

Andrzej B. Zakrzewski

## ASSIMILATION OF TARTARS WITHIN THE POLISH COMMONWEALTH, 16TH - 18TH CENTURIES

### INTRODUCTION

On the whole sociology deals with assimilation within contemporary industrial societies.<sup>1</sup> Minority groups in Australia or the United States are favourite subjects for such research. So that in research on assimilation processes relating to the past, a good deal of caution is desirable when applying sociological methods. Such caution is also prompted by the lack of uniform terminology: some researchers for instance distinguish two elements in the process of assimilation — cultural adaptation and integration<sup>2</sup> — others manage without such differentiations.<sup>3</sup> None the less the application of sociological methods would appear to be essential in the current work. Our article represents an attempt to indicate certain regularities in the assimilation processes relating to Tartars inhabiting the lands of historical Poland. It is based on incomplete data. The reason for this lies in the fact that a considerable proportion of the archive material concerning Tartars has been destroyed, as well as that some of the sources preserved in foreign archives are not entirely accessible. Not without significance, too, is the uneven amount of material left by the various Tartar strata — the least amount has been left by the poorest section, which also produced the least number of documents it seems.

Scholars have called the Tartars inhabiting the lands of the

<sup>1</sup> E. Park, *Assimilation*, in: *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. I, New York 1950, p. 281.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. H. Kubiak, *Teorie, ideologia, polityka asymilacji [The Theories, Ideology and Politics of Assimilation]*, in: *Założenia teorii asymilacji*, Gdańsk 1980, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> R. H. Harris, J. J. Smolicz, *Australijczycy polskiego pochodzenia [Australians of Polish Descent]*, Kraków 1984, p. 11.

Polish Commonwealth Lithuanian Tartars, Polish Tartars or, as a compromise, Polish-Lithuanian Tartars. We shall use these designations interchangeably.

The existence of Sobczak's work releases us from the obligation of describing the history of Tartar settlement within the lands of the former Commonwealth.<sup>4</sup> However, attention should be drawn to two factors of vital significance for assimilation processes. The first of these was the constant migration of Tartars. They were arriving in the territory of the Polish Commonwealth right up to the second half of the 18th century, and at the same time emigrating from it — chiefly to Turkey. As Sobczak rightly observes, the Tartar immigration reached its greatest height during the years from the end of the 14th to the middle of the 16th centuries.<sup>5</sup> Equally noteworthy is the movement in the opposite direction, and especially two mass flights by the Tartars. The first was the result of a rebellion by the so-called Lipkowie (the Tartars living in Volhynia and Podolia). The cause of the rebellion was arrears of payment for the Lipka military company. Two or three thousand fled to Turkey in 1672, whence only some of them returned following the acquisition of the town of Bar in 1674. The second mass exodus, this time of Tartars inhabiting chiefly the territories of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, took place at the end of the 17th century and during the first quarter of the 18th century. This was caused by political unrest and economic crisis. It is difficult to assess the numbers involved. Judging by the number of times it is mentioned in the Lithuanian Ducal Chancery Register, it was probably equal in scale to the flight of the Lipkowie.<sup>6</sup> The second factor affecting assimilation processes was

<sup>4</sup> J. Sobczak, *Położenie prawne ludności tatarskiej w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim* [The Legal Situation of the Tartar Population within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania], Poznań 1984.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 33.

<sup>6</sup> Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [Central Archives of Historical Records, hereafter AGAD], Sumariusz Metryki Litewskiej [hereafter SML] XV, fo. 101, 101<sup>v</sup>, 105<sup>v</sup>, 108, Archiwum Publiczne Potockich (The Public Archives of the Potocki Family, hereafter APP) 28, p. 463, SML XI, fo. 62, 65<sup>v</sup>, 66<sup>v</sup>, 74<sup>v</sup>, 91<sup>v</sup>, 166<sup>v</sup>, 169<sup>v</sup>, 172<sup>v</sup>, Archiwum Radziwiłłów [The Radziwiłł Family Archives, hereafter AR], section II, No. 69/2, p. 1034; AR II, No. 69/11, pp. 47, 54, 55, 74, 75, 93, 156, 214, 217, 218, APP 30, pp. 463 480, 487 488, 503.

the way in which the newly arrived Tartars were settled. Either they were located among co-religionists in Tartar villages already in existence, or new settlements were created (e.g. at Ostrog in Volhynia), or otherwise they were settled on an individual basis (on hospodar or boyar estates).<sup>7</sup>

Of vital significance for the course of assimilation processes was the division of the Tartars into three layers — hospodar (ducal) Tartars, Cossack Tartars, and finally, “common” Tartars. Hospodar Tartars were settled on the land and were obliged to perform military service. They had the same rights as the Lithuanian boyars (except for political rights). The land grants of the Cossack Tartars were considerably smaller than those of the hospodar Tartars, moreover in times of peace they delivered the post and notifications, and sometimes performed other services. To the last group belonged people living in towns and villages, and engaged in waggon-driving and various trades (chiefly tanning). The fullest data we possess — though again not complete — concern the hospodar Tartars. They, then, will be our chief object of interest.

The size of the Tartar settlements in the former Commonwealth has not been studied to date. We have to rely here on the estimates of 20th-century scholars, of which the closest to reality would appear to be those of Olgierd Górka. According to him, there were 7,000 Tartars living in Lithuania in the 16th century, and 9,000, including 4,000 - 5,000 hospodar Tartars, in the 17th century.<sup>8</sup> To illustrate the sort of numbers we are talking about, we might add — after Józef Morzy — that in the Vilna district in 1676 there were 150 Tartar families, numbering 333 men and 210 women. This amounted to 2.7% of the total population of that district.<sup>9</sup> In 1768 the population census of the diocese of Vilna revealed a total of 1,703 Tartars.<sup>10</sup> In 1790 the

<sup>7</sup> E.g. AGAD Metryka Litewska (hereafter ML) 191B, p. 19.

<sup>8</sup> O. Górka, *Uwagi orientacyjne o Tatarach polskich i obcych* [Some Tentative Remarks Concerning Polish and Foreign Tartars], “Rocznik Tatarski” (hereafter RT), vol. II, 1935, p. 184.

