

cilt
5

BALKANLARDA
İSLÂM
MİADI DOLMAYAN UMUT

İSLAM IN THE BALKANS
UNEXPIRED HOPE

KÖPRÜLER YIKAN ZİHNİYETİN YIKILIŞI
DEMOLISHING MENTALITY WHICH DEMOLISHES
BRIDGES

EDİTÖR
MUHAMMET SAVAŞ KAFKASYALI

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Turkish Influences in Islam of Polish-Lithuanian Tatars

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Summary

This paper provides an overview of how the Turks have been influencing religious practice of Polish-Lithuanian Tatars. It starts with an explanation of the terms and approach used – i.e. what is meant by Turkish influences, by Islam, and by the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars. This word of explanation is needed, since it is often hard to define the cultural origin or this or other cultural pattern, and moreover it could be Turkish, or Turkic. As for Islam, one has to bear in mind that some of beliefs which were adopted from Turkish people reach back to pre-Islamic times. Finally, out of many different terms, which define the Tatars who live on the territory of Poland, Lithuania and Belorussia, the widest one is that of Polish-Lithuanian Tatars.

Before going deeper and seek for Turkish traces in the Islam of Polish-Lithuanian Tatars two more remarks are made. Both are of historic character and aim to provide a framework in which religi-

ous influences can be analyzed. The first one refers to the history of Polish-Turkish relations, and the second – to the history of Tatar settlements in Poland. Political relations between Poland and Turkey are over 600 years long, and most of the time – except for several wars in the 17th century – were peaceful. Despite different religious foundations (Poland hoped to be the outpost of Christianity in Europe, while Turkey tried to build an Islamic empire) and contrary political interests in regards to outside territories, both states – Poland and Turkey – maintained nominally diplomatic relations followed by trade and cultural influences. On the Polish side the most significant one was the interest in the so called “Oriental lifestyle”, of which Ottoman Turkey was one of the richest and most visible cases.

The history of Tatar settlement in Poland is a bit longer than the history of Polish-Turkish relations as the first official records speak about the end of 14th century. The Tatars who settled in Poland came with the second wave of emigration from the Golden Orde. The Tatars earned a lot of privileges and the status of nobility and always have been loyal to the Polish state. The Islam of Polish-Lithuanian Tatars, from the early ages was heavily influenced by Crimean Khanate and Turkey. Both countries provided a framework, according to which, social and religious life was organized. In the 16th century mutual bonds were strengthened during the hajj at Mecca, or military relations. The contact between the Tatars and Turkey were particularly fruitful in the 16th and 17th century.

The main part of the paper reflects upon influences of Turkish origin in language and religious practice (both Islamic, and pre-Islamic) of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars. The complex history of Polish-Lithuanian Tatars is visible through the history of languages they used. While nowadays Tatars speak language of the mainstream society (i.e. Polish, Lithuanian, Belarusian, or other – depending on where they live), there are many linguistic influences of Turkic languages, as well as Arabic and Persian, in their religious literature, or their names.

The Tatars are Sunnis of Hanafi madhab, the one that prevailed in the Ottoman Empire and among other Turkic peoples. Thanks to the rich history and diverse ethnic origin Tatar Islam has been influenced by pre-Islamic Turkic traditions, as well as Christian religion. The Islamic core is in many aspects unique and founded around Turkic and Arabic influences. Since the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars

had always remained at the periphery of the world of Islam, with only limited contacts with mainstream Islamic civilisations, all these elements and influences evolved in a peculiar way, making many aspects of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars' Islam unique. At the same time the variety of influences makes it sometimes hard to appropriately define their origin. Especially in the case of the oldest examples of Tatar material and symbolic culture these different layers of cultural influences are placed on each other.

Turkish influences are visible in the names of the five obligatory prayers and two main Islamic holidays are called Ramadan Bajram (Turkish: Ramazan Bayramı) and Kurban Bajram (Turkish: Kurban Bayramı). There are also some influences in the burial practices including naming and grave inscriptions. Moreover, some of the Tatars religious literature was written in Ottoman Turkish.

Much more interesting seems to be the pre-Islamic customs and practices. This is not to say, that the Tatars are less Muslims, but to indicate that some of them are older than Islam itself. These include some of muhirs (those which are believed to have protective function), magical practices (healing and protection, using the power of Arabic words, as well as oritomancy). Tatars inherited some other elements of Sufi practices, especially from the mystical kabbalistic Hurûfilik order. The high esteem to selected religious figures (in the case of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars it is Ewlija Kontuś, whose grave is the place of local pilgrimages) is also inherited from Sufis. Many pre-Islamic elements are also visible in the burial practices.

Polonya-Litvanya Tatarları Üzerinde Türk İslam Etkileri

Özet

Bu bildiride Türklerin Polonyalı-Litvanyalı Tatarları dini uygulamaları nasıl etkiledikleri ile ilgili genel bakış sunulmaktadır. Çalışma kullanılan terminolojinin ve yaklaşımın izah edilmesi ile başlamaktadır – Türk etkisi, İslam ve Polonyalı-Litvanyalı Tatarları ile ne kastedilmektedir. Bu anlatım gerekli çünkü kültürel kökenin veya bu veya başka kültürel şeklin anlaşılması genellikle zor ve ayrıca Türk veya Türki olabilir. İslam açısından da Türklerden alınan bazı inançların İslam öncesi zamana kadar uzandığı unutulmamalıdır. Son olarak da birçok farklı terminoloji arasında Polonya, Litvanya ve Beyaz Rusya topraklarında yaşayan Tatarları tanımlayan en geniş kapsamlı ifade Polonyalı-Litvanyalı Tatarlarıdır.

Polonyalı-Litvanyalı Tatarlara ait İslam'da derinlemesine Türk izleri aramadan önce iki yorumun yapılması gerekmektedir. Her ikisi de tarihi özelliğe haiz olup dini etkilerin analiz edilmesini sağlayan bir

çerçeve sunmaya yöneliktir. Birincisi Polonya-Türk ilişkilerinin tarihine atıfta bulunmaktadır ve ikincisi Polonya'nın Tatar yerleşimlerinin tarihi ile ilgilidir. Polonya ve Türkiye arasındaki siyasi ilişkilerin 600 yıla aşkın süredir devam etmekte ve 17. yüzyılında gerçekleşen birkaç savaş haricinde genellikle barışçıl bir şekilde sürdürülmüştür. Farklı dini temellere rağmen (Polonya Avrupa'da Hristiyanlığının ileri karakolu olmayı düşlerken Türkiye İslami imparatorluk kurmanın peşindeydi) ve harici topraklar konusunda zıt siyasi menfaatleri olsa da iki devlet – Polonya ve Türkiye - sözde diplomatik ilişkileri ve ticari ve kültürel etkileşimleri sürdürmekteydi. Polonya açısından Osmanlı Türkiye'nin en zengin ve en görünür vaka olan 'Şark yaşam tarzı'na duyulan ilgi önemliydi.

