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PRINTED PUBLICATIONS AND PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS OF POLISH-LITHUANIAN TATARS: THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY AND THE 20TH CENTURY

At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, there was a national revival of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars connected with the general atmosphere in Europe where nationalism was a key ideology, as well as with the increase of the national feelings among the Muslim nations of the Russian Empire, and with the effort of a group of Polish Tatar young intellectuals.

The purpose of the article is to present the results of research on the content of the media, literature and cultural values of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars in Russia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In Saint Petersburg, at the end of the 19th century, there was a quite large settlement of the Polish and other inhabitants of the Empire. According to the statistical data, in 1900, there were 50,000 Poles living there, that stood for 3,57% of the city population. The same statistics shows that there were about 5,800 Tatars from Crimea, the Volga Region, and Siberia settled in Saint Petersburg. In these numerous national mosaics there also were the Polish-Lithuania Tatars.

In Saint Petersburg, activists of national Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islam movements in Russia were educated. Among them one could also find Polish-Tatar students from such families as Achmatowicz, Kryczyński, Sulkiwicz, Bazerewski, et al. At that time, at the beginning of the 20th century, Leon Kryczyński began to be an organizer and leader. He descended from the old, landowner Tatar knez (royal) family of Najman Mirza Kryczyński, originated from the knez family of Nejman-Piotrowicz, one of the oldest Tatar aristocratic family of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

Key words: Polish-Lithuanian Tatars, ideology, national feelings, Russian Empire, intelligence.

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Польша-Литва татарларының баспа басылымдары мен қоғамдық ұйымдары: XIX ғасырдың екінші жартысы және XX ғасырдың басы

XIX ғасырдың аяғы мен XX ғасырдың басында поляк-литва татарларының ұлттық жаңғыруы басталды, мұның өзі ұлтшылдық жетекші идеологияға айналған Еуропадағы жалпы көңіл-күймен, сонымен қатар Ресей империясындағы мұсылман халықтары арасында ұлттық сезімдердің өсуімен, сондай-ақ бір топ жас поляк татарлары зиялыларының күш-жігерімен байланысты болды. Мақаланың мақсаты – XIX ғасырдың аяғы мен XX ғасырдың басындағы Ресейдегі поляк-литва татарларының БАҚ контенті, әдебиеті мен мәдени құндылықтары туралы зерттеулердің нәтижелерін ұсыну.

Петербург XIX ғасырдың аяғында империяның басқа да тұрғындарымен бірге поляктардың да үлкен тобы шоғырланған ортақ үй болды. Статистикаға сәйкес, 1900 жылы мұнда 50 мың адам өмір сүрген. Поляктар қала халқының 3,57%-ын құрады. Сол статистикаға сәйкес Санкт-Петербургте Қырым, Еділ және Сібірден келген 5,8 мың татар өмір сүрген. Бұл үлкен ұлттық ою-өрнекте поляк-литва татарлары да бар.

Санкт-Петербургте Ресейдегі ұлттық, пантюркистік және панисламистік қозғалыстардың белсенділері тәрбиеленді, олардың арасында Ахматовичтер, Крычинскийлер, Сулькевичтер, Базаревскийлер және басқалар сияқты отбасылардан өрбіген поляк татарлары да болды. Дәл сол кезде, XX ғасырдың басында Найман князі Мырза Крычинскийдің ескі асыл тұқымынан шыққан Леон Крычинский ұйымдастырушылық және жетекшілік рөлін атқара бастады. Мырза Крычинский Литва Ұлы Княздігінің татар ақсүйектерінің ежелгі отбасыларының бірі Найман-Пiotrowичтер отбасынан еді.

Түйін сөздер: поляк-литва татарлары, идеология, ұлттық сезім, Ресей империясы, зиялылар.

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**Печатные издания и общественные организации
польско-литовских татар: вторая половина XIX – начало XX вв.**

В конце XIX и начале XX вв. началось национальное возрождение польско-литовских татар, связанное с общей атмосферой в Европе, где национализм стал ведущей идеологией, а также с растущими национальными чувствами мусульманских народов Российской империи. Важное значение имели в этом контексте усилия молодой интеллигенции польских татар.

