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Marzanna Pomorska
http://orcid.org/0000-0002-7784-7344
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
marzanna.pomorska@uj.edu.pl
Jordanka Georgiewa-Okoń
http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5624-523X
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
jordanka.georgiewa-okon@uj.edu.pl
Sylwia Filipowska
http://orcid.org/0000-0001-7108-0317
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
sylwia.filipowska@uj.edu.pl
DOI: 10.35765/pk.2025.5003.01

Editorial

The current issue of our quarterly is inspired by the remarkable academic achievements and intellectual influence of Professor Ewa Siemieniec-Gołaś, who dedicated her scientific career not only to Turkology but also to teaching at the Chair of Turkish Studies at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow. Through this issue, we aim to celebrate the Professor's jubilee and express our deep gratitude and appreciation to her.

The opening article provides a thorough analysis of Professor Siemieniec--Gołaś's scholarly work, highlighting her contributions to the study of Ottoman Turkish morphology, lexicography, and the cultural interactions between the Turkic world and Europe. This is followed by a collection of articles from scholars of various disciplines, focused on the languages, cultures, histories, and societies of the Turkic and broader Oriental world. The diversity of topics showcases both the richness of the field and the vitality of contemporary scholarship.

What connects these varied contributions is a shared commitment to uncovering the complexity of intercultural contacts, the shaping of identities through language and history, and the importance of returning to primary sources with fresh analytical perspectives. The interdisciplinary nature of the research presented here reflects the dynamic evolution of Turkic and Oriental studies, demonstrating their relevance to broader debates in the humanities.

Guest editing for this issue was entrusted to Prof. Marzanna Pomorska, Dr. Jordanka Georgiewa-Okoń, and Dr. Sylwia Filipowska from the Chair of Turkish Studies at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow.

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We hope that this volume will not only contribute to current scholarship but also inspire further research and dialogue. We extend our sincere thanks to all the authors for their dedication and to the reviewers for their insightful comments.

We invite our readers to engage with *Miscellanea Turcica et Orientalia* and explore the rich tapestry of perspectives it offers.

Marzanna Pomorska
http://orcid.org/0000-0002-7784-7344
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
marzanna.pomorska@uj.edu.pl
Jordanka Georgiewa-Okoń
http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5624-523X
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
jordanka.georgiewa-okon@uj.edu.pl
Sylwia Filipowska
http://orcid.org/0000-0001-7108-0317
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
sylwia.filipowska@uj.edu.pl
DOI: 10.35765/pk.2025.5003.02

Edytorial

Najnowszy numer naszego kwartalnika zainspirowany jest niezwykłymi osiągnięciami naukowymi i intelektualnym wpływem Pani Profesor Ewy Siemieniec-Gołaś, która swoją karierę naukową poświęciła nie tylko turkologii, ale także nauczaniu na Katedrze Turkologii Instytutu Studiów Orientalnych Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w Krakowie. Poprzez ten numer pragniemy uczcić jubileusz Pani Profesor i jednocześnie wyrazić naszą głęboką wdzięczność i uznanie.

Artykuł otwierający numer zawiera dogłębną analizę dorobku naukowego Pani Profesor Ewy Siemieniec-Gołaś, podkreślając Jej wkład w badania nad morfologią języka osmańskiego, leksykografią oraz interakcjami kulturowymi między światem tureckim a Europą. Dalej znajduje się zbiór artykułów autorstwa naukowców z różnych dyscyplin, skupiających się wokół języków, kultur, historii i społeczeństw świata turkijskiego oraz szeroko pojętego świata orientalnego. Różnorodność tematów pokazuje zarówno bogactwo tej dziedziny, jak i żywotność współczesnej nauki.

To, co łączy te różnorodne teksty, to wspólne zaangażowanie w odkrywanie złożoności kontaktów międzykulturowych, kształtowanie tożsamości poprzez język i historię oraz znaczenie powrotu do źródeł pierwotnych z nową perspektywą analityczną. Interdyscyplinarny charakter przedstawionych tu badań odzwierciedla dynamiczną ewolucję studiów tureckich i orientalnych, pokazując ich znaczenie dla szerszych debat w dziedzinie nauk humanistycznych.

Redakcją gościnną tego numeru zajęły się prof. Marzanna Pomorska, dr Jordanka Georgiewa-Okoń i dr Sylwia Filipowska z Katedry Turkologii Instytutu Studiów Orientalnych Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w Krakowie.

Mamy nadzieję, że niniejszy tom nie tylko wniesie wkład w bieżącą działalność naukową, ale też zainspiruje do dalszych badań i dialogu. Składamy

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serdeczne podziękowania wszystkim Autorom za ich zaangażowanie, a recenzentom za wnikliwe uwagi.

Zapraszamy naszych Czytelników do zapoznania się z *Miscellanea Turcica et Orientalia* i odkrywania bogatej mozaiki perspektyw, jakie oferuje.

prof. Ewa Siemieniec-Gołaś

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Jordanka Georgiewa-Okoń
http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5624-523X
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
jordanka.georgiewa-okon@uj.edu.pl
Sylwia Filipowska
http://orcid.org/0000-0001-7108-0317
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
sylwia.filipowska@uj.edu.pl
DOI: 10.35765/pk.2025.5003.03

Where Languages and Cultures Meet: Turcological and Orientalist Works of Professor Ewa Siemieniec-Gołaś

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to analyze the scholarly achievements of Professor Ewa Siemieniec-Gołaś, a prominent researcher in the field of Turkish and Oriental studies, whose work focuses on the structure and evolution of Turkic languages. Her research covers a broad spectrum of subjects, from Ottoman Turkish morphology to lexicography, with an emphasis on linguistic and cultural interactions between the Turkic world and Europe. Professor Siemieniec-Gołaś combines linguistic precision with deep historical analysis, which enables a better understanding of the ways in which language shapes and reflects cultural identity. Her work represents a key contribution to the development of research on Oriental languages. Professor Siemieniec-Gołaś is also recognized for her commitment to the academic community, supporting the development of young scholars and encouraging an interdisciplinary approach to Oriental studies. Thanks to her wide-ranging interests and rich scholarly output, Polish Oriental studies enjoy enduring international recognition.

KEYWORDS: Ewa Siemieniec-Gołaś, Polish Turkology, Ottoman Turkish morphology, lexicography, Karachay-Balkar, Turkish Studies in Krakow

STRESZCZENIE

Na styku języków i kultur: turkologiczne i orientalistyczne prace Pani Profesor Ewy Siemieniec-Gołaś

Celem artykułu jest analiza dorobku naukowego Pani Profesor Ewy Siemieniec-Gołaś, wybitnej badaczki w dziedzinie turkologii i orientalistyki, której prace naukowe koncentrują się na badaniu struktury i ewolucji języków turkijskich. Jej zainteresowania badawcze obejmują szerokie spektrum zagadnień,

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od morfologii osmańsko-tureckiej po leksykografię, z naciskiem na interakcje językowe i kulturowe między światem tureckim a Europą. Pani Profesor Ewa Siemieniec-Gołaś łączy w swoich badaniach precyzję lingwistyczną z głęboką analizą historyczną, co pozwala na lepsze zrozumienie, jak język kształtuje i odzwierciedla tożsamość kulturową. Jej prace stanowią kluczowy wkład w rozwój badań nad językami orientalnymi. Jest także ceniona za swoje zaangażowanie w działalność na rzecz środowiska akademickiego – wspiera rozwój młodych naukowców oraz promuje interdyscyplinarne podejście do badań nad Orientem. Dzięki jej szerokim zainteresowaniom i bogatemu dorobkowi naukowemu polska orientalistyka cieszy się nieustającą rozpoznawalnością na arenie międzynarodowej.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: Ewa Siemieniec-Gołaś, polska turkologia, morfologia osmańsko-turecka, leksykografia, język karaczajsko-bałkarski, studia turkologiczne w Krakowie

Introduction

Academic interest in Oriental studies, including Turkic languages, has a centuries-long tradition in Poland, although it has been pursued in an institutionalized manner only since 1919, when the Chair of Oriental Philology was established at the Jagiellonian University thanks to the efforts of Professor Tadeusz Kowalski. In 1972, the Chair was transformed into the Institute of Oriental Philology, and the Chair of Turkish Studies was created as part of the Institute. Professor Ewa Siemieniec-Gołaś, as an alumna of Krakow Turkology and long-time head of the Chair, continued the most distinguished traditions of her teachers and predecessors. In her article on the history, contemporary developments, and prospects of Krakow Turkology, she emphasized the need to constantly broaden research topics and adapt the teaching offer to changing study conditions while maintaining the quality of philological research (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 2011a). Thus, Prof. Siemieniec-Gołaś has emerged as a key figure in highlighting the importance of conducting in-depth and extensive philological research. This article aims to provide an overview of Prof. Siemieniec-Gołaś's academic contributions, examining her major publications, key findings, research projects, and their impact on the field of Turkic linguistic and cultural studies.

Prof. Ewa Siemieniec-Gołaś began her academic career at the Jagiellonian University in 1980, where she has continuously contributed to the development of Polish Turkology and Oriental Studies for more than four decades. She received her doctoral degree in 1990 and habilitation in 2000, and was awarded the title of professor in 2010. Her scholarly achievements, encompassing a wide range of research on the languages, cultures, and history of Turkic peoples and the Caucasus region, are fundamental to understanding the cultural and linguistic dynamics of these areas. Over the years, she has passionately explored the complexities of the Turkic languages, becoming recognized as one of the leading figures in the fields of Turkology and lexicology. Her research focuses mainly on vocabulary, which, in her perspective, turns out to be the key to understanding the history, culture, and mentality of the societies that speak languages under investigation. Prof. Siemieniec-Gołaś has shown that words, far from being mere tools of communication, are carriers of experience and testimonies of past eras.

Prof. Siemieniec-Gołaś's research interests can be divided into three main fields: the history and evolution of Turkic languages; lexicography and language interaction; and studies on the impact of historical figures on the development of language and culture. These three fields of research converge to create a rich and multidimensional picture of the evolution of Turkic languages in a historical and international context. They also reveal how language and culture are interrelated and how dynamic these processes can be. Prof. Siemieniec-Gołaś's work not only contributes to the enrichment of academic knowledge but also offers insights into the complex cultural processes that shape the Eurasian region.

Research on the history and evolution of Turkic languages

Ewa Siemieniec-Gołaś's scholarly output in the field of the history of Turkic languages is impressive and includes dozens of articles and several books on lexicology, lexicography, and historical grammar. Her works provide in-depth linguistic analyses grounded in cultural context. The first Turkic language that attracted her interest in the context of historical change was Ottoman Turkish, which, as the language of administration and literature of the Ottoman Empire, evolved intensively under the influence of numerous contacts with other languages and cultures. The study of Ottoman Turkish morphology conducted by Prof. Siemieniec-Gołaś provides important insights into the way grammatical structures function in other languages as well and is widely used by researchers for this purpose (Teres, 2011; Urban, 2015; Khabtagaeva, 2020).

One of the most important areas of her research is the analysis of derivational processes in Ottoman Turkish. by analyzing historical texts and lexicographical sources, Prof. Siemieniec-Gołaś explores the ways in which borrowings were adapted and transformed, and how these changes affected the morphological structures of the language. The key results of her morphological research are presented in the book *The Formation of Substantives in 17th Century Ottoman Turkish* (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 1997). The study presents not only the process of noun formation in seventeenth-century Ottoman Turkish but also focuses on the most productive formatives. The results of the morphological analyses described in the monograph were later supplemented by articles on specific issues, e.g., the functions of the suffix *-gi* (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 1998a) and suffix *-cik* in Ottoman Turkish (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 2010a), and the suffix *-lik* in Karachay-Balkar (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 2000c). Although the last paper focuses on another Turkic language, it serves as an addition to earlier research on the same issue in Ottoman Turkish (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 1985–1986). Indeed, these studies provide a broader context for understanding how morphological strategies applied in one language can help explain processes in other languages of the same family. Analyses of Chuvash vocabulary serve a similar function (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 1996; 2001).

Another important subject of Prof. Siemieniec-Gołaś's research is the linguistic reforms in the Republic of Türkiye carried out in the 1920s, such as the transition from the Arabic to the Latin alphabet. She examines their impact on the morphology of modern Turkish (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 1999), while emphasizing that these reforms were a milestone in Türkiye's modernization and had significant implications for the availability of historical literature and documents. This research provides valuable knowledge about the linguistic dynamics that shape national identity, demonstrating how political decisions affect language and how language, as a living element of culture, adapts to new political and social realities. The article *Some Remarks on Turkish Dictionaries Published in Constantinople/Istanbul Before and After Language Reform in Turkey (1928)* (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 2015b) traces how the alphabet change affected cultural continuity and the perception of history among Turks, which is crucial for understanding linguistic and cultural transformations in the country. It also examines how these changes have affected Turkish lexicography by analyzing differences in approaches to word definition, lexicographic methodology, and the presentation of lexical material in dictionaries. The article sheds light on the importance of historical dictionaries as tools for documenting linguistic and cultural change and their role in education and language standardization in modern Türkiye.

Lexicography and language interactions

Prof. Siemieniec-Gołaś's second main area of research concerns lexicography and the study of the influence of other languages on Turkic languages. By analyzing historical dictionaries and literary texts, she investigates how loanwords and lexical changes reflect broader cultural and political contacts.

The works of Prof. Siemieniec-Gołaś in the field of Turkish lexicography, especially in the historical-linguistic context, make an important contribution to understanding the evolution of the Turkish language and its interaction with other European languages. Her research on Italian-Turkish dictionaries has resulted in two monographs: the first presents a categorization of Turkish lexical material excerpted from the 17th-century *Dittionario della lingua Italiana, Turchesca* by Giovanni Molino (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 2005c), and the second offers a description of an anonymous manuscript of anonymous Italian-Turkish dictionary from the Marsigli Collection in Bologna with a dictionary of Ottoman Turkish material excerpted from the manuscript, transcribed and arranged in the Latin alphabetical order (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 2015a). Her most recent lexicographic achievement is a monograph presenting Turkish lexical material selected from the dictionary *Vocabulaire français-turc*, which is part of the textbook *Le Drogman turc...* written in 1854 by the Polish orientalist Aleksander Chodźko (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 2024).

Both the three monographs and other shorter lexicographical studies and analyses (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 1998c; 2007; 2010c; 2014) provide valuable insights into the processes of cross-cultural transfer and lexical adaptation that took place between European and Turkic languages during the Ottoman period. They also help us understand how lexical items were transferred between cultures and highlight the role that language played in diplomacy and trade in the Mediterranean region. Finally, they shed light on the lexicographical techniques used over the centuries, showing how translators and linguists attempted to capture the semantic and grammatical complexity of Ottoman Turkish with the tools and methods available in Europe.

More importantly, this research not only points to specific moments in the history of the Ottoman Turkish language from a European perspective but also enhances the understanding of broader cultural and linguistic trends that shaped the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and Europe. Prof. Siemieniec-Gołaś's works hence underline the importance of lexicography in the study of historical linguistic change, offering new perspectives on cross-cultural communication. It is also worth noting that Prof. Siemieniec-Gołaś has always appreciated the vital role of Turkish transcribed texts written in various graphical systems (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 2009; 2011b). She emphasized their importance for the study of Turkic languages history, phonetics, and lexicon (in particular loanwords) as well as for understanding the mutual contacts between Turks and Europeans. Aware that many of these texts may still be hidden in archives or libraries, she encouraged her students to conduct archival research. Her efforts in this area are especially appreciated by Turkish scholars, who consider transcribed texts as an invaluable source of knowledge about the development of the Turkish language (Kartallıoğlu, 2010, Yağmur, 2014).

Studies on the impact of historical figures on the development of language and culture

Prof. Siemieniec-Gołaś's third area of research focuses on how individual efforts of scientists, researchers, and writers contributed to linguistic and cultural changes both in their region of origin and within the Turkic world. Her initial attention was directed toward English sources on the history of the Ottoman Turkish language (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 1992–1993; 1994; 1995), but over time she turned to documenting Polish contributions to the development of Turkic studies. In addition to articles commemorating prominent Krakow Turkologists such as Tadeusz Kowalski (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 1998b; 2023), Włodzimierz Zajączkowski (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 2000d), and Stanisław Stachowski (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 2005b), she has also published a number of works highlighting the achievements of earlier experts and promoters of the East, including Marcin Paszkowski (Siemieniec-Gołaś & Pawlina, 2018), Józef Mikosza (Siemieniec-Gołaś & Filipowska, 2018), Józef Chodźko (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 2021a), Władysław Jabłonowski (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 2021b), and Jan Grzegorzewski (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 2022), among others.

These works are part of a rich tradition of biographical research, which plays a crucial role in understanding the history of science and its impact on the development of academic disciplines. They also demonstrate the importance of placing science within a broader cultural and historical context. Such studies not only document the past but also inspire reflection on the future of Orientalist disciplines, raising questions about their directions of development and the ways in which modern scholarship can draw on the achievements of its predecessors. These biographical analyses thus have a dual value: they are both a tribute to past generations of scholars and an educational tool for current and future researchers, emphasizing the enduring significance of scientific curiosity and interdisciplinary dialogue.

Prof. Siemieniec-Gołaś has frequently been recognized as an expert on Turkic languages and culture in Polish literature. As part of her onomastic research, she has investigated, for example, Turkish anthroponyms (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 2012) and the name *İstanbul* in old Polish sources (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 2010b). She also clarified ambiguities related to, for example, oriental vocabulary in Henryk Sienkiewicz's *Trilogy* (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 2000b) or the image of the Tatar in old Polish writings (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 2008). Her expertise in this field culminated in the *Orientalia Polonica* project, designed to promote the Polish tradition of research on the Orient. Prof. Siemieniec-Gołaś directed this project, which was carried out between 2013 and 2018 within the framework of the National Program for the Development of Humanities. Its aim was to re-edit written sources from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century concerning the Eastern world authored by Polish explorers, researchers, missionaries, and travelers. As a result of the project, twelve volumes were published in the *Orientalia Polonica* series, of which Prof. Siemieniec-Gołaś co-authored as many as three.

Studies on the Karachay-Balkar language

Special attention should be given to Prof. Siemieniec-Gołaś's studies on the Karachay-Balkar language, which have been described by other researchers as "very valuable" (Cheung, 2016, p. 25). Her scholarly work on the Karachay-Balkar is primarily lexicographical and etymological, yet it goes beyond the standard framework of comparative linguistics by offering deep insights into the historical and cultural contexts of this Turkic language spoken in the North Caucasus region.

Her first major contribution to Karachay-Balkar language research was her habilitation monograph (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 2000a). In this fundamental work, Prof. Siemieniec-Gołaś thoroughly analyzes the Karachay-Balkar vocabulary, with particular emphasis on elements of Proto-Turkic origin. In doing so, she not only underlines the importance of preserving linguistic heritage but also sheds light on the processes of adaptation that Karachay-Balkar has undergone over the centuries. This publication is frequently cited in studies on the etymology of Turkic languages, and its findings are used in reconstructing historical changes in the lexicon (Johanson, 2006; Bläsing, 2010; Bläsing, 2021).

In subsequent articles (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 2002; 2003; 2004; 2005a) Prof. Siemieniec-Gołaś expands her research by focusing on foreign elements in Karachay-Balkar lexis. She discusses the processes of phonetic and morphological borrowing and adaptation, as well as their impact on the contemporary state of the Karachay-Balkar language, presenting lexical changes within a sociolinguistic framework. Her studies demonstrate how external influences, mainly from Iranian, Caucasian and Russian languages, have enriched the Karachay-Balkar vocabulary, while also showing how these contacts have changed across different historical periods. This analysis not only underscores the dynamics of language contact in the Caucasus region but also points to the complex adaptation processes characteristic for languages in contact.

Serving the academic community

Professor Siemieniec-Gołaś has rich experience working in scientific institutions, where she has held many key roles. Her activities have encompassed both administrative leadership and active involvement in training future generations of scholars.

From 2000 to 2021, Prof. Siemieniec-Gołaś served as head of the Chair of Turkish Studies at the Jagiellonian University. Over the years, she successfully directed research and teaching programs that attracted students and scholars interested not only in the Turkic languages and culture but also in the broader linguistic and cultural landscape of Central Asia. Under her leadership, the Chair has thrived as an important research center that combines traditional philological methods with modern approaches in cultural studies.

As director of the Institute of Oriental Philology at the Jagiellonian University, Prof. Siemieniec-Gołaś significantly influenced the strategic development of Oriental studies. She strongly advocated for the establishment of Kurdish studies at the Institute of Oriental Philology and in 2008, thanks to the initiative of her doctoral student Joanna Bocheńska, the Section of Kurdish Studies was created. Since its inception, the Section has achieved notable academic success, securing national funding (two projects supported by the National Science Center) and international grants (one project financed through the Norway Grants and another within the Erasmus Plus program).

From 2012 to 2016, Prof. Siemieniec-Gołaś served as head of the Doctoral Program at the Faculty of Philology, where she played a pivotal role in shaping the development of young scholars. She ensured that the doctoral program was not only academically rigorous, but also supportive of interdisciplinary and international research initiatives. Her tenure was distinguished by efforts to integrate teaching with global research trends, to strengthen mentoring, and to enhance the research competencies of doctoral students.

As a member of the Scientific Discipline Council for Linguistics at the Jagiellonian University during the 2019–2022 term, Prof. Siemieniec-Gołaś played an important role in shaping teaching and research programs. Her work on the council contributed to aligning curricula with current academic trends and students' needs, thereby enhancing the overall quality of education in Oriental studies.

Prof. Siemieniec-Gołaś is a member of many prestigious scientific organizations, including the Presidium of the Committee of Oriental Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Orientalist Commission of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Krakow, and, since 2015, she has served as vice president in the Polish Society for Oriental Studies. As a member of the Societas Uralo-Altaica in Germany and the Central Eurasian Studies Society in the United States , she has actively participated in global discussions and academic exchanges on the languages and cultures of Eurasia.

Her involvement in scholarly institutions reflects both her dedication to research and commitment to education. Prof. Siemieniec-Gołaś's contribution to the development of Turkish and Oriental studies is difficult to overestimate. Her work has not only advanced these fields in Poland but also fostered dialogue between cultures and scholarly communities around the world.

Prof. Siemieniec-Gołaś has been significantly involved in a number of international research projects. In 2004, she collaborated with François Rosset and Dominique Triaire on the critical edition of Jan Potocki's works, which brought new insights into the oeuvre of this Polish writer and orientalist. A year later, she participated in the project *Le savoir de la reflexivite* at the CNRS in Paris, which comparatively examined intellectual practices across different cultures. In 2016, she contributed to Brill Academic Publishers' project on the *Encyclopaedia of Turkic Languages and Linguistics*, which documented and systematized knowledge of Turkic languages. In 2018, she was a contributor to the project *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History 1500–1900* preparing an entry on Józef Mikosza in the context of his engagement with religious affairs. Prof. Siemieniec-Gołaś's participation in these projects underscores her role as a researcher and organizer who not only advances scholarship, but also educates future generations of scholars in the field of Oriental studies, fostering an interdisciplinary and international approach to the study of Eastern cultures.

Prof. Ewa Siemieniec-Gołaś's efforts to educate and promote young scholars constitute a significant contribution to academic and scientific development both at the Jagiellonian University and to the broader scientific community. As an experienced mentor and supervisor, she has played a key role in shaping future generations of orientalists, promoting numerous master's and doctoral theses that have advanced the research on Turkic languages and culture. It is enough to mention that one of her doctoral students, Faith Yılmaz, became rector of Tokat Gaziosmanpaşa University in 2022.

Conclusion

Professor Siemieniec-Gołaś is a prominent linguist recognized for her research in the field of Turkic and Oriental studies. Her contribution to the development of these disciplines at the Jagiellonian University and beyond can hardly be assessed in such a short paper. Her complete bibliography includes nine books and more than 70 articles written in English, Polish and Turkish, as well as numerous popular science publications, reviews, expert opinions, and consultations. Her research encompasses various aspects of the structure and functionality of Turkic languages, with particular attention to the history and evolution of Ottoman Turkish and Karachay-Balkar, lexicography and language interactions, and studies of the influence of historical figures on the development of language and culture. Siemieniec-Gołaś's pioneering research on Turkic vocabulary, alongside her critical engagement with cultural contexts, has opened new perspectives for scholarship and fostered a deeper appreciation of linguistic diversity.

Siemieniec-Gołaś's scholarly, teaching, mentoring, and organizational activities have left a strong mark on the academic landscape of Poland and the international research community. This article offers only an outline of her remarkably rich output, which has inspired and continues to inspire later generations of researchers. Her research and contributions to academia not only expand knowledge of the Turkic languages but also challenge traditional narratives, promoting a more nuanced perspective on Oriental studies.

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Jordanka Georgiewa-Okoń – an Assistant Professor at the Institute of Oriental Studies at the Jagiellonian University. Her research interests focus on issues related to the language, identity, and religion of Turkish-speaking and Muslim national minorities in non-Muslim countries of the Balkans.

Sylwia Filipowska – has been working at the Chair of Turkish Studies at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Jagiellonian University since 2009. She is interested in Turkish literature, with particular focus on personal documentary literature and military coup literature (Tur. *darbe edebiyatı*). As a graduate of Polish and Turkish philology, she also studies Polish-Turkish literary relations from a comparative perspective.

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Hilal Oytun Altun
http://orcid.org/0000-0003-0813-9843
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
hilal.altun@uj.edu.pl
DOI: 10.35765/pk.2025.5003.04

Language Consciousness among the First Vernacular Writers of Turkish

ABSTRACT

The written language that first developed in 13th-century Anatolia evolved, from the late 15th century onward, into the high language of the Turks, known as Ottoman Turkish. Western Turkish emerged as a written language during the period when the Anatolian Seljuk state weakened and the Beyliks (petty kingdoms) gained strength. The earliest surviving written works in Turkish date back to the late 13th century. In the following decades, the number of works increased, and they became more diverse in terms of genre and subject. The first Turkish works appeared in the courts of the Beyliks such as the Danismends, Aydinids, Germiyanids, Karamanids, and Ottomans. This development is attributed to the fact that these rulers did not know Persian or Arabic. However, new scholarly perspectives have challenged the validity of this view. This article examines the views on language of the authors who produced the first works in Turkish, comparing them to the first vernacular writers of Europe. The records of these authors' language consciousness provide information regarding the foundation of the Turkish written language.

KEYWORDS: Old Anatolian Turkish, language consciousness (*Sprachbewusstsein*), written language, ʿĀşık Paşa, Beyliks period

STRESZCZENIE

Świadomość językowa wśród pierwszych tureckich pisarzy wernakularnych

Język pisany, który rozwinął się w wieku XIII w Anatolii, przekształcił się pod koniec wieku XV w język osmańsko-turecki. Stał się on językiem pisanym w okresie osłabienia państwa Seldżuków anatolijskich, kiedy *bejliki* (księstwa) zyskiwały na znaczeniu. Najwcześniejsze zachowane zabytki piśmiennictwa w tym języku pochodzą z końca XIII w. W kolejnych dekadach liczba dzieł wzrasta, a także stają się one bardziej zróżnicowane pod względem gatunku i tematyki. Pierwsze dzieła powstały w obrębie *bejlik*ów Daniszmendów, Ajdynidów,

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Germijan, Karamanidów i Osmanów. Powszechnie uważa się, że przyczyną był brak znajomości perskiego i arabskiego. Tymczasem nowe perspektywy naukowe zakwestionowały zasadność tego poglądu. W artykule analizowany jest język autorów, którzy stworzyli pierwsze dzieła w tym języku, i porównuje się go z językiem pierwszych pisarzy wernakularnych w Europie. Badanie świadomości językowej autorów dostarcza informacji na temat powstania pisemnego języka tureckiego.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: staroanatolijski turecki, świadomość językowa (Sprachbewusstsein), język pisany, ʿĀşık Paşa, okres bejlików

Introduction

The earliest Turkic writings appeared in the Tarim basin in the 7th century, in Kashgar in the 10th century, and in Anatolia in the 13th century. The first two belong to the Eastern branch of Turkic, while the written tradition established in Anatolia is based on Western Turkic. Over time, the two Eastern traditions – Orkhon-Uighur and Kashgari – fell out of use, and in the 15th century, the common Central Asian Turkic literary language, known as Chagatai Turkic, emerged. At the same time, the written language of Anatolia developed into the high language of the Western Turks, known today as Ottoman Turkish. This brings us to a question that has remained relatively understudied in the history of the Turkic languages, including Turkish itself: is there is a connection between the decline of the Eastern Turkic written tradition and the emergence of a new written tradition in Anatolia? The most widely accepted theory, rooted in the state ideology of the Turkish Republic, holds that everything related to the Turks – including the Turkish language – originated in Central Asia. As we will explore in more detail below, for a long time scholars have claimed that the written tradition of Turkish was born in Central Asia prior to the 13th century, pointing to the so-called "mixed-language" texts as evidence.

Another issue that has received little attention is the influence of Turkish, as it developed in Anatolia, on Eastern Turkic – for example, in the emergence of figures such as ʿAli Şir Navaʾi. Typically, research focuses on the reverse influence: Navaʾi's impact on the Ottoman realm, rather than the other way around. Yet it is clear that even before Navaʾi, the Turks in Anatolia had already developed a strong and productive written language. These aspects must be considered when discussing the period from the 10th to the 15th centuries in the history of Turkic (and Turkish) languages. While a detailed exploration of these issues lies beyond the scope of this article, I briefly touch on them here, as they should be kept in mind when discussing the emergence of the Turkish written language. Turkish began to be used as a written language during the decline of the Anatolian Seljuk State, which had adopted Persian for official purposes, and with the rise of the Beyliks (petty kingdoms of Anatolia). The earliest written works in Turkish, dating to the last quarter of the 13th century, are few in number. From the second half of the 14th century, however, their number increased significantly, and they began to display greater diversity in terms of genre and subject. These works, considered the preparatory stage for the emergence of high language, include both original compositions and translations. The earliest examples appeared in the vicinity of Anatolian beyliks such as Danişmentoğulları, Aydınoğulları, Germiyanoğulları, Karamanoğulları, and Osmanoğulları. Traditionally, this phenomenon has been explained by claiming that the *Bey*s (rulers of the Beyliks) lacked proficiency in Persian and Arabic. Yet, as we will see later, recent scholarship challenges this assertion. Yunus Emre (1240?–1320?) holds an exceptional place in history as the founder of the Turkish language. His refined and subtle use of Turkish likely inspired both his contemporaries and those who came after. Other surviving works in Turkish from the 13th century include those of Sultan Veled (1226?–1312). *Bahcat-al-Hada'iq*, although extant in later manuscripts copies, was also initially written in the last decades of the 13th century. Authors from the first half of the 14th century whose works have endured to the present day include Gülşehrī (dates unknown – after 1317), ʿĀşık Paşa (1272–1332), Kul Mesʿud (dates unknown – after 1334), and Hoca Mesʿud (dates unknown – after 1350). The earliest vernacular writers of Turkish were knowledgeable about Islamic sources and demonstrated proficiency in reading and writing in both Arabic and Persian. This article seeks to explain how their approach to the language serves as testimony to the development of Turkish in Anatolia.

Formation of the Turkish Written Language

The period regarded as the preparatory stage for the development of classical written Ottoman Turkish, spanning the 13th to 15th centuries, is referred to as *Altosmaniche* – Old Ottoman Turkish, Old Anatolian Turkish, Old Turkey Turkish, or Old Oghuz Turkish. The process of standardizing Turkish into a literary written language has been examined by Uğurlu (2011; 2021) who critically reviewed the existing literature on the subject. Tekin (2001, pp. 138–149) describes the historical conditions in which the earliest works in Turkish were written in Anatolia.

In the 10th century, the Oghuzs established the Oghuz Yabgu State, with major cities like Cend and Yenikent, in the Syr Darya region. It remains uncertain whether the Oghuz, who exerted political influence from the Aral Sea and Syr Darya river to Anatolia, possessed a written language in the 11th century (Karahan, 2021, p. 141). Historical records mention Oghuz communities, both settled and nomadic, classified as "upper, middle, and lower" (Golden, 2002, p. 173). Based on these accounts, scholars traditionally argued that a written language grounded in Oghuz Turkish should have emerged in Western Turkestan (Korkmaz, 1972, pp. 31–33; Mansuroğlu, 1954, pp. 255–257; Köprülü, 1933, p. 277). Some researchers also maintain that 13th-century Anatolian Turkish texts exhibit linguistic features developed over several centuries (Mansuroğlu, 1946, p. 17; Özkan, 2014, pp. 57, 65). Nonetheless, the prevailing perspective suggests that an independent written language in Anatolia began to take shape only in the latter half of the 13th century (Tekin, 1974, p. 67; Ercilasun, 2004, p. 442; Karahan, 2021; Uğurlu, 2011, pp. 131–134; Uğurlu, 2021, p. 547).

Gelibolulu Mustafa ʿĀli (1541–1599), a prominent figure in the maturation phase of the Turkish written language, described Ottoman Turkish as a refined language compopsed of Turkish, Chagatay Turkic, Arabic, and Persian elements (Csirkés, 2019, p. 673).[1] Mustafa ʿĀli's perspective integrates Eastern Turkic into the foundational heritage of Ottoman Turkish. Translations into Old Anatolian Turkish from the Khwarazm and the Golden Horde regions serve as evidence of Eastern Turkic influence on Turkish (Onur, 2020, p. 602). While existing literature predominantly focuses on the influence of Arabic and Persian, it is plausible that the impact of the Eastern Turkic written tradition on Turkish before Nava'i may extend beyond what has been discovered so far.

Yazıcızade ʿĀli, in his work *Tevārih-i Āl-i Selçuk* (The Chronicles of the House of Seljuk), completed in ca. 1437, stated: "There was no Turkish poetry at that time," referring to reign of the Anatolian Seljuk ruler Alaeddin Keykubad (1220–1237) (Bakır, 2009, p. 291). Following the collapse of the Anatolian Seljuk State after the Mongols' victory at the Battle of Kösedağı in 1243, an attempt was made to establish Turkish as the state language. According to Yazıcızade ʿĀli, Karamanoğlu Mehmed Bey (1263–1277), during his brief tenure as vizier to Alaeddin Siyavuş (aslo known as Jimri), ordered that the state correspondence be recorded in Turkish. However, due to the absence of standardized rules for writing Turkish, secretaries wrote inconsistently, making it impossible to compile a coherent body of texts. Consequently, state correspondence reverted to being recorded in Arabic and Persian.[2]

1 Mustafa ʿĀli's statement on this subject, translated from the original source, reads as follows: "The astonishing language current in the state of Rum, composed of four languages [Turkish, Chaghatay Turkic, Arabic, and Persian], is a pure gilded tongue, which, in the speech of the literati, seems more difficult than any of these. If one were to equate speaking Arabic with a religious obligation (*farẓ*), and the use of Persian with a sanctioned tradition (*sünnet*), then the speaking of a Turkish made up of these sweetnesses becomes a meritorious act (*müstaḥabb*), and, in the view of those eloquent in Turkish, the use of simple Turkish should be forbidden (Csirkés, 2019, p. 673).

2 The original passage reads: "Karaman-oglı Muhammed Beg çün vezir oldı, buyurdı ki defterleri dahı Türkçe yazalar. Ol zamanda bu ʿArabî huruf ile Türkçe yazmak ādet olmamışdı. Her yazıcı

No Turkish works have survived from the Anatolian Seljuk period, when Arabic was used in foreign correspondence, science, and madrasahs, while Persian dominated in literature and court life. Tekin attributes the absence of Turkish works in Anatolia for 200 years to the Crusades and to the influence of Arabic and Persian (Tekin, 2001, p. 139). However, the survival of works up to the 15th century indicates a more nuanced situation during the Beyliks period. While the Beyliks endorsed artistic works in Arabic and Persian, the production of Turkish texts also grew. As Csirkés summarizes:

> it was the increased availability of patronage to Persian and Arabic; the growing volume of literary output in these two languages; and the resultant need to convey such literary products to an audience unversed in Persian and Arabic that produced literary works in the Turkish vernacular (2019, p. 676).

In this society, Persian and Arabic held a status akin to that of Latin in European nations during the Middle Ages and Chinese in the Far East (Erdal, 2016, p. 142). In Europe, the production of written works in vernacular languages (as opposed to scholarly languages such as Latin and Ancient Greek) increased significantly after Martin Luther translated the Bible into German in 1522. From that point onward, especially within Protestant communities, writings in local languages rapidly multiplied (Link, Rajesh, & Christine, 2020). A comparison of book counts provides insight into the development of literary production. During the reign of Sultan Bayezid II (1481–1512), the Ottoman palace library contained over 5,000 Arabic and Persian volumes, but only about 200 in Turkish. By contrast, during the papacy of Sixtus IV (1471–1484), the Vatican library held 3,500 volumes; King Matthias of Hungary (1458–1490) possessed 2500 volumes, and King Henry VIII of England (1509–1547) owned 1,000 volumes. In these European libraries, books written in vernacular languages other than Latin and Ancient Greek were either absent or extremely rare (Csirkes, 2019, p. 674).

First Vernacular Writers and Their Opinions on The Language They Use

There are relatively few studies examining the language consciousness of the early vernacular writers of Turkish. One notable work work is that of Yavuz (1983), who investigated the language-related perspectives of early writers who

kendü karihasından bir dürlü defter vü tafsil yazdılar. Cümle idecekleri vaktin başaramadılar. Zira Türkînüŋ zabtı kolay degüldür ve rukumı yokdur. Naçar girü Parsî şerh ve ʿArabî rukum yazdılar.”

established Turkish as a written language in Anatolia. He scrutinized authors from the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, listing their works and categorizing them according to their intentions and motivations for using Turkish.

The views of Gelibolulu Mustafa ʿĀli mark a new stage in the development of the language. He identified the level of refinement Turkish had achieved as a written medium and positioned himself as the advocate of sophisticated linguistic expression (Purde, 2022, p. 304; Csirkés, 2019, pp. 673–674). Yet in the formative stages of the language that Mustafa ʿĀli would celebrate, writers had not yet gained such confidence.

A lack of confidence is also evident in the early development of the written languages of Europe. The emergence of Italian as a literary language is initiated with *Prose della volgar lingua* in 1525. The book's authors, brothers the Pietro and Carlo Bombe, remarked: "l'essere a questi tempi nato fiorentino, e ben volere scrivere fiorentino, non sia molto vantaggio" [being a native speaker of Fiorentine is not, in these times, much of an advantage if you want to write the language] (Lepschy, 2001, p. xliii).

One of the early contributors to Turkish literature in Anatolia was Sultan Walad. Unlike his father, the renowned Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Rūmī (1207?–1273), he penned almost all of his works in Turkish. Despite being fluent in reading, writing, and speaking Turkish, Sultan Walad declares in his poetry that he does not know Turkish. These statements can be read as either manifestations of humility or as indications of the writer's uncertainty stemming from the lack of established writing conventions (Argunşah, 2019, p. 160):

> Türkçe bilseydüm ben eydeydüm size [If I knew Turkish, I would tell you]
> Sırları kim Teŋri'den degdi bize [The secrets that reached us from God] (Yavuz, 1983, p. 39).

Until the 13th century, Persian appears to have been the predominant written language in Anatolia. however, individuals educated in Eastern Turkic literary tradition were also present and likely used their language in written form in Anatolia. Since Oghuz Turkish was widely spoken by both the ruling elite and the general populace, features specific to Eastern Turkic were probably no longer accepted. Indeed, in 1458, Muhammed Bin Baydur translated work *ʿAka'id-i İslam* (also known as *Kitab-ı Güzide*) into Anatolian Turkish, describing the original text's language as *olga bolga* (Arat, 1960, pp. 225–238).[3] There

3 In the words of the original text: "...gördüm kim terkib muhallel ve muhabbat olga bolga ʿibaretince yazmışlar. Diledim kim bu latif ve şerif nüshanın lutfı ve şerefi dahi artuk ola; ol sakim ʿibaretden sarih ve fasih ruşen Türkçe'ye döndürdüm." [„I saw that they had written it in an ornate and complex style, using olga bolga expressions. I wished that the grace and nobility of this elegant and noble copy might be increased even further; so I translated it from that obscure language into clear, eloquent, and lucid Turkish."] (Arat, 1960, pp. 225–238).

is an ongoing debate regarding the meaning of the phrase "olga bolga." Some scholars argue that it corresponds to the Eastern Turkic written language, while others maintain that it denotes a mixed dialect (*karışık dilli* in Turkish) incorporating elements of both Eastern Turkic and Turkish (Buran, 2021, p. 26; Cin & Babacan, 2019, p. 12).

Following an extensive scholarly debate, a consensus has been reached that *Bahcat-al-Hadâ'iq* is the first prose work in Old Anatolian Turkish (Argunşah, 2019). Although the work is identified as having been written in 1286, all surviving copies date from later centuries. The author explains his motivation by noting that his companions, who knew Turkish, requested him to write a book in Turkish on knowledge and wisdom (Yavuz, 1983, p. 15). However, the language of the book is not purely Turkish; it incorporates features of both Eastern and Turkish. For this reason, it is classified as a "mixed dialect" work.

Mantik-ut-Tayr, composed by Gülşehrī in 1317, was inspired by the work of Feridüddin Attar. What sets Gülşehrī apart from his contemporaries is his preference for Turkish over Persian. This preference is evident in his writings, where he openly praises his own artistic achievement and takes pride in using Turkish as his medium of expression (Yavuz, 1983, pp. 30–31). The assertion made by German, Italian, and Dutch writers in the second half of the 16th century, that their vernacular languages were superior to Latin and Greek (Burke, 2004, p. 19), bears a striking resemblance to Gülşehrī's attitude towards Turkish in 1317. ʿĀşık Paşa from Kırşehir, Arapkir completed his *masnavi* titled *Garibname*, consisting of 10,592 verses, in 1330. It stands out as the most extensive among early works written in Turkish. Beyond its other features that render it significant in the history of the language, the author's reflections on Turkish are especially noteworthy. His remarks reveal an awareness of witnessing the transformation of vernacular Turkish into a literary medium (Akar, 2013).

> Kamu dilde varıdı zabt u usul [There existed established writing rules in all languages]
> Bunlara düşmişidi cümle ʿukul [They were sought after by all the wise]
> Türk diline kimsene bakmazıdı [Nobody paid attention to the Turkish language]
> Türklere hergiz gönül akmazıdı [Nobody was fond of Turks]
> Türk dakı bilmez idi ol dilleri [Turks didn't know those languages either]
> İnce yolı ol ulu menzilleri [Those delicate ways and high destinations]
> Bu *Garibname* anın geldi dile [Therefore this *Garibname* was told]
> Kim bu dil ehli dakı maʿni bile [These natives of this language will also learn the meaning]
> Türk dilinde yani maʿni bulalar [They will uncover the meanings in the Turkish language]
> Türk ü Tacik cümle yoldaş olalar [Turks and Tajiks will all be comrades]

> Yol içinde birbirini yėrmeye [And will not revile each other on the journey]
> Dile bakup maʿniyi hor görmeye [Not looking down on the meaning because of the language]
> Ta ki mahrum olmaya Türkler dakı [So that Turks will not be deprived]
> Türk dilinde anlayalar ol Hak'ı [They will understand *Hak* (God) in the Turkish language] (Yavuz, 1983, pp. 24–25).

The views of Hoca Mesʿud and Şeyhoğlu Sadrüddin Mustafa (1340?–1414?) are also worth mentioning. Hoca Mesʿud authored the *masnavi* titled *Süheyl ü Nevbahar* in 1350. Unlike Gülşehrī, he asserts that composing poetry in Turkish is challenging due to the incompatibility between the language's phonetics and the established poetic form (Yavuz, 1983, pp. 18–19; Csirkés, 2019, pp. 673). In the following verses, he voices his concern that the perceived lack of refinement in the language might reflect poorly on his reputation:

> Bu bir nice beyti düzünce benim [When I composed a couple of these verses]
> Haceletten eridi yarı tenim [Half of my body melted with embarrassment]
> Ki bir ehl kişi eger okuya [What if a competent person reads it]
> Rekikini anlaya ve kakıya [Sees its clumsiness and lambasts me]
> Diye hiç terkip bilmez imiş [For I did not know how to compose words]
> Söz içinde tertip bilmez imiş [Nor did I know how to arrange them within a poem] (Dilçin, 1991, pp. 573–574).

Similarly to Hoca Mesʿud, Şeyhoğlu Sadrüddin Mustafa also lamented the challenges of writing in Turkish. As a native speaker, he explained that he writes in Turkish because of his readership. The following verses show Şeyhoğlu's frustration:

> Gerek maʿni gide suret yüzince [The meaning fades away in front of the form]
> Yahod suret gide maʿni düzince [Or the form disappears when the meaning is set]
> …
> Sovukdur tadı yokdur tuzu yokdur [It is cold and coarse, it is tasteless.]
> Yavandur lezzeti vü özi yoktur [It is bland, has no flavor or essence] (Yavuz, 1983, pp. 26–27).

These statements evoke the dissatisfaction articulated by writers from Poland and France in the second half of the 16th century:

> In the case of Polish, a native speaker referred in 1566 to the poverty of the language (*niedostatek*), while the poet Szymon Szymonowic expressed his regret for what he called 'the acute lack of words among us' (*u nas brak wielki w slowiech*). Even Joachim Du Bellay, in his famous apologia for French, the *Deffense et*

> *illustration de la langue françoyse* admitted that 'our language is not as copious and rich as Greek and Latin' (*nostre langue n'est si copieuse et riche que la Grecque et le Latin*) ... (Burke, 2004, p. 18).

Conclusion

In its early development, the Turkish written language appeared to compete with Persian. In this contest, Turkish writers asserted that the true value lay in the meaning, regardless of the language used, emphasizing that language was merely a tool. From their perspective, Turkish was fully capable of conveying meaning just as effectively as Persian. Yunus Emre, as a key figure in the development of Turkish, is regarded as living proof of this conviction. ʿĀşık Paşa stands out as the writer most reflective about the language he employed and its evolution. By contrast, Hoca Mesʿud and Şeyhoğlu perceived Turkish as inferior to Persian, while Gülşehrī expressed confidence in the language, asserting that more beautiful poems can be written in Western Turkic than in Persian.

Although these authors demonstrated skill in following the orthographic rules of Arabic and Persian, they faced challenges when it came to spelling Turkish words and voiced dissatisfaction with the lack of standardized writing conventions. The perspectives of the first vernacular writers in Anatolia and in Europe regarding the language they used show parallels. Such statements appear characteristic of the formative periods of written languages and provide evidence of the initial processes involved in their creation and formalization.

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Hilal Oytun Altun – Ph.D. in Turkic philology, Marmara University (Istanbul), 2009. She is currently employed at the Jagiellonian University, Faculty of Philology in Krakow, Poland. Her research focuses primarily on the linguistic features of modern Turkic languages as well as classical literary languages like Chagatay and Ottoman Turkish, with a particular emphasis on inter-lingual relations and language change. She is the author of the book *Tercüme-i Tevârîh-i Mülûk. Nevâyî'nin Fars Hükümdarları Tarihi* [*Translation of History of Dynasties. Nava'i's History of Persian Dynasties*], published by the Türkiye Ministry of Culture in 2020 and awarded by Jagiellonian University in 2021. She has also published the electronic version of an 1882 encyclopedia-like compilation of Ottoman Turkish *Lugat-ı Tarihiyye ve Coğrafiyye* [*Historical and Geographical Dictionary*] by Yağlıkçızade Ahmed Rifat Efendi.

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Gulayhan Aqtay
http://orcid.org/0000-0003-3258-6520
Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań
akgul@amu.edu.pl
DOI: 10.35765/pk.2025.5003.05

Kazakh Nouns and Adjectives Denoting Age

ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to examine Kazakh words that denote age. These include nouns, adjectives, and words that can function as both. Adjectives denoting age are considered to be one of the primary semantic classes of adjectives. This study is limited to words which define or designate animate beings. Four stages of human life are distinguished: infancy, youth, adulthood, and old age. The article discusses semantic and pragmatic features of the words in question, while considering, where relevant, aspects of word-formation, etymology, and morphology. In a few instances, parallels to some other Turkic languages are drawn. The analysis is framed within Dixon's model. In addition, the article identifies which adjectives of the analyzed semantic class are present on the Swadesh and Haspelmath-Tadmor lists of basic vocabulary.

KEYWORDS: Kazakh, nouns, adjectives, age

STRESZCZENIE

Rzeczowniki i przymiotniki kazachskie określające wiek

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest omówienie kazachskich słów oznaczających wiek. Niektóre są rzeczownikami, niektóre przymiotnikami, a niektóre są używane zarówno jako rzeczowniki, jak i przymiotniki. Przymiotniki oznaczające wiek są uważane za jedną z podstawowych klas semantycznych przymiotników. To opracowanie obejmuje tylko słowa, które określają lub oznaczają istoty ożywione. W artykule wyróżniono cztery grupy wiekowe w życiu człowieka: niemowlęctwo, młodość, dorosłość i starość. Artykuł skupia się na semantycznej i pragmatycznej charakterystyce omawianych słów. W razie potrzeby brane są jednak pod uwagę również aspekty słowotwórstwa, etymologii i morfologii. W kilku przypadkach podane jest podobieństwo do niektórych innych języków turkijskich. Podstawą teoretyczną opracowania jest model Dixona. Ponadto artykuł pokazuje, które przymiotniki tej klasy semantycznej zostały ujęte na listach podstawowych słów Swadesha i Haspelmatha-Tadmora.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: kazachski, rzeczowniki, przymiotniki, wiek

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1. Introduction

1.1. Theoretical model and adjectives in Turkic studies

According to Dixon (1982, p. 16), age – alongside dimension, physical property, colour, human propensity, value and speed – is one of the seven basic semantic classes of adjectives. He illustrates this semantic class with three examples: *new*, *young,* and *old*. In a later study, Dixon (2006, pp. 3–4) argues that there are four core semantic types typically associated with both large and small adjective classes: dimension, age, value and colour. By contrast, the three classes shown in his former study, i.e., physical property, human propensity, and speed, are evaluated as medium-sized or large adjective classes belonging to peripheral semantic types. The exemplification of the class of age remains unchanged, i.e. *new*, *young,* and *old*. Therefore, in this approach, age is one of the four core semantic classes.

Two adjectives discussed by Dixon are included in the lists of basic words of the world's languages: *old* and *new*. On Swadesh's list of 100 words, *old* is ranked as item 94, and on the extended Swadesh list of 207 words as item 184; on Haspelmath and Tadmor's, so-called Leipzig-Jakarta list, it appears as word 74. *New* was ranked on the Swadesh 100 and 207 lists as word 96 and 183, respectively, and as item 53 on the Leipzig-Jakarta list. As is well known, English *old* applies to both animate beings and inanimate objects, while English distinguishes between animate and inanimate referents in the domain of smallness in age: while the former is expressed by *young*, and the latter by *new*. *New* is naturally also used for animate beings, including humans, but not in the sense of age, e.g., in *his new neighbour* (somebody who has just moved in). By contrast, Turkic languages generally employ different adjectives to express the meaning *old* for animate and inanimate referents. West Karaim constitutes an exception, since the word *kart*, which in other languages designates only animate beings, is also used for inanimate objects, e.g., *kart uprachłar* 'old clothes' (KRPS, 294, cited after Radloff's dictionary). In this respect, West Karaim resembles English, though in this case the usage results from a Slavic calque.

Turkologists have traditionally paid less attention to adjectives than to other word classes, especially nouns and verbs. This is largely because adjectives are considered easy, lacking morphological categories in attributive position, i.e., they do not show agreement in number, possession, or case. Recently, however, there has been an increasing number of studies on adjectives in Turkic languages. For instance, Johanson (2006) published an article on Siberian Turkic, Dobrynina (2012) authored a book on Altay adjectives denoting human properties in a comparative perspective, and Aqtay (2013; 2016) examined Kazakh adjectives. A general study on Turkic prototypical adjectives based on Dixon's (2006) model is provided by Károly (2016).

1.2. Are Kazakh adjectives easy or not?

In Aqtay (2016, p. 44), it is argued that Turkic adjectives have received little scholarly attention due to the belief that this word class is simple and shares the same categories as nouns. From a morphological viewpoint, this assumption is indeed correct (see above). However, from the point of view of semantic valency, that is, combinability with the words they modify, Kazakh adjectives are far from simple. For instance, the English adjective *quiet*, similarly to its Polish equivalent *spokojny*, can be used for a child and an area, e.g.,

(1) *a quiet child*

(2) *a quiet quarter*

In Kazakh, however, one has to use different adjectives, i.e.

(1a) *juwas bala*[1]
'a quiet child'

but

(2b) *tınış awdan*
'a quiet quarter'.

As demonstrated in Aqtay (2016, p. 48), there are also certain morphological issues. For example, the noun *jas* 'young' which functions both a noun and an adjective, can be partially reduplicated, a feature typically adjectival. By contrast, a similar word *qart* 'old', which likewise functions as a noun and an adjective, does not allow such reduplication:

(3) *jas* > *jap-jas* 'quite young'

but

(4) **qap-qart* 'quite old'.

2. Some features of Kazakh culture as reflected in the use of words denoting age

Estimation, evaluation, and naming are not universal. In some European cultures in which youthfulness and its associated qualities such as beauty, prime, and vigour, are regarded as the highest values, elderliness is often marginalized or even excluded from public discourse. As a result, elderly people frequently attempt to conceal their age. For example, in Polish words as *stary* 'old', *starzec* 'old man', and especially *staruszka* 'old woman', are commonly avoided. Instead, terms derived from Latin are used, such as *senior* 'elderly man', *seniorka* 'elderly woman' and *senioralny* '*adj* senior'. The only expression that does not carry a strongly negative connotation is *starszy* 'elder' that is not felt inappropriate,

1 Examples with no references to the sources are provided from the author's own data collection of spoken Kazakh.

mostly used in the compounds *starszy pan* 'elderly man', *starsza pani* 'elderly woman' and *starsi państwo* 'elderly persons', but even these forms are becoming increasingly rare in contemporary usage.

In Turkic cultures, old age is not regarded as something to be hidden or a source of shame. Elderly people typically live with their children, and terms such as *qart*, *käri* 'old person, elder, elderly' or *aqsaqal* 'gray-bearded man' are commonplace in everyday Kazakh discourse. Far from being pejorative, these expressions convey esteem and respect.

Naturally, this does not mean that Kazakh lacks age-related words with derogatory connotations. Such usage, however, typically arises when a person's age is exaggerated or diminished in order to humiliate them, rather than a standard ageist characterization. In other words, nouns like *kempir* 'old woman' (< Pers.) or *şal* 'grey-haired; old man' (< Mong.) may be employed pejoratively to characterize somebody as older than they actually are, or to criticise somebody's behavior as inappropriate for their age, e.g.,

(5) *baladaysıñ*
'You are like a child'.

During the demonstrations of January 4–5, 2022, in many Kazakh cities the protesters shouted:

(6) *Şal, ket!*
grey go.away-2IMP
'Old man, leave!'

demanding that Nursultan Nazarbayev disappear from Kazakh politics. Nursultan Nazarbayev, who, although he had stepped down as the president of Kazakhstan in 2019, was still an important figure in the country and retained the position of Chairman of the Security Council of Kazakhstan.

Words denoting age are frequently used instead of more general words like *man*, *woman*, e.g.:

(7) *Kempiriñizdi sağındıŋız ba?*
old.woman-2POSS-POLITE-ACC long.for-2SGPAST INTERROG PART
'Are you longing for the grandmother?' (said by a grandson to his grandfather)

(8) *Şiyeliniñ bir kempiri Aqtawda ölgen.*
Shieli-GEN one old.woman-3POSS Aqtaw-LOC die-3PERF
'A woman from Shieli died in Aqtaw'.

It is also common that an unfamiliar young married woman is referred to as *kelinşek* 'young (married) woman' rather than simply *äyel* 'woman' when her youth and marital status are evident, e.g., when she wears a traditional headscarf or has a child.

(9) *Kelinşekter balalarına qarap otır.*
young.woman-PLUR child-PLUR-3POSS look.after-CONV AUX3PER PROGR
'Women are looking after their children'.

In a range of languages, the basic words of the semantic class AGE are adjectives, while nouns are derived from them. For example, Pol. *stary*[2] 'old' (adjective) > *starzec*, *staruszek*, *staruszka* (in Middle Polish also *starka* 'old woman' and *starek* 'old man', forms that have survived in some dialects, e.g., Sil. *starka* 'grandmother' and *starzik* 'grandfather'). Although English *old* and *young* do not exhibit morphological markers of word class, it is evident that both function as adjectives. In contrast, the equivalent Turkic words may function as both adjectives and nouns, e.g., Kaz. *jas* 'young' and 'young man'. Moreover, Kaz. *jas* may also denote 'age', e.g.,

(10) *jasıñ qanşada*? 'how old are you?'
age-2POSS how.many-LOC

In non-equality comparison *jas* has the meaning of 'year', e.g.,

(11) *ol menen bir jas ülken*
s/he I-ABL one age big
's/he is one year older than me'.

There are two basic Kazakh words for 'old', *qart* and *käri*. *Käri* is clearly the older word, deriving from OT *qarï* 'old'. Its usage is evident in the compound *jas-käri* a collective word for 'young and old', while **jas-qart* is not used in this context. Both Trk. *qarï* and Kaz. *käri* are directly related to OT verb *qarï-* 'to grow old' and exemplify homophonous verbs and nouns. In contrast, *qart* is probably derived from the verb *qarï-* with the suffix *-t* (ÈSTJa, 1997, p. 315). Since the suffix *-t* does not form deverbal nouns denoting people, it is likely that the original meaning of *qart* was different, as the authors of ÈSTJa suggest.

3. Stages of life and their lexicon

As noted above, the basic age opposition in Kazakh is expressed by*jas* 'young' and *qart* or *käri* 'old'. It is noteworthy that some Turkic languages possess specific lexical items to designate the first- and the last-born child. In Kazakh, *tuñğış* 'first-born' derives from *tun* 'id' + (< Mong. *ğış*, cf. Jankowski, 2013), while *kenje* 'last-born' comes from Mong. *kenǰ* < Trk. *kenč*.

As far as the stages of age are concerned, there are differences between various Turkic languages. It seems that the Kazakhs distinguish four basic periods in a person's life: (1) infancy or babyhood (from birth to childhood); (2) youth (from childhood to maturity); (3) adulthood; and (4) old age or elderliness. There are many words of narrower and broader meaning within these periods,

2 Etymologically it is assumed that Pol. *stary* < PSL **starъ,* which comes from PIE **sthā-ro-*, originally meant 'stable, strong', later shifted into 'of mature fullness, powerful', and eventually developed the meaning of 'in an advanced age, old' (Boryś, 2005, pp. 575–576; Długosz-Kurczabowa, 2008, p. 623).

but some overlap and do not form sharp boundaries. Some are more neutral, while some are more marked. The terms for babies, children, and youth are often hypocoristic, whereas the terms for the elderly often evoke feelings of esteem, respect, and reverence. As in other languages, some terms may be used metaphorically.

In the following sections, I will examine the most frequent terms from Biyzaqov's dictionary of Kazakh synonyms. Athough this dictionary has many shortcomings, it is nevertheless convenient for our purposes. When necessary, additional terms will be included and Biyzaqov's findings will be commented on. It is also interesting to note that a similar strategy is applied to livestock and other domesticated animals. Unfortunately, this question cannot be addressed in detail within the scope of this short article.

3.1. Infancy, babyhood, and childhood

This stage of life begins at birth and continues until approximately six years of age. The corresponding entry in Biyzaqov (2005, p. 486) is as follows: *säbiy, näreste, böpe, böbek, äldiy – jaña tuwğan, eseymegen jas bala*, i.e., 'infant, baby, babe, tot, tiny tot – new born, immature, little child'. *Säbiy* (< Ar.) is a rather general term for a baby.

In Kazakh culture, this is a period of special care, during which the baby is not shown to the strangers. *Näreste* (< Per.) denotes an infant up to the age of one year. From the fortieth day of life to the end of lactation, babies are called *böpe* or *böbek*. Some Kazakhs use the former for girls and the latter for boys, but this distinction is not confirmed in any dictionary. There are also diminutive forms used regardless of sex, e.g., *böpeş, böpetay* and *böpejan* 'little baby, tiny tot, little one', cf. Tur. *bebek* and Kir. *böbök*. From the time of weaning until approximately six years of age, children are called *büldirşin*. This is a frequent term for children in preschool and for first year pupils of elementary school.All the words shown above are nouns and are used for both sexes, with the reservation mentioned earlier regarding *böpe* or *böbek*. An interesting noun is *äldiy*. It seems to be a back-formation from the compound *äldiy-äldiy*, which normally means 'lullaby' and is regarded by some as an onomatopoeic word, cf. Pol. *luli, luli* 'id'. The meaning of *äldiy*, in contrast to the compound, is 'little baby lullabied in a cradle' (Januzaqov, 2008, p. 86). Such a semantic shift is not attested in Kir. *aldey-aldey* (Judaxin, 1965, p. 49), nor in Uz. *alla(-alla)* (UTIL, 1, p. 40).

There are also words used symbolically or metaphorically for babies and little children, e.g., *balapan* 'nestling', a word frequently used when talking about or addressing children.

3.2. Youth (from childhood to maturity)

This stage of life can be subdivided into two subperiods: the first from about six to twelve, and the second from thirteen to twenty-five years of life. Every twelve years of life constitute a period called *müşel* (see below). Biyzaqov (2005, p. 260) provides the following terms and explanations for this stage: *jetkinşek, jasöspirim, jas ulan, jas ören, bozbala, büldirşin, tülek – er jetip, eseyip qalğan bozbala, qız-bozbala; jas urpaq, jas buwın*, i.e. 'adolescent, teenager, youngster, stripling, young boy, anybody in his/her youth – a boy or girl who is in the process of developing from a child into an adult; young generation, youths'.

Jasöspirim, *büldirşin* and *tülek* are used for both sexes, while the remaining terms refer specifically to male youngsters. *Ulan* means 'boy', whereas *bala* means 'child', but it usually designates boys. Therefore, a girl in this period of life is called *qız bala*, also *qız-bozbala* 'young girl, adolescent girl'.

As in the preceding group, all these terms are nouns, including the composite ones: *jasöspirim, jas ulan, jas ören* and *bozbala*. In fact, *ören* is also used as a simple noun meaning 'youth'. QS (p. 1036) glosses this word as '*jasöspirim*, *jetkinşek*', i.e. 'youth, adolescent'. Another word for this period of life is *örim*, glossed by QS (p. 1039) identically as '*jasöspirim*, *jetkinşek*', along with its derivative örimtal 'youth, adolescent' (QS, 1039), which appears to be an adjective derived from the noun örim. Although *örim* is listed in the dictionary, it is rarely used, e.g., *örimdey qız* 'a very young girl'.

Tülek, similar to *balapan*, also denotes a young bird or fledgling (QS, 1297), but older than *balapan*. In relation to birds of prey, it refers to a young bird up to the age of one year.

Biyzaqov's synonyms do not cover the entire vocabulary, as noted above. Additional synonyms may be added, e.g., *jigit* 'youth, teenager', which is also used as *jas jigit*. *Jigit* refers to a young man under twenty-five years of age, while *qız* is a girl of the same age.

Another relevant adjective is *eresek* 'grown up, pubertal', e.g., *eresek bala* 'boy grown up', glossed in QÄTS (5, p. 341) as 'boy aged thirteen–fifteen years'), *eresek qız* 'girl grown up' and *eresek jigit*, which is used rather metaphorically to mean 'bold' or 'picky' (QÄTS, 5, p. 341).

Between six and twelve years of age, boys are called *baldırğan* and girls *balawsa*. The former literally means 'Heracleum' (QS, p. 184), while the latter denotes 'fresh grass' (QS, p. 186). *Balawsa* is also used as a female name.

Following this period, from around ten or twelve to fifteen years, boys are referred to as *jetkinşek,* meaning 'mature', while a general term for both sexes is *jasöspirim* (QS, p. 482) 'lit. young sprout, young shoot'.

From approximately thirteen years of age up to adulthood boys are called *bozbala* (QS, p. 242) meaning 'teenager, young boy'.

3.3. Adulthood

This period of life may also be subdivided into two subperiods: the first from about twenty-five to fifty years, and the second from fifty to sixty years of age. The first subperiod corresponds to middle age, called *orta jas* 'middle age', and those in this age are referred to as *orta jastağı(lar)* 'middle-aged'. The second subperiod, following the *müşel* system, is called *egde jas*. In his dictionary, Biyzaqov does not provide synonyms for this period, probably because it is the least marked stage of life. A young man in this age group is called *boydaq* 'bachelor, not married yet', which functions as an adjective. There are also two terms emphasizing maturity, adultness, and readiness for marriage: *boyjetken* 'bachelor-girl, maiden, unwed (ready to be married)' for a young woman, and *erjetken – kämeletke tolğan* 'adult – he who is fully grown' (Biyzaqov, 2005, p. 155) for a young man. Other dictionaries do not include the compound word *erjetken*, but QS (p. 419) lists its source verb *erjet-* 'to grow fully, to grow up'.

Naturally, this age group also corresponds to the stage of life to which the words *erkek* 'man' (rarely *er* 'id') and, in the case of women *äyel* (< Ar.), formerly *qatın*, belong. At present, *qatın*, historically a widespread Turkic word for 'woman' (also a loanword), is rarely used in colloquial Kazakh because it is perceived as derogatory. However, it should be noted that some Kazakhs, especially in high-register contexts and literature, do still use it. Kazakh also has a special term *kelinşek* that designates a young, recently married woman. Occasionally, the collocations *jas ağası* and *sarıgidir äyel* are encountered, the former to men and the latter to women.

A woman who completed the first subperiod and entered the second, yet remains single or unwedded, may be called *käri qız* 'old-aged bachelor-girl', which corresponds, in relation to men, to *sür boydaq* 'old-aged bachelor'. These terms do not indicate a precise upper age and are derogatory, so they must be used with caution.

3.4. Old age, oldness or elderliness

Old age begins after around sixty years of life. Biyzaqov's (2005, p. 291) entry for this period, starting with the headword *käri*, is as follows: *qartañ, qartamıs, egde, mosqal, kekse, sargidir, laqsa*, kitab. *jasamıs – mosqal tartqan, jası jetken, ulğayğan*, i.e. 'old, elderly, ageing, past one's prime, *bookish* advanced in years – age-stricken, senescent'.

Some of Biyzaqov's explanations require comments. Firstly, *laqsa* may only be used metaphorically. Moreover, according to QS (p. 879) it is a dialect word used in relation to old-aged animals, as is evident from its definition *tisi tüsip qalğan äbden qartayğan (it, at t.b)*, i.e. 'very old, toothless dog, horse, etc.'. Therefore, Biyzaqov's example *laqsa käri* should probably be understood as 'toothless codger'. Secondly, *kekse* and *sargidir* are adjectives used only in relation to women (QS, pp. 619, 1116). Thirdly, *jasamıs* is qualified as 'bookish'. Fourthly, the definition *orta jastan asıp mosqal tartqan, biraz jasqa kelgen* (Biyzaqov, 2005, p. 249), i.e., 'past it, age-stricken, who reached old age', suggests that in the entry beginning with the headword *jasamıs*, followed by the synonyms *jasamal, jasamalı, qartamıs*, there could be a fifth period of life, between maturity and old age, although *qartamıs* also appears in the basic entry. *Jasamıs* '*lit.* who has lived', can be translated as 'advanced in years', whereas *qartamıs* as 'aged'. *Jasamıs* is semantically close to Rus. *пожилой*, so it should be examined whether it is a calque from Russian. In any case, the first three words are derived from the verb *jasa-* 'to live'. Fifthly, if there is *qartañ*, the first group should also include *balañ* ('childish').

A man between sixty and seventy years of life may be called *qarasaqal* ('*lit.* black beard') and a woman *qara kempir* ('*lit.* black old woman'). After eighty years of life, a man is called *aqsaqal* ('*lit.* white beard', i.e. 'grey-bearded').

As in other Turkic languages, 'old-aged' may also be expressed by the adjective for 'big, great', in Kazakh *ülken*, and 'young' by the adjective *kişi* 'little, small', especially in combination with the word *jas* 'year (of life), age', e.g.,

(12) *jası kişi*
age-3POSS small
'a young man'

(13) *jası ülken* (*kisi*)
age-3POSS great (person)
'elder (person)' (QS, p. 480).

As is well known, expressing the idea of 'grandmother' and 'grandfather' by composing the respective names from the words 'mother' and 'father' and the adjective 'big, great' is quite common in languages, e.g. English *grandfather* and German *Großvater,* as well as in some Turkic languages, e.g., Tur. *büyük anne*, Kir. *čoŋ ene* 'grandmother' and Tur. *büyük baba*, Kir. *čoŋ ata* 'grandfather'. Although this strategy does not seem to be widespread in Kazakh, some similar compounds are attested, e.g., *ülken şeşe* 'paternal grandmother' (QS, p. 1348). It is common across the world's languages to refer to a youngster as 'little', 'small', or 'tiny'.

4. Twelve-year age periods (*müşel*, *müşel jas*)

In Kazakh culture, age is divided into twelve-year periods corresponding to the twelve-year animal calendar, though without reference to the names of the animals. This period is called *müşel*, a Mongolic word, cf. Kalm. *möčl* and Mong. *müčilgen* (Räsänen, 1969, p. 346; ÈSTJa, 2003, p. 91). It represents an

East Asian tradition adopted by Turkic cultures through the Mongols under the Chinggisids. The system is known among the Kazakhs, Karakalpaks and Noghays, and the word *müçel* (or *müşel*, etc.) is also attested in Uyghur, Uzbek, Tatar, and Yakut. The question of whether this tradition was fully integrated in these cultures requires further study. In practice, these twelve-year periods are not typically used in counting age but are recognized culturally and carry importance to all Kazakhs during the transitional years from one period to the next one. Such transitional years require special attention and adherence to prescribed customs.

However, this system is sometimes used not only in indicating age, but also for dating events, including relatively recent ones, e.g.

(14) *Osıdan tuwra üş müşel burın Barıs jılında 1986 jılı KSRO-nıñ qabırğasın sökken qazaq*

…

'Exactly three cycles before (i.e. 36 years before) in the Month of the Tiger when the

Kazakhs pulled down the wall of the Soviet Union …' (Bayğanin, 2022, p. 8).

This article was published on January 18, 2022, and the author had in mind the Kazakh mass protests of 16 December 1986.

The following twelve-year periods are distinguished in the life of a person: *er jete bastaw* 'beginning of the process of developing into maturity' (to 13 years), *jigittik şaq* 'young-aged time' (to 25 years), *aqıl toqtatuw* 'reaching the age when one is wise' (to 37 years), *orta jas* 'middle-age' (to 49 years), *egde jas* 'advanced age' (to 61 years), *qarttıq* 'early old-age' (to 73 years), *kärilik* 'late old-age' (to 85 years), *qaljıraw* 'senescence' (to 97 years), *şöpşek süyüw* '*lit.* kissing a great-grandchild' (to 109 years) and *nemene süyüw* '*lit.* kissing a great-grandchild (in the sixth generation)' (to 121 years) (Rısbayeva, 2000). It is noteworthy that in this system *qart* is not equal to *käri*; *käri* denotes an older age than *qart*.

As can be seen, there are ten twelve-year periods, which give an extraordinary upper age limit of 120/121 years of life. I cannot examine historical statistics, if they are available, to verify the reality and life expectancy, but there is some onomastic evidence for the longevity and vigour of certain Kazakh men, visible in a special group of male names. These names combine a numeral from fifty to ninety with the word *bay* 'rich, wealthy', a frequent element in male names, to indicate that a son was born when his father was fifty to sixty, sixty to seventy, seventy to eighty and ninety years and above. Examples include *Elüwbay* 'fifty+rich', *Alpısbay* 'sixty+rich', *Jetpisbay* 'seventy+rich', *Seksenbay* 'eighty+rich' and *Toqsanbay* 'ninety+rich'. Although rare, these names are still occasionally used today.

The adaptation of the old system to the more convenient decimal arithmetic is well reflected in the *müşeltoy* ceremony 'anniversary, jubilee', celebrated every ten years to begin with somebody's fiftieth birthday (Aqtay & Jankowski, 2011, p. 339; Januzaqov, 2008, p. 606).

5. Some lexical notes on the words expressing age

According to Quralulı's (2010) dictionary of Kazakh adjectives, the following words analysed semantically in this article are adjectives: *eresek* (p. 59), *jasamal*, *jasamıs*, *jasañ* (p. 73), *käri* (p. 90), *kekse* (p. 92), *qartamıs*, *qartañ* (p. 131), *mosqal* (p. 161), *ören* and *örimtal* (p. 165), and *sargidir* (p. 173).

A reliable method for verifying adjectivity is to test a word's ability to undergo partial reduplication, as shown in (3). Among the words just listed, the following may be partially reduplicated: *ep-eresek*, *jap-jas*, *käp-käri* (rarely used) and *kep-kekse*. *Jasañ* and *qartañ* cannot be partially reduplicated, since the suffix -Añ conveys the feature of the source nouns – in these cases *jas* 'young' and *qart* 'old'. This functions similarly to the English suffix -ish, i.e. *jas* + -Añ > *jasañ* 'youngish', *bala* + -Añ > *balañ* 'childish' and *qart* + -Añ > *qartañ* 'oldish'. A similar situation occurs with the suffix *-tal* (Janpeyisov, ed., 2002, p. 354),[3] which is present in the adjective *örimtal*.

With regard to *jasamıs* and *qartamıs*, these words are adjectivized participles formed with the suffix *-mIs*. *Qartamıs* is atypical, since the verb 'to grow old' is *qartay-*, not **qart-*, thus the expected form would be *qartaymıs*. Despite the suspicion that *jasamıs* may be a Russian semantic calque, the suffix *-mIs* in this meaning and function – i.e. forming participles – must be archaic, as in Modern Kazakh, unlike in Turkish, it forms nouns, e.g., *bolmıs* 'being, entity' and *qılmıs* 'crime'. Nevertheless, the history of this word and the reliability of its evidence should be examined. The adjective *jasamal* is also derived from the verb *jasa-*. *Mosqal* cannot be partially reduplicated either.

To express age, Kazakh often uses derivatives of the verbs 'to reach', 'to grow', 'to become mature', e.g., *jetkinşek* < *jet-* 'to reach' + -Kin + +şEK , *(boy) jetken* < *jet-* + -KEn, *eresek* < *er-* 'to approach, to reach' -EsEK, and *(jas)öspirim* < *ös-* 'to grow' -MIr + Im.

3 According to this grammar, the suffix *-tal* is not productive and occurs rarely, forming only five or six derivatives. The grammar provides six of them: *ösimtal* 'growing', *sezimtal* 'sensitive', *jağımtal* 'liked', *urımtal* '1. close. 2. easy', and *uğımtal* 'clever'. Interestingly, the suffix *-tal* in all the examples given is preceded by another suffix, *-m*. *Örimtal* is not included in this grammar.

Abbreviations

Ar. – Arabic	PIE – Proto-Indo-European
Kalm. – Kalmuk	Pol. – Polish
Kaz. – Kazakh	PSL – Proto-Slavic
Kir. – Kirghiz	Sil. – Silesian
Mong. – Mongol	Trk. – Turkic
OT – Old Turkic	Tur. – Turkish
Per. – Persian	Uz. – Uzbek

ÈSTJa – Blagova, ed., 1997; Dybo, ed., 2003
KRPS – Baskakov, Zajączkowski, & Shapshal, ed., 1974
QÄTS – Isqaqov & Wäli (ed.), 2007
QS – Wäli, Qurmanbayulı, & Malbaqov, ed., 2023
UTIL – Ma'grufov, ed., 1981

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Gulayhan Aqtay – obtained her PhD in 2007 at Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland. She is Assistant Professor at the Department of Central Asia, Institute of Oriental Studies, Adam Mickiewicz University. She is the author of *Eliyahu ben Yosef Qılcı's anthology of Crimean Karaim and Turkish literature. Critical edition with introduction, indexes and facsimile* (2009, a Turkish edition in 2021) and co-author of a few books, e.g., *A Crimean Karaim-English Dictionary* (2015) and *The Crimean Karaim Bible*. Vol. 1: *Critical edition of the Pentateuch, Five Scrolls, Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah.* Vol. 2: *Translation* (2019). At the university, she teaches various subjects related to Kazakh and Kazakh culture.

Renata Czekalska
http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6595-4233
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
r.czekalska@uj.edu.pl
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"Friends in Need" – Some Remarks on the Contacts Between the Turks[1] and the Koreans

ABSTRACT

The article explores the historical and cultural interactions between the Turkic peoples and the inhabitants of the Korean Peninsula, focusing on how these connections have shaped their relationship over time. Drawing on the theories of balance of power by Hans Morgenthau and Kenneth Waltz, and the concept of cultural security, the article describes exchanges, including trade, strategic alliances, and cultural interactions. It traces the early contacts facilitated by the Silk Road, which enabled the flow of goods, ideas, and technologies, and examines the geopolitical implications of these interactions, such as during the Mongol invasions. The article also discusses the significant impact of the Korean War, when Turkey's decision to send troops to support Korea marked a key moment in bilateral relations, strengthening diplomatic ties and creating a lasting bond. Finally, it investigates cultural resonance between the two nations, particularly the popularity of the 'Korean wave' (*Hallyu*) in Turkey, highlighting the role of these cultural ties in fostering mutual understanding and enhancing diplomatic relations.

KEYWORDS: Turkish-Korean relations, cultural diplomacy, balance of power, Korean War, *Hallyu*

1 In the title as well as the text of this essay, the term "Turks" refers to the broader group of Turkic peoples, who have played a significant role in the history of Eurasia, particularly in Central Asia, the Middle East, and Europe. The exact origins of the Turks remain a subject of scholarly debate, but they are generally believed to have originated in Central Asia, particularly in the regions around modern-day Mongolia and the Altai Mountains. In 14th century, one branch of this group founded the Ottoman Empire, which until the early 20th century ruled over a sundry array of peoples and cultures, leaving a lasting impact on the territories under its control. Today, the Turks constitute a diverse group with a rich cultural heritage: Turkey is a prominent state straddling the Middle East and Europe, while other Turkic-speaking nations of Central Asia have gained independence and established their own identities. Therefore, the scope of relationships mentioned in this essay extends beyond the territorial boundaries of modern-day Turkey.

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STRESZCZENIE

„Przyjaciele w biedzie" – kilka uwag o kontaktach turecko-koreańskich

W artykule podjęto temat historycznych i kulturowych interakcji między ludami tureckimi a mieszkańcami Półwyspu Koreańskiego, koncentrując się na tym, w jakiej mierze powiązania te kształtowały ich relacje. W odniesieniu do teorii równowagi sił Hansa Morgenthaua i Kennetha Waltza oraz koncepcji bezpieczeństwa kulturowego w artykule opisano wymianę, w tym handel, sojusze strategiczne i interakcje kulturowe. Prześledzono skrótowo wczesne kontakty ułatwione przez Jedwabny Szlak, umożliwiający przepływ towarów, idei i technologii, a także poddano analizie geopolityczne implikacje interakcji, do jakich dochodziło choćby podczas najazdów mongolskich. W artykule omówiono również znaczący wpływ na wzajemne relacje wojny koreańskiej, podczas której decyzja Turcji o wysłaniu wojsk w celu wsparcia Korei była kluczowym momentem w stosunkach dwustronnych, wzmacniającym więzi dyplomatyczne i tworzącym głęboko zakorzenioną więź. Ponadto zbadano relacje kulturowe, a w szczególności popularność „koreańskiej fali" (*Hallyu*) w Turcji, a także podkreślono rolę więzi kulturowych we wspieraniu wzajemnego zrozumienia i wzmacnianiu stosunków dyplomatycznych.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: stosunki turecko-koreańskie, dyplomacja kulturalna, równowaga sił, wojna koreańska, *Hallyu*

Introduction[2]

The historical contacts between the Turkic peoples and the inhabitants of the Korean Peninsula have been characterized by a network of cultural exchanges, trade relations, and political dynamics. Despite the geographical distance separating them, a complex web of interactions has shaped their histories and facilitated the possibility of mutual understanding.

Inspired by the theories of the balance of power by Hans Morgenthau and Kenneth Waltz, set against the background of the idea of cultural security, this essay delves into the multifaceted aspects of the historical relations, exploring significant events and cultural exchanges that have forged a distinctive connection between these peoples, one that falls into the proverbial category of "friends in need."

2 Note on Romanization: This paper employs the McCune–Reischauer system for historical and dynastic terms (e.g., Koryŏ, Chosŏn) and the Revised Romanization for modern cultural terms (e.g., Hallyu), in accordance with common academic convention.

The Concept of "Friends in Need"

Morgenthau and Waltz are two prominent figures in the field of international relations who have contributed significantly to the debate on alliance theory and the concept of the balance of power. While their arguments are not identical, they share some key ideas about what drives countries to form alliances and mutually support each other's interests. Both scholars emphasize the importance of power and the balance of power in international relations. They argue that states form alliances to ensure their own survival and security in an anarchic international system. While Morgenthau's classical realism (1948) focuses on the pursuit of power as a state's primary goal, Waltz's neorealism (1979) centers on the structural factors that shape state behavior within the international system. The shared concern with preventing the dominance of any single state remains a key concept in both their theories, forming the basis of the balance of power in international relations (Waltz, 1979).

Within the framework of the idea of the balance of power, the concept of cultural security – referring to the notion that states may seek to protect their cultural identity, values, and way of life in addition to their physical security (Anheier & Isar, 2011; Nemeth, 2014; Stone, 2011; Williams, 2007) – adds an extra dimension to the motivations behind state behavior and alliances in international relations. This idea, which emerged in response to historical and contemporary challenges to the preservation of cultural identity, heritage, and diversity, has evolved alongside changing geopolitical, social, and cultural dynamics, and it continues to be a topic of interest in discussions about security, identity, and protection of culture in the modern world.

While Morgenthau's classical realism primarily emphasizes the pursuit of power and security as the main drivers of state behavior, it does not entirely discount the importance of cultural elements. States may be motivated to form alliances or take certain actions to protect their cultural values and identity if they perceive these are under threat. For example, if a state regards another state's actions as a threat to its cultural values – such as religious beliefs or national identity – it may form alliances not only to counter that perceived threat in addition to maintaining the balance of power. Correspondingly, Waltz's structural realism focuses primarily on systemic factors and the distribution of power in the international system. Yet, cultural security can still be incorporated into this framework: states may consider cultural factors as part of their security calculus if they believe that shifts in the international balance of power could lead to the erosion or subversion of their cultural identity. For instance, a state with a distinct cultural heritage might be more inclined to join an alliance to prevent the dominance of a state perceived as culturally incompatible or hostile.

Thus, incorporating cultural security into these theories adds complexity to the motivations behind state behavior and alliances, and appears to provide a useful theoretical framework fit for explaining the relationships between the Turkic peoples and the Koreans, both historically and in the modern globalized world. In both cases, while power and security remain central, cultural considerations might factor in shaping strategic decisions. Moreover, cultural security can influence how states perceive threats and opportunities in the international system, potentially shaping their alliances and actions in response.

Early Contacts and Cultural Exchange

The early contacts between the Turkic peoples and the Korean Peninsula represent a fascinating chapter in the history of East Asian and Central Asian interactions. These interactions were significantly shaped by the geographical and cultural dynamics of the region, as well as the broader context of the Silk Road trade which was pivotal in encouraging early contacts between them. In this extensive trade network, which spanned from the Mediterranean to East Asia and passed through various regions including Central Asia, the Turkic nomadic tribes were central players, acting as intermediaries between East Asia and Central Asia. Through their itinerant movements and trading activities, they established connections with the Korean Peninsula.

The Turkic peoples were renowned for their equestrian skills and military prowess, which made them indispensable in safeguarding and facilitating trade along the Silk Road. As they traversed the vast Central Asian steppes, they encountered various cultures, including that of the Koreans. In this way, alongside goods, ideas, technologies, and cultural concepts were exchanged. For instance, the spread of Buddhism, a significant social, cultural, philosophical, and spiritual movement, was facilitated by the Silk Road, and it likely had an impact on both the Korean and Turkic societies. This exchange of social and philosophical ideas contributed to the broader cultural landscape of the region. Besides, the Silk Road was also a conduit for the exchange of artistic and technological innovations. Pottery, textiles, and other artifacts from both Turkic and Korean cultures may have found their way into each other's societies, leaving behind a legacy of shared artistic influences.

Language is another avenue through which these early contacts left their mark. Linguistic parallels between the Turkic and Korean languages may have emerged during this period. While it is challenging to pinpoint specific linguistic exchanges, the proximity of these groups and their interactions would likely have resulted in some degree of linguistic influence. Some linguists claim that both Korean and Turkish languages belong to the same Ural-Altaic language family (Lee & Ramsey, 2011; Kim & MacNeill, 2020), stating, for example, that "[b]ecause Koreans and Turkic peoples originated from the Central Asia, there are many morphological similarities between Korean and Turkish languages" (Lee, 2012, p. 228). The same author concludes that "[w]ith the Turkish and Korean belonging to similar groups, nationals of both countries retained similarities in their ways of thinking, traditional customs, and practices" (Lee, 2012, p. 228).

In the field of politics, the early contacts verified by historical sources took place between Koguryŏ and the Turks, when the armies of the two presented a united front against China. A Turkish attack on the Sui dynasty (589–618) in 597 was followed by a Koguryŏ attack west of the Liao River the following year and a brief Sui counterattack. The Sui accepted a Koguryŏ apology but "the discovery of a Koguryŏ envoy in the camp of the Turkish Khan in 607 revived Chinese fears of a strong alliance of northern peoples" (Henthorn, 1971, p. 47). Later, during the reign of the T'ang dynasty (618–905),

> Turkish forces to the northwest of China had held the attention of T'ang, preventing her from doing more than attempting to mediate a peace between the three warring states on the peninsula. Silla continued to seek aid from T'ang. With the defeat of the Turks in 628, T'ang reconsidered the Silla appeals and responded (Henthorn, 1971, p. 50).

It is therefore important to note that, in the framework of early relations between the Turkic peoples and Korean Peninsula, these initial contacts occurred within the broader context of geopolitical shifts in the region. The Korean Peninsula was often caught in the middle of power struggles between neighboring states and empires, and the historical contacts between the Mongols and the Koreans were marked by periods of cooperation, conflict, and cultural exchange. Most of the early interactions took place primarily during the time of the Mongol Empire, which had considerable influence over the Korean Peninsula.

Mongol Invasions of Korea

As the kingdom of Koryŏ was forced to pay tribute to the Mongols, the state acknowledged the suzerainty of the Mongol Khans (Seth, 2016, pp. 118–123, 130–131). The most significant and tumultuous period of Mongol-Korean relations occurred during the Mongol invasions of Korea, also known as the Mongol Invasions of Koryŏ (1231–1270; Henthorn, 2015), initiated by the Mongol Empire under Genghis Khan and later his successors. These invasions proved devastating for the kingdom of Koryŏ (918–1392), which eventually submitted to Mongol authority and became a vassal state of the Mongol Empire. The Koryŏ rulers, particularly King Kongmin (1351–1374), were forced to pay tribute to the Mongols and acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mongol Khans (Seth, 2016, pp. 118–123, 130–131).

Mongol control over Korea had a profound impact on Korean society and governance during this period. The Mongols implemented administrative changes in Koryŏ, establishing a dual administration system in which Mongol officials oversaw key government functions alongside Korean officials. They also introduced a census system, which had implications for taxation and conscription. However, despite the political and military turmoil, there were still cultural exchanges during this period. Korean craftsmen and scholars were sent to the Mongol capital of Karakorum, technologies, art, and knowledge were transferred between the two cultures (Henthorn, 2015; Hwang, 2010, pp. 52–59; Seth, 2016, pp. 120–123, 130–131).

According to David M. Robinson, some scholars argue that during the reign of King Kongmin (1330–1374), there was a strong anti-Mongol sentiment in Koryŏ. The king took various actions to resist Mongol control, such as launching military strikes against Mongol relay stations, purging Mongol-affiliated individuals, abolishing Mongol titles, and restoring pre-Mongol administrative practices. This perspective suggests a desire for Korean autonomy though it was hindered by external factors such as Chinese rebel forces and Japanese pirate raids. Other scholars, however, contend that important continuities in Koryŏ's relationship with the Mongols persisted from the 1350s to the 1380s. The Yuan throne continued to exert influence by appointing and dismissing Korean kings, among other practices. From this viewpoint, actions that may seem anti-Mongol were instead aimed at consolidating the Koryŏ throne's power rather than expressing proto-nationalist sentiments (Robinson, 2017). This interpretation would prove the so-called prudent attitude of both the parties in supporting each other in times of need, often in alliance against a third power (or powers).

After Mongol rule over Korea ended in 1356, paving the way for subsequent dynastic rule, the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392–1910) emerged. During the more than five centuries long Chosŏn history, only limited direct relations with the Turkic peoples occurred, as the state's primary focus was on its immediate neighbors in East Asia. Nevertheless, there were some indirect connections, principally through trade and cultural exchanges, as the Silk Road continued to provide links between Korea and regions populated by the Turks, with goods such as silk, spices, and other commodities passing through intermediaries. The Chosŏn state's main concerns, however, centered on securing its northeastern borders, particularly against the Jurchen tribes and later the Manchu, while its interactions with Central Asian Turkic regions remained relatively minor compared to the more prominent regional relationships. As a result,

> [d]uring the Yi Dynasty [Chosŏn Dynasty – R.C.] of Korea the Turks, who had once been neighbors as well as blood relations, moved far away from Korea to Europe and built a great empire, so that Turks and Koreans had to become estranged from each other during the Yi Dynasty (Suh, 2007).

Later Contacts and the Turkish Heroes of the Korean War

After a long gap in direct relations, the most significant renewed contact occurred in the 1950s with Turkey's decision to participate in the Korean War, an event of profound significance in Korea's modern history.[3] It marked a shift in Turkey's stance on international politics and economics that had been in place since the end of World War II. This shift was accompanied by a re-evaluation of fundamental concepts such as Westernization, democracy, civil-military relations, secularization, the role of Islam in society, state involvement in the economy, and state interference in cultural and social affairs (Brown, 2008).

During this period, following a request from the U.N. Secretary General in mid-July 1950, the Turkish National Assembly unanimously voted to send ground troops to Korea. Over the course of the three-year Korean War, a total of 14,936 Turkish soldiers participated, with many of whom were injured or went missing, including 741 who lost their lives in battle (US Department of Defense, 2002). The Turkish military made substantial contributions to key battles, such as the battle of the Ch'ŏngch'ŏn River (24 Nov – 2 Dec 1950), shedding blood in the pursuit of Korea's freedom and democracy (Appleman, 2008, pp. 91; Blair, 1989, 368–371; Evanhoe, 2010).

The decision to take part in the foreign conflict thousands of miles away was a significant departure from the established Turkish policy. It was motivated by a range of factors, including the economic setbacks caused by World War II, constraints on foreign trade, inflation, and a heavy military budget. These economic difficulties led to growing dissatisfaction with the government's policies and fueled calls for changes in Turkey's financial and economic development programs. Both domestic and foreign voices began advocating for free trade, favorable conditions for foreign investment, and a shift from public to private sector control of the industrial base.

In September 1951, Turkey was admitted to NATO, cementing its position as a vital partner in the Western Alliance. The Turks felt that they had earned their status as equal partners, but tensions arose from the perception that Western aid came with conditions and an ideological bias against communism. Turkish military command, supply, and training were integrated into NATO, yet the Turks felt that they were not provided with the advanced weaponry they needed, which caused resentment.

3 Turkey's history had had been shaped by the aftermath of World War I, leading to the founding of the Republic of Turkey after a struggle against occupying forces. The early diplomatic isolation of the new state prompted Turkey to adopt a policy of non-involvement in foreign conflicts, justified by an ideology of progress, asserting that non-belligerence would allow the state to allocate resources to development rather than militarization.

The deployment of Turkish troops during the Korean War had a profound impact on the perception of Koreans by the Turkish people. Despite their Islamic faith, the Turks viewed the Koreans they fought alongside as brothers in arms, transcending the mere label of allies. When Turkish veterans of the Korean War returned home, they were often referred to as "Koreli" (Korean) instead of by their names, emphasizing the deep bond forged during their service (Lee, 2012, p. 229). This shared experience not only laid the foundation for the relationship between the two nations but also played a pivotal role in developing friendly ties between their respective governments. Following the conclusion of the Korean War, formal diplomatic ties were established in March 1957. Furthermore, "the Turkish media continued reporting news about Korea from 1953, when the Korean War ended with a call for a ceasefire, until 1960, reminding Turks of Korea" (Lee, 2012, p. 230).

The Korean War saw Turkish troops deployed as part of a U.N. force. Even after most foreign forces withdrew from Korea by the late 1960s, Turkey and Thailand maintained troops there, symbolizing the United Nations Command. The presence of Turkish troops was crucial for Korea's domestic and international goals, given their bravery during the conflict. In 1960, Turkey initially planned to withdraw its troops but extended their presence annually at the request of Korea and the U.S. Ultimately, Turkey reduced its brigade to a small honor guard of eleven members, which symbolized the U.N. Command. These troops finally left Korea in June 1971 (Lee, 2012, pp. 230–231).

Korea and the U.S. worked diligently to retain Turkish military presence, recognizing its significance for global peace and anti-communist unity. The Turkish contingent represented the U.N. Command after other nations withdrew their combat units. After the troops left, bilateral relations shifted towards economic and commercial cooperation, including sister city agreements, cultural exchanges, and trade promotion agreements. Notably, a Korean War Memorial Monument in Ankara became a symbolic representation of the friendly ties between the two nations (Lee, 2012, p. 331).

Hallyu in Turkey – Indication of Cultural Proximity?

While observing the phenomenon of *Hallyu* (the Korean Wave) in a global context, the case of *Hallyu* in Turkey could be singled out as especially captivating because of the unique historical and cultural relationship between the two nations, as well as their possible emotional closeness, which can be attributed to shared historical memories and origins, cultural ties and parallels, and a deep bond forged during the Korean War.

According to Chong-Jin Oh and Young-Gil Chae, two Korean scholars who researched the influence of cultural interconnectedness on the reception of *Hallyu* in Turkey, crucial to the success of this phenomenon is the connection Turkish audiences feel with "East Asian sentiment." The authors also claim that themes and structures of Korean dramas resonate with Turkish audiences and their conservative values. Based on in-depth interviews conducted in their research, they asses that the contemporary Turk's love for Korean pop culture is tied to shared Altaic heritage, language, history, and a sense of empathy for Asian cultural values (Oh & Chae, 2013, pp. 83–86).

Similarly, a study conducted on Turkish consumers by Tuğba Borazan Karadeniz and Nur Özer Canarslan offers practical implications and valuable insights into South Korean products gaining increased recognition in the Turkish market. According to their findings, Turkish consumers show heightened interest in Korean popular culture, leading to a favorable perception of Korean products, with cultural elements in K-drama and K-pop influencing purchase decisions. The study reveals that South Korea enjoys a positive image in terms of both the nation and product quality, demonstrating the effective use of cultural elements as a form of soft power and cultural export. The authors state that they examined "the effect of *Hallyu* (K-pop and K-drama), country image and cultural proximity on the intention to purchase Korean products among consumers who are members of Korean fan groups in social media living in Turkey" (Borazan & Canarslan, 2022).

Also, a study by Eunsuk Cho and Oktay Gökhan Banbal, which combines historical analysis and questionnaire results to shed light on Korea's evolving image in Turkey, showed that a notable shift occurred in 2002, when Korea transitioned from being seen as a war-torn nation undergoing economic revival to a technologically advanced country known for high-quality dramas and captivating culture. The authors argue that in recent years, *Hallyu* has taken a unique path in Turkey, quietly igniting interest in Korean culture among the Turkish population. Unlike in some Islamic countries, Turks found remarkable parallels between their daily lives and those portrayed in Korean TV dramas and music, particularly in aspects such as interpersonal relationships and family dynamics (Cho & Banbal, 2015).

As the quoted studies show, the phenomenon of *Hallyu* emerges more strongly in Turkey than in many other countries, making it a particularly captivating case within the global context. This uniqueness arises from the evident historical and cultural bonds between Turkey and South Korea, dating back to the times when neither state existed in their current form, and is reinforced by shared memories, cultural affinities (also referred to as "East Asian sentiment"), and the profound connection formed during the Korean War.

Conclusion

The historical contacts between the Turkic peoples and the Koreans, as outlined in this essay, reveal a long record of cultural exchange, strategic alliances, and shared historical experiences. These interactions, shaped not only by political motivations but also by cultural resonance between them, aptly illustrate the suggested concept of "friends in need."

The early contacts, primarily facilitated by the Silk Road, brought the Turkic nomadic tribes and Koreans into each other's orbit, fostering the exchange not only of goods but also ideas, technologies, and linguistic influences. These interactions were not without geopolitical implications, as seen during the Mongol invasions, when Korea found itself in the middle of power struggles involving the Mongols and the Turks.

However, it was during the Korean War in the 1950s that the most recent and significant contact occurred. Turkey's decision to send troops to support the side of the conflict which would later become the Republic of Korea marked a profound shift in its international stance, resulting in the forging of a strong bond between the two nations. This alliance, rooted in the crucible of war, not only strengthened diplomatic relations but also laid the groundwork for the cultural affinity evident in the Turkish reception of *Hallyu*, just as the influence of Korean popular culture in Turkey reflects the enduring connection between these two nations.

The studies cited in this article highlight the significance of Korean dramas, music, and products for Turkish audiences, reinforced by shared heritage, historical memories, and cultural values. The deep emotional connection that many Turks feel with Korean culture testifies to the power of cultural diplomacy and its ability to transcend geographical and linguistic boundaries.

In a world where international relations are often characterized by geopolitical tensions and conflicts, the Turkish-Korean connection stands as a compelling example of how cultural ties and shared experiences can foster understanding and strengthen diplomatic relations. As these two nations continue to explore the potential of their cultural synergy, they could further enhance their global influence and contribute to a more interconnected and harmonious world, in line with the theoretical framework that recognizes the role of cultural security alongside power dynamics in shaping international relations.

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Renata Czekalska – is a Professor of Asian Studies at the Institute of the Middle and Far East, Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland. Her research interests include the cultural heritage of Asia, cultural contacts between Asia and Europe as well as between Asian civilisations, on top of the theory and practice of literary translation from and into Asian languages. She is the author of numerous articles and a number of books (in Polish, English, and Hindi), including five monographs and several anthologies of translated works.

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Marek M. Dziekan
http://orcid.org/0000-0003-0291-2997
University of Łódź
marek.dziekan@uni.lodz.pl
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"It Was Not Thyself that Threw, but God Threw" – a Few Remarks on the Sūra *Al-Anfāl*, 17

ABSTRACT

The subject of this study is a historical-Islamic, cultural, and translational analysis of verse 17 of Sūra VIII *Al-Anfāl* ("The Spoils"). The basis for this analysis are the classical Muslim commentaries on the Qur'an, whose authors present several versions of the events referred to in this verse. Although one version definitely predominates, translations of the Qur'an into Western languages reveal ambiguity, especially in the meaning of the lexeme *ramā*. Its interpretation affects how the course of the event, which was the "cause of the revelation" (*sabab an-nuzūl*) is understood – not only for this verse, but the whole sūra. While differences in translations of the Qur'an into other languages suggest that some Arabists recognized the interpretative possibilities offered by verse 17 of the mentioned sūra indicated by medieval Muslim exegetes, this issue has not been examined in detail in Western scholarship. In turn, modern Muslim researchers typically cite medieval commentaries without taking a clear position, which remains difficult to do at present.