Polonya'da Tatarların yerleşiminin tarihi ilk resmi kayıtlara göre Polonya-Türk ilişkilerinden biraz daha eski olup 14. yüzyılına kadar uzanıyordu. Polonya'ya yerleşen Tatarlar Altın Orda Devleti'nden gerçekleşen ikinci göç dalgası ile gelmişler. Tatarlar birçok imtiyaz ve soyluluk statüsü kazanmışlar ve her zaman Polonya devletine sadık kalmışlar. Erken dönemde Polonya-Litvanya Tatarların İslam'ı Kırım Hanlığı ve Türkiye'den önemli ölçüde etkilenmiştir. Sosyal ve dini yaşam her iki ülkenin verdiği çerçeveye göre düzenleniyordu. 16. yüzyılda ortak bağlar Mekke'ye yapılan hac veya askeri ilişkilerle güçlendirildi. Tatarlar ve Türkiye arasındaki temaslar özellikle 16. ve 17. yüzyılda verimliydi.

Bildirinin büyük bir kısmı Polonya-Litvanyalı Tatarların dili ve dini uygulamalarına intikal eden etkileri veya Türk kökenini yansıtmaktadır (hem İslami hem İslam öncesini). Polonya-Litvanyalı Tatarların karmaşık tarihi tarih boyunca kullandıkları dillerden anlaşılmaktadır. Her ne kadar günümüzde Tatarlar genel toplumsal dili konuşsalar da (örneğin Lehçe, Litvanca, Belarusaça veya diğerleri – ikamet ettikleri yere göre) dini literatürlerinde veya isimlerde Türki dillerinin ve Arapça ve Farsçadan intikal eden birçok dilsel etki mevcuttur.

Tatarlar Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve diğer Türki halkları arasında yaygın olan Sünni Hanefi mezhebine aittir. Zengin tarihi ve çeşitli etnik kökeninden dolayı Tatarların İslam'ı hem İslam öncesi Türki gelenekleri hem Hristiyan dininden etkilenmişti. İslam'ın özü birçok açıdan benzersiz ve Türki ve Arap etkileri çevresinde oluşturulmuştur. Polonyalı-Litvanyalı Tatarlar her daim İslam dünyasının çevresinde ve genel toplum tercihi İslam medeniyeti olanlarla sınırlı temasları olduğundan bütün bu unsurlar ve etkiler acayip bir şekil-

de bir evrimden geçerek Polonyalı-Litvanyalı Tatarların İslam dinini birçok yönden benzersiz kılmıştır. Aynı zamanda etkilerin çeşitliliğinden dolayı bazen kökenlerin uygun bir şekilde tanımlanması zor olabilir. Özellikle en eski Tatar materyalleri ve simgesel kültür örnekleri söz konusu olduğunda farklı kültürel etkileri katmanlar halinde üst üste binmiştir.

Türk etkileri beş farz namazın isimlerinde ve iki başlıca İslami bayramın adında kendini göstermektedir (Ramadan Bajram Türkçesi: Ramazan Bayramı ve Kurban Bajram (Türkçesi: Kurban Bayramı). Defin işlemleri, isimlendirme ve mezar yazıtları konusunda da bazı etkiler görülmektedir. Ayrıca Tatarlara ait bazı dini literatür eserleri Osmanlı Türkçesi ile yazılmıştır.

İslam öncesi gelenekler ve uygulamalar sanki daha ilginçtir. Bu Tatarların daha az Müslüman oldukları anlamına gelmediği gibi bazıların İslam'dan eski olduklarını göstermektedir. Bunların arasında bazı muhirleri (koruyucu işlevi olduğu inanılan), sihirli uygulamaları (Arapça kelimelerinin gücünü kullanılarak yapılan iyileştirme ve koruma) vardır. Tatarlar Sufilikten ve özellikle mistik kabalistik Hurufelik düzeninden bazı unsurları almışlar. Seçilmiş dini figürlerle karşı yüksek saygı (Polonyalı-Litvanyalı Tatarlar açısından bu mezarı yerel hac yeri olan Evliya Kontus'tur) da Sufilerden miras kalmıştır. Birçok İslam öncesi unsur defin işlemlerinde görünmektedir.

Introduction

Every single term in this title is a challenge. Therefore a word of explanation is needed already in the introductory section.

First of all, what is meant by “Turkish influences”? Theoretically they could be easily distinguishable, provided they referred to Turkish folklore, or, let’s say, Kemalism. But as they refer to Islam, the problem arises, due to the joint umbrella of beliefs and symbols which is shared by all Muslims. While there are differences in practices and other details, the core remains more or less the same. How to define a Turkish influence against Arabic influence, or – to make it even more problematic – Turkic influence? And who was the first – in other words, who influenced whom, and who was merely a recipient of the influence?

The second challenge refers to Islam itself. Regardless of practices and doctrine which is definitely Islamic, there is quite a number of practices and beliefs, which originate from the pre-Islamic era which were adopted by Polish-Lithuanian Tatars. Moreover, these practices and beliefs were introduced to them by the Turks. Therefore, even if they are not Islamic, they are a testimony of Turkic influences.

The last challenge has to do with the term “Polish-Lithuanian Tatars”. These people have been called by different names including: Polish Tatars, Lithuanian Tatars, or Belarussian Tatars, and sometimes this discrepancy resulted in severe arguments between the scholars. Till the end of the 19th century Tatars have been living mostly on the territory of the Great Duchy of Lithuania, and so the proper name was “Lithuanian Tatars”. In was only at the beginning of the 19th century when those, who have been living in Poland, were referred to as the Polish Tatars¹. This should theoretically be reflected in the labels, however it could bring confusion, whether Polish and Lithuanian Tatars are the same population, as well as an additional challenge of tracing all the data chronologically in order to determine, whether it was before or after the 19th century. While I will mostly refer to an ethnic and religious group which considers themselves as autochthonous Polish population, I am going to use the name of Polish-Lithuanian Tatars² as a wider, and therefore safer term.