Цель статьи – представить результаты исследований контента СМИ, литературы и культурных ценностей польско-литовских татар в России конца XIX, начала XX столетия. Петербург в конце XIX века был домом для большой колонии поляков и других жителей империи. По статистическим данным, в 1900 году здесь проживало 50 тысяч человек. Поляки составляли 3,57 % населения города. По той же статистике в Санкт-Петербурге проживало 5,8 тысячи татар из Крыма, Волги и Сибири. На этой большой национальной мозаике также изображены польско-литовские татары, их общественная жизнь и печатная практика.

В Санкт-Петербурге получали образование активисты национального, пантюркистского и панисламского движений в России, среди которых были и польские татары из таких семей, как Ахматовичи, Крычинские, Сулькевичи, Базаревские и другие. Именно тогда, в начале XX века, Леон Крычинский, выходец из старинного дворянского рода Найманского князя Мирзы Крычинского, становится организатором и руководителем национальных инициатив польско-литовских татар. Мирза Крычинский происходил из рода Найман-Пиотровичей, одной из старейших семей татарской аристократии Великого княжества Литовского.

Ключевые слова: польско-литовские татары, идеология, национальные чувства, Российская империя, интеллигенция.

Introduction

Brothers Leon and Olgierd Najman Mirza Kryczyński participated actively in the movement of Muslim nations in Russia's rebirth, after 1920 they were instrumental in building the Tatar Polish reality. Leon Kryczyński was a leader, a publisher, an activist, and a writer. After 1935, he lived in Gdynia acting as a vice-president of a regional court. He was an editor-in-chief and in practice the publisher of 'Rocznik Tatarski', which actually was more of an almanac than a periodical. Three volumes of 'Rocznik Tatarski' were issued, they were a basis for scientific research on the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars as well as for this group's self-identification. In 1939, he was killed by Germans in Piaśnica. Olgierd Kryczyński was also a social and political leader of the Polish Tatars, the chairman of Muslim Community in Warsaw, the prosecutor of the Supreme Court in Poland, and was killed by NKVD (The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) in Smolensk in 1941.

The most well-known Tatars of this period were Alexander Sulkiewicz, Maciej Sulkiewicz and Jakub Szykiewicz. Aleksander Szulkiewicz descended from the old Tatar aristocracy and was a close colleague and a friend of Marshal Piłsudki from the early period of fighting for independence.

He was one of the co-founders of PPS (The Polish Socialist Party) and was in charge of smuggling the underground newspaper published by PPS – 'Robotnik' through the border of the Russian Partition. After a split in the party, he supported Józef Piłsudki and organized the future Marshal's escape from a prison in Saint Petersburg. He was killed in 1916 as a soldier of 1st Brigade of the Polish Legions.

Maciej Sulkiewicz, Aleksander's cousin and General Lieutenant of the Russian Army after the February revolution of 1917, was an organizer of the Muslim Corps on the Romanian front. It consisted of Muslim soldiers and officers from the former the Imperial Russian Army. After the corps disarmament by Germans, he went with officers to Crimea, where, from June to October 1918, he was acting Prime Minister and was the Minister of Foreign Affairs and War of the Crimean People's Republic until the Crimean Tatars declared the independence. After that the General Denikin Volunteer Army seized Crimea. He went to Azerbaijan where he was the Chief of Staff and was responsible for organizing an army for the country, which was independent for a short time. In 1929 he was killed by Bolsheviks in Baku.

Jakub Szykiewicz, a graduate in oriental philology from Berlin University, was a religious leader of the Polish Tatars. At the 1st All-Polish Muslim Con-

gress in Vilnius in 1925 he was elected a mufti – the head of Islam in Poland. After the war, he emigrated to Egypt and the USA.

Stefan Tuhan Mirza Baranowski should also be mentioned here as a publicist, a historian, and editor-in-chief of 'Życie Tatarskie', a monthly issued from 1934 to 1939 by the Cultural and Educational Union of Tatars in Vilnius. This organization was formed by the Kryczynsky brothers and it existed from 1926 to 1939. Its aim was both national revival and self-help as well as the improvement of the education level among the Polish Tatars. This union organized common rooms, folk bands, lectures, as well as balls, games and youth meetings. The organization's role into the maintenance of the Tatar tradition between war in Poland is of incredible importance.