KEYWORDS: Qur'an, Sūra *Al-Anfāl* ("The Spoils"), battles of the Prophet Muḥammad, translations of the Qur'an

STRESZCZENIE

„To nie ty rzuciłeś, kiedy rzuciłeś, lecz to Bóg rzucił" – kilka uwag o wersecie 17 sury *Al-Anfāl* („Łupy")

Przedmiotem niniejszego opracowania jest historyczno-islamistyczna, kulturowa i translatologiczna analiza wersetu 17 sury VIII *Al-Anfāl* („Łupy"). Podstawą analizy są klasyczne muzułmańskie komentarze do Koranu; ich autorzy przytaczają kilka wersji wydarzeń, do których odnosi się ten werset. Mimo że zdecydowanie jedna z nich przeważa, to jednak chociażby w przekładach Koranu na języki zachodnie odzwierciedla się niejednoznaczność szczególnie

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w zakresie znaczenia leksemu *ramā*, którego interpretacja odmiennie ukazuje przebieg wydarzenia będącego „przyczyną objawienia" (*sabab an-nuzūl*) nie tylko tego wersetu, ale całej sury. Choć różnice w przekładach Koranu na inne języki świadczą o tym, że niektórzy arabiści dostrzegali możliwości interpretacyjne, jakie daje werset 17 wspomnianej sury, wskazywane przez dawnych muzułmańskich egzegetów, to zagadnienie to jak dotąd nie doczekało się szczegółowego opracowania w językach zachodnich. Z kolei współcześni badacze muzułmańscy zazwyczaj przytaczają średniowieczne komentarze, nie decydując się na przyjęcie jednoznacznego stanowiska, co zresztą w chwili obecnej jest raczej niemożliwe.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: Koran, sura *Al-Anfāl* ("Łupy"), bitwy Proroka Muhammada, przekłady Koranu

Introduction

The Qur'an has been a constant subject of study for centuries, both by Muslim scholars and Western researchers. It has been subjected to various analyses and syntheses, and each year brings new interpretations of ideas, verses, and individual words, shedding fresh light on this text, which remains full of mystery.

In this paper, I shall focus on sūra *Al-Anfāl*, or rather on the fragment of its verse 17, as indicated in the title. This fragment involves an ambiguity already noted by classical exegetes of the holy book of Islam, which, however, is rarely addressed, especially in Western studies, because Muslim scholarship does not avoid pointing out controversies regarding this problem. The central issue is the meaning of the verb *ramā* – "to throw".[1] This issue is particularly important in translations of the Qur'an into foreign languages, where the verb often lacks referents in its semantic field consistent with its Arabic equivalent used in the Qur'anic text. The article will critically analyze the medieval Arabic Qur'anic commentaries, most of which highlight the controversies regarding the events behind this Qur'anic message. I shall also examine how translators of the Qur'an into foreign languages have approached this fragment. The analysis will show what Muslims mean when they speak of the "untranslatability of the Qur'an" (see, e.g. Poonawala, 1990; von Grunebaum, 2001).

The first part of the study is of a propaedeutic nature – I shall briefly characterise the sūra itself and the Battle of Badr, which is regarded as the historical context for the revelation of *Al-Anfāl*, and then I shall analyse the issue in question in linguistic, religious, and translational terms.

1 Badawī and Abdel Haleem (2008, p. 384) identify five meanings of the verb *ramā.* Referring to the verse under discussion, they interpret its sense as "to throw [a spear], to shoot [an arrow]."

Sūra *Al-Anfāl*, 17 and its contexts

Sūra *Al-Anfāl* – ("The Spoils") is the eighth sūra of the Qur'an and is the 88th in the order of revelation. This title in Muslim literature is called *tawfīqī* ("indisputable"). It also has other names: *Sūrat Badr* ("Sūra of the Battle of Badr"), *sūrat al-ğihād* ("Sūra of *jihad*") (Nāṣir, 1426 H., pp. 199–200) and *Sūrat al-furqān* (Sūra of the criterion)[2] – the latter being referred to as "subject to analysis" (*iğtihādī*). According to classical commentators, it was revealed in connection with the Battle of Badr on 17th March 624 (17 Ramadan 2 A.D.) between the Muslims of Medina and the Meccans (Al-Wāḥidī, 2001, p. 131; Nöldeke & Schwally, 1909, pp. 187–189). It is a Medinan sūra, containing 75 āyats. Together with Sūra IX, *At-Tawba* ("Repentance"), it is referred to as *Al-Qarīnatān* ("Two Pairs") due to the similarity of the issues discussed. According to another classification, it is included among the so-called *as-sab' aṭ-ṭiwāl* ("seven long ones"), i.e., the longest sūras of the Qur'an (Al-Qabandī, 2017, pp. 42–43).

The Battle of Badr is one of the most significant events of early Islam. Under the command of Muḥammad, the Muslims attacked the Quraysh warriors, numbering about a thousand, who were escorting a Meccan caravane heading from Syria to Mecca. Muḥammad's unit consisted of roughly 300 men. Despite being heavily outnumbered, the Muslims achieved victory. Accounts of the battle emphasize the direct involvement of God and hosts of angels in the fight. This was the first major Muslim victory, which boosted their morale and persuaded many hesitant tribes to join the new community. The who participated in the battle – the *Badriyyūn* ("Badrites") – came to be regarded as part of the Muslim elite. The clash can be seen as one of the decisive events that soon paved the way for the triumph of Islam on the Arabian Peninsula (Haykal, 1976, pp. 216–241; Hamidullah, 1992, pp. 22–42; Watt, 1956, pp. 10–16; Aṭ-Ṭabarī, 1961, pp. 421–479; Aṭ-Ṭabarī, 1987, pp. 26–85).

The verse:

فلمْ تَقْتُلُوهُمْ وَلَـٰكِنَّ ٱللَّهَ قَتَلَهُمْ ۚ وَمَا رَمَيْتَ إِذْ رَمَيْتَ وَلَـٰكِنَّ ٱللَّهَ رَمَىٰ ۚ وَلِيُبْلِىَ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ مِنْهُ بَلَآءً حَسَنًا ۚ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ

Fa-lam taqtulūhum wa-lakinna Ăllāha qatalahum wa-mā ramayta iḏ ramayta wa-lakinna Ăllāha ramā wa-li-yublya ăl-mu'minīna minhu balā'an ḥasanan inna Ăllāha samī'un 'alīmun

You did not slay them, but God slew them; and when you threwest, **it was not thyself that threw**, **but God threw**, and that He might confer on the believers a fair benefit; surely God is All-Hearing, All-knowing (Arberry, 2008, p.171).[3]

2 In the 41st *ayat* of the same sūrah, the Battle of Badr is also referred to as *yawm al-furqān* (Ibn Kaṯīr, 1997, pp. 65–66).

3 Quotes from the Qur'an according to Arberry, 2008.

The starting point for the analysis of the issue indicated at the outset will be a brief yet substantial commentary on this verse by Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī (1149 or 1150–1209):

> There are three opinions regarding the reasons for the revelation of this verse. The first, and this is the opinion of most exegetes, is that it was revealed on the occasion of the Battle of Badr. The point is that [the Prophet], peace be upon him, took a handful of pebbles/gravel (*ḥaṣbāʾ*) and threw them in the faces of the warriors, shouting: "Shame on the faces!" (*šāhat al-wuǧūh*).[4] And the eyes and noses of all the idolaters were struck with them. This throw was the reason for their defeat and this is what the ayat is about. The second opinion is that it was revealed on the occasion of the Battle of Ḫaybar.[5] It is said that [the Prophet], PBUH, took a bow while standing at the gates of the city and shot an arrow. It hit Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq[6] while he was sitting on his mare.[7] And it was revealed: "it was not thyself that threw, but God threw". A third opinion is that the verse was revealed on the occasion of the Battle of Uḥud[8] in connection with the killing of Ubayy Ibn Ḫalaf.[9] It so happened that he came to the Prophet, PBUH, with a rotten bone and asked: Muḥammad, who will revive these bones when they are already rotten? To this he [Muḥammad] PBUH replied,: God will give them life, then He will put you to death and revive you,[10] then He will send you into the fire. He was captured at the Battle of Badr and later ransomed. He then said to the Prophet: I have a mare which I feed well every day[11] so that

4 A magical gesture, considered disrespectful towards the enemy, straight from Jahiliyya (Watt, 1956, p. 312 et seq.; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 1969, p. 122; Robinson, 1971, p. 166); application in early Islam (Ḥassān Ibn Thābit, 1994, p. 94; Qutbuddin, 2019, pp. 109, 526); throwing sand in the face (Aṭ-Ṭabarī, 1961, p. 506).

5 The Battle of Ḫaybar took place in 628 between the followers of the Prophet and the Jews of that city. Following the Muslim victory, the city's inhabitants were killed (Haykal, 1976, pp. 360–374).

6 A Jewish opponent of the Prophet from the Naḍīr tribe. Information about his life is uncertain, and sources provide varying accounts of his death (Motzki, 2000).

7 The same also appears in the editions of 1938 (p. 140) and 2012 (p. 127). Only this author provides this version of the story. Other sources quoting this account state that he died in his bed (*fī/ ʿalā firāšihi*), e.g. Ibn Kaṯīr (1997, p. 31) and As-Suyūṭī (2011, p. 41).

8 The Battle of Uḥud took place in 625 between the followers of the Prophet and the Quraysh of Medina. The Muslims were defeated, many were killed and the Prophet was injured (Haykal, 1976, pp. 253–270).

9 A fierce enemy of the Prophet of Mecca; according to many traditions, the only man the Prophet personally killed.

10 "[H]e says, 'Who shall quicken the bones when they are decayed?' Say: 'He shall quicken them, who originated them the first time'" (Arberry, 2008, p. 455).

11 The text includes a measurement unit that is difficult to estimate precisely due to variations across different periods and places in the Muslim world: *farq* (or *faraq*) *min ḏarra* (see for example: Lane, 1863, vol. III, p. 957; vol. V, p. 2385).

> I can kill you when riding on it. To which he [Muḥammad] PBUH replied: I will kill you if God wills it! When the battle of Uḥud took place, Ubayy appeared riding on this mare, wishing to approach the Messenger, PBUH. Then the Muslims turned towards him to kill him, but the Prophet said: Hold back! And he threw his spear (*ḥarba*) at him[12] and hit him in the rib, and he died from this wound on the way. This verse was intended to refer to this event. However, it is most correct that it concerns the Battle of Badr (Ar-Rāzī, 1981, p. 145).

However, a fourth historical interpretation is also found, mentioned for example by Ibn al-ʿArabī (2003, p. 387) and Al-Qurṭubī (2006, p. 477), which holds that the verse refers to the battle of Ḥunayn.[13] The former explicitly states: "there are four opinions" (*arbaʿat aqwāl*). In all these cases, the commentators emphasize the involvement of supernatural powers on the Prophet's side.

As I mentioned, the analysis shall focus on the lexeme *ramā*, in the primary sense "to throw," around which all historical interpretations revolve; these interpretations themselves are not of major importance for the present study. The Qur'anic text does not indicate what the Prophet – or rather God – threw with his hand.[14]

Very similar, and at key points identical, versions are also provided by medieval commentators of the Qur'an: Aṭ-Ṭabarī (2001, p. 84),[15] As-Samarqandī (1993, p. 11), Az-Zamaḫšarī (2009, p. 407), Ibn al-ʿArabī (2003, p. 388), Al-Qurṭubī (2006, p. 478), Ar-Rāzī (1981, p. 145), Al-Bayḍāwī (n.d., p. 53), Al-Ḫāzin (2004, p. 301), Ibn Kaṯīr (1997, p. 31) and As-Suyūṭī (2011, p. 40). Ibn al-ʿArabī, Ar-Rāzī and Al-Qurṭubī add that this version is "the most correct" (*Badr aṣaḥḥ*). Some exegetes add that by throwing sand/pebbles/gravel into the eyes of the enemy, God cast "fear and terror" on them through the Prophet (*ar-ruʿb* and *al-fazaʿ*) (Az-Zamaḫšarī, 2009, p. 407; Ar-Rāzī, 1981, p. 144; Al-Qurṭubī, 2006, p. 478; Al-Bayḍāwī, n.d., p. 53; Al-Ḫāzin, 2004,

12 The *ḥarba*, it seems, has no exact equivalent in Western weaponry. Kennedy defines it as follows: "This may have been a short throwing spear with a long blade" (2001, p. 176; see also: Lane, 1863, vol. II, p. 541). In Ibn Sīda's work "*al-ḥarba*: smaller than a spear [*rumḥ*]" (1996, p. 34) – without a broader description (chapter: Mā yušbih ar-rumḥ / "What is like a spear"). Schwartzlose refers to *ḥarba* as "kürzere Spiesse" (1896, p. 47). Another name for this weapon is *alla* (Schwartzlose, 1896, p. 213).

13 Battle of Muslims with Arab tribes in 630 (Haykal, 1976, pp. 414–421).

14 In the oldest historical account of the Battle of Badr, by ʿUrwa Ibn az-Zubayr (d. 713), quoted by Aṭ-Ṭabari, another phrase can be found: *fa-ḥaṯā ... turāb* / "[he] threw dust" (Aṭ-Ṭabarī, 1961, vol. II, p. 424; Aṭ-Ṭabarī, 1987, p. 32). Ibn Hišām, however, uses the term *nafaḥa* – "to throw" (Watt, 1956, p. 312). Watt (1956, p. 313) briefly mentions doubts regarding the problem I have discussed in this paper.

15 It should be noted that, especially in longer commentaries, authors typically present multiple versions of events known to them simultaneously.

p. 31[16]). In the latter case, the verb *ramā* acquires a metaphorical meaning and refers to ayat 12 of the same sūra: *sa-ulqī fī qulūbi ăl-laḏīna kafarū ăr-ruʿba* ("I shall cast into the unbelievers' hearts terror").

In the context of the Battle of Ḥunayn, one encounters circumstances identical to those at Badr, including the invocation *šāhat al-wuǧūh* (Ibn al-ʿArabī, 2003, p. 387; Al-Qurṭubī, 2006, p. 477; a slightly more detailed account: Al-Azharī, 2001, p. 190), and only pebbles/gravel are mentioned (*al-ḥaṣā'*). It is puzzling, however, that classical lexicographic works in connection with this invocation only refer to the Battle of Ḥunayn.

The verb *ramā*, when used in a situation requiring an object, appears in the context of the Battle of Uḥud. There, the Prophet throws his spear and kills his fierce opponent. This story is cited by As-Samarqandī (1993, p. 11), Ibn al-ʿArabī (2003, p. 388), Al-Qurṭubī (2006, p. 477), Al-Bayḍāwī (n.d., p. 54) who does not use the term *ḥarba* but *ṭaʿna*, Ibn Kaṯīr (1997, p. 32) as well as by As-Suyūṭī (2011, p. 41). Thus, this version is relatively widespread, although – paradoxically – little known and not mentioned in any commentaries on translations of the Qur'an into other languages.

Finally, the last historical context is the Battle of Ḫaybar. In the accounts of this event included by Al-Qurṭubī (2006, p. 478), Al-Bayḍāwī (n.d., p. 54), Ibn Kaṯīr (1997, p. 31), and As-Suyūṭī (2011, p. 41), the verb *ramā* is used in a slightly different sense: "to shoot [with a bow]". From this meaning in medieval Arab culture, the derivatives *ramī* and *rimāya* arose to denote archery.[17]

It is worth noting that traditional archery was highly praised by the Prophet himself. He personally "had six bows: *Az-Zawrā'* [The Curved One], *Ar-Rawḥā'* [The Ostrich], *Aṣ-Ṣafrā'* [The Yellow One], *Al-Bayḍā'* [The White One], *Al-Katūm* [The Silent One], which broke in battle of Uḥud and was taken by Qatāda Ibn an-Nuʿmān and *As-Sadād* [the Perfect]" (Ibn Qayyim al-Ǧawziyya, 2008, p. 43).[18] The hadiths contain many accounts in which the Prophet praises archery, treating it as one of the most important skills of a Muslim. For example, in a hadith reported by As-Suyūṭī, we read, for example: "It is the child's right in relation to his father to be taught writing, swimming and archery" (As-Suyūṭī, 2011, p. 88). Shooting an enemy with a bow during *jihad*

16 The justification may be verse 8, 12: *sa-ulqī fī qulūb ăl-laḏīna kafarū ăr-ruʿba* ("I shall cast into the unbelievers' hearts terror").

17 See, for example, the treatises of Ṭaybuġā al-Ašrafī (14th century) and Abū Yaʿqūb al-Ḥāfiẓ (d. 1037/1038). Various terminological issues related to archery are discussed in detail by Ibn Sīda (1996, pp. 25–43); particularly important are the instructions regarding archery itself, chapter *Ar-Ramī bi-ăs-sihām* / "Shooting with a bow [lit.: using arrows]" (1996, pp. 41–42). Interestingly, some medieval lexicographers claimed that war begins with *at-tarāmī bi-as-sahm* ("shooting of arrows") (Schwartzlose, 1896, p. 58).

18 Issues relating to archery are discussed at length in the commentaries on verse 60 of surah *Al-Anfāl*.

is especially praised; even if the archer misses the target, he is closer to Paradise than other believers (As-Suyūṭī, 2011, p. 89).[19]

Interestingly, the version involving the arrow is preferred by Sufis, i.e., Muslim mystics. In the treatise *Fīhi mā fīhi* Ǧalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī (1207–1273) comments on this fragment: "The arrow that leaps from the bow of God, no shield or breastplate can stop" (Rūmī, 1378 H., p. 445; Rumi, 2000, p. 384).

There is no doubt that the act of throwing sand, pebbles, or gravel should be considered part of the Muslim tradition of a legendary nature, although this motif appears both in historical texts (e.g. Abū al-Fidā 1988, pp. 161, 183; Aṭ-Ṭabarī, 1961, vol. II, p. 449; vol. III, p. 78), and in the religious ones mentioned above. There is no need to elaborate on the interconnections between them here. The Prophet's behavior during the Battles of Badr, Uḥud, Ḫaybar, and Ḥunayn should be regarded as one of the *topoi* characteristic of the early Arab-Muslim historiographic tradition. This phenomenon was explained by Albrecht Noth and Lawrence I. Conrad, describing a *topos* as:

> a narrative motif which has as its primary function the specification of contents, and aims to elaborate matters of fact. Its scope is thus very narrow, and it is normally bound to description of a specific situation of a brief moment, or characterization of a person. A topos may very well have a basis in fact, for it is often the case that a topos was once surely anchored to real historical referents... . Such references move from the domain of life to that of literature, however, when they become transformable. The key to the detection of a topos is the way it drifts from one setting to another, reappearing again and again in situations to which it had never originally belonged, and indeed, never could have belonged. Topoi were sometimes used for mere embellishment or for literary effect, but also provided powerful means to promote certain distinct tendencies and biases (Noth & Conrad, 1994, p. 109).[20]

However, while this may explain that the Prophet's behavior may be related to several historical events, it does not clarify what actually happened, i.e., what Muḥammad threw (*ramā*), which will likely remain a mystery forever. Finally, it is worth considering how translators of the Qur'anic text dealt with this complicated issue.

19 As for bows in pre-Islamic times see Schwartzlose (1896, pp. 38–46, 246–319).

20 See also in the context of slightly later events Shoshan (2016).

I analyses 30 translations into the following languages: English, German, French, Polish, Czech, Italian, Dutch, Lithuanian, Finnish, Russian, Ukrainian, Spanish, Bosnian, and Turkish. In the majority of these translations, translators limit themselves to a literal rendering of the lexeme under discussion, without offering any suggestions (Czachorowski, Bobzin, Khoury, Kraczkowski, Pickthall, Rodwell, Arberry, Elmalılı, Özek, Jakubowicz, Korkut, Melara Navio).

Some translators supplement the translation by indicating specifically sand or pebbles/gravel (Yusuf Ali, Grigull, Porochowa, Osmanow, Jakubauskas, Hamidullah). Others relegate such an explanation to a footnote (Verhoef, Bielawski, Henning, Hrbek). Contemporary Arab commentators of the sūra usually favor this interpretation (e.g. As-Sulṭān, 2012, p. 37; Šams ad-Dīn, 1982, p. 48; Aš-Šaʿrāwī, 2016, p. 346).

In five of the translations under review, the translators disambiguated the message by directly pointing to the use of an arrow (Bausani, Hameen-Antilla, Kazimirski, Blachère, Shumovsky). The version with an arrow is additionally mentioned in a footnote by Paret, Henning, and Hrbek.

Savary's French translation avoids this problem: "Ce n'est pas toi, Mahomet, qui les a assaillis; c'est Dieu," which is followed by Buczacki's Polish translation: "it was not you, Muhammad, who attacked them," which seems to be the best substantive solution to the situation. In this way, the ambiguity of the Arabic verb *ramā* is preserved: "attacked them" with sand, pebbles, gravel, a spear, or an arrow from a bow.

As one can see, in translations, three ways of rendering the verb *ramā* can be observed. First, a "neutral" approach, which leaves room for interpretation for the reader, just as it is in the original, although the lack of appropriate cultural background makes it impossible to decipher the meaning related to archery. At the same time, in the footnotes, many translators suggest the most popular interpretation, linking this fragment with the Battle of Badr and throwing sand/pebbles/gravel. None of the translators refer to any battle other than Badr, regardless of the interpretation of the lexeme *ramā*. Even those who translate *ramā* as "to shoot" do not go beyond the Badrian context, although the classical interpretation of exegetes always involves the Battle of Ḫaybar. Nobody also considered spear throwing, so a reader unfamiliar with *tafsīrs* will never learn about this possible reading this ayat.[21]

21 Badawi and Abdel Haleem (2008, p. 384) provide the following translation: *and when you threw [pebbles/a spear]* (or, *aimed [an arrow or a spear] it was not you who threw, but God*, therefore omitting the most popular version found in commentaries and translations, the one including sand/pebbles/gravel; this is unique, unlike in the case of Penrice, 1873, p. 69, who, in turn, includes only the version with gravel.

Conclusions

The above analysis is further evidence of the "untranslatability of the Qur'an." The original text itself, without commentary or annotations, does not suggest any specific interpretation, yet at the same time, all these versions are contained in it. It may even seem unclear, as if "unfinished." Since perhaps no language other than Arabic allows the meanings of "throw" and "shoot" to be encompassed in a single verb, the translator must make a difficult choice: either to leave this conundrum in the translation (and, to a lesser extent, in the original) or attempt disambiguation, favoring one version of the story, even though there is no clear evidence that any of them is correct.

In this case, an interesting solution is Savary's decision in the 1814 translation (the oldest considered here), which was adopted by the Polish "Buczacki's Qur'an." The French translator abandoned formal (linguistic) equivalence in any version and applied the principle of pragmatic equivalence. Any action of the Prophet that can be subsumed under the statement *mā ramayta ... wa-lakinna Āllāha ramā* is described as an "attack." Although this solution is not ideal either: a too explicit "attack," which is not formally present in the original, may raise doubts. But this is the phenomenon of untranslatability, which is especially acute in a religious text, where almost every word carries a mystery, more so than in the case of a purely literary text.

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Marek M. Dziekan – head of the Department of Middle East and North Africa at the University of Łódź, also cooperates also with the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies at the University of Warsaw. He has published several books, including *Arabia Magica. Wiedza tajemna u Arabów przed islamem* [*Arabia Magica. The Recondite Wisdom among the Arabs in pre-Islamic Times*] (1993), *Irak. Religia i polityka* [*Iraq. Religion and Politics*] (2005), *Dzieje kultury arabskiej* [*History of Arab Culture*] (2008), and *Złote stolice Arabów. Szkice o współczesnej myśli arabskiej* [*Golden Capitals of the Arabs. Sketches on Modern Arab Thought*] (2011). In 2025, he published the Polish translation of Risālat al-ġufrān by Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī. His research focuses primarily mainly on the history of Arab-Muslim civilization, classical and contemporary Islam, political thought in Islam, and Islam in Europe. He is a member of the Polish Society for Oriental Studies (vice-president), the Warsaw Scientific Society, the Polish Political Science Association, and the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants. He is also the editor-in-chief of *Rocznik Orientalistyczny / Yearbook of Oriental Studies*.

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Enikő Gréczi-Zsoldos
http://orcid.org/0000-0003-4688-8423
Eszterházy Károly Catholic University in Eger
greczi-zsoldos.eniko@uni-eszterhazy.hu
László Kálmán Nagy
http://orcid.org/0000-0003-3650-588X
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
laszlo.nagy@uj.edu.pl
Iwona Piechnik
http://orcid.org/0000-0003-3235-8122
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
iwona.piechnik@uj.edu.pl
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Two Letters of Two Apafis, Dukes of Transylvania, to László Gyulaffy during the Great Turkish War (1687 and 1691)

ABSTRACT

The paper discusses two unpublished letters from two Transylvanian dukes of the name Apafi – Mihály I (the father) and Mihály II (his son) – written in 1687 and 1691, respectively, during the retreat of the Ottoman armies. The letters are now part of the *Sammlung Autographa* manuscript collection of the former Prussian State Library in Berlin and are held in the Jagiellonian Library in Krakow.[1]

KEYWORDS: Apafi, Transylvania, Turkish wars, Jagiellonian Library, Prussian State Library in Berlin

STRESZCZENIE

Dwa listy siedmiogrodzkich książąt Apafi do László Gyulaffyego podczas wojny Turcji ze Świętą Ligą (1687 i 1691)

Artykuł przedstawia dwa niepublikowane listy dwóch siedmiogrodzkich książąt Apafi: Michała I (ojca) i Michała II (jego syna) z lat 1687 i 1691, czyli z okresu odwrotu armii osmańskiej. Listy należą do kolekcji autografów dawnej Pruskiej

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SŁOWA KLUCZE: Apafi, Siedmiogród, wojny tureckie, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Pruska Biblioteka Państwowa w Berlinie

The aim of this paper is to present two unpublished Hungarian letters written by the Transylvanian dukes, Apafi Mihály I (the father), who ruled from 1661[2] to 1690, and Apafi Mihály II (his son), who ruled from 1690 to 1701. Although the letters are unrelated, they share the same addressee: László Gyulaffy. In a way, they reflect the situation in the country at the end of the 17th century (the first letter dates from 1687 and the second from 1691) and thus serve as an interesting time capsule of a very turbulent period in Hungarian history – especially in Transylvania, which was a vassal principality of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman retreat began with the liberation of Vienna by John III Sobieski in September 1683 and the subsequent victorious military campaign of the Holy League.

The letters are preserved in the *Sammlung Autographa* collection of manuscript documents from the former Prussian State Library in Berlin, now held in the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków. At the end of World War II, this collection, along with other valuable holdings (mainly manuscripts and old books of various origins) from the Berlin Library, was evacuated by train by the Germans to Lower Silesia – territory that became part of Poland in 1945. The abandoned set of valuable documents was later transported to the Jagiellonian Library in Krakow, where it remains to this day and is colloquially known as the "Berlinka." Hungarian documents are rare in this collection, which contains only two letters from two Transylvanian dukes sharing the name Apafi. As these letters have never been published, we have decided to present them in this paper.

Senders of both letters: the two Transylvanian dukes Apafi

Mihály Apafi was born on 3 November 1632 in Ebesfalva[3] in Transylvania and spent his youth in the 1650s in Transylvanian military campaigns in Moldova, Wallachia and Poland, and in 1657, he was taken prisoner by the Ottomans.

2 However, the young Mihály was elected Prince of Transylvania as early as 10 June 1681, at the age of five, while his father was still alive, on the condition that he would assume power at the age of twenty. This election was carried out in agreement with Sultan Mehmed IV.

3 Later *Erzsébetváros*; today this town is located in central Romania (and in central Transylvania) and has Romanian name *Dumbrăveni*, in Sibiu County.

He returned home from the Tatar captivity in Crimea by 1660, and lived in retirement in his castle in Ebesfalva.[4]

At that time, Transylvania, formerly part of the partitioned lands of the Hungarian Crown, was a vassal state of the Ottoman Empire. Under this dependency, Transylvanians had to pay an annual tribute to the Ottomans and could not pursue an independent foreign policy without the sultan's consent. However, the principality also maintained a complex relationship and numerous ties with the Kingdom of Hungary under Habsburg rule and with Vienna itself (see Oborni, 2013; Kármán, 2013). At the beginning of 1661, when János Kemény, the new duke elected by the Transylvanian parliament, attempted to break away from Ottoman control and sought the protection of Emperor Leopold I, the Ottomans sent a large army against Transylvania, defeated Kemény, and summoned the Diet to proclaim Mihály Apafi as Duke of Transylvania (14 September 1661) "against his will" (Szádeczky-Kardoss, 1993, p. 200), as a loyal vassal duke of the Habsburg Empire's rival. However, Apafi secretly supported the anti-Turkish alliance (Barta, 1994, p. 361; see also Kármán, 2022).

Since 1653, his wife had been the Transylvanian noblewoman Anna Bornemisza (1630–1688), whom Apafi occasionally referred to as his "co-ruler" (Barta, 1994, p. 401). They had one son, who bore the same first name and would later become Mihály II.

Mihály Apafi had limited possibilities to rule his principality as an Ottoman vassal (see, e.g., Szalai, 2025). When, in 1683, the Turks suffered defeats near Vienna and later elsewhere, the duke decided to seek protection from the Habsburg court[5] – without openly joining the anti-Turkish alliance, for security reasons (Barta, 1994, p. 368). In the spring of 1687, the Imperial army began the reconquest of Ottoman-held territories in Hungary, and on 12 August, the Habsburg commander, Duke Charles of Lorraine, defeated the Ottomans in the decisive Battle of Nagyharsány (also known as the "Second Battle of Mohács"). The duke then entered Transylvania, where, on 27 October, he concluded with Apafi the "Agreement of Balázsfalva,"[6] which, however, was not accepted by Vienna. In 1688, Emperor Leopold I sent General Antonio Caraffa as imperial commissioner to Transylvania. Subsequently, another agreement, known as the "Declaration of Fogaras[7]" (Hung. *Fogarasi nyilatkozat*), was prepared and adopted on 9 May 1688. According to this document, Duke

4 See the diaries of the two dukes (Tóth, 1900).

5 During negotiations, at least two attempts of treaties were made: firstly, secret negotiations of Mihály Teleki (Apafi's adviser) with Antide Dunod (Habsburg envoy) in 1685; secondly, Apafi's counsellor János Haller's treaty (Hung. *Haller-féle diploma*) in Vienna on 28 June 1686. Moreover, Teleki had his own ambitions to play (for an overview of his career, see Szalai, 2021).

6 Present-day Romanian city of *Blaj* in Transylvania, in Alba County.

7 Present-day city of Făgăraș in the central Romania, in Brașov County. The castle of Fogaras was the residence of the princes Apafi.

Mihály I Apafi, his princely council, and the Transylvanian parliament declared that Transylvania would place itself under the protection of Leopold I instead of remaining under Ottoman suzerainty (Várkonyi, 2001, pp. 367–371). Moreover, Transylvania was obliged to pay tribute to the emperor, who only promised to maintain religious freedom (Barta, 1994, p. 370).

In the meantime, Duke Mihály I Apafi died on 15 April 1690 in Fogaras, Transylvania. The emperor appointed a regency council for his successor, Mihály II Apafi, who was only fourteen years old.

However, on 8 June 1690, Sultan Suleiman II (r. 1687–1691) appointed Imre Thököly[8] as Duke of Transylvania in opposition to Apafi's minor son, due to the latter's pro-Habsburg orientation. Moreover, the sultan ordered a sufficient army to occupy the country and sent Thököly with his Kuruc–Romanian–Turkish–Tatar forces, who attacked the Transylvanian–Habsburg troops defending the principality on 21 August 1690, defeating them in the Battle of Zernest.[9] Thököly then sent a message to Leopold I, declaring that he was willing to join the anti-Turkish alliance if he were granted the title of imperial duke (Barta, 1994, p. 371). Meanwhile, on 22 September, the Transylvanian Diet elected Imre Thököly as duke. However, Margrave Louis of Baden, commanding imperial cavalry regiments, marched from Belgrade[10] to Transylvania, from where he drove Thököly into Wallachia.[11]

During this period, in October 1690, the status of the Transylvanian Principality within the Habsburg Empire was confirmed in the so-called *Diploma Leopoldinum*: Transylvania became dependent on the central Habsburg government in Vienna while, at the same time, remaining a separate province, independent of the rest of Hungary. This status had far-reaching consequences that continue to this day. The imperial document also guaranteed freedom of religion and specified the taxes to be paid by Transylvanians to the Austrian court.

In 1691, the Transylvanian parliament appointed a governing council (Lat. *Gubernium*) to rule until Duke Mihály II would come of age. On 30 June 1694, he married Katalin Bethlen (d. 1725) without the permission of the

8 Imre Thököly of Késmárk (1657–1705), leader of anti-Habsburg Uprising in 1682, former Prince of the Upper Hungary (1682–1685), a vassal principality of the Ottoman Empire, soon overthrown for political reasons (see Kármán 2019).

9 Present-day town of *Zărneşti* in central Romania, in Transylvania, in Brașov County.

10 When he left, the Turkish Grand Vizier occupied Belgrade on 8th of October.

11 In February 1691, the voivode of Wallachia expelled Thököly and his Kuruc forces from his territory. Thököly then retreated to the Vidin area (present-day Bulgaria); in the summer, he participated in the Ottoman campaign and, on 19 August, was present at the Battle of Szalánkemén, which ended with an Ottoman defeat and the death of Grand Vizier Köprülü Mustafa. Later, after minor raids, Thököly served as commander of an Ottoman army corps in several battles. Following the definitive defeat of the Ottoman Empire (Treaty of Karlowitz, 1699), he settled in Turkey, where he died in 1705.

imperial court. On this pretext, Apafi was summoned to Vienna in 1696 – the year when, according to the original princely election, he would have reached the age to assume the throne. Transylvania was then placed under the rule of a Habsburg military governor. Duke Mihály II officially abdicated in 1701 and died in 1713 in Vienna, where he lived on an imperial pension.

Like his father, the second Duke Apafi was not only young and left under regency but also ruled under difficult circumstances, which deepened the period of clear decline of the Transylvanian Principality.

The addressee of both letters: László Gyulaffy

In Hungarian history, there were several men bearing the same first name and surname. According to Iván Nagy (1858, vol. 4, p. 480), Gyulaffys, surnamed *Ráthóti* (an adjective meaning "from Ráthót"[12]), originally lived in Transdanubia. In the second half of the 16th century, one branch of the family settled in Szatmár County[13] and the other in Transylvania. The most famous László Gyulaffy (1520–1579) was captain of the Hungarian forces and one of the greatest heroes of the anti-Turkish wars of the 16th century (Takáts, 1928, pp. 261–292).

As for the 17th century, Iván Nagy notes that the seventh László Gyulaffy in the family was a chief officer of Marosszék[14] and played a major role during the time of the Apafis. In 1686, he served as a councilor of the Transylvanian Deputation,[15] later as a general in Count Heissler's campaign against Imre Thököly,[16] and subsequently as a government councilor (1691). In 1693, this László Gyulaffy was granted the title of count. He died in 1699 on his estate in

12 The present name of this village is *Gyulafirátót* (as the former settlement of the Gyulaffy family) and this a district of the city of Veszprém in central Hungary.

13 Today, this former Hungarian county coincides with Satu Mare County (in Rom. *Județul Satu Mare*) in northwestern Romania.

14 Former Hungarian settlement near the river Mureș (Hung. *Maros*) in the Szekler Land, nowadays in Romania (in Rom. *Scaunul Mureșului*), in Mureș County, in Transylvania.

15 Zsolt Trócsányi, in his book (1980, p. 149), also confirms Gyulaffy as one of the councillors of the Deputation in the period 1685–1690.

16 The Transylvanian army commanded by General Mihály Teleki, together with the supporting imperial forces under Donat Johann Count Heissler von Heitersheim, defended Transylvania after the death of the elder Apafi, when the sultan proclaimed Thököly the new Prince of Transylvania. Thököly, leading his Kuruc–Romanian–Turkish–Tatar army, attacked the Transylvanian–Habsburg forces on 21 August 1690, defeating them in the Battle of Zernest. Teleki was killed in the battle, while Heissler was captured by Thököly, who later exchanged him in January 1692 for his wife, Ilona Zrínyi, who had been under imperial house arrest since January 1688. The negotiations for the exchange lasted two years. In 1692, the deal was completed: Heissler was released, and Countess Ilona joined her husband in Turkey.

Egeres,[17] and his funeral was held in Kolozsvár[18] (Nagy, 1858, vol. IV, p. 484). Mór Petri, in turn, confirms that "a certain László (VII) distinguished himself in the war against Imre Thököly (1691–1699). In 1684 he became the chief captain of Apafi's armies," and adds:

> the list of his annual salary is interesting: his cash salary was 400 frt per year, eight cubits of kersey for clothing, two white loaves for his own use, three quarts of table wine, thirty prebend loaves, four quarts of prebend wine, fifteen pounds of meat; and for his wine, wheat, oats, and hay – the tithe of all kinds from Nagyszőllős[19] (Petri, 1901, vol. 2, pp. 390–391).

It appears that the same László was also the dedicatee of the prayer book *Viaticum spirituale* (1694), on which the Jesuit Pál Baranyi wrote in Hungarian (here in English translation):

> Dedication to Count László Gyulafi of Rátót, His Imperial Majesty's Transylvanian Inner Councilor, Chief Captain of the Székelys of Marosszék, and also Colonel of the Field Armies and Court Captain of the late Duke Mihály Apafi of Transylvania, my highly esteemed lord and patron (Vass, 2019, p. 202).[20]

The above-mentioned dedicatee (with a slightly different spelling of the name: Gyulafi) is the same person as the addressee of Apafis' letters, as the same information about László Gyulaffy appears in both sources.

Nevertheless, the dedication in Baranyi's book prayer has even more lines and gives more details on Gyulaffy's career, highlighting his courage and loyalty to the Transylvanian duke: in 1681 he risked his life as a colonel at the head of Duke Mihály Apafi's field armies, and then became the captain-in-chief of the Marosszék forces in 1683; later, he fought "under the eagles of the glorious Emperor Leopold," together among others with General Heissler in 1690. The dedication states that Mihály Apafi "received him alone in his tent around midnight during battles and entrusted his life to him alone" (Vass, 2019, p. 205). In the further part of the dedication we can find, among other things, information about Gyulaffy's generosity towards churches, as well as an interpretation of his coat of arms with the

17 Present-day Romanian village *Aghireș* in Cluj County.

18 Present-day Romanian city *Cluj-Napoca* in northwestern part of Romania.

19 Hungarian original: "érdekes az évi fizetéséről való jegyzék: Készpénz fizetése esztendeig 400 frt, ruházatjára nyolcz sing angliai posztó, magának ő kegyelmének fehér czipója 2, bora asztali 3 itcze, praebenda czipója 30, praebenda bora 4 itcze, húsa 15 font, boráért, búzájáért, zabjáért, szénájáért a nagyszöllősi minden nemű dézma". Nowadays, the village *Nagyszőlős* is the city *Vynohradiv*, in western Ukraine, in Zakarpattia Oblast, near the Hungarian and Romanian borders.

20 Hungarian original: "Dedikáció gr. Rátóti Gyulafi Lászlónak, ő szent császári felsége erdélyi belső tanácsosának, a marosszéki székelyek főkapitányának, nemkülönben néhai Apafi Mihály erdélyi fejedelem mezei hadai ezredesének és udvari kapitányának, igen nagyra becsült uramnak és patrónusomnak."

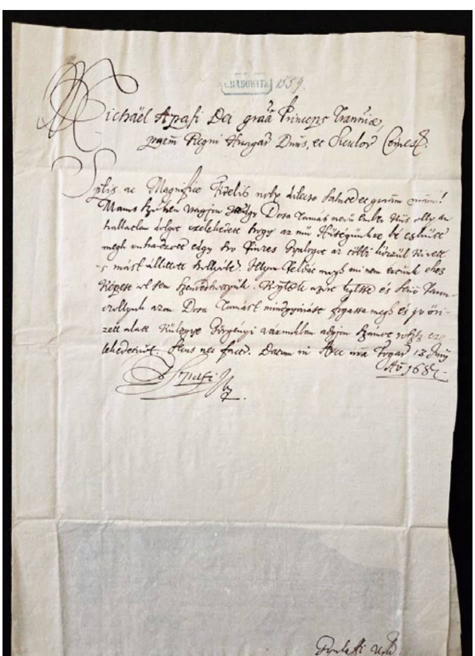
central element: the lion, with a drawn sword in his hand, and other elements (like double-headed imperial eagle) expressing Gyulaffy's military virtues and loyalty towards the emperor, or crowned oak-tree[21] (Vass, 2019, pp. 207–208). Thanks to other archival searches made by Vass (2019, p. 209), we also know that Gyulaffy was Catholic and supported other Catholics in Transylvania.

Below, we present the two letters from the the two Apafis to László Gyulaffy. Our transcription provides a reconstructed and modernized spelling, followed by an English translation. Photographs of the original letters are also included.

The two letters come from the former collection of the Prussian statesman and general Joseph von Radowitz (1797–1853). The catalog of this collection was published in three volumes in 1864. The letters of the dukes are listed under numbers 1559 and 1561, respectively (Radowitz, 1864, vol. I, p. 99).[22]

The first letter

Photo 1. The letter from 1687



21 However, the initial coat of arms of the Gyulaffy family was a golden lime leaf (Vass, 2019, p. 208).

22 The number 1560 was assigned to a document by I. Thököly from 7 October 1690, which will be discussed in another paper.

The first letter from the Duke Mihály Apafi to László Gyulaffy starts with greetings in Latin, which was a common practice in Hungarian epistolary tradition of that time:

> Michaël Apafi Dei gra[ti]a Princeps Tran[silva]niæ,
> Par[tiu]m Regni Hungar[iæ] D[omi]nus et Siculor[um] Comes.
>
> Sp[ec]t[abil]is ac Magnifice Fidelis nob[is] dilecte Salute[m] et gra[ti]am m[e]am!
>
> Marus Széken vagjon edgy Dosa Tamás nevű ember kiis ollyan hallatlan dolgot czelekedett hogy az mű Hűségűnkre bé eskűtt megh ruhadzott edgy hu Pinzes Gyalogot az tőbbi kőzzűl ki vett -s mást állittott hellyébe. Illyen Peldát megh mi nem értűnk ehez Képest el sem szenvedhettyűk. Keg[yelme]tek azért k[e]g[ye]l[me]sse[n] és Serio Paranczollyuk azon Dosa Tamást mindgyárást fogassa megh és jo őrizett alatt kűldgye Gőrgényi várunkban adgjon számot roszsz czelekedetiről. Secus nec fact[u]r[i]. Datum in Arce n[ost]ra Fogar[as] 13 Junÿ A[nn]o 1687.
> Apafi M[ihály]

Modernized version:

> Michaël Apafi Dei gratia Princeps Transilvaniæ,
> Partium Regni Hungariæ Dominus et Siculorum Comes
>
> Spectabilis ac Magnifice Fidelis nobis dilecte Salutem et gratiam meam!
>
> Marosszéken vagyon egy Dosa Tamás nevű ember, ki is olyan hallatlan dolgot cselekedett, hogy az mi hűségünkre beesküdt, megruhádzott egy hű pénzes gyalogot, az többi közül kivett s mást állított helyébe. Ilyen példát még mi nem értünk, ehhez képest el sem szenvedhetjük. Kegyelmetek azért kegyelmesen és Serio parancsoljuk, azon Dosa Tamást mindjárást fogassa meg, és jó őrizet alatt küldje Görgényi várunkba(n), adjon számot rossz cselekedetiről. Secus nec facturi. Datum in Arce nostra Fogaras 13 Juni Anno 1687.
> Apafi Mihály

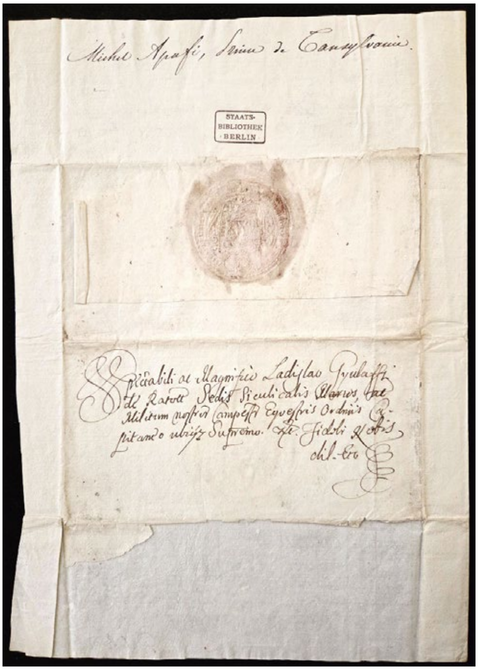
English translation:

> Mihály Apafi, by the grace of God, Duke of Transylvania, Lord of parts of Hungary and Lord of the Szekély people
>
> I greet you with dignity, glory, loyalty, and gratitude!

> There is a man named Dosa Tamás in Marosszék, who hath done so unheard-of a thing that he hath taken a footman in our service, who had sworn allegiance unto us, received clothing from us, and had been loyal unto us, and hath put another in his place. We understand not such an example, neither can we in any wise tolerate it. Wherefore, Your Grace shall graciously and earnestly command that Dosa Tamás be seized at all costs and sent under good guard unto our castle of Görgény,[23] there to render account of his evil deeds. Let none do otherwise. Given in our castle of Fogaras, the 13th day of June, 1687.

The addressee's name is written in Hungarian in the lower right corner of this side of the letter: *Gyulaffi Ur[am]nak* – "To Sir Gyulaffy."

Photo 2. The address of the letter from 1687



On the verso of the letter, at the top, the sender's name is written in French (probably by a librarian): *Michel Apafi, Prince de Transylvanie*. Below this, the German stamp of the State Library in Berlin is visible.

23 Later, the Hungarian name of the village was *Görgényszentimre*. Nowadays, this is a Romanian village *Gurghiu* in Mureș County, in Transylvania.

Below, the duke's seal is impressed on paper placed on a wax base. Under the seal, the address is written entirely in Latin:

> Spectabili ac Magnifico Ladislao Gyulaffi de Ratott Sedis Siculicalis Marus, ac Militium nostror[um] Campestr[i] Equestris Ordinis Capitaneo ubique Supremo & Fideli Nobis dil[ectus] E[quitum] M[agister]

Modernized version:

> Spectabili ac Magnifico Ladislao Gyulaffi de Ratott Sedis Siculicalis Marus, ac Militium nostrorum Campestri Equestris Ordinis Capitaneo ubique Supremo & Fideli Nobis dilectus Equitum Magister

Translation:

> To the Notable and Magnificent Ladislaus Gyulaffy of Rátót, Supreme and Faithful Captain of the Szekler Seat of Maros and of the Field Army of the Equestrian Order, our beloved Equerry.

The first letter's content

Not much is known about this Tamás Dósa (spelled *Dosa* in the text). The Dósa family is described by I. Nagy (1858, vol. IV, pp. 363–368) as originating from Szeklerland. The Tamás mentioned above could be the one born in 1636 or his son, born in 1670 (see Nagy, 1858, vol. IV, p. 366). According to Judit Balogh's book (2005) on the formation of the Szekler nobility, there were three individuals named Tamás Dósa, lords of Makfalva,[24] Kibéd,[25] and Szentistván.[26] Apafi's letter probably refers to Tamás Dósa of Makfalva, as this settlement lies within Marosszék. In Balogh's work (2005, p. 131), Tamás Dósa of Makfalva is described as a *lófő*, that is, a 'horseman' (Lat. *primipilus*): a member of the upper privileged social class of the Szeklers, who possessed landholdings and serfs. The lower class, by contrast, was called *gyalog*, meaning 'footman' (Szádeczky-Kardoss, 1993, p. 56).[27]

24 Present-day Romanian village *Ghindari* in Mureș County, in Transylvania.

25 Present-day Romanian village *Chibed* in Mureș County, in Transylvania.

26 Later *Székelyszentistván*. Present-day Romanian village *Ștefănești* in Mureș County, in Transylvania.

27 The Szekler people were a free, military community, but over time they divided into three classes: the first-ranking class was called in Latin *primores* (chief men), the second *primipili* (horsemen), and the third, in Hungarian, *gyalogok* (infantrymen or footmen) (Szádeczky-Kardoss, 1993, p. 56).

More information about Tamás Dósa can be found in at least thirteen handwritten documents preserved in the Transylvanian Digital Database (*Erdélyi Digitális Adattár*).[28] The majority of these documents are orders or reports of testimonies written by Duke Mihály Apafi I between 2 February 1667 and 19 December 1689. They confirm that Tamás Dósa resided in the village of Makfalva in Transylvania and that his wife was Erzsébet Bors. Sometimes his serfs ran away; for example, one of Apafi's documents orders István Matkó of Vásárhely[29] to return Tamás Dósa's runaway serf, Balázs Kamuti (14 June 1680).[30] Another report notes that Kelemen Mikes of Zabola[31] was summoned for failing to hand over another of Tamás Dósa's escaped serfs, Mihály Kovács (21 February 1684).[32] There is also an order from Apafi directly addressed to Tamás Dósa, instructing him to search for his serfs who had fled from Magyarsáros[33] (2 June 1684).[34] Furthermore, in 1687, Duke Apafi I sent instructions to Tamás Dósa regarding an extraordinary tax to be paid (4 January 1687).[35]

We also know that among the resolutions of the Transylvanian parliament of 1 December 1691, Dósa Tamás is mentioned as *statióbéli commissárius*[36] in Újegyház[37] (Szilágyi, 1897, p. 478).

The second letter

The second letter reflects the situation in Transylvania in October 1691 and was probably composed by someone other than the young Mihály II Apafi, who was only fifteen years old at the time (born in 1676). It is written entirely in Hungarian:

28 The website: https://eda.eme.ro/home (access: 28.02.2025).

29 István Matkó (1625–1693) was a Reformed pastor, born in Kézdivásárhely (present-day *Târgu Secuiesc*, Covasna County, Transylvania), who at that time resided in *Torda* (present-day Turda, Cluj County, Transylvania). He is known for his debates and writings (Szinnyei, 1902, vol. 8).

30 See the letter: https://eda.eme.ro/handle/10598/26219 (access: 28.02.2025).

31 Present-day *Zăbala*, a village in Covasna County, Transylvania. This was probably the home of the grandfather of Kelemen Mikes (1690–1761), the Hungarian writer and politician, whose father, Pál Mikes, was a follower of Imre Thököly and was killed by the Austrians.

32 See the letter: https://eda.eme.ro/handle/10598/26301 (access: 28.02.2025).

33 Present-day Romanian village *Deleni* (formerly *Șaroș*), in Mureș County, in Transylvania.

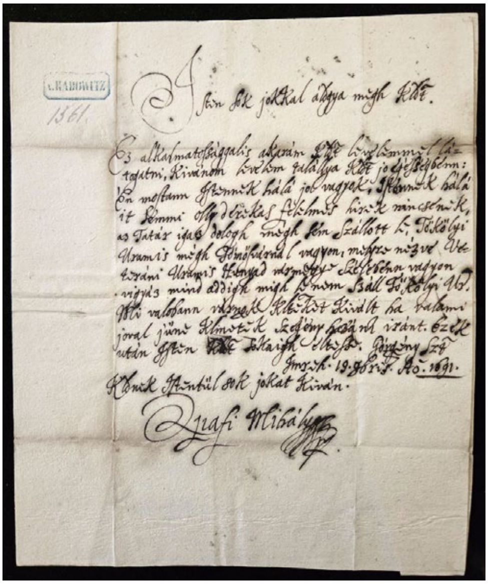
34 See the letter: https://eda.eme.ro/handle/10598/26261 (access: 28.02.2025).

35 See the letter: https://eda.eme.ro/handle/10598/26285 (access: 28.02.2025).

36 Or *staciobeli commissarius* – commissary or inspector of a military station or unit (Szabó & Vámszer, 2002, vol. 11, p. 923).

37 Present-day Romanian village *Nocrich*, in Sibiu county, in Transylvania.

Photo 3. The letter from 1691



Isten sok jokkal áldgya megh K[egye]l[me]det.

Ez alkalmatossággalis akarám K[egye]l[med]et levelemmel látogatni. Kivánom levelem taláIlya K[egye]l[med]et jo egésségbenn: En mostann Istennek hálá jol vagyok. Istennek hálá it semmi olly derekas félelmes hirek nincsenek, az Tatár igaz dologh mégh sem szállott le. Tökölyi Uramis mégh Tömösvárnál vagyon, melyre nézve Veteráni Uramis Hunyad vármegy[e] Szélébénn vagyon vigyáz mind addigh migh le nem Száll Tökölyi Ur[am].

Mi valobann várnok K[egye]l[me]teket Kivált ha valami joval jűne K[egye]lmetek Szegény hazánk iránt. Ezek után Isten K[egyelme]d[e]t sokaigh éltesse. Görgény Sz[ent]Imreh 19. 9bris A[nn]o. 1691.

K[egye]l[me]dnek Istentűl sok jokat Kiván

Apafi Mihály

Modernized version:

Ez alkalommal is akartam Kegyelmedet levelemmel látogatni. Kívánom levelem találja Kegyelmedet jó egészségben: Én mostan Istennek hála jól vagyok. Istennek hála itt semmi oly derekas félelmetes hírek nincsenek, a Tatár igaz dolog még sem szállt le. Tököly Uram is még Temesvárnál vagyon, melyre nézve Veterani Uram is Hunyad vármegye szélén vagyon vigyáz mindaddig míg le nem száll Tököly Úram.

Mi valóban várnánk Kegyelmeteket. Kivált ha valami jóval jönne Kegyelmetek szegény hazánk iránt. Ezek után Isten Kegyelmedet sokáig éltesse. Görgényszentimre 19. november. 1691

Kegyelmednek Istentől sok jókat kíván

Apafi Mihály

Translation:

May God bless your Grace with many good things

This time I wished to visit Your Grace by means of my letter. I hope it finds Your Grace in good health: I am well, thank God. Thank God, there is no such terrible news here; the truly [devastating] Tartar [invasion that we expected] has not yet taken place. Lord Thököly is still near Temesvár,[38] and Lord Veterani is likewise at the edge of Hunyad County, watching until Lord Thököly arrives.

We await Your Grace most earnestly, especially if Your Grace might do something for our poor country. May God grant you long life.

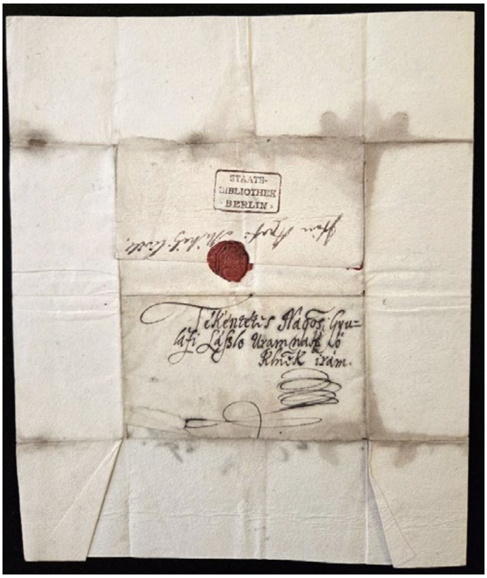
Given at Görgényszentimre, 19 November 1691.

I wish Your Grace many good things from God,

Mihály Apafi

On the verso side of the letter:

Photo 4. The address of the letter from 1691



38 Present-day Romanian city *Timișoara*, in Timiș County.

First, we see the German stamp of the State Library in Berlin. Next, there is an inscription in Hungarian identifying the letter as from Mihály II Apafi: *Ifiu Apafi Mihálj levele* (in modern Hungarian: *Ifjú Apafi Mihály levele*) – "Letter of/from young Mihály Apafi." Below this, a red wax seal displays the duke's coat of arms.

Under the seal, the addressee is indicated by the sender in Hungarian:

Tekéntétes Nag[yság]os Gyulafi Lászlo Uramnak ö K[egye]l[mé]nek irám.

Modernized version: *Tekintetes Nagyságos Gyulaffy László Uram Őkegyelmének írtam.*

English translation: *I wrote it to His Excellency, Honorable Lord László Gyulaffy.*

The second letter's content

Friedrich von Veterani (1643–1695) was an Italian-born[39] military officer in the service of the Habsburg Empire. He participated in subsequent anti-Turkish campaigns in Hungary and in the battles against Thököly in Transylvania. On 5 September 1691, Veterani captured the castle of Lippa.[40] He then focused on the strategic defence of Transylvania, guarding the banks of the river Mureș (Hung. *Maros*) and attempting to prevent the Turkish advance along the Danube (Angyal, 1888, pp. 226–228). In October 1691, Thököly invaded the area near Temesvár (Thaly, 1896, p. 88), but Khalil Pasha eventually ordered the city of Pozsarevác[41] as winter quarters for Thököly's troops (Angyal, 1888, p. 230), causing him to leave Transylvania.[42]

The fighting between the Holy League and the Ottoman forces continued from the spring of 1692 until the signing of the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699. Meanwhile, on 25 September 1695, General Veterani gave his life on the battlefield near the city of Lugos (present-day *Lugoj*, Romania), where the Austrian troops were defeated by the Ottoman army, led personally by Sultan Mustafa II.

Conclusions

Both letters from the Transylvanian dukes sharing the name Apafi to László Gyulaffy are modest witnesses to the events of the Great Turkish War, which ended with the victory of the Holy League in 1699. Although they provide few

39 In Italian: *Federico Ambrosio Veterani di Urbino, conte di Monte Calvo*.

40 Present-day Romanian town of Lipova, in Arad County, in the Occidental part of Romania.

41 Present-day *Požarevac*, a city in eastern Serbia.

42 As we know (see footnote 16), at the time Thököly was also waited for the exchange of his wife kept in Vienna.

details, they reveal the lives of the Transylvanian dukes during the turbulent final decades of the 17th century, in the heart of Central and Eastern Europe, a region torn between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans.

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Enikő Gréczi-Zsoldos – is a Professor at Eszterházy Károly Catholic University in Eger and a researcher in historical and descriptive Hungarian dialectology and sociolinguistics. She specializes in the present and history of the Palóc dialect from the Old Hungarian period to the present day, linguistic disadvantage, and the life work of Imre Madách. Selected publications: monographs in Hungarian: *The Language of Nógrád County in the 17th Century* (Salgótarján, 2007), *Madách Imre* 200 (ed., Salgótarján, 2023).

László Kálmán Nagy – is a Professor at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, a Polish and Hungarian philologist, and a researcher in Polish and Hungarian literature. His research interests include teaching Polish and Hungarian as foreign languages, as well as Polish and Hungarian literature of the 20th and 21st centuries, with particular emphasis on prose. Selected publications: monographs in Hungarian: *An Outline of the History of Polish Literature from the Beginning to the End of the 18th Century* (with István D. Molnár, Debrecen, 1998), *Polish Literature in the 20th Century* (online, ELTE, Budapest).

Iwona Piechnik – is a Professor at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow and a researcher in linguistics. She specializes in historical and typological linguistics, sociolinguistics, and historical-cultural studies. Her main research focuses on the links between Indo-European and Uralic languages. Selected publications: monograph in French: *Digilectes: Langages de l'Homo Electronicus et Ludens* (Kraków, 2018); monograph in English: *Finland Suomi 100: Language, Culture, History* (ed. with Ulla Tuomarla & Bernadett Biró, Kraków & Helsinki, 2017).

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Henryk Jankowski
http://orcid.org/0000-0003-2576-1204
Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań
henko@amu.edu.pl
DOI: 10.35765/pk.2025.5003.09

A Turkish Healing, Protecting and Wish-fulfilling Prayer Book from Gasprinskiy's Printing House

ABSTRACT

The article presents the Turkish section of a prayer book published by 'Alī Efendi, printed in Ismail Gasprinskiy's printing house in Bahçesayar in 1902. The prayers are in Arabic and include Qur'anic verses, non-Qur'anic prayers, and well-known religious formulae. each prayer is preceded by Turkish instructions describing its benefits and intended use, such as healing, protection, and wish-fulfillment. Some guidelines take the form of short commentaries. The article demonstrates that manuscripts of this type circulated in Turkey at least from the sixteenth century onward, and probably as early as the fourteenth century, while printed prayer books began to appear from the mid-nineteenth century. However, neither manuscripts nor printed versions have been critically edited or discussed, apart from one BA and one MA dissertation.

KEYWORDS: Arabic prayers, Turkish guidelines, Crimea, Gasprinskiy's printing house

STRESZCZENIE

Turecki modlitewnik uzdrawiający, ochronny i spełniający życzenia z drukarni Gasprinskiego

Artykuł przedstawia część tureckojęzyczną modlitewnika wydanego nakładem Alego Efendi w drukarni Ismaila Gasprinskiego w Bachczysaraju na Krymie w 1902 r. Modlitwy są w języku arabskim. Składają się z wersetów koranicznych, tekstów modlitewnych niekoranicznych oraz znanych formuł religijnych. Poprzedzają je wskazówki w języku tureckim, mówiące o zaletach modlitwy i jej przeznaczeniu: uzdrawiającym, ochronnym lub życzeniowym. Pewne wskazówki podano w formie krótkich komentarzy. Jak wykazano, rękopiśmienne modlitewniki tego typu znane są w Turcji już od co najmniej XVI w., choć najprawdopodobniej istniały one już w XIV w., zaś od połowy XIX w. zaczęły się

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pojawiać w druku. Żaden rękopis ani druk nie został dotąd opracowany ani krytycznie wydany poza jedną pracą magisterską i jedną licencjacką.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: modlitwy arabskie, wskazówki tureckie, Krym, drukarnia Gasprinskiego

Preliminary notes

Charms and amulets are very popular among Turkic peoples which profess Islam. These amulets were often worn on or close to the body and used for protective purposes (Ruska & Carra de Vaux, 2000, p. 500). Ruska and Carra de Vaux note that among the Turks, amulets were called *yafta, nuskha and ḥimāla*. In fact, in Turkey they are mostly called *muska* (TS 1422) < *nuska* < *nusha* 'amulet, charm' (NR 892). The term *hamaylı* < *hamail*, which comes from the Ar. plural of *ḥimāla*, more specifically designates an amulet hung on the shoulder, though it may also be used in a more general sense (TS 839). However, as Ruska and Carra de Vaux emphasis, amulets were often carried in little pouches, lockets or purses worn round the neck or fastened to the arm or turban. To remain consistent with Islamic doctrine, practitioners legitimized the use of amulets with inscribing them with Qur'anic verses and other prayer formulas.

Healers and exorcists – often special *khojas* and *mullahs*, in Eastern Turkestan called *duʿāḫōn* (Hällzon, 2022, pp. 379–382) – but also ordinary people, produced and used manuscripts which contained charms, amulet patterns, prayers and ritual instructions for their application. Some formulas were intended to bring good luck, others for healing and relieving pain, some for protection against disease and calamity, and some for all purposes at once. The rituals and magical practice were also diverse: some prayers were meant to be recited, some written on strips of paper and immersed in water to be drunk, and some were kept, worn and carried. From the nineteenth century onward, manuscripts which previously circulated in copies began to be replaced by lithographic and then modern prints. An early example of such a nineteenth-century print is a collection of prayers called *Bezgäk üçün duʿālar* 'prayers against fever', printed at Kazan University Press in 1852 (*Katalog*, p. 345).

In contrast to popular medicine and medical treatises, which employ divine methods alongside remedies, drugs, herbs, and medical treatments, there are comparatively few studies on Turkic manuscripts and printed versions of healing and protecting prayers. Turkic medical treatises have been discussed by Károly (2012; 2015) and Hällzon (2022), while Károly (2014) devoted a separate study to the healing prayers found in them. We also have a critical edition of the first known Turkish medical treatise, dated to 1389/1390 (Canpolat

& Önler, 2016), another early medical treatise written prior to 1417 (Önler, 1990; 1999), and a critical edition of a seventeenth-century Chaghatay medical treatise (Károly, 2015).

The study of the Arabic prayers in the Turkic sphere is also extensive (for details see Parladır, 1994), but to the best of our knowledge, there is neither an in-depth study on manuscripts containing healing, protecting, and wish-fulfilling prayers, nor a critical edition of such a manuscript. There only exception is one BA dissertation in which the author edited Turkish ritual instructions and identified several Qur'anic verses in a nineteenth-century manuscript (Cicharska, 2011). With regard to our publication, in her MA dissertation, Jarek (2005) examined Arabic prayers using Turkish instructional texts transcribed and translated for her by the present author.

The benefits of Qur'anic verses and prayers are associated with so many domains that it is difficult to define the genre of the texts discussed in this article. The closest one might be Ar. *Fażā'il al-Qur'ān* 'Benefits of the Qur'an', also called *Sawāb al-Qur'ān* and *Manāfiʿ al-Qur'ān*. In the modern Turkish context, it is called *Surelerin Faziletleri* 'Benefits of the Suras' or *Ayetlerin Faziletleri* 'Benefits of the Verses' (Aydemir, 1995). However, these benefits were mostly written in Turkish in the form of the notes in the margins of the Qur'an manuscripts. They tell the reader which chapter or verse is recommended in order to avoid illness, misfortune, troubles, to protect the reader against an enemy or the cruelty of a ruler. Jankowski (2022) discussed such benefits in a Polish translation of the Qur'an from a manuscript copied in 1723, e.g. *Sūretü'ṣ-Ṣāffāt. Yedi kez oḳıyalar rızıḳ berekātlıġıçün. Ḥaḳ Taʿālā rızḳına berekāt vėre* 'The Chapter Saffat (Q 37). It should be recited seven times for the abundance of provisions. God Most High will multiply the provisions' or *Sūretü Ṣ(ād). Her kim sūre[yi] dā'im oḳısa Ḥaḳ Taʿālā şeyṭān şerrinden saḳlaya* 'The Chapter Sad (Q 38). He who constantly reads the chapter will be protected by God Most High from devil's evilness' (Jankowski, 2022, p. 551).

Some of those are very similar to the benefits indicated in our prayer book, e.g. *Sūretü'z-Zümer. Dāyim oḳısa ḫalḳ arasında ʿazīz ḥürmetlü ola* 'The Chapter Zümer (Q 39). (Who) constantly reads, will be respected and esteemed by the people' (Jankowski, 2022, p. 551) is similar to *Her kim bu duʿānı oḳusa ... ḫalḳ arasında şīrīn ve ḥürmetlü ola* 27, 6–11 'Whoever recites ... will be loved and respected by the people'.

It must be stressed that our prayer book cannot be regarded as a medical treatise, for only some prayers are dedicated to healing. Turkic medical treatises are diverse. For instance, İshâk Bin Murâd's *Edviyye-i Müfrede* contains no divine medicine at all, while Celâlüddin Hızır's *Münteḫab-ı Şifâ* makes use of the Qur'an and prayers in twenty sections, as established by Károly (2014, p. 281). In the Chaghatay medical treatise edited by Károly, more than sixty Qur'anic chapters and verses are used as a healing method (Károly, 2014, p. 285).

A similar situation occurs in Eastern Turkestani, i.e., Uighur medical treatises. According to Hällzon (2022, p. 110), some treatises also contain chapters which are unrelated to medicine, as sections on thieving, or telling how to find a thief.

It seems that Turkic medical treatises do not normally employ divine cure as an exclusive method of healing, prescriptions based only on divine power are sometimes included (Károly, 2012, p. 14). Medicine based on procedures, cure, and treatment that rely exclusively on divine power may be referred to as theomedicine.

The Turkish book printed in Gasprinskiy's printing house

The title of this book is *Āye-i Kerīme ve duʿā mecmūʿıdır* 'This is a collection of Holy Verses and prayers'. Below the title on the title page there is a censorial note in both Turkish in Arabic script, *Basılmasına ruḫsat verildi S. Peterburg Noyabır 2 sene 1902 Maṭbaʿ-ı Tercümān Baḫçesarāy* 'approved for printing, St Petersburg, 2 November 1902, the Printing House Tercüman', and in Russian, *Dozvoleno cenzuroyu S.-Peterburg. 2 noyabrya 1902 g. Tipo-litograf. gaz. «Perevodchik» v g. Bakhchisaraye*. The book is a lithographic print. It has sixty-three numbered pages except for the first unnumbered page which at the same time is the title page. The last page (page 63) contains one line of the main text and nine lines of the imprint with the details of the author, copyist, publisher, printer, and date of writing and printing:

> *İşbu duʿā cönkin müʾellifi Gözleve | Uyeznesi Bek Meḥmed Efendi sene 1274 | Şaʿbān 15 | [[Tamā]]m | Nāşir Ṭabīb ʿAlī Efendi bin Molla | Meḥmed | Ketebeh Ebū Süfyān Dağıstānī | [[Tamā]]m | Sene 1320*
>
> The author of this prayer book is Bek/Bey Mehmed Efendi from the Gözleve Province in the year 1274/1858, the month Shaban/March, 15/30. F[[inished]]. Published by Ali Efendi, son of Mullah Mehmed. Copied by Ebu Süfyan Daghestani. F[[inished]]. The year 1320/1902.

As we see, the compiler of the prayer book is Meḥmed Efendi from the Gözleve Province. He finished his work on 15 Shaban 1274 which corresponds to 30 March 1858 CE. It was copied by Ebū Süfyān Dağıstānī and published by ʿAlī Efendi in 1320, i.e. 1902 CE.

Although Ismail Gasprinskiy was a famous Crimean Tatar publisher, owner of a printing house, writer and activist, this publication is not mentioned in the studies (Kerim, 1994, pp. 4–14; Gankevič, 2000, pp. 169–170).

The main text of Āye-i Kerīme consists of Arabic prayers accompanied by Turkish ritual instructions on how to recite them, as well as other practical steps and notes on their benefits and effects. Most instructions are introduced by the overlined Ar. word *bāb* ‘chapter’. The Arabic prayers are further marked with the overlined Ar. word *hāẕā* ‘this’. Sometimes the indication ‘this is’ is given doubly, by both *hāẕā* at the beginning and Tur. *budur* at the end. The Arabic and the Turkish components are distinguished from each other by the style of writing. In addition, the Arabic text is vocalized, whereas the Turkish text is not.

The following prayers are listed by a name: *Du‘ā’ ism-i a‘ẓam* ‘the Great Name Prayer’ (23,11–24,3), *Du‘ā-yı şerḥ-i īmān* ‘the prayer for the commentary on the faith’ (30,5–9), *Du‘āyı Cebrā’īl* ‘Gabriel’s prayer’ (31,1), *Du‘ā-yı Kenzü’l-‘Arş* ‘the prayer of the Throne Treasure’ (32,8–9), *Ḥasan Ḥüseyin du‘āsı* ‘Hasan and Huseyn’s prayer’ (33,5–6), *Şerḥ-i du‘ā’-ı mübārek* ‘the commentary on the Blessed Prayer’ (38,3–11), *Şerḥ-i du‘ā’-ı cemīl* ‘the commentary on the Beautiful Prayer’ (43,5–11), *Şerḥ-i du‘ā’-ı nūr-ı ‘aẓīm* ‘the commentary on the prayer of The Magnificent Light’ (48,7–11), and *Du‘ā’-ı mercān* ‘the Coral Prayer’ (60,3–4). Turkish instructions are mostly written in the form of short commentaries. Other prayers are usually indicated as *bu du‘ā* ‘this prayer’.

As for the purpose, address a wide range of ailments: head, neck, breast, ear, mouth, throat, nose, eye, tooth, hand, arm, leg, foot, knee, backbone, and other organs. Another category includes prayers for protection against slander and backbiting (15,3–6; 18,4–5; 26,10–27,1), women’s gossip (19,8–9; 42,5–6), evil eye (18, 4–5, 8–9; 37,1–3), snakes and scorpions (50,1–11), weapons (50,1–11), and enemies (15,3–6; 37,1–3). Still another category comprises wishful prayers for success, wealth, prosperity and the fulfillment of all needs (20,5–7; 21,10–11; 26,1–4; 28,10–11; 35,11–36,1; 37,5–6, 9–10), any need (35,1–4; 44,1–11; 51,1–11), for a girl’s marriage (25,3-5), and being beloved and well-regarded by others (22,8–11; 24,10–11; 26,7–8; 27,6–28,1; 41,7). Naturally, there are also prayers to help a believer when lying in the grave (44,1–11; 51,1–11), as well as at the resurrection from the dead and the Last Judgment (44,1–11; 45,1–6; 51,1–11). Some prayers are attributed with magical power, e.g. invisibility to the evil eye, see *ḳanda varsa görmeyeler* (37,2) ‘wherever one goes, nobody sees him’. Magic is also included in several prayers destined for the fulfilment of a wish or desire, and for protection, as in that the one which protects against any weapon (50,1–11).

Certain instructions are not only similar or identical in their purpose, but also in the form, e.g. *‘Avret dilin bağlamaḳ içün bu du‘āyı getüre* (19, 8–9) ‘This prayer is carried to tie a woman’s tongue’ and *‘Avret dilin bağlamaḳ içün yaza götüre* (42, 5–6) ‘This prayer is written and carried to tie a woman’s tongue’.

As far as the mode of application of prayers is concerned, they are intended to be read, carried in the written form and immersed in water to be drunk after the ink dissolves, written and bound to the right hand, put around the neck, against (or on) the body of a dead person, sewn into a pillow, or blown toward a beloved person. Sometimes two or all these methods are advised to be applied.

These methods are evidenced in the literature as early as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, e.g. in *Münteḫab-ı Şifā: bu isimleri resm ėdüp yazsalar bilesine götürse ve bu duʿāyı oḳusa fī'l-ḥāl ḳavī ola* (Önler, 1990, p. 134) 'whoever writes these names and carries with him, and reads this prayer, will immediately turn strong' or *eger bu duʿāyı oġlancuḳlar ḫastalıġına ve uçuḳ rencine ve delü olanlaruŋ üzerine oḳuyalar uralar ve yazalar şuyın içüreler ol ʿilletden ḫalāṣ bula* (Önler, 1990, p. 179) 'if this prayer is read, spread, written (and immersed in water), and this water is given to drink to ill boys, against epilepsy and to mad individuals, they will recover from these diseases'. Note that the latter was not in fact a prayer, but a numerical charm based on the Qur'an, so-called *vefḳ*. For other methods applied in divine medicine, which are not encountered in our prayer book, see Károly (2015, p. 32).

The language of the instructions is Turkish with some Crimean features. The Crimean Tatar words include *kökrek* 'breast', *ḳol* 'hand', *ṭotla-* 'to rust', *yaman* 'evil', and *yılġı* 'annual, yearly'. Crimean Tatar grammatical features are rare. The accusative case suffix *-nI* appears mostly in the word *duʿānı* 'prayer-ACC', though the over-dot may be an indistinctively written *hamza* and the real reading may be intended to be *duʿā'ı*. Nevertheless, the form *-nI* was retained, another instance of this form occurs in *qulnı* (50,8) 'servant-ACC'. There is also one occurrence of the genitive suffix form *-nUñ* after a consonant, i.e. *meyyitnüñ* 30,1 'dead-GEN'.

However, comparison of the language of the Turkish instructions in *Āye-i Kerīme* with other available sources demonstrates that at least some instructions are much older than 1858, i.e. the alleged date of authorship. Many are similar or even identical to those edited by Cicharska, but also to the prayers and instructions found in a Turkish manuscript dated to 1583, described by Majda (1994).

Some words used in the instructions are Old Turkish lexical items which in later periods became obsolete and were used as archaisms, e.g. *birle* 50,7 'with' (Aksoy and Dilçin, 1963, p. 599; one occurrence, in other places *ile* ~ *ıla*); *dükeli* 52,1 'all' (Aksoy and Dilçin, 1965, p. 1306); *saġış* 43,10 'mode of counting, account, number' (NR 972); and *saġışsız* 24,1 'innumerable' (NR 972). Old Turkish grammatical features may be illustrated by such forms as *utanuram* 51,3 'I am ashamed' or *eylemezem* 51,4 'I do not do'.

As is typical of Old and Middle Turkish manuscripts, the language is not fully standardized and there are many cases of phonetic alternation. Since the Turkish text is not vocalized, the quality of a vowel may be established with certainty only in the case of *mattres lectionis*, e.g. <bilvb> 'know-CONV' reads *bilüb* and not *bilib*. Since there are many cases showing non-harmonic reading, we normally vocalize the suffixes according to the Old and Middle Turkish standard, e.g. <ḳldḳ> as *ḳılduḳ* and not *ḳıldıḳ* 'we did', unless there is a clear indication of a different, harmonic reading, e.g. <ḳldym> (45,4), i.e. *ḳıldım* and not *ḳıldum* 'I did'.

There are also several expressions typical of Old and Middle Turkish medical treatises, e.g. *şifā bula* '(s/he) will recover health' (sixteen occurrences in *Münteḫab-ı Şifā*, see: Önler, 1999, p. 68); *mücerrebdür* 'it is proven' (many occurrences in *Münteḫab-ı Şifā*, see: Önler, 1999, p. 214); as well as the presentation and the application of prayers, e.g. *duʿā budur* 'this is the prayer' in *Münteḫab-ı Şifā* (Önler, 1999, p. 180).

The contents of the prayer book may be presented as follows. It begins with the *Yāsīn*, i.e. Chapter 26 of the Qur'an (pp. 2–12), followed by a selection of Qur'anic verses, 28: 88, 9: 51, 10: 107, 11: 6, 11: 56, 35: 2, 29: 60 and 39: 38 (pp. 12–15, see: Jarek, 2005, p. 24). This is followed by various Qur'anic verses and prayers preceded by Turkish instructions (pp. 15–63). The detailed contents of the Turkish guidelines are presented below, while the Arabic texts have been identified and presented in Jarek (2005). It should be noted that there is no instruction accompanying the *Yāsīn* and the Qur'anic verses on the pages 12–15, and the Turkish instructions begin on page 15.

15, 3–6	Bāb Dil bağı içün yaza getüre[1] cemīʿ ḫalḳuñ dili anuñ üzerine bağlu ola ve daḫı ʿālim ḫalḳ düşmeni olsa zerrece kār ḳılmaya.	It is written and carried to tie the tongue. The tongues of all people will be tied upon this. Moreover, if a sage is the enemy of people, he cannot harm at the slightest degree.
16, 1–3	Bāb Ağız bağlamaḳ içün bu duʿāyı ṣıdıḳla ve iʿtiḳād ile getüre.	This prayer is carried to tie one's mouth. It should be carried with sincerity and conviction.
16, 6	Bāb Bel ağrısı içün yaza getüre.	It is written and carried for lumbago.
16, 10–11	Bāb Boğaz ağrısı içün içüreler ve hem getüre şifā bula.	It is given to drink and carry for throat pain to recover health.
17, 2–3	Bāb Boyun ağrısı içün boynuna taḳa şifā bula	It is put on the neck for neck pain to recover health.

1 The stem of this verb is spelled either <ktwr>, as in this line, or <kwtr>, as in line 19, 2, allowing it to be read either as Tur. *getür-* 'to bring' (Alkım, 1968, p. 397), or Tur. *götür-* 'to take away, to carry away, to carry off', etc. (NR 397), or CTat. *köter-* which means 'to raise, to lift, to elevate'. However, this formula is normally written in the manuscripts as <ktwr>, e.g. TM (1, 3 etc.), and WM (e.g. 112b) where it is vocalized as <katwur>. The most suitable meaning in this context is 'to carry, to wear a purse with a strip of paper on which a prayer or healing formula has been written, i.e. an amulet, a written charm, etc.)', cf. TS (755) *bir şeyi yanında veya üstünde bulundurmak* 'to keep something with oneself or on oneself'. In the medical treatise dated prior to 1417, the verb *götüre* is used in the meaning 'to carry', see *bu duʿāyı yazdura ve bilesinde getüre* 'it is given to write and is worn on anybody' (Önler, 1990, p. 177).

17, 6–7	Bāb Kökrek aġrısı içün yaza getüre.	It is written and carried for breast pain.
17, 11–18, 1	Bāb Sançu [[i]]çün yaza içüre.	It is written and given to drink for a stabbing pain.
18, 4–5	Bāb Yaman göz içün ve yaman dil içün duʿāsı budur; mücerrebdür.	This is a prayer against an evil eye and an evil tongue, a proven one.
18, 8–9	Bāb Naẓar içün getüre.	It is carried against an evil glance.
19, 1–2	Bāb Cemīʿ aʿżālar içün götüre ve hem içe şifā bula.	It is carried for the sake of all organs; it should be drunk to recover health.
19, 8–9	Bāb ʿAvret dilin baġlamaḳ içün bu duʿāyı getüre.	This prayer is carried to tie a woman's tongue.
20, 1–2	Bāb İş yürümek içün bu duʿā'ı oḳuya veyā götüre[2].	This prayer is recited or carried to keep business going.
20, 5–7	Bāb He[r] kim bu duʿānı oḳusa veyā getürse rızḳı ve mālı ziyāde ola.	Whoever recites or carries this prayer, his provisions and goods will be abundant.
20, 8–9	Bāb Aġız aġrısı içün getüre ve hem içe şifā bula.	It is carried and drunk for mouth pain and the health is recovered.
21, 1–2	Bāb Burun aġrısıçün getüre.	It is carried for nose pain.
21, 5	Bāb Baş aġrısı içün getüre.	It is carried for headache.
21, 10–11	Bāb Her kim bu duʿānı her ne murādı içün yazub götürse şifā bula.	Whoever writes and carries this prayer for any purpose, his health will be recovered.
22, 3–4	Bāb Her kim bu duʿānı getürse yā oḳusa Ḥaḳ taʿālā anuñ cemīʿ günāhın ʿafv ėde; mücerrebdür.	Whoever carries or reads this prayer, God Most High will absolve all his sins; it is proven.
22, 8–11	Bāb Her kim götürse cemīʿ ḫalḳ gözlerine şīrīn[3] görine ve cemīʿ ḫalḳa maḥbūb ola müşkül işi āsān ola; mücerrebdür … amā biz muḫtaṣar ḳılduḳ.	Whoever carries [[this]], he will appear sweet in the eyes of people and be beloved; his difficult job will be eased up; it is proven; … but we took it short.

2 This prayer is Q 2:186, like in TM 1–3 where there is *İşi eyler ve gitmek içün* 'to do and keep business going' (Cicharska, 2011, p. 5).

3 *şirīn*.

23, 5–6	Bāb İki[4] ḥelāl, şīrīn ol[[m]]aḳ içün yasduġa bu duʿānı ḳoya.	To become a lawful and pleasant couple, it should be put into the pillow.
23, 8–9	Bāb Boyun aġrısı içün getüre.	It is carried for neck pain.
23, 11 – 24, 1–3	Hāẕā duʿāʾ-ı ism-i aʿẓam budur. Günāhı daġlar ve deñizler ve ḳumlar saġışsız olsa da Allāhu taʿālā ʿafv ėde. Her namāzda üç defʿa oḳuya yā getüre. Şerḥin biz muḫtaṣar ḳılduḳ.	This is the Great Name Prayer. Even if somebody's sins are [[as]] innumerable as mountains, seas and sand, God Most High will forgive him for them. It should be recited thrice at the obligatory worship or carried. We have abridged the commentary.
24, 5–7	Bāb Bir kimsenüñ başı yā ḳulaġı yā aġzı veyā dişi yā ḳolu yā ayāġı ve dizi ve beli aġrısı[n]a bu duʿānı yaza getüre şifā bula.	This prayer is written and carried for one's head, ear, mouth, tooth, hand, leg, knee or backbone, and the health will be recovered.
24, 10–11	Bāb Halḳ arasında şīrīn görinmek içün bu duʿāyı getüre.	This prayer is carried to look pleasant to the people.
25, 3–5	Bāb Ḳısmeti çıḳmayan ḳız bu duʿānı götüre, inşāʾ Allāhu taʿālā derḥāl ḳısmeti çıḳa, murādı ḥāṣıl ola. Duʿā budur, mücerrebdür.	If a girl without a chance of marriage carries this prayer, she shall soon find one by the will of God Most High and her aim shall be attained. This is a proven prayer.
25, 8–9	Bāb Her kim ʿaḳlum zıyāde olsun dėse bu duʿāyı getüre; mücerrebdür.	Whoever wants to be very wise, he should carry this prayer, a proven one.
26, 1–4	Bāb Her kim bu duʿānı bilse, getürse yāḫūd ṣabāḥ namāzdan soñra yedi kere oḳusa ḳırḳ güne degin, ol kişiye Ḥaḳ taʿālā devlet vėre, mālın ḥesābın bilmeye. Ol mübārek duʿā budur.[5]	Whoever knows, carries or recites this prayer after morning worship seven times for forty days, God Most High will give prosperity so that he will know no limits of his goods. That is the blessed prayer.
26, 7–8	Bāb Şīrīnlik içün yaza getüre.	It is written and carried to be pleasant.
26, 10–11 – 27, 1	Bāb Her kim bu duʿānı götürse cemīʿ ḫalḳuñ dili anuñ üzerine baġlu ola duʿā budur.	Whoever carries this prayer, the tongues of all people will be tied on him; this is the prayer.

4 *iki* 'two'; this clause is clumsy and the interpretation is tentative.

5 Cf. the same in WM 113a, but the following Ar. prayer is different.

27, 2–3	Bāb [Beklemek][6] içün yaza getüre ve hem suyın içe şifā bula.	It is written and carried, and the water[7] is drunk for deliverance; the health will be recovered.
27, 6–11 – 28, 1	Bāb Her kim bu duʿānı oḳusa veyā getürse dünyā ve āḫiret belāsından ve āḫiret ʿaẕābından emīn ola, cin ve şeyṭān şerrinden emīn ola ve yāḫūd baş ve diş ve göz aġrısından emīn ve cemīʿ aʿżālar aġrısından emīn ola ve yāḫūd ḫalḳ arasında şīrīn ve ḥürmetlü ola ve yāḫūd āḫirete īmān ile gide. Bu duʿānı[[ñ]] şerḥi çoḳdur amā biz muḫtaṣar ḳılduḳ.	Whoever recites or carries this prayer, he will be delivered from the calamity and the torment in the hereafter, and will be delivered from the evilness of jinns and devils, or will be save from head and tooth, and eye pain, and from the pain of all organs, and will be loved and respected by the people, and will go to the hereafter as a believer. There are many commentaries on this prayer, but we have abridged them.
28, 10–11	Bāb Bunı getüren ādam ceybinden aḳça eksük olmaya.	Nobody who carries this will be short of money in his pocket.
29, 1–2	Bāb Yetmiş dürlü baş aġrısı içün yaza götüre.	It is written and carried for seventy sorts of headache.
29, 3–4	Bāb Her dürlü maraż içün yazub götürse veyā içse şifā bula; mücerrebdür.	If this is written and carried or drunk, it will protect from all diseases and the health will be recovered; it is proven.
29, 7–8	Bāb Duʿā ṭāʿūn içün oḳuya veyā getüre veyā evine bile ḳoya, emīn ola.	This prayer is written, or carried, or kept at home against plague.
30, 5–9	Bāb Duʿā’-ı şerḥ-i īmān. İbn ʿAbbās, rażiya Allāhu ʿanh, eyder. Her kim ise bu duʿānı yazsa meyyitnüñ göksü muḳābilesine ḳoysa vallāhi vallāhi vallāhi kāfir daḫı olsa ʿaẕāb görmeye, dėdi. İnşā’ Allāh bu duʿānı[[ñ]] şerḥi çoḳdur amā biz muḫtaṣar ḳılduḳ.	The prayer for the commentary on the faith. Ibn Abbas, may God be pleased with him, says, 'Whoever writes this prayer and puts it opposite the breast of a dead person, he will not experience torment, for sure, even if he is a disbeliever'. God willing, there are many interpretations of this prayer, but we have abridged them.

6 *Beklesin*; the emendation is tentative, for *beklesin içün* is unusual and, in addition, the Old and Middle Tur. form of the jussive should be *beklesün*, not *beklesin*, and the vowel of the suffix is clearly unrounded. The emendation *beklemesi* would be phonetically better, but it does not fit the context because of the lack of the agent; see the Old Tur. *bekle-* '1. to hide, to conceal. 2. preserve; to save, to protect' (Aksoy & Dilçin, 1963, p. 484).

7 The charm is often written on paper and immersed in a vessel with water which is drunk after the ink dissolves.

31, 1	Bāb Duʿāʾ-ı Cebrāʾīl budur; mücerrebdür.	This is Gabriel's prayer, a proven one.
31, 9	Bāb Duʿāʾı getüre.	The prayer is carried.
32, 8–9	Hāẕā Duʿāʾ-ı Kenzü'l-ʿArş budur.	This is the prayer of Throne Treasure.
33, 5–6	Hāẕā Ḥasan Ḥüseyin duʿāsı budur. Götüre; mücerrebdür.	This is Hasan and Husayn's prayer to be carried; it is proven.
33, 11 – 34, 1	Bāb Duʿāʾı getüre ve hem suyın içe; mücerrebdür, mis̱li yoḳdur.	The prayer is carried, and the water is drunk; it is proven and is matchless.
34, 8	Hāẕā duʿāʾı getüre; mücerrebdür.	This is a prayer to be carried, a proven one.
35, 1–4	Bāb Her kim bu duʿānı cemīʿ ömrinde bir kere oḳusa veyā getürse dünyā belāsından emīn ola, āẖirete īmānıla gide, her ne ḥāceti var ise revā ola. Bu duʿā berekātından ol duʿā budur.	Whoever recites or carries this prayer even once in all his life, he will be delivered from the calamity of this world and will enter the hereafter with faith, he will get all he needs. These are the benefits of this prayer.
35, 8–9	Bāb Dili tutulsa bu duʿānı yazub suyın içe, şifā bula.	If one becomes tongue-tied, this prayer should be written and the water drunk; thus, the health will be recovered.
35, 11 – 36, 1	Bāb Kār ve kesb içün yaza getüre.	It is written and carried to gain profit and earnings.
36, 4–5	Bāb El ve ayak aġrısıçün getüre, şifā bula; mücerrebdür.	It is carried for hand and foot pain, and the health will be recovered; it is proven.
36, 9–10	Bāb Yetmiş iki dürlü sıtma içün yaza suyın içe.	It is written and its water is drunk against seventy-two kinds of fever.
37, 1–3	Bāb Göz baġlamaḳ içün yazub saġ eline baġlaya, ḳanda varsa görmeyeler, götüre, hīç düşmān kār ḳılmaya.	It is written and bound on the right hand to tie an [[evil]] eye; thus, wherever one goes, nobody sees him. It is carried. No foe can harm [[him who carries it]].
37, 5–6	Bāb Her kim bu duʿānı {getüre} yazub evinde ḳosa mālı ziyāde ola.	Whoever writes and keeps this prayer at home, his wealth will be abundant.
37, 9–10	Bāb Her kim bu duʿānı yanında götürse akçası eksük olmaya.	Whoever carries this prayer with himself he will not be short of money.

38, 3–11	Hāẕā Şerḥ-i duʿāʾ-ı mübārek. Rivāyet ḳılur Peyġamber *ʿaleyhi es-selām*. Her kim bu duʿānı oḳusa veyā getür[[s]]e Ḳurʾān-ı ḫatm ėtmişce ve bėk aḳça vėrmişce s̱evāb bula ve eger yoḫsul kişi oḳusa ḳul āzād ėtmişçe ve bėk şehīd namāzın ḳılmışca s̱evāb vėre ve her kim oḳusa suya ġarḳ olmaya evde yanmaya ve pāşā ve cemīʿ ḫalḳ gözine şīrīn görine ve ādam şerrinden emīn ola ve daḫı peyġamberi düşinde görmeyince ölmeye ve Cebrāʾīli ve İsrāfīli ve Mīkāʾīli düşinde görmeyince ölmeye, Allāh fermānıla gide.[8]	This is the commentary on the Blessed Prayer. The Prophet, *peace be upon him*, relates that whoever recites or carries this prayer, he gets as many merits as if he had read the whole Qurʾan and given much money. If a poor man recites, he gains as many merits as if he had liberated a slave or as a martyr who had performed obligatory worship. Whoever reads it, he will neither be drowned in the water, nor burnt in a house, and will be pleasant in the eye of a ruler, and will be save from human evilness, and he will not die until he does not see Gabriel, Israfil and Michael in his dream; he will leave with God's command.
39, 9–11	Bāb Cin şeyṭān içün yazub getüre ve duta ġāyet mücerrebdür, mis̱li yoḳdur.	It is written, hold and carried against the jinns and devils. It is well proven and matchless.
40, 3–4	Bāb Bir kimse [uyḳuya yatmaḳ][9] dilese bu duʿānı yaza saġ ḳolına baġlaya.	If anybody wants to sleep, he should write this prayer and bind it on his right arm.
40, 7–10	Bāb Bir kimse bu duʿānı oḳusa ve yāḫūd götürse ol kimse dunyāda bir kimseye muḥtāc olmaya. Bunuñ şerḥi ġāyet çoḳdur, amā biz muḫtaṣar ḳılduḳ.	Whoever recites or carries this prayer, he will not be indebted to anybody for anything in the world. There are many commentaries on this, but we have abridged them.
41, 2–3	Bāb Bu duʿānı götüren ādam şeyṭāndan īmānın ḥafẓ eyleye; ol mubārek duʿā budur.	Whoever carries this prayer, he will remember the principles of creed against the devil; this is a blessed prayer.
41, 7	Bāb Şīrīn [[olmaḳ]] içün yaza getüre.	It is written and carried [[to be]] pleasant.
42, 2–3	Bāb Terleme içün yaza getüre ve hem suyın içe.	It is written and carried, and the water is drunk against sweating.
42, 5–6	Bāb ʿAvret dilin baġlamaḳ içün yaza götüre.	[[This prayer]] is written and carried to tie a woman's tongue.
42, 7–9	Bāb Muḥabbet içün mücerrebdür mis̱li yoḳdur. On beş kere oḳuya maʿşūġuñ üzerine üfüre; ġāyet mücerrebdür.	This is proven for love, it is matchless. It should be recited fifteen times and blown toward a beloved person; it is very effective.

8 The benefits of the Blessed Prayer are similar in TM 88–101, e.g. *ocaġa yanmaya ve suya ġarḳ olmaya* 'he will not be burnt in fire nor will be drowned in water' (cf. Cicharska, 2022, pp. 18–19).

9 *uyḳu aytmaḳ* '*lit.* to tell sleep', not quite clear, probably a mistake for *uyḳuya yatmaḳ* 'to go to bed'.

42, 11 – 43, 1	<u>Bāb</u> Her kim bu duʿānı bir kere oḳusa seksen yılġı günāhı ʿafv ola.	Whoever recites this prayer once, his sins of eighty years will be absolved.

43, 5–11	<u>Hāẕā</u> şerḥ-i duʿāʾ-ı cemīl budur. Rivāyet ḳılur resūl ḥażretinden, *ṣallāʾllāhu ʿaleyhi ve sellem*. Bir gün mescid içinde oturmışdı. Cebrāʾīl *ʿaleyhiʾs-selām* geldi,[10] eytdi: Yā Muḥammed, Teñri taʿālā saña selām ḳıldı ve bu duʿāʾı saña ve senüñ ümmetiñe hediye vėrdi. Andan soñra Cebrāʾīl *ʿaleyhiʾs-selām* eyder: Yā Muḥammed, her kim ki bu duʿānı oḳuya veyā getüre günāhı daġlar ve deñizler ve ḳumlar saġışından artuḳ olsa Allāhu taʿālā ʿafv ėde. Andan Cebrāʾīl eyd[er] ki	This is the commentary on the Beautiful Prayer. It is related from the Messenger, *may God commend and salute him*, that one day while he was sitting in a mosque Gabriel, *peace be upon him*, said, ‘O Muhammad, God Most High is greeting you and is giving a gift to you and your congregation’. Then Gabriel, *peace be upon him*, said, ‘O Muhammad, anybody who recites and carries this prayer will be absolved from sins even if his sins are bigger than mountains, seas and sand’. Then Gabriel said,

44, 1–11	Yā Muḥammed, her kim bu duʿānı oḳusa veyā getürse öldigi vaḳtinde ol ḳuluñ cān[[ı]]nı Allāhu taʿālā ḳudret ile ala hīç ʿAzrāʾīle aldırmaya. Andan Cebrāʾīl *ʿaleyhiʾs-selām* eyder: Yā Muḥammed, her kim bu duʿānı oḳusa veyā getürse ḳabre girdigi vaḳtinde Allāhu taʿālā aña iki ḥūrī ḳızı vėre, biri saġ yanında, biri sol yanında otura. O kişi birinüñ yüzinden birinüñ yüzine baḳınça ḳıyamet ḳopa. Andan Cebrāʾīl eyder: Yā Muḥammed, her kim bu duʿānı Ramażān ayuñ o[[n]] beşinci güni ifṭār vaḳtinde bilüb oḳusa ve eger bilmez ise elinde dutsa on beş kez ṣelavāt vėrse ne dürlü ḥāceti var ise revā ola.[11] Andan Cebrāʾīl eyder: Yā Muḥammed, her kim bu duʿānı ʿömrinde bir	‘O Muhammad, if anybody recites and carries this prayer, God Most High will take his soul by His power at the time of his death and will not allow Azrail to take it’. Then Gabriel, *peace be upon him*, said, ‘O Muhammad, if anybody recites and carries this prayer, God Most High will give him two houris at the time of his entrance to the grave, one will be sitting on his right, another on his left side. While this man will be looking at the one and at the other, the day of resurrection will come’. Then Gabriel, *peace be upon him*, said, ‘O Muhammad, if anybody knows and recites this prayer on the 15 Ramazan after breaking the fast, and even if he does not know it but holds in his hand repeating fifteen times the salutation prayer, he will get what he needs’. Then Gabriel said, ‘O Muhammad, if anybody once in his life

10 Cf. TM 60–67 *Bir gün mescid içinde otururken Cebrāʾīl ʿaleyhiʾs-selām geldi* (cf. Cicharska, 2022, p. 9).

11 TM 106–112 recommends similar prayers in the form of the recitation of God’s beautiful names on the same occasion (cf. Cicharska, 2011, p. 21).

