

## ***Islamica, Turcica* and Pseudo-Islamica in the North Eastern European Libraries, Archives, Museums and Private Collections\***

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### **Abstract**

Hundreds of rare Muslim manuscripts written in Arabic, Turkic, Farsi and Slavonic languages are preserved in the Czech, Slovakian, Polish, Belorussian, Lithuanian, and Scandinavian state or private collections. Such collections are still *arca incognita* for the absolute majority of Muslim scholars from non-European countries. The purpose of this survey is to give elementary information on the location of these Islamic manuscripts in the Baltic and Central European collections and their general contents for historians, archivists and

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\* While *Islamica* is a Latin term coined for manuscripts written by Muslim authors on the Islamic faith, *Turcica* (Polish *turcyki*) is a Latin term coined for manuscripts written in the Turkic (mostly Osmanli or Kipchakli) languages. These documents should not be confused with the anti-Turkish, xenophobic and Islamophobic literature written by the Renaissance and Baroque Christian war agitators or the secularist propagandists against the Osmanli Sultanate. Pseudo-Islamica, on the other hand, is a Latin term coined for description of so-called *faly* (*phauy*) written by the Tatar Muslims of the Eastern Europe for foretelling and “healing,” practices based on both the Mongol or Slavic superstitions, in violation of Qur’anic warnings and *Sunnah*.

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librarians of the Islamic civilisation. This survey is focused on two genres of Muslim literature—the unique *kitab* and *khamails* or manuscripts written in the Polish or Belorussian languages using Arabic script, and the diplomatic correspondences between the Islamic states (the Osmanli Sultanate, the Golden Horde and the Crimean Khanate) and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on the problem of translations of the Qurʾān into the vernacular languages of the Baltic peoples. This survey has cited useful secondary literature as well as catalogues of discussed Islamic manuscripts written in the Polish, Byelorussian, Lithuanian, Russian, Czech, Slovakian, German, French, and Swedish languages which guide precisely to the primary sources of Islamic culture in the Baltic lands.

### Keywords

Islamic manuscript; Poland; Czech Republic; Slovakia; Belarus; Lithuania; Scandinavian; Kipchak; Central Europe; Archives; Libraries; Orientalism; Muslim literature; Osmanli; Turkey; Tatar.

In the late Middle Ages (circa 1450–1492 C.E.) and early modern centuries (1492–1650 C.E.) of European history (854–1060 *Anno Hegirae*), the knowledge of Islamic documents in the Polish-Lithuanian *Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodow* (Republic of Two Nations) was confined to the office of translators of Turkic and Arabic languages at the Royal Court. The Polish kings and the Lithuanian Grand Princes had several well-educated translators (*dragomans*) of Turkic languages in the ages of European Renaissance and Baroque, who among the best-known were brothers—Dzierzek, Otwinowski, Strutynski, Romaszkiwicz and Zayerski. Before and during the Partitions of The Republic of Both Nations<sup>1</sup> between Prussia, Russia and

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1. The first Partition of the Polish-Lithuanian kingdom, which was weakened by the wars of succession, foreign interventions, revolts and confederacies of noblemen (*rokosze szlacheckie i konfederacje*) took place on the 5th of August, 1772; the second on the 23rd of January, 1793; and, the third on the 24th of October, 1795 C.E..

Austria, Crutta, an Albanian-origin *dragoman* translated all diplomatic correspondences (*fermans*) from the Sublime Porte of Istanbul to the Polish king, Stanisław August Poniatowski (1764–1797 C.E./1156–1194 A.H.).<sup>2</sup>

After the collapse of the Polish-Lithuanian kingdom, the diplomatic translations progressed into an academic discipline. Muslim documents attracted several pioneers of Polish orientalism who established the first proto-centre of “Oriental studies” at *Wilno*, present-day Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania, where Ignacy Pietraszewski critically deconstructed Józef Sekowski’s translation of *ferman* of Sultan Murād III to the Transylvanian-origin Polish king, Stephan Bathory,<sup>3</sup> and where Antoni Muchliński published the first *collectanea* of the Sublime Porte’s *fermans* issued between 1743 and 1780 C.E. that referred to the history of Poland and Lithuania.

Their linguistic studies initiated in 1819 were continued by the Romantic and later Positivist circles of Polish orientalists. Before the First World War, Jan Grzegorzewski published many “Ottoman” (Osmanli) 17th century C.E. epistles and ordinances (*sijillat*) from the archives of Sofia and Cracow.<sup>4</sup> In

2. Jan Reychman and Ananiasz Zajaczkowski, *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomats*, ed. Tibor Halasi-Kun (The Hague-Paris: Mouton, 1968), 20; Ataulloh Bogdan Kopanski, “Znajomość państwa tureckiego i jego mieszkańców” [Knowledge of Turkish State and its inhabitants in the 15th–16th century], *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 103, no. 3 (1977): 221–229; idem, “Antynomie polityki zagranicznej ostatnich Jagiellonów wobec Turcji” [Antinomies of foreign policy of the last Yagellons towards Turkey], *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 99, no. 3 (1976): 222–234.
3. Ignacy Pietraszewski, *Nowy przekład dziejopisów tureckich dotyczących historii polskiej, a szczególnie Tarychy Wasyf Effendiego* [New Translation of Turkish Historians whose Works are Significant for Polish History, particularly Tarikh of Wasif Effendi] (Berlin: sumptem Książnicy Słowiańskiej, 1846), 1–22.
4. Jan Grzegorzewski, *Z sidzillatow rumelijskich epoki wyprawy wiedeńskiej. Akta tureckie (tekst turecki i polski)* [From Rumelian *Sijillats* of the Epoch of the Vienna Expedition. Turkish Documents, Turkish and Polish Text] (Lwów-Konstantynopol/Lviv-Istanbul, 1912); Jan Grzegorzewski; “Dwa fermany sultanskie z w. XVIII-tego” [Two sultanic *fermans* from the 18th century], *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 1 (1914–18): 333. And Jan Grzegorzewski, “*Ferman* sultana Abdül Hamida I z r. 1775 w sprawie

the independent II Republic of Poland, archives and collections of the Oriental manuscripts had been reorganised. Knowledge of Arabic, Turkic, Farsi and Urdu languages as well as textual criticisms of the Muslim documents were gradually improved.<sup>5</sup>

At the conference of the Polish orientalists in Cracow in 1933, Olgierd Gorka, a renowned military historian of the Polish-Osmanli-Tatar Frontier, tried to organise a committee for the publication of *Monumenta Islamitica res Gestas Poloniae Illustrantia*, a massive printed collection of Muslim documents for the history of Poland.<sup>6</sup> One year later, Karaite linguists, Seraja Szapszal and Ananiasz Zajaczkowski, the Arabist Tadeusz Kowalski, and a group of “Young Turkologists” who comprised Stanislaw Szachno-Romanowicz, Wladyslaw Zimmnicki, Jan Reychman and Jan Dutkiewicz, explored archives of Poland and published the Crimean *yarliks* (the Tatar khans’ decrees), *fermans* (the Osmanli sultans’ letters-announcements) from these examined archives. Ananiasz Zajaczkowski published his textual criticism of the letter of Sultan Suleiman I, the Magnificent (*Kanuni*), to the Polish King Sigmund August which was sent in 1551 C.E., a unique Osmanli document from the Polish Central Archive which was written both in the *divani* script and in the Renaissance Latin transcription.<sup>7</sup> The central archive of Warsaw has a folio of correspondence in the Italian language between the controversial Ruthenian–

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wykupu jencow chrzescijanskich,” [*Ferman* of the Sultan Abdul Hamid I from 1775 on the ransom of Christian captives] *Pamiatkowa ksiega ku uczczeniu Jozefa Tretiaka* (Cracow: Polska Akademia Umiejtnosci (PAU: Polish Academy of Arts), 1913).

5. *Katalog rukopisow arabskich ze zbiorow polskich* [Catalogue of Arabic manuscripts from the Polish collections] ed. Wojciech Dembski, Nos. I 6, IV 1, V 2, VI 54, VII 3, XV 2, 3, XVII 3, XXIV 11, 12, 17 (1965).
6. *Collectanea Orientalia* 28, no. 6 (1934).
7. Ananiasz Zajaczkowski, “List turecki Sulejmana I do Zygmunta Augusta w owczesnej transkrypcji i tłumaczeniu polskim z r. 1551” [The Turkish letter of Suleiman I to Sigmund August in its contemporary transcription and Polish translation from year of 1551], *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 12 (1936): 91–118.

origin wife, Hurrem (Roxolana) of Sultan Suleiman I, and the equally controversial Italian-origin wife, Bona Sforza, of King Sigmund.

During the Second World War (1939–1945), Dr. Jakub Szynekiewicz, a Tatar-origin Muslim intellectual and the Grand *Mufti* of the antebellum Poland, continued studies on Islamic manuscripts in the Polish, Lithuanian and Byelarussian archives.<sup>8</sup> After the fall of Axis and the Jalta/Potsdam partition of Europe, most of the Eastern European orientalists

8. Jakub Szynekiewicz, "Literatura religijna Tatarow litewskich i jej pochodzenie" [Religious literature of the Lithuanian Tatars and its origin], *Rocznik Tatarski* 2 (1937): 138–139; Mufti J. Szynekiewicz (b.1884) established strong relationships with many leading Arab *'ulamā'* of the British-occupied Palestine, Egypt, the French-controlled Morocco and the Muslim scholars of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Albania. As a Grand *Mufti* of Poland (since 1925), he participated in the Caliphate Congress at Cairo (1926), Jerusalem (1931) where he became a close friend of the Grand *Mufti* of Palestine, Amin al-Husseini. Dr. J. Szynekiewicz, who earned two Ph.D.s in philosophy and Old Osmanli syntax from the University of Berlin, also knew personally Dr. Joseph Goebbels, the Minister of Propaganda of the Third Reich with whom he studied together in the capital of Germany. During the European Muslim Congress in Geneva (1935), he accepted a public *shahādah* of the famous Italian aristocrat, Count Bernardo Barbiellini Amidei, a direct descendant of the medieval Norman Crusaders' king of Antioch, and owner of a castle on Elbe Island in which Napoleon Bonaparte was interned. He befriended other famous European converts to Islam such as Sir Hubert Omar Stewart Rankin, Lord Headley, Abdel-Wahid Rene Guenon and European ethnic Muslim *'ulamā'*, such as Bosnian-origin Selim Muftic (President of the Council of Ulema at Sarajevo), and Hungarian Bosniak intellectual, Huszein Hilmi Duric. Despite the participation of some Muslim Tatars of Poland and Lithuania in the anti-German insurgency, the Nazi occupational authority treated the Muslims from the Eastern Europe, Arab lands, Crimea, Balkans, Soviet-occupied Central Asia with great respect and the *Fuehrer* of Germany offered them total religious freedom with the promise of establishing several Islamic states in the Soviet-occupied Turkistan, French/ British/Dutch-occupied North Africa and Asia. Under the German administration of the occupied Poland, Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine, Dr Jakub Szynekiewicz served as the Grand *Mufti of Ostlands*. In 1944, he found political asylum in Egypt. After Gamal Naser's *inqilāb* in 1952, he migrated to the USA, where the Polish Tatar Muslim emigrants built the first mosque in North America (1905–8). He died in Waterbury, Connecticut, in 1966. See Jakub Szynekiewicz, "Der Muslimische Kongress von Europa, *Die Welt des Islam* 3–4, no. 17 (Sept. 1935): 103–104; and Maciej Konopacki, "Les Musulmanes en Pologne," *Revue des etudes islamiques* 36 (1968): 115–130.

