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Jan Grzegorzewski – Visionary Orientalist or “Dreamer and Dilettante”?

Abstract

17 November 2022 marks the centenary of the death of Jan Grzegorzewski – Orientalist, Slavist, publicist and social activist. The aim of this article is to highlight this figure and to show his activity in various areas of social and scientific life, especially his contribution to Polish Oriental studies. This somewhat forgotten but extremely interesting and colourful, although somewhat controversial, figure has still not received the comprehensive biographical treatment he fully deserves. Thanks to his extraordinary determination and commitment to his activities, Jan Grzegorzewski initiated the establishing of the first Polish scientific journal of Oriental studies, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, for which he also obtained funds. The first part of the first volume of *Rocznik*, covering the years 1914–1915, was published in 1915 in Cracow, and the second part (for the years 1916–1918) only in 1918. There is also no doubt that with his activities, both academic and journalistic, Jan Grzegorzewski contributed to the establishment of the first Polish Oriental studies in Poland, which took place in 1919 at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow. Analysing some of Grzegorzewski’s achievements from today’s perspective, one can venture to say that with the issues presented in his publications, he undoubtedly inspired many later Orientalists to set new research directions.

Keywords: Jan Grzegorzewski, Polish Oriental studies, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*



Introduction

17 November 2022 marks the centenary of the death of Jan Grzegorzewski – Orientalist, Slavist, publicist also initiator and co-founder of *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* (*Yearbook of Oriental Studies*). Although not all scholars writing about him – both his contemporaries and the later ones – appreciated his achievements and initiatives, the figure of Grzegorzewski should definitely be brought back to memory, especially since his merits for Polish Oriental studies are not to be overestimated.

This extremely colourful and uncommon figure has not lived to this day to receive a detailed biography presenting his life and activities, as the Polish historian Jan Tyszkiewicz¹ ascertains with regret. Furthermore, some subjects initiated by Grzegorzewski and some of his research visions sometimes had to wait many years to be continued or realised after his death.

Jan Grzegorzewski's life and oeuvre

Jan Grzegorzewski, son of Jakub and Anna née Zalewska was born in 1849 or 1850² in the village of Szulajki (Szulejki) in Volhynia. After graduating from the gymnasium in Zhytomyr, he enrolled at the University of Odessa, where he studied Slavic languages. He is also said to have studied in other academic centres (including Moscow, Kazan, St. Petersburg, Paris, Morocco), a fact about which some authors of publications containing information about Grzegorzewski express a certain, perhaps justified, degree of caution.³ From his biographical data we know that by 1870 he had travelled frequently in the Balkans, the Middle East, Turkey,⁴ after which he stayed in Lvov accepting Austro-Hungarian citizenship. During the Russo-Turkish War (1877–1878) he stayed in Constantinople as

¹ Jan Tyszkiewicz, 'Jan Grzegorzewski w końcowych latach życia: 1916–1922', *Almanach Karaimski* 4 (2015), p. 118.

² There are doubts about his date of birth, as Dobosz ('Początki i pierwszy tom „Rocznika Orientalistycznego”'. Przyczynek do dziejów czasopisma', *LingVaria* 2/14 (2012), p. 177) writes, commenting on Gawroński's statement in Grzegorzewski's obituary published in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*.

³ Włodzimierz Zajączkowski, 'Grzegorzewski Jan', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Vol. IX, Wrocław–Kraków–Warszawa 1961, p. 95; Jarosław Rubacha, 'Bułgarzy i Bułgaria w ostatniej ćwierci wieku XIX w publikacjach Jana Grzegorzewskiego (kultura, ludność, gospodarka)', *Studia z dziejów Rosji i Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej* 51/1 (2016), p. 24. Others (Urszula Kaczmarek, 'Jan Grzegorzewski – „pierwszy” polski orientalista', *Sprawy Wschodnie* 1 (2002), p. 117), however, without further comment, enumerate the above-mentioned universities as places where Grzegorzewski studied. One can suppose that this information comes from an undated typewritten copy of unknown authorship being Grzegorzewski's biography which is stored in the Archives of Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kraków (number K III -6, j. a. 35). In this document one can read that Grzegorzewski studied at the aforementioned universities.

