

*Bohdan Baranowski*

GEORGIA AND GEORGIANS IN THE WORKS  
OF JULIUSZ STRUTYŃSKI

In the second third of the nineteenth century the number of Poles living in Georgia was quite considerable. At that time both the greater part of the area inhabited by Poles, and the Transcaucasian territory were under the tsar's rule. The specific policy of tsarizm resulted in great numbers of Poles from the Polish Kingdom as well as from the Ukraine, White Russia and Lithuania being sent to garrisons in the Caucasian area. The number of Poles in the Caucasian garrisons was as large as 20 to 50 thousand people, especially in the period of war with fanatical Moslem mountaineers from the northern part of the Caucasian Mountains. In most cases they were compulsorily enlisted in to the tsar's army, and sent to the Caucasus by way of punishment for their political activity. But there were also many people who voluntarily went to those far-away countries where all sorts of dangers awaited them continually, but where it was easy to gain the fame of a fearless hero, orders and high military ranks. A number of Poles went to Caucasus in order to get well-paid jobs in the tsar's Civil Service as doctors, engineers, clerks, teachers.

Among Poles staying in Caucasus in those days there were many people with considerable literary talent or scientific interests. The Polish literary circle<sup>1</sup> in Caucasus was then quite numerous, with such

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<sup>1</sup> See eg. J. Reychman, *Kaukaz*, [in:] *Polska i Polacy w cywilizacjach świata*, vol. I, Warszawa 1939, p. 265—272, idem, *Polacy w górach Kaukazu do końca XIX w.*, „Wierchy” 1954, vol. 23, p. 19—58; idem, *Ze stosunków polsko gruzińskich w XIX w.*, „Przegląd Humanistyczny” 1961, vol. 5, No 3, p. 119—124; idem, *Podróżnicy polscy na Bliskim Wschodzie w XIX w.*, Warszawa 1972, p. 176—247; M. Inglot, *Polacy piszący na Kaukazie w pierwszej połowie XIX w.*, „Pamiętnik Literacki” 1957, vol. 46, p. 538—551; M. Ż y w o w, *Polscy poeci kaukascy (Materiały biograficzne)*, „Pamiętnik Literacki” 1959, vol. 50, p. 563—591; W. Kubacki, *Malwy na Kaukazie*, Warszawa 1969, p. 7—90 and others.

outstanding personalities as Tadeusz Łada Zabłocki<sup>2</sup>, a poet, and Władysław Strzelnicki<sup>3</sup>, an excellent satirist. Many of the Poles, eg. Mateusz Gralewski<sup>4</sup>, Hipolit Jaworski<sup>5</sup>, and others, described their stay in Caucasus in memoirs. Others, eg. Leon Janiszewski<sup>6</sup>, Julian Surzycki<sup>7</sup>, sent interesting reports. Some of them, like Kazimierz Łapczyński<sup>8</sup>, were interested in the ancient, specific Georgian culture, and translated into Polish classics of Georgian literature; others, like Florian Zieliński<sup>9</sup>, were engaged in ethnographic problems concerning Caucasian mountaineers.

<sup>2</sup> K. W. Zawodziński, *W stulecie romantycznego tomu poezji*, „Twórczość” 1946, ch. 2, No 3, p. 121—135; W. Borowy, *Schelleyanin polski sprzed wieku*, „Twórczość” 1946, ch. 2, No 10, p. 173—174; J. Dürr-Durski, *Tadeusz Zabłocki spod przemalowań biograficznych*, „Twórczość” 1974, ch. 3, No 7/9, p. 85—90; J. Reychman, *Wyjaśniona zagadka zapomnianego poety spiskowca*, „Twórczość” 1954, ch. 10, No 6, p. 150—154; idem, *Tadeusz Łada-Zabłotkij i Abbas Kuli-Khan Bakikhanov*, „Akademija Nauk SSSR. Kratkie Soobszceniya Instituta Vostokovedeniya” 1960, vol. 38, p. 13; S. Ja. Ravich, *Żhizn i tvorcestvo pol'skogo poeta Tadeusza Łada-Zabłot'skogo v Gruzii*, Tbilisi 1971, s. 5—24 and others.

<sup>3</sup> S. Zieliński, *Mały słownik pionierów polskich kolonialnych i morskich*, Warszawa 1933, p. 513; M. Zhivov, *Pol'skie pevtsy Kavkaza*, „Literaturnaya Gruzija” 1957, No 6, p. 71; V. Arzumanov, *Azerbajdzana hesr edilmis name'lun povest (Polsa jazycy ve sa'iri Vladislav Stzelickinin „Mahmudka” adly povesti harrjnda, „Edebijet ve Indzesenet”* 1971, No 20 XI, p. 12; M. Sadykhov, *Ocherki russko-azerbajdzhansko-pol'skikh literaturnykh svyazej XIX veka*, Baku 1975, p. 118—126 and others.

<sup>4</sup> M. Gralewski, *Kaukaz, Wspomnienia z dwunastoletniej niewoli. Opisanie kraju. Ludność. Zwyczaje i obyczaje*, Lwów 1877, p. 560. See also B. Baranowski, *Z dziejów polsko-gruzińskich stosunków kulturalnych z połowy XIX wieku (opisy Gruzji Mateusza Gralewskiego)*, Ann. UMCS, 1974, Sect F, vol. XXIX, No 15, p. 175—182.