45, 1–6	kez oḳusa veyā getürse ḳıyāmet gününde Ṣirāṭdan āsān geçe. Andan Cebrā'īl *'aleyhi's-selām* eyder: Yā Muḥammed, her kim bu du'āya inanmasa şek getürse kāfir olur. *Ne'ūẕu bi'llāhi*. Andan Muḥammed aytur: Yā Cebrā'īl, bu du'ānuñ s̱evābı şol ḳadar ki ben 'aceb ḳıldım. Ve bu du'ānuñ şerḥi çoḳdur, biz muḫtaṣar ḳılduḳ. Hāẕā du'ā'-ı şerīf-i cemīl budur; mücerrebdür.	recites or carries this prayer, he will easily cross the bridge Sirat on the day of the resurrection'. Then Gabriel, *peace be upon him*, said, 'O Muhammad, anybody who does not believe in the prayer or doubts it, is a disbeliever, *we seek refuge in God*'. Then Muhammad said, 'O Gabriel, this prayer has so many benefits that I am astonished'. There are many commentaries on this prayer, but we have abridged them. This was the holy Beautiful Prayer, a proven one.
48, 7–11	Hāẕā şerḥ-i du'ā'-ı nūr-ı 'aẓīm.[12] Muḥammed Muṣṭafā *ṣallā'llāhu 'aleyhi ve sellem* bir gün mübārek arḳasın miḥrāba vėrüb oturmışdı, öyle namāzı vaḳti idi, derḥāl Cebrā'īl *'aleyhi's-selām* geldi, resūlü'llāh selām vėrüb eytdi: Yā Muḥammed, Allāhu ta'ālā saña selām	This is a commentary on the prayer of the Magnificent Light. One day while Muhammad the Chosen, *may God commend and salute him*, was sitting opposite the Mihrab niche at the time of the noon worship, Gabriel, *peace be upon him*, came. The Messenger of God greeted him, and Gabriel said, 'O Muhammad, God Most High is greeting you
49, 1–11	eyledi ve bu du'ānı saña hediye vėrdi. Senden evvel gelen peyġamberlere vėrmedi, illā vėrdi saña. Muḥammed eytdi: Yā ḳarındaşım Cebrā'īl *'aleyhi's-selām*, her kim bu du'ā'nı bir kez oḳusa ne ḳadar s̱evāb ola, dėdi. Cebrā'īl eytdi: Yā Muḥammed, Ḥaḳ ta'ālā saña emir eyledi, her kim bu du'ānı oḳusa cümle ṭaġlarca ve daşlarca ve yedi ḳat yer ve yedi ḳat gök[13] ve 'Arş ve Kürsī	and is giving this prayer to you as a gift. God had given it to no prophet before you, He is giving it just to you'. Muhammad said, 'O my brother Gabriel, *peace be upon him*, how many profits does a man who recites it gain?' Gabriel answered, 'O Muhammad, by God's command anybody who recites this prayer will be forgiven and granted goods from its benefits even if his sins are as big as mountains and stones, and seven layers of the earth, and

12 A similar commentary on this prayer is found in WM 116a–125b, sometimes with more archaic Tur. words, e.g. *senden öñdin gelen peyġamberlere* 'to the prophets before you'.

13 Cf. TM 60–67 *günāhı ṭaġlarca olursa ve yedi ḳat göklerce olsa* 'if his sins are as big as mountains and seven layers of heaven' (cf. Cicharska, 2022, p. 9).

	ve Levḥ ve Ḳalemce ve dünyāda biten aġaclarca ve ḳumlar sayıışınca günāhı olsa Ḥaḳ taʿālā bu duʿā berekātından ʿavf ėde ve ḥasenāt vėre. Her kim {günde olsa} bu duʿānı bir ṭotlamamış çanaġa yaza suyın içe ve hem misk ve zaʿferān ile yaza,	seven layers of heaven, and the Divine Pedestal, and the Divine Throne, and the Divine Pen, and the Divine tablet, and the trees that grow in the world, and as numerous as the grains of sand. If anybody writes this prayer and immerses it in an unrusted pot, and drinks the water from it, and if writes with musk and saffron,

50, 1–11	götüre, Ḥaḳ taʿālā bu duʿā berekātından her ne iş dutsa ḫayrını göre, yā kendüde götürse oḳ ve ḳılıç ve bıčaḳ ve süngü[14] aña kār ḳılmaya ve dürlü [yılanlardan ve çıyanlardan][15] ve yėr yüzünde ne ḳadar cānverler var ise emīn ola dėdi. Her kim bu duʿānı oḳusa yā götürse yetmiş biñ ferişte Beytü'l-Muḳaddesde tesbīḥ ve tehlīl ėde ve daḫı her kim bu duʿānı misk ve zaʿferān birle yazub kefenine ḳosa[16] Ḥaḳ taʿālā aña biñ ḳandīl ḳabrine indire. İndigi gėce Allāhu taʿālā aña raḥmet ėdüb ol ḳulnı yarlıġaya dėdi ve yetmiş ferişte ol ḳandīller ile ine. Her bir feriştenüñ elinde nūrdan ṭabaḳ ola. Ol kişiye	and carries, God Most High will give him from the benefits of this prayer, and he will be successful in whatever he undertakes; and if he carries it on him, the arrow, sword, knife and lance will not harm him; and he [will be save from various snakes and scorpions], and no matter how many beasts there are on the earth, he will be save.' He said, 'If anybody recites or carries this prayer, seventy thousand angels will praise and pray to God [for him] in the Holy Temple. Whoever writes this prayer with musk and saffron and puts on the shroud, God Most High will send thousand candles to his grave. As soon as he enters, God Most High will have mercy on this servant and seventy angels with candles will enter with him. There will be a plate of light in the hand of each angel. They will

14 TM 54–57 *oḳ ve ḳılıç ve bıçaḳ ve nacaḳ ve süngi* 'the arrow, sword, knife, axe and lance' (cf. Cicharska, 2022, p. 8).

15 *belālardan* ‹w ğy'n›, TM 54–57 *yılan ve cıyan* 'snake and centipede' (cf. Cicharska, 2022, p. 8), but cf. CTat. *çayan* 'scorpion' (Useinov, 2005, p. 300).

16 *ḳoya*.

51, 1–11	eyderler kim ḳorḳma biz saña yoldaş olmaġa geldük ve daḫı Ḥaḳ taʿālā ṭarafından nidā gele: Yā Münker ve Nekīr, ben ol ḳulumdan utanuram, ol nūr-ı duʿā kefenine yazdurmış. Ben aña ʿaẕāb eylemezem, raḥmet eylerem; daḫı suʾāl gide ve ḳıyāmete degin raḥmet içre ġarq ola ve nūr içinde yatsun diye dėdi. Daḫı eytdi: Yā Muḥammed, beşāret olsun kim senüñ ümmetüñ[[d]]e bu duʿānı oḳuya ve oḳuda veyā getüre. Her ne ḥāceti var ise revā ola, Ḥaḳ taʿālā yetmiş biñ ferişte aña ḫidmetkār vėre ve daḫı nūrdan at bine. Ol atuñ ayaḳları yāḳūtdan ola, ferişteler elinde nūrdan ṭabaḳlar ola	say to this man, 'be not afraid, we are your companions,' and God Most High will ordain, 'O Inquisitors, I am ashamed of this servant of mine, since he wrote the Light Prayer on his shroud. I will not torture him and will deliver'.' Thus, the inquest will be over, and he will be immersed in mercy and lie in light until the resurrection. And he said, 'O Muhammad, let the member of your congregation who recites or carries this prayer be happy. He will get all he needs, and God Most High gives seventy thousand angels to serve him. He will mount a horse of light. The legs of this horse will be of ruby, and the angels will hold plates of light.
52, 1–4	ve dükeli ferişteler[17] ol kişi ile Allāhu taʿālā ḥażretine varalar. Ol ḳıyāmet gün her kim bu duʿā s̱evābına şek getürse kāfir ola. *Neʿūẕü bi'l-lāhi*. Bu duʿānı[[ñ]] şerḥi çoḳdur amā biz muḫtaṣar ḳılduḳ.	All these angels will go with this man to appear before God Most High. But anybody who doubts the benefits of this prayer will be a disbeliever at the time of resurrection. *We seek refuge in God*.' There are many commentaries on this prayer, but we have abridged them.
60, 3–4	<u>Hāẕā</u> duʿā'-ı mercān; götüre; mücerrebdür, mis̱li yoḳdur.	This is the Coral Prayer to be carried; it is proven and matchless.

Conclusion

The prayer book demonstrates that reciting Qur'anic verses and prayers contained in it is presented as a remedy for all personal problems and diseases. Prayers are regarded as an effective means of averting the evil eye and harmful actions of wicked people. They protect believers against jinns, devils, and dangerous creatures. A Qur'anic verse or a good prayer may also be employed for fulfilling desires and wishes, as well as for guiding a believer after rising from the dead at the Last Judgment. The Turkish instructions accompanying the Arabic prayers describe various modes of their use, whether they should be

17 Identically in WM 120b.

recited, carried, or dissolved in water and drunk, just to mention a few. Since prayer books of this kind have not yet been critically edited and studied, we may draw parallels with other types of practical literature, such as medical treatises in which divine treatment is also applied.

Editorial symbols

{ } – unnecessary text
[ ] – amended text
… – lacking or unclear text
[[ ]] – added text
‹ › – transliterated text
| – and of the line

Abbreviations

NR – New Redhouse, see: Alkım et al., ed., 1991
Q – The Qur'an
TM – Turkish manuscript, see: Cicharska, 2011
TS – Türkçe Sözlük, see: Akalın, 2005
WM – Warsaw manuscript, see: Majda, 1994

Ar. – Arabic
CTat. – Crimean Tatar
Tur. – Turkish

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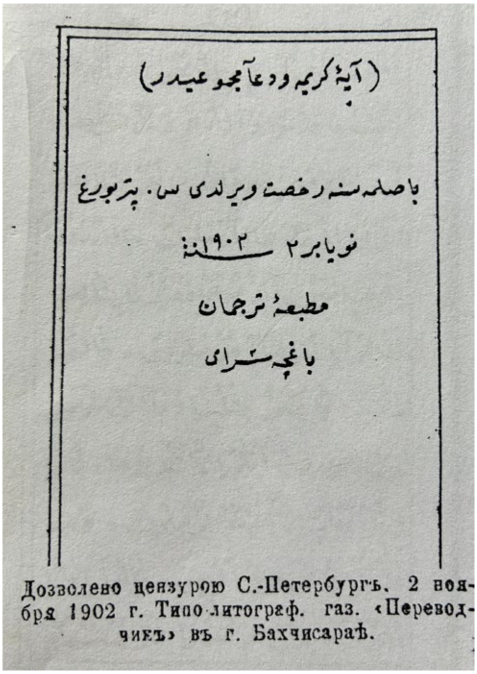


(آیهٔ کریمه و دعا مجموعه‌سیدر)

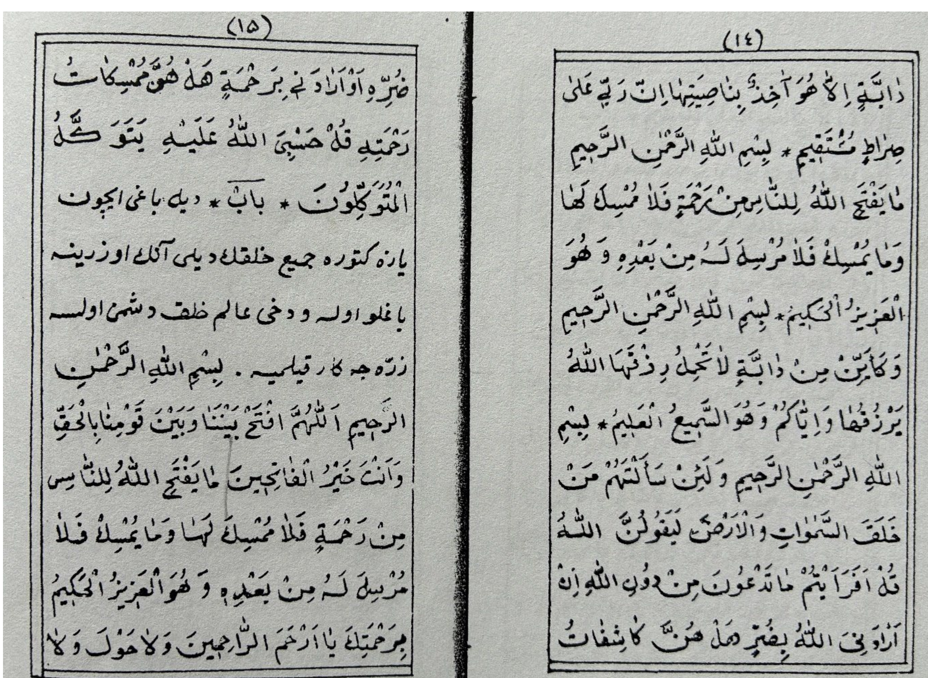
باصمه‌سنه رخصت ویریلدی س. پتربورغ

نویابر ٢ سنه ١٩٠٢

مطبعهٔ ترجمان

باغچه‌سرای

Дозволено цензурою С.-Петербургъ. 2 ноября 1902 г. Типо-литограф. газ. «Переводчикъ» въ г. Бахчисараѣ.

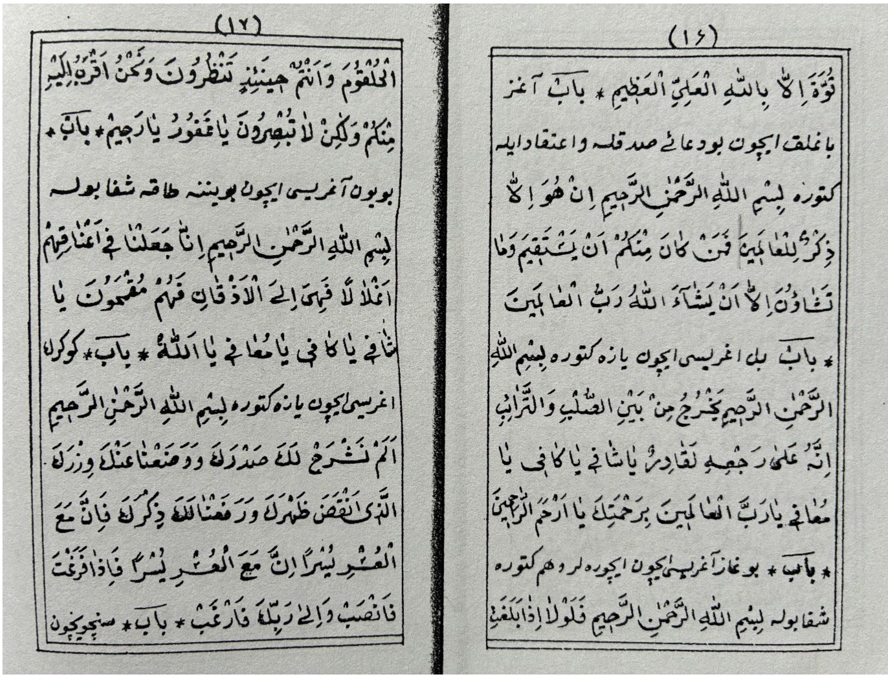


(١٤)

دابّةٍ اِلاّ هُوَ آخِذٌ بِناصِيَتِها اِنَّ رَبّي عَلى
صِراطٍ مُسْتَقيم * بِسْمِ اللهِ الرَّحْمنِ الرَّحيم
ما يَفْتَحِ اللهُ لِلنّاسِ مِنْ رَحْمَةٍ فَلا مُمْسِكَ لَها
وَما يُمْسِكْ فَلا مُرْسِلَ لَهُ مِنْ بَعْدِهِ وَهُوَ
الْعَزيزُ الْحَكيم * بِسْمِ اللهِ الرَّحْمنِ الرَّحيم
وَكَاَيِّنْ مِنْ دابَّةٍ لا تَحْمِلُ رِزْقَها اللهُ
يَرْزُقُها وَاِيّاكُمْ وَهُوَ السَّميعُ الْعَليم * بِسْمِ
اللهِ الرَّحْمنِ الرَّحيم وَلَئِنْ سَاَلْتَهُمْ مَنْ
خَلَقَ السَّمواتِ وَالْاَرْضَ لَيَقُولُنَّ اللهُ
قُلْ اَفَرَاَيْتُمْ ما تَدْعُونَ مِنْ دُونِ اللهِ اِنْ
اَرادَنِيَ اللهُ بِضُرٍّ هَلْ هُنَّ كاشِفاتُ

(١٥)

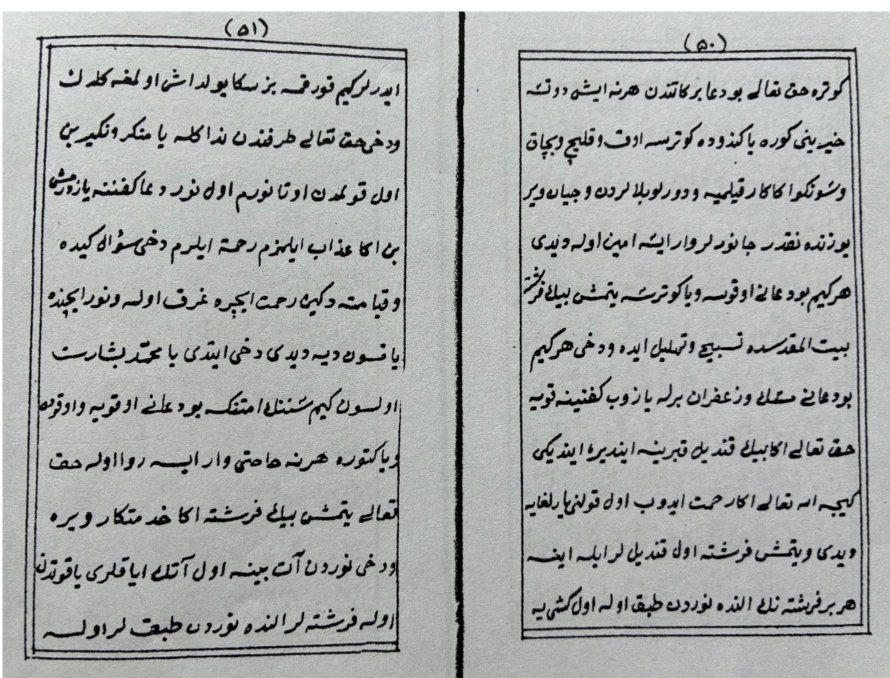
ضُرِّهِ اَوْ اَرادَنى بِرَحْمَةٍ هَلْ هُنَّ مُمْسِكاتُ
رَحْمَتِهِ قُلْ حَسْبِيَ اللهُ عَلَيْهِ يَتَوَكَّلُ
الْمُتَوَكِّلُونَ * بابٌ * دیل باغی اچون
یازه کتوره جمیع خلقلک دیلی آکلک اوزرینه
باغلو اوله و دخی عالم خلق دشمن اولسه
زره جه کار قیلمیه . بِسْمِ اللهِ الرَّحْمنِ
الرَّحيم اَللّهُمَّ افْتَحْ بَيْنَنا وَبَيْنَ قَوْمِنا بِالْحَقِّ
وَاَنْتَ خَيْرُ الْفاتِحينَ ما يَفْتَحِ اللهُ لِلنّاسِ
مِنْ رَحْمَةٍ فَلا مُمْسِكَ لَها وَما يُمْسِكْ فَلا
مُرْسِلَ لَهُ مِنْ بَعْدِهِ وَهُوَ الْعَزيزُ الْحَكيم
بِرَحْمَتِكَ يا اَرْحَمَ الرّاحِمينَ وَلا حَوْلَ وَلا


(١٦)

قوة الا بالله العلي العظيم * باب آغز
باغلق ایچون بو دعائی صدقله و اعتقاد ایله
کتوره بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم ان هو الا
ذکر للعالمین فمن کان منکم ان یستقیم وما
تشاؤن الا ان یشاء الله رب العالمین
* باب بل اغریسی ایچون یازه کتوره بسم الله
الرحمن الرحیم یخرج من بین الصلب والترائب
انه علی رجعه لقادر یا شافی یا کافی یا
معافی یارب العالمین برحمتك یا ارحم الراحمین
* باب * بوغاز آغریسی ایچون ایکوره لر وهم کتوره
شفا بوله بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم فلولا اذا بلغت

(١٧)

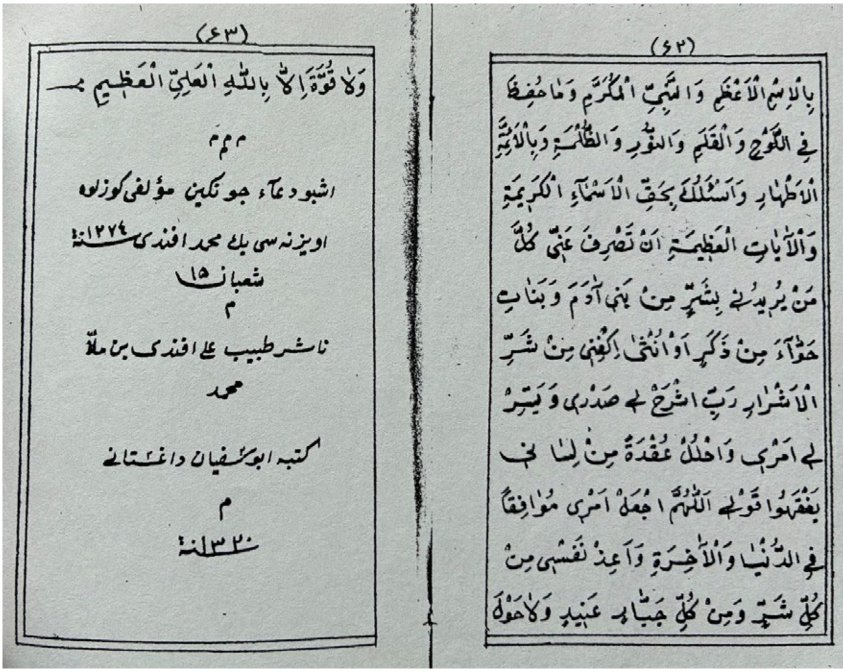
الحلقوم وانتم حینئذ تنظرون ونحن اقرب الیه
منکم ولکن لا تبصرون یا غفور یا رحیم * باب *
بویون آغریسی ایچون بوینینه طاقه شفا بوله
بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم انا جعلنا فی اعناقهم
اغلالا فهی الی الاذقان فهم مقمحون یا
شافی یا کافی یا معافی یا الله * باب * کوکرك
اغریسی ایچون یازه کتوره بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم
الم نشرح لك صدرك ووضعنا عنك وزرك
الذی انقض ظهرك ورفعنا لك ذکرك فان مع
العسر یسرا ان مع العسر یسرا فاذا فرغت
فانصب والی ربك فارغب * باب * سنجی ایچون


(٥٠)

کوره حق تعالی بو دعا برکاتندن هرنه ایشی دوتسه
خیرینی کوره یا کندوده کوترسه اوق وقلیچ وبچاق
وسونکو اکا کار قیلمیه ودورلو بلالردن وجیانه ویر
یوزنده نقدر جانورلر وار ایسه امین اوله ویدی
هرکیم بو دعائی اوقوسه ویا کوترسه یتمش بیك فرشته
بیت المقدسده تسبیح وتهلیل ایده ودخی هرکیم
بو دعائی مسك وزعفران برله یازوب کفنینه قویه
حق تعالی اکا بیك قندیل قبرینه ایندیره ایدیکی
کبیه اله تعالی اکا رحمت ایدوب اول قولنی یارلغایه
ویدی ویتمش فرشته اول قندیللر ایله ایفنه(?)
هر بر فرشته نك النده نوردن طبق اوله اول کشی یه

(٥١)

ایدرلر کیم قورقمه بز سکا یولداش اولمغه کلدك
ودخی حق تعالی طرفندن نداکله یا منکر ونکیر بو
اول قولمدن اوتانورم اول نور وعمل کفننه یازدوغی
بن اکا عذاب ایلمزم رحمت ایلرم دخی سؤال کیده
وقیامتده دکیی رحمت ایچره غرق اوله ونور ایچنده
یا قسون دیه ویدی دخی ایتدی یا محمد بشارت
اولسون کیم سنك امتنك بو دعانی اوقویه واوقوته
ویا کتوره هرنه حاجتی وار ایسه روا اوله حق
تعالی یتمش بیك فرشته اکا خدمتکار ویره
ودخی نوردن آت بینه اول آتلك ایاقلری یاقوتدن
اوله فرشته لر الده نوردن طبق لر اوله


(٦٢)

بالاسم الاعظم والنبي المكرم وما حفظ في اللوح والقلم والنور والظلمة وبالائمة الاطهار واسئلك بحق الاسماء الكريمة والآيات العظيمة ان تصرف عني كل من يريدني بشر من بني آدم وبنات حواء من ذكر او انثى اكفني من شر الاشرار رب اشرح لي صدري ويسر لي امري واحلل عقدة من لساني يفقهوا قولي اللهم اجعل امري موافقا في الدنيا والآخرة واعذ نفسي من كل شيطان ومن كل جبار عنيد ولا حول

(٦٣)

ولا قوة الا بالله العلي العظيم

م م م

اشبو دعاء جونکین مؤلفی کوزلو

اویزنه‌سی بلاء محمد افندی کا سنة ١٢٧٤

شعبان ١٥

م

ناشر طبیب علی افندی بن ملا

محمد

کتبه ابو سفیان داغستانی

م

سنة ١٣٢٠

Henryk Jankowski – Professor at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Adam Mickiewicz University, founder of Turkic Studies in Poznań. His research focuses on various Turkic languages, including Turkish, Kazakh, Crimean Tatar, Karaim, and the Turkic languages once used by Lithuanian-Polish Tatars. He has published numerous books and articles, e.g. *A historical-Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Russian Habitation Names of the Crimea* (2006, Brill), a *Kazakh-Polish Dictionary* (2011, Kraków), and a *Crimean Karaim-English Dictionary* (2015, Poznań), the latter two co-authored with Gulayhan Aqtay.

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Mateusz M. Kłagisz
http://orcid.org/0000-0003-0807-3290
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
mateusz.klagisz@uj.edu.pl
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A Glimpse at Aleksander Chodźko's *Le Ḳorâçân et son héros populaire Bunîad Hézzaré*

ABSTRACT

The article offers a concise discussion of a single text, *Le Ḳorâçân et son héros populaire Bunîad Hézzaré*, which appears to be based on a report from an expedition to Khorasan, undertaken in the 1830s by Aleksander Chodźko (1804–1891), a Polish diplomat in the service of the Russian tsar. Although lacking a broader methodological or theoretical framework, Chodźko's work should be regarded as a significant contribution to the study of the mythologizing of historical figures, exemplified here by a local raider from north-western Afghanistan – the titular Bunîad Hézzaré / Bunyad Hazara. In this respect, it may complement analogous research by scholars such as Ignác Kúnos, Wilhelm Radloff, and Tadeusz Kowalski in the field of Turkic folklore and poetry.

KEYWORDS: Bunyad Hazara, Chodźko, Khorasan, poetry, raider

STRESZCZENIE

Rzut oka na artykuł *Le Ḳorâçân et son héros populaire Bunîad Hézzaré* autorstwa Aleksandra Chodźki

Artykuł stanowi zwięzłe omówienie pojedynczego tekstu *Le Ḳorâçân et son héros populaire Bunîad Hézzaré*, który opiera się najwyraźniej na relacji z wyprawy do Chorasanu podjętej w latach 30. XIX w. przez Aleksandra Chodźkę (1804–1891), polskiego dyplomatę w służbie cara. Choć brakuje w nim szerszych podstaw metodologicznych i teoretycznych, tekst Chodźki należy uznać za istotny wkład w badania nad mitologizacją postaci historycznych na przykładzie lokalnego jeźdźca z północno-zachodniego Afganistanu – tytułowego Bunîada Hézzaré/ Bunjada Hazary. Może on zatem stanowić uzupełnienie analogicznych badań prowadzonych przez takich badaczy jak Ignác Kúnos, Wilhelm Radloff czy Tadeusz Kowalski w zakresie folkloru tureckiego i jego poezji.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: Bunjad Hazara, Chodźko, Chorasan, poezja, rzezimieszek

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> My stay in Daragez was rather eventful; on some five occasions I heard the call from the top of the mosque, "Turkomans! Turkomans! mount and away!" which is the call for the Governor's cavalry to mount and proceed in hot haste in pursuit of bands of these marauders who were carrying off slaves or cattle (Stewart, 1881, p. 535).

> Today, when Turkmen raids, even in relatively small groups, reach only the border regions of the country, erupting on a larger scale only in central-northern Persia, the gates of villages stand open to every passerby. Here and there, even outside the walls of a chaykhana [teahouse – MMK] or caravanserai, a clay hut sometimes emerges, as if to test how long it will last. However, travelers seeking rest in these, especially when they are white, are still greeted with disgust and gloomy hostility by the people long accustomed for centuries that everything coming this way brings destruction and enslavement[1] (Goetel, 1924, pp. 119–120).

1. Among Ewa Siemieniec-Gołaś's publications, one can find articles on Polish pre-modern scholars interested in the broadly understood East, as well as on their academic and non-academic field studies. For example, in 2017, she published *Koncepcja nauczania języków orientalnych w czasach stanisławowskich* [*The Concepts of Teaching Oriental Languages in the Time of Stanisław August Poniatowski*], in which she discusses the establishment of the first professional and state institution in Warsaw during the mid-18th century to educate interpreters and translators of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. Her article serves as a contemporary commentary on the issues raised by Jan Reychman in *Znajomość i nauczanie języków orientalnych w Polsce XVIII w.* [*The Knowledge and Teaching of Oriental Languages in 18th-century Poland*] (Reychman, 1950).[2]

Four years later, in 2021, she released *Władysław Jabłonowski – polski lekarz w osmańskiej służbie: Znawca i badacz Wschodu* [*Władysław Jabłonowski – Polish Physician in the Ottoman Service: An Expert and Researcher of the East*],

1 "Dziś, gdy napady Turkmenów i to w grupach nie wielkich obejmują tylko pas pograniczny kraju, wybuchając w większych rozmiarach jeno w środkowo-północnej Persji, – otwarły się wrota wsi dla każdego przechodnia. Tu i ówdzie wyrasta nawet i zewnątrz murów czajchana czy karawanseraj, – czasami chata gliniana, wystawiona, jakoby na próbę, azali długo postoi. Szukającego w nich wypoczynku podróżnika, zwłaszcza, gdy jest to człowiek biały, witają tam jednak ciągle jeszcze ze wstrętem i ponurą nienawiścią ludzi, przyzwyczajonych od wieków, że wszystko co płynie tą drogą, niesie im zniszczenie i niewolę." (All translations, unless otherwise indicated, are by the author).

2 To find a review of Reychman's monograph, refer to the work by Mikulski (1951).

in which she presents the profile of a 19th-century *émigré* who spent thirty years of his life in the Ottoman Empire as a doctor and botanist. This article contributes to the contemporary humanistic trend of restoring the memory of lesser-known explorers and scholars interested in non-European cultures. It also adds to the discussion on Polish varieties of Orientalism, particularly in comparison with a similar, though not identical, phenomenon that analyzed by Edward Said (1935–2003).[3]

There are more such articles, but listing them here would be redundant. Of particular note is her academic leadership in the *Orientalia Polonica: Polskie tradycje badań nad Orientem* [*Orientalia Polonica: Polish Traditions of Research on the Orient*] Project (2013–2017). One of its outcomes was the re-edition of twelve works authored and published by Polish explorers, missionaries, researchers, and travelers of the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, who were interested in Arabian, Indian, Iranian, or Turkish cultures.[4]

I was particularly drawn to her work *Orientalista – Aleksander Chodźko i jego wkład w popularyzację języka tureckiego* [*Aleksander Chodźko and His Contribution to the Popularisation of the Turkish Language*] from 2020, as I was simultaneously gathering sources for a short biographical entry on Chodźko focusing on his ethnographic studies.[5] In her article, Siemieniec-Gołaś discusses his work *Le Dragoman turc donnant les mots et les phrases les plus nécessaires pour la conversation: Vade mecum indispensable à l'armée d'Orient* (1854), a one-hundred-page monograph likely written at the request or instigation of the French authorities.[6] This work served as a phrasebook for soldiers participating in the Crimean War (1853–1856) in support of the Ottoman Empire. Chodźko (1804–1891), a student at Vilnius University (1820–1823), and an alumnus of the Oriental Institute in Saint Petersburg (1824–1830), served as a Russian diplomat in Qajar Iran (1830–1841), *attaché* in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1852–1855), and professor of Slavic literature at the Collège de France (1857–1883). He is widely recognized as one of the earliest European scholars to work on Iranian folklore.[7] However, his research was not

3 Given the extensive critical and enthusiastic literature surrounding Said and his monograph *Orientalism* (1978), I wish to direct the reader's attention to a single exemplary article by Fred Halliday titled *Orientalism and Its Critics* (1993).

4 For more details refer to: bj.uj.edu.pl/nauka-i-kultura/projekty/orientalia-polonica (access: 06.02.2024).

5 The entry appeared in volume VI of the *Etnografowie i ludoznawcy polscy: Sylwetki, szkice biograficzne* [*Ethnographers: Personalities, Biographical Sketches*] (Kłagisz, 2020).

6 Another outcome of her research is the monograph *Turkish Vocabulary in Aleksander Chodźko's* Vocabulaire français-turc *(1854)* published in 2024.

7 For a discussion on Chodźko's life, (non)academic activity and publications, see: Calmard (1991); Kłagisz (2020); Krasnowolska (2007; 2013); Płoszewski (1937); Reychman (1972, pp. 252–261); Rypka (1970, p. 362); Siemieniec-Gołaś (2020; 2024, pp. 9–34); Starnawski (1978, pp. 63–90).

limited to Persian-speaking communities; he also demonstrated interest in the cultural heritage of Turkic- and even Pashto-speaking groups.[8] He remains relatively unknown in Poland, and his scientific achievements have received limited scholarly attention.[9]

2. In my contribution to the *Miscellanea Turcica et Orientalia*, a heartfelt expression of gratitude to Siemieniec-Gołaś by colleagues and friends alike, I will explore one of her academic interests that led her to Chodźko and his work, *Le Dragoman turc*... Specifically, I examine Chodźko's article, *Le Ḳorâçân et son héros populaire Bunîad Hézzaré*, originally published in 1852 in *Revue orientale et algérienne* 2(2) and later republished as an offprint.[10] Authored by Chodźko following his emigration to France, like most of his texts, the article draws upon observations made during one or more (short) trips undertaken somewhere between 1830 and 1841, a period when he served as a Russian diplomat, primarily stationed in Rasht. Through these travels, he documented various economic activities, such as silkworm cultivation (1843), as well as cultural phenomena, including theater (1845a) and *ta'ziye* plays (1845b), providing insights into the life of northern Iran.

His article, *Le Ḳorâçân*..., can be considered a retrospective report compiled several years later, presumably from Polish notes taken during his travels. This may account for the absence of crucial details, such as the date of the trip or its itinerary. Consequently, it is challenging to determine the specific route he traveled, the extent of his exploration into northeastern Iran (the province of Khorasan), or the time of year he arrived there.[11] Interestingly, another article

8 In the journal *La revue de l'Orient, de l'Algérie et des colonies* he published the following studies: 1) *Chants populaires turcomans, traduits des dialectes turkoman et turk oriental* (1852b); 2) *Chants populaires perso-turcs* (1852c); 3) *Chants historiques de l'Afghanistan en langue puchte* (1855).

9 Quite recently, a valuable text by Inga Walc (2023) has been published: *Ofiary brata Chodźki: Udział Aleksandra Chodźki w Kole Sprawy Bożej* [*Sacrifices of Chodźko's Brother: Aleksander Chodźko's Involvement in the Circle of Divine Matters*] discussing his life in France after leaving the diplomatic post in Iran, when he joined the Towians, who emphasised spiritual renewal and sought to bring about a transformation of society through their religious beliefs.

10 The offprint is held in the Library of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Polish Academy of Sciences under catalogue number PAU 114599 III. A handwritten note at the bottom of the first page reads: "Krakowskiej Akademii Umiejętności – dar autora [For the Krakow Academy of Arts and Sciences – the author's gift]," with the date "1874." Most importantly, Chodźko's signature confirms that this is one of several publications personally submitted by the author to the newly established Polish academic institution. We do not find this article on the extensive list of Chodźko's publications provided by Gritskevitch (1987, pp. 49–52) in his article *Aleksandr Khodz'ko (194–1891) i ego vklad v razvitie iranistiki i tiurkologii*.

11 Reychman (1972) does not provide any information regarding Chodźko's expedition to Khorasan, and the map illustrating the routes along which Poles traversed the Middle East does not

of his, *Une excursion de Téhéran aux Pyles caspiennes (1835)*: *Extrait des voyages inédits* (1850), comes to the rescue, revealing: "I willingly joined the project for a new excursion into the mountains, especially since I had already seen Serdere [Sardarre – MMK] twice during my journey to Khorasan in 1833" (Chodźko, 1850, p. 298).[12] This information is corroborated by a comment found in *Specimens of Popular Poetry of Persia as found in the Adventures and Improvisations of Kurroglou the Bandit-minstrel on Northern Persia and in the Songs of the People inhabiting the Shores of the Caspian Sea*: "[t]he following thirteen songs were collected, chiefly in Nardin, during an excursion in Northern Khorasan, which I made in 1833" (Chodźko, 1842, p. 379).

The mentioned shortcomings do not diminish the scientific value of his article, which remains an interesting albeit brief report on local folklore.

3. Chodźko's *Le Ḳorâçân...* comprises two parts: the first serves as an introductory presentation of the Iranian province of Khorasan (Ch. Ḳorâçân), while the second focuses on the life of an 18th-century local raider, the titular Bunyad Hazara (Ch. Bunîad Hézzaré). Before proceeding further, a brief explanation of the toponym Khorasan is necessary. As Ann K.S. Lambton argues: "[i]n the early centuries of Islam, Khurasan [Khorasan – MMK] generally included all the Muslim provinces east of the Great Desert. In this larger sense, it included Transoxiana, Sijistan [Sistan – MMK] and Quhistan [Kohestan – MMK]" (Lambton, 1988, p. 404). The name Khorasan refers to a greater cultural-historical region than the specific Iranian province described by Chodźko in the early 19th century. This broader region encompasses modern northeastern Iran, northern Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, central Uzbekistan, and western Tajikistan.

The article opens with a description of the boundaries and geographic features of the Iranian province of Khorasan. However, some facts Chodźko mentions pertain to the territories belonging to the Emirate of Bukhara in central Uzbekistan and the Emirate of Herat in northwestern Afghanistan. It is worth noting that the Qajar dynasty (1794–1925) made unsuccessful attempts to annex the latter, which was eventually incorporated into Afghanistan in the 1860s (Champagne, 1981). Other details in Chodźko's account relate to the southern regions of the Khanate of Khiva in northern Turkmenistan, which, between the 1870s and 1880s, became the scene of Russian expansion culminating in the creation of the Transcaspian Oblast. Chodźko's depiction of the borders of the Iranian province of Khorasan differs from contemporary

mark it, although his other trips have been. Such data is also missing in Azat'ian (1969), and in its Polish translation by Lipko (1979).

12 "[j]e m'associai d'autant plus volontiers au projet d'une nouvelle excursion dans les montagnes, que j'avais déjà deux fois vu Serderé, lors de mon voyage au Khoraçân, en 1833."

ones because in the 1830s, its easternmost extent reached the banks of the Oxus River, east of the city of Merv (modern Mary). The contemporary boundary between Iran and Turkmenistan, marked by the Atrek River, the Kopet-Dag Range, and the Tejen River, was onlt established by the Treaty of Akhal on August 21, 1881.[13] This treaty resulted in the the Qajar dynasty's loss of the Merv region, which was subsequently integrated into the Romanov Empire (1613–1917).

Chodźko's discussion of the boundaries of Khorasan is simplified; for instance, the Kopet-Dag Mountains are erroneously identified as the Alborz. This simplification creates a problem in one case, where its western boundary is said to correspond to a location identified as: "... the Yèle-Kopri ditch, which once served as a boundary between Parthia and Media" (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 169).[14] Searches for this toponym on 19th-century maps have yielded no results. Additionally, I have not encountered it in the works by Vladimir F. Minorsky, who meticulously reconstructed the geographical setting of the 11th-century romance *Vis-o Ramin* by Fakhroddin As'ad Gorgani [] (Minorsky, 1946; 1947; 1953; 1963). Given that after a few pages, Chodźko interprets the meaning of the lexeme *yèles* as "warriors,"[15] he might have had the Turkic-Persian noun *il* (tribe) in mind. Hence, "the Yèle-Kopri trench"[16] would refer to a place inhabited by the Kopri tribe, which I also failed to identify.[17]

Next, the natural conditions of the province in question are discussed. However, the scarcity of available facts proves disappointing, particularly when compared with other texts by Chodźko or to reports by other European explorers and travelers.[18] The same can be said about his discussion of history, which

13 For a contemporary account published in the Russian press, see e.g.: Ekspeditsiia protiv turkmen akhal-teke in the journal *Vsemirnaia illiustratsiia*. See also: Spolatbog (1884).

14 "... le fossé de Yèle-Kopri, qui jadis servait de limite entre la Parthie et la Médie." On the borders of Media, see: Diakonoff (1985, pp. 127–129).

15 "guerriers."

16 "le fossé de Yèle-Kopri."

17 After submitting the final version of the article to the editors, I came across the story of an orphan named Korpie, who became the progenitor of one of the Turkmen clans (Vasil'eva 1985, pp. 88–89). Does the hero's name have anything to do with a toponym? I do not know – further research is certainly desirable, as I was unable to locate such a place in, inter alia, the 1888 report by Baev. Chodźko may have been referring to the Tash-Kepri region, where in 1885 a battle took place between Russian imperial forces and Afghan troops. If so, the name would designate an area near the Russo-Afghan border, on the frontier of present-day Turkmenistan and Afghanistan, around the Amu Darya River – an important communication and strategic corridor during the Russian Empire's southward expansion (Annaorazov, 2020). However, this seems unlikely, since Tash-Kepri is located in eastern Turkmenistan, far from the likely geographical context of "le fossé de Yèle-Kopri."

18 To provide a few examples: 1) George N. Curzon, in his *Persia and the Persian Question*, offers a concise description of the nature of Khorasan (Curzon, 1892 I, p. 142); 2) Charles E. Stewart,

is limited to listing political figures such as Darius III, Alexander of Macedon, Harun al-Rashid, Genghis Khan, Timur, and finally, Nader Shah.

To conclude his brief overview of local history, Chodźko maintains that the dynamics of change on the local socio-political level are shaped by the conflict of two opposing forces: Iranian *vs*. Turanian. At this point, it is pertinent to clarify the meaning of the latter adjective. It derives from the toponym Turan, which refers to a mythological realm inhabited by enemies of Iran who were their (close) relatives.[19] However, in accordance with the conventions of Chodźko's time, the term 'Turanian' refers to populations defined today as Turkic. The identification of the term 'Turanian' with 'Turkic' resulted from the gradual displacement of the Iranian people living in Central Asia by various Turkic tribes (cf. Bartol'd, 1903, pp. 60–62). The conflict of two opposing forces – Iranian *vs*. Turanian – acquires in the text an additional dimension of civilized *vs*. uncivilized, as reflected in Chodźko's portrayal of the Iranian province of Khorasan as a bulwark protecting Iran against Central Asian barbarity: "[i]t is the field of battles where the defenders of the civilization of the old world fought against the barbarians of Central Asia" (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 170).[20] This approach is complemented by the idea of a conflict between two models of life: sedentary, represented by the Iranians, vs. nomadic, represented by the Turkic tribes, as well as between the two branches of Islam: Shiite, represented by the Khorasani peasants, vs. Sunni, with the Turkic tribes once again serving as its principal representatives (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 171).[21]

in his *The Country of the Tekke Turkmans, and the Tejend and Murghab Rivers*, provides an extensive description of Khorasan (Stewart, 1881, pp. 515–528); 3) *Travels into Bokhara: Being an account of a Journey from India to Cabool, Tartary and Persia. Also, narrative of a Voyage on the Indus from the Sea to Lahore* (1834–1835) by Alexander Burnes is still read by students of modern Afghanistan studies. Information on local geography provided by Chodźko could be compared with descriptions left by, among others, the Polish geologist Karol Bohdanowicz (1864–1947), who arrived there at the end of the 19th century, and bequeathed a report on Iranian turquoise mines near Nishapur (Wójcik, 1997, pp. 59–76). Local flora, represented by animals such as gazelles, hyenas, or onagers, could be complemented with the extensive register of animals inhabiting the banks of the Amu Darya, compiled by the Polish naturalist Włodzimierz Korsak (1886–1973) in the early 20th century (Korsak, 1923), while the basic information on the flora can be compared with: Linchevsky, Prozorovsky, Airy Show (1949). Finally, information on history can be complemented with works by the Russian/Soviet specialist Wilhelm Barthold [Vasiliy V. Bartol'd] (Barthold, 1956; 1958; 1962; Bartol'd, 1963a; 1963b; 1964).

19 For more details, refer to the *Shahname* and the story of the three brothers – Iraj, Salm, and Tur (Ferdousi, 1394, pp. 51–74).

20 "[c]'est le champ des batailles que les défenseurs de la civilisation du vieux monde ont livrées aux barbares de l'Asie centrale."

21 The limitrophe character of the province in question is also highlighted by Barthold (Bartol'd, 1903, p. 60), who recalls that already in ancient times these lands were subject to extensive pressure from nomads coming from the north.

The opposition between Iranian and Turanian→Turkic can ultimately be equated with the opposition inscribed in Ferdousi's *Shahname* (10th/11th century), i.e., the opposition of self vs. other as well as of good vs. evil. At one point, Chodźko refers to the nomadic tribes ransacking the Iranian province of Khorasan as Zahak, an antihero from the *Shahname* who consumes fresh human brains and remains the source of all misfortune in Iran. This is because Chodźko sees them as forces that feed on the vital forces of the state, represented by hardworking men: "… which, like the serpent of Zahak, in the Persian epic, only feeds on human victims"[22] (Chodźko 1852a, p. 179). It is therefore not surprising that local peasants used to refer to such raids as "a night of blood, *shab-e khun* (Ch. *chébi ḳoune*)"[23] (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 172), and the raiders as "vendors of men, or merchants of human flesh, *adamforush* (Ch. *adem furouch*)"[24] (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 171). As explained, the main slave buyers are Uzbeks, who are purportedly unfamiliar with agriculture and therefore forced to acquire experienced workforce: "[t]he Uzbeks, lazy and not very suitable for agricultural work, willingly buy prisoners of both sexes"[25] (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 171).

22 "… qui, semblable au serpent de Zohak, dans l'épopée persane, ne se nourrit que de victimes humaines." Chodźko should have mentioned "serpents," as Zahak had two – one on each shoulder. In his short story *Dzhan*, Andrei P. Platonov uses historical and mythological context to reveal deeper truths about the human condition and the tension between spiritual longing and harsh reality. The mention of Turkmen raids on Khorasan is only allusive (Platonov, 2004, pp. 15–16; Polish translation by Irena Piotrowska in: Płatonow, 1969, pp. 46–47). It is not a detailed historical account, but rather a symbolic framework within which the author explores themes of spiritual searching, hunger for meaning, and transcendence. Khorasan, a land lying beyond the Kopet Dag mountains, is portrayed almost as a promised land, full of light, wealth, and order – a kind of embodiment of good (Ohrmazd). In contrast, the Turkmen steppes, barren and harsh, represent lack, deprivation, and thus generate desire, and it is this very desire that becomes the source of violence. Platonov draws on the Zoroastrian concept of two opposing forces: good and evil, but he reinterprets it. Evil here is not absolute, nor does it stem from hatred or moral corruption. Strikingly, it arises from a longing for good. The desire for beauty, order, and abundance becomes a force of destruction – not because goodness provokes envy, but because its unattainability leads to suffering, which in turn can erupt into violence. This is a very characteristic motif in Platonov's work: the human striving toward light, constantly thwarted by material limitations, hunger, and the frailty of the body but never fully extinguished. This dualism runs through the entire story, both in the relationships between characters and in the spiritual architecture of the world they inhabit. To sum up: the theme of the Turkmen raids on Khorasan does not serve a purely historical function, but becomes a metaphor for the tragic mechanism of human desire. Evil not as a choice, but as a byproduct of longing for good – this is one of Platonov's most moving and original reflections. A side thread concerns the sale of slaves to Afghanistan. For a broader discussion of the slave trade in this country, using Kandahar as an example, see: Trousdale (2021, pp. 66–68).

23 "une nuit de sang, *chébi ḳoune*."

24 "vendeurs d'hommes ou marchands de chair humaine, *adem furouch*."

25 "[l]es Ouzbeks, indolents et peu aptes aux travaux d'agriculture, achètent volontiers les prisonniers des deux sexes."

One of many manifestations of the Iranian *vs*. Turanian→Turkic tensions, according to Chodźko, are ravishing raids undertaken by Turkmens during which they abduct people to sell them later in bazaars of Central Asia, in Bukhara, Khiva, or Urgench (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 171). In fact, the Iranian province of Khorasan, like the entirety of Khorasan, was regularly assailed not only by the Turkmens but also by Baloch, Pashtuns, or Uzbeks (cf. Bartol'd, 1903, p. 74). Charles E. Stewart, who traveled across the same province approximately fifty years after Chodźko, in 1880, mentions in his report some Baloch groups plundering the countryside:

> I found the small population of Sukand much excited at the news of the arrival of a large party of raiding Biluchis [Baloch – MMK], who were said to be stopping and plundering caravans between this place and Tabbas [Tabas – MMK] (Stewart, 1881, p. 517)

and:

> [a]t 29 miles from Homin we reached a caravanserai in the desert named Rizab [Rezab – MMK], where there was a very small spring of brackish water. Near this place was a deserted village, which had been destroyed many years before by Biluchi marauders from Seistan [Sistan – MMK]. This is the furthest point to which I have heard of Biluchi raids extending, and considering the great distance from Seistan it is wonderful that their raids should extend so far (Stewart, 1881, p. 516).

Chodźko's and Stewart's mentions put in mind of the novel *Ghulomon* [*Slaves*] by the (Soviet-)Tajik intellectual and writer, Sadriddin Ayni (1878–1954). His novel, characterized by a plain ideological tenor and penned in a nice and simple language, unfolds between 1825 and 1933. It tells the story of three generations of titular slaves, of which only the last one can enjoy freedom thanks to the Bolshevik revolution and the establishment of Soviet power in Central Asia after 1920. At its very beginning, a description of an attack carried out by a group of Turkmens on a village somewhere near the Hari River in north-western Afghanistan, as well as a description of the subsequent path of the led captives driven through the sands of the Kara-Kum Desert, can be traced (Ayni, 1960, pp. 25–31).[26]

26 Another example of literary traces of the slave trade conducted by the Turkmens is the Oriental novel *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* by James J. Morier (1824). The protagonist, Hajji Baba, begins his career in his father's trade as a barber, but after joining a caravan bound for Mashhad, he is captured by Turkmen raiders and taken into captivity. Eventually, he becomes one of them and, as a robber, takes part in their raid on Isfahan (Morier, 1824, pp. 8–76).

Characterizing Turkmens' raids, Chodźko explains that while the elders discuss, listening to messengers' reports, the rest of the men prepare their weapons and horses (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 172).[27] In the same paragraph, he also makes a short comment on the significance of the horse in Turkmen culture, emphasizing that the best horses are considered to be those bred by the Teke-Akhal (Ch: Téké-Aḳal) tribe, inhabiting the area of Ashkhabad, Merv and ancient Nisa. Their closest relatives are representatives of the Teke tribe living in the area of the city of Merv.[28] Highlighting the value of the Akhal-Teke horse, he confuses the Achaemenid mounted troops immortalized on one of the Pompeii mosaics with the Parthian ones.[29] Then he proceeds to present the equipment of the raider and his horse, as well as a concise description of the raid:

> [t]he armament of a Turkmen horseman consists of a lance, a saber, a bow and sometimes a matchlock. Two bags, one with roasted barley for the man, the other with raw barley for his mount and a packet of shade-dried melon slices, all attached to the saddle bags; this is the sum of their food provisions. And it is still necessary to use it soberly, because who can predict the duration and eventualities of the expedition? / Here they are on horseback, the serdar at the head. From a simple owner of a tent in some Turkmen camp where all men are equal, he becomes a chief whose slightest gesture is an irrevocable sentence. As long as the expedition lasts, he has the right of life and death over his subordinates. They advance slowly in order to spare the strength of their horses, sometimes remaining for entire days to wait for the right moment. It is usually in the middle of the night that they fall like fire from the sky on the sleeping villagers. No quarter: anyone who dares to resist is put to the sword. The slightest cry is muffled before it is heard. They do not care about herds and other property whose transportation would present difficulty; they only want people, and men, women, old people, children are gagged, garroted, put on the backs and carried away at full speed. They will be pursued during the morning, they know it and only seek their salvation in the speed and vigor of their mounts. The celerity with which they then cover great distances is marvelous. Their impetuous enthusiasm only slows down after crossing the Alborz mountain range. It is only there that the strongest of the captives are taken off their horses to be dragged along tied to the stirrup, with a rope around their necks[30] (Chodźko, 1852a, pp. 172–173).

27 To name the elders, Chodźko (1852, p. 172) applies the noun *aqsaqal* (Ch. ak̲ sak̲al) of Turkic origin.

28 The name 'Teke-Akhal' should be understood as referring to those representatives of the Teke tribe that inhabit the Akhal oasis – a more appropriate term would therefore be 'Akhal-Teke.'

29 The Alexander Mosaic is traditionally believed to depict the Battle of Issus, which took place on November 5, 333 BC (cf. Cohen, 1997).

30 "[l]'armement d'un cavalier turkman consiste en une lance, un sabre, un arc et quelque fois [quelquefois – MMK] un fusil à mèche. Deux sacs, l'un avec de l'orge grillée pour l'homme, l'autre avec de l'orge crue pour sa monture et un paquet de tranches de melon séchées à l'ombre,

An interesting description of what such an attack, in this case carried out by the Baloch, looks like is provided by Stewart:

> I here for the first time saw two men, who with their wives had been carried off and plundered by Biluchis. They said that they and their wives, with two other men, were on the road from Kirman [Kerman – MMK] to Tabbas, and when 80 miles to the southward of this place they were pounced upon by a band of thirty-seven men, most of them mounted on the swift Seistan camels so celebrated for their speed. They and their wives were stripped of everything but the most necessary clothing, and were carried about on camels for three days. One of their party who knew the country gave offense to the Biluchis by refusing to act as guide, and was hacked to pieces with swords, another of their party was killed by the Biluchis, and they heard that a traveler had been murdered previous to their own capture. At the end of three days the two men whom I met with their wives were released near Chasma Shutaran [Chashm-e Shotoran – MMK], the lonely spring in the desert where I filled my water-bottle. They came on to Rabat-i--Khan [Rabat-e Khan – MMK], and were anxious to proceed on their journey (Stewart, 1881, pp. 520–521).

Stewart also provides a quite detailed description of the animals used by the Baloch during a raid:

> I here heard of the mode of procedure of these Biluchi marauders. The camels they ride travel very fast. They can go 70 or even 80 miles a day, carrying one or sometimes two men and a little food. The longest distance that I have ever myself known a good trained camel to cover in a day was 92 measured miles on a road. This was accomplished between early dawn and evening, but the camel

le tout attaché aux trousses de la selle, voilà la somme de leurs provisions de bouche. Et encore faut-il en user sobrement, car qui peut prévoir la durée et les éventualités de l'expédition? / Les voilà à cheval, le serdar en tête. De simple propriétaire d'une tente dans quelque campement de Turkmans où tous les hommes sont égaux, il devient un monarque dont le moindre geste est un arrêt irrévocable. Tant que dure l'expédition, il a droit de vie et de mort sur ses subordonnés. Ils s'avancent lentement afin de ménager les forces de leurs chevaux, restant quelquefois pendant des journées entières pour attendre le moment propice. C'est ordinairement au milieu de la nuit qu'ils tombent comme le feu du ciel sur les villageois endormis. Point de quartier : tout ce qui ose résister est passé à l'arme blanche. Le moindre cri est étouffé avant qu'il ne soit entendu. Peu leur importe les troupeaux et autres propriétés dont le transport offrirait de la difficulté ; ils n'en veulent qu'aux personnes, et hommes, femmes, vieillards, enfants sont baillonnés [bâillonnés – MMK], garrottés, mis en croupe et emportés à bride abattue. Ils seront poursuivis dans le cours de la matinée, ils le savent et ne cherchent leur salut que dans la vitesse et la vigueur de leurs montures. La célérité avec laquelle ils parcourent alors de grandes distances tient du merveilleux. Leur fougue impétueuse ne se ralentit qu'après avoir traversé la chaîne des montagnes d'Albourz. Ce n'est que là qu'on fait descendre de cheval les plus robustes d'entre les captifs pour les traîner attachés à l'étrier, la corde au cou."

> performing this feat would not have been able to go on the next day for any great distance. This was, however, not a Biluchi camel. The Biluchis, with their trained camels which only require water every other day, and who can on a push last for three days without water, scour the country for incredible distance, lying hidden in some ravine in the desert, and pouncing upon unwary travelers, and driving off camels and cattle wherever found. Sometimes a rich caravan falls into their hands. Their camels can find enough grazing, in the less arid spots of the desert, to support life, assisted by a little food supplied by their owners in the form of balls of barely-meat mixed with just enough water to make a paste. A camel can exist in this way for a few weeks only while the foray lasts. The Biluchis only approach some lonely spring in the desert every other day, water their camels, fill their water-skins, and go back to hide in some new spot (Stewart, 1881, p. 521).

Chodźko suggests that Turkmens were only interested in people and do paid little attention to livestock or other (im)movable property, as transporting such goods would require too much energy and time. They purportedly take only what could be moved – namely, people – who, he explains, were treated carefully in order to secure a better price. In contrast, Stewart reports: "Biluchis very seldom kill; Turkomans almost always kill those they cannot carry off" (Stewart, 1881, p. 524), and that: "[t]he Turkmans almost always kill all they cannot carry away captive. If pressed in pursuit they cut off either the hands or feet, or both, of the captives and then leave them" (Stewart, 1881. p. 536). Chodźko's claim that the Turkmens cared for captives in order to increase their market value: "[t]hey are kept in custody, but they are pampered and carefully fed, with the aim of giving them an appearance of strength and health – the prices increasing according to the good looks of the merchandise"[31] (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 173), stands in stark contrast to Stewart's account:

> [t]he sufferings of the poor slaves while being carried off is terrible, as they are lashed on a horse's back behind their captors, often wounded while being taken prisoners, and are allowed very little rest, night or day, until they reach the Turkmen tents. They are then heavy ironed, a ring being passed round the neck and one round each leg. From these rings there are chains fastening the legs together, and a long chain from the neck ring which is fastened to a tent-peg (Stewart, 1881, p. 536).

A successful raid concludes with the capture of people, treated as mere loot to be distributed. According to Chodźko, one-tenth of the spoils is allocated to the commander, called *serdar*, as provided for by religious law, and the remaining

31 "[o]n les garde à vue, mais on les choie, on les nourrit avec soin, dans le but de leur donner une apparence de force et de santé, les prix renchérissant selon la bonne mine de la marchandise."

nine-tenths of it are divided among the other participants under his command (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 173).

A crucial part of human trafficking involves determining whether the families of the abducted individuals would be willing or able to ransom them. If so, traveling merchants, known as *dallal*, would visit the designated addresses to negotiate the release price. However, as Chodźko (1852a, p. 173) emphasizes, paying a ransom did not guarantee future freedom. He recounts the fears of a Khorasan merchant, who had already been abducted a dozen times, expressing concern that his family may not be able to help him secure his release the next time.

The constant threat posed by the Turkmens led to the construction of various primitive fortresses and shelters (Chodźko, 1852a, pp. 174–175). As Stewart (1881, p. 525) reports: "[t]he villages in this neighborhood are strongly fortified, and the forts are all kept in good repair and not allowed to fall into ruin like so many forts in more peaceful parts of Persia."[32] Furthermore, the threat prompted the Safavid rulers (1501–1736) to take measures such as resettling several tens of thousands of Kurdish families in the region and constructing fortresses to guard the high mountain passes (Bartol'd, 1903, p. 62). However, the political chaos following the assassination of Nader Shah on June 20, 1747, allowed the Kurds, who were growing increasingly independent from the distant capital in Isfahan, to either ally with the Turkmens or participate in human trafficking themselves (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 175).[33]

Importantly, Chodźko (1852a, pp. 176–178) devotes a paragraph to the tribal divisions of the Turkmens and offers brief remarks on their customs, including culinary habits and tea brewing *savoir-vivre*. He mentions, among others, the Yomut (Ch. Yémoutes), Teke (Ch. Tékés), and Saryk (Ch. Sarik) tribes, providing their locations and some basic statistical data regarding their populations.[34] Did he acquire such data by hearsay? The answer might lie in his private, partially unexplored archive divided between the Collège de France and the Bibliothèque nationale de France.[35] It should be emphasized that Chodźko

32 Kennedy (1890, pp. 54–55) and Stewart (1881, p. 528) provide detailed descriptions of such defence towers. Similar structures can also be found in eastern Afghanistan as fortified houses. For a discussion on traditional domestic architecture in Afghanistan and the *qal'a*-type fortified farm compound dwellings, refer to Barfield and Szabo (1991, pp. 161–195).

33 For a detailed analysis of Chodźko's reports on the Kurds resettled to northern and eastern Iran, refer to Krasnowolska (2013).

34 For some basic information regarding Turkmens' lineages, see e.g.: Vasil'eva (1979).

35 As far as I know, Francis Richard dug through Chodźko's handwritten notes to discover a page on which a few songs by the Turkman poet and Sufi – Magtymguly Pyragy (1724–1807) – were written down. Regrettably, I was not able to access his article Aleksander Chodzko and Magtymguly Turkman Songs published in English, Russian, and Turkmen in 2015 in *Miras Türmenistanyn ylymlar akademiyasynyn milli golyazmalar institusy* 3(59), on pages 29–36. (After

most likely describes the situation in the 1830s, which changed at the end of the 19th century due to the Russian presence in Turkestan, strengthened primarily by their victory in the Battle of Gök Teppe on January 24, 1881.

As indicated above, Chodźko's *Le Ḳorâçân…* is complemented by the story of the raider named Bunyad Hazara. He is the only son of Qurban Ali (Ch. Ḵurbân Alî) from the Bakharz (Ch. Baḳerz) district, approximately 200 km southeast of Mashhad, in the Iranian province of Khorasan. According to legend, when Qurban Ali learned that a group of Uzbeks from Maymana (northeastern Afghanistan) were returning home, carrying rich loot, he decided to attack them with his countrymen.[36] He captured about a hundred Akhal-Teke horses, as well as some prisoners, who were later sold as slaves. The funds obtained were used to better arm the group, which quickly gained a measure of fame. Although not directly stated, their popularity most likely stemmed from their effectiveness, prowess, and temerity. Upon his death, Qurban Ali handed over the command to Bunyad Hazara, who continued his father's profession (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 179).

As for the name Bunyad Hazara, its first element, *bunyad* (Ch. *bunîad*), raises some doubts, as it corresponds to Pe. *bonyad* "fundament; organization." Initially, I supposed that Chodźko had mistakenly taken *bonyad* as *bani* "son; descendant." However, I revised this view when I came across the characters of Bunyad Khan and Aka Bunyad. The first was one of the chiefs of the Hazaras of Qal'e-ye Nau (Adamec, 1972 III, pp. 119, 121, 186, 229–230, 240), and the second was a representative of the Taymuri tribe in north-eastern Afghanistan (Adamec, 1972 III, p. 435). Bunyad Hazara was also called *kolah-e chape* (Ch. koulah tchépé), meaning "an inside-out headgear." The nickname refers to his hat: "[his] sheepskin hat, oval in shape and without opening at the top, earned him the nickname *kolah-e chape* (Ch. *koulah tchépé*), 'ugly, crooked hat'" (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 185),[37] that apparently resembled a typical Turkmen *telpek*.

Bunyad Hazara engaged in combat against Ebrahim Khan, the chief of the Chahar-Aymaq tribal confederation. He not only defeated Ebrahim Khan but also gained the favor of several herd owners who joined his side and settled in the pastures between Herat and Kohsan in northeastern Afghanistan. Additionally,

submitting the article for publication, I learned, thanks to a comment from one of the reviewers, that this article is available as a Word file on Academia.edu: www.academia.edu/17724524/Aleksander_Chodzko_and_Magtymguly_Turkman_Songs_published_in_Miras_Ashgabat_2015_ (access: 04.06.2025)). Chodźko published in the *Specimens…* English translations of thirteen Turkmen songs, but unfortunately, without the original texts. For discussions on Turkic language and folklore in Khorasan, refer to Doerfer and Hesche (1993, 1998).

36 Maymana was in the middle of the 17th century an independent quasi-state ruled by the Uzbeks, known as the Maymana Khanate (Adamec, 1979 IV, pp. 397–405).

37 "[s]on bonnet en peau de mouton, de forme ovale et sans ouverture en haut, lui a valu le sobriquet de *koulah tchépé*, « bonnet laid, de travers »."

he clashed with the Uzbeks from Maymana, which Chodźko (1852a, p. 180) attributes to religious differences: the Uzbeks adhered to Sunni Islam, while Bunyad Hazara and his kinsmen followed Shiism. I believe that such a conclusion does not fully capture the situation. It was economic and political rivalry that played a more significant role, while religious differences were (only) a pretext.[38] Chodźko (1852a, p. 184) further explains that Bunyad Hazara represented the Hazara (Ch: Hézzarés) subgroup within the Chahar-Aymaq tribal confederation. Despite his leadership of the subgroup and his fame for bravery, he never managed to lead the entire formation. He was ultimately murdered by a young man who sought revenge for the death of his father, who had been killed by Bunyad Hazara. Chodźko (1852a, pp. 184–185) recalls rumors that his murder was ordered by the contemporary *beglerbegi*, i.e. governor, of Herat himself.

Before I delve into two short legends illustrating Bunyad Hazara's personality, it is necessary to address a question regarding his ethnicity. The text notes that he was the leader of one of the Chahar-Aymaq subgroups "[o]f four divisions of Chahar Aymaks, namely the Hazaras, the Jamshidis, the Teymuris and the Firuzkuhis, Bunyad belonged to the first"[39] (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 184). Additionally, Chodźko (1852a, p. 184, fn. 7) clarifies in a footnote that there is another Hazara tribe in Afghanistan, specifically in the Hazarajat region of central Afghanistan, which has no connection to the Hazara in question. Is this distinction accurate? Lutz Rzehak from Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin suggested to me in a private conversation that Chodźko might be referring to the Hazare-ye Qal'e-ye Nau.[40] This is a Sunni sub-tribe of the Hazara people who traditionally were located in Qal'e-ye Nau, the capital of today's northwestern

38 An analogous example may be Abdurrahman Khan's brutal crackdown on the Hazaras of the Hazarajat in the late 19th century, often perceived as a conflict between Sunnis and Shiites. However, the root causes of the conflict should be sought in political competition rather than religious differences. Abdurrahman Khan represented the state apparatus striving to unify the kingdom, while the Hazaras of the Hazarajat were a community striving to maintain the greatest possible independence from the capital in Kabul.

39 "[d]e quatre divisions de Tchéhar Oïmaks, savoir les Hézzarés, les Djemchudis, les Téimouris et les Firouzkouhis, Bunîad appartenait à la première."

40 Personal communication on November 11, 2023. For a discussion, see: Adamec (1972 III, pp. 228–241). Chodźko (1852a, p. 180) states that Bunyad Hazare was a Shiite: "[l]e wali professait le dogme Sunni, Bunîad, le dogme chéite [[t]he wali professed the Sunni dogma, Bunyad, the Shiite dogma]" (Chodźko, 1852, p. 180). However, in fact: "[t]he Western Hazara, integrated into the Aymak, are Sunni, unlike their counterparts in the central mountains, with whom the correlation remains doubtful. They are cited in the mid-19th century as an important ethnic group in the region, then almost completely semi-nomadic / [l]es Hazara de l'Ouest, intégrés aux Aymak, sont sunnites, à la différence de leurs homologues des montagnes centrales, avec lesquels la corrélation reste douteuse. Ils sont cités au milieu du XIXe siècle comme une ethnie importante de la région, alors à peu près totalement semi-nomades" (de Planhol, 1973, p. 6, fn. 8).

Afghanistan province of Badghis.[41] To clarify these issues I need to highlight that the ethnic composition of the population in the broader, cultural-historical region of Khorasan was highly fluid, particularly with regard to Persian-speaking nomadic or semi-nomadic groups as described by Vladimir A. Ivanov in his *Notes on the Ethnology of Khurasan* (1926). Stewart (1881, p. 529) also refers to such fluidity: "[a]t present it is only the wild tribes who plunder Persia, Bokhara, and Afghanistan that are called Turkomans; but the name had once a much wider signification, and there is really no ethnic difference between the civilized Kajar tribe, to which the royal family of Persia belong, an those now called Turkomans." This issue has also been thoroughly examined by Erwin Orywal in his *Ethnicity – Conceptual and methodological considerations* (1988).[42]

The fluidity of ethic structures resulted primarily from various, short- and long-term political-military alliances, depending on the economic-political constellation. Such alliances usually appeared under the name of the group that provided the chief and/or most of the members. Ethnic categories are then more likely to be understood as political-military alliance names. During the same private communication, Rzehak referred to his fieldwork in the late 1980s among the Baloch of Turkmenistan when, on closer inspection, it turned out that in addition to numerous *genuine* Baloch tribes, Hazara(-ye Qal'e-ye Nau), Jamshedi and even Pashtun tribes were listed as Baloch.[43] These groups migrated to Turkmenistan from Iran and Afghanistan during the political turmoil of the first two decades of the 20th century and are a good example of the fluid character of ethnic groups in the greater, cultural-historical region of Khorasan.[44]

Chodźko (1852a, p. 181) quotes several facts from Bunyad Hazara's life, such as accusations of alcohol abuse and his reputation as an experienced horse expert. These facts contribute to a quasi-mythological portrayal of him as a (noble) raider.

The first story reads as follows:

> Mirza Abdolvahhab (Ch. Mirza Ạbd el-Wéhhâb), the most eminent statesman at the court of Fath Ali Shah (Ch. Feṭḥ Ạlî Chah), who became a prisoner of

41 For further information regarding the geographical area inhabited by the Hazaras in the 19th and 20th centuries, see Mousavi (1998, pp. 65–72).

42 For a discussion, refer to Ferdinand (1959; 1964).

43 Similar information can be found, for example, in the text of Gafferberg (1960, p. 113).

44 The final outcome of the 1989 field research was referenced in the PhD dissertation *Arbeit, Eigentum und Sozialstruktur in autarken Gemeinwesen belutschischer Wanderviehhalter und Ackerbauern: mit einer Studie über den jüngsten Wandel bei den Belutschen der Murgab-Oase* that Rzehak submitted in 1991 to Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Similar processes of merging Kurdish and Turkmen ethnic groups in southern Soviet Turkestan were the subject of Aristova and Vasil'yeva's research (Aristova & Vasil'eva, 1964).

> Bunyad during the day of Kaferqal'e (Ch. Kaferḳalé), formed a friendship with him which lasted until the end of their lives. After a few hours of initial conversation with the minister, Bunyad felt so imbued with feelings of esteem and benevolence towards him that he offered him his best tent and would never sit in his presence unless he had asked his permission. After six weeks of captivity, an officer of the shah arrived in Kuruk with the ransom. / – "How much do you want for the redemption of Mirza Abdolvahhab?" / – "Twelve tomans, cash (fr. 150)," replied Bunyad. "You're joking," said the officer, surprised at the small sum requested. – "I don't like to joke with the Persian shah. Twelve tomans, in cash, no more, no less." / The officer untied the purse and began to count the money. / "That's good, I'll pay the sum," he said; "but accept it as a tip from me. I appreciate the merit of Mirza Abdolvahhab too much to sell it to you. He is free to go wherever he wants. I only wanted to see how brilliantly the gold shines that a sovereign of Persia sends to a Turkman shepherd as ransom." // The vizier never forgot the nobility of such procedures, he spoke about them with tears in his eyes, and after the death of Bunyad, he rendered many services to his son Bahram Khan (Ch. Behram Ḳân)"[45] (Chodźko, 1852a, pp. 186–187).

And the latter one reads:

> [o]ne day while hunting, and far from his companions, Bunyad surprised two Teymuri Turkmans stealing cattle from the pastures of Quruq (Ch. Ḵuruḵ). After having unhorsed them and forcing them to follow him on foot, he noticed, on the way, that one of them was crying and complaining to his compatriot. / "Look, when I was marrying off one of my sisters to Allah Werdi, good people told me not to ally myself with a bad-bakht (Ch. bed-beḳt) man (born under the influence of a bad star). I disobeyed them and I regret it bitterly. The day before her wedding day, my sister was kidnapped by some mangy dogs from the band

45 "Mirza Ạbd el-Wéhhâb, le plus éminent homme d'État de la cour de Fetḥ Ạlî Chah, devenu prisonnier de Bunîad dans la journée de Kaferḳalé, s'était lié avec lui d'une amitié qui ne cessa qu'avec leur vie. Après quelques heures de première conversation avec le ministre, Bunîad se sentit tellement pénétré de sentiments d'estime et de bienveillance envers lui, qu'il lui offrit sa meilleure tente et ne voulait jamais s'asseoir en sa présence qu'après lui en avoir demandé la permission. Après six semaines de captivité, un officier du chah arriva à Ḳourouḳ avec la rançon. / « – Combien voulez-vous pour le rachat de Mirza Ạbd el-Wéhhâb? » / – « Douze tomans, argent comptant (fr. 150), » répondit Bunîad. / « – Vous plaisantez, » fit l'officier étonné de la petite somme demandée. – « Je n'aime pas à plaisanter avec le chah de Perse. Douze tomans, en espèces, ni plus ni moins. » / L'officier délia la bourse et se mit à compter l'argent. / « – C'est bien, j'acquitte la somme, dit-il ; mais acceptez-la comme un pourboire de ma part. J'apprécie trop le mérite de Mirza Ạbd el-Wéhhâb pour vous le vendre. Il est libre de se rendre où bon lui semble. Je n'ai voulu que voir de quel éclat brille l'or qu'un souverain de Perse envoie à un pâtre turkman à titre de rançon. » // Le ministre n'oublia jamais la noblesse de pareils procédés, il en parlait depuis les larmes aux yeux, et après la mort de Bunîad, il rendit beaucoup de services à son fils Behram Ḳân."

> of Kulah-e Chape (Ch. Koulah tchépé). Today you took me prisoner. Who are you?" / Barely back home, Bunyad had the prisoner's sister found and sent her back with her brother without ransom, on the condition that Allah Werdi would wear a hat similar to the kolah-e chape for the rest of his life, and that he would henceforth be called khosh-bakht (Ch. Ḳoch-beḳt) (born under the happy star), instead of bad-bakht (Ch. bed-beḳt)[46] (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 187).

The two stories represent the same broadly understood folk tradition like the songs sung by the inhabitants of northeastern Iran about Köroğlu/Göroğly (Kappert, 1979; Rypka, 1968, pp. 634–639).[47] Chodźko (1842, pp. 3–16, 17–344) introduced this character to European readers in *Specimens of Popular Poetry of Persia as found in the Adventures and Improvisations of Kurroglou the Bandit-Minstrel on Northern Persia and in the Songs of the People Inhabiting the Shores of the Caspian Sea*.

Furthermore, both stories provide a convenient framework for discussing mechanisms for building a folk legend around a historical figure, such as the title character Bunyad Hazara. These mechanisms, outlined by Chodźko, can be reduced to a two-way process – emphasizing the figure's noble features in stories recalled by favorable storytellers and highlighting moral vices in stories recalled by hostile ones.[48] I deliberately use the term "outlined," because the article cites only a few stories and no examples of poetry. I suppose that if only Chodźko had heard them, he would probably have written them down and incorporated them. It would then be possible to compare them with folk songs collected by Hungarian Turkologist Ignác Kúnos or by Russian Turkologist Wilhelm Radloff [Vasiliy V. Radlov], which focus on an Anatolian rider named Tchakydjy, for example: "Barley in the furrows, / A black stork often

46 "[u]n jour à la chasse, et loin de ses compagnons, Bunîad surprit deux Turkmans Téimouris volant des bestiaux sur les pâturages de Ḳourouḳ. Après les avoir désarçonnés et les avoir obligés de le suivre à pied, il remarqua, chemin faisant, que l'un d'eux pleurait et se plaignait à son compatriote. / « – Qu'as-tu donc? demanda Bunîad. » « – Voyez un peu. Lorsque je fiançais une de mes sœurs à Allah Werdi, des braves gens m'avaient bien dit de ne pas m'allier à un homme bed-beḳt (né sous l'influence d'une mauvaise étoile). Je leur ai désobéi et je m'en repens amèrement. La veille du jour de ses noces, ma sœur fut en levée par quelques chiens galeux de la meute de Koulah tchépé. Aujourd'hui, vous m'avez fait prisonnier. Qui êtes-vous? » / A peine de retour chez lui, Bunîad fit retrouver la sœur du prisonnier et la renvoya avec son frère sans rançon, à condition qu'Allah Werdi porterait le restant de sa vie un bonnet semblable au koulah tchépé, et qu'il s'appellerait dorénavant Ḳoch-beḳt (né sous l'horoscope heureux), au lieu de bed-beḳt."

47 A more detailed description can be found in the encyclopaedic entry KÖROĞLU by Javādī (2009).

48 A similar process can also be seen in the case of other historical figures, such as Habibollah Kalakani *aka* Bachche-ye Saqqa, i.e. the leader of a peasants' revolt that succeeded in placing him on the throne of Afghanistan in 1929.

visited [here]. / We spent the winter here, / In the summer, fate separated us"[49] (Kúnos, 1889, p. 188), and: "I sowed the grain deliberately, / The black stork was often here. / Here we spent the summer, / In the winter fate separated us"[50] (Radloff & Kúnos, 1899, p. 455). Another point of reference could be the thirty-five popular songs analysed by Tadeusz Kowalski in his work *Piosenki ludowe anatolijskie o rozbójniku Czakydżym* [*Anatolian Folk Songs about the Bandit Çakıcı*] (1917).[51] He gathered them during a series of interviews with Turkish soldiers treated in hospitals in Krakow and Vienna.[52]

4. Various issues concerning Bunyad Hazara have been examined, but the question when he lived remains unresolved. The matter is not straightforward, as Chodźko (1852a, p. 179) does not provide such information. He only notes that Qurban Ali was born in the mid-18th century and that Bunyad Hazara succeeded his father as the chief of Hazara subtribe when he was about fifty: "[h]e died, leaving Bunyad Hezare, his only son, who was already about fifty years old, in command of his troop."[53] Certainly, Bunyad Hazara died before Chodźko arrival in the Iranian province of Khorasan, that is, before 1833(?). I provide these few details to take a closer look at an accidental finding that I came across while leafing through volume III of the *Historical and Political Gazetteer of Afghanistan* by Ludwig W. Adamec (1972). It concerns a figure named Bunyad Khan, who died around 1830 at the hands of his distant cousin, Sher Muhammad Khan (Adamec, 1972 III, p. 119, 230). Why did I pay closer attention to this figure? Firstly, because his name closely resembles that of Bunyad Hazara. Secondly, he served as the chief of the Hazara subtribe within the Chahar-Aymaq confederation. And thirdly, he had a brother named Qurban Ali. This raises the question: did Chodźko mistakenly describe their relationship as that of father and son instead of brothers? Bunyad Khan succeeded his brother Muhammad Khan, who led the Hazaras during the reign of Timur Shah (1772–1793). Bunyad Khan was the son of Muhammad Shah Khan and the grandson of Kalifan Sultan, likely the inaugural chief of the Hazaras from Qal'e-ye Nau, who held power during the reign of Nader Shah Afshar (1736–1747) (Adamec,

49 "Arpalar evlek evlek / dadandı kara leylek / kışı burda kışladık / yazın ayırdı felek."

50 "Ekin ektim bilerek / dadandı kara leylek / yazı burada yazladık / kışın ayırdı felek."

51 Çakıcı Mehmet Efe (c. 1872–1911) was a famous *zeybek* (a type of guerrilla fighter or bandit--hero) active in late Ottoman Anatolia, particularly in the Aegean region of Turkey. He is remembered both as a rebel and a folk hero, and his life and deeds have inspired numerous Anatolian folk songs, stories, and even films.

52 Kowalski's text is a response to Enno Littmann's *Tschakydschy: Ein türkischer Räuberhauptmann der Gegenwart* (1915). It was briefly discussed by Olga Schatskaya in her *Die krimtatarische Version des Tschakydschy-Liedes* (1928).

53 "[i]l mourut en laissant à Bunîad Hézzaré, son fils unique, âgé déjà d'environ cinquante ans, le commandement de sa troupe."

1972 III, p. 240). The main reason for identifying Bunyad Hazara as Bunyad Khan lies in the mention of Fath Ali Khan and Hasan Ali Mirza, who fought against him (Chodźko, 1852a, pp. 182–183, 186). Fath Ali Khan (1769–1834) reigned in Iran from 1797 to 1834, while his son, Hasan Ali Mirza (1790–1855), held the governorship of the Iranian province of Khorasan between 1816 and 1823. My assumptions are supported by Christine Noelle-Karimi's work *The Pearl in Its Midst* (2014), in which the author presents the figure of Bunyad Khan Hazara, who died around 1829/1830. She also mentions Mirza Abdolvahhab, i.e., the influential Qajar official Mirza Abdolvahhab Muʿtamado-d-Doule (d. 1244/1829), who likewise appears in Chodźko's article (see above):

> Bunyad Khan Hazara, on his part, had brought the influential Qajar official Mirza ʻAbd al-Vahhab Muʻtamad al-Daula (d. 1244/1829) into his control during the confusion of the fight and used him as a pawn to obtain assurances for the government of Ghiriyan, Kiistiya and Bakharz (Noelle-Karimi, 2014, pp. 221–222).

5. One of the most crucial factors in the development of modern science is the circulation of information. When (re-)verified, (re-)analyzed, and (re-) described, such information expands the scope of our knowledge and deepens our understanding of the world. Collecting information is the first step toward (re-)transforming it into knowledge. (The archives where this information is stored also play an equally important role, but I will not discuss this topic here). Chodźko is undoubtedly one of the 19th-century researchers who collected information and provided commentary to transmit it to future generations of scholars. In certain respects, he can be regarded as a trailblazer in fostering Polish interest in the broader Eastern context, despite working outside Poland and publishing mainly in French or, alternatively, in English. We are indebted to him for numerous articles, primarily reports from his travels, although only a portion of these have garnered widespread interest among researchers. As I endeavored to illustrate in my descriptive article, a single text – exemplified by *Le Ḳorâçân*... – can serve as a reference point for exploring (quasi-)intertextual connections with other works, including those produced later. I therefore find the fragment that recounts the story of Bunyad Hazara through the lens of legends to be particularly intriguing, despite its somewhat cursory treatment. These legends construct a dual, contrasting image of this titular raider, with positive and negative aspects , though the positive portrayal clearly dominates. On this basis, I tentatively suggest that suggests Chodźko may have (unconsciously?) grasped certain mechanisms involved in mythologising a historical figure. Further investigation, such as a comprehensive study of his archives and an analysis of the notes used for compiling his article, could potentially lead to a reassessment of this thesis.

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Addendum

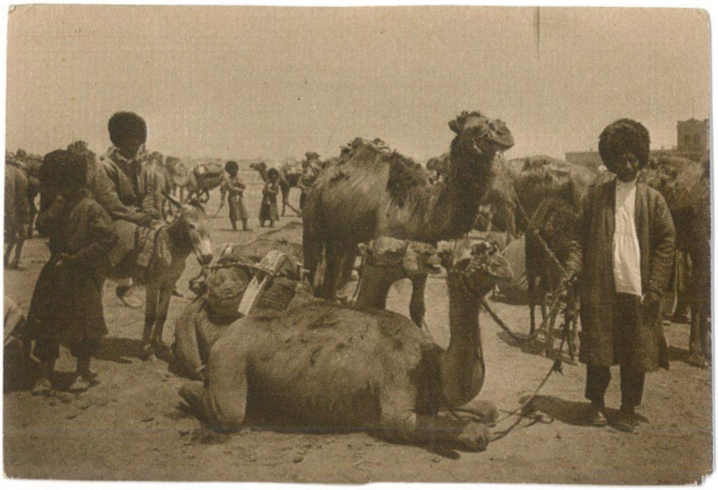
Only after submitting the article I finally received a small but exceptionally interesting 1994 monograph by Lutz Rzehak and Walerija A. Pristschepowa *Nomadenalltag: Vor den Toren von Merw: Belutschen, Dschamschedi, Hazara* devoted to the nomads of the Mary region, in which the authors discuss, among other things, the complex picture of ethnic self-identification, including that of the Hazaras (page 19).

Appendix I:

An illustration depicting Turkmens taking captive some inhabitants of a village on the Hari River in northwestern Afghanistan, as featured in Ayni's novel *Ghulomon* (*Slaves*) (Ayni, 1960, between pages 32 and 33).

Appendix II: Postcards

No. 1: Camel caravan at rest: Merv (late 1920s)



Source: Antonina Pisarchik Central Asian Archive, Department of Iranian Studies, Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Poland (APCAA).

No. 2: Transcaspian Region: Ploughing the land by the Teke Turkmens (before 1919)

Source: APCAA.

No. 3: Views of Turkestan: The Romanov irrigation canal, opened on October 5, 1913, near the station Khilkovo in the Mirzachul (1913)

Source: APCAA.

Mirzachul (Russian: *Golodnaia step'*. "hungry steppe") – a plain on the left bank of the Syr Darya, constituting a southeast extension of the Kyzyl Kum Desert. Since the end of the 19th century, it has gradually transformed into an irrigated agricultural area and is now one of the major cotton and grain-producing regions of present-day Uzbekistan.

No. 4: The Transcaspian Region: Types and Views (before 1917)

Source: APCAA.

Mateusz M.P. Kłagisz – Afghanologist and Iranist affiliated with the Institute of Oriental Studies at the Jagiellonian University, where he heads the Department of Interdisciplinary Eurasian Research (DIER). His research focuses on broadly understood folk culture, with particular emphasis on the cultural traditions of Afghanistan and Iran. In recent years, he has published his own translations of Persian and Pashto literature. Within the DIER, he also curates the Afghanological Archive of Professor Jadwiga Pstrusińska as well as Antonina Pisarczyk Central Asian Archive. Currently, he is working on a collection of photographs taken by Dr. Marek Gawęcki from Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań during the first Polish ethnographic expedition to Afghanistan in 1976 – *Etnologiczna Wyprawa Azjatycka* (EWA-76). These photographs were donated to the Stiftung Bibliotheca Afghanica, which has been part of the Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel since a deed of donation in 2023.

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Agnieszka Kuczkiewicz-Fraś
http://orcid.org/0000-0003-2990-9931
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
a.kuczkiewicz-fras@uj.edu.pl
DOI: 10.35765/pk.2025.5003.11

Muḥammad Iqbāl and the Turks. A Handful of Reflections on a Selection of Poems

ABSTRACT

This article explores the relationship between the prominent Pakistani philosopher-poet Muḥammad Iqbāl and the Turkish people, particularly through the lens of his poetry. Iqbāl, known for his advocacy for Muslim unity and self-realization, drew heavily on the works of Jalāluddīn Rūmī and was deeply influenced by the spiritual and intellectual legacy of the Ottoman Empire, which he admired for its role in preserving Islamic values. He saw the defence of Turkish sovereignty as a symbol of Islamic resilience against external domination. Iqbāl's support for the Khilafat Movement and his respect for Turkey's struggle for independence under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk are highlighted in his poetic works, which reflect both praise and criticism. While he initially admired Atatürk's efforts to protect Turkish independence and modernize the country, Iqbāl later expressed concerns over the Westernization of Turkey and the potential erosion of its Islamic identity. Through his poetry, Iqbāl conveyed his belief in the importance of maintaining cultural and spiritual identity while embracing progress. The text also underscores Iqbāl's broader vision of Islamic revival, urging Muslims to reclaim their independence and cultural identity in the face of colonial and imperial pressures. Although Iqbāl never visited Turkey, his writings had a significant impact on the political and intellectual discourse of the Muslim world in the early 20th century.

KEYWORDS: Muḥammad Iqbāl, Ottoman Empire, Khilafat Movement, Cultural identity, Westernization

STRESZCZENIE

Muḥammad Iqbāl i Turcy. Garść refleksji na podstawie subiektywnego wyboru wierszy

Tekst pt. *Muḥammad Iqbāl i Turcy* bada przez pryzmat wybranych utworów poetyckich Muḥammada Iqbāla związki tego wybitnego pakistańskiego myśliciela i poety z narodem tureckim. Iqbāl, znany orędownik muzułmańskiej

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jedności i samorealizacji, czerpał obficie z dzieł Jalāluddīna Rūmiego i pozostawał pod silnym wpływem duchowego i intelektualnego dziedzictwa Imperium Osmańskiego. Podziwiał Turcję za jej rolę w zachowaniu wartości islamskich, a obronę suwerenności Imperium Osmańskiego postrzegał jako ucieleśnienie odporności islamu na zewnętrzną dominację. Poparcie Iqbāla dla ruchu na rzecz kalifatu i szacunek, jakim darzył walczących o niepodległość Turków i ich przywódcę Mustafę Kemala Atatürka, można odnaleźć w wielu jego dziełach poetyckich, choć obok pochwał zawierają one również jasno wyrażoną krytykę. Iqbāl początkowo podziwiał wysiłki Atatürka na rzecz ochrony niepodległości Turcji i modernizacji kraju, później sformułował jednak obawy związane z jej westernizacją i potencjalną erozją islamskiej tożsamości. W swoich wierszach i poematach Iqbāl wyrażał przekonanie o znaczeniu, jakie ma zachowanie tożsamości kulturowej i duchowej przy jednoczesnej akceptacji nieuchronnego postępu. Tekst naświetla również szerszą wizję odrodzenia islamu sformułowaną przez Iqbāla, wzywającego muzułmanów do utrzymania suwerenności i tożsamości kulturowej w obliczu nacisków kolonialnych i imperialnych. Chociaż Iqbāl nigdy nie odwiedził Turcji, jego pisma wywarły znaczący wpływ na dyskurs polityczny i intelektualny w świecie muzułmańskim w pierwszych dekadach XX w.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: Muḥammad Iqbāl, Imperium Osmańskie, Ruch na rzecz kalifatu, tożsamość kulturowa, westernizacja

Introduction

Muḥammad Iqbāl[1], also known as ᶜAllāma Iqbāl, was a highly respected philosopher, poet, and politician born on November 9, 1877, in Sialkot, now in Pakistan. He is widely regarded as one of the most prominent figures in Urdu and Persian literature, particularly for his poetry. Iqbāl's work was influential in advocating for the revitalization of the Muslim world, promoting individual self-realization, and emphasizing the importance of self-respect, self-awareness, and self-development among Muslims. He encouraged the idea of selfhood and self-awareness to bring about positive change in society.

Apart from being a poet, Iqbāl was also a prominent philosopher and thinker who addressed a wide range of topics in his poetry, essays, and speeches, offering perspectives on politics, society, culture, and spirituality. His writings reflected a visionary approach to addressing the challenges faced by Muslims and humanity at large. He not only advocated for Muslim unity and empowerment as crucial elements for the revival and progress of the Muslim world but also emphasized the importance of spiritual awakening and self-awareness

1 In this text, I follow the Library of Congress Urdu romanization standard, cf. [online:] https://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/romanization/urdu.pdf (access: 30.09.2023).

among individuals and communities. He was vocal about the importance of social justice, equality, and fair treatment for all individuals within society, regardless of their backgrounds or beliefs. He stressed the need for just governance and the eradication of social injustices. Iqbāl criticized colonialism and imperialism, highlighting their negative impact on the Muslim world and other colonized nations. He urged Muslims to strive for independence and self-rule, as well as to resist external domination, envisioning a world where different civilizations and cultures could coexist peacefully, advocating for mutual respect, understanding, and cooperation among nations.

In his writings and speeches, Iqbāl frequently referenced historical events and figures to convey his philosophical, social, and political messages. His use of historical references served as a means to draw parallels, impart lessons, and inspire his audience. Among others, Iqbāl often referred to the history of the Ottoman Empire, recognizing its contribution to Islamic civilization. He lamented the decline of this once-great empire and urged Muslims to learn from its history in order to revive their past glory, emphasizing its significance not only as the seat of the Caliphate but also as the only Muslim country to maintain independence amidst European colonialism. He also responded keenly to the turbulent events of the early 20th century – many of which involved the Turks – commenting on them through the prism of his philosophical views.

In this article, I attempt to outline Iqbāl's attitude towards Turkey and the Turks, based on a selection of his poetic texts containing both historical and contemporary references. It is not my goal to conduct an in-depth and detailed analysis of the topic, as this would require examining the poet's entire written legacy, including his books, letters, and newspaper articles. Although this text does not encompass all facets of Iqbāl's writings, it aims to provide a nuanced understanding of his perspectives on Turkey and its people through a focused examination of his poetic expressions.

Rūmī's disciple

Iqbāl had a deep admiration for the works of Jalāluddīn Rūmī,[2] a 13th-century poet, jurist, Islamic scholar, theologian, and Sufi mystic, born in Khwarazm and writing in Persian. Iqbāl was greatly influenced by Rūmī's poetry and philosophy, and he often referenced Rūmī's ideas and concepts in his own works. He saw in Rūmī a source of inspiration for his own philosophical and spiritual

2 Rūmī means "from Rūm," the pre-Islamic name for Anatolia and also the name of the later Muslim state (Pers. Saljūqiyān-i Rūm, Sultanate of Rum), established over conquered Byzantine territories of Anatolia by the Seljuk Turks after 1071.

journey. Rūmī's emphasis on love, mysticism, and the union of the self with the divine resonated with Iqbāl's own thoughts on self-realization, individuality, and the spiritual development of the self. Iqbāl drew from Rūmī's ideas and integrated them into his own writings and lectures, blending them with his own distinctive perspective and vision for the revival of Islamic thought and the empowerment of the individual.

One of the most notable ways in which Iqbāl was influenced by Rūmī is through his concept of *khūdī* (selfhood or individuality). Iqbāl drew upon Rūmī's ideas of self-awareness and spiritual awakening to develop his concept of *khūdī*, which he considered essential for the regeneration of the Muslim world. He believed that by understanding and nurturing their individuality, Muslims could achieve spiritual and intellectual enlightenment. Iqbāl gave the fullest explanation of this concept in his first poetical work, *Asrār-i khūdī* (*The Secrets of the Self*), published in Persian in 1915. The poem, composed in the meter and modeled on the style of the famous Rūmī's *Maṡnavī*, is a kind of tribute to the great master not only in its form. Reynold A. Nicholson, who was the first translator of this work into English, writes in the preface that Rūmī is for Iqbāl "almost what Virgil was to Dante, appeared in a vision and bade him arise and sing ..." (Nicholson, 1920, p. xiv). And indeed, like Dante takes Virgil as his guide, Iqbāl too chooses Rūmī to accompany him during his spiritual journey "from earth through the 'spheres' of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, to beyond the 'spheres' and to the Presence of God," described in another long poem, *Jāvīd-nāmah* (*The Song of Eternity*), acclaimed as his *magnum opus* and a masterpiece regarded by many as one of the finest classical works of Persian poetry (Iqbal, 1966, p. 10).

Iqbāl's verses often reflect his admiration for Rūmī and Sufi thought in general. He incorporated Sufi themes and imagery into his work, and his appreciation for Rūmī's poetry can be seen in various references and allusions throughout his verses. One of these is the famous poem *Pīr-o-murīd* (*The Mentor and the Disciple*), composed in a form of a dialogue between two persons: *murīd-i hindī* (the Indian disciple) personifying Iqbāl himself and *pīr-i Rūmī* who embodies his spiritual mentor Maulānā Jalāluddīn Rūmī. In this poem, Iqbāl portrays the relationship between the spiritual guide (*pīr*) and the seeker (*murīd*) as a profound and transformative connection. The poem illustrates the quest for enlightenment and guidance that a disciple seeks from the mentor. The *pīr* symbolizes wisdom, guidance, and spiritual authority, while the *murīd* represents the seeking soul aspiring to higher knowledge and spiritual elevation.

> *The Indian Disciple*
> Discerning eyes bleed in pain,
> For faith is ruined by knowledge in this age.

Rumi
Fling it on the body, and knowledge becomes a serpent;
Fling it on the heart, and it becomes a friend.
...
The Indian Disciple
The East lives on through your words!
Of what disease nations die?
Rumi
Every nation that perished in the past,
Perished for mistaking stone for incense.
The Indian Disciple
Muslims have now lost their vigour and force;
Wherefore are they so timid and tame?
Rumi
No nation meets its doom,
Until it angers a man of God.
...
The Indian Disciple
What is the secret of knowledge and wisdom?
And how to be blessed with passion and pain?
Rumi
Knowledge and wisdom are born of honest living;
Love and ecstasy are born of honest living.
...
The Indian Disciple
India now has no light of vision or yearning;
Men of illumined hearts have fallen on evil days.
Rumi
Imparting heat and light is the task of the brave;
Cunning and shamelessness are the refuge of the mean.[3]

Iqbāl emphasizes here the importance of the *pīr-murīd* relationship, highlighting the essential role of the mentor in guiding the disciple through the complexities of spiritual growth. The *pīr* provides insight, assistance, and support to the *murīd*, helping him navigate the spiritual path, overcome obstacles, and attain a deeper understanding of himself and the divine.

The poem's essence lies in the idea that the relationship between the two transcends mere mentorship; it is a sacred bond based on trust, devotion, and

3 *Pīr-o-Murīd* (*The Mentor and the Disciple*), from Iqbal's poetry book *Bāl-i Jibrīl* (*Gabriel's Wing*, 1935), transl. by V.G. Kiernan. All fragments of Iqbāl's poems used in this text, unless otherwise noted, come from the Official Website of Iqbal Academy Pakistan (http://www.allamaIqbāl.com/index.php?lang_code=en), where they are available both in Urdu and in an English translation.

mutual respect. The *murīd* seeks spiritual enlightenment, while the *pīr* selflessly imparts wisdom and spiritual guidance, leading his disciple towards self-discovery and illumination. The poem encapsulates the spiritual journey and the significance of a sincere and profound connection between a spiritual guide and a seeker, emphasizing the transformative power of such a relationship in the pursuit of higher truths and spiritual fulfilment.[4]

Supporter and defender of the Ottoman Empire

Iqbāl actively supported the Khilafat Movement (1919–1922), a pan-Islamic political campaign launched by Indian Muslims in the aftermath of World War I, which aimed to protest the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire by the Allied powers and the subsequent abolition of the Islamic caliphate. On many occasions, he expressed his solidarity with the cause through his poetry and writings. He believed that Muslims should unite to protect the institution of the caliphate, viewing it as a symbol of Muslim unity and strength. Iqbāl saw the caliphate as crucial for safeguarding the interests of Muslims globally and preserving their religious and cultural identity.[5]

More than once, Iqbāl expressed admiration for the Ottoman Empire's ability to preserve the unity of the Muslim world and its efforts to defend Islamic values and territories against external threats. He emphasized the importance of the Ottoman caliphate as a symbol of unity for Muslims across diverse regions. Constantinople, the empire's capital, Iqbāl regarded not only as a city of immense historical significance but also as a symbol of the former glory and power of the Islamic civilization:

> The tract of Constantinople, that is the Caesar's city
> The perpetual banner of the grandeur of the Ummah's Mahdi
> Like the Haram's dust this region is also holy
> It is the shrine of descendants of Shah-i-Lawlak
> Its breeze is holy like the fragrance of rose
> A voice is calling from the tomb of Ayyub Ansari

4 In Konya, Turkey, there is the symbolic tombstone of ʿAllāma Iqbāl outside the mausoleum of Maulānā Jalāluddīn Rūmī, to commemorate this unique metaphysical bond between *murīd-i hindī* and his *pīr*. The epitaph in Turkish reads: "Pakistan'ın millî şair ve düşünürü Muhammed İkbal'e aziz mürşidi Hazret-i Mevlâna'nın huzurunda bu makam verildi. 1965" ("This honorary site has been granted to Muhammad Iqbal, Pakistan's national poet, by his spiritual master, Mevlana Rumi"). Retrieved from: https://twitter.com/GovtofPakistan/status/1060879682902638593 (access: 30.09.2023).

5 Wider discussion concerning Iqbāl's political ideas on Islamic universalism and the caliphate as an institution see Baloch (2010).

