

UDK: 297-58(=512.145)

811.512.161'25:811.162.1

Izvorni znanstveni rad

Prihvaćeno za tisak: 23. rujna 2021.

## **A *Ziker* of Polish-Lithuanian-Belarusian Tatars in Turkish and its Polish Translation by Mustafa Szahidewicz**

---

**Henryk Jankowski**

*Institute of Oriental Studies*

*Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań*

henryk.jankowski@amu.edu.pl

### **Abstract**

The aim of this article is to present a critical edition of a Turkish hymn to Muhammad known from seven manuscripts copied by Polish-Lithuanian-Belarusian Tatars and translated into Polish by Mustafa Szahidewicz. Another aim is to provide an evaluation of the translation and a philological analysis. The edition is based on three manuscripts copied by Szahidewicz, but it takes into consideration three other manuscripts available when needed. Since only Szahidewicz provides a translation of this poem, his versions are taken as the principal ones, despite the fact that the Turkish text in them is the most corrupt of all versions available. Two of Szahidewicz's extant manuscripts are dated, one 1837, the other 1852, and the oldest version copied by Jan Jezufowicz in his codex is from 1765. The Polish-Lithuanian-Belarusian Tatars called this poem *ziker* (< Tur. *zikir*) and often recited it. As is typical of religious poems, this *ziker* contains a number of archaic linguistic features going back to Old Turkish.

*Keywords:* Polish-Lithuanian-Belarusian Tatar, *ziker*, Polish translation, the nineteenth century

### **1. Polish-Lithuanian-Belarusian Tatar *zikers***

Polish-Lithuanian-Belarusian Tatar *ziker* (pronounced *zikier*, IPA [zicer]) was a popular genre in traditional circles. As a religious term, the Arabic *dikr* denotes 'the act of reminding, then mention of the memory, especially tireless repetition of an ejaculatory litany, finally the very technique of this mention' (Gardet, 1991: 223). The Tatars used the term *ziker* to refer to any form of prayer with a recurring formula (Jankowski, 1995: 407). One of the most popular *zikers* among the Polish-Lithuanian-Belarusian Tatars was the poem *Dertlülerniñ tabibi* 'Healer of the Sufferers'. It was edited by Jankowski (1995) who used KMSzah1852b. Although it

is not called *ziker* in any of Mustafa Szahidewicz's *kitabs*<sup>1</sup>, it is called so by all other manuscripts which contain it, including the oldest one of 1765 by Jan Jezufowicz, which is a *hamail*.<sup>2</sup>

Jankowski (1995: 408) has observed that *Dertlülerniñ tabibi* is in fact a eulogy to the Prophet Muhammad and in Turkish Islamic literature this genre is called *na't*. Quite interestingly, Woronowicz (1935a: 386) who terms this poem *hymn*, in another article (1935b: 366) defines the Polish-Lithuanian-Belarusian Tatar (henceforth PLBT) term *ziker* in a narrow sense as "hymn ku chwale Boga i Pro-roka," i.e. 'hymn to praise God and the Prophet'.

After the first edition of *Dertlülerniñ tabibi*, two other manuscripts by Szahidewicz with this poem as well as three further versions by other copyists have been found. Therefore, it seems that a new edition in which some mistakes of that copy can be corrected is justified. In addition, this new edition also presents the Polish translation included in Szahidewicz's three extant *kitabs*.

## 2. Mustafa Szahidewicz, his kitabs and other manuscripts

Mustafa Szahidewicz, also Szehidewicz (Kryczyński, 1938: 222) and Szegidewicz (Woronowicz, 1935a: 376 and Majda, 1994: 139), was a copyist active in Słonim (Слонім, now Belarus) in Grodno (Гродна) district. He copied four *kitabs* (Jankowski, 2016: 185-186) and is the author of a Turkish-Belarusian-Polish handwritten dictionary compiled in 1836 (Majda, 1994; Miškinene and Šupa, 1995; Drozd, 2000a: 60; Miškinene 2005a: 28-29).

The first of Szahidewicz's *kitabs* in chronological order is that copied in 1837 (KMSzah1837, henceforth A). It is housed in the National Museum of Lithuania in Vilnius (shelf number R-13.042). It was described by Antonovič (1968: 81-85), Drozd (2000b: 54) and Pokrovskaja (2005: 55-58). From these studies only Drozd indicates our *ziker* with reference to Jankowski (1995). Antonovič (1968: 83) says

<sup>1</sup> Polish-Lithuanian-Belarusian Tatar *kitab* is not Ar. and Tur. *kitab*, this is a kind of religious handwritten book of diversified contents, such as stories of the prophets, moralistic and didactic stories, liturgical chapters, quotations from the Qur'an and other canonical Islamic literature and comments on them, but also prayers, spells, etc., see Szynekiewicz (1935: 139). The first description of the contents of a *kitab* dated from 1792, now lost, is provided by Szynekiewicz (1932), for the descriptions of the contents of other *kitabs*, see Meredith-Owens and Nadson (1970: 160-164), Jankowski and Łapicz (2000: 33-35), Miškinienė ed. (2009: 36-38), Akiner (2013: 112-121) as well as the catalogues of Tatar manuscripts (Drozd, Dziekan and Majda 2000: 50-54; Miškinene, Namavičjute and Pokrovskaja 2005: 34-70; Tarėlka and Citavec 2011, passim; and Tarėlka 2015, passim).

<sup>2</sup> Polish-Lithuanian-Belarusian Tatar *hamail* (*chamail*) is not Ar. and Tur. *hamail*, but a liturgical handwritten book with Arabic and Turkic prayers, and Slavic instructions to them. The books of this kind also contain many other, diversified chapters devoted to the Islamic calendar, healing diseases, protecting against spells and charms etc., see Szynekiewicz (1935: 139).

that on pages 377-387 there is a section in two-column layout, with a Turkish text in the right column and a Polish translation in the left one. Pokrowskaja (2005: 58) says that these pages contain a Turkish *ziker* with a Polish translation. In fact, there are three *zikers* on these pages, not one: *Dertlülerniñ tabibi* (378-382), the poem of the five obligatory daily prayers which starts as *Her kim kıılır tañ namāzın* ‘He who performs the morning prayer’ (382-384), a poem called *Miskin adam oğlanı* ‘Poor man’s son’ (384-385), and a poem of the Ramadan month *Şurhün Ramazān*<sup>3</sup> (385-387).

The next *kitab* was copied by Mustafa Szahidewicz in Słonim in 1852 (KM-Szah1852a). It was described by Woronowicz who presented its contents (1935a). Woronowicz’s notes are all we know about it, for the manuscript is lost. Woronowicz’s article is a bit chaotic, since he added fragments of two other *kitab*s so that it is difficult to know which unit belongs to which *kitab*. This *kitab* probably had 821 pages (Woronowicz, 1935a: 393). Despite ambiguity in Woronowicz’s description, a careful examination of this article allows us to conclude that this *kitab* also contained the same Turkish texts as in Szahidewicz’s other *kitab*s, although Woronowicz provides only two units in the section “Bab du’āi kazir kitab”, i.e. “hymn na cześć *Muhammada*”, that is ‘hymn to Muhammad’, which must be our *ziker* called *Dertlülerniñ tabibi*, and “Bab to jest surhun ramadan mesonsa – objaśnienie miesiąca ramadana” i.e. ‘the chapter of Ramadan month’ (Woronowicz, 1935a: 386-387), see the preceding *kitab*.

Szahidewicz’s third *kitab* was also copied in 1852 (KMSzah1852b, henceforth B). It comprises 601 folios and is found in a private collection in Poland. This manuscript has not yet been described. The *ziker* called *Dertlülerniñ tabibi* is found on folios 206a-208b and was edited by Jankowski (1995). It is followed by the same Turkish *zikers* as in KMSz1837, i.e. *Her kim kıılır tañ namāzın* (208b-209a), *Miskin adam oğlanı* (209a-209b) and *Şurhün Ramazān* (209b-210b).

The fourth *kitab* copied by Szahidewicz (KMSzah n.d., henceforth C), is unfinished and undated. It has 803 pages. The text breaks on page 803. The last chapter which begins on this page, called *Haze kitab cavābir İslām budur* ‘This is the book of jewels of the Islam’, has only four lines including the title and the rest of the page is blank. This may be the reason why the copyist did not place a colophon at the end and the date of copying is unknown. It is held in a private collection. The *ziker* called *Dertlülerniñ tabibi* is found on pages 559-564. It is followed by the same *zikers* as in Szahidewicz’s other *kitab*s: *Her kim kıılır tañ namāzın* (564-565), *Miskin adam oğlanı* (565-566) and *Şurhün Ramazān* (566-568). The two former poems have been edited and analysed by Jankowski (2016: 189-192).

<sup>3</sup> This name is corrupt, probably from Ottoman Turkish *şerh-i Ramazān* ‘Commentary on Ramadan’. Woronowicz (1935b: 365) also derives the word *szurchun* from Ar. *şarḥ*.

No information on Mustafa Szahidewicz is available. He may not be identified with another Mustafa Szahidewicz who was a Mullah in Słonim, because the Mullah died in 1849 (Konopacki, 2010: 1849).

Other manuscripts that contain the hymn *Dertlülerniñ tabîbi* that were accessible to us are the following:

1. Jan Jezufowicz's hamail (ChJJez), dated 1765. The copyist lived in Niemież (Nemėžis) near Vilnius. This is the earliest manuscript and, after the Leipzig hamail from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the second oldest PLBT manuscript of this type. It contains 393 folios, the prayer *Dertlülerniñ tabîbi* is found on folios 262a-264a, for a description see Drozd (2000c: 54-55) as well as Miškinene 2005b: 72-77).<sup>4</sup> From the view point of language correctness of Turkish prayers, this is the best manuscript. The prayer *Dertlülerniñ tabîbi* is preceded by the title *Ziker hikmet budur* 'This is the remembrance of divine saying'. The manuscript is housed in the National Museum of Lithuania in Vilnius, shelf number R-13.029.