obediently accepted the Communist supremacist ideology in their studies.<sup>9</sup>

After 1990, the Islamic manuscripts in the archives of the post-Communist III Republic of Poland had been collected from the oldest collections of the I Republic of Both Nations (originally located in the old Polish capital of Cracow, and from the private library of the powerful Zaluski family of magnates. The *Yarlik* of the Crimean khan, Hajji Giray, sent to the Polish king in 1461 C.E./867 A.H. is one of the oldest Muslim manuscripts from the Zaluski's library.<sup>10</sup> A large part of this Crown Archives (*Archiwum Koronne*) which was relocated to the new capital in Warsaw was plundered by the Swedish Protestant army during the 17th century invasion of Poland (called "The Swedish Deluge" or *Potop Szwedzki*) and transferred to the Uppsala archives. After the Partition of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the end of the 18th century C.E., a huge number of *islamica* from its archives were relocated to the Russian archives of St. Petersburg, the Austrian archives of Vienna and the Prussian archives of Königsberg/ Krolewicz, present-day city of "Kaliningrad" in the Russian Baltic enclave of the Old *Ost Preussen*, or to Berlin. The remains of Warsaw's Collections of Islamic manuscripts, which were mostly of Tatar origin, were gradually seized by the Russian tsarist governors and transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' archives

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9. The majority of the Eastern European orientalists, often of Jewish or Karaite-origin, quickly accepted the Communist supremacist ideology in their new "progressive" studies. The Marxist terminology contaminated the academic discussions and seriously damaged the reputation of several Polish orientalists like Jozef Bielawski, the translator of the Qur'an into the Polish language in 1983, turkologist Jan Reyman and others. In October 1957, one year after the crushed anti-Soviet Hungarian Uprising and the revolt of workers in Poznan (Poland), the Polish orientalists organised in Warsaw a controversial symposium on "the Oriental sources of the history of Central and Eastern Europe" in which Marxist jargon was used in presentation of papers.
  10. Ahmet Soysal, *Jarlyki krymskie z czasow Jana Kazimierza* [Crimean Yarliks from the Times of King John Casimir (Warsaw: AGAD, 1939) [in Polish].

in Moscow. After the First World War, the new Bolshevik regime returned many of these stolen Muslim documents to the newly-independent Poland and they were integrated into the Main Archives of Old Documents (*Archiwum Głównie Akt Dawnych, AGAD*) in Warsaw. However, during the unsuccessful Warsaw Uprising in 1944, 95 per cent of the oldest documents of AGAD perished in a firestorm. After the end of the Second World War in 1945, many surviving manuscripts, mostly *turcica* (350 documents); the Osmanli *name* letters and *fermans* to the *Uch-aghās* (Frontier defenders) and *begs* of the Moldavian-Polish Borderland, passports, trade treaties (*ahitnames*), *tatarica* (273 documents) and *persica* (9 documents) were collected in the Main Archives of the Palace *Pod Blacha* ("Under the Tin Roof") in the devastated Warsaw.

There are 623 *akhtinames* (peace and trade treaties) dated as early as 1489 C.E./ 887A.H., and letters written in Turkish, Polish, Greek, Italian or Serbian sent by the Osmanli sultans, their viziers and the Crimean khans to the Polish kings and officials. All these manuscripts are accumulated in the Central Archives of Old Acts (*AGAD*) in Warsaw. Only nine manuscripts represent Polish-Persian relations, of which two are in the Turkish language. Many of these Muslim documents in *AGAD* are not properly catalogued. For example, three small Osmanli MSS are sewn in the cover of the XXIII volume of *Libri Legationum*. Although most of these *turcica* were described and catalogued before 1939, the catalogue cards were lost.<sup>11</sup>

Other *turcica* from the former Crown Archives were preserved after the Partitions by the Polish nobleman, Tadeusz

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11. Stefan Strelcyn, Marian Lewicki and Ananiasz Zajaczkowski, eds., *Catalogue des Manuscrits Orientaux des Collections Polonaises (CMOCP)* (Warsaw: Polskie Wydawnictwo Naukowe [PWN], 1967), vol. 5, part 2; *Catalogue des Manuscrits Turcs et Persans* Par Tadeusz Majda, Sous la Direction de A. Zajaczkowski, 5; *Collectanea z Dziejopisow Tureckich Rzeczy Do Historii Polskiej Sluzacych. Z dodatkiem Objasnien Potrzebnych i Krytycznych Uwag*, ed. J. J. O. Sekowski, vol. 1 (Warsaw: PWN, 1824).

Czacki, in his town of Poryck.<sup>12</sup> His collection was later purchased by the influential aristocratic family of Czartoryski and integrated into their libraries in Pulawy, Paris, Wilanow and Cracow. After the end of the Second World War, a large part of Czartoryski collection of Muslim manuscripts was shifted to the State District Archives in Cracow. There are 1420 Osmanli and Tatar documents preserved from the former Crown Archives in Poland. Most of these documents from the Czartoryski Collection are in folios 605–34, 859, 914–45, 2760–66 of *Orientalia*, that is, *documenta quae ad necessitudines inter Poloniam et Turcas, Tartaros, Persas spectant*. These folios comprise mostly Turkish and Crimean Tatar manuscripts from the 17th and 18th centuries C.E.. Older documents of Polish-Muslim relations were written only in Latin. From the Czartoryski collection in Paris (studied and translated by W. Kazimirski), 50 *names* (letters) were written by the Osmanli sultans to Polish monarchs, 25 letters of the Osmanli viziers to the Polish magnates and Great *Hetmans* of the Crown (mainly to Adam Sieniawski, Waclaw Rzewuski and Jozef Potocki), and 70 miscellaneous papers. A separate collection contains 90 *yarliks* (edicts, diplomatic instructions) from the Crimean khanate. Adam Czartoryski purchased many of these documents from the Osmanli *dragoman* Giuliani. All Muslim manuscripts from the Czartoryski Archives in Cracow as well as all other oriental collections of the pre-World War II Poland are under the control of the Board of State Archives and located at the Royal Vavel (Wawel) Castle in Cracow.<sup>13</sup> Martin

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12. Tadeusz Czacki, *O Tatarach, Pomniki historii i literatury polskiej* [About Tatars. Monuments of Polish History and Literatuty], vol. 2 (Cracow: Wiszniewski, 1835), 87–108.

13. *Catalogus codium manuscriptum Musei Principum Czartoryski Cracoviensis* [MSSCZ], sub directione St. Kutrzeba, II (1909) and, Jozef Korzeniowski (1887–93), *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum musei principum Czartoryski cracoviensis* (Cracoviae: Czartoriscium) [in Latin, Old Polish]; Edward Zawalinski, “Zbiory dokumentow tureckich w bibliotece Czartoryskich w Krakowie” [Collections of the Turkish documents in the Czartoryski



Badeni's collection of *osmanica, tatarica et islamica* acquired from the private collection of the last Polish king, Stanisław August Poniatowski, was purchased in 1930 by the Polish State and preserved in the Main Archives of Old Acts in Warsaw. Unfortunately, the Popiel family's private collection of Muslim MSs is scattered through Czartoryski library and it is not in the Turkish section of *AGAD*. Documents collected by the Popiel family are mostly in folios 62, 235–6, 399–400 and 425–26. In the Library of Polish Academy of Science of the Kornik Castle and in the Castle of Lancut are located manuscripts written in the Arabic script, collected during the Legation of Piotr Potocki to Istanbul.<sup>14</sup>

All Polish State Archives possess about 3,300 historical documents concerning relations between Poland and the Muslim states. Some of these manuscripts are internal Osmanli administrative documents (*defters*, fiscal records, *fermans* and *names*). Many of them were looted by the Polish troops after the siege of Vienna and during numerous Polish-Osmanliu clashes in Podolia (south Ukraine) and Bogdan (Moldova).<sup>15</sup>

Two sets of stolen *osmanica* (Chancery of Grand Vizier, Kara Mustafa, after the Siege of Vienna in 1683 C.E.) which were part of the former private archives of the aristocratic family of Potocki in Podhorce are now in the State District Archives at Cracow. There are many other *osmanica* stolen by the Polish troops during the pro-Habsburg campaigns in

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Library at Cracow], *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 14 (1938): 132–35.

14. Jan Hanusz, "Orientalistische Handschriften in Krakau," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 1 (1887): 81–2.
15. Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, ed., *Katalog rękopisów orientalnych ze zbiorów polskich* (Warsaw: PAN, 1959), vol. 1, part 1; Stanisław Kryczyński, "Bej barski. Szkic z dziejów Tatarów Polskich w XVII Wieku" [The Beg of bar. Sketch from the history of Polish Tatars], *Rocznik Tatarski* 2 (1935): 229–301; *Katalog rękopisów tureckich i perskich ze zbiorów polskich* [Catalogue of Turkish and Persian manuscripts from the Polish collections], ed. Majda Tadeusz (Warsaw, 1965). See also Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, *The Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th–18th century): An Annotated Edition of Ahdnames and Other Documents* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

Danubian Lands, such as letters of Sultan Mehmet II el-Fatih to the Moldavian (Bogdan) *voivodes*. Hetman Denisko collected many stolen 18th century Osmanli manuscripts in his town of Hetmanowka, near Balta in Ukraine. In his collection were *hatt-humayuns*, sultan's *tanzimat* with original *tugras* and *yarliks* of the Girey Crimean Tatar khans. Waclaw Rzewuski (1785–1831 C.E.), a Polish nobleman who embraced Islam, and explorer of Syria for the purchase of famous Arabian horses (*kuhaylan*), also collected many rare Osmanli documents, most of which are either lost or un-catalogued in the state archives of Warsaw or Cracow.<sup>16</sup> Polish archives of the oriental documents which were looted by the Swedish troops in the 17th century C.E., are currently in the Swedish Archives and the University Library of Uppsala or the Royal Library in Stockholm.<sup>17</sup>

The first Osmanli document printed in Poland (Muslim *incunabula*) was a letter of Sultan Murād III written in 1578 C.E. to his Transylvanian vassal and later the Transylvanian-origin Polish King Stefan Bathory.<sup>18</sup> Twenty-one public and private collections are located in Poland. The largest collections of these mostly Muslim manuscripts are in the Wrocław University Library (the former German Breslau University in Lower Silesia), in the National Museum (Czartoryski Department) at Cracow and the National Library at Warsaw. Many Polish public and academic institutions purchased those rare documents of Islamic literature either from private booksellers and collectors in the West, bazaars, *aswāq*, or *charchiyes* of the East.

