mermaids singing, crocodiles [in Rej's spelling: *kokodryty* instead of *krokodyle*] or dragons flying'. This accumulation of repulsiveness was presumably to impress and shock the reader, while on the other hand it was quite typical of the contemporary ideas of space, when the gaps in the realistic knowledge were filled in with elements of fairytales and fantasy. As Bronisław

23 J. Pasek, *Pamiętniki*, ed. by W. Czapliński, Wrocław, 1968, pp. 49 ff.

Geremek rightly remarked, when one went ‘beyond the boundaries of the local space, seen from the parish tower, all became possible, the most extraordinary things were not improbable anymore’.²⁴ Let us add that the sea was a particularly good space to fill it in with images of any kind of horrors, the terrain, where the worst could happen to ‘a good man’. And it is no wonder that Rej ‘sailed only on the Polish ponds’, if even Andrzej Zbylitowski, known for his voyages to Sweden, also devoted much space to the dangers of the sea. Among other things he described, quite seriously, a mountain in the Baltic Sea called ‘Panna’ (Maiden) that posed a deadly danger to sailors. Zbylitowski even quoted an assumption uttered by one of the skippers that the mountain could be a giant man. One of the proverbs at the time was: ‘Kto na morzu nie bywał, ten dziwów nie widał’ (He who has not been to the sea, has never seen any wonders) – even though it was a loan from the Latin: ‘non vidit mira, qui non vidit maria’.²⁵ In this way the images of the sea and sea voyages were inscribed into a complex of fear,²⁶ which in this case combined the element of fear of violent sea-storms threatening to sink vessels with the terrors of the unknown. In this regard, significant are clusters of words related to the sea. The majority of them pertain to the threat posed by the elements (‘morskie nieprzespieszności’, ‘gwałt morski’, ‘szturm morski’, ‘nawałność morska’, ‘morskie bałwany’ and ‘morska trwoga’ – sea dangers, sea violence, sea storm, sea ravages, sea combers, and sea affright, and finally a castaway as ‘potopień morski’ – someone drowned in the sea).²⁷

Descriptions of voyages in the Baltic, North or Mediterranean Seas emphasised usually the fear evoked by frequent storms. A vessel with its passengers, both in the depiction by the Anonymous-Protestant and Zbylitowski or Jan Kochanowski, was presented as a passive and inert plaything exposed to the fury of the elements. For this reason in numerous descriptions of sea storms we find the same images of ships smashed by storms or huge waves so violent,

24 Pollak, ‘Morze...’, *op. cit.*, p. 311; B. Geremek, ‘Odnowa historii kultury’, *Problemy*, 1976, 10 (367), p. 11.

25 Linde, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 160.

26 Cf. S. Grzybowski, ‘Strach w XVI w.: nowe wzorce osobowe’, in *Spółczeństwo staropolskie*, vol. 1, ed. by A. Wyczański, Warsaw, 1976, *passim*.

27 Drapella, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

Że okręty wiatr srogi przewracał budowne.
 Raz pod niebo bałwany nawę podnosiły.
 Drugi raz ją w przepaści morskie ponurzyły.

Jan Kochanowski, who thought that the sea was 'the cause of all misfortunes' in his *Pamiętka Janowi z Tęczyna* (In Memory of Jan of Tęczyn) wrote:

Kiedy nieuśmierzony wicher wpadł na morze,
 Szum powstał i gwałtowna z wichru niepogoda,
 Wały za wałami pędzi poruszona woda [...]
 Piasek z wodą się miesza, a w poboczne ławy
 Bije szturm niebezpieczny, nawa żadnej sprawy
 Nie słucha, ale w morskim rozgniewaniu pływa
 Samopas, a mokra śmierć zawsząd się dobywa.