<sup>9</sup> J. Morzy, *Kryzys demograficzny na Litwie i Białorusi w II połowie XVII w.* [The Population Crisis in Lithuania and Belorussia during the Second Half of the 17th Century], Poznań 1965, pp. 20 - 21.

<sup>10</sup> B. Kumor, *Ze statystyki ludności na Litwie w II połowie XVIII w.* [Some Statistics on the Population of Lithuania in the Second Half of the 18th Century], “Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski”, 1975, No. 8, p. 62.

seven districts of the Grand Duchy (Troki, Braslav, Wilkomierz, Lida, Nowogródek, Volkovysk and Brest) were inhabited by at least 1,952 Tartars.<sup>11</sup>

We should at last point out that the population designated in the Polish Commonwealth as Tartars constituted a conglomeration of various Mongol and Turkic peoples. The only thing which bound them together was Islam, and possibly the tradition of a common fate in the hordes.

The Tartars settled in the Polish Kingdom and Lithuania differed from the indigenous population in language, culture, religion and anthropological features. We can therefore distinguish linguistic-cultural and religious assimilation. For lack of competence we shall not be dealing with anthropological assimilation, whereas we shall — after Józef Chlebowczyk — distinguish assimilation within the state.<sup>12</sup>

#### LINGUISTIC-CULTURAL ASSIMILATION

The language of the Lithuanian Tartars belonged to the Kipchak group of Turkic languages.<sup>13</sup> Gradually, however, the Tartars passed over to Ruthenian — the language used by the majority of inhabitants within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and at the same time the official language. This process was described by an unknown Lithuanian Tartar in a report to the Sultan written in 1557-1558, where he stated that only a small number of Tartars now used the Turkish language in Lithuania — only those who had moved to those parts not long ago.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> R. Jasas, L. Truska, *Lietuvos didžiosos kunigaikštystės gyventojų surašymas 1790 m.*, Vilnius 1972, pp. 74-75, table 25.

<sup>12</sup> J. Chlebowczyk, *O prawie do bytu małych i młodych narodów [Concerning the Right of Small and Young Nations to Exist]*, Kraków 1983, pp. 64.

<sup>13</sup> A. Dubiński, *Charakterystyka języka Tatarów polsko-litewskich [A Description of the Language of the Polish-Lithuanian Tartars]*, "Acta Baltico-Slavica", vol. XIV, 1982, pp. 86-87.

<sup>14</sup> Hadji Seraja Šapšal', *O zatraceniu języka ojczystego przez Tatarów w Polsce [On the Loss of their Native Language by Tartars in Poland]*, RT, vol. I, 1932, p. 36.

Ruthenian in turn began to give way to Polish. Along with the growing influence of the Polish language and culture on the society of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, there was an increase in the number of Tartars using Polish. These changes can be illustrated, though rather imperfectly, by examining the forms of Tartar signatures during the years 1560 - 1788.<sup>15</sup> Documents signed by Tartars during the first half of the 16th century were doubtless something extremely rare, and none has survived. As far as we can tell, documents were mostly affixed with a seal during these years, and not signed; this occurred subsequently, too.<sup>16</sup> Half the signatures appended to documents surviving from before the beginning of the 17th century are in Cyrillic, and half in Arabic script. During the course of the following half-century, again half the signatures were written in Arabic script, 25% were written in Cyrillic, and the remaining 25% in Roman script. From the mid 17th century on, 75% of the signatures are in Roman script, the remainder being in Arabic script, with a Cyrillic signature here and there. One must assume that the authors of the last-named were people of advanced age,<sup>17</sup> especially in the case of wills.<sup>18</sup> Some idea of knowledge of the alphabet among Tartars during the second half of the 17th century can also be gained from the archives of the Court of Justice at Troki for the years 1662 - 1690.<sup>19</sup> These contain entries concerning the issue of tax receipts. Of the 49 entries which undoubtedly relate to Tartars, 5 include signatures in Arabic script, 22 — signatures in Roman script, while 29 of the individuals involved were "incompetent at writing".

<sup>15</sup> Signatures chiefly from the following sources: *Akty wydawaemye Vilenskoju Arheografičeskoju Komissieju* (hereafter AWAK) XXXI, Vil'no 1906, AWAK XXX, 1904; AGAD: Archiwum Kameralne (Economic Chamber Archives) III/91, AR XV, file 1, AR V, file 9, AR XXIII, file 81, bds. 6, 9, 10, AR X O. We are ignoring here two references to signatures in "Hebrew", AWAK XXXI, pp. 383, 385. Szymon Szyszman feels that the first of these signatures (he did not notice the second) might be the work of a Karaites, see S. Szyszman, *Die Karäer in Ost-Mitteuropa*, "Zeitschrift für Ostforschung", vol. VI, 1957, No. 1, p. 40, note 55. The question is debatable.

<sup>16</sup> As for instance AGAD, AR XXIII, file 81, bdl. 6, Nos. 1, 4.

<sup>17</sup> AGAD, AR XXIII, file 81, bdl. 10, letter of 20 April 1675.

<sup>18</sup> AWAK XXXI, No. 290, p. 475, 1682.

<sup>19</sup> Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego [Library of the University of Vilna, hereafter BUMiL] MS F. 7, court archives (Troki), 1662 - 1690.

Cyrillic signatures disappear during the final decade of the 17th century. Signatures in Roman script dominate during the 18th century. However, one imagines that the sharp increase in the number of such signatures is a reflection of more than simply the expansion of Polish culture. It was also the result of a certain degree of decline and disintegration within the Tartar colony in Lithuania, and of the arising of new centres following the ravages of the wars of the mid 17th century.<sup>20</sup> Whereas the still considerable percentage of signatures in Arabic script resulted not only from the vitality of Islamic traditions among the Muslims within the Commonwealth, but also from the inflow of new immigrants from the Budziak horde and the Crimea. For that matter signatures written in Arabic script do not necessarily constitute evidence of close ties with the culture of Islam. They might also mean that a Tartar had finished his education at a school attached to the mosque. Here the Tartar would acquire a knowledge of the script in which the sacred books were written, without coming into contact anywhere with any other script. A reference in a review of Tartar land holdings from 1631 illustrates this point: "signed by standard-bearer Jachia Zawacki, who being unable to write either in Polish or in Ruthenian, signed in his own hand in Arabic script".<sup>21</sup> Education differences would occur within a single family. This supposition is confirmed by the example of the four Mułkumanowicz brothers, three of whom, in 1590, signed their names in Cyrillic, and the fourth, Jusuf, "in Arabic script",<sup>22</sup> in the same way as three members of the Azulewicz family, in 1667, signed their names in Roman script, and one in Arabic script.<sup>23</sup> One should remember that many Tartars were not even familiar with the

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<sup>20</sup> Some Tartar documents were also destroyed. Such losses could have significantly distorted the proportions of documents written in different languages. Thus any conclusions we draw cannot be certain.