2. Samuel Chasieniewicz's *kitab* (KSChas), dated 1866. The copyist, Aleksander Chasieniewicz, copied the manuscript for Samuel Chasieniewicz in Śmiłowicze (Смілавічы near Minsk, Belarus). The prayer *Dertlülerniñ tabîbi* is written on folios 299a-300a, it is preceded by the title *To jest ziker hikmet budur* 'This is the remembrance of divine saying'. This *kitab* has 302 folios and also contains other Turkish texts, for a description of the manuscript, see Drozd (2000d: 52). It is held in a private collection.

3. Adam Konopacki's *hamail* (ChAKon) dated 1852, called so for its owner Adam Konopacki (also Kanopacki) from Śmiłowicze (Смілавічы near Minsk, Belarus). It is held in a private collection. The manuscript is unfoliated, we have preliminarily marked the folios on which the prayer *Dertlülerniñ tabîbi* is found as 1a-3b. It is preceded by the title, or rather the instruction *To jest ziker pieć* 'This is the litany to recite'.

### 3. The Turkish text and its Polish translations

In Szahidewicz's all manuscripts described above, the hymn *Dertlülerniñ tabîbi* is found in the section *Du 'ā-i kezîr kitāb*<sup>5</sup> (KMSzah1837, 377; KMSzah1852b, 206a and KMSzah n.d. 559, for KMSzah1852a, see Woronowicz's *Bab du'ā'i kazîr kitab*) as well as the other *zikers* described above. The title of this section is followed by reference to *sura* Muḥammad of the Qur'an in Arabic, *kālā'llāhu ta 'ālā fî sūratî*<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Drozd (2000c: 55) says that this manuscript contains a collection of *zikers*, while Miškinene (2005b: 76) speaks about only one *ziker* on folios 253a-278a. In fact, there are ten *zikers* in this manuscript, for their names and details see Jankowski (2016: 188).

<sup>5</sup> This name is corrupt and unclear, probably a mistake for *Du 'ā-i kebîr kitāb* 'Great Prayer. Kitāb'.

<sup>6</sup> KMSzah1837 erroneously *sūratî*.

*Muhammad* ‘God the Most High says in the Chapter Muhammad,’ after which there is the following Polish text *Jego Miłość mówił, “Ktoby miał Qur’an pięć a pięć razy namāz na dzień nie pieł, to taki człowiek u Veylün piekle siedym razy męczyć sie będzie, a kto nie pieł Qur’an, a namāz pieł, to ten i jednego dnia męczyć sie nie będzie”*<sup>7</sup> i.e. ‘He who chants the Qur’an, but does not chant the five obligatory daily prayers, will suffer in Veylün hell seven times; but he who does not chant the Qur’an, but chants the obligatory prayer, will not suffer in hell even a single day.’ It is to note that nothing like this can be found in the respective Qur’anic *sura*, hence the legitimization of this claim is untrue. Moreover, only one poem in the section is a poem of the five obligatory daily prayers. Therefore, this claim does not concern the hymn to Muhammad, even if the translator chose the *sura* that bears Muhammad’s name.

In case of very corrupt Turkish words, the corrupt forms are shown in the footnotes in transliteration (normal font), otherwise in transcription (italics). Polish and Belarusian words are spelled in Latin script according to the current Polish standard, but all deviating phonetic features are demonstrated.

[1] Dertlülerniñ ṭabībi<sup>8</sup>,

Healer of the sufferers,

A 378, B 206a Pan Bóg kuźdej rzeczy jest mocny

lekarzem<sup>9</sup>

C 559 ... mocny jest lekarzem

The Lord God is a strong healer of everything

[2] Ey Teñrinüñ ḥabībi<sup>10</sup>,

Oh, beloved of God,

A Muchammied prorok sługa i przyjaciel boski

The Prophet Muhammad is God’s friend and servant

<sup>B</sup> A Muchammied ...

<sup>C</sup> ... sługa boski i przyjaciel

And the Prophet Muhammad is God’s friend and servant

[3] Yarlıq ağıl bir ġarībi<sup>11</sup>,

Forgive the poor one,

A, B, C Oduść nam biednym grzechy nasze z

łaski

Forgive us, the poor ones, sins with [your] mercy

<sup>7</sup> Cited from B; the text in A is slightly different, ... *pieć na dzień pa pjać razy a namaz by nie pieł taki ... razy muczycca budzie ... pieł ten tylko raz muczycca budzie*, and C, ... *pieć a namaz pięć razy na dzień nie pieł ... a kto by ... to ten tylko jeden raz męczyć się będzie*.

<sup>8</sup> B 206a ṭayyibi, A 378 and C 559 ṭayibi, ChJ Jez 262a is correct.

<sup>9</sup> Polish rz [ʒ] is always spelled with the letter *rā*<sup>3</sup> in the same manner as *r*. Since in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in this area *rz* was pronounced [r] only under Belarusian influence (Kurzowa 1993: 361), we transcribe *rā*<sup>3</sup> according to the etymological principle.

<sup>10</sup> The reading *Tañrimuñ* is also possible; B 206a ḥabīb.

<sup>11</sup> A 378 *yarlıfāğıl bir ġarībat*, B 206a ... *biz ġarībat*, C 559 ... *biz ġarībat*; ChJ Jez 262a is correct.

- [4] Şey<sup>2</sup>ün<sup>12</sup> lillāhi<sup>13</sup> Muḥammed.    <sup>A</sup> Swojej u Pana Boga rzecz jest wielka  
Muhammad, Allah's thing.                    Muchammied  
<sup>B</sup> U Pana Boga jest rzecz wielka Muchammied  
<sup>C</sup> Swojej u Pana Boga ...  
God has a great thing, Muhammad
- [5] Cümle dervişler<sup>14</sup> andan,                    <sup>A</sup> Uszystkie u Boga o niego jest sirotami  
All dervishes are from him,                    <sup>B</sup> Uszystkie u Boga u niego jest sieroty  
<sup>C</sup> ... jest sirotami  
All orphans by God<sup>15</sup> are by him
- [6] Ol<sup>16</sup> Muştafā nūrindan,                    <sup>A</sup> S prarockiej światłości  
From Mustafa's light,                            <sup>B</sup> S prarockiej światłości jest  
It is from the Prophet's light  
<sup>C</sup> S prarockiej światłości  
From the Prophet's light
- [7] Ol dervişler şafından<sup>17</sup>,                    <sup>A, C</sup> Uszytkie ubogie z jego pułkow jest  
From the ranks of dervishes,                    <sup>B</sup> Uszystkie ...  
All poor ones are from his regiments
- [8] Faḥrī, faḥrī<sup>18</sup> Muḥammed.                    <sup>A, C</sup> Nad uchwalonemi uchwalony Muchammied  
Muhammad, glorious, glorious.                    jest  
<sup>B</sup> ... uchwalony jest Muchammied  
Muhammad is the praiseworthy of all praiseworthy  
ones
- [9] Beyān kılan Muḥammed<sup>19</sup>,                    <sup>A, C</sup> On nam s Kurana nauka podał  
It is Muhammad who proclaimed the                    <sup>B 206b</sup> ... naukę ...  
Message,    He gave us instruction from the Qur'an

<sup>12</sup> A 378 and B 206a *şey<sup>2</sup>*, C 559 *şey<sup>2</sup>in*; ChJ Jez 262a is correct.

<sup>13</sup> A 378 There is an unnecessary *alif* before this word.

<sup>14</sup> A 378, B 206a and C 559 *dervişler*; *cümle* is written with an *üstün* above *l* in all mss.

<sup>15</sup> Reference is vague in this clumsy translation. It can refer to both God and Muhammad, but as the next line shows, it should be made to Muhammad.

<sup>16</sup> C 559 *ivel*.

<sup>17</sup> A 378, B 206a and C 559 *şafından*.

<sup>18</sup> B 206a and C 559 *fahri*, also in the following, A 378 *facri facri*, i.e. *fecri fecr*.

<sup>19</sup> B 206b *kılan* (there is both a *cezmi* and an *üstün* above the letter *n*); to form a correct rhyming quatrain, the lines 9-12 should have the form *Dervişlikni kılgan ol*, | *Aşilerni yulgan ol*, | *Furkân [kencin bulgan ol]*, | *Beyân kılan Muḥammed*, as in CHJ Jez 262b; as the Polish translation shows, Tur. (< Ar.) *beyân* is used here in relation to the Qur'an.

- [10] [Dervîşlikni] kılğan ol<sup>20</sup>,  
It is he who founded the Dervish order,  
A Uboście on też sam mieszkał  
B ... on sam ...  
He dwelt in poverty himself  
C ... on sam też mieszkał  
He also dwelt in poverty himself  
A, C 560 Ubogich obrońca on jest  
He is the defender of the poor ones  
B Ubogich też obrońca  
Also the defender of the poor ones  
A, C Wiedomo z nauki kuranej  
B Wiadomy z nauki kuranej jest  
It is known from the Qur'anic instruction  
A, B, C Ustanie z martwych jak przydzie ten czas  
He will rise from the dead when the time comes  
[14] Nūri iki cihānda<sup>23</sup>,  
His light in both worlds,  
A, B, C Dwóch światow światłość nam  
Illumination from both worlds for us  
[15] [Yaķılmışdır] iki cihānda<sup>24</sup>,  
Lit in both worlds,  
A On dwóch światow prorak jest  
B, C On dwóch światow prorok jest  
He is the prophet of two worlds  
[16] [Şaffi 'arşuñ]<sup>25</sup> Muḥammed.  
[Muhammad, your army ?].  
A 379, B S pulkiem swoim pod arszem stać będzie  
C ... arszam ...  
He will stay under the throne with his regiment

<sup>20</sup> B *Dervîşlik kılğan ol*, A 378 and C 559 *Dervîşlik kılğan*; amended to *dervîşlikni* on the basis of ChJJeZ 262a, KSChas 299a, and the metre of the verse.