It was not often, however, that the imagination of poets produced such neat expressions as Kochanowski's 'mokra śmierć' – wet death. Mostly, there was evident an awkwardness of style. Poets, unable to find in their vocabularies descriptions suitable to match the intensity of the endured horrors, referred to the phraseology of fairy tales. Thus the sea was presented as a dangerous giant man-eater whose waves looked like they 'wanted to devour our ships'. The fight with such horrible elements was futile; the people paralysed with terror could only wait hopelessly for the death that followed. In the diary of Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł called 'Sierotka' from his voyage to the Holy Land we find frequent references that 'not only we, but the seamen themselves and slaves who have been at sea for over twenty years' were 'petrified and sick'.²⁸

Also in the diary of the Anonym (1595) there was a special dramatic tension brought into the narrative by the description of the struggle for life during a storm in the Mediterranean. We observe the successive phases of such feelings as concern, anxiety, fear, terror, horror (in the climax of the story) and then the gradual release of tension. All those were reactions to the rapid development of events, starting with a breaking of the mast, descending night, damage of the helm, to end with a 'gushing

28 J. Pertek, *Polacy na szlakach morskich świata*, Gdańsk, 1957, pp. 58-59, 101, 165.

of water into the wrecked ship and finally a passive waiting for death'.²⁹ Seventy years later an even bleaker picture of the panic on the decks was painted by Marcin Borzymowski (*Morska nawigacyjna do Lubeki* – Sea Navigation to Lübeck):

‘Toniemy wszyscy i giniem’ – wołamy
 A wołający ku niebu patrzący.
 Jak bydło rycząc albo jak wilk wyje
 Na wiatr ku górze wyciągnąwszy szyje,
 Tak my z drapieżnym zwierzem się równając
 Prawie wyjemy – na pół umierając.³⁰

In 1760 Calvinist Tobiasz Grotkowski (vice-principal of the Gymnasium in Słuck) describing how he was shipwrecked, wrote:

Że się wały – jak góry – najwyższe zabiegały
 I bezdenne otchłanie wszystkie otwierały
 Niebo chmur czarnych kirem zewsząd powleczone
 Zaćmiło słońce, miesiąc i gwiazdy złocone.
 We dni ciemno jak w nocy, noc zaś gdy nastała,
 Samą ową egipską ciemność przewyższała.³¹

This is repeated later by Adam Mickiewicz in his sonnet *Burza* (The Storm). Its description was close to almost apocalyptic vision of the end and the funeral of the world. It is worth to remember that the contemporary people were deathly afraid of storms, even on land; at sea they were much more terrifying because a man was even more defenceless (an effective lightning protection system was developed only in the twentieth century).

29 M. Kaczmarek, ‘Specyfika peregrynacji wśród staropolskich form pamiętnikarstwa XVI w.’, in *Munera litteraria. Księga ku czci profesora Romana Pollaka, Poznań, 1961*, p. 102.

30 Pertek, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-30.

31 *Trzy podróże*, ed. by E. Kotarski, Gdańsk, 1973, p. 164. Also in the account of W. Kielczewski (1593), who was fascinated by the power and ruthlessness of the sea it appears as ‘the menacing and dangerous element, while a man is a helpless being’ (*ibid.*, p. 30).

Authors of poetic accounts or included in letters descriptions of dangers lurking in the sea often stressed that prayer was a great source of consolation in that final moment. At the same time, however – against the intentions of the authors – what was brought into the foreground was the breakdown of a man facing apocalyptic peril he was unable to cope with. Jesuit Prenestino, who in 1578 survived a storm in the Indian Ocean, wrote: ‘Many merchants and seamen had wrapped themselves in shrouds and veiled their eyes with it and thus they were lying in their cots waiting to die there; for they lacked the courage to look at the madness of the sea and wind and the ferocity of waves’.³² In short, they behaved like a man facing death by firing squad. It was also emphasised that death on a sinking ship, contrary to the death of a knight on the battlefield, meets a man unprepared, stripped of all his dignity, turned into an animal, howling with fear, into a human rag racked with retching.³³ All this does not happen at once – the agony could last for hours. A man washed off the deck would be desperately trying to catch his proverbial lifeline. This was vividly described by Waclaw Potocki:

Nie mogąc dostać łódki, przegniłą tarcicę,
Pijąc morze słonych łez, zębami uchwycę.³⁴

But not only sea storms awaiting travellers were automatically included in the costs of a voyage. Maciej Strykowski remembered, like others, that he had seen the ocean:

Gdzie morskie huczno-szumne wyniesione wały
Jak z najwyższych gór na dół w górę zeń skakały

Then he added that he had also been:

Raz zasię od rozboju straszniego wybawion,
Dwakrociem z utonienia od brzegu przyplawion

32 F. A. Plattner, *Gdy Europa szukała Azji*, Cracow, 1975, pp. 97, 273.

33 By the way, for the first time sea sickness was described in such a vivid way by Jan Baptysta Tęczyński who wrote: ‘Puściliśmy się na okrutne wały / Które okrętem i nami miotały, / Zdrowe natury w chore odmieniły; / Kto się przypatrzył, znaki tego były; / Jedni poźółkli, a drudzy pobledli / Ci tym miotali, co po ranu jedli’ (quoted after: Miazgowski, *op. cit.*, p. 166).