<sup>5</sup> M. Terłica [H. Jaworski], *Wspomnienia Kaukazu*, „Gazeta Codzienna” 1858, No 273—283; 1859, No 42—51; H. Jaworski, *Wspomnienia Kaukazu*, part 1—3, Poznań 1877.

<sup>6</sup> L. Janiszewski, *Obrazy i myśli z podróży do Tyflisu z 1841 r. i odbytej „Rubon”* 1849, vol. 10; idem, *Pielgrzymka do mogiły Aleksandra Gribojedowa na górę św. Dawida w Tyflisie*, Bibliot. Warsz. 1843, vol. 11, and others.

<sup>7</sup> J. Surzycki, *Polowanie w lasach Dagestanu*, [in:] *Wieniec. Pismo zbiorowe ofiarowane Stanisławowi Jachowiczowi*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1852; idem, *Obrazy Dagestanu*, Bibliot. Warsz. 1858, vol. 71 and 72, 1859, vol. 74.

<sup>8</sup> A. Ślusarski, *Kazimierz Łapczyński. Wspomnienia pośmiertne*, „Wszehświat” 1893, vol. 12, No 1, p. 1—4; A. Zaleski, *Kazimierz Łapczyński. Kilka słów wspomnień*, Pam. Tow. Tatr. 1893, vol. 14, p. 71—77; W. E. Radzikowski, *Przyczynek do wspomnień o śp. Kazimierzu Łapczyńskim*, Pam. Tow. Tatr. 1905, vol. 26, p. 35—43; Reychman, *Polacy w górach Kaukazu...*, p. 33—35; idem, *Podróżnicy polscy...*, p. 202—217; idem, *Peleryna, ciupaga i znak tajemny*, Kraków 1976, p. 143 and others.

<sup>9</sup> F. Zieliński, *Opisanie o plemionach kaukazkich górali, z ich obrzędami, obyczajami w cywilnym, wojennym i domowym życiu*, rękopis Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu No 4967 III, p. 46.

Among Poles writing about Caucasus in the second thirty years of XIX cent. Juliusz Strutyński occupies a rather special position. He was a strange individual — an exceptionally talented man, an excellent mixer, like many people of the Romantic period, he had many various interests which tore him in many directions. This characteristic, combined with a lack of perseverance and consistency, was the reason why most of his actions were never brought to an end. Just after his death one of his friends writing an obituary notice characterized him in this way: „He was typical of his kind, an individual amazingly talented with vast knowledge, noble character, and at the same time revealing irresolution and almost childishly unpractical mind in managing his affairs and attending his business. A full account of his whole life, his numerous, almost improbable adventures, his subsequent wealth and poverty, pride and humiliations, would indeed make fine material for portraying the people whose only and greatest fault was that they were born with a poetic nature which, untamed, complicated their lives, and that imagination drove them to wild ideas and enterprises which, lacking any base in reality could never be realized”<sup>10</sup>.

Strutyński's descent to a great extent decided about warping his whole character. He considered himself an aristocrat and used the title of a count, to which he probably had no formal right. But old Polish aristocracy treated him as a „new man” and he was often a victim of their malicious remarks and mockery.

Strutyński's family descended from yeomanry which probably as long as XVII c. had to work in their fields as they had no serfs. In the first half of XVIII c. entered the class of rich gentry, but not aristocracy. This sudden social rise was not quite clear, and Juliusz Strutyński himself devoted a lot of his energy to obscuring those matters in order to create a false legend about high offices of his ancestors. The maker of the family's fortune was Jan Strutyński, a man not enjoying the good opinion of his contemporaries, but who, owing to his abilities and energy attained considerable wealth and a senatorial office of the castellan of Livland<sup>11</sup>. His granddaughter, Jadwiga Strutyńska, also fulfilled an important role. She was a woman

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<sup>10</sup> Jan ze Ś. [A. H. Kirkor], *Juliusz hrabia Strutyński (Berlicz Sas)*, „Kłosy” 1878, vol. 26, p. 340.

<sup>11</sup> See eg. K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. 20, Lipsk 1841, p. 546; *Polska encyklopedia szlachecka*, vol. 11, Warszawa 1938, p. 191.

of exceptional beauty and grace, and many Polish magnates, supposedly king Stanisław Augustus<sup>12</sup> among them, were her admirers.

The grandfather of Juliusz Strutyński, Łukasz, holding a modest post of the starost of Horodło, and perfectly managing his business affairs, gathered a very large fortune. His son Feliks, Juliusz's father, was the first of the family to enter the aristocracy, but he was treated by them slightly, as a „new” man. He is said to have been an unusually handsome man, with a fine voice and great musical talent. Karolina Lubomirska, a daughter of one of the most important magnate families in Poland<sup>13</sup>, fell in love with him. The daughter of Ksawery Lubomirski, Royal Treasurer, and Teofila Rzewuska, she was related to all the important families in Poland. The marriage of a magnate's daughter with a much lower standing in the social hierarchy Feliks Strutyński was a social scandal at that time. All sorts of rumours were being told about how the proud magnate family was forced to consent to the marriage of their daughter with a despised representative of the parvenu class. In spite of their consent the Lubomirski family still treated the marriage as a humiliating misalliance.

Juliusz Ksawery Łukasz Strutyński was born on 1 Jan. 1810 in Lipowiec in the southern part of the contemporary Kiev guberniya. He was initially tutored by especially brought French teachers, then attended Jesuit schools in Mohylów (Podolia) and Romanów (Volhynia). Young Juliusz was under very strong influence of a near relation of his mother, a famous aristocrat-orientalist, „emir” Wacław Rzewuski, a typical representative of the Romantic interest in the East.