Before going deeper and seek for Turkish traces in the Islam of Polish-Lithuanian Tatars two more remarks have to be made. Both are of historic character and aim to provide a framework in which religious influences can be analyzed. The first one refers to the history of Polish-Turkish relations, and the second – to the history of Tatar settlements in Poland. Both are going to be relatively short, especially since there already is a vast literature on these topics³.

1 Paweł Borawski and Andrzej Dubiński, *Tatarzy Polscy. Dzieje, obrzędy, legendy, tradycje*, Warszawa, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Iskry, 1986, p. 5.

2 Czesław Łapicz suggests that the only proper name is „Lithuanian Tatars”. Some other authors, e.g. Marek Dziekan, use a wider term – Polish-Lithuanian Tatars – which encompasses both: the historical background, and the contemporary state of the art; see – Czesław Łapicz, *Kitab Tatarów Liteusko-Polskich*, Toruń, Uniwersytet im. Mikołaja Kopernika, 1986, p. 21.

3 Mostly in Polish language. For English see e.g.: Marek Dziekan, “History and culture of Polish-Lithuanian Tatars”, Katarzyna Górak-Sosnowska (ed.), *Islam in Poland and Eastern Europe. Widening the European Discourse on Islam*, Warszawa, Uniwersytet Warszawski, 2011, p. 27–39.

Relations between Poland and Turkey – a short overview

The formal beginning of Polish-Turkish relations dates back to the early 15th century, as in 1414 Skarbek from Góra and Grzegorz Ormianin became official Polish envoys in the Ottoman Empire. In the very beginning, the relations were peaceful most of the time, even though there were some severe episodes of wars and conflicts. Poland and Turkey were enemies, as by the end of the 15th century, when the army of king Jan Olbracht was ultimately defeated in Moldavian Bukovina (1497), and over a decade of the 17th century when they fought three regular wars (1620–1621, 1672–1676 and 1683–1699).

The reasons of these wars were in fact not directly involving any of the parties. It were the Tatar and Cossack raids, which annoyed Poland and Turkey respectively, as well as their joint growing interests in Moldavia, which resulted in a clash of interests. Another reason was the changed role of the Habsburg Empire, which from a mutual enemy of Poles and Turks, gradually has been becoming befriended with Poland. The time of war ultimately ended with the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699 which in fact marked the phase of decline of the Ottomans, as they lost vast territory in Eastern and South Eastern Europe⁴. As the matter of fact it was less than a century when the Partition of Poland started⁵.

Even though Polish territory has been gradually divided from 1772 up to 1795 by three European powers – Russian Empire, Kingdom of Prussia and the Habsburg Austria, in result of which Poland ceased to exist for 123 years – Turkey maintained friendly relations with Poles. Many Polish people, especially after the failures of national uprisings, had fled to the Middle East, and Turkey was one of the top destinations. Polish Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, the chairman on the Polish National Uprising Government founded in 1842 a village of Polonezköy (Polish name: Adampol) in the outskirts of Istanbul⁶. He also formed a Polish legion that supported the Turkish army during the Crimean War against Russia⁷. After getting back its independence Poland soon fell under the Soviet umbrella, what limited mutual relations. Currently both countries maintain friendly political relations, even though it translates only into modest cooperation.

4 Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, “A Historical Outline of Polish-Ottoman Political and Diplomatic Relations (1414–1795)”, *Distant Neighbour Close Memories. 600 Years of Turkish-Polish Relations*, Warsaw, National Museum of Warsaw, 2014, p. 18–23.

5 Wojciech Hensel goes even further in comparing the histories of the both countries. Poland and Turkey had their best time as established empires in 15–16th century and they both started to weaken by the 16–17th century. At the same time they differed in their political organization (centrist in the case of Turkey, and focused on individual freedoms as in the case of Poland), and dominating religion. It is maybe due to these differences, that despite the years of formal peace these two powers had not learned each other well enough to avoid mutual losses – see: Wojciech Hensel, “Stosunki polsko-tureckie XV–XVIII wieku”, *Orient w sztuce polskiej*, Kraków, Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 1992, p. 39–40.

6 Polonezköy was an asylum for those who participated in the November Uprising (1830–1831) as well as Polish fugitives and captives who were forcefully incorporated into the Russian army. More about the village at: Marzena Godzinska and Dariusz Cichocki, *Adampol–Polonezköy. Między polskością a tureckością*, Warszawa, Uniwersytet Warszawski, 2006.

7 Zdzisław Żygulski, „O polskim orientalizmie”, *Orient w sztuce polskiej*, Kraków, Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 1992, p. 14.

Despite different religious foundations (Poland hoped to be the outpost of Christianity in Europe, while Turkey tried to build an Islamic empire) and contrary political interests in regards to outside territories, both states – Poland and Turkey – maintained nominally diplomatic relations followed by trade and cultural influences. On the Polish side the most significant one was the interest in the so called “Oriental lifestyle”, of which Ottoman Turkey was one of the richest and most visible cases.

Polish interest in so called Orient peaked in the 17th century and was the bright side of Polish-Turkish wars. It was then and there, that Polish military men had a chance to discover Oriental culture. The Oriental lifestyle was reflected in the way Poles dressed, furnished their houses, as well as in items they used – predominantly arms and harness⁸. Oriental luxury goods were imported and eagerly bought by Polish magnates. In this time Poles discovered their passion for coffee, and so the first coffee shop was opened by Franciszek Kulczycki translator of Oriental languages who participated in the siege of Vienna in 1683⁹. It was fashionable to have a Turkish serviceperson at manor house, especially in the case of the high class nobility, who could afford one. Even the king Stanisław August Poniatowski has had a Turkish servant. As a matter of fact under his rule the so called “scientific Orientalism” started. He founded the School of Oriental Languages for Poles in Istanbul. A century earlier witnesses the attempts to translate Qur’an into Polish and publishing of the first Turkish dictionary (*Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium, Turcicae, Arabicae, Persicae* by Franciszek Meniński)¹⁰.