⁴ Rubacha, 'Bułgarzy i Bułgaria w ostatniej ćwierci wieku XIX', p. 24; Stanisław Zieliński, 'Grzegorzewski Jan', in: *Mały słownik pionierów polskich kolonialnych i morskich. Podróżnicy, odkrywcy, zdobywcy, badacze, eksploratorzy, emigranci – pamiętnikarze, działacze i pisarze migracyjni*, Warszawa 1932, p. 140.

a correspondent of “Le Figaro” and the Lvov-based “Gazeta Narodowa”.⁵ During the Serbian-Bulgarian War in 1885, he contributed as a war correspondent to several Polish newspapers, as well as to Orgelbrand’s Encyclopaedia.

In 1890, after returning from his “scientific expeditions to Central Asia”⁶ he met with count Ludwik Krasieński in Warsaw to discuss the establishment of a school in which the future specialists involved in trade with the East would be educated. In consequence of these plans, Grzegorzewski undertook the task of compiling textbooks for the study of some Oriental and Slavic languages. Undoubtedly, the premature death of count Krasieński prevented the realisation of the plan to establish a school, but fortunately it did not stop the economic and commercial contacts already established with the Orient. Grzegorzewski⁷ mentioned this point in one of his publications: “Pozostały wszakże z owych planów i owej działalności niejaki refleksy nie tylko ideowe, ale i ujawniające się w czynach sprowadzonych, jak np. w założeniu własnej plantacji w Turkiestanie dla fabryki łódzkiej, w ustanowieniu w Teheranie handlowej filii innej znów fabryki z Warszawy i. t. p.”⁸ (= After all, some reflexes remained of these plans and activities, not only in terms of ideas, but also revealed in imported deeds, such as in the establishment of one’s own plantation in Turkestan for the Łódź factory, in the establishment in Tehran of a commercial branch of another factory from Warsaw, and so on). Although the opening of the school did not materialise, Grzegorzewski remained for some time in Warsaw, where he carried out opinion journalism-related activities and organised lectures in which he promoted the idea of reviving trade contacts with the East.

He later settled in Zakopane where he started to publish one of the first periodicals of the region, “Goniec Tatrzański”, followed by “Almanach Tatrzański”. He was a great sympathiser of Podhale culture and folklore, as evidenced by his work entitled: *Na Spiszu: studia i teksty folklorystyczne* (At Spisz: studies and folkloristic texts) published in “Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki” (1919).⁹ During his numerous stays in Zakopane, he was also involved in other forms of local activity. Among other things, he supported the idea of establishing the Zakopane Museum, and was co-organiser of “Sokół” and

⁵ Zajączkowski, ‘Grzegorzewski Jan’, p. 96; Kaczmarek, ‘Jan Grzegorzewski’, p. 117. There is some inconsistency among researchers providing biographical data on Grzegorzewski regarding the name of the Lvov newspaper of which Grzegorzewski was a correspondent at the time. Zajączkowski and Kaczmarek mention the name “Gazeta Narodowa”, as noted by W. Jabłonowski in his *Memoirs*, who wrote the following about his meeting with Grzegorzewski in Istanbul in 1877: „p. Grzegorzewski...bardzo nieregularnie płatny korespondent do „Gazety Narodowej” we Lwowie” (= Mr Grzegorzewski... very irregularly paid correspondent to the „Gazeta Narodowa” in Lvov) (Władysław Jabłonowski, *Pamiętniki z lat 1851–1893*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1967, p. 353). This same information is included in Grzegorzewski’s biography in the *Wielka Encyklopedia PWN*, Warszawa 2002, Vol. 10, p. 531), whereas Dobosz (‘Początki i pierwszy tom „Rocznika Orientalistycznego”’, p. 178) and Rubacha (‘Bułgarzy i Bułgaria w ostatniej ćwierci wieku XIX’, p. 25) in their articles give the title “Gazeta Codzienna”.

⁶ Jan Grzegorzewski, *Handel Polski ze Wschodem i stanowisko odnośnie Warszawy*, Warszawa 1916, p. 4.

⁷ Ibidem, p. 5–6.