> "O Muslim! this city is the heart of the Nation of Islam!
> This city is the reward for millenniums of blood sacrifices!"[6]

In this fragment, Iqbāl refers to Constantinople as the "Caesar's city," highlighting its historical importance as the center of the Byzantine Empire, while also linking it to the grandeur of the Islamic community, by portraying it as a perpetual symbol associated with the awaited spiritual leader, Mahdī. The reference to the city being akin to the Ḥaram (or holy sanctuary) underscores its sanctity in Islamic thought, while its role as the resting place of the Prophet's descendants further emphasizes its sacred and symbolic significance. The mention of Ayyūb Anṣārī's tomb adds a layer of historical and spiritual depth. Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, a close companion of the Prophet Muḥammad is deeply revered in Islamic tradition. The imagined voice from his tomb calls upon Muslims, proclaiming Constantinople as the heart of the Islamic nation, and a reward earned through centuries of sacrifices.

Iqbāl closely followed the struggle between Ottoman Turkey and the forces of the West. He commented on the events of the Italo-Turkish War (1911–1912),[7] the Balkan Wars (1912–1913), and Turkey's fight to preserve its independence after World War I. In his eyes, the dying empire embodied the finest qualities of Islam – and of humanity as a whole: truth, mercy, courage, and nobility. Reflecting on the siege of Adrianople,[8] he pictured it as a symbolic clash between truth and falsehood, representing a broader ideological and moral struggle between Muslim and European civilizations:

> When the struggle between Truth and falsehood began in Europe
> The Truth was compelled on wielding the dagger
> The dust of the Cross circled round the Crescent
> Shakree became besieged in the fortress of Adrianople
> Provisions of Muslim soldiers became exhausted
> The face of hope from the eye became concealed
> At last, by the Turkish army commander's orders
> "Martial Law" was proclaimed the law of the city
> Everything was transferred to the army camp's store

6 *Bilād-e islāmiya* (*The Islamic Cities*), from Iqbāl's poetry book *Bang-i Dara* (*The Call of the Caravan Bell*, 1924), transl. by: M.A.K. Khalil.

7 Known also as Tripolitanian or Tripoli War. For more about Iqbāl's reaction, see a recently published article by Hatice Görgün (2023).

8 The Siege of Adrianople (modern-day Edirne, Turkey) in 1912–1913 was a significant event during the First Balkan War. It began in November 1912, when Bulgarian forces besieged the city, which was under Ottoman control. The Ottomans fiercely defended the city, but ultimately surrendered Adrianople to the Bulgarian forces on March 26, 1913. The fall of Adrianople was a critical moment in the First Balkan War and contributed to the eventual defeat of the Ottoman Empire.

The eagle became beggar for the grain of the sparrow
But when the Faqih[9] of the city heard this news
He exploded with anger like the thunderbolt of Tur
"Dhimmi's"[10] wealth is forbidden for the Muslim army"
This edict was published throughout the whole city
The army would not touch the Jews' and Christians' wealth
The Muslim became compelled by the Command of God![11]

In the poem, Iqbāl underscores the adherence to moral and ethical values even in times of conflict and scarcity. When the commander of the Turkish army, faced with a shortage of supplies, declares martial law, signaling a shift in the control and management of resources to the camp, the religious scholar or *faqīh* of the city vehemently objects to this decision. He insists that, according to Islamic law, the Muslim army is forbidden to seize the property of non-Muslims, referred to as *ẕimmī*-s (Jews and Christians). This ruling is proclaimed throughout the city, emphasizing the importance of upholding ethical and religious principles even in times of hardship.

Iqbāl used his poetic verses to stir emotions, invoke a sense of unity, and inspire individuals to contribute to the Turkish efforts. In 1913, at a political rally in Lahore held to raise money for the Turkish struggle against the Bulgarian uprising, he delivered a long poem *Javāb-e Shikvah* (*Answer to the Complaint*), which was a sequel to his earlier, widely recognized poetic work *Shikvah* (*Complaint*), announced in 1909 (Khan, 2012, p. 65). While in *Shikvah* the author expressed the grievances and complaints of the Muslim community, lamenting their apparent decline and the hardships they faced, his *Javāb-e Shikvah* serves as a response to these complaints, providing insight and a philosophical perspective on the issues raised in the first poem. Here, Iqbāl presents the perspective of God responding to the complaints made by the Muslim community.

The poem serves as a reflective and thought-provoking piece, encouraging Muslims to re-evaluate their actions, rekindle their faith, and strive for positive change through self-improvement and a deeper understanding of their spiritual purpose. It carries a message of hope, urging individuals to rise above their challenges and actively participate in their own upliftment and societal progress. Iqbāl's recitation of *Javāb-e Shikvah* during the gathering was a powerful

9 Ar. *faqih* 'jurist,' an expert in *fiqh*, or Islamic jurisprudence and Islamic law, whose role according to Twelver Shia Islamic law is to administer the religious and social affairs of the Muslim community.

10 Ar. *ḏimmī* 'disbeliever' – historical term for non-Muslims living in an Islamic state who are granted protection and certain rights in exchange for paying a tax called *jizya*.

11 *Maḥāṣra-e Adarna* (*The Siege of Adrianople*), from Iqbāl's poetry book *Bang-i Dara* (*The Call of the Caravan Bell*, 1924), transl. by M.A.K. Khalil.

expression of solidarity with the broader Muslim world and a call for support for the Turkish cause. The event served as a foreshadowing of the emerging sentiments and unity among Muslims that would later culminate in the Khilafat movement.[12]

Supporting Turkish efforts during the War of Independence (1919–1923), Iqbāl urged Muslims to be cautious about embracing Western democratic systems and British rule. Instead, he encouraged the formation of an association or unity among Muslim nations against Western influence (Nix, 2015, p. 222). He believed that blindly adopting Western democratic ideals without considering their compatibility with Islamic principles could potentially weaken the fabric of Islamic society and cautioned against imitating Western systems without evaluating their impact on Islamic values, culture, and governance. He was deeply convinced that the restoration of the caliphate could be achieved only through the genuine efforts of Muslims themselves, even at the cost of great sacrifice, and he expressed a sense of shame in appealing for external aid or intervention:

> If the territory is being lost let it be lost
> You should not be disloyal to God's commands
> Do you not have knowledge of history?
> You have started begging for the Khilafah!
> If we do not purchase with our own blood
> Such sovereignty is a disgrace to the Muslim!
> "I do not feel as much ashamed of being broken down
> As in asking others for mumiya'i[13] for my treatment."[14]

In this short poem, Iqbāl criticizes the notion of relying on others to regain lost territories or sovereignty, suggesting that such dependence tarnishes the honor of Muslims. Instead, he advocates for self-sufficiency and resilience within the Muslim community. His lines underscore the significance of preserving dignity and principle even in times of adversity or territorial loss, implying that seeking assistance from others without making one's own effort is more humiliating than facing defeat.

12 There were, apart from Iqbāl, also other Urdu poets engaged in supporting the Khilafat movement and using their poetical works to deliver their political message. See Minault, 1974.

13 Pers. *mūmiyā'ī* 'remedy, panacea' – a legendary medicine believed to be a cure for all ills.

14 *Daryūza-e khilāfat* (*Begging for the Caliphate*), from Iqbāl's poetry book *Bang-i Dara* (*The Call of the Caravan Bell*, 1924), transl. by: M.A.K. Khalil.

Praising and criticizing Atatürk[15]

As already mentioned, Iqbāl admired and supported Turkey's struggle for independence and viewed it as a beacon of hope for the broader Muslim world. He recognized and deeply valued Atatürk's pivotal role in safeguarding Turkey from the harsh terms of the Treaty of Sèvres (1920), which would have led to the partitioning and further disintegration of the already weakened Ottoman Empire after World War I. Iqbāl appreciated Atatürk's efforts, as they aligned with his broader vision of Muslim unity, freedom, and revival, a vision in which a sovereign and strong Turkey would be a leading force and example to follow. Initially, Atatürk's determination to maintain Turkey's independence from external interference and his initiatives to modernize the country without compromising its Muslim identity resonated with Iqbāl's own ideas regarding the importance of preserving Islamic heritage while embracing progress and independence.

However, after abolition of the caliphate in 1924 and with Atatürk's reforms aiming at secularizing state institutions and modernizing Turkey through the adoption of Western practices and laws, Iqbāl began to question the impact of these changes on Turkey's Islamic heritage and the broader Muslim world. In his verses, he openly expressed deep concern about the potential erosion of Islamic values and cultural identity in the pursuit of Western-style secularism:

> Since the West viewed body and soul as separate,
> It also regarded State and Religion as two.
> The churchman only tells his beads,
> For he has no work of the State to perform.
> See deceit and artifice in state craft:
> It is a body without a soul, or a soul without a body.
> Make intellect a companion of your heart;
> Behold, for instance, the Turkish nation.
> By imitation of the West, the Turks lost their individuality;
> They did not see any link between State and Religion (Iqbal, 1996, pp. 24–25).

In *Jāvīd-nāmah*, published in 1932, Iqbāl's disillusionment with the Turks' fascination and imitation of European culture, which he characterizes as "honeyed poison," becomes even clearer:

> The Turks have departed from their own selves, drunk with Europe,
> having quaffed honeyed poison from the hand of Europe;
> of those who have abandoned the antidote of Iraq

15 Iqbal's contradictory statements about Atatürk and his reforms have been discussed in more detail in Rahman, 1984.

what shall I say, except 'God help them'?
The slave of Europe, eager to show off,
borrows from the Westerners their music and dances;
he gambles away his precious soul for frivolity –
science is a hard quest, so he makes do with fun.
Being slothful, he takes the easy way;
his nature readily accepts the easy alternative.
To seek for ease in this ancient convent
proves that the soul has gone out of the body (Iqbal, 1966, pp. 129–130).

According to the poet, by turning away from their own cultural and intellectual roots, the Turks have neglected valuable traditions and wisdom – symbolized here by "the antidote of Iraq," a drug famed as a remedy against poisons (Iqbal, 1966, p. 150) – that could have safeguarded them against the negative influences of Western culture. It is not without significance that Iqbal places these words of criticism in the mouth of Said Halim Pasha, the Ottoman statesman and Grand Vizier from 1913 to 1917, whose character he meets during the allegorical journey depicted in *Jāvīd-nāmah*.

Bitter words of criticism, uttered again by Said Halim Pasha, are also proclaimed in the fragment of the poem addressed to Atatürk himself.

Mustafa Kemal, who sang of a great renewal,
said the old image must be cleansed and polished;
yet the vitality of the Kaaba cannot be made new
if a new Lat and Manat[16] from Europe enter its shrine.
No, the Turks have no new melody in their lute,
what they call new is only the old tune of Europe;
no fresh breath has entered into their breast,
no design of a new world is in their mind.
Turkey perforce goes along with the existing world,
melted like wax in the flame of the world we know (Iqbal, 1966, p. 58).

The author expresses doubts about the true depth of the transformation taking place. He implies that the attempts at renewal and modernization are merely surface-level changes that imitate European culture, rather than a genuine revitalization rooted in Turkish heritage and unique identity. Iqbāl again cautions against wholesale adoption of European values and norms, believing that such imitation would dilute or replace the intrinsic essence of Turkish culture and character. He argues that real progress should involve a deeper renaissance grounded in the Turks' own traditions, values, and aspirations.

16 Al-Lat and Manat – pre-Islamic Arabian goddesses worshipped in the Arabian Peninsula before the rise of Islam.

Conclusion

The above comprehensive overview of Muḥammad Iqbāl's multifaceted views on the Turks, the Ottoman Empire, and – through this prism – the wider Islamic world outlines several aspects: Iqbāl's admiration for Jalāluddīn Rūmī, his advocacy for spiritual self-realization, and his support for the Ottoman Empire and the Khilafat movement. It also portrays Iqbāl's evolving attitude toward Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, which oscillated between praise for his efforts to safeguard Turkey's independence and criticism of what Iqbāl perceived as a dilution of Turkish identity through Westernization.

Although Iqbāl never visited Turkey or had no direct political involvement in her affairs, he viewed Turkey's successful defense of her independence as a catalyst for reviving the spiritual and cultural essence of Islam, inspiring other Muslim nations to strive for freedom, self-awareness, and progress. He perceived Turkey's defense of its sovereignty as more than a mere political struggle; he saw it as a symbol of resilience against external dominance, a resurgence of Islamic values, and a call to action for Muslim nations to reclaim their independence and assert their cultural and spiritual identity. His admiration for Turkey and his support for her cause were rooted in his broader philosophy of Islamic revival and his desire to see Muslims come together to address the challenges facing their communities. His ideas and writings played a significant role in shaping the political and intellectual discourse of the Muslim world during the early 20th century, and he is still celebrated for his substantial contribution to Islamic thought.

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Agnieszka Kuczkiewicz-Fraś – Professor at the Institute of the Middle and Far East, Jagiellonian University in Krakow. She earned her doctorate and habilitation in South Asian sociolinguistics and specializes in modern South Asian Studies. Her main research interests focus on the Islamicate traditions and culture in South Asia. She also translates literature from Hindi and Urdu into Polish. She has published extensively on a wide range of topics related to South Asia.

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Halina Marlewicz
http://orcid.org/0000-0002-6424-8844
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
halina.marlewicz@uj.edu.pl
DOI: 10.35765/pk.2025.5003.12

Creative Imagination in Education and Democracy. A Dialogue between Rabindranath Tagore and Martha Nussbaum

ABSTRACT

This article reflects on the role of creative imagination in education for democracy in the 21st century. The concept, central to Rabindranath Tagore's educational philosophy, is revisited through the lens of Martha C. Nussbaum's critique of contemporary education. Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941) a Bengali writer, poet, essayist, and activist, developed the concept in the early twentieth century. In the 21st century, Martha C. Nussbaum (1947–), an American philosopher and activist, diagnoses a "silent crisis" in education, rooted in the prioritization of technical skills at the expense of humanistic values. The American trend to promote specialized technical education has become global and has also influenced Poland. Nussbaum sees Tagore's vision as a compelling model for cultivating democratic and cosmopolitan citizenship. Tagore's notion of creative imagination is discussed in a wider context of his theory and practice of education, in relation to the concept of the "citizen of the world," and juxtaposes it with Nussbaum's reflection on the role of education for democracy. The article explores their shared emphasis on empathy, critical thinking and holistic development, drawing on descriptive, hermeneutical, and comparative methods within a wide context of cultural and civilisational encounters. Both thinkers stress the need for education to foster critical thinking, empathy, and a holistic understanding of human relationships and the world, and Tagore further emphasizes spiritual freedom, man's relation to the Infinite, and a connection with nature.

KEYWORDS: Martha Nussbaum, Rabindranath Tagore, philosophy of education, creative imagination, sympathy

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STRESZCZENIE

Kreatywna wyobraźnia dla edukacji i demokracji.
Dialog Rabindranatha Tagore'a i Marthy Nussbaum

Artykuł poświęcono refleksji nad wyobraźnią twórczą i jej rolą w edukacji na rzecz demokracji w XXI w. Ta koncepcja, zasadnicza dla filozofii edukacji Rabindranatha Tagore'a, jest analizowana w kontekście krytyki współczesnej amerykańskiej edukacji, której dokonała Martha C. Nussbaum. Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941), bengalski pisarz, poeta, eseista i aktywista, opracował ją na początku XX w. W XXI w. Martha C. Nussbaum (1947–), amerykańska filozofka i aktywistka, pisała o „cichym kryzysie" w edukacji, który zrodził się w efekcie przedkładania umiejętności technicznych nad wartości humanistyczne. Amerykański trend promowania specjalistycznego wykształcenia technicznego stał się trendem światowym i rozprzestrzenił się również na Polskę. Nussbaum postrzega edukacyjną ideę twórczej wyobraźni Tagore'a jako pomocną w kształtowaniu kosmopolitycznego i demokratycznego obywatela. Pojęcie wyobraźni twórczej Tagore'a zostało omówione w szerszym kontekście jego teorii i praktyki wychowania oraz w odniesieniu do koncepcji „obywatela świata" i ogólniej, w relacji do refleksji Nussbaum nad rolą edukacji dla demokracji. Badania przeprowadzone w artykule są wynikiem systematycznych rozważań, w których zastosowano metody związane z analizami opisowymi, hermeneutycznymi i porównawczymi w szerokim kontekście spotkań kulturowych i cywilizacyjnych. Nussbaum i Tagore opowiadają się za edukacją humanistyczną i artystyczną, aby stworzyć empatycznych, wrażliwych obywateli świata. Podkreślają potrzebę edukacji, która sprzyja krytycznemu myśleniu, empatii i holistycznemu zrozumieniu tak relacji międzyludzkich, jak i świata, przy czym Tagore dodatkowo kładzie nacisk na duchową wolność, związek człowieka z Nieskończonym i naturą.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: Martha Nussbaum, Rabindranath Tagore, filozofia wychowania, wyobraźnia twórcza, empatia

Introduction

> This history has come to a stage when the moral man, the complete man, is more and more giving way, almost without knowing it, to make room for the political and the commercial man, the man of the limited purpose. [...] [F]or the sake of humanity, we must stand up and give warning to all, that this nationalism is a cruel epidemic of evil that is sweeping over the human world of the present age, eating into its moral vitality.
>
> Rabindranath Tagore, *Nationalism* (1917).

Rabindranath Tagore, a Bengali writer, was the first non-Westerner to win the Nobel Prize for Literature in English in 1913. Born into an influential family, Tagore grew up in a creative and cosmopolitan environment. He was actively involved in the Bengal Renaissance movement, which fostered a "cross-cultural mentality," in which Indian and Western perspectives were creatively merged. This atmosphere contributed to Tagore's intellectual inclination towards universalism and his rejection of narrow nationalism. He addressed questions related to the character, goals, and problems of education, focusing on the importance of peaceful dialogue between different civilizations. Within this context, he reflected on the role of creative imagination in the educational process, the ultimate aim of which was to cultivate the "universal man," characterized by empathy towards all mankind. In her book *Not for Profit: Why Democracy Needs the Humanities*, Martha Nussbaum similarly advocates for a humanistic education that nurtures creative imagination and critical thinking. She discusses the "silent crisis" in American education and the concept of the "citizen of the world," which in many ways parallels Tagore's notion of the "universal man." Nussbaum argues that the growing trend of economizing on humanities and arts at all levels undermines not only educational institutions but societies in the long run. Drawing on philosophers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, John Dewey, and Rabindranath Tagore, she envisions a future that steers academia away from the precarious path toward a "silent crisis," yet in this article only Nussbaum-Tagore dialogue will be considered.

Methodology

The research carried in the article is the result of systematic considerations in which methods related to descriptive, hermeneutical, and comparative analyses were applied in a broad context of cultural and civilisational encounters.

Research framework

Both Rabindranath Tagore, an Indian writer, poet, and essayist who lived at the turn of 19th and 20th centuries, and the contemporary American philosopher Martha C. Nussbaum, known for her studies on ancient Greek and Roman philosophy as well as legal, political, and feminist philosophy, belong to the prominent intellectuals of their times who gave ample place to reflection on education in many of their works. Tagore did not consider himself a philosopher, though he philosophically reflected on different aspects of life, humanity, politics, nature, nation, religion, arts, creativity, and also education (Marlewicz, 2023, p. 88). Tagore did not author a single comprehensive work outlining his theory and practice of education. Instead, his ideas are dispersed across numerous Bengali and English writings.[1] In his first major work on the subject, *The Vicissitudes of Education*, originally delivered in Bengali language as a lecture in 1892 and translated into English in 1947 (Tagore, 1961, p. 367), he emphasized the role of the native language as a medium of instruction, criticizing the introduction of English in the Indian educational system of his time. He continued writing and lecturing on education, and most importantly, put his theory into practice in his educational institutions, beginning with the establishment of a school named Brahmacharyasrama in December 1901, which was transformed into Patha-Bhavana in 1925 (n.a., 2023). Tagore's most notable works in which he presented his educational ideas appeared after 1918, when he decided to transform his previously established educational institutions into Visva Bharati (sometimes also spelled Viśva Bharati), the World University, an international academy. This shows that Tagore's philosophy of education was not merely descriptive but prescriptive in nature: the poet theorized about education with the aim of establishing and implementing a certain standard of educational practice. In a letter to his son Rathindranath, Tagore describes Visva Bharati as "the center for cultivating universal manhood," "transcending the barrier of nationalistic geography," "a link between India and the world" (Bhattacharya, 2014, p. 64), educating toward tolerance, openness, and respect for traditional values of different civilisations. Tagore discussed education problems in *The Unity of Education* (1921) (Tagore, 1961, p. 376), *Creative Unity* (1922) (Tagore, 1922), *The Centre of Indian Culture* (1919) (Tagore, 1961, p. 375), as well as *A Poet's School*, first published in 1926 and then, in 1928, reissued as a *Visva-Bharati Bulletin* (Tagore, 1961, p. 376). Relevant excerpts on the role of creative imagination in education from *Creative Unity* and selected essays will be cited and interpreted.

1 Most recent monographs in English, which reconstruct Tagore's philosophy of education include Bhattacharya (2014), Mukherjee (2020), and Quayum (2023).

In a number of her writings, Nussbaum addresses issues related to the philosophy of education, such as educating for democratic and world citizenship, the role of art and humanities in education, as well as moral education.[2] She also discusses legal education (Nussbaum, 2003), Socratic pedagogy (Nussbaum, 2016), the education of women as a global problem (Nussbaum, 2004), and the role of art in learning and teaching (Nussbaum, 2002). In 1997, she published *Cultivating Humanity. A Classical Defence of Reform in Liberal Education* (Nussbaum, 2003). In second chapter of the book, she reflects on the idea of the "citizen of the world," a term coined by the Greek philosopher Diogenes the Cynic (Nussbaum, 2003, pp. 50, 52), describing a person who has been taught to engage meaningfully and respectfully with representatives of other cultural traditions. In the present paper, *Not for Profit: Why Democracy Needs the Humanities*, the second chapter of *Cultivating Humanity. A Classical Defence of Reform in Liberal Education* and several other selected works by Nussbaum will be discussed and interpreted in the context of her application of Tagore's ideas in education for democracy of the 21st century.

Creative Imagination in Educational Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore

Rabindranath Tagore lived at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, when India was still under British control but the Indian independence movement was gaining strength, ultimately leading to India's independence in 1947. A Bengali writer, Tagore felt the need to communicate his ideas to the world beyond India after becoming the first non-Westerner to earn the Nobel Prize for Literature in English in 1913 (Fraser, 2019, p. 126). Receiving the award was an important impetus for Tagore to become a bilingual writer who translated many of his earlier essays and lectures into English. He also began to travel the world, journeying to "the West and East on his one-man mission, urging the world to heed his ideas on the dangers of narrow nationalism and the need for internationalism / universalism, unity, mutual understanding and respect" (Fraser, 2019, p. 216).

Tagore, the youngest of fourteen children of Debendranath and Sarada Devi (Kripalani 1962, p. 33), was raised in an aristocratic, wealthy, and influential family (Gupta, 2004, pp. 3–4), whose members were actively involved in the intellectual, social, religious, and artistic life of Bengal. He grew in a creative and cosmopolitan atmosphere, at home where German, French, Sanskrit, Parsi writers and poets were read in their original languages (Gupta, 2004,

2 Some of the most recent works in English discussing Nussbaum's concept of education for democracy include Goubet (2014), Indrajaya (2019), and Karelin (2017).

pp. 66–67; Fraser, 2019, pp. 156–157). The writer was actively involved in the Bengal Renaissance movement (late 18th to early 20th century), a period of fruitful intellectual interaction between the Hindu upper-class intelligentsia and some representatives of the British government and missionaries, which fostered a "cross-cultural mentality" blending the cultural traditions of India and the West (Dasgupta, 2011). The atmosphere of the age, as well as the intellectual and cultural environment in which he lived, undoubtedly shaped the thinker's personal attitude, leading him to embrace universalism and reject a narrowly conceived nationalism. In addition, as a man of the East-West encounter, Tagore often centered his reflections around the meeting between these two cultural and civilisational worlds, discussing, juxtaposing, contrasting, and evaluating them in specific contexts, including that of education.

He addressed questions related to the character, goals, and problems of education from the perspective that was vital for his times, and this outlook is clearly reflected in the Visva Bharati University Constitution drawn up by Prasanta Mahalanobis and Tagore's nephew, Surendranath Tagore. The excerpt reads as follows:

> research into the study of the religion, literature, history, science and art of the Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, Zoroastrian, Islamic, Sikh, Christian and other civilizations may be pursued along with the culture of the West, with that simplicity of externals which is necessary for true spiritual realization, in amity, good fellowship and cooperation between the thinkers and scholars of both Eastern and Western countries, free from all antagonisms of race, nationality, creed or caste and in the name of one supreme being who is Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam (Bhattacharya, 2014, p. 64).

The above emphasizes the universal values of various religious traditions, as well as the arts, literature, science of both India and Europe, which were to be pursued at the Visva Bharati University. The aim was to incorporate the best of what the East and the West have to offer into the teaching curricula. The educational ideal expressed above sought to promote teaching and learning grounded in the peaceful and fruitful dialogue among different civilizations. As Kathleen M. O'Connell observes, "Tagore's educational model has a unique sensitivity and aptness for education within multi-racial, multi-lingual and multi-cultural situations" (O'Connell, 2003). A university thus conceived was envisioned as a community where students and teachers could find the perfect environment for realizing the principle of creative unity:

> University, where we can work together in a common pursuit of truth, share together our common heritage, and realise that artists in all parts of the world have created forms of beauty, scientists discovered secrets of the universe, philosophers solved the problems of existence, saints made the truth of the

> spiritual world organic in their own lives, not merely for some particular race to which they belonged, but for all mankind (Tagore, 1922 [Kindle Locations 1621–1624]).

Indeed, Visva Bharati University, "The Transnational Center of Education" (Bhattacharya, 2014, pp. 57–74), which embodied Tagore's ideas of Eastern University, the Centre of Indian Culture and International Culture gathered many artists, intellectuals, and teachers from India and abroad (Bhattacharya, 2014, pp. 65–66).

Freedom to the children, power to the grown-ups

How do you work to develop creative imagination in students? What does it contribute to the betterment of the human condition in general, and to the achievement of self-realization of an individual in particular? Tagore's ideas on education "were derived mainly from his own experience", when, as a child, he was forced to live life with restrictions, supervision, and routine teaching of subjects he had no interest in (Kabir, 1961, p. 8). Of the experiences, the poet wrote:

> We had to get up before dawn and ... begin with a bout or two with a blind wrestler. Without a pause we ... started on our courses of literature, mathematics, geography and history. On our return from school our drawing and gymnastic masters would be ready for us. In the evening Aghore Babu came for our English lessons. It was only after nine that we were free (Tagore, 1917, p. 38).

When Tagore was then sent to the Bengal Academy, "A Eurasian institution," it was not much better: "What we were taught there we never understood, nor did we make any attempt to learn, nor did it seem to make any difference... . The rooms were cruelly dismal with their walls on guard like policemen. ... No decoration, no pictures" (Tagore, 1917, pp. 60–61). These childhood and early adolescent experiences lead him to formulate, in later life, an overarching educational principle that was reflected in most of his educational writings. He was convinced that any educational process should be adapted to the child's individual predisposition, and their thinking and creative abilities should not be curbed by rigid curricula.[3] Freedom, as E.O. Bălănescu writes, is for Tagore "an essential aspect of education because it gave children the possibility to learn subconsciously and intuitively, to take initiative and ultimately to

3 Of recent works which discuss Tagore's principles of children education in comparative perspective see e.g.: Czekalska (2022) and Bălănescu (2023).

become more independent and self-reliant" so that they could create "an intimate relationship with nature, life and the teacher, the three main sources of education ..." (Bălănescu, 2023, p. 51). Such a process should focus on nurturing creative imagination, the realm of freedom of thought and imagination. This was closely related to Tagore's educational concept of teaching and learning in a natural environment, which some researchers relate to, but are careful not to equate it with, the idea of an "environmentally sustainable, eco-friendly" green university (Haque, 2023). In *The Centre of Indian Culture*, title of which directly refers to Visva Bharati University (Tagore, 1961, p. 228), we read: "true education is to realize at every step how our training and knowledge have an organic connection with our surroundings" (Tagore, 1961, p. 203). He was convinced that, especially in early childhood, contact with nature is vital. It serves as a catalyst for the development of imagination, creativity, and freedom. Furthermore, it is also the means to teach the children to live in agreement with nature, "to have an organic connection" with it, and thus not only to develop sensitivity and a respectful attitude, but also overall ethical behavior towards environment. It is impossible not to notice the similarities between Tagore's pedagogy of nature and the basic tenets of twenty-first-century deep ecology, with its emphasis on developing the ecological self (Madsen, 2023). However, twenty-first-century deep ecology belongs to what came to be described as an atheistic spirituality, whereas for Tagore, who was deeply religious, imagination, creativity, and freedom were inseparable from his religious vision of reality and the self's relationship to it. He described this as "our attitude towards our surroundings, our conscious relationship with the Infinite, and the lasting power of the Eternal", which "can only be made possible by "making provision for students to live in intimate touch with nature, daily to grow in an atmosphere of service offered to all creatures, tending trees, feeding birds and animals, learning to feel the immense mystery of the soil and water and air" (Tagore, 1922 [Kindle Location 1908]).

Self-knowledge and creative unity

Equally important for Tagore was educating students in spiritual self-knowledge, which should enable the individual to experience the unity of life, the unity underlying all beings, in accordance with the Upanishadic teachings and the Sufi mystics (Kabir, 1961, p. 25). The poet firmly believed that educational practice should lead to the realisation of "the universal human spirit that transcends narrow self-interests of the individual and elevates itself to the state of universal," and that this was the only way by which an individual could achieve "the universal being of man" (Basu, 2020, p. 12). This is also why the *Visva Bharati Constitution* ends with an affirmation of faith in "one supreme being who is Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam", which Tagore interprets as the Blessed (Shantam), Auspicious (Shivam) mystery of Unity (Advaitam) (Tagore, 1922 [Kindle Location 96]), identified with the Vedantic Absolute.

Creativity and sympathy

As a man of almost infinite creative powers, with an extraordinary unparalleled range and breadth, Tagore inspired all who came into contact with his creative fervor. Raina observed that "His stress on the spontaneity of creative impulse ... created an army of untutored geniuses; his lyrics canalized Bengali literature mainly into one channel; and his music and dance led to an 'epidemic' of musicians and dancers" (Raina, 1997, p. 157). Describing the principles of his educational philosophy in the essay *A Poet's School*, Tagore wrote that this first lesson for children in his school would be that of improvisation, as "The first important lesson for children in such a place would be that of improvisation, as that is an incessant source for the exploration of one's abilities, which find their fulfillment in 'surprise achievements'," which in itself is "a lesson ... in creative life" (Tagore, 1961, p. 295). In the final part of the essay, he summarizes:

> I tried to create an atmosphere in my school – this was the main task. In educational institutions our faculties have to be nourished in order to give our mind its freedom, to make our imagination fit for the world which belongs to art, and to stir our sympathy for human relationships (Tagore, 1961, p. 300).

The freedom of human spirit, in which intuitive knowledge merges with imagination and imbues a person with sympathy for others, becomes a powerful means for distinguishing right from wrong, or truth from falsehood, something a person can immediately perceive, though cannot rationally explain. "For knowledge is not union. We attain the world of freedom only through perfect sympathy" (Tagore, 1961, p. 291), Tagore famously wrote. He was convinced that there is an inherent affinity between creativity, imagination, and values. Following an educational path that emphasizes the development of intuitive knowledge and imagination through literature, art, and other forms of expression of the human spirit is a way to cultivate sympathy and empathy for others. It is also a valid means of entering into meaningful dialogue with others, whether they are our fellows human beings or representatives of other cultures and civilizations. In many of his writings, Tagore emphasizes the role of sympathy in relations between the East and West. In the essay *The Centre of Indian Culture*, he wrote that sympathy is "the positive force" which has the "power to combine" (Tagore, 1961, p. 218). This means that if imagination and creativity lead to sympathy, sympathy, in turn, leads to a sense of unity and cooperation between people of different cultures and races. In *The Poet's Religion*, a subchapter of *Creative Unity*, Tagore writes:

> … we know that this sympathy carries in it an eternal reality. The fact that the world stirs our imagination in sympathy tells us that this creative imagination is a common truth both in us and in the heart of existence (Tagore, 1922 [Kindle Location 1442]).

Sympathy, therefore, does not originate in human compassion; it is the result of the workings of a spiritual reality beyond the human world, which, if known and recognized by humankind, becomes the basis for experiencing the entire world as one creative unity.

Tagore took very seriously his mission of designing an educational system, which would promote and focus on the growth of free human spirit, necessary for creating a free man with a wholesome and integrated personality. He speaks of the equal role of the powers of thought and imagination in childhood education. However, he was of the opinion that in a harmonious educational system enough space should also be given to teaching cognitive faculties different from thinking and reasoning, such as imagination, intuition, or intuitive knowledge. Intuition and imagination are the means of knowledge acquisition that cannot be acquired by logic or reasoning. Intuitive knowledge, in which the creative powers of man, such as poetic inspiration and intuition, unite and transform into nothing less than philosopher's truth, an ultimate means of freeing not only the individual, but also the entire society or the nation.

Developing the powers of creativity was to become an antidote against narrow technical education, needed for economic growth:

> Professions in the modern age are more numerous and lucrative than ever before. They need specialisation of training and knowledge, tempting education to yield its spiritual freedom to the claims of utilitarian ambitions. But man's deeper nature is hurt; his smothered life seeks to be liberated from the suffocating folds and sensual ties of prosperity. And this is why we find almost everywhere in the world a growing dissatisfaction with the prevalent system of teaching (Tagore, 1922 [Kindle Locations 1561–1564]).

The educational philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore, which can be related to experimental or alternative education, stresses the non-instrumental nature of knowledge, which, in short, means that a student learns about something because of curiosity, not because of necessity. The student develops an integral personality in the freedom of thought and creative imagination stirred by contact with performative arts, literature, and nature that all induce sensitivity, sympathy, and empathy, which all can be taught in a friendly, open to nature environment. Tagore believed that in India of the past and of today poetry and philosophy are naturally coexisting spheres of knowledge that conjoin the domains of poetic intuition, inspiration, and imagination with rational, philosophical reflection.

Martha Nussbaum on the *Silent Crisis* in education of the 21st century

In her book *Not for Profit: Why Democracy Needs the Humanities* Nussbaum discusses, among others, the "silent crisis" in American education, education for profit and for democracy, the concept of the citizen of the world, and the role of cultivating imagination in academic education (Nussbaum, 2016). The book resembles a manifesto rather than an academic work, as it grew out of Nussbaum's strong personal conviction that our contemporaneity requires a philosopher's voice to defend humanistic education threatened by a dangerous tendency to cut down on teaching humanities and liberal arts, because such education cannot be immediately marketed in hard cash or profitable professions (Nussbaum, 2016, p. 43). She draws on philosophers of education such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, John Dewey, and Rabindranath Tagore to envision the education which would take the world off the precarious path towards a "silent crisis," which she discusses in relation to American education reformers, who postulate to align education goals with the requirements of the labor market, which in turn relates to the globally promoted politics of rapid, and at the same time constant economic growth. According to some political leaders of the twentieth and twenty first centuries, the key to this constant economic growth lies in the promotion of narrow, specialized technical education, which requires tailoring to economic needs, profits, and the technicization of society (Nussbaum, 2016, p. 18 ff.). Fortunately, this trend is slowly declining, which is one of the few positive effects of the global coronavirus pandemic of 2020–2023. Alternative economies, such as the solidarity economy that promotes a "culture of caring and sharing," are conceptualized and put into practice (Healy, 2020). However, the evolution from the neoliberal market towards economies of sustainability is slow and the "silent crisis" in university education is the reality of the 21st century worldwide, including Poland. It manifests in constant economizing on the humanities and arts at all levels of education, from primary to university education, because they are "seen by policy-makers as useless frills, at a time when nations must cut away all useless things in order to stay competitive in the global market" (Nussbaum, 2016, p. 19). Nussbaum argues that it does not only affect educational institutions, but in a long run, it affects societies in general.

The consequences of this trend in education can, indeed, be upsetting. Young people who are freshly entering the labor market may not be able to cope with attempts at corruption, exploitation, mobbing, and demoralization. They may not know what course of action to take in the contemporary pluralistic world of values, relativisms, and post-truths.

Nussbaum's book *Not for Profit: Why Democracy Needs the Humanities* considers in many contexts the observations of Tagore related to theory, methods, and crucial principles of education, as he conceived them at the beginning of the twentieth century. This only confirms that Tagore's diagnosis of the status of education at the beginning of the twentieth century is still relevant in the twenty first century, although the historical and geopolitical contexts are different. Nussbaum, just like Tagore, passionately advocates for educating the citizen of the world, which needs to begin at the level of children's education. She discussed the concept in a number of her other works (Nussbaum, 2003, pp. 50–85), and (Nussbaum, 2009). She summarizes the abilities of a democratic citizen under in three ethical principles: "the capacity for Socratic self-criticism and critical thought about one's own traditions," "the ability to see oneself as a member of a heterogeneous nation, and world," and a "narrative imagination" (Nussbaum, 2009, pp. 56–57). The last ability is Tagorean, in the sense of cultivating imaginative sympathy for others, which was discussed earlier in this article. Nussbaum urges teachers to teach and develop in children and students not only critical thinking and reflection (Nussbaum 2016, pp. 47–48, 52–54) but also sympathy for others, which has the potency to eradicate our xenophobic attitudes and may result in creating a future, cosmopolitan citizen of the world (Nussbaum, 2016, pp. 55–56).

Therefore, it is only

> an education for a more inclusive type of citizenship which cultivates capacities for critical thinking and reflection, crucial in keeping democracies alive and wide awake against the education for profit-making (Nussbaum, 2016, p. 24),

that is capable to slow down or put to a halt these global trends which, if viewed pessimistically and with no trust in the resilience of human spirit, may ultimately result in educating useful people-automatons not used to critical thinking, with skills reduced to a set of practical tools. Humanities and liberal arts can certainly be seen as an antidote to this grim future. In addition, they are propitious to the growth of a particular kind of democracy, which Nussbaum believes in.

> The watchword of this liberalism is not the market but social justice, not efficiency but moral rightness, not the minimization of the role of the state but the common good, which is not born of spontaneous economic processes and inevitably requires a "political distribution" of available resources by a more-or-less welfare state,

explains Jerzy Szacki in his introduction to a Polish translation of Nussbaum's book (Szacki, 2008, p. 8).

What kind of citizens would together strive for creating a thus-defined democracy? For such a unique democratic project, which Nussbaum promotes in her works, supporting the argument with voices of different authors including Tagore's, a set of tools must be developed and implemented to educate the future citizen of the world. According to Nussbaum, education of such citizens begins as grassroots work, with small children, who are naturally open to others and are relatively easy to teach how, for example, to view the world from the perspectives of other people. The "political struggle for freedom and equality must first be a struggle within each person, as compassion and respect fight against fear, greed and narcissistic aggression," Nussbaum writes, inspired by Mahatma Gandhi's ideas (Nussbaum, 2016, p. 47). However, the hallmarks of both the "universal man" of Tagore and of the "citizen of the world" of Diogenes should remain in balance, so that the cosmopolitanism of the "citizen of the world" would not become radicalized and can be curbed by the "universal man's" ethics based on "noncoercive identification with universal human ideals and aspirations (which would include both indigenous and Western forms of identification)" (Roy, 2015, p. 183).

What, however, is the role of creative imagination in this task? It is crucial because it is not enough to think, even critically, to become a valuable member of the democratic society. One also needs be able to engage cognitive faculties other than thinking because "factual knowledge and logic alone" are simply not enough to relate to the complex world in a meaningful and fruitful way. One needs to work on developing sympathy, empathy, intuition and imagination, as "we can only build what we can imagine" (Dviwedi, 2020).

Concluding remarks

To realize Tagore's educational philosophy practiced in Visva Bharati, the World University music, theater, painting, and dance were of primary importance in children's education. Nussbaum is of the opinion that artistic instruction should be linked to the citizen-of-the world education "since works of art are frequently an invaluable way of beginning to understand the achievements and sufferings of a culture different from one's own" (Nussbaum, 2016, p. 126). In this way, art and empathy can simultaneously be associated with democratic values, provided that they present "a normative view about how human beings ought to relate to one another (as equals, as dignified, as having inner depth and worth)". Associating creative imagination with democracy may seem striking, yet even democratic or seemingly democratic governments often see creative and critical thinking as a threat to their existence, and "many of the world's governments depend on ignorance for their existence" (Sternberg, 2006, p. 2).

Nussbaum and Tagore tend to present the model of the future cosmopolitan citizen assuming that it is primarily humanistic and liberal arts education that is apt to create "sensitive, emphatic citizens of the world." However, their argument is not aimed at proving the dichotomous chasm between the 'good' humanities and 'bad' science. One need not unjustly presuppose that science produces people focused exclusively on economic growth and profit-making, probably lacking the empathy for fellow citizens. This is neither justifiable nor true. Scientific-technical education is overshadowed in their discussion simply because such education does not require to be defended.

Becoming acquainted with the reflections of the Indian poet and the American thinker makes us poignantly aware that schools or universities do not provide neutral information about the world, that knowledge transmission inadvertently has a normative basis, however idealistically the norms are conceived or what Utopian values are attached to the equally normative idea of liberal democracy (cf. e.g. Nussbaum's remark above, on the necessity of providing children with a normative view of how human beings should relate to one another).

However, the society in different parts of the world needs citizens who think critically, are able to keep a certain distance from the changing reality, or to adopt the point of view of another human being with whom they cohabitate a society full of conflicting opinions. They should be able to join their critical thinking ability with an emphatic and sympathetic approach to a political opponent, or the so-called Other. Nussbaum, pointing to the "silent crisis" of education, asks us about the foundations of the system, which should consist in teaching skills worthy of a free human being. Tagore was also convinced that only a free man, not afraid of going against the grain, recognizing his relation to other people and the world as a part of a bigger creative spiritual unity can be a valuable member of the society. The idea of educating a free person with a wholesome and integrated personality and with a naturally developed sympathy for others is therefore a common element of Nussbaum and Tagore's educational philosophy, though it is noticeable that Nussbaum combines sympathy with empathy, as our contemporary understanding of both concepts requires. For Tagore freedom was not a philosophical, abstract idea, nor was it a value of *per se* in a democratic society. Tagore's freedom is embedded in the notion of "conscious relationship with the Infinite," and it is made possible by living "in intimate touch with nature." Inner spiritual freedom makes us sympathetic not only to the fellow human being but to the whole creation, and by emphasizing this, Tagore goes a step further than Nussbaum, who focuses mainly on the human world.

For over 300 years, India, with its rich, multifarious, multicultural spiritual and material heritage was confronted not only with the British colonial rulers, but also with the British and European values, culture, and civilisational patterns, which were often forced upon Indians, in an attempt to colonize their minds in a more or less veiled manner. Tagore found a way to avoid a confrontational and resentful attitude towards the colonizers by the educational philosophy and practice, in which the principles imposing dualism and dichotomy, such as individuality versus universality; the seemingly opposing parts of human personality, such as intellect, emotions and will; whether nature or nurture determine humans; and all the human world constituents, such as the individual selves, nature, environment, the inner and the outer worlds, were ingeniously merged to create a transnational, transcultural, and undoubtedly Utopian though attractive vision of the creative and spiritual unity of mankind.

Both Tagore and Nussbaum argue that education must go beyond technical training and economic utility to nurture empathy, critical thinking, and a holistic understanding of human relationships. Tagore's vision of the "universal man" and Nussbaum's concept of the "citizen of the world" converge in their emphasis on freedom, imagination, and moral development as essential components of education. Together, their ideas present a compelling case for re-imagining education as a means of building inclusive, empathetic, and critically engaged societies. I do not want to make a claim that present-day Oriental Studies, specifically the traditionally conceived Oriental Studies, which reach back to good philological traditions of teaching different Oriental languages and cultural and civilisational tradition, are the last resort of educating students towards freedom, creativity, and democracy. Yet, it seems quite probable that the *sine qua non* condition of both teaching and studying Oriental languages and cultures shows an inclination, at the very least, towards gaining (a sympathetic?) knowledge of other civilizations and cultures via the language. Such inclination does not exclude a practical approach in the sense of becoming competent in a linguistic and cultural sphere of a given specialization of Oriental Studies in expectation of merchandising this rare expertise and skills. Choosing to be educated in the area of Oriental Studies can today be taken as a sign of curiosity and openness to the unfamiliar, whether it would be expressed in new ideas, worldviews, and traditions, notwithstanding that it can also be a path of acquiring a profitable profession. It may also speak of being ready for an encounter with the "unknown East." This seems to be a clear sign of creative thinking combined with an anticipating, sympathetic, open-minded willingness to explore, and be ready for dialogue with the other. It can become an opportunity to activate creative and critical approaches not only to the foreign world, but also to one's own cultural tradition. In a world increasingly shaped by division, rapid change, and ecological uncertainty, the integration of creative imagination into education, including Oriental Studies, is not a luxury – it is a necessity. It is through such imagination that we can envision and enact a more just, compassionate, and democratic future.

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Halina Marlewicz – Professor at the Department of Languages and Cultures of India and South Asia, Jagiellonian University, Kraków, Poland. Her research interests include the cultural history of India, the history of ideas within religious-philosophical traditions of India, translation studies, the anthropology of Indian literary traditions, Indian and comparative aesthetics, and the theory and practice of translation from South Asian languages and has published extensively on these topics and also is the author of several volumes of translations from Vedic and Sanskrit texts into Polish.

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Piotr Nykiel
http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6079-7849
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
piotr.nykiel@uj.edu.pl
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Social Life of Ottoman Soldiers in the Rear of the Galician Front in 1916–1917

ABSTRACT

The Galician social life of the soldiers of the Ottoman XV Corps, which fought on the Eastern Front of the Great War in 1916–1917, developed on two levels: service and private. The former encompassed contacts during ceremonies, inspections, and visits, while the latter consisted mainly of informal meetings in their free time. For officers, these meetings typically took place in messes or during winter training in rear areas. Non-commissioned officers file and rank soldiers, by contrast, were more likely to interact with the local population in whose homes they were quartered than with their comrades from allied armies. Despite differences in rank and language barriers, Ottoman officers and privates alike had equal access to cultural events in the major urban centers of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, where they were sent for treatment and convalescence. The encounters between members of the XV Corps, their allies, and the Galician population contributed to the dismantling of centuries-old stereotypes unfavorable to the Turks. This article is based on Turkish, Austrian, and Polish archival sources, memoirs and press reports, as well as selected secondary literature.

KEYWORDS: WWI, Galicia, Ottoman XV Corps, soldiers' social life

STRESZCZENIE

Życie towarzyskie żołnierzy osmańskich na zapleczu i tyłach frontu galicyjskiego w latach 1916–1917

Galicyjskie życie towarzyskie żołnierzy osmańskiego XV Korpusu, który w latach 1916–1917 walczył na froncie wschodnim wielkiej wojny, rozwijało się na dwóch płaszczyznach: służbowej i prywatnej. Ta pierwsza sprowadzała się przede wszystkim do kontaktów podczas różnego rodzaju oficjalnych uroczystości, inspekcji czy wizyt. Drugą stanowiły głównie nieformalne spotkania

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w wolnym czasie. W przypadku oficerów dochodziło do nich zazwyczaj w kasynach oraz podczas szkoleń przeprowadzanych w okresie zimowym na tyłach frontu. Podoficerowie i szeregowi żołnierze znacznie częściej integrowali się z miejscową ludnością, u której kwaterowali, niż z towarzyszami broni z sojuszniczych armii. Niezależnie od szarży i ograniczeń językowych równy dostęp do wydarzeń kulturalnych zapewniały osmańskim oficerom i szeregowym duże ośrodki miejskie w głębi monarchii austro-węgierskiej, do których trafiali na leczenie i rekonwalescencję. Kontakty społeczne przedstawicieli XV Korpusu z sojusznikami i galicyjską ludnością zaowocowały obaleniem licznych wielkowiekowych i krzywdzących dla Turków stereotypów.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: I wojna światowa, Galicja, Osmański XV Korpus, życie towarzyskie żołnierzy

During its approximately one-year deployment on the Eastern Galician Front in 1916–1917, the Ottoman XV Corps, fighting as part of the German Southern Army, participated in the final phase of the Brusilov Offensive (from August 1916), in repelling the Kerensky Offensive at the turn of June and July 1917, and in the Central Powers' counteroffensive in July 1917. The corps played a significant role in all these engagements and suffered total losses exceeding half of its initial strength (Nykiel, 2024).

However, this episode remains largely marginalized in world historiography. In Turkey, it has been the subject of only two monographs, by Cihat Akçakayalıoğlu (1967) and Hülya Toker (2016), both of which rely almost exclusively on sources from a single, now non-existent ATASE (Askeri Tarih ve Stratejik Etüt Arşivi) Archive in Ankara. Moreover, the latter work contains significant fragments of the content of the former. In addition to these monographs, a small number of articles in Turkey discuss the participation of the Ottoman XV Corps on the Galician Front; however, they contribute little new information, as they are largely based on Akçakayalıoğlu's monograph. Notable exceptions include articles by Eminalp Malkoç (2015) and Oya Macar Dağlar (2009), who, in addition to ATASE, also referred to documents from the Archives of the Department of Deontology and History of Medicine of the Medical Faculty of Istanbul University and the Ottoman Archive in Istanbul. All of the aforementioned publications focus exclusively on the military aspects of the Turkish presence in Galicia, and either do not mention the social life of Turks in the rear areas of the front at all or only do so marginally.

Western historiography, on the other hand, at most mentions the military participation of Turkish troops in the Galician campaigns in one or two sentences. More often, this issue is completely ignored. Only the American historian Edward J. Erickson devotes a short subchapter to it (Erickson, 2001, pp. 137–142), but the information he provides is significantly incomplete and, in some aspects, even inaccurate. An exception is the research conducted since 1998 by the Polish historian and specialist in Turkish studies Piotr Nykiel. His work culminated in a monograph first published in 2020, with a second, corrected and supplemented edition released in 2024. This book is currently, even compared to Turkish historiography, the most extensive and comprehensive study on the subject, based on archival sources, memoirs, contemporary press, and literature consulted in Turkey, Austria, and Poland.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the social life of Ottoman soldiers in the rear of the Galician front. This topic has not yet been studied separately, which is unsurprising given that the state of both Turkish and European research on the far more extensively studied military presence of Turks in Galicia in 1916–1917, as mentioned earlier, remains limited. The primary challenge faced by the author was the scarcity of source material. In the archives – practically only in Austria (Kriegsarchiv and Bildarchiv Austria) – surviving sources and iconography relate almost exclusively to official events, such as birthdays of the rulers of the Central Powers or anniversaries of their enthronement. Such celebrations, however, provided occasions for contacts, including less formal interactions, among the commanding staff of the allied armies. The main sources regarding the private relations of Turkish officers with their Austro-Hungarian and German comrades-in-arms, as well as of Ottoman soldiers with the Galician civilian population, are primarily the memoirs of two Turks: Mehmet Şevki Yazman (2011) and İbrahim Arıkan (2007). It is clear that these texts, like any memoirs, must be approached with caution, and the author did so by confronting them – where possible – with official documents preserved in ATASE and the Kriegsarchiv. This analysis demonstrates that, with very few exceptions, the aforementioned authors not only provide a truthful account of events on the front but also significantly supplement our knowledge and help to better understand certain situations. Indeed, Yazman sometimes engages in self-censorship, omitting events that were infamous for the Turks.[1] On the other hand, Arıkan openly condemns the reprehensible behavior of his colleagues and provides information about events carefully omitted from official reports.[2] It should be emphasized that both authors report on social contacts with allies and civilians in a remarkably similar manner, highlighting the same aspects, despite never having met each other and despite their memoirs being published nearly eighty years apart (Yazman, first edition 1928; Arıkan, 2007). Undoubtedly, it would be highly valuable to compare Turkish memoirs with

1 An example of this is the arrest by this officer of an Ottoman soldier who committed a robbery against a farmer, Oleksa Iskra, in the village of Nadorożniów (KA, sig. AT-OeStA/KA FA AOK Bevollmachtigte Ottomanisches XV. Korps Akten 4056, Op. 2519).

2 For example, the sadistic finishing off of wounded Russian soldiers by Sgt. Karacabeyli Ahmed of the 19th Company, 20th Infantry Division (Arıkan, 2007, pp. 157–158).

those of Austro-Hungarian or German soldiers. The problem, however, is that no known accounts by allied authors currently mention the Turks in Galicia.

For most Ottoman officers – and likely for all their subordinates – the Galician expedition was their first experience abroad, during which they had to live in a religiously and culturally unfamiliar environment. Everyday life at the front posed a difficult challenge: to follow the orders of the Austro-Hungarian and German commands[3] and to cooperate in battle with allied units. In the rear of the front, whether in barracks, hospitals, or convalescence centers, they spent their free time alongside representatives of nearly all the nations of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Germans.

Quartered in villages in the Berezhany area, they had to navigate the customs of Polish and Ruthenian (Ukrainian) peasants, which were entirely unfamiliar to them. The absence of a division between *haremlik* (the section for women and children) and selamlik (the section for men and guests) – and thus the necessity of staying under a Galician thatched roof in the same rooms as unfamiliar women – initially posed a significant psychological challenge for the Ottoman soldiers. However, they quickly adapted to the new conditions, recognizing that this was precisely what their hosts – or rather, the housewives, since husbands and sons were away at war – expected of them. As 2nd Lt. Mehmet Şevki Yazman wrote in early October 1916, just over a month and a half after his arrival in Galicia:

> We would enter houses saying "dobro weczer" ["good evening" – PN]. The poor Poles had already got used to it and, having no other choice, greeted their guests with a smile. I've already mentioned that Polish customs and the Galician climate brought together people as diverse as half a dozen Mehmets[4] and as many women and girls under one roof. That night, within half an hour, everyone found a new home, a new bed, and even a resolute girl (Yazman, 2011, p. 123).

Elsewhere, the same officer recalls a conversation with a woman in whose house his orderly was lodged. The topic concerned the orderly's indifference to the advances of the landlady's daughter. Interestingly, the soldier's entirely incomprehensible – and, in the opinion of the Polish women, tactless – behavior stemmed solely from the order to "behave decently" that he had received from 2nd Lt. Yazman:

3 The German Southern Army (commanded by Gen. Felix Count von Bothmer) was part of the Austro-Hungarian Army Group of Gen. Eduard von Böhm-Ermolli, which in turn functioned as part of a front headed by the heir to the throne and, from November 21, 1916, the last emperor of the Danube monarchy, Charles I of Austria.

4 Mehmet was one of the most popular male names at the time. It was also commonly used to refer to an anonymous community of Ottoman soldiers.

> There is only one thing that makes me very uncomfortable, and, to tell you the truth, I did not expect such a thing from such a good man. Listen, Lieutenant: I've been working tirelessly for sixteen years to raise this pretty girl. For God's sake, tell me the truth – is Josephine ugly?
>
> … Now imagine that this very good boy, our guest and your orderly, Mehmet, never once looked at the girl's face, never once caressed her, and did not kiss her. For a week, my daughter has been worrying herself – and me – that there must be something wrong with her if this man treats her this way. Isn't that an insult to us? (Yazman, 2011, pp. 44–46).

After breaking the ice and with the tacit approval of their commanders, the Ottoman soldiers, despite the language barrier, integrated quickly with the local population. On long winter evenings, they often organized gatherings during which, sometimes partaking in alcohol, they taught local girls Turkish dances, accompanying them on folk instruments brought from their homeland. On occasion, Polish women even composed a song about the Turks.[5]

Occasions when Ottoman soldiers had to share quarters with their allies were rare. Sometimes, however, such situations caused difficulties, particularly for the more conservative soldiers. Soon after his arrival in Galicia, a company imam complained to 2nd Lt. Yazman that the Austrians with whom he lived "when getting out of bed in the morning, walked around the room without undergarments, completely naked," despite the fact that "Allah demands to cover oneself, even in complete darkness" (Yazman, 2011, p. 57). He was also disturbed that his roommates would bring girls from the neighborhood and "engage with them" in the other room, exposing him to obscene noises (Yazman, 2011, pp. 57–58). Long-term exposure to the questionable behavior of his Austro-Hungarian comrades eventually led the cleric himself to sow scandal among the Ottoman soldiers, as he later entered into a closer intimacy with his landlady, a widow with two children (Yazman, 2011, pp. 127–129).

The lack of knowledge of German did not prevent the braver Ottoman soldiers from befriending members of the allied armies, although such friendships did not always end well. The acquaintance of Cpl. Mehmed of Uşak, from the Ottoman 20th Infantry Division, with a German soldier named Hartmann – whom he met during gas training in Berlin and who had learned imperfect Turkish while living in Istanbul for ten years before the war – was relatively harmonious. The two even explored the nightlife of Charlottenburg together (Yazman, 2011, pp. 175–199). By contrast, the friendship between Sgt. Durmuş, from the village of Akçabayır in the Nazilli district, and an Austro-Hungarian soldier named Joseph[6] nearly ended in tragedy. After their service, they spent almost all

5 For its lyrics see: Yazman (2011, pp. 127).

6 As can be deduced from the spelling (he consistently appears as Jozef), he was a Pole.

their time together, enjoying all the attractions and pleasures that the town of Stryi had to offer. One day, they decided to visit a brothel together. Although there were no signs of trouble at first, the visit eventually revealed cultural differences that shattered their friendship. Despite repeated and forceful verbal warnings, Joseph continued to court the prostitute chosen by Durmuş. Viewing this behavior as a blatant insult and unable to express his indignation verbally, the Turk drew his knife. Although no one was ultimately harmed, panic erupted in the brothel, and the entire town police force was mobilized. Naturally, Durmuş's acquaintance with Joseph did not continue after this incident (Yazman, 2011, pp. 291–299).

With regard to the relations between Ottoman officers and their Austro-Hungarian or German comrades-in-arms, it should be noted that they took place on two levels: official and private. Official interactions included contacts on the front line, where the Turks often had to cooperate with allied units – particularly artillery, engineering, and other rear services the intendant and medical services – as well as participation in various official ceremonies. These ceremonies primarily consisted of courtesy visits by Ottoman princes, inspections by commanders of the Army Group or the Southern Army, and celebrations such as birthdays and anniversaries of the accession to the throne of the monarchs of the Quadruple Alliance.

On 4 January 1917, for example, Princes Abdürrahim Hayri and Osman Fuat visited their soldiers in Galicia. The program of their stay included a visit to the headquarters of the XV Corps and an inspection of the 19th Infantry Division. Three days later, they traveled to the headquarters of the Eastern Front in Brest on the Bug River (Akçakayalıoğlu, 1967, p. 63; Toker, 2016, p. 159).

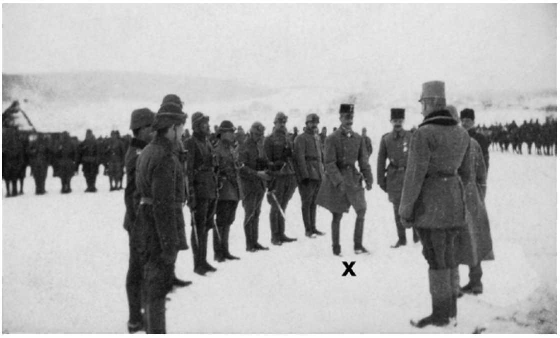
On 9 January, the commander of the XV Corps hosted the commander of the Austro-Hungarian–German XXV Corps, Gen. Peter von Hofmann, whose forces occupied positions on the left flank of the Ottoman corps. This meeting was likely of a working nature and probably brief, as it was not until 22 January that the Austrian general, accompanied by the commander of the 54th Infantry Division, was invited by the commander of the XV Corps, Cevad (Çobanlı) Pasha, for lunch. The main guest, however, was the commander of the Southern Army, Gen. Felix Count von Bothmer, who in the morning had inspected the reserves of the Ottoman 19th and 20th Infantry Divisions at the training grounds in Horodyshchi and Demnia, delivering occasional speeches and awarding Turkish officers and soldiers with Iron Crosses.[7]

On 24 January, the commander of the Army Group, Gen. Eduard von Böhm-Ermolli, arrived at Podwysokie for an official inspection. After reviewing

7 Österreichisches Staatsarchiv/Kriegsarchiv (KA), sig. AT-OeStA/KA FA AOK Bevollmächtigte Ottomanisches XV. Korps Akten 4054 Nr. 913-1.300, 1917, Op. 1024.

the sub-units of the Ottoman 20th Infantry Division in Hucisko and the 19th Infantry Division in Kurzany, he returned to Podwysokie, where, at the headquarters of the German 36th Reserve Infantry Division – then under the tactical command of the Ottoman XV Corps – he met with its commander and officers. At noon, Gen. von Böhm-Ermolli arrived in Cześniki, where, at the XV Corps' headquarters, he was introduced to Turkish officers and entertained to a gala lunch (Toker, 2016, p. 162). The inspection of the Army Group commander in the sector of the 19th Infantry Division was photographed by Kazimierz Kuzyk, a Pole who served in the Austro-Hungarian balloon unit (Ballonabteilung No. 22), which was then under the command of the Ottoman XV Corps.[8]

Photo 1. Inspection by Army Group Commander Gen. Eduard von Böhm-Ermolli (x) in Kurzany on January 24, 1917. The commander of the 19th Infantry Division, Lt. Col. Ahmed Sedad (Doğruer), standing to his left and facing the photographer, introduces officers of his unit. Photograph by Kazimierz Kuzyk.



Source: MCh, sig. MCh-H/74/36-08.

Three days later, on 27 January, Ottoman officers participated in a service held to celebrate the birthday of Kaiser Wilhelm II. The service took place at 09:00 in the church in Cześniki and was conducted by the chaplain, 2nd Lt. Babinger.[9] In addition to the commander of the XV Corps, Gen. Cevad (Çobanlı), the participants included the Chief of Staff of the Corps, Col. Şefik, accompanied by his adjutant and orderlies; several officers representing individual departments of the corps headquarters; the commander of the corps artillery,

8 Muzeum w Chrzanowie im. Ireny i Mieczysława Mazarakich (MCh): *Karty z fotografiami z okresu I wojny światowej wraz z rękopisem* [*Cards with photographs from the First World War with a manuscript*]; ten photographs with a common signature MCh-H/74/36 and the title "Kurzany 1916. Bem Ermoli – Turcy. Koło Brzeżan" [Kurzany 1916. Bem Ermoli – Turks. Near Berezhany]. For more on Kazimierz Kuzyk, see: Nykiel (2023).

9 KA, sig. AT-OeStA/KA FA AOK Bevollmächtigte Ottomanisches XV. Korps Akten 4054 Nr. 913-1.300, 1917, Op. 1043, document dated 25 January.

Lt. Col. Halid, with his adjutant; the chairman of the military tribunal with a delegation; and an officer commanding one of the infantry platoons (Toker, 2016, pp. 162–163). It should be emphasized that the initiative to participate in this event came from Cevad Pasha himself, who expressed this wish in a congratulatory letter on the occasion of the German Emperor's birthday, addressed to the commander of the Southern Army, Gen. von Bothmer. The organizer of the service, the commander of the XXVII Reserve Corps, Gen. Oskar von Ehrenthal, appreciating this gesture, did not fail to officially thank the command of the XV Corps for demonstrating "sincere brotherhood."[10] A similar letter of thanks to Cevad Pasha was also sent on behalf of the commander of the 36th Reserve Infantry Division by Col. Schaumann.[11] However, the most significant expression of gratitude came from Wilhelm II himself. His thanks were conveyed on the Emperor's behalf by his personal aide-de-camp, Gen. Hans von Plessen, to the commander of the XV Corps.[12] Furthermore, Wilhelm II invited Cevad Pasha to Berlin, where the Ottoman commander arrived on 4 February 1917 and met the German monarch the following day at the Imperial Headquarters.[13]

On 18 April, Prince Ömer Faruk began an official visit to the front sector of the XV Corps. The following day, from morning until 3:00 p.m., he inspected the units of the 19th Infantry Division together with Gen. Cevad, an event documented in photographs taken by the aforementioned Kazimierz Kuzyk.[14] On 24 April, the visitor, accompanied by the Chief of Staff of the XV Corps, inspected the training camp of the 20th Infantry Division. After dinner, he went to Berlin (Toker, 2016, pp. 183–184; Akçakayalıoğlu, 1967, p. 65).

10 Ibidem, Op. 1043, telegraph sent on January 27 at 18:25; Toker, 2016, pp. 162–163.

11 KA, sig. AT-OeStA/KA FA AOK Bevollmächtigte Ottomanisches XV. Korps Akten 4054 Nr. 913-1.300, 1917, Op. 1043, telegraph sent on January 27 at 17:20.

12 Ibidem, telegraph sent on January 31 at 12:30.

13 ATASE Arşivi (ATASE), sig. BDH-237A-727-985-059.

14 Cf. MCh, photos on cards with signatures: MCh-H/74/24, MCh-H/74/35, MCh-H/74/37, MCh-H/74/38 and MCh-H/74/39 as well as AKPZKB: sig. ZOS 1A/1/13, ZOS 1A/4/12 i ZOS 1A/7 no pagination. Photograph with sig. MCh-H/74/24 (one original print of which is also in the author's collection) has been reprinted (unfortunately without mentioning the name of the photographer) by an Ottoman biweekly "Harb Mecmuası." Mayıs 1333 [May 1917], 2(19), 295 and published as a postcard.

Photo 2. A commemorative photo taken by Kazimierz Kuzyk in front of the Greek-Catholic Church of St. Paraskeva in Kurzany: 1 – Prince Ömer Faruk, 2 – commander of the XV Corps Gen. Cevad (Çobanlı), 3 – commander of the 19th Infantry Division Lt. Col. Ahmed Sedad (Doğruer), 4 – Austro-Hungarian liaison officer at the XV Corps Headquarters Lt. Col. Egon Lauppert, 5 – German liaison officer at the XV Corps Headquarters Maj. Eberhard Count Wolffskeel von Reichenberg. This photograph was reprinted in “Harb Mecmuası” and published in Istanbul as a postcard

Source: Author’s collection.

On April 27, at 10:00 a.m., chaplain Pryliński celebrated a mass in the church in Cześniki on the occasion of Empress Zita’s name day. The service was attended by officers and soldiers of all the allied armies, including at least fifteen Turks. It should be emphasized that the Ottoman officers were not merely courteously invited but had *themselves expressed a wish to be invited* – a gesture which, given that they were Muslims, represented a remarkable expression of respect toward their Christian comrades-in-arms.[15] The same day also marked the eighth anniversary of Sultan Mehmed V’s accession to the throne. Around noon – probably immediately after the mass – a reception was held at the headquarters of the XV Corps.[16] In the evening, during a gala dinner at the officers’ mess, Cevad Pasha delivered a speech in which he acquainted the allies with the history and combat record of the XV Corps. The following day, the Turkish general visited the headquarters of the Austro-Hungarian-German XXV Corps (which, as already mentioned, occupied positions on the left flank of the Ottoman corps), where he attended a dinner in the evening with its commander, Gen. Hofmann (Toker, 2016, p. 184).

15 KA, sig. AT-OeStA/KA FA NFA GAK Ottomanische XX. Division/Technischer Referent Patzak 699, Feldpost 205 dated 24 April 1917; BA, photos with sig. WK1/ALB108/33371 and WK1/ALB108/33372.

16 This event was recorded in photographs kept in the collections of the BA, sig. WK1/ALB108/33373 and WK1/ALB108/33374.

Photo 3. Turkish and Bosnian patients of Military Hospital No. 410 in Göding (now Hodonín, Czech Republic) celebrating the anniversary of Sultan Mehmed V's accession to the throne on April 27, 1917

Source: Author's collection.

On 9 May, Cevad Pasha held a reception at the headquarters of the XV Corps in Cześniki on the occasion of Empress Zita's birthday. Among the invited guests were the commanders of all units of the Southern Army and Maj. Prince Abdürrahim Hayri, who had arrived from Istanbul the previous day to assume command of the 1st Battalion of the 19th Artillery Regiment (Toker, 2016, p. 184).[17]

Photo 4. Prince Abdürrahim Hayri (1) visits the officers' mess of the German field howitzer battery No. 6/17. Next to the guest stands the host of the place, Capt. Lechner (2). The prince is also accompanied by the Austrian liaison officer, Lt. Col. Lauppert (3). Photo by Kazimierz Kuzyk

Source: AKPZKB, sig. ZOS 1A/7/without pagination.

17 A photograph taken by Kuzyk depicting the prince in the headquarters shelter of his squadron is in the collection of Archiwum Krakowskiej Prowincji Zakonu Karmelitów Bosych (AKPZKB) (sig. ZOS 1A/3/20). The same photograph (again without attribution) was reprinted by an Ottoman biweekly "Harb Mecmuası" (issue of Temmuz 1333 [July 1917], 2(20), 307).

The intensity of informal relations between Ottoman officers and their European counterparts depended largely on their knowledge of foreign languages. The lively social life that flourished each evening in the officers' messes behind the front lines was necessarily attended only by those Turks who spoke some German – and it must be admitted that, outside the headquarters of the XV Corps, their number was quite small. This is evidenced, among other things, by the fact that 2nd Lt. Yazman was the first Ottoman officer ever to cross the threshold of the officers' mess of the Austro-Hungarian 54th Infantry Artillery Brigade, and that did not occur until two weeks after the unit had been placed under the command of the Turkish 20th Infantry Division. On the one hand, the Austrians extended their guest the utmost courtesy; on the other, disregarding his religious principles, they rather insistently urged him to consume alcohol – in quantities and strengths that, while normal to them, could have proved nearly lethal to a Turk accustomed at most to an occasional glass of wine (Yazman, 2011, pp. 61–64). Time showed, however, that with such attitudes among their allies, the Turks had little choice but to grow accustomed to alcohol. As early as the late autumn of 1916, Yazman wrote that:

> Twenty-four hours a day, we drank only beer, because according to the Germans, something like water should first of all fill the riverbeds, at most be used to boil potatoes, but as a drink it is unacceptable (Yazman, 2011, p. 138).

Photo 5. Two unidentified Turkish lieutenants (left) on a "boozy" visit to their allies. On the right: Warrant Officer S. Hein of the Austro-Hungarian 15 cm Howitzer Battery No. 3/8, and next to him, Lt. A. Lampel of the German Battery II/R.17. The Austrian and the Turk seated on the left exchanged their headgear. Photograph taken on 9 January 1917

Source: Author's collection.

Photo 6. A genre scene from Kurzany: an Ottoman officer on the left tastes a meal brought by a soldier (probably his orderly), the commander of the cavalry battalion of the 19th Infantry Division sits on a chair, and an Austro-Hungarian officer stands behind him holding a bottle of wine

Source: Author's collection.

However, the head of the I (Operational) Department of the XV Corps Headquarters, Maj. Vecihi, emphasizes in his memoirs that, although the Turks were not forbidden to drink alcohol, they never became intoxicated during the "beer evenings" organized with their allies (Malkoç, 2015, p. 661). It is difficult to assess unequivocally how accurate this observation is. The fact remains, however, that in the surviving reports of the Austro-Hungarian military police concerning offenses and crimes committed by Ottoman soldiers on or behind the front line, there is no mention of alcohol abuse. Only in Olomouc, more than 500 kilometers from the front, did the gendarmes occasionally have to return drunken Turkish patients to the hospital (Dağlar Macar, 2009, p. 50).

Photo 7. Kaiser's soldiers celebrating Christmas 1917 (the last one in Galicia) in their quarters in Jagliniec. The music is provided by a German accordionist and a Turkish violinist playing the traditional Black Sea instrument called the kemençe

Source: Author's collection.

Alcoholism was not the only threat confronting Ottoman officers and non-commissioned officers as they strengthened ties with their counterparts in the allied armies. Another such danger was gambling. In the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul, within the files of the Embassy of the Ottoman Empire in Vienna, there is correspondence between the consular department and retired Col. Halil Bey, father of Warrant Officer Ali Asım, platoon commander in the 8th Company of the 2nd Battalion of the 10th Reserve Infantry Regiment. The documents show that, through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he sent 200 kronen to settle his son's debts and intended to send another 200 kronen, as the first sum was reportedly insufficient to cover the liabilities. Colonel Halil Bey wished to ensure that the first remittance reached Ali Asım. However, the consular section in Vienna refused to issue a receipt, as the addressee claimed that he had not received any money.[18] It appears that the father, who may have used his former connections in the army to place his son in the rear of the front rather than in a combat unit, was cynically exploited and deceived by him.

An excellent opportunity for getting acquainted and strengthening contacts were the numerous trainings organized in autumn and winter in the rear of the front by the command of the Southern Army. In these instances, essential integration had already taken place – not only during the evenings spent in the officers' messes, but also through joint theoretical and practical activities. It was during field exercises as part of the engineering training in Drohobych that 2nd Lt. Yazman befriended several German officers. Interestingly, he valued contacts with the Germans far more than those with the Austrians:

18 Cumhurbaşkanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), sig. HR.SYS, 2434/3, 1-8.

> Germans, and especially German officers, can be gentlemen and good friends. Compared with these loyal and courteous men, with whom I had fond memories and friendship at the time of my departure from the Austrian lands, the Austrian officers, whose kindness I cannot deny, did not, however, show the same liking for us as the Germans (Yazman, 2011, p. 135).

Photo 8. Participants of the engineering training held in October 1916 at Drohobych. Second Lt. Mehmet Şevki Yazman is indicated with an "X"

Source: Author's collection.

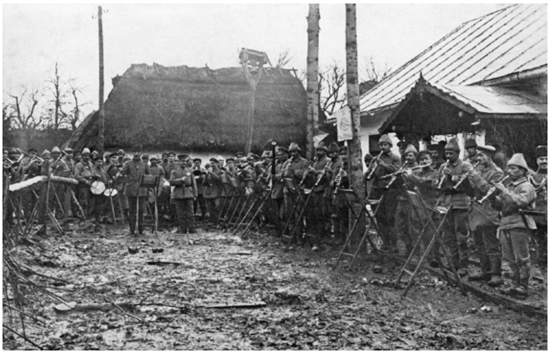
The polite but distant attitude of the Austrians toward the Turks was certainly rooted in historical experience. It must have been humiliating for them to rely on the military aid of a former adversary. The Germans, by contrast, were free from such encumbrances. Moreover, those whom 2nd Lt. Yazman encountered in Galicia were, in many respects, very different from the officers he and his colleagues had previously known in the Ottoman Empire. Often, less capable or even inept officers were sent to such postings. Even those who were not assigned to Turkey as a form of punishment considered service under the Sultan's orders as a kind of exile. Consequently, one could hardly expect them to display particular warmth toward their hosts. The Germans fighting in Galicia had no such prejudices; moreover, they appreciated their Ottoman comrades-in-arms for their achievements a few months earlier in the Dardanelles and for their conduct during the early days of deployment on this Eastern European front.

The decline in combat activity during the winter of 1916/1917 fostered a notable intensification of social and cultural life. It was not only the Turks who visited the allied officers' messes; increasingly, Austrians and Germans also came, teaching the Turks to dance, playing chess with them, and sharing meals. In the officers' mess of the 20th Infantry Division, where both Turkish and "German" cuisine were served, the Turks – surprisingly – showed greater preference for the latter, while the Germans and Austro-Hungarian officers were fascinated by the flavors of the Orient. Entertainment was provided by a divisional band, "organized and trained by a German bandmaster," which played European melodies suitable for dancing (Yazman, 2011, pp. 145–146). On long winter evenings, the Ottoman soldiers also staged theatrical performances, to which comrades-in-arms from allied units adjacent to the Turkish positions were invited (Yazman, 2011, pp. 200–209).

Photo 9. An unnamed Austrian sergeant, serving as cook for the Ottoman 20th Infantry Division, was responsible for preparing "German" dishes in the officers' mess of this unit

Source: Author's collection.

Photo 10. Concert of the combined bands of the Ottoman 20th Infantry Division and the German 1st Reserve Infantry Division, organized in the autumn of 1916 in front of the headquarters of the above-mentioned Turkish unit in Lipica Górna. The event was likely held on the occasion of the visit of the Sultan's personal representative to the German General Staff, Marshal Halepli Zeki Pasha (standing first on the right, wearing the lanyard of the Sultan's adjutant on his right chest)



Source: Author's collection.

Photo 11. The band of one of the Ottoman divisions, returning to their homeland with European instruments gifted to them by their allies

Source: Author's collection.

Ottoman officers and soldiers were occasionally afforded a taste of high culture even in the rear of the front. On 8 June 1917, at 5:00 p.m., a charity concert took place in the officers' mess of the XV Corps headquarters in Cześniki. The performance featured Paldo, an artist of the Vienna Opera, accompanied by professors Sulzer, Eisner, and the renowned Czech composer and violinist František Alois Drdla (1868–1944). Seated tickets for officers were priced at 10, 5, and 3 crones depending on the location, while standing tickets for soldiers cost 1 crone. The proceeds were donated to charity – likely to support the care of the wounded – and were distributed as follows: 50 percent for Ottoman soldiers, and 25 percent each for Austro-Hungarian and German soldiers.[19]

A far richer cultural program than that available in the frontline villages and towns awaited Ottoman soldiers in the major cities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, where the wounded were sent for treatment and convalescence. Beginning in January 1917, officers and soldiers of the XV Corps receiving care in Vienna were allotted 30 tickets per week to the Volksoper and 50 tickets to Wednesday circus performances at the Varieté Schumann. They were also offered opportunities to visit museums – such as the Military Museum, the Museum of Agriculture, and the Museum of Fine Arts – and to ride trams through the city. Each organized outing, arranged by a professional tourist office, included a meal and a cinema screening. Similar recreational and cultural amenities were made available to Ottoman patients at the convalescence center in Pest (Dağlar, 2006, pp. 62–63).

A prolonged convalescence far from the front in the cities of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and Germany also facilitated the development of intimate relations with local women. 2nd Lt. Yazman recounts in detail the story of Sgt. Osman's infatuation with Miss Lili Grünbergsheim, who attended to him in the hospital at Göding (now Hodonín). Although the nurse was prepared to commit herself to him for life – even, as it appears, with her mother's blessing – the Turkish non-commissioned officer chose to return to the front as soon as possible. He feared that the language barrier and cultural differences might prove insurmountable obstacles to the stability of their relationship (Yazman, 2011, pp. 167–174).

In the same town, Warrant Officer İbrahim (Arıkan) also experienced a passionate romance. He attracted the attention of Maria, whom he mentioned only by her first name, the owner of a restaurant and a hotel requisitioned by the Austrian military authorities as a reserve hospital. Through joint German and Turkish lessons, the two quickly grew close. When the ensign's health improved, they took walks around the city, went to the cinema together, and even visited Maria's three-story house regularly. Occasionally, her brother, who worked in the administration of the local sugar factory, accompanied them. When it became clear that Arıkan would soon be discharged from the hospital and return to the front, Maria arranged with the hospital commander to transfer him to a convalescence center in Vienna, where she maintained a second home. There he would have remained under the care of her mother until the end of the war and their planned wedding. He would not even have

19 KA, sig. AT-OeStA/KA FA NFA GAK Ottomanische XX. Division/Technischer Referent Patzak 699, letter No. 3465 from the liaison officer of the General Staff to the commander of the XV Corps dated June 6, 1917.

had to worry about his livelihood, as Maria's financial resources would have ensured a comfortable life for both. After a few weeks in the Austrian capital, however, Warrant Officer Arıkan chose to reject the proposal and return to the front. Perhaps he was motivated by the same fears as Sgt. Osman, or perhaps by his pride, which would not allow him to become dependent (Arıkan, 2007, pp. 114–127).

Much greater courage was shown by Lt. Mehmet (?), who, while convalescing from his wounds in Wiesbaden, married a German woman. The ceremony was performed by an imam and attended by the bride's parents, the lieutenant's father, Ottoman and German officers, and several civilians, whom he had met at the "Allegiance to the Allies" table in the "Berliner Hof" café on what was then Wilhelmstraße. A reception for the male portion of the wedding guests was also held.[20]

Photo 12. A wedding photograph of Lt. Mehmet (?), presumably taken in front of the bride's house in Wiesbaden. On the right sit the parents of the bride, with the father of the groom positioned between them. On the left, wearing a white turban, is the imam who officiated the marriage. Photo by court photographer C.H. Schiffer, Wiesbaden

Source: Author's collection.

In the final phase of the 20th Infantry Division's presence in Galicia, during preparations for its return to the homeland, another couple took their place on the wedding carpet in Stryi. The groom, Sgt. Mustafa Bekiroğlu, born in 1893 or 1894, hailed from the Kocatopal clan of Akçahisar in the Salihli district of İzmir province. Unfortunately, the personal details of his bride remain unknown. What is known is that she converted to Islam before the wedding – voluntarily – and took the name Mediha. The young couple insisted on marrying, despite efforts by Mustafa's company and platoon commanders to dissuade

20 Three photographs with a handwritten description and a stamp of the café in the author's private collection.

them. The ceremony was conducted by the company imam – the same one who had previously scandalized the soldiers with his liaison with a widow – while Mustafa's comrades, in spite of the challenges, endeavored to make the wedding as lavish as possible, and as close as could be to the custom he might have experienced in Turkey. When the 20th Infantry Division returned to Istanbul, Mediha accompanied her husband and was never heard from again. According to Mustafa's plan, she awaited his return to Akçahisar under the watchful eye of her father-in-law until the end of the war. Whether she lived to see it, however, remains unknown (Yazman, 2011, pp. 277–278, 283–290).

To sum up, it may be stated that the official and private contacts of Ottoman officers and non-commissioned officers with representatives of the allied armies developed on several levels: joint participation in official ceremonies, winter trainings in the rear of the front, and the spending of free time together. Meanwhile, the privates – despite language barriers – maintained close relations above all with the Galician population. These interactions, often quite intimate, contributed significantly to changing the image of the Turk in this part of Europe. Numerous attestations of this transformation are found not only in the memoirs of the Ottoman officers and non-commissioned officers cited here, but also in contemporary press, both Galician and Ottoman. The longstanding image of the "bawdy Turk"[21] – the invader, preserved especially from the 17th century – gradually gave way to a more favorable vision: the Turk as the Muslim foretold by the Ruthenian seer Wernyhora, who, having watered his horse not in the Horyn (as the original prophecy stated) but in the Dniester – the very basin where the Ottoman XV Corps fought – symbolically contributed to the restoration of Polish independence.

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21 On one of the side scenes of the 17th-century painting "The Dance of Death" from the Chapel of St. Anne in the Church of St. Bernardine in Krakow, a Turk and a Jew are depicted, with a quatrain under them beginning with the words "Bowdy Turks ugly Jews / How Death is not disgusted by you."

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Piotr Nykiel – Habilitated Doctor, specialist in Turkish studies, historian, and former diplomat. He serves as Deputy Chairman of the Commission on War and Military History of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, is a corresponding member of the Turkish Historical Society, and a member of The Gallipoli Association (UK), the Society for Military History (USA), and Gallipoli & Dardanelles International (UK). Author of (2008). *Wyprawa do Złotego Rogu. Działania wojenne w Dardanelach i na Morzu Egejskim (sierpień 1914 – marzec 1915)* [*The Expedition to the Golden Horn: Military Operations in the Dardanelles and the Aegean Sea (August 1914 – March 1915)*], and *Mahometanie Wernyhory. Turcy na froncie galicyjskim w latach 1916–1917* [*The Muslims of Wernyhora: The Turks on the Galician Front, 1916–1917*].

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Karolina Wanda Olszowska
http://orcid.org/0000-0003-0535-912X
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
karolinawanda.olszowska@uj.edu.pl
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Shaping Pro-American Attitudes in Turkey Through Education and Scholarships

ABSTRACT

The article examines the role of education and scholarship programs funded by American institutions in shaping pro-American attitudes among Turkey's intellectual, political, and academic elites from the late 19th century to the 1950s. The analysis begins with the emergence of American educational presence in the Ottoman Empire, focusing in particular on the activities of Robert College and the American College for Girls, which educated the first generation of men and women who would later form the modern elite of the Turkish Republic. It further explores how these programs promoted liberal values and familiarity with American culture, thereby contributing to the creation of an elite milieu rerceptive to cooperation with the United States.

KEYWORDS: Turkey, Ottoman Empire, United States, education

STRESZCZENIE

Kształtowanie proamerykańskich postaw w Turcji przez edukację i stypendia

Artykuł analizuje rolę edukacji i programów stypendialnych finansowanych przez instytucje amerykańskie w kształtowaniu proamerykańskich postaw wśród tureckich elit intelektualnych, politycznych i naukowych w okresie od końca XIX w. do lat 50. XX w. Punktem wyjścia analizy są początki amerykańskiej obecności edukacyjnej w Imperium Osmańskim, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem działalności Robert College i American College for Girls, które odegrały istotną rolę w kształceniu pierwszego pokolenia kobiet i mężczyzn tworzących nowoczesne elity Republiki Tureckiej. W tekście przedstawiono, jak programy te promowały wartości liberalne i znajomość kultury amerykańskiej, przyczyniając się do ukształtowania środowiska otwartego na współpracę z USA.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: Turcja, Imperium Osmańskie, Stany Zjednoczone, edukacja

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Introduction

Education in the Ottoman Empire offered avenues for career advancement but was far from widespread. By the end of the 19th century, roughly 85–90 per cent of the population was illiterate. Contrary to popular belief, this situation did not improve markedly in the following decades: in 1927, the illiteracy rate still stood at approximately 89.5 per cent (Fortna, 2022). Gradual change began with the introduction of the alphabet reform, which replaced the Arabic script with the Latin alphabet, alongside efforts to "purify" the Turkish language of Persian and Arabic loanwords. This was accompanied by an intensive literacy campaign in 1928–1929. Nevertheless, the reforms proved challenging to implement, as even those literate in Ottoman Turkish had to relearn reading and writing in the new language.

Nevertheless, these efforts began to yield results: by 1940, the illiteracy rate had fallen to 78 per cent. Literacy levels, however, varied considerably by gender, with women experiencing markedly higher rates of illiteracy. Nationwide, illiteracy fell below 50 per cent only in the 1970s, reaching 31 per cent among men and 60 per cent among women (Kołodziejczyk, 2000, pp. 202–203). Reformers in both the late Ottoman and early Republican periods recognized that building a modern state required effective educational reforms aimed not only at improving the quality of education but also at broadening access across social classes. From the early 20th century onwards, proposals were made to introduce science subjects and European languages even in mosque-attached schools, alongside traditional Qur'anic instruction.

During the reform era of the Young Turks (following the 1908 Revolution) and after the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, Turkish education underwent a significant reorganization, drawing on various foreign models, particularly the French and German systems. These models were especially influential in military, technical, and vocational education. Only after World War II did Anglo-American and American models gain greater prominence. The present text seeks to address the question: To what extent did American education influence pro-Western sympathies among the Turkish elite, and through what mechanisms did this influence operate?

This article adopts a traditional historical methodology, grounded in the analysis and evaluation of primary sources alongside selected secondary materials. Its principal focus lies on archival sources – official correspondence, administrative records, and government documents – supplemented by personal memoirs. These sources were subjected to detailed formal and content analysis, taking into account their origin, historical context, reliability, and the authors' intentions. Such source criticism not only facilitated the reconstruction of historical facts but also allowed an examination of how the phenomena under study were represented and perceived by contemporary society. This approach enabled a multi-layered exploration of the topic, encompassing both institutional structures and the personal experiences of the individuals involved.

The best high school in the country

Educational reforms and the broader incorporation of American expertise expanded significantly only after the Second World War. Nevertheless, the first American educational institutions had already been established in the Ottoman Empire in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In 1863, Robert College was founded in Istanbul – one of the oldest American schools in continuous operation outside the United States. The college was established by philanthropist Christopher Rhinelander Robert and Protestant missionary Cyrus Hamlin, and initially admitted only male students (Petrov, 2023). In 1871, the American College for Girls (also known as Constantinople House) was established to educate female students. Initially functioning as a secondary school, its primary purpose was Protestant missionary work, and at that time, only married women were permitted to teach. This policy changed in the 1870s, when unmarried women also began to be employed. Mary Mills, Patrick, and Clara Hamlin initiated a reform of the curriculum toward a more secular model, inspired by American high schools. A significant milestone of this transformation was the graduation of the first Muslim woman, Gülistan İsmet (Tevfik),[1] in 1890 (Acun, 2015). In the same year, with support from the Women's Board of Missions, the school was elevated to college status and officially renamed the American College for Girls (Sezer, 1999).

The institution's missionary affiliation officially ended in 1908, when it was granted the status of a private, secular institution of higher education. Notably, although the college was relocated to a new campus in 1914, it continued its operations without interruption during the First World War, the Allied occupation of Istanbul, and the Turkish War of Independence. During the Republican era, American schools adapted to the new political and educational environment (Kaya, 2022). In 1932, the American College for Girls and Robert College were administratively merged, though the male and female divisions continued to operate separately. In 1959, both institutions lost their college status and were reclassified as high schools. It was not until 1971, exactly one hundred years after the founding of the American College for Girls, that the two schools were united into a single co-educational high school (Freely, 2009). Simultaneously, the Robert College campus in Bebek was transferred to Boğaziçi University.

1 In a significant turn of events, the introduction of surnames in Turkey began in 1934 with the adoption of the Law on Surnames. This marked a crucial shift, as prior to this law, individuals' family names were often indicated in brackets rather than formally adopted as legal surnames.

In the 19th century, the student body of American schools in the Ottoman Empire consisted predominantly of members of national minorities, including Greeks, Armenians, Romanians, and Bulgarians. However, this does not mean that Muslims were entirely absent from these institutions. Notably, in the 1893/1894 academic year, Halide Edip (Adıvar)[2] – who would later become one of Turkey's most prominent female writers – began her education at the American College for Girls. In 1901, she became the first Muslim woman to graduate from an American college (Çalışlar, 2010, p. 39). Halide was able to access this high-quality education thanks to her father, Mehmed Edip Bey, an Anglophile who held a senior position within the palace hierarchy (Adıvar, 2009, p. 82).

A demographic change in the student composition of Robert College took place in the early twentieth century, coinciding with the rise to power of the Young Turks. As efforts to modernise the state intensified, the demand for a well-educated elite grew considerably, leading to a large-scale reform of the educational system. Minister Ali Şükrü was particularly dedicated to fighting illiteracy. Ali Bey was responsible for reorganising Waqf schools for boys, while Nakiye Hanım supervised reforms in girls' schools. Halide Edip herself was appointed chief inspector and adviser in this process (Adıvar, 1926, p. 351).

Halide Edip was one of many prominent figures who studied at Robert College, which operated male, female, and later coeducational sections. Another notable alumna was Hatice Safiye Ali, the second female physician in the history of the Turkish Republic and the first female lecturer in medicine (Yazgan, 2024). Mihri İffet Pektaş was among the first eighteen women elected to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in 1935, representing Malatya province (Kılınççeker & Gök, 2019). Halet Çambel, an archaeologist and the first Muslim woman to compete in the Olympic Games – participating in fencing in 1936 – was also a graduate. Other influential alumnae include Tansu Çiller, an economist and politician who served as Turkey's first female Prime Minister from 1993 to 1996. The list of distinguished alumni further includes numerous politicians, writers, and scholars. Besides Çiller, it is worth mentioning another Turkish Prime Minister, Mustafa Bülent Ecevit (in office 1978–1979 and 1999–2002), and Orhan Pamuk, Turkey's Nobel Prize–winning author, who also attended an American school. The long list of graduates features leading business figures, such as members of the Koç and Kavala families, and Selçuk Bayraktar, the creator of the Bayraktar TB2 unmanned aerial vehicle.

The influence of the school extended beyond Turkey. Among its graduates were three Bulgarian prime ministers: Konstantin Stoilov (1887, 1894–1899),

2 Halide Edip Adıvar (1884–1964) – Turkish writer, co-founder of the Anadolu Ajansı news agency, first Turkish woman to reach the rank of corporal, first lecturer at Istanbul University. During the Young Turkish period, she was involved in the reform of Ottoman female education.

Todor Ivanchov (1899–1901), and Konstantin Vladov Muraviev (1944). Students of Robert College also played a significant role at the founding conference of the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945. Graduates of the school represented the governments of three different countries: Nureddin Kahala (Syria), Hâzım Atıf Kuyucak (Turkey), and Rasasad Shafaq (Iran). Although the full list of alumni from the school's over 160-year history is much longer, these selected names alone demonstrate the exceptional calibre of individuals who studied there.

Graduates not only gained fluency in English but were also immersed in American culture, history, and literature. The notably high proportion of women among those who later played key roles in the Republic's development indicates that the education provided at Robert College enabled them to navigate and contribute to a rapidly changing society successfully. At the same time, despite some scepticism towards Western policies, graduating from an American school fostered pro-American sympathies among both students and alumni.

The Rockefeller Foundation and Turkish science

The Americans recognized the significance of education, language proficiency, influence over national elites, and scholarship programs in shaping their international image and gaining real influence abroad. As U.S. Ambassador to Ankara, Edwin C. Wilson emphasized in a letter to the U.S. Department of State, graduates of American schools and scholarship programs were becoming "enthusiastic ambassadors of the American liberal tradition" (FRUS, 1949, p. 1663). This proactive approach was reflected in a meeting between Recep Peker and Harold Dwight Lasswell, head of the Information and Culture Division at the U.S. Department of State, which took place on September 3, 1946. The conversation concerned an American proposal to establish an institution in Turkey dedicated to promoting American culture. Lasswell, who had previously visited several European countries, envisioned this institution as a hub for the dissemination of American culture and for facilitating both student and academic exchanges (Başbakanlık, 30-1-0-0/11-65-5). The tangible outcomes of these efforts soon followed: the import tax on American films was reduced from 75 per cent to 50 per cent, a move intended to increase their presence in Turkish cinemas and further popularize American culture.

The exchange of academic staff between Turkish and American universities, along with the circulation of books between the libraries of major Turkish institutions and the Library of Congress, represented a significant cultural and scholarly initiative. In 1950, thirteen American professors were appointed to positions at Istanbul University, reflecting the deepening academic cooperation between the two countries. On 13 March 1950, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey ratified a Turkish-American cultural agreement, under which materials donated to Turkey during the Second World War – valued at approximately 10 million USD – were formally recognised as contributions to cultural services. American educational institutions increasingly served as models for Turkish educational reform. İhsan Doğramacı, a prominent Turkish educator and physician, graduated from the American University of Beirut in 1934, following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. He later founded two of Ankara's leading universities, both inspired by the American educational model: Bilkent University, where instruction is conducted in English, and Hacettepe University (Yurdakök, 2023). Among the graduates of Bilkent University are two recent foreign ministers of Turkey, Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu and Hakan Fidan, underscoring the institution's continued role in shaping Turkey's political and diplomatic elite.

However, the scope and effectiveness of American initiatives were contingent upon substantial financial investment. In this context, the Rockefeller Foundation played a pivotal role. Its engagement in Turkey began in the 1920s, particularly in the field of medical science. In 1925, the foundation dispatched its first representatives to Turkey to assess the country's public health needs. The challenges identified were considerable: high infant mortality rates, widespread infectious diseases, and limited access to healthcare infrastructure. İsmet İnönü and Refik Saydam sought the foundation's assistance in establishing a Hygiene Institute in Ankara and in funding scholarships for medical professionals, including doctors and nurses. Officials representing the foundation in Turkey perceived the country's development potential as significant, especially given the Turkish government's cooperative attitude (Erken, 2018, p. 33).

As a result, in 1928, a grant of $280,000 was allocated to support the establishment of the Central Institute of Hygiene in Ankara. The institute comprised four departments central to the public health priorities of the young Republic: epidemiology and statistics, sanitary engineering, parasitology, and social hygiene. The Rockefeller Foundation's commitment to advancing Turkish medical science continued in subsequent years; between 1948 and 1951, the foundation provided funding for several nursing scholarships (Başar & Öztürk, 2025).

Expanding professional staffing was a critical issue for the development of the Turkish Republic; however, contrary to expectations, many proposed projects were rejected by the United States. Following the Second World War, only two nursing schools operated in Turkey. The Turkish government intended to establish a third institution at the Amerikan Hastanesi (American Hospital) in Istanbul, but the Rockefeller Foundation declined to provide financial support. This did not, however, signify a cessation of aid – rather, it marked its limitation. In 1956, the foundation allocated a grant of $100,000 for equipment and the recruitment of initial specialists for the newly established Institute of Child Health at Hacettepe University in Ankara. Nevertheless, the Turkish government could not reasonably expect American funds to support all of the country's critical development projects. Turkey, lagging behind in terms of infrastructure and social development, and simultaneously required to maintain a large standing army in the postwar period, faced considerable financial needs.

The Rockefeller Foundation operated across multiple domains, extending its influence beyond the field of medicine. It invested in the development of academic disciplines designed to train regional specialists who would ultimately serve American strategic interests. In 1939, with the foundation's financial support, Princeton University inaugurated a program in Turkish language and history. Additional funding was directed toward translating Turkish literary works into European languages. One of the prominent Turkish authors to receive a Rockefeller grant was Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, who used the opportunity to study 19th-century European literature in the United States. Drawing on this experience, he authored *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (History of 19th-Century Turkish Literature) in 1949. Likewise, thanks to the foundation's support, *Maske ve Ruh* [*Mask and Soul*], a play by Halide Edip Adıvar, was translated into English (Erken, 2018, p. 133). The play – considered the first written in Turkey by a woman – captured the cultural tensions of the early republic, depicting the struggle between tradition and modernity, and between Turkish and European identities. Such works served as valuable cultural artifacts that could foster greater mutual understanding between Americans, Europeans, and contemporary Turkey. It is worth noting that Halide Edip Adıvar taught English language and literature at the Faculty of Literature of Istanbul University, where she became the first Turkish woman to hold a professorship (Göze, 2013, p. 5).

The Rockefeller Foundation also allocated substantial funding to social science and field research. These initiatives aimed to familiarize other societies with the "norms of Western social science" (Erken, 2018, p. 89). Prior to 1950, the foundation's social science activities in Turkey were limited to a small number of research grants. The first recipient was Kasım Gülek, a professor of economics at Istanbul University and minister in the CHP government. As an advisor to the foundation, he advocated for the expansion of its scholarship program to include sociology. Gülek is a noteworthy example of an individual who held influential governmental positions – serving as Minister of Public Works (10 September 1947–10 June 1948) and Minister of Transport (10 June 1948–16 January 1949) – while also using his American education to promote U.S.-Turkish cooperation in major development projects. One of his main objectives was to enhance bilateral collaboration in the areas of water management and road infrastructure (Erken, 2018, p. 60).

In 1951, Professor Hilmi Ziya Ülken, a leading sociologist, received a grant to study migration. His research focused on Bulgarian refugees and the historical context of migration within the Ottoman Empire, aiming to inform more effective strategies for the future settlement of migrants. A separate grant for research on the social and economic history of the Ottoman Empire was awarded to French historian Fernand Braudel, who sought to illustrate the parallels between European and Ottoman experiences. The grant enabled him to conduct extensive archival research in Ottoman repositories, as well as in the Balkans and Western Europe (Erken, 2018, p. 102). Through such initiatives, the Rockefeller Foundation helped Turkish scholars enhance the quality and scope of their academic work. At the same time, it cultivated pro-American attitudes among researchers – sentiments that have left a lasting imprint on Turkish academic culture and remain evident in numerous contemporary scholarly publications.