Like many other young men from the cosmopolitan circle of Polish aristocracy, Juliusz Strutyński joined the tsar's military service. For a time he stayed in Moscow, and he is believed to have been a close friend of Aleksander Pushkin<sup>14</sup>. Next he acted as aide-de-camp of general Dymitr Bibikow in Kiev. An incredible snob who wanted to pass for an aristocrat, he was treated by Polish magnates living in Ukraine with cold indifference. At the same time he alienated the Polish circle

<sup>12</sup> See E. Rostworowski, *Manuzzi 1. v. Ciechanowiecka ze Strutyńskich Jadwiga*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 19, Wrocław 1974, p. 502—504, see tu novel M. Sądżewicz, *Jadwiżka i jej zalotnicy*, Warszawa 1961.

<sup>13</sup> Jan ze Ś., *op. cit.*, p. 340.

<sup>14</sup> See Berlicz Sas [J. Strutyński], *Moskwa*, Kraków 1873, p. 43—74. See also M. Toporowski, *Puszkín rozmawia z carem na Kremłu*, „Wiadomości Literackie” 1937, ann. 14, No 52/53; idem, *Puszkín w Polsce. Zarys biograficzno literacki*, Warszawa 1950, p. 174—177; V. Khodasevich, *Puskin i Nikolaj I*, „Vozrózdenije” (Paris) 1938, No 4118 and 4119.

towards himself by his undue loyalty to the tsar's authorities<sup>15</sup>. These may have been the reasons why he decided to leave Kiev and look for recognition in a new environment in the faraway Caucasus. But it is also quite probable that this successor of the Romantic generation, shaped to a great extent by „emir” Rzewuski, was genuinely attracted by the far-away East, the mosaic of various cultures, religions, and peoples — Caucasus.

In the Capital of Caucasus, Tyflis, (present-day Tbilisi) Strutyński was designated to the post of an aide-de camp of a local general governor, Borys Neudhardt<sup>16</sup>. Being a good mixer made him very popular with his superiors, Neudhardt even tried to match him with his daughter. A snob, for whom „good” descent was so important, stayed mainly in the company of staff officers from the circle of Russian aristocracy and Baltic junkers. He was impressed by old genealogies of Georgian aristocracy, sometimes reaching as long ago as a thousand years or more. That is why he often visited their palaces and had friendly relations with many Georgians. His relations with Poles living then in Caucasus, who belonged to a radically oriented intelligentsia, and not to „his” class, were rather limited. This is the reason why he did not belong to the „Caucasian Circle” of Polish writers. He almost never met its members, although sometimes he used his connections to help his countrymen who had been reduced to very hard military service as simple privates or non-commissioned officers because of their political activity.

It is hard to describe Strutyński's life in Caucasus with full particulars. There are many inconsistencies and obscure passages in his literary and scientific works. It is also hard to tell whether the legend which grew round his person after years was based upon real facts, or whether it was partly created by „Count Julius” himself. He is then said to have taken part in many campaigns against mountaineers from the northern Caucasus, during which he was exposed to thousands of dangers. As a diplomatic courier or a representative of the Caucasian general-governor he made a journey to Persia, and was honoured with a high distinction by the shah in Teheran. He took part in a lot of duels and in wild bets in which he risked his life. He is said to have been the hero of numerous love affairs. He somehow managed to find time to study geology and history of Caucasus, the origin of the peoples living in this territory, and to collect local legends and carry on

<sup>15</sup> R. Rawita Gawroński, *Ukraina, Wołyń i Podole pod rządami D. G. Bibikowa*, [in:] *Rok 1863 na Rusi*, vol. 2, Lwów 1903, p. 37—38; M. Rolle, *In illo tempore* [...]. *Szkice historyczno-literackie*, Brody—Lwów 1914, p. 93.

<sup>16</sup> Jan ze Ś., *op. cit.*, p. 340.

archeological research. He learned eastern languages in order to study oriental manuscripts. In his memoirs he says that during his stay in Nakhichevan he read *The Tatar Chronicle of Abulghazi Bahadur Khan*<sup>17</sup> which he got from a learned „Pers“ (perhaps an Azerbaijan using the Persian language, as was then the case with most Azerbaijan intellectually educated in the traditional way), a „Mirza Khodzha“ (rather a title than name).

In the winter of 1846 Strutyński, aged then 36, left Georgia and went to Petersburg. He stayed in the tsar's army till the end of the Crimean War and then became demobilized. His military career was not too brilliant. He left the army only as a major. Being occupied with literature and scientific research, he was a very bad manager of his properties in the Ukraine and White Russia, and lost the fortune which he inherited from his parents. His married life was not happy either. He married a Greek Maria Maurocordato, a daughter of a Russian colonel, but they did not get along well. In 1869 Strutyński, who had already lost all his money and was rather worn out, moved to Galicia. For a time he took on lease a small estate near Lvov, but as he was absolutely incompetent as a landlord, his mother's family, Lubomirski, paid him a little pension in order to help him make a living. During his stay in Lvov he made friends with his well-to-do relation, Józef Lubomirski, the curator of the Ossoliński Foundation, a very broad-minded man. The magnate was probably the relation who helped him most. After Lubomirski's death Strutyński's situation became much worse. He moved to Cracow where he lived almost in poverty<sup>18</sup>. In 1878 he decided to go to Petersburg because of a slight possibility of inheriting some money. He stopped in Skierniewice where he died on 23 March 1878<sup>19</sup>.