“Oriental” influences in general, and Turkish in particular, translated into the notion of Sarmatism. This term refers to a complex and diverse cultural concept reflected in ideas, art, dresses, and lifestyle, and developed by Polish nobility. It is not to say that Sarmatism had actually to do with the real Middle Eastern culture. It was rather a reflection of how certain cultural patterns were interpreted and used. In practical terms Sarmatism was predominantly visible in Turkish-styled esthetics – maybe not turbans, as they would too closely resemble Turks, but for instance *dolmans* (pol. *dołman*) wyjaśnić – also of Turkish origin, but brought from Hungary, and were widely used¹¹.

Over 600 years of Tatar history in Poland – another very short overview

The history of Tatar settlement in Poland is a bit longer than the history of Polish-Turkish relations as the first official records speak about the end of 14th century.

8 More at: Beata Biedrońska-Słota, “Turkish Textiles in Poland: Function and Role in Polish-Turkish Relations”, *Distant Neighbour Close Memories. 600 Years of Turkish-Polish Relations*, Warsaw, National Museum of Warsaw, 2014, p. 86–95.

9 Arkadiusz Kołodziejczyk, *Rozprawy i studia z dziejów Tatarów litewsko-polskich i islamu w Polsce w XVII–XX wieku*, Siedlce, Instytut Historii Wyższej Szkoły Rolniczo-Pedagogicznej w Siedlcach, 1997, p. 20

10 Joanna Kulwicka-Kamińska and Ireneusz Kamiński, *Islam po polsku*, Poznań, Wydawnictwo św. Wojciecha, 2007, s. 80. Meniński authored also a volume on Osman-Turkish grammar.

11 Z. Żygułski, op. cit., p. 10.

In the beginning the Tatars settled down only in the Great Duchy of Lithuania. They were the invited there in order to fight against the Teutonic Knights. These new settlers were treated with respect and so could maintain their cultural identity. Most of them were pagans and this was a significant incentive to leave the Golden Orde. At the end of the day they were Christianized by force, just as the rest of Lithuanians, by the king Władysław Jagiełło at the end of 14th century, and so they melted into the mainstream society¹².

The Tatars who settled in Poland came with the second wave of emigration from the Golden Orde, which was ultimately defeated by the beginning of 16th century. They still had the fame of being good soldiers, and could have been used against the Teutonic Knights¹³. The Tatars earned a lot of privileges and the status of nobility. Except for one incident of economic background – the rebellion of Lipka Tatars, who had not received their pay in 1672–1674) – the Tatars have always been loyal to the Polish state¹⁴.

The 16th century brought intensified contacts between the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars and the Ottoman Empire, as the latter expanded its territory to the Balkans and beyond to the Crimea. This way the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars became indirectly influenced by Ottoman culture, as the Crimean Tatars provided a link. Moreover, Polish-Lithuanian Tatars had an opportunity to get some Turkish skills on their pilgrimage to Mecca, as the way led through Anatolia. Also important were contacts with Sufi branches, especially Bektashiyya¹⁵. It was also the time, when due to religious intolerance, the situation of the Tatars deteriorated. They were forbidden to build new mosques, renovate the old ones, and marry Christian wives¹⁶. This new reality was the result of wars between Poland and Turkey rather than reaction to any particular misbehavior of the local Tatar population. Unfortunately for them İslam was associated with the Turkish enemies¹⁷. and Tatars became only the recipients of politically inspired anti-Islamic rhetoric¹⁸.

12 J. Kulwicka-Kamińska, I. Kamiński, op. cit., s. 114–115. However, in geographical terms there are no historical traces that any Tatars from the first wave actually settled in the Polish territory. The name Polish-Lithuanian Tatars is valid only due to the common territory and shared cultural framework – see: C. Łapicz, op. cit., p. 18.

13 J. Kulwicka-Kamińska, I. Kamiński, op. cit., p. 115.

14 They used to call the kings from Jagiellonian dynasty *biali chanowie*, ‘white khans’, what on one side indicates Turkish influences (white color was a symbol of independence), and on the other – their loyalty and respect to these kings – see: Stanisław Kryczyński, *Tatarzy litewscy. Próba monografii historyczno-etnograficznej*, “Rocznik Tatarów Polskich”, vol. 5, Gdańsk 1998–1999, p. 60.

15 Tadeusz Majda, „Osmanizacja pisanego języka Tatarów polsko-litewskich”, Joanna Kulwicka-Kamińska and Czesław Łapicz (eds.), *Tatarzy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w historii, języku i kulturze*, Toruń, Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 2013, p. 204–205.

16 C. Łapicz, op. cit., p. 28.

17 Selim Chazbijewicz, „Islam i Tatarzy w literaturze polskiej”, *Tatarzy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w historii, języku i kulturze*, Joanna Kulwicka-Kamińska and Czesław Łapicz (eds.), *Tatarzy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w historii, języku i kulturze*, Toruń, Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 2013, p. 310.

18 As the matter of fact the same happens to the Muslims in Poland nowadays. The dominant anti-Islamic discourse is of transplanted nature, i.e. basing on the negative media information about Muslims in the world, and especially Western Europe, Poles build their image of Islam and transpose it onto local Muslim population (both Tatar and immigrant) – more at: Katarzyna Górak-Sosnowska, *Deconstructing Islamophobia in Poland. Story of an Internet group*, Warsaw, University of Warsaw, 2014.

After the Partition of Poland Tatars actively supported all uprisings with their manpower. After Poland got back its independence in 1918 the number of Tatars never reached back the previous highest level (in the 16th century it was, according to some estimates, they numbered 200 thousand people); only a handful of people remained – around 6 thousand by 1918, and around 3–5 thousand at present time¹⁹. Only in the 1920's the first religious organization of the Tatars was established – the Muslim Religious Union (in Polish: Muzułmański Związek Religijny) – which around a decade later was officially acknowledged as the formal representative of Muslims in Poland. As a matter of fact Polish-Lithuanian Tatars have been the only Muslims in Poland until the mid-20th century.