In the period of the Second Polish Republic, the Tatar population in Poland amounted to six thousand people. They lived in the northeast provinces: Wilno District and Nowogródek District. In Poland, between the years of 1918 and 1938, there were 17 mosques, 2 houses of prayer and 19 religious communities associated with the Muslim Religious Union in Poland, headed by a mufti. Three press titles were issued: 'Przegląd Islamski', a quarterly from 1930-37 in Warsaw, 'Życie Tatarskie' a monthly from 1934-1939 in Vilnius, and 'Rocznik Tatarski' a scientific and social-literary journal. Vilnius was a cultural and social center for the Tatars in the inter-wars period.

During the Second World War, there was the Supreme Military Imamate of Polish Muslims at the headquarters of the Polish II Corps of the Polish Armed Forces in the West operating till 1947. On 26th and 27th September in the same year, the 1st General Assembly of the Polish Muslims in Great Britain appointed the Supreme Imamate of the Polish Muslims in Great Britain, which closely cooperated with the Polish centers in exile. The chief imam, Emir Bajraszewski, was a member of the 4th National Council of Poland assisted by August Zaleski, the President of Poland in Exile. The Imamate published its own periodicals such as 'Komunikat' and later 'Głos z Mainaretu'.

The Tatar Community in Poland, after 1945

In 1945, Pomerania was a destination of the first groups of Tatar people, citizens of the Polish Republic from former districts: Wilno District and Nowogródek District; the former districts of Wawkavysk and Grodno, and other places in the Borderlands. The Tatar community came on the grounds of so called 'repatriation' with the Polish people. This 'agreement' between the Polish and the Soviet gov-

ernments did not include the Tatar minority. Those Polish Tatars who had written in their documents 'the Tatar nationality' as a declared nationality had difficulties obtaining the required entry permit. It was not a huge ethnic group. According to the data of January 1939, there were six thousand Polish citizens of the Tatar nationality who were Muslims. A large number of Tatars were conflicted about leaving their established properties, especially rural people. There were also those who wanted to wait for clarification, from their point of view, of the unstable political situation, expecting the borders of Poland to return to their pre-war locations. Tatars came mainly because of the so called 'Recovered Territories' directed by PUR (State Repatriation Office). They arrived in small groups numbering from a dozen to a few families, or just single families among the Polish ones. The majority of Tatar people came to Gdansk and Pomerania or to the Western Territories from 1945 to 1949, after that, departures occurred up until the 1970s. Although there were sporadic, individual departures, the majority of Tatars settled down during the time period mentioned above. Those who left the Soviet territories represented people mainly from the urban population, intelligentsia, or former Tatar landowners. These people were the most aware of the character and duration of changes, they felt the most vulnerable to Soviet power. In new Poland, despite the system transformation, most Tatars felt quite safe.

After the Second World War, the border changes and the expulsion of the Polish people named for 'repatriation', the centers of religious and social life on the Borderlands became extinct. There was also a pause in the culture of small ethnic and religious groups, among them Polish Muslims – Tatars. In 1945, a 'cultural odyssey' of these people began. Those Tatars, who decided on 'repatriation' often did not have a choice, and together with the Polish population were directed by transports to Pomerania and the Recovered Territories in the west districts of Poland. Part of Muslim-Tatar population settled down in Warsaw.

After the trauma caused by the war and the explosion of the new authorities' activities, Muslim-Tatars tried to organize themselves. It is impossible to provide a full description of the post war period because of the lack of records – much of the archival materials disappeared, lost by the Tatar activists who were not aware of the importance and need for the collection of materials. It is a well-known fact that in 1946 the Central Muslim Community in Warsaw was formed. Since 1946, the Polish Muslims going from the Borderlands to the west came

in a few or in a dozen families. The majority of Tatars arrived between 1945 and 1950. The migration lasted until 1956. In the 1960s, single families or people came from the east border to establish residence. A map of the Tatar settlement after the Second World War is a map of the Muslim settlement as well. Tatars settled in the following places: Gdansk, Elblag, Trzcianka Lubuska, Gorzów Wielkopolski, Krosno Odrzańskie, Szczecinek, Szczecin, Poznań, Wrocław, Jelenia Góra, Wałbrzych, Oleśnica, and Bydgoszcz. Despite this, the traditional venues of Tatar-Muslim settlement are Warszawa, Białystok, Sokółka, Suwałki, Bohoniki and Kruszyńniany in the Podlaskie District.