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16. *Katalog rękopisów Akademii Umiejętności (KRAU)*, pod redakcją J. Czubka (Cracow: AU, 1906). *Archiwum Głównie Akt Dawnych w Warszawie – Archiwum Koronne Warszawskie: dz. Tatarskie* [The Main Archive of the Old Documents – The Crown Archive Tatar Section]: karton 65, teczki 126–131 [box 65, files 126–131].

17. *Katalog Rękopisów Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego (KRBUJ) (1877–81)*, ed. W. Wislocki (Cracow: Biblioteka Akademii Umiejętności), 5 vols., parts I–II.

18. *Türkische, tatarische und persische Urkunden im Schwedischen Reichsarchiv* (Uppsala: Swedish State Archive [SSA], 1994).

The tradition of collecting Islamic art and literature in Poland had been initiated by the orientalist of the late 18th century and the Romantic historians of the early 19th century C.E., for instance, Alexander Chodzko, Joachim Lelewel, Waclaw Rzewuski, Igancy Pietraszewski, Jozef Julian Sekowski (Osip Ivanovich Senkovsky) and others. The most distinctive manuscripts in the Polish collections are *kitab*y, *khamail*y, and *tafsir*y written in vernacular Byelorussian or Ruthenised Polish by the Polish or Lithuanian Muslims of the Tatar origin.<sup>19</sup> *Fetāwī* and *tafāsīr* as well as prayer books (*namaz-kitabi*) form the largest set of collections of 221 Islamic manuscripts written in the Arabic, Turkic or Farsi languages and are owned by several Polish private or state archives and libraries. Other collected Muslim manuscripts are mostly anthologies of the Osmanli and Persian poetry, chronicles, atlases of maps, dictionaries, and very informative tax register (*defter*) from the ex-Polish castle of Kamieniec Podolski (Kamenetz Podilsky).<sup>20</sup> The tax-register from Polish archive has its mother-copy in the Primary Minister Archive at Istanbul, which is an object of meticulous study by the Polish historians of the Osmanli-Polish relations. The Osmanli document *Defter-i mufassal-i eyalet-i Kamanice*, prepared circa 1681 C.E., from the Prime Ministry Osmanli State Archives in

19. Anton K. Antonowicz, *Byeloruskiye teksty pisannye arabskim pismom i ikh graphico-ortographicheskaya sistema* (Vilnius: 1968), 70–72 (photocopy of crow phaldjey.) Andrzej Drozd, “Nowe odkrycia w badaniach nad pismiennictwem tatarskim” [New discoveries in studies on the Tatar literature], *Roczniki Tatarow Polskich* (Annals of the Polish Tatars) 2, no. 2 (1994): 218–230; Ananiasz Zajaczkowski, “Tzw. Chamaill tatarski ze zbiorow rekopisow w Warszawie” [The so-called Tatar *khamail* from the collection of the University of Warsaw], *Sprawozdania Polskiej Akademii Nauk* LII, no. 4 (1951): 311–12; Jan Stankiewicz, *Mowa rukapisu Al Kitab. Casc I. Fonetyka* [The Language of Manuscript al-Kitab. Part I, Phonetics] (New York: Bibliotheca Slavica, 1954).

20. The castle was captured and turned into a frontier Muslim fort (*uch-kale*) by the Osmanli troops in 1680 C.E., but returned to the Polish kingdom after the Peace Treaty of Karlovac. See Antoni J. Rolle, “Dzieje osadnictwa tatarskiego na woloskim pograniczu” [History of the Tatar settlement in the Valachian Frontier], *Sylwetki i Szkice historyczne and literackie* 9 (1893): 241–385.

Istanbul, is a taxpayer register from the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of Both Nations annexed by the *Osmanli Devlet* in the 17th century C.E.. More than 900 *Cossak syela i khutory* (townships and settlements), Polish *myastechka i wsie* (towns and villages), Armenian *konty* (quarters) and Jewish *shtells* (slums) were recorded on 383 pages (192 folios). This register also contains a protocol for the demarcation of borders between the Osmanli and Polish territories, and a list of the administrative subdivisions of Podolia, which is present-day Ukrainian region of Podilia.<sup>21</sup>

The Polish state archives have a large collection of the original *fermans* from the Osmanli Sublime Porte (*Bab-ali*) and *yarliks* (letters-decrees) of the Crimean khans to the Polish-Lithuanian kings and princes, original copies of treaties, diplomatic documents, chronicles and other unique primary sources to history of relations between Muslim Steppe Khanates and the Commonwealth of Both Nations. These still poorly explored documents and chronicles of direct contacts between Muslim Turko-Mongolic empire of the Kipchak known as the Golden Horde (*Altin Ortu, Zlotaya Orda*), the Crimean Khanate (*Qirim Hanligi*) and the Lithuanian-Polish kingdom were published in abridged *collectanea* by J. J. O. Senkovsky in 1824<sup>22</sup> and the Romanian historian, Ilie Corfus.<sup>23</sup>

21. Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, ed., *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia* (ca. 1681): *Defter-i Mufassal-i Eyalet-i Kamanice*, Studies in Ottoman Documents Pertaining to Ukraine and the Black Sea Countries, Ukrainian Research Institute (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University, 2004), xv.
22. Jozef S. Sekowski (1824–25), *Collectanea z dziejopisow tureckich rzeczy do historii polskiej sluzacych* [Selected works of the Turkish chroniclers for studying Polish history] (Warsaw: Anonymous publisher).
23. Ilie Corfus (1979–83), ed., *Documente privitoare la istoria Romaniei culese din arhivele polone* (Bucarest) vol. 1, no. XVI, and vol.2, no.XVII, passim. Dariusz Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie, 1595–1623* [Polish-Tatar relations, 1595–1623] (Warsaw: Wyd. Neriton, IH PAN, 2004), 15; Leszek Podhorodecki, *Chanat Krymski i jego stosunki z Polska w XV–XVIII wieku* (Warsaw: KiW (Ksiązka i Wiedza), 1987), 196.

Almost all valuable Muslim manuscripts from the National Library *Biblioteka Narodowa* (BN) at Warsaw are acquired from the Zamoyski family's private library, *Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamoyskich* (BOZ). Wladislaw Stanislaw Zamoyski (1803–1868), a prince of one of the most powerful Polish aristocratic families and commander of the Polish cavalry in the Osmanli Army during the Crimean War (October 1853 – February 1856), bought dozens of Arabic, Turkish and Persian manuscripts in Paris and Istanbul. Another prominent aristocratic family, the Raczyńskis, collected oriental manuscripts, too.<sup>24</sup>

The Yagiellon Library (*Biblioteka Jagiellonska*) at Cracow is the oldest academy of Poland. Its collections of the Muslim documents are 60 manuscripts, whether purchased, donated or exchanged from the private library of the Jewish moneylender. Mathias Berhson (1823–1908), the richest man of the 19th century Russian-controlled Warsaw, was also an ardent collector of *judaica*. Recently, these manuscripts were examined by a group of Arab scholars from Riyadh, who were invited by Prof. Franciszek Ziejka, a former rector of the 600-year old University and Prof. Zdzislaw Pietrzyk, Director of its Library “Yagiellonka.” Cracow, the old capital of the Polish Kingdom has two other archives with numerous Muslim manuscripts—*Oddzial Czartoryskich Muzeum Narodowego* (Czartoryski's Branch of the National Museum) and *Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk* (Library of the Polish Academy of Science, PAN). In the Baltic city of re-Polonised Gdansk (in German, Danzig) are Muslim manuscripts in its City Library of Polish Academy of Science (PAN). Also in the Public City Library (*Publiczna Biblioteka Miejska*) in the city of Poznan are 11 Muslim documents. But the third richest collection of *Islamica* is located in the picturesque castle of Kornik, not far from Poznan. The Kornik Library of the Polish Academy of

24. *Katalog Biblioteki Raczyńskich* (KBR) [in Polish] [Catalogue of Raczyński Library], ed. M. E. Sosnowski and I. L. Kurtzman, vol.1 (Posen: Ratzineum, 1885).

Science (*Biblioteka Kornicka* of PAN) has its own interesting past expressed in the pseudo-“Moorish” Romantic architectural style of the early 19th century castle. Muslim manuscripts and books collected in these two archives of the western Poland belong to the category of *majmū‘a* or *miscellanea*. The best guide to these collections are catalogues written by M. E. Sosnowski and L. Kurtzman, available in the Castle Museum bookshop. There are unexplored Muslim manuscripts in the Archives of the Houses of Radziwill, Zamoyski and Sapieha (the three most powerful Polish-Lithuanian magnate families between the 16th–18th centuries C.E.).<sup>25</sup>

The motto, “There is no victor but Allāh” (*lā nāṣir illallāh*) is engraved over the main gate of the castle at Kornik, which a count, Tytus Dzialynski, inherited and renovated in the 1820s when the partitioned side of the Polish Kingdom was a part of Prussia. The Muslim decor of his Kornik castle was based on three main Islamic archetypes:

1. The Court of the Alhambra Palace at Andalusian Granada which inspired the construction of the main hall of the Castle of Kornik,
2. The Mosque of Sulṭān Ḥassan in Cairo, a model for the portals in the entrance hall of Kornik, and
3. The Taj Mahal Mausoleum in Agra in India, a pattern for the niche in the rear elevation of the Kornik Castle.

Count Tytus Dzialynski not only assumed the role of protector of historical memorabilia of the Poles under the Prussian rule, but also collected Islamic art and Muslim manuscripts.

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25. *Archiwum domu Radziwiłłow*, ed. August Sokolowski (Cracov: 1885); and *Archiwum domu Sapiehow*, ed. Antoni Prochaska (Lvov, Lviv: Wyd. Wlasnym sumptem, 1892).

The heroism of the Muslim defenders of Granada in 1492 C.E. and *jihād* in the Maghreb against the Christian Spanish or French invaders was immortalised by Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki and the Cyprian, Kamil Norwid, who were the three greatest and most venerated Polish Romantic Bards.<sup>26</sup> A prosperous and decadent Islamic emirate of Granada evoked the memories of the greatness of their own (Polish-Lithuanian Noble Republic) country before its neighbours invaded it. Adam Mickiewicz commemorated the epic resistance of the Muslim *mujāhidīn* in Spain in his *Konrad Wallenrod*, a ballad on the medieval Lithuanian guerrilla against the crusading Teutonic Order. Thus, it was very natural for the owner of the Kornik estate to embrace “Moorish-Moghul” styles during the restoration of his residency. The chamber called a *Moresque Hall* (*Sala Mauretanska*) was turned into a library, which includes a selection of the most precious books. In his huge library of 320,000 volumes, Count Tytus Działyński amassed many rare manuscripts, among them two exceptionally splendid copies of the Qurʾān from the year 1470/71 C.E. (or 874 A.H.) and from the 17th century C.E.. The manuscript of the Qurʾān from the 15th century C.E. (15 by 12 centimetres in book size) is written in *Nakshi* script on fine quality paper. The leather-clad covers are engraved. Its first and last lines on each page, written in black ink, are embellished with golden and blue letters supplemented with black vocalisation (*ḥarakāt*). The beginning of every *sūrah* is ornamented with a golden bordering of azure background of which the colours are still very vivid.