The Islam of Polish-Lithuanian Tatars, from the early ages was heavily influenced by Crimean Khanate and Turkey. Both countries provided a framework, according to which, social and religious life was organized. In the 16th century mutual bonds were strengthened during the *hajj* at Mecca, or military relations²⁰. The contact between the Tatars and Turkey were particularly fruitful in the 16th and 17th century. Then Turkish '*ulama*' came to Poland to share their religious knowledge and acted as *imams*. Tatars could benefit from the knowledge of these '*ulama*' since they lacked skills in Arabic, and moreover they were allowed to invite foreign *imams*²¹. The same applies to *mollas*; some of them were locally trained – as it was possible since mid-16th century – and some others trained abroad, mostly in Crimea and Turkey. In cases of severe disputes the *mufti* of Istanbul was consulted²². A lot of religious literature, including Qur'an, was brought to Poland from Crimea and Turkey. The oldest *kitab*s (Tatar religious literature, see below) of the 17th century Polish-Lithuanian Tatars were clearly inspired by Turkish religious literature²³.

This changed with the partition of Poland, when Polish-Lithuanian Tatars were cut off from the Turkish influence and at the same time started to share the same country with the Tatars of Crimea and Kazan²⁴. While most *imams* and *muezzins* were educated in local parishes, some of them were still brought from abroad, mostly from Turkey or Crimea²⁵. These several centuries of Turkish-Tatar relations (within and beyond the Polish-Turkish relations) translated into influences on Tatar language and religious practices – both Islamic and pre-Islamic. All these three areas will be analyzed below.

19 J. Kulwicka-Kamińska, I. Kamiński, op. cit., p. 117.

20 Leon Bohdanowicz, Selim Chazbijewicz and Jan Tyszkiewicz, *Tatarzy muzułmanie w Polsce*, Gdańsk, Niezależne Wydawnictwo Rocznik Tatarów Polskich, 1997, p. 17.

21 P. Borawski, A. Dubiński, op. cit., p. 111.

22 Before that religious affairs were handled by a religious court chaired by the *Qadi* of the Tatars of the Great Duchy of Lithuania – see: A. Kołodziejczyk, op. cit., p. 15.

23 Jan Tyszkiewicz, *Z historii Tatarów polskich 1794–1944*, Pułtusk, Wyższa Szkoła Humanistyczna w Pułtusk, 1998, p. 60.

24 L. Bohdanowicz, S. Chazbijewicz, J. Tyszkiewicz, op. cit., p. 61.

25 Ali Miśkiewicz and Janusz Kamocki, *Tatarzy słowiańszczyzną obłaskawieni*, Kraków, Universitas 2004, p. 112.

The language

The complex history of Polish-Lithuanian Tatars is visible through the history of languages they used. While nowadays Tatars speak language of the mainstream society (i.e. Polish, Lithuanian, Belarusian, or other – depending on where they live), there are many linguistic influences of Turkic languages, as well as Arabic and Persian, in their religious literature, or their names²⁶.

It seems that this linguistic variety has two main reasons. The first one is the origin of the Tatars – as they settled down in Poland they have never constituted a homogenous group and so spoke different native languages. The second one was the peripheral location of the Tatars – they were subjected to a variety of influences of different Islamic cultures, and at the same time assimilated some of Slavic and Christian customs from the mainstream society. All these influences make it hard to trace the layers of all the languages used in Tatar religious literature, especially since they were used quite freely and not always with a consequence. This made a SOAS-based researcher Shireen Akiner to speak about “phonological anarchy” while analyzing one of Tatar *kitab*s²⁷.

According to Stanisław Kryczyński, Polish ethnologist who worked on Tatars, the earliest language spoken by the Tatars was Chagatai, which was the *lingua franca* of the Golden Orde (even though they spoke different dialects). Tatars spoke also a variety of different native languages, which are believed to be mostly Kipchak dialects. Lack of linguistic unity is believed to be one of the most significant reasons for the Tatars to adopt local Slavic languages. Another reason were endogamous marriages with Slavic females, as well as their military service. The last reason is often neglected in studies of Tatar linguistic assimilation, even though the army consisted of different ethnic groups and strengthened solidarity between the soldiers²⁸.

The beginning of 16th century brought intensified contacts with Turkey, and so Osman language ousted the dominant Chagatai and Kipchak position. At the same time there was basic Arabic vocabulary used in religious liturgy which the Tatars kept as an inherent part of their religious heritage. However, as some of

26 The Tatars used to have a first name followed by a patronim. Their diversity reflects the different historical influences. Most of the old names had Tatar or Turkic origin. Turkic names, similarly to Arabic and Persian ones, often indicated religious identity of their owner, and so were used not only by the Tatars, but also by Turkic people, as well as non-Turkic Muslims such as Bosniaks or Cherkess. Slavic names were also used as early as in 15th century and in three centuries outnumbered Tatars ones. Turkic influences can be traced mostly in the last names such as Czymbajewicz or Dzianajewicz. Suffix *-icz*, which in Polish indicates the last name of patrimonial origin refers to the Turkish *oğlu* or Arabic *ibn* – See: Henryk Jankowski, “Immiennictwo Tatarów litewsko-polsko-białoruskich”, Joanna Kulwicka-Kamińska and Czesław Łapicz (eds.), *Tatarzy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w historii, języku i kulturze*, Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, Toruń 2013, p. 151, 154.

27 Shireen Akiner, *Religious Language of a Belarusian Tatar Kitab: A Cultural Monument of Islam in Europe*, Wiesbaden Harrassowitz, 2009, p. 339.

28 Artur Konopacki, *Życie religijne Tatarów na ziemiach Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w XVI–XIX wieku*, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2010, p. 56.

Arabic words came to the Tatars through Turkey, they tend to pronounce them in a Turkish way²⁹.

Turkic influences are clearly visible in the way the Tatars pronounce Arabic words. According to their language tendency they often pronounce “a” as an “e”, and “l” as an “w”. Moreover, the language of Crimean Tatars has a tendency of softening the sounds (and so it is *bieriekiet* instead of *barakat*). Interestingly it has often been argued, that softening is the result of Slavic linguistic influences, rather than Turkic. Summing up these two tendencies for instance the *takbir*, “Al-lahu akbar” is pronounced as “Ewwahu ekbier”³⁰.

The earliest Tatar literature was written in Turkic languages, mostly Kipchak dialects, with some Uygur and Oghuz influences. This type of language remained in writing till the 16th century. However, by the end of this century literature in Ottoman Turkish started to emerge. Intense contacts of Polish-Lithuanian Tatars and Turks brought to Eastern Europe manuscripts in Ottoman Turkish, which were copied and distributed. Some of this literature was later translated into Polish or Belarussian (or a mix), what indicates that Ottoman Turkish was not widely understood among the Tatars³¹.