The Muslim Religious Association was officially reactivated in 1947 led by Jakub Romanowicz. This association was restarted based on a 1935 act about the state's relation to Muslim religion which was changed in 1947. According to these changes, the Supreme Muslim Association College and its President are in charge of the Association. The College members and the president were not clerics, since in Islam there are no clerics in the Christian sense. The next president was Emir Tuhan Baranowki. The Muslim Religious Association consists of 6 religious communities in Gdańsk, Białystok, Warszawa, Gorzów Wielkopolski, Bohoniki and Kruszyńniany. There are wooden historical mosques dated to the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries in Bohoniki and Kruszyńniany. The Muslim Community in Gdansk was organized in 1960. At the same time (1960) the Muslim Community in Białystok was formally established. In the 1980s, the city authorities gave a small building on Grzybowa Street to the community. This is a house of prayer as well as a place for the community board's meetings or for religious gatherings. In 1991, a prayer house on Wiertnicza Street in Wilanów was opened for use. This house of prayer was founded by the Muslim states' embassies in Poland. Due to these funds and the input of their own Tatar society, the wall and the mortuary in the Tatar cemetery in Powązki on Tatarska Street was renovated. In 2001, another Muslim community was established in Bydgoszcz.

In 1992, the Union of the Polish Tatars was registered as an ethnic, cultural and social organization which aims to represent the interests of the Tatar people. So far, the Union of the Polish Tatars has had three branches in Gdańsk, Białystok, and Warsaw. Publishing has been ongoing. Periodicals include: 'Rocznik Tatarów Polskich', a scientific, literary and social journal; 'Życie Tatarskie' a social bimonthly; 'Świat Islamu' a quarterly; in addition, 'Wydawnictwo Rocznika Tatarów Polskich' pub-

lishes books. The last book issued there is 'Herbarz rodzin tatarskich Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego' written by Dumin. At present this publishing and editorial action functions as a kind of folklore substitute. Especially today, the Polish Muslims try to generate a new model of activity corresponding to the reality of Poland and Europe.

The Tatars of Pomerania – an Example of Participation in the Polish Social Life

Before 1945, with some exceptions, there had been no settlement of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars in either Gdańsk or in Vistula Pomerania. These exceptions represent historical episodes connected with the Tatar presence in the neighborhood of Gdansk rather than settlement situations. The first one occurred during the 13 Years' War and was related to the battle of Nieszawa. The Teutonic military attack on ships on the Vistula River near Nieszawa was put down by Kazimierz IV Jagiello's army, in large part due to the Polish-Lithuania Tatars who were in the King's personal guard. The second one was when the Tatars took part in the last war with the Teutonic Knights during the reign of Zygmund I the Old. The next was when the Tatars cut wartime food provision delivered to Gdańsk by land during the Siege of Gdańsk in the days of Stefan Batory. It must be mentioned that a small number of Tatars living in the interwar period were not in Gdansk, but in Gdynia. Leon Najman Mirza Kryczyński lived in this place since 1935. He was a leader of the cultural movement of the Polish Tatars and was editor-in-chief of 'Rocznik Tatarski', a journal of culture, science, literature and society that depicted the history and culture of the Polish-Lithuania Tatars. This periodical played a key role in solidifying the self-awareness of the ethnic Tatar people in Poland. Leon Kryczyński was a vice-president of a Regional Court from 1935 to 1939; he was killed by Germans in Piaśnica in 1939. The second prominent person was Dżennet Dżabagi Skibniewska. She was a daughter of a leader of the Caucasian nations in exile in Poland. She fought in the battle of Gdynia and later served with the Commander-in-Chief Staff in London. After the Second World War, Ms. Skibniewska returned to Poland, to Gdynia. She was an active participant in Tatar society life.

From 1945-1946, a huge group of Tatars from Vilnius came to Gdansk. Imam (cleric) Ibrahim Smajkiewicz went with them. He organized these people's religious life slowly as needs and opportunities arose. He conducted holiday prayers, led the ceremony of the newborn babies' admission to Islam, and provided services at funerals and wed-

dings. It happened without any official registration of a religious Muslim organization, in private places, however, out of necessity on the advice of then authorities.