<sup>21</sup> B 206a *'aşilerni*; ChJJeZ 262b has *yulğan* which better agrees with *kılğan*.

<sup>22</sup> B 206a *kençe bulanda*, A 378 and C 560 *kençe bulunda*, ChJJeZ 262b, KSChas 299a *kençe bulğan ol* and ChAKon 1b *kençe yulğan ol*; in the light of the other mss, Szahidewicz's *bulanda* is his own invention and the correct form should be either *bulğan ol* or *bolğan ol*; *kençe* probably reflects Per. *genç* 'treasure'; therefore, this line should be amended to *Furķān kenci bolğan ol* 'he was a treasure of the Qur'an' or *Furķān kencin bulğan ol* 'He has found the treasure of the Qur'an', which is semantically more reasonable; the Polish translations are different and do not help solve this corrupt line.

<sup>23</sup> A 378 and C 560 are mistakenly reverted as *İki nūri cihānda*.

<sup>24</sup> A 379 *Yazal mışdar* and C 560 *Yazal mışdar*; the latter goes back to the same mistake as in ChJJeZ 262b where it is written *Yazılmışdır iki cihānda*, i.e. 'was written in both worlds'; after this corrupt verb, all three versions have an unnecessary, wrong word *şum*; the best is B 206a, in which the verb is written as *yā fal mışdar* for *yaķılmışdır*, but the corrupt stem for *yaķıl-* was separated from the grammatical suffixes and mistakenly copied at the end of the preceding line. The distorted metre of this line also demonstrates that it is inadequate.

<sup>25</sup> Jankowski (1995: 412) reads this line *taşkı 'arşın Muḥammed* and translates 'Muhammad is the arch of your throne'; however, all versions show *şaffi 'arşuñ* which probably should be corrected to *şaffi 'arşuñ*, the more so as the Polish translations gloss the first word as 'regiment', see Tur. (< Ar. ) *şaf* 'row, line; rank' (New Redhouse 970); unfortunately, none of these amendments is satisfactory, since according to the Polish meaning the Tur. source text should be something like *şaffiñ 'arşta*, or in a more literal re-translation, *şaffiñ 'arş aldında turur Muḥammed*.

- [17] *Kören kördi cemālün*<sup>26</sup>,  
He who looked saw his beauty,  
 A Powiedzo że widzieliśmy prorocko obliczo  
They will say we had seen the Prophet's countenance  
 B Powiedzo widzieliśmy prorockie obliczo  
They will say that we had seen the Prophet's countenance  
 C Powiedzo co widzieliśmy ...  
They will say what we had seen, the Prophet's  
countenance
- [18] *Hem [eşitdi]*<sup>27</sup> *kelāmün*<sup>28</sup>,  
And he heard his word,  
 A Do tego słyszeliśmy jego słowo  
C Do tego słyszeliśmy słowo jego  
In addition to that, we heard his word  
 B I do tego słyszeliśmy słowo jego  
And in addition to that, we heard his word
- [19] *Aldılar sırrın selāmuñ*<sup>29</sup>,  
They received the secret of his greeting,  
 A I przynieliśmy od niego tajny sielam  
B, C I przyjeliśmy od niego tajny sielam  
We acknowledged his secret greeting
- [20] *Devlet [anuñ]*<sup>30</sup> *Muḥammed.*  
Muhammad, happiness is his.  
 A Nad szczęśliwymi szczęśliwy Muchammied  
Muhammad is the happiest of the happy ones  
 B Nad szczęśliwemi szczęśliwy nasz  
Muchammied  
Our Muhammad is the happiest of the happy ones  
 C ... *szczęśliwy* prorok Muchammied  
The Prophet Muhammad is the happiest of the happy ones
- [21] *[Sermürseldür aduñ]*<sup>31</sup>,  
Your name is Chief Messenger,  
 A, C Nad wszystkiemi mursielami jest starszy  
He is superior to all messengers  
 B *[Sermürseldür aduñ]*<sup>32</sup>  
Your name is Chief Messenger

<sup>26</sup> All versions have an unnecessary element *dañ* at the end of the last word, also appearing at other places.

<sup>27</sup> A 379 and C 560 *a'utdı*, B 206b *ayıtdı* 'he said', corrected on the basis of ChJ Jez 263a and the Polish translations.

<sup>28</sup> All versions have *kelāmuñ*, corrected on the basis of ChJ Jez 263a and the Polish translations; if the Pol. translation is reliable, this line should be corrected to *Hem eşitdi kelāmün* 'he heard his word'.

<sup>29</sup> A 379 and C 560 *isirin selāmün*, B 206b *isirin selāmuñ*; if the Pol. translation is reliable, this line should be corrected to *Aldılar sırrı selāmün* 'they received his secret greeting'; Jankowski (1995: 412) '(and they) received his secrets (and) greeting'.

<sup>30</sup> All versions read 'akvun which is corrupt; corrected on the basis of ChJ Jez 263a and the Polish translations.

<sup>31</sup> A 379 *şarmarsalzur* 'arvuñ dañ, B 206b and C 560 *şarmarsaldur* 'arvuñ dañ, corrected on the basis of ChJ Jez 263a.

<sup>32</sup> The copyist mistakenly repeated the Tur. text instead of providing the translation.



- [22] [Ümmetlerüñdür yâduñ]<sup>33</sup>,  
Your communities are your memory,  
A Za ummiet swój przyczyńca do Boga jedyneho  
B Za ummietem swoim przyczyńca do Boga  
jedyneho  
<He is> the intercessor to One God on behalf of his  
community  
C Za ummietem swoim przyczyńca będzie  
<He will> be an intercessor on behalf of his community
- [23] [Hudâ Teñridür] yâduñ<sup>34</sup>,  
God is your memory,  
A Do Pana Boga stworzyciele za grzesznemi  
swemi  
To the Lord God the Creator for the sake of his sinners  
B, C Do Boga stworzyciele za grzesznemi swemi  
To God the Creator for the sake of his sinners
- [24] Ser-tâcumuz Muḥammed.  
Muhammad, our crown.  
A, B 207a Obrońca nasz i karona nasza  
Muchammied  
C ... i korona ...  
Muhammad, our defender and our crown
- [25] İsmi Tâhâ ve Yâsîn<sup>35</sup>,  
His name is Taha and Yasin,  
A, B, C Imie jemu prawdziwe Taha i Jasiñ  
His true name is Taha and Yasin
- [26] Çeker [ümmetler Yâsîn]<sup>36</sup>,  
The community chants Yasin,  
A Obrońca usiemu ummietu Jasiñ jest  
Yasin is the defender of the whole community  
B Obrona uszystkiemu ummietu Jasiñ jest  
Yasin is the defence for the whole community  
C 561 Obrońca ...  
Yasin is the defender of the whole community
- [27] Nüş ider gam deryâsîn<sup>37</sup>,  
Drinks a sea of sorrow,  
A Od zatrudniennia i frasunkaw  
B Od zatrudnienia i frasunkow  
Against trouble and sorrow  
C ... i frasunkow jest  
<It is> against trouble and sorrow
- [28] Cism-i aḥsen<sup>38</sup> Muḥammed.  
Muhammad, the best body.  
A, B, C Ciało piękne proroka naszego  
Our Prophet's beautiful body

<sup>33</sup> A 379 'ummat larvuñ dar dar y'advuñ, B 206b 'ummat larvuñ dar y'advuñ, C 560 'ummat larvuñ dar dar y'advuñ; KSChas 299a *Ümmetlerüñdür yâdun*, in ChJ Jez this and the following line are missing.

<sup>34</sup> All versions have *Huzâ Teñrider*.

<sup>35</sup> B 207a and C 561 *ismu*, corrected on the basis of ChJ Jez 263b and KSChas 299b *ismi*.

<sup>36</sup> A 379 and C 561 *Çeker ümmeti Yâsîn sana*, B 207a *Ceker ümmeti Yâsîn sana*; corrected on the basis of ChJ Jez 263b and KSChas 299b *Çeker ümmetler Yâsîn*.

<sup>37</sup> A 379 *gamduryusu*, B 207a ... *dur Yâsîn*, C 561 ... *duryusu*, corrected on the basis of ChJ Jez 263b.

<sup>38</sup> A 379 *cismu 'ḥsnu*, B 207a and C 561 *cismu aḥsanu*, ChJ Jez 263b *cisma aḥsan*, corrected on the bases of KSChas 299b.

