

The question of the influence of the Orient on the Polish nobility runs through numerous publications, both as a major research topic and as a subsidiary theme in studies of the eastern policy of the Commonwealth, Polish approach to warfare or Oriental motifs in fine arts. These analyses are usually of a general nature, summarising certain trends among the nobility on the basis of selected examples. Although such publications are highly desirable, there is a noticeable lack of texts that trace the broad relations of Poles with their Muslim neighbours in individual families, especially borderland families, over several generations. Such monographic approaches elaborating the topic of Oriental influence on a micro-scale, covering a long period of time and taking into account changing external conditions on the example of a group of related individuals, where traditions and material goods are passed on from generation to generation, would provide more complete insight into the spectrum of relations with the Orient. Having large financial resources, as well as diplomatic, commercial and other contacts at their disposal enabled magnates to have multifaceted relations with the Islamic world, making this group a valuable subject of study. The reasons for the lack of such analyses are probably due, among others, to the small number of surviving documents on the subject in question, as well as difficult access to private archives for research and the negative perception of research on the Polish aristocracy during the communist period. This article is the first attempt to bring to light the presence of the Orient in the history of the Grocholski family of the Syrokomla coat of arms through a critical analysis of the sources and their contextualisation. The author seeks to answer the question of whether, and in what way, the close proximity of the Ottoman Empire, the Crimean Khanate and the minorities coming from the East and settled in these areas left a mark on the history of this family living in the lands of historical Ruthenia.

The oldest surviving references to the Grocholski family using a seal with the Syrokomla coat of arms date from the Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> They attest to its presence in the Sandomierz area as early as the mid-fifteenth century, although it is known that the ‘Syrokomlas’, of whom Grocholskis were successors, had inhabited the area earlier.<sup>2</sup> Living and inheriting lands mainly in the historic region of Lesser Poland, members of the family

## ORIENT IN THE HISTORY AND INTERESTS OF THE GROCHOLSKI FAMILY OF THE SYROKOMLA COAT OF ARMS

DOI: 10.5604/01.3001.0054.8388

*Joanna Bojarska-Cieślak*  
*National Museum in Warsaw*

*Wilanów Studies*  
vol. XXX, 2023, pp. 425–483  
Yearbook, E-ISSN: 2720-0116

1 See B. Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego* (Kraków, 1583, reprinted from the original: Kraków, 1858), pp. 228–229.

2 J. Wroniszewski, *Szlachta ziemi sandomierskiej w średniowieczu. Zagadnienia społeczne i gospodarcze* (Wrocław, 2001), p. 177; W. Brochwicz-Lewiński, Z. Różak, J. Turant,

held important offices in Poland of the era; relevant examples are, among others, the bishop and reformer Jakub of Kurdwanów (c. 1350–1425),<sup>3</sup> Jan Zaklika of Korzkiew (c. 1360–1420),<sup>4</sup> the castellan of Wiślica, who commanded the Syrokomla regiment at the Battle of Grunwald, or his brother Mikołaj, who was court chancellor at the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>5</sup> In the sixteenth century, Łukasz Grocholski, signing himself ‘from Grabów’, left his home region and moved eastwards, to the lands of historical Ruthenia.<sup>6</sup> He thus began a new line of the family, which grew and, as time was to show, produced many significant figures, especially relevant to the history of the region. The territory of Ruthenia, a part of which had been incorporated into Poland as early as in the reign of Casimir the Great, from the very beginning tempted those brave enough with the prospect of enrichment thanks to the fertile soil and the opportunities offered by the low population density. Perhaps Łukasz, the forefather of the borderland branch of the family, was inspired by the experience of those around him: most of the settlers in the area came from Lesser Poland, which lay closest, and some of them had been granted lands by royal charters.<sup>7</sup> Whatever the reason, settling in these areas meant an involuntary entry into the sphere of Oriental influence. The proximity of the Crimean Khanate and the presence of various ethnic and religious groups made up the unique character of the area. Some traditions born in this part of the country took root and became integral parts of the Old Polish culture. Given the turbulent history of the Eastern Borderlands, the sixteenth century can be regarded as peaceful (apart from the Tartar invasions which were the tragic rule of the area, and a short-lived Polish-Turkish conflict in the 1520s<sup>8</sup>); it was a good time

‘Syrokomla – czy wspólne miano herbu i gniazda rodu Syrokomłów było francuskiego pochodzenia?’, *Notatnik Janowiecki*, no. 15, 2008, pp. 54–71.

3 A comprehensive monograph on him was published in 2021, see L. Zygner, *Biskup z Kurdwanowa herbu Syrokomla (ok. 1350–1425)* (Toruń, 2021).

4 [encyklopedia.warmia.mazury.pl/index.php/Zaklika\\_Korzekwicki](http://encyklopedia.warmia.mazury.pl/index.php/Zaklika_Korzekwicki) (accessed 4 Sept. 2022).

5 [www.grocholski.pl/pl/jasiek-zaklika-1379-1420/](http://www.grocholski.pl/pl/jasiek-zaklika-1379-1420/) (accessed 21 Dec. 2022).

6 It is not entirely clear in which part of the sixteenth century this event took place. In notes kept in the family archive, Zofia Grocholska née Zamoyska indicated the beginning of the century. However, the dates referring to events in the life of Łukasz Grocholski in the armorials of A. Boniecki and S. Uruski would suggest later years. T. Żychliński writes of him as ‘living in the mid-sixteenth century’. Personally, I would be inclined towards the hypothesis that this happened after the Union of Lublin in 1569, when the Podlachia, Volhynia, Bratslav and Kyiv voivodeships were officially incorporated into the Crown of Poland. Where exactly Łukasz settled also remains in question, perhaps it was in Red Ruthenia, Podolia or Volhynia.

7 Z. Skrok, ‘U wrót tatarskiej paszczęki’, in: *Podolska legenda. Powstanie i pogrzeb polskiego Podola* (Warszawa, 2007).

8 In 1524 the Turco-Tatar army penetrated as far as Lvov, see D. Kołodziejczyk, ‘Zarys historii stosunków polsko-tureckich do roku 1795’, in: Z. Abramowicz et al., *Wojna i pokój. Skarby sztuki tureckiej ze zbiorów polskich od XV do XIX wieku. Wystawa*

to relocate. A picture that emerges from the extant scraps of information concerning the first decades of the Grocholski family's presence in eastern Poland is that of a family owning various minor estates spread over a considerable area: from the Trembowła region to the Braclaw (today: Bratslav) voivodship. Nonetheless, their familial and political ties to the native Polish lands were still alive, as evidenced by the titles borne by some of Łukasz's descendants, such as cupbearer of Dobrzyń or cupbearer of Nur.

The Grocholskis quickly found their feet in the new reality. From the first generation born in the east of the Commonwealth, they rose in, among others, the military hierarchy. Andrzej, son of Łukasz, became colonel of the Ostróg Ordinance.<sup>9</sup> One of his sons, also Andrzej, followed in his footsteps, rising to the rank of rittmaster of a hussar regiment<sup>10</sup> and royal colonel,<sup>11</sup> while the others, Stanisław and Ezechiel, having chosen the clerical path, took the monastic names of, respectively, Ambroży and Hieronim; in time, the former became prior of the Dominican Order in Tulczyn<sup>12</sup> and the latter the provincial of the entire Ruthenian province.<sup>13</sup> This was already in the seventeenth century, which, unlike the preceding century, proved turbulent for the inhabitants of the eastern provinces. These lands became the arena of the Cossack uprisings and the war with Russia (1654–1667). Moreover, in the second half of the century, another calamity fell on the devastated territory of Podolia, namely, the war with Turkey. Contrary to the narrative by Henryk Sienkiewicz, which lingers in the mass imagination to this day,<sup>14</sup> the Sublime Porte did not actively seek war with Poland. The fertile but desolate lands of Podolia were not an attractive bait for an empire that had the populous, very fertile territories of Hungary and Bulgaria under its rule.<sup>15</sup> However, a series of political circumstances, including the pro-Habsburg stance of

---

*zorganizowana przez Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, Warszawa 25 lutego – 3 maja 2000 roku* (Warszawa, 2000), p. 18.

- 9 K. Awedyk, *Kazania na niedziele całego roku wielkim imieniem wielm. imć. pana Michała z Grabowa Grocholskiego sędziego ziemskiego braclawickiego, rotmistrza J.K.M. i R.P. znaku pancernego zaszczycone* (Lwów, 1766), p. 6.
- 10 K. Rolle, 'Grocholski Remigian Michał h. Syrokomla (1643–1705)', in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 8 (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, 1959–1960), pp. 588–589.
- 11 Awedyk, *Kazania na niedziele*, p. 6.
- 12 Biographical note compiled for the Grocholski family archive by Dominican brother Robert Świętochowski OP, [www.grocholski.pl/pl/grocholski-stanislaw-ur-1598-dominikanin/](http://www.grocholski.pl/pl/grocholski-stanislaw-ur-1598-dominikanin/) (accessed 15 Sept. 2022).
- 13 Ibid., [www.grocholski.pl/pl/historia/historia-rodu/historia-rodu-grocholskich/](http://www.grocholski.pl/pl/historia/historia-rodu/historia-rodu-grocholskich/) (accessed 15 Sept. 2022).
- 14 D. Kołodziejczyk, 'Stosunki dawnej Rzeczypospolitej z Turcją i Tatarami: czy naprawdę byliśmy przedmurzem Europy?', *Praktyka Teoretyczna*, vol. 26, 2017, no. 4, pp. 17–19.
- 15 Id., *Podole pod panowaniem tureckim. Ejalet Kamieniecki 1672–1699* (Warszawa, 1994), p. 47.

the newly elected king Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki, ultimately led to the outbreak of war. The terms of the Polish-Russian truce signed at Andruszowo (today: Andrusovo) in 1667 were also of great concern to the Turkish side.<sup>16</sup> The Turks feared they might have the combined forces of the Commonwealth and Russia directed against them. An extremely important aspect that perhaps tipped the scales in favour of the conflict was the issue of the Cossacks. From the early years of the seventeenth century, these nominal subjects of the Polish king organised intensive looting expeditions against the central, economically strategic Turkish provinces.<sup>17</sup> The damage they caused blocked the Black Sea trade, which was crucial to the functioning of the empire. Despite Poland's commitment to deal with the problem, the situation did not improve. Ultimately, the Turks decided to resolve the issue by playing the Cossacks off against the Commonwealth – first by providing assistance to the rebellious Bohdan Khmelnytsky and then by responding favourably to the Cossack hetman Doroshenko's appeal for the sultan's patronage. In 1672, the war with Turkey became a reality. Although the conflict lasted four years, the event of greatest significance took place at its very beginning; it was the capture of the fortress of Kamieniec Podolski (today: Kamianets-Podilskyi) and turning the territory of Podolia into the Kamianets eyalet.<sup>18</sup> In addition, the Bratslav region and the right-bank Ukraine, governed by Cossack hetmans – the sultan's vassals – came under indirect Turkish rule. This youngest Ottoman province survived for 27 years.