⁸ For the purposes of this article, the Polish language was modernised in all quoted texts and titles, where necessary.

⁹ Grzegorzewski’s work mentioned here was not available for me, thus I cite its bibliographical data after Zajączkowski, ‘Grzegorzewski Jan’, p. 96.

“Towarzystwo Wzajemnej Pomocy Przewodników Tatrzańskich” (The Society for the Mutual Help of the Tatra Guides).

His next place of residence was Lvov, which, however, he left in 1904 for Bulgaria where he spent several years actively working mainly in the scientific field, but also cooperating with companies doing business.¹⁰ After leaving Bulgaria in 1915, he divided his time between stays in Cracow, Zakopane, Halych, Warsaw and Lvov.

At the end of his life he devoted himself to ethnographic research on the culture and language of the Halych Karaims. He settled in Halych among the Karaims where he conducted research for a year, collecting lexical material for a dictionary and grammar of the Karaim language (Halych dialect). In the last years of his life, Grzegorzewski continued to try to interest the world in Polish affairs, among the other things – Polish trade with the countries of the East. He also returned to the idea of organising Oriental studies in Poland and establishing a scientific Oriental journal in which Polish and foreign scholars could publish their works.

Jan Grzegorzewski died in Lvov on 17 November 1922.

Grzegorzewski's stay in the Balkans

As mentioned earlier, in the second half of the nineteenth century Grzegorzewski travelled to the Balkans many times, first as a correspondent for the Parisian “Le Figaro” and then for Polish-language newspapers published in Galicia and the Kingdom of Poland. It was probably at this time that his fascination with the region began, which evolved into research on the southern Slavs which he conducted for many years.¹¹ Grzegorzewski was particularly interested in the issues of social, economic relations and political changes taking place in Bulgaria and the Balkan region after the liberation of these lands from the Turkish yoke. During this period he published many scholarly works concerning the aforementioned issues. In the 1880s, and also later, the following papers came out from Grzegorzewski's pen: *Spółczesna Bułgaria* (Modern Bulgaria), “Ateneum” 8 (1883), *Stosunki handlowe z Bułgarią* (Trade relations with Bulgaria), “Przegląd Powszechny”, 4 (1887), *Szkolnictwo w Bułgarii* (Schooling in Bulgaria), “Przegląd Powszechny”, 4 (1887), *Rok przewrotów (Bułgaria 1885/6)* (Year of upheavals – Bulgaria 1885/6), Lvov 1900.¹²

Frequent visits to the Balkans and a better understanding of the region's multiculturalism gave Grzegorzewski the idea of establishing a scientific institution there, which would become an important centre for research into the East, especially as the region, due to its location and history, was a cultural bridge between the Orient and Europe. Therefore, when he came from Lvov to Sofia in 1904, he established a Polish scientific station

¹⁰ Grzegorzewski, *Handel Polski ze Wschodem*, pp. 6–7.

¹¹ Rubacha, ‘Bułgarzy i Bułgaria w ostatniej ćwierci wieku XIX’, p. 25.

¹² The titles of Grzegorzewski's works cited here are given after: *Ibidem*, p. 47.

there named in honour of St. Jack – *Hyacinthaeum*.¹³ As Reychman writes: “jednym z zadań [tej placówki – E.S.G.] miały być badania archiwalne “najbliższego nam Wschodu – na podstawie własnym staraniem stacji wydobywanych dokumentów w odnośnych archiwach wschodnich” oraz wyzyskanie orientalnych materiałów będących w kraju (przede wszystkim w archiwum Czartoryskich), przez odpowiednie publikacje tekstów, przekłady itd.” (= one of the tasks [of this institution] was to conduct archival research “of the East closest to us – on the basis of the station’s own efforts to obtain documents in the relevant eastern archives” and to make use of oriental materials that were in the country (above all in the Czartoryski archives) through appropriate publications of texts, translations, etc.).¹⁴

During his stay in Sofia, Grzegorzewski also made numerous contacts with Bulgarian scientists, activists and politicians in order to strengthen cooperation, as well as to obtain financial support for the *Hyacinthaeum* station. Grzegorzewski’s plans also included the establishment of another Polish scientific institution in the East, in this case in Constantinople.¹⁵