- [29] *İhlâşdur adı*<sup>39</sup>,  
His name is Sincerity,  
A, C *Kul huwiellahu jest imie boskie*<sup>40</sup>  
B ... buskie  
Say, 'He is God' is the divine name
- [30] *Zü'l-celâlün şifâti*,  
His attribute is Majesty,  
A, B, C *I postać boska wielka jest*  
And God's appearance is great
- [31] [*Ma' rüfdur bâtinî*]<sup>41</sup>,  
What is hidden is known <to him>.  
A 380, B, C *Najprawdziwszy jedyny stwórca jest*  
<He> is the truest One Creator
- [32] *Küler yüzlü Muḥammed*.  
Muhammad, the smiling faced.  
A, B, C *Wesołej twarzy jest Muchammed*  
Muhammad has a cheerful face
- [33] *Adi eṣ-Şemsü ve'Z-žuḥâ*<sup>42</sup>,  
His name is Shams and Duha<sup>43</sup>  
A *Imie jemu Szemś jako słońco wesoły i twarz pełny*  
B ... a twarz pełny  
His name is Shams like the sun and [he has a] full face  
C ... Szemś jest jak słońco wesoły  
His name is Shams, as cheerful as the sun
- [34] *Ḳamer yüzlü Muṣṭafâ*,  
Moon-like faced Mustafa,  
A *Jako miesiąc donoszą wam ummiet moj*  
B *Jak miesiąc donoszą wam ummiet mój*  
I am holding my community for you as the moon<sup>44</sup>  
C *A twarz pełny jak miesiąc donoszą wam ummiet mój*  
I am holding a full face as the moon for my community's sake
- [35] [*Ḳul Süleymân*] *ümmeti beyâni*<sup>45</sup>  
Tell the message of Solomon's community,  
A, B, C {*Żebyście mocno postrzegali imanu*}

<sup>39</sup> All variants have *İhlâşdur adı daṭ*.

<sup>40</sup> The other versions have *Qul huve'llâbdur adı*, of which the first three words 'Say, He is God' are the beginning of chapter 112 of the Qur'an which is an alternative name of this chapter, common in PLBT texts. Mustafa Szahidewicz replaced these words with the canonical name *İhlâş* of this chapter, but translated the name *İhlâş* with *Kul huwiellahu*.

<sup>41</sup> All versions have a mistaken form *ma' rüfur bâtina ta*; the first of these words is also corrupt in other mss, e.g. ChJJeZ 262b *ma' arafdur*, KSChas 299a and ChAKon 1b *ma' arafdar*; the amendment is tentative.

<sup>42</sup> All three mss have an unnecessary word *maṭ* at the end of this line.

<sup>43</sup> See the names of the chapters 91 'the Sun' and 93 'The Morning Sunlight' of the Qur'an, and Jankowski's (1995: 414) note that Muhammad's face is often compared to the names of these chapters.

<sup>44</sup> Used in the sense of the moon getting full.

<sup>45</sup> All three mss read *Ḳul Muḥammed ümmeti beyâni* 'Tell the message of Muhammad's community'; whereas ChJJeZ 262b, KSChas 299a and ChAKon 1b have *Ḳul Süleymân beyâni* 'Tell Solomon's message'; A, B and C are corrupt which is also evident from the completely different Polish translations.

- [36] Bek<sup>46</sup> sađlađıl imānı,  
Keep faith firm,  
A, B, C [Żebyście mocno postrzegali imanu]<sup>47</sup>  
That you keep your faith firm
- [37] <Kim><sup>48</sup> Hađ için berse<sup>49</sup>  
cānı,  
Even if one gives his life to God,  
A, C [Dla Pana Boga dusz waszych nie żałujcie]  
Spare not your lives to the Lord God  
B [Dla Boga dusz swoich nie żałujcie]  
Spare not your lives to God
- [38] Kimi ister ‘izzeti{ni}<sup>50</sup>,  
One wants glory,  
A [Który chce od ludzi paszanowania]<sup>51</sup>  
B [Kto chce ... poszanowanie  
He who wants esteem from the people  
C [On szczęścia i uczciwości]  
He <wants> happiness and honesty
- [39] Devleti hem ziyneti<sup>52</sup>,  
Happiness and adornment,  
A Świeckiej nie chce tylko  
B 207b, C Świeckiej nie chce  
He does not want worldly <joy and esteem>
- [40] Ümmetin<sup>53</sup> ister Muđammed.  
Muhammad wants his community.  
A Ummiet chcecie do łaski boskiej paśpieszyć  
You want to hasten the community to God’s compassion  
B Tylko ummiet chciejcie do łaski boskiej  
pośpieszyć  
Only try to hasten the community to God’s compassion  
C Chciej ummiet do łaski boskiej pośpieszyć  
Try to hasten the community to God’s compassion
- [41] Resūlü’llāh Muđammed<sup>54</sup>.  
Muhammad, God’s messenger.  
A Poseł boski jest Muchammied  
B, C 562 Posoł ...  
Muhammad is God’s messenger

<sup>46</sup> All three mss read *yek*; corrected on the basis of ChJJeZ 262b and the Polish translation.

<sup>47</sup> The correct translation of the parallel Tur. line in all three mss is mistakenly placed at the preceding line, because the copyist committed a mistake in the Turkish text, see above; the existing Polish translation in these mss is the translation of line 37.

<sup>48</sup> Added on the basis of ChJJeZ 262b, KSChas 299a and ChAKon 1b.

<sup>49</sup> ChJJeZ 262b *berse*, KSChas 299a and ChAKon 1b mistakenly *verseni*.

<sup>50</sup> A more correct version of this quatrain is ChJJeZ 263a *Kimi ister ‘izzeti, | Kimi dūnyā devleti, | Devleti hem ziyneti, | Ümmetin ister Muđammed*; the line *Kimi dūnyā devleti* ‘one (wants) the prosperity in the world’ is missing in all three mss.

<sup>51</sup> The Polish translation of this line was mistakenly placed in line 37 in all mss.

<sup>52</sup> All three mss have *daykatyi ... zanatyi*, corrected on the basis of ChJJeZ 263a; Jankowski (1995: 415) reads this line as *Zevkiyatı hem ziyneti* ‘pleasure and adornment’.

<sup>53</sup> A 380 *ümmet*; B 207b, ChJJeZ 263a, KSChas 299b and ChAKon 2a *ümmetin*; C 561 not clearly seen; probably more reasonable would be *Ümmet ister Muđammed’i* ‘The community wants Muhammad’ as in Jankowski (1995: 415).

<sup>54</sup> This line has no parallel in other versions and does not agree metrically with the following quatrain.

- [42] [K̄aşı nūn tek yazılmış]⁵⁵, A, B, C Na browach jego zacnych pismo jest  
His eyebrows are written like <the letter> There is a writing on his eyebrows  
*nun*,
- [43] Dişi [inci dizilmiş]⁵⁶, A Zęby piękne jego z ziemczuhu⁵⁷  
His teeth are arranged (like) pearls, C ... z źemczuhu  
B Zęby jego piękne z ziemczuhu  
His teeth <are as> beautiful as pearls
- [44] [Nazīre] hiç kelmemiş⁵⁸, A Spójrzaniem⁵⁹ takim nicht nie był i nie może  
Nothing can match his image być  
B Spójrzeniem takim nikt ...  
C Spójrzaniem ... nicht ...  
Nothing can match his sight
- [45] [Şīrīn] zibā⁶⁰ Muḥammed. A Piękności takiej niht nie był i nie będzie  
Muhammad, sweet and beautiful. B, C Piękności takiej nikt ...  
Nobody was and will be so beautiful
- [46] Anasından⁶¹ toğanda, A Od matki rodzennio piękne jego było  
When he was born from his mother, B, C ... rodzenio ...  
His birth from his mother was beautiful
- [47] Ümmet edi dilinde⁶², A Jak się urodził ummiet swój spomniał  
He get his tongue round the community, B Jak się narodził zaraz ummiet swój wspomniał  
C ... sie narodził ummiet ...  
As soon as he was born he recalled his community
- [48] Ümmet için [Şīrātda]⁶³, A, B, C I dla ummietu na Syrat moście  
For the sake of the community on Sirat And for his community on Sirat bridge  
bridge,

⁵⁵ In all three mss, the three dots above the letter *ş* are transformed to a *hemze*; A 380 *nūn tek pazılmış*, B 207 b ... *nūn tek yazılmış*, C 562 ... *nūn tekbazılmış*, corrected on the basis of ChJ-Jez 263a and ChAKon 2a; ... *nūn tek* also in ChJ-Jez 263a and KSChas 299b.

⁵⁶ A 380 *incü vazulmaş*, B 207 b and C 562 *incü vazulmiş*; corrected on the basis of ChJ-Jez 263a; KChas 299b and ChAKon 2a *inçe dizilmiş*.

⁵⁷ Bel. *žemčug* 'pearl'.

⁵⁸ ChJ-Jez 263a, A 380 and B 207b *nāzīr*, C 562 *nāzīr*; corrected on the basis of KSChas 299b and ChAKon 2a *nāzīre*; cf. Tur. *nazīr* '1. anything opposing or parallel. 2. match, like' etc. (New Redhouse 871).

⁵⁹ For the pronunciation *jrz* [jɔ] in dialectal north-east Polish, see Kurzowa (1993: 358), for duplication of *-ni* [ɲ]-, see Kurzowa (1993: 349).

⁶⁰ A *sīrīn*, B 207b and C 562 *sīrīn*, all having the last word as *Muḥammediş*; corrected on the basis of ChJ-Jez 263a and KSChas 299b; the second word is written correctly in B 207b, but *zeba* in A 380 and C 562.

⁶¹ A 381 and C 562 *anasundan toğan daş*, B 207b *anasundan toğandaş*, corrected on the basis of ChJ-Jez 263b, KSChas 299b and ChAKon 2b-3a.

⁶² All three mss read *ümmetedi* valından, corrected on the basis of ChJ-Jez 263b, KSChas 299b and ChAKon 3a; another interpretation may be 'in his heart', for Tur. (< Per.) *dil* 'heart, mind, soul' etc. (New Redhouse 298).

⁶³ All three mss read *svadan*, corrected on the basis of ChJ-Jez 263b; in KSChas 299b and ChAKon 3a *Şīrāt*.