There are numerous Turkish and Persian miniatures in Działyński's Oriental collection. Small portraits of Muslim men in turbans and strictly veiled Muslim women (*munāqabah*) are painted on wooden plates. The Kornik Castle with its

26. Ataullah Bogdan Kopanski, *The Sabres of the Two Easts: An Untold History of Muslims in Eastern Europe, their Friends and Foes* (Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies, 1995), 135.

rich collections of precious manuscripts, old prints, and rare books was donated to the revived Polish State in 1924. During the German occupation of Poland (1939–1945), the Nazi ministry of culture accumulated in the Kornik castle the largest collection of the most secret confiscated documents of the European Free-Masonry, some of which were written by the “gardeners of knowledge and virtues” who operated in Muslim lands.<sup>27</sup> Indeed, the secret letters of the Maghrebian, Egyptian, Turkish, and Syrian freemasons written in the Arabic or “Ottoman” language are cryptic and one of the most interesting oriental manuscripts in Poland awaiting academic analyses by Turkish and Arab historians.

Another significant collection of Muslim manuscripts is located in the University of Wrocław (*Uniwersytet Wrocławski*), formerly the German University of Breslau, Lower Silesia. This collection is a fraction of a larger collection of Muslim

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27. My personal experience, which includes several visits to this castle, the last being in July 2011, allows me to confirm academic rumours in Poland that this collection is available exclusively for the confirmed members of this controversial clandestine organisation. I tried to find original letters of Tadeusz “Seiffuddin” Gasztowtt, a Polish freemason, (“converted” to Islam for the cause of an independent Poland allied with “Jeune Turcs” against the tsarist Russia) to the British, Turkish and Arab freemasons in Egypt during the Zionist congresses calling for the establishment of a modern Jewish state in the Osmanli Palestine. See Tadeusz Gasztowtt, *La Pologne et l’Islam. Notes historiques* (Paris: Maison Pol, 1907). Gasztowtt’s Masonic activities were monitored by the British diplomats-historians, also freemasons but of the conservative Scottish Rite, who discovered the Zionist’s “deep penetration” of the Turco-Arab-African new lodges of the Grand Orient. See private and confidential letter of British Ambassador, Sir Gerard Augustus, 1st Baronet Lowther (written on the 29th of May, 1910) in Istanbul to Sir Charles Harding Firth, historian of diplomacy and President of both the Royal Historical Society and the British Historical Association in the 1910s. The letter was publicised by Rabitah (Muslim World League) and published as appendix by Muhammad Safwat al-Saqqa Amini and Sa’di Abu Habib in their *Freemasonry* (New York-Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Ingram Press, 1982/1402), 126. To my knowledge, Arabic and Turkish letters of Gasztowtt’s closest Masonic associates (the Egyptian, Hussein Hassib, and Judeo-Turco-Cretean, Jalal Nuri) are in this special Masonic collection of the Kornik Castle, central Poland.



documents collected in the German University of Breslau which was destroyed by the Soviet army during a ferocious siege of the *Festung Breslau* in the spring of 1945. When Silesia was a part of the German Reich, Tomas Rehdiger (1540–1576 C.E.), Count Oelrich von Oppersdorf (d. in 1798) and Maximilian Habicht donated their own home libraries to the Breslau City Library established in 1865. Muslim manuscripts from this municipal library (folio R) became a significant part of the University Library. Many Islamic documents were transferred in 1810 to the University of Breslau from the male monastery of the Augustine Order in Zagan (Lower Silesia) and the Maria Magdalene Church Library (fol. M) in Breslau.<sup>28</sup> The Bulgarian and German collectors saved several big wooden boxes of Osmanli documents which had been ready for recycling in Edirne and Istanbul.<sup>29</sup>

28. Krzysztof Migon, "Wrocławski orientalista Andrzej Akolut (jego życie, prace, księgozbiór)" [Vratislavian orientalist Andrew Akolut (His life, works, book collections)], *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 4, no. 56 (1965): 325–335; idem, "Podroże Slizaków na Wschód" [Journeys of Silesians in the East], *Kwartalnik Opolski* 12, no. 2 (1966): 31–49; idem, "Z dziejów recepcji piśmiennictwa arabskiego. Lekarz - Arabista Piotr Kirsten" [From history of reception of the Arabic writings of Physician-Arabist Peter Kirsten], *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki* 11, no. 3 (1966): 229–239; idem, "Recepcja książki orientalistycznej na Śląsku do końca XVIII wieku" [Reception of the Orientalist Book in Silesia until the End of the 18th Century] (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich); idem, "Ślascy orientaliści i zbieracze orientaliów do XIX w." [Silesian orientalists and collectors of *orientalica* until the 19th century], *Szkice z dziejów polskiej orientalistyki* [Sketches from History of the Polish Orientalism], collective work, vol. 3, ed. Jan Reychman (Warsaw: Zakład Orientalistyki Polskiej Akademii Nauk. Polskie Wydawnictwo Naukowe [PWN]): 7–45; idem, "Zainteresowania orientalne Ślązaków przed rokiem 1800" [The Orientalist interests of Silesians before 1800], *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 2, no. 70 (1969): 168–170; and idem, "Rekopisy orientalne na Śląsku do końca XVIII wieku i ich właściciele" [Oriental manuscripts and their owners in Silesia, until the 18th century], *Sprawozdania Wrocławskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego* 20 (1965, printed in 1967): 35–36, reprinted and updated in *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, Bibliotekoznawstwo* 4, no. 46 (1966): 27–60.

29. After the brutal de-Islamisation of Turkey by the regime of secular extremists in the 1920s, Prof. Rescher, a turkologist from the University of Breslau, travelled to Istanbul and purchased 106 Islamic manuscripts

Many other Polish collections of Islamic art and literature are located in the following places: Museum-Castle in Pszczyna (*Muzeum Zamkowe*), Upper Silesia; Central Archives of Historical Records (*Archivum Glowne Act Dawnych, AGAD*), Warsaw (*Tabulatorium Actorum Antiquorum Varsoviense Maximum*), Central Archives of New Records (*Archivum Glowne Act Nowych*); Ossolinski National Department (*Zaklad Narodowy im Ossolinskich*), Wroclaw; Faculty of Oriental Philology, Yagiellon University, Cracow; Regional State Archive (*Wojewodzkie Archiwum Panstwowe*), Cracow; Library of Warsaw University; the National Library, Warsaw; Faculty of Turkology, Warsaw University; Polish Orientalist Society, Warsaw; Regional State Archive, Poznan; Public Municipal Library of the Baltic port-city Szczecin; and, Main Library of the Nicolas Copernicus University, Torun.

The best-known private collections (*zbiory prywatne*) of Muslim manuscripts and books are in the home libraries of several Polish academicians: Dr. Selim Mirza Chazbijewicz in Gdansk, the late Prof. Jozef Bielawski in Warsaw, Dr. Tomasz Kamusella in Kedzierzyn-Kozle, Mr. J. Karpowicz in Szczecin, the late Prof. Jan Reychnan in Warsaw, Mr. Mustafa Sulimowicz in Warsaw, Mr. Maciej Konopacki, and Ms. Merjema Chalecka in Bialystok. The oldest Polish Tatar *islamica* (*khamails, dua kitabs*) and pseudo-*islamica* (*phaly*) as well as the rarest Islamic

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for his Faculty of Oriental Studies. The price for these unique documents from the “Ottoman” archives vandalised by kemalists was shockingly low. The Bulgarian orientalists, I. Dimitrov, W. Todorov-Hindalov, Miyatev and Nedkov obtained three tons of Osmanli *defterler* covering the period from the 15th to 18th century C.E.. “Astronomical number reaching hundreds of thousands priceless records of the Islamic state such as parchment *fermans, names, havadit, defterler, evrakler, telhis, temesuk, mektub, arduhal, takir, pusula, ariza, hezab, and tezker*e handwritten in *divani* and *siyakat* had been sent by kemalists to the paper mills.” Jan Reychnan, “W osrodkach orientalnych i orientalistycznych Bulgarii” [In Oriental and Orientalist Centres in Bulgaria], *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 1, no. 21 (1957): 40–56; see also Ananiasz Zajaczkowski and J. Reychnan, *Zarys dyplomatyki osmansko-tureckiej* [The Outline of the Osmanli-Turkish Diplomacy] (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1955), 12.

prayer-books (*duay kitab*, *khamaily*) in Belorussian or Eastern Polish (catalogue numbers, k.147b–149b) are either donated by Muslim citizens of Poland, Lithuania and Belarus to the Institute of Turkology of the University of Warsaw or kept in their own home libraries.<sup>30</sup> *Khamails* are kept in the home collection of Mr. R. Sobolewski from Poznan which written in 1888 C.E. by Ismāʿīl Korycki from Orda; Mrs. E. Korycka’s from Elbing (Elbląg) written in circa 1900 by ʿAlī (Alej) Bajraszewski from Orda; the Chalembek family’s from Ivanov (near Kleck) written in circa 810 C.E.; Mr. Ismāʿīl Bohdanovich from Novohrodok (1869 C.E.); Ms. Ewa Kozakiewicz’s “mollinski” from Orda with the Korycki collection (circa 1899 C.E.); Jakub Kozakiewicz from Iwanow which was inherited from Mrs. Felicia Jasinska from Kopylo (circa 1890s); *Imām* Junus of Chalembek (1910?); while Mr. A. Kozakiewicz’s is a *fal-khamail* written in 1910 by Yusef Korycki from Kleck, who was a son of *Imām* Ismāʿīl Korycki from Kruszyniany. Unlike others, Halima Konopacki’s home collection of *Khamail* in Sokolka, which was written in 1931, was donated to the collections of Arabic and Islamologist Institute of the same university. Similar to *khamails*, *kitab*s are kept in the home collections of Mr. and Mrs. Wilczynski from Niemiezy, of a place near Vilnius, which was written in 1817 and identical with the Tatar *kitab* from the

30. Tomasz Kamusella, a Silesian scholar from the University of Opole/ Opeln purchased in Khojend (Uzbekistan) *Imām* Fakhr al-Dīn Ḥanafī’s treatise *Fiqh Ḥanafīyah: al-Hidāyah al-Kāfi, al-Kifāyah*, on issues of canon of Hanafic *madhhab* (school) in the form of answers related to the correct method and sufficiency of arguments on “the right path.” This richly decorated and hand-coloured manuscript of 170 pages written in 1861 C.E./1278 A.H. is in the private collection of T. Kamusella. Selim Mirza Chazbijewicz, a senior lecturer of the University of Var-mia, a Polish-Tatar poet and former *imam* of a mosque at Gdansk, has a unique document of the *Mufti* of Poland and Ostlands, Dr. J. Szy-nkiewicz, (see footnote no. 8) and letters of his relatives, who participated in the formation of a short-lived Crimean Tatar Republic in 1918–19. M. Sulimowicz, M. Konopacki and M. Chalecka are Polish Tatar-origin Muslim intellectuals whom the author is acquainted with and to whose home libraries he have made visits.