The Tatars, who had come to Gdansk decided to work in factories and state-owned plants in the Polish administration throughout Tricity. They were employed in the administration of justice, hospitals, and PZU (State Insurance Company). For instance, Aleksander Sulkiweicz was one of the organizers of Polish jurisprudence in Gdansk. Beginning in July 1945, he served as a judge of the Regional Court in Gdansk, was a founder of the Court Civil Department and later the Commercial Department, and finally served as the president of the 2nd Civil Department of Appeal. Ali Szmajkiewicz, a son of Imam Ibrahim Szmajkiewicz, started to work for PZU; he organized the Department of Commercial and Industry Insurance in a PZU regional branch. Michal Korycki worked in the hospitals of Gdansk. He was a doctor, a graduate from the Medicine Faculty of Stefan Batory University in Vilnius. With the passing of time, the Polish Tatars took up maritime jobs they had never done before, such as Raszyd Alijewicz, an ocean-going captain, or Bekir Milkamanowicz, a long-term telegraph operator on the PLO (Polish Ocean Lines) ships.

Since 1946, the Muslim Community in Gdansk has operated as a part for the Muslim Religious Association led by Ibrahim Szmajkiewicz. The Community had not had any legal regulations yet.

In 1953, Ibrahim Szmajkiewicz died, and he was buried in the Garrison Cemetery in Gdansk on Henryk Dąbrowski Street. Due to an agreement with the cemetery board, a Muslim sector was assigned that still exists today. Ali Szmajkiewicz, his son, took over imam duties, and Lut Micha, the Imam of Białystok together with Bekir Radkiewicz, the Imam of the Tatar parish in Gorzów Wielkopolski, came to Gdansk if necessary. The young generation of Tatars led an intensive social life as a substitute for former social activity.

In 1955, Emir Tuhan Baranowski became the new chairman of the Muslim Religious Association in Poland. In 1959, in turn, the 1st Muslim population census in Poland was conducted by the Supreme College of the Muslim Religious Association. The census revealed that one hundred and forty people of Tatar ancestry professing Islam were living in Gdansk and Elbląg. Upon this group's request, the All-Polish Muslim Congress decided to form the Muslim Religious Commune with its registered office in Gdansk, which formally was set up on 20 September 1959. The Muslim Religious Commune is a part of

the Muslim Religious Association. Its legal status was obtained by the decision of the Regional National Council in Gdansk of 28 April 1960, Ref. No. IV 576/60. According to the Statutes, the Commune is led by a board whose number has changed but has been consistently staffed. The Board term lasts for four years with the possibility of an extension. The ultimate authority of the Muslim Religious Commune has been vested in the General Assembly of the Members with the right to vote for anyone above 18 years old. Every Polish citizen of Muslim faith could be a Commune member. The membership has been extended to other states' citizens with the right of permanent residence in the Polish Republic. From 1959-1961, the chairmen of the Board were successively: Leon Chazbijewicz; Alexander Jeljaszewicz, a retired cavalry captain later promoted to the rank of major and a former commander of the last squadron of the Tatar cavalry in the Polish Army – the Tatar Squadron of the 13th Wilno Uhlan Regiment; and Bekir Szabanowicz. During the process of setting up the Commune, the imam position was vacant. Maciej Chalecki who was chosen for this post resigned soon because of accommodation problems. He went with his family to Jelenia Góra. In 1963, Bekir Jakubowski was appointed to this position but also was forced to quite due to workload. It must be mentioned that all positions in the religious commune were performed without financial reward as a public service. The next imam, Adam Szabanowicz, gave up his position in 1965 because of the necessity to leave Gdansk. From 1956 to 1967, the imam post was vacant. The duties were fulfilled by Ali Szmajkiewicz on an ad-hoc basis. From September 1967 to September 1984, Ali Szmajkiewicz, a graduate from the Law Faculty of Stefan Batory University in Wilno, was the imam. From September 1984 to September 1995 Bekir Jakubowski served as an imam, whereas from November 1995 to September 2004, Selim Chazbijewicz was the imam. Since 2004, Hani Hraisz has taken up the imam's duties. He is an immigrant from Palestine with Polish citizenship. Maciej Milkanowicz was the long-standing chairman of the Muslim Religious Commune in Gdansk from 1962 to 1971. He also allowed his flat on Robotnicza Street in Gdansk to be used for religious needs, prayers as well as meetings and lectures. The religious gatherings of the Muslim Religious Commune were also held in Gynia-Orłowo on Perkuna Street at the house of Eugeniusz Szczęsnowicz, and at Aleksander Bajraszewski's flat in Gdansk on Wieniawski Street.