Stanisław Kryczyński prepared a list of Turkish, as well as Arabic and Persian words with Turkish suffixes, which were in use by the Tatars in the 20th century. They include e.g. *hodży* (‘teacher of religion’, from Ottoman *hoga*), or *jastyk* (‘pillow’ from Osman *jastyk*). Some phrases build quite a sophisticated mixture such as: *biesz wacht namaz* (‘five times of prayer’ from: *biesz* > *bes* in Ottoman, ‘five’; *wacht* > *waqt*, Arabic ‘time’, *namaz*, Persian for ‘prayer’)³². Some words are a clear mixture of Arabic and Turkish – e.g. *faldżej*, which comes from Arabic *fal* (‘omen’) and Turkish *-ci*, which has been modified to *-dży* > *-dżej*, according to Belarussian way of pronunciation. *Faldżej* was a quack or diviner, who were able to provide prophecies, forecasts, heal, or even cast spells. They used a special book called *chamaił*³³ *faldżejski*, which contained most popular prayers and some healing perscriptions³⁴.

Islamic practices

The Tatars are Sunnis of Hanafi *madhab*, the one that prevailed in the Ottoman Empire and among other Turkic peoples. Thanks to the rich history and diverse

29 S. Kryczyński, op. cit., p. 202.

30 L. Bohdanowicz, S. Chazbijewicz, J. Tyszkiewicz, op. cit., p. 51.

31 T. Majda, op. cit., p. 206.

32 S. Kryczyński, op. cit., p. 204.

33 *Chamaił* is a small book containing a collection of prayers written in Arabic or Old Turkish with comments in Polish or Belarussian. *Chamai faldżejski* is just one of the types of *chamaił*. Other include *chamaił moliński* – for an *Imam*, or just a *chamaił* – for any individual – see: J. Tyszkiewicz, *Z historii Tatarów polskich 1794-1944...*, op. cit., p. 64.

34 L. Bohdanowicz, S. Chazbijewicz, J. Tyszkiewicz, op. cit., p. 59.

ethnic origin Tatar Islam has been influenced by pre-Islamic Turkic traditions, as well as Christian religion. The Islamic core is in many aspects unique and founded around Turkic and Arabic influences. Since the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars had always remained at the periphery of the world of Islam, with only limited contacts with mainstream Islamic civilisations, all these elements and influences evolved in a peculiar way, making many aspects of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars' Islam unique. At the same time the variety of influences makes it sometimes hard to appropriately define their origin. Especially in the case of the oldest examples of Tatar material and symbolic culture these different layers of cultural influences are placed on each other.

Turkish influences are visible in the names of the five obligatory prayers. The Morning Prayer is *sabah namaz* (from Turkish *sabah namazı*), the midday zuhur prayer is called *eule* (from Turkish *öğle*), followed by the afternoon asr prayer, which is called *ekinde* (from Turkish *ikindi*), Maghrib prayer, after the sunset called *achszam* (from Turkish *akşam*), and the last one, 'isha, called *jetcy* (from Turkish *yatsı*)³⁵. Each prayer ought to be preceded by an obligatory ablution called *abdes* (from Turkish *aptes*), or *gusiel* (Turkish *güsül*) – if needed³⁶. Apart from the obligatory prayers, there are also other prayers, *du'as* of Arabic or Turkish origin³⁷. Some of them were titled and commented in Polish or Belarussian.

Two main Islamic holidays are called *Ramadan Bajram* (Turkish: *Ramazan Bayramı*) and *Kurban Bajram* (Turkish: *Kurban Bayramı*). The first one is celebrated at the end of the holy month of Ramadan. The Tatars pray in the mosques (traditionally in Bohoniki and Kruszyniany, as well as in the parish house in the city of Białystok), then they visit their deceased relatives at local *mizars*, while in the afternoon they spent the time together. Tatar celebration of *Ramadan Bajram* has been adjusted to Slavic and Catholic realities. Fasting refers usually to not eating pork, smoking, or drinking alcohol, in case of those who consume them, as well as restraining from sexual acts. Only few Tatars decide not to eat or drink during the whole month of Ramadan³⁸. *Kurban Bajram* is also celebrated at local mosques and an animal – an ox or a ram – is ritually slaughtered, and its meat is distributed among the believers³⁹. Many Tatars engage then in charitable activity – e.g. support of a poor relative, or other kind of help to those in need⁴⁰.

35 J. Kulwicka-Kamińska, I. Kamiński, op. cit., s. 131.

36 Marek Dziekan, *Religia Tatarów polsko-litewskich*, Andrzej Drozd, Marek Dziekan and Tadeusz Majda, *Meczetny i cmentarze Tatarów polsko-litewskich*, Warszawa, Res Publica Multiethnica, 1999, p. 9.

37 One of them is a purpose-based prayer, *dua teubiejne* ('penitential', from Turkish *tevbe*, 'repentance') – see: A. Drozd, "Piśmiennictwo Tatarów polsko-litewskich (XVI-XX w.). Zarys problematyki", In: Andrzej Drozd, Marek Dziekan and Tadeusz Majda, *Piśmiennictwo i muhiry Tatarów Polsko-Litewskich*, Warszawa, Res Publica Multiethnica, 2000, p. 30.

38 A. Miśkiewicz, J. Kamocki, op. cit., p. 194.

39 Ali Miśkiewicz, *Tatarska legenda. Tatarzy polscy 1945–1990*, Białystok, Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1993, p. 53.

40 M. Dziekan, *Religia Tatarów polsko-litewskich...*, op. cit., p. 11.

Tatars used to call their cementaries *zirec* (from the Tatar word *ziyarät*), but around 18th/19th century the name changed into another word of Osman provenance – *mizar* (from Turkish *mezar*)⁴¹. After the burial the family of the deceased invites the mourners for a dinner, where the *surah* Ja Sin (called *jasień* by Polish-Lithuanian Tatars) is read 40 times in order to bring peace to the deceased. The *surah* is read by a lector, what is a common practice in the non-Arabic part of the Islamic world, e.g. by the Turks and other nations speaking Turkic languages⁴². The reason behind inviting a lector is a practical one, as most of the Tatars know only basic Arabic.