Strutyński started writing as a young man. In 1836, at the age of 26, he published poems written in French entitled *Essais poetique*. In his whole lifetime he published quite a number of poems, stories, tales, autobiographical works, and even scientific works, but of no real scientific value. His literary output was quite bulky<sup>20</sup>, but it had no

<sup>17</sup> It was probably a work by a XVII cent. author from Middle Asia, Khan Chiwa, Abu'l-Ghazi Bahadur, see R. Supler, *Abu'l-Ghazi Bahadur, Khan*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. 1, Leiden—London 1960, p. 120—121.

<sup>18</sup> Jan ze Ś., *op. cit.*, p. 340—341.

<sup>19</sup> See numerous posthumous articles about Strutyński: *Bibliot. Warsz.* 1878, vol. 150, p. 347; „*Tygodnik Ilustrowany*“ 1878, vol. 2, p. 398—399 and others.

<sup>20</sup> *Bibliografia literatury polskiej „Nowy Korbut”*, vol. 9, Warszawa 1972, p. 171—172.

great value either<sup>21</sup>. Most of his literary works were published under the pseudonym of Berlicz Sas.

Of Strutyński's books dealing with the problems of Caucasus *Some Geological and Historical Studies of Caucasus*<sup>22</sup> dedicated to a Prussian minister, baron von Raumer, seems the most important. It was a strange collection of all sorts of information on geology, geography, and history of the Caucasian countries. It was partly the result of the author's observations, and partly information taken from books and articles from periodicals dealing with that area. The author included a great deal of information about Georgians. He wrote about various ethnical groups. He did not ignore even a group called Lazy, living in the Turkish territory. Apart from this he wrote separately about the Abkhazians and the Osetynians living partly in the Georgian territory. He gave much information on Georgian history. He even included excerpts from the chronicle of Wachtang VI, the king of Kartli<sup>23</sup>. But the material is very unsystematic. Even for those days when scientific precision and consistency were not much observed, this work is striking in its incoherence. It is rather surprising, on the other hand, that the manuscript of this work is much longer and more systematic than the published version. The manuscript first could be found in the Raperswil Library, and in the period between the two world wars it was in the Central Military Library<sup>24</sup>.

Material of a different type dealing with Caucasian countries could be found in another book by Strutyński, published in Wilno in 1855 under the title *Miscellanea*<sup>25</sup>. He characterized in this book „the elegant world” of Tyflis in the first half of the forties of XIX c. He wrote about outstanding Russian officers, about foreigners living there at that time, eg. a French consul Paul Louis Arbilleur, an English tourist Henry Danby Seymour, and others. His descriptions of the finest families of Georgian aristocracy and of the atmosphere of parties given by them are very interesting. He described banquets in the palace of general governor, which were attended by many Georgian aristocrats, the way they behaved there, etc. Snob as he was, Strutyński was sometimes annoyed by different forms which were popular among

<sup>21</sup> It is worth mentioning that after Strutyński's death his last book entitled *A Mosaic* was fairly favourably estimated by Henryk Sienkiewicz (H. Sienkiewicz, *Pisma*, vol. 46, Lwów 1937, p. 218).

<sup>22</sup> J. hr. Strutyński, *Kilka badań geologicznych i dziejowych Kaukazu*, Berlin 1857, p. 71.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53—56.

<sup>24</sup> J. hr. Strutyński, *Kilka badań geologicznych i dziejowych Kaukazu*, rękopis Biblioteki Raperswilskiej No 798.

<sup>25</sup> J. hr. Strutyński, *Miscellanea*, Wilno 1855, p. 184.

Georgian aristocrats, but at the same time he was attracted by their orientalism. He wrote about his Georgian acquaintances with warmth, and even sympathy.

The book contained a great deal of information about economic relations of Georgia<sup>26</sup>. The data was not quite precise. Strutyński was doubtless a very broad-minded man, but he approached complicated economic problems from the position of a romantic dilettante. That is why his study, not too precise and exact, has no real value.

Strutyński returned to the Caucasian problems much later in his book published in Lvov in 1872, entitled *Pictures from Nature. Gul-Shada. The Eastern Story*. Two literary pieces were included in one book, each of them with a separate numeration of pages<sup>27</sup>. The action of the first one takes place partly in Georgia and partly in Italy, while the action of the other one takes us to the Azerbaijan — Dagestan border. The heroes of the first part were Russian officers from Caucasian garrisons. Quite a lot of attention was also devoted to the life of the Georgian aristocracy. Strutyński wrote with sympathy about chivalrous Georgian princes whom he had met in Tyflis. He mentioned their residences in Tyflis with great sentiment („the interiors of those houses were pervaded with poetry, and the ancient times of Georgian chivalry were reflected in them"). He also described Georgian aristocracy at a ball given by the general-governor. He introduced into the action an excursion to one of the most beautiful Georgian monuments, a famous monastery in Mtskhet west of Tbilisi. The great number of references to Georgian life included in this work deal almost exclusively with the life of aristocracy, not the common people of this country<sup>28</sup>.

The second half of the above mentioned book, a tale or rather a short story, deals with quite a different subject. The author says that during his excursions to the Caucasian Mountains he had met a pilgrim, an Azerbaijan from Derbent (a town in the south of Dagestan, the neighbourhood of which is inhabited mainly by Azerbaijan people). The old man had once been one of the richest people in this town. He told the author a tragic story of his life. As a result of a teacherous attack by mountaineers many people dear to him, his beloved wife Gul-Shada among them, lost their lives. After this tragic loss he gave up the joys of this world, and after giving away all his fortune he started to lead the life of a poor pilgrim. The story is enriched by the

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70—78.