His stay in the Balkans was not solely devoted to Balkan studies. Grzegorzewski was interested in mutual influences and cultural interpenetration, as well as the possibility of using Turkish written sources preserved in Bulgarian and Turkish archives, to which he had easy access thanks to his stay in Bulgaria. The subject of his research was not only the economic history of the period of Ottoman rule in the Balkans, to which his work *Z sidżyllatów rumelijskich epoki wyprawy wiedeńskiej* (From the Rumelian registers of Vienna expedition time, Lvov 1912) was devoted, but also trade cooperation, among others, with Poland. In 1917 Grzegorzewski published *Dwa fermany sultańskie z w. XVIII. Z dziejów handlu polsko-tureckiego* (Two sultan fermans of the 18th century. From the history of Polish-Turkish trade). The first ferman from 1760 belonged to the collection of the Czartoryski Museum in Cracow, while the second one, a ferman from 1793 (i.e. thirty years later) was kept in the National Library in Sofia. Documents of this type, as Grzegorzewski writes: “stanowiły część składową ogólnych umów międzynarodowych regulujących stosunki polityczne i ekonomiczne między państwami, lub były potwierdzeniem przywilejów obustronnych przy notyfikacji wstępowania władców

¹³ Zajączkowski, ‘Grzegorzewski Jan’, p. 96.

¹⁴ Jan Reychman, ‘O wykorzystanie źródeł orientalnych do dziejów Polski’, *Przegląd Historyczny* 58/2 (1967), p. 297. In the presentation of the aims and tasks of the *Hyacinthaeum* station Reychman used a quotation taken from the booklet *Stacya naukowa polska na Wschodzie Hyacinthaeum*” dated 1916 (without specifying the place of publication) which is kept in the collection of the Documentation Department of the Department of Oriental Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw (Ibidem, p. 297).

¹⁵ Tyszkiewicz, ‘Jan Grzegorzewski w końcowych latach życia: 1916–1922’, p. 118. Some sources however, claim that the scientific station in Constantinople existed. Kaczmarek, ‘Jan Grzegorzewski’, p. 122) states that: [*Hyacinthaeum*]” Miała dwie ekspozytury: w Sofii i Konstantynopolu.” (It had two offices: in Sofia and Constantinople). One cannot exclude that this information comes from the already mentioned text being a biography of Grzegorzewski which is preserved in the Archives of Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences.

na tron – tak królów polskich, jak sułtanów tureckich, wreszcie traktatów pokojowych, zawieranych po wojnach” (= ...formed part of general international agreements regulating political and economic relations between states, or constituted confirmation of reciprocal privileges when notifying about the accession of rulers to the throne – both Polish kings and Turkish sultans, and finally peace treaties concluded after wars).¹⁶

Karaite subject matter

Another area of research which was dear to Grzegorzewski's heart was the culture and language of the Karaims. It is difficult to determine when his interest in this subject began. Kizilov believes that the inspiring moment for his research on the Karaims was Grzegorzewski's month-long stay in Halych in 1896.¹⁷ On the other hand, Tyszkiewicz¹⁸ writes that Grzegorzewski devoted the last two years of his life to Karaite subjects when, in 1920–1922, he “intensywnie zbierał materiał leksykalny do słownika Karaimów halickich” (= he was vigorously collecting lexical material for a dictionary of the Halych Karaims).

Tyszkiewicz's statement could therefore suggest that Grzegorzewski was not previously engaged in research on this subject, which is in some contradiction with the Tübingen researcher's opinion. Grzegorzewski's more extensive work on Polish Karaims was the article *Caraimica. Język Lach-Karaitów. Narzecze południowe (lucko-halickie)* (Caraimica. The language of the Lach-Karaites. Southern dialect (Lutsk-Halych)),¹⁹ which judging by the final note, was written in Sofia in 1914. It is noteworthy that it was Grzegorzewski who was the (only) researcher who introduced the term “Lach-Karaites” to indicate that it refers to Polish Karaims.²⁰

Grzegorzewski's opinion journalism-related activity

A large part of Grzegorzewski's work also involved opinion journalism-related activity. The area that was particularly dear to Grzegorzewski's heart was Oriental studies, and the urgent need to create Polish institutions that would conduct research on Oriental countries, as well as professional Oriental studies. Writing memorials and letters to important political figures, he strove for the realisation of these ideas tirelessly and, unfortunately, unsuccessfully at that time. In *List otwarty do J. Eksc. J.W. Pana Marszałka krajowego w sprawie orientalizmu i orientalistyki* (An open letter to His Excellency National Speaker

¹⁶ Jan Grzegorzewski, *Dwa fermany z w. XVIII z dziejów handlu polsko-tureckiego*, Kraków 1917, p. 11.