Due to the lack of proper documentation, it is impossible to trace the seventeenth-century fate of the Grocholski family in detail. It is known that they took part in the continuous battles in the Commonwealth; this was the case for example with Andrzej (b. 1610?), who fought against both the Khmelnytsky insurgents and the Swedes.<sup>19</sup> They suffered the consequences of warfare – the Cossacks destroyed numerous monasteries, including the Tulczyn monastery, where the abovementioned Father Ambroży (Stanisław Grocholski) was serving as prior. Surviving land records attest to the family's presence also in Podolia as owners of Mykietyńce in 1637.<sup>20</sup> Thirty-five years later, in August, when the sultan's army crossed the Dniester, were they still in the area? If so, it would be

16 Id., 'Zarys historii', p. 24.

17 After one such raid, glows from towns burnt by the Bosphorus Cossacks were reportedly visible from the Sultan's palace, *ibid.*, p. 21.

18 Eyalet – a large province in the Ottoman Empire divided into smaller sanjaks; governed by a governor-general (beylerbey), usually bearing the honourable title of pasha, [encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/ejalet;3896916.html](http://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/ejalet;3896916.html) (accessed 12 Sept. 2022).

19 Rolle, 'Grocholski Remigian', p. 588.

20 О.І. Бондар, *Архітектурні візерунки древніх. П'ятиччя і не тільки...*, [www.grocholski.pl/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/AA7C-1.pdf](http://www.grocholski.pl/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/AA7C-1.pdf) (accessed 8 Sept. 2022).

almost unlikely that they would not leave it once the eyalet was established. Professor Kołodziejczyk wrote that ‘in the Polish and Turkish sources’ he had studied so far, he had ‘not come across a single case of a nobleman voluntarily remaining under Turkish rule’.<sup>21</sup> The estates of those who left were conveyed to the sultan’s treasury. By a happy twist of fate, most of the family’s properties at the time were outside the area occupied by the Turks. As a result, the Grocholskis did not have to face the problems that burdened the nobility of the conquered territories, e.g. the question of preserving the hereditary estates, which particularly affected the great families of the area, such as the Koniecpolskis (at Jazłowiec, today: Yazlovets), the Wiśniowieckis (at Niemirów, today: Nemyriv), etc.<sup>22</sup> Although more detailed information about most of the members of the Grocholski family from this period is not available, one person stands out among them, also in the context of ‘Oriental’ affairs.

Remigian Michał Grocholski (1643–1705) was an active figure on the chessboard of the Polish-Turkish conflict. Trained in military matters from a young age, he gained experience and merit on the fields of many battles, including those at Częstochowa (1665), Mątwy (1666), and Chocim (1673).<sup>23</sup> In 1683, he took part in the Vienna campaign as commander of the armoured regiments<sup>24</sup> at the side of Hieronim Lubomirski and became famous in the clashes at Klosterneuburg and Pressburg (today: Bratislava). After the second of these skirmishes, Lubomirski’s victorious troops, pursuing the defeated Turks, captured the camp abandoned by the enemy, where ‘considerable spoils were found in money, clothes, horses, tents, *chaban* oxen, and all sorts of equipment and utensils, half of which they did not take. There were several thousand *chaban* oxen harnessed to carts fully loaded with various things, and several thousand sheep’.<sup>25</sup> It may be suspected that the ‘sabre set in gold, the value of which is 1600 zloty, Turkish golden horse-tack, a golden mace, Turkish velvet seat, a *dywdyk* shabrack, and a mace’ mentioned in Remigian’s will<sup>26</sup> as donated to Jan Zamoyski came from the spoils taken at this Turkish camp. During the Battle of Vienna, Grocholski’s regiments fought under the command of Charles of Lorraine on the left

21 Kołodziejczyk, *Podole pod panowaniem*, p. 65.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 91.

23 Rolle, ‘Grocholski Remigian’, p. 588.

24 The armoured regiment numbered a hundred men; in Lubomirski’s corps there were four armoured regiments commanded by Colonel Grocholski, see J. Wimmer, *Wiedeń 1683. Dzieje kampanii i bitwy* (Warszawa, 1983), p. 152.

25 *Acta Historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, vol. 6: *akta do dziejów króla Jana III sprawy roku 1683, a osobliwie wyprawy wiedeńskiej wyjaśniające*, ed. F. Kulczycki (Kraków, 1883), p. 207.

26 Private archives of the Grocholski family (hereinafter: ArchGr), Ms, last will of Remigian Grocholski of Grabów, 1703 (copy in the author’s possession).

wing, among the Austrian and Saxon troops.<sup>27</sup> Lubomirski's regiments were still active in the campaign until 1685, operating in Hungary and elsewhere. However, this was not the end of Colonel Grocholski's eastern service; in 1700, a year after the liquidation of the Kamianets eyalet, he was sent with as an envoy to the khan of Crimea Devlet Giray.<sup>28</sup> The purpose of this mission was probably to exchange prisoners of war and perhaps to deal with disturbances made by the Nogais in the borderland. Organising legations to the Khanate was part of the hetman's diplomatic prerogative,<sup>29</sup> which would explain why the envoy was a soldier and not an official. During Remigian's stay at the khan's court, expensive gifts were exchanged between the parties as dictated by the Oriental custom; this is evidenced by a legacy in the envoy's last will, notifying that 'a golden sabre from the Khan and thirty gold buttons be given to the esteemed Sir Aleksander Lubomirski, the Starost of Kozeniece, Son of His Grace the Castellan of Cracow and Grand Hetman of the Crown'. A record of reciprocation is found in the following account: 'It is impossible to describe what honours were bestowed upon the most respectable envoy [...] He won the favour of all Crimean elders, which he answered with rich and numerous gifts, so much that he left behind a fame of a man of wisdom and dignity and *ex qualitate magna* of his gifts, a great respect'.<sup>30</sup>

Remigian's fame is only one facet of the complicated relationship between Poland and the Orient. The second, more dramatic one, is demonstrated by the story of Aleksandra Grocholska, sister to the aforementioned two brothers that became Dominican monks, who had been taken captive by the Turks in 1693. The circumstances under which she was taken into captivity are not known, but it can be assumed that this happened during the clashes between the Tartar *chambuls* and the hetman's regiment after the Moldavian expedition of King John III.<sup>31</sup> A year later, in 1694, she was ransomed with other captives by envoys from the Order of the Most Holy Trinity and of the Captives, commonly known as Trinitarians. They

27 Lubomirski's corps, although enlisted in Poland (with the king's permission), was paid from the imperial treasury and, as such, fought alongside the Austrian army, J. Wimmer, 'Polacy w walkach na terenie Austrii przed odsieczą Wiednia w 1683 r.', *Sobótka*, no. 3–4, 1982, p. 366.

28 Rolle, 'Grocholski Remigian', p. 589.

29 Z. Żygulski, 'O polskim orientalizmie', in: *Orient w sztuce polskiej*, ed. B. Biedrońska-Słotowa (Kraków, 1992), p. 12.

30 *Krótkie opisanie powrotu JMP Grocholskiego chorążego braclawskiego ex legatione z Krymu od chana tatarskiego*, in: *Kopiarz pism politycznych i satyrycznych oraz gazet pisanych z czasów bezkrólewia po Janie III do detronizacji Augusta II*, c. 1696 – c. 1705, Rps 3097 III, [polona.pl/item/kopiarz-pism-politycznych-i-satyrycznych-oraz-gazet-pisanych-z-czasow-bezkrolewia-po,NTM10DkyNjc/](http://polona.pl/item/kopiarz-pism-politycznych-i-satyrycznych-oraz-gazet-pisanych-z-czasow-bezkrolewia-po,NTM10DkyNjc/) (accessed 16 Jan. 2023).

31 M. Wagner, 'Wykup jeńców z niewoli tureckiej i tatarskiej w końcu XVII wieku', *Українська Орієнталістика*, no. 6, 2012, p. 33.

had been brought to the Commonwealth during the Turkish-Polish wars in the penultimate decade of the sixteenth century.<sup>32</sup> What distinguished them from many other monastic orders was the injunction to learn Oriental languages, although in practice this took the form of accepting speakers into their ranks rather than institutionalised teaching.<sup>33</sup> This linguistic background was an undoubted advantage in negotiating a ransom. Knights captured in battle and civilians abducted during raids were often transported to the capital of the eyalet, Kamieniec Podolski. This is also what happened to Aleksandra, who was transported there from Volhynia. She is listed under number 45 in the list of persons released from captivity in the fourth redemption expedition<sup>34</sup> to Kamieniec.<sup>35</sup> This liberation mission was initiated by Maria Casimire Sobieska and led by Father Jan of the Blessed Virgin Mary.<sup>36</sup> Funds for redemption were usually raised from private foundations set up specifically for this purpose or from fundraising. The Trinitarians kept meticulous records – the register of freed captives listed each person by name, also giving their place of origin, age, time spent in captivity and the cost of ransom. The note about Aleksandra reveals that at the time she regained her freedom, i.e. on 13 March 1694, she was 50 years old, she originated from the Volhynian voivodeship, and had been in captivity for 12 months.<sup>37</sup> In place of the ransom sum, the register reads: ‘aided to redeem herself with 30 levs, which makes 180 Polish zloty’.<sup>38</sup> The record indicates that specific private funds, probably donated by the family, were used for Aleksandra’s liberation. In the context of this tale, it is worth mentioning that in his 1703 will, already referred to above, Remigian Grocholski bequeathed the sum of one thousand Polish zloty to the Trinitarians of Lvov. Furthermore, he wrote, ‘I also place all the monies due to me from the Commonwealth at the disposal of the Fathers [Trinitarians], earnestly requesting that they sincerely pursue their granting to them and also turned them to the benefit of captives, which is to be done with the

32 Trinitarians, see [encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/trynitarze;3989540.html](https://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/trynitarze;3989540.html) (accessed 22 Sept. 2022). The confirmation of the Żurawno Treaty, which was conveyed to the envoy Jan Gniński in April 1678, included a guarantee of the possibility of buying out the captives with the condition that this did not apply to converted Muslims, Kołodziejczyk, *Podole pod panowaniem*, p. 94.