While most of the elements of grave inscriptions were written in Polish or Arabic, the wishing part was often written in Turkish. Grave inscription consists of two or three parts. The first part is a religious one – most often the *shahada*, written in Arabic. The second part provides information on the deceased, such as the first name, surname and the date of death, and is usually written in Polish, although some variations exist. The third part is a facultative one and refers to the wishes for the deceased. The most popular phrase here is the Turkish one: *Alläh ra met eyleye* ('God, have a mercy on him')⁴³.

The grave had to be deep enough, so that the deceased theoretically could sit in it. This rule was introduced to the Tatars by Osman Turks⁴⁴. This custom refers to the meeting with Nakir and Munkar – the two angels, who will meet all deceased in the Judgement Day and ask them about their good and bad deeds. The depth of the grave should enable its owner to greet the angels in a sitting position.

Some of the Tatar liturgical books⁴⁵ containing religious texts and prayers (so called *kitab*s) were written in Ottoman Turkish using Arabic script. It was however only a tiny minority, as most of them were written in Belorussian or Polish (also with Arabic script adjusted to Slavic languages)⁴⁶. *Kitabs* is the most popular type of Tatar religious writing⁴⁷. They are multilingual, but all languages were written in Arabic script adjusted to the sounds of these languages. It has always been written by hand, since the early beginning, by the end of 15th century till mid-20th century. There were two reasons for that: one was the lack of printing facilities, which could produce Arabic script; the other one was the great respect

41 Andrzej Drozd, „Cmentarze Tatarów polsko-litewskich”, Andrzej Drozd, Marek Dziekan and Tadeusz Majda, *Meczet i cmentarze Tatarów polsko-litewskich*, Warszawa, Res Publica Multiethnica, 1999, p. 20.

42 L. Bohdanowicz, S. Chazbijewicz, J. Tyszkiewicz, op. cit., p. 68.

43 A. Drozd, *Cmentarze Tatarów polsko-litewskich*, op. cit., p. 24.

44 A. Kołodziejczyk, op. cit., p. 178. Interestingly this custom has sometimes been misunderstood, or rather misrepresented, and so it was believed that the Tatars place the body in the grave in a sitting position.

45 More on Tatar religious literature at: Janusz Danecki, *Literature of Polish Tatars*, Katarzyna Górak-Sosnowska (ed.), *Muslims in Poland and Eastern Europe. Widening the European Discourse on Islam*, Warszawa, Uniwersytet Warszawski, 2011, p. 40–51.

46 A. Kołodziejczyk, op. cit., p. 15.

47 Other basic types of religious literature include: the Qur'an, *tefsir*, and *chamaik*. More at: A. Drozd, „Piśmiennictwo Tatarów polsko-litewskich (XVI–XX w.)...”, op. cit., p. 12.

of the Tatars to Arabic language⁴⁸. *Kitab* was the main source of religious knowledge of the Tatars and its content varied and depended on the invention and approach of the author: it could be a story about some personality from Islamic history, hadiths, normative pieces with moral, elements of shari'ah, comments to Qur'an, etc⁴⁹.

Pre-Islamic influences

As already mentioned next to Islamic influences there were also some other rooted in pre-Islamic customs and practices. This is not to say, that the Tatars are less Muslims, but to indicate that some of them are older than Islam itself. It is sometimes hard to distinguish the Islamic and pre-Islamic part, just as in the case of the rain prayer. As Marek Dziekan reports this kind of prayer has been known among Arabs as *salat al-istiska* and owns its existence to the pre-Islamic rites. Interestingly the Tatars sacrificed a black goat while praying, what is a custom originating from Turkey. This way three different religious traditions mix: old Arabic, old Turkish and Islamic⁵⁰.

Sometimes the same aspect of material culture could be used in Islamic and pre-Islamic way. This was the case of *muhirs*. The word *muhir* comes from a Turkish word *mühür*, 'seal'. They usually hang next to a shelf where Qur'an and other religious literature is placed. *Muhir* is a type of art – a painting, but also a relief, or type of installation, as long as it can fit into a frame – which is hanged on a wall. The grid is made of wood or cardboard, covered with a cloth and framed. It contains Islamic calligraphy, usually verses from the Qur'an, names of Prophet Muhammad and his family members, *shahadah*, or *basmala*. These inscriptions can be painted, or embroiled, depending on the skills of the author. The background is covered by geometric figures, floral ornaments, or paintings of important mosques from the Islamic world⁵¹. The design of the *muhirs* and their placement resembled in a way the significance of religious symbolic by Christians in the Eastern part of Poland⁵². Just like the Christians had their religious pictures, Tatars had their *muhirs*.

Muhirs have aesthetic, religious and protective function. They decorate the houses, they show the religiosity of their owners, and they are also were supposed to protect them e.g. from natural disaster. However, purely protective *muhirs*,

48 J. Tyszkiewicz, *Z historii Tatarów polskich 1794–1944...*, op. cit., p. 60.

49 A. Drozd, „Piśmiennictwo Tatarów polsko-litewskich (XVI–XX w.)...”, op. cit., p. 13.

50 Marek Dziekan, „Magia i tradycje ludowe Tatarów Polsko-litewskich”, Andrzej Drozd, Marek Dziekan and Tadeusz Majda, *Piśmiennictwo i muhiry Tatarów Polsko-Litewskich*, Warszawa, Res Publica Multiethnica, 2000, p. 46.

51 Michał Łyszczarz, *Młode pokolenie polskich Tatarów. Studium przemian generacyjnych młodzieży w kontekście religijności muzułmańskiej oraz tożsamości etnicznej*, Olsztyn Uniwersytet Warmińsko-Mazurski, 2013, p. 258.

52 J. Tyszkiewicz, *Z historii Tatarów polskich 1794–1944...*, op. cit.

which design is based on cosmological symbolism, are so they serve as astrological boards or charms are very rare, and only the oldest Tatars are able to read them⁵³.

There are also seals of other kind, also from Turkish *mühür*, which are round and contain beautiful names of God, names of the prophets, excerpts from prayers, or magic squares. Carrying them, or even looking was of magical significance and could be protective. Some of these seals decorated pages of *kitabs*⁵⁴. These seals contained magical formulas illustrated by geometrical shapes and numerals⁵⁵.