- [49] Tursa kerek<sup>64</sup> Muḥammed.  
Muhammad shall stand.  
A, B I dla ummietu czekać będzie Muchammied  
And Muhammad will wait for the sake of the community  
C Swego czekać ...  
Muhammad will wait for his community's sake
- [50] [Ümmetüm dep ağlardı]<sup>65</sup>,  
He wept over his community,  
A Dla ummietu płakał prorak Muchammied  
The Prophet Muhammad wept over the community  
B I dla ummietu płakać będzie Muchammied  
Muhammad will weep over the community  
C ... będzie prorok Muchammied  
The Prophet Muhammad will weep over the community
- [51] Niyāz birle añardı  
{ümmetile}<sup>66</sup>,  
Mentioned <it> in supplication,  
A Serdecznie i szcziro prosił Pana Boga  
B ... i szczero ...  
He begged the Lord God honestly and sincerely  
C ... i szczero prosić będzie Boga  
And he will beg God honestly and sincerely
- [52] Kendü [cānın kıymazdı]<sup>67</sup>,  
He did not spare his own life,  
A A o swoje dusza nie turbowalsie<sup>68</sup>  
B A o swojej duszy nie frasował sie  
He did not care for his own life  
C ... swoje dusza nie będzie turbowalsie  
He will not care for his own life
- [53] [Sulṭānımız]<sup>69</sup> Muḥammed.  
Muhammad, our King.  
A To jest nasz Muchammied prorak<sup>70</sup>  
B, C ... prorok  
This is our Prophet, Muhammad
- [54] Cenneti ol istemez<sup>71</sup>,  
He does not desire the Paradise,  
A Raju dla siebie nie żądał jednakże  
B 208a, C Raju dla siebie nie żądał jednakowoż  
However, he did not demand the Paradise for himself

<sup>64</sup> All three mss read *turşa*.

<sup>65</sup> All three mss read *Ümmeti ağlardı Muḥammed*, corrected on the basis of ChJ Jez 263b and KS-Chas 299b *Ümmetümden ağlardı*; ChAKon 3a has also a mistaken form *Ümmetemdez*; Jankowski (1995: 417), having no access to ChJ Jez and KSChas then, proposed two readings, *Ümmeti a ȳlardı Muḥammad* 'Muhammad wept over the community' and *Ümmetimiz a ȳlardı* 'Our community wept'.

<sup>66</sup> In B 207b, the last word has a *met* or a *vasl* which resembles Ar. *ummatu'llāh* 'God's congregation'.

<sup>67</sup> This line is corrupt in all mss: A 381 *y'a canın kıyalmazdı*, B 207b and C 562 *y'a canın kıyalmazdı*, ChJ Jez 263b *kendü canın kıbyim'azadyi*, KSChas 299b *kendü cānı kırmazdı* and ChAKon 2b *kendü cānı kızmazdı*.

<sup>68</sup> Bel. *turbavacca* 'to worry'.

<sup>69</sup> All three mss have the corrupt form *Sulṭān namuz*, corrected on the basis of ChJ Jez 263b, KS-Chas 299b and ChAKon 2b *Sulṭānımız*.

<sup>70</sup> At the beginning of this line, A 381 has an unnecessary word *b'abi*, resembling the name of a chapter *bāb*.

<sup>71</sup> A 381 and C 562 *istemüz*, the vocalisation in B 208a is illegible.

- [55] Cehennemden hiç *korq* maz<sup>72</sup>,<sup>A, B, C</sup> Piekielnej męki sam dla siebie nie bał sie  
He does not fear hell, He did not fear torments of hell
- [56] Ümmetin [körmeyniçe feraḥ olmaz]<sup>73</sup>,<sup>A</sup> Ummietu póki nie obaczy weselić sie nie chce  
Until he does not see his community he does not want to rejoice  
<sup>B</sup> Ummiety ... weselić się nie będzie  
<sup>C 563</sup> Ummietu póki nie obaczy weselić sie nie będzie  
Until he does not see his community he does not rejoice
- [57] Şefi kılğay Muḥammed {ümmeti}<sup>74</sup>.<sup>A, B, C</sup> Pryczyńca do Boga Muchammed za ummietem  
Muhammad, entreat for us. Muhammad, the community's intercessor to God
- [58] Allāh, Allāh Ḥudāya<sup>75</sup>,<sup>A</sup> Boże Boże Boże przemówić  
Oh God, Oh God, Oh Lord! To say, Oh God, Oh God, Oh God!  
<sup>B, C</sup> ... premówi  
He will say, 'Oh God, Oh God, Oh God!'
- [59] Doymaz<sup>76</sup> ümmet [‘aṭāya]<sup>77</sup>,<sup>A</sup> Ummiet moj żąda ode mnie [podarku]<sup>78</sup>  
The community will not be satisfied with the gift, C Ummiet mój ode mnie żąda podarunku  
My community demands a gift from me  
<sup>B</sup> Ja od Ciebie Boga żądam dla nich i dla siebie  
I demand from You God for my community and me
- [60] Yā rabbi senden ‘aṭāya<sup>79</sup>,<sup>A, C</sup> A ja od Ciebie Boga żądam dla nich i dla siebie  
With the gift from You, Oh my Lord, siebie  
And I demand <it> from You God to them and to myself

<sup>72</sup> A 381 and C 562 ... *hec korqmar*, in B 208a the beginning of the word *korqmar* is placed before *hīc*, then the whole word is correctly written at the end of the line.

<sup>73</sup> A 381 *körmeneyinçe ferḥ olmaz*, B 208a *körme’inç ferḥ olmaz* and C 563 *körmeneyinç ferḥ olmaz*; ChJJez 263b *ferah olmaz*, KSChas 299b *körmence fahr olmaz*; as Jankowski (1995: 417) suggested, the verb *ol-* may be amended to *al-* ‘to take’.

<sup>74</sup> Instead of this line, ChJJez 263b and KSChas 299b have the last third line in this quatrain *Ferah olmaz Muḥammed* ‘Muhammad will not rejoice’; the word *ümmeti* at the end of this line in all three mss is incorrect, a grammatically correct sentence would be *şefa‘at kılğay Muḥammed ümmet(k)e*, but it does not fit the metre.

<sup>75</sup> All three mss read *Ḥuzayā*, the correct form being *Ḥudā-yā*, but the alternation *d ~ z* in Persian loanwords is common.

<sup>76</sup> All three mss read *doymuz*.

<sup>77</sup> All three mss read *doymuz ‘azāyā*, ChJJez 264a *doymaz ğaraya* (the dot over the letter ‘ayn was separated from *zā*’, which therefore looks like *rā*’, and which is also the case with the following mss), KSChas 299b and ChAKon 3a *doymaz ğarāya*; because of the variation and difference from the word in the next line, the reading is tentative.

<sup>78</sup> A 381 metathetically *poradku* (*porzadku*).

<sup>79</sup> This line is absent from B 208a, but the copyist placed the translation of this lacking line at the preceding line (69) which begins with *Doymaz* as it is in A and B: *Ja od Ciebie Boga żądam dla nich i dla siebie*; A 381 C 563 *sinden ‘aṭāya*; ChJJez 264a and KSChas 299b correctly *senden ‘aṭāya*, but ChAKon 3a *sen ‘aṭāya*.

- [61] Feryād kılgay<sup>80</sup> Muḥammed.  
Muhammad will cry.
- <sup>A</sup> Będzie u łasce prorak Muchammied  
<sup>C</sup> ... łasce Muchammied prorok  
The Prophet Muhammad will get compassion  
<sup>B</sup> ... prorok nasz Muchammied  
Our Prophet Muhammad will get compassion
- [62] Allāh Allāh deyiser<sup>81</sup>,  
He will say, Oh God, Oh God,
- <sup>A</sup> Boże Boże przemówić  
<sup>B, C</sup> Boże Boże przemówi  
He will say, Oh God, Oh God
- [63] [Ol Būrāḳa biniser]<sup>82</sup>,  
Will mount Burak,
- <sup>A</sup> Na konia usiądzie prorak Muchammied  
<sup>B</sup> ... usiądzie prorok ...  
<sup>C</sup> ... prorak ...  
The Prophet Muhammad will mount a horse
- [64] Ümmet alında [yüriser]<sup>83</sup>,  
Will walk in front of the communities,
- <sup>A, C</sup> Pred ummietem swoim będzie jechał  
<sup>B</sup> Pred<sup>84</sup> ummietem swoim będzie jechał  
He will go in front of his community
- [65] [Salını keder]<sup>85</sup> Muḥammed.  
Muhammad will went away with grace.
- <sup>A</sup> Nie ostawiłszy żadnego pojedzie  
Muchammied  
<sup>B</sup> Nie zostawiwszy żadnego pagedzie  
Muchammied  
<sup>C</sup> Nie ostawiwszy ...  
Leaving no one behind, Muhammad will go away
- [66] Heb senüñ [ümmeṭüyüz]<sup>86</sup>,  
We are your community all the time,
- <sup>A</sup> Bo my twój ummiet jesteśmy  
<sup>B, C</sup> ... twójj ...  
It is us who are your community
- [67] [Keçe kündüz ağlaruz]<sup>87</sup>,  
We are weeping day and night,
- <sup>A</sup> Noc i dzień zawsze płaczemo  
<sup>C</sup> ... płaczem  
<sup>B</sup> Jak noc tak dzień zawsze płaczem  
We are constantly weeping night and day

<sup>80</sup> A 382 *gılgay*, B 208a and C 563 *kılgay*.

<sup>81</sup> All three mss have an erroneous form *da'ised*, see ChJ Jez 264a *diyiser*, KSChas 300a and ChAKon 3a *diyesser*.

<sup>82</sup> B 208a *Burağ ol biniser*, A 382 and C 563 *Burağ ol siniser*, ChJ Jez 264a *Ol Burağka biniser*, KSChas 300a *Ol Burağa beneser* and ChAKon 3a *Ol Burağa bineser*.

<sup>83</sup> A 382, B 208a and C 563 *yürisiz*, ChJ Jez 264a, KSChas 300a and ChAKon 3a *Ümmetlerin öninde*.