33 J. Reychman, *Znajomość i nauczanie języków orientalnych w Polsce XVIII wieku* (Wrocław, 1950), p. 24.

34 Redemption – the action of buying out slaves, carried out by some religious orders and charitable institutions, see [sjp.pwn.pl/doroszewski/redempcja](https://sjp.pwn.pl/doroszewski/redempcja) (accessed 20 Oct. 2022).

35 A. Orłowski, *Zebrańie wszystkich redempcyi które prowincya polska Zakonu Nayswię. Trocy od Wykupienia Niewolników w kraiach tureckich y tatarskich, od roku 1688. do roku 1783. czyniła* (Warszawa, 1783), p. 22.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 22.

38 *Ibid.*



knowledge of Their Excellencies the Crown Hetmans, whom I ask for protection in this matter'.<sup>39</sup>

These events from the history of the Grocholski family are emblematic of the time and place in which its members lived. In the perspective of Polish history, they provide further testimony to the nature of the Crown's relations with its Muslim neighbours. However, in addition to the political dimension, another aspect worth noting are the contemporary mores. The Turkish 'Orientalia' collected by Remigian might be seen as no more than war trophies testifying to victorious clashes with the enemy and a high rank in the military hierarchy. However, the cultural context of the era helps to view them in a slightly different light. The Sarmatism in Old Poland, which was underpinned by the myth of the Polish nobility originating from the Sarmatians of ancient Iran, entirely consciously turned towards Oriental aesthetics. This manifested itself in both interior decoration and dress: the *kontusz* outfit, which in time came to be known as the 'Polish national costume', consisted of elements taken from, among others, Turkish, Persian and Tatar fashion. The demand for objects coming from the East was so great that Polish manufactories turning out products in Muslim styles began to emerge, mainly on the territory of what is now Ukraine. The most famous example was the rug-making centre in Brody, founded by Hetman Koniecpolski. Given the symbolic status of Oriental artefacts, especially the military equipment: weapons, horse tack, etc., it must be assumed that the objects won by Remigian as spoils of war decorated ceremonial interiors in his estate. Displayed in a place of honour, they testified to the social status of the owner, namely his membership in the knightly estate. This message was obvious to his contemporaries; these were extraordinary times, as it were, when oriental 'costume' was synonymous with Polishness and pride in the noble descent. The Orient-oriented tastes of the social stratum of the *nobiles* were most evident in the borderlands and survived there the longest, reaching far beyond the timeframe of the Baroque, the era that gave birth to the concept of Sarmatism. The geopolitical location of the region and the associated 'borderland' culture undoubtedly contributed to this. Asian influence in the region went back into the distant past, long before the Ottoman rule in Podolia. In Kazawczyn (today: Kazavchyn), near Sawrań (today: Savran) owned by the Rzewuski family, inscriptions in Arabic script were seen on granite rocks, and next to them were Tatar tombstones with the annual date 1377.<sup>40</sup> The stronghold in Pietniczany, which had belonged to the Grocholskis since the eighteenth

39 ArchGr, Ms, last will of Remigian Grocholski of Grabów, 1703 (copy in the author's possession).

40 W. Marczyński, *Statystyczne, topograficzne i historyczne opisanie Guberni Podolskiej*, vol. 3 (Wilno, 1823), p. 236.



century, had been built, according to local tradition, by Tatar and Turkish prisoners of war.<sup>41</sup>

It is obvious that the infiltration of Oriental elements in the area had been a continuous, unchanging process spanning several centuries. Almost three decades of Turkish rule further reinforced this influence. Traces of the Ottoman presence were visible in many places. In Kamieniec Podolski, a 27-metre minaret was erected next to the cathedral turned into a mosque. After the town passed into Polish hands, the structure was crowned with a statue of the Virgin Mary and has survived in this form to the present day. In the Dominican church, a minbar<sup>42</sup> of white marble with an Arabic inscription continued to be used as a pulpit.<sup>43</sup> Although the Ottoman army withdrew from Podolia, Turkey remained in the immediate vicinity. It was not unusual for the citizens of the Commonwealth to have contacts the Turks stationed at Chocim (today: Khotyn).<sup>44</sup> The times of peace that followed the signing of the Treaty of Karlowitz allowed for the tightening of trade links and the consolidation of existing communication routes. The peasants working in the fields of Podolia no longer watched Turkish armies marching to meet the Polish ones, but caravans laden with goods and colourful, often magnificent embassies heading for Warsaw. Although eighteenth-century salons were filled with an Enlightenment spirit and palaces took on elegant Classicist forms, in some areas Oriental tastes persisted. It became fashionable to put Turkish tents in rooms, to rest and receive guests under such a vault.<sup>45</sup> It was probably in reference to this trend that Marianna Grocholska née Ślizień, the hostess of Pietniczany, ordered 'a satin fabric with white and blue stripes imitating the vault of a tent'<sup>46</sup> to be hung from the ceiling in the drawing room. Just like a century earlier, imported goods from the East could not meet the market demand, especially in terms of supplies of silk fabrics and *kontusz* sashes. New manufactories began to join the previously established Polish ones, including those of the Radziwiłłs in Nieśwież (Nesvizh) and Słuck (Slutsk). The Grocholskis, who in the eighteenth century held high positions, such as marshal of the Bratslav governorate<sup>47</sup> or royal chamberlain,<sup>48</sup> could afford

41 Z. Grocholski, 'Pietniczany', in: *Pamiętnik kijowski* (Londyn, 1966), vol. 3, p. 84; 'Pietniczany', in: *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, vol. 8 (Warszawa, 1880–1914), p. 112.

42 Minbar (mimbar) – a pulpit in a mosque, set next to a niche indicating the direction of prayer.

43 J. Reychman, *Orient w kulturze polskiego Oświecenia* (Wrocław, 1964), p. 153.

44 R. Król-Mazur, *Miasto trzech nacji. Studia z dziejów Kamieńca Podolskiego w XVIII wieku* (Kraków, 2008), p. 40.

45 Reychman, *Orient w kulturze*, p. 117.

46 *Pamiętniki Xawery z Brzozowskich Grocholskiej*, ed. Z.S. Feliński (Kraków, 1894), p. 251.

47 'Grocholski Antoni (1767–1808)', in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 8, p. 584.

48 J. Jankowska, *Grocholski Franciszek Ksawery (1730–1792)*, in: *ibid.*, p. 584.

to purchase products of the best quality, including those from the Middle East. This is evidenced by the description of the entry of Marcin Grocholski,<sup>49</sup> Voivode of Bratslav, to the local *sejmik* assembly:

Behind the military detachment rode His Excellency the Voivode on a beautiful black stallion – (suffice to say that it was a horse of exceptional Arabian blood [...]) and the tack on it was a rich Persian one, studded with gold and precious stones. The Voivode wore the voivodeship uniform, which (according to a resolution of the Sejm of 1780), consisted of a *kontusz* robe in a light sapphire hue with crimson borders, a single silver epaulette, a white *żupan* with twelve silver buttons, which here were replaced by as many large pearls.<sup>50</sup>

This passage shows that although the nineteenth century was approaching, both the attire rooted in Oriental tradition and the luxurious wares of Middle Eastern craft still had very positive connotations, just as they had had a hundred years earlier, at a time when Remigian Grocholski was celebrating triumphs over Turkish troops.

The Oriental atmosphere of the region had its origins in an ethnic mosaic of, among others, Armenians, Jews and Karaites that had settled there. Although each of these communities largely lived and married inside its own milieu, they were in daily contact with other residents of the Polish lands and in some areas, such as trade, played an important role in the local community. Many Armenians and Karaites also served as casual translators from the Turkish<sup>51</sup> and Persian language, also in the service of the state.<sup>52</sup> By cultivating the values and traditions of their ancestors and maintaining relations with their compatriots in the Ottoman Empire, they provided a natural bridge between the Commonwealth and the Orient.<sup>53</sup> Tatar, Turkish and other merchants often attended the fairs of Kamieniec, Mohylów (today: Mohyliv), Horodenka, Żwaniec (today: Zhvanets). Their offer included items made of dyed Morocco leather, damask, silks, *kilim* rugs, citrus fruits, freshly smoked fish, ‘slippers stamped with gold’ and many other wares.<sup>54</sup> Such colourful reality was available to the Grocholskis living in Podolia.<sup>55</sup> It was therefore no surprise that even in the

49 Marcin Grocholski (1727–1807).

50 P. Jaxa-Bykowski, *Ostatni sejmik województwa braclawskiego* (Petersburg, 1885), pp. 72–73.

51 The correct term, appropriate to historical realities, would be ‘Ottoman Turkish language’, also known as Ottoman. Because it was colloquially referred to as Turkish in historic sources, for the purposes of this article these names are used interchangeably, but they refer to the Ottoman language, which, unlike modern Turkish, was written in Arabic script.

52 A. Zajączkowski, *Orientalistyka polska a Bliski Wschód*, in: *Szkice z dziejów polskiej orientalistyki*, ed. J. Reychman, vol. 2 (Warszawa, 1966), p. 32.

53 *Ibid.*, pp. 30–33.

54 *Ibid.*, p. 54.

55 For example: the distance from Pietniczany to Mohylów is approx. 100 km as the crow flies, and to Kamieniec Podolski, 150 km.

twentieth century oriental wall-hangings and rugs were still to be found in almost every corner of the Pietniczany palace.<sup>56</sup>

The end of the wars with Turkey, the decline of the Crimean Khanate and the change in the distribution of power in Central and Eastern Europe due to Austria and Russia assuming the roles of the leading players meant that starting from the second half of the eighteenth century, the Poles began to see the Ottoman Empire as an ally of their interests. This was the attitude of, among others, the Bar Confederates, who sought refuge and military support from the Sublime Porte. Aleksander Grocholski, the swordbearer of Kijów (Kyiv), commanded the division of the union marshal of the Confederation.<sup>57</sup> His troops collaborated with troops led by the pasha of Rumelia, with whom he remained personally in touch.<sup>58</sup>

The last decades of the eighteenth century were a time of growing interest in Arabian horses, so far quite rare in Poland.<sup>59</sup> It was during this period that their first studs began to be established, held by the Branickis in Biała Cerkiew (Bila Tserkva), the Sanguszkos in Sławuta (Slavuta), etc. This process was culminated with the importation of 137 horses by Waław Rzewuski in 1817. Although the emir was quite reluctant to part with his Arabians, it is known that they were purchased or acquired as gifts by, among others, Adolf Grocholski for his estate in Czerwona and Henryk Grocholski for Pietniczany.<sup>60</sup> The stud farms in the latter two estates survived into the twentieth century, and the horses bred there bore names taken from Muslim culture, such as Vizier, Zuleyka, Dahabiya, Ispahan or Elbrus.<sup>61</sup>

Henryk's daughter Maria Grocholska, known as Marynia, was a horse-riding enthusiast and an expert in the matters of hippology. During one of her stays in Paris, she met Witold Czartoryski and married him, after a six-month engagement, in 1851. Due to medical advice regarding Witold, who was suffering from tuberculosis, to stay in a warm and dry climate, the couple visited Muslim countries several times: they stayed three times in Egypt and twice in

56 ArchGr, Ms. Z. Grocholski, *Pietniczany*, notebook A5, numbered pages (copy in the author's possession).

57 K. Pułaski, 'Z pamiętnika konfederata barskiego', in: id., *Szkice i poszukiwania historyczne*, series 2 (Petersburg, 1898), p. 21.