¹⁷ Mikhail Kizilov, ‘Jan Grzegorzewski's Karaite materials in the archive of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kraków’, *Karaite Archives* 1 (2013), p. 61.

¹⁸ Tyszkiewicz, ‘Jan Grzegorzewski w końcowych latach życia: 1916–1922’, p. 123.

¹⁹ The article appeared in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* for the years 1916–1918, although it also had its form as an independent publication, which appeared in Cracow 1917, pp. 1–47. See: Bibliography.

²⁰ Kizilov, ‘Jan Grzegorzewski's Karaite materials’, p. 62.

on Orientalism and Oriental studies)²¹ he wrote among other things: “Może dobra wola rozstrzygnie, czy snadniej wznieść od razu instytut orientalny, odpowiadający w pełni owej potrzebie, lub też stworzyć na razie zarodek i takie ognisko dla niego, które by było w stanie prowadzić ewidencję potrzeb i ruchu orientalistycznego, inicjować zakładanie katedr filologii wschodniej na wszechnicach naszych i języków wschodnich w szkołach zawodowych, tudzież wyjednać zasoby kraju, państwa, społeczeństwa i osób prywatnych dla stworzenia wielkiego zakładu w najbliższej przyszłości” (= Perhaps good will will decide whether it would be wiser to establish at once an Oriental institute that fully meets this need, or to create for the time being an embryo and such a focus for it as would be able to keep a record of the needs and movement of Orientalism, to initiate the establishment of chairs of eastern philology at our universities and of eastern languages in professional schools and to enlist the resources of the country, the state, society and individuals for the creation a great institute in the near future).²² Apparently it was because of the lack of support for his plans outlined in the letter that he left Lvov in 1904 for Sofia, where, as it was already mentioned, he established a scientific institution.²³ He also saw a profound sense in linking plans for the development of trade cooperation between Poland and Oriental countries by means of the knowledge of Oriental languages in Poland related to the presence of representatives of Oriental nations on Polish territory.²⁴ He wrote articles for newspapers and magazines about his interest in the representatives of Oriental peoples living on Polish lands.²⁵ He also used to give lectures and readings on it, and even became a co-founder of the Polish-Armenian Friendship Society in Lvov.²⁶

Rocznik Orientalistyczny

One of the ideas presented in a hitherto unpublished letter written by Grzegorzewski dating from the turn of the 20th century was the idea of creating a scientific journal, which would be a Polish Orientalist journal.²⁷ This idea returned many years later and, through enormous determination and great commitment, Grzegorzewski succeeded. And this success consisted in the fact that Grzegorzewski not only obtained funds from the Mianowski Fund to finance the publication of the first volume of *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, but, and this should be considered a significant achievement, he managed to invite renowned scholars, primarily Polish Orientalists, to collaborate on *Rocznik*. In Grzegorzewski’s obituary,

²¹ According to Grzegorzewski’s biography by Zajączkowski, it appears that “List otwarty...” was written in 1904 while Reychman (*Peleryna, ciupaga i znak tajemny*, Kraków 1976. p. 41) gives the date 1906.

²² Jan Grzegorzewski, *List otwarty do J. Eksc. J. W. Pana Marszałka krajowego w sprawie orientalizmu i orientalistyki*, Drukarnia Słowa Polskiego, Lwów 1904, p. 8.

²³ Zajączkowski, ‘Grzegorzewski Jan’, p. 96.

²⁴ Grzegorzewski, ‘Handel Polski ze Wschodem’, p. 11.

²⁵ Kizilov, ‘Jan Grzegorzewski’s Karaite materials’, p. 77.