<sup>21</sup> Centralnyj Gosudarstvennyj Arhiv Drevnyh Aktov, Moskva (hereafter CGADA), coll. 389, No. 569, fo. 687. I am indebted to Prof. T. Wasilewski for kindly allowing me access to extracts from the *XIII Księga Lustracji Metryki Litewskiej*.

<sup>22</sup> AWAW XXXI, No. 59, p. 81.

<sup>23</sup> BUWiL, MS F. 7, court archives (Troki), 1662 - 1690, fo. 830.

Arabic alphabet — evidence of this is provided by the numerous references to Tartars “incompetent at writing”.<sup>24</sup>

The fact that knowledge of Cyrillic was more highly regarded than knowledge of Arabic script is demonstrated by the Cyrillic signatures of Arabic clerks who undoubtedly knew the Arabic alphabet — other witnesses to such documents signed themselves in Arabic script.<sup>25</sup> A similar situation pertained, at a later period, respecting Roman script, which was used for signatures by mullahs and their children, despite the fact that in all probability they were familiar with Arabic script.<sup>26</sup> This might indicate that a knowledge of Polish was a sign of more than simply cultural advancement. In comparison with the Christian gentry of the Grand Duchy, one also observes a considerable delay, amounting to 20 - 30 years, in the area of adoption of Roman script by the Tartars. More often than not Christian deponents signed themselves in Polish, and Tartars in Ruthenian.<sup>27</sup> This probably ensued from the poverty of the Tartars, even the hospodar Tartars, and their minor social significance. T. Wasilewski detects a similar correlation between familiarity with Roman script and wealth and standing, respecting the Lithuanian and Ruthenian gentry.<sup>28</sup>

It is difficult to determine whether the signature of a Tartar from 1681, “Chasien Razmust manu propria”,<sup>29</sup> demonstrates the author’s knowledge of Latin, but it undoubtedly testifies to his assimilation of the style of writing practised by members of the “political nation” of the Polish Commonwealth. The signatures analysed above come from hospodar Tartars. The Cossack Tartars and Tartars “of the common class” generally lived in Ruthenian-speaking circles, and doubtless adopted Polish where

<sup>24</sup> AWAK XXXI, No. 296, p. 487, No. 298, p. 490; AGAD, AR XXIII, file 81, bdl. 10, letter of 3 June 1675, BUWiL, MS F. 7, court archives (Troki) for the years 1661 - 1665, fo. 2389, MS F. 7 - 5 15969 (court archives (Troki) for the years 1663 - 1865), fo. 565, MS F5-A25-4503 of 23 April 1715.

<sup>25</sup> AWAK XXXI, Nos. 57, 60, 66, 87, 89, 148, 156; similarly Tartar standard-bearers: *ibidem*, No. 115.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, Nos. 218, 294; BUWiL, MS F. 7, court archives (Troki), 1667 - 1669, fo. 1297v.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, No. 103, p. 167, 1593, No. 82, p. 121, 1592.

<sup>28</sup> T. Wasilewski in his lecture on polonisation of Lithuanian and Ruthenian nobility held in the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Science, 26 March 1985.

<sup>29</sup> AWAK XXXI, No. 288, p. 470.

their surroundings were Polish. Thus for instance all the Tartars from the village of Mir, which belonged to the Radziwiłłs, used Roman script to sign a document from 1781, and among these were tanners and waggoners.<sup>30</sup>

In relation to the Lithuanian Tartars, Józef Chlebowczyk's thesis that "first of all [...] came assimilation of the new sound of one's first name and surname",<sup>31</sup> only proves to be half true. Tartars did indeed assume surnames characteristic of the Ruthenian population (chiefly patronymics). More often than not, however, they kept their Turkish first names, adding Slavonic endings to them. When they began to Polonize, they changed neither first names (if we ignore cases of baptism), nor surnames. Of course, the above-mentioned thesis relates to another era, but the case points to the need to exercise caution, as mentioned at the outset. Interesting from this point of view is a document from the years 1552 - 1556: in it one Assan Miskowicz appears as Jan Miskowicz.<sup>32</sup> There are two possible explanations for this: a mistake on the part of a Polish clerk, or the use of double first names by the Tartars. If more such examples could be found, we could assume that the Tartars sometimes used double first names — Tartarian/Turkish and Polish or Ruthenian. A similar phenomenon, *nota bene*, is mentioned by Mieczysław Gębarowicz with regard to the Ruthenian population within the Polish Kingdom.<sup>33</sup> A valuable source for research on the language and culture of Polish Muslims might prove to be gravestones — covered with Arabic inscriptions from the 16th century on, but later with Polish ones, too. Unfortunately they have not been analysed.<sup>34</sup>

The literature of the Tartars is an interesting phenomenon. This was comprised of texts from the Koran written in Arabic,

<sup>30</sup> AGAD, AR XXIII, file 150, Mir 1775 - 1778.

<sup>31</sup> J. Chlebowczyk, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

<sup>32</sup> AGAD, AR XXIX, No. 111, fo. 24<sup>v</sup>, fo. 25<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> M. Gębarowicz, *Jan Andrzej Próchnicki (1553 - 1663)*, Kraków 1980, pp. 15 - 16.