Nevertheless, academic professionals were not the only ones afforded opportunities for training in the United States. For the American side, military collaboration was a key priority; for the Turkish side, the development of public infrastructure was paramount. With the support of American loans and assistance from the Marshall Plan, opportunities arose for Turkish specialists to travel to the United States and for American experts to visit Turkey. In 1945, Vecdi Diker, an engineer at the Turkish Ministry of Public Works, visited the United States to study highway systems and the operations of the Federal Bureau of Public Roads. Upon his return, he recommended that Turkey adopt similar models. In 1948, Harold Hilts, Deputy Commissioner of the U.S. Public Roads Administration, traveled to Ankara to assess the state of Turkey's highways and prepare a report containing policy recommendations. His conclusions echoed those of Diker, particularly the need to establish an independent agency and to send Turkish engineers to the United States for specialized training (Olszowska, 2023, p. 431).

Turkey's turn toward the United States cannot be attributed solely to the activities of American educational and philanthropic institutions. To a significant extent, it was driven by the growing threat posed by the Soviet Union and the uncertain geopolitical situation following the end of World War II. Soviet pressure – manifested, among other things, in demands to revise the Montreux Convention and to establish joint control over the Straits – forced Turkish decision-makers to take a clear stance in favour of the West. In this context, cooperation with the United States and the adoption of Western models, including in the fields of science and education, was not merely a pragmatic choice for modernisation. Seeking security and stability, Turkey actively pursued NATO membership, which was reflected both in the intensification of diplomatic relations with Washington and in the increasing influence of American institutions on Turkish intellectual and academic life.

Conclusion

Based on the analyzed material, it can be concluded that American educational and scholarship programs played a significant role in fostering pro-American attitudes among Turkey's intellectual, political, and academic elites. Beginning in the late nineteenth century – with the activities of institutions such as Robert College and the American College for Girls – and continuing through the involvement of the Rockefeller Foundation during the Republican era, the American educational model and liberal values were gradually integrated into the Turkish education system. These institutions not only offered high-quality education and access to the English language but also familiarized students with American culture, literature, and intellectual traditions. Particularly significant were scholarship programs and academic exchanges, by enabling Turkish scholars and professionals to acquire knowledge and build networks in the United States. Consequently, an elite milieu emerged among the graduates of these institutions which, although at times critical of the West, was generally sympathetic toward the United States and receptive to transatlantic cooperation. In the context of the growing Soviet threat after the Second World War, these pro-American sympathies gained strategic importance, facilitating Turkey's turn toward the West and the strengthening Turkish-American relations, particularly in connection with Turkey's bid for NATO membership.

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Karolina Wanda Olszowska – is an Assistant Professor at the Faculty of International and Political Studies, Jagiellonian University in Krakow (Poland). A Turkologist, historian, and Doctor of Humanities, she was the principal investigator of the NCN National Science Centre's Prelude 16 project *Ankara Balancing Between Washington and Moscow. Turkish-American and Turkish-Soviet Bilateral Relations in 1945–1952* (Contract No. UMO-2018/31/N/HS3/00661, 2019–2022). She currently leads the NCN National Science Centre's Opus 27 project *Diplomacy in the Shadow of War. Polish-Turkish relations between 1939 and 1945* (Contract No. UMO-2024/53/B/HS3/00076, 2025–2029). For her doctoral dissertation, defended in 2022, she received the Award of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Poland for the best doctoral thesis in history. she is the author of a monograph and numerous scholarly works on Turkey and on Turkish-Polish relations from both historical and contemporary perspectives. she is also the co-founder and President of the Institute for Turkey Studies.

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Katarzyna Pachniak
http://orcid.org/0000-0001-5597-6877
University of Warsaw
k.pachniak@uw.edu.pl
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Jihad. Development of the Concept from the Origins to the End of the Eleventh Century

ABSTRACT

The following study outlines the development of the doctrine of jihad from its origins to the end of the eleventh century. By that time, the foundations of the doctrine and the notions had been established, as they are still found inspiring by the present-day jihadists. The analysis is based on primary sources. It begins by highlighting the significance of war among the Arab tribes in pre-Islamic times, then considers the factors that shaped the concept of jihad in the Muslim sacred texts, the Qur'ān and hadith. The paper also analyses the most important discussions of jihad in fiqh (Muslim jurisprudence) treatises written during the period of the Islamic conquests. The study concludes with an examination of Al-Māwardī's treatise, composed during the decline of the caliphate's unity. The findings suggest that in theory, Muslims endeavoured to systematize the concept of jihad and subject it to specific regulations while also adapting it to changing circumstances.

KEYWORDS: Islam, jurisprudence, war, jihad, struggle

STRESZCZENIE

Dżihad. Rozwój pojęcia od początków do końca XI wieku

Celem artykułu jest przeanalizowanie rozwoju doktryny dżihadu od jej początków do końca XI w. Właśnie w tym okresie powstały teoretyczne podstawy dżihadu, które aż do dzisiaj inspirują współczesnych dżihadystów. Analiza została oparta na oryginalnych tekstach źródłowych, w zestawieniu z okolicznościami historyczno-politycznymi, które wpływały na kształtowanie dżihadu. Na wstępie podkreślono znaczenie wojny wśród plemion arabskich w czasach przedmuzułmańskich, a następnie czynniki, które ukształtowały pojęcie dżihadu w Koranie i hadisach. W okresie podbojów dżihad był pojęciem omawianym w traktatach z zakresu *fiqhu*, czyli muzułmańskiej jurysprudencji. Na

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zakończenie skupiono się na traktacie Al-Māwardīego z okresu upadku jedności kalifatu. Analiza prowadzi do wniosku, że w teorii muzułmanie starali się usystematyzować pojęcie dżihadu i poddać je konkretnym regulacjom, jednocześnie dostosowując do zmieniających się okoliczności.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: islam, jurysprdudencja, wojna, dżihad, walka

Introduction

Jihad is among the concepts in Islam that has sparked the most extensive debate, both within academic circles and among the general public. Its significance is particularly evident in the Western world, as illustrated by events such as the September 11 attacks and subsequent terrorist incidents in Europe. The concept, however, is frequently misunderstood. On one hand, critics of Islam often portray jihad as a duty incumbent on all Muslims without distinction. On the other hand, some defenders of the faith argue that the term is absent from sacred texts or emphasize the "greater" jihad – the struggle against one's own inner weaknesses – over armed struggle. In reality, jihad is explicitly mentioned in the Qurʾān and later became a central topic within Muslim jurisprudence (fiqh), where it is subject to detailed regulations governing the conditions, purposes, and circumstances under which it may be legitimately waged. The theoretical development and interpretation of jihad have historically been shaped by geopolitical realities. Different emphases emerged during the early Islamic conquests, a period of Muslim offensives, compared to times of external threat, such as the Crusades or Mongol invasions. Likewise, the understanding of jihad shifted during periods of internal strife, including the fragmentation of the caliphate, or during times when Muslims were forced to confront foreign invaders, highlighting the concept's flexibility in response to changing political and military circumstances.

The present study aims to outline the theoretical development of the concept of jihad up to the end of the eleventh century, a period in which foundational ideas emerged that continue to influence jihadist thought today. The focus is placed on the source texts themselves, with historical events considered of secondary importance. The practical implementation of jihad is treated only tangentially. Given the scope of this brief study, it does not attempt a comprehensive explanation of the origins of the term, and the selection of texts inevitably introduces a degree of subjectivity. It is essential to examine the circumstances and influences under which the concept of jihad developed, as these provide the framework for its later interpretations. Modern jihadists worldwide frequently draw upon classical texts and ideas – often without fully understanding their original context – by distorting or manipulating them to justify contemporary actions. Nonetheless, it is precisely these early formulations that underpin the ideological claims of today's jihad fighters, including those active on the African continent.

Islam emerged at the beginning of the seventh century within the tribal and desert environment of the Arabian Peninsula. Prior to Islam, the Arabs were predominantly polytheists, although Jewish and Christian communities also lived in the region. The Arabian society was organized into numerous tribes, which occasionally formed loose confederations rather than a centralized state. Armed conflict was familiar to these tribes even before Islam: from ancient times, battles and skirmishes occurred between rival tribes living under harsh environmental conditions. Precise details of these clashes are largely unknown due to the scarcity of contemporary sources from the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods. Most available information comes from orally transmitted pre-Islamic poetry, later transcribed, and the pre-Islamic prose accounts known as *ayyām al-ʿArab* ("days of the Arabs"), which commemorate the wars, battles, and skirmishes of the tribes. Additional sources include the hadith, the sīras (biographies of the Prophet), and the *maġāzī* literature describing early Islamic campaigns. While these accounts often present hagiographical portrayals of warfare, they underscore the centrality of armed struggle in Arab culture at the time (Donner, 1991, pp. 31–59). The causes of these conflicts were varied: competition for territory, livestock, and water – resources critical for survival in the desert environment – as well as disputes over honour or women. The poetry and prose of the period emphasized the bravery and skill of warriors, their loyalty in combat, and the importance of group cohesion. In the harsh conditions of Arabia, an individual expelled from the tribe had little chance of survival, and thus collective solidarity and shared responsibility were highly valued over individualism. Given the polytheistic and fragmented nature of Arab religious beliefs, tribal identity often outweighed broader ethnic or religious affiliations, and the sense of belonging to one's tribe was the primary organizing principle of society (Helbling, 2006).

The wars waged by the Prophet Muḥammad in the name of Islam retained many characteristics of the pre-Islamic tribal clashes in Arabia. Information about these campaigns is fragmentary, primarily preserved by Ibn Isḥāq in *Al-Sīra al-nabawiyya* and by al-Wāqidī in *Kitāb al-maġāzī* (Ibn Isḥāq, 2000; Al-Wāqidī, 2004). Without addressing the full question of source reliability, it is notable that these accounts present the events largely in a factual manner, often without extensive commentary on their broader purpose. From these narratives, it appears that Muḥammad did not initially have a preconceived plan for warfare; rather, the nature and timing of military engagements were shaped by the circumstances and the actions of his adversaries, particularly the Meccans. In the Prophet's biographies, the Meccans are consistently depicted as aggressors who expelled him and persecuted the early Muslims, motivated by the fear that Islam would disrupt the established social order rooted in polytheism.

Determining whether Muḥammad proactively sought armed struggle from the outset, or whether military action was largely a defensive response to increasing Meccan aggression and expulsion, remains a matter of scholarly debate. Contemporary theories of warfare tend to support the latter interpretation (Firestone, 1999, pp. 13–69; Al-Dawoody, 2011, pp. 11–14). The early Islamic campaigns were rooted in the pre-Islamic Arabic tradition of *ġazw*, tribal raids and skirmishes aimed at asserting dominance, acquiring territory, or capturing resources. Whether these actions can uniformly be classified as *jihad* is doubtful, since the term itself was still developing, and not all conflicts were motivated purely by religious objectives.

Jihad in the Qurʾān and the Sunnah

The Qurʾān has proven crucial for the development of the concept of jihad. This book, containing the revelations which Muslims believe God Himself handed down to the Prophet Muḥammad between 610 and 632, was transcribed after the death of the Prophet. It is assumed that the skeleton of the original version came into existence about twenty years after Muḥammad's death in 632. Muslims believe that the Qurʾān is the unmitigated word of God – immutable and eternal – and therefore everything it contains has the status of inviolable holiness. That is why jihadists around the world regard the Qurʾānic rules on jihad as the basis for their actions. This does not mean, however, that the Qurʾān speaks unequivocally about jihad. Analysis of the development of this concept clearly shows that it was interpreted according to changing conditions and corresponded to the reality of Muḥammad's struggle.

The term "jihad" is derived from the root ǧ-h-d, which signifies, first and foremost, striving and endeavoring to be on the path to God, although the effort does not necessarily have to be military. In its two meanings, "toil" and "fight," the root appears forty-one times in the Qurʾān, of which ten instances clearly refer to the latter. Ella Landau-Tasseron, in her article on jihad in the *Encyclopædia of the Qurʾān*, stresses that the word can be found in different contexts: the call to believe in God, to walk one's path, to make financial efforts to spread faith in God, and to sacrifice oneself – the latter meaning which may, but does not necessarily have to, be connected with armed struggle (2006, pp. 35–43). The Qurʾān often speaks of violence and war, but other Arabic terms are also used: ḥ-r-b (to wage war, to fight) and q-t-l (to fight, to kill). Concepts derived from these sources are found in passages on the practice of warfare, the gathering of armies, the hoarding and division of booty, the treatment of prisoners of war, and so forth. Undoubtedly, when considering the Qurʾān's relationship to violence, all roots and passages relating to armed conflict must be taken into account, not only those using the term jihad.

However, in many passages in which the ğ-h-d root appears, it is difficult to determine whether and to what extent it refers to armed struggle. This posed a problem for medieval commentators of the Qur'ān, who interpreted these passages in different ways: as a reference to armed struggle, as a struggle against one's own weaknesses, as a struggle for the observance of laws, religious commandments, and the sunnah, as a striving for religious knowledge (ʿilm), or as obedience to God – although none of these aims is explicitly named by the Qur'ān. Nor does the Qur'ān mention the notion of the "greater" jihad, which a man should lead within himself (*ğihād bi-āl-nafs*).

It may be suggested that in the earliest times, jihad was used to denote the need for the believer to prove his effort to obtain his reward from God. These efforts were also aimed at spreading Islam. Perhaps the oldest verse in which fighting is mentioned is a passage from the Meccan period, in surah Al-Haj, 22:39-41: "Permission [to fight, yuqātalū – K.P.] has been granted to those for they have been wronged ... to those who were unjustly expelled from their homes." Some difficulties of interpretation also arise from the fact that the Qur'ān, although acknowledging that fighting was an important part of the life of the Arabs at that time, did not provide a systematic doctrine of war. For this reason, it is difficult today to determine what kind of warfare was regarded as defensive and what as offensive. An example of this ambiguity is the well-known verse: "Fight in the way of God against those who fight against you, but do not be aggressors" (Qur'ān 2:190). Today, these words are sometimes interpreted as referring exclusively to defensive war, and Islamic apologists even claim that the Qur'ān forbids attacking. However, other interpretations exist: Muslims should not cross the boundaries set by God, their motivation should not be financial, they should not fight against those who do not oppose the true faith, and they should not commit cruel acts, such as mutilating corpses or fighting against children. Therefore, fighting should only occur when unavoidable and absolutely necessary. This, however, does not constitute purely defensive battle, but rather a restriction on the use of force.

Landau-Tasseron offers the following classification of Qur'ānic verses on jihad: (a) order to fight; (b) exhortation to fight; (c) naming the purpose of the fight; (d) description of the fight; (e) permission to cease the fight; (f) treatment of hostages; (g) booty (2006, 39). Most verses fall into the first category, especially the famous "sword verse": "And when the holy months are over, kill the idolaters wherever you find them; seize them, besiege them, and prepare all ambushes for them" (Qur'ān 9:5); "Fight those who disbelieve in Allah and the Last Day, and do not forbid what Allah and His Messenger have forbidden, and do not embrace the religion of truth, from those who have been given the Book, until they pay tribute with their own hands and are humbled" (Qur'ān 9:29). Many later Muslim commentators and theologians regard these as the last verses of the Madina period that ordered the fight. The principle of *nasḫ*, or abrogation, is applied to these verses, with the understanding that their content supersedes that of earlier, less categorical verses. These two passages are interpreted as imposing fighting for Islam as a duty (Powers, 1988, pp. 117–138).

In turn, the verses calling for peace state: "If they go away without fighting with you, and offer you peace, God will not show you a way against them" (Qur'ān 4:90); "If they are inclined to peace, then lean to it and put your trust in Allah" (Qur'ān 8:61). These verses were invoked when it was in the interest of the Muslims to make peace (Peters, 1979, pp. 32–36).

There is no doubt that the concept of war for Islam appeared in the Qur'ān, whether it was termed *jihad* or *qitāl*. It was closely linked both to the pre-Islamic ideas of war and to the circumstances in which Islam emerged. Strengthened by the belief in the sanctity of the Qur'ān and all its contents, the concept became the basis for further reflections on war.

The Qur'ānic reflection found its further development in the *sunnah*, the tradition of the Prophet, and in the *hadith*, most of which were written in the ninth century. The *hadith* did not fundamentally change the theory of *jihad*, as they largely repeat the Qur'ānic content and enrich it with elements of *muruwwa*, the virtue of a Bedouin knight (Izutsu, 1966, pp. 74–102). The Prophet is depicted in the *hadith* as a person who, during the Meccan period of his activity, resorted to fighting only in self-defense and, above all, counseled patience. This was allegedly not due to military weakness but to the ethical conviction that "the fight is hateful" and should be avoided whenever possible: "The reward for evil is an evil equal to it. And whoever forgives and makes amends, he shall find his reward with Allah. But he who is patient and forgives knows how to act" (Qur'ān 42:39–43). The old Arabic principle of revenge should be abandoned in favor of a morally higher principle of forgiveness.

The *sunnah* suggests that Muḥammad at that time advocated a practice of passive resistance by refraining from the use of violence. Recommending patience and avoiding unnecessary fighting is strongly supported by the *sunnah*. But during the Madina period, Muḥammad changed his attitude toward combat, which was expressed in both the Qur'ān and the *sunnah*. He took part in various raids, which he saw as a source of funding for the nascent Muslim community and as compensation for the property left behind in Mecca. It remains unclear whether these were larger military expeditions or smaller sorties meant to harass the Meccan people. We also do not know exactly what role the religious factor played, because Islam, with its principles and dogmas, was still in its infancy.

The *hadith* themselves focus primarily on the person of the Prophet, and the context is relatively limited, so the references to war in the *hadith* are not very descriptive or precise. The *hadith* repeatedly express the belief that Islam must be promoted through struggle throughout the world. In the collections we find many versions of the *hadith* about the Prophet, who expresses his conviction that he was sent to fight people until the whole earth is conquered for Islam and until they profess the true faith. *Jihad* and faith are the best works of humankind (الإيمان بالله والجهاد في سبيله). Moreover, there are great differences of opinion in the *hadith* about *jihad*, as well as many other disagreements (Bonner, 2007, pp. 66–67).

However, it can be concluded that at the time when Muḥammad was active in Madina, pre-Islamic martial ethical values superseded the struggle for Islam under the conditions of a state coming into being in Madina. These requirements helped to shape the ethics of war under the new circumstances. The concept of *jihad* evolved after the death of the Prophet and adapted to new conditions. This period was very turbulent, marked above all by territorial expansion and the formation of religious principles, but also by internal conflicts and the division of the *ummah*. *Jihad* became an important part of Muslim literature on *fiqh*, or jurisprudence.

As the circumstances of the struggle changed, new ideas were added to the classical solutions of the Qurʾān and *sunnah*, resulting from the geographical expansion and the mentality of the Muslims. *Jihad* was no longer led by a group of Arabs in the tradition of tribal warfare, but by a powerful caliphate. The legal treatises were intended to provide a theological rationale for the rapid expansion of Islam; consequently, the understanding of *jihad* as a campaign of aggression prevailed over the defensive meaning.

It is clear from the legal treatises that the main objective of *jihad* was not to convert by force, except in the case of polytheists. Although *jihad* was supposed to spread Islam by conquering more territories for Muslims, the monotheists, *ahl al-Kitāb*, who inhabited the conquered areas, were allowed to retain their religion on the condition that they paid special, higher taxes. An important objective of the struggle was to secure the state organization, without which it was impossible to protect and practice the *sharīʿa*, the law of God, which is the main objective of the state according to the Muslim understanding of the term.

The motivation for *jihad* may have been territorial expansion, defense of territory, or the improvement of economic conditions. In the Muslim interpretation of the relationship between state and religion, these issues belong to a common domain: to promote and ensure the best possible functioning of religion, and to protect the *daʿwa* (Friedmann, 2003, p. 103). The conversion or submission of the unbelievers was a moral task of the Muslims, and it had no temporal limits – only when the whole earth submits to Islam would this mission end automatically.

From the spirit of *jihad* or *siyar* – a kind of international policy and a set of treatises characterizing Muslim conduct in foreign territories – it is clear that a state of war within the Muslim *ummah* was regarded as normal, although it could not be described as ethically good.

Jihad in the *fiqh* treatises

In the *fiqh* treatises, there was a certain normalization of *jihad* as a juridical phenomenon, perhaps because it had become clear by that time that the victory of Islam was not imminent, and it therefore became important to regulate the rules of warfare and organize life in the conquered territories. The treatises addressed issues such as the circumstances under which *jihad* could be initiated, conducted, and financed, as well as the behavior of Muslims – including community leaders – toward non-Muslims during and after *jihad*. The most important *fiqh* treatises include *Kitāb al-siyar* by al-Fazārī, *Kitāb al-jihād* by al-Mubārak, *Kitāb al-siyar* by al-Šaybānī, and the *jihad* section of *Kitāb al-aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya wa-ăl-wilāyāt al-dīniyya* by al-Māwardī. The first two date from the late eighth century and were written in the context of the Byzantine wars, while the third, also from the late eighth century, is a treatise on "international" politics. Al-Māwardī composed his work in the mid-eleventh century, at a time when the power of the caliph had begun to wane.

Al-Fazārī and al-Mubārak were among the first theologians to be sent on military expeditions to describe the realities of warfare and, above all, to sanction them religiously. Both wrote on the Arab-Byzantine border, in an area known as *ṯuġūr*, which certainly influenced their conception of *jihad* – in particular, the role of the *imam* in the conduct of war and the administration of conquered territories. In their reflections, leading *jihad* is considered a merit equivalent to the fulfillment of the basic *arkān*, such as fasting, pilgrimage, and prayer. Al-Mubārak emphasizes the voluntary nature of the struggle, which stems from the moral obligations of the fighters, while attaching little importance to the duties of the *imam*, who should stand at the head of the campaign. In this interpretation, *jihad* becomes a moral obligation of the believer arising from his relationship with God and, to a lesser extent, a duty to the *imam*. As Bonner suggests, al-Mubārak's emphasis on the voluntary nature of participation in *jihad*, and his comparison of it to pilgrimage and other obligations, may reflect his own character: he was regarded as the archetype of a zealous volunteer fighter and, at the same time, an ascetic Muslim devoted to fulfilling all religious duties (1992, pp. 26–27). In this author's writings, important terms appear, such as *farḍ ʿayn* – an individual duty – and *farḍ kifāya* – a collective duty to be fulfilled by the army and its appointed leader (al-Mubārak, 1978, pp. 44–48).

Al-Fazārī and al-Mubārak also refer to the intention of the fighter (*niyya*). They ask how one should assess the merit of someone who goes on an expedition with the intention of gaining spiritual reward (*faḍl*), but also seeks additional booty (*nafal*). Al-Mubārak indicates that the pure intention of fighting in *jihad* extinguishes the sins of the fighter (al-Mubārak, 1978, pp. 50–51). The reference to the fighter's intention presents *jihad* as a matter of the relationship between man and God, for only God knows human intentions. Al-Mubārak also implies that the individual participates in *jihad* for the sake of his own salvation and merit, but at the same time does so for the needs and purposes of the entire *ummah*. This shows that the full importance of *jihad* lies in achieving the objectives and welfare of the community as a whole. Al-Šaybānī (d. 803 or 805), a celebrated *faqīh*, wrote two treatises devoted to *jihad*: *Kitāb al-siyar al-kabīr* and *Kitāb al-siyar al-ṣağīr*, which are considered the beginnings of Muslim reflections on international law. The author addresses a number of specific problems related to the implementation of *jihad*, particularly with regard to the caliphate's relations with non-Muslim states. The title of the treatises makes this clear: *siyar* is the branch of *fiqh* that deals with such relationships (Munir, 2012, pp. 37–40).

The axis of al-Šaybānī's concept is the division of the world into two domains, a notion that remains topical in contemporary treatises on *jihad*: *dār al-islām* (the world of Islam) and *dār al-ḥarb* (the world of war). Everything outside the Islamic territory belongs to the world of war, or possibly *dār al-ʿahd*, the domain of truce, in which the conduct of Muslims is strictly codified. These terms are not found in the Qurʾān or in the *hadith* literature; they appear to have been introduced by the *faqīh* al-Šāfiʿī (d. 820). Ridwan al-Sayyid, however, suggests that the terms first appear in the work of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, known as *al-Nafs al-Zakiyya* ("The Pure Soul"). The scholar adds that he reconstructed this treatise on the basis of passages in other works on Zaydi *fiqh*, though he has not yet been able to locate its introduction (2018, pp. 20–21). In the domain of *dār al-islām*, *sharīʿat* is applied to citizens – as modern jihadists sometimes claim in reference to Europe: since Muslims live there, it is also *dār al-islām*, and therefore *sharīʿat* should be applied.

At this time, the *fiqh* texts express the idea that true peace on earth can exist only when the entire world becomes *dār al-islām* and God's law prevails. Al-Šaybānī regards the war of the Islamic state against its non-Muslim neighbors as both an individual duty (*farḍ ʿayn*) and a collective duty (*farḍ kifāya*). If a war is waged according to normal rules – that is, to expand – it is the duty of the caliph, while the participants are professional soldiers and volunteers. If Muslim territory is attacked, however, war becomes the duty of every Muslim who is able to undertake it (al-Šaybānī, 1966, pp. 17–19). Moreover, the text of al-Šaybānī clearly shows his juridical approach: he explicitly sought to formalize all aspects of the conduct of *jihad*, as well as all other human obligations toward God. The precise terms of war, such as the formal declaration of *jihad*, were intended to offer Muslims protection and comfort in the afterlife.

Al-Šaybānī believed that the Islamic state represented the supreme good and embodied exceptional ethical values, which is why he attached great importance to proper conduct in enemy territory. Consideration of such principles of *ius in bello* first required a determination of who the enemy was and where the war took place. Al-Šaybānī acknowledged that Jews and Christians could also live within Islamic territory, but it was not their religion that determined whether they should be fought against, but rather whether they were subject to Islam. If they were, they were to be left in peace; if not, their territory became *dār al-ḥarb*, and they themselves *ḥarbiyya* – warriors. He strongly emphasized the requirement of humane treatment toward noncombatants, including women and children.

The detailed regulations concerning conduct in the conquered territories show that al-Šaybānī recognized the privileged status of the Islamic state as an exclusive domain endowed with legal authority (al-Šaybānī, 1966, pp. 178–184). This stemmed from the belief that Islam was the only true religion and that its divine law was the only valid one. This did not automatically entail the deprivation of non-Muslims' rights, but those rights were exercised only in accordance with the *sharīʿa*, and the state of war or subjugation of non-Muslims nullified their independent legal standing. Al-Šaybānī and other Muslim jurists and theologians justified war on an ethical level not only as a defense of Islam but also as a means of spreading its message to ensure the happiness of all humankind. This happiness was to be secured by the Muslim community, which constituted at once a political, religious, and social entity. For society, values such as peace, stability, prosperity, and spiritual as well as religious leadership were of central importance. If war was the only means of achieving these aims, it had to be regarded as both legitimate and moral. For al-Šaybānī, war was a lawful instrument for extending Islam beyond the borders of *dār al-islām*, and the state organization that ensured this mission was the caliphate.

The jihad theory in the period of decline

Important elements appear in the jihad theory of the Baghdad theologian al-Māwardī (d. 1058). He wrote at a time when the caliphate was in decline and had fragmented into smaller domains ruled by independent rulers. In his wellknown work on political theory, *Kitāb al-aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya wa-ǎl-wilāyāt al-dīniyya* (The Book of Principles of Authority and Religious Offices), the scholar described the delegation of authority to various officials of the caliphate, a practice long established in custom. The circumstances of warfare in his time differed markedly from those confronted by the early theoreticians discussed above.

We shall focus on one point of particular importance: his reflections on *jihad* against groups other than non-believers (al-Māwardī, 1983, pp. 74–77). In this part of the work the author lists *jihad* directed at apostates (*murtadd*), rebels, and bandits. The first category covers all those who were Muslim by birth or conversion and who have deviated from Islam. One must first attempt to persuade them to return to Islam; if they agree and repent (*tawba*), attention should be paid to whether they observe the *arkān al-islām*. If they do not repent, al-Māwardī allows that they may be fought, including the use of lethal force against men and women (al-Māwardī, 1983, pp. 74–75). If they join a group and flee the Islamic realm, they are to be treated according to the same rules of battle applied to enemies in *dār al-ḥarb*: they may be attacked at night, ambushed, and prisoners may be killed.

The criteria for judging a person as someone who has fallen away from the faith, as set out by al-Māwardī, remain important and topical today. Contemporary jihadists use the concept of *takfīr* against their political enemies: examples include indictments of *takfīr* by members of the Algerian GIA (Groupe Islamique Armé) and, more recently, the mass murders carried out under the same pretext by ISIS. Al-Māwardī states that if someone is accused of apostasy but denies it, one should accept his words without requiring an oath (*bayʿa*). If proof of disbelief is offered and the accused still denies it, they are to be considered a Muslim after they have confessed twice. An apostate (*murtadd*) is someone who refuses to pay *zakāt* to the rightful imam and refuses to acknowledge it as their duty. If, however, they acknowledge the duty but nevertheless refuse to pay, the person is treated as a rebel and may be fought (al-Māwardī, 1983, pp. 76–77).

The second group of people against whom *jihad* may be waged are the rebels, those who hold views or pursue acts that contradict the interests of the *ummah*. As long as they do not pose a threat, do not disobey the imam in a way that affects the public order, do not occupy territory, and remain isolated, they should be left alone and not subjected to war. The imam should attempt to compel them to return to Islam or punish the leaders of the rebellion. If a group of rebels isolates itself in a separate area, war may be waged against them only if they renounce obedience and refuse to fulfill their duties. Finally, al-Māwardī addresses the disobedient and bandits (robbers), a category encompassing various criminal groups who kill and attack people. Such offenders are to be punished severely: al-Māwardī permits their execution, crucifixion, and the amputation of their hands and feet (al-Māwardī, 1983, pp. 84–87).

The treatise of al-Māwardī is an example of political realism that takes into account the circumstances of its time. In the passages on jihad, the author refers not only to the Qurʾān and the *sunnah* but also to legal solutions already adopted, particularly from the Hanafi and Shafiʿite schools. The groups against which the army fought were largely fluid, and it depended heavily on the interpretation of the commander whether he classified his opponents as rebels or apostates. This classification, in turn, determined the treatment of enemies. The treatise demonstrates that, by the eleventh century, jihad – at least theoretically – was subject to strict regulation, with far-reaching consequences not only in terms of combat and army organization but also in relation to other very specific issues, such as burials and the treatment of non-combatants.

Conclusions

The above analysis focused on the theory of jihad, which did not always translate into practice. It is often difficult to determine whether the legal solutions proposed in fiqh treatises – such as those concerning the distribution of spoils, the conditions for concluding truces, and similar matters – were actually implemented or remained merely theoretical constructs. The concept of jihad was shaped by numerous factors, foremost among them the historical context in which Islam emerged: the necessity of confronting those who resisted the new religion, as well as subsequent historical developments. During the period of triumphant Muslim conquests, jihad evolved into a legal concept within the framework of Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh). Chapters devoted to jihad were incorporated into fiqh treatises, with all conceivable circumstances under which jihad might be conducted discussed in detail. This codification exhibits clear features of *ius ad bellum*.

A turning point occurred during periods of military defeat – first the Crusades, and later the Mongol invasions. It was during these times that key elements emerged, which remain significant to this day, such as the justification of armed conflict between Muslims and the redefinition of jihad as a collective obligation incumbent upon the entire Muslim community. Contemporary jihadist theories are deeply rooted in the classical period, underscoring their relevance for understanding the rhetoric and ideological framework of present-day jihadist movements.

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Katarzyna Pachniak – is a full professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies and, since 2007, has served as head of the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies at the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw. She specializes in classical Islamic culture, theology, philosophy, and heresiography. She teaches courses on Islamic philosophy and theology, and supervises MA and PhD seminars. She is the author of numerous publications in these fields and also translates classical Arabic texts into Polish.

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Kinga Paraskiewicz
http://orcid.org/0000-0003-2661-031X
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
kinga.paraskiewicz@uj.edu.pl
DOI: 10.35765/pk.2025.5003.16

Who Were the Bukharians of the 18th and 19th Centuries?

ABSTRACT

The article attempts to answer the question "Who are the Bukharians?" posed by Julius Klaproth in his famous *Asia Polyglotta* (1823). The Khanate of Bukhara, founded in the 16th century by the Uzbeks, was an ethnic, cultural, and linguistic conglomeration that attracted the interest of European researchers, travelers, and scholars from the 18th century onward. Their studies produced publications on the history, culture, and language of the Bukharians. Some, like Pallas and Olufsen, classified the language as Turkic, while others, including Klaproth, considered it Iranian. An analysis of the lexicon recorded in historical sources indicates that all of them were partially correct. In the Khanate of Bukhara, two dialects coexisted: the Turkic dialect of Uzbek and the Iranian dialect of Persian (Tajik), which influenced each other, with the Uzbek lexicon being heavily Iranized.

KEYWORDS: Bukhara, Tajik language, Uzbek language, lexicography

STRESZCZENIE

Kim byli Bucharczycy XVIII i XIX wieku?

Artykuł jest próbą odpowiedzi na zadane przez Juliusa Klaprotha w *Asia Polyglotta* (1823) pytanie: „Kim są Bucharczycy?" Założony w XVI w. przez Uzbeków Chanat Buchary, będący swoistego rodzaju konglomeratem etniczno-kulturowo-językowym, stał się obiektem zainteresowań europejskich badaczy, podróżników, uczonych, którzy poczynając od XVIII wieku docierali na tamte tereny. Efektem były ich publikacje poświęcone historii, kulturze, a także językowi Bucharczyków. Część z nich (jak Pallas czy Olufsen) uważała, że język, jakim mówią, należy do grupy turkijskiej, inni zaś (jak Klaproth), że irańskiej. Analiza leksyki zawartej w źródłach historycznych wskazuje, że wszyscy mieli rację. W Chanacie Buchary musiały istnieć dwa dialekty: turkijski dialekt języka uzbeckiego oraz irański dialekt języka tadżyckiego, które to dialekty wzajemnie się przenikały, a leksyka uzbecka była silnie ziranizowana.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: Buchara, język tadżycki, język uzbecki, leksykologia

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"Who are the Bukharians?" asked the famous German philologist and orientalist Julius von Klaproth (1783–1835) in his encyclopedic work *Asia Polyglotta* (Klaproth, 1823, pp. 239–244). Who were the people living in the Khanate of Bukhara, in the so-called Little and Great Bukharia?[1] Were they of Iranian or Turkic origin? What languages did they speak? Other eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century travelers, geographers, ethnographers, and lexicographers also tried to answer this question. Many considered them a people of Turkic origin; however, they noted that their dialect was mixed with Persian words (Adelung, 1806, p. 458; Malte-Brun, 1827, p. 472). Peter Simon Pallas, in his famous *Linguarum totius orbis vocabularia comparativa*, also known as *Vocabularium Catharinae* (Pallas, 1787–1789), placed the dialect of the inhabitants of Bukhara between the languages of the Teleuts and the Uzbeks of Khiva. Johann Gottlieb Georgi (1729–1802), a German physician, geographer, ethnographer, and naturalist, and a long-time member of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, devoted many years to studying the Volga region, the Middle and Southern Urals, Siberia, the Altai Mountains, and the Baikal region. He participated in the scientific expeditions led by P.S. Pallas and Johann Peter Falk. The result of Georgi's many years of ethnographic research was a detailed, illustrated description of the peoples inhabiting Russia. This work, *Beschreibung aller Nationen des Russischen Reichs, ihrer Lebensart, Religion, Gebräuche, Wohnungen, Kleidung und übrigen Merkwürdigkeiten*, was published in St. Petersburg between 1776 and 1780.[2] It contains extensive and detailed material on history and ethnography, acquired both by the author himself and by many other researchers and travelers. For the first time in a single book, information about various aspects of the culture and life of the peoples of Tsarist Russia was collected and systematized. In 1799, the work was fully translated into Russian, thus receiving a second edition. Of particular value, in addition to the detailed ethnographic descriptions, are the color illustrations, which provide a comprehensive picture of the appearance, way of life, crafts, and national costumes of all the peoples and tribes inhabiting the territory of Russia. The work was rightly recognized as a world standard of ethnographic research.

The chapter on the Bukharians (*Die Bucharen*) was placed by Georgi in the second volume of his work, which describes all the Tatar nations (Georgi, 1776–1780, vol. II, pp. 144–156).[3] According to his account, many Bukharian colonies were subordinated to Russia immediately after the first conquests of Siberia. The so-called Tatar suburbs of Tobolsk, Tara, and Tomsk were inhabited exclusively by Bukharians. In turn, in the suburbs of Turinsk and Tyumen,

1 Bukharia is the name of the Khanate of Bukhara, as distinguished from the city of Bukhara.

2 This work was also published in Leipzig in 1783; then also translated into French 1776–1777 and English in 1780–1783. All the quotations here come from the English version.

3 In the English version: *The Bougharians* (Georgi, 1780–1783, vol. II, pp. 127–153).

the Bukharians lived together with the Tatars. In Bashkiria (Bashkortostan), there were two Bukharian villages (volosts), called *Sarti*,[4] and several families also lived in Orenburg, Kargali, and Astrakhan. In total, the Bukharian population numbered about 20,000 men. They all came from the so-called Little Bukhara. The ancestors of the Bukharan settlers were merchants who traveled with caravans and settled among the Russians. *Sarti* means "merchant" (Georgi, 1780, pp. 127–128). Georgi described them as follows:

> The Bougharians assert that they are the unmixed descendants of the Ogutzians [the Oghuz Turks – K.P.] and the real Turkomans. Whilst the Tartars were making their expeditions to the westward, the Bougharians established themselves in this country, where finding a fertile foil and a temperate climate, they changed their pastoral and nomadian life for that of agriculture, and their moveable tents into settled habitations (Georgi, 1780, p. 130).
>
> The language of this people passes for one of the sweetest dialects of the Tartarian language, and somewhat resembles the Persian.[5] The Bougharian schools are so famous throughout the Tartarian nations, that they send thither such of their youth as are destined to the priesthood, where they are taught history and geography, as well as the Tartarian and Arabic languages. The Bougharian priests are in high estimation; even their merchants are versed in Arabic, and speak it with great facility (Georgi, 1780, pp. 131–132).

In his further account, Georgi describes in detail the way of life of the Bukharians – their habits, food, clothing, crops, animal breeding, and more. In some cases, he also records Bukharian words that are clearly of Persian origin:

> Besides the laws of Mohammed, the Bougharians have written laws peculiar to themselves, by no means severe, but strictly executed. A foreigner, of whatever nation or religion he may be, is allowed to settle in Bougharia, is well received, and so long as he remains peaceable enjoys a perfect liberty, having a right to gain a livelihood by such honest means as he pleases to use. This toleration has

4 "The two Bougharian *volosts* of Baschkiria are called Sarti, and the chanceries of the government note them under that name, which signifies merchants who travel with caravans" (Georgi, 1790, pp. 128–129). Cf. Sanskrit *sāartha* m. 'travelling company of merchants, caravan'; *sāartha-vâha*, m. 'leader or captain of a caravan, head of a trading company', *sârth-ika* a. 'travelling with a caravan; accompanying any one (g.) on a journey'; m. 'member of a trading company, travelling merchants' (MacDonell, 1929, p. 348).

5 "Ihre Sprache wird unter den tatarischen Mundarten für schön gehalten ob sie sich gleich der Persischen nähert" (Georgi, 1776, p. 146). Cf. "Die Bukharische Mundart wird für eine der gebildetsten ist aber sehr mit Persischen Wörtern vermischt" (Adelung, 1806, p. 458). "They speak the Chagatai language, which is Turkish or Turkoman. But the Bukharian dialect, which deserves a lot of interesting research, has not yet been analyzed. Several geographical terms have been observed in it that seem to be of Persian or Gothic origin" (Malte-Brun, 1827, p. 472).

> brought hither a great number of Jews (called *Diouhout/Diuhut*[6] in the Bougharian tongue), Arabians, Persians, Indians, and other orientals. There are also Bohemians among them, who live in tents, wandering over the country from station to station, and are called by the Bougharians *Diayi/Djaji* (Georgi, 1780, p. 131).

Among plants and cereals they used to cultivate, Georgi (1780, pp. 134–135) mentions:

> *brimsch* 'rice' (from Pers. *birinj* 'rice'; Steingass, 1892, p. 179), *g(r)andum* 'wheat' (from Pers. *gandum* 'wheat'; Steingass, 1892, p. 1099), *gandum-baheri* 'wheat of Spring' (cf. Pers. *bahārī* 'of spring'), *lobya/lobja* and *bakla* 'two sorts of beans' (from Pers. *Lūbiyā*, *lūbiya* 'a kind of pulse, a species of French bean'; Steingass, 1892, p. 1130) and Pers. *buxla* 'a bean' (Steingass, 1892, p. 160), also *bāqilā'* (from Arab.) 'a bean (Faba sativa)' (Steingass, 1892, p. 149), *masch* 'lentils' (from Pers. *māš* 'pease; a small round green pulse'; Steingass, 1892, p. 1141), *nohoud* 'a kind of tares (*Cicer arietinum*, Linn.)' (from Pers. *nuxūd* 'a vetch, pulse'; Steingass, 1892, p. 1392), *diagara* 'millet of a peculiar sort' (*Holcus faccharatus*, Linn.), (from Pers. *gāwars*, *gāwarsa* 'millet; a kind of vetch'; Steingass, 1892, p. 1073), *konek* 'another millet, with small grains; to which they confine themselves, not cultivating anything else' (*Alopecurus pratensis*, Linn.), (from Pers. *kanak*, *kinik*, *kinak* 'a kind of grass of which they make cord; a walnut'; Steingass, 1892, p. 1055), *kanab* 'hemp; of which they make cordage' (from Pers. *kanib*, *kanab* 'hemp; the inebriating hemp-seed'; Steingass, 1892, p. 1052), *koundschik/kundschik* 'the Sesamum orientale of Linnæus' (from Pers. *kunjud* 'the grain sesame; rape-seed', *kunjīd* 'sesame-seed'; Steingass, 1892, p. 1053), *tamak* 'tobacco' (from Pers. *taṃbākū* 'tobacco (Nicotiana persica)', Steingass, 1892, p. 326), *toul* 'mulberry trees' (from Pers. *tūt* 'a mulberry; the mulberry--tree'; Steingass, 1892, p. 333).

About the people of Bukharia Georgi says:

> The fine climate of Bougharia is no less favourable to Venus than to Bacchus. A man tolerably at his ease takes two wives, and several have three or four. It is not, therefore, without reason, that both sexes use an infusion of the root *salab* (Orchis, or satyrion)[7] as frequently as other nations take coffee. The invigorating and stimulating properties of that root are less equivocal in Bougharia than they are in colder regions. They roast them at the fire, then reduce them to powder; and, after having poured boiling water on them, they drink

6 Bukh. *juhut* (Olufsen, 1905, p. 27) cf. Pers. *juhūdī* 'one Jew; Judaism; Judaical' (Steingass, 1892, p. 382), *čifūd* 'a Jew' (Steingass, 1892, p. 396).

7 Cf. Pers. (from Arabic) *sa'labi misrī* (*ḥasyu al-sa'lab* 'fox testicles'), 'Salep; the root of Orchis mascula (considered to be a strong restorative and aphrodisiac)' (Steingass, 1892, p. 345).

> the infusion with sugar exactly as we take coffee. ... The inhabitants of this country are frequently afflicted by a particular distemper, which the natives call *pischta*,[8] elsewhere known under the appellation of the Bougharian disease; and probably the *dracunculus Persicus*, or the *vena Medinensis* of the physicians (Georgi, 1780, pp. 145–146).

Georgi's account of the Bukharian reckoning of time is of great interest here. The people of Bukhara followed the Chinese model when naming successive years. They used these designations in both speech and writing whenever marking the time of any event in their lives. This animal-cycle calendar was adopted from China. The years were named according to a twelve-year cycle, in which each year was associated with a particular animal, and the sequence was then repeated.

> They reckon their years according to the *taregh*,[9] or chronology of their nation, which begins two years later than the *hegira*. The Mohammedans reckon the present year 1778 the year of the *hegira* 1192, but the Bougharians make it the year 1190 of their *taregh*. Besides this computation, they divide the years into *dodecads*, in the manner of the ancient Olympiads; a custom common likewise to the Mongols and the Kalmouks. Each of these years bears the name of some animal in some degree resembling the twelve signs of the zodiac (Georgi, 1780, p. 149).

Unfortunately, Georgi provided only eleven names (of Turkic origin) corresponding to the Chinese years. However, he omitted the third year, assigned to the Tiger, and attributed the name bares ('tiger') to the second year of the Cow (the Chinese Ox). The names, except for the one denoting the dragon, are clearly of Turkic origin:

- *Tschitskam* (*dilli*[10]) 'das Jahr des Maus/the year of the mouse', corresponding to the 1st Chinese year of the Rat; cf. Bukh. *tišxān* 'rat, mouse' (Olufsen, 1905, p. 55); cognate with Uzbek *sichqon* 'mouse', *sichqon-yili* 'the year of the mouse' (Borovkov, 1959, p. 373).
- *Bares* (*dilli*) 'des Kuh/the year of the cow', corresponding to the 2nd Chinese year of the Ox. In fact this is the 3rd year, i.e. the year of the Tiger, cf. Bukh. *jålbars* 'tiger' (Olufsen, 1905, p. 26); Uzb. *yo'lbars* 'tiger (Panthera tigris)', *yo'lbars yili* 'the third year of the muchal calendar' (Borovkov, 1959, p. 194).

8 Cf. Pers. *rištak* 'Filaria medinensis', *rišta* 'thread, line, rope; a measurement of land; a fringe, lace; a row, file, train; the Dracunculus or Guinea-worm, a disease common to the inhabitants of Lār' (Steingass, 1892, p. 577).

9 Cf. Pers. (from Arabic) *ta'rīx* 'dating (a letter); date, era, epoch; day (of the month); history, chronicle; book of annals; chronogram (by the letters of the *abjad*); a calendar' (Steingass, 1892, p. 274).

10 Uzb. *yil* 'year' (Borovkov, 1959, p. 191).

- *Taouschkan* (*dilli*) 'des Hasen/the year of the hare'; corresponding to the Chinese 4th year of the Rabbit; cf. Bukh. *tåuskān* 'hare' (Olufsen, 1905, p. 55).
- *Lou* (*dilli*) 'des Eider/the year of the lizard'; corresponding to the 5th year of the Dragon; cf. Chinese *lóng* 'dragon'. In Uzb. the year of the fish *baliq* (Borovkov, 1959, p. 52), or the dragon *ajdahor* (Borovkov, 1959, p. 24).
- *Dschilan* (*dilli*) 'der Schlange/the year of the serpent'; corresponding to the 6th year of the Snake; cf. Uzb. *ilon* 'lizard' (Borovkov, 1959, p. 176).
- *Yelka* (*dilli*) 'des Pferdes/the year of the horse'; corresponding to the 7th year of the Horse; cf. Bukh. *jilki* 'herd of horses' (Olufsen, 1905, p. 26); Uzb. *jilqi* 'horse', Tur. *yılkı* 'mustang, wild horse'.
- *Koi* 'des Schaafs/the year of the sheep'; corresponding to the Chinese 8th year of the Goat; cf. Bukh. *kåj* 'sheep' (Olufsen, 1905, p. 34), Uzb. *qo'y* 'sheep' (Borovkov, 1959, p. 634).
- *Pilschin* 'des Affen/the year of the monkey'; corresponding to the Chinese 9th year of the Goat; cf. Pers. *požīna* 'ape, monkey' (Steingass, 1892, p. 259). Old Turkic *béčin* is possibly a borrowing from an Iranian language.
- *Taouk* 'des Hahns/the year of the cock'; corresponding to the Chinese 10th year of the Rooster; cf. Bukh. *tauk*, *tawuk* 'hen' (Olufsen, 1905, p. 53), Uzb. *tovuq* 'hen' (Borovkov, 1959, p. 439).
- *Ett* 'des Hundes/the year of the dog';[11] corresponding to the Chinese 11th year of the Dog; cf. Bukh. *it* 'dog' (Olufsen, 1905, p. 3), Uzb. *it* 'dog' (Borovkov, 1959, p. 184).
- *Dongous* 'des Schweines/the year of the hog'; corresponding to the 12th Chinese year of the Pig; cf. Bukh. *tongus*, *dongus* 'pig' (Olufsen, 1905, p. 16), Uzb. *to'ng'iz* 'pig' (Borovkov, 1959, p. 465).

It bears mentioning that in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, the Muchal calendar cycle (i.e., a 12-year calendar cycle) is still in common use.

> Historians believe that the Muchal calendar was first created among the Uighurs of China as a folk calendar based on the positions of celestial constellations and was introduced to the Tajiks and other peoples and nations during the Mongol occupation of Central Asia and Iran (13th–14th centuries) (Kholov, 2006, p. 15).

Each of the twelve years in the calendar has its own name, associated with a particular animal (Sarimsokov, 2020).

11 "The present year 1190 of the Taregh, or of Christ 1778" (Georgi, 1778, p. 150).

Table 1. Comparison of the names of the year in Chinese, Bukharian, Uzbek and Tajik

Year	Chinese	Bukharian	Uzbek	Tajik
1	*Shǔ* 'rat'	*Tišxān* 'mouse'	*Sichqon* 'mouse'	*Mush* 'mouse'
2	*Niú* 'ox'	?	*Sigir* 'cow'	*Bakar* 'cow'
3	*Hǔ* 'tiger'	*Bares/Jålbars* 'tiger'	*Yo'lbars* 'tiger'	*Palang* 'panther'
4	*Tù* 'rabbit'	*Tåuskān* 'hare'	*Quyon* 'hare'	*Khargush* 'hare'
5	*Lóng* 'dragon'	*Lou* 'lizard'	*Ajdaho* 'snake, dragon'	*Nakhang* 'fish'
6	*Shé* 'snake'	*Dschilan* 'serpent'	*Ilon* 'snake'	*Mor* 'snake'
7	*Mǎ* 'horse'	*Jilqa* 'horse'	*Ot* 'horse'	*Asp* 'horse'
8	*yáng* 'goat'	*Kåj* 'sheep'	*qo'y* 'sheep'	*Gusfand* 'sheep'
9	*hóu* 'monkey'	*Pilschin* 'monkey'	*Maymun* 'monkey'	*Maymun* 'monkey'
10	*Jī* 'rooster'	*Tauk* 'cock'	*Tovuk* 'cock'	*Murg* 'chicken'
11	*Gǒu* 'dog'	*It* 'dog'	*It* 'dog'	*Sag* 'dog'
12	*Zhū* 'pig'	*Dongus* 'hog'	*Cho'chqa/To'ng'iz* 'pig'	*Khuk* 'pig'

In *Asia Polyglotta* (1823), J. Klaproth (*Bucharisches Wörterverzeichnis*, pp. 245–254) presents a very similar, i.e., Chinese–Uighur, reckoning of the day. The day was divided into twelve double hours:

- *nim-sheb* 'von 11–1 Nachts (Mittelnacht)'; cf. Pers. *nīm-i šab* 'midnight' (Steingass, 1892, p. 1444)
- *ŝeh'er* 'von 1–3 Morgens'; cf. Pers. *saḥar* 'the early morning, the dawn of day' (Steingass, 1892, p. 659)
- *pegâh* 'von 3–5 Morgens'; cf. Pers. *pagāh* 'dawn' (Steingass, 1892, p. 254).
- *suh'wah* 'von 5–7 Morgens'; cf. Pers. *ṣubḥ* 'morning, dawn' (Steingass, 1892, p. 780).
- *azhder* 'von 7–9 Morgens (Drache)'; cf. Pers. *aždar* 'a dragon' (Steingass, 1892, p. 45); according to the Chinese division of the time of day the dragon corresponds to the fifth hour (also the 5th year of the Uzbek calendar).
- *chashtegah* 'von 9–11 Morgens'; cf. Pers. *čāšt-gāh* 'the middle hour between sunrise and the meridian; what is then eaten, breakfast, early dinner, luncheon; a fourth of the day' (Steingass, 1892, p. 386).
- *iŝtiwâ* 'von 11–1 Nachmittags'; cf. Pers. *istiwā'* 'equator; equality' (Steingass, 1892, p. 55).
- *pīshin* 'von 1–3 Nachmittags'; cf. Pers. *pasīn* 'posterior, last, newest, hindmost; the afternoon, between mid-day and sunset' (Steingass, 1892, p. 251).

- *diger* 'von 3–5 Nachmittags'; cf. Pers. *digar* 'another', *digar-namāz* 'evening prayer' (Steingass, 1892, p. 540).
- *aftâb ferû reftan* 'von 5–7 Abends (Untergehende Sonne)'; cf. Pers. *firo raftan* 'to go down, descend' (Steingass, 1892, p. 924).
- *shâm* 'von 7–9 Abends (Abend)'; cf. Pers. *šām* 'evening; supper (also called *šāmi šab*); dinner' (Steingass, 1892, p. 724).
- *chûftan* 'von 9–11 Nachts (Schlafen)'; cf. Pers. *xuftan* 'to sleep; to lie down; to sleep' (Steingass, 1892, p. 468).

Julius Klaproth, while studying Pallas's dictionary, discovered that a large number of Bukharian words were of Persian origin, and this identity was not limited to substantive nouns but extended to verbs, pronouns, and numerals. Despite this evidence, Klaproth was hesitant to accuse Pallas of error and concluded that he must have been misled by the Persian vocabulary, to which the Bukharian title had been erroneously assigned (Klaproth, 1824, p. 287).

In 1805, he went to China as a member of the Russian scientific expedition accompanying the legation of Count Yuri Golovkin (1763–1846).[12] In Kazan, he met the Bukharians, who assured him that their mother tongue was Persian. The same was true of the Bukharians from Tobolsk, Tara, and Tomsk. According to Klaproth, the Bukharan colonists who had settled in Siberia spoke the Turkish language, thus showing obedience to their neighbors, but nevertheless retained an abundance of pure Persian words.

> Twenty two years ago, when I first studied Pallas's comparative dictionary, it struck me that I found in it almost all the words given as Bukharian as pure Persian. This was not only the case with the nouns, but also with the other parts of the speech. The infinitives ended in *tan* or *dan*, as in Persian. The imperative was also made by the discarding of the last syllable of the infinitive; and in the Persian word *nâï-bini* (nostrils) I saw the Persian way of forming compound words, completely different from Turkish, by the following genitive case (*na-i--bini* 'holes of the nose'). I also found the Bukharian pronouns to be consistent with the personal ones. The following few examples will serve to illustrate what has been said. I added the Turkish dialect of Khiva to them to show the difference (Klaproth, 1823, p. 240).

12 The work of an eleven-person group of researchers was led by Count Jan Potocki (1761–1815). Klaproth had known Potocki since his studies in Paris and had accompanied him on an expedition to the Caucasus. The route of the expedition led through Kazan, Perm, Yekaterinburg, Tobolsk, Omsk, Tomsk, Krasnoyarsk, Irkutsk, and Lake Baikal.

Deutsch.	Bucharisch.	Türkisch in Chiwa.	*Deutsch.*	Bucharisch.	Türkisch in Chiwa.
Du,	*tu*,	*šen.*	Schlafen,	*chabidan*,	*júklamak.*
Er,	*u*,	*ol.*	Lieben,	*muchiwet kärdan*,	*säwmäk.*
Wir,	*ma*,	*bis.*	Tragen,	*chamil kärdan*,	*jurtmäk.*
Ihr,	*шumaha*,	*šis.*	Schneiden,	*büridän.*	*kišmäk.*
Sie,	*iшánha*,	*onlar.*	Verbergen,	*küшaden*,	*aчmak.*
Trinken,	*núш kärdan*,	*iчmäk.*	Kochen,	*puchtan*,	*piшirmäk.*
Essen,	*churdan*,	*aшamak.*	Es ist,	*hašt*,	*war.*
Singen,	*šürüt kärdan*,	*irlamak.*	Gieb!	*dih*,	*bir.*
Schlagen,	*šädan*,	*urшak.*	Geh!	*rawu*, *rüu*,	*kel*, *war.*

Also the *Deutsch-Bucharisch* glossary prepared by him contains only words of Persian origin:

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Deutsch.	Bucharisch.	*Deutsch.*	Bucharisch.	*Deutsch.*	Bucharisch.
Säbel,	*Шamшir.* (P.)	Kichern,	(*Nochud.* P.)	Kürbiss,	*Kadu* (P. *kedú*).
Lanze,	*Noisa* (P. *níseh.*)	Kleine grüne		Flaschenkür-	*Kadu-surachi.*
Bogen,	*Kaman.* (P.)	Linsen,	*Maш.* (P.)	biss,	(P. A.)
Pfeil,	*Tir.* (P.)	Hanf,	*Kanab.* (P.)	Tulpe,	*Lala.* (P.)
Dolch,	*Kinшal.* (P.	Bohnen,	*Labja* (P. *lubia*).	Hyazinthen,	*Symbul* (P.)
	chändчer.).	Wassermühle,	*Ašia.* (P.)	Balsamine,	*Henna.* (P. A.)
Öffnung im	*Tarasa.* (P.	Windmühle,	*Bod.* (P. *bod*,	Mohn,	*Kukenar.* (P.)
Dache, Fen-	*teredчeh*,		Wind — *ašia-*	Melone,	*Kawuch.* (P.
ster,	*deridчeh.*)		*bod*, Wind-		*kefeh.*)
Ziegel,	*Chiч* (P. *chiшt*).		mühle).	Hanf,	*Kaneb.* (P.)
Backofen,	*Tanur* (P. *tenúr*).	Rossmühle,	*Charas* (P.	Lein,	*Sager.* (P.)
Stall,	*Aran* (P. A. *irán*		*char-ašia*, d. i.	Krapp,	*Rajan, rujan.*
	Aufenthaltsort		Eselsmühle.)		(P. *rujin.*)
	der Thiere).	Garten,	*Bak.* (P.)	Teppich von	
Brod,	*Nán* (P).	Granate,	*Anar, nar.* (P.)	Filz,	*Namet.* (P.)
Braten,	*Kawab* (P.	Aprikose,	*Zerduli.* (P.)	Indigo,	*Nil.* (P.)
	kebáb).	Mandel,	*Badan.* (P.)	Zimmermann,	*Drugari.*
Pastete,	*Bariч* (P. *buredчe*).	Pfirsiche,	*Шaptala.* (P.)		(P. *durúger.*)
Pfeffer,	*Pillpil.* (P.)	Feige,	*Indчir.* (P.)	Schuster,	*Mosadus.*
Pfeffer,		Quitte,	*Bihir* (P. *bih.*)		(P. *museh-dus.*)
schwarzer,	*Marч.*	Pflaume,	*Alu.* (P.)	Schmidt.	*Ahingi.* (P.
Winterwaizen,	*Gandum.* (P.)	Apfel,	*Šeb.* (P. *šib.*)		*ahenger.*)
Sommerwai-	*Gandum-*	Weintraube,	*Angur.* (P.)	Kameel,	*Uшtura.*
zen,	*baheri* (P. Früh-	Walnuss,	*Чarmas* (P.		(P. *uшtur*).
	lingswaizen.)		*чihar-mäg's.*)	Esel,	*Char.* (P.)
Fuchsschwanz,	*Konak.*	Jasmin,	*Jasmin.* (P.)	Papier,	*Kagis.* (P.)
(Panicum),		Syringa,	*Archowun.*		
Reis,	*Birinш.* (P.)		(P. *erg'ewán.*)		

As to the numerals he wrote: "The numerals caught my attention even more; 1. *jak*, 2. *du*, 3. *śi*, 4. *chahar*, 5. *pänzh*, 6. *shesh*, 7. *haft*, 8. *häsht*, 9. *nüh*, and appeared to me purely Persian, and entirely different from the Turkic 1. *bir*. 2. *iki*. 3. *uch*. 4. *djurt*. 5. *bish*. 6. *alty*. 7. *jedi*. 8. *sigis*. 9. *tokus*. Nevertheless, at that time, according to the means at my disposal, I could not help thinking other than that there was an error in Pallas, and that the learned man had been deceived by Persian dictionaries falsely passed off for Bukharian" (Klaproth, 1823, p. 241).

In the last section of this chapter, Klaproth published the *Bucharisches Wörterverzeichnis* (pp. 245–254), arranged thematically, just as Pallas did when compiling his dictionary. It consists of 18 divisions: 1. *Vom Himmel* (Heaven, p. 245: about 40 words of Persian and Arabic origin), 2. *Von der Erde* (From earth, p. 245-246: 53 words[13]), 3. *Von der Zeit* (Time, p. 246: 40 words), 4. *Vom Menschen* (People, p. 247: 65 words), 5. *Von menschlischen Dingen* (Human things, pp. 247–248: 92 words, also adjectives and verbs), 6. *Vom Körper* (Body, p. 249), 7. *Von Gebäuden und Wohnungen* (Buildings and housing, p. 249), 8. *Von Vogeln und Tieren* (Birds and animals, p. 250), 9. *Von Blumen und Baumen* (Flowers and trees, p. 250-251), 10. *Von Gerat und Werkzeugen* (Equipment and tools, p. 251), 11. *Von Kleidungsstücken* (Garments, pp. 251–251); 12. *Vom Trinken und Essen* (Drinking and eating, p. 252), 13. *Von Kostbarkeiten* (Jewellery, p. 252), 14. *Von den Farben* (Colours, pp. 252–253), 15. *Von der Literatur* (Literature, p. 253), 16. *von Ort und Lage* (Places and location, p. 253), 17. *Zahlen* (Numerals, p. 253), 18. *Gebräuchliche Ausdrücke* (Common expressions, pp. 253–254).

Contrary to Pallas's, who gives synonyms both of Persian and Turkic origin, Klaproth gives us only Iranian words.

> Upon Klaproth's return to Paris, he consulted a Bokhari dictionary (*hoei-hoei* i.e. the language of the Mahometan inhabitants of the towns of Great and Little Bokharia) in the Royal Library, which was found among the collection of foreign manuscripts explained in Chinese, sent to France by a Jesuite missionary, Father Jean Joseph Marie Amiot. These vocabularies had been compiled about for four centuries ago (under the Ming dynasty) by the College of Translators (Tung-Wen-Tang) at Peking. Besides the dictionary the collection comprehended 17 letters to the Emperor of China written by different princes of Turfan, Khamil, and Samarcand, in the Persian characters and language with the translations into Chinese. This language called *hoei-hoei* (chuy-chuy) was unmixed Persian[14] (Klaproth, 1824, pp. 289–290).

13 Also in this chapter one can find the ethnonyms with Chinese equivalents: *Ğorği* (dɪєordɪєi) 'Niüdɪєi (Chinesich Žiü-ği oder Niü-ği)'; *Mogul* 'Mongol (Chinesich Ta-t'a)'; *Qurjâni* 'Provinz Yünnan (Chinesich Šenŝi, Kinğanfû)'; *Tangut* 'Tangut' (Chinesich Xo-si); *Tubet* 'Tübet (Chinesich Ŝi-fan)'; *Turki* 'Uigur (Chinesich kao-čaŋ)' oraz *Muŝulman* A. 'Mohamedaner (Chinesich xuy-xuy)'.

14 "Chinese call by the name of *hoei-hoei* all the Mahometan tribes, who live under their dominion" (Timkowski, 1827, p. 378).

The question of whether the Bukharian dialect was Persian (Tajik) with Turkic elements or Turkic (Uzbek) mixed with Persian lexicon was resolved at the beginning of the 20th century by Ole Olufsen (1865–1929), a military officer and explorer, and the leader of the first and second Danish expeditions to the Pamir in 1896–1899. In 1905, he published in Copenhagen a valuable glossary of the dialect of Bokhara (Olufsen, 1905), learned from his principal native trusted agent, Mirza Abdul-Khader Beg. In the Preface, we read:

> During my journeys in Central Asia ... I found for one thing rich opportunity to make myself familiar with the Turkestan language spoken in the regions travelled over by me. Most of the people that formed the stock of my caravan were Saris from Russian Turkestan, and one of my principal native trusted agents was Mirza Abdul-Khader Beg from the town of Bokhara. He accompanied me by order of the Emir of Bokhara on both expeditions, was my most intimate associate during nearly two years and belonged to the most cultivated class of the Turkish or, as it is called, Usbegic population of Central Asia. Before setting out on my journeys, I had studied the Ottoman-Turkish language by aid of which one grows familiar within relatively short time with the Turkish dialect spoken in Central Asia.
>
> As is known, the Persian (Iranian) and Turkish nations of Bokhara and Turkestan are so mixed up, that both in greater and smaller towns they are seen living next door to each other, and it is not rare that, for instance, two merchants living next to each other in the bazar of the town of Bokhara cannot understand each other, the one being a Tadjik and speaking a Persian dialect, the other an Usbeg, speaking – Turkish. However, the cultivated classes often speak both languages. ... The words noted down here, originate in the main from Mirza Abdul-Khader Beg and with respect to some of them from my caravan people from the town of Osh in Turkestan they represent the language, as it is spoken in Bokhara and environs; but this is substantially identical with the Turkish language spoken in Russian Turkestan by the so-called Sarts, a Turk from Bokhara entertaining himself as easily with a Sart from Tashkent, Kokand or Osh as with one of his fellow-townsmen. Staying for a longer time with Mirza Abdul-Khader Beg in Bokhara, Tashkent, Samarkand, Khodjend, Kokand, Margelan and Osh, I had opportunity to observe this. Though some few errors are always inevitable, I must say that I by control of other natives with whom I had connection have done the most possible to avoid such. That other words than those employed by the Turkish speaking people in Bokhara and Turkestan might have slipped in, might be excluded.

In fact, the glossary contains many Persian and Arabic words, but the examples of grammar (verbs) show that it was a Turkic dialect. The large number of Persian words should not surprise anyone, as the language had a major influence on neighboring languages. The entire sphere related to the Muslim religion uses Arabic lexis. However, what is more interesting is the Chinese influence on time reckoning. Instead of the Muslim times of the day, designated by the hours for prayers (salats), the day was divided into two-hour intervals. Similarly, the years were named according to the Chinese zodiac. Thus, in answering the question posed in the title, "Who were the Bukharians?" one may conclude: they were the ancestors of contemporary Uzbeks and Tajiks, who preserved their customs, including the Chinese–Uighur system of time reckoning.

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Kinga Paraskiewicz – Orientalist and Iranist, Professor of Humanities in Linguistics, Head of the Chair in Iranian Studies at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Jagiellonian University. Member of the Oriental Studies Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Krakoow and of the Scientific Council of the Institut für Iranistik, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Author of the monographs *Średnioperski poemat "Drzewo asyryjskie" i jego partyjska geneza* [*The Middle Persian Poem "The Assyrian Tree" and Its Parthian Origin*] (2007), *Irańskie nomina agentis z sufiksem -tar* [*Iranian Agent Nouns with the Suffix -tar*] (2014), and *Dialekty Buchary w świetle europejskich XVIII- i XIX-wiecznych źródeł leksykograficznych* [*Bukhara Dialects in the Light of European Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Lexicographic Sources*] (2024).

Marzanna Pomorska
http://orcid.org/0000-0002-7784-7344
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
marzanna.pomorska@uj.edu.pl
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Russian Words in a Middle Chulym Translation of the Gospel of Mark

ABSTRACT

Since 2017, the Tomsk Eparchy of the Russian Orthodox Church has been implementing a project that involves translating the Gospels of the New Testament into the Middle Chulym Turkic language, one of the critically endangered Turkic languages that remains insufficiently studied and described. Within the framework of this project, a translation of the Gospel of Mark into the Middle Chulym was published in 2019 (cf. Gabov and Lemskaja). In addition to its obvious confessional value, this text is important for Turkology: it represents a new source of Chulym lexical material and opens avenues for further analyses. It also provides an excellent opportunity to examine strategies and procedures employed in the translation process, as well as the solutions proposed by the translator for conveying concepts foreign to the Chulyms. The article focuses specifically on the Russian words incorporated into the Chulym text in the translation process.

KEYWORDS: Turkic languages, Middle Chulym language, the Gospel of Mark, Bible, translation studies

STRESZCZENIE

Rosyjskie słownictwo w tłumaczeniu Ewangelii wg św. Marka na język środkowoczułymski

Od 2017 r. eparchia tomska Rosyjskiego Kościoła Prawosławnego realizuje projekt tłumaczenia Ewangelii Nowego Testamentu na język środkowoczułymski, jeden z krytycznie zagrożonych języków turkijskich, który nadal pozostaje niedostatecznie zbadany i opisany. W ramach tego projektu dokonano przekładu m.in. Ewangelii wg św. Marka (Gabov i Lemskaja, 2019). Oprócz swej oczywistej konfesyjnej funkcji tekst ten ma duże znaczenie dla turkologii – jest nowym źródłem czułymskiego materiału leksykalnego i stwarza pole dla różnorodnych analiz, w tym dla analizy strategii tłumaczeniowych, którymi posłużył się

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tłumacz w celu oddania pojęć obcych Czułymom. Artykuł koncentruje się na rosyjskich słowach wykorzystanych w procesie tłumaczenia.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: języki turkijskie, język środkowoczułymski, Ewangelia Marka, Biblia, przekładoznawstwo

Despite beginning their Christianization in the 1720s[1] and officially identifying as Orthodox today, the Chulym Turks[2] have retained their traditional shamanic practices.[3] Since 2017, the Tomsk Eparchy of the Russian Orthodox Church has been implementing a project involving the translation of the Gospels of the New Testament into the Middle Chulym Turkic language (Kondijakov & Lemskaja, 2021, p. 14). Within the framework of this project, the translation of the Gospel of Mark (henceforth, *Mark*) was published in Gabov and Lemskaja (2019). In addition to its obvious confessional value, the text carries further significance for the field of Turkology. It provides a new source of Chulym lexical material, one of the critically endangered Turkic languages that remains insufficiently studied and described.

It is well understood that the functional significance of biblical texts relies heavily on the readability of the terminology employed – primarily religious, but also terms that may be unfamiliar to the reader due to a variety of factors, such as cultural differences, geographical context, historical background, and so on. The essential responsibility of the translator is to employ methods that ensure the most precise adaptation within the translated text. This guarantees that the translation remains as faithful as possible to the original, capturing both its denotative and connotative levels. In this particular case, the translator faced significant challenges, largely stemming from the broader cultural differences between the two nations.

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1 Church documents confirm that Orthodox churches existed in Meletsk and Achinsk in 1730 (Lvova, 1978, p. 137).

2 This includes those living in the middle reaches of the Chulym River, whose language is the subject of the analysis presented here. In the subsequent sections of this article, the term "Chulym" will be used both as a linguonym and an ethnonym, referring to the Middle Chulym Turks and the Middle Chulym language (henceforth, "MČ"), respectively.

3 Although E.L. Lvova, who conducted ethnographic research among the Chulym Turks in the latter half of the 20th century, stated in a 1978 publication (p. 137) that "At present there are very vague survivals of shamanist concepts, and even the practice of shamanism has entirely disappeared", in her 1984 publication she confirmed the presence of "minimum shamanism necessary and sufficient for its existence" among them (Syčenko, 2019, p. 65: "Issledovatelem [= E.L. Lvova] byla vyskazana interesnaja mysl' o naličii v šamanskoj subkul'ture svoego roda 'minimuma šamanizma', nieobhodimogo i dostatočnogo dlja ego suščestvovanija"). G.D.S. Anderson and K.D. Harrison (2006), who conducted field research among the Middle Chulym Turks in the first decade of the 21st century, highlighted that shamanism was one of the topics brought up by the interlocutors during the conversations.

The 2019 edition not only features the Chulym text but also includes the original Russian text that formed the basis of the translation. This provides researchers with an excellent opportunity to compare the two texts, examine the methods, strategies, and procedures employed in the translation process, and analyze the solutions proposed by the translator for conveying foreign concepts.[4]

A detailed analysis of both texts shows that one of the procedures used by the translator to express unfamiliar concepts was to incorporate Russian words[5] into the Chulym text. Our goal here is to analyze the extent of this vocabulary and the semantic fields it covers.

1. Personal names and ethnonyms

As a rule, personal names in Bible translations were usually not translated, even if the meaning of some of them was known to the translators. Instead, their transliteration or transcription was used. An exception may include those names that were already used in the language of translation (Wojciechowski, 2023, p. 75). In the analyzed Middle Chulym translation of Mark, most of the personal names appear in their Russian-language forms, which are not assimilated, even though their phonetic shapes contradict the rules of the Chulym language: Rus. *Iisus* 'Jesus' = MČ *Īsus* (1:14);[6] *Iisus Nazarjanin* 'Jesus of Nazareth' = *Īsus Nazarjanin* (1:24); *Iisus Nazorej* 'id.' = *Īsus Nazoräj* (10:47); *Hristos* 'Christ' = *Hristos* (14:61);[7] *Iisus Hristos* 'Jesus Christ' = *Īsus Hristos* (1:1); *Marija* 'Mary' = *Marija* (6:3); *Mojsej* 'Moses' = *Mojsäj* (7:10); *Marija Magdalina* 'Mary Magdalene' = *Marija Magdalina* (15:40); *Salomija* 'Salome' = *Salomija* (15:40); *Varavva* 'Barabbas' = *Varavva* (15:7); *Isaija* 'Isaiah' = *Isaija* (7:6); *Avraam* 'Abraham' = *Avraam* (12:26); *Isaak* 'Isaac' = *Isaak* (12:26); *Iakov* 'Jacob' (12:26) ~ 'James' (1:29) = *Iakov*; *Vartimej* 'Bartimaeus' = *Vartimej* (10:46); *Voanerges* 'Boanerges' = *Voanärgäs* (3:17); *Iair* 'Jairus' = *Iair* (5:22); *Filipp* 'Philip' = *Filipp* (3:18); *Irod* 'Herod' = *Irod* (6:17);

4 Periphrastic equivalents with the Chulym adjective denoting 'bad' were analised in our previous work (Pomorska, 2024).

5 One of the reviewers, whom I would like to express my gratitude to for their valuable comments, rightly pointed out that the ultimate source of most of the vocabulary analysed in the article is not the Russian language. However, it is clear that it was Russian which was the direct source. An analysis of the borrowing routes of this vocabulary is beyond the scope of this article.

6 In this article, we limit ourselves to quoting only one place of occurrence of the given word. The transliteration employed for Middle Chulym is the same as in our previous works, cf. Pomorska, 2004; Pomorska, 2017.

7 Even where the declension form of this name is used in the Russian version, i.e. *Hrista* (1:1), the Nominative form *Hristos* is still used in the Chulym translation (1:1).

Irodiada 'Herodias' = *Irodiada* (6:17); *Varfolomej* 'Bartholomew' = *Varfolomäj* (3:18); *Andrej* 'Andrew' = *Andräj* (3:18); *Matfej* 'Matthew' = *Matfäj* (3:18); *Foma* 'Thomas' = *Foma* (3:18); *Faddej* 'Thaddaeus' = *Faddäj* (3:18); *Simon* 'Simon' = *Simon* (1:16); *Simon Kananit* 'Simon the Zealot' = *Simon Kananit* (3:18); *Ilija* 'Elijah' = *Ilija* (8:28); *Pjotr* 'Peter' = *Pjotr* (3:16); *Ioann* 'John' = *Ioann* (6:17).[8]

Russian patronymics are rendered by the genitive case of a father's or ancestor's name. The order of defining and defined items mirrors the syntax in the Russian text: Rus. *Iakov Alfeev* 'James son of Alphaeus' = MČ *Iakov Alfäj-nyŋ* (3:18) [James Alphaeus-GEN]; *Levij Alfeev* 'Levi son of Alphaeus' = *Lävij Alfäj-nyŋ* (2:14) [Levi Alphaeus-GEN]; *Iakov Zevedejev* 'James son of Zebedee' = *Iakov Zävädäj-nyŋ* (1:19) [James Zebedee-GEN].

Original personal names that are formed by combining a forename with the name of the individual's place of origin are translated as composite noun phrases that combine the forename with the toponym in the genitive case. The order of defining and defined items mirrors the syntax in the Russian text: Rus. *Iosif iz Arimafei* 'lit. Joseph from Arimathea' = MČ *Iosif Arimafäja-nyŋ* (15:43) [Joseph Arimathea-GEN]; *Iuda Iskariot(skij)* 'Judas Iscariot' = *Iuda Kariot-nyŋ* (3:19) [Judas Kariot-GEN]. Worth noting are MČ *Īsus Nazarjanin* and *Īsus Nazoräj* (above), where the translator chose not to employ this method.

Russian names of persons constructed as 'X *the kinship name/God* of Y' are translated using composite noun phrases that consist of the personal name combined with a genitive-possessive construction,[9] in which, influenced by Russian syntax, the item indicating the possessor follows the possessed entity: Rus. *Marija, mat' Iakova … i Iosii* 'Mary the mother of James and of Joseph' = MČ *Marija iǯä-zy Iakov-nyŋ … Iosija-nyŋ* (15:40) [Mary mother-3SG.POSS James-GEN … Joseph-GEN]; [*Iisus*] *Syn Davidov* '[Jesus] Son of David' = *Oglu*[10] *David-nyŋ* (10:48) [son-3SG.POSS David-GEN]; [*Irodiada*] *žena Filippa* '[Herodias] Philip's wife' = *anaäg-y*[11] *Filipp-tyŋ* (6:17) [wife-3SG.POSS Philip-GEN]. In some cases, however, the possessive suffix is omitted: Rus. *Iisus, Syn Davidov* 'Jesus, Son of David' = MČ *Īsus, pala David-nyŋ* (10:47) [Jesus son David-GEN]; *Ja Bog Avraama, i Bog Isaaka, i Bog Iakova* 'I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob' = *Män Kudaj Avraam-nyŋ, Kudaj Isaak-tyŋ, Kudaj Iakov-nyŋ* (12:26) [I god Abraham-GEN god Isaac-GEN

8 For John's title 'the Baptist' (Rus. *Krestitel'*), see section 11 below.

9 The initial consonant if the suffix changes in accordance with the principles of Middle Chulym consonant harmony.

10 The nominative form of this word in Middle Chulym is *ōl* (Birjukovič, 1981, p. 104).

11 Cf. MČ *kār anajak* 'old woman' (Birjukovič, 1981, p. 74), Küärik *änäjäk* 'id., old mother' (Radloff, 1893, p. 732).

god Jacob-GEN]; *Vartimej, syn Timeev* 'Bartimaeus the son of Timaeus' = *Vartimäj, pala Timäj-nyŋ* (10:46) [Bartimaeus son Timaeus-GEN].

In the Gospel of Mark, one can find a few toponymic ethnonyms. The analysis of the methods the translator chose to create Chulym equivalents for these names has led to the following conclusions: it turns out that the bases for these names were not Russian toponyms, as one might expect, but the toponymic ethnonyms. In the case of Russian ethnonyms that originally ended with *-e*, the translator opted to substitute this ending with the Chulym plural suffix: Rus. *Galilejane* 'people of Galilee' = MČ *Galiläjan-nar* (3:7); Rus. *Ierusalimljane* 'people of Jerusalem' = MČ *Iärusalimljan-när* (1:5).

In place of the Russian ethnonym *Sirofinikijanka* 'the Syrophoenician woman', the translator preferred to use its periphrastic equivalent in Chulym: *[äpči] anyŋ tuan čäri Sirofinikija* (7:26) 'lit. [the woman] her birthplace Syrian Phoenicia.'

2. Toponyms

Simplex toponyms, that is, toponyms that consist of a specific component only, are used in the Chulym version of Mark in their unassimilated Russian-language forms: Rus. *Galileja* 'Galilee' = MČ *Galiläja* (1:14); *Nazaret* 'Nazareth' = *Nazarät* (1:9); *Ierusalim* 'Jerusalem' = *Iärusalim* (3:8); *Idumeja* 'Idumea' = *Idumäja* (3:8); *Tir* 'Tyre' = *Tir* (3:8); *Sidon* 'Sidon' = *Sidon* (3:8); *Kapernaum* 'Capernaum' = *Kapärnaum* (1:21); *Gefsimanija* 'Gethsemane' = *Gäfsimanija* (14:32); *Golgofa* 'Golgotha' = *Golgofa* (15:22); *Ierihon* 'Jericho' = *Järihon* (10:46); *Viffagija* 'Bethphage' = *Viffagija* (11:1); *Vifanija* 'Bethany' = *Vifanija* (11:1); *Vifsaida* 'Bethsaida' = *Vifsaida* (6:45); *Sodom* 'Sodom' = *Sodom* (6:11); *Gomorra* 'Gommorah' = *Gomorra* (6:11); *Iordan* 'the Jordan River' = *Iordan* (1:5).

Another group of toponyms used in the Russian text of Mark consists of phrases combining the name of a geographic object (e.g., "sea", "mountain", etc.; in one case, it is the name of a city) with an adjective derived from the specific toponym or personal name. The equivalents of these names in Chulym are expressions composed of the Chulym name of the geographic object followed by the genitive case of the specific toponym or personal name from the Russian-language version. Contrary to the rules of Turkic syntax, the word order of the modifier and the head noun in most Chulym phrases follows the Russian order: the modifier occurs after the head noun: Rus. *more Galilejskoe* 'Sea of Galilee' = MČ *sū Galiläja-nyŋ* (1:16) [water Galilee-GEN]; *gora Eleonskaja* 'Eleon Mountain'[12] = *kyr Äläon-nyŋ* (11:1) [mountain Eleon-GEN] ~ *tag tas*

12 = The Mount of Olives.

Äläon-nyŋ (14:26) [mountain stone Eleon-GEN]; *zemlja Gennisaretskaja* 'land of Gennesaret' = *čar*[13] *Gännisarät-tyŋ* (6:53) [earth/place Gennesaret-GEN]; *Zaiordanskaja storona* 'land/region beyond the Jordan River' = *Iordan-nyŋ äl* (10:1) [the Jordan River-GEN land[14]]. To this group of phrases, we may also include MČ *Käsarija Filipp-tyŋ* (8:27) [Caesarea Philip-GEN] = Rus. *Kesarija Filippova* 'Caesarea Philippi', whose qualified element is the name of a city in an unassimilated Russian-language form.

There are some exceptions to the above-mentioned rule. In one case, the Chulym equivalent of the Russian adjective is the genitive case of the ethnonym used in its unassimilated Russian-language form, supplied with the Chulym plural suffix: Rus. *predely Iudejskie* 'the borders of Judea' = MČ *čar Iudäj*[15]*-där-nyŋ* (10:1) [earth/place Judean-pl-GEN] 'the place of Judeans.' In two other cases, the Chulym equivalent of the Russian adjective is the toponym that results from the deletion of the Russian adjective-forming suffix *-skaja* / *-skie*. Deletion of certain syllables in etyma during the derivation process from Russian to Turkic – including in Lower and Middle Chulym – is a familiar phenomenon. It usually affects those syllables that perform specific morphological functions in Russian and are easily recognizable in the recipient language.[16] The cases in question are: Rus. *strana Gadarin-skaja* 'the region of the Garasenes'[17] = MČ *äl Gadarin* (5:1) [land Garasenes] and *predely Dalmanuf-skie* 'the region of Dalmanutha'[18] = *čar – Dalmanuf* (8:10) [earth/place – Dalmanutha].

Among the toponyms used in the Middle Chulym translation of the Gospel, the equivalent of the name "the Decapolis" is particularly noteworthy. It is a calque of Rus. *Desjatigradie*, whose elements *desjat'* 'ten' and *grad* 'city' have been translated word-for-word into Middle Chulym: *Ontura* (5:30, 7:31) < *on* 'ten' + *tura* 'city'. Note that this is the only form used in all occurrences of this toponym in the Chulym translation of Mark for Rus. *Desjatigradie*.

3. Names of religious and political sects

In most cases, the translator uses unassimilated Russian-language forms for the names mentioned; when a given name appeared in its plural form in the original version, the translated word was marked with a Middle Chulym plural suffix,

13 In most cases of the analysed text, the word for 'place' (= CT *jär*) is written with a back vowel. For our analysis, this aspect is not of primary importance.

14 In earlier available sources of Middle Chulym lexical material (Birjukovič, 1979, p. 10), the word is recorded in the meaning 'nation, people'.

15 = Rus. *iudej* 'Judean'.

16 For more information see: Pomorska (2017, pp. 190–192).

17 The Russian version of this toponym is *Gadara*.

18 The Russian version of this toponym is *Dalmanufa*.

whose initial consonant changes in accordance with the principles of consonant harmony: Rus. *farisej* 'Pharisee' = MČ *farisäj* (2:16); *farisei* 'Pharisees' = *farisäj-där* (7:1) 'Pharisee-PL'; *irodiane* 'Herodians' = *irodian-nar* (3:6) 'Herodian-PL'[19]; *saddukei* 'Sadducees' = *saddukäj-där* (12:18) 'Sadducee-PL'.

For the Chulym equivalent of "members of the Tribe of Judah," the translator chose the name *Iudäj-där* (3:7), where the easily identifiable element is the Chulym plural suffix *-där*. The basis for the Chulym form was certainly the Russian ethnonym, though it is difficult to determine whether the singular form: *iudej*, or the plural form: *iudei*, served as a source.

4. Names of occupations and professions

The Gospel of Mark mentions several names of occupations and professions. When the vocabulary of Middle Chulym allowed for it, the translator effectively employed Middle Chulym words, compounds in the form "present participle – noun", or sentences: *ulug kiži sinagoga-nyŋ* (5:22) [big man synagogue-GEN] 'synagogue leader'; *agač-ty čon-gan* (6:3) [tree-ACC hew-PTCP] 'carpenter'; *at-kän kiži ~ [i]štän-gän kiži* (12:10) [do/make-PTCP man ~ work-PTCP man] 'builder'; *kniga sana-n (kiži)* (15:1, 14:43) [book.RUS[20] read-PTCP (man)] 'teacher of the law'; *Ugrät-Kiži* (4:38) [teach-man] 'Teacher'; *ugrät-kan ol* (2:23) [teach-PTCP son/boy] ~ *ugrät-kan kiži* (5:31) [teach-PTCP men] 'disciple'; *čač-kan kiži* (4:14) [scatter-PTCP man] 'sower'; *kiži kajdȳ al-gan akčä-zy-n* (2:15) [men which take-PTCP money-3SG.POSS-ACC] as an equivalent for 'tax collector'; *olar palyk-ta-nnar* (1:16) [they fish-V.DER-3PL.PTCP] as an equivalent for 'fishermen'.

In instances where the native vocabulary was insufficient to express specific concepts, Russian terms were decisively used: Rus. *vrač* 'doctor' = MČ *vrač* (2:17); *jerej* '[Easter Orthodox Church] priest' = *järäj* (1:44); *arhierej* 'high priest' = *arhiäräj* (2:26); *centurion* 'centurion' = *cänturion*[21] (15:44); *prorok* 'prophet' = MČ *prorok*[22] (6:4); *apostol* 'apostle' = *apostol* (6:30).

19 In one sentence (12:13), the translator replaces Rus. *nekotorye iz irodian* 'some of the Herodians' by *Irod-nyŋ* 'Herod-GEN'. The Genitive form, however, with a different initial consonant of the suffix, was also used to replace the Russian adjective *irodovyj* = MČ *Irod-dyŋ* (8:15).

20 This loanword from Russian is documented in the Middle Chulym language sources, which showcase its usage in the first half of the 20th century, cf. Pomorska, 2017, p. 32.

21 In 15:39 of the Chulym version, the word *cänturion* was supplemented by MČ *cüs-tüg kiži* [hundred-ADJ.DER man], a semantic calque of Rus. *sotnik* 'commander of a hundred men', a synonym for *centurion*.

22 Cf. also Rus. *lžeproroki* 'false prophets' for which the translator used in 13:22 the compound of MČ *čoj* 'lie' (Lemskaja, 2023-2024) and *prorok-tar* 'prophet-PL'.

5. Names of spiritual beings

Those of Russian origin include the following: Rus. *angel* 'angel' = MČ *angäl* (1:2); *satana* 'Satan' = *satana* (1:13); *vel'zevul* 'Beelzebul' = *väl'zävul* (3:22). Notice that the translator consistently uses the Middle Chulym word *Kudaj* as an equivalent for the Russian word *Bog* 'God' (e.g., 2:7, 5:19). This choice is justified, as *Kudaj* functions in Chulym culture similarly to how God is perceived in Christianity.

6. Names of special weekdays and feasts

In the analyzed Middle Chulym translation of Mark, almost all names within this semantic group have been used in their Russian-language forms: Rus. *pjatnica* 'Preparation Day' = MČ *pjatnica* (15:42); *subbota* 'the Sabbath' = *subbota* (2:23); *Pasha* 'the Passover' = *Pasha* (14:1). The exception is the name of a feast called *prazdnik opresnikov* 'the Festival of Unleavened Bread,' which was rendered in the Chulym version using a literal translation approach: *itpäk suslo čok kün-ü* (14:1) [bread leaven.RUS there is not day-3SG.POSS].

7. Names of places of worship

In the sections where the Russian version uses the word *sinagoga* 'synagogue,' the same word was also included in the translation, and depending on its function within the sentence, it is accompanied by the appropriate Chulym suffixes: *sinagoga-da* (1:39) [synagogue-LOC]; *sinagoga-dyn* (5:35) [synagogue-ABL]. In places where the Russian version uses the word *hram* 'temple,' the translator replaced it with the Chulym izafet *Kudaj äb-i* (eight times, e.g., 11:15) [God house-3SG.POSS]. However, in one sentence, the Russian *hram* was included alongside it: *I vošel Iisus ... v hram* 'Jesus entered the temple' = *Isus kir-gän hram-ga, äp Kudaj-nyŋ*[23] (11:11) [Jesus enter-PTCP temple-DAT, house God-GEN].

8. Names of monetary units

With the exception of "piece of silver" (Rus. *srebrenik*), for which the translator used the native Middle Chulym noun *akčä*[24] (14:11), other units are used

23 Note the Russian word order of the elements of this construction.

24 Cf. *akča* 'money, kopeck' (Pomorska, 2004, p. 46).

in unassimilated Russian-language forms: Rus. *dinarij* 'denarius' = MČ *dinarij* (6:37); *lepta* 'lepton'[25] = *läpta* (12:42); *kodrant* 'kodrantes'[26] = *kodrant* (12:42).

9. Names of animals and plants

In the Middle Chulym translation of Mark, we can find the following names of animals and plants of Russian origin: Rus. *akridy* (PL) 'locusts' = MČ *akridy* (1:6); *osjol* 'colt; donkey' = *osjol*;[27] *gorčica* 'mustard (seed)' = *gorčica* (4:31); *vinograd* 'fruit of the vine' = *vinograd* (12:1); *smokovnica* 'fig (tree)' = MČ *smokovnica* (11:20). Within this specific semantic group, we can find one example of expected phonetic assimilation – despirantization of Rus. *v-* into MČ *b-*:[28] Rus. *verbljud* 'camel' > MČ *bärblüt* (1:6).

It is noteworthy to analyze the equivalents used in the Chulym text for the Russian word *ternie* (4:7, 4:18) '[place grown over with] thorns' and *ternovyj* [*venec*] (15:17) '[crown] of thorns.' Although the Middle Chulym language includes the Turkic word *tiken* 'thorn'[29] (Clauson, 1972, p. 483), the translator selects the construction *šubür čar* 'lit. bad place' in the first instance,[30] while in the second instance, the Russian word *tern* = MČ *tjorn*[31] [*pörük* '(head)dress'] is used.

10. Other substantives

The nouns presented below exemplify various semantic groups, each often standing as the sole representative of a particular one. Hence, we have chosen to present them together in one section. Clearly, they pertain to objects that were previously unfamiliar to speakers of the Chulym language. The only exception is Rus. *krest'* 'cross' = MČ *kräs* 'id.' (8:34) ~ *kräst*[32] '1. id.' (10:21), '2. baptism'

25 Lepton was worth 1/2 kodrantes or 1/128 denarius (Bratcher, 1959, p. 168).

26 Kodrantes (Latin: *quadrans*) was worth ¼ assarion or 1/64 denarius (Bratcher, 1959, p. 169).

27 The word appears three times in the Middle Chulym version, once as "osel" (11:2) and twice as "osjol" (11:4, 11:7), reflecting the spelling variations of this word in Russian. It is also possible to interpret "-sjo" as "-sö".

28 Cf. Pomorska, 2017, p. 113.

29 = MČ *tigän* 'dog rose' (Birjukovič, 1979, p. 95).

30 For details, see: Pomorska (2024, p. 274).

31 The spelling of the word discussed here is „tjorn" and the "tjo"-group may also be interpreted as "tö".

32 In the lexical sources available to date, this word has only been attested in Lower Chulym cf. (Pomorska, 2017, p. 82). The noun *kräs* also forms the basis for some MČ verbs cf. section 11, below.

(10:38), which was documented in Chulym lexical sources in the mid-20th century and underwent phonetic assimilation by means of simplification of the consonant cluster in the absolute final position.

All other terms are presented in the Chulym version of Mark in their original, non-assimilated Russian forms: Rus. *miro* '(perfumed) oil' = MČ *miro* (14:3); *smirna* 'myrrh' = *smirna* (15:23); *gubka* 'sponge' = *gubka* (15:36); *uksus* 'vinegar' = *uksus* (15:36); *krovat'* 'bed' = *kravat* (4:21); *sveča* 'candle' = *sväča* (4:21); *plaščanica* 'burial sheet' = *plaščanica* (15:46); *zavesa* 'curtain' = *zaväsa* (15:38); *sud* 'judgment' = *sud*[33] (6:11); *sinedrion* 'Sanhedrin' = *sinädrion* (14:55); *nalog* 'tax' = *nalog* (2:14); *polk* 'regiment' = *polk* (15:16); *legion* 'legion' = *lägion* (5:9); *pretorija* 'Praetorium' = *prätorija* (15:16); *sovet* 'Council' = *sovät* (15:43); *gäänna* 'hell' = *geenna* (9:43); *suslo* 'wort' = *suslo*.[34]

The Russian word *sosud* 'container (for liquids)' was translated interestingly. Disregarding the verse (4:21), in which it was omitted in the Chulym version, there arose the need to use it twice in verse (14:3): "*… prišla ženščina s alavastrovym sosudom mira iz narda čistogo, dragocennogo i, razbiv sosud, vozlila Emu na golovu*."[35] The translator used *upsalgan*[36] *sosud* for *razbiv sosud* '[she] broke the jar' and *alavastr tuäs* for the Russian phrase *alavastrovyy sosud* 'alabaster jar.' *Alavastr* is undoubtedly a Russian term specifically chosen for this translation.[37] The second element of this compound is MČ *tuäs* < Rus.dial. *tues* << Trk. (Anikin, 2000, p. 560), a word that has been documented in Middle Chulym sources prior to 1950 (Dul͡zon, 1973, p. 191).

11. Verbs

In our analysis of the translated version of Mark, we identified several nominal-verb compounds consisting of a Russian noun followed by a Chulym auxiliary verb. Similar to other Turkic languages, the use of such compounds is a common method for deriving verbs in Middle Chulym:

33 It is also important to mention the adjective derived from this noun: MČ *sudtug* (16:16) 'condemned'.

34 Cf. *itpäk suslo čok künü* in section 6, above.

35 In the NIV version of Mark (available at https://www.biblica.com/bible/niv/mark/14/), the passage sounds: " … a woman came with an alabaster jar of very expensive perfume, made of pure nard. She broke the jar and poured the perfume on His head". The passage "iz narda čistogo" was not translated into Chulym.

36 < **ug-up sal-gan* [break (up)-CVB put(AUX)-PST].

37 It is important to note that the translator opted for a noun rather than a Russian adjective; in Orthodox terminology, *alavastr* refers to an alabaster vessel for storing myron (ointment) (*Pravoslavnaja Ènciklopedia*. Retrieved from: https://www.pravenc.ru/text/82589.html, access: 25.01.2025).

Rus. *proščeniya* (GEN.SG < *proščenie* 'forgiveness') – MČ *prašänija ät-* (2:5) [forgiveness do/make] 'forgive';
Rus. *poklon* 'bowing' – MČ *poklon ät-* (15:19) [bowing do/make] 'pay homage';
Rus. *proročestvo* 'prophecy' – MČ *proročästvo ajt-* (7:6) [prophecy tell] 'prophesy';
Rus. *krest'* '1. cross; 2. baptism'[38] – MČ *kräs-kä kak-* (15:15) [cross-DAT hit] 'crucify'; *kräs sal-* (10:38) [cross put] 'get baptised'.

In this context, the verbs chosen by the translator to replace the Russian verb denoting 'baptize' are particularly noteworthy. Sometimes, he used nominal-verb compounds made of native words: [1] *su-a sur-* (1:8) [water-DAT push forward], [2] *(sug-ga) *požul-*[39] (1:8, 16:16) [(water-DAT) release]. In verse (1:4), the Russian phrase "[Ioann] krestja v pustyne" '[John] baptizing in the desert' has been translated as: [*Ioann*] *kiži čok čärdä*[40] *kräs-kän-nar* [*kräs*-PST-PL]. Similarly, in verses (6:14, 6:24, 6:25), the translator used *Ioann – Kräs-kän kiži* [John *kräs*-PST men] for the name 'John the Baptist'. Both these forms are most probably derived from Rus. verbal root *-krest-* 'to baptize.'[41]

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Russian expansion onto Chulym territories and intensive, lasting contacts which ensued over several centuries, created opportunities for the borrowing of numerous Russian words into the Chulym languages. A detailed analysis by Pomorska (2017) emphasizes that "[T]he introduction of Christianity and new customs by the incoming Russians brought about significant changes in the life of the Chulym Turks and resulted in an influx of religious vocabulary, including words for 'church' or 'cross'" (Pomorska, 2017, p. 224).

The analysis carried out proved that the religious vocabulary of Russian origin present in the Middle Chulym language until the translation of Mark was not sufficient to express all the specific concepts contained in the language of the Gospel text. That was the reason for introducing a large amount of new Russian vocabulary, and the fact that most of it was not the subject of phonetic adaptation or underwent minimal adaptation may indicate that it was introduced only for the needs of this text and did not become ingrained in the Chulym language.

38 Cf. section 10, above.

39 We reconstruct this form based on *poštupskan* (1:9) < **požul-up ys-kan* [release-CVB-sent. AUX-PST].

40 Note the Chulym periphrastic equivalent *kiži čok čär* [man there is not place], which the translator used for the Russian word *pustynja* 'desert'.

41 For additional examples of this process refer to (Pomorska, 2017, p. 234).

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Marzanna Pomorska – habilitated Doctor and linguist specializing in the field of Turkology, Associate Professor at the Chair in Turkish Studies, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow. She is the author of a number of works related to Turkic linguistics, with research interests focusing on the Middle Chulym Turkic language.

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François Rosset
http://orcid.org/0000-0002-3654-4320
Université de Lausanne
francois.rosset@unil.ch
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Jan Potocki's Unstable Turkeys

ABSTRACT

This study presents two distinct moments in Jan Potocki's engagement with Turkey, separated by more than twenty years. The first concerns his journey to Egypt in 1784, when the 23-year-old stopped for two months in Constantinople, a formative experience that nurtured his enduring passion for the Orient. The second moment occurs in 1806–1807, when, serving as an adviser to the administration of Tsar Alexander I and as a knowledgeable connoisseur of the Near East, the Caucasus, and Central Asia, he approached the Turkish question with the dispassionate, strategic perspective required for developing imperial policy under the looming threat of Napoleon's conquering campaigns.