<sup>27</sup> Berlicz Sas [J Strutyński], *Obrazy z natury. Gul-Szada. Powieść wschodnia*, Lwów 1872.

<sup>28</sup> *Bibliot. Warsz.* 1878, vol. 150, p. 347.

history of one of the most important towns in the eastern Caucasus, that is Derbent, as well as a great number of authentic details from the life of the Lezgin — Azerbaijan border region.

It says in obituaries written after Strutyński's death that shortly before his death he burnt his memoirs and a dozen or so volumes of notes<sup>29</sup>. This information was not quite accurate. He may have burnt some papers of a more personal nature, whereas the remaining part was saved. And, strangely enough, over sixty years after his death, a few manuscripts by Strutyński were offered for sale in one of Warsaw second-hand book-shops. I was able to see those papers, concerning mainly financial matters, namely Strutyński's right to inherit a fortune left by the Manuzzis, an extinct family of Italian origin living in White Russia. The already mentioned beautiful Julia Strutyńska, who lived in XVIII c., married an Italian, Manuzzi. After this family died out Juliusz Strutyński considered himself one of the successors to their money. The purpose of his last journey to Petersburg, during which he died in Skierniewice in 1887, was to regain the fortune of Manuzzis.

Apart from the papers concerning financial matters there was also a cardboard binder entitled *Caucasian Notes* in which there were eight notebooks written by the same person, most likely by Strutyński himself, but on different paper and in different ink. As the manuscript was lent to me for 2 days only, I managed to take only very few notes. The notes looked to me like a rough copy of his book about Caucasus. The author may have taken notes or drafted some parts of the intended book about Georgia in various periods of his life. Perhaps in the last years of his life he thought of finishing this book and publishing it. But he realized that scientific studies in the field of Caucasian problems had progressed considerably, and that if he wanted to publish something, he would have to acquaint himself with the latest scientific literature. It must have been unobtainable in Galician libraries, namely in Cracow and Lvov, because Russian books did not then come to those libraries in great numbers. Strutyński expected that he would easily find all the necessary scientific literature concerning Caucasus in the libraries of Petersburg. Probably when leaving for his last journey to Petersburg Strutyński took only papers referring to his right of succession, but also his *Caucasian Notes* which he wanted to make into a book about Caucasus. He may have entrusted these papers to someone from Skierniewice or Warsaw shortly before his death, and the papers probably lay untouched for several dozen years. Only in 1939 someone brought them to be sold in a second-hand book-

<sup>29</sup> Jan ze Ś., *op. cit.*, p. 340.

shop in Warsaw. As usually is the case with such transactions, the bookseller was not eager to give the name of the owner in order that the manuscript would not be sold without his mediation. I was interested only in *Caucasian Notes* and was not going to buy all the papers, very expensive, too. I do not know what happened with those manuscripts later on, whether they returned to the owner or were sold to some other person, or destroyed during the war in the Jewish second-hand bookshop. Maybe they will be found sometime.

The first of those notebooks was entitled *Geological and Geographic Characteristics of Caucasus*. When compared with chaotic information given by Strutyński in his book *Some Geological and Geographic Studies of Caucasus* it was much more mature. To be quite truthful the draft also lacked systematic lecture, and was chaotic in some places, which was so typical for the author's mentality. But the author tried to give the most important information referring to the geology of the Caucasian Mountains. As I only skipped this chapter, I am not able to give more particulars about it. The chapter on the physical geography of Caucasus, on the other hand, contained plenty of information. In many places the author based upon his own observations, but he also referred to the literature published even at the beginning of the seventies, which indicated that he probably wrote it in the last years of his life. The chapters on the geology and geography of the Caucasian region, in spite of basing sometimes upon own observations, are rather of compilative character.

The second notebook, without a separate title, was much more interesting. It was not even a draft, but a collection of notes, arranged alphabetically, referring to archeological ruins and findings in Georgia and partly in Armenia. It must be noted that Strutyński was very much interested in archeology in his last years<sup>30</sup>. During his stay in Cracow in the seventies he was a member of Archeological Committee of the Academy of Skills<sup>31</sup>. Like other romantics, he was fascinated with ruins and legends connected with them. When looking through this notebook I found that Strutyński took notes about ruins of castles, churches, or even places where old weapons were discovered. He says for example that passing by a village on the way from Tiflis to Nakhichev he learned about „Arabic tombs” in the mountains. He visited the place and judging from coins found nearby he came to the conclusion that the tombs enshrouded Arabic notables who died in the eight or at the beginning of the ninth cent. Near this place were

<sup>30</sup> Strutyński wrote eg. about a place where according to him were ruins from the Roman times „a few miles away from Erywań”.