<sup>34</sup> Most of Ali Woronowicz' works on this topic, still at the typescript stage, was destroyed during the war. A. Kołodziejczyk's work *Tatarskie cmentarze w Lebiedziewie i Studziance* [*The Tartar Cemeteries at Lebiedziewo and Studzianka*], in: *Prace archiwalno-konserwatorskie na terenie województwa siedleckiego*, vol. III, Siedlce 1982, pp. 22 - 23, only gives Roman inscriptions, leaving the Arabic ones uninvestigated.



commentaries on these, and tales of a religious and secular nature written in Arabic script in Ruthenian or — later — Polish, generally known as *kitab*. The 17th-century Turkish chronicler Pečewi described this as follows: “they copy the Koran in Arabic characters, but to interpret and explain it they use the language of the unbelievers”.<sup>35</sup> Documents, too, were sometimes compiled in Polish or Ruthenian using Arabic script.<sup>36</sup>

Of course, documents were also drawn up using Arabic script and written in a Tartar or Turkic language. But such documents were more likely to occur during the initial period of settlement. One of them was probably the will of the Tartar author Abraham Tymirczyc, who died in 1530: the will, “written in Arabic”, was produced in court at Troki in 1613.<sup>37</sup> We might add that the Armenians wrote their trial documents in Polish using Armenian script. V. R. Grigorian<sup>38</sup> has published a series of such documents taken from the records of the Armenian court at Kamenets-Podolsk.

*Kitab* were written in Polish or Ruthenian, depending on the circles in which they were to be used. Of course, more often than not their Ruthenian contained numerous Polish borrowings, and their Polish — Ruthenian influences. Bilingual *kitab* were common.<sup>39</sup> An interesting example of the mixing of scripts and languages is a *kitab* from 1792, written in three scripts — Arabic, Cyrillic and Roman. The first two reproduce the sounds of Ruthenian, and the Roman script those of Polish.<sup>40</sup>

During the early period of settlement, or in families of new immigrants, Kipchak dialects were used in the home or in dealings with other Muslims, such dialects being gradually displaced by Ruthenian. One cannot exclude a knowledge of the Lithuanian language of the countryside, in areas where the population was Lithuanian, and not Ruthenian. This was possible

<sup>35</sup> Hadji Seraja Šapsal', *op. cit.*, p. 36.

<sup>36</sup> A. K. Antonowicz, *Beloruskie teksty piśmienne arabskim piśmom*, Vilnius 1968, pp. 174-177.

<sup>37</sup> AWAK XXX, pp. 439, 458.

<sup>38</sup> V. R. Grigorian, *Akty armjanskogo suda goroda Kamenec Podol'skogo (XVI v.)*, Erevan 1963, Nos. 160, 162, 164, 197, 198, 360, 363, 386, 465.

<sup>39</sup> A. K. Antonowicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-177.

<sup>40</sup> J. Szykiewicz, *O kitabe [Concerning the Kitab]*, “RT”, I, p. 191.

sporadically — in view of the very small number of Tartars living there — in Samogitia. Polish might be the only language used in areas with a predominantly Polish-speaking population and where a Muslim family had been settled for at least one generation. Podlasie was one such area (though with a small number of Tartars).

A knowledge of Polish did not exclude knowledge of Ruthenian. Ruthenian was used in local dealings. It was also used in the home until a good command of Polish was acquired. In most Tartar families, no doubt, a mixed Ruthenian-Polish dialect could be heard, examples of which can still be encountered in Lithuania today, though in a much-altered form.<sup>41</sup> Right up to the 20th century the culture of the Polish-Lithuanian Tartars has preserved certain elements characteristic of Islamic culture. This applies to legends,<sup>42</sup> to names of land plots,<sup>43</sup> and even to the type of village lay-out,<sup>44</sup> or certain food dishes.

Summing up the above arguments, presented in very much an abbreviated form, one can risk putting forward the hypothesis that the earlier settlers were subject to Ruthenian influences, and that subsequently some of them underwent Polonization. The groups of Muslims arriving in the Commonwealth later, i.e. in the 17th and 18th centuries, may at times have been subject exclusively to Polonization. Despite departing from their native culture, the Tartars preserved certain of its elements, some of which have survived into contemporary times.

#### RELIGIOUS ASSIMILATION

The great majority of Tartars living within the Polish Kingdom and Lithuania were followers of Islam. We shall ignore here the undoubtedly small number of disciples of early-Mongol and early-Turkish religions, on the subject of which the sources

<sup>41</sup> V. L. Werenicz, *Pol'skie govory v švenčėnskom rajone Litovskoj SSR*, "Studia nad Polszczyzną Kresową", vol. II, 1983, pp. 26-27.

<sup>42</sup> A. Dubiński, *Une légende des Tatars de Pologne*, Hommage a Pertev Naili Boratav, Paris 1978, pp. 169-173.

<sup>43</sup> J. Tochtermann, *Wieś Sorok Tatory pod Wilnem* [*Sorok Tatory Village Near Vilna*], in: *Tatarzy w Polsce*, vol. II, Wilno 1936, p. 37.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 35.

remain silent. We shall also ignore the small number of individuals who had already been baptized when they arrived — these were generally Tartars escaping from territories newly conquered by Muscovy, such as Temruk Szymkiewicz<sup>45</sup> or Fiodor Falejewicz.<sup>46</sup> The mosque was an integral part of the Tartar settlement's landscape, quite literally, for one can see an example in Tomasz Makowski's engraving showing Troki around the year 1600.<sup>47</sup>

The Muslims concentrated in small settlements so as to be able, among other things, to maintain their mullahs. This attitude was illustrated in a statement by Kazimierz Juszyński, who in 1763 was accused of displacing Poles for the sake of Tartars: "The Honourable Gentlemen have their churches close at hand, while we require a mullah when someone is born or dies".<sup>48</sup> The maintenance of a mullah was only possible if there was a fair number of believers. The Tartars of Slobodka in the Principality of Slutsk wrote the following to Radziwiłł: "we humbly entreat Your Highness to grant some land for our mullah and for our Tartar mosque, which would be free of all burdens and obligations".<sup>49</sup> Similar endeavours can be observed as late as the beginning of the 19th century, which testifies to the enduring nature of Islamic religious organization.<sup>50</sup>

Of course there were cases of adoption of Christianity, although it is difficult to determine on what sort of scale. The Muslims mainly adopted Catholicism. The adoption of Orthodoxy and Reformation faiths also occurred, though much more rarely. Generally speaking, Tartars adopted Orthodoxy at the

<sup>45</sup> His father was Szymko, son of Temruk, christened in 1560; we must also assume that Temruk Szymkiewicz was christened, cf. M. Rawita Witkowski, *Tatarzyn Temruk Szymkiewicz Petyhorski indygeną polskim* [The Tartar Temruk Szymkiewicz Petyhorski, Naturalized Polish Noble], "RT", vol. I, p. 180. J. Sobczak (*op. cit.*, p. 33) maintains that Temruk arrived in the Commonwealth as a Muslim.