²⁶ Tyszkiewicz, ‘Jan Grzegorzewski w końcowych latach życia: 1916–1922’, p. 122.

²⁷ Dobosz, ‘Początki i pierwszy tom „Rocznika Orientalistycznego”’, p. 178.

published in *Rocznik*, Andrzej Gawroński wrote that the publication of the first volume of the journal is “wyłączną zasługą Jana Grzegorzewskiego. On dał inicjatywę i On się o fundusze wystarał” (= the sole merit of Jan Grzegorzewski. He gave the initiative and he applied for the funds).²⁸ Jan Grzegorzewski, Andrzej Gawroński, Jan Rozwadowski and Władysław Kotwicz became the editors of *Rocznik* (both parts of the first volume). The outbreak of the First World War complicated the publishing situation of the journal. Due to wartime circumstances and the obvious difficulties associated with this, only the first part of the planned first volume of *Rocznik*, covering the years 1914–1915, was published in 1915 in Cracow with articles by Tadeusz Kowalski, Andrzej Gawroński, Jan Rozwadowski, Mojżesz Schorr and Jan Grzegorzewski, among the others. In the second part of the first volume, for the years 1916–1918 (Kraków 1918), Władysław Kotwicz, Edward Piekarski, Tadeusz Kowalski and Jan Grzegorzewski published their papers.²⁹ In the first part of *Rocznik* Grzegorzewski published the article written while he was still in Sofia entitled: *Dzetacyzm perski „Kodeksu Kumańskiego”* (= Persian Dzetacism of Codex Cumanicus), while in the second part two his works appeared³⁰: *Caraimica. Język Łach-Karaitów. Narzecze południowe (łucko-halickie)* and *Dwa fermany z w. XVIII. Z dziejów handlu polsko-tureckiego*. As Tyszkiewicz writes: “Niewątpliwie wszystkie 3 artykuły otrzymały niezbędną aprobatę jego [= Grzegorzewskiego – E.S.G.] utytułowanych kolegów z redakcji”³¹ (= Undoubtedly, all three articles received the necessary approval of his distinguished editorial colleagues).

Others on Jan Grzegorzewski

Grzegorzewski, as a person of indefatigable energy and an unusually wide range of interests, which resulted in taking up more and more new subjects and initiatives, could evoke controversial feelings in those who got to know him personally, evaluated his achievements, and collaborated with him. Jabłonowski, in his Memoirs, recalls him favourably as an eccentric character: “...sam długi, z rozczochraną czupryną, w długim także fraku...” (= long himself, with dishevelled hair, wearing a long tailcoat as well),³² but also full of enthusiasm and new ideas: “Poznany w Bebeku p. Grzegorzewski jakoś szczególnie znośnym znalazł moje towarzystwo. Bywa u mnie często, rozprawia o środkach ku zmianie stosunków społecznych, gada z entuzjazmem, jak przystało na źle płatnego korespondenta, i wreszcie swymi szeroko sięgającymi projektami kapitałnie mnie nudzi...” (= Mr Grzegorzewski, whom I met in Bebek, somehow found my company particularly tolerable. He visits me frequently, discusses means to change social relations, talks with

²⁸ Tyszkiewicz, ‘Jan Grzegorzewski w końcowych latach życia: 1916–1922’, p. 120.

²⁹ Dobosz, ‘Początki i pierwszy tom „Rocznika Orientalistycznego”’, pp. 191–192.

³⁰ Both articles in the form of self-published prints were published in Cracow with the date 1917, as mentioned above. For the purposes of this article these very publications were used.

³¹ Tyszkiewicz, ‘Jan Grzegorzewski w końcowych latach życia: 1916–1922’, p. 121.