KEYWORDS: Jan Potocki, Turkey, Russia, Orient, Travelogue

STRESZCZENIE

Jana Potockiego niestabilne Turcje

Niniejsze studium przedstawia dwa momenty w relacjach Jana Potockiego z Turcją, dwa momenty oddzielone ponad dwudziestoletnim okresem. Pierwszym była podróż, którą 23-latek odbył do Egiptu w 1784 r., zatrzymując się najpierw na dwa miesiące w Konstantynopolu. Było to dla niego fascynujące doświadczenie, które miało trwały wpływ na jego niesłabnącą pasję do Orientu. Następnie, w latach 1806–1807, jako doradca cara Aleksandra I i znakomity znawca Bliskiego Wschodu, Kaukazu i Azji Środkowej, podszedł do kwestii tureckiej z beznamiętnej i wyrachowanej perspektywy, właściwej rozwojowi polityki imperialistycznej w obliczu zagrożenia podbojami Napoleona.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: Jan Potocki, Turcja, Rosja, Orient, literatura podróżnicza

In Jan Potocki's personal life, his trip to Turkey and Egypt in 1784 was by no means his first, but it represented an important stage in the education of the 23-year-old. The splendid report on this journey was also the first text he would

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publish, thereby acquiring an inaugural significance in relation to the abundant and multifaceted work that would follow. Finally, this text is invaluable both because it offers a highly original vision of Turkey and because of its literary dimension, which reveals, in the context of travel, a particularly elaborate philosophy of journeying and an aesthetics of writing.[1] The following pages do not present a study of the traveler's orientalist knowledge, nor of his experiences as a traveler and reader in relation to the knowledge and clichés circulating about Turkey among his contemporaries (Reychman, 1973; Sinko, 1982; Bałczewski, 2000; Siemieniec-Gołaś, 2013; Kupiszewska, 2022). Rather, they present the traveler's account and attempt to understand the contradictions and paradoxes that marked Potocki's relationship with the Ottoman world, situated between fascination with a highly prized culture and political calculations imposed by entirely different circumstances.

Jan Potocki left his estates in Podolia at the beginning of April 1784. By that time, he had already acquired considerable experience as a traveler. From childhood, his mother had kept him constantly on the move between Krakow, Warsaw, and Vienna, and then, at the age of 13, he and his brother Seweryn were sent to live with a tutor in Switzerland, where they stayed for three years. His mother visited them regularly and sometimes took them to Paris, Spa, or other destinations. At the age of seventeen, Jan enlisted in the Austrian army, which was preparing to fight in the War of the Bavarian Succession. However, there was hardly any actual combat, and the soldiers were left bored in the garrisons. Potocki, stationed for a time in Bude, immersed himself in all the reading material he could find. His passion for history and the sciences was firmly established and never left him. However, he was never merely a cabinet scholar; the wider world always called to him. Throughout his life, he read extensively, but he never thought without observing, touching, and feeling. For him, antiquities – which were to become the focus of his interests – could only

1 Potocki published this report twice: first in Paris in 1788 (Voyage en Turquie et en Egypte fait en l'année 1784) and a second time the following year in Warsaw in his own Imprimerie Libre, with the addition of the *Voyage en Hollande effectué en 1787*. A Polish translation was produced immediately in 1789 by Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz: *Podróż do Turek y Egyptu z przydanym dziennikiem podróży do Holandyi podczas Rewolucyi 1787* (reprinted in 1849 and 1924, then revised by Leszek Kukulski in 1959). Several modern editions of *Voyage en Turquie et en Egypte* exist: by Daniel Beauvois, Paris: Fayard, 1980; by Serge Plantureux, Paris: Corti, 1999; by Éditions du Jasmin, Paris: 2000; and by François Rosset and Dominique Triaire in volume I of the edition of Potocki's works (Louvain: Peeters, 2004), reprinted in pocket format by GF in 2015 with a new introduction. It is this GF edition that is cited below as (Potocki, 2015). While several important studies focus on the Egyptian part of this journey, relatively few address the Turkish portion, apart from the presentations in the Beauvois and Rosset/Triaire editions. Notable works include Bałczewski (1985; 2000), Chymkowski (2008), Siemieniec-Gołaś (2013), and Kupiszewska (2013; 2016; 2017; 2022). There are also a few studies in Turkish to which we have not had access.

be understood through the insights they offered to the observer of ruins and geology, to the surveyor and draughtsman of sites, and to those who shared in the lives of people where gestures, customs, and rites were living traces of the past. Potocki embodied all of these perspectives at once. His first fields of practice were the vast Poland of the time (which still stretched almost as far as the Black Sea), Austria, Germany, Switzerland, France, and also Hungary, followed by Italy and the Mediterranean, which he crossed from sea to sea for two years as a Knight of Malta assigned to the fight against the Barbary pirates.The latter were certainly the enemy, but their world fascinated the young man. Raised on the eastern fringes of Poland, he had always been in contact with his Tartar and Ottoman neighbors; here, it was the Arab world of Africa that revealed itself to him, and which he had the opportunity to experience during the three weeks he spent in Tunisia in 1779 (Neaimi, 2003). He spent several more years traveling between Italy, Vienna, and Poland, with excursions to Carniola, Hungary, and Serbia. By the time he returned to Poland at the end of 1783, he had already seen much of the country and, above all, had experimented with every possible form of travel: educational, recreational, scholarly, and military, both on land and at sea. Roads, footpaths, rivers, and the sea were all familiar to him, as were the luxuries of rich mansions and embassies, as well as the simplicity of huts and the fragility of tents. Nothing stopped him; everything interested him.[2]

This was the training he had acquired in the *ars peregrinandi* when he set off for Turkey, with Egypt in his sights. The reasons for his journey are not well known. The extensive Egyptological work he later carried out suggests that he was deeply drawn to the land of the pharaohs; however, we should be cautious of *a posteriori* explanations. There is no way of knowing whether Potocki went to Egypt to satisfy a budding passion, or whether it was this trip that inspired or confirmed it. Furthermore, it is possible, as Daniel Beauvois has suggested, that the journey also had certain aspects of a political mission (Beauvois, 1977). To understand this, we need to briefly consider the political situation in Central and Eastern Europe on the eve of the French Revolution.

The Polish throne had been occupied since 1764 by Stanisław August Poniatowski, then a protégé of Catherine II. This young king, who seemed to have no role other than that of a puppet, had to contend with the hostility of various factions within the Polish nobility; some criticized him for his subservience to Russia, while others feared he would attempt to strengthen his power by limiting the extensive freedoms enjoyed by the great families of the Polish aristocracy in the unique system of noble republic that characterized the country. After much tension and difficulty, the king finally succeeded in gaining some

2 For more details on Jan Potocki's eventful life, see: Rosset and Triaire (2004). Specifically about his travels, see: Kotwicz (1935), Ziętarska (1973), Reychman (1974), Ryba (1993), Klene (2010), Baliszewski & Muszyńska (2018), Rosset (2018), Triaire (2020).

respect and implementing the only agenda that truly interested him: a program to modernize his country and its institutions in line with the European Enlightenment. He brought artists, soldiers, scientists, agronomists, and various advisers to Warsaw, mainly from France, Germany, and Switzerland. He also managed to reduce the resistance of the magnates, particularly that of the powerful Potocki clan. Unfortunately, he lacked political firmness, which would prove fatal in the precarious situation of Poland, surrounded by three powerful neighbors – Austria, Prussia, and Russia – who were only waiting for a favorable opportunity to overthrow the sovereign and divide his kingdom. By the time Stanisław August openly expressed his desire for reform, he had lost Catherine II's support, and it had become clear by the time of the first (partial) partition of Poland in 1772 that the main threat to the country came from Russia.[3] Unable to resist or even attack its neighbor head-on, Poland could try to work on the diplomatic front by providing some form of support to Russia's military enemies, Sweden and Turkey. A Potocki could have been well chosen to carry out a mission in this direction, particularly as this family owned immense territories on the eastern borders of the Kingdom of Poland, in other words, in the immediate vicinity of the Tartars and Ottomans. The culture and customs of the Turkish world, in particular its administrative and political practices, were not foreign to the Potockis, especially not to Jan, who from a very young age had shown a special interest in the cultures of *others*, which in Podolia were mainly Jews, Tartars and Turks. Jan Potocki had certainly shown a worrying propensity for eccentricity at a very early age, but his adventurous nature, the experience he had already acquired of the world in its most diverse dimensions, his mastery of languages and the vast knowledge that already set him apart could make him an envoy of choice. The king, who was not short on finesse, took an interest in this young subject; he appreciated him for his many qualities, even if he feared his unpredictability. The account of his journey, in its first part to Constantinople, does not contain any clear clues leading to the conclusion that it was a mission commissioned by the King of Poland, but the text also speaks in strange silences that highlight certain information, in particular those that mention the relations maintained by the young Pole, in Constantinople, in diplomatic circles and even, at the same time, with the embassies of France, Russia and Venice, states that were clearly rivals, if not enemies, when it came to Ottoman affairs. The hypothesis of a diplomatic mission by Potocki is therefore quite plausible, even if the nature and stakes of this possible mission remain opaque.[4]

3 On Stanisław August Poniatowski, see at least Fabre (1963), Zamoyski (1998), and the edition of the king's *Mémoires* (Poniatowski, 2012).

4 It is also surprising that Potocki makes no mention of any meetings he may have had in Constantinople with his compatriot Józef Mikosza, who had been staying there since 1782. Stanisław

However, to understand Potocki's personal, intellectual, and ideological relationship with Turkey, it is not sufficient to examine only the pages of his youthful journey. We must also consider the various political writings he produced some twenty years later. Taken together, this dyptic reveals a complex and often contradictory picture, balancing the fascination of the young traveler with the political positions dictated by exceptionally tense circumstances.

The Voyage en Turquie et en Egypte is presented as a collection of letters addressed to the traveler's mother, Anna Teresa Potocka de domo Ossolińska, although it is known that these letters circulated more widely. Additionally, there exists a manuscript (not translated into Polish) with enriched content, written for King Stanisław August, in which one can find several passages of uncensored material produced during the tense period of the Great Sejm. For example, when discussing the Tartars from Crimea, Potocki provides the king with exclusive observations that are far from flattering, particularly regarding Russia and its perfidious methods of conquering foreign territories:

> J'ai vu à Kerson un de leurs Princes nommé Bahatyr Guerai, frère aîné de Sahin Guerai, et légitime successeur du trône. Il s'était rendu aux Russes à condition qu'ils le renverraient à Constantinople. On le lui permit, mais au lieu de lui tenir parole, on lui fit faire le tour de la mer Noire et on le mena à Kerson où il est retenu prisonnier, avec son fils Selim, et quelques-uns de ses sujets qui ont voulu suivre sa fortune. C'est à des traits semblables, plus souvent qu'à leurs victoires, que les Russes sont redevables de la plupart de leurs conquêtes, aussi jamais nation conquérante n'a-t-elle été aussi haïe (Potocki, 2015, p. 15).[5]

Similar observations (the one quoted is by no means unique) reveal the young traveler's attitude. Amid the ongoing and repeatedly renewed conflict between Russia and Turkey, his sympathies appear clearly aligned. Everything he recounts about the Turkish world he personally experienced confirms this alignment beyond doubt. Potocki's engagement with this world goes beyond

August had sent him there to teach Polish language and history. In 1787, Mikosza published an important work on the general state of Turkey, which was soon translated and published in German (Siemieniec-Gołaś, 2017).

5 "I met in Kherson one of their rulers called Bahatyr Guerai, elder brother of Sahin Guarai and legitimate heir to the throne. He surrendered to the Russians on condition that they would send him back to Tsarogrod. This was promised to him, but instead of honouring the word given, the captive was taken on a ship which, after sailing around the Black Sea, dumped him in Kherson, where he was imprisoned along with his son Selim and a few subjects who decided to stay with him. The Russians owe most of their victories to similar procedures, which is why among conquering nations there is none more hated."
The Guarai or Gerej Tartar family was one of the khans of Crimea; these khans, who were frowned upon by the Sultan of Constatninople who considered them too close to Russia, were now under the yoke of the Russians who had annexed Crimea in 1783.

mere sympathy: he feels a profound spiritual and cultural connection, one that few previous European travelers had shared – except, perhaps, Lady Wortley Montagu, some fifty years earlier.[6] Potocki approaches these earlier travelers with both rigor and insight, critically examining their accounts:

> Vous serez peut-être étonnée d'apprendre que dans le grand nombre de voyageurs qui abordent en cette ville, il en soit très peu qui puissent en rapporter des idées un peu exactes; rien cependant n'est plus vrai; les plus observateurs ont épuisé leur curiosité à visiter les monuments de la Grèce, et n'envisagent les Turcs que comme les destructeurs des objets de leur culte. Ils arrivent pleins de cette idée, se logent dans les quartiers des Francs, et daignent à peine traverser une fois le port pour aller voir la mosquée de Sainte-Sophie, et revenir chez eux (Potocki, 2015, pp. 55–56).[7]

The Voyage en Turquie et en Egypte is a rather enigmatic text, revealing the force of personal experience and reflection, while remaining silent on many matters – particularly those that may have touched on political or other vested interests. It is clear, however, that meetings and conversations of this kind must have occurred. In any case, the account of this journey stands as a highly subjective testimony, reflecting a genuine desire to understand a neighboring, yet profoundly foreign, nation along with its customs and culture in the broadest sense.

It is worthwhile to dwell briefly on what so captivated the young aristocrat from Podolia, who had already traveled extensively and encountered many different countries. For the purposes of this short essay, we will content ourselves with listing the main subjects that fascinated the traveller, providing a quotation from his text to illustrate each point. Potocki's observations are so clear and incisive that little additional commentary seems necessary.

– Inner peace and the cult of rest:

> Les Turcs, jadis féroces guerriers, paraissent enfin être revenus à cette humeur douce et tranquille qui distingue les nations de l'Asie ... C'est aussi là [i.e. dans les reposoirs] que l'habitant de Constantinople vient étendre ses tapis et ses sophas, et jouissant en silence des beautés de la nature qui l'environne, il y passe

6 See the famous *Turkish Embassy Letters* written between 1716 and 1718, first edited in 1763.

7 "You may perhaps be surprised to learn that, among the great multitude of travelers who arrive in this city, very few possess the discernment to carry away any just notions of its manners or customs. Nothing, however, could be more erroneous; for the most diligent of observers, having wearied themselves with the inspection of the monuments of Greece, regard the Turks solely as the profane destroyers of that which they revere. They come possessed of this prejudice, take up their lodgings in the quarters of the Franks, and scarcely condescend to cross the port, save to glance upon the mosque of Saint Sophia, before hastening back to their homes."

> des journées entières plongé dans ces douces rêveries dont le charme ignoré des esprits actifs est si connu des âmes contemplatives (Potocki, 2015, pp. 78–80).[8]

– Respect for nature, especially trees, plants, and all animals:

> Vous aurez sans doute entendu parler du soin qu'on prend à Constantinople des chiens et des chats qui peuplent les rues de cette ville. Mais ces animaux ne sont pas les seuls qui aient droit aux libéralités des Turcs. Un nombre infini de tourterelles et de ramiers qui habitent librement tous les toits vont au-devant des barques chargées de grain et ont l'air d'y exiger avec hauteur leur droits, fixé généralement à une mesure par sac. Les oiseaux aquatiques dont le canal est couvert se détournent à peine quand la rame est prête à les toucher, et leurs nids sont respectés même des enfants qui seraient partout ailleurs leurs ennemis naturels. Enfin la confiance mutuelle rétablie entre l'homme et les animaux semble quelquefois ramener l'observateur à l'enfance de la nature, mais ce qui achèvera sans doute de vous gagner en faveur des Turcs, c'est leur respect pour les arbres: les couper est un crime énorme qui fait murmurer tout le voisinage, aussi n'est-il rien qu'on ne fasse pour l'éviter (Potocki, 2015, p. 78).[9]

– Sociability and conversational culture:

> Il ne me reste plus pour vous faire connaître les amusements du peuple turc qu'à vous parler des cafés; la plupart bâtis en forme de kiosque reçoivent l'air de tous les côtés et sont d'une fraîcheur admirable. Ils sont le rendez-vous des oisifs de tous les états; le vizir, capitan-pacha et le sultan lui-même y viennent souvent déguisés apprendre ce que l'on pense d'eux, car le caractère et les moindres actions des gens en place sont ici comme ailleurs le sujet favori de toutes les conversations; d'autres fois elles roulent sur la galanterie. Un conteur de profession rapporte

8 "The Turks, who were once renowned as fierce and unyielding warriors, appear at length to have reverted to that gentle and tranquil temper which so happily distinguishes the nations of Asia. It is likewise in these places of repose that the inhabitants of Constantinople unfurl their carpets and arrange their sophas; there, partaking in the silent delight of the beauties of Nature that encompass them, they pass entire days immersed in those soft reveries, the charm of which, unknown to the restless activity of worldly minds, is so perfectly appreciated by contemplative souls."

9 "You will doubtless have heard of the care bestowed in Constantinople upon the dogs and cats that abound in its streets. Yet these creatures are not alone in enjoying the generosity of the Turks. An infinite number of turtle-doves and wood-pigeons, which roam freely upon every roof, attend the boats laden with grain, appearing to claim their portion, generally fixed at one measure per sack. The waterfowl that crowd the canal scarce stir when the oar approaches, and even their nests are held sacred by children, who elsewhere would be their natural persecutors. At length, the confidence re-established between man and beast oftentimes transports the observer to the very infancy of Nature; yet what will surely endear the Turks to you most is their veneration for trees: to fell one is deemed a grievous offense, inciting murmurs throughout the neighborhood, so that all means are employed to avoid such an act."

> l'aventure la plus nouvelle, en l'ornant de tous les agréments de l'élocution orientale (Potocki, 2015, p. 59).[10]

A simple philosophy of life, applied to daily affairs and founded upon a moral code, yet often observed with a lighthearted spirit:

> Leur maxime est qu'il faut jouir et non paraître jouir. De là cette philosophie si douce qu'on ne retrouve que dans les écrits des Orientaux, qui ne s'exprime point par des paradoxes brillants, mais par des apologues d'une vérité frappante, et paraît chercher plutôt à s'épancher qu'à se répandre (Potocki, 2015, p. 79).[11]

– The art of storytelling and wisdom expressed in countless apologies and tales recited at every meeting place and on every occasion:

> Je ne sais trop comment vous trouverez les apologues des Orientaux; pour moi, je raffole de leur manière et je m'y suis essayé: les lectures que j'ai faites depuis près de deux ans m'ont rendu si riche en pensées orientales que je n'ai eu que la peine d'en grouper quelques-uns et de leur donner des cadres. Je suis bien sûr d'avoir réussi à conserver à mes figures leur physionomie orientale, mais je ne suis pas également sûr que cette physionomie réussisse en Occident (Potocki, 2015, pp. 63–64).[12]

Admittedly, Potocki also expresses distaste for the permissive promiscuity, various excesses such as the behaviour of opium addicts and the tolerance of their habit, the bizarre – though spectacular and somewhat artificial – ecstasies of the dervishes, the widespread corruption that enables a generous traveller to circumvent all barriers and prohibitions, and the lasciviousness of dancers,

10 "All that remains for me to recount concerning the diversions of the Turkish people is to speak of their cafés; most of these, built in the form of kiosks, are open to the air on all sides, and afford a most agreeable coolness. They serve as the rendezvous of idlers from every rank; the vizier, the capitan-pacha, and even the sultan himself oftentimes visit in disguise, desirous to learn what opinion is held of them, for the character and slightest actions of those in power are, here as elsewhere, the favorite topic of discourse. At other times, the conversation turns upon matters of chivalry, whilst a professional storyteller relates the newest adventure, embellishing it with all the graces and pleasures of oriental elocution."

11 "Their maxim is that one should enjoy and not appear to enjoy. Hence this gentle philosophy, found only in the writings of the Orientals, which is not expressed in brilliant paradoxes but in strikingly true apologues, and seems to be more interested in expressing itself than in spreading itself."

12 "I'm not sure how you'll find the apologues of the Orientals; for my part, I'm crazy about their style and I've tried my hand at it: the reading I've been doing for nearly two years has made me so rich in Oriental thoughts that all I had to do was group a few of them together and give them a framework. I am quite sure that I have succeeded in preserving the oriental physiognomy of my figures, but I am not equally sure that this physiognomy will succeed in the West."

both male and female, which he finds repulsive despite his well-known lack of prudishness.

But let us return for a moment to the matter of stories, which Potocki not only comments upon but also imitates, weaving into his account a rich series of tales that he composed himself, inspired by what he heard in the squares, on the streets, or – most frequently – in the cafés, as well as what he read in the portable library that accompanied him on his travels. In this collection of short narratives, one can discern the kind of synthesis often employed in Western culture toward the East, portraying it as a foreign yet coherent world, even though its components are widely disparate.

The stories composed by Potocki are set in Tsarogrod, Indostan, Persia, and Samarkand. In them, the art of storytelling and literature situates Turkey within a broader, surrounding world – nearer or more distant – whose name, Orient, resonates more as a symbol than as a geographic designation. In this synthesis, Turkey and the Porta do not particularly stand out as exemplars of a despotic state ruled by violence and cruelty, as they commonly do in Western literary accounts of the time (Said, 1978; Berchet, 1992; Wolff, 1994; Hitzel, 2001; Neaimi, 2003; Hatem-Ibrahim, 2010; Kieniewicz, 2013). Instead, Turkey appears simply as one province within this mythical Orient. It may also be noted that, roughly a dozen years later, while travelling in the Caucasus, Potocki would revisit the relationship between Turks and other Eastern cultures – this time informed by ethnological and linguistic observations, and making precise distinctions appropriate to this very different discursive context:

> La langue dont je parlais hier est en usage entre Kouba et Shabran, au-delà du Samour. Ce n'est qu'un dialecte persan; on appelle ce dialecte tat. En général, on divise la Perse en turc et tat. Les Turcs (descendants des Seldjoukides) habitent l'Azerbaïdjan et les Tadts l'Iran; de ce mot «tat» vient le nom «tadzik» que les Ouzbeks de Boukharie donnent aux naturels du pays (Potocki, 2015, p. 344).[13]

After two months in Constantinople, Potocki departs the Turkish mainland, setting his sights on the next stage of the journey: Egypt, aboard a French vessel. It is noteworthy, incidentally, that he chooses French company at this point, even though France is, as is well known, Russia's political and diplomatic rival in Ottoman affairs. Yet this is not the focus here; rather, attention should be drawn to the personal and emotional tone of the final description that closes the Turkish episode in his account:

13 "The language of which I spoke yesterday is employed between Kouba and Shabran, beyond the Samour. It is merely a dialect of Persian, known by the name of Tat. In general, Persia is divided between Turks and Tats. The Turks, descendants of the Seljuks, inhabit Azerbaijan, whilst the Tats dwell in Iran. From this name, 'Tat,' is derived the term 'Tadzik,' which the Uzbeks of Bukharia employ to designate the natives of that country."

> Déjà je suis à bord de la Sainte-Anne, corvette française qui doit me porter à Alexandrie. Votre pensée doit me suivre désormais au travers des sables brûlants de l'Afrique. Il est juste de l'arrêter encore un instant sur les rivages délicieux que je suis peut-être destiné à ne plus revoir. L'espèce d'enchantement que j'éprouvai en les voyant pour la première fois m'avait empêché de les décrire, et je les quitte sans que le prestige soit entièrement dissipé. Mais tandis que je veux vous les peindre, la vitesse avec laquelle nous nous en éloignons m'en ôte la possibilité. Déjà je ne vois plus ce bassin superbe toujours couvert de voiles aussi légères que le vent qui les enfle. Je ne vois plus l'amphithéâtre qui l'entoure, les minarets qui le couronnent, les murs imposants de ce sérail qui a vu tomber tant de têtes et gémir tant de beautés; enfin la vue n'a plus pour se reposer que de vastes cimetières. Là, entre les ronces et les cyprès, s'élèvent des milliers de tombeaux qui entourent la ville et servent de cadre au tableau magnifique dont j'ai voulu seulement indiquer quelques traits. Déjà hors de la portée de mes yeux, il se représente encore à mon imagination, mais lorsqu'il s'agit de décrire, l'imagination est pour les voyageurs un guide trop dangereux, et la raison m'avertit de finir (Potocki, 2015, p. 80).[14]

Indeed, in his later letters recounting the voyage and exploration of Egypt, the influence of that perilous guide, the imagination, becomes far less evident. Reason once again dominates the traveler's observations.

Reason, moreover, proves to be the guiding principle when Potocki later returns to matters concerning Turkey, or more precisely, Turkish affairs. This is especially evident in his historiographical writings, and in particular in *Essay sur l'histoire universelle et recherches sur celle de la Sarmatie*. Published in 1789, this work systematically compiles information from historians and chroniclers spanning antiquity to the Middle Ages, with the aim of reconstructing the development and transformation of various peoples and states in the Middle East and Central Asia (Niewójt, 2008). This careful synthesis of sources enables the historian to illuminate the complex interrelationships and distinctions that

14 "I am already on board the Sainte-Anne, the French corvette that is to bear me to Alexandria. Your thoughts must now follow me across the burning sands of Africa. Yet it is only fair to linger a moment upon the delightful shores that I may never behold again. The enchantment I felt upon first seeing them forbade all description, and I leave them still cloaked in a certain majesty. But though I would fain paint them for you, the very speed of our retreat denies me the power. Already I can no longer discern that superb basin, ever crowded with sails as light as the winds that bear them. I can no longer see the amphitheatre that encloses it, the minarets that crown it, the stately walls of the seraglio, which has witnessed so many heads fall and so many beauties lament; in the end, all that remains in sight are the vast cemeteries. There, among brambles and cypresses, rise thousands of tombs encircling the city, forming the sombre yet magnificent background of a scene of which I have only sought to indicate a few features. Though already beyond the reach of my eyes, it lingers vividly in my imagination; yet, when it comes to description, imagination is a treacherous guide for the traveller, and reason bids me bring my account to its close."

shape these peoples, within which the Turkmens and Turks naturally occupy their place.

The most striking shift in Potocki's view of Turkey, evident in the writings of the author of *Manuscrit trouvé à Saragosse*, comes from his later advisory and political work for the cabinet of Tsar Alexander I on Eastern affairs. His change in attitude toward Turkey is profound. Personal, intellectual, aesthetic, and moral sympathies for a world of leisure, pleasure, and storytelling have no place. What remains is a cool, political assessment from a Russian perspective, framed by the context of the almost constant conflict with the Porte, which had entered another acute phase in 1806, at a time when Europe watched in disbelief at Napoleon's rapid advance eastward with the Grande Armée. In articles published in the *Journal du Nord*, a St. Petersburg newspaper under his editorial supervision, Potocki fiercely debates French publicists who, at Napoleon's behest, denounce Russia for its alleged constant and despicable aggression against the Ottoman Empire. For example, in February 1807, Potocki writes in response to French complaints about Russian imperialism:

> Avant de répondre aux imputations du gouvernement français, nous observerons que la Russie, sous le règne de Catherine, a eu avec la Turquie deux guerres sanglantes. Et qu'après des victoires décisives, elle s'est contentée de demander l'embouchure des fleuves, dont elle avait le cours, ce qui est même opposé à l'esprit conquérant. Les pays acquis alors par la Russie étaient des déserts (Potocki, 2004, p. 381).[15]

We see that here Potocki writes in a manner entirely opposed to Russia's imperialist and expansionist policies, in contrast to the explicitly anti-Russian note he had confidentially sent to his king some twenty years earlier. Similarly, in letters addressed to his cousin Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, the Tsar's Foreign Minister, as well as to his successor Andrei Budberg (from the summer of 1806), Potocki, drawing on his profound knowledge of the entire southeastern region of the Empire, advocates a calculated strategy aimed at limiting French influence in Eastern Europe and securing the Empire's southern provinces. Quite cynically, yet pragmatically, he argues that the Ottoman Empire should be preserved, however weak, leaving it even a sphere of influence over territories where Sunni Islam predominates, thereby keeping a weak, subjugated neighbor under control while maintaining the appearance – or illusion – of independence (Ranocchi, 2019). There is no place in this strategy for cultural sympathies, although

15 "Before replying to the imputations of the French government, it behooves us to observe that Russia, under the reign of Catherine, waged two bloody wars against Turkey; and that, after achieving decisive victories, she was content merely to demand the mouths of the rivers whose courses she had traced, an action even contrary to the spirit of conquest. The territories thus acquired by Russia at that time were deserts." (Journal du Nord, n° VI, February 1807)

Potocki's political reasoning is nonetheless grounded in the recognition of the fundamental national-state determinants that language, religion, and customs together constitute.

To conclude, let us consider what might explain these surprising translations. Jan Potocki's vacillations and upheavals in matters of national and political concern are well known, though they remain largely enigmatic (Beauvois, 1979; Triaire, 1991). His attitude toward Turkey provides a further example of this ideological instability. I would suggest, however, that particular attention should be paid to the fundamental differences between the pro- and contra- statements found in his writings regarding Turkey. These differences are not merely the result of shifting historical and political contexts between 1784 and 1807; the texts also exhibit distinct discursive frameworks, genres, and, in a broader literary sense, literary conditions. It is therefore useful to approach the Turkish themes in Potocki not from a narrow, language-centered perspective, but through a comprehensive prism of discourse. Seen in this light, the example presented here resonates broadly, much as the Oriental tales that so captivated our author extend beyond the immediate moral lessons they convey.

Finally, as a sort of coda, one might mention an apparently anecdotal episode in the life of the writer-traveler. During his stay in Constantinople in 1784 (he would never return to the country), Potocki enlisted the services of a Turk named Ibrahim, who remained loyal to his master until the latter's suicide in 1815. Count Jan and his servant, distinguished by his remarkable presence, formed an almost inseparable duo – an eccentric pairing that fascinated people in Warsaw. Ibrahim would soon prove far more capable than a mere servant; although he did not always accompany his master on his countless journeys, he performed the role of steward to perfection for this whimsical man, who was incapable of managing his own affairs. Ibrahim even oversaw the construction of the small manor house in Uładówka in Podolia, ensuring it bore the proper Oriental touch. The two lived there together for several dark years until the tragic end in December 1815. Thus, although Turkey had various and even contradictory incarnations in Potocki's mind and writings, it remained with him throughout his adult life, embodied in this good, faithful, and enigmatic servant (Ryba, 2010).

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François Rosset – is an Honorary Professor of French literature at the University of Lausanne and the author of more than three hundred publications. His research explores the European Enlightenment novel, the Swiss Enlightenment, the works of Jean Potocki, Benjamin Constant, Germaine de Staël, and Isabelle de Charrière, as well as travel literature. His most recent book is *Lisières des fictions à l'âge des Lumières* [*Fringes of Ficion in the Age of Enlightenment*] (Paris, 2024).

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Grażyna Zając
http://orcid.org/0000-0001-7547-7135
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
grazyna.zajac@uj.edu.pl
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British Cyprus of the Mid-20th Century through the Eyes of a Turkish Girl: The Memories of Özden Selenge

ABSTRACT

The aim of the article is to present the main elements of the world in which the future writer Özden Selenge grew up and to find and explore the value of childhood memories. Selenge (born 1946) is a Turkish-Cypriot writer and fine artist. Her recollections, entitled *Sahiden* [*Really*], cover her childhood and high school years, from the late 1940s to the early 1960s. The author's early childhood was spent during a period of peaceful coexistence between Greeks and Turks in Cyprus. It is only halfway through the book that the first mention of misunderstandings between Greeks and Turks appears, concerning the second half of the 1950s. In Selenge's memoirs, there are numerous descriptions of daily hardship, small and great joys, and details about living and learning conditions, clothing, food, activities, and games. Greek neighbors also appear, always warmly remembered. Among other nationalities, Armenian traders and wandering gypsies are mentioned. Selenge's memoirs, often colored by witty humor and self-irony, are not only an engaging read, but also help reconstruct perceptions of "Britishness" in Cyprus, although the author avoids direct references. It can certainly be said that childhood memories can provide a valuable addition to historical knowledge.

KEYWORDS: British Cyprus, Özden Selenge, Turkish-Cypriot memory literature, childhood memories

STRESZCZENIE

Brytyjski Cypr połowy XX wieku oczami tureckiej dziewczynki. Autobiografia Özden Selenge

Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie głównych elementów świata, w którym dorastała przyszła pisarka, oraz znalezienie odpowiedzi na pytanie o wartość wspomnień z dzieciństwa. Özden Selenge (ur. 1946) jest turecko-cypryjską

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pisarką i malarką. Jej wspomnienia zatytułowane *Sahiden* [Naprawdę] obejmują dzieciństwo i lata licealne autorki, okres od końca lat 40. do początku lat 60. Wczesne dzieciństwo autorki upłynęło w okresie pokojowej koegzystencji Greków i Turków na Cyprze. Dopiero w połowie książki pojawia się pierwsza wzmianka o nieporozumieniach między Grekami i Turkami, dotyczy ona drugiej połowy lat 50. We wspomnieniach Selenge znajduje się wiele opisów codziennych trudności, małych i wielkich radości, ze szczegółami opisującymi warunki życia i nauki, ubrania, jedzenie, zajęcia i zabawy. Pojawiają się też greccy sąsiedzi, zawsze ciepło wspominani. Spośród innych narodowości wspominani są ormiańscy handlarze i wędrowni Cyganie. Wspomnienia Selenge, często zabarwione dowcipnym humorem i autoironią, są nie tylko przyjemną lekturą, ale mogą również posłużyć nam do wyciągnięcia wniosków na temat „brytyjskości" na Cyprze, chociaż autorka unika bezpośrednich odniesień. Z całą pewnością można powiedzieć, że wspomnienia z dzieciństwa mogą być cennym uzupełnieniem wiedzy historycznej.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: brytyjski Cypr, Özden Selenge, tureckocypryjska literatura wspomnieniowa, wspomnienia z dzieciństwa

Introduction: Özden Selenge and Turkish Cypriot memoir writing

"I love what I left behind. I miss it all – whether it was good or bad..." (Selenge, 2007, p. 5) – these are the words of Turkish Cypriot painter and writer Özden Selenge[1] in the opening lines of her memoirs entitled *Sahiden* [*Really*]. And already this beginning puts the reader in a cheerful mood, announcing that the text will be mildly worded, pleasant to read, and optimistic. This initial impression does not change as one goes deeper into the reading. Until the last pages, the author weaves a cheerful, often self-deprecating tale, and the joyful atmosphere of the book lends itself to the reader.

Is this idyllic atmosphere due to the fact that the book deals with childhood and early adolescence, a period of life that we usually remember warmly? Or perhaps the author did not want her book to be dominated by sad and bloody images? Both factors seem to have played a key role in the construction of the text. The period described by Selenge ends with 1964, and the bloody events of December 1963[2] are mentioned in some passages. We find short sections

1 Özden Selenge (b. 1946) – graduated from the Turkish Girls' High School in Nicosia and studied pedagogy in Ankara, majoring in 'art education'. In 1969 she returned to Cyprus and for many years worked as a teacher of fine arts. She has exhibited her works in Turkish and Cypriot galleries. She has published four novels, four volumes of short stories, nine plays and a volume of memoirs.

2 This is about the so-called Bloody Christmas (Tur. Kanlı Noel) and refers to the massacre of the Turkish Cypriot civilians, that began on the night of 20–21 December 1963.

describing the rise of Greek nationalism since the mid-1950s and attempts to spread anti-Turkish sentiment in the Cypriot province, which had been peaceful until then. Some descriptions are truly moving. However, the author tells her story without going into political detail. It is clear that, in spinning the tale of her life, Selenge was careful not to make the text sad or painful for anyone – and especially unpleasant for the co-hosts of her homeland, her Greek neighbors, who were an important part of her childhood.

What was the development of memoir literature among Turkish Cypriots, and what place does Özden Selenge's book occupy against the background of this kind of writing? Autobiography and other forms of personal documents appeared very late in Turkish Cypriot literature. Moreover, we can observe a significant lag in the development of autobiography compared with world literature, also in Ottoman Turkey, where interest in this type of writing emerged only during the period of pro-European modernization reforms. It is known as the "Tanzimat period," the "Great Reform period" (second half of the 19th century). It was then that the Ottomans assimilated and fell in love with the novel, the novella, and the stage play. We are talking here about theater in the classical sense, as various forms of folk theater have been known to the Turks and other Turkic peoples for centuries.

As far as the Turkish Cypriots were concerned, their bond with the Anatolian motherland was severely weakened during this period. The Ottoman state (known in the West at the time as the *sick man of Europe*) faced many serious political and military problems, lost one battle after another, and lost territories in Europe, Africa, and Asia. The imperial ambitions of the West began to push Turkey toward decline. In such a situation, one could hardly expect the state to care about maintaining close contacts – especially cultural ones – with a small island province, moreover inhabited by a large majority of non-Turkish and non-Muslim population. In 1878, after another lost war, Turkey had to relinquish its rights to the territory. Cyprus then passed under British rule.

As one can easily guess, cultural contacts between Turkish people living in Cyprus and the Ottoman state became even more limited. Although various elements of British – or, more broadly, Western European – culture began to appear on the island, for economic reasons only a very small number of the wealthiest Cypriot Muslims had access to it. This also applied to the availability of European literature. This was probably the reason for the late appearance of autobiography in Turkish Cypriot literature. Works of a memoiristic nature appeared in Cyprus even later than in Turkey, only at the beginning of the 20th century, and only in the very modest number of two books,[3] while a real

3 The first published works of a memoir nature were: *Kıbrıs Osmanlılarına Mahsus Son Hediye-i Acizanem* [My modest last gift to the Cypriot Ottomans] (1909, new edition in 2000) by the physician, community activist and poet Hafiz Cemal Lokman Hekim, and *Kamil Paşa'nın Hatırat-ı*

flowering of memoir literature can be observed among the Turkish inhabitants of the island only after the Greek coup d'état (1974), which resulted in the Turkish intervention and the consequent partition of the island. The intervention was carried out to stop the attacks and massacres perpetrated against Turks and to bring peace to the island. It was then that Turkish Cypriots were given unfettered access to national education, the Turkish press, printing, and – in general – to Turkish cultural achievements in various fields.

As counted by Cypriot researcher İsmail Bozkurt, the next autobiographical work written by a Turkish Cypriot author was published 68 years after these first two books (Bozkurt, 2019). It was the recollection of Murat Hüsnü Özad, a Turkish soldier from the period of ethnic struggle (1950s–1970s). To date, around 250 memoirs have been published by Turkish Cypriots. It should be noted here that at least half of them are written by politicians, officials, or participants in wars and riots. Only a few recollections focus on cultural, literary, or professional life. As we know, the content of memoirs is unlimited, and the authors are free to choose topics from their lives. Therefore, there are monothematic autobiographies and also multi-topic ones. Among the topics covered, politics and war definitely dominate in Turkish Cypriot autobiographical works (Yıldız, 2019, p. 526). The rapid growth of memoir writing among Turkish Cypriots dates back to the 1990s. Since then, an average of five to six new memoirs has been published every year. These include recollections of World War II (in which Turkish Cypriots served as subjects of the British Crown) and memoirs of politicians and officials, but there are also books written by writers, artists, journalists, or authors who could be described as "ordinary bread eaters."

The memoirs of Özden Selenge occupy a special place among Turkish Cypriot memoirs. The features that distinguish this work from others can be characterized as follows: It is one of the few autobiographies written by a woman; the book covers in full the years from earliest childhood to high school graduation – and thus the most innocent years of human life; the language of the work is light and often humorous; and the author does not try to be a serious mentor lecturing her readers on the past times she describes but, on the contrary, weaves a large dose of self-irony into her narrative. Lastly, one final feature clearly noticeable when comparing these memoirs with others is that the author dispenses with political themes, and the tragic events that affected the Turkish Cypriot population in the second half of the 1950s and at the turn of 1963–1964 are barely mentioned. Moreover, the recollection of these dramatic events is free of political commentary. It seems that the gentle tone used by the author is due in part to her character and personality, in part

Siyasisi [Kamil Pasha's Political Memories] (1911, new ed. in 1999) by Mehmet Kâmil Pasha, who served the Ottoman state for long years as military officer and statesman (Bozkurt, 2019).

to her conscious avoidance of political topics, but also to the fact that she is a woman. A casual, often humorous narrative dominates throughout the entire book.

Şevket Öznur, writing about Selenge's works, points out their epic and poetic style, creativity, and honest, simple yet aesthetic language enriched with local expressions (Öznur, 2018). On the other hand, Mustafa Yeniasır, Burak Gökbulut, and Anıl Bilgiç, in an article devoted to the role of women in cultural transmission in light of some of Selenge's works, draw attention to the richness of traditional and cultural elements found in her novels. These include, for example, cuisine, handicrafts, clothing and accessories, toys, children's games, architecture, folk traditions and customs, favorite books read at home, expressions and sayings, folk medicine, and traditional names of plants (Yeniasır, Gökbulut, & Bilgiç, 2021, p. 267). Reading Selenge's autobiography shows that the same elements can also be found there.

Remembered from childhood

Özden Selenge narrates her memories around several main themes closely related to the home, the school, the people from the neighborhood, and nature as observed by a child. Let us take a look at the main ones.

Place of residence and schools

The author lists the localities where she lived, devoting considerable space to descriptions of the buildings, their surroundings, and the garden. Living conditions were modest, but in Özden's memory, her childhood is recorded as happy and carefree. She was born in the village of Aynakofo[4] on the Famagusta district and spent the first few years of her life there. It was a village inhabited entirely by Turks:

> My earliest memories are of when I was about three years old. At the entrance to the village of Aynakofo and in every valley there were gardens with almond trees, pomegranates, plum trees, apricot trees and vines. Above the village rose Mount Ipsaro and it was the only thing I was afraid of as a child. At the time, it seemed extremely high and frightening to me. I believed that on this mountain lived the giants, which I knew from the fairy tales my mother used to tell me.
>
> For some reason, the village of Aynakofo seemed to me not green but yellow. A long, rocky road ran through the village. The yard of our house was also lined with stones. The house stood in the middle of the village. It was surrounded by

4 Agios Iakovos in Greek and currently Altınova in the borders of Northern Cyprus.

> a high wall and had two rooms. In the farthest corner of the yard was a latrine, and on the opposite side stood a bread oven, next to it a pile of wood, branches, and brushwood (Selenge, 2007, pp. 10–11).

In 1950, the father was transferred to a school in the village of Vasilya[5] in the Kyrenia district. The move was made by cruise bus, which may indirectly reflect the modest possessions of the family of five (Özden had two older siblings at the time). The house surprised newcomers with its size and appearance. To the children, it seemed like a palace from a fairy tale. It was a historic, two-story building from the Venetian era, with covered terraces and a magnificent view of the countryside, located in the higher part of the village. The upstairs flat was accessed by a staircase outside, while the ground floor housed a kitchen, a classroom, and a large prayer hall that served as a mosque. There was a bread oven in the courtyard and a latrine in the furthest corner. It, too, looked much better than the one little Özden knew from her previous home: the toilet in Vasilya was roofed with an oriental dome and consisted of two rooms.

Vasilya was a village inhabited by both Cypriot communities. There were slightly more Greeks than Turks, and they were a bit wealthier – or at least that was Özden's impression. For the first few months, the father faced a challenging task: he tried to discipline the parents of his pupils to send their children to school and not burden them with hard work in the fields. The implementation of compulsory schooling among Turkish families in this village was much weaker than in Aynakofo. Perhaps this is why Özden's father was transferred to this school, as he had a reputation as a teacher who could bring order. The low percentage of families sending their children to primary school – which is, after all, compulsory in countries under the British Crown – must have been a fundamental problem for the Cypriot education authorities:

> In those days, the Cypriot villager (and perhaps the city-dweller too) rebelled against any novelty, against anything to which he was not accustomed and was driven by prejudice. My father spoke to each inhabitant in turn, wherever he met him – on the road, in front of the house, in the pasture, in the café, everywhere – he stood in front of him and spoke to him the way you speak to a child when you want to teach him something. He explained and explained... This went on for several months, or maybe even a year. At first the villagers did not want to comply, there were arguments between them and the father. In the end, they somehow came to an agreement. The rules that the father demanded to be obeyed were, after all, for their benefit.
>
> Education was compulsory: every child enrolled in the school had to attend. But the villagers were poor people. They left the older children at home to look after the younger ones and went to work – in the fields, in the gardens. Most

5 Vasileia in Greek and currently Karşıyaka in the borders of Northern Cyprus.

> families had no property, no field or garden. They went to Lapta,[6] where they worked for a rich farmer, Halil Efendi (Selenge, 2007, pp. 31–32).

Some families had little property in the form of a piece of land, but in these families, the children also neglected their compulsory schooling because they had to help with the work. Such families had two or three goats or sheep each, and it was the children's duty to graze them in the mountain meadows above the village. On occasion, the children collected plants suitable for food and carried armfuls of grasses on their return from the pastures. The people of Vasilya used to harvest these grasses and cook them for seven to eight months of the year. The writer gives the names of some field plants remembered from her childhood, which were used in the Vasilya region as a supplement to meals. These included cornflowers, thistles, mallows, amaranth, wild artichoke, wild spinach, mustard, chamomile, swollen stickleweed, Judas flowers, and others. Mushrooms growing in the grasses were also a popular addition to dishes.

The teacher's work with parents and children in this poor community was hard, but it had an effect. After a year, school attendance had improved significantly, and most parents understood that sending their child to school was a good investment in the future, because an education – even a basic one – would give them the chance to find work outside agriculture, break out of rural poverty, and advance in society. Thanks to the attitude of the teacher, who persistently admonished both parents and pupils, even adults began to pay attention to inappropriate behavior.

> Let's go back to the rules applied by my father. If, on his days off or after school, he saw a child wandering around somewhere unoccupied or spending time playing, he immediately told him to go home, saying:
>
> "Instead of throwing stones at the dogs, you would go home to do your homework, read a book"
>
> With time, this became the rule and even the villagers adopted this attitude. When sitting in a village café they saw kids bored in the street, they would call out:
>
> "What do you have to do here? Get me home quickly! Read books!" (Selenge, 2007, p. 32).

The Turkish school in Vasilya was housed in one large hall. It taught six classes at a time (it was a six-year primary school) and had only one teacher. Özden lists the subjects that were on the curriculum: arithmetic with geometry, reading, writing, visual arts, music, nature, religion, history, and geography. As can be seen, there were no English lessons in state schools for Turkish children in British Cyprus. However, one can assume that even if such a subject had been

6 Lapta (gr. Lapithos) – a small town, 8–9 km from Vasilya.

on the curriculum, there would have been no one to teach it in the Cypriot provinces. From further parts of Selenge's memoirs, we learn that English lessons were part of the Turkish primary education curriculum, but not in rural schools (Selenge, 2007, p. 157).

During her years in Vasilya, the author's older sister passed the entrance exam for the Victoria Girls' School in Nicosia and left home to live in a dormitory. This famous school, which was the best school for Turkish girls in British Cyprus, is mentioned in the book (Selenge, 2007, pp. 85–86). On this occasion, the author sheds light on the problem of post-primary education in the Cypriot province under British rule: she writes that in the same year, three boys from the village also began their education at the secondary school in Nicosia and points out that, by this time, not a single child from Vasilya had continued their education beyond primary school, so it was a source of pride for the whole village. It was also a great success for Özden's father, who prepared the boys for the entrance exam.

The third village described in the book is the large village of Kaymaklı,[7] located close to the capital of Cyprus and today a district of the city. It was a village inhabited equally by Greeks and Turks. The Turkish primary school was located opposite the Greek police station. It was a large school with a dozen classrooms and a dozen teachers. Thus, it was quite different from the previous school, where the author's father taught six classes and all subjects. There was also a Turkish secondary school in this village. This highlights the huge differences in access to education between villages during this period. Özden quickly fell in love with the school and was very fond of its teachers. One of them was a well-known female poet of the era, Urkiye Mine Balman. Yet there was something in this school that astonished the girl: the pupils were divided into rich and poor:

> During breaks, the children sat in the shade of trees and ate what they had brought from home, forming separate groups – the poor and the rich. I was asked: 'Which group will you eat with?' Although I was very cheeky, I opened my mouth and couldn't say anything. What did that mean, poor and rich? I was not taught to divide people in this way. There was no such thing in the village I came from. There were poor and rich people, but no one divided people in this way at school, in cafés, at weddings, births or funerals. ... My favorite friends were in both groups. This situation was difficult for me. In the end, I decided that I would have lunch with one group on one day and with the other group on the next day. And I always condemned them for such segregation (Selenge, 2007, pp. 123–124).

7 Omorfito in Greek.

Non-Turkish inhabitants of Cyprus

Representatives of other nationalities appear in Özden Selenge's memoirs, but this is a marginal subject. One gets the impression that, for the little girl, the existence of people speaking other languages was so natural that it did not provoke any reflection in her. One of the girl's earliest memories involves visits from a hairdresser: "In the old days there were itinerant hairdressers. The one who used to come to Aynakofo was Greek. Since my mother spoke Greek very well, she could easily get along with her" (Selenge, 2007, p. 11). Upon hearing of the hairdresser's arrival, the women from all over the village gathered at the teacher's house, and a crude, scorching perm was performed collectively for several hours. Özden, who was three years old, found the sight very intriguing, but she sometimes shouted at the hairdresser when her mother hissed in pain and smoke rose from her hair.

> "What are you doing!" I shouted at her angrily. My mother, supposing that my resentment would not end there and, moreover, that I would start reciting one by one all the curses I had recently learned from the village children, laughed and said,
>
> "Come here, my baby, I'll explain it to you in a moment. Look, I'm going to have such lovely curls..." ...but I, tugging the Greek hairdresser by the skirt, began to beg her:
>
> "Leave my mother alone! Pour water on her hair! Oh, *manammu*! Don't do that!" (Selenge, 2007, p. 11).

Another representative of the Greek community was Çangar, an old, poor man engaged in itinerant trade. His miserable appearance aroused pity in the little girl, so much so that she felt the need to make him happy somehow. At the time, she had a real doll, brought from Turkey by her father, which she would not let any child touch. It seemed to her that she would make the poor man happy at least for a while:

> I would only let one person touch my blue-eyed doll, Uncle Çangar. Uncle Çangar, if I remember correctly, was an old Greek man. He used to wander with his donkey from village to village, trading something, or rather exchanging goods for goods. No money was used in those days, only goods were exchanged.
>
> I don't know if it was because we were the family of a village teacher, but in any case, it happened that he brought us plums, almonds, or nuts. Uncle Çangar's one eye was blue and the other was brown and he didn't have a single tooth. I think I felt sorry for him with my naive, childish heart, so I held out my beautiful doll towards him. And he, in a voice similar to something between laughing and crying, said, stroking my head:
>
> "No, *vre çoçuçuk*, you play!"
>
> After which he would turn to my mother:

> “Well, *hanimissa, simarlâdik*!,” and getting on his donkey, he would ride away (Selenge, 2007, p. 16).

At this point in the memoirs, there is also a mention of wandering Romani people, called Mandi, which in Turkish Cypriot dialect means “a man of shabby clothes or a person engaged in the occupation of tinning pots” (Hakeri, 2003, p. 201). The mention of them is also linked to a doll, the three-year-old Özden’s greatest treasure:

> Village children would come and look at my doll. Some wanted to touch it, but I didn’t let them. And yet I was not one of those children who do not want to share anything with others. On the contrary, my mother kept complaining that I was able to give the begging Mandi everything, whatever was in the house. The Mandi were Gypsies of the Christian religion. They went from village to village, from house to house, collecting copper pots to tin them, sometimes bringing them back and sometimes not. They did this work for food or money, but they also lived by begging. One time they asked my mother for flour, bulgur, and oil. They got it and left. But then turned back and still wanted eggs. Mum told them she didn’t have any. I quickly ran to the kitchen and brought them the eggs that Mum had kept in the basket. She scolded me well. It turned out that they were fertilised eggs, that my mother had put away to lay under the hen and have chicks. Eh, those were my most innocent, purest years... As all children’s were... (Selenge, 2007, pp. 15–16).

After moving to Vasilya, four-year-old Özden found herself in a bilingual environment where Greek and Turkish families lived side by side. In this part of her memoirs, the author uses words related to ethnic tensions for the first time, but she writes this from the perspective of many years, having already had sad experiences:

> More than half of the villagers were Greek. The village barber, the cobbler, the shopkeeper, the driver – they were all Greek. Haciligo, Çidi (he was a carpenter), Yabuna, Sofokli... I had a friend named Marullâ. She taught me Greek, and I taught her Turkish. When I would go to play with her at her house, my mother would sternly admonish me not to eat pork there.
>
> At that time, when we moved to Vasilya in the early 1950s, there were still no tensions between the two nations. The residents experienced many events together. Weddings, deaths, births... Everyone visited everyone: when they had holidays or other festive occasions, they used to send us their *börek*, *çörek* or *pilâvuna*.
>
> They were a bit wealthier than the Turks. Their houses were a bit bigger, a bit nicer. I don’t know what they ate and drank, but what they put on was more decent (Selenge, 2007, pp. 36–37).

The presence of Greeks in the immediate vicinity was natural for the author as a child that she treated them in the same way as she treated her compatriots. In the Muslim world, it is customary that on the day of Ramadan, children visit the neighborhood houses. They kiss the hands of the adults and receive small coins from them. Cypriot Greeks were familiar with this custom. One day Özden went to visit her neighbor, the Greek woman Mariya. She kissed Mariya's hand, and the latter gave her a few pennies, which is how Muslims would behave.

What was the knowledge of foreign languages among the inhabitants of Cyprus? It is a well-known fact that the Turkish population mostly understood Greek well; in a way, the Turks were compelled to know Greek. This was due to the fact that the Greeks outnumbered the Turks and most of the crafts and shops were in their hands, so one had to be able to get along in Greek. Selenge's memoirs confirm this: her parents spoke Greek very well and even used it at home when they wanted to talk about something that was not meant for the ears of children. When a sensitive topic came up in their conversation, they would switch to Greek. This continued until the children began to understand the language. The author's father, as a graduate of a Turkish teachers' college, also knew other languages. Apart from Greek, the author mentions Arabic, Persian, and English (Selenge, 2007, p. 92).

About halfway through the book, on page 113, there is first mention of misunderstandings between Greeks and Turks. Although the author hardly ever provides dates in her memoirs, her biography allows us to infer that it was 1955, the year of the move to Kaymaklı:

> It was the last year of our stay in Vasilya. The Greek villagers began to behave quite differently than they had before. Before, Greeks and Turks celebrated weddings and births together, attended funerals together, and shared their joys and worries. When someone got married, a hen was brought to their home, or, if someone was wealthier, a sheep or a goat. In this way, people supported the family holding the wedding. … Greek and Turkish women visited each other on the occasion of the *lohusa*,[8] bringing sweets (Selenge, 2007, p. 113).

After this description of the once beautiful, shared life of the two communities, the author presents the growing problem of misunderstanding between Greeks and Turks. She writes that the main reason for the deterioration of relations on the island were the nationalistic activities of the Greek Church. Monks began to descend from monasteries located high in the mountains and went down to the villages in order to spread among Greek villagers the idea of annexing the island to Greece (Selenge, 2007, p. 114).

8 *Lohusa* – custom of celebrating the 40th day of a baby's birth.

These first mentions of the feud between Turks and Greeks take up two pages, so it is clear that the author's intention was not to describe the problem in detail. Elsewhere in the memoirs (Selenge, 2007, pp. 127–129) she writes a few more sentences about the riots and recalls that there were losses on both sides, as well as provocations:

> Greek police caught a group of young people in Kaymaklı who, using matches and bottles of petrol, tried to set fire to the house of a Greek man. They managed to escape.
>
> And then, every day after that, the painful news kept coming. Somewhere, several young Turks were killed while constructing grenades. On both sides, Greeks and Turks, people were injured, people died. Cyprus turned sad. Cyprus was on fire. Mourning reigned in all homes. Fathers were dying, mothers and children were dying. … Funerals were held frequently. We, the children, after each funeral became quieter. The mournful faces of the adults and their tearful eyes also affected us. We stopped playing in the yard (Selenge, 2007, p. 128).

On pages 206–208, the author describes the harrowing experiences of the Turkish Cypriots during the ethnic cleansing that went down in history as Bloody Christmas. As these events took place after the proclamation of the Republic of Cyprus, they fall outside the scope of this study.

British authority

In Özden Selenge's memoirs there is seldom any reference to the state in power in Cyprus, i.e. the United Kingdom. It seems that the girl was completely uninterested in the political complexities and the question of nationality. The British appear sporadically in her memoirs, not as the main subject of the story, but only in connection with other themes. When the author first alludes to authority, the words "English" or "British" do not even appear, and readers can only infer whom she means. For example, she writes about the autumn period, when the classroom was getting cold and needed warming. The duty of warming the classroom fell to the oldest schoolboys. They would arrive earlier than the other children, light a few pieces of wood in an old tin, and once it had turned into embers, they would bring it to the classroom. This single tin of glowing wood had to heat the school until the end of lessons. On such hard, cold days, the schoolchildren received support from the authorities in the form of powdered milk in large metal cans. While the older pupils were busy lighting wood, the author's parents would cook the milk for all the children attending the school. The author refers to these cans as "aid sent to the schools" (Selenge, 2007, p. 40).

The British authorities are mentioned by name for the first time only on page 51. In the section devoted to one of Cyprus' biggest problems – the lack of water – the author describes the arduous transportation of water from the only well in the village and the quarrels among the villagers over access to water for irrigating fields. In this chapter, this sentence appears: "Finally, the British authorities solved our water problem by installing hydrants in many places in the village" (Selenge, 2007, p. 51). The British authorities are mentioned again on page 136, when the author writes about the police:

> At that time, the English recruited many Turks into the police force. In the folk language, they were called 'oksilari.'[9] Their summer uniforms seemed very comical to us. Their trousers were knee-length. They rode their bikes to work. ... Almost everyone had long purple, blue or green johns showing from under their trousers. My brother and I knew the times they passed through our neighborhood. We sat on the veranda and waited to make fun of them.
>
> The English recruited well-built young men from the countryside for various police duties. They left their homes, orchards, gardens, and tools to move with the families to the city. They earned very well. ... After moving to the city, they began to buy refrigerators, gas cookers, washing machines with wringers, kerosene heaters, and various beautiful household items. Of course, in instalments (Selenge, 2007, p. 136).

As Selenge writes, moving to the city had become a dream and goal for many rural families. Those who could not leave their village at least dreamed of marrying their daughters off to the city. "The mothers used to say: let the girl not breathe in the stench of sheep and cow shit, like us" (Selenge, 2007, p. 135). Many villagers sold all their belongings, left the countryside, and started a simple life in the city. This city of dreams was most often Nicosia, known locally as Şeher. However, the situation in the British colonies was not static, and the prospects of getting rich by moving to the city were diminishing. As in other passages in her memoirs, Selenge does not give the date, but it can be assumed that she is referring to the late 1950s, when Great Britain was preparing to return Cyprus to the Cypriots:

> Just when Turkish villagers employed by the English in various positions had become accustomed to city life, almost all of them lost their jobs. Most of them, unable to repay their loans or pay their rent, emigrated with the families to England. At that time, many Cypriots left for England in search of a better life and a better future and never returned (Selenge, 2007, p. 137).

9 Oksilari – term for an auxiliary police officer in British Cyprus (Hakeri, 2003, p. 228).

As the daughter of a rural teacher, Selenge knew and described primarily life in the provinces. From her words, it seems that everyone had to work hard from a young age, and the fate of widows and orphans was particularly difficult. In many passages of her memoirs one finds words that directly or indirectly refer to the widespread poverty in Cyprus. It gives the impression that the colonial authorities did not attach sufficient importance to improving living standards. These tough economic conditions likely affected the lower classes of Greek society to the same extent, as reflected in the images of Greek neighbors preserved in the memory of a little girl. It should be noted, however, that the author's family was well-off due to her father's occupation. Among the achievements of technology Selenge mentions in her book are the gramophone, the radio, electricity after moving to Kaymaklı in 1955, the refrigerator, and, finally, the Simca Aronde car, that saved Selenge's family and many others during the ethnic cleansing in December 1963. At that time, the author's father drove his car several times between dangerous Nicosia and the village of Gönyeli,[10] which provided shelter for refugees.

Conclusion

Writing memoirs carries profound significance. A person who decides to record their memories often shares unique stories that would not otherwise find their way into history books. It is a way of preserving a specific heritage, namely, collective memory, for future generations. These are often very ordinary stories about everyday, seemingly insignificant events or experiences, yet they can be of enormous value to researchers of the history of nations and communities. Özden Selenge's memoirs are a prime example. A child's perspective on the surrounding reality combined with a modest and unpretentious description of her observations reveal more than can be read in historical studies or in the accounts of political commentators or press correspondents.

European societies' knowledge of the recent history of Cyprus is often superficial and selective. Understanding the problem usually amounts to awareness of the "Turkish army's invasion" of the island in 1974 and to "occupation of the northern part of the island, which continues to this day." It is as if the history began in 1974 – as if there had been no period of British colonial rule, no provocative actions by Greek nationalists in the 1950s, no ethnic cleansing, and no coup d'état in 1974. Selenge's memories present reality as a child experienced it: an unedited picture composed of everyday observations, games, joys, and sorrows. Together, these form a portrait of Turkish Cypriot society that cannot be found in historical studies. It is highly advisable to introduce such Turkish

10 Kioneli in Greek and currently a district in the borders of northern Nicosia.

autobiographical works on the recent history of Cyprus to European readers through translations, at least in the form of an anthology of selected excerpts. There is no doubt that memoir literature can be a valuable addition to society's historical knowledge.

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Grażyna Zając – orientalist, university professor, and head of the Department of Turkology at the Institute of Oriental Studies at the Jagiellonian University, translator. Her research focuses on modern Turkish literature, with particular emphasis on autobiographical works and the literature of Turkish Cypriots. She conducts MA seminars and lectures on Turkish literature and translates works from Turkish and Azerbaijani into Polish.

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Wojciech Mruk
http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5560-1001
Uniwersytet Jagielloński
wojciech.mruk@uj.edu.pl
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Insula nobilissima czy może raczej *officina fomentumque lasciviarum et voluptatum omnium*. Obraz późnośredniowiecznego Cypru w dziełach autorów z łacińskiego kręgu kulturowego

STRESZCZENIE

W późnym średniowieczu Cypr, jako *terra Christianorum ultima*, przyciągał uwagę wielu autorów z łacińskiej Europy. Wielu z nich opisywało wyspę jako krainę bogatą, szczęśliwą i żyzną. Równocześnie wielu autorów, którzy odwiedzili Cypr, zwracało uwagę na niebezpieczeństwa i nieprzyjemności, jakich doświadczyli na wyspie. Lista zagrożeń, jakim podróżni musieli stawić czoła, była bardzo długa. Niebezpieczeństwa towarzyszące morskiej podróży, trzęsienia ziemi i gorący klimat to tylko część z nich. Podróżni obawiali się także wina i miejscowej kuchni, która miała szkodzić zdrowiu, oraz niezdrowego powietrza, które miało sprowadzać rychłą śmierć. Wszyscy Cypryjczycy mieli być rozpustni i rozmiłowani w zbytku. Większość z nich była nie tylko schizmatykami, ale nawet heretykami. Miejscowe kobiety miały nosić nieprzyzwoite stroje, a kurtyzany opływały w bogactwa. Nawet władcy Cypru mieli być nieudolni, okrutni albo zniewieściali. Miasta i kościoły na wyspie były zrujnowane z powodu wspomnianych trzęsień ziemi oraz częstych wojen. Mieszkańcy cypryjskich miast i wiosek żyli w prymitywnych warunkach i byli niechętni podróżnym. Przybysze z łacińskiej Europy nie mogli znaleźć wygodnych mieszkań ani przyzwoitych gospód. Można odnieść wrażenie, że wyspa Afrodyty wydawała się im wyspą przeklętą.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: Cypr, późne średniowiecze, łacińscy podróżnicy

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ABSTRACT

Insula Nobilissima or Rather *Officina Fomentumque Lasciviarum et Voluptatum Omnium?* The Image of Cyprus in Late Medieval Latin Sources

In the late Middle Ages, Cyprus, as *terra Christianorum ultima*, attracted the attention of many authors from Latin Europe. Many of them described the island as a rich, happy, and fertile land. At the same time, several authors who visited Cyprus paid attention to the threats and nuisances that occurred on the island. The list of threats the traveller had to face was very long. Perils of the sea, earthquakes, and hot climate were just some of them. Travelers were also afraid of wine and the local cuisine, which were believed to be harmful to health, as well as of the dangerous "bad air" that could cause sudden death. All Cypriots were to be debauched, lustful, and addicted to a luxurious life. Most of them were considered not only schismatics but heretics as well. Women were said to wear indecent clothes, and courtesans were very rich. Even the kings of Cyprus were portrayed as inept, cruel, and effeminate rulers. Cities and churches on the island were in ruins due to aforementioned earthquakes and frequent wars. The inhabitants of Cypriot towns and villages were said to live in primitive conditions and to show reluctance towards travelers. It was hardly possible to find comfortable accommodation or good inns in Cyprus, especially for guests from Latin Europe. One might get the impression that the Aphrodite's island appeared to them as a cursed land.

KEYWORDS: Cyprus, Middle Ages, Latin travelers

Po upadku Akki i pozostałych posiadłości łacinników w Ziemi Świętej Cypr na wiele kolejnych dekad stał się najdalej na wschód wysuniętym przyczółkiem zachodniego chrześcijaństwa. Wyspa, postrzegana jako *terra Christianorum ultima*, odgrywała ważną rolę jako punkt tranzytowy na trasach pątników udających się z Europy do Jerozolimy oraz kupców prowadzących interesy we wschodniej części basenu Morza Śródziemnego (Hill, 1948; Edbury, 1994; Dotson, 1997; Burkiewicz, 2010; Özkutlu, 2014; Coureas, 2016; Perdiki, 2021; Schabel, 1998). Jej strategiczne położenie sprawiło, że rządzone przez Lusignanów królestwo odgrywało też istotną rolę w późnośredniowiecznych planach krucjatowych (Sanudo, 1988; zob. też Leopold, 1998; Burkiewicz, 2017; Coureas, 2021, Khalifa, 2020; Preiser-Kapeller, 2022; Carr, 2022). Nic więc dziwnego, że znajdująca się pod władzą łacinników wyspa przyciągała uwagę autorów wywodzących się z zachodniego kręgu kulturowego (Calvelli, 2009). W rezultacie tego w świadomości ówczesnych Europejczyków obecny był zespół skojarzeń oraz wyobrażeń związanych z tym najdalszym przyczółkiem łacińskiego świata. Jednocześnie, jak zauważył Lorenzo Calvelli, większość znanych obecnie opisów Cypru pochodzących z XIII–XV w. jest dziełem odwiedzających go podróżników, którzy tworzyli swe dzieła na podstawie własnych obserwacji (Calvelli, 2009; Morton Paton, 1951; Gadrat-Ouerfelli, 2021). Warto więc zastanowić się nad tym, czy autorzy, którzy osobiście odwiedzili wyspę Afrodyty, nakreślili jej obraz w jasnych, czy mrocznych barwach.

Est autem Cyprus insula nobilissima et famosissima atque etiam ditissima, omnibus maris insulis incomparabilis et omnium bonorum prae aliis fertilissima... napisał w swej relacji z podróży Ludolph z Suchem, który odwiedził wyspę w połowie XIV stulecia (Ludolph, 1851; Gadrat-Ouerfelli, 2017). Podobne, pozytywne, a nawet entuzjastyczne sformułowania znaleźć można we wspomnieniach innych podróżników (Wilbrandus de Oldenborg, 1864; Nicolaus de Marthono, 1895). To zapewne one miały wpływ na dzieło florenckiego notariusza Domenico Silvestriego. Autor, który prawdopodobnie sam Cypru nie odwiedził, stworzył w latach 1385–1406 obszerny traktat zatytułowany *De insulis et earum proprietatibus.* Opis interesującej nas wyspy rozpoczął słowami *Cyprus est nobilis insula et inter alias nostri orbis famosa* (Domenico Silvestri, 2000). Obraz krainy żyznej, szczęśliwej i bogatej, której mieszkańcy opływają w dostatek, stał się toposem obecnym w wielu późnośredniowiecznych tekstach (Pietro Casola, 2001; Francesco Suriano, 1900).

Równocześnie wnikliwa analiza sporządzonych w omawianym okresie opisów Cypru wskazuje jednak, że przywołane powyżej pochlebne opinie wymagają komentarza. Wielu autorów, którzy z uznaniem pisali o żyzności wyspy, jej zasobności w drewno i wodę, o produkowanym tam cukrze i pozyskiwanej soli, o godnych czci relikwiach oraz pamiątkach wspaniałej przeszłości i bogactwie jej mieszkańców, jednocześnie przedstawiało Cypr jako miejsce niebezpieczne, nieprzyjemne i niegościnne dla podróżnych (Felix Fabri, 1843; Jacopo da Verona, 1895; Pietro Casola, 2001; Francesco Suriano, 1900; Nicolaus de Marthono, 1895; zob. też Calvelli, 2014; Zavagno, 2017).

Jak wynika z opisów pozostawionych przez podróżników, już sama próba dotarcia do wyspy, a potem jej opuszczenia, oznaczała konieczność zmierzenia się z poważnymi trudnościami i niebezpieczeństwami. W zgodnej opinii wielu autorów wody wokół Cypru często były nawiedzane przez silne wiatry i sztormy. Nie tylko utrudniały one żeglugę, ale stanowiły też poważne zagrożenie dla statków i ich pasażerów. Na kartach analizowanych relacji można znaleźć liczne opisy gwałtownych burz, które budziły przerażenie podróżników, zmuszały do zmiany zaplanowanego kursu i, wbrew woli załóg oraz pasażerów, zatrzymywały statki na wyspie (Pietro Casola, 2001; Felix Fabri, 1843; Philippe de Voisins, 1883; zob. też Edbury, 1994). Silne wiatry spychały też statki w pobliże brzegów kontrolowanych przez Turków, co również budziło ogromny niepokój (Anonim, 1923; Felix Fabri, 1843; Philippe de Voisins, 1883). Wspomnienia podróżnych o przeciwnych wiatrach na wodach wokół wyspy współbrzmiały z niewątpliwie obecnym w świadomości ówczesnych czytelników fragmentem

Dziejów Apostolskich, w którym opisana została jedna z podróży morskich św. Pawła[1].

Położenie Cypru, który był najdalszym przyczółkiem chrześcijaństwa, oznaczało również, że na pobliskich wodach w XIV i XV w. operowały okręty tureckie oraz mameluckie, co, zwłaszcza w okresach napięć politycznych, zwiększało zagrożenia związane z żeglugą (Edbury, 1994; Burkiewicz, 2010). Wiadomości o ich obecności niejednokrotnie zmuszały kapitanów do przedłużenia pobytu na Cyprze, co często było uciążliwe dla podróżnych (o czym będzie mowa poniżej). W pobliżu wyspy bardzo często grasowali też piraci, o czym wspominali autorzy opisów (Jacopo da Verona, 1895; Niccolò da Poggibonsi, 1881). Ich pojawianie się również bywało przyczyną korygowania planów rejsów (Pietro Casola, 2001). Spotkanie potencjalnie niebezpiecznego okrętu na pełnym morzu oznaczało konieczność przygotowania się do walki, jak opisał to m.in. Niccolo z Poggibonsi. Statek, którym podróżował ten autor, szczęśliwie wyszedł ze spotkania z piratami. Na widok zdeterminowanego kapitana oraz uzbrojonej załogi i pasażerów napastnicy zrezygnowali z ataku (Niccolò da Poggibonsi, 1881). Podobne opowieści pojawiają się i w innych relacjach (Felix Fabri, 1843). Morskich rozbójników (niezależnie od ich wyznania) oraz kapitanów osmańskich i mameluckich na wody wokół Cypru mogły przyciągać wypełnione cennymi towarami statki handlowe, które regularnie zawijały na wyspę będącą ważnym punktem tranzytowym.

W analizowanych źródłach wyraźnie widać, że wspomniane wyżej zagrożenia związane z żeglugą wokół Cypru były realne i budziły poważny niepokój wielu autorów. Trudno podjąć próbę oszacowania, w jak wielu przypadkach sztorm, piraci czy okręt mamelucki skutecznie przerwali rejs. Milczenie źródeł w tym przypadku może bowiem oznaczać, że autorzy umilkli na zawsze jeszcze przed sporządzeniem opisu wyspy Afrodyty.

Po zmierzeniu się z groźnymi wodami wokół Cypru wielu autorów z nadzieją witało zejście na brzeg. Dość szybko jednak podróżni dostrzegali, że wyspa nie jest w pełni bezpieczna i przyjazna. Lista wymienionych w analizowanych źródłach zagrożeń i uciążliwości, którym trzeba było stawić czoło podczas pobytu na lądzie, jest dość długa. Część z nich związana była z warunkami naturalnymi i specyfiką klimatu. Inne wynikały z charakteru, zachowań oraz działań zamieszkujących wyspę ludzi i występujących tam zwierząt.

Do pierwszej kategorii zaliczyć można m.in. zdarzające się na Cyprze trzęsienia ziemi. Te nieprzewidywalne i niejednokrotnie tragiczne w skutkach zdarzenia budziły wielki niepokój podróżnych (Ludolph, 1851; Felix Fabri, 1843; Pietro Casola, 2001). Co prawda w XIV i XV w. wyspy nie dotknęły

1 „(...) et inde cum sustulissemus subnavigavimus Cypro propterea quod essent venti contrarii" (Dz 27, 4). O sięganiu po tekst Biblii jako inspirację opisów Cypru w późnym średniowieczu zob. Gadrat-Ouerfelli, 2021.

tak katastrofalne w skutkach wstrząsy jak te z roku 1222 (Oliver de Paderborn, 1894; Edbury, 1994). Ślady spowodowanych wówczas zniszczeń w Limassol, Nikozji i Pafos przez długie dekady przypominały o niebezpieczeństwie, które w każdej chwili mogło powrócić z niszczycielską siłą i nie sposób było się przed nim uchronić.

Odwiedzający Cypr podróżni cierpieli także z powodu warunków klimatycznych. Powszechnie skarżono się na dokuczliwe w miesiącach letnich upały, które utrudniały, a wręcz uniemożliwiały normalne funkcjonowanie. Wysokie temperatury panujące w dzień sprawiały, że, o ile to było możliwe, starano się podróżować podczas nieco chłodniejszych nocy. W ciągu dnia próbowano chronić się przed palącym słońcem, co nie zawsze było łatwe (Jacopo da Verona, 1895; Nompar de Caumont, 1858; Francesco Suriano, 1900; Nicole Huen, 1908; Petrarca, 1979; Felix Fabri, 1843). Miesiące zimowe wcale nie były przyjemniejsze dla podróżników. Nawiedzające wówczas wyspę podmuchy zimnego wiatru miały sprowadzać na mieszkańców oraz przybyszów długie i groźne choroby (Francesco Suriano, 1900). Padające zimą ulewne deszcze utrudniały podróżowanie pomiędzy miastami (Nicolaus de Marthono, 1895). Wspomniane opady bywały również powodem gwałtownych powodzi, podczas których rwące masy wód spływające z gór niszczyły całe miejscowości (Ludolph, 1851; o niszczycielskich powodziach na Cyprze w XIV w. zob. Leventis, 2004; Preiser-Kapeller, 2022). Zdaniem części uczonych pojawiające się w późnym średniowieczu powodzie mogły być efektem wycinania lasów spowodowanego intensywnym rozwojem rolnictwa i produkcji cukru (Preiser-Kapeller, 2022).

Kolejne zagrożenie, które budziło wielki niepokój podróżników, wynikało z przekonania, że na wyspie mamy do czynienia ze złym, niezdrowym powietrzem. Niemal we wszystkich opisach powstałych w analizowanym okresie znajdujemy fragmenty poświęcone niebezpieczeństwu, jakie wiązało się z samym tylko oddychaniem cypryjskim powietrzem (Ludolph, 1851; Anonim, 1878; Nicolaus de Marthono, 1895; Rindfleish, 2008; Nicole Huen, 1908; Anonim, 1923; Felix Fabri, 1843; Philippe de Voisins, 1883; Coureas, 2021). W kilku relacjach pojawiły się nawet plastyczne i budzące grozę opisy dolegliwości. Jeden z autorów przez całą noc i następujący po niej dzień cierpiał z powodu silnego bólu głowy, który stopniowo rozlał się na całe ciało – przez piersi, brzuch, biodra, uda i kolana dotarł do stóp i gdyby nie ustąpił w porze nieszporów, to, zdaniem autora, niechybnie spowodowałby śmierć (Pero Tafur, 1926; zob. też Gabriele Capodilista, 1855). Przekonanie o tym, że nawet krótki pobyt na Cyprze może być bardzo szkodliwy dla zdrowia, sprawiło, że podróżni obawiali się przedłużania postoju, nawet jeżeli proponowano im karierę na dworze Lusignanów (Anonim, 1923; Pero Tafur, 1926; Nompar de Caumont, 1858). Zdaniem części autorów ci, którzy zdecydowali się zaryzykować i pozostać na wyspie, szybko umierali. W jednym z dzieł możemy nawet przeczytać, że Cypr jest cmentarzem całego chrześcijaństwa wypełnionym ciałami tych, którzy pozostali tu zbyt długo (Anonim, 1923). Obawy przed niezdrowym powietrzem były tak powszechne, że niektórzy spośród pielgrzymów udających się przez Cypr do Ziemi Świętej, jeszcze przed wyruszeniem z Wenecji, starali się zabezpieczyć przed możliwym ryzykiem. Feliks Fabri, wraz z grupą towarzyszących mu pątników pochodzących z krajów niemieckich, wymogli na kapitanie galery pielgrzymiej, aby w kontrakcie opisującym warunki przewiezienia podróżnych na trasie między Wenecją a Jafą znalazł się specjalny zapis dotyczący tej sprawy. Zgodnie z nim kapitan zobowiązał się, że galera nie pozostanie na Cyprze dłużej niż trzy dni. Postanowienie to uzasadniono właśnie tym, że powietrze na wyspie jest bardzo niezdrowe, szczególnie dla Niemców (Felix Fabri, 1843).

Część spośród autorów wiązała występowanie niezdrowego powietrza z wyziewami unoszącymi się nad mokradłami znajdującymi się nieopodal Famagusty (Nicolaus de Marthono, 1895; Pero Tafur, 1926), jednak w zgodnej opinii większości niezdrowe powietrze występowało na całej wyspie. Jedynym nieco mniej niezdrowym miejscem miała być Nikozja. Zdaniem części autorów Lusignanowie wybrali to miasto na swoją siedzibę właśnie ze względu na lepsze powietrze (Ludolph, 1851; Pero Tafur, 1926).

Choć niezdrowe powietrze miało być szczególnie niebezpieczne dla przybyszów, to, w opinii części autorów, szkodziło również zdrowiu stałych mieszkańców wyspy. Dlatego, jak można przeczytać w analizowanych tekstach, na Cyprze rzadko można zobaczyć osobę o zdrowym wyglądzie twarzy (Francesco Suriano, 1900; Pietro Casola, 2001; Nicolaus de Marthono, 1895).

Gwoli sprawiedliwości należy wszakże zaznaczyć, że mimo tak bardzo rozpowszechnionego przekonania o szkodliwości miejscowego powietrza możemy wskazać przybyszów, którzy zdecydowali się na pozostanie na wyspie przez dłuższy czas i nie zakończyło się to ich rychłą śmiercią. Franciszkanin Niccolo z Poggibonsi zatrzymał się na około osiem miesięcy, zaś Cyriak z Ankony przebywał na Cyprze przez około rok (Niccolò da Poggibonsi, 1881; Calvelli, 2009).

Co godne podkreślenia, wspomniane niezdrowe powietrze nie było, w oczach autorów, tożsame z pojawiającymi się na Cyprze zarazami. Informacje o występowaniu tych okresowych zagrożeń dotykających poszczególnych regionów wyspy znalazły się w kilku opisach (Pietro Casola, 2001). Podobnie jak to było w przypadku niezdrowego powietrza, roztropni i ostrożni podróżni starali się unikać okolic dotkniętych zarazą (Felix Fabri, 1843). Należy pamiętać, że w drugiej połowie wieku XIV i w wieku XV kolejne fale „czarnej śmierci" pustoszyły niemal cały basen Morza Śródziemnego. Na Cyprze dotkliwe uderzenia zarazy pojawiły się wiele razy, m.in. w 1348 r., w latach 1362–1363 i w 1392 r. (Edbury, 1994; Preiser-Kapeller, 2022; Özkutlu, 2014).

Niegościnna ze względu na opisane powyżej warunki i czynniki naturalne wyspa miała też być zamieszkana przez społeczność charakteryzującą się licznymi wadami, nieprzychylną wobec podróżnych, a nawet potencjalnie niebezpieczną. Wśród przywar, jakoby powszechnych wśród Cypryjczyków, wyjątkowo często wskazywano skłonność mieszkańców wyspy Afrodyty do lubieżnych zachowań i rozpusty (Wilbrandus de Oldenborg, 1864; Ludolph, 1851; Domenico Silvestri, 2000; Petrarca, 1979; Jennings, 1989; Calvelli, 2009). Miejscowe kobiety miały się ubierać w sposób prowokujący, ich zachowanie miało być nieprzystojne, a konkubinat miał być zjawiskiem bardzo powszechnym (Francesco Suriano, 1900). Przyczyn takiego stanu rzeczy dopatrywano się w klimacie wyspy, który, jak twierdził jeden z autorów, „miał skłaniać do cielesnej rozpusty" (Francesco Suriano, 1900). Podobnie miało też działać na mieszkańców spożywanie miejscowego wina[2]. Wskazywano także, że będąca w czasach pogańskiej przeszłości miejscem kultu bogini Wenus wyspa pozostała miejscem, w którym ze szczególną siłą budzą się w ludziach grzeszne żądze. Zwłaszcza że świątynia Wenus miała być miejscem praktykowania prostytucji sakralnej (Ludolph, 1851; Calvelli, 2009). Przywoływano również, mającą antyczne korzenie, opowieść o praktykowanym na Cyprze zwyczaju. Otóż w określone dni miano wysyłać niezamężne córki na brzeg morza, by tam oddawały za pieniądze swe ciała obcym mężczyznom i tym sposobem gromadziły pieniądze na posag, a przy okazji składały też ofiary w świątyni Wenus (Marcus Iunianus Iustinus, 1830; Piccolomini, 1699; Domenico Silvestri, 2000). Zdaniem części autorów jedną z przyczyn występowania na wyspie wspomnianego wyżej złego powietrza były nie tylko wyziewy z mokradeł, ale i unoszące się w powietrzu *„żądze lubieżnych"* Cypryjek (Nicolaus de Marthono, 1895). Wspomniane czynniki miały sprawiać, że nawet krótko przebywający na wyspie podróżni byli wystawiani na rozmaite grzeszne pokusy, których doświadczali nie tylko na jawie, ale i podczas snu: „Nam si terra Cypri et specialiter loci, quo castrum Veneris stetit, capiti dormientis supponeretur, ipsum ad libidinem at ad coitum per totam noctem provocaret" (Ludolph, 1851).

Na opowieści o nadzwyczajnej rozwiązłości Cypryjczyków oraz o jej historycznych lub klimatycznych przyczynach należy patrzeć przez pryzmat warunków, w jakich przyszło funkcjonować mieszkańcom wyspy. Jako *terra Christianorum ultima* w analizowanym okresie wyspa była niezwykle ruchliwym punktem tranzytowym. Przewijały się przez nią rzesze nie tylko pobożnych pielgrzymów, ale i marynarzy, dla których pobyt w portach był okazją do wytchnienia po trudach pracy na morzu i poszukiwania rozrywki – również takiej, która budziła oburzenie moralistów. Zapewne takie mogło być źródło, przynajmniej części, wspomnianych wyżej obserwacji i wrażeń podróżników. Po wtóre, na co zwracają uwagę badacze, populacja łacińskich nobilów na Cyprze była stosunkowo niewielka. Dlatego zjawiskiem dość powszechnym było zawieranie

2 „Qui omni sua dispositione informes et paupere habitu incedentes plurimum luxurie deserviunt; quod vino illius terre, in quo multa est luxuria, vel pocius ipsis bibentibus imputabitur" (Wilbrandus de Oldenborg, 1864; szerzej o tym zob. też Calvelli, 2009).

małżeństw pomiędzy członkami bliskiej rodziny. Każdy taki przypadek, przynajmniej formalnie, wymagał dyspensy. Problem był dostrzegany przez władze kościelne i niejednokrotnie prowadził do napięć i konfliktów (Coureas, 2016; Hill, 2017). Mogła to być jedna z przyczyn postrzegania mieszkańców wyspy jako osób skłonnych do postaw i zachowań budzących krytykę. Niepochlebne opinie o Cypryjczykach znaleźć można nie tylko w relacjach podróżników. Władcy z dynastii Lusignanów pojawiają się kartach dzieł literatury pięknej jako osoby godne pogardy i potępienia. Opowieść o gnuśności i tchórzostwie już pierwszego z nich – Gwidona – stała się osią jednej historyjek opowiedzianych w *Dekameronie* (Bocaccio, 1989). Henryk II został przedstawiony w *Boskiej komedii* jako bestia czy też poczwara ciemiężąca własnych poddanych (Dante Alighieri, 1959). Z kolei Jan II miał być zniewieściały, a jego nieudolne rządy stały się przyczyną kryzysu na Cyprze (Felix Fabri, 1843; Piccolomini, 1699). Benvenuto Rambaldi da Imola w obszernym komentarzu do dzieła Dantego rozciągnął opis nieprawości wspomnianego Henryka II również na jego poddanych. Wedle jego słów mieli oni przewyższać wszystkie ludy chrześcijańskie w upodobaniu do nadmiernego luksusu i w obżarstwie. Mężczyźni mieli być zniewieściali, zaś o nieprawościach mieszkańców wyspy stateczny człowiek nie powinien ani pisać, ani słuchać. Fragment poświęcony niegodziwym postępkom Cypryjczyków kończy się stwierdzeniem, że za ich grzechy Bóg zesłał karę w postaci najazdu Genueńczyków, którzy zajęli część wyspy (Benvenuto Rambaldi da Imola, 1856; Schebel, 1998; Balletto, 2012). Przywołując krytyczne opinie o władcach z dynastii Lusignanów i o ich poddanych, trzeba podkreślić, że w końcu XIV w. i w XV w. wyspa była areną ostrego sporu politycznego i militarnego, w który zaangażowane były różne europejskie siły (Hill, 1948; Edbury, 1994; Burkiewicz, 2010). Dlatego też sympatie polityczne piszących mogły mieć wpływ na ich ocenę królów Cypru i ich poczynań.

Zdaniem części autorów Cypryjczycy zasługują na potępienie nie tylko z powodu swoich grzesznych myśli i uczynków, ale także ze względu na zaniedbania w czynieniu dobra. Jacopo z Verony z oburzeniem opisał obojętność stałych mieszkańców Famagusty, którzy „siedzeli w swoich domach i objadali się frykasami”, gdy na ulicach ich miasta cierpieli z głodu chrześcijanie zbiegli spod panowania tureckiego. Wśród uciekinierów, który ledwo uniknęli śmierci z rąk Turków wdzierających się do Armenii, miały być setki sierot, wdów i starców. Zdaniem autora nie mogli oni liczyć na jakąkolwiek pomoc ze strony bezdusznych mieszczan (Jacopo da Verona, 1895; zob. też Perdiki, 2021).

Wspomniana wyżej, występująca jakoby powszechnie, niechęć Cypryjczyków do przyjezdnych przejawiać się też miała w konkretnych zachowaniach indywidualnych, o których wspominali podróżni. Na kartach analizowanych relacji można przeczytać np. historię o tym, jak woźnica wynajęty przez pragnącego zwiedzić Cypr notariusza z Italii, zamiast samemu powozić, przekazał lejce pasażerowi, a następnie drwił z jego nieskutecznych prób kierowania zaprzęgniętym w woły wózkiem (Nicolaus de Marthono, 1895). W innym miejscu znaleźć możemy skargę na to, że mnisi z klasztoru, w którym przechowywane były relikwie krzyża Dobrego Łotra, odmówili gościny zziębniętemu pielgrzymowi, który w końcu 1394 r. zastukał do furty. Było to dla wędrowca bardzo nieprzyjemnie, ponieważ wcześniejszą noc spędził pod gołym niebem w grudniowym chłodzie (Nicolaus de Marthono, 1895). Podobne doświadczenie opisał inny z pielgrzymów, któremu w tym samym klasztorze, sto lat później, odmówiono jedzenia (Felix Fabri, 1843). Warto tu zwrócić uwagę, że w obu wspomnianych przypadkach zwiedzający wyspę łacinnicy oczekiwali gościny i pomocy od greckich mnichów[3].

Niepokój części autorów budziła także różnorodna pod względem etnicznym, a zwłaszcza religijnym, społeczność wyspy. Przybysze z łacińskiej Europy dostrzegali, że w Famaguście mieszkali i cieszyli się swobodą członkowie wielu uznawanych za heretyckie wspólnot wyznaniowych. Byli wśród nich m.in. jakobici, ormianie i nestorianie (Jacopo da Verona, 1895; Wilbrandus de Oldenborg, 1864; zob. też Meyer-Fernandez, 2021; Schabel, 1998; Balletto, 2012; Özkutlu, 2014; Hill, 2017). Z kolei pewien odbywający pielgrzymkę do Ziemi Świętej dominikanin był oburzony działaniami jednego z miejscowych kapłanów. Duchowny ten miał, tego samego dnia, odprawiać na zmianę msze w rycie łacińskim i greckim w świątyniach jednej i drugiej wspólnoty wyznaniowej. Łaciński kapłan i zakonnik uznał postępowanie Cypryjczyka za herezję (Felix Fabri, 1843).

Krytyczne uwagi o mieszkańcach Cypru i sposobie ich życia pojawiały się nawet wtedy, gdy autorów relacji nie spotykały z ich strony żadne nieprzyjemności. Wspomniany wyżej notariusz, który nie mógł sobie poradzić z zaprzęgiem wołów, miał też przykre doświadczenia związane z noclegami na wyspie. W dwóch domach, w których udzielono mu gościny (za pieniądze – jak podkreślił!), nie było łóżek i, podobnie jak gospodarze, musiał spać na sianie rozłożonym na podłodze pomiędzy osłami, wołami i świniami. Nieco lepsze warunki zaoferowano mu w zajeździe prowadzonym przez pewną wdowę nieopodal salin w Pafos. Mógł tam przenocować w łóżku, ale było ono brudne, zbyt małe i musiał je dzielić z dwoma synami gospodyni. Jedyny nocleg, na który nie narzekał, znalazł w Nikozji. Z niemałym trudem, gdyż nawet w stołecznym mieście miało brakować przyzwoitych gospód i zajazdów, udało mu się trafić do domu kobiety, która zechciała wynająć mu cały, przyzwoity pokój. Gospodyni – jak podkreślił – nie była jednak rodowitą Cypryjką, ale przybyła na wyspę z zachodu (Nicolaus de Marthono, 1895).

Wśród różnych zagrożeń, którym podróżni musieli stawić czoła na Cyprze, wyjątkowo często wymieniano cypryjskie wino, które nie tylko – jak

3 Szerzej o napiętych relacjach, a nawet konfliktach pomiędzy duchownymi oraz wiernymi kościołów łacińskiego i greckiego zob. Hill, 1948; Coureas, 2021; Kaffa, 2008.

wspomniano wyżej – mogło popychać do rozpusty. Większość opisujących wyspę autorów była zgodna, że trunek ten jest tak mocny, iż spożywany bez rozcieńczenia wodą rozpala wnętrzności, rujnuje zdrowie i niechybnie prowadzi do śmierci, zwłaszcza nienawykłych do niego podróżnych (Wilbrandus de Oldenborg, 1864; Jacopo da Verona, 1895; Guilelmus de Boldensel, 1725; Anonim, 1923; Ludolph, 1851; zob. też Calvelli, 2009). Co godne podkreślenia, obawiano się wyłącznie wina nierozcieńczonego. Jak wynika bowiem z analizowanych opisów, łacinnicy bardzo chętnie sięgali po wino zmieszane z wodą. Niektórzy wypijali go tak wiele, że sprowadzało to na nich inne niebezpieczeństwa. Upojeni spadali z koni lub mieli trudności z bezpiecznym powrotem z wizyty w porcie na pokład statku (Wilbrandus de Oldenborg, 1864; Anonim, 1923; zob. też Calvelli, 2009). Mimo wspomnianych obaw przed konsekwencjami picia, a zwłaszcza niezachowywania umiaru, większość autorów chwaliła jakość i smak miejscowych win. Tylko niektórym nie odpowiadał ich smolisty czy też żywiczny smak (Nicole Huen, 1908). Potwierdzenie sławy cypryjskich winnic i nadzwyczajnej jakości rodzących się w nich owoców znajdowano w Biblii. Niemające poważnego uzasadnienia przekonanie, że wspomniane w *Pieśni nad pieśniami* winnice Engaddi (Pnp, 1.14) znajdowały się na Cyprze, widoczne było m.in. już u Grzegorza Wielkiego (Gregorius Magnus, 1849). Wyrażone przez wielkiego papieża w komentarzu do *Cantica canticorum* przekonanie dało podstawę do powstających w kolejnych wiekach opisów cypryjskich winnic rodzących niezrównane w wielkości i smaku owoce (Gilbertus Foliot, 1855; Philippus de Harveng, 1855; Wilbrandus de Oldenborg, 1864; Guilelmus de Boldensel, 1725; Ludolph, 1851; zob. też Calvelli, 2009; Gadrat-Ouerfelli, 2021).

Zdaniem części autorów na wyspie niebezpieczeństwo kryło się nie tylko w beczkach czy pucharach z winem, ale także w misach i na talerzach. Cypryjska kuchnia miała być bowiem niezdrowa i również ona mogła sprowadzać na nienawykłych do niej przybyszów choroby i śmierć (Mattheus Paris, 1880; [Pseudo]Brocardus, 1906; Coureas, 2021).

Nieprzyjemne, a nawet niebezpieczne mogły być dla podróżnych także spotkania z żyjącymi na Cyprze zwierzętami. Co prawda późnośredniowieczni autorzy wiedzieli, że na wyspie nie występowały groźne dla człowieka duże drapieżniki (Wilbrandus de Oldenborg, 1864; Arbel, 2012). Mimo to w analizowanych relacjach znalazły się wiadomości o zagrożeniach związanych z występującą na wyspie fauną. Pierwsze, mające permanentny charakter, występowało w pobliżu Limassol. Otóż w okolicy tej miało żyć wyjątkowo dużo jadowitych węży. Rozwój populacji tych groźnych gadów mógł jakoby doprowadzić do całkowitego wyludnienia okolicy. Dlatego starano się je zwalczać przy pomocy specjalnie tresowanych kotów, którymi opiekowali się mnisi z pobliskiego klasztoru pod wezwaniem św. Mikołaja na Cape Gatta. Dzielne zwierzęta miały całymi dniami polować na węże. Na dźwięk dzwonu przybiegały, aby pożywić się i odpocząć w obrębie murów klasztornych. Po krótkiej chwili wytchnienia wyruszały, by toczyć niemającą końca walkę z jadowitymi stworzeniami. Wśród czworonogów można było zobaczyć dzielnych weteranów, którzy mimo utraty ucha czy oka nie ustępowali pola perfidnym cypryjskim wężom (Felix Fabri, 1843; Pietro Casola, 2001; Francesco Suriano, 1900). Opowieści o kotach utrzymywanych przez mnichów z klasztoru ufundowanego jakoby przez cesarzową Helenę cieszyły się w Europie wielką popularnością[4]. Sam klasztor został rozbudowany w XV stuleciu, a król Jakub II przyznał mu 350 dukatów rocznie na pokrycie kosztów utrzymania kotów (Arbel, 2012; Perdiki, 2021)

Innym, występującym okazjonalnie, choć zdaniem autorów dość regularnie, zagrożeniem były inwazje szarańczy, która pustoszyła różne części wyspy, sprowadzając głód na miejscową ludność i zwierzęta (Francesco Suriano, 1900; Arbel, 2012). Po raz pierwszy te żarłoczne owady miały się pojawić na wyspie w roku 1351. Podczas kolejnych inwazji było ich tak wiele, że władcy nakazywali wszystkim poddanym zbieranie martwych insektów, których wielkie ilości zalegały na polach i drogach. Fetor ich rozkładających się szczątków miał czynić cypryjskie powietrze jeszcze bardziej niezdrowym (Jennings, 1987). Większą częstotliwość pojawiania się inwazji szarańczy w późnym średniowieczu część badaczy wiąże z rozwojem uprawy trzciny cukrowej, która mogła mogła przyciągać owady (Preiser-Kapeller, 2022).

Obok nieprzyjemności oraz zagrożeń wynikających z klimatu, przyrody wyspy i cech jej mieszkańców wielu spośród autorów zwracało uwagę na niedogodności będące konsekwencją burzliwych dziejów politycznych Cypru w późnym średniowieczu (Hill, 1948; Edbury, 1994; Burkiewicz, 2010; Kiss, 2016; Khalifa, 2020; Özkutlu, 2014). Na kartach analizowanych relacji znaleźć można opisy zrujnowanych zabudowań i podupadłych portów. Autorzy, zwłaszcza tworzący w końcu XIV i w XV stuleciu, mieli świadomość tego, że wyspa czasy świetności ma już za sobą (Ludolph, 1851; Nicolaus de Marthono, 1895; Pietro Casola, 2001; Anonim, 1878; Philippe de Voisins, 1883; Fra Noe, 1770; Piccolomini, 1699; Domenico Silvestri, 2000; zob. też Calvelli, 2009). Zniszczenia, będące skutkiem wojen między Genueńczykami a siłami Lusignanów, najazdów mameluckich oraz wojny domowej pomiędzy pretendentami do cypryjskiej korony sprawiły, że podróżni musieli szukać noclegu czy schronienia przed upałem lub chłodem w ruinach niegdyś okazałych i komfortowych domostw. Wspominano msze odprawiane w zrujnowanych świątyniach (Pietro Casola, 2001). Narzekano na to, że w wyludnionych portach trudno znaleźć wygodne gospody oferujące dobre jedzenie (Pietro Casola, 2001; Felix Fabri, 1843).

4 Informacje o polujących na węże kotach powtarzane były w wielu tekstach również w epoce nowożytnej. W wydanej w 1608 r. w Pradze relacji z podróży Krzysztofa Haranta znalazł się nie tylko obszerny fragment poświęcony dzielnym zwierzętom, ale także drzeworyt przedstawiający walczące z wężami koty (Harant, 1854; Arbel, 2012).

Jeden z autorów żalił się nawet, że przy bijącym wśród ruin źródle nie mógł znaleźć żadnego kubka i by zaczerpnąć wody, musiał użyć własnego buta (Pietro Casola, 2001). Wszystko to mogło być szczególnie uciążliwe, gdy dłuższy pobyt na Cyprze nie był wynikiem samodzielnego wyboru podróżnego pragnącego, mimo wspomnianych zagrożeń i niedogodności, zwiedzić wyspę. Jak była o tym mowa wyżej, postój w porcie często przedłużał się np. z powodu sztormowej pogody czy z obawy przed operującymi na pobliskich wrogimi okrętami. Zmuszeni do czekania w mało komfortowych warunkach podróżni narzekali i próbowali skłonić kapitanów do jak najszybszego opuszczenia niegościnnej, zrujnowanej wyspy (Pietro Casola, 2001).