British Library. The Francis Skoryna Byelorussian Library in London holds a precious manuscript which is a *tafsīr* from the 8th of January, 1725 C.E./ 21 *Rabiʿ al-ākhīr* 1137 A.H. with a complete Old North Frontier Polish translation of the Qurʾān. This rare manuscript was a property of the Muslim Smajkiewicz family from Minsk (Belarus) who migrated to the USA in 1944, a month before the Soviet invasion of Eastern Europe. This is one of the three oldest archaic Polish translations of the Qurʾān from circa 1560 C.E., and the third translation in Europe, after Latin and Italian.<sup>31</sup>

This author, too, has his own modest collection of *islamica* purchased, inherited or obtained as gifts. General Stanislaw Kopanski (1895–1976), Commander of the Polish Independent Carpathian Brigade, the Polish 3rd Carpathian Division, and Chief of Staff of the Polish Army during World War II, collected several Arabic manuscripts during his campaigns in Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Libya (1941–43). Even his Arabic-Polish dictionary for soldiers, which was self-written, was one of its “oriental” kind document of modern Arabic military terms coined for Polish troops. The author’s *collectanea* of Malay and Aceh modern manuscripts (such as marriage and birth certificates, trade contracts, notebooks, etc.) is the result of his 20-year-long academic service in Malaysia, in addition to the generosity of his students. Indeed, it will be the first private collection of malaysiana in Poland.

### **Islamic manuscripts in Scandinavia**

In Sweden, a valuable collection of Muslim manuscripts is kept at Uppsala University Library (*Carolina Rediviva*) collected by 17th and 18th centuries Swedish orientalists during

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31. Andrzej Drozd, “Rekopisy tatarskie w zbiorach londyńskich” [Tatar manuscripts in London collections], *Roczniki Tatarów Polskich* 2, no. 2 (1994): 38–53.

their journeys and missions to Muslim lands. The Library's oriental collection holds 520 rare Arabic, 460 Turkic and 305 Farsi manuscripts. Recently, the University Library acquired a large collection of microfilms of Arabic, Farsi and Turkish manuscripts, mainly from Turkey. Among them are *al-Hiyāl al-Rūḥāniyah* by *al-Fārābī*, an Arabic manuscript on geometry from the 11th century [Ms O Vet. 27] as well as a very unique copy of the Qur'ān dated 1090 C.E., written on parchment [Ms O Bj 48].<sup>32</sup> The Swedish archives contain many Osmanli manuscripts dating from 1587 to 1880 C.E.. Many of them had been plundered from the Polish collections during the 17th century Swedish invasion. These *turcica* and *islamica* are mostly in the Royal Library in Stockholm (*Riksarkivet, Extranea IX, Polen*).<sup>33</sup> Small collections of *turcica* and *islamica* are available in the University of Helsinki in Finland and in the Danish State Archives in Copenhagen which this author has yet to explore.

### **Islamica of Belarus and Lithuania**

The Eastern European *kitab*s are only one of its Islamic manuscript kind written by the Tatar-origin Muslims of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Belorussian language but using the Arabic script, mostly in the 16th century C.E..<sup>34</sup> Since the 14th century C.E., these Muslims had formed a

32. Bernhard Lewin and Oscar Löfgren, *Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the Hellmut Ritter Microfilm Collection of the Uppsala University Library including later Accessions*, ed. Mikael Persenius (Uppsala: Swedish State Archive, 1992).

33. C. J. Tornberg, *Codices arabici, persici et turcici Bibliothecae Regiae Universitatis Upsalensis*, Lundae, 1849; K. V. Zettersteen, "Svenska Riksarkivets orientaliska Urkunder," *Historisk Tidskrift* 56 (1936): 71–81 [in Swedish]; idem, *Türkische, tatarsche und persische Urkunden im Schwedischen Reichsarchiv* (Uppsala: Swedish State Archive, 1945); and idem, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Uppsala*, 2 vols. (Uppsala: Swedish State Archive, 1930–35).

34. Maciej Konopacki, "Pismienictwo Tatarow polsko-litewskich w nauce polskiej i obcej" [Writings of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars in Polish and foreign science], *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 59, no. 3 (1966): 196–7.

dynamic *djamyety* in Lithuania and Belarus but they gradually had forgotten their native Kipchak Turkic language. The first several thousands of Kipchak-origin Muslim refugees from the Golden Horde (*Altın Ortu*) who settled down in Lithuania during the reign of the Grand Duke Vitautas lost their Turkic mother tongue in the 16th century and gradually adopted first the Ruthenian (pre-Belorussian), followed by the Polish language.<sup>35</sup> In order to preserve their Islamic faith, these Muslim *muhājirīn* or captives translated the Qurʾān and *ḥadīths* into the Belorussian (Old Ruthenian) language. Their *kitab*y also preserved many pagan Tatar legends and parables as well as descriptions of Islamic practices, the *miʿrāj* of Prophet Muḥammad and didactic stories for youths about correct Islamic *adab* (respect for parents, guests, orphans, neighbours, protection of the poor, the elderly, the infirm, *adab al-jihād*, etc.)

The second literary genre of the Belorussian *islamica* forms *tafsīrs* with commentaries in either Belorussian or Polish, *tejvijs* (the regulations of the Qurʾānic recitation), and *khamails* (prayer books). In the late 14th century C.E., Muslim refugees, emigrants, mercenaries, captives and colonists from the Golden Horde, Crimean Khanate and Caucasia, built close-knit settlements in these last polytheist and barely Christianised Baltic land of *Letuva* (Lithuania).<sup>36</sup>

35. Andrzej B. Zakrzewski, "Assimilation of Tatars within the Polish Commonwealth 16th–18th centuries," *Acta Poloniae Historica 55-tej Orientalistycznej Konferencji* 2 (1975): 85–106.

36. Stanisław Kryczyński, "Nieudana misja katolicka wśród muzułmanów litewskich w XVI wieku" (The failed Catholic mission among the Lithuanian Muslims in the 16th century), *Przegląd Islamski* 3–4 (1935): 11–14; idem, "Zygmunt August a tatarzy litewscy" [Sigmund August and Lithuanian Tatars], *Przegląd Islamski* 3–4 (1934): 8–10; idem, "Tatarzy litewscy—próba monografii historyczno-etnograficznej" [Lithuanian Tatars—the attempt of the ethno-historical monograph], *Rocznik Tatarski* 3 (1938): 1–318; idem, "Zyciorysy zasłużonych muzułmanów" (Biographies of reputable Muslims), *Rocznik Tatarski* 2 (1935): 407–418; Leon Kryczyński, "Tatarzy polscy a Wschód muzułmański" [Polish Tatars and the Muslim East], *Rocznik Tatarski* 2 (1935): 1–143; György Lederer, "Islam

*Risale-i-tatar-i leh*, a report on the Muslim Tatar settlers written by an anonymous Muslim Tatar from the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom for the Osmanli Sultan Suleiman I, the Lawgiver, indicates that the Kipchak language was used only by the Tatars who moved to the Lithuanian Grand Duchy very recently. Those who did not speak the “Tatar” language were thus advised: “*Kali khto pa-tatarsku nye umyeye, to pa-rusku nyakhay abrakayekhtza*” (Those who do not know the Tatar language, should speak in Ruthenian).<sup>37</sup> The Old Ruthenian is closely related to the modern Belorussian. In 1857, Anton Mukhlinsky, a professor of Petersburg University, wrote in “*The research on the origin and state of the Lithuanian Tatars*” that, “. . . it’s worth making a small library from those books.”<sup>38</sup> In the beginning of the 20th century C.E., a new generation of orientalists and slavists, J. Stankievic, I. I. Luckievic, J. Karski, I. J. Krachkovski, and A. K. Antanovicz academically examined those Belorussian *slavo-islamica*.<sup>39</sup> Adam Antanovicz, author of “*Belarusian texts in Arabic script*” (Minsk, 1968) published and edited 24 original *kitab*s.

*Kitabs* vary in size (from 70 to 1000 pages) which are written similarly to Arabic, from right to left, in the Belorussian language. Each row of these *kitab*s forms one continuous thread, without any breaks between the words, capital letters or punctuations. Every chapter begins with the word *bāb* or

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in Lithuania,” *Central Asian Survey* 14, no.3 (1995): 425–48; Harry Norris, *Islam in the Baltic. Europe’s Early Muslim Community* (London-New York: L. B. Tauris Publishers, 2009); *International Library of Historical Studies* 53: 31–54.

37. Marian Zdan, “Stosunki litewsko-tatarskie za czasów Witolda wielkiego księcia Litwy” [Lithuanian-Tatar relationship in the times of Vitold, the Grand Duke of Lithuania], *Ateneum Wilenskie* 7 (1930): 530–601; Stanislovas Kricinskis/Stanislaw Kryczynski, *Lietuvos Totoriai* [Lithuanian Tatars], translated from Polish into Lithuanian language by Tamara Bairasuskaite (Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopediju leidykla, 1993), 181.

38. Quoted by Kriciniskis, *Lietuvos*, 181.

39. I. J. Krachkovsky, “Rukopis Korana w Pskowie” [Manuscript of Qur’an in Pskov], *Doklady Rossiyskoi Akademii Nauk* (1924).

*hikāyāt* (story). The language of *kitabs* is unsophisticated, based on very simple vocabulary and syntax of the Belorussian *kholop* and *muzhik* (serf and peasant). Many Slavic phonetical traits are expressed even better in the Arabic script rather than in Cyrillic texts of that time, the so-called *dziekannie* and *cekannie*.<sup>40</sup>

Authors of *kitabs* used specifically Islamic words for religious practices. For example, *selam* (*salām*)—of the idiomatic expression *dac' selam*; also *vasijat*, *djanaze*, etc. Most of these words were truly incorporated into the language.<sup>41</sup> Some Oriental words have changed their forms under the influence of the Belorussian language. For example, the word *du'ā'* (prayer, supplicating Allāh for something) has been used with a diminutive Byelorussian suffix and become *duajka*. The Arabic word *kāfir* (infidel) was used as a basis to create other word forms that is, *kiafiry* (plural), *kiafirski* (adjective), *kiafiranie*. Those distinctive vernacular *islamica* are literary monuments of the Muslims of the Polish-Lithuanian-Belorussian “Orient” and they are preserved in the libraries of the Academy of Science of Belarus, Academy of Science of Lithuania, Vilnia (Vilnius) University, Petersburg and Kazan University, Vilnia (Vilnius) History and Ethnography Museum, as well as in private Muslim home libraries in Lithuania, Belarus and Russia. There are many 19th century C.E. Muslim manuscripts and regional *islamica* in the archival collections of the Lithuanian city of Vilnius (Polish Wilno) (*Akty izdavamayemye Vilenskoyu arkheograficheskoyu kommissiyeyu*) [Files of the Archeographic Commission in Vilnius, from 1865–1912], in *Vilniaus Vaistybinis Archivas Senuju Aktu Archyvo Skyrius*) and in the former *Archiwum Glowne. Dzial dokumentow tatarskich* [The Main Archive, Warsaw, the section of Tatar documents and the Lithuanian records

40. Soft Slavic /d/ becoming /dz/ and soft /t/ becoming /tz/, and palatalisation of /s/, /z/, /d/, /t/, for example, /z'vieczara/ (from evening), /viernas'c'/ (loyalty), and /dz'viery/ (doors).