34 Kubacki, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

Dwakrociem mało nie był od Moskwy pojmany,
Raz mało na galery nie był zaprzędany.

Skarga wrote that no seaman ‘has a will to stay long at sea, where are all the dangers and misfortunes, where there is no hour without his fear of adventures and wild tempest, and of crashing into rocks and brigands’. It is no wonder then that people bound for a long voyage were bid farewell like those doomed to a sure death. In the ode to a voyage to India of Jesuit Andrzej Rudomina, his fellow Maciej Sarbiewski wrote:

I nic-że nie straszne dla twojej odwagi
Ni skwary, ni pęd huraganów?
Ni wichry rozdęte, ni fale, ni flagi,
Ni dworzec Eolskich tyranów?
Ty nie drżysz? nie wspomniesz o przyszłej ruinie,
Gdy z trwogi Twój okręt się wstrząsa?
Ty patrzysz z uśmiechem na przyszłe zasadzki,
Na szturmy i burze bez liku,
Jak gdybyś nad Tybrem szedł użyć przechadzki
Lub w miłym tuskulskim gaiku.³⁵

Already in medieval literature, both Polish and foreign one, a *horror natura* was present which included a fear of the mountains. Its basis ‘was real, although partly based on gullibility and fantasy; nevertheless it must not be seen as irrational anxiety’. The same can be said about the accounts of dangers lurking in the Atlantic, Mediterranean or North Seas for people sailing around the coasts of Asia and Africa. Indeed, with the technology

35 Pertek, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 255; P. Skarga, *Kazania na niedziele i święta*, vol. 1, Cracow, 1938, p. 138. He also described the hardships missionaries had to suffer on their long voyage to India (they had to cross the equator twice, passing where the heat was unbearable, turned food bad and made the people on ships barely alive, and when the winds ceased to blow, the ships were stilled for days: ‘przechodzić, gdzie gorąca nieznośne panują, któremi i żywności się psują, i ludzia ledwie żywi na okrętach zostają, dla upalenia srogiego, gdy czasem okręty za ustaniem wiatrów i ruszyć się z miejsca nie mogą’; idem, *Żywoty świętych*, vol. 2, Vilnius, 1780, p. 381). And Sarbiewski, when he bid farewell to the ship of St. Mary leaving for India, wrote: ‘Pani! Władczyni wichru i pogody! / Co masz żeglarski kierujesz wśród wody / Od skał straszliwych, od wichrów nad głową / Wyzwalasz zdrowo!’ (idem, *Poezycje*, transl. from Latin by L. Kondratowicz, Warsaw, 1872, p. 69).

of shipbuilding used at that time, standards of the seafaring and lack of both reliable navigational instruments and precise maps, going on long sea voyages required a fair dose of courage. For a long time the fear of shipwrecking was a considerable obstacle hampering the broadening of geographical horizons; 'those dangers were regarded as actually existing and to avoid them meant caution rather than cowardice'. A lack of reliable statistics makes it impossible to answer the question about how many of those ships sunk. It seems, however, that a fairly large group of people never returned from distant travels (especially sea voyages), and that fact must have been well remembered by all.

Already in the ancient times 'return from the sea, calling at a port were the most favourite comparisons and symbols of security'. The topos was common in such maritime countries as Italy, France, England or Spain, where as late as in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries people bound for a sea voyage prepared their testaments. If the sea was a frequent component of the old-Polish metaphors (together with the vocabulary from its semantic field, such as seafaring, ship, sailor, etc.),³⁶ the most recurrent was probably the image of a man rocked by waves on the turbulent and dangerous sea of the mundane life. There are countless examples of these, from Jan Kochanowski's Latin elegy to the death of Jan Tarnowski:

Szczęśliwy, że minąwszy morza tego skały
 przybiłeś do przystani cichej – w łodzi całej.
 A my błądzimy jeszcze po tym oceanie,
 niepewni, co się z naszą biedną nawą stanie.³⁷

The same thought was expressed by the poet in his Lament XIX, when we read that probably Ursula had made a good choice preferring death to uncertain sailing on the turbulent waters of earthly life:

Jako gdy kto, na morze nowo się puściwszy,
 A tam niebezpieczeństwo wielkie obaczywszy,
 Woli nazad do brzegu. Drudzy, co podali

36 Grzybowski, *op. cit.*; E. Kotarski, 'Piśmiennictwo morskie w dobie staropolskiej w poszukiwaniu kryteriów', *Libri Gedanenses*, 8, 1974 (1976), p. 6.