Wyliczone nieprzyjemności i niebezpieczeństwa, jakich doświadczali podróżni, sprawiły, że w świadomości mieszkańców łacińskiej Europy ukształtował się obraz wyspy nakreślony w dość mrocznych barwach. Francesco Petrarka pisał o niej w gorzkich słowach:

> Wybitni ludzie rodzili się tam rzadko, jeśli w ogóle, gdyż twarde ziarna cnoty nie wzrastają na miękkim polu rozkoszy. Żar ziemi i nieba zapowiada pożądliwość mieszkańców (...) Nie zatrzymuj się tam na długo. Nie jest to bowiem miejsce dla żołnierza ani nawet dla mężczyzny: galijski przepych, syryjska rozwiązłość oraz greckie pochlebstwa i podstępy spotkały się na jednej wyspie (Petrarka, 2009).

Przedstawiony powyżej obraz Cypru nie jest oczywiście pełny. Rzetelna analiza całości dość obszernego późnośredniowiecznego piśmiennictwa poświęconego wyspie Afrodyty przekraczałaby rozmiar artykułu, nawet bardzo obszernego. Przywołane powyżej przykłady pozwalają jednak postawić tezę, że autorzy z łacińskiego kręgu kulturowego postrzegali Cypr jako wyspę, która jednocześnie zachwyca i budzi obawy, przyciąga i odstręcza, zachęca do odwiedzenia i skłania do szybkiego opuszczenia. Nikogo nie pozostawia obojętnym.

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Wojciech Mruk – dr hab. prof. UJ. Zainteresowania badawcze: dzieje religijności i praktyk religijnych w wiekach średnich, historia kultury krajów basenu Morza Śródziemnego, dzieje kontaktów między chrześcijanami, muzułmanami i żydami w średniowieczu, historia Ziemi Świętej w wiekach średnich.

Dorota Haftka-Işık
http://orcid.org/0000-0002-4074-1036
Uniwersytet Warszawski
d.haftka-isik@uw.edu.pl
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Umysły uwięzione w zniewolonych ciałach – obraz kobiety w powieściach Hakana Gündaya[1]

STRESZCZENIE

Powieści tureckiego prozaika Hakana Gündaya ukazują wiele aspektów rzeczywistości Turcji. Jednym z nich jest przemoc wobec kobiet. W Turcji przemoc ze względu na płeć nadal pozostaje jednym z najbardziej powszechnych naruszeń praw człowieka, zagrażającym życiu kobiet i dziewcząt. Prowadzone w tym aspekcie badania potwierdzają, że przemoc względem kobiet ma swoje podłoże w strukturze społecznej zdominowanej przez mężczyzn. Günday wskazuje, jak biologiczne potraktowanie kobiety prowadzi do jej uprzedmiotowienia. Celem artykułu jest analiza kreacji postaci kobiecych w prozie tureckiego pisarza oraz próba przedstawienia ich form radzenia sobie z egzystencją w opresyjnej społeczności patriarchalnej.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: Hakan Günday, Turcja, *Zamir*, *Mało*, kobieta, przemoc, społeczeństwo patriarchalne

ABSTRACT

Imprisoned Minds in Enslaved Bodies: The Image of Women in Hakan Günday's Novels

Hakan Günday's novels depict multiple facets of Turkish reality, including the pervasive violence against women. In Turkey, gender-based violence remains one of the most widespread human rights violations, posing a serious threat to the lives of women and girls. Research indicates that such violence is rooted in a male-dominated social structure. Günday illustrates how the reduction of women to their biological functions leads to their objectification. The aim of the article is to analyze the construction of female characters in the prose

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of the Turkish author and to explore their strategies of coping with existence within an oppressive patriarchal society.

KEYWORDS: Hakan Günday, Turkey, *Zamir*, *The Few*, women, violence, patriarchal society

Proklamacja Republiki Tureckiej w 1923 r. przyniosła nie tylko zmiany ustrojowe, ale też liczne zmiany społeczne. Wprowadzonych zostało wiele istotnych reform zwiększających prawa kobiet, w tym równy dostęp do edukacji oraz prawa wyborcze. Literatura tego okresu pełniła funkcję propagandową, wspierając idee modernizacji i emancypacji kobiet. Kreowano wizerunek kobiety nowoczesnej, aktywnie uczestniczącej w życiu społecznym, i krytykowano pozycję kobiety na prowincji oraz tradycyjny patriarchalny model rodziny (Küçüksayacıgil i Küçükşen, 2021, s. 377–378). Od lat 60. XX w. wraz z rozwojem idei feministycznych w literaturze tureckiej pojawiły się bardziej niezależne i wielowymiarowe postaci kobiece. Powieści kobiece ukazywały walkę kobiet o ich miejsce w zawodach i przestrzeniach zdominowanych przez mężczyzn. Wskazywano, że problem nierówności dotyczy nie tylko kobiet na wsi, ale również mieszkanek miast, borykających się z innymi formami dyskryminacji. Pod wpływem drugiej fali feminizmu w centrum zainteresowania znalazła się również specyfika doświadczenia kobiecego. Pisarki coraz częściej zajmowały się seksualną wolnością kobiet, a także homoseksualnością, poligamią, kazirodztwem, wykorzystywaniem seksualnym dzieci, problemami seksualnymi w małżeństwie, brakiem edukacji seksualnej, przemocą seksualną i menopauzą (Karataş, 2009, s. 1669).

We współczesnej literaturze tureckiej dominowały jednak narracje pisarzy męskich, którzy podejmując tematykę kobiecą, skupiali się przede wszystkim na losie kobiet z obszarów wiejskich i ukazywali ich podporządkowanie normom patriarchalnym oraz ograniczony dostęp do edukacji (Karataş, 2009, s. 1661). Prezentowano problematykę kobiecą w sposób powierzchowny i pozbawiony feministycznej refleksji, którą odnaleźć można właśnie w powieściach Hakana Gündaya[2]. Twórczość tego prozaika, choć określana przez niego mianem „powieści psychologiczno-przygodowych w języku tureckim” (tur. *Türkçe psikolojik macera romanı*), wpisuje się w formułowaną od końca lat 90. literaturę *yeraltı edebiyatı* (dosł. „literatura undergroundowa”; por. Haftka-Işık, 2021). Celem tego artykułu jest analiza kreacji postaci kobiecych w prozie Gündaya

2 Hakan Günday (ur. 1976) – turecki prozaik i scenarzysta. Za powieść *Daha* (*Jeszcze*, 2018) nagrodzony Prix Médicis w kategorii proza zagraniczna. Powieść *Az* (*Mało*, 2016) otrzymała w 2011 r. nagrodę za najlepszą powieść roku w Turcji. Hakan Günday jest również laureatem Turecko-Francuskiej Nagrody Literackiej za powieść *Ziyan* (2014). W 2022 r. prozaik i jego tłumaczka Sabine Adatepe zostali laureatami nagrody im. Hermanna Hessego.

oraz ich prób egzystencji w społeczeństwie patriarchalnym. Ukazano w nim różne formy buntu oraz postawy kobiet wobec władzy mężczyzn, a także sposoby uwalniania się ich z dyskryminującego modelu społecznego. W podsumowaniu natomiast odniesiono się do danych statystycznych, by ukazać, że pisarz na łamach swoich powieści odzwierciedla rzeczywisty problem opresyjnego traktowania kobiet, z jakim Turcja boryka się od dziesięcioleci. Günday w swoich powieściach ukazuje bowiem, jak patriarchalny model rodziny z pokolenia na pokolenie dający mężczyznom instrumenty do demonstracji władzy i przyzwolenie na stosowanie przemocy, jest akceptowany i podtrzymywany przez społeczność[3].

Krytyka feministyczna oraz feminizm jako nurt intelektualny i ruch społeczny odgrywają zasadniczą rolę w analizie literackiego obrazu kobiety, szczególnie w badaniu pozycji i roli kobiet w społeczeństwie oraz sposobu ich przedstawienia w dziełach literackich. Simone de Beauvoir (1908–1986) w połowie XX w. pisała: „Nie rodzimy się kobietami – stajemy się nimi". Już wtedy zaznaczała, że kobieta, w przeciwieństwie do mężczyzny, nie jest istotą naturalną, jest *Innym*, jest wytworem kultury (de Beauvoir, 2020, s. 24). W 2009 r. Hakan Günday w powieści *Ziyan* napisał:

> Na Wschodzie dziewczynki rodzą się kobietami. Umierają przed czasem. Mężczyzna, którego pierwszy posiłek pochodzi z piersi matki i który nie widzi nic niestosownego w pluciu do miski, z której je, grzebie kobiet tak wiele, że nawet ziemia stała się kobietą. Dlatego nazywana jest matką ziemią. Grzebiąc je żywcem, nawet z ziemi zrobili kobietę. Dlatego jest jałowa i bezpłodna; bo to zemsta kobiet (s. 136–137).

Pisarz uświadamia, że w opisywanych przez niego przestrzeniach funkcja kobiety nie zmieniła się. Kobieta nadal pozostaje niedopuszczaną do głosu istotą bierną, zależną emocjonalnie, materialnie, politycznie i moralnie od mężczyzny.

Choć kreowana przez Gündaya przestrzeń jest męska, regulowana przez męskie prawa, powyższy cytat i lektura kolejnych powieści, zwłaszcza *Az* (2011; tytuł polski *Mało*) i *Zamir* (2021), pokazują, że tematyka związana z sytuacją kobiet nie pozostaje autorowi obojętna. Potwierdza to fakt, iż ostatnią swoją powieść *Zamir* autor dedykuje „Wszystkim Kobietom zamordowanym tylko dlatego, że były Kobietami..." (*Zamir*, pol. wyd. 2023).

W powieściach Gündaya zdeprecjonowane przez stereotypy religijno-kulturowe kobiety często zmuszone są do rezygnacji z jakiejkolwiek formy kontroli nad własnym życiem i redukowane są do rangi służącej czy podręcznego

3 Świadomie używam wyrazu „społeczność", a nie „społeczeństwo", gdyż analizowane bohaterki powieści Gündya pochodzą w większości z obszarów płd.-wsch. Turcji i należą do mniejszości kurdyjskiej, podlegającej wpływowi bractw religijnych i władzy plemiennej tzw. asziretów, na których czele stoją agowie (Bocheńska, 2011, s. 27).

narzędzia. Są to w większości postaci drugoplanowe (poza Derdą z *Mało* i Zerre z *Zamira*). Pochodzą z ubogich i niewykształconych warstw społecznych. Zmagają się z ubóstwem, zacofaniem, przemocą, patriarchatem, niewłaściwie implementowanym islamem, terroryzmem, wojną i korupcją.

Bohaterka powieści *Mało* – jedenastoletnia Derdâ i jej matka Saniye pochodzą „ze wsi konfidentów[4] Yatırca" (Günday, 2016b, s. 13), Fehime – mieszka we wsi przypominającej pofałdowany teren, gdzie domy są niczym garby z oknami (Günday, 2016b, s. 25). Nauczycielka Yeşim pochodzi ze Stambułu, lecz pracuje w szkole z internatem w południowo-wschodniej Turcji, matka Derdy – oraz sąsiadki, mała Süreyya i jej matka – mieszkają w stambulskich przycmentarnych slumsach. Piętnastoletnia Zerre (matka Zamira) mieszka w „najbiedniejszej tureckiej wsi" Palaz (Günday, 2023, s. 30) nieopodal granicy z Syrią, niedaleko obozu dla uchodźców; tam też mieszkała siedemnastoletnia Halime, wydana za mąż za osiemdziesięciojednoletniego starca, po czym zgwałcona przez jego syna. Żona Ubeydullaha (teścia Derdy) Rahime z *Mało* mieszka w Londynie, w budynku należącym do bractwa Hikmet, i jest niemal pewne, że ona również pochodzi z południowo-wschodniej Turcji.

Los bohaterek zdeterminowany jest przez miejsce urodzenia i społeczność, w której przyszły na świat. Poza Yeşim i Derdą nie mają możliwości kształcenia, od najmłodszych lat żyją w nędzy i zmuszone są do pracy, pozbawione podstawowych wolności i praw obywatelskich. Są w większości zależne są od swoich mężów, zamkniętych na świat zewnętrzny. Żyją zgodnie z wyznaczonymi im przez tradycję rolami. Mężczyźni natomiast doprowadzają je do granic szaleństwa, a niejednokrotnie nawet literalnie wpędzają w obłęd. Pozycję kobiety w świecie opisywanym przez Hakana Gündaya świetnie oddaje opis Zerre z powieści *Zamir*:

> Urodziła się w najbiedniejszej tureckiej wsi Palaz, położonej czterysta metrów od granicy z Syrią i sześćset metrów od obozu El-Aman. Gdy miała roczek, nauczyła się chodzić, mając dwa lata, zaczęła mówić, kiedy miała jedenaście lat, przestała chodzić, gdyż zabroniono jej wychodzić z domu, w wieku dwunastu lat zamilkła, dowiedziawszy się, że ma być wydana za mąż, w wieku trzynastu lat uciekła z domu, a gdy próbowała szukać schronienia na posterunku żandarmerii, została złapana przez męża i pobita; kiedy jako czternastolatka, wieszając się, szukała schronienia w objęciach śmierci, została uratowana przez męża i pobita, a mając lat piętnaście, zaszła w ciążę i ponownie przemówiła. Rzecz jasna nigdy nie poszła do szkoły, bo jej narodziny nie zostały zgłoszone w urzędzie (Günday, 2023, s. 30).

4 Chodzi o tzw. strażników wsi (tur. köy korucusu) stanowiących lokalne jednostki paramilitarne utworzone głównie z Kurdów w południowo-wschodnim regionie Turcji, zagrożonym atakami terrorystycznymi bojowników PKK.

1. Wygląd bohaterek

Pisarz niewiele miejsca poświęca wyglądowi zewnętrznemu swoich bohaterek. Czytelnik dowiaduje się, że Derda ma długie, czarne włosy zaplecione w warkocz i czarne oczy, wątłe ramiona i nosi czarny czador. Odziana w czador Rahime, jak sama mówi, niegdyś była ładna jak Derda, by po chwili dodać: „Ale sama zobacz, co się ze mną stało. Zobacz, co ze mnie zostało!" (Günday, 2016b, s. 62). O nauczycielce Yeşim wiadomo tylko, że ma dwadzieścia sześć lat, o Zerre – że ma długie włosy. Fehime ma oczy.

Jak wszystkie dziewczęta w wiosce, Fehime składała się z pary oczu. Pary oczu, które otwierają się przy narodzinach, a zamykają po śmierci. Ani usta, ani struny głosowe nigdy nie miały jej się do niczego przydać (Günday, 2016b, s. 34).

Autor nie opisuje budowy ciała, rysów twarzy bohaterek ani ich cech charakterystycznych. O ciałach wspomina wyłącznie w kontekście stosowanej wobec kobiet przemocy fizycznej, gdy opisuje poniesione przez bohaterki obrażenia. Większość z nich nosi czador. To kobiety. Jeden gatunek.

2. Ubiór

W powieściach Hakana Gündaya ważnym i powtarzającym się motywem jest czador – narzucony przez tradycję i religię ubiór zakrywający kobiece ciało, który sprawia, że kobieta staje się niewidzialna – to mur, który oddziela ją od świata zewnętrznego. Czador to kamuflaż – ukrywa obrażenia, ślady krwi i pobicia. Gdy sprzedana Bezirowi Derda na lotnisku patrzy błagalnym spojrzeniem na mijających ją podróżnych w nadziei na ratunek – spotyka się z obojętnością. „«Jak to możliwe, że nie rozumieją?» – pomyślała Derda. Przechodzę obok nich. Jestem tutaj, między nimi. Ale nie obchodzę żadnego z nich. Nie widzą mnie. Wszyscy są ślepi. A może to czarczaf – niewidka?" (Günday, 2016b, s. 49).

Derda jest przekonana, że czador ogranicza jej mowę. Że z powodu ubioru jest nierozumiana i nie jest w stanie jasno wyrazić myśli... Widok dziewczynki lub kobiety w czadorze budzi lęk i współczucie. Po ucieczce od męża Derda symbolicznie zrzuca czador i przebiera się w punkowe ubrania, które *nota bene* również kupił jej mężczyzna – Stanley. Dopiero jednak ogolenie głowy i pozbycie się długiego, czarnego warkocza sprawia, że dziewczyna odczuwa ulgę, odzyskuje wolność, również tę wewnętrzną – odcięty warkocz uwalnia ją od poczucia wstydu.

W bractwie religijnym Hikmet opisywanym przez Gündaya czador pełni ważną funkcję w ochronie kobiecej moralności; ma odseparować ją od obcych mężczyzn, chronić przed ich pożądliwym wzrokiem. Hańbą dla mężczyzny byłoby, gdyby ktoś obcy zobaczył choć najmniejszy fragment ciała jego żony.

Od tej chwili będzie musiała zasłaniać się czarczafem, nawet żeby wytrzepać wycieraczkę lub odprowadzić rano Bezira do windy. To była pierwsza rzecz, o jakiej pomyślała. Zasłaniać się, żeby być niewidzialną dla oczu obcego mężczyzny (Günday, 2016b, s. 55).

To również element stroju, który w przypadku emigrantów w Europie często doprowadza do wykluczenia i ostracyzmu. Gdy ubrana w czador Derda wchodzi do jednego z londyńskich pubów, spotyka się z ksenofobicznym przyjęciem (Günday, 2016b, s. 96).

Hakan Günday wykorzystuje motyw czadoru, by przełamać tabu ciała i seksualności. Pokazuje, że to, co kojarzy się ze zniewoleniem i ma ograniczać kobietę, na przekór tradycji może być przedmiotem pożądania i wzbudzać podniecenie. Derda wykorzystuje luźne okrycie jako kamuflaż do masturbacji podczas religijnych pogadanek z hodżą. Odkrywa swoją seksualność i na chwilę wymyka się władzy męskiej oraz społecznej kontroli. Co więcej, odziana w czador Derda jest również dominą podczas seansów sadomasochistycznych w mieszkaniu swojego sąsiada, Stanleya. Wbrew pierwotnej funkcji ubioru czador kojarzy się koledze Stanleya z niepojętą urodą, pożądaniem i tajemnicą... W tym przypadku czador nie pełni funkcji zniechęcającej zbroi. Wręcz przeciwnie, wzbudza w mężczyźnie podziw i pożądanie:

> Myślę, że są najseksowniejszymi kobietami na świecie.
>
> – Kto? – zapytał Stanley.
>
> – Muzułmańskie kobiety. Skoro zakrywają każdy skrawek swojego ciała, muszą być niesamowicie seksowne. (...) Chcą powiedzieć nam, mężczyznom: „Jeśli zdejmiemy z siebie ten materiał, postradacie zmysły!” (...) Może muzułmanki są jakiegoś rodzaju bronią? Śmiercionośnym ładunkiem! Są tak śmiertelne, że nie można ich nawet wyjmować z futerału. Są jak bomby atomowe! Nie zostaną nigdy zdetonowane, ale one tam są! Gdyby wyszły na światło dzienne, nastąpiłby koniec świata! Wszyscy byliby ich niewolnikami (Günday, 2016b, s. 68).

To, co dla muzułmanek może być symbolem zniewolenia, dla Stevena z powieści *Mało*, transseksualnego emerytowanego attaché ze Stambułu, przez całe życie ukrywającego preferencje seksualne, jest drogą do wolności. Mężczyzna przywdziewa czador i gdy przyjmuje imię Rahime, ma poczucie, że odzyskał utraconą tożsamość. Po śmierci, zgodnie z jego wolą, zostaje pochowany w czadorze.

3. Kobiety – córki, żony, matki

S. de Beauvoir w *Drugiej płci* zwraca uwagę na fakt, że różnice pomiędzy płciami warunkuje sposób socjalizacji i wychowania. Autorka pisze: „Tylko za pośrednictwem innych ludzi osobnik staje się Innym” (2020, s. 310). Zdaniem filozofki to środowisko rodzinne, szkolne, rówieśnicze, mniej lub bardziej świadomie doszukuje się różnic, uwydatnia je i kształtuje dziewczynki na jednostki bierne, zależne od otoczenia (Beauvoir, 2020, s. 310). Bycie kobietą w rzeczywistości opisywanej przez Gündaya już od urodzenia wiąże się z uprzedmiotowieniem i byciem człowiekiem drugiej kategorii. Urodzone w kulturze patriarchalnej bohaterki skazane są na zaspokajanie potrzeb innych. Kobieta ma służyć ojcu, bratu, mężowi, a temu ostatniemu rodzić dzieci – najlepiej synów.

Gdy Erich Fromm w swoim utworze *O sztuce miłości* (1971) pisał o macierzyństwie, zauważył, że kobieta, troszcząc się o własne dziecko, realizuje potrzebę bycia twórcą, kreatorem, a „miłość do dziecka nadaje jej życiu znaczenie i ważność". Miłość matki w ujęciu Fromma nie jest obwarowana żadnym wymogiem, nie trzeba na nią zasługiwać, matka kocha za to, że jest się jej dzieckiem. Miłość matczyna wywiera bardzo głęboki wpływ na całą osobowość dziecka, troskliwe macierzyństwo daje dziecku poczucie bezpieczeństwa, pobudza rozwój skłonności psychicznych, które wzbogacają jego osobowość i umacniają jego człowieczeństwo. Zadaniem matki jest afirmacja życia dziecka i jego potrzeb oraz wpajanie mu miłości życia (Fromm, 1971, s. 52, 63).

W powieściach Gündaya nie ma jednak matek czułych i opiekuńczych. Są dziewczęta, które zostały matkami, kiedy same były jeszcze dziećmi. Są kobiety, które zaszły w ciążę w wyniku gwałtu, lub są odrzucane przez mężów jak zepsuty przedmiot, gdy nie mogą zajść w ciążę. Derda z powieści *Mało* jest córką strażnika wsi. Wychowywana jedynie przez matkę uczy się w szkole z internatem. Nie kończy szkoły. W wieku jedenastu lat zostaje sprzedana przez matkę i wydana za mąż za syna szejcha bractwa muzułmańskiego. Wraz z despotycznym mężem – Bezirem – przeprowadza się do Londynu, gdzie ten przez pięć lat znęca się nad nią psychicznie i fizycznie. Gdy nie zachodzi w ciążę, Bezir szuka nowej żony. Można by winić matkę Derdy, że nie obdarzyła córki bezgraniczną miłością i nie zadbała o jej los, jednak ona również doświadczyła krzywdy. Odrzucona przez rodzinę po tym, gdy w wieku trzynastu lat związała się ze strażnikiem wsi, opuszczona przez męża po zajściu w ciążę i poniżana przez jego rodzinę za urodzenie córki, próbowała zarabiać na życie, pracując jako sprzątaczka. Żyła w przekonaniu, że obowiązkiem córki jest zapewnienie matce dobrego bytu. Saniye jest prosta, jednowymiarowa. Nie kwestionuje swoich wyborów, nie zastanawia się nad losem córki. Nie czuje się za nią odpowiedzialna, nie łączy ją z dzieckiem matczyna więź. Postrzega córkę jako zbędny balast, który może jednak stać się drogą do spokojnego życia. Marzy o kawałku ziemi i kilku zwierzętach. Sprzedaje córkę, by ta mogła spłacić wobec niej swój dług egzystencji. To przykład okrucieństwa, jednak w pewnym sensie niezamierzonego, wynikającego z ciemnoty i bezradności. Przykład pokoleniowej bezrefleksyjnej reprodukcji wzorów zachowań.

Zerre – matka Zamira, „której życie zdominowane było przez poczucie desperacji" (Günday, 2023, s. 30), zostaje wydana za mąż, by urodzić mężowi dziecko, najlepiej syna, gdyż jego pierwszej żonie nie udało się spełnić tego obowiązku. Publicznie bita i poniżana przez męża, świadoma jest roli i pozycji kobiet oraz ich tragicznego przeznaczenia:

> Doskonale zdawała sobie sprawę, że w świecie, w którym się urodziła, tylko mężczyźni rozdają nagrody i wymierzają kary. Wierzyła, że jedynym sposobem wyswobodzenia się z niewoli mężczyzny jest zostanie niewolnicą innego, tym razem wybranego przez siebie (Günday, 2023, s. 31).

W wieku dziesięciu lat jest świadkiem tragicznej śmierci Halime, której dramat uświadamia jej, że matka może porzucić dziecko. Siedemnastolatka przybyła do wsi jako żona osiemdziesięciojednoletniego starca. Niedługo potem została zgwałcona przez swojego pasierba i zaszła w ciążę. Postanowiła urodzić dziecko w tajemnicy, ponieważ jednak jak większość kobiet miała zakaz wychodzenia z domu, nie znała okolicy i źle wybrała miejsce porodu. Okazało się nim pole minowe. Urodziła dziecko i nieświadomie nadepnęła na minę. Głośny dźwięk wybuchu ściągnął na pole mieszkańców wsi. Ocalała z eksplozji Halime czołgała się, by trafić na kolejną minę. Krzyknęła, co ją spotkało, lecz ją zignorowano. Zerre usłyszała jej słowa i próbowała przekazać je matce, lecz ta, obojętna na los kobiety, zamknęła córce usta. Mieszkańcy wsi nie chcieli konfrontacji z prawdą. Halime wybrała śmierć, zamiast życia w pogardzie i niewoli (Günday, 2023, s. 54).

Matka Süreyyi z powieści *Mało* mieszkająca w przycmentarnych slumsach uczy córkę, jak sobie radzić w życiu. Gdy wiek dziewczyny nie pozwala już jej na pracę przy grobach w zamian za jałmużnę, Süreyya zaczyna uprawiać profesję matki i w wieku dwunastu lat zostaje prostytutką.

> (...) na nowym stanowisku zarabiała dużo więcej. Jej ojciec się tym nie przejmował. Ponieważ o żadnej porze dnia nie był trzeźwy na tyle, by się przejąć. Na trzeźwo też byłoby mu bez różnicy. W końcu, skoro można tyle zarobić, ściągając szarawary, kto by sprzedawał chusteczki? (Günday, 2016b, s. 232).

Gdy dziewczynka uprawia seks z ojcem Derdy, raz po raz pyta mężczyznę, czy ją kocha. Sprzedawanie ciała można interpretować jako wyraz jej desperackiego wołania o czułość, zainteresowanie, namiastkę ojcowskiej troski, której nigdy nie zaznała.

4. Edukacja

Ważnym aspektem życia bohaterek Gündaya jest ich edukacja. W regionie, skąd pochodzą dziewczynki, zazwyczaj nie ma warunków do nauki. Tak jest w przypadku Fehime, kuzynki Derdy. Dziewczynka zazdrości jej nie tylko faktu, że umie pisać i czytać, ale też perspektywy małżeństwa. Zamążpójście oznacza wyjazd z rodzinnych stron, w czym Fehime dostrzega szansę na lepsze życie. Dziewczynka jest przekonana, że we wsi Kurudere skazana będzie na los swojej matki lub sióstr, które siedem lat wcześniej popełniły samobójstwo (Günday, 2026b, s. 36). Süreyya, jak pozostałe „cmentarne dzieci", również nie chodzi do szkoły. Pozbawiona rodzicielskiej troski od najmłodszych lat zmuszona jest radzić sobie sama i zarabiać na życie, co ostatecznie popycha ją do prostytuowania się. Edukacji nie odebrały też Saniye – matka Derdy, Zerre – matka Zamira, matka Süreyyi, czy Rahime – żona Ubeydullaha. Spośród wszystkich bohaterek, nie licząc ambitnej Zerre, która próbowała samodzielnie nauczyć się pisania i czytania, studiując treści ulotek zrzucanych do wsi z wojskowych samolotów, tylko głodna wiedzy i lubiąca się uczyć Derda miała szansę na edukację, lecz matka zaplanowała dla niej inną przyszłość.

5. Próba odzyskania poczucia sprawstwa. Śmierć jako wyzwolenie

Poczucie sprawstwa zbliżone jest do psychologicznych kategorii, takich jak umiejscowienie kontroli czy poczucie własnej skuteczności. Umiejscowienie kontroli odnosi się do tego, jak jednostka interpretuje przyczyny zdarzeń: czy postrzega siebie jako źródło wydarzeń lub czy wierzy, że nie ma wpływu na to, co się wydarza, a jej życie sterowane jest przez innych ludzi, los, przypadek, siłę wyższą (Rotter, 1990, s. 62). Konstrukt poczucia własnej skuteczności jest nieodzownym składnikiem zdrowia psychicznego. W wypadku zakłócenia poczucia sprawstwa pojawić się mogą negatywne konsekwencje, takie jak zwiększona podatność na lęk, depresję, a także zaburzenia psychotyczne (Juczyński, 1998, s. 55–61).

Kobiety w powieściach Gündaya nie mogą wpływać na kształt swego życia i bieg wydarzeń. To ich rodziny, a przede wszystkim mężczyźni wyznaczają im określone role. Kobiety nie mają prawa głosu, nie uczestniczą w podejmowaniu decyzji, nie są pytane o zdanie, nie mają prawa wyrażać własnej opinii. Ich rolą jest usługiwanie mężczyznom, wypełnianie poleceń i przyglądanie się życiu – oczywiście w milczeniu (Günday, 2016b, s. 34).

Większość postaci kobiecych w prozie Gündaya godzi się na swój z góry wyznaczony los. Niektóre bohaterki walczą jednak o swoją podmiotowość, próbują odmienić los. Derda, gdy tylko dowiaduje się, że musi rzucić szkołę i wyjść za mąż, buntuje się. Wiele razy próbuje uciec ze wsi Kurudere, co skutkuje przykuciem jej za nogę do ściany. Nie godzi się również na bycie żoną przemocowego Bezira, od którego także ucieka. Planując ucieczkę, wie, że musi mieć własne pieniądze, więc godzi się na kręcenie ze Stanleyem filmów hard porno i zostaje gwiazdą seksualnego półświatka Londynu. Wie także, że aby się móc usamodzielnić, musi potrafić się porozumieć, więc w zamian za seanse żąda nauki angielskiego. Gdy Bezir ją gwałci, dziewczyna nie poddaje się bez walki.

> Przez całą noc stawiała opór. Ciągnąc, odpychając, gryząc, wbijając zęby w dłoń, która usiłowała zamknąć jej próbujące krzyczeć usta. Żadna z tych czynności na nic się nie zdała. Przestrzeń między jej paznokciami a opuszkami palców wypełniona była zakrzepłą krwią. Ramiona i nogi pokryte były plamami jak skóra leoparda. Derda zgniła (Günday, 2016b, s. 53).

Derda nie chce być jedną z bezradnych, biernych i pogodzonych ze swoim tragicznym losem kobiet. Jej historia ma dobre zakończenie. Determinacja dziewczyny i szereg zbiegów okoliczności sprawiają, że udaje się jej ułożyć sobie życie. Nie wszystkie jednak próby odzyskania podmiotowości dają efekty. Rahime balansuje na granicy szaleństwa, którego oznaką jest nigdy nieschodzący z jej twarzy sztuczny uśmiech, nieadekwatny do sytuacji: „Ubliżała z uśmiechem, jadła z uśmiechem, modliła się z uśmiechem" (Günday, 2016b, s. 58). Gdy Rahime musi zgodzić się na wydanie czternastoletniej córki za mąż, popada w apatię, będącą częstym objawem depresji oraz składnikiem objawów negatywnych w schizofrenii. Żyje pogrążona w stanie wrażliwości ograniczonej do minimum na bodźce emocjonalne i fizyczne. Nie reaguje na widok skatowanej przez Bezira Derdy i ze stoickim spokojem obmywa krew z ciała dziewczyny. Kobieta ma też urojenia i omamy słuchowe. Twierdzi, że prowadzi rozmowy z Bogiem, że jest jego wybranką. Niedostosowany, sztywny afekt, apatia i wyparcie są jej mechanizmami obronnymi. Rahime ma jednak ukryte przed wszystkimi malutkie radio, które służy jej za namiastkę kontaktu ze światem zewnętrznym. Gdy pokazuje radio Derdzie, kobiety zaczynają szaleńczo i nieporadnie tańczyć. To swoiste *katharsis* – kobiety na kilka godzin uwalniają się od cierpienia, odreagowują zablokowane napięcie, dają ujście stłumionym emocjom i myślom. Rahime decyduje się na czyn ostateczny – zrzuca czador i popełnia samobójstwo. Rzuca się do Tamizy, trzymając w ręku grające malutkie radio.

Życie odbiera sobie także młoda nauczycielka Derdy – Yeşim. Pracuje w regionie objętym walkami kurdyjskich bojówek z tureckim wojskiem. Uczy dzieci z mniejszości kurdyjskiej będącej pod wpływem radykalnego bractwa religijnego i jest nienawidzona przez rodziny uczniów. Zgwałcona przez zastępcę dyrektora szkoły, jest regularnie molestowana seksualnie. Poniesiona krzywda i tragiczna śmierć jednej z uczennic sprawiają, że traci panowanie nad sobą, wpada w amok i doświadcza załamania nerwowego. Jej śmierć poprzedza atak śmiechu (Günday, 2016b, s. 177).

Śmierć z poczucia bezradności jest wyzwoleniem dla wspomnianej wcześniej Halime. Także piętnastoletnia Zerre, matka Zamira, najpierw planuje podrzucić swojego nowo narodzonego synka do obozu uchodźców i zaraz po tym uciec z Raifem, jednak ostatecznie dokonuje zemsty na swoich krzywdzicielach.

Zabija męża despotę, matkę, kolegę z dzieciństwa, imama, który udzielił jej ślubu, gdy miała dwanaście lat, sołtysa wsi, a następnie odbiera sobie życie.

Podsumowanie

Chociaż pozycja społeczna kobiet w Turcji pod wieloma względami jest podobna do pozycji kobiet w Europie, nie jest wszędzie jednakowa. Różni się w zależności od regionu i światopoglądu rodziny, z której kobieta pochodzi, ważne więc, by analizować jej zachowanie przez pryzmat kulturowy. Mimo że od czasów proklamowania Republiki Turczynki posiadają szeroki katalog praw i wolności (por. Szymański, 2008, s. 148–164), zdarza się, że nie zdają sobie sprawy z ich istnienia. Podczas gdy nowoczesna i świadoma swoich praw kobieta z dużego miasta może zdobyć wykształcenie i dalej wszechstronnie się rozwijać, kobiety z prowincji mają ograniczony dostęp do edukacji i często zmagają się z zakazami narzucanymi im przez rodzinę i tradycje społeczności, w której żyją (Dahl i Büyükbayrak, 2017, s. 122–126).

W Turcji przemoc ze względu na płeć nadal pozostaje jednym z najbardziej powszechnych naruszeń praw człowieka, zagrażającym zdrowiu, bezpieczeństwu, autonomii cielesnej i przyszłości kobiet i dziewcząt. Badania potwierdzają, że przemoc względem kobiet ma swoje podłoże w strukturze społecznej zdominowanej przez mężczyzn (Bener, Sahin i Kılınç, 2010, s. 33–38).

Według raportu Instytutu Studiów Populacyjnych Uniwersytetu Hacettepe jedna na pięć kobiet w przedziale wiekowym 18–45 lat była nieletnia w dniu ślubu. Raport Stowarzyszenia Praw Człowieka w Turcji (IHD) o łamaniu praw dziecka (2018) podaje, że od 2002 r. 440 tysięcy dziewczynek poniżej 18. roku życia urodziło dziecko[5]. Wykazano, że zjawisko to nie dotyczy wyłącznie wschodniego i południowo-wschodniego regionu Turcji[6]. Wczesny wiek zamążpójścia pociąga za sobą często niemożność podjęcia nauki. Aż 2,8 miliona kobiet powyżej 25. roku życia w Turcji to analfabetki[7].

Badania z Hacettepe wykazują, że cztery na dziesięć kobiet w Turcji były lub są ofiarą przemocy domowej. 9% badanych kobiet deklaruje, że były molestowane seksualnie w dzieciństwie. 95% kobiet rozwiedzionych lub będących w separacji deklaruje, że doświadczało przemocy fizycznej. Kobiety najczęściej giną z rąk swoich mężów lub partnerów (por. dane z 2025)[8].

5 https://t24.com.tr/haber/16-yilda-440-bin-cocuk-dogum-yapti,647815

6 https://www.ntv.com.tr/turkiye/turkiyede-cocuk-gelin-raporu

7 https://www.indyturk.com/node/326736/haber/t%C3%BCrkiyede-28-milyon-kad%C4%B1n-okuma-yazma-bilmiyor-3-milyon-kad%C4%B1n-diplomas%C4%B1z

8 https://kadincinayetlerinidurduracagiz.net/veriler/3131/kadin-cinayetlerini-durduracagiz-platformu-2025-ocak-raporu

Powieści Gündaya ukazują wiele aspektów tureckiej rzeczywistości oraz jednostkowy wymiar przemian politycznych i społeczno-kulturowych. Większość bohaterek Gündaya żyje w opresyjnej społeczności, jednak niewiele z nich walczy o odzyskanie autonomii i tożsamości. Zdarza się jednak, że bohaterki Gündaya próbują – mimo że często nieporadnie i tragicznie w skutkach – pokierować swoim życiem. Część z nich płaci najwyższą cenę za wolność.

Twórczość Gündaya, mimo swej brutalności, niesie humanistyczne przesłanie w duchu myśli S. de Beauvoir: kobiety nie mogą być niemymi świadkami czy obiektami procesów społecznych i kulturowych. Powinny odzyskać autonomię i być jednostkami aktywnymi, mającymi realny wpływ na własne życie.

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Daniel Broccato
http://orcid.org/0000-0001-9745-7020
Uniwersytet Jagielloński
daniel.broccato@doctoral.uj.edu.pl
DOI: 10.35765/pk.2025..5003.22

Afro-Turcy i ich wpływ na kształtowanie się kulturowej tożsamości miast zachodniej Anatolii

STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł kładzie nacisk na kompleksowe przedstawienie społeczności Turków pochodzenia afrykańskiego (Afro-Turków), podkreślając przy tym ich niebagatelny udział w tworzeniu inkluzywnych, zorientowanych multikulturowo przestrzeni miejskich zachodniej Anatolii. Celem artykułu jest podkreślenie wielowiekowej obecności Afro-Turków na ziemiach tureckich, wykazanie ich wpływu na rozwój życia miejskiego w obliczu przemian modernizacyjnych oraz podtrzymywania przez nich rdzennych tradycji społeczno-kulturowych. Zgłębia się prezentowany obraz Afro-Turków w tureckiej twórczości literackiej okresu Republiki (1923–). Tekst stanowi pogłębione studium historyczno-literackie, co umotywowane jest zorientowanym interdyscyplinarnie problemem badawczym. Wprowadza się nowatorskie spojrzenie do badań, gdyż dotychczas nie ukazał się w polskiej nauce żaden artykuł naukowy o podejmowanej przez autora problematyce. Badacz uzasadnia postawioną tezę oraz przedstawia wnioski na podstawie dokonanej archiwalnej analizy źródłowej i pogłębionej interpretacji opracowań głównie tureckojęzycznych. Z przeprowadzonej kwerendy wynika, iż Afro-Turcy stanowią immanentną część tureckiego społeczeństwa, co manifestują swoją obecnością w wielu dzielnicach Stambułu, İzmiru oraz prowincjonalnych wioskach egejskich. Przybycie Afrykańczyków na ziemie Anatolii stanowiło impuls do podtrzymania stabilności gospodarki, przyśpieszyło proces socjalizacji wśród mieszkańców oraz otwarło ich światopoglądowo na pokojowe współistnienie różnych ras, grup etnicznych wyznających odmienne wzorce kulturowe.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: Afro-Turcy, İzmir, niewolnictwo, synkretyzm kulturowy

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ABSTRACT

Afro-Turks and Their Influence on the Shaping of the Cultural Identity of the Cities in Western Anatolia

The article focuses on a comprehensive presentation of Turkish people of African descent (Afro-Turks), emphasizing their significant contribution to the creation of inclusive, multicultural urban spaces in Western Anatolia. Its aim is to highlight the centuries-long presence of Afro-Turks in Turkish lands, demonstrate their influence on the development of urban life amid processes of modernization and examine their role in preserving indigenous socio-cultural traditions. The representation of Afro-Turks in Turkish literary works of the Republican period (1923–) is also explored. The study is an in-depth historical and literary analysis motivated by an interdisciplinary research problem. An innovative approach is introduced, as no prior scholarly article on this subject has been published in Polish academia. The researcher supports the thesis and presents conclusions based on archival source analysis and close interpretation of primarilyTurkish-language studies. The findings indicate that Afro-Turks are an integral part of Turkish society, as evidenced by their presence in numerous districts of İstanbul, İzmir, and provincial Aegean villages. The arrival of Africans in Anatolia contributed to economic stability, accelerated socialization among local populations, and fostered openness toward the peaceful coexistence of different races and ethnic groups with diverse cultural patterns.

KEYWORDS: Afro-Turks, İzmir, slavery, cultural syncretism

Lata 70. XX w. wzbogaciły dotychczasowy zasób metodologii nauk humanistycznych o nowe spojrzenie, które na fali popularyzacji pozycji *Metahistory* Haydena White'a przekształciło się w ruch określany mianem nowego historyzmu. Odchodząc od klasycznego historyzmu, postulowanego przez niego niewartościowania oraz czerpiąc chętniej z filozofii Friedricha Nietzschego, badacze nowej ideologii zaczynają dostrzegać oczywistą korelację między tekstem a rzeczywistością jako konstruktem historycznym (Burzyńska i Markowski, 2006, s. 509). Za pierwszorzędny postulat nowego historyzmu przyjmują otwarcie się na inne metody analizy, wśród których uwzględniają elementy zbieżne dla przedmiotu badań kulturowych, teorii postkolonialnych przy jednocześnie silnym akcentowaniu bogatego „artefaktu kulturowego" osadzonego w lokalnym kontekście kulturowym. Można to potraktować jako swoisty ukłon w stronę wizji literatury stanowiącej nierozerwalną część kultury, tożsamości społecznej przy zachowaniu dyskursu tropologicznego, by odwołać się do szkoły kalifornijskiej z Berkeley (Burzyńska i Markowski, 2006, s. 510). Przy czym antropolog Clifford Geertz sugerował analizować nowy historyzm przez pryzmat „teorii gęstości opisu", bowiem jego zdaniem każdy, nawet ten pozornie najbardziej błahy, fakt kulturowy jest nośnikiem wielu symboli oraz archetypów, które należy nieustannie reinterpretować i rozpatrywać na wielu płaszczyznach nauki (Urbaniak, 2019, s. 198). Zatem historia i twórczość literacka stanowią względem siebie komplementarne dyscypliny naukowe, co nie sposób przeoczyć, badając problematykę Turków pochodzenia afrykańskiego, która jest mocno osadzona na gruncie społeczno-kulturowym w anatolijskich przestrzeniach miejskich oraz prowincjalnych obszarach egejskich. Bazując na „bliskości przeszłości" lansowanej przez Franka Ankersmita, która zakładała narrację oraz interpretację historii, należy postawić sobie zasadne pytania badawcze dotyczące przyczyn pojawienia się Afro-Turków w Anatolii, ich roli w kształtowaniu kultury i społeczeństwa tureckocentrycznego, wymiaru ich obecności na ziemiach osmańskich oraz podtrzymywania zamierzchłych tradycji na obczyźnie. Czerpiąc w dużej mierze z nowego historyzmu, nie należy ograniczać się do obiektywnego przedstawienia historii, a pożądane jest wzbogacenie go autobiograficznymi wspomnieniami tureckich pisarzy epoki, którzy będąc naocznymi świadkami wielu zdarzeń, wnoszą nową perspektywę szczególnie istotną dla sformułowania pogłębionych, dalekosiężnych wniosków badawczych. Problematyka afro-turecka stwarza możliwości do zniesienia schematycznych pojęciowo granic między tym co „literackie" i „nieliterackie".

Zarys historyczny obecności afro-tureckiej w Anatolii

> Nasz kraj jest wielkim miejscem gry (...). Zbieramy się wszyscy w jednym miejscu sceny, żeby stworzyć sympatyczną imitację wielkiego, odległego świata, który nas otacza (s. 350)[1].
>
> Oğuz Atay, *Tehlikeli Oyunlar*, İstanbul 2008 r.

> Wszystkie spektakularne historie zaczynają się na dwa sposoby. Albo ktoś wyrusza w podróż, albo do miasta przyjeżdża obcy (s. 26).
>
> Lev Tolstoy, *Bütün Mutluluklar Birbirine Benzer*, İstanbul 2015 r.

Współcześnie pierwsze próby europeizacji i modernizacji Imperium Osmańskiego przypisuje się sułtanowi Ahmedowi III. *Lâle Devri* [Era Tulipanów], bo tak w historiografii określa się reformy przypadające na lata 1718–1730, stawiała sobie za cel popularyzację zachodnich wzorców oraz ich sukcesywne wprowadzanie na grunt anatolijski. Wśród przejętych nowinek technologicznych znalazła się, do tej pory nieistniejąca w Imperium, formacja państwowa, jaką była grupa *tulumbacılar* [pompierów]. Abstrahując od ich pierwszorzędnego

1 Wszystkie cytaty przytoczone w artykule stanowią własne, dotąd niepublikowane, tłumaczenie autora. Przekład literacki został dokonany bezpośrednio z oryginalnych wersji publikacji – języka tureckiego na język polski.

zadania, czyli gaszenia pożarów, i biorąc sobie za wzór janczarów posiadających sieć *esnaflar* – dzielnicowych sklepików jako dodatkowe źródło utrzymania w czasie pokoju, zaczęli zakładać urokliwe, bogato wyposażone *kahvehaneler* [kawiarnie], które uchodziły ówcześnie za najlepsze w mieście miejsca oferujące rozrywkę *meddah*[2]. „Woda lecznicza", bo tak początkowo kawa została nazwana przez Anatolijczyków, była pozyskiwana w *Habeş Eyaleti*, inaczej *Habeşistan* [prowincji abisyńskiej], ówcześnie stanowiącej integralną część Imperium Osmańskiego. Gubernator Özdemir Pasza sprowadził ziarna kawy w 1517 r. do stambulskiej dzielnicy Tahtakale, co okazało się kamieniem milowym w „wyjściu na ulicę" jej mieszkańców (Güral, 1999, s. 61). Dokumenty zachowane w osmańskim archiwum nakazują sądzić, iż kupcy z Abisynii wysyłali nieprzerwanie swoje towary, w tym kawę, do państwa osmańskiego, co wskazuje na wzmożony handel z interiorem (BOA, HR.MKT, 37.82; 03/02/1267 [1850]). Można niejako stwierdzić, że ówczesne latyfundia kawowe na terenie Etiopii, Erytrei oraz Jemenu były jednym z czynników, które przyczyniły się *explicite* do powstania zrębów życia kulturowego oraz postępującej socjalizacji społeczeństwa osmańskiego. Nieprzypadkowo w ówczesnym dyskursie okcydentalnym doceniano Anatolię właśnie za odmienny smak kawy oraz jego inkluzywny, bądź idąc w ślad za Wacławem Koszczycem, „bardziej demokratyczny" *meşrubat* [napój] (Koszczyc, 1874, s. 181)[3]. W osmańskiej społecznej sferze nieformalnej czy „historii ulicy" kawa została okrzyknięta mianem „narodowego napoju" oraz obowiązkowego warunku poczęstunku, instrumentu poznania i przyjaźni. Doskonale ilustruje to zwyczaj mówiący, iż poranne wyjście z domu bez uprzedniego wypicia kawy po turecku byłoby rażącym naruszeniem tradycji (Filipowska, 2011, s. 215). Skalę popularności zjawiska udowadnia jako naoczny świadek osmańskiej mentalności Karol Niedziałkowski, konstatując: „Chodników mało, a i z tych niewielka pociecha (...) na szerszych stoją dziesiątkami nizkie, wyplatane stołeczki, a na nich wysiadują spokojnie ludziska, pijąc kawę i paląc nargile [fajkę wodną]" (Niedziałkowski, 1898, s. 80). Sprowadzanie ziaren kawy na masową skalę zbiegło się w czasie między innymi z przybyciem czarnoskórych mieszkańców Rogu Afryki, Sudanu i Algierii na ziemie Anatolii. Początkowo wspomniani przybysze zostali sprowadzeni jako niewolnicy z zamorskich prowincji Imperium. Trudnili się głównie rolnictwem, zbierali żołędzie i figi, pracowali na polach bawełny w *Çukurova* [Nizinie Adańskiej]

2 Pod nazwą *meddah* należy rozumieć zawód gawędziarza, artysty teatru jednego aktora. Sztuka ta zaliczana jest do tureckiego teatru ludowego. *Meddah* w szerszym znaczeniu to także forma rozrywki, spektakl odgrywany np. przed publicznością w kawiarniach.

3 Koszczyc jako pisarz, działacz polityczny, który zasłynął w Anatolii z pełnionej funkcji inżyniera dróg i mostów, określa kawę po turecku jako „bardziej demokratyczną", gdyż ówcześnie była ona dostępna także dla niższej klasy społecznej Anatolii w przeciwieństwie do Rzeczpospolitej, gdzie dalej była oznaką „luksusu" wśród arystokracji. Ponadto, wskazuje, iż osmańskie kobiety także nie stroniły od kawy, spożycie tego napoju nie było im zakazane (Filipowska, 2011, s. 214–216).

bądź co niektórzy robili karierę w służbie wojskowej janczarów. Należy jednak mieć świadomość, iż zdecydowanie większa część Turków pochodzenia afrykańskiego zajmowała najniższe miejsca na szczeblach osmańskiej stratyfikacji społecznej. Cytując Güneşa – „najcięższe i najbrudniejsze prace w mieście [İzmirze – przyp. aut.] były wykonywane przez czarnych" (Güneş, 1999, s. 6), co wynikało w dużej mierze z posiadanego przez nich statusu niewolniczego. I tak, kobiety najczęściej zarabiały na życie, sprzedając chałwę sezamową, prażoną ciecierzycę, a ogólniej mówiąc, przekąski w łaźniach bądź na weselach. Dorabiały sobie, wykonując kolorowe ozdoby, bransoletki, a nawet sprzedając tulipany zerwane z okolicznych pól (Güneş, 1999, s. 6). Bliżej niedookreślona część samotnych, czarnych kobiet pracowała jako mamki, nianki lub opiekunki w zamożnych osmańskich rodzinach. Przy czym w tym przypadku dochodziło czasami do zwolnień, w wyniku czego Afro-Turczynkom przychodziło żyć w nędzy i biedzie. Z kolei mężczyźni wykonywali przeważnie pospolite zajęcia wymagające siły fizycznej. Tym, którym jej nie starczało, osobom sędziwym bądź niepełnosprawnym, przychodziło żebrać na ulicach miast egejskich (Güntekin, 1946, s. 53–54).

Historycznie pierwsze wzmianki o mieszkańcach obecnej Etiopii przypisuje się okresowi rządów sułtana Bayezida I (1389–1402) (Burak, 2017, s. 237). Ten bezprecedensowy fenomen dopiero dwa stulecia później, czyli na początku XVI wieku, przybrał jednak masowy charakter. Obecnie potomkowie wspomnianych imigrantów określają się realistycznie jako Turcy pochodzenia afrykańskiego, literacko – *gündüz feneri* [„latarnia dzienna"] (Olpak, 2013, s. 128), a w świecie nauki widnieją pod nazwą *Afro-Türkler* [Afro-Turcy]. Diaspora, której stanowią część, znajduje się przede wszystkim w egejskich miastach takich jak İzmir, Aydın, Muğla, Manisa, Ayvalık oraz Saloniki jako ośrodek kosmopolityczny. Sprzężone jest to niewątpliwie z ogłoszeniem w 1847 r. *ferman* [dekretu], na mocy którego Afrykanie mogli korzystać z otrzymanych praw wolnościowych i swobody osadniczej. W odniesieniu do Starego Kontynentu, Imperium Osmańskie jako pierwsze po Imperium Brytyjskim, nad którym „nigdy nie zachodziło słońce", oficjalnie zniosło niewolnictwo. Proceder niewolnictwa i handel niewolnikami został zakazany za czasów panowania sułtana Abdülmecida (1839–1861), stąd też od połowy XIX w. w literaturze okresu nie przewija się, wcześniej powszechne, określenie „targ niewolników", który stanowił nieodzowną część codzienności większych miast. Formalne zniesienie niewolnictwa nie położyło kresu w wyzyskiwaniu mniejszości Afro-Turków, a jedynie zmieniło nazwę i formę na proceder określany mianem *evlatlık* [adopcja] trwający do lat 60. XX w. „Moda na adopcję" niejako uwarunkowała to zjawisko, stając się oznaką prestiżu, wyznacznikiem statusu społecznego wśród zamożnych elit posiadających *yalı* [dom nad wybrzeżem] głównie w Stambule bądź İzmirze. Pomimo oficjalnego zniesienia „niewolnictwa i podobnych form zniewolenia" ustawą o nr 11599 z 2 stycznia 1964 r., opublikowaną kilka dni później w „Resmî Gazete" (TBMM, RG, Kanun 11599, s. 1–16), to i tak nadal do dzisiaj można spotkać Afro-Turków pracujących we wspomnianych *yalı*, tym razem pod zmienioną nazwą „pomocy domowej" bądź „przyjaciół rodziny".

Warto jednak zaznaczyć, iż proceder niewolnictwa miał zgoła odmienne znaczenie w historiografii Anatolii i nigdy nie przybierał tak negatywnego wydźwięku jak na zachodniej hemisferze. Wynikało to z „odmiennego kulturowo traktowania pojęcia niewolnictwa" (Filipowska, 2017, s. 218). I tak mieliśmy do czynienia nie z charakterystyczną dla Starego Kontynentu jednorodną klasą niewolniczą, a heterogeniczną strukturą tej warstwy społecznej w osmańskich, później tureckich realiach. Spora część wielkich wezyrów, a nawet sułtanów, będących synami kobiet, później nałożnic padyszacha, sprowadzanych z targu niewolników, należała pierwotnie do klasy niewolniczej. Wspomniana kategoria rozciągała się także między innymi na afro-turecką pomoc domową, w tym nianie i mamki, pracujące w *yalı*, bądź *konak* [rezydencja; okazały dom]. Stąd częsty był widok „ludzi wolnych i niewolników mieszkających pod jednym dachem, dzielących wspólny los (...) zżywali się ze sobą" (Zając, 2013, s. 30).

W analizowanej literaturze z pewnych względów nie poświęca się dostatecznie dużo miejsca eunuchom, którzy stanowili istotną część afro-tureckiej diaspory. Na podkreślenie szczególnie zasługuje postać o imieniu Hacı Beşir Ağa, który jako dziecko sprowadzony z osmańskiej prowincji w Afryce, po dotarciu do pałacu sułtańskiego oraz wielu latach posługi został wyniesiony do rangi *kızlar ağası* – nadzorcy haremu[4]. Piastując swoje stanowisko przez ponad 29 lat, skutecznie ingerował w wewnętrzną i zewnętrzną politykę państwa, wykraczając poza swoje obowiązki, które miały sprowadzać się do utrzymania porządku w haremie padyszacha. Hacı Beşir Ağa, będąc najdłużej zajmującym stanowisko zwierzchnika eunuchów, przeszedł do historii Imperium jako trzecia najważniejsza osoba w państwie po sułtanie i wielkim wezyrze. W podziękowaniu za lata posługi nakazał wybudować w 1744 r. w İzmirze *Han*, który do dzisiaj pełni funkcję zadaszonego bazaru, noszącego nazwę *Kızlarağası Hanı*, od sprawowanej przez niego funkcji (Aktepe, 2003, s. 118). W osmańskich archiwach pojawia się wzmianka o rodzinie eunucha, która miała zamieszkiwać w jednej z podmiejskich wiosek egejskich, co wskazywałoby na jego sentyment do miastem i kolejny afro-turecki akcent. İzmirski *Han* wzniesiony z polecenia wpływowej osobistości afro-tureckiej nadal stanowi strukturę,

4 Większość eunuchów pochodziła z Abisynii bądź Afryki Środkowej, choć ich dokładna narodowość nie jest bliżej znana, gdyż trafiali oni głównie z targu niewolników na dwór sułtański. Eunuchów dzielono na *Akağalar* [białych] oraz *Karaağalar* [czarnych], których grupa była dominująca. Najpierw uczono ich języka osmańskiego, a następnie obyczajów, pałacowego prawa oraz wierności. W dekrecie Ragıpa Paszy, wielkiego wezyra w latach 1757–1763, zlecono zakup 20 niewolników (eunuchów) w wieku 15–20 lat, którzy byliby „ostentacyjnej postury, dobrego słuchu i nienagannej mowy" (Uzunçarşılı, 1988, s. 172).

która uwiecznia historyczną tożsamość miasta z afrykańskimi grupami etnicznymi. Postawioną tezę dodatkowo konsoliduje fakt, iż część Afro-Turków po dziś dzień prowadzi rodzinny, wielopokoleniowy handel na bazarze *Kemeraltı Çarsısı*[5], w którego obrębie zawiera się wspomniany *Kızlarağası Hanı*. Mozaikowy obraz społeczno-kulturowy İzmiru oraz okolic, wzmocniony napływem kupców z Zachodu oraz taniej siły roboczej z Afryki, przyczyniał się do niezachwianego rozwoju ośrodka portowego, co niebagatelnie zwiększyło znaczenie miasta w handlu międzynarodowym

W międzyczasie Afro-Turcy o wolnym statusie zaczęli budować własne dzielnice w mocniej industrializujących się osmańskich *locus*. Czynnikiem, który dodatkowo skłonił część zbiorowości zamieszkującą mniejsze anatolijskie miejscowości do migracji i osiedlenia się w İzmirze, jako dominującym ośrodku regionu, było wybudowanie w 1856 r. linii kolejowej. Dzięki koncesji udzielonej brytyjskiej firmie linia o długości 130 kilometrów była później ponad czterokrotnie wydłużana, obsługując połączenie na trasie Aydın – İzmir (Tamçelik, 2000, s. 500–503). Warto nadmienić, iż ówcześnie miasto İzmir było drugim co do wielkości ośrodkiem Imperium Osmańskiego z największym potencjałem do rozwoju portów oraz handlu nadmorskiego w Azji Mniejszej (Ünsal, 1989, s. 1649). Dodatkowo warunkowało to proces anatolijskich migracji oraz tak zwane zjawisko „nomadyczności poznawczej", którego *spiritus movens* stanowili Afro-Turcy. Profesor Mehmet Öznur Alkan określa İzmir, historycznie Smyrnę, *nadir şehir* [„unikalnym miastem"], wskazując na fakt, iż jako jedno z nielicznych miało pozwolenie na stworzenie własnej flagi miejskiej, która od XVII aż po XX w. była w powszechnym użyciu (Alkan, 2000, s. 18–21)[6]. Flagę jako znak należałoby rozpatrywać tutaj w kategoriach niezależności, wyzwolenia, emancypacji, aż wreszcie wolności, co niewykluczone, mogło być przekonywującym argumentem dla osadników znad Morza Czerwonego, chcących kultywować swoje dotychczasowe przyzwyczajenia, sposób życia.

Kluczowm dla zrozumienia dynamiki zjawiska jest 1827 r., kiedy to ostatni Beylerbeyi Algierii İzmirli Hüseyin Pasza wymierzył policzek francuskiemu konsulowi na dyplomatycznym przyjęciu. Francja niedługo później, uznając to za *casus belli*, dokonała desantu, ostatecznie zajmując osmańską Algierię[7].

5 Warto nadmienić, iż uprzednio charakteryzowany Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil dużą część swojej twórczości pisarskiej opierał na własnych obserwacjach z izmirskiej dzielnicy Kemeraltı, co wskazywałoby na jego nieprzypadkowe zainteresowanie problematyką tożsamości Afro-Turków, bowiem to tam znajdowało się ich duże skupisko.

6 Flaga İzmiru składała się z pięciu poziomych linii. Pierwsza, trzecia i piąta linia była zielona, a druga i czwarta biała. Wyjątkowość miasta polegała także na fakcie, iż sułtanowie, aby tłumić powstania, często wysyłali wojska z İzmiru do pacyfikowania rebeliantów tak jak było przykładowo w 1908 r. na fali wydarzeń w Macedonii.

7 Użyteczność terenów w Afryce wiązano ze względami handlowymi, nowymi rynkami zbytu oraz dużymi areałami pod uprawę. Inny równie istotny czynnik warunkował art. 113 konstytucji

Rząd obradujący w Konstantynopolu wskutek utracenia ziem rozpoczął akcję natychmiastowego przyznania obywatelstwa Algierczykom, którzy przybędą w regiony Mersinu oraz Adany, czyli na tereny uprawy bawełny. Strategiczne posunięcie rzeczywiście spotkało się ze wzmocnioną imigracją Algierczyków po 1830 r., nie należy jednak zapominać, że produkcja bawełny zaczęła ówcześnie stopniowo ustępować bardziej dochodowej uprawie tytoniu. Jego palenie nie rozpowszechniło się w osmańskim interiorze, lecz było zorientowane w dużej mierze na eksport odbywający się głównie przez izmirskie porty. Warunkujący to zjawisko duży popyt ze strony Okcydentu przyczynił się do późniejszego znalezienia pracy przez Afro-Turków w obcym im początkowo mieście. I tak przykładowo wykastrowani chłopcy sprowadzani z Afryki Północno-Wschodniej do stolicy Imperium pracowali bezpośrednio na rzecz sułtana w pałacu jako służy lub eunuchowie (strażnicy haremu). Według Xaviera de Planhola (2000) głównym konkurentem Afro-Turków w karierze pałacowej byli imigranci z Safranbolu, którzy rzekomo mieli wzbudzać uznanie, zainteresowanie rodziny monarchy z uwagi na talent kulinarny i ponadprzeciętne zdolności piekarskie.

Wzmożonemu napływowi osadnictwa Afro-Turków na najbardziej wysunięte zachodnie tereny Anatolii sprzyjał kolejny dokument osmański z 1890 r., wydany tuż po Konferencji w Brukseli, w którym to Imperium podejmujące się roli „strażnika wolności" nakazywało udzielenie niezbędnej pomocy mieszkańcom Rogu Afryki w osiedleniu się nad Morzem Egejskim, co miało uratować ich od niewolnictwa ze strony innych kolonizatorów (Akyılmaz, 2004, s. 216). Zatem uprzywilejowany, pionierski ośrodek egejski mógł konkurować jedynie z ówczesną stolicą – Konstantynopolem. Co ciekawe zasymilowani Afrykańczycy, pomimo przyswojenia osmańskich, a później tureckich zwyczajów, osiedlali się zbiorowo w domach wielopokoleniowych, dużymi grupami w poszczególnych częściach miast. Wiązało się to z przywiązaniem do pierwotnych tradycji sprzężonych z ekonomią daru, chęcią powrotu do własnych zwyczajów, w tym z postrzeganiem sąsiadów i mieszkańców „małej ojczyzny" jako inkluzywnej części rodziny. I tak pod koniec XIX wieku aż pięć dzielnic ówczesnego İzmiru tj. Ballıkuyu, Temaşalık, İkiçeşmelik, Dolapkuyu oraz Sabırtaşı było zamieszkanych przez nich w całości (Burak, 2017, s. 239). Tezę dodatkowo wzmacnia fakt budowania *misafirhaneler* [państwowych noclegowni] dla sierot i bezdomnych Afro-Turków, której pozostałości można zobaczyć np. na ulicy Halil Rıfat Pasza w izmirskiej dzielnicy, obecnie widniejącej pod zmienioną nazwą, Karataş. W 1907 r. wybudowano tam windę znaną dzisiaj pod nazwą *Tarihi Asansör*,

midhadowskiej *Kânûn-ı Esâsî*, wprowadzonej w 1876 r., zgodnie z którym sułtan Imperium Osmańskiego miał możliwość skazania na zesłanie bez uprzedniego przeprowadzenia procesu każdego człowieka podejrzewanego o wrogie poglądy (TBMM, *Kânûn-ı Esâsî*, İstanbul 23.12.1876). Często powołując się na powyższy zapis prawny, pozbywano się niewygodnych dla aparatu władzy dygnitarzy, których wysyłano do zamorskich prowincji. Przykład stanowi wygnanie Midhata Paszy, dwukrotnego wielkiego wezyra, do miejscowości Taif na Bliskim Wschodzie.

aby ułatwić dostęp oraz połączyć region z resztą miasta. Zapoczątkowany proces, doskonale znany władzom w stolicy Imperium, był na tyle silny i widoczny w strukturze miejskiej, iż padyszach zdecydował się na „odciążenie" Smyrny od Afrykańczyków oraz umieszczenie pewnej części z nich w 19 wsiach, niedaleko Aydınu, mających status *padişah çiftlikleri* [„folwarków sułtańskich"] (Olpak, 2013, s. 125). Według pierwotnych założeń celem rozproszenia Afro-Turków miało być ułatwienie im przystosowania do życia społecznego, co wiązano z rudymentarnymi etapami socjalizacji z rdzennymi mieszkańcami.

Szeroko zakrojony fenomen synkretyzmu bądź hybrydyzacji kulturowo-społecznej, na którą składała się obecność Afro-Turków, pojawił się nie tylko w İzmirze i okolicach, ale obejmował także Stambuł, do lat 30. XX w. powszechnie nazywany na Zachodzie Konstantynopolem. Precedens, o rewolucyjnych, jak się okaże, skutkach nasiliły pożary w dzielnicy Beyoğlu, po których sułtan Abdülaziz, obawiając się o bezpieczeństwo dynastii zamieszkującej Pałac Dolmabahçe, wydał nakaz budowy w bezpośrednim sąsiedztwie, pierwszych na tureckim gruncie, domów szeregowych zaczerpniętych z europejskiego dorobku. Neoklasycystyczne budynki, wykonane przez ormiańskiego architekta Sarkisa Balyana, stały się domem dla 138 rodzin, oficjalnych urzędników, na co dzień pracujących dla rodziny sułtana (Batur, Yücel i Fersan, 1979, s. 185–203). Słowem, Akaretler, bo taka jest nazwa kompleksu domów układających się w kształt litery „V", jeszcze w XIX w. był oznaką prestiżu nawet dla klasy niższej, myślącej o karierze pałacowej, w tym dla mieszkańców Rogu Afryki, podporządkowanych w ramach prowincji Imperium. Kilka dekad później reprezentacyjne budynki, których część była zamieszkiwana przez diasporę afro-turecką, zostały uświetnione turecką mozaiką, kafelkami – turkusowymi *çini* z Izniku za sprawą architekta Vedata Teka[8]. Wiadomo także, iż sam sułtan Mehmed V Reşad (1909–1918) był zachwycony architekturą dzielnicy i w dowód uznania odwiedził matkę architekta, kompozytorkę i poetkę Leylę Saz, odbywając uroczysty korowód po udekorowanej drodze. Strategiczne położenie Akaretler przeniosło na anatolijski grunt zjawisko gentryfikacji. Zmienił się system stratyfikacji społecznej Akaretler, bowiem spektrum lokatorów zdominowały ówczesne anatolijskie elity. I tak, doprowadziło to do

8 Vedat Tek (1873–1942) jako architekt, uprzednio pobierający nauki w Paryżu, po proklamowaniu Republiki na zaproszenie Mustafy Kemala, pierwszego prezydenta Turcji, rozpoczął *Birinci Ulusal Mimarlık Akımı* [Pierwszy Narodowy Ruch Architektoniczny]. Oprócz dodania akcentu mozaikowego w dzielnicy Akaretler zasłynął m.in. jako architekt przystani *Moda İskelesi*, hotelu dla posłów – *Ankara Palas* oraz znajdującego się naprzeciwko niego budynku II Parlamentu Republiki. Zyskał także uznanie Latife Uşşakî, będącej przez niespełna trzy lata żoną prezydenta Mustafy Kemala – po przyjęciu nazwiska w 1934 r. – Atatürka, co wydaje się kluczowe dla rozwoju kariery Teka. Bowiem ojciec Latife był burmistrzem İzmiru, jej wuj znanym i cenionym powieściopisarzem – Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, a cała rodzina uchodziła za najzamożniejszą w republikańskiej Turcji.

wyparcia m.in. Afro-Turków z dzielnicy. *Notabene* pod numerem 36, w czasie I wojny światowej oraz po zwycięstwie w bitwie o *Çanakkale* [Gallipoli], zamieszkiwał Mustafa Kemal z matką Zübeyde Hanım oraz siostrą Makbule Atadan. A w latach 50. XX w., jak można zobaczyć na fotografiach z państwowego archiwum Republiki Turcji, nieopodal Akaretler znajdował się duży targ rybny, stąd częsty był widok mężczyzn noszących pokaźnych rozmiarów ryby na plecach. Sugeruje to kolejną zmianę tożsamości oraz ewolucję w kierunku morskiego wymiaru badanej dzielnicy. Wspomniany proces synkretyzacji dokonywał się zatem nie tylko na płaszczyźnie ideologicznej, lecz także uwzględniał przemiany społeczno-kulturowe, w których zawierał się wielotożsamościowy, mozaikowy obraz społeczeństwa.

Społeczność pochodzenia afrykańskiego w tureckiej autobiografii

W powieści *Miskinler Tekkesi* [„Loża trędowatych”] autorstwa Reşata Nuriego Güntekina (1946) podejmuje się problematykę marginalizacji oraz deprecjacji pewnych grup społecznych uznawanych za „obce” bądź „inne”. Oprócz trędowatych oraz żebraków autor w sposób realistyczny rzuca światło na wspomnianą już uprzednio izmirską dzielnicę Temaşalık[9] zdominowaną przez potomków Afrykańczyków, wskazując na konieczność dokonania się zmiany w mentalności Turków i dyskursie narodowym. Güntekin, za pomocą obiektywnego obrazu miasta, dostarcza wiedzy o codzienności izmirskich Afro-Turków oraz sugeruje, iż warunkiem *sine qua non* dla rozwoju Republiki jest rozprawienie się z niepożądanymi w pewnych warstwach społeczeństwa tematami *tabu*.

Populację Temaşalık stanowią afrykańscy Murzyni. Znajdują się tam mężczyźni, którzy uciekli bądź zostali wyrzuceni z rezydencji. W mieście zbierają figi i żołędzie lub uciekają się do żebractwa. Staruszkowie i kaleki leżą na wpół nadzy przed chatami, pod palącym słońcem niczym jaszczurki pokaźnych rozmiarów. W Temaşalık noce są równie ciepłe jak dni. W ciągu dnia skały nagrzewające się na wzgórzu, niczym kamienie hamamu[10], wraz z zachodem słońca zaczynają powoli oddawać ciepło. Arabom przypomina to niemal noce sudańskie. Być może to powód, dla którego gromadzą się tutaj ci bezradni (Güntekin, 1946, s. 51).

9 W niektórych tureckich opracowaniach pojawia się zniekształcona nazwa Tamaşalık. Wersja zapisana przez „e” wydaje się bardziej prawdopodobna, gdyż w znacznej mierze tureckie dzielnice miast są zlepkiem słów, które mają przypisane im ściśle określone znaczenia. I tak przedrostek *temaşa-* oznacza, jako zachowany archaizm z języka perskiego, przechadzkę/spacer, obserwowanie widoku bądź sztukę teatralną.

10 Hamam – łaźnia turecka z wydzieloną częścią osobno dla kobiet i mężczyzn.

Podobnie Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar w *Kadınlar Vaizi* [„Kaznodzieja kobiet"], opierając się na własnych wspomnieniach, przedkłada historię swojej pomocy domowej Menekşe, która była Afro-Turczynką.

> Bardzo lubi lawendę i wodę kolońską. Nie wiem, jaki jest tego powód, ale (...) kobieta wydziela wyrazisty zapach, jak na Mısır Çarşısı[11]. Na jej skórze wyczuwalne są zapachy kardamonu, imbiru i czarnego pieprzu, które odziedziczyła po bardzo gorącym słońcu kraju, w którym się urodziła. (...) Jej mąż Mehmet Usta [mistrz w swoim fachu – przyp. aut.] jest sprzedawcą kołder i ma trzypokojowy dom w Samatyi [dzielnica Stambułu – przyp. aut.] (Gürpınar, 1981, s. 261).

Na łamach codziennego periodyku *İkdam* [„Wysiłek"], wydawanego w Konstantynopolu w latach 1894–1928, pojawił się zarzut wobec działalności Afro-Turków. Mianowicie w gazecie należącej do Ahmeta Cevdeta Orana opublikowano nagłówek zatytułowany *Powiedzcie mi, jaki jest związek Menekşe z cywilizacją? Ile wkładu włożyła w rozwój świata oprócz smażenia bakłażanów?* (Gürpınar, 1981, s. 47)[12]. Afrykańską kobietę oskarżono o zacofanie cywilizacyjne, brak kultury i nieprzyczynianie się do rozwoju jakości życia w Imperium Osmańskim. Menekşe, która odebrała uwagi bardzo personalnie, sprzeciwia się oskarżeniom, a z uwagi na swoją niepiśmienność udaje się na wyspę Heybeliada i prosi o przygotowanie samoobrony. Gürpınar portretuje pewne warstwy w społeczeństwie jako zadufane, krytycznie podchodzące do akceptacji obecności „obcych" w miastach. Nie wszyscy są jednak sceptycznie nastawieni do ich obecności, stąd nie należy wysuwać zbyt pochopnych wniosków szowinistyczno-rasistowskich. Przykładowo, adwokat jako wynagrodzenie nie żąda od wspomnianej Menekşe pieniędzy, a jedynie przygotowania 20 *patlıcan dolması* [faszerowanych bakłażanów], co wskazuje na jej niezaprzeczalny talent kulinarny i uczciwość Turka (Güzelce, 2006, s. 114). Warto zaznaczyć, że w rzeczywistości Menekşe nie groził żaden prawdziwy wyrok. Gürpınar opisuje wydarzenia z przymrużeniem oka, w humorystycznej konwencji podkreślając honor, dumę i zawziętość swojej pomocy domowej. Autor, abstrahując od bezpodstawnych oskarżeń, skupia się na czasie i miejscu akcji, wielokrotnie wskazując na rosnące koszty utrzymania w Stambule ogarniętym I wojną światową. Sama Menekşe przybliża ówczesne realia życia, przedstawiając dzielnicę Beyoğlu jako

11 *Mısır Çarşısı* – literalnie Bazar Egipski, zwany często Bazarem Przypraw, albowiem, jak nazwa sugeruje, było to miejsce, gdzie handlowano głównie przyprawami w Konstantynopolu. Edward Raczyński, hrabia wielkopolski, podczas podróży do stolicy Imperium Osmańskiego porównał wspomniany bazar do krakowskich Sukiennic (Filipowska, 2017, s. 154).

12 Autor artykułu podjął się próby zweryfikowania i porównania interpretacji Gürpınara z oryginałem z gazety *İkdam*. Okazało się to jednak niemożliwe, albowiem Gürpınar nie podaje źródła, z którego posiada taką informację. Z kolei badacze Güzelce, a następnie Harmancı odwołują się jedynie do Gürpınara, co stanowi punkt wyjścia.

symbol bogactwa i wygody. Ceny żywności u tamtejszych sklepikarzy znacznie przewyższały jej możliwości finansowe (Harmancı, 2010, s. 102).

Tom opowiadań pod tytułem *İzmir Hikayeleri* [„Opowiadania z İzmiru"] autorstwa Halita Ziyi Uşaklıgila należy uznać za najważniejsze opracowanie w dziedzinie prowadzonych badań nad afro-turecką diasporą przy użyciu metodologii nowego historyzmu. Pisarz, rzucając światło na występowanie Abisyńczyków w tytułowym mieście portowym, ukazuje zróżnicowaną strukturę etniczno-kulturową społeczności, co wpisuje się po dziś dzień w tożsamość İzmiru. Uşaklıgil podkreśla dodatkowo patriarchalny świat wielu ówczesnych rodzin także wśród wyższych warstw społecznych. Realistyczny wydźwięk wzmacniają historie niewoli młodych, abisyńskich kobiet sprowadzonych niczym towar wymienny z Rogu Afryki, a po przybyciu do Anatolii sprzedaniu ich do majętnych rodzin mieszkających w *konak* (Uşaklıgil, 2005, s. 185). Innym problemem, który dotykał migrantów abisyńskich po faktycznym zniesieniu niewolnictwa, było poszerzanie przez nich grona mieszkańców *gecekondu*[13]. Pomimo faktu, iż większość czarnoskórych niewolników osiedliła się nad Morzem Egejskim, to jednak część z nich zaślepiona legendą złotego Konstantynopola *Taşı Toprağı Altın İstanbul* [„ulice Stambułu są wybrukowane złotem"], docierając do stolicy pogłębiała problem biedy i dysproporcji, które w pewnym sensie czyniły anatolijskie miasta dysfunkcyjnymi.

W społeczeństwie osmańskim rzadko była mowa o kobietach pracujących czynnie w zawodzie. Jednakże wbrew powszechnemu przekonaniu nie wszystkie z nich były w pełni zależne od dominującego patriarchatu. Realną szansą dla wielu kobiet w „przyroście wolności" było podjęcie się zawodów określanych mianem *çöpçatanlık* oraz *bohçacılık*, choć należy przyznać, iż znaczna większość z nich była pochodzenia nietureckiego. Po zniesieniu niewolnictwa także afro-tureckie kobiety podejmowały się tego zawodu. Bycie *çöpçatan* – pośredniczką w aranżowanym małżeństwie lub *bohçacı*[14] – sprzedawczynią tkanin, biżuterii, ubrań na specjalne okazje, akcesoriów domowych, wiązało się przede wszystkim z o wiele większą swobodą zaistnienia społecznego oraz co najważniejsze, jakiejkolwiek możliwości przebywania w społeczeństwie (Demir, 2023, s. 266). Zawód *bohçacı* wymagał pukania od domu do domu w celu znajdowania

13 Najprościej ujmując, mianem *gecekondu* określano dzielnice biedy, slumsy. Niemniej jednak z uwagi na stygmatyzujący i nacechowany negatywnie przekaz tychże słów wśród środowiska akademickiego odchodzi się od nich na rzecz, neutralnych językowo, „osiedli popularnych". I tak *gecekondu* były usankcjonowane na mocy prawa tureckiego, zgodnie z którym wybudowanie domu w ciągu jednej nocy gwarantowało prawo nienaruszalności, a po kilku latach wydanie aktu własności. Cytując Oğuza Ataya, bliżej niedookreślony i niepodlegający klarownie zawężonym terminologicznie definicjom obszar *gecekondu* to „coś takiego, co zjawiło się i powstało w nocy" [*gece geldi, gece oldu gibi bir şey işte*] (Atay, 2008, s. 456).

14 Wyraz *bohçacı* pochodzi etymologicznie od słowa *bohça* – tobołku, w którym to kobiety przechowywały towar przeznaczony na sprzedaż.

potencjalnych kupców, a także ciągłego poruszania się po rozmaitych zakamarkach dzielnic, docierając często także do pałaców sułtańskich, co w tym przypadku było akceptowalne przez patriarchalne społeczeństwo. Uważano to za zgodne i spójne z kategorią honoru oraz ówczesnymi przekonaniami moralnymi, których waga była prymordialna. Zawód *bohçacılık* pokrywał się w dużej mierze z *çöpçatanlık*. Wiązało się to z faktem, iż źródłem wiedzy dla mężczyzny o jego przyszłej wybrance mogli być jedynie jego najbliżsi krewni płci żeńskiej bądź, co ciekawe, właśnie *bohçacı* jako swoisty sprzedawca – pośrednik (Akbel, 2015, s. 94). Odgrywały one ważną rolę w tradycyjnym społeczeństwie, bowiem niektóre ze sprzedawczyń udzielały porad życiowych oraz pomagały w swataniu potencjalnych kandydatek na żonę dla młodzieńców z dzielnicy. Ta grupa była także przydatna kręgom arystokracji, ponieważ kobiety trudniące się fachem przekazywały krążące po mieście plotki do pałaców sułtańskich.

Swoistym fenomenem była także inna kategoria zawodu przewidziana tym razem dla mężczyzn pochodzenia afrykańskiego migrujących, głównie przymusowo, na ziemie Anatolii. Mianowicie oprócz niewolnictwa, pracy na latyfundiach bądź plantacjach lokalnych, bycia eunuchem lub pracownikiem w jednym z pałaców sułtańskich, pewien odsetek stosunkowo młodych wiekowo Afro-Turków trudnił się opłacalnym finansowo, ale nielegalnym z prawnego punktu widzenia bandytyzmem. Rozbójnicy określani mianem *zeybek* buntowali się zbrojnie przeciwko prowincjonalnym posiadaczom ziemskim bądź zagranicznym handlarzom. Często byli także wynajmowani przez bogaczy, którzy zatrudniając Afro-Zeybeków do osobistych celów majątkowych, zabezpieczali się przed płaceniem ewentualnego haraczu. Według źródeł epoki jeden z wpływowych izmirskich *efe* [buntowników] o imieniu Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe zawsze udawał się nawet do pobliskich kawiarni bądź bazarów w asyście podlegających mu grup zeybeków (Özgün, Tunç i Özdemir, 2021, s. 61, 67). Zgodnie z przesądami Afrykanie mieli przynosić gangom pomyślność oraz dobrą passę. W regionie Morza Egejskiego zasłynął szczególnie Afro-Zeybek o przezwisku *Koca Arap*, o czym przykładowo świadczy popularny taniec ludowy noszący do dzisiaj jego nazwę. Warto nadmienić także, iż pewna grupa Turków pochodzenia afrykańskiego walczyła na froncie galicyjskim w czasie I wojny światowej pod dowództwem porucznika Siyahî [Czarnego] Abdullaha. Orientalny wygląd czarnych wywołał ówcześnie panikę wśród rosyjskiego przeciwnika (Nykiel, 2020, s. 137–139). Szoku kulturowego doznali także Polacy, którzy byli przeświadczeni, iż ciemny kolor skóry pojawił się u Afro-Turków z powodu braku higieny oraz nawarstwienia się brudu (Arıkan, 2007, s. 166).

Afro-Turcy wywierali duży wpływ na kształtowanie się tożsamości miast Anatolii, praktykując rodzime święta na osmańskim, a później tureckim gruncie. Jednym z najpopularniejszych obchodów było *Dana Bayramı* [Święto Cielaka], co poświadczają tureccy pisarze epoki jak Reşat Nuri Güntekin czy Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil. Święto silnie warunkowało wierzenie Afro-Turków, zgodnie z którym, jeśli raz w roku nie zostanie przelana krew cielaka, to na miasta egejskie, takie jak Smyrna, zostaną sprowadzone poważne kłopoty i klęski, co będzie potęgować pojawianie się „Afrykańczyków z odciętymi głowami" (Toledano, 2007, s. 236). Warto w tym miejscu zaznaczyć, iż Afro-Turcy nigdy nie stanowili w państwie tureckim jednolitej zbiorowości pod względem kulturowym. Pomimo tego największe wpływy w obchodzonych świętach były konsekwentnie zaczerpnięte z nigeryjskiej kultury ludu Joruba, co sugerowałoby, iż ich tradycje były powszechnie znane tureckim mieszkańcom pochodzenia afrykańskiego. I jak na tradycyjnych wodzach Jorubów, tak też na afro-tureckich *godya*[15] spoczywał ciężar podtrzymywania kultury i zwyczajów w tureckich miastach i wsiach. *Godya* jako przewodnicy, strażnicy esencjalnych wartości społeczności Afro-Turków byli świadkami ważnych wydarzeń wśród lokalnych mieszkańców pochodzenia afrykańskiego, takich jak „narodziny, małżeństwo, przeprowadzka, konflikty, spory, choroby, śmierć" (Olpak, 2013, s. 131). Przypisywało się im także zdolności lecznicze jako rodzaj lokalnej medycyny alternatywnej, uznając za najwybitniejszego, mieszkającego w Torbalı, *godya*, dodając do jego tytulatury przymiotnik *büyük*, czyli wielki. Co ciekawe, obchodzone afro-tureckie święta w zależności od regionu przybierają inną nazwę. Za standardowy uważa się termin *Dana Bayramı*, charakterystyczny w szczególności dla basenu Morza Egejskiego, gdyż w Stambule i okolicach mówiono na nie *Arap düğünü* [„arabskie wesele"]. Podczas obchodów *Dana Bayramı*, które odbywały się w maju, ich uczestnicy zmieniali wygląd zamieszkiwanych przez siebie dzielnic, a sami w sudańskich kolorowych strojach grali na trąbkach, tamburynach, używając przy tym rozmaitych kadzideł. Turecki historyk Günver Güneş przywołuje jedną z frapujących tradycji stanowiących nieodzowny element święta. Według Güneşa, afro-tureckie kobiety zbierały po ulicach miast przypadkowo znalezione kolorowe szkło, które następnie, odpowiednio podgrzewając, przetapiały na wspomnianym już izmirskim bazarze *Kemeraltı* bądź na polach ciecierzycy na wzgórzu Çimentepe. Z przetopionego szkła wykonywały bransoletki, które sprzedawały za symboliczne kwoty po tureckich dzielnicach, co

15 Turecki kronikarz Ahmet Rasim opublikował artykuł w 1940 r. na łamach periodyku *Haber Akşam Postası*, w którym pisał, iż *godya* byli głową społeczności, a ich władza była porównywalna do tej, jaką posiadali wodzowie plemienni w Afryce. Ponadto wskazywał na fakt, iż wszyscy Murzyni mieszkający w Stambule podlegali niezaprzeczalnie administracji *godya* (Haber Akşam Postası, 1 Mayıs 1940, no. 2950, s. 15).

miało przypominać mieszkańcom o zbliżających się afro-tureckich obchodach (Güneş, 1999, s. 5–9). Opublikowana w tureckim Dzienniku Urzędowym w 1925 r. ustawa nr 677 o zamknięciu zakonów derwiszów objęła także zakazem praktykowanie corocznego święta Afro-Turków, gdyż prawnie zaliczono go do zwyczajów wiary pogańskiej (TBMM, RG, Kanun 677, s. 289–290). Decyzja nie była czymś zaskakującym, bowiem już w czasach modernizacji Imperium na fali europeizacji społeczeństwa wśród elit osmańskich wyśmiewano afro-tureckie święto, uważając je za „przejaw ignorancji oraz nieuctwa", co znalazło swoje podstawy naukowe w artykule prasowym z 1894 r. opublikowanym w izmirskiej gazecie *Hizmet* [„Służba"] (Akpınar, 2020, s. 79–80)[16].

Nowo powstałe państwo tureckie uznało element afro-tureckiej tożsamości za niebezpieczny z politycznego punktu widzenia, gdyż wspomniani *godya*, zapewniając sobie kontakt z mieszkańcami i łącząc ich w ramach wspólnoty, w rzeczywistości realizowali zadania odpowiadające instytucji władztwa tradycyjnego (endogennego) w Afryce (Erdem, 2013, s. 219-220). Zarysowaną problematykę i jej sedno oddaje teoria dwóch rodzajów przestrzeni ukuta przez Petera Ekeha, który wyodrębnił je na podstawie płaszczyzn publicznych państwa (*two publics*). W pierwszej sferze ulokował władzę typu państwowego, natomiast na drugim poziomie – władztwa regionalne, tradycyjne, podtrzymujące tożsamość lokalną, które są pierwszym punktem odniesienia dla grup etnicznych (Ekeh, 1975, s. 91–112). Pojawiały się one w warunkach dysfunkcyjności miast, regionu, gdzie wódz, w przypadku Afro-Turków *godya*, odpowiadał za zaspokojenie elementarnych potrzeb społeczności. W tureckich realiach obawy państwa były w dużej mierze bezzasadne, gdyż Afro-Turcy nie rościli sobie praw do autonomii, a jedynie chcieli kultywować swoje tradycje i odrębność, jednocześnie deklarując przywiązanie do Republiki Turcji, a wcześniej do Imperium Osmańskiego, w którym żyli od pokoleń. Polityka o wydźwięku nacjonalistycznym była pokłosiem ruchu promującego tureckość za czasów prezydenta Mustafy Kemala, podkreślając znaczenie istnienia jednoetnicznego i jednonarodowego państwa. W ramach lansowanej od stycznia 1928 r. kampanii sponsorowanej przez rząd pod hasłem *Vatandaş Türkçe konuş!* [„Obywatelu, mów po turecku!"] nakładano karę grzywny na osoby, które posługiwały się w przestrzeni publicznej innym językiem niż turecki. W İzmirze, gdzie znajdowała się największa diaspora Afro-Turków, kampania przybrała na sile szczególnie w 1934 r., kiedy to próbowano stworzyć Republikę jednolitą etnicznie i narodowo w myśl zasady *Türkçe konuş, senin milliyetinden şüphe edilmesinler*

16 Autor niniejszego artykułu zadał sobie trud, aby ustalić pierwotne źródło gazety, na które powołuję się Akpınar. Okazało się to jednak niezwykle trudne, albowiem Akpınar, wspominając o artykule prasowym z 1894 r., odwołuje się do dzieła Toledano (2007, s. 236), z kolei ten powołuje się na Güneşa (1999, s. 9–10). I tak, dopiero Güneş cytuje, ale w szczątkowej wersji, pierwotne źródło – „Hizmet, 28 Mayıs 1894". Nie podaje, albowiem dokładnej strony.

[„Mów po turecku, niech nie wątpią w twoją narodowość"] (Bali, 2010, s. 290). Rząd zwlekał także z przyznaniem Afro-Turkom obywatelstwa tureckiego, co nastąpiło dopiero w 1926 r., tak więc, od momentu proklamowania Republiki przez trzy lata byli z prawnego punktu widzenia apatrydami (bezpaństwowcami). Wprowadzone zakazy nie wykorzeniły jednak w pełni świąt Afro-Turków jako elementu ich odrębnej kultury, gdyż obchodzono je potajemnie także w latach 40. XX w., co potwierdzają świadectwa mieszkańców. Decyzja o zabronieniu obchodzenia świąt nie była powiązana w jakikolwiek sposób z uwarunkowaniami politycznymi bądź relacjami dyplomatyczno-konsularnymi. W etiopskich archiwach przechowywany jest bowiem list gratulacyjny cesarza Etiopii wysłany do Atatürka 27 czerwca 1935 r. z uwagi na wybranie go po raz czwarty na prezydenta Republiki. Hajle Syllasje I wyraża w nim chęć wzmacniania przyjaznych, pokojowych relacji z Republiką Turcji (Ali, 2012, s. 158). Z kolei w dokumencie datowanym na 1953 r. wykazuje ubolewanie z powodu silnego trzęsienia ziemi w okolicach Çanakkale (18 III), tym samym deklarując gotowość wysłania ekipy ratunkowej na miejsca dotknięte kataklizmem (BCA, F.30.1.0.0, Y.61.376.12; 24/04/1953). Z formalnego punktu widzenia święto wznowiono za zgodą tureckiego Ministerstwa Kultury dopiero w 2007 r., czyli po ponad 80 latach od wprowadzenia zakazu, co jest skutkiem prężnej działalności *Afrikalılar Kültür Dayanışma ve Yardımlaşma Derneği* [„Stowarzyszenia Pomocy i Solidarności Afrykańskiej Kultury"], założonego rok wcześniej w Ayvalık.

Miasta zachodniej Anatolii same przez się były przestrzenią nie tylko inkluzywną dla Afro-Turków, lecz miejscem do rozwoju innowacyjnych, zaczerpniętych z zagranicy, pomysłów. Kemaliści nie sprzeciwiali się obecności Afro-Turków na ziemiach tureckich, wręcz przeciwnie, dostrzegali w ich obecności pozytywne aspekty i szansę. Wynikało to z ich wielowiekowej obecności na ziemiach Anatolii, którą nie sposób wykorzenić w przeciągu kilku dekad. Celem prezydenta Mustafy Kemala oraz premiera İsmeta İnönü było wzbudzenie poczucia przynależności do tego, co tureckie, budowanie silnej tożsamości nacjonalistycznej, aby nie dopuścić do buntów w dzielnicach zamieszkiwanych przez obcokrajowców. Kulturę, którą wytworzyli Afro-Turcy jako produkt swojej koegzystencji, można zaobserwować na ulicznych straganach, bazarach, obchodzonych świętach oraz wymienionych już uprzednio dzielnicach miast. Nie należy bagatelizować także roli ośrodków egejskich, w szczególności kosmopolitycznej tożsamości İzmiru, gdyż jak pisała badaczka Eleonory Sarkissian, był on miejscem, gdzie narodził się, w nowym rozumieniu, „renesans" i skąd nowe idee, rozlewając się na Anatolię, oddziaływały równie silnie na jej ówczesną stolicę – Konstantynopol (Zając, 2020, s. 211). Jak wskazują Afro-Turcy, Anatolia, a w szczególności jej zachodnie tereny, stały się dla nich ojczyzną, której chcą być częścią. Wśród Afro-Turków nie ma marzeń o emigracji zagranicznej, a przeważa jedynie chęć bycia częścią tureckocentrycznego społeczeństwa z zachowaniem świadomości swoich afrykańskich korzeni i swobodnej możliwości ich kultywowania. Współcześnie miasto İzmir oraz jego mieszkańcy są świadomi swojej odrębności, wynikającej ze współistnienia wielu kultur, grup etnicznych i narodowych, na której istotną część składają się Afro-Turcy. Myśl doskonale oddaje spopularyzowany w dzielnicach miasta hasztag *Bizim tarzımız güzel* [„Nasz styl jest piękny"].

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Prace badawcze zaliczane do ruchu nowego historyzmu rozpoczynają się od małej anegdoty bądź elementu pozornie marginalnego. Ten peryferyjny osąd, marginalny detal jest odczytywany w taki sposób, iż stanowi punkt wyjścia do ujawnienia całej kulturowo-społecznej siatki powiązań (Vega Ramos, 1993, s. 438). Tak też w analizie problematyki Afro-Turków wątek kawy i sprowadzenie jej ziaren do Anatolii należy uznać za impuls do narracji. Historyczne losy Afrykańczyków w dzielnicach miast oraz wiążące ich prawa mają wartość komplementarną w odniesieniu do afro-tureckiej koegzystencji z członkami tubylczych rodzin, wykonywanych przez nich zawodów czy podejmowanych wysiłków na rzecz podtrzymania rdzennych tradycji. „Badanie historii jest skuteczne o tyle, o ile jest badaniem języka, jakiego używano, po to, by nadać rzeczywistości sens" (Burzyńska i Markowski, 2006, s. 508–509). Elementy autobiograficzne wzbogacają kulturowy konstrukt i dostarczają informacji o wierzeniach ludowych, przesądach, „przyroście wolności" wśród Afrykańczyków na zachodzie Turcji, a to wszystko przy odzwierciedleniu procesu fuzji, interakcji przybyszów z tubylcami. Afro-Turcy od początku wspierali rozwój anatolijskich miast, trudniąc się w rolnictwie pracą na plantacjach bawełny czy tytoniu. Te dobra wpływały na rozwój w szczególności izmirskich portów jako szlaków handlowych. Służąc jako pomoc domowa, pośredniczka matrymonialna bądź sprzedawczyni akcesoriów i tkanin byli częścią tureckiego społeczeństwa. Często występowali w roli naocznych świadków przemian miejskich, odgrywając określone role społeczne i stając się częścią instytucji rodziny, której przypisuje się na podłożu tureckim ogromne znaczenie. Historycznie dzielnice nieopodal Konak (centrum İzmiru), regiony Muğla, Aydın, Manisa, Balıkesir i metropolitarny Stambuł wraz z Wyspami Książęcymi to miejsca, w których zapisana jest przeszłość i teraźniejszość Afro-Turków. Zachowane świadectwa literackie epoki należy uznać za cenne archiwum, eklektyczną metodę do badań nad inkluzywnością Anatolii wobec przybyszów z Rogu Afryki.

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Daniel Broccato – orientalista-turkolog, doktorant w dyscyplinie nauki o kulturze i religii na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim. Badacz wizytujący na Uniwersytecie Boğaziçi w ramach programu stypendialnego *Young Researchers Grant* Utrecht Network. Laureat stypendium Ministra Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego RP za znaczące osiągnięcia naukowe. Bada historię Republiki Turcji (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem okresu jednopartyjnego 1923–1946) oraz turecką literaturę autobiograficzną XX w. Ważniejsza publikacja: *Tożsamość kulturowa Turków pochodzenia afrykańskiego (Afro-Turków)*, „Politeja" 2025, t. 22, nr 2(96/1), s. 253–270.

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Hermina Cielas Leão
http://orcid.org/0000-0002-4709-3043
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
hermina.cielas@uj.edu.pl
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Kristubhāgavatam, the Slaughter of Innocents, and the Requirements of the *Mahākāvya* Genre[1]

ABSTRACT

The paper analyzes selected passages from *Kristubhāgavatam* ("On Holy Christ"), a Sanskrit epic (*mahākāvya*) on the life and deeds of Jesus composed by P.C. Devassia (1906–2006). Focusing on the episode of the Slaughter of the Innocents, the author examines how Devassia interpreted and adapted the formal requirements of the *mahākāvya* genre and what literary techniques he used to construct an epic that conforms to the classical model outlined by theoreticians. Furthermore, through an analysis of selected verses, the article shows how Devassia enriched the narrative of Jesus with numerous references to Indian culture and how he skillfully wove in the fabric of the poem to bring the story of Christ closer to the contemporary Indian reader. The paper also considers the readership and relevance of modern Sanskrit works, arguing that that although such literary production lies outside the mainstream of contemporary Indian literature, it still attracts attention and finds its recipients.

KEYWORDS: *Kristubhāgavatam*, nativity narrative, modern Sanskrit, *mahākāvya*, Christianity in India

STRESZCZENIE

„Kristubhāgavatam", rzeź niewiniątek i wymogi gatunku *mahākāvya*

Artykuł analizuje fragmenty *Kristubhāgavatam* („O Chrystusie Przenajświętszym"), sanskryckiego poematu epickiego o życiu i czynach Jezusa autorstwa P.C. Devassii (1906–2006). Na przykładzie wątku rzezi niewiniątek autor artykułu pokazuje, w jaki sposób Devassia zinterpretował wymogi gatunku i jakimi środkami posłużył się do skomponowania poematu epickiego odpowiadającego

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cechom opisywanego przez teoretyków wzorca *mahākāvya*. Ponadto, poprzez analizę wybranych wersów artykuł pokazuje, w jaki sposób Devassia wzbogacił historię Jezusa o liczne odniesienia do kultury indyjskiej i jak umiejętnie wplótł je w tkankę utworu, aby przybliżyć historię Chrystusa współczesnemu indyjskiemu czytelnikowi. Artykuł porusza również kwestię czytelnictwa i użyteczności współczesnych dzieł sanskryckich; dowodzi, że choć tego rodzaju twórczość literacka nie należy do głównego nurtu współczesnej literatury indyjskiej, to jednak wciąż przyciąga uwagę i znajduje swoich odbiorców.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: *Kristubhāgavatam*, opowieść o narodzinach, sanskryt współczesny, *mahākāvya*, chrześcijaństwo w Indiach

In 1977, Jayabharatam published a work by a Keralan poet and scholar, P.C. Devassia (1906–2006). The theme of composition was unusual for Sanskrit literary production: *Kristubhāgavatam* is an epic poem recounting the life of Jesus Christ. Devassia did not choose this subject at random; he was born into a family of Eastern Catholics belonging to the Syro-Malabar Church, an autonomous church in full communion with the worldwide Catholic Church, renowned for its inculturation with Hindu traditions. Placid Podipara characterizes the community as "Hindu in culture, Christian in religion, and Oriental in worship" (Felix, 2014, p. 33). *Kristubhāgavatam* embodies precisely this synthesis. In the Foreword, V. Raghavan notes that "in Prof. Plakil Chacko Devassia ... there is the ripeness of two traditions, the Sanskritic and the Christian. The latter is the indigenous Indian Christian, rendered more homely by a life-long study of Sanskrit epics and classics" (Devassia, 1977, p. i). The author of the epic also commented on the multicultural character of the work and on the reasons behind the interplay of Christian and Hindu motives in *Kristubhāgavatam*, noting that as a student and teacher he "grew up in an atmosphere of Sanskrit literature" (Devassia, 1977, pp. 1–2), which deeply influenced his writing.