<sup>84</sup> Mistakenly *per*.

<sup>85</sup> A 382, B 208a and C 563 *şalını keder*, ChJ Jez 264a *salını kider*, KSChas 300a and *salını kidder*.

<sup>86</sup> This quatrain is better in ChJ Jez 264a: *Şefâ'atun umaruz*, | *Keçe kündüz ağlaruz*, | *Heb senüñ [ümmeṭüyüz]*, | *Ḳoma bizi Muḥammed*; A 382, B 208a and C 563 *Heb senüñ ümmetiün*, ChJ Jez 264a *ümmeṭüyün*, KSChas 300a and ChAKon 3a *Hey senüñ ümmetiüyüz*.

<sup>87</sup> A 382 and C 563 *kiç kendür ağladuz* and B 208a *kice kendü ağladuzu*, ChJ Jez 264a *Keçe kündüz ağlaruz*, KSChas 300a and ChAKon 3a *Keçe kündüz uğlaruz*.

- [68] *Ḳoma*<sup>88</sup> bizi Muḥammed. A, B Nie opuszczaj nas prorocze Muchammied  
 Muhammad, do not leave us. C Nie opuszczaj nas prarocze  
 Oh Prophet Muhammad, do not leave us
- [69] *Ḳıyāmet kün olduḡ da*, A, C Gdy sądny dzień przydzie  
 When the Day of Resurrection comes, B Kiedy ...  
 When Judgement Day comes
- [70] *Maḡābirden çıḡduḡ da*<sup>89</sup>, A Gdy z mogił ustawać będzien  
 Rising from the graves, B<sup>208b</sup> Gdy z grobow ustawać będzien  
 C Kiedy z mogił ...  
 When we will be rising from grave
- [71] [*Şaf şaf*] olub turduḡ da<sup>90</sup>, A Pułkami pułkami stać będzien  
 Standing in ranks, B, C<sup>564</sup> ... stać będzien  
 We will stand in regiments
- [72] *Niyāz ḡılḡay*<sup>91</sup> Muḥammed. A Prorak Muchammied przyczyniać sie za  
 Muhammad, entreat for us. grzesznymi będzie  
 B Przyczyniać sie za grzesznemi będzie prorok  
 Muchammied  
 C Prorak Muchammied za grzesznemi  
 przyczyniać sie będzie  
 The Prophet Muhammad will intercede for the sinners
- [73] *Allāh Allāh Allāh [ḡünahumni* A To jest Boże mój odpuść grzechy moje  
 ‘avf] *ḡılḡay*<sup>92</sup>. That is, my God, forgive my sins  
 Oh God, Oh God, Oh God, forgive [my B, C Boże Boże Boże odpuść grzechy moje  
 sin]. Oh God, Oh God, Oh God, forgive my sins

<sup>88</sup> C 563, ChJJeZ 264a *ḡoma*, A 382, B 208a, KSChas 300a and ChAKon 3a *Ḳoma bizi*.

<sup>89</sup> A 382 *çıḡdıḡda*, B 208b and C 563 *çıḡdaḡda*, KSChas 300a and ChAKon 3a *çıḡdur ked*, for the correct form see ChJJeZ 264a.

<sup>90</sup> ChAKon 3a *durduḡda*; only ChJJeZ 264a has the correct form of the word *şaf* (with deletion of the second *f*), all other copies have *şāf*.

<sup>91</sup> A 382 *niyāz*, but B 208b and C 564 *niyāzū*; ChJJeZ 264a, KSChas 300a and ChAKon 3a *niyāz ḡılan*.

<sup>92</sup> This line is not an integral part of the poem, it is an entreating formula for forgiveness of sins; it is only present in A 382, B 208b and C 564; the last word *ḡünahum* was divided into two discontinuous parts, *-hum*, which in all mss is seen after the third occurrence of *Allāh* and before *‘avf ḡılḡay*, and *künā-* (*ḡünā-*) in the beginning of the second half line before the Polish translation in A. ChJJeZ 264a has *Allāh* (9 times repeated) *īmān vergey bir Allāh* (no vocalization) ‘Oh One God, may He give faith’, similarly KSChas 300a and ChAKon, *Lā ilāha illā’llāh imān virgey bir Allāh* ‘There is no god but God, may He give faith’. In A 385, a similar entreating formula is found under another prayer, *Yā rabbi, baḡışla[ḡın] künahum* ‘My Lord, forgive my sin’.



## 4. The language of the *ziker* and the language of its translation

### 4.1. Characteristics of the source text

The language of the *ziker* is Turkish. As is often the case with religious literature, the language demonstrates many old, sometimes archaic features. Moreover, some features of the *ziker*, e.g. the initial *b-* in *ber-* ‘to give’ (37), the imperative *-Gİl*, e.g. *yarlıkağıl* ‘forgive’ (3), see Mansuroğlu (1959: 177), the participle *-GAn*, e.g. *kılğan* ‘he who made’ (10), (but also *-An*, e.g. *kılan* (9)), the desiderative-future *-GAy*, e.g. *kılğay* ‘may He do’ (73), see Mansuroğlu (1959: 178) are characteristic of early Turkish sometimes called Old Anatolian Turkish of the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries and often regarded as a mixed language or *olga bolga dili*, in some texts used as long as the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries, for the discussion see Doerfer (1990: 20-27).

Other archaic features are the postpositions *alnında* ‘in front of’ (64), see BH *İsmâ’ülünj alnında* ‘before, in front of Ismail’ (Canpolat, 2018: 139), *birle* ‘with’ (51), see Mansuroğlu (1959: 170) and *tek* ‘as, like’, see Mansuroğlu (1959: 171); the use of the genitive *+nİñ*, e.g. *dertlülerniñ* ‘of the sufferers’ (1) and the accusative *+nI* after a consonant (but also *+I*, e.g. (39)), e.g. *âşilerni* ‘sinners’ (11), evidenced in Old Turkish (Mansuroğlu, 1959: 169). The use of *ol* ‘he, she, it; this’ (6, 7, 11 etc.), for the Modern Turkish *o* as well as its dependent cases, e.g. *andan* ‘from him’ (5) is also evidenced in Old Turkish (Mansuroğlu, 1959: 171, Canpolat, 2018: 566, 570).

A characteristic Old Turkish form, not encountered in north-west and south-east Turkic, is the future *-IsAr*, e.g. *yüriser* ‘he will walk’ (64), cf. Mansuroğlu (1959: 179).

All these features can be attributed to Old Turkish in which they are remnants of Old East Turkic or an eastern adstrate. However, these traits can also be accounted for as Kipchakisation of Turkish by Tatars who once used a type of Kipchak Turkic.

The Arabic writing used in PLBT normally does not distinguish between *k-* and *g-*, but even if a text had an original Turkish *g-*, the Tatars pronounced it *k-*. As for *t-* and *d-*, we have clear evidence for *t-* in words in which Modern Turkish has *d-*, e.g. *turdukdā* ‘standing’ (71).

With regard to the correctness of Turkish, it should be said that the amount of mistakes is high. Out of the total of 218 words, only 148 words or 68% are correct. Some mistakes, as substitution of *h̄* for *h*, are common also in Turkish, nevertheless they were considered to be mistakes. Expect for mistakes and omissions, the Turkish text is identical in all versions.

### 4.2. Characteristics of the translation

The Polish of Mustafa Szahidewicz is a variety of north-east dialectal Polish as used by Polish-Lithuanian-Belarusian Tatars. In addition to strong Belarusian

influence, the Tatar variety is additionally marked by use of oriental loanwords, many constructions and word order calqued from Arabic and Turkish. The oriental words related to Islam in this translation are *arsz* 'throne', *iman* 'faith', *kuranny* 'Qur'anic', *mursiel* 'messenger, envoy', *sielam* 'salutation, greeting', *ummiel* 'community, congregation', while the proper names are *Jasiń* 'Yasin', *Kuł huwiellahu* 'the name of chapter 112 of the Qur'an', *Kuran* 'Qur'an', *Muchammied* 'Muhammad', *Syrat* 'Sirat (bridge)', *Szemś* 'Sun' and *Taha* 'Taha', see below.

The style of Polish is simple with no aspiration to create a high-style oeuvre. There are only a few rare lexical units, e.g. *przyczyńca* 'intercessor', which is an archaism (Urbańczyk, 1973-1977: 246).

There is a good deal of Polish dialectal phonetic and some morphological forms, e.g. *kuźdy* 'every' (1, Standard Pol. *každy*), *nauka* 'knowledge (in the accusative)<sup>93</sup>' (9, Standard Pol. *naukę*), *wiedomo* 'known' (12, Standard Polish *wiadomo*), *będziem* 'we will' (71A, Standard Pol. *będziemy*).

Many forms are influenced by Belarusian and some should be taken for Belarusian copies, e.g. *sirota* 'orphan' (5, Standard Pol. *sierota*, Bel. *sira'ta*), *posoł* (41, Standard Pol. *poseł*, Bel. *pa'sol*) 'messenger', *moj* 'my' (59, Standard Pol. *mój*, Bel. *moj*) or *mesiec* 'moon' (34, Standard Pol. *miesiąc*, Bel. *'mesjac*). The noun *twarz* once appears as a feminine noun (32), but twice as masculine (33, 34) which is a Belarusian impact. In the first person plural of the present tense, we see the Bel. ending *-mo*, i.e. *placzemo* 'we are weeping' (Kurzowa, 1993: 288) in one occurrence.

Some words are Belarusian, they do not occur in Polish, e.g. *ziemczub* ~ *żemczub* 'pearl' (43), *(nie) turbowatsie* 'he did (not) care' (52) or *usiemu* 'all (in the dative)' (26).