58 Ibid.

59 Reychman, *Orient w kulturze*, pp. 67–68.

60 W. Pruski, *Dwa wieki polskiej hodowli koni arabskich (1778–1978) i jej sukcesy na świecie* (Warszawa, 1983), p. 33. Zdzisław Grocholski gives the 1860s as the date when the Arabians were brought to Pietniczany (Grocholski, *Pietniczany*, p. 89). As Waław Rzewuski died in 1831, it may be suspected that the purchase referred to by the heir of Pietniczany was made by Henryk Grocholski (d. 1866) or his son Stanisław (1835–1907), then owners of the estate, and that this was not the first purchase, assuming that the information given by Pruski about the Grocholskis acquiring horses from the emir himself is true.

61 ArchGr, Ms. Grocholski, *Pietniczany*.

Algeria. Because of Czartoryski's political functions, Maria visited Istanbul in his company twice. It was there, during her first trip to the Orient (October–November 1861), that she embarked on the adventure of discovering Oriental languages by starting to learn Ottoman Turkish. Her motivation for these studies, in addition to a fascination with the exoticism of ancient Constantinople that emerges from her letters, was her desire to lend diplomatic support to her husband in the political mission he was carrying out. No information survived on how Maria learnt the new language. It can be presumed that her studies must have included, at least to some extent, the art of writing as well,<sup>62</sup> since she signed some of her later letters (but ones coming from the period before she started learning Arabic) in Arabic script. She probably acquired the skill of writing in Arabic script during her first stay in Istanbul. From the French town of Nérès she wrote an interesting letter, addressed probably to her brother Tadeusz, where she mentioned an Iranian, a cook, who had extensive knowledge of 'la calligraphie, la syntaxe, la lexicographie, l'interprétation du Coran'.<sup>63</sup> From the content, it can be inferred that she had discussions with this Persian gentleman on linguistic and religious issues. Citing this letter, some researchers assume that Maria Czartoryska had studied the Persian language. Although this cannot be ruled out, it is not explicitly stated in the text; the impression arising from the letter is that she had discussions with the Persian cook on various topics of Muslim language and culture.

Maria began learning Arabic during her first stay in Cairo in late 1862.<sup>64</sup>

She continued it with some interruptions until 1870. It seems that the impulse to try to tackle this language was primarily her enchantment with the local culture. In the letters of both spouses, words of admiration were repeated and abundant: 'Dear Mother [...] we are swept away by the whirlwind of curiosity that this country presents [...] everything here is enchanting and wonderful'.<sup>65</sup> The communication issue was rather of secondary importance – in Cairo, the Czartoryski couple moved in a diverse but still predominantly French-speaking milieu. They became very enthusiastic about learning and the fruits of their efforts in the shape of first dialogues they held with the locals

62 Contrary to appearances, this was not common at all. Many of the amateur students of the time never possessed this skill; they limited themselves to writing words phonetically in the Latin alphabet.

63 The Czartoryski Library – Branch of the National Museum in Cracow (hereinafter: BCz), Ms, sign. 7098 II, Maria Czartoryska née Grocholska to Tadeusz Grocholski (?), 5 June 1862.

64 The reason for almost all of Maria's trips to the Muslim countries was medical advice for her husband Witold, who was suffering from tuberculosis. This did not exclude a sincere interest in the culture and art of the regions visited, which emerged repeatedly from the correspondence of the spouses.

65 BCz, Ms, sign. 7019 II, Witold Czartoryski to Anna Czartoryska née Sapieha, 22 Oct. 1862.

increased their motivation.<sup>66</sup> Probably due to his health, Witold slowed down or abandoned his studies after a while – later correspondence mentions mainly Maria’s linguistic progress. She found a companion for her oriental fascinations in Witold’s sister, Izabela Działyńska née Czartoryska. Bound by a deep friendship and shared interests, they supported each other in developing their language skills. The rich correspondence they left behind contains Arabic insertions, such as greeting or farewell formulas. The content of the letters leaves no doubt that the two ladies were genuinely committed to studying. The interwoven phrases did not merely function as ornaments to add an eastern flavour to their writing, but were the result of their persistently acquired knowledge. They shared new vocabulary and when there was ambiguity, they asked questions: ‘I could not make out your signature – I can see the Iza inside, but what the *gin* and *shin*<sup>67</sup> might mean, I do not know’.<sup>68</sup> In some situations, they also treated Arabic as a way to encode confidential information so that it could not be understood by the wrong people, e.g. the Russian spies.<sup>69</sup> Learning the language was accompanied by the interest in the Arabic and, more broadly, Muslim culture, as these two are virtually impossible to separate. Maria acquired Arabic literature, but, apart from the Quran, it cannot be said what works were included in her library, as she collectively referred to them as ‘Arabic books’. Witold and Maria, as was the custom of amateur students of the time, employed local Arabs, who were most often their servants, in the role of language masters, referred to as *metr*.<sup>70</sup> Abdallah and Mohammed stayed with the Czartoryskis the longest. The first of them, whose name was Polishised to ‘Abdalla’, came to Maria thanks to the Działyńskis, whom he had accompanied on a trip to the Holy Land. Later employed as a teacher, he spent several years alternating between Izabela and Maria. The latter wrote of him that ‘we have the greatest admiration for him; if only you knew how well he reasons, how soundly he judges things, he even embarrasses me sometimes, saying: why do you want to learn chants which you do not understand and which are ugly. He talks so perfectly about religion; he is so pious when he recites the prayers several times on the terrace, upright and barefooted’.<sup>71</sup> At some point,

66 Ibid., Maria Czartoryska née Grocholska to Anna Czartoryska née Sapieha, 6 Jan. 1862.

67 Names of individual Arabic letters.

68 BCz, Ms, sign. 7408 III, Maria Czartoryska née Grocholska to Izabela Działyńska née Czartoryska, 17 April 1864.

69 B. Obtulowicz, *Maria z Grocholskich księżna Witoldowa Czartoryska* (Kraków, 2022), pp. 423–424.

70 A Polishised form of the French word *maître* (teacher), commonly used in Polish in the nineteenth century.

71 BCz, Ms, sign. 7408 III, Maria Czartoryska née Grocholska to Izabela Działyńska née Czartoryska, undated [early 1864(?)].

this acquaintance loosened when Abdallah married and settled permanently in Egypt. The name of the second master appears in Maria's letters less than a year after Witold's death, which took place in November 1865. Mohammed,<sup>72</sup> known to the family under the affectionate diminutive 'Mosio', served Izabela Działyńska and, like his predecessor, at certain times also kept company with the prematurely widowed Maria. Mohammed, like Abdallah, won the Polish family's considerable affection. During his stays in Cairo, correspondence between him and his two female students was constant.<sup>73</sup>

Little is known about how Maria learnt Arabic. No information exists on whether she used any textbooks available at the time and if yes, which ones those were. She probably took lessons from the Arabs who were not part of her domestic staff, on a regular basis once or more a week at a set time. 'A newly found master comes every week on Sunday',<sup>74</sup> she wrote in 1866. With Abdallah and Mohammad the case had been different, as they were present on the spot. From the content of her correspondence, it can be inferred that learning largely relied on conversation. Learning a language through conversation is one of the oldest methods. During the Enlightenment, it was widely used in the amateur study of Oriental languages. The role of teacher was most often assumed by a native speaker of the language in question, employed as member of the domestic staff in an aristocratic household. This is how, for example, Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski perfected his Turkish: he talked with Hasan, a Turk who looked after his Arabian horses. The fact that of all his 'Oriental servants', it was Hasan who served as the prince's interlocutor is evidenced by the notes from these lessons, which contain many terms relating to horse breeding, dressage etc.<sup>75</sup> This way of acquiring a language allows the learner to master colloquial speech, very useful for everyday communication. However, in the case of Arabic, this raises another issue. Contrary to popular belief, the people of Arab countries do not conduct daily communication in a single universal Arabic language, but in several dialects: Egyptian, Syriac, etc., which differ from one another so significantly that interlocutors using two different dialects may have considerable difficulty in communicating. While there exists a classical Arabic literary language, in which scientific works or works of fiction were (and continue to be) written and which is used by the media, it

72 Probably of the surname Ḥayrī, as suggested by the address on an undated letter attached to the correspondence between Maria Czartoryska née Grocholska and Izabela Działyńska née Czartoryska, BCz, Ms, sign. 7408 III, 1870.

73 Obtulowicz, *Maria z Grocholskich*, p. 391.

74 BCz, Ms, sign. 7408 III, Maria Czartoryska née Grocholska to Izabela Działyńska née Czartoryska, undated, probably 1866.

75 J. Reychman, 'Z dziejów orientalizmu polskiego w dobie oświecenia', in: *Szkice z dziejów polskiej orientalistyki*, ed. id., vol. 2 (Warszawa, 1966), pp. 84–85.

is hardly ever used in speech. The Egyptians teaching Maria Arabic through conversation, instilled in her the dialect used in their country. This can be seen in the princess's Arabic letters: they contain both words and forms characteristic of the Egyptian dialect. Learning 'by ear' as the dominant method of language acquisition is also confirmed by the fact that the vast majority of texts were written phonetically, not using the Arabic alphabet. Abdallah and Mohammed practised teaching by dictation, which obviously perpetuated the habit of transcribing. In addition, the constant, prolonged exposure to Arabic-speaking environment, which was the case with the Czartoryski couple spending several months in Egypt, necessarily translated into the acquisition of colloquial expressions. The princess noted in her letters that even her maid Ernestyna answered her questions with Arabic phrases.<sup>76</sup>

Maria was able to use Arabic script, as evidenced

by her extant letters, albeit the excerpts written in Arabic are sparse in relation to the content written in the Latin alphabet (Fig. 1). However, it seems that she found it difficult and needed to support herself with a dictionary.<sup>77</sup> On the basis of the Arabic texts contained in Maria's correspondence, it can be concluded that she mastered the language to a basic level, which allowed her to construct simple statements on a variety of topics. Paragraphs edited by herself, rather than written under the guidance of a teacher, contain quite frequent spelling and grammatical errors which make it difficult to understand the meaning. In some places, syntactic constructions or phrases mimic the Polish language, which could make it difficult for a native Arabic speaker to read the message correctly. This does not change the fact that in speech, especially the colloquial one, the princess could probably do quite well. When the context is known and gesture and facial expression are also available as a support, inappropriate inflection or conjugation are not a barrier to mutual understanding. She certainly understood most of what was being said and was able to hold simple conversations on a variety of topics, especially concerning everyday life.