³² Kira Gałczyńska-Kilańska, *Polacy w Kraju Półksiężycy*, Kraków 1974, p. 183.

enthusiasm, as befits an ill-paid correspondent, and finally bores me capably with his wide-ranging projects).³³

However, the opinions presented by Grzegorzewski’s contemporaries about his work vary widely, from those that are overly critical and even hurtfully unfair, to those that are balanced and appreciative of his merits. The quotation “fantasta i dyletant” (= dreamer and dilettante), contained in the title of this article, was an opinion about Grzegorzewski expressed by an outstanding Polish linguist – Kazimierz Nitsch.³⁴

Other not-so-flattering opinions on Grzegorzewski to be found in the correspondence of Polish Orientalists, come mainly from Andrzej Gawroński, who, in his letters to Tadeusz Kowalski, more than once indulged in remarks against Grzegorzewski that were not in keeping with the scholar’s ethics, such as: “Zresztą winniśmy wszyscy, żeśmy mu od początku nie powiedzieli wyraźnie, za co go mamy: Za dumia i dyletanta w najgorszym rodzaju” (= Anyway, we are all to blame for not telling him clearly from the beginning what we have him for: For a fool and a dilettante of the worst kind).³⁵ These remarks are related to the issue of *Rocznik*, of which Grzegorzewski was, as it is a familiar fact, the initiator and founder, while Andrzej Gawroński grew up to be the main editor in charge of the work on *Rocznik*.³⁶

Fortunately, there are also some opinions whose authors appreciated Grzegorzewski for his outstanding research commitment, his pioneering initiatives and his determined efforts to develop Polish Oriental studies and strengthen the Polish Orientalist community. The eminent Polish specialist in Turkish studies, Jan Reychman, in several of his publications, emphasised Grzegorzewski’s many-sided merits writing, among other things, about: “pionierskiej publikacji szeregu dokumentów tureckich odnoszących się do historii społeczno-gospodarczej Bułgarii...” (= the pioneering publication of a number of Turkish documents related to the socio-economic history of Bulgaria)³⁷, as well as noting his great contributions to initiating research on our native history based on Oriental documents collected in both Polish and Eastern archives.³⁸ He called Grzegorzewski an “enthusiast” and “a tireless inspirer of scientific research”,³⁹ although he also noted his tendency to confabulate, writing that: “Grzegorzewski przybrał w tych czasach pozę „wielkiego wtajemniczonego”, chciał, aby go uważano za polskiego Vambéry’ego (podróżnika węgierskiego po Azji, agenta jakiejś służby wywiadowczej i orientalistę), tylko, że nie był agentem, ani orientalistą, a ponadto prawdopodobnie nigdzie dalej nie podróżował” (= Grzegorzewski assumed the pose of a ‘great insider’ in those days, he wanted to

³³ Jabłonowski, *Pamiętniki*, p. 355.

³⁴ Kazimierz Nitsch, ‘Gawroński Andrzej’, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Vol. VII, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1958, p. 328.

³⁵ Dobosz, ‘Początki i pierwszy tom „Rocznika Orientalistycznego”’, p. 187.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 186.

³⁷ Jan Reychman, *Historia Turcji*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1973, p. 340. This opinion refers to the publication: *Z siedzylłatów rumelijskich epoki wyprawy wiedeńskiej*, Lvov 1912.

³⁸ Reychman, ‘O wykorzystanie źródeł orientalnych’, pp. 297–298.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 297.

be thought of as a Polish Vambéry <a Hungarian traveller in Asia, an agent of some intelligence service and an Orientalist>, only he was neither an agent nor an Orientalist and, moreover, probably did not travel anywhere further).⁴⁰ The founder of the first Oriental studies centre in Poland, Professor Tadeusz Kowalski, also spoke on Jan Grzegorzewski's work. He spoke in particular about the Karaite materials that Grzegorzewski was collecting in Halych with plans to prepare a dictionary and a grammar of the Halych Karaim language. After Grzegorzewski's death, his notes and collected materials on Karaite subjects were given to Kowalski. Initially, Kowalski's opinions were quite critical.⁴¹ In time, however, Kowalski came to appreciate the value of Grzegorzewski's collected materials, writing: "należy je traktować z szacunkiem, jako pamiątkę po zasłużonym badaczu i człowieku idei, który w ciężkich warunkach, w znoju i niedostatku, pokonując trudności, jakie mu stawał brak należytego przygotowania naukowego, dążył wytrwale do celu... tj. wskrzeszenia orientalistyki polskiej i do związania jej z zagadnieniami rodzimymi" (= they should be treated with respect, as a memento of a meritorious researcher and a man of ideas, who, under difficult conditions, in drudgery and privation, overcoming the difficulties posed to him by the lack of proper scientific expertise, persistently pursued his goal... i.e. the resurrection of Polish Oriental studies and their connection with native issues).⁴² From today's perspective the pioneering nature of Grzegorzewski's research is certainly appreciated and the materials he collected, especially those on the culture and language of the Polish Karaims are used by contemporary scholars.⁴³