All these members of the Commune gave their houses and flats for free to meet the ad hoc needs

of the community, bearing a burden as their places were adapted for joint prayers and gatherings. Between the years of 1971 and 1974, Ali Smajkiewicz was the Commune chairman, while from 1974-1977, imam Adam Alijewicz served as the chairman. In 1977, the next chairman was Konstanty Mucharski and in 1979 these duties were fulfilled by Dżemila Smajkiewicz-Murman, a pediatrician. She was the chairman for several terms until 2004 and succeeded in consolidating and integrating Commune members as well as promoting religious-cultural developments. In 2004, Tamara Szabanowicz took over the responsibilities of the chairman. Until the formal registration of the Muslim Religious Commune in Gdansk, its followers worked to obtain a place to meet their needs or a building plot to build a new religious center. In 1983, the Board applied for permission to build a mosque in the future, and surprisingly, the authorities did not deny but accepted their proposal. The Board picked a location on the corner of Polanki and Abrahama Street from many others which were available because of the good tram network. The building site, covering 1008 square meters, was granted in perpetuity to the Muslim Religious Commune by Decision of then Mayor of Gdansk on 26 January 1984, Notarial deed No. 709/84. The decision to construct a mosque was issued on 6 January 1984, whereas the construction permit was issued on 31 October 1984. The Muslim Religious Commune formed the Mosque-Building Committee. The Committee possessed the legal statue and operated independently from the Muslim Religious Commune and the Supreme College of the Muslim Religious Association. The Committee consisted of Stefan Bajraszewski – the President; Ali Milkamanowicz, Stefan Muchla – treasurer and accountant; and Tamerlan Półtorzycki, Dżemila Smajkiewicz-Murman, and Bekir Jakubowski as members.

On the 29th of September 1984, there was a ceremony to lay the foundation stone for the construction. It has to be noted that the construction stimulated the revival of Tatar ethnic and religious traditions as it was a center of activities aimed at them. It largely extended the existence of the Tatar community and its self-identification. The mosque construction was supported by the Muslim World League from Saudi Arabia, the Grand Mufti of Lebanon as well as the Committee of Muslim States Ambassadors for the Support of the Polish Muslims including the ambassadors of Turkey, Egypt, Indonesia, Morocco and Algeria. The Turkish Ambassador was the first President of the Committee. The religious commune also began to learn religious rules;

this religious training had been given sporadically before. The Mosque was named after Jamal al-Din al-Afghan, a Muslim philosopher from the middle of the 19th century and the founder of Islamic Modernism. The Mosque opening ceremony took place on 1 June 1990 with the participation of representatives from the authorities, the Catholic clergy in the person of Tadeusz Gocłowski who was the Roman Catholic archbishop, the ambassadors of Muslim States in Poland, and the delegation of Kashubian-Pomeranian *Association*.

In 1992, the Tatar Union of the Republic of Poland was founded, while during the inter-war period it existed as the Cultural – Educational Religious Union of Polish Tatars in the Polish Republic from 1926-1939. This Union brought back publishing with ‘Rocznik Tatarów Polskich’, a continuation of ‘Rocznik Tatarski’. The Union was very active organizing integration gatherings, meetings, conferences, and cooperation with the Tatars from Lithuania, Belorussia, Crimea, as well as a different kinds of meetings and initiatives connected with interreligious dialogue which culminated in the summit of the representatives of the Polish Tatar society and Pope John Paul II in Drohiczyn in 1999. From 1999 to 2007, Selim Chazbijewicz was the Union President and had been editor-in-chief of ‘Rocznik Tatarów Polskich’ since 1994. Obviously, the Union of the Polish Tatars cooperated closely with both the Muslim Religious Commune in Gdansk and the Muslim Religious Union. Since 2004 the Union of the Polish Tatars has been called the Union of Polish Tatars in the Polish Republic.