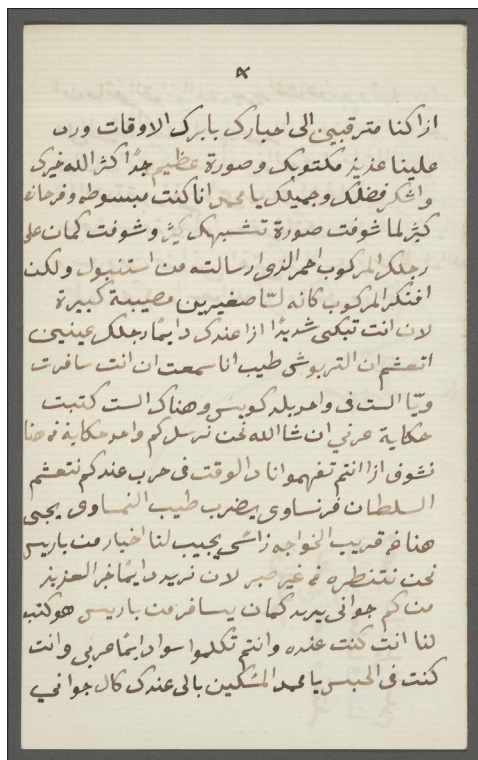


Fig. 1

A letter from Maria Czartoryska née Grocholska to Izabela Działyńska née Czartoryska in Arabic, 1870, National Museum in Cracow, The Czartoryski Library.

76 BCz, Ms, sign. 7408 III, Maria Czartoryska née Grocholska to Izabela Działyńska née Czartoryska, 17 April 1864.

77 Obtułowicz, *Maria z Grocholskich*, p. 366.



It must be stressed that achieving even this level was a success in those days and this result must be attributed to Maria's admirable determination. At the time, the study of Oriental languages, including the rather difficult Arabic, had many enthusiasts who nevertheless quickly lost their enthusiasm, especially in the absence of appropriate methods and teaching aids. Apart from Izabela Działyńska, the following members of the princess's closest circle tried their hand at learning the language of the Quran: Jan Brzozowski (her cousin),<sup>78</sup> Karol Brzozowski (another cousin),<sup>79</sup> Helena Brzozowska née Grocholska (her sister).<sup>80</sup>

Linguistic development was only one manifestation of Maria's interest in the world of the Muslim Orient. She enthusiastically absorbed customs and made local friends. She was keen to try new things, such as playing the *darbuka*. She wrote to her mother-in-law: 'I am coming slowly to perfection on this strange instrument: it is simply a pot with no bottom covered with leather, and on this one beats the rhythm'.<sup>81</sup> Like many nineteenth-century travellers, she used a brush or pencil to record the sights and Arab 'types'. Enchanted by the artistic heritage of Islamic art, the Czartoryski couple arranged their Cairo premises 'entirely in the Oriental way'.<sup>82</sup> The prince wrote to his mother: 'the kind-hearted Jędrzej [servant] paints rooms *à la colle* and puts in stars, moons and Arabic inscriptions'.<sup>83</sup> The strength of the predilection for this aesthetic is demonstrated by the fact that the princess embroidered clothes and pillows for her soon-to-be-born niece in motifs taken from Muslim art.<sup>84</sup> As the future was to show, Oriental inspirations stayed in Maria's mind for a long time; moreover, they became the reason for relatively large-scale decorating attempts. A few months after her return to her homeland, her correspondence conveys information about her project to furnish two rooms in the main part of the Pietniczany palace in the Middle-Eastern way.<sup>85</sup> Maria described the decorating plans, both those already partly realised and future ones, to a friend. In a letter dated March 1868, she included copies of the inscriptions with which she decorated the room and the arrangement of the motifs (Fig. 2).

78 Ibid., p. 358.

79 Ibid., p. 391.

80 Ibid.

81 BCz, Ms, sign. 7019 II, Maria Czartoryska née Grocholska to Anna Czartoryska née Sapieha, 15 Jan. 1863.

82 Ibid., Maria Czartoryska née Grocholska to Anna Czartoryska née Sapieha, 22 Nov. 1862.

83 Ibid., Maria Czartoryska née Grocholska to Anna Czartoryska née Sapieha, 18 April 1864.

84 Obtulowicz, *Maria z Grocholskich*, p. 434.

85 BCz, Ms, sign. 7408 III, Maria Czartoryska née Grocholska to Izabela Działyńska née Czartoryska, 24 March 1868.

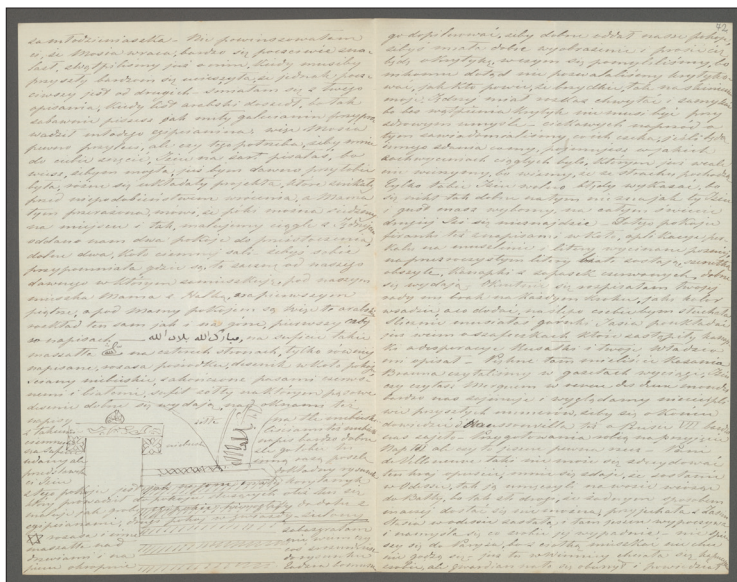


Fig. 2

A letter from Maria Czartoryska née Grocholska to Izabela Działyńska née Czartoryska dated 24 March 1868, National Museum in Cracow, The Czartoryski Library.

The leading inscription in this room was the phrase مبارك الله بلاد الله.<sup>86</sup> The combination of blue walls with red and white finishes is reminiscent of the Turkish palette, where these colours were featured in the famous İznik ceramics. The yellow ceiling, in turn, is associated with the sandy colour of the walls in Egyptian mosques or the Alhambra palace. It is difficult to judge whether Maria was aware of these connotations, but as someone who was exposed to the artefacts of Islamic art, she correctly associated these colours with Muslim aesthetics. The walls of the second room were painted green and featured stars, rosettes and ‘mashallas’.<sup>87</sup> The décor was complemented by muslim transparent curtains with appliquéd Arabic lettering. Both rooms were decorated with fine floral and geometric ornaments. The completed rooms were filled with furniture and Oriental objects, some of which probably came from the Czartoryskis stay in Egypt. A detailed description of the furnishings of the rooms can be found in the private notes of Zdzisław Grocholski, the last heir of Pietniczany. Apart from some alterations probably due to the need to refresh the décor, the two rooms mostly survived in the arrangement by Maria Czartoryska until the twentieth century. The count<sup>88</sup> refers to these rooms

86 The phrase cannot be found in Arabic, and it is not fully intelligible. It may perhaps be translated as ‘Blessed be God, God’s country’, although it is difficult to know with certainty what its author wanted to convey; perhaps it was an expression of her patriotic feelings.

87 In Muslim art, a decoration, often with the function of a talisman, in the form of a stylised inscription *mashallah* (*ma sha’a Allah*). It can be translated as ‘[what] God wanted’, in the sense of the fulfilment of God’s will. However, it does not reflect the positive connotation that the phrase has in Arabic. It is used as an expression of admiration.

88 In 1881, the Grocholskis received confirmation of the title of count on the basis of the documents they presented.

as ‘Arabic’ and ‘Turkish’, respectively. In the description, white appears in place of the yellow ceiling and green walls, but most of the original decoration remained unchanged. Among the furnishings, in addition to the sofas, he mentions ‘a hanging shelf, in the Arabian style, with various metal utensils studded with silver on it [...] a Persian carpet reaching into the centre of the room. On the carpet: a circular table of black wood inlaid with mother-of-pearl and covered with an Oriental rug’, as well as two stools made in the same way. Standing on them were an ablution set consisting of an ornamental basin, a jug with a narrow spout and a water pipe. There was also a similarly decorated X-shaped bookstand characteristic of Muslim countries, and on it ‘a Catholic Gospel in the Arabic edition of the 1720s’, surely once owned by Maria. The description of these rooms indicates that, as in the case of rooms in this type known in the eighteenth and nineteenth century as the Moorish ones – which could be found for example in the Działyńskis’ Kórnik, in the Zamojskis’ Kozłówka or in the Czartoryskis’ Puławy – the premises at Pietniczany also presented a general set of motifs and imagery perceived as Muslim, and did not refer to specific cultures, as their names might suggest.

In the autumn of the same year, one of the rooms in the impressive Odessa palace owned by Zenon Brzozowski, an uncle of the Grocholski siblings, was transformed in a similar way. The initiator of this idea and one of its main implementers was Tadeusz, Maria’s brother.<sup>89</sup> The room was to be arranged ‘in the taste of the Alhambra’, and colour drawings of palaces in Granada and Seville were used as models to obtain the desired effect. During the preparation of the motifs to decorate the room, a moral dilemma arose and caused much excitement in the family. One of the decorations was to be a calligraphic ornament taken from a photograph of the Alcázar in Seville. Like most decorative inscriptions in Arabic script, it was extremely difficult to read. Maria seemed to understand the phrase as ‘Dieu est grand et Mahomet son prophite’.<sup>90</sup> Ksawera Grocholska, the mother of Maria and Tadeusz, absolutely refused to allow such decorations to be installed. Maria disapproved: ‘I am sure that no one will read this, that in the fine arts no one cares about such things, that no one believes that Mohammed was a prophet. And nobody can change the inscription’. She argued that viewed from this perspective, all analogous inscriptions in Spain should be removed. She also reproached what she felt was a certain inconsistency, saying that ‘pagan things are painted and carved without the

89 BCz, Ms, sign. 7408 III, Maria Czartoryska née Grocholska to Izabela Działyńska née Czartoryska, 24 Nov. 1868. All quotes relating to the painting arrangement of rooms in Odessa come from this letter.