Conclusions

Summing up the characterisation of this uncommon and colourful figure, whom Tyszkiewicz called "a sort of an individualist and original from the late Romantic era",⁴⁴ it should be stated with full conviction that even if Jan Grzegorzewski lacked a thorough academic education, he was reproached by the Polish scholars representing the next, younger generation, his extraordinary activity in many areas of social, scientific and cultural life, his unusual openness to research combined with his indefatigable energy and perseverance in pursuing his goals deserve great recognition, admiration and respect.

⁴⁰ Jan Reychman, *Podróżnicy polscy na Bliskim Wschodzie*, Warszawa 1973, p. 73.

⁴¹ Kizilov (2013: 59–84) points out that in 1904 Grzegorzewski donated a large part of his library, including his own scholarly output, to the Ossolineum, which, along with other collections, was destroyed during the Polish-Soviet war for Lvov 1918. This, therefore, may explain why Kowalski, not having insight into Grzegorzewski's more extensive scholarly output at the time, was unable to properly assess his achievement.

⁴² Tyszkiewicz, 'Jan Grzegorzewski w końcowych latach życia: 1916–1922', p. 124.

⁴³ Cf. Zsuzsa Kakuk, *Mai török nyelvek. I. Bevezetés. II. Szövegek*, Budapest 1976–1980; Kizilov, 'Jan Grzegorzewski's Karaite materials'; Michał Németh, *Zwięzła gramatyka języka zachodniokaraïmskiego z ćwiczeniami*, Poznań 2011; Mariusz Pawelec, 'Obecność tematyki karaïmskiej w kulturze i nauce polskiej', in: *Karaïmi*, ed. Beata Machul-Telus, Warszawa 2012.

⁴⁴ Tyszkiewicz, 'Jan Grzegorzewski w końcowych latach życia: 1916–1922', p. 118.

From today's perspective, one can easily notice that Grzegorzewski, with his ideas, inspired many researchers to set new research directions and develop areas hitherto unexplored, not only in the field of Oriental studies. It is likely that Tadeusz Kowalski,⁴⁵ who rightly called Grzegorzewski “the first Polish Karaite researcher”,⁴⁶ having had an insight into his scholarly legacy on Karaite themes, took up and continued this subject, and in time, established wide-ranging Karaite studies with Ananiasz Zajączkowski.

Grzegorzewski was an outstanding visionary and dreamer, but at the same time a pragmatist, who with his determination, memoranda, open letters and relentless advocacy for initiating Oriental studies in Poland, contributed during his lifetime to the establishment of the first Polish Oriental studies in Cracow and also to pointing out other research directions, which continue to be pursued today.

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⁴⁵ See the list of publications by Tadeusz Kowalski (Ananiasz Zajączkowski, *Tadeusz Kowalski i jego prace orientalistyczne (21.VI.1889–5.V.1948)*, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 17 (1951–1952), pp. XVII–XXXVI). Also, in two unpublished letters written by Kowalski to Grzegorzewski in 1922 the Karaite subject is taken up which may indicate Kowalski's interest in this subject matter. Besides, the coincidence of titles – Kowalski's lecture given in 1928 at a Polish radio station in Cracow on the subject “Żywioty wschodnie na ziemiach polskich” and Grzegorzewski's article *Dwa żywioty wschodnie w Rzeczypospolitej (Karaimi i Ormianie)* published in 1920 in “Gazeta Wieczorna” in Lvov (Zajączkowski, Ananiasz, *Karaimi na Wołyniu*, Równe. Osobne odbicie z “Rocznika Wołyńskiego” tom III (1933), p. 3) may also point to a research inspiration of which Grzegorzewski was the author.

⁴⁶ Kaczmarek, ‘Jan Grzegorzewski’, p. 119.

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