Devassia created a Sanskrit epic on a subject which might seem to lie beyond the scope of the cultural heritage of India. However, as a member of the Syro-Malabar Church, he integrated elements of his cultural and religious background, producing an eclectic work that reflects the complex identity of the contemporary Indian Christian. *Kristubhāgavatam* recounts the life of Christ in the form of a *mahākāvya* ("great poem," a genre characteristic of classical Sanskrit poetry), enriched with numerous allusions to Indian culture, familiar motives from Sanskrit literature, and references to historical figures and events familiar to Indian readers. This synthesis is evident in each episode described by Devassia, including the story of the Slaughter of the Innocents as the focal point of this article.

In the Introduction, Devassia emphasized that his intention was not to translate the Bible but to compose a proper *mahākāvya*, even though "a Sanskrit

Mahakavya must conform to certain norm laid down by Sanskrit rhetoricians ... often incompatible with objective narrative" (Devassia, 1977, p. 1). As we shall see, the specificity of the subject chosen by the author posed certain challenges; for instance, some descriptions specified by the theoreticians of Sanskrit literature as the indispensable elements of *mahākāvya*s are absent from the story of Christ's life. The present article aims to examine the ways in which the author of *Kristubhāgavatam* interpreted the formal requirements of the genre and how, through emphasizing and elaborating upon selected episodes from the life of Jesus, he succeeded in composing an epic that meets the criteria of the *mahākāvya* ideal described by theoreticians, despite the apparent incompatibility between the Sanskrit genre and the Christian theme. Moreover, based on the analyis of selected verses, the article demonstrtes how Devassia enriched the narrative of Christ by the addition of numerous references to Indian culture, skillfully weaving them into the fabric of the poem.

In *Kāvyādarśa* ("The Mirror of Poetry") 1.14–22, Daṇḍin (7th–8th centuries) presented a definition of *mahākāvya* that is often considered paradigmatic. The rhetorician characterized *mahākāvya* as a composition in cantos (*sarga*s) that starts with a benediction, a dedication, or an indication of the subject matter. Daṇḍin emphasized that *mahākāvya* should have its source in epic literature or a true story, address all four aims of human life (*caturvarga*s; virtue, love, wealth, and final beatitude), portray the deeds of an intelligent and great hero, include vivid descriptions and abound in sentiments (*rasas*), emotions (*bhāva*s), and literary embellishments (*alaṃkāra*s).[2] Moreover, the cantos should be of moderate length and composed in meters pleasing to the ear.

Most of these elements can be found in *Kristubhāgavatam*. The work is divided into 33 *sargas* (as noted by Raghavan in the Foreword and Kunjunni Raja in the Introduction [Devassia, 1977, p. ii and v] this number may allude to the length of Christ's life) and opens with a benedictory stanza, a salutation to the star that guided the sages to the infant Jesus, followed by an introduction of the poem's theme (v. 1.3). The narrative, composed in a variety of metrical patterns (with a predominance of *anuṣṭubh* and *upajāti*), culminates in the triumph of the hero (*nāyakābhyudaya*) expressed through the Ascension of Christ.

The prevailing emotions of tranquility, sorrow, courage, and astonishment evoked by the story, together with formal features such as appropriate meters

2 *Rasa*, *bhāva*, and *alaṃkāra* are among the basic categories systematized by the Sanskrit theoreticians and used in the discourse on poetics. *Alaṃkāra* is relatively easiest to define; it denotes poetic embellishments, figures of speech. *Rasa* ("juice," "essence") is a polysemic term that in the context of poetics refers to eight sentiments, aesthetic dominants of poetic works (*śṛṅgāra*, "love," *hāsya*, "laughter," *karuṇa*, "compassion," *raudra*, "fury," *vīra*, "heroism," *bhayānaka*, "terror," *bībhatsa*, "disgust," and *adbhuta*, "wonder." Later, the ninth *rasa*, *śānta* or "peace" was added) evoked by corresponding *bhāvas* or "emotions" – *rati*, "love," *hāsa*, "gaiety," *śoka*, "sorrow," *krodha*, "anger," *utsāha*, "courage," *bhaya*, "fear," *jugupsā*, "disgust," *vismaya*, "surprise," and *śama*, "calmness."

and poetic embellishments, ultimately transform into corresponding sentiments of peace, compassion, heroism, and wonder – the *rasa*s that dominate in the epic. The remaining five sentiments (love, laughter, anger, disgust, and terror) appear only marginally or not at all. The selection of emotional dominants results naturally from the theme of the work and its general message: in a sacred narrative of self-sacrifice, there is little room for comic or amorous elements. Even descriptions of marriages are almost entirely devoid of romantic sentiment. Similarly, the use of *alaṃkāra*s is restrained; those that do appear, particularly simile (*upamā*), alliteration (*anuprāsa*), and *apodixis* (*arthāntaranyāsa*), serve a practical purpose, aiding the transmission of Christ's teachings and integrating references to Indian culture.

According to Daṇḍin (*Kāvyādarśa* 1.16–17), a *mahākāvya* is distinguished by its inclusion of descriptions of a city, the ocean, a mountain, the seasons, moonrise and sunrise, amorous games in a garden and water, wine drinking, love-making, love in separation, nuptials, childbirth and the growth of sons, a council, an envoy, the march of an army, a battle, and, finally, the hero's triumph. Only a few of these elements appear in *Kristubhāgavatam*. The most notable are the descriptions of Mount Carmel (v. 2.4–5), the Temple of Jerusalem (v. 3.9–16), spring (v. 4.3–4), moonrise (v. 4.5), Mount Tabor (v. 10.4–5), wine drinking (v. 13.11–12), sunset (v. 18.42), the scenes of marriage in cantos two and six, and the portrayal of the birth of Jesus in the seventh canto. All of these passages are relatively brief.

One description, however, stands out as particularly characteristic of the work. In verses 7.7–11, Devassia provides a physical depiction of the newborn Jesus, constructing the passage according to the inverted *pādādikeśānta* scheme ("from head to hair feet").[3] Instead of following the conventional order of description from the feet upward, Devassia reverses the direction, portrayig Jesus from head to feet to emphasize the divine nature of Christ and situates Him within the iconographic and literary conventions used for gods in Sanskrit tradition.

It may appear that political and military sequences – so important in classical *mahākāvyas* – do not occupy a prominent position among the descriptions in *Kristubhāgavatam*. The examples of the most notable court epics, as well as the opinions of Sanskrit theoreticians, seem to confirm that the depictions of the envoy, council, march of an army, and battle are integral components of every *mahākāvya*. Before Daṇḍin, Bhāmaha (c. 6th–7th centuries) had already identified these components as four out of five phases of action (along with *nāyakābhyudaya*).[4] Rudraṭa (9th century), who devoted considerable attention

3 The regular *pādādikeśānta* mode of description has a few examples in classical *mahākāvyas* (for instance in *Kumārasambhava* 1.33-49) and frequently occurs in love poetry. See Lienhard, 1984, p. 173.

4 *Kāvyālaṃkāra* 1.20. To denote the phases of action Bhāmaha used the term *saṃdhis*, "junctures."

to the role of descriptions in *mahākāvya* in his *Kāvyālaṃkāra* (“The Embellishment of Poetry”), also enumerates them in verses 16.11–12, 16, and 18. Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, and Rudraṭa were not the only theoreticians to emphasize the role of politicaland military motives in the composition of a *mahākāvya*.[5] Nevertheless, *Kristubhāgavatam* does not contain any extended passages depicting military action, as such episodes are incongruent with the story of Christ. However, there is one episode that can be considered Devassia’s attempt to include a political-military sequence into the work. The ninth *sarga*, titled “The Arrival of Sages and the Slaughter of the Innocents Perpetrated by Herod” (*vidvadāgamanaṃ herodakṛtaṃ śiśumāraṇaṃ ca*)[6] recounts the nativity narrative episode known from the Gospel of Matthew, in which the king of Judaea, Herod the Great[7] – threatened by the prophecy of a newborn king – orders the massacre of all male children under two years of age in and around Bethlehem. The episode apears only in the Gospel of Matthew; it is absent from the works of Nicolaus of Damascus, a confidant of Herod, as well as from *Antiquities of the Jews* by Titus Flavius Josephus, a first-century Roman-Jewish historian (Clarke, 2003, p. 22). Because of the lack of independent corroboration and the frequently challenged historical plausibility of the event,[8] the narrative is often considered a piece of folklore inspired by Herod’s notorius reputation, especially since the Matthaean account closely resembles the episode from the Old Testament (Exodus 1:22), in which the Pharaoh orders the killing of all first-born Hebrew male children.

In *Kristubhāgavatam*, Devassia uses the story as the focal point of the ninth *sarga*, culminating in the description of the massacre, which can be considered a substitute for the depictions of a march of an army and battle characteristic of

5 For more definitions of *mahākāvya* proposed by the theoreticians and the role of descriptions see the studies of Trynkowska (2000 and 2004) or Peterson (2003).

6 All the translations in present article are mine. Devassia added an English translation to the edition of *Kristubhāgavatam*. However, as he admitted, it “is not always literal” (Devassia, 1977, p. 2). Moreover, the translation provided by the author often contains cursory explanations of the references to Indian culture that occur in the text. In order to convey the original meaning of the work and to keep the flow of the text without additional parentheses, I have decided to translate the relevant verses anew and supply them with a separate explanation whenever needed.

7 When it comes to the biblical names Devassia did not employ a homogenous mode; sometimes he used the phonetic equivalents or only slightly modified English variants of the names (see *heroda* for Herod or *malākya* for Malachi), the other times he Sanskritized the names a little bit more (e.g. *yosapha* for Joseph or *yeśu* for Jesus). In some cases, he completely changed the names (Claudia, the wife of Pilate, is called *kalāvatī*) or translated them to emphasize the meaning (Golgotha, “skull,” is called *kapālagiri* or *kapālādgri*, “the mountain of the skull”). The variants of certain names (like *israyel*, *yisrayel*, or *yisrāyala* for Israel) are caused the most probably by the metrical requirements; sometimes the author uses shorter forms, sometimes longer.

8 See, for example, Maier, 1998, pp. 169–170, where the author presents the opinions of scholars who studied the historical probability of the described episode.

the classical *mahākāvya*s. The canto opens with the introduction of Herod as a cruel king who eliminates his enemies and potential threats (v. 9.1–2). In the following verses, the author reports the news brought to the ruler by his spies: the prophecy of the birth of a new king (v. 9.4–6). In verses 9.7–10, Devassia recalls an internal monologue of Herod, who feels threatened by the prophecy. The king sends out spies to search for the child. Meanwhile, three sages from the East visit the court in search of the new king. The audience with the ruler and the impressions of the sages are described in verses 9.17–19:

> By the side of the king, there was the specially summoned Annas, as well as the men learned in rituals (*Veda*) and astrology, [each sitting] according to the right place [17]. The sages perceived Herod as a great god in the royal council chamber of heaven, surrounded by a number of deities and [accompanied] by Bṛhaspati [18], but in the immediate proximity they saw him, the cruel-eyed bearer of the crown carrying the royal scepter, as Antaka holding a club [19].[9]

The description resembles portrayals of royal assemblies found in Sanskrit literature, where the king is depicted as seated on the throne surrounded by members of the court, including astrologers and Vedic scholars, often referred to as *vedavidyāvid* or *vedavid* ("learned in *Vedas*"). In the passage quoted above, the expression most probably denotes "men learned in rituals."[10] Although brief and only sketching the royal milieu, the excerpt contains a feature typical of such descriptions: the phrase "each according to the right place" (*yathāsthānam*) suggests the existence of a prescribed order governing the seating of the participants of the assembly. Devassia also used the opportunity to exploit some direct references to Indian culture: he compared Annas, the High Priest, to Bṛhaspati, a sage who counsels the gods, and Herod to Antaka ("the Ender"), the embodiment of Yama, the god of death. According to the Gospels, Annas was appointed the first High Priest of Judaea later. He is mentioned in the story of the trial of Jesus: Christ was brought to him for judgment before being brought to Pontius Pilate. The modification is an example of *licentia poetica*; Devassia made the description more specific – he "gave a face" to an anonymous counsellor who, in this version of the story, stood next to Herod like Bṛhaspati in the royal council chamber of heaven. Additionally,

9 *tatrāsīn nṛpateḥ pārśve saviśeṣaṃ nimantritaḥ* |
annāsaś ca yathāsthānaṃ vedajyotirvidas tathā ||
gurunā devavṛndaiś ca sudharmāyaṃ samāvṛtam |
mahendram iva herodaṃ vidvāṃsas te vyalokayan ||
rājadaṇḍadharaṃ krūradṛṣṭiṃ makuṭadhariṇam |
dadṛśus tam upānte te daṇḍahastam ivāntakam ||

10 Compare, for example, with the description of an assembly given by Dhanapāla in *Tilakamañjari* (see Pāṇḍuraṅga Paraba, 1938, pp. 107–108).

by comparing the king to Antaka, Devassia emphasized the cruelty of the ruler and completed the description by employing comparison.

In the following part of the canto, the author recalls the conversation between Herod and the sages, the council regarding the possible whereabouts of the "new-born king," the dispatch of the wise men who are asked to find the child and report it, their visit to Bethlehem, and the tribute to baby Jesus (v. 9.20–35). In verses 9.36–40, Devassia describes how Joseph, instructed by the angel (*dūta*, "messenger"), fled with the family to Egypt to protect the child from Herod. The fragment ends with an analogy to the story of Kṛṣṇa and Kaṃsa: "He led Jesus away, just like the father who by divine order took the child to the house of Nanda, to protect him from the danger of Kaṃsa."[11] It is not the first time in this canto that the author compared Herod to Kaṃsa; he had already done so in the opening verse of the *sarga*. According to tradition, Kaṃsa, an evil ruler of Mathura, after a heavenly voice prophesied that the eighth son of Devakī would slay him, ordered the killing of Devakī's children. Six of them died; the seventh, Balarāma, survived because he was transferred to the womb of Rohiṇī. The eighth child was Kṛṣṇa. To protect him from Kaṃsa, Devakī asked the boy's father, Vasudeva, to take him to Gokula, where Kṛṣṇa was raised by Nanda, the head of the cowherds. The similarities between the stories of Jesus and Kṛṣṇa are obvious. Devassia used the analogy to make the narrative more vibrant, to present the biblical episode through the lens of a famous motif from the mythology of Kṛṣṇa, to show the parallel between the Christian and Hindu traditions, and to juxtapose two divine figures from different cultures.

In the composition of *Kristubhāgavatam*, Devassia relied on the Gospels, tradition, and works such as *The Greatest Story Ever Told* by Fulton Oursler (Devassia, 1977, 1), where the episode of the massacre is briefly described. The account in the New Testament is only three verses long (Matthew 2:16–18):

> Then Herod, seeing that he was mocked by the Wise men, was full of wrath; and he sent, and slew all the male children that were in Bethlehem, and in all its borders, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had exactly learned from the Wise men.
>
> Then was fulfilled that which was spoken through Jeremiah the prophet, saying
>
> A voice was heard in Ramah,
> Weeping and great mourning,
> Rachel weeping for her children;
> And she would not be comforted,
> Because they are not (*s.e.*, 1913, p. 10).

11 *śiśuṃ kaṃsabhayāt trātuṃ divyādeśān nināya tam* |
yathā nandagṛhaṃ tātas tathā yeśum uvāha saḥ ||

The description given by Ourlser is even shorter:

> [The] captains had to go out of the palace and lead troops to Bethlehem to do his atrocious bidding. They surrounded the city, occupied the streets, rushed into the houses with drawn short swords and uplifted spears. By the order of the king, they cut to death every boy baby in the town. Not one of those holy innocents was spared – only the infant Jesus (Oursler, 1949, p. 69).

Devassia devoted seven stanzas (v. 9.41–47) to the episode, which provide more details:

> As soon as the king realized that he was being fooled by the sages, he burnt in rage and made a cruel resolution [41]. Alas, he immediately ordered the slaying of male children born in Bethlehem, two years old and younger [42]. On the following day, the town was filled with dreadful royal troops; the soldiers entered every house and slaughtered innocents [43]. Here, a soldier puts to the sword a boy in the cradle, elsewhere, he snatches another one by force from the mother's arms and cuts him into pieces [44]. The town, filled with the corpses of slaughtered children and the laments of mothers, was like a new hell settled for the king [45]. It was like a new consecration (*abhiṣeka*) of the cruel king, carried out with the rain of pure blood of unsullied children [46]. The king, the murderer of his wife, sons, elders, and children, surpassed in hard-heartedness even Kaṃsa, the ruler of Mathura [47].[12]

The first two stanzas could be considered a Sanskrit rendition of verse 2:16 from the Gospel of Matthew,[13] but Devassia continued the description and

12 *yadā bubodha bhūpas tair ātmanaṃ vañcitaṃ budhaiḥ* |
tadā jajvāla roṣeṇa cakre ca krūraniścayam ||
bethalehemasaṃjātān dvivayaskān sa puṃśiśūn |
tan nyūnavayasaś cāśu hantuṃ hanta samādiśat ||
paredyur nagarī ghorair āvṛtā rājasainikaiḥ |
gatvā pratigṛhaṃ yodhāś cakrur arbhakamāraṇam ||
kvacid dolāśayaṃ bālam asinā hanti sainikaḥ |
kvacid anyaṃ matṛhastād balād ākṛṣya kṛntati ||
hatabālakagātraiś ca janitrīṇāṃ prarodanaiḥ |
sā'bhūd iva purī rājñe narakaṃ nirmitaṃ navam ||
śiśūnām akṛtāghānām amalāsrapravarṣaṇāt |
nṛśaṃsabhūmipasyeva kṛtaṃ navyābhiṣecanam ||
jāyāputragurūṇāṃ ca śiśūnāṃ cāntako nṛpaḥ |
kaṃsam apy atiśete sma kraurye sa mathurādhipam ||

13 In other parts of the epic, the author rendered in Sanskrit the famous sayings of Christ and other meaningful quotes from the Gospels, as *Oratio Dominica* (v. 17.44-47) or such sayings like "it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God" (v. 21.49, after Matthew 19:24, Mark 10:25, Luke 18:25), "he that is without sin among

replaced the image of Jeremiah's vision recalled by the evangelist with a longer and more brutal depiction of the slaughter. He created a vision of a town overrun by the merciless troops sent by Herod. The description in the 45th verse brings to mind the poetic visions of a battlefield filled with corpses and laments of women. In the next verse, the author drew an analogy between the bloodbath at the site of the massacre and the royal *abhiṣeka*, the consecration ritual of the king. Using a simile, Devassia created a picture of Herod that can be imagined as bathed in the blood of the innocent victims of his cruelty. The vision is further emphasized by another juxtaposition of the king of Judaea with Kaṃsa and the reminder of Herod's murderous acts of killing his wife and sons. The choice of words additionally accentuates the violent aspect of the episode: the description of the slaughter abounds in many terms as *krūra*, "bloody" or "cruel" (v. 9.19 and 9.41), *ghora*, "violent" or "dreadful" (v. 9.43), *nṛśaṃsa*, "mischievous" or "cruel" (v. 9.46), *kraurya*, "cruelty" or "hard-heartedness" (v. 9.47), and *duṣkṛta*, "evil action" or "sin" (v. 9.48). The ninth canto culminates in verses 9.41–47; the following stanzas gradually lead through the falling action towards the *dénouement* of the *sarga*, which ends with the family of Jesus returning to Bethlehem.

The episode is an important thread of action in the first half of Devassia's work. A short biblical narrative mentioned only by one evangelist was developed and given greater prominence. Moreover, as noted before, the political and military character of the events recalled in the canto can be seen as the employment of three descriptive sequences recommended for *mahākāvya* by the theoreticians; although simplified and not as extensive as in the classical *mahākāvya*s, the ninth *sarga* includes descriptions of an envoy (the visit of the three sages at the court of Herod), a council (regarding the possible whereabouts of the "new-born king"), and military action (the attack of royal troops on Bethlehem). The latter is the most bloody and violent description in the work – paradoxically, even more so than the story of the crucifixion of Christ recalled in the 31st canto. The Slaughter of the Innocents is not the only episode from the Gospels elaborated by Devassia (for instance, he devoted the whole 29th canto to the description of the suicide of Judas), but in this case, the author used the opportunity to show his imagination and freedom as a poet to make full use of the requirements of *mahākāvya* genre.

In the Appreciations, Joseph Parecattil, Archbishop of Ernakulam, noted that he has no hesitation in saying that Devassia's work

> will certainly throw open the doors for those Sanyasins and other Sanskrit scholars, who usually do not go in for the life of Christ written in western languages,

you, let him first cast a stone" (v. 23.13, after John 8.7), or "My God, my God, why didst thou forsake me?" (v. 31.41, after Matthew 27:46, Mark 15:34).

> to have access to Christ in the idioms and expressions of a language with which they are familiar and which evokes in them an appreciative response (Devassia, 1977, p. xi).

The author of *Kristubhāgavatam* exploited all possible means to present the story of Christ in the form of a *mahākāvya* that is more approachable and relatable for the contemporary Indian reader, despite being written in Sanskrit, which is often considered a dead language. Devassia's work is one of many examples proving that literary production in Sanskrit has not ceased and the language remains alive, even if mostly as a medium of literary expression or academic interest.[14]

The theme of the epic and its language limit the readership mainly to circles of Sanskrit scholars and educated Indian Christians. Not coincidentally, in 1980, India's National Academy of Letters announced *Kristubhāgavatam* as the winner of the prestigious Sahitya Akademi Award for Sanskrit. However, as wished by the author, the work has also reached non-academic readers: even today, it is studied at Keralan universities, read during Christian celebrations, and quoted by members of the Church on social media.[15] Such a state of affairs is facilitated by the fact that *Kristubhāgavatam* was published along with the author's English translation. Although, as mentioned before, the translation is not always literal, it makes the work accessible for those who do not know Sanskrit or have only a basic knowledge of the language. In this way, *Kristubhāgavatam* can be

14 The belief that Sanskrit is a dead language and does not serve anymore as "the vehicle for living thought" (Pollock, 2001, p. 414) is widely accepted. Nevertheless, modern literature in this language proves otherwise, as it reacts to contemporary events, incorporates new themes and genres, and transforms according to social, political, and cultural changes. Moreover, the spoken Sanskrit courses gain more and more popularity, radio and television programs broadcast in this language, and a certain number of people claims that Sanskrit is their mother tongue used on a daily basis—in the latest census (2011), it was nearly 25 000 people (see the census tables published on the official website: https://censusindia.gov.in/census.website/data/census-tables). The matter of Sanskrit's liveliness is a complicated and interesting problem, unfortunately beyond the scope of this article. For more information please consult, for instance, Pollock, 2001 and Hanneder, 2002.

15 Based on the personal communication with Prof. C. Rajendran and Prof. G.U. Thite. The syllabuses of Sanskrit courses offered by several Indian universities and colleges prove that *Kristubhāgavatam* is a subject of academic studies; see, for instance, the syllabus of the MA Sanskrit course at the Calicut University (https://sde.uoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/IV%20Sem-SKT-Modern%20Literary%20Composition%20in%20Sanskrit.pdf) or the syllabus of the BA Sanskrit course at the University of Kerala (https://www.keralauniversity.ac.in/downloads/sdgg1669281193.pdf). The text of *Kristubhāgavatam* is used not only during the religious celebrations and for academic purposes but also as a literary source exploited by Indian Christians in other cultural activities, as exemplified by a performance conducted during the World Voice Day in Thrissur, on 15 April 2023, in which a choir presented a music composition with the lyrics from Devassia's poem (see Poovathingal, 2023).

appreciated by a wider audience. For Indian Christians, it is a significant work that brings together two important spheres of life; it embodies the essence of cultural and religious heritage – especially the first half of the epic, which fulfils this goal through concise descriptions and numerous comparisons to Indian culture. The second half is less descriptive and seems somewhat hastened; here, the descriptive sequences occur only sporadically, and the storyline is presented mainly through extended dialogues or monologues.[16]

Nevertheless, in general, Devassia managed to achieve his goal of composing a *mahākāvya* on the life of Christ. Whenever the story seemed incompatible with the requirements of the genre (as in the absence of miliary sequences), the author elaborated on minor biblical episodes in order to meet the theoretical stipulations. The work is endowed with the qualities (*guṇa*s) of clarity (*prasāda*) and agreeableness or tenderness (*saukumārya*); it is written in a lucid style, avoids rare and complex expressions, consists of words easy to pronounce, is grammatically correct, and presents even the most violent or unpleasant stories with elegance and particular tenderness. The treatment of the episode describing the slaughter of children shows how the author of *Kristubhāgavatam* adapted the story of Christ to the requirements of Sanskrit poetry and to the model of *mahākāvya*, demonstrating that even in the last decades of the 20th century Sanskrit was not a dead language but one that could still serve as a medium of literary expression.

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16 There are a few exceptions to this general statement. In v. 28.13, for example, Devassia compares the relation between Christ and Judas to the betrayal of Mahatma Gandhi by Nathuram Godse, a Hindu nationalist and the assassin of Gandhi.

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Hermina Cielas Leão – is a Sanskrit scholar affiliated with the Department of Languages and Cultures of India and South Asia, Jagiellonian University. Her research focuses on Sanskrit literature as well as the culture and art of India, including visual poetry, the performative tradition of *avadhāna*, and contemporary Sanskrit. Dr. Cielas Leão is the author of numerous scholarly articles and the monograph *Attentive Minds: A History of the Indian Performative Art of Avadhāna from the Origin to Modern Times* (Brill, 2024).

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Kamil Kozakowski
http://orcid.org/0000-0001-7134-5784
kkozakowski89@gmail.com
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Pejzaż krajobrazowi nierówny. Znaczenie terminu „krajobraz" w XIX-wiecznej kulturze polskiej

STRESZCZENIE

Pojęcie „krajobrazu" w rozumieniu opisowo-etnograficznym weszło do słownika myślicieli europejskich w XIX w., zyskując popularność szczególnie wśród badaczy niemieckich, takich jak między innymi Alexander von Humboldt. Na gruncie polskim termin został spopularyzowany przez Joachima Lelewela. Polski uczony użył pojęcia „krajobrazu" już w 1814 r. Co istotne, włączenie powyższego terminu do języka polskiego zbiegło się z okresem, w którym przyroda zaczęła zyskiwać szczególne znaczenie w polskiej kulturze. Wpływ na to miał między innymi rozwój ludoznawstwa oraz ideologii o charakterze słowianofilskim. Uważano bowiem, że w obawie przed rusyfikacją i germanizacją należy zachować dla kolejnych pokoleń jak najwięcej informacji o sposobie życia mieszkańców ziem polskich i o ich kulturze. W badaniach ludoznawczych przyroda odgrywała kluczową kwestię. W ówczesnych poglądach dominował bowiem determinizm geograficzny, wedle którego to właśnie przyroda i środowisko naturalne miały wpływać na charakter zamieszkujących daną krainę ludzi, ich poczynania, a nawet szlachetność. Artykuł podejmuje refleksję nad znaczeniem terminu „krajobraz" w polskiej kulturze XIX w., ukazując, że wpływ na jego kształtowanie miały zarówno koncepcje zachodnich myślicieli, jak i ideologia romantyczna.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: krajobraz, pejzaż, kultura, historia kultury, XIX wiek

ABSTRACT

The *Paysage* is Unequal to the *Landscape*. The Meaning of the Term "Landscape" in 19th-century Polish Culture

The concept of "landscape," in the descriptive and ethnographic sense, entered the vocabulary of European intellectuals in the nineteenth century, gaining particular prominence among German scholars such as Alexander von Humboldt. In Poland, the term was popularized by Joachim Lelewel, who employed it as

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early as 1814. Importantly, the inclusion of this concept in the Polish language coincided with a period in which nature began to gain special importance in Polish culture. his developmen was influenced, among other factors, by the rise of folk studies and Slavophilic ideology. In the face of Russification and Germanization, it was believed essential to preserve as much information as possible about the way of life and culture of the inhabitants of Polish lands for future generations. Nature played a key role in folklore research. The dominant worlview of that time was marked by geographic determinism, according to which the natural environment shaped the character, behavior of peasants, and even the gentry in a given territory. The aim of this article is to reflect on the meaning of the term "landscape" in Polish culture of the 19th century. It demonstrates that both the concepts developed by Western thinkers and the ideals of romantic ideology influenced the shaping of the Polish understanding of the term "landscape."

KEYWORDS: landscape, *paysage*, culture, history of culture, 19th century

W swoim artykule skupiam się na znaczeniu terminu krajobrazu w XIX-wiecznej kulturze polskiej, przyjmując perspektywę historycznokulturową. Tym samym, podejmowane zagadnienie rozpatruję poprzez pryzmat kulturoznawczej teorii krajobrazu. Jestem świadomy faktu, że pełne badania wymagałyby uzupełnienia z perspektyw innych nauk (takich jak m.in.: językoznawstwo, literaturoznawstwo, historia oraz teoria sztuki). W ramach konwencji poniższego artykułu zdecydowałem się jednak skoncentrować na wątkach kluczowych w kontekście interesującego mnie tematu[1].

We współczesnym języku polskim można się spotkać zarówno z terminem „pejzaż", jak i „krajobraz". Warto zastanowić się nad etymologią obu terminów. Pierwszy z nich wywodzi się z francuskiego słowa *pays*, określającego konkretny kraj bądź krainę (Plit, 2001). Co istotne, słowo to pochodzi z łacińskiego *pagus* i oznacza miejsce, w którym człowiek narodził się bądź zamieszkuje oraz do którego żywi emocjonalny stosunek (González, 2013). Stosowane jest ono raczej w relacji do kraju w znaczeniu geograficznym i etnograficznym. W kontekście politycznym i administracyjnym zwykle używane jest słowo *état*. Tym samym więc, *pays* może oznaczać również poszczególny region, znajdujący się w obszarze jednego państwa (Plit, 2001). Antoine Furetière definiował ten termin w XVII w. jako „aspekt kraju, terytorium, które rozciąga się tak daleko, jak sięga wzrok" (Weltman-Aron, 2001, s. 111). Florian Plit zaznacza, że słowo *pays*, w przeciwieństwie do *état*, odnosi się raczej do ludzi zamieszkujących konkretne miejsce aniżeli do samego regionu. Z tego względu terminem

1 Istnieje bogata bibliografia, która uzupełnia moje rozważania, opierając się na kontekście innych nauk. Szersze spojrzenie na temat krajobrazu w kulturze można odnaleźć między innymi w poniższych opracowaniach: Frydryczak, red., 2014; Myga-Piątek, 2012; Wilczyński, 2005, s. 73–103; Pietrzak, 2008, s. 19–24; Degórski, Ostaszewska, Richling i Solon, 2014, s. 295–316; Frydryczak, 2013.

tym w potocznym języku francuskim określa się często „krajana". Z tego słowa wywodzi się również *paysan*, określający wieśniaka, oraz zwrot *mal du pays*, oznaczający tęsknotę za krajem ojczystym (Plit, 2001).

Termin „krajobraz" zdaniem Aleksandra Brücknera wywodzi się natomiast od słowa *lanczaft* (Brückner, 1927), pochodzącego zapewne z holenderskiego *lantscap* (*lantscep*, *landschap*) i niemieckiego *Landschaft*. W języku holenderskim termin ten używany był już w XIII w. Pierwszy człon *land* oznacza terytorium graniczne, przyrostek *scep* (podobnie jak niemiecki *schaft*) odnosi się do czynności tworzenia bądź rekultywacji (Antrop, 2017). Niektórzy badacze wskazują również na związek *schaft* z greckim słowem oznaczającym królewskie berło i dominację (Ingegnoli, 2002). Słowo *paysage* trafiło do terminologii malarskiej wraz ze wzrostem popularności renesansowego malarstwa włoskiego. Zaczęto nazywać w ten sposób obrazy, których twórca znajdował się niejako „poza" przedstawionym na obrazie światem, pełniąc jedynie funkcję obserwatora natury (González, 2013). Marc Antrop zaznacza, że słowo *landscape* pojawiło się w języku angielskim w XVII w., wraz ze sprowadzonymi z Holandii obrazami prezentującymi naturalną scenerię (Antrop, 2017). Najprawdopodobniej malarze holenderscy zaczęli więc stosować określenie *lantscap* (*lantscep*, *landschap*) zamiast słowa *paysage*.

Pojęcie „krajobrazu" w rozumieniu opisowo-etnograficznym weszło do słownika myślicieli europejskich właśnie w XIX w., zyskując popularność szczególnie na gruncie niemieckim. Aleksander von Humboldt rozumiał *Landschaft* jako „całościowy charakter jakiegoś obszaru (regionu Ziemi)" (Pietrzak, 2008, s. 22). Różnorodność regionalna miała być jego zdaniem wyrażana właśnie przez krajobrazy (*Landschaften)*, traktowane jako zjawiska holistyczne (Antrop, 2017). Ważnym pojęciem w badaniach niemieckiego uczonego była również „przyroda", traktowana całościowo jako świat człowieka i jego działalność. Przyroda w rozumieniu Humboldta funkcjonowała jako obraz odbity w umyśle ludzkim, mający odwzorowywać obiektywnie istniejącą rzeczywistość. Z tego właśnie powodu niemiecki uczony twierdził, że przedstawienie przyrody możliwe jest jedynie za pomocą humanistycznych środków przekazu, do których zaliczał także sztukę (Wilczyński, 2005). Karl Rosenkraz postrzegał natomiast krajobrazy (*Landschaften*) jako „hierarchicznie zintegrowane lokalne systemy" (Pietrzak, 2008, s. 22). Niemiecki geograf Alvin Oppel wprowadził w 1884 r. termin *Landschaftskunde*, oznaczający naukę o krajobrazach (*Landschaften*). Nieco inne podejście zaproponował francuski geograf Paul Vidal de la Blache, dla którego krajobrazy (uczony używał terminu *paysages*) związane były ze stylem życia lokalnego społeczeństwa (*genre de vie*), organizującym konkretny krajobraz (*paysage*), na który składały się zarówno warunki naturalne, jak i kultura, układy osadnicze i społeczne zamieszkującej go społeczności (Antrop, 2017).

W języku polskim można zaobserwować funkcjonowanie dwóch terminów: „pejzaż" i „krajobraz", używanych często synonimicznie. W *Słowniku języka* *polskiego* Samuela Bogusława Lindego nie pojawiały się jeszcze jednak oba wskazane terminy. Występowało natomiast w nim hasło „kraiopis", utożsamiane z chorografią, ziemioopisem i geografią (Linde, 1808). Obydwa terminy są natomiast traktowane synonimicznie w *Encyklopedii powszechnej* Samuela Orgelbranda z 1864 r., w której termin „krajobraz" definiowany był w poniższy sposób:

> Krajobraz, zwany także niekiedy z francuzka pejzażem (paysage), albo z niemiecka lanszaftem (Landschaft), wizerunek bądź malowany, bądź rysowany, rytowany lub fotografowany jakiej okolicy, czyli w ogóle niemej przyrody (Orgelbrand, 1864, s. 834).

Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego wskazywał krajobraz jako słowo nowsze, aczkolwiek nadal synonimiczne ze słowem *lanczaft*; przywoływał również określenie „krajopisu". Warto odnotować, że pierwotnie słowo „kraj" oznaczało ziemię przygraniczną, „wysuniętą", dopiero później utożsamione zostało z „okolicą", a następnie z „ziemią" (Brückner, 1927). Czacki, definiując etymologię słowa Ukraina, stwierdzał, że pochodzi ono od „*okrayka* ziemi", czyli ostatniej krainy graniczącej z krajem sąsiedzkim. Jego zdaniem słowo Ukraina było terminem administracyjnym i znaczyło to samo co niemiecka marchia (Czacki, 1837). *Encyklopedyja powszechna* Orgelbranda również definiowała Ukrainę jako ziemię pograniczną. Autorzy encyklopedii zwracali uwagę na fakt, iż w historii Polski było wiele „ukrain", a ich funkcją była ochrona ziem ojczystych przed wrogimi państwami. Najdłużej swoją nazwę zachowała jednak Ukraina leżąca nad Dnieprem, albowiem zdaniem autorów była ona „ponad inne ukrainy". Wynikało to z faktu, iż pozostałe ukrainy odgradzały od siebie wrogie sobie kraje, Ukraina kijowska odgradzała natomiast od siebie „dwa światy: chrześcijański i muzułmański". Zdaniem autorów encyklopedii z tego właśnie powodu stała się ona jedyną Ukrainą, utożsamianą w języku polskim z konkretnym obszarem, a nie z terytorium przygranicznym (Orgelbrand, 1864).

Wydaje się więc, że terminy „landszaft"/„lanszaft" i „pejzaż" bardzo często funkcjonowały w języku polskim jako synonimy. „Gazeta Warszawska" z 20 czerwca 1795 r. w dziale „doniesienia" informowała czytelników o obywającej się w ratuszu aukcji, na której oprócz portretów można było zakupić również „landszafty" (Gazeta Warszawska, 1795)[2]. To samo pismo, 26 listopada 1808 r., podawało informację o przybyciu z Drezna wybitnego mistrza malarskiego, udzielającego w Hotelu Niemieckim lekcji malowania pejzaży (Gazeta Warszawska, 1808). Kluczowe jest jednak pytanie o genezę terminu „krajobraz". W Polsce słowo to zostało spopularyzowane przez Joachima Lelewela. Zdaniem Wojciecha Przegona polski myśliciel użył go po raz pierwszy w 1830 r. w książce

2 Należy zaznaczyć jednak, że w wydaniach „Gazety Warszawskiej" z XIX w. pojawia się już forma *lanszaft* odnośnie do wystawianych na aukcjach obrazów.

zatytułowanej *Dzieje Polski Joachim Lelewel potocznym sposobem opowiedział, do nich dwanaście krajobrazów skreślił* (Przegon, 2009). Należy jednak zaznaczyć, że termin ten pojawił się już w pismach Lelewela z 1814 r. w kontekście etnograficzno-geograficznym. Lelewel, pisząc o krajobrazie, wspominał o wrodzonej ludziom potrzebie wyobrażania sobie i opisywania innych ludów, która przekłada się na tworzenie krajobrazów, nazywanych również „kartami geograficznymi". Jako swoisty krajobraz narodu żydowskiego traktował bowiem Księgę Jozuego. Terminem tym określał również opisy Ptolemeusza (Lelewel, 1814). Krajobrazami Lelewel nazywał także średniowieczne mapy, między innymi mapę zaprojektowaną w XIV w. przez Marina Sanuto bądź mapę świata autorstwa Andrea Bianco z 1436 r. (Lelewel, 1814). W wydanym rok później podręczniku do nauczania historii podkreślał rolę krajobrazów jako materiałów niezbędnych w rozumieniu i poznawaniu historii. Jak pisał:

> Do tego przyrządzone, do tych mówię znamienitszych epok krajobrazy, wystawujące wielkość mocarstw, ich sąsiedztwo, a przez znaki jakowe i inne ich okoliczności, przynoszą niezmierne ułatwienie, nie tylko przez to, że wrażenie miejsca wzrokiem objętego, wiąże jednoczesne zdarzenia, ale nadto, w powtarzanych obrazach takich, podług czasu i epok odmiennych, a dobrze jeśli to być może w jednej wielkości urządzonych, ukazuje, i kolej zmian ogromnych na świecie i daje sposobność ich porównywania i odróżniania (Lelewel, 1815, s. 87).

W swoim referacie odczytanym 23 listopada 1820 r. na posiedzeniu Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk Lelewel, mówiąc o krajobrazach, miał na myśli prezentowane słuchaczom mapy, ilustrujące odkrycia Kartagińczyków i Greków (Lelewel, 1821). Zdaniem Macieja Pietrzaka, Lelewel pojęcie krajobrazu traktował jako „historię kraju" (Pietrzak, 2008). Warto zwrócić uwagę na fakt, iż polski uczony w rzeczywistości nie utożsamiał krajobrazu z przedstawianą w swojej książce historią Polski, ale pod pojęciem tym wciąż rozumiał mapy, dołączone do swojej publikacji, których naszkicował właśnie dwanaście. W koncepcji Lelewela wyraźnie dostrzegalne są wpływy Ptolemeusza, który traktował geografię jako sztukę przedstawiania ziemi za pomocą rysunku. Dziedzictwo Ptolemeusza zostało przejęte przez kulturę renesansu, kiedy to mapa została utożsamiona ze słowem *pictus*. Ten sposób obrazowego postrzegania map był charakterystyczny w XV i XVI w. dla kultury holenderskiej i nadreńskiej, w których kartograficzne mapy uznawane były za prawdziwe dzieła sztuki. To właśnie kartografia miała decydujący wpływ na charakter krajobrazowego malarstwa holenderskiego w XVII w., nadając mu swoisty charakter (Frydryczak, 2013)[3]. Fakt ten

3 Svetlana Alpers właśnie w XVII-wiecznym malarstwie holenderskim dostrzegła „impuls do wykreślenia mapy". Holenderscy malarze odrzucili włoski model pejzażowy, w swoich pracach inspirując się tradycją kartograficzną. Przejawiała się ona w malarstwie holenderskim dużą szczegółowością przedstawianych elementów krajobrazu, teleskopowym przybliżeniem i mikrologicznym

wydaje się tłumaczyć, dlaczego Lelewel wprowadził do języka polskiego słowo „krajobraz", mające być polskim odpowiednikiem holenderskiego *lantscap* (*lantscep*, *landschap*). Nie oznacza to jednak, że mapy pełniły u Lelewela jedynie funkcję wzbogacającą lekturę. Miały one bowiem wraz z treścią tworzyć nierozłączną całość. We wstępie do wspomnianej książki, dedykowanej swojemu synowcowi Tadeuszowi, polski myśliciel pisał:

> Co dzień podrastasz Tadeuszu i lat Ci przybywać zaczyna; co dzień czegoś nowego dowiadujesz się i nie mało rzeczy wiesz i umiesz. Wiesz o tem że ziemia po której biegasz jest kulą; przyglądasz się globusowi i poznajesz na nich koła, i w gwiazdach się rozpatrujesz; poznajesz na ziemi lądy i morza, jak kręto płyną rzeki, gdzie leżą góry, i różne kraje jak byś w nich był; pamiętasz liczne miasta, których szukasz po krajobrazach, znasz wiele zwierząt i roślin, i dowiadujesz się gdzie się które znajdują; wiesz jak trzeba w ogródku kwiatki a na polu siać i zbiera zboża, jak koniki zaprzęgać; słyszałeś o rozmaitych ludziach, co do koloru postaci, co do ich cywilizacji, znasz różne narody. Widzę jak jesteś ciekawy i rad codzień coś więcej umieć; widzę że Ciebie bardzo obchodzi to wszystko co się w Polszcze działo. Jest to bardzo pięknie z Twojej strony: bo przede wszystkiem, kiedyś dobry Polak, wiedzić powinieneś co się w domu, co się w Polszcze Twej Ojczyźnie działo. Dla tegom Ci w tej książeczce którą trzymasz w ręku, opowiedział dzieje Polski. Dowiesz się z niej równie jak z innych książek, co porabiali królowie i co porabiał naród, jak i kiedy Polacy szczęśliwi byli, wojowali lub w pokoju siedzieli, źle lub dobrze postępowali, jak się kłócili albo zgodnie żyli, jak się ubierali, jak konno lub w pojazdach jeździli, jak biesiadowali jak się uczyli, w wiele różnych innych rzeczy (Lelewel, 1829, s. 7–9).

Z przytoczonego cytatu wyłania się przyjęty przez Lelewela model dziejów narodu, które obejmują nie tylko chronologicznie przedstawione wydarzenia historyczne, ale również technologie, zwyczaje i sposób życia na konkretnych etapach kulturowego rozwoju. Historia narodu jest w ujęciu lelewelowskim także historią kultury, obejmującą materialny i niematerialny dorobek określonej społeczności. Dzieje narodu polskiego zostały podzielone przez Lelewela na konkretne epoki i pogrupowane chronologicznie w trzech głównych blokach (kolejno są to: podania niepewne, Polska kwitnąca i Polska upadająca). Jednakże załączone do książki mapy nie mają na celu jedynie zobrazowania politycznego i administracyjnego układu państwa polskiego w następujących po sobie epokach. Czytelnik często zostaje bowiem zachęcany przez autora do spojrzenia na wskazane w tekście „krajobrazy" (czyli mapy), na których patrzenie „dużo też ułatwia zrozumienie i pamiętanie różnych zdarzeń" (Lelewel, 1829,

spojrzeniem. Włoska idea „okna Albertiego", traktująca obraz jako okno, wydała się holenderskim malarzom zbyt mało szczegółowa i zamknięta. Chcieli oni bowiem przedstawić na płótnie prawdziwy *pictus*, opis ziemi. Z tego powodu wzorowali się na kartografii.

s. 86). Krajobraz był więc traktowany przez uczonego jako źródło historyczne, a nie „historia kraju" sama w sobie. Niemniej jednak, ukazuje to widoczny w światopoglądzie Lelewela całościowy sposób postrzegania dziejów konkretnego narodu, na który wpływ mają uwarunkowania geograficzne i terytorium zamieszkiwane przez jego członków, co przybliża go do poglądów Humboldta. Warto przypomnieć, że klimat miał zdaniem Lelewela duży wpływ na uwarunkowania społeczne, życie i sztukę danej zbiorowości.

Wzrost zainteresowania geografią historyczną i opisem ziem dawnej Rzeczpospolitej w polskiej kulturze był niewątpliwie również efektem programów i instrukcji ludoznawczych, które zaczynały pojawiać się w XIX w. na ziemiach polskich (Winogradowa, 1984). Czynniki te prowadziły do zwiększonego zainteresowania pojęciem krajobrazu i nadaniu temu terminowi nowych znaczeń. W 1849 r. ukazała się w Polsce praca Humboldta, gdzie termin ten odnosił się już do opisu konkretnego terytorium, którego widok wpływał na duszę i umysł człowieka (Humboldt, 1849). Niemiecki uczony podzielał przekonania Lelewela odnośnie do wpływu geografii na życie społeczne, podkreślał bowiem, iż:

> Sam człowiek, ten władca ziemi, nie może się uwolnić z pod wpływów świata fizycznego, i jeżeli będziemy dochodzić, jak rozległy zakres może mieć to jego panowanie, postrzeżemy, że charakter, obyczaje, zwyczaje, formy polityczne, zasady moralne i mniemania religijne, słowem że wszystko to, co stanowi podstawę bytu społecznego, zależy najwięcej od klimatu i własności gruntu (Humboldt, 1849, s. LXVI).

Termin „krajobraz" został również przyjęty przez Wincentego Pola. Dla zainspirowanego koncepcjami Humboldta geografa krajobraz oznaczał „widok otaczającej człowieka rzeczywistości" (Degórski, Ostaszewska, Richling i Solon, 2014), jednakże rzeczywistość ta tworzona była nie tylko przez przyrodę, ale również i emocje. Z tego powodu geograficzne prace stworzone przez badacza odznaczały się wyraźnym charakterem poetyckim i dotyczyły przeważnie obszarów dawnych ziem Rzeczpospolitej. Pol chciał bowiem wzbudzić zainteresowania swoich rodaków historią ojczystych terytoriów. Polski geograf inspirował się nie tylko teoriami Humdoldta, ale również i Stanisława Staszica, autora pierwszej instrukcji ludoznawczej (Harasimiuk, 2008). Pol, podobnie jak niemiecki przyrodnik, traktował geografię jako naukę całościową, która nie skupia się tylko na badaniu natury, ale również na historii ludzkości. Charakteryzując ją, pisał, że

> geografia jest tedy w odniesieniu wszelkich zjawisk do stosunków przestrzeni ogniwem łączącem wszystkie nauki przyrodzone w jednę całość na polu rzeczywistości, do stosunków przestrzeni i czasu (Pol, 1850, s. 9).

Co istotne, Pol uznawał etnografię za istotny element geografii. Pozwalała ona bowiem na rozpatrywanie człowieka jako istoty przynależnej jednocześnie do natury, jak i do społeczeństwa (Pol, 1850, s. 11). Polski geograf zauważał, że człowiek jest istotą społeczną, kształtowaną zarówno przez naturę, jak i ducha. Opowiadał się za wspólnym pochodzeniem wszystkich ludzi, etnografię traktował jak dziedzinę geografii, mającą wskazać elementy różniące konkretne społeczności za sprawą umiejętności i przyzwyczajeń nabywanych przez człowieka żyjącego w społeczeństwie (Pol, 1850). Społeczeństwa uznawał natomiast za efekt rozwoju ludzkości:

> Historya naucza nas, iż pojedyncze rody, stojące na stanowisku człowieka w stanie natury, żyjące obok siebie na pewnej przestrzeni, połączyły się z sobą i utworzyły narody – to jest świadome siebie społeczeństwa ludzkie, rządzone potęgą wspólnego ducha i woli zbiorowej, a kierowane do pewnego celu (Pol, 1850, s. 19–20).

Termin „krajobraz" został także zaadoptowany przez malarstwo. Ryszard Berwiński w swoim artykule z 1841 r. poświęconym poznańskiej wystawie obrazów pisał, iż „krajobraz jest liryką malarstwa" (Berwiński, 1982, s. 137), ponieważ ukazuje on duszę artysty (Berwiński, 1982). Bardzo interesujące w kontekście omawianego zagadnienia są *Gawędy o literaturze i sztuce* Józefa Ignacego Kraszewskiego. Dla Kraszewskiego krajobraz jest pojęciem zdecydowanie szerszym niż pejzaż. Pejzaż oznacza bowiem jedynie pewien sposób zobrazowania przyrody, przeważnie na wzór „cudzoziemski", co do którego autor był zdecydowanie krytycznie nastawiony. Uznawał go bowiem za bezmyślne i beznamiętne powielanie obcego polskiej kulturze modelu przedstawiania rzeczywistości. Krajobraz natomiast jest dziełem wyższym, wynikającym z uczuć i duszy artysty (Kraszewski, 1866). Kraszewski pisał:

> Co innego bowiem, jest piękny, artystycznie wykonany rysunek pomnika, *widok* miasta, kościoła itp., a co innego *krajobraz-widok*, to portret miejsca mniej więcej piękny i wierny, którego jak portretu jakiego, Velazquez, Rembrandt, Rubens, zrobili rzecz cudną, a partacz suchy inwentarz cegieł i gzemsów. Krajobraz, to utwor, który zarazem odtwarza myśl Bożą wyrażającą się w naturze, i piękno jakie w niej jest zawarte odczytane jasno przez artystę, pojętnem czyni dla ogółu, uwydatnia (Kraszewski, 1866, s. 244).

Krajobraz u Kraszewskiego wymagał uchwycenia prawdziwego charakteru polskiej przyrody i zrozumienia jej poezji, uchwycenia narodowej duszy. Dokonać mógł tego tylko artysta-poeta (Kraszewski, 1866). Podobnie jak u wcześniejszych autorów, Kraszewski pojmował krajobraz całościowo, zaliczając do niego także rośliny, zwierzęta, ludzi, architekturę, a nawet geologię. Co istotne, krajobraz mógł dotyczyć tylko ziemi bliskiej, matczynej, do której pałało się uczuciem. Miał być bowiem opisem wypływającym z uczuć człowieka. Jeśli bowiem autor nie czuł się związany duchowo z przedstawianą przestrzenią, to efektem jego pracy miał być jedynie „zimny" pejzaż (Kraszewski, 1866). Kraszewski argumentował to w następujący sposób:

> Kto chce nasz kraj odwzorować żywo, musi pójść na wieś, do dworku szlachcica, do chaty chłopka, w zaścianek, nad staw i młynek, do pasieki, pod kościółek stary i dzwonnicę zgarbioną, pod figurę w lesie, i tu dopiero znajdzie, odwzoruje co właściwie jest naszem. (...) Step z mogiłą ukraiński, chata strzelca w puszczy Białowieskiej, poleskie sioło, wołyńska na górze lepianka, stawy podolskie, brzegi Wisły, Bugu, Narwi, Styru, Horynia, Bohu, Niemna, Wilij, Wilejki, Dźwiny, Dniestru i Dniepru! Każdy inny, a wszystko piękne! (Kraszewski, 1866, s. 207–208, 249).

Autor kazał również zwracać artystom uwagę na poszczególne elementy różniące wiejskie chaty w poszczególnych regionach kraju, a także na detale strojów ludowych w konkretnych regionach (Kraszewski, 1866). Można zauważyć, że tworzenie krajobrazów miało stać się według Kraszewskiego jednym z elementów założeń programów ludoznawczych, kierujących się od lat 30. XIX w. już w stronę folklorystyki. Alina Witkowska pisała, że krajobraz „w rękach romantyka stawał się niezastąpioną wykładnią ducha narodu" (Witkowska, 1972, s. 132), ponieważ łączył w sobie naturę, kulturę, przeszłość, współczesność i prawdy ukryte składające się w opinii romantyków na charakter narodu (Witkowska, 1972). Wydaje się, że krajobraz miał funkcjonować jako obrazowy zapis prawdziwej „naturalnej" polskiej kultury w celu uratowania narodowego dziedzictwa przed ekspansywnymi kulturami zaborców. Potwierdził to niejako sam Kraszewski, pisząc, iż sztuka powinna mieć swojego Zoriana Chodakowskiego (Kraszewski, 1866).

Badania nad krajobrazem były w XIX w. nieodłącznie związane z programem ludoznawczym i opierały się na tożsamym celu, jakim była chęć kultywowania i zachowania kultury polskiej dla kolejnych pokoleń. Fakt, że Lelewel używał pierwotnie tego terminu w odniesieniu do mapy, również wydaje się nie bez znaczenia. Topografia stanowiła podstawę holenderskiego *lantscap*, z którego to właśnie najprawdopodobniej Lelewel wprowadził do polskiego języka termin krajobrazu. Późniejsze koncepcje krajobrazu pojawiające się w polskim piśmiennictwie korzystały z dorobku myślicieli niemieckich określających krajobraz jako pewien rodzaj całościowego opisu konkretnego terytorium, obejmujący zarówno przyrodę, jak i jego mieszkańców oraz ich zwyczaje. Bez wątpienia, był to typ opisu geograficzno-etnograficznego, popularny ówcześnie w polskiej kulturze. Wydaje się, że początków całościowego postrzegania krajobrazu należy poszukiwać jeszcze w tradycji oświeceniowej. Marek Pacukiewicz zauważa, że już opisy górskich krajobrazów Staszica łączyły w sobie kartografię z geologią (Pacukiewicz, 2014).

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Kamil Kozakowski – kulturoznawca, doktor nauk humanistycznych w dyscyplinie nauk o kulturze i religii. Absolwent Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach. Swoją pracę doktorską pod tytułem *Modele kultury gruzińskiej w polskim piśmiennictwie XIX wieku* obronił z wyróżnieniem w 2019 roku. Autor licznych artykułów w czasopismach polskich i zagranicznych oraz redaktor monografii naukowych z zakresu kulturoznawstwa.

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Ewa Głażewska
http://orcid.org/0000-0001-8431-7969
Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej
ewa.glazewska@mail.umcs.pl
Małgorzata Karwatowska
http://orcid.org/0000-0001-5582-3758
Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej
malgorzata.karwatowska@mail.umcs.pl
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Covidowa moda (na przykładzie wirtualnej wystawy masek pandemicznych *Clothing the Pandemic*)

STRESZCZENIE

Autorki postrzegają modę przede wszystkim jako istotny środek wyrazu, regulujący współżycie między ludźmi. Ustawiczna zmienność wielu jej wytworów i olbrzymie pragnienie wprowadzania i aplikowania innowacji czyni modę szczególnie interesującym przedmiotem badań. W artykule analizie poddane zostają modne covidowe przedstawienia pojawiające się na różnych elementach ubioru, zwłaszcza maskach. Pierwsza część rozważań koncentruje się na odpowiedzi na pytanie: co to jest moda? Następnie omówione zostają najbardziej charakterystyczne werbalne i wizualne bestsellerowe wręcz motywy pandemiczne. Pandemia, szczególnie w okresach lockdownów, zmieniła zasady ubioru, które stopniowo rozluźniały się, stawiając na wygodę, prostotę i funkcjonalność. Badaczki pokazują również, że covidowa moda, przede wszystkim w postaci masek oraz przedmiotów codziennego użytku, przeszła do muzeów. Ostatnia część rozważań poświęcona jest właśnie wirtualnemu muzeum masek, które stanowi świadectwo naszych czasów o niebywale ważnym przesłaniu.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: Covid, pandemia, moda, maska, muzeum wirtualne

ABSTRACT

Covid Fashion: The Virtual Exhibition of Pandemic Masks *Clothing the Pandemic*

The authors approach fashion first and foremost as a poignant form of expression that regulates social coexistence. The constant transformations of its forms and the persistent drive to introduce and apply innovations make fashion

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a particularly compelling subject for study. This paper explores representations of Covid-era fashion as manifested in various items of clothing, especially face masks. The first part of the study addresses the question: *What is fashion?* Next, the most characteristic verbal, visual, and widely recognized pandemic motifs are discussed. The pandemic, especially during lockdown periods, transformed the norms of dress, leading to a gradual shift toward comfort, simplicity, and functionality. The authors also analyze how "Covid fashion," most notably through face masks and everyday objects, became the focus of museum curation and documentation. The final section discusses the virtual exhibition *Clothing the Pandemic*, which serves both an important record of the era and a meaningful cultural statement.

KEYWORDS: Covid, pandemic, fashion, face mask, virtual museum

Wprowadzenie

Rzadko się zdarza, byśmy mogli uczestniczyć w historii, która nie dość, że wydarza się na naszych oczach, to i dotyczy większości mieszkańców globu. Tak właśnie działo się przez kilkadziesiąt ostatnich miesięcy – od marca 2020 r., kiedy świat obiegła wiadomość o pandemii COVID-19. Dziś z perspektywy czasu możemy pokusić się o przedstawienie jednego z aspektów pandemicznej rzeczywistości, która przesadnie określana była designerską pandemią. Zarówno projektanci mody, jak i twórcy indywidualni, niezwiązani profesjonalnie z tym światem, odpowiedzieli na wyzwania pandemii, pozwalając na oswojenie zagrożenia.

W artykule poddamy analizie modne covidowe przedstawienia pojawiające się na różnych elementach ubioru. W pierwszej części postaramy się zdefiniować pojęcie mody, następnie omówimy najbardziej charakterystyczne werbalne i wizualne bestsellerowe wręcz motywy pandemiczne. Pokażemy również, że covidowa moda, przede wszystkim w postaci masek oraz przedmiotów codziennego użytku, przeszła do muzeów, stanowiąc artefakt o głębokim znaczeniu, będący świadectwem naszych czasów.

1. Moda – od oryginalności do uniformizacji

Renè König twierdzi, że „Moda nie może istnieć w konspiracji, nie może się obyć bez publiczności. Chce widzieć i być widziana, niesie w sobie niewątpliwie skłonność do ekshibicjonizmu" (1979, s. 38). W starożytności funkcję sceny pełniły dla niej plac targowy i agora, a w XVIII w. był to dwór, salon. W XIX stuleciu przejęły tę funkcję miasta i metropolie europejskie (przede wszystkim Paryż), w dobie współczesnej zaś sprawują ją środki masowego przekazu, w tym szczególnie gazety, czasopisma, magazyny ilustrowane. Socjolog ów słusznie zauważa również, że „(...) moda nie jest tylko zewnętrznym – upiększającym czy nawet przekształcającym – dodatkiem do życia, a istotnym środkiem wyrazu, regulującym współżycie między ludźmi" (s. 20).

Spróbujmy zatem odpowiedzieć na pytanie: co to jest moda?

Słowniki języka polskiego odnotowują dwa znaczenia tego rzeczownika:

- 1. ‘zwyczaj, obyczaj przejściowy, zmienny, przeciwstawiający się dotychczasowej tradycji w danej dziedzinie';
  2. ‘styl ubierania się charakterystyczny dla danej epoki; dla określonego terytorium; zespół norm dotyczących zewnętrznego wyglądu człowieka (jego ubioru, obuwia, fryzury), panujących, lansowanych przez pewien czas' (Szymczak, 1982);
- 1. ‘sposób ubierania się, czesania i makijażu popularny w jakimś okresie lub miejscu';
  2. ‘krótkotrwała popularność czegoś w jakiejś dziedzinie' (Dubisz, 2003);
- 1. ‘sposób ubierania się, czesania, makijażu itp. popularny w jakimś okresie';
  2. ‘stroje proponowane w określonym czasie, np. na nowy sezon' (Bańko, 2000).

Wielki słownik języka polskiego[1] pod redakcją Piotra Żmigrodzkiego wskazuje co prawda trzy znaczenia intersującego nas słowa, ale odnajdujemy je już w przywołanych wcześniej objaśnieniach. Chodzi o sposób/styl ubierania się, stroje charakterystyczne w określonym czasie oraz powodzenie/uznanie/wziętość czegoś. Przywołajmy objaśnienia hasła *moda* w tym właśnie leksykonie:

- 1. ‘styl ubierania – popularny w jakimś okresie sposób ubierania się, czesania lub makijażu';
- 2. ‘stroje – proponowane w danym czasie';
- 3. ‘popularność czegoś – zwiększona popularność czegoś lub kogoś w danym czasie lub miejscu'.

Uwzględniając obok znaczenia również kolokacje słowa[2], takie jak: *najświeższa*, *nowa*, *ostatnia*, *przelotna*, *przemijająca moda*; *krzyk mody*[3]; *moda nastaje*,

1 Hasło *moda* – Wielki słownik języka polskiego PAN (wsjp.pl) (dostęp: 26.10.2023).

2 Obecnie coraz większą popularność zyskują połączenia typu *moda na...* (np.: *ciążę*, *dziecko*, *fitness*, *odchudzanie*, *sukces*, *życie*), które egzemplifikują rozszerzenie znaczenia rzeczownika *moda*, od pierwotnego, zgodnie z którym moda związana była głównie ze strojem, w kierunku innego rodzaju zjawisk społecznych.

3 Roland Barthes (2005, s. 296) twierdzi, że jeśli chodzi o modę, „nowość w sposób całkowicie zinstytucjonalizowany jest wartością, którą się kupuje. Wydaje się jednak, że nowe w Modzie spełnia w naszym społeczeństwie jasno określoną funkcję, wiążącą się z jej dwuznacznością: jednocześnie nieprzewidywalna i systemowa, regularna i nieznana, przypadkowa i ustrukturowana, nowe w fantastyczny sposób łączy z pojmowalnością, bez której ludzie nie potrafiliby żyć,

panuje, *przemija*, *kończy się* oraz frazeologizmy, np.: *coś jest w modzie*, *wchodzi w modę*, *wyszło z mody*, dostrzegamy pierwszy z wyróżników mody – jej zmienność[4], który, jak słusznie zauważa Bożena Rejakowa (2008), niewątpliwie uznać należy za truizm. Tendencje mody niezwykle szybko bowiem podlegają przeobrażeniom, są efemeryczne, co celnie ujęła Françoise Giroud, pisząc, że „moda jest nie tylko samym absurdalnym kaprysem, ale małą falą, przerywaną przez wielkie fale, które wstrząsają światem" (Giroud, za: Dziekońska-Kozłowska, 1964, s. 8). Tomasz Szlendak i Krzysztof Pietrowicz (2007) z kolei, traktując o modzie, podkreślają nie tylko jej szaleńcze tempo zmian, ale i olbrzymie pragnienie wprowadzania i aplikowania innowacji, co – zdaniem autorów – wiąże się wręcz z histerią i przesadą. Roland Barthes (2005, s. 38) twierdzi, że zmienność ubioru łączy się z nieustanną zmiennością świata, i na odwrót[5]. Wypada jednak podkreślić i to, że owa ustawiczna zmienność wielu wytworów mody, a – co za tym idzie – i odpowiadających im nazw, czyni z niej wdzięczny temat różnorakich badań i analiz (por. Wilczewska, 1970). Warto podkreślić także fakt, że transformacja rzeczywistości wiąże się ze zmianą językowego sposobu jej ujmowania i interpretacji (zob. Mazur, 2000). Wszystko to prowadzi nie tylko do konieczności nazywania nowych realiów społecznych, gospodarczych czy kulturowych, ale także analizowania zmian w obrębie określonego zasobu leksykalnego.

Druga cecha mody dotyczy niejako sprawowania przez nią rządów (por. zwroty: *moda króluje*, *panuje*). Moda staje się synonimem wygody, dobrego stylu życia, ale jest również pewnego rodzaju informacją o dobrym smaku danej osoby – „nosiciela". Co istotne, jest także moda mechanizmem komunikowania się, sytuuje wszak człowieka w określonej kulturze (zob. Chowaniec, 2015), wyznacza mu miejsce w strukturze społecznej: dobry ubiór świadczy o naszej pozycji, statusie, zasobności, a nawet narodowości, wyznaniu, przynależności etnicznej czy politycznej (zob. Rotter, 2017 oraz Barthes, 2005).

> Strój zawsze jest znakiem. Często świadomym, czasem przypadkowym, ale zawsze coś mówi o noszącej go osobie. (...) Strój nie tylko okrywa ciało, możemy go czytać, przedzierając się przez kolejne konteksty. Ubiór to też rzecz bardzo indywidualna. Dopasowana kolorem, krojem do noszącej go osoby i jednocześnie będąca tej osoby świadomym wyborem. Nawet jeśli to odzienie nonszalanckie, przypadkowe, to sam fakt niedbania o powierzchowność też jest znaczący (Żubka-Chmielewska, 2017, s. 197).

oraz z nieprzewidywalnością, związaną z mitem życia". Ten francuski filozof przywołuje słowa Jeana Stoetzela, który twierdził, że moda to *Aventure sans risque* (Przygoda bez ryzyka).

4 O zmienności i ulotności mody piszą także: Etcoff, 2000; Karwatowska, 2015.

5 „Moda nie ewoluuje, ona się zmienia; co roku jej słownik się odnawia niby w języku, który zawsze zachowałby ten sam system, lecz gwałtownie i regularnie zmieniał «monetę» słów" (Barthes, 2005, s. 219).

Według Barthes'a moda jest systemem złożonym[6], a

> jej złożoność wynika z niestabilności: po pierwsze, system ten co roku się odnawia i obowiązuje tylko na poziomie krótkiej synchronii; po drugie, opozycje są tu podporządkowane ogólnemu ruchowi nieustannej neutralizacji. A zatem arbitralność i umotywowanie znaku ubraniowego należy rozpatrywać w odniesieniu do owej niestabilności (Barthes, 2005, s. 218).

Ów teoretyk semiologii trafnie zauważa, że „to nie przedmiot, to nazwa wywołuje pożądanie; to nie marzenie, to sens prowadzi do sprzedaży" (Barthes, 2005, s. 17).

Rację ma zatem francuski socjolog i filozof Gilles Lipovetsky, kiedy twierdzi, że moda jest jednym z regulatorów procesów społecznych, sprzyja indywidualizacji i emancypacji. Zdaniem tego badacza, obecnie jednostka ma znacznie większą autonomię niż w czasach, w których rządziła tradycja (Lipovetsky, 1994).

Trzecia zaś cecha mody związana jest z ludzkim dążeniem do naśladowania innych, identyfikowania się z nimi[7]. Ta psychiczna potrzeba najwyraźniej widoczna jest właśnie w ubiorze. Ponadto współczesna kultura – określona celnie przez Charlesa Derbera „kulturą pogoni za uwagą" (2002, s. 12) – wyraźnie pokazuje, jak bardzo istotne stało się dzisiaj przywiązywanie nadmiernej uwagi do wyglądu.

Paradoksalnie, choć każdy pragnie być oryginalny, chce być zauważony, to przecież moda przyczynia się do uniformizacji. „Sprawia bowiem, że choć jednostki jawią się mozaikami złożonymi z bardzo różnorodnych elementów, wszystkie postrzegają w istocie rzeczywistość tak samo – przez pryzmat pożądania coraz to nowych gadżetów, które dzięki reklamie zagnieżdżają się w ludzkiej wyobraźni i zaprzątają ją żądzą konsumowania" (Wiśniewski, 2007, s. 22). Innymi słowy, ulegając modzie, z jednej strony przejawiamy konformizm wobec grupy, do której przynależymy, z drugiej zaś pragniemy wyróżnić się z tłumu. Georg Simmel w swym socjologicznym studium mody tak postrzega ów problem: „Moda jest szczególną formą życia, która ma zapewnić kompromis między

6 Znak to związek między *signifiant* i *signifié*. Zdaniem Barthes'a (2005), choć znak ubraniowy zredukowany jest do jedności, i tak może zawierać wiele fragmentów signifiant{s}oraz wiele fragmentów signifié{s}.

7 Co prawda badacze utrzymują, że moda spaja właściwie dwie sprzeczności: z jednej strony, pragnienie upodobnienia do innych, a z drugiej, odróżnienia się od nich. Ponadto „moda łączy w sobie atrakcyjność zmiany i urok odróżnienia się od czegoś najzupełniej przeciwnego – pragnienie konformizmu i dopasowanie się do reszty. Moda do dziś wiąże te dwie sprzeczności i – o dziwo – ludzie jakoś sobie radzą z ich, ekwilibrystycznym czasem, codziennym łączeniem" (Szlendak i Pietrowicz, 2007, s. 22).

tendencją do społecznego zrównania a tendencją do indywidualnej odrębności" (2006, s. 22, zob. też: Barthes, 2005[8]; Chmielińska, 2014).

2. Modne covidowe motywy

Pandemia, szczególnie w okresach lockdownów, zmieniła zasady ubioru, które stopniowo rozluźniały się, stawiając na wygodę, prostotę i funkcjonalność. „Po dwóch latach pośpiesznego zakładania biznesowej marynarki na T-shirt i spodnie dresowe podczas wpuszczania ludzi do naszych domów w czasie pandemii Covid-19, nasza tolerancja dla konformizmu – i dyskomfortu – uległa zmianie" (Shapira, 2022). Stoły kuchenne, łóżka czy kanapy, będące nowymi popularnymi stanowiskami pracy, wymusiły dostosowanie stroju. Wygoda ponad wszystko i pozorna elegancja dostosowane były do kadru kamerki internetowej. Ta iluzja pandemicznego szyku spotkała się w eklektycznym uścisku ze spodniami dresowymi, leginsami i kapciami. Tak zwany *Causal Friday* był codziennie.

Dress code, będący zbiorem określonych zasad, ale i jednym z elementów savoir-vivre'u, w czasach pandemii ewoluował. Pandemia zmieniła miejsce pracy bardzo wielu ludzi, zawłaszczając w tym celu przestrzeń domową. Jak zauważa autor artykułu w „The Guardian", w czasach lockdownu podstawową formą kontaktu z innymi pracownikami były wideokonferencje, które przyczyniły się do innego niż w kontakcie *face to face* sposobu ubierania się. Powstał nawet termin „koszulka zoomowa" (*Urban Dictionary*, zob. Elan, 2020)[9], który mógł mieć swe synonimiczne odpowiedniki w postaci „ubioru teamsowego" itd., w zależności od najczęściej używanej w czasach lockdownu zawodowej platformy komunikacyjnej. Jak zauważa Rupert Wesson – dyrektor w firmie Debrett's – taki ubiór „pozwala zachować obraz profesjonalizmu przed kamerą bez konieczności ubierania się w pełny strój biurowy, gdy siedzisz przy kuchennym stole przez cały dzień" (Elan, zob. też Dubauskas, 2021)[10].

8 Barthes (2005, s. 254) twierdzi, że moda nadaje osobie ludzkiej niejako podwójną postulację: nadaje jej indywidualność albo wielość, stąd „tożsamość i gra". Chcemy być sobą, ale jednocześnie pragniemy akceptacji innych.

9 *Urban Dictionary* definiuje ten nowy termin następująco: „koszula lub bluzka, która jest trzymana z tyłu krzesła biurka, aby szybko zaprezentować się podczas wideokonferencji". Pozyskano z: https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=zoom%20shirt (dostęp: 18.07.2023). Zob. więcej Elan, 2020. Oddzielnym ciekawym zagadnieniem w kontekście pracy zdalnej są aktorzy drugiego planu, czyli to, w jaki sposób ludzie aranżowali przestrzeń, na której tle „występowali", i co się w tej przestrzeni działo.

10 Elan, 2020. Debrett's to brytyjska firma coachingowa zajmująca się m.in. wydawaniem publikacji poświęconych zasadom etykiety, m.in. *Debrett's A–Z of Modern Manner*, założona w 1769 r. przez Johna Debretta. Zob. Dubauskas, 2021.

Nie tylko jednak oficjalne ubrania zawodowe – eleganckie od pasa w górę – zmieniły swój wygląd. Zapanowała także nowa moda obuwnicza spowodowana zmianą form transportu, które pozwalały na dotarcie do pracy (chodzenie pieszo, jazda rowerem). Zaczęły rządzić sneakersy!

Czas pandemii nie tylko boleśnie doświadczył ludzkość, ale skłonił ją również do twórczego radzenia sobie z traumatycznymi doświadczeniami, oswajając „zarazę". Egzemplifikacjami ludzkiej pomysłowości były akcesoria towarzyszące nam w pandemicznej rzeczywistości. Producenci prześcigali się w wytwarzaniu garderoby zawierającej werbalne lub wizualne nawiązania do pandemii. Rynek międzynarodowy został wręcz zalany przez T-shirty, bluzy, śpioszki, kapelusze, maski i mnóstwo gadżetów zawierających: covidowe motywy (w tym znaczek samego wirusa, wizerunek doktora plagi itp.), modne covidowe słowa (np.: *covid*, *social distancing*, *lockdown*) bądź hasła bezpośrednio lub pośrednio nawiązujące do pandemii (np. *fully vaccinated*).

W Internecie bez trudu można kupić przeróżne przedmioty w kształcie covidu, np.: zawieszki w wielu wariantach kolorystycznych wysadzane kryształkami, foremki do wycinania ciasta wykonane w druku 3d, a także bombki choinkowe, broszki, breloczki do kluczy, okładki do smartfonów z rysunkami covida bądź skórzane pokrowce na karty kredytowe z napisem „Fully vaccinated", a nawet miniaturowe porcelanowe zwierzątka ubrane w – także porcelanowe – minimaski, czy okrągłe świeczki kształtem imitujące kulistą postać wirusa. Choć akcesoria te wydawać się mogą co najmniej dziwne, jeśli nie dziwaczne, to być może pomagały one w oswajaniu lęku przed wirusem.

Co ciekawe, izraelski projektant obuwia Kobi Levi – znany choćby z osobliwych, wręcz ekstrawaganckich butów Lady Gagi (m.in. nawiązujących do flemingów) – jak sam twierdzi, wyraźnie zainspirowany pandemią, stworzył skórzaną torebkę damską imitującą złożoną na pół błękitno-białą maskę chirurgiczną oraz złotą skórzaną torebkę w kształcie wielkiej kłódki wyraźnie nawiązującą do lockdownu, dostępną za jedyne 800 dolarów (Steinberg, 2020).

Z kolei holenderscy projektanci mody *haute couture* i *glamoure* – znani pod marką Viktor&Rolf (od nazwisk: Viktor Horsting i Rolf Snoeren) – w 2020 r. zaprezentowali kolekcję jesień/zima zatytułowaną „Change" (Parisi, 2020). Została ona złożona z projektów mających odzwierciedlać – jak sami to przyznają – różne stany umysłu związane z wyjątkowymi czasami zmian wywołanych pandemią. Uwagę przykuwała zwłaszcza błyszcząca różowa koszula nocna gęsto pokryta emotikonami, obrazującymi różne warianty wyrazów twarzy – od gniewnych i przestraszonych po uśmiechnięte w aureoli, czyli symbole emocji, których wiele osób doświadczało podczas pandemii. Wzbudzał zainteresowanie również obszerny granatowy płaszcz, mający symbolizować uczucie smutku i gniewu, który ozdobiony był koronkowymi motywami ciemnej chmury deszczowej, ale przede wszystkim licznymi kolczastymi materiałowymi stożkami symbolizującymi dystans. Ubiór ten stanowił część kolekcji określanej przez projektantów jako „panoplia mroku" (*panoply of gloom*)[11] (Hitti, 2020).

Jak wskazuje magazyn „Vogue", jeszcze przed erą dystansu społecznego obszerne ubrania działające jak bariera fizyczna były na wybiegach (Satenstein, 2020) elementem powtarzającym się, jednak współcześnie – naszym zdaniem – komunikują one zupełnie nową treść. I tak, dla przykładu, nowojorska marka Puppets and Puppets wprowadziła spódnice z obszernymi biodrami i obręczami, wyraźnie nawiązujące do idei dystansu społecznego. Podobnie projektantka kostiumów Veronica Toppino, by promować zachowanie odległości, zaproponowała nowe modele kapeluszy z niezwykle szerokimi rondami, z których część wykonana była z metalu (Parisi).

„Jeśli jest jeden element, który pojawił się w kontekście COVID-19 i określi estetykę na całym świecie, to jest to maska na twarz" (Bateman, 2020). To właśnie maska – jako część ubioru noszona w skali globalnej – stała się niejako podstawowym komponentem mody, będąc nie tylko składnikiem autonomicznym, ale i detalem dobrze, świadomie dopasowywanym do reszty garderoby.

Maski zagościły więc także w świecie mody, np. Gucci wykonał specjalne markowe maski na twarz dla amerykańskiej piosenkarki Billie Eilish, idealnie zgrane z resztą ubioru, które zakładała ona na kolejne edycje ceremonii wręczenia nagród Grammy w 2020 i 2021 r.

O ile świat mody zareagował na wyzwania pandemii, czyniąc ją niekiedy centrum swych wysiłków twórczych, o tyle motywy pandemiczne, z którymi spotykaliśmy się jako użytkownicy na co dzień, zapanowały w skali globalnej przede wszystkim w postaci modnych masek. Wśród milionów masek covidowych – dodajmy najczęściej niemających nic wspólnego z zapobieganiem zakażeniu – stworzonych w okresie pandemii, wyróżnić można kilka reprezentatywnych motywów, które się na nich pojawiają (można je również odnaleźć na innych elementach garderoby). Wymieńmy najważniejsze z nich[12]:

1. Maski odwołujące się do zasad *social distancingu* i norm higieny (przedstawiające w różnych konfiguracjach samo słowo *social distancing*, ukazujące środki czystości itp.).
2. Maski z wyraźnym przesłaniem politycznym (postaci polityków, hasła polityczne, np. związane z ruchem Black Lives Matter, z symbolami patriotycznymi; w Polsce także hasła feministyczne czy nawiązujące do obrony Konstytucji).

11 Sądzimy, że w tym miejscu warto przywołać słowa Barthes'a (2005, s. 238), który twierdzi, że można oczekiwać, iż „ubiór będzie doskonałym przedmiotem poetyckim; po pierwsze dlatego, że w różnorodny sposób uaktywnia wszystkie jakości materii: substancję, formę, kolor, fakturę, ruch, kształt, jakość materii; po drugie, ponieważ – dotykając ciała i funkcjonując zarazem jako jego substytut i maska – z pewnością jest przedmiotem niezwykle ważnego zaangażowania się".

12 Metod klasyfikacji masek pandemicznym może być wiele, a zaproponowane przez nas kategorie mogą na siebie nachodzić. Zob. więcej Głażewska i Karwatowska, 2021.

3. Maski okolicznościowe (np.: chrzciny, ślub, bar micwa).
4. Maski artystyczne odwołujące się do dzieł sztuki, literatury i muzyki, a także do ich twórców (np.: *Ostatnia wieczerza*, Armia Terakotowa, *Mały Książę*, Szostakowicz).
5. Maski popkulturowe – z wizerunkami gwiazd kina, muzyki i sportu; z ujęciami, scenami z różnych gatunków filmowych (np.: Patric Swayze, John Cleese, Marilyn Monroe, Joe Biden, Jocker, *Gwiezdne wojny*).
6. Maski imitujące zakryty przez nie rejon twarzy (np. umieszczane na maseczce zabawne uśmiechy czy inne miny).
7. Maski zwierzęce (najczęściej psy, koty, zwierzęta egzotyczne, bydło), często z napisami typu: „przytul mnie".
8. Maski na masce (Statua Wolności ubrana w maskę widniejąca na masce, maski karnawałowe, maski doktora plagi, emotikony w maskach na maseczkach).

Przedstawienia motywów pandemicznych występowały w trzech zasadniczych wariantach: 1) werbalnym, 2) wizualnym, 3) werbalno-wizualnym. Można wyjaśnić operowanie nimi na przykładzie odniesień do *social distancingu*, kiedy to na maseczce jej twórcy umieszczali wyłącznie przekaz słowny albo tylko wizualny, np. rozłącznie przedstawione koła olimpijskie. Natomiast w wariancie łączonym pojawia się na przykład przetworzona słynna okładka The Beatles, na której widnieją członkowie zespołu przechodzący w dużych odległościach względem siebie przez przejście na Abbey Road (co jest jednocześnie tytułem albumu).

Częstym środkiem wykorzystywanym przez twórców akcesoriów pandemicznych jest humor – zjawisko wieloaspektowe, które służy nie tylko celom rozrywkowym, ale pełni istotne funkcje społeczne: pomaga przywrócić równowagę psychiczną, która mogła ulec zakłóceniu w sytuacji pandemii; przynosi ulgę, relaksuje; pobudza twórcze rozwiązania problemów; i wreszcie integruje nadawcę i odbiorcę (zob. Głażewska i Karwatowska, 2023; Matusewicz, 1976). Rację ma jednak Umberto Eco, który twierdzi, że o ile tragizm (dramatyzm) są uniwersalne, o tyle „Komizm (...) wydaje się związany z epoką, środowiskiem, antropologią kulturową" (Eco, 1998, s. 335). Przesłania przedstawione na maskach pandemicznych zyskały wiele humorystycznych odsłon, np.: maska z treścią widniejącą na tle krążących protonów: *Think like a proton and stay positive* czy maska, na której na czarnym tle umieszczono cztery symbole pierwiastków z tablicy Mendelejewa w charakterystycznych kwadratach. Ułożone kolejno utworzyły słowo *sarkazm*: S (siarka), Ar (argon), Ca (wapń), Sm (samar), pod którym ulokowano następujący podpis: *The central element of my personality*. Twórcy tych pandemicznych artefaktów nawiązywali również do dzieł popkultury (filmu), np. *Gwiezdnych wojen*. W tym przypadku na masce umieszczone zostały charakterystyczne, płynące w przestrzeń zwężające się napisy: *A long time ago... We didn't have to wear masks*.

3. Covidowe przesłania w muzeach – między aktywizmem a modą

Zdaniem Alicji Kuczyńskiej, „moda jest produktem działań mających na celu ukazanie przez znak (przedmiotu itp.) czegoś więcej, niż w istocie ów znak reprezentuje, a ściślej mówiąc, więcej niż zawiera się w bezpośrednio praktycznej, utylitarnej funkcji rzeczy" (1983, s. 8, zob. też Linkiewicz 2014). Znakomitym przykładem takich modnych znaków są właśnie pandemiczne maski, których przekaz niesie niezwykle ważne przesłanie.

Od początku pandemii sądziłyśmy, że właściwym świadectwem czasów pandemicznych powinno być wirtualne muzeum masek. Przedmiot codziennego użytku, a niekiedy nawet dowód ludzkiej innowacyjności powinien bowiem znaleźć swe miejsce jako artefakt zaświadczający o wydarzeniach, w których uczestniczył. Cieszy nas, że tak też się stało. Międzynarodowa Rada Muzeów, Kolekcji Kostiumów, Mody i Tekstyliów ICOM zorganizowała wirtualną wystawę masek zatytułowaną *Clothing the Pandemic. A Virtual Exhibition of COVID-19 Face Masks from Around the World*. Jak sam tytuł wystawy dowodzi, pokazuje ona maski pandemiczne stworzone przez artystów bądź maseczki nieznanego autorstwa zgromadzone w 15 muzeach świata i tam prezentowane. Wystawa zawiera artefakty pochodzące z kilkudziesięciu krajów świata, w tym: z Boliwii, Chin, Egiptu, Samoa, Ghany, Węgier, Nowej Zelandii, RPA, Izraela, Wielkiej Brytanii czy Uzbekistanu. Każdej z przedstawianych masek towarzyszą dane: autora, kraju jego pochodzenia oraz kraju wytworzenia samej maski, szczegółowy opis (i przesłanie) wyrażone w dziele, miejsce wystawiania (najczęściej z linkiem do instytucji muzealnej) oraz materiał wykonania. Wszystkie opisy dostępne są w trzech wersjach językowych: angielskiej, francuskiej i hiszpańskiej.

Maska – ten niepozorny dodatek związany z modą w czasach pandemii – stała się znacznikiem tożsamości, ale i symbolem globalnego kryzysu, a ICOM COSTUME spełnił swoją funkcję, jak piszą twórcy w „zapisie i uporządkowaniu zbiorowej pamięci o kluczowym obiekcie tego momentu w dziejach ludzkości" (Thépaut-Cabasset, 2022). Jak dodają autorzy wystawy:

> Maska na twarz stała się ikonicznym symbolem pandemii, reprezentującym odporność, społeczność i jedność ludzkości podczas tej globalnej tragedii. Ta wirtualna wystawa podkreśla znaczenie kolekcji muzealnych jako źródeł inspiracji, które obejmują bieżące wydarzenia i celebrują współczesną modę i design. Ogólnodostępna dla zwiedzających na całym świecie wystawa prezentuje maski, które dokumentują kluczowe momenty współczesnej historii i uchwycą zjednoczone globalne wyzwanie przeciwko wirusowi, które będzie rezonować przez wiele lat (Thépaut-Cabasset, 2022).

Wspominałyśmy już, że maski z jednej strony były dobrem egalitarnym, noszonym bez względu na płeć, religię czy wiek, z drugiej zaś elementem ubioru silnie identyfikującym tożsamość/tożsamości ich nosicieli. Widoczna była w ich przypadku tendencja unifikacyjna (wiele osób nosiło maski np. z doklejonymi różnymi wariantami uśmiechu), a jednocześnie wyróżniająca – maski bowiem stawały się niejednokrotnie przedmiotami kolekcjonerskimi, epatowały oryginalnością (maski wysadzane brylantami, ze strusich jaj, projektowane na specjalne zamówienie, por. Ellish, o której była już mowa). Z tym drugim wariantem mamy do czynienia w przypadku masek wystawianych na wspomnianej wystawie, o czym więcej za chwilę.

Wystawa została podzielona na sześć zasadniczych części tematycznych: sztuka i interwencja, polityka i protest, solidarność i wspólnota, ciało i duch, innowacje i zrównoważony rozwój, moda i popkultura. Scharakteryzujemy wybrane przykłady masek zaliczone do wymienionych kategorii, by wskazać rozległość przesłania, jakie one ze sobą niosły, ale także pokazać, jak te przedmioty codziennego użytku – stosowane przecież przez miliardy ludzi – zaczęły funkcjonować jako dzieła muzealne.

- S z t u k a   i   i n t e r w e n c j a. W ramach tej kategorii twórcy umieścili projekty podkreślające tożsamość i dziedzictwo kulturowe oraz eksponujące kwestie społeczne ważne dla konkretnych zbiorowości. Przykładem może być maska zatytułowana *Rustam pokonuje koronawirusa*, która została wykonana z maseczki chirurgicznej pokrytej farbami akrylowymi i olejnymi, malowana ręcznie, a prezentowana w Royal Ontario Museum. Została ona stworzona przez irańskiego artystę Yazdana Saadiego, który wykorzystał w swej serii masek historie z ponad 1000-letniego perskiego eposu *Shahnameh* (*Księga Królów*) jako metaforę walki z koronawirusem. Tytułowy bohater Rustam walczy i pokonuje demona w postaci siedmiu śmiercionośnych form „tak jak sam wirus we wszystkich jego złowrogich wariantach (*Rustam Conquers the Coronavirus*), mówi Saadi. Jednocześnie – jak czytamy w opisie maski – autor namawia nas, abyśmy ukierunkowali naszego wewnętrznego Rustama, by wspólnie pokonać wirusa.
- P o l i t y k a   i   p r o t e s t. W przypadku tej kategorii artyści odwoływali się do nierówności społecznych uwypuklonych przez pandemię. Twórczo rozwijali problemy niesprawiedliwości społecznej, rasizmu, przemocy ze względu na płeć. Ów maskowy aktywizm służył m.in. zbieraniu funduszy na cele charytatywne. W tej kategorii znalazła się maska o nazwie *Zdystansuj się od nienawiści*. Miała ona łączyć przekaz o dystansie społecznym i sprzeciwie wobec dyskryminacji, w szczególności rasowej. Ta bawełniana maska wystawiana w Muzeum Cywilizacji Azjatyckich wykreowana została w Nowym Jorku przez Jasona Wu, a logo zaprojektował Fabien Baron. Podobną problematykę podejmowała

maska zatytułowana *Stop rozprzestrzenianiu się rasizmu*. Stanowiła ona reakcję na gwałtowny wzrost ataków rasistowskich na społeczności azjatyckie, które nasiliły się podczas pandemii. Maskę zaprojektowano w Toronto w Kanadzie, wyprodukowano w Chinach, a wystawiana jest w Royal Ontario Museum.

- Solidarność i wspólnota. W obrębie tej kategorii umieszczono maski tworzone w ramach oddolnych inicjatyw przez „bohaterów i bohaterki na całym świecie, którzy zmienili swoje firmy, aby działać i wspierać lokalne i globalne społeczności w potrzebie" (*Solidarity and Communities*). Przykładem artefaktu zaliczonego do tej grupy jest papierowa maska *Bani Adam*. Zrobiona została z papieru nadającego się do recyklingu z wewnętrznym kompostowalnym filtrem do kawy, wykonano ją w Toronto, wystawiana jest w Royal Ontario Museum. Zasadniczą treść tej maski stanowią wydrukowane arabską czcionką (wewnątrz maski tłumaczone na język angielski) wersety z perskiego poematu *Bani Adam* (dosłownie „Synowie Adama" lub „istoty ludzkie") autorstwa XIII-wiecznego irańskiego poety Saadi Shirazi. Passus ten ma akcentować więź i wspólne przeżycia podczas pandemii: „Istoty ludzkie są członkami całości, w tworzeniu jednej esencji i duszy. Jeśli jeden członek jest dotknięty bólem, inni członkowie niespokojni pozostaną" (*Human Beings are members of a whole In creation of one essence and soul If one member is infllicted with pain Other members uneasy will remain*, por. *Bani Adam*).
- Ciało i duch to szczególnie ważna kategoria muzealna, bowiem zdrowie emocjonalne i fizyczne stanowiło kluczową kwestię w czasach „zarazy". Zarówno lokalne, jak i uniwersalne symbole miały chronić, uzdrawiać, ale także być pretekstem do „dzielenia się historiami żalu i druzgocącej straty. Dzięki kreatywnemu aktowi tworzenia masek ludzie na całym świecie znaleźli wewnętrzną osobistą siłę i odporność społeczności w obliczu nieustającej pandemii" (*Body and Spirit*). Znaczącą egzemplifikacją tego nurtu jest maska *Ga'dang* – wyszukana, bardzo zdobna, ręcznie tkana i garnirowana koralikami. Wykonana została przez Margareth Balansi – filipińską tkaczkę pochodzącą z grupy etnicznej Ga'dang z Paracelis w Mountain Province. Wykorzystane w masce koraliki są w stanie – według wierzeń tamtejszej społeczności – odeprzeć koronawirusa[13]. Maska znajduje się dziś w Museo Kordilyera.

13 Myślenie magiczne pojawia się szczególnie w sytuacjach kryzysowych, co obrazowo przedstawił np. Bronisław Malinowski, porównując niebezpieczne, ryzykowne połowy na otwartym morzu, którym towarzyszyły działania magiczne, i połowy w bezpiecznych warunkach laguny, gdzie nie obserwowano najmniejszych przejawów obecności magii. Zob. więcej Malinowski, 1990, s. 384. Ten wybitny antropolog funkcjonalista dodaje: „Funkcją magii jest rytualizacja ludzkiego optymizmu, umacnianie wiary w zwycięstwo nadziei nad strachem. Magia akcentuje wyższość ufności

Podobne funkcje ochronne, apotropaiczne miała pełnić maska *Evil Eye* zaprojektowana przez siostry Sonię Aslam i Sehrish Shams (Turcja/USA). Opracowana w Maryland, a wyprodukowana w tureckim Stambule maska wypełniona jest popularnymi szczególnie na Bliskim Wschodzie i w regionie Morza Śródziemnego niebieskimi przedstawieniami tzw. złego oka, które jako amulet miało chronić przed chorobami i nieszczęściem. Maska znajduje się w Royal Ontario Museum. Inny znaczący przykład zapożyczony z tego samego muzeum stanowi ręcznie wykonana maska *Unmasking Identity* (*Ujawnienie tożsamości*), której autorką jest Taalrumiq (Christina King) – artystka z ludu Inuvialuit, rdzennych mieszkańców północno-zachodniej części Kanady (część społeczności Inuitów). Autorka oddała w ten sposób hołd własnemu dziedzictwu kulturowemu ludu, z którego pochodzi. Taalrumiq mówi: „Do dziś nasze wartości kulturowe obejmują szacunek i miłość do ziemi; misternie związany z naszą tożsamością jako współczesnego Inuvialuita" (*Unmasking Identity*). Maska ta jest szczególna nie tylko ze względu na swe konotacje etniczne, ale również z uwagi na wyjątkowe materiały, z których została wykonana, a są to m.in.: focza skóra, futra: lisa, rosomaka, niedźwiedzia polarnego, futro i poroże reniferów, pióra pardwy i kaczki oraz kryształki Swarovskiego. Poruszającym przykładem jest maska zatytułowana *Veneration for Mother and Father* (*Cześć oddana matce i ojcu*) autorstwa Don Kwana. Została ona wykonana z chińskiego papieru joss, tzw. duchowych pieniędzy przeznaczonych do palenia ku pamięci bliskich podczas święta Ching Ming (tzw. Dnia Zamiatania Grobów). Artysta za pomocą techniki sitodruku przedstawił swych zmarłych rodziców: na jednej części – matkę, na drugiej – ojca. Don Kwan tak opisuje motywacje powstanie tego artefaktu: „Mój projekt maski pozwolił mi przełożyć swój smutek po stracie rodziców na dzieła sztuki... i pomógł mi znaleźć własny kreatywny głos podczas lockdownu" (*Veneration for Mother and Father*). Maska również prezentowana jest w Royal Ontario Museum.

- Innowacje i zrównoważony rozwój. Motywem przewodnim tej sekcji jest wykorzystanie innowacyjnych technologii projektowania i tworzenia (recykling, upcykling) jako wyraz szacunku dla ekosystemu do ochrony przed koronawirusem. Obok maski ze skóry łososia wykonanej przez artystkę z Alaski na wirtualnej wystawie widzimy również maskę *Lip reader* (*Czytnik ust*). W bawełnianą powierzchnię maski wstawiono plastikowy przeźroczysty prostokąt pozwalający zobaczyć usta. Ten „ekologiczny czytnik ust", jak go określają twórcy wystawy,

nad zwątpieniem, nieugiętość przed wahaniem, optymizmu nad pesymizmem" (Malinowski, 1990, s. 444).

zaprojektowany i wykonany w Toronto, ma nie tylko podkreślać kluczowe znaczenie komunikatów niewerbalnych widocznych na ludzkiej twarzy, ale także pozwalać osobom niedosłyszącym na czytanie z ust. Dodatkowo maska wyposażona jest w dwie gumki podtrzymujące, które ułatwiają noszenie maski przez osoby z aparatami słuchowymi bądź/i okularami[14]. Podobną wrażliwość społeczną wykazały projektantki maski zatytułowanej *Chin up mask on* (*Głowa do góry, maska na twarz*). Ta czerwona maska wykonana została z lnu organicznego i podszyta bawełną organiczną. Na górze udekorowano ją kryształkami Swarovskiego ułożonymi w inspirujące powiedzenie zapisane w alfabecie Braille'a, tak by można je było odczytać za pomocą dotyku. Niezwykle ciekawym i znaczącym eksponatem jest maska nazwana po prostu *Map*, jej autor to Philippe Rivens z Francji. Została ona uszyta z jednej ze starych koszul projektanta, które wyprodukowane zostały w Chinach przez jego ojca na maszynie do szycia należącej do babci. Na masce w jednej części znajduje się mapa Francji, a w drugiej zaś Chin, co ma przywoływać skojarzenia z kierunkiem rozprzestrzeniania się pandemii. Dziś stanowi ona część zbiorów Musée des Civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée w Marsylii.

- Ostatni dział muzealny został nazwany M o d a i p o p k u l t u r a. W zamyśle twórców, a przede wszystkim w zamierzeniu projektantów, przedmioty ochronne, jakimi są maski, stały się dziełami sztuki i mody. I tak holenderski projektant mody Jan Taminiau (szerzej znany m.in. za sprawą swego projektu kobaltowej sukni holenderskiej królowej Maximy – żony króla Willhema-Aleksandra) zaprojektował brązowo-pomarańczowo-zieloną maseczkę z wiskozy. Ta wykonana w Hiszpanii maska wystawiana jest w Centraal Museum Utrecht.

Maski, towarzyszące nam codziennie w trudnych czasach pandemii, trafiły zatem do muzeów. Dowiodły tym samym, że stały się nie tylko niemal ikonicznym symbolem pandemii, ale również artefaktem wykraczającym daleko poza świat i znaczenia mody. „Swoiście pikantny, podniecający urok mody – trafnie zauważa G. Simmel – polega na kontraście między jej niepowstrzymanym rozprzestrzenianiem się na wszystkie dziedziny życia a jej szybkim i gruntownym przemijaniem – które z drugiej strony kontrastuje z jej pozornym roszczeniem do trwałości" (2006, s. 30). Czy taki właśnie los spotka również covidową modę?

14 Dodajmy, że maski z wyciętym obszarem ust występowały przede wszystkim jako element humorystyczny, tak więc nadanie im szczególnego, empatycznego wymiaru wzbogaciło ten artefakt o dodatkowy, ważny społecznie aspekt.

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Ewa Głażewska – dr hab., prof. UMCS, dyrektor Instytutu Nauk o Kulturze UMCS. Autorka kilkudziesięciu publikacji z zakresu antropologii społeczno-kulturowej, kulturoznawstwa i komunikacji międzykulturowej, w tym monografii: *Kuwada. Egzotyczny zwyczaj w nowej odsłonie*; współautorka podręcznika akademickiego *Komunikacja niewerbalna – płeć i kultura. Wybór zagadnień* oraz trzech monografii na temat masek, humoru i muzeów w czasach pandemii COVID-19.

Małgorzata Karwatowska – prof. dr hab., kierownik Katedry Edukacji Polonistycznej UMCS. Autorka ponad 200 publikacji (w tym 10 monografii) poświęconych językowemu obrazowi świata utrwalonemu w tekstach młodzieży (zwłaszcza rozumieniu pojęć aksjologicznych), lingwistyce płci, etyce słowa oraz dydaktyce szkolnej i uniwersyteckiej, m.in.: *Prawda i kłamstwo w języku młodzieży licealnej lat dziewięćdziesiątych* (Lublin 2001); *Lingwistyka płci. Ona i on w języku polskim* (Lublin 2005; współaut. J. Szpyra-Kozłowska); *Autorytety w opiniach młodzieży* (Lublin 2012); oraz „trylogia" na temat masek, humoru i działania muzeów w czasach pandemii COVID-19.

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