90 Maria included in her letter this phrase: ‘God is great and Muhammad is his prophet’ in French, most likely referring to the *shahada*, the Muslim creed, the correct translation of which is ‘There is no god but God. Muhammad is the Messenger of God’, after *Encyklopedia PWN*, [encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/szahada;3982346.html](https://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/szahada;3982346.html) (accessed 17 Oct. 2022).

slightest sin, on a wall in Pietniczany, we had painted an Egyptian idol with a beak and nobody thought it was unworthy'.<sup>91</sup> She asked Izabela to seek the advice of some 'enlightened priest' in Paris on the matter, as 'I would not readily rely on the local [priests'] opinion'. Ultimately, due to the lack of response, the siblings decided to copy the ornament, since '[...] the response did not come, so we are throwing [sic!] all patterns on the walls, and it must be admitted that in Odessa not a single scholar has been found so far who would read these Kufic writings'.<sup>92</sup> Apart from the mention of new Turkish sofas, virtually no records regarding the furnishings of the room have survived.<sup>93</sup> Its opulent decoration is partially shown in single photographs made during the works in the room, commissioned by Tadeusz (Fig. 3).

In April 1873, Maria fulfilled a desire that had felt since Witold's death: she entered the Order of Discalced Carmelites. She used her linguistic knowledge and her familiarity with the Islamic world for the rest of her life at the monastery, where she became a kind of specialist in these fields.<sup>94</sup> Until Izabela Działyńska's death, she kept up a correspondence with her in which, as before, she included paragraphs written in Arabic.<sup>95</sup> In an era of aggressive colonial expansion and of judging people's worth according to their cultural affiliation, Maria's attitude of being oriented towards the other regardless of their background and religion is a positive example of nineteenth-century intercultural contact.

It seems that Maria's brother, Tadeusz Grocholski, unlike his elder sister, made no attempt to learn Oriental languages. However, as a man of the

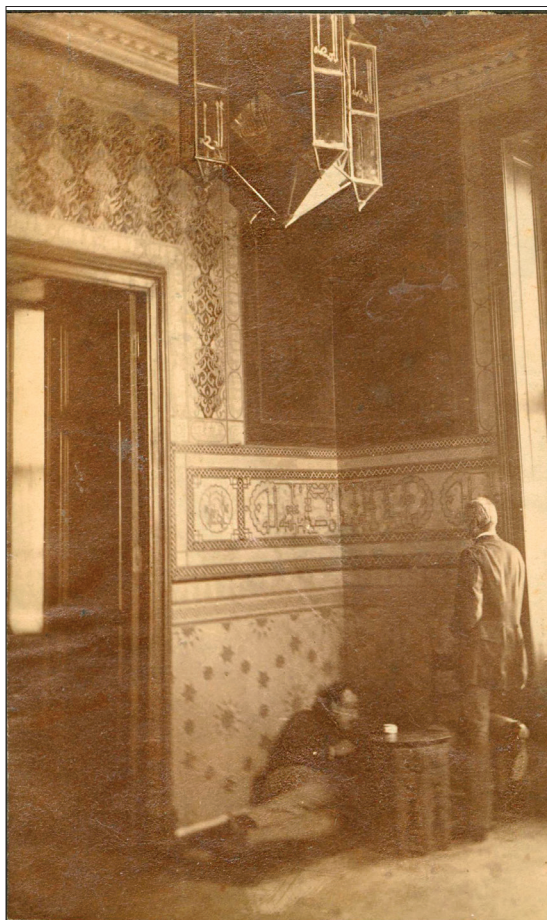


Fig. 3

Oriental-style room in the Belina-Brzozowski palace in Odessa, pictured here with Tadeusz Grocholski (in a semi-recumbent position) and Jan Brzozowski (standing), autumn 1868, private archives of the Grocholski family

91 One of the corridors in Pietniczany was decorated with iconography taken from the tombs of the pharaohs, ArchGr, Ms, Grocholski, *Pietniczany*.

92 BCz, Ms, sign. 7408 III, Maria Czartoryska née Grocholska to Izabela Działyńska née Czartoryska, 8 Feb. 1869.

93 Ibid.

94 Obtułowicz, *Maria z Grocholskich*, p. 472.

95 Ibid., p. 461.

arts, who not only had a talent in this field, but also the appropriate education – he had studied with the portraitist Bonnat in Paris and with Jan Matejko in Cracow<sup>96</sup> – he admired the aesthetic qualities and distinctiveness of the Muslim aesthetic, which he came to know first hand during his journeys to Spain or the Holy Land. Due to his many responsibilities in running his estates and fulfilling his social functions, he was unable to devote himself entirely to his artistic life, but he exhibited his works several times at the Society of Fine Arts in Cracow, and received a silver medal at an exhibition of Polish painting in Lvov in 1894.<sup>97</sup> After Maria Czartoryska arrived in Podolia, the siblings co-designed rooms in the Oriental style, and a year after she had walked through the gates of the convent, he and Izabela Działyńska jointly painted the arabesque ceiling decorations in the sitting room at Gołuchów.<sup>98</sup>

The count's interests were not limited to the still fascinating, albeit by then already somewhat 'tamed', Muslim Orient. In 1963, during renovation work at the palace in Zimnowoda, the Grocholskis' former estate in Greater Poland confiscated by the communist authorities, workers came across crates containing items brought by the family from Strzyżawka (today: Stryzhavka), one of the family's Podolia residences. They had been taken away in an attempt to save at least a small part of the possessions accumulated on the estate over generations.<sup>99</sup> Before the outbreak of the Second World War, they were hidden under the floor of the palace chapel at Zimnowoda.<sup>100</sup> The discovered objects, which were later transferred to the National Museum in Poznań, included a collection of 28 Japanese woodcuts once belonging to Tadeusz Grocholski.<sup>101</sup> The collection largely consisted of late prints by Kunisada, Kunisada II and single works by Kunichika and Yoshiharu.<sup>102</sup> These artists worked mainly in the second half of the nineteenth century and specialised in depictions of women and kabuki theatre actors. Looking at this collection, one gets the feeling that the count's interest focused not only on their

96 K. Rolle, 'Grocholski Tadeusz Przemysław Michał (1839–1913)', in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 8, p. 589.

97 *Ibid.*, p. 590.

98 N. Pajzdowski, 'Zbiory gołuchowskie', *Sztuki i Artysta. Malarstwo – Rzeźba – Zdobnicтво – Kolekcjonerstwo*, no. 1, 1924, p. 38.

99 The Strzyżawka palace was looted and burnt down on 18 January 1918, see R. Aftanazy, 'Strzyżawka', in: *idem, Dzieje rezydencji na dawnych kresach Rzeczypospolitej*, part 2: *Ziemie ruskie Korony*, vol. 10: *Województwo braclawskie* (Wrocław, 1996), p. 415.

100 D. Rościszewska, 'Dzieje zbioru drzeworytu japońskiego', in: *Ukiyo-e. Obraz przepływającego świata. Grafika japońska od XVIII do XX wieku ze zbiorów Gabinetu Rycin MNP*, ed. W. Rządek (Poznań, 1994), p. 105.

101 *Ibid.*, p. 103. Currently, according to the information obtained, the collection is no longer in the possession of the National Museum in Poznań.

102 Utawaga Kunisada (1786–1865), Utawaga Kunisada II (1823–1880), Toyohara Kunichika (1835–1900), Utawaga Yoshiharu (1828–1888).



artistic value, but also on the cultural aspect. Most of them depict genre scenes characteristic of Japanese everyday life, which was quite exotic for a European of the industrial era. The woodcuts collected by Tadeusz Grocholski show Japanese beauties in colourful, stunningly patterned kimonos, with long, ornamental pins supporting elaborate hairstyles. Some of the women are shown in typical Japanese interiors,<sup>103</sup> others against a landscape background.<sup>104</sup> The prints show atmospheric scenes, such as a man resting under a cherry tree in bloom,<sup>105</sup> as well as bustling collective compositions.<sup>106</sup> Due to the homogeneous nature of the ensemble (in terms of artists and the time of creation), it can be assumed that it was purchased in its entirety. No information is available on where the count acquired the woodcuts, but, given the places he frequented when he left Podolia, two potential centres come to mind, namely Paris and Odessa. The former had been the undisputed capital of Japanism since the second half of the nineteenth century. From the time of Japan's political and economic opening in the Meiji period,<sup>107</sup> Japanese *bric-à-brac* began to flow into Western Europe and especially into France. One could buy fans, lacquerware cases, kimonos, etc. Paris was home to the most famous art dealers specialising in Japanese art: Siegfried Bing<sup>108</sup> and Hayashi Tadamasu, an expert in woodcuts.<sup>109</sup> Over the course of his life, Tadeusz Grocholski visited the French capital many times. He was undoubtedly aware of the prevailing trends in art and took an interest in them. He also had the means to afford to buy a collection of woodcuts, and Paris was one of the best places in Europe to do so. The port of Odessa, in turn, steadily grew in importance after the opening of the Suez Canal, until it eventually became the chief port of the Russian Empire. Economic growth encouraged the creation of local fortunes, and this, fortunately, translated also into cultural development. At the turn of the nineteenth century, Odessa ranked as the first in Russia in terms of the number of private collections.<sup>110</sup> Japanese products had reached the city even earlier, brought in by sailors, but imports increased significantly after the sea line connecting Odessa to Vladivostok, via the ports of

103 *Ukiyo-e. Obraz przepływającego świata*, cat. Figs 69, 70.

104 *Ibid.*, cat. Fig. 67, 76.

105 *Ibid.*, cat. Fig. 66.

106 *Ibid.*, cat. Fig. 53.

107 The Meiji period (1868–1912).

108 [etchings.arts.gla.ac.uk/catalogue/biog/?nid=BingS](https://etchings.arts.gla.ac.uk/catalogue/biog/?nid=BingS) (accessed 11 Feb. 2023).