<sup>46</sup> S. Diadulewicz, *Herbarz rodzin tatarskich w Polsce* [An Armorial of Tartar Families in Poland], Wilno 1929, p. 405.

<sup>47</sup> J. Ochmański, *Historia Litwy* [A History of Lithuania], Wrocław 1982, p. 162.

<sup>48</sup> AGAD, AR VII, No. 294.

<sup>49</sup> AGAD, AR XXIII, file 160, bdl. "Wybrańcy słuccy i zaścianki Xstwa słuckiego" after 1738.

<sup>50</sup> AGAD, AR XXIII, file 150, bdl. "Miasto Mir, przywileje", Nieśwież 13 June 1809.

beginning of the 15th century,<sup>51</sup> and Calvinism during the second half of the 16th century.<sup>52</sup>

Attempts were made to convert the Tartars. A church built at Dziewałów in 1469 was partly meant to serve the purpose of converting the local Tartars.<sup>53</sup> However, the attempts to Christianize Tartars undertaken later by the Vilna Jesuits,<sup>54</sup> Antonio Possevino<sup>55</sup> and then Peter Skarga,<sup>56</sup> do not seem to have produced any substantial results. In the Lithuanian Register we find sporadic references to conversions. Thus for instance, before the year 1542, Jan Kadyszewicz "went over to the Polish faith".<sup>57</sup> His sister Dorota did the same thing,<sup>58</sup> before her marriage to the hospodar courtier Jan Gabryjałowicz. The children born of this marriage were brought up "in the Christian faith".<sup>59</sup> Note that these converts bore Christian names. This could have resulted either from their baptism, or from their parents' having endowed them with such names. Muslims endowed their children with Christian names as early as the 16th century, and the phenomenon became more widespread during the following centuries. However, typically Muslim names were also preserved — such as Osman, Selim, Ali or Jahia.

Sometimes the baptizing of Muslims was such a rare phenomenon that cases would be mentioned by bishops in reports on the state of their diocese sent to Rome, such as those from the Vilna diocese for the years 1697 and 1754,<sup>60</sup> and that from the Samogitian diocese for the year 1761.<sup>61</sup> According to Leon Kry-

<sup>51</sup> S. Dziadulewicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 368, 375, 379, 382, 396, 409.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 372.

<sup>53</sup> *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry i diecezji wileńskiej [The Diplomatic Code of the Cathedral and Diocese of Vilna]*, eds. J. Fijałek, W. Semkowicz, vol. I, Pt. 2, Kraków 1939, No. 261, p. 301; J. Sobczak, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>54</sup> J. Sobczak, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

<sup>55</sup> S. Kryczyński, *Nieudana misja [An Unsuccessful Mission]*, "Przegląd Islamski", 1935, No. 3/4, p. 13.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 14.

<sup>57</sup> AGAD, ML 204, p. 377; another case, doubtless from the second half of the 16th century, in CGADA, coll. 389, No. 569, fo. 782.

<sup>58</sup> AGAD, ML 200, p. 776, 1532.

<sup>59</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>60</sup> *Relationes status dioecesium in Magno Ducatu Lithuaniae*, ed. P. Rabikauskas, vol. I, Roma 1971, pp. 105, 184.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 393.

czyński, the register of the Church of St. Philip and St. James at Łukiszki contained information on the adoption of Christianity by Tartars towards the end of the 17th century and during the times of the Saxon Kings.<sup>62</sup>

A Tartar accepting Christianity ran the risk of protests from his tribesmen in the form of abuse or even physical injury. This is what happened to Uriasz Kulbicki for instance, in 1669: he was then taken under the care of the King.<sup>63</sup> According to Dziadulewicz, similar cases occurred at the turn of the 17th century.<sup>64</sup> There were also cases, albeit rarely, of enforced conversion.<sup>65</sup>

One cannot underestimate the significance of anti-Tartar outbursts such as the wrecking of the mosque at Trakai in 1609, or the burning of that at Solkiniki.<sup>66</sup> They may have inclined some Tartars to go over to Catholicism, for fear of their safety. According to Dziadulewicz this was a frequent motive for conversion during the third decade of the 17th century.<sup>67</sup> However, we should not overestimate the extent of conversions. Władysław Wielhorski estimates that in 1791 no more than 25% of the total population of Tartars were Christians.<sup>68</sup>

The negligible effects of the measures taken by the priesthood were the result of a basically tolerant policy on the part of the state towards the Tartars, the similar attitude of the gentry, and resistance to Christian propaganda, said to be characteristic of Islam.<sup>69</sup> In 1773 Jan Zienkowicz, Bishop of Vilna, reported that the Tartars had mosques in his diocese "permitente Re-

<sup>62</sup> L. Kryczyński, *Historia meczetu w Wilnie* [The History of the Mosque in Vilna], Warszawa 1937, p. 9.

<sup>63</sup> AWAK XXXI, No. 252, pp. 407 f.

<sup>64</sup> S. Dziadulewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

<sup>65</sup> AGAD, SML IV, fo. 85, 1557.

<sup>66</sup> In the copy of Piotr Czyżewski's lampoon *Alfurkan tatarski prawdziwy...* [A Real Tartar *Alfurkan...* (Wilno 1617)] preserved in Warsaw University Library (call number 4.14.8.10), on p. 20 there is a handwritten annotation concerning the burning of the mosque.

<sup>67</sup> S. Dziadulewicz, *op. cit.*, p. XXI.

<sup>68</sup> W. Wielhorski, *Ludność Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego* [The Population of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania], "Alma Mater Vilmensis", Londyn 1953, No. 2, p. 65.