41. The nouns decline like other Old Ruthenian nouns, verbs conjugate like typical Belorussian verbs.



{*metryki, sigillata*}] of the Polish capital, Warsaw, await academic analyses.

Among the 1650 signatures of Muslim Tatar-origin nobles on documents from the decades of 1500–1550 C.E. written in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of Both Nations, half is in the Ruthenian Cyrillic while the remaining half in Arabic script. At the end of the 16th century, three-quarters of the Muslim signatures are in the Latin script and the remaining quarter is mostly in Arabic. The majority of the Muslim Tatars in the *Rzeczpospolita* did not know the Arabic alphabets. But the Arabic script is dominant on tombstones and in the Tatar *kitab*s from the 16th century.<sup>42</sup>

Belorussian *kitab*s are testimonials of the Islamic identity of the Polonised Kipchak/Turkic/Tatar Muslims. Many Tatar *kitab*s from the Baltic lands are trilingual, written in Arabic, Roman and Cyrillic scripts. Polish-Lithuanian and Belorussian *Kitaby* is a rare genre of Muslim manuscripts which preserves the essential elements of the Islamic faith threatened by the dominant non-Muslim cultures, territorial separation from the Abode of Islam (*dār al-Islām*), erosion of religious education, pseudo-reformation, alienation, modernisation, process of gradual assimilation into the Catholic/ Orthodox-dominated societies and social marginalisation. Definitely, *Kitaby* are not exemplary testimonies of the high level of Islamic knowledge and lingual elegance typical for the Muslim literature produced by *‘ulamā’* from famous *madrasah*s. This genre cannot be treated as “textbooks” of *al-Dīn* even at the level of

42. Jan W. Bandtke, “O Tatarach mieszkancach Krolestwa Polskiego” [About Tatars, the inhabitants of Polish Kingdom], *Album Literacki* 1 (1843): 117–127; Piotr Borawski, “Z dziejów kolonizacji tatarskiej w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim i Polsce, XIV–XVII w” [From history of Tatar colonization in the Lithuanian Grand Duchy and Poland], *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 4, no.104 (1977): 291–304; Stanisław Jaszowski, “Turcy i Tatarzy we Lwowie” [Turks and Tatars in the city of Lviv], *Rozmaitosci* (1832); Piotr Borawski and Andrzej Dubinski, *Tatarzy polscy, dzieje, obrzedy, legendy, tradycje* [Polish Tatars, History, Rites, Legends and Traditions] (Warsaw: Iskry 1986), 18.

elementary *maktabah*. A typical Polish-Lithuanian-Belorussian *kitab* contains simple instructions of Islamic *farā'id*, *adab* or *ʿibādāt*, rudimentary *qiṣaṣ* of the Qurʾanic Prophets (Ādam, Nūḥ, Ibrāhīm, Ismāʿīl, Yaʿqūb, Yūsūf, Iṣḥāq, Lūt, Shuʿaib, Hūd, Dāwūd, Sulaimān, Mūsā, Hārūn, Yaḥyā, and ʿĪsā), the *ṣīrah* of the last Prophet Muḥammad and the descriptions of His miraculous ascent from Medina via al-Quds (*al-Miʿrāj*), sometimes quotations from the Mosaic *Tawrāh* or its Christian versions (the Old Testament), prayers, *duʿājki* (*duʿāʾ* or supplications), genealogical tables of the *anbiyāʾ*, almost always the *ṣūrah yā sin* and martyrdom of Ḥabīb al-Najjār (Qurʾān, 36:11–26). Some *kitabas* also contain the valiant life and martyrdom of ʿAlī bin Abū Ṭālib but without exalted veneration of the *Shiʿites*. In a very small number of the 18th century C.E. *kitabas*, a fable of Maryam Umm ʿĪsā was attributed to Wahb bin Munabbih.<sup>43</sup> Andrzej Drozd is a Polish historian and linguist who researches and critically edits such rare manuscripts.<sup>44</sup>

43. He died circa 250 years before Ibrāhīm ibn Yaʿqūb, a traveller-explorer-envoy-spy-merchant from Al-Andalus, who explored the still idolatrous and barbarian *bilād al-Mishaca*, a tribal state of *Polanye* which was ruled with an iron-fist by a tribal prince-judge (iudex) Myeshko vel Dago (who ordered the forced Catholicisation of early medieval “Poland” for the sake of his new marriage with a Czech nun, Dobrava). His tribal *Polani* state faced raids of Yoms-vikings from Vineta, *Waranj* (Varangians), *Valitabi* and the hostile western Balto-Slavic *Saqaliba* Obodrite tribe of Veletians/Lutice. The Muslim merchants from al-Andalus, Khwarizm and Abasid Caliphate knew the White Croatian (*Viṣlami*) stronghold of Cracow (Cr.ko) and the slave-trade market in the Czech town of *B.řg* (Prague), vide; Abū ʿUbayad al-Bakri, (d.1094 C.E./487 A.H.), *The Geography of al-Andalus and Europe from the Book “al-masālik waʿl mamālik”* [The Routes and the Countries], ed. ʿAbdurrahmān ʿAlī al-Ḥajjī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1968/1387); see also Ahmed Nazmi, *Commercial Relations between Arabs and the Slavs* (9th–11th c. C.E.) (Warsaw: Wyd. Akademickie Dialog, 1998), 74–101; and Tadeusz Kowalski, *Relacja Ibrahima z podrozy do krajow slowianskich w przekazie al-Bekriego*, [Report of Ibrāhīm ibn Yaʿqūb from the Journey to the Slavic Lands in the Work of al-Bekri] (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellonskiego, 1946), 11.

44. Andrzej Drozd, “Sultan *dua* (swiateczna modlitwa za sultanow)” [Sultan *duʿa*, Friday prayer for sultans], *Roczniki Tatarow Polskich* 2, no. 2 (1994): 25–54 and 206–230; Andrzej Drozd, “Tatarska wersja XV-to wiecznej

The *kitab*y written in *Lehlu*, a crude Old Polish language of *ahle Lehistan* (Polish folk) also contains semi-satirical didactical polemics of Muslims and refutations of Christian mythology, usually in the form of dialogues between the over-confident Catholic simpleton (*markholt gruby a sprosny*) and the witty Muslim *moulna* or *zāhid*.

The National Library of Latvia at Riga holds a 176-page long manuscript<sup>45</sup> written in an idiomatic Belorussian language by Sulaimān Ibrāhīm Bogdanov, a Sunni Muslim who expressed his strong commitment to the Ḥanafī *madhhāb*. Bogdanov's MS represents different genre of the Tatar Muslim folk-literature called *dauarwar*, a kind of Islamic catechism. Its vocalised Arabic script is often badly written and baffling. Syntaxes are primitive and the author's use of Arabic prefixes as well as suffixes is outlandish. Such Islamic "breviaries" are not rare among Polish, Lithuanian and Belorussian Tatars. Some of them are still in private home libraries but most are preserved in the Seraja Szapszal' Collection of Karaim and Muslim Tatar Manuscripts in the Library of the National

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anonimowej polskiej pieśni-legendy hagiograficznej o św. Hiobie" [The Tatar version of the song-legend of St. Job, based upon Polish anonymous hagiographic legend dating to the 15th century], *Poznańskie Studia Polonistyczne, Seria Literacka* II, no. XXII (1995): 163–95; Andrzej Drozd, "Staropolski apokryf w muzułmańskich księgach" (Tatarska adaptacja *Historji barzo cudnej o stworzeniu nieba I ziemi Krzysztofa Pussmana*) [The Old Polish apocryphal narration in the Muslim books {Tatar adaptation of Christopher Pussman's *Very Miraculous Story on the Creation of Heavens and the Earth*}], *Poznańskie Studia Polonistyczne, Seria Literacka* (1996), vol. 3, no. 23, pp. 95–134. The Tatar "*al-jamiado*" literature in Poland, Lithuania and Belarus is also studied by Polish orientalist, Tadeusz Majda. See his "Modlitewnik turecki ze zbiorów Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego" [Turkish prayer-book from the collections of the Library of the University of Warsaw], *Roczniki Tatarów Polskich* 2, no. 2 (1994): 17–20. Also Czesław Lapić, "Nauka i uczeni w muzułmańskim piśmiennictwie religijnym" [Science and scientists in the Muslim religious writings], *Roczniki Tatarów Polskich* 2, no. 2 (1994): 20–25.

45. It is catalogued as no. 28 *Austrumtautu* 222S, and dated 1885 C.E., but some pages are dated from 1835.

Museum of Lithuania.<sup>46</sup> They briefly explain what *arkān* is (the Five Pillars of the Islamic *‘Aqīdah*) and carry apocryphal biographies of *al-awliyyā*<sup>3</sup> with quotations from the Unitarian (neo-Arian) Bible translated into the vernacular Renaissance Polish language by the Polish anti-Trinitarian humanist, Szymon Budny. Islamicised hagiographic Christian legends (for example, the medieval *chanson* of Job) in some of these Polish-Lithuanian pseudo-*Islamica* are not rare.<sup>47</sup>

The Russian archives in St. Petersburg (which are not reviewed in this survey) also possess a large number of *kitab*y, *tefsirs* and *duavars*. Between 1950 and 1953, a team of turcologists, who comprised Ananiasz Zajaczkowski, Jan Reychman, Tadeusz Lewicki, Maria Kowalska, Andrzej Czapkiewicz, from the Institute of Oriental Studies at Warsaw formed a commission which catalogued more than 3,300 Muslim manuscripts and historical documents from Poland’s state archives, museums, libraries and from individual, ecclesiastica or private Muslim home records. They continued

46. Catalogued in LNM as 698 & 711: “*kratkiye Arabsko-Ruskiye molitevenniki*” (Short Arabic-Russian Prayer-books). These Lithuanian *duavars* resemble *khamaills* but they belong to the genre of the native *kitab*y. The oldest *duavars* are from the 16th century C.E..