109 C.F. Ives, *The Great Wave: The Influence of Japanese Woodcuts on French Prints* (New York, 1979), p. 8.

110 A. Ozhoha-Maslovska, 'Collections of Japanese Art in Ukraine: History and Modernity', *Relacje Międzykulturowe*, vol. 3, 2019, no. 2(6), p. 112.

Singapore, Hong Kong, Shanghai and Nagasaki, opened in 1879.<sup>111</sup> The Grocholskis were linked by close family ties to the Brzozowski family, who had large estates in Odessa. Tadeusz stayed there more often than in Paris, which may have provided him with numerous opportunities to purchase the set of prints in question.

During the Russo-Turkish War (1877–1878), a moving event took place that testifies to the count's deep humanitarianism. The Russian government rented the Strzyżawka palace as a hospital for Turkish prisoners of war. Tadeusz Grocholski's daughter Zofia Krasicka née Grocholska (1889–1969) recalled that 'many of them died – the corpses were deposited in one of the unoccupied side rooms'.<sup>112</sup> As there was no permission to bury Muslims in any of the Christian cemeteries, the count offered a patch of his land for the soldiers' eternal resting place. Following his instructions, a deep trench was dug in the designated area and spruce and pine trees were planted around it. Count Grocholski, with the help of the Ottoman consulate, imported from Odessa a Muslim tomb stele (Fig. 4). The top of the monument was surmounted by a five-pointed star inscribed in a crescent, a motif borrowed from the flag of the Empire established in 1844, and its form was entwined with a floral ornament. The inscription, beginning with the words of the Quran: 'Every soul will taste death',<sup>113</sup> summarised the circumstances of the passing and burial of the 49 Ottoman soldiers who died 'from their wounds and wrongs'.<sup>114</sup> A mullah arrived to oversee the erection of the stele during a ceremony. After saying his prayers, the clergyman thanked the count for his noble deed and returned to Odessa. A great surprise must have been felt in Strzyżawka when, several years later, a letter arrived from the Turkish embassy in St Petersburg reporting that in recognition of the count's fine gesture, Sultan Abdülhamid II wished to award him a medal.

Some time later there arrived a huge envelope, addressed in Turkish and French with the sultan's seal, and with it a small parcel containing a Morocco leather box with the Commander's Star of the Order of the Medjidie, First Class, with a red ribbon edged in green, and in the envelope a diploma of the order, printed in gold letters on parchment.<sup>115</sup>

111 [odessa-journal.com/the-japanese-in-odessa/](http://odessa-journal.com/the-japanese-in-odessa/) (accessed 11 Jan. 2023).

112 ArchGr, Ms, Zofia Krasicka née Grocholska, *Historia cmentarza tureckiego w Strzyżawce*, two sheets (a copy in the author's possession). Unless otherwise stated, all quotations describing the history of the burial of Ottoman soldiers come from this manuscript.

113 Quran 3:185, [quran.com](http://quran.com) (accessed 26 Nov. 2023).

114 M. Tütüncü, 'A Monument from 1881 for Mass Grave of Turkish Soldiers in Strizavka', *Emihak*, no. 2, 2018, p. 15.

115 ArchGr, Ms, Zofia Krasicka née Grocholska, *Historia*.



Fig. 4

Photo of the monument founded by Tadeusz Grocholski erected at the site of the Turkish soldiers' burial, taken by Vinnytsia photographer Stanisław Nakielski, 1888(?), Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivaleri Başkanlığı, Osmanlı Arşivi



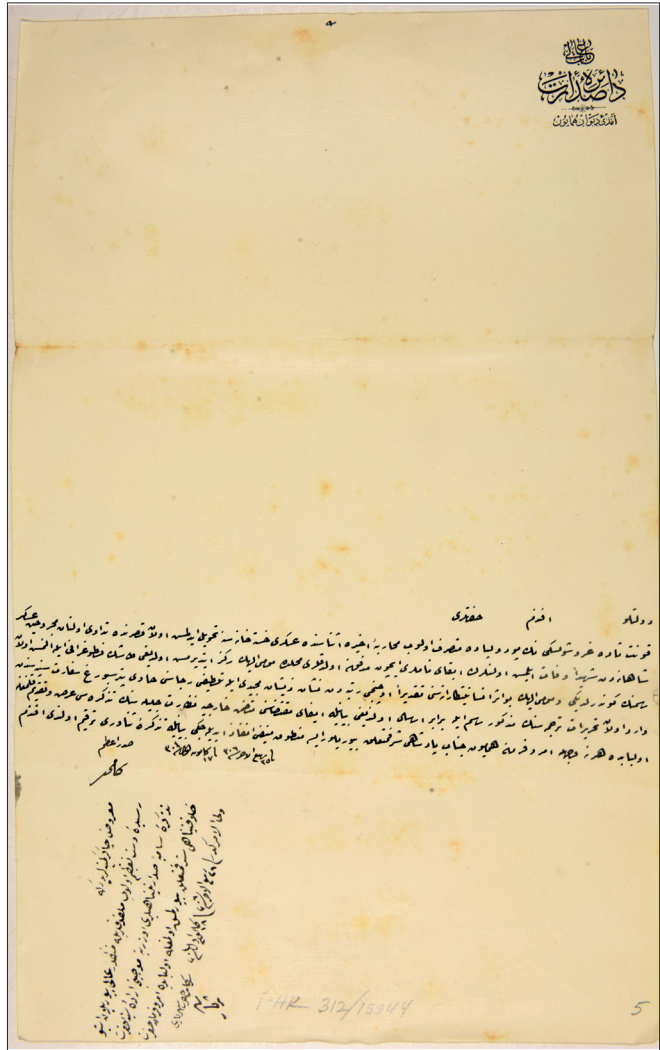
Tadeusz Grocholski thus joined the ranks of Poles who were awarded this unique distinction. This event took place in September 1889.

The order and the accompanying diploma were irretrievably lost when Strzyżawka was looted and burnt. For many years, the only traces of this history were Zofia Krasicka's note and the recollections of other members of the family. The finding of the tomb monument in 2018 was an important event for the family and the Vinnytsia Oblast. Apart from the Crimea, this is the only Ottoman tombstone extant on the Ukrainian territory.<sup>116</sup> A document relating to the awarding of the Order of the Medjidie to Tadeusz Grocholski has survived in the Turkish archives (Fig. 5). It was discovered in the course of the research for this article.

116 M. Tütüncü, 'A Monument from 1881', p. 15.

Fig. 5

Correspondence on the award of the Order of the Medjidie to Tadeusz Grocholski, 29 December 1888, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivaleri Başkanlığı, Osmanlı Arşivi



It consists of the grand vizier’s letter to the sultan and the response of the latter. The content of the document is here published for the first time:

Office of the Grand Vizier of the Sublime Porte  
Chancellery of the Sultan’s Divan

My Lord,

A letter has been drawn up declaring that if such be the glorious will and command of the Padishah, then let his desire be satisfied in such manner as shall be deemed expedient in the matter presented by the Most Respectable Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

All that is required is herein submitted, namely a photograph showing the monument erected through the efforts of Count Tadeusz Grocholski in eternal memory of those of the wounded soldiers of His Majesty the Sultan who bore witness to their faith by suffering martyrdom in war, and who had previously been treated at the Count’s estate in Podolia, which was converted into a military hospital during the recent conflict.

Also submitted is a letter from the embassy in St Petersburg containing a supplication to graciously confer on the aforementioned Count the glorious Order of the Medjidie, Third Class, in recognition of his very generous and humanitarian deed.<sup>117</sup>

25 Rabi Al-achar 1306 – 17 Kanunievvel 1304 (29 December 1888)

Grand Vizier Kamil

[response]

Your wretched servant wishes to convey,

that it is the will and command of our Padishah and Caliph that the satisfaction of his glorious desire be made in accordance with the splendid writing of the Grand Vizier, which together with the addenda has been respectfully transferred from your hands and submitted to the judgement of the Padishah.

First Secretary to His Majesty the Sultan  
Süreyya<sup>118</sup>

Nine years later Tadeusz Grocholski personally met Abdülhamid II. The count, who at the time held the position of vice-president of the Agricultural Society in Vinnytsia, was delegated to Istanbul to purchase Arabian stallions. He took the opportunity to express thanks for the award in person, and went with his wife and eldest son to an audience with the sultan, who received them warmly and presented them with numerous gifts.<sup>119</sup>

I take this optimistically sounding story as the closing caesura for the present study. At the same time, it is a symbolic farewell to an era of abundance in the history of the family, an era which – although not without hardships, as life for Poles in the lands partitioned by Russia was never easy – was anchored in a familiar world which in the coming decades would be swept away by the hurricane of history.

The sources under analysis reveal that over the centuries there were several Oriental threads in the history of the Grocholski family of the Syrokomla coat of arms, as evidenced by the personal histories of individual family members. The most important factor contributing to this fact was the place where the family had settled. Living in the south-eastern areas of the pre-partition Commonwealth meant living within the circle of a constant and genuine Oriental influence. This involved both dangers, as evidenced by the dramatic example of Aleksandra, who had been taken captive, and opportunities, such as an easy access to Oriental crafts through the borderland trade. As a wealthy

<sup>117</sup> It is worth noting that the grand vizier's letter contains a request for a third-class decoration, while family sources state that Tadeusz received a first-class order.

<sup>118</sup> Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivaleri Başkanlığı, Osmanlı Arşivi, sign. İ.HR. 312/19944; translation based on the translation from Ottoman Turkish into Polish by Anna Banasiak-Greser.

<sup>119</sup> ArchGr, Ms, Zofia Krasicka née Grocholska, *Historia*.

family, the Grocholskis were able to purchase excellent quality weapons or fine Oriental fabrics. Moreover, the family's status, as well as its involvement in state and regional affairs, obliged its members to take an active part in dealing with the Muslim Orient. Depending on political circumstances, those could assume a confrontational character, as in the case of Remigian, who took part in the Vienna campaign, or a friendly one, as in the case of Aleksander, a participant in the Bar Confederation.

Living in an ethnically and culturally diverse region, the Grocholskis interacted on a daily basis with members of other nations representing different customs, with diverse looks and attires, which made their experience of the Orient closer and more real than that of the residents in the central or western areas of the country. This seems to have had a twofold effect. On the one hand, the awareness of differences strengthened the Grocholskis' sense of their own identity and deeply rooted Polishness. On the other hand, it deconstructed exoticising stereotypes about the Muslim inhabitants of Asia and Africa. As a result, the feeling of cultural otherness was treated as secondary, allowing the Grocholskis to prioritise actual human beings with their advantages and disadvantages. This attitude was evident in Maria Czarторыska's open, cordial contacts with the Egyptians and in the respectful actions of Tadeusz Grocholski.