Another interesting question is the variation and linguistic diversity of the manuscripts. In contrast to Turkish which is very similar in all three manuscripts, Polish is more diversified. There are only 12 or 16% of lines which are identical, although in most cases the differences are insignificant, mostly phonetic, some morphological and some in word order. A is more similar to C than B to either of them. Another feature of A is that it prefers Belarusian forms, while B prefers Polish. It is likely that language preference depended on the client who ordered a copy of a *kitab*.

## 5. Analysis of translation

The Polish translation is designed to provide a sense of the source text and not the form. Therefore, the translator has not endeavoured to translate the hymn in the form of a poem, to render rhythm, rhymes and other poetic features. Despite the fact that his first language was probably Belarusian, he chose Polish as a lan-

<sup>93</sup> For this feature in north-east dialectal Polish, see Kurzowa (1993: 395).

guage of higher prestige, though he could not avoid Belarusian forms and words.

The achievement of equivalence as the most important relation between the source and the target text that demonstrates the correctness of translation may be presented in three degrees: full equivalence, partial equivalence and lack of equivalence. Full equivalence, if we disregard amplification, is observed in 24 lines out of the total of 73, which makes up 33% (line 6, 13, 14, 18, 24, 25, 28, 29, 32, 36, 38, 41, 44, 48, 50, 53, 56, 62, 64, 67, 68, 70, 71 and 73). In 13 lines or 18% there is no equivalence (line 5, 10, 11, 15, 21, 26, 27, 31, 34, 35, 39, 40 and 61). The most frequent is partial equivalence which characterizes 36 lines or 49% (line 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 12, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 30, 33, 37, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 49, 51, 52, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 63, 65, 66, 69 and 72).

In the process of translation, a translator applies many methods, but the most common are amplification, substitution, reduction and retaining the original form (loanword). We will discuss these strategies shortly in the following.

#### *Amplification*

This is a very common and most frequently method applied by Szahidewicz. There are only 6 non-amplified lines: 6, 12, 18, 32, 36 and 69. Typically added words include *Muhammad, prophet, the Lord God, God, Lord, divine*. Some amplifications were of explanatory character and probably felt as obligatory for the understanding of meaning, e.g. *Syrat moście* (48) for *Sirāṭda* 'on Sirat bridge'.

#### *Substitution*

Substitution is also very common. Some cases of substitution are a purposeful procedure applied by the translator or at least are not resulted by misunderstanding of the original text, e.g.

*Ḳoma bizi Muḥammed* → *Nie opuszczaj nas prarocze* (C) 'Oh Prophet, do not leave us' (68); here *Muḥammed* was replaced with *prarok* 'Prophet'; this strategy does not make the target sentence different, for both *Muchammied* and *prarok* denote the same person.

However, in many instances substitution is far going and results in the change of meaning, e.g. *Feryād ḳulḡay Muḥammed* 'Muhammad will cry' → *Będzie u łasce prarak Muchammied / Muchammied prarok / prarok nasz Muchammied* 'Prophet / our Prophet Muhammad will get compassion' (61); here the source compound predicate *feryād ḳıl-* which means 'to cry out, to lament; to complain' was replaced with *będzie u łasce* lit. 'he will be in compassion'.

The cases of erroneous translation from which it seems that Szahidewicz has not understood the source text may also manifest as substitution, e.g. *Āṣīlerni yulan ol* 'It is he who rescued the sinners' was translated as *Ubogich obrońca on jest / Ubogich też obrońca* 'He is the defender of the poor ones / Also the defender of the poor ones'. The noun *āṣī* '1. rebellious; rebel. 2. sinner' is completely different from *ubogi*

‘a poor man’. Also the verb *yul-* ‘to rescue, to deliver, to save’ may not be rendered with *być obrońcą* ‘to be a defender’.

### Reduction

Reduction is a procedure applied by the translator in a few cases only. This shows that the translator rather tried to explain and supplement the original text than detract from it. Reduction is mostly applied when omission of an element does not disturb the understanding of the whole unit, e.g. *Muḥammed* → ∅ (16). In another case, *kören* ‘he who who sees; seer’ → ∅ (17), the translator either did not understand this word or had difficulty in finding a good syntactic equivalent in Polish.

### Retaining the original form

This method is applied for key Islamic terms and concepts which were commonly used by the Tatars, e.g. *arsz* ‘throne’ (16), *iman* ‘faith’ (36), *mursiel* ‘messenger, envoy’ (21, for *sermürsel*), *sielam* ‘salutation, greeting’ (19), *ummiel* ‘community, congregation’ (22, 26, 34, 40, 47, 48, 49, 50, 56, 57, 59, 64, 66). Naturally the proper names are also left out untranslated: *Jasiń* ‘the chapter Yasin’ (25, 26), *Muchammied* (many instances), *Syrat* ‘Sirat (bridge)’ (48), *Szems* ‘Sun’ (33), *Taha* ‘the chapter Taha’ (25), though *až-Žuḥā* ‘Morning Sunlight’ (33) is replaced with *twarz pełny* ‘full face’ and *Burāk* (63) with a ‘horse’. As in all PLBT works, *Allāh* is rendered *Bóg* ~ *Bog* ‘God’.

It is to note that *Kuran* ‘Qur’an’ (9) is an interpretation of *beyān* and should be considered to be a substitution in the same way as *Kul huwiellahu* ‘Say, ‘He is God’’ for *İhlās* ‘Sincerity’ (29), and *kuranny* (*z nauki kurannej*) ‘Qura’nic’ (12) for *Furḳān* ‘that distinguishes; a name of the Qur’an’.

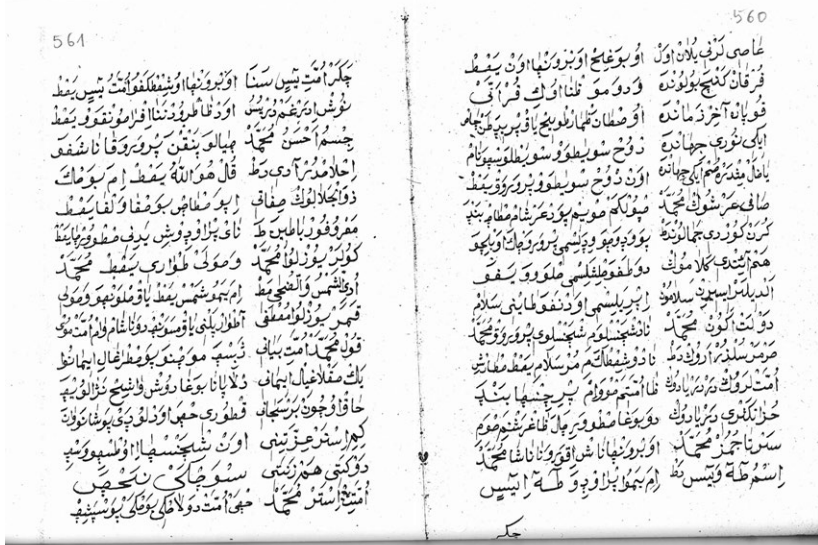
Lastly, we have to stress the influence of the source language, i.e. Turkish, on the target language in syntax, what has already been demonstrated in the study (e.g. Jankowski and Łapicz, 2000: 19-20). Firstly, although Slavic word order is relatively free, the number of verb-final clauses is exceedingly high, e.g. 9 ABC, 10 ABC, 37 ABC, 48 ABC, 52 ABC, 56 ABC, 58 ABC, 62 ABC and 69 ABC, especially with the verb ‘to be’ (*jest*, *będzie*, etc.), i.e. 6 B, 7 ABC, 8 AC, 11 AC, 15 ABC, 16 ABC, 26 ABC, 30 ABC, 31 ABC, 42 ABC, 70 ABC, 71 ABC and 72 AB. Secondly, if a noun phrase consists of an oriental proper name or term used as an apposition and a Slavic word, and both have the same referent, the oriental name or term, in contrast to Slavic, precedes the Slavic one, e.g. *Muchammied prorok* ‘the prophet Muhammad’ (1, 53, 61C),<sup>94</sup> moreover, it is not inflected, e.g. *na Syrat moście* ‘On Sirat bridge’ (48). In Jankowski (2014: 123-124), these phrases were compared to Bosnian phrases such as *mubarek mjeseca* ‘the holy month-GEN’

<sup>94</sup> However, in some instances, there is also *prorok/prorok Muchammied*, e.g. 61 A, 63, which in PLBT texts is untypical.

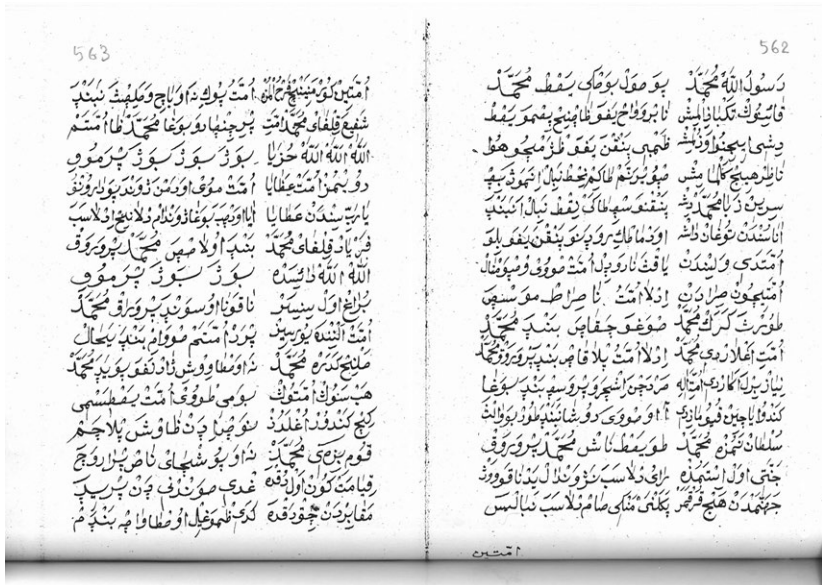
or *u Hamam ulici* 'in the Hamam street-LOC'. In fact, such noun phrases form a vulnerable construction in languages. As Čaušević (1996: 125) has demonstrated on the basis of the opposition *Avrupa Oteli* and *Hotel Avrupa* 'Europe Hotel', also Turkish copies foreign constructions.