It is worth noting that the Tatar minority cooperated with the Gdansk Branch of the Union of Ukrainians in Poland and other minorities in this region such as Belarussian, Jewish, Karaim, Greek, and Armenian. In 2004 and 2005, Pomeranian Ethnic Days were organized under the patronage of the Marshal of Pomerania. In 2004, the Days took place in Gdynia and Sopot – there was a presentation of traditional outfits, ethnic cuisine as well as the performances by Tatar, Ukrainian and Belarussian folk bands.

Culture, Religion, Assimilation

During the six hundred years that Tatars were in the area of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Poland, they created their unique culture and its characteristics exclusively for the Republic of Poland Tatar inhabitants.

The Tatar settlement in the Great Duchy of Lithuania and the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland was a voluntary choice by this population. The Tatar aristocracy and nobility received state privileges

which made their social status the same as the gentry of the Great Duchy of Lithuania and the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland. However, they did not possess the passive and active electoral rights, as infidels and Non-Christians, until the end of the previous Republic of Poland. The settlement of Tatar captives in Ukrainia, Volhynia, and Lesser Poland has not left a lasting impact. These captives, mostly baptized in captivity, very quickly (by the second or third generation) entirely lost their ethnic distinctiveness. Whereas voluntary settlers, mainly political refugees, possessed religious and social freedom and retained a sense of identity for generations. Since the 16th century, they were gradually Polonised and over the years adopted the Polish language as a home language. Since the 18th century, we can observe almost complete language assimilation. Since then, the Tatar people's identity has been formed by the religion of Islam and by broad religious culture, to the point that the names 'Tatar' and 'Muslim' were treated as synonyms. Being a Tatar meant being a Muslim by this population's common understanding. After 1945, and especially in 1980s, these terms began to be separated because of the appearance of non-Tatar Muslims in Poland. Previously, non-Tatar settlers such as Turkish, Persians, Circassians and the Volga or Crimea Tatars, assimilated fast with the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars, not forming separate settlements or social groups.

The Polish-Lithuanian Tatars' culture was a synthesis of an eastern Muslim culture and a Western European one. Remote from the centers of Islam culture, they formed the lively current Turkish and Crimean-Tatar culture, to which they belonged to due to their ethnic background. The Tatars often created substitutes for Islamic forms of existence and spiritual life, which over the time began to become permanent both in spiritual and material culture.

The Polish Tatars spirituality was under the influence of the multiethnic and multicultural landscape of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Losing the ability to use the Tatar language during the 16th and 17th centuries, which was lost completely by the 18th century, the Tatars have created their identity mainly by the literature written by themselves, in which the tradition of Islam is depicted in the Polish language or Old Belarusian in the Arabic alphabet. This literature existed in manuscripts which were handwritten by scribes. A vast number of scientific publications have been published recently about the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars' literature. A few language and cultural layers can be distinguished in the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars' religious texts. The oldest one was Chagatai language used in the Middle

Ages, a Turkish dialect which was the language of the Golden Horde. The next texts were in Old Ottoman, Ottoman, Old Belarusian, and Polish. Taking into consideration the chronology of narratives, the thematic threads of The Golden Horde literature were continually used as the foundation for all Muslims plots. There were different types and genres of this literature until the middle of the 20th century. These genres were:

Tefsiry (arab.: ريسفت) - The name was also pronounced as tafsir or tpsir which meant in Arabic the explanation of the Qur'an and its existence in Muslim culture, which included the Tatar Muslims of the great Duchy of Lithuania. For the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars they were manuscripts that were handicraft pieces, bound in leather, often tanned by a scribe, containing the Qur'an texts written in saffron ink which was also made locally. The Qur'an texts were written linearly, while below them in italics were comments and explanations in Polish or the Belarusian Arabic alphabet. There were often captions indicating the translation from the Ottoman texts in the margins of these books.

Tedźwidy (arab.: ديوجت) - Also called Tajwid or Tajweed, these are coursebooks for learning how to read the Qur'an, including the rules of intonation, pauses, ways of reading, vowel vocalization, ways of realization, phonetics, and musical features of the Qur'an text form.