47. *Katalog dokumentow tureckich. Dokumenty do dziejow Polski i krajow osciennych w latach 1455–1672* [Catalogue of Turkish Documents. Documents concerning History of Poland and Neighbouring Countries 1455–1672], ed. Zygmunt Abrahamowicz (Polska Akademia Nauk. Zaklad Orientalistyki [Polish Academy of Science, PAN, Department of Orientalistics] (Warsaw: Polski Instytut Wydawniczy [PIW], 1959); Shirin Akiner, “Oriental Borrowings in the Language of the Byelorussian Tatars,” *Slavonic and East European Review* 52, no. 2 (1970): 224–41; Andrzej Drozd, Marek Dziekan and Tadeusz Majda, *Pismienictwo i muhiry Tatarow polsko-litewskich* [Literature and *muheers* of the Polish—Lithuanian Tatars] (Warsaw: Res Publica Multiethnica, 2000), 30–34; G. M. Meredith-Owens, and Alexander Nadson, “The Byelorussian Tartars and their writings,” *The Journal of Byelorussian Studies* 2, no. 2 (Year V, 1970): 141–76; Czesław Lopicz, “Trzy redakcje jezykowe muzulmanskij legendy w pismienictwie tatarow litewsko-polskich” [Three linguistic editions of a Muslim legend in the writings of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars], *Acta Baltico-Slavica* XX (1991): 155–168; *Saraj Szapszal’s Karaim Collection, Library of the National Museum of Lithuania*, Tatar-Slavic MSs, comp. by Zygintas Bucys (Kaunas: 2003), 127–133.

the pre-war efforts of ʿAlī Ismāʿīl Woronowicz and brothers, Olgierd Naiman Mirza and Leon Naiman Mirza Kryczynski, three renowned Polish Muslim intellectuals who were murdered by the Soviet invaders in 1941.<sup>48</sup>

Most of those precious primary sources to the history of centuries-long contacts between the Catholicised Polish-Lithuanian Dual Kingdom and its Islamic neighbours (Sunni khanates of Kipchak, Crimea, the Osmanli Sultanate and the *Shīʿite* Persia) are from the Warsaw-based Royal *Archiwum Głowne Akt Dawnych* (The Central Archives of the Old Documents) of *Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodow Polski i Litwy* (The Commonwealth of Both Nations of Poland and Lithuania) and *Archiwum Państwowe* (the State Archives) in Cracow. *Turcica* alone forms the bulk of 1,011 diplomatic or commercial papers. These extremely valuable primary sources to the Muslim history of Eurasia should not be confused with *turcyki*—nefarious anti-Turkish and Islamophobic pamphlets—written by the Polish Catholic demagogues in the 16th, 17th and even 18th centuries C.E. who called for a new crusade against the Muslim Osmanlis.<sup>49</sup> Its most obnoxious product was the vitriolic *Al-Furkan Tatarski na czterdzieci czesci podzielony* (“The Tatar al-Furkan Divided into 40 parts”) a primitive denigration of Islam written anonymously by Jan Czyzewski, a 17th century C.E. bishop of Vilnius.

48. Marek M. Dziekan, *Polacy i świat arabski. Słownik biograficzny* [Poles and the Arab world] (Gdansk: Niezależne Wydawnictwo Roczników Tatarow Polskich, 1998), 58 and 95–96.

49. Jan Nosowski, *Polska literatura polemiczna-antyislamiczna XVI, XVII i XVIII-tego wieku. Wybor tekstow i komentarze* [Polish Polemic-anti-Islamic Literature of the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries: Selected Texts and Commentaries], 3 vols. (Warsaw: Wyd Pax, 1974); A. Bogdan Kopanski, “Kwestia Turecka w sejmach polskich i pismach ulotnych XVI wieku” [Turkish question in the Polish parliaments and leaflets of the 16th century], *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 101, no. 1 (1978): 37–41. The vulgarity and stupidity of these anti-Muslim Polish *turcyki* can be compared only with the recent Zionist Islamophobic commentaries on the Internet and despicable demagoguery by Geert Wilders, Daniel Pipes, Robert Spencer, Pamela Geller, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, Steve Emerson and their agents.

The Muslim manuscripts in the private and church collections had been obtained by the Muslim and Christian Poles or Lithuanians through their personal contacts with the Islamic *Ummah*, such as travels, missions, pilgrimages and emigrations. Many of these valuable manuscripts had come into possession of the Christian collectors as war spoils or results of thievery. In the turbulent 17th century *Kresy* (Ukrainian Borderlands), the Muslim caravans of merchants and sometimes even sultans' or khans' envoys were often robbed in the "Wild Fields" (*Dzikie Pola*) of Moldavia, Bessarabia and Podilya by numerous gangs of the larcenous Cossacks (*haydamaki*) or equally infamous *Lisowczyki* (demoralised units of unpaid Polish mercenaries led by rebellious hetmans).

*Khamaily* forms a peculiar genre of Polish-Lithuanian-Belorussian pseudo-Muslim manuscripts in the private and state collections. They are historical evidences of contamination of the Islamic faith by the Baltic heathenism and Mongolic shamanism mixed together with the still very strong pagan superstitions of the native Christian peasants.<sup>50</sup> Like in sub-Saharan Africa and the Malay Archipelago, where Islam was similarly polluted with the old Bantu or *orang asli*'s "black magic," the Lithuanian and Belorussian Tatar healers, fortune-tellers and spiritualists used Islamic scriptures for forecasting the weather, *odkurenje fireya* (in Byelorussian Tatar lingo, "smoking out evil spirit") interpretation of dreams, "predicting future wars and death," explanations of *niechsiove* or *pechowe dni* (unlucky days), or "curing the sick," especially the mentally disturbed or women with infertility problem. Ornithomancy, particularly the predicting of events from the behaviour of crows (*krukowe fauy*) was very popular among the Tatar-origin Muslims of the Baltic regions and recorded

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50. Andrzej Drozd, "Chamail Sobolewskiego" [Sobolewski's *Khamail*], *Rocznik Tatarow Polskich* 1 (1993): 48–61.

in *khamails*.<sup>51</sup> The Eurasian Tatar *fawdyey* was exactly what the *bomoh* is for the credulous Malay, *pir* for Penjabi/ Sindi illiterate sufists or *marabou* for the gullible African member of *туруq*.

*Khamaily* were often objects of theft because one of them from a village Orda had warned in Belorussian and Lithuanian languages that God would punish the thief severely:

(Belorussian language)  
*Kto sviatoy khamai uworuyet*  
*Tomu Boh nye daruyet*  
*Budet krichat: Ay! Ay! Ay!*  
*A ya skazhu: otday, otday*  
*Bismillahi Rahmanir Rahym*  
*Kto uworuyet*  
*Temu Boh nye daruyet*  
*Eto vyerno*

(Lithuanian language)  
*Kas sventaji chamaila svogs*  
*tam Dievas nedovanos*  
*Sauks jam: aj,aj, aj!*  
*O as skaysiu: grazink, grazink*  
*Bismillahi Rachmanir Rachym*  
*[Varsan Dievo visagalio ir*  
*gailestinogoj]*  
*Kas isvogs*  
*Tam Dievas nedovanos*  
*Tikrai.*<sup>52</sup>

Numerology of *khamails* is without doubt an eclectic occultism adapted from the Chasidic Cabbalism of Ashkenazi Jews and the Turkic Khazars converted by their *kagans* (*hakans*) into henotheism of the numerous Judaic sects of the northern Black in the early Middle Ages of Byzantine Europe. Muḥammad Murād Ramzī (1854–1934 C.E.), a Tatar historian from Kazan, wrote that the Muslim Tatars of Lehistan (Poland) have eschewed the Gnostic concept of “man-god” (in Russian, *bogochelovyek*) preached by Kamāl al-Khujandī (d. in Tabriz, 1400 C.E./803 A.H.), Khwaja ‘Ubaydullāh as-Shāshī (Tashkenti), Jalayri Sultan Ḥasan Uwaysi from Azerbaijan (1374–82/776–84), Faḡl Allāh al-Astarabadī (executed for profanity by Miran-shah, son of Timur-lenk, in 1394 C.E./ 796 A.H.) and his blasphemous

51. Idem, “Ornitomancja Tatarow polskich” [Ornithomancy of the Polish Tatars], *Roczniki Tatarow Polskich* 2, no. 2 (1994): 25–37.

52. “Whoever steal the holy *khamil*, God will not forgive, and he will cry: ay, ay, ay! And I will: return, return. In the name of God Merciful and Who steal, God will not forgive. That is true. Byelorussian and Lithuanian text in Kricinskis, *Lietovus*, 191.

disciple, Nasimi.<sup>53</sup> However, “the strict Orthodoxy of Tatar Islam in Europe, has constantly opposed such heterodoxy and heretical influences akin to Hurufism, Cabbalism may come to them through Catholicism and Orthodox churchmen.”<sup>54</sup> The Muslims of Poland, Lithuania and Belarus had never built *tekkes*, *khanaqahs* and *zawiyyas*. Only the obscure legend of Lithuanian *awliya*<sup>c</sup> Kontus or Kontey<sup>55</sup> reflects a pseudo-

53. All of these sufist educators of Ghiyath al-Dīn Toqtamish, Khan of the Golden Horde (1376–95/778–97) had been eliminated by the ferocious Uzbek “*Kamcha-e Allāh*” (Scourge of God), Timur-lenk and his son. Kamāl al-Khujandi reformed himself, and as esoteric adviser of Miran-shah, returned to Tabriz. Remnants of Hurufists and Rifa’ists from the court of Toqtamish found asylum and *khatwa* (retreat) in the Grand Duke Vitautas’ Lithuania. Probably, some of these *mutaqashshifīn* and *mutbada’ah* who replaced Mecca with Tabriz as the axis-city of their new religion, preached in the still pagan “open society” of the Lithuania their esoteric, *lā yaqūmu’l-zāhiru maghlūb al-baḥīnī* and exercised their “power of miracles” (*karāmāt*) among the ignorant Tatars. More details on this subject in Selim Chazbijewicz and Jan Tyszkiewicz, “Tradycje mistyki islamskiej. Pismiennictwo religijne, magia i folklor” [Traditions of Islamic mysticism. Religious literature, magic and folklore], in *Tatarzy Muzulmanie w Polsce* [Tatar Muslims in Poland] (Gdansk: Niezależne Wydawnictwo Rocznikow Tatarow Polskich, 1997), 168–200; see also Arslane Bohdanowicz, “La Horde d’Or, la Pologne et la Lithuanie (1242–1430),” *Revue Internationale d’Histoire Politique et Constitutionnelle* X (1955): 168–200; Muhammad Murad Ramzi, *Talfiq al-akhhbār wa-talqīh al-athār fi waqā’i al-Qāzan wa bulghār wa mulūk al-tatār* [The elaborated testimonies and reflection on the results of events which took place in Kazan, Bulghar and Tatar kingdoms], vol.1 (Orenburg: Izdat. M.S., 1908), 629–638. More details on bektashism in Hamid Algar, “The Hurufi influence on Bektashism,” *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* LX (1992): 1 and 41; and Leonard Lewisohn, “The Life and times of Kamāl Khujandi,” *Journal of Turkish Studies* XVIII (1994): 138 and 168.
54. Alexander Seleznev, “The Northernmost Outpost of Islamic Civilization,” *International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World Newsletter* 3 (1999): 33.
55. Called in some of *khamails* as a *yurodlivryi* (In Russian: “holy fool”) whose “magic stick” guarded his cattle in Lithuania when he performed his *hajj* and who is allegedly buried in the Belorussian Tatar-dominated village Lowczyce (read, *Uovchytze*). Selim Mirza Chazbijewicz, “Kultura religijna Tatarow polskich” [Religious culture of the Polish Tatars], *Rocznik Tatarow Polskich* 11 (1994): 86–87; Michas Tarelka and Irina Sinkowa, “Tekst sufiyskaga pakhodzhannya z Belaruska—tatarskaga khamaila” [Text of sufic origin from Belarus—The Tatar khamail], *Aktaliniya Problei Palanistiki* (Minsk: Isdat, 2005): 29–54 (in Byelorussian language).