Manuscript C: 559



Manuscript C: 561 and 560



Manuscript C: 563 and 562



Manuscript C: 564

## 6. Conclusion

Mustafa Szahidewicz was a prolific copyist, he is the only Tatar copyist known to us who produced four voluminous codices. It is likely that he also had his own master copy from which he copied other copies ordered by his clients, but it is more likely that he possessed various manuscripts from which he compiled a *kitab* and which, at least in part, were prepared by him for copying, e.g. by translating Turkish and Arabic portions. Since the hymn *Dertlülerniñ tabibi* is known from many other manuscripts, but all untranslated, we may assume that he translated the poems himself. However, his Turkish was rather poor. It is evident from the comparison of the hymn with other contemporary versions which are more correct. As an author or compiler of a Turkish glossary and as an educated Tatar man, he certainly knew basic Turkish and Arabic,<sup>95</sup> but could not solve some more difficult portions of the text. Despite this, his output is very important, for he served his Muslim Tatar community and contributed to their unique codicological culture which flourished in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and started fading in the 20<sup>th</sup> century with the spread of printed religious books.

## Abbreviations and symbols

### *Manuscripts*

A – Mustafa Szahidewicz's *kitab* dated 1837

B – Mustafa Szahidewicz's *kitab* dated 1852

C – Mustafa Szahidewicz's *kitab* undated

ChAKon – Konopacki's hamail, 1852

ChJJez – Jezufowicz's hamail, 1765

KMSz1837 – see A

KMSz1852b – see B

KMSz n.d. – see C

KSChas – Chasieniewicz's *kitab*, 1866

### *Languages*

Ar. – Arabic

Bel. – Belarusian

Per. – Persian

<sup>95</sup> This may be said about most of PLBT codices, see Akiner (2013: 108) who stressed that the Arabic quotations in a British Library *kitab* she described are very corrupt and references to the sources are so vague that it makes the identification impossible.

PLBT – Polish-Lithuanian-Belarusian Tatar

Pol – Polish

Tur. – Turkish

### Other

→ – translated as

... – identical to the preceding occurrence

[ ] – encloses editor's correction or illegible text

{ } – encloses unnecessary text

< > – encloses editor's addition

BH – *Behcetü'l Hadâik*, see Canpolat 2018

mss – manuscripts

New Redhouse – Alkım et al. ed. 1991

## Bibliography

- Akiner, Sh. (2013). Treść kitabu ze zbiorów Biblioteki Brytyjskiej. In J. Kulwicka-Kamińska and Cz. Łapicz (ed.) *Tatarzy Wielkiego Księcia Litewskiego w historii, języku i kulturze* (pp. 103-123). Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu.
- Alkım, U. B., Antel, N., Avery, R., Eckmann, J., Huri, S., İz, F., Mansuroğlu, M. and Tietze, A. (ed.). (1991). *Redhouse Yeni Türkçe-İngilizce Sözlük. New Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary*. İstanbul: Redhouse Yayınevi.
- Antonovič, A. K. (1968) = Антонович, А. К. (1968). *Белорусские тексты, писанные арабским письмом, и их графико-орфографическая система*. Вильнюс: Вильнюсский государственный университет им. В. Капсукаса.
- Canpolat, M. (2018). *Behcetü'l Hadâik fî Mevî'izat'il-Halâik*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu.
- Čaušević, E. (1996). *Gramatika suvremenoga turskog jezika*. Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada.
- Doerfer, G. (1990). Die Stellung des Osmanischen im Kreise des Oghusischen und seine Vorgeschichte. In Gy. Hazai (ed.) *Handbuch der türkischen Sprachwissenschaft. Teil I*. (pp. 13-34). Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Drozd, A. (2000a). Słownik turecko-białorusko-polski z 1836 r. In A. Drozd, M. M. Dziekan and T. Majda (p. 60).
- Drozd, A. (2000b). Kitab z 1837 r. In A. Drozd, M. M. Dziekan and T. Majda (p. 54).



- Drozd, A. (2000c). Chamail z 1765 r. In A. Drozd, M. M. Dziekan and T. Majda (p. 54-55).
- Drozd, A. (2000d). Kitab z 1866 r. In A. Drozd, M. M. Dziekan and T. Majda (p. 52).
- Drozd, A, Dziekan, M. M. and Majda, T. (2000). *Piśmiennictwo i muhiry Tatarów polsko-litewskich*. Warszawa: Res Publica Multiethnica
- Gardet, L. (1991). Dhikr. In B. Lewis, Ch. Pellet and J. Schacht (ed.) *The Encyclopedia of Islam. Volume II*. (pp. 223-227). Leiden: Brill.
- Jankowski, H. (1995). A Polish Tatar *Ziker*. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 3 (48), 405-420.
- Jankowski, H. (2014). Similarities in some language strategies of Muslim Bosnians and Lithuanian Tatars: T. Bairašauskaitė and G. Miškinienė (ed.). *Tiurky istorija ir kultūra Lietuvoje. Turk's history and culture in Lithuania. Истoрия и культура тюрков в Лумве*. (pp. 119-126). Vilnius: Vilniaus Universiteto Leidykla.
- Jankowski, H. (2016). Teksty turkijskie i ich polskie tłumaczenia w kitabie Mustafy Szahidewicza KMSzah3. In M. Krajewska, J. Kulwicka-Kamińska and A. Szulc (ed.) *Święte księgi judaizmu, chrześcijaństwa i islamu w słowiańskim kręgu kulturowym. Prace dedykowane Czesławowi Łapiczowi. Tom 1. Księga wyznawców islamu. Kitabistyka* (pp. 185-195). Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika.
- Jankowski, H., Łapicz, Cz. (2000). *Klucz do raju. Księga Tatarów litewsko-polskich z XVIII wieku*. Warszawa: Dialog
- Konopacki, A. (2010). *Życie religijne Tatarów na ziemiach Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w XVI-XIX wieku*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.
- Kryczyński, S. (1938). Tatarzy litewscy. Próba monografii historyczno-etnograficznej. *Rocznik Tatarski*, 3, XVI +1-318.
- Kurzowa, Z. (1993). *Język polski Wileńszczyzny i kresów północno-wschodnich XVI-XX w*. Kraków: Universitas.
- Majda, T. (1994). Turkish-Byelorussian-Polish Handbook. *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 2 (49), 139-158.
- Mansuroğlu, M. (1959). Das Altosmanische. In J. Deny, K. Grønbech, H. Scheel and Z. V. Togan (ed.) *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta, Vol. 1*. (pp. 161-182). Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- Meredith-Owens, G. M., Nadson, A. (1970). The Byelorussian Tartars and their writings. *The Journal of Byelorussian Studies*, 2 (2), 141-176.
- Miškinene, G. (2005a). In Miškinene, Namavičjute and Pokrovskaja (pp. 28-29).
- Miškinene, G. (2005b). In Miškinene, Namavičjute and Pokrovskaja (pp. 72-77).

- Miškinene, G., Šupa, S. (1995) = Александрович-Мишкінене, Г., Шупа, С. (1995). *Турэцка-Беларускі Размоўнік 1836 году з збораў Нацыянальнага Музею Літоўскай Рэспублікі ў Вільні. Turkish-Belarusian phrase-book of 1836. Türkçe-Belarusça Kılavuz Yıl = 1836.* New York: Belarusian Institute of Arts and Sciences.
- Miškinene, G., Namavičjute, S., Pokrovskaja, E. (2005) = Мишкинене, Г., Намавичюте, С. and Покровская, Е. (2005). *Каталог арабскоалфавитных рукописей литовских татар.* Вильнюс: Издательство Вильнюсского университета.
- Miškinienė, G. (ed.). (2009). *Ivano Luckevičiaus kitabas. Lietuvos totorių kultūros ratinklas. Книга Ивана Луцкевича. Памятник народной культуры литовских татар.* Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas.
- Pokrovskaja, E. (2005). In Miškinene, Namavičjute and Pokrovskaja (pp. 55-58).
- Szynkiewicz, J. (1932). O kitabie. *Rocznik Tatarski*, 1, 188-194.
- Szynkiewicz, J. (1935). Literatura religijna Tatarów litewskich i jej pochodzenie. *Rocznik Tatarski*, 2, 138-144.
- Tarėlka, M. U. (2015) = Тарэлка, М. У. (2015). *Рукапісы татараў Беларусі XVIII – пачатку XXI стагоддзя з дзяржаўных і грамадскіх кнігазбораў краіны.* Каталог. Мінск: Беларуская навука.
- Tarėlka, M. U., Citavec, A. I. (2011). = Тарэлка, М. У. and Цітавец, А. І. (2011). *Рукапісы татараў Беларусі канца XVII – пачатку XX ст. з дзяржаўных кнігазбораў краіны.* Каталог. Мінск: Беларуская навука.
- Urbańczyk, St. (1973-1977). *Słownik staropolski. Tom VII.* Wrocław, Warszawa etc. Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich.
- Woronowicz A. (1935a). Kitab Tatarów litewskich i jego zawartość. *Rocznik Tatarski* 2, 376-394.
- Woronowicz A. (1935b). Szcątki językowe Tatarów litewskich. *Rocznik Tatarski* 2, 351-367.