<sup>31</sup> Jan ze S., *op. cit.*, p. 341.

collective tombs where Arabic and Georgian warriors lay, each nation in a separate tomb. The Georgian warriors were buried together with their horses, so according to Strutyński's conclusion a battle took place there and was won by the Arabic invaders. Several times Strutyński mentioned places where according to information obtained by him ancient treasures were discovered. In two such cases Strutyński included Latin inscriptions deciphered by him on a rock or a ruined column. They were probably relics from the Roman times. In one of the villages in the south-east of Georgia Strutyński found an Arabic inscription on the foundations of a ruined edifice. A Moslem mullah brought by him to the spot deciphered the inscription which said that in the second half of the VIII cent. a mosque was built in that place by an Arabic notable ruling that province. When describing ruins Strutyński mentioned also local legends connected with the ruins. Eg. together with a description of a certain locality he quotes 9 legends which he says his interpreter collected among local people. But even a cursory survey of those stories is enough to notice that the legends, even if authentic, underwent literary alterations, and the greater part of them was given by Strutyński forms typical of the west-European Romantic tradition. Undoubtedly those disarranged notes, were they ever found, would be very useful for archeological research in Georgia. In most cases this was probably information about places very well known to Georgian scholars, but in some cases they might concern places and legends already forgotten by local people though 150 years ago, when Strutyński described them, they were still well known. It is also worth noting that this lover of the romantic tradition was probably the first Pole to be seriously engaged in studying archeological problems of Georgia.

Another, rather bulky, notebook was entitled *On Noble Georgian Families*. Strutyński enlarges, rather uncritically, upon the origin of Georgian aristocracy. Separate chapters were devoted to princes' families: Bagrationi, Orbeliani, Eristavi, Dadiani, and Chavchavage. Other families were given much less attention, not more than a few sentences. This notebook, worn and faded more than others, was probably written during Strutyński's stay in Caucasus, that is in the 1840 s. The notes seemed to be only unsystematic material of genealogical type collected by a man who treated such information rather uncritically. But marginally he mentioned a lot of legends connected with the origin of famous Georgian families and with their history. Strutyński's studies can be regarded as belonging to a certain branch of folklore, or, as some scholars classify it, a branch being very near

to folklore, namely the so called genealogical — heraldic legends<sup>32</sup>. In the western Europe literature of this kind, more critical or less, developed much earlier. Already in XVI cent. in Poland Bartosz Paprocki<sup>33</sup> uncritically quoted information of this kind referring to the origin of particular shields or family lines. Szymon Okolski<sup>34</sup> and Mateusz Ignacy Kuligowski<sup>35</sup> wrote similar things in XVII cent. In XIX cent. Józef Ignacy Kraszewski<sup>36</sup>, Franciszek Kowalski<sup>37</sup> and other dealt with this subject. They stressed certain correspondence between those legends and folk tradition. Genealogical legends played in Georgian tradition a much more important than in Poland. That is why Strutyński's studies in this respect would doubtless deserve attention.

There is a certain question which I cannot decide on the basis of my cursory survey of this material, namely the question whether Strutyński transmitted the legends he heard faithfully, or whether he subjected them to literary alterations. It is quite possible that the versions Strutyński was told might have already been changed. The language barrier was an obstacle. Strutyński did not know the Georgian language or knew at most a few dozen simplest expressions. Probably his Georgian friends told him the family legends which they knew. On some occasions they might have served as interpreters in conversation with old people who did not know Russian sufficiently, for at the beginning of the 1840 y. the greater part of the oldest generation of Georgian aristocracy had a very poor command of Russian, unlike the middle or young generation who had been through Russian schools, military service, or administration. In translation from Georgian to Russian the tales could have already been deformed. Anyway it cannot be ignored that Strutyński was not a scholar who would write down everything he heard scrupulously, but a writer who often confused real information with creations of his own imagination.

In the chapter on the finest Georgian magnate families Strutyński included a few translations of „folk songs” gloryfying the public

<sup>32</sup> See e.g. es [E. Stankiewicz], *Legends herbowe*, [in:] *Słownik folkloru polskiego*, ed. J. Krzyżanowski, Warszawa 1965, p. 200—201.

<sup>33</sup> B. Paprocki, *Gniazdo cnoty*, Kraków 1578; idem, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego na pięćtoło ksiąg rozdzielone*, Kraków 1584.

<sup>34</sup> S. Okolski, *Orbis polonus*, vol. 1—3, Kraków 1641—1645.

<sup>35</sup> M. I. Kuligowski, *Demokryt śmieszny albo śmiech Demokryta chrześcijańskiego z tego świata na trzy części życia ludzkiego rozdzielony*, Wilno 1699. See also P. Buchwald-Pelcowa, *Kuligowski Mateusz Ignacy*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 16, Wrocław 1972, p. 152.

<sup>36</sup> J. I. Kraszewski, *Gawędy o literaturze i sztuce*, Lwów 1857, p. 251—339.

<sup>37</sup> F. Kowalski, *Legends herbowe*, Żytomierz 1862, p. 409. See also Z. Ciechanowska, *Kowalski Franciszek*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 14, Wrocław 1968—1969, p. 546—547.

services of particular chiefs and notables from those families. Unfortunately, I was not able to analyse them carefully in order to decide whether they were typical of the folk songs about national heroes, or whether Strutyński took panegyrics by court poets or even wandering poets of folk origin for „folk songs” proper. These texts raise the same doubts as the legends: whether the songs, first translated into Russian, then turned by Strutyński into literary pieces in Polish, were not deformed too much.