37 Kubacki, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 42-43; Drapella, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

Żagle wiatrom, na ślepe skały powpadali;
 Ten mrozem zwyciężony, ten od głodu zginął,
 Rzadki, co by do brzegu na desce przy płynął.³⁸

Similar comparisons we find both in Górnicki (he writes: ‘we sail one by one in this dangerous sea that would flood and devour all, neither one is allowed turn back to the shore, but one must go ahead, and having bounced up and down on the vicious woolies and having fed ourselves with terrible fear, in the end one sinks when the vessel crashes into a rock³⁹), and in Daniel Nieborowski:

Świat-morze, człowiek-okręt od burzy niesiony
 Przygody – skryte skały, szczęście – wiatr szalony.⁴⁰

This picture, which is to be found in many poets of the Baroque period (Mikołaj Sęp-Szarzyński, Hieronim Morsztyn or Krzysztof Arciszewski), brings us to the conclusion that all seafaring, like all human life, has to end in death.

In the sixteenth-century Polish texts we find the king or ruler compared to a steersman, and the homeland itself to a ship in troubled waters, comparisons known already from ancient texts (Horace, Quintilian). We find them in, among others, Solikowski, Kromer or Frycz-Modrzewski, who wrote that the king in his kingdom is like the steersman on a ship. But in moments of danger ‘even the most mediocre sailors at sea’ could advice a steersman. This opinion was shared by Orzechowski who in his funeral oration to Sigismund I Jagiellonian said that the deceased king

38 J. Kochanowski, *Dzieła polskie*, ed. by J. Krzyżanowski, Warsaw, 1960, p. 618: ‘Thy little girl hath chosen well her part, / Thou may’st believe, as one about to start / For the first time upon the stormy sea, / Beholding there great flux and jeopardy, / Returneth to the shore; while those that raise / Their sails, the wind or some blind crag betrays, / And this one dies from hunger, that from cold: / Scarce one escapes the perils manifold’ (translated by Dorothea Prall). In his *Pieśń świętojańska o Sobótce* (Song of St. John’s Eve) the poet wrote: ‘Inszy się ciągną przy dworze / Albo żeglują przez morze, / Gdzie człowieka wicher pędzi, / A śmierć bliżej niż na piędzi’ (ibid., p. 317). On Kochanowski’s attitude towards the sea two opposing opinions have been formulated by: W. Borowy, *Studia i rozprawy*, vol. 1, Wrocław, 1952, pp. 41-46, and W. Weintraub, *Rzecz czarnoleska*, Cracow, 1976, pp. 99-100, 115-16, 166.

39 Ł. Górnicki, *Pisma*, ed. by R. Pollak, vol. 1, Warsaw, 1961, p. 137.

40 *Poeci polskiego baroku, op. cit.*, p. 188.

stood lookout watch aboard at the helm, ‘upatrywał szlaku, kierował trwałym ramieniem za najprzychylniejszą zorzą korab nadziei publicznej’ (looking out for the right course, steering the vessel of public hope with his steady arm to follow the wake of the most auspicious aurora). And after Henry Valois abandoned Poland, Kochanowski addressed his compatriots:

Opuszczeni Sarmaci niechaj co najprędzej
dla zabląkanej nawy wynajdą sternika.