Islamisation of either the Eastern Orthodox wonder-worker or Tatar shaman.

The name *faʿwḍyey* (Tatar fortune-teller) is derived from Arabic *faʿala* or *faʿls* (lucky sign or good omen) ended with Belorussianised Turkish suffix *-dji*. The Tataric term *khamaiw* in its plural form is derived from Arabic *ḥamīlah* or *ḥamāʿil*, that is, a cord or shoulder string with talisman which a wearer hangs around his/her neck. These discussed amulets—“pocket” texts from Belarus and Lithuania—are often of a large size bounded in book format. Many of them are unique *incunabula* because they are rare printed copies from the 17th century C.E.. But historians and archivists of these relics of the Lithuanian Tatar literature should not confuse them with the modern religious textbooks called routinely *khamaiwy* and published recently by the Islamic Boards of the Tatars in the republics of Lithuania, Poland and Belarus. For example, highly popular amongst the Polish Tatar diaspora in the USA and a very laudable Sunni guidebook, *Fundamentals of Islam*,<sup>56</sup> and the Polish Muslim *modlitewnik* (breviary, small prayer-book) *Modlitwa, Praktyka Islamu*<sup>57</sup> for use of the Polish *imāms* are also called *khamails*. Guidebooks of *tedzuid* (*tajwīd*) on proper vocal pronunciation and recitation of the Qurʾān with Polish or Belorussian translation and transcription, written in Arabic or Türkic (Kipchaki), are another type of religiously correct *khamails*.

*Muhirs* are artistically printed or embroidered in ornate Arabic calligraphy passages from the Qurʾān or painted pictures and tapestries with landscapes of Mecca and Medina, roundels with the names of Prophet Muḥammad and members of his family, the *Ṣaḥābah* and the Four Righteous Caliphs. Some *muhirs* are astronomical charts or genealogical trees of the Qurʾanic Prophets. The Muslims of the Baltic lands hung them on the walls of their mosques and houses.

56. Compiled by Niāz Maksoudoff (Brooklyn-New York: The American Mohammedan [sic!] Society, April 1947).

57. Prepared by Muṣṭafā S. Jaśiński, a village *imām* of Kruszyniany (Białystok, 1986).

The most important *islamica* in the state archives, *madrasahs*, Islamic centres and private collections of the Baltic republics are definitely the handwritten *tafsīr*, or the commentaries of the well-known Orthodox *Sunni* *‘ulamā*’. They are mostly preserved in the Muslim home libraries and the Oriental Collections in the Lithuanian National Libraries at Vilnius, Belorussian archives of Minsk, Libraries of St. Petersburg and The National Archives of Poland. A typical *tafsīr* written by the Muslims of the Baltic lands is a full text of the Qur’ān either in manuscript or in beautifully printed form to which is attached one or two handwritten glosses in Polish or Belorussian with detailed explanations for those who are illiterate in Arabic. One such very old monument of the Polish-Lithuanian Islamic literature is in the Byelorussian Library in London. Some pious Muslim Tatars wrote and copied such essential contribution to their *djematy* during their entire life. This tradition was continued during the decades of the atheist totalitarianism when Muslim religious books were censored, burnt or denigrated. This survivalist tradition is continued until today in the Muslim scriptoria of Poland, Lithuania, Belarus, Crimea, Latvia and Estonia.

### **Islamic Manuscripts of the National Library of the Czech Republic**

The collection of Arabic manuscripts held in the National Library of the Czech Republic contains 200 Muslim documents. It is a component of the Oriental manuscripts collection, especially Persian, Turkish, and Indian. The whole collection of Oriental manuscripts has circa 1200 volumes of which Indian manuscripts on palm-leaves comprised more than half of the collection. The library holds a small number of Muslim manuscripts collected by the former director of the library, Pavel Josef Safarik. Large acquisitions of Muslim manuscripts

took place in the 1920s and 1930s. It is also during this time that their first catalogue was preserved. Their more detailed processing took place only towards the end of the 1990s. The Arabic manuscripts cover various branches of human activity, for example, logic, mathematics, Islamic faith, politics, law, astronomy, medicine, science of nature, and literature. The Czech Republic's National Library holds a very interesting collection of letters of the Grand Vizier of the Sublime Porte to the Ukrainian hetmans, Bogdan Chmielnitzki and Doroshenko, and vice versa.<sup>58</sup>

### **Basagic's Collection of Islamic Manuscripts in the Bratislava University Library**

Basagic's collection in the Slovakian Republic comprises unique manuscripts and essential works of medieval Islamic scholarly literature and belles-lettres, spanning the interval from 12th to 19th century, and prints from two centuries, starting from 1729. The collection of 284 manuscripts and 365 printed volumes preserved in the Library of University of Bratislava portrays more than a thousand-year long development of the Islamic civilisation from its commencement to the beginning of the 20th century. Safvet Beg Basagic, a Bosnian Muslim collector, historian and curator of a museum as well as a politician, conserved in this collection not only the rich Muslim literary heritage of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts and rare Serbian and Croatian texts written in Arabic script (Bosnian "*al-jamiado*").

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58. Jan Rypka, "Ctyri turecke listiny z Dolneho Kamence na Slovensku" [Four Turkish letters from the Low Kamenetz in Slovakia], *Prudy* 11 (1927): 355–65 and 471–82; and idem, "Dalsi prispevek ke korespondenci Vyskoe Porty z Bohdanem Chmielnickym" [Additional note to correspondence between the High Porte and Bohdan Khmyelnitzky], *Casopis Narodniho Musea* 105, no. 1 (1931): 209–31 (in Czech-Slovakian language). The present catalogue produced on CD-ROM by Albertina icome Praha constitutes their first list ever published.

After the destruction of priceless Islamic documents and images in the fire of the National Library in Sarajevo, which was deliberately targeted by the Serbian artillery during the 1991–1995 war, Basagic's collection has become the best preserved corpus of the Bosnian Muslim culture and Islamic civilisation in Europe.<sup>59</sup> Many *turcica* and *Islamica* from the period of Osmanli-controlled Slovakia are in the Library of the Slovakian University at Bratislava (*Kniznica Slovenskej Univerzity*). There are 256 Osmanli *defterler* concerning the Muslim administration of the Slovakian province running from 1600 to 1658 C.E. in the Slovakian libraries and archives. Numerous Osmanli manuscripts of the 16th and the 17th centuries, which are well preserved in their original silk-made envelopes, were discovered in Rimavska Sobota. Other collections are scattered throughout several towns of Lower Slovakia.

## Conclusion

Since the 15th C.E. century, Muslim Tatars have had a manuscript tradition, which is a heritage of both the Golden Horde and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. From the 1860s, several Muslim Tatar scholars as well as some Polish or Russian orientalists paid more attention to manuscripts written in the Turkish, Belorussian and Polish languages, but in Arabic script (*Kitab, Khamail, Tejvid, Tefsir*). However, all their studies are unsatisfactory because the absolute majority of concerned manuscripts situated in archives are very poorly known to Muslim collectors. So far, only a few manuscripts have been transcribed (from Arabic script) and published by

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59. UNESCO has included the Basagic's collection in *The Memory of the World Register* in 1997. The Library of the University of Bratislava has decided to digitise the collection and publish it in an electronic form. This resulted in a CD-ROM with samples of illustrations, calligraphic art, and manuscript bindings, together with bibliographic records of individual titles in the original language.

Jakub Szynekiewicz, ʿAli I. Woronowicz, St. Kryczynski, Selim M. Chazbijewicz, Andrzej Drozd and Jan Stankiewicz. Shirin Akiner had critically edited a Belorussian Tatar manuscript-*kitab* (British Library Catalogue no. OR 13020) which was transcribed in 1831 by an unknown author.<sup>60</sup>

The Eastern and Central European rich collections of rare Islamic manuscripts are still poorly explored by Arabic and Turkic-speaking historians. The intensive cataloguing and creating of new digitalised records of these unique assortments of the Islamic works and documents is a right step in studies on Islamic culture of Northern Europe even though more should be done. These documents and books from the Baltic state and private collections, often uncatalogued or unregistered await unbiased and critical textual analysis of historians, who together with librarians, will analyse them with the help of Muslim scholars educated in the field of Islamic palaeography, genealogy and cartography. In relation to this, a total absence of Malay and Uigur manuscripts in the Baltic and central European archives should also be addressed in future surveys.

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60. Shirin Akiner, "The Vocabulary of a Byelorussian Kitab in the British Museum," *The Journal of Byelorussian Studies* 3, no. 1 (1973): 55–84; and idem, "Oriental Borrowings in the Language of Byelorussian Kitab in the British Museum," *Slavonic and East European Review* 56, no. 2 (1978): 240. The content of the 125 pages of this manuscript is very miscellaneous; passages of the Qurʾān, prayer, Islamic ʿ*aqidah*, the creation of the world, funeral, Ramaḍān, didactic story, and the Last Prophet's sermons. The texts of the manuscript are written in Arabic, Turkic, White Ruthenian and Polish. In most places, the Arabic and Turkic written texts have Belorussian translation (White Ruthenian). The original patterns for the *kitab* genre might well have been *Qisās al-anbiyāʾ* (the Stories of the Prophets). The Tatar *kitab* from the Baltic lands contain also narratives drawn from both the Jewish and Christian traditions. In Tatar writings, one of the most frequently encountered narratives is that of the death of Jesus' mother, Mary, a Muslim story attributed to Wahb ibn Munabbih (died c. 730 C. E.), author of *Qisās al-anbiyāʾ*. Akiner argues that more immediate source for the Tatar story was probably *Qisās al-anbiyāʾ* compiled by Rabghuzi in 1310 C.E.. Russian scholar, Nikolaj Katanov, transcribed a version of *Qisās al-anbiyāʾ* and its comparison with texts from a Tatar manuscript supports Jakub Szynekiewicz's suggestion that the Tatars inherited this genre from their forebears in the Golden Horde.