The fourth successive notebook had no title either. It contained very detailed descriptions of palaces and manor-houses of Georgian aristocracy, both in the capital Tyflis and in the provinces. He depicted the exteriors of the residences, their surrounding, and interior furnishings and decoration. As far as the interior goes he distinguished three different styles: „old Georgian”, „oriental” or „Mohammedan”, and „European”. He drew attention to the fact that owing to many ages of relations with Moslem people many palaces had parts of rooms or even a whole room furnished and decorated in the oriental style. Walls were hung with eastern rugs, there were also carpets on the floors, meals were served on low, round tables, and cushions were used instead of chairs. Rooms in the European style had miscellaneous furniture — some were arranged very tastefully, while others had a tasteless mixture of furniture in different styles, and their walls were hung with pictures and woodcuts of questionable value. Parenthetically Strutyński said that most of the European style furniture which could be found in the palaces of Georgian aristocracy in Tiflis and its neighbourhood came from the workshop of „our countryman Kowalski from Żytomierz” who settled in the capital of Georgia at the beginning of the twenties and came by a tremendous fortune. His four daughters got dowries greater than many squires' daughters.

Strutyński admired most the furniture which he called „old Georgian”. According to him „shadows from the glorious past wandered” round such rooms. He particularly admired old Georgian weapons: swords several hundred years old shields, helmets, bows, rifles, and pistols „no more viable as weapons, but only for decoration”. He also liked fine rugs.

It appears from Strutyński's notes that many Georgian aristocrats furnished their houses in all three styles on purpose. It was considered to be good form to entertain Russians and guests from other European countries in „European” rooms, while Moslem visitors were shown into separate rooms arranged in the „eastern” style. When writing about furnishing Strutyński devoted a whole sub-chapter to his considerations about „three souls” which every Georgian aristocrat was supposed

to possess in view of specific geographical location of this country and its complicated history, and, what resulted from this fact, the necessity of adaptation to getting on with people of very different cultures.

Strutyński wrote very approvingly about Georgian hospitality. According to him there was no other nation all over the world as hospitable as the Georgians. Their hospitality was sometimes even embarrassing.

Banquets in the palaces of the Georgian aristocracy were described by him with full detail. Because of the variety visitors the menu was either „old Georgian”, or „oriental”, or „European”. Strutyński was interested most in the first two ones. At his own request his host, not without reluctance, agreed for the feast to be in the „Georgian” style. He enumerated foods and drinks served at such parties. He also wrote down quite a number of toasts delivered in their course. During his visit in the palace of a prince Alexander (family name not given) in Kakhetia (eastern Georgia) he took part in a banquet given for Lezgin leaders with whom he tried to be on very good terms. It was a typical „oriental” feast, even Christians taking part in it were not served wine, but typically eastern foods and drinks. The necessity of entertaining all kinds of guests forced Georgian noblemen to employ several cooks. Prince Aleksander, mentioned before, had four of them: two Georgians, a Persian (or an Azerbaijan) from Lenkoran<sup>38</sup>, and a Pole from Podole. The Polish cook had learned the art of cooking at the court of count Potocki in the Ukraine, and he was familiar with French, Polish, and Russian kitchen. In order to honour Strutyński prince Aleksander prepared a typically Polish dish: cabbage cooked with sausage and meat. The host's family tried tasting it in deference to their Polish guest, but their faces showed terrible disgust.

Georgian aristocracy was almost exclusively the object of Strutyński's interest in *Caucasian Notes*. A snob, so very proud of his aristocratic descent, he seemed not to notice Georgian country-folk. Only in the fifth notebook, the thinnest of all, he wrote a little about them, but in a very strange context. The notebook was entitled *Caucasian Servants*. Strutyński pointed out that relations between servants and their employers in Georgia and in Poland were quite different. Specific geographical and historical conditions, namely constant danger of Moslem invasion, which often ended in a massacre or taking away all Georgians, regardless of their social status, into Tantar captivity, resulted in forming specific patriarchal relations between great lords and their servants. Masters took very good care of their

<sup>38</sup> A town in Soviet Azerbaijan on the coast of the Caspian Sea.

employees, and those in turn were very faithful and devoted to their masters. Strutyński undoubtedly idealized the situation, but at the same time some of his observations were quite right.

The same notebook contained Strutyński's remarks upon ways of treating Caucasian servants, both of Georgian and Mohammedan origin. The author stressed the fact that those people were for many centuries used to considerable freedom, and they would not endure to be treated like villeins from Russia, Ukraine or Poland. He quoted numerous cases of killing bad landlords by their unjustly punished servants. According to the author mutual relations between masters and servants in Caucasus must have been based upon quite different foundations.

The sixth notebook without a separate title dealt with quite a different subject. Strutyński wrote in it about the causes of a great rising of fanatical Moslem mountaineers from the north of Caucasus (so called „miurydzi”)<sup>30</sup>. The author did not present himself as a very broad-minded man in this respect. Unlike many other Polish writers, like eg. Matusz Gralewski, who saw the complexity of this problem, that is the context of the struggle for independence of Northern Caucasian tribes against the Tsar's aggression, extreme Moslem fanaticism, the tendencies of local landlords to enslave large masses of people, and others Strutyński stresses the element of „savagery” which characterized the inhabitants of the mountains.

However, Strutyński's information about attacks of mountaineers in northern Kakhetia are of some value. He visited that region in order to assess Georgian losses on behalf of the general-governor. His information about all kinds of cruel acts committed by Lezgins in Northern Kakhetia is probably also true. He says they murdered old people and children, took into captivity people fit for work, violated daughters and wives in the presence of their fathers and husbands.

The author described a meeting with a Georgian who had lost a wife and four teenage daughters and whose sufferings half-turned his wits. The author described also bloody revenge which Georgian peasants took upon captured Lezgins. He says that after all sorts of tortures they were thrown into fire. The fights on the Kakhetian-Lezgin border as depicted by Strutyński seem macabre, but are probably true.