In the seventeenth century the same metaphor was used by, among others, Maciej Sarbiewski, Wespazjan Kochowski, Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski and Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro. Its feature, characteristic of the Polish variant only, was a comparison of the Sejm (Polish national legislature) to the sea of freedom, and of *rokosz* (rebellion) – to a storm threatening to sink the ship of the state. The political metaphor had its religious counterpart – the ship of homeland was accompanied by the ship of the Church (that is the bark of St. Peter), the image derived directly from the Gospel. Thus, Stanisław Orzechowski compared heretics to the survivors of a shipwreck, who had fallen from the deck of the Roman vessel into ‘the errors like into troubled waters’, while Piotr Skarga wrote that cursed be the lot of those ‘whose boat was wrecked half-way in the sea, whose bodies were rotting of death, and they were still a long way from the shore, from the penance, from sacraments’. The author of *Kazania sejmowe* (Diet Sermons) compared various denominations born out of the Reformation to the ships of several transport companies that sometimes failed to deliver their passengers to the point of destination, and Szymon Starowolski presented the superiority of his Church in the words that probably were the first advertisement of great vessels in Poland: ‘Bo insze sekty i wiarki w korytach dziurawych puszczają się przez to morze i toną szkaradnie, a kościół nasz katolicki przewozi bezpiecznie jako w okręcie jakim’ – ‘Because other sects and small faiths in leaky troughs go to sea and sink hideously, while our Catholic Church transports safely all its passengers like a ship’.⁴¹ In their reply, Arians reminded that all dissidents sail in one boat. ‘Let them have it but if they made holes in it

41 Kubacki, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-67; Skarga, *Kazania...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 126, 130-31, 138.

[...] and water flooded into their boat, they would easily drown'.⁴² The analysis of these metaphors and parables has only an indirect bearing upon the subject matter of my article. It is hard not to notice, however, that a guiding principle of those metaphors was the conviction that basically the sea was a dangerous way to travel and any storm could end in shipwreck and death of its passengers. Yet, at the same time, the sea parable injected a certain tone of optimism, for it assumed that the good helmsman (king) and harmonious cooperation of the crew could save the vessel from the sinking, like its proper construction (those big vessels the Church was compared to) provided the guarantees of safety. That conviction that it was possible to overcome a storm is lacking in poetic expressions about a sailor; but the significance of his skills, courage and experience for a safe travel of passengers is emphasised in texts by the authors from Gdańsk who commented on seafaring. In the opinions of poets, however, a sailor is a helpless plaything of nature, powerless victim of a sea storm.

3

Now I am going to sum up my reflections; in the eyes of the nobility the superiority of a landowner's life over the way of life of sailors, full of dangers and threats ('a seaman's life is uncertain' – as a contemporary proverb put it) was obvious. Seafaring seemed to be a good career only for foreigners (or strangers in general) and for plebeians. The noble society preferred to read about distant sea voyages rather than to experience them; they read more willingly and more frequently stories about conquistadors than about sailors. And Bielski was praised, because from his *Chronicle* the reader, sitting in a cosy room with a burning fireplace, could learn everything:

O wszystkim się tu dowie, księgi tve czytając
 Zdrowia na szanc nie kładąc i kosztu nie dając
 Nie trzeba mu w dalekie kraje pielgrzymować,
 I do insuł po głębokim morzu żegłować.⁴³

42 J. M. Ossoliński, *Wiadomości historyczno-krytyczne do dziejów literatury polskiej*, vol. 2, Cracow, 1819, p. 289.

43 A. Zbylitowski, 'Laudes na pismo Joachima Bielskiego', *Archiwum do Dziejów Literatury i Oświaty w Polsce*, 10, 1904, p. 27. By the way, Zbylitowski's example proved right the comment by J. S. Bystron: 'Homebodies who were reluctant to go even to

It was different in urban communities, especially in towns living on commercial traffic (Royal Prussia), as evidenced by the words of Bartłomiej Keckermann quoted above. It is hard to say more on the subject, however, without further research.⁴⁴ It is also worth to notice that even those who lived on the coast were not particularly active as seamen. From the turn of the sixteenth century onwards, Gdańsk inhabitants played mainly the role of commission traders and trade agents. All the hardship of the import of foreign goods and export of Polish grain or timber was shifted onto the foreign merchant marine. And as regards the nobility, its publicists frequently emphasised that the demand of Dutch and English merchants for Polish grain was so great that 'they have to come over to us to buy bread', taking on all the risks of seafaring. The job of a sailor did not fit the image of noble idyll if only because the perspective of distant seas caused anxiety of a world in which everything was regulated and no surprises were expected. This is closely related to the fact that there are scarce traces in the old-Polish culture of interests in distant 'insules', both the real ones, discovered thanks to the virtues of enterprise and courage of sailors of various nations, with Columbus at the lead, and those fictional ones that were discovered due to the bold thought of More, Bacon or Campanella. Surely, this lack of interest in new lands had an impact on the attitude towards voyages to distant lands.