<sup>69</sup> T. Kowalski, *Na szlakach islamu* [On the Trail of Islam], Kraków 1935, pp. 85 f.

publica”.<sup>70</sup> The gentry was conscious of the “harmlessness” of Islam. Jakub Zawisza wrote in 1613 that “Neither the Jewish nor the Tartar sects cause any harm to the Catholic faith, for several hundred years it seems that no one has been found who was infected by them”.<sup>71</sup> Zawisza’s view was doubtless shared by the Jesuit Wojciech Cieciszowski, professor and rector (1646 - 1649) of the Academy of Vilna. In his sermons he attacked the dissenters and the Jews, but he left the Muslims alone.<sup>72</sup> The view taken by Piotr Czyżewski, who was ill disposed towards the Tartars, does not accord with the facts: “[...] it is something quite astonishing, two hundred years have passed since the Tartars were driven to Lithuania, and up to now we have not heard that any of them (apart from one Tarasowski) has adopted the Christian faith, while they have turned our people to the Tartar religion without number”.<sup>73</sup> However, we cannot rule out the existence of a certain degree of Islamic influence on the Lithuanian and Ruthenian population. This is illustrated by the prohibition in the first Statute of Lithuania on the possession of Christian servants (section XI, art. 6), which was repeated in further Statutes and in the Sejm decrees of 1616 and 1678.<sup>74</sup> In a letter from 1537 Sigismund I maintained that “The Tartars and Jews, buying servants of Roman faith, are converting them to their own religions”.<sup>75</sup> Of course, the hospodar forbade this, threatening penalties. Attempts were sometimes made to implement such penalties, in the 17th century as well.<sup>76</sup> The penalties were of little help, and it could not be otherwise — the supply of Muslim servants was too small,

<sup>70</sup> *Relationes status dioecesium...*, vol. I, p. 124.

<sup>71</sup> J. Zawisza, *Wskrócenie procesu koronnego* [*Curtilment of Crown Proceedings*], Kraków 1899, p. 18.

<sup>72</sup> AGAD, AR II, vol. 7, pp. 31 - 44.

<sup>73</sup> P. Czyżewski, *op. cit.*, p. 33. We might add that, contrary to what J. Sobczak maintains (*op. cit.*, p. 106), an earlier version of the Alfurkan entitled *Alkoran to jest zakon abo wiara sekty Machometajskiej* [*Alkoran, or the Law or Creed of a Muhammadan Sect*], n.p., 1616, has survived and is located in the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, call no. NL. 82. 37. adl.

<sup>74</sup> VL III, 309 (1616); VL V 585 (1678).

<sup>75</sup> AGAD, ML 206, p. 266. Date uncertain, the document is entered between other documents of that year.

<sup>76</sup> AGAD, SML VIII, fo. 179.

<sup>77</sup> J. Sobczak, *op. cit.*, expresses a different view, e.g. p. 96.

therefore Christian ones were sought. So that the problem did exist, though on a smaller scale than Czyżewski saw.

Religious assimilation of the Tartars was hindered by their constant contact with the world of Islam. Spiritual guides were brought in from there, and appeals were made to Turkey on controversial religious issues. Thus a considerable proportion of Tartars maintained the faith of their ancestors, although conversion to Christianity, and especially to Catholicism, was a guarantee of socio-cultural advancement, and for the hospodar Tartars — of full gentry rights. We ought in fact to stress that there was little difference between the hospodar Tartars and the gentry, and in practice they were treated in the same way: the basic difference was that they were not able to participate in the *sejmiki*.<sup>77</sup> Baptized Tartars chiefly gave rise to families of the Polish-Lithuanian Catholic gentry, which sometimes retained an awareness of its origins, as in the case of the Aksak family for instance.<sup>78</sup> But this issue requires more detailed research.

Islam as practised in the Polish Commonwealth differed markedly from its Arabic and Turkish models. The pilgrimage to Mecca was made extremely rarely, and even alcohol was consumed.<sup>79</sup> Nor will we observe discrimination against women.<sup>80</sup> This was a consequence not only of the distance from the centres of Islam, or the poverty of the believers, but also of the influence of the local environment. Some interesting examples in this respect are provided by Tartar wills. From the point of view of form, they were no different from similar documents relating to the Christian gentry of the period.<sup>81</sup> There was little difference in content either — a bequest to a mosque rather than a church, instructions for a funeral “in accordance with

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<sup>78</sup> Wojciech Wijuk Kojalowicz, *Herbarz rycerstwa Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego* [An Armorial of the Knightage of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania], Kraków 1897, p. 21. See also S. Dziadulewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 368; N. A. Baskakov, *Russkie familii tjurkskogo proischozdenija*, Moskva 1979, pp. 141–142.

<sup>79</sup> S. Kryczyński, *Tatarzy litewscy* [The Lithuanian Tartars], RT, vol. III, 1938, pp. 129, 134–135, 171, 175; AWAK XXX, No. 144.

<sup>80</sup> See AWAK XXXI for numerous property dispositions in favour of women as well as documents concerning legal actions undertaken by women.

<sup>81</sup> F. Dobrjanskij, AWAK XXXI, p. XXXI.

our Muslim ceremony",<sup>82</sup> "[...] in the Tartar cemetery".<sup>81</sup> One should remember that in the drawing-up of all wills, by the Tartars as well, a vital role was played by the use of formulas appropriate to the times, and also by the clerk's style. It was the work of the clerk, then, and not of Fatma Talkowska herself, "incompetent at writing", which produced the phraseology of her will, containing the following instructions: "Also my body when in accordance with the Divine Will it shall be separated from my soul is to be returned as dust to dust and buried by my above-named spouse Sir Roman Sienkiewicz at the Sienkiewiczze mosque with all rites according to the Law of our Muslim faith".<sup>84</sup> In this way there came about the adoption by Tartar testators of the customs of the Christian gentry, while observing at the same time the exigencies of Islamic faith.

#### ASSIMILATION WITHIN THE STATE

Assimilation within the state meant acceptance of the Polish Commonwealth as one's own state or — in Stanisław Ossowski's<sup>85</sup> words (and making full allowance for the outlook of two different epochs) — one's "ideological homeland". An important constituent of such assimilation, as Chlebowczyk<sup>86</sup> and others have indicated, was a sense of dynastic allegiance.