Kitaby (arab.: بياتك) - The word kitab is Arabic for 'a book'. In this case, they were sets of different content taken in the form of the Old Polish genre, silva rerum (Polish: sylwa, ogrody), containing religious literature: edifying allegories, stories from the life of the prophet Muhammad (which is known in the Muslim world as a separate genre – sirat), stories about other prophets, legends and religious tales, poems, magical recipes, the Tatars rulers' histories, explanations of dogma and the rules of the Islam religion, as well as prayers, local tales, local legends and stories. Kitab was a huge manuscript, often in A4 format, which used summaries called pólkitab or pólkitabek.

Chamał (arab.: ليمح) - In Arabic the term means 'something which is carried'. They were prayer books, including the most recited prayers, their five-time daily order, pleading and supplicatory prayers, and calls from the Arabic dua (arab.: اع), which was pronounced by the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars in a Slavicized form - duaja, duajka, the last one as a diminutive. Chamał could also contain calendars, magic healing recipes, a list of ominous 'unwanted days', and dream dictionaries. The language of these texts was mainly Polish or

Belarusian, but explanations, comments and descriptions were written in the Chagatai language and in Old Ottoman. Arabic was used in the case of prayers and other strict ritual texts.

As one can notice, there was not a significant difference between *chamaïł* and *kitab* texts, there were no legends, tales or myths in the first one and it was less spacious and handier as per the name. There were so called *chamaïły molińskie* for the use by Imams or clergymen containing mainly a detailed description and order of ritual procedures and accompanying prayer texts.

Another genre or subgenre of *chamaïł* was *chamaïł fałdżejski* used by *fałdzeje* or fortune-tellers, witch doctors existing in the Polish Lithuanian society until the middle of the 20th century. The name originated from the Arabic word *fal'* (arab.: لاف) meaning a divination, with the added ending – *dży*, which means among others a feature. The Polish-Lithuanian Tatars pronounced it in a Slavicized way - *dżej*. Such *chamaïł fałdżejski* was used as a book of magic and fortune-telling. It consisted of prediction rituals, magical medical recipes, rites to remove mental diseases, rain making, etc. The literature of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars swung between the traditions of folk and high literature, serving not only as a substitute of the lost language of folklore but also as a peculiar system of education and generational memory, becoming an important place for ethnic and religious self-identification. The last genre of this literature is *duałar*, pronounced also as *dała wary*. These were papers scrolls written in saffron ink and put with the deceased into a tomb. The rolls were up to three meter long with a width of 10-20 cm. The smaller set of prayers was carried on the chest in a leather pouch, folded into the harmonica. This is why the Tatar people called this religious talisman '*hramatka*'. There is a lot of residue of former shaman beliefs and practices which gained 'Islamic' sanction, such as in the case

of Turkish Sufi practice, especially in the *hurufije*, *jesewije* and *bektaszi* schools.

Conclusion

In the 19th century, printed literature created by the Polish-Lithuania Tatars developed. It was mainly prose connected with this ethnic community's traditions and history. There were occasionally historical works more or less based on the legends of the Tatars in Poland and in Lithuanian. It is worth mentioning a piece of work by Józef Sobolewski, a Polish Tatar and judge, published in 1830, which was the first printed testimony of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars' ethnic and religious awareness, and what is most important is that it has been preserved. The development of the Tatar literature and intellectual movement, focusing the research on their own history and defining a place in the modern era, is connected with the publishing and coordinating activities of mentioned above brothers – Olgier and Leon Najman Mirza Kryczyński, and also essays by the last one. The publishing house mentioned previously in this article, '*Rocznik Tatarski*', was a basis for ethnic renaissance interrupted by the outbreak of the Second World War.

The example of the Polish Tatars illustrates the realistic possibility of creating a Muslim civil society in the European Union. Tartars are gaining high social status and full civil rights, which have created the Tatar citizenship in Poland. This is a very important finding for the Muslim community of the EU today. This example can also become a precedent for future social, political and experiments in civilization concerning the coexistence of Europe and Islam, the possibility of synthesizing both civilizations and cultures. Polish Tatars create a bridge linking the two worlds in terms of history. This bridge creates a common space of life and joy, as well as common values.

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