Magical practices used to be important for the Tatars. They focused on healing by the power of words and suggestion, as well as water in which pieces of paper with special prayers were soaked. Similar practices existed among Turks, Turkmens, or Crimean Tatars. Nowadays only some older people practice them, even if they claim that they do not believe in them. Items with Arabic script were presumed to have magical power, what can be linked to the concept of *i'jaz al-Qur'an*. This way in the old times Arabic or Turkish coins were handled as amulets⁵⁶. Other amulets which were supposed to have protecting power include *duajkas* (from Arabic *du'a*), or *niuskas* (from Turkish *nüşa*) – religious text, and *hramotkas* – a small, quadrangular bag with a prayer scroll inside, carried under the right arm⁵⁷. In Turkey such prayer scrolls were carried in metal boxes, often embroidered⁵⁸.

Healing practices of the Tatars used till the beginning of 20th century had their roots in shamanism – a wide set of religious practices of a variety of people of Altai, Mongolia and Turkey. Some of these pre-Islamic ideas and practices were inherited by the Tatars. For instance in the 19th century the Tatars from Podolia region successfully healed mentally ill people thank to their quack knowledge⁵⁹.

An interesting type of divination was related to observing behavior of birds. This type of ornitomancy was brought to the Tatars by the Turks and originates from pre-Islamic times. The key, how to interpret bird's behavior was described in *chamaiks*. While other magical practices were known only by a closed group of people, the *fał* (here: 'spell') of a raven was quite popular, due to the fact that there have been many ravens back then⁶⁰.

Tatars inherited some other elements of Sufi practices from Muslims living in the Caucasus. One of them is *fał* (Turkish: *faal* *ı*, fortune-teller), which refers

53 M. Łyszczarz, op. cit., p. 258.

54 A. Drozd, *Piśmiennictwo Tatarów polsko-litewskich (XVI–XX w.)...*, op. cit., p. 27.

55 Andrzej Drozd, „Na pograniczu piśmiennictwa i sztuki religijnej: Muhiry Tatarów polsko-litewskich”, Andrzej Drozd, Marek Dziekan and Tadeusz Majda, *Piśmiennictwo i muhiry Tatarów Polsko-Litewskich*, Warszawa, Res Publica Multiethnica, 2000, p. 41.

56 A. Miśkiewicz, J. Kamocki, op. cit., p. 200.

57 J. Tyszkiewicz, *Tatarzy w Polsce i Europie. Fragmenty dziejów*, Pułtusk, Akademia Humanistyczna im. Aleksandra Gieysztor, 2008, p. 237.

58 A. Drozd, *Piśmiennictwo Tatarów polsko-litewskich (XVI–XX w.)...*, op. cit., p. 26.

59 J. Tyszkiewicz, *Tatarzy w Polsce i Europie...*, op. cit., p. 230.

60 A. Konopacki, op. cit., p. 148–149.

to the use of Arabic letters and numerals in order to foresee the future, or have an influence on something. The practice of *fat* has been introduced through the mystical kabbalistic Hurûfiklik (Hurufi) order, popular in Persia, Anatolia, and Azerbaijan⁶¹. Hurûfiklik influences are also visible in calendars used by the Tatars to set the dates of Islamic holidays, in which a lot of attention is paid to Arabic numerals and letters⁶².

Another practice which has been most probably inherited from Turkish Sufi orders was the high esteem towards selected religious figures. The most popular figure is that of Ewlija Kontuś, whose grave is a place for pilgrimages, due to respect for its owner and the suspected healing powers⁶³. A pilgrimage to the grave of Ewlija Kontuś, whose grave is located in Łowczyce cemetery can also increase the chances of getting pregnant – if that was the problem – or a remedy to a mental illness or disturbance. However, there were also other cases noted in the 17th century: it was the pictures of Holy Mary, which supposedly healed some Muslim women back then.

Many pre-Islamic elements are visible especially in the burial practices. Until recently some Tatars used to leave some food by the graves, which is called *przykład* (in Polish ‘example’). This is another pre-Islamic custom brought by the Turks and linked to shamanism. The food was placed on a white cloth which covered the grave and consisted of honey and buns⁶⁴. During *Kurban Bajram* one piece of meat is consumed for the sake of seven souls, what is a pre-Islamic custom inherited from the Turks and slightly modified (in the case of Turkish tribes the meat ought to be consumed within one tribe)⁶⁵.

The word *datawar* comes from the Turkish *dualar* (prayers) and refers to a paper scroll covered with the words of prayers. The scroll is placed by a deceased person (inside the burial shroud) and so hardly accessible for a researcher⁶⁶. A *datalar* was supposed to increase the chances of getting into Paradise, as they were to support the deceased during the meeting with the two angles – Munkar and Nakir. It consisted of a collection of verses from the Qur’an and some prayers, mostly in Arabic, but sometimes in Turkish. The main *datalar* was a long scroll

61 L. Bohdanowicz, S. Chazbijewicz, J. Tyszkiewicz, op. cit., p. 60. A *faldziej* was a quack who had some knowledge on healing and astrology. By using the Qur’an he was able to find out what kind of a bad ghost (*firej*) caused the woe and than to provide religious formulas, which could undo it. He read melodically certain prayers and Qur’anic verses, but also prepared fluids which were supposed to have healing powers. Sometimes in order to get rid of some illness blood of a hen was used. A special magic formula was written with its blood and then boiled in water and drank by the patient – see: J. Tyszkiewicz, *Tatarzy w Polsce i Europie...*, op. cit., p. 233–234.

62 A. Konopacki, op. cit., p. 142–143.

63 L. Bohdanowicz, S. Chazbijewicz, J. Tyszkiewicz, op. cit., p. 63–64.

64 Paweł Borawski, *Tatarzy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa, Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1986, p. 14–15.

65 P. Borawski, A. Dubiński, op. cit., p. 191.

66 C. Łapicz, op. cit., p. 67.

which was placed on the deceased, and additionally there were small pieces of paper with short Arabic sentences put in different places inside and around the grave⁶⁷.

* * *

While this article described the Turkish influences in the Polish-Lithuanian Tatar Islam, there are, and could possibly be, other attempts tracking other cultural inheritances such as Turkish, Christian, Arabic, Slavic, or Shamanic. All these cultures and peoples had their part in Tatar culture. And so they reflect the complex and troublesome history of Polish-Lithuanian Tatars.

67 A. Drozd, *Piśmiennictwo Tatarów polsko-litewskich (XVI–XX w.)...*, op. cit., p. 15.

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