When reciting the "Chutbe", their Friday prayer for the prosperity of the caliph, the Lithuanian Tartars substituted the name of the Grand Duke of Lithuania for the caliph's name. "They say that they recite the Chutbe to the name of the Polish King," wrote Pečewi.<sup>87</sup> And as early as 1519, petitioning Sigis-

<sup>82</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 318.

<sup>83</sup> *Istoriko-jurdičeskie materialy izvlečennnye iz aktovyh knig gubernij vitebskoj i mogilëvskoj*, vol. XXV, Vitebsk 1894, p. 404.

<sup>84</sup> BUWiL, MS F. 7-5/5959, Troki court archives for the years 1663-1665, fo. 564.

<sup>85</sup> S. Ossowski, *O ojczyźnie i narodzie [Homeland and Nation]*, Warszawa 1984, pp. 27 f.

<sup>86</sup> J. Chlebowczyk, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

<sup>87</sup> Hadji Seraja Šapšal', *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.



mund I, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, the Tartars asserted that they repeated the name of his ancestor Witold in their prayers.<sup>88</sup>

Evidence of attachment to the dynasty might be seen in the wording of numerous petitions addressed to the Grand Duke whenever his officials seemed to the Tartars to be exerting undue pressure. But the wording of such petitions should be regarded with a good deal of caution, since the success of a petition depended in large measure on the emphasizing of loyalty towards the authorities. Still, evidence of the fact that the Tartars regarded the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as their country and homeland is provided by the following extract from the aforesaid petition to Sigismund I: "we are not foreigners in our country".<sup>89</sup> In a similar letter from 1508 they wrote "[The Lithuanians] regard us as their brothers".<sup>90</sup> Undoubtedly, a considerable proportion of Tartars (and with the passage of time an ever-increasing one) within the Polish Commonwealth felt as if they were in their own state. Most likely the feeling dropped away in times of persecution, war and economic crisis. The waves of emigration, especially the larger ones occurring in the third quarter of the 17th century, incline one to suppose that this process had not reached the same stage among all the Tartars. On the other hand, the return of some of the fugitive Lipkowie permit the assumption that they were no longer in a position to accept the Ottoman state as their own, despite their common religion. To some degree the participation of Polish-Lithuanian Tartars in the defence of the Constitution of 3 May, in 1791, could also be taken as evidence of their assimilation within the state. However, one should remember that these were professional soldiers who subsequently served in the Russian and Prussian armies in partitioned Poland.

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<sup>88</sup> A. Muhlinskij, *Izsledovan'e o proishozdenii i sostojanii litovskich Tatar*, S. Peterburg 1857, p. 14.

<sup>89</sup> T. Czacki, *O Tatarach* [Concerning the Tartars], in: *Dzieta*, vol. III, Poznań 1845, p. 311.

<sup>90</sup> *Loc. cit.*

## ASSIMILATION FACTORS

Religion, military service, mixed marriages and the influence of local surroundings must be regarded as the most important factors affecting assimilation processes. They either accelerated or inhibited assimilation processes.

Religion was the basic factor distinguishing Tartars within the Polish Commonwealth: through religion new arrivals from various, often very separate, regions immersed themselves in previously existing Tartar settlements. Religion distinguished the Tartars from the rest of the inhabitants of the lands in which they lived, and gave rise to a feeling of otherness within them, which was reinforced by constant contact with the world of Islam. Religious beliefs were thus a circumstance tending to hinder assimilation. Military service, on the other hand, is generally regarded as a factor tending to accelerate assimilation; this view was put forward with respect to the Tartars by Djemil Alexandrovich-Nasyfi.<sup>91</sup> Hadji Seraja Shapshal took issue with him, maintaining that service by Tartars in their own military companies excluded assimilation effects.<sup>92</sup> However, he did not take due account of the fact that in districts where only a small number of Tartars lived, they did their campaigning along with the other boyars.<sup>93</sup> This is demonstrated by a register from 1528 for instance, where at least 18 Tartars serving outside the Tartar companies are mentioned.<sup>94</sup> Similarly, a hundred years later, Tartars from the Mstislavl area served in the district company, according to Kerdey's inspection of 1631.<sup>95</sup> In such cases military service may have accelerated assimilation processes. There may have been escapes from Tartar companies by individuals who were looking for a career in military service, but were unable

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<sup>91</sup> D. Aleksandrovič-Nasyfi, *Litovskie Tatary*, "Izvestija obščestva obsledovaniija i izučeniija Azerbejdžana", vol. I, Baku 1926, No. 2, p. 90.

<sup>92</sup> Hadji Seraja Šapšal', *op. cit.*, p. 42.

<sup>93</sup> M. Ljubavskij, *Oblastnoe delenie i mestnoe upravlenie litovsko-russkogo gosudarstva ko vremeni izdaniija pervogo litovskogo statuta*, Moskva 1892, p. 53.

<sup>94</sup> *Russkaja Istoričeskaja Biblioteka* (hereafter RIB), vol. XXXIII, Petrograd 1915, col. 190.

<sup>95</sup> CGADA coll. 389, No. 569, fo. 797.

to pursue it in these companies on account of the hereditary nature of company leadership and of their particular place within the hierarchy of families. Such individuals were no doubt more susceptible to assimilation processes. Of course, this is only a conjecture which would have to be set alongside source material of a broader nature. One ought also to bear in mind the loosening of a social group's control over its members which takes place in times of war, and which increases the social mobility of the individual. Wars may therefore have had a positive influence on assimilation, despite the fact that this took away the important protection provided by the group during the havoc of war and the disasters which generally accompany it. Service at the magnate courts (such as those of the Radziwiłłs and Sapiehas) also influenced the loosening of ties with one's Tartar background. It created opportunities for advancement, but also for abandoning one's group and its culture: examples have been given by Walerian Nekanda Trepka and others.<sup>96</sup>

Mixed marriages must be regarded as an important assimilation factor. The Tartar population coming into Lithuania was predominantly male. As there were no other women, the men took Ruthenians as their wives, which led fairly rapidly to their relinquishing the dialect in which they spoke.<sup>97</sup> It seems that mixed marriages predominated during the initial period of settlement, later the Tartar population "reared" sufficient women of their own. For a Tartar woman the easiest way to penetrate Lithuanian and Ruthenian society was through marriage to a Christian. The question of mixed marriages requires thorough investigation — we do not even have any estimates as to the scale of the phenomenon.