The precedence of a squire over a sailor shows not only a considerable distance between Poland and the route of great geographical explorations, but also the increasing feeling of isolationism and quietism within the noble society. I have to concur here with the opinion of Roman Pollak, who wrote that there was preserved in the old-Polish literature the image of the sea as 'an alien power, inimical, crushing a helpless human. It belches horror and fear, repels with the unknown and repulses, does not allure with experiences that were so far unknown or exotic'.⁴⁵ As a rule, the sea, as noticed by Edmund Kotarski, is not 'a sign of happiness, good fortune of joyful conditions', but a symbol of 'hardship, pains, fear, and all that deprive a man', an 'atrocious, horrifying place (*locus horridus*), a place of

the nearest town, were eager to read stories about distant continents, dangerous travels, exotic lands' (idem, *Publiczność literacka*, Lviv, 1938, p. 146).

44 Cf. J. Tazbir, 'Zainteresowania Nowym Światem w miastach Prus Królewskich w XVI-XVIII w.', *Zapiski Historyczne*, 35, 1970, 3-4, pp. 31-46.

45 R. Pollak, *Uroda morza w polskim słowie*, Poznań, 1947, p. 14.

storms and gales, high waves, tragedy of death'.⁴⁶ The attitude to a sailor was, of course, a derivative of such opinions. Death awaited him in the distant ocean under almost apocalyptic conditions that robbed him of all possibility to meet it with dignity. It is difficult to resist the impression that also this moment influenced the image of the sailor. Indeed, the death of his opposite – a homebody's – was full of dignity: he was dying on his bed, assisted by his family and a priest, and not on a rotten plank, rocked by waves, bestialised by his fear and close to madness. And even if a sailor was lucky enough to return home, the gold he brought from remote countries turned out to be a poor substitute for the real value of 'Golden Liberty' of the nobility. It was guarded only by a squire – a landowner, arduously tilling his lands, while a sailor pursuing mirages of fortune was giving room to the followers of *absolutum dominium*. Thus only a tiller turned out to be a faithful son of its terrestrial homeland, attached to it both by his occupation and feelings of heart. A sailor on the other hand belonged to the 'dregs of society', people with no place of residence, to vagrants of the sea. A noble, occupying a fixed place within the system of a 'broad neighbourhood' was someone known and conscious of his place in the world. The sea made him a lost anonymous person, deprived of his personality, known only on the mainland. All people, king, hetman, courtier and student, merchant and sailor, they somehow vanished in the element, since the sea disturbed 'the order we were accustomed to on the mainland'.⁴⁷

The present article has been based both on poems, political journalism, predicated texts and finally accounts of voyages and travels. As regards quantity, it was poets that came to the fore. In the maritime countries, close to the great sea routes, they were described by travellers themselves, by dramatists (with Shakespeare at the head), and only then poets *sensu stricto*. In Poland it was the other way round: mouthpieces of the opinions of the nobility (and thus influencing the noble society) were mainly the representatives of landowners' poetry, who perceived the 'small rural stability' as the highest value. The mainland and sea, man and maritime element constituted in their approach a vital opposition. As representatives of belles-letters they were especially receptive to specific models, stereotyped from ancient times. This led to a certain

46 Kotarski, 'Piśmiennictwo...', *op. cit.*, p. 8; id., in *Trzy podróże*, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.