The research on the history of this Podolia family is part of the discourse on cultural transfer between the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania and the Islamic world and constitutes another element in the multifaceted and multidimensional study of the history of Polish aristocracy in the period up to the end of the nineteenth century.

I would like to express my sincere thanks to Dr Selman Can and Ms Aslıhan Aşan for their selfless assistance in the search for the Turkish document. I would also like to thank Dr Magdalena Pinker and Justyna Załęska for their Orientalist expertise, and Mr Henryk Grocholski for allowing me access to the family archive.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Archival materials

Private archives of the Grocholski family (documents without signatures, copies in the author's possession):

a photographic album of the Grocholski family,

Zofia Krasicka née Grocholska, *Historia cmentarza tureckiego w Strzyżawce*, Ms, undated, fols. 1–2 (nlb.),

Zdzisław Grocholski, *Pietniczany*, Ms, undated,

last will of Remigian Grocholski of Grabów, 1703, Ms, fol. 1.

The Czartoryski Library – Branch of the National Museum in Cracow: Mss sign. 7019 II, 7096 II, 7098 II, 7408 III.

National Library, The Żałuski Library, ‘Krótkie opisanie powrotu JMP Grocholskiego chorążego braclawskiego ex legatione z Krymu od chana tatarskiego’, in: *Kopiarz pism politycznych i satyrycznych oraz gazet pisanych z czasów bezkrólestwa po Janie III do detronizacji Augusta II*, c. 1696 – c. 1705, Rps 3097 III, [polona.pl/item/kopiarz-pism-politycznych-i-satyrycznych-oraz-gazet-pisanych-z-czasow-bezkrólestwa-po,NTM1ODkyNjc/](https://polona.pl/item/kopiarz-pism-politycznych-i-satyrycznych-oraz-gazet-pisanych-z-czasow-bezkrólestwa-po,NTM1ODkyNjc/) (accessed 16 Jan. 2023).

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivaleri Başkanlığı, Osmanlı Arşivi: İ.HR. 312/19944

### Źródła drukowane

*Acta Historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, vol. 6: *Akta do dziejów króla Jana III sprawy roku 1683, a osobliwie wyprawy wiedeńskiej wyjaśniające*, ed. F. Kulczycki (Kraków, 1883).

Awedyk K., *Kazania na niedziele całego roku wielkim imieniem wielm. imć. pana Michała z Grabowa Grocholskiego sędziego ziemskiego braclawickiego, rotmistrza J.K. M. i R.P. znaku pancernego zaszczycone* (Lwów, 1766).

Jaxa-Bykowski P., *Ostatni seymik województwa braclawskiego* (Petersburg, 1885).

*Pamiętniki Xawery z Brzozowskich Grocholskiej*, ed. Z.S. Feliński (Kraków, 1894).

Orłowski A., *Zebrańie wszystkich redempcyi ktore prowincya polska Zakonu Nayswię. Troycy od Wykupienia Niewolników w kraiach tureckich y tatarskich od roku 1688. do roku 1783. czynila* (Warszawa, 1783).

Pułaski K., ‘Z pamiętnika konfederata barskiego’, in: id., *Szkice i poszukiwania historyczne*, series 2 (Petersburg, 1898), pp. 7–93.

### Studies

Aftanazy R., *Dzieje rezydencji na dawnych kresach Rzeczypospolitej*, part 2: *Ziemie ruskie Korony*, vol. 10: *Województwo braclawskie* (Wrocław, 1996).

Бондар О.І., *Архитектурні візерунки древніх. П'ятничан і не тільки...*, [www.grocholski.pl/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/AA7C-1.pdf](http://www.grocholski.pl/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/AA7C-1.pdf) (accessed 8 Sept. 2022).

Brochwicz-Lewiński W., Różak Z., Turant J., ‘Syrokomla – czy wspólne miłośno herbu i gniazda rodu Syrokomłów było francuskiego pochodzenia?’, *Notatnik Janowiecki*, no. 15, 2008, pp. 54–71.

*Encyklopedia PWN*, online, [encyklopedia.pwn.pl/](https://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/).

‘Grocholski Antoni (1767–1808)’, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 8 (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, 1959–1960), p. 584.

Grocholski Z., ‘Pietniczany’, in: id., *Pamiętnik kijowski* (Londyn, 1966), vol. 3, pp. 84–95.

Ives C.F., *The Great Wave: The Influence of Japanese Woodcuts on French Prints* (New York, 1979).



- Jankowska J., 'Grocholski Franciszek Ksawery (1730–1792)', in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 8 (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, 1959–1960).
- Kołodziejczyk D., *Podole pod panowaniem tureckim. Ejalet Kamieniecki 1672–1699* (Warszawa, 1994).
- Kołodziejczyk D., 'Stosunki dawnej Rzeczypospolitej z Turcją i Tatarami: czy naprawdę byliśmy przedmurzem Europy?', *Praktyka Teoretyczna*, vol. 26, 2017, no. 4, pp. 17–31.
- Kołodziejczyk D., 'Zarys historii stosunków polsko-tureckich do roku 1795', in: Z. Abramowicz *et al.*, *Wojna i pokój. Skarby sztuki tureckiej ze zbiorów polskich od XV do XIX wieku. Wystawa zorganizowana przez Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, Warszawa 25 lutego – 3 maja 2000 roku* (Warszawa, 2000), pp. 17–29.
- Król-Mazur R., *Miasto trzech nacji. Studia z dziejów Kamieńca Podolskiego w XVIII wieku* (Kraków, 2008).
- Marczyński W., *Statystyczne, topograficzne i historyczne opisanie Gubernii Podolskiej*, vol. 3 (Wilno, 1823).
- Obtułowicz B., *Maria z Grocholskich księżna Witoldowa Czartoryska* (Kraków 2022).
- Ozhoha-Maslovska A., 'Collections of Japanese Art in Ukraine: History and Modernity', *Relacje Międzykulturowe*, vol. 3, 2019, no. 2(6), pp. 109–123.
- Pajzderski N., 'Zbiory gołuchowskie', *Sztuki i Artysta. Malarstwo – Rzeźba – Zdobnictwo – Kolekcjonerstwo*, no. 1, 1924, pp. 36–47.
- Paprocki B., *Herby rycerstwa polskiego* (Kraków, 1583, reprinted from the original Kraków, 1858).
- Pruski W., *Dwa wieki polskiej hodowli koni arabskich (1778–1978) i jej sukcesy na świecie* (Warszawa, 1983).
- Reychman J., *Orient w kulturze polskiego Oświecenia* (Wrocław, 1964).
- Reychman J., *Znajomość i nauczanie języków orientalnych w Polsce XVIII wieku* (Wrocław, 1950).
- Rolle K., 'Grocholski Tadeusz Przemysław Michał (1839–1913)', in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 8 (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, 1959–1960), pp. 589–590.
- Rościszewska D., 'Dzieje zbioru drzeworytu japońskiego', in: *Ukiyo-e. Obraz przepływającego świata. Grafika japońska od XVIII do XX wieku ze zbiorów Gabinetu Rycin MNP*, ed. W. Rządek (Poznań, 1994), pp. 103–105.
- Rzeczpospolita wobec Orientu w dobie nowożytnej*, ed. D. Milewski (Zabrze, 2011).
- Skrok Z., *Podolska legenda. Powstanie i pogrzeb polskiego Podola* (Warszawa, 2007).
- Słownik języka polskiego PWN*, online, [sjp.pwn.pl/](http://sjp.pwn.pl/).
- Tütüncü M., 'A Monument from 1881 for Mass Grave of Turkish Soldiers in Strizavka', *Emihak*, no. 2, 2018 pp. 14–21.
- Wagner M., 'Wykup jeńców z niewoli tureckiej i tatarskiej w końcu XVII wieku', *Українська Орієнталістика*, no. 6, 2012, pp. 29–35.
- Wimmer J., *Wiedeń 1683. Dzieje kampanii i bitwy* (Warszawa, 1983).
- Wroniszewski J., *Szlachta ziemi sandomierskiej w średniowieczu. Zagadnienia społeczne i gospodarcze* (Wrocław, 2001).

- Zajączkowski A., 'Orientalistyka polska a Bliski Wschód', in: *Szkice z dziejów polskiej orientalistyki*, ed. J. Reychman, vol. 2 (Warszawa, 1966), pp. 7–54.
- Żygulski Z., 'O polskim orientalizmie', in: *Orient w sztuce polskiej*, ed. B. Biedrońska-Słotowa (Kraków, 1992).

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- 469 A letter from Maria Czartoryska née Grocholska to Izabela Działyńska née Czartoryska in Arabic, 1870, The Czartoryski Library – Branch of the National Museum in Cracow, Photographic Archive of the National Museum in Cracow, sign. 7408 III
- 471 A letter from Maria Czartoryska née Grocholska to Izabela Działyńska née Czartoryska dated 24 March 1868, The Czartoryski Library – Branch of the National Museum in Cracow, Photographic Archive of the National Museum in Cracow, sign. 7408 III
- 473 Oriental-style room in the Belina-Brzozowski palace in Odessa, pictured here with Tadeusz Grocholski (in a semi-recumbent position) and Jan Brzozowski (standing), autumn 1868, private archives of the Grocholski family.
- 477 Photo of the monument founded by Tadeusz Grocholski erected at the site of the Turkish soldiers' burial, taken by Vinnytsia photographer Stanisław Nakielski, 1888(?), Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivaleri Başkanlığı, Osmanlı Arşivi, sign. İ.HR. 312/19944
- 478 Correspondence on the award of the Order of the Medjidie to Tadeusz Grocholski, 29 December 1888, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivaleri Başkanlığı, Osmanlı Arşivi, sign. İ.HR. 312/19944

## JOANNA BOJARSKA-CIEŚLIK

[orcid.org/0009-0006-9292-7162](https://orcid.org/0009-0006-9292-7162)

Graduate of the Faculty of Oriental Studies at the University of Warsaw, she works in the Oriental Art Collection of the National Museum in Warsaw. Curator and co-curator of exhibitions, including: *Życie wśród piękna. Świat chińskiego uczonego* (October 2016 – January 2017), *Paderewski* (February 2018 – May 2018), *Splendor i finezja. Duch i materia w sztuce Korei* (October 2019 – January 2020). Her professional interests on a daily basis include the artistic heritage of Iran and the Mughal dynasty in India. Her current research interests also include the knowledge of Oriental languages among Polish elites in the nineteenth century.

The study was produced using the author's own resources.

Contact: [jbojarska@mnw.art.pl](mailto:jbojarska@mnw.art.pl)