The influence of environment depended on the type of settlement. Close settlement neutralized assimilation effects from environment. The necessity of acquiring a knowledge of the local language to meet everyday needs then disappeared.<sup>98</sup> The settle-

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<sup>96</sup> W. Nekanda Trepka, *Liber generationis plebeorum (Liber chamorum)*, vol. I, Wrocław 1963, pp. 383 - 384, No. 1452. Cf. also A. Sajakowski, *Od Sierotki do Rybeńki [From Radziwiłł "Sierotka" to Radziwiłł "Rybeńka"]*, Poznań 1965, pp. 53 - 54.

<sup>97</sup> Hadji Seraja Šapšal', *op. cit.*, pp. 34 - 38.

<sup>98</sup> J. Chlebowczyk, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

ment group, most often constituting a religious community at the same time, was quick to react to deviations from the faith. At the same time it protected its members from possible persecution, including religious persecution. The Tartars living outside close concentrations undoubtedly assimilated more easily. However, one should note that settlement in closed groups did not always act as a safeguard against assimilation. Evidence of this is provided by numerous toponymical relics such as "Tatary", "Orda" and so on.<sup>99</sup> These settlements bore names testifying to the origins of their first inhabitants, who integrated with the indigenous population, leaving behind them only the name of their settlement. An inventory of the estate of Komaje from 1680 mentions a serf — an inhabitant of the village of Tatary — by the name of Stanisław Tataris, along with his sons Kazimierz and Jan.<sup>100</sup> Their names allow us to assume that they were certainly of the Catholic faith; equally, the year of compilation of the inventory suggests that they no longer spoke in Tartar dialect. In all probability, then, this was an assimilated Tartar. The clue to his origin was his surname. In the majority of cases where assimilation occurred, not even this remained. At most the name of a settlement remained.

Among our assimilation factors, we have not listed the policy of the state — for no such policy existed. The assimilation of Tartars took its course spontaneously. Judging by the numerous attempts to Christianize the Tartars, it is possible that the Church had some sort of assimilation concept. However, its activity produced only moderate results. A certain assimilation policy, though a very repressive one be it noted, can be found in one or two writers, such as Piotr Czyżewski.<sup>101</sup> However, this was not a policy of the State, nor of the Church, nor even of the gentry. Anti-Tartar sentiment among the gentry, and also the urban populace, revealed itself, not in theoretical thinking, but in occasional practical action (various outbursts, the destruc-

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<sup>99</sup> A. Zajaczkowski, *Elementy tureckie na ziemiach polskich* [*Turkish Features within the Polish Lands*], "RT", vol. II, 1935, p. 217.

<sup>100</sup> *Lietuvos inventoriai XVII u.*, eds. K. Jablonskis, M. Jučas, Vilnius 1962, p. 332.

<sup>101</sup> P. Czyżewski, *op. cit.*, pp. 33 - 37.

tion of several mosques, the burning of Tartar books). But these were very rare occurrences.

### CONCLUSIONS

The exposure of the Tartars living within the Polish Commonwealth to Ruthenian influence was a very wide-ranging process. We can therefore agree with the thesis of the Belorussian linguist E. Karsky (who died in 1931) that the Tartars rapidly succumbed to such influence and had soon entirely forgotten Arabic.<sup>102</sup> However, Karsky did not mention that some of the Tartars subsequently Polonized. One can only partially agree with the contemporary thesis of the Polish historian B. Baranowski, "that generally, however, the Muslims settling in Lithuania lost their native language in the second or third generation and rapidly abandoned their national identity, adopting Christianity, and leaving a small number only who still followed the religion of their ancestors".<sup>103</sup> One is led to assume that the ratio of converts to Muslims was precisely the opposite, and that Wielhorski's estimate, cited above, is closer to reality. Neither can one agree with the view put forward by J. Stankevich,<sup>104</sup> a Belorussian linguist from the inter-war period, who believed that in the 17th century the Tartars began to write their books in Polish but according to him, Polish did not become the official language of Islam in Belorussia. Departing from Belorussian, Stankevich maintains, the Muslims returned to old Arabic, which not even the imams understood. One can only assume that Stankevich based his rather surprising conclusions on a very narrow range of sources.

In all probability Polonization affected the hospodar Tartars more extensively than the other strata, bearing in mind that they had greater contact with the Polish-speaking world

<sup>102</sup> E. F. Karskij, *Belorusy*, vol. III, Petrograd 1921, p. 239.

<sup>103</sup> B. Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Polsce do XVIII w.* [*Knowledge of the East in Poland up to the 18th Century*], Łódź 1950, p. 17.

<sup>104</sup> J. Stankevič, *Prispevky k dějinám beloruského jazyka na základě rukopisu "Al-kitab"*, "Slavia", vol. XII, Praga 1933-1934, p. 358.

and its culture. However, this process continued at a delayed pace in comparison with the Polonization of the boyars of the Lithuanian and Ruthenian gentry. One must assume that it was the element most resistant to assimilation which emigrated to Turkey, as was the case in the 19th century.<sup>105</sup> A probable example of such an emigrant was Isamil Nowosielski, educated "according to the Islamic faith", still signing his name in Arabic script in 1759, and making his way to the countries of Islam to emigrate (or perhaps on a pilgrimage).<sup>106</sup> The greatest resistance to, first Ruthenian influence, and then Polonization, was maintained by Islam and the Muslim religious organization. Whereas other elements of the culture of the Christian environment slowly became the property of the Tartars as well. However, they preserved certain characteristic features stemming from the Kipchak steppes or connected with creed: first names, religious and military organization, fragments of tradition. Among converted Tartars the above distinguishing features disappeared, only an awareness of one's origins remained, and even this was rare.

The fragmentary nature of the sources utilized makes it extremely difficult to present a complete picture of assimilation of the Tartars within the former Polish Commonwealth. It would therefore be more appropriate to regard the above deliberations — in the wake of Olgierd Górką — as tentative remarks.

*(Translated by Phillip G. Smith)*

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<sup>105</sup> S. Kryczyński, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>106</sup> A. K. Antonowicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 174 - 177.