47 Id., in *Trzy podróże*, *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 43, 54.

mystification of the reality; for the contemporary cultural conflicts in Poland of the sixteenth and seventeenth century the opposition 'country–town', 'courtier–peasant' or 'knight–landowner' was much more important and timely than the antithesis between sailor and homebody. Because nobody had any doubts that the cultivation of land was far superior to the expedition to the sea. Yet, it is the latter opposition that occupies an especially large amount of space in the poetic narratives of the Renaissance and Baroque periods, and in a disproportionate way to the actual interests of the nobility in the problems of seafaring. A literary convention left also another trace on the comments about the sailor. If landowners' poetry presented the images of cultivator and sailor in no more than black and white, it was because the contemporary aesthetics identified beauty only with harmony and proportion. And the maritime element clashed in an obvious way with those canons and was the ultimate negation of the ideal of harmony. Thus, every time a poet was 'talking about his dilemmas, sufferings, uncertainty, aesthetic and ethic imperfection, he would refer to the image of the sea and seafaring'.⁴⁸ The Baroque epoch did not change the situation; the beauty of courage and heroism, of risk, and the conflict between a man and his surroundings, his behaviour in a situation of crisis, his attitude when facing death, all that was presented on the examples of armed fights with the Crescent and other foes of the Commonwealth, and never of a sea battle (Polish great victories of the sixteenth and seventeenth century were on land and there was no one who could remember the Oliwa Battle) or fights with 'wet death' described by Kochanowski. Even if some travellers had different opinions about the sea than poets, their correspondence was left forgotten in archives, most often until the twentieth century, while the texts of landowners' literature were read by all.

A contemporary publication of accounts of diplomats, missionaries or students wouldn't have changed the stereotype of the sailor in the noble society. They all were one-time travellers; from their sea peregrination they usually remembered only the dangers of the sea. They were not interested (as evidenced by the account of Radziwiłł 'Sierotka' or Anonym from the end of the sixteenth century) in the beauty of nature. They regarded the sky above their heads with concern, fearing menacing storm clouds scudding across the darkening sky to foreshadow a deadly tempest.

48 Id., 'Piśmiennictwo...', *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

Thus the sea was becoming – like a town – an agglomeration of dangers lurking for man. In this regard poets shared the opinion of theologians; Melanchthon thought them the abode of evil. And here we touch on the theological aspects of the antithesis between sailor and squire. The first one had a limited freedom of action; his helm was knocked out of his hands by storms or adverse winds. Even if he knew where to sail, he could never be sure if he had chances to reach his destination. A squire, on the other hand, if going to travel at all, rode a horse which usually was obedient to his will.⁴⁹ The question thus arises: to what degree the superiority of the model of a rider-nobleman over a sailor-plaything of Fortune reflected two opposing theological concepts? The first one was the vision of man who was able to independently decide his own fate: his own rescue or downfall (*recte*: salvation or damnation) depended only on his own will. The second vision, connected with Calvinism (or Jansenism), was the image of man as a plaything in the hands of a cruel and inscrutable God.

If the subject signalised in the title of the article was based on Spanish, Italian or French literature, it could make a whole book. Polish sources, however, cover barely two sheets of text. Roman Pollak, quoted already, noticed that the remnants left by the sea in our culture ‘are scarce, simply imperceptible, and in its emotional overtone extremely one-sided’.⁵⁰ It seems, however, that old-Polish comments on the sailor, although scanty, are worthy to be recalled through this analysis.⁵¹ This is probably the matter long dead and buried, because Polish interest in the sea still seems to be disproportionately small in the face of our long shoreline today. I believe that much remains to be done by sociologists in exploring

49 Botero wrote on the subject the following: ‘Albowiem jeśli tak bardzo dziwujemy się owemu kawalkatorowi, albo jeźdźcowi, który umie ukrócić źrebca i za swą dzielnością rzeźwią może go i wzbudzić ku biegu i zastanowić, także nawodzić go i posłusznym czynić, jakoż nie więcej poważać mamy żeglarza [...]’ (For if we marvel so much at a cavalryman or a rider who knows to hold back a horse and through his courage can make it run or stop, and also draw back and make obedient, how we cannot to hold a sailor in higher esteem [...]; idem, *op. cit.*, p. 2).

50 Pollak, *Wśród literatów...*, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

51 A separate problem are copperplates and pictures depicting storm at sea: a book on the treasures of Jasna Góra Monastery (*The Cultural Heritage of Jasna Góra*, Warsaw, 1974, p. 82) recalled one of those paintings, from the mid-seventeenth century. The theme of a ship as an allegory is quite frequent in the Polish iconography of the seventeenth century.

what has changed in the stereotype of the sailor. They should look into diaries written by emigrants in which a peasant's dislike for the sea and an attachment to the mainland has found such a strong expression.⁵²

Translated by *Grażyna Waluga*

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52 Cf. *Listy emigrantów z Brazylii i Stanów Zjednoczonych*, ed. by W. Kula, N. Asso-rodobraj-Kula, M. Kula, Warsaw, 1973, pp. 49-55.