The seventh notebook of *Caucasian Notes* had a rather strange title: *On the Caucasian Origin of Poles*. The author refers to rather fantastic theories about the arrival of Poles from Caucasus put forward in the

<sup>30</sup> M. D. Bagirov, *K voprosu o kharaktere dvizenija miuridizma i Samila*, Moskva 1950, p. 10—32.

middle of XIX cent. by some scholars (eg. Ignacy Pietraszewski). They usually made conjectures about Poles being descendants of Lezgins. The name of their group, with a good deal of imagination on the side of the writer, could remind of the name of the Polish tribe — Lechici. Strutyński, feeling strong sympathy for Georgians, and strong aversion towards lezgins, put forward a still more fantastic theory. According to him the origin of Poles should be traced back to Lazas (the extreme south-western group of Georgians who are Islamists, and live now in the territory of Turkey). His argument in the field of toponymics is quite naive; apparent identity of a few geographical names in the territory of Georgia and Poland proved according to the author that Poles came to the region of the Vistula from the trans-Caucasian area. Strutyński's most crucial arguments that such national characteristics as bravery, hospitality, and regard for „the greatest families in the country”, displayed by both nations, prove their common origin are also rather strange. Those fantastic arguments look unfinished. Many pages had empty spaces, left for future completion. Margins were marked with question marks in different ink, either by the author or by someone who read this strange dissertation.

The last notebook, thinnest of all (only a few pages) was entitled *A Short History of the Roman-Catholic Parish in the Capital City of Tyllis*.

It contained short information about the history of the parish and a much longer description of a small catholic church which was in that town. A primitive plan of this church and its side and front view were attached to the notes.

*Caucasian Notes* by Strutyński were sort of „silva rerum”, a collection of various important things and trifles, written sometimes with great erudition, but sometimes with surprizing amateurishness. His lists of ruins and places where remains of archeological monuments had been are doubtless valuable, and so are legends connected with Georgian aristocratic families, and descriptions of their abodes and their life.

Juliusz Strutyński cannot be numbered either among outstanding writers or among research workers working according to scientific methods. He was also a man of definitely obscurantist political and social notions. However, he interests us as one of the first Polish writers who devoted such a great part of his literary output to Georgia, and as an author who wrote about the heroic Caucasian people with such obvious sympathy.

Department of Modern History of Poland,  
Institute of History, University of Łódź

Bohdan Baranowski

#### GRUZJA I GRUZINI W TWÓRCZOŚCI JULIUSZA STRUTYŃSKIEGO

W. drugim trzydziestoleciu XIX w. liczba Polaków przebywających na terenie Kaukazu była duża. Przeważnie byli to żołnierze przymusowo wcieleni do carskiej armii, często zaangażowani w politycznej działalności, których karnie wysyłano na Kaukaz. Sporo jednak było, szczególnie wśród oficerów, Polaków, którzy tam się udawali dobrowolnie.

Wśród Polaków przebywających wówczas na Kaukazie sporo było ludzi posiadających uzdolnienia literackie lub zainteresowania naukowe. Do nich zaliczyć również można Juliusza Strutyńskiego. Tak jak i wielu młodzieńców ze środowiska kosmopolitycznie nastawionej arystokracji wstąpił do carskiej służby wojskowej i przez szereg lat, do 1846 r. przebywał w Tyflisie (Tbilisi), jako adiutant tamtejszego generała gubernatora.

Strutyński posiadał pewne zdolności literackie oraz szerokie zainteresowania naukowe. Z prac tego autora poświęconych Gruzji na pierwsze miejsce wysunąć należy książkę wydaną w 1857 r. pt. *Kilka badań geologicznych i dziejowych Kaukazu*. Był to zbiór chaotycznie ułożonych informacji z zakresu geologii, geografii i historii Kaukazu. W 1855 r. wydał Strutyński książkę pt. *Miscellanea*, w której dał ciekawą charakterystykę gruzińskiej arystokracji, o której zresztą pisał z dużym uznaniem. Jednocześnie zaś zamieścił nieco informacji dotyczących stosunków gospodarczych Gruzji. Do tematyki kaukaskiej powrócił Strutyński w 1872 r. wydając książkę pt. *Obrazy z natury. Giuł Szada. Powieść wschodnia*. Były to dwie odrębne nowele. Bohaterami pierwszej z nich byli rosyjscy oficerowie z kaukaskich garnizonów. W noweli tej jednak podał Strutyński sporo materiału o życiu gruzińskiej arystokracji. Druga z nowel dotyczyła tematyki azerbejdżańsko-dagestańskiej.

Szereg niedokończonych szkiców Strutyńskiego nie zostało wydanych. Dotyczyły one geologii i geografii Gruzji, wykazu ruin i wykopalisk archeologicznych na terytorium tego kraju oraz Armenii, rozważań nad genealogią (i związanymi z nią legendami) arystokracji gruzińskiej, opisów pałaców i dworów gruzińskiej arystokracji, a także rozważań dotyczących powstania muzułmańskich górali Północnego Kaukazu i Dagestanu. Wreszcie wspomnieć trzeba o szkicu dotyczącym parafii rzymsko-katolickiej w Tyflisie.

Poglądy polityczne i społeczne Strutyńskiego były wyraźnie wsteczne. Zarazem jednak trzeba stwierdzić, że stosunki gruzińskie znał on bardzo dobrze i o kraju tym pisał z dużą erudycją.