

THE TATAR NAME
OF SOROK TATARY /
KETURIASDEŠIMT
TOTORIŲ
DISCOVERED Ⓢ *Henryk Jankowski*

1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Stanisław Kryczyński supposed that the Tatar name of one of the earliest Tatar settlements in Lithuania, first recorded in 1528¹ in the adjectival form *kirklańskich*, should be amended to *kirklarskich*, more exactly *kyrklarskich*.² Kryczyński remarks that no “*Kirkłany*” is present in the 1631 register³. He argues that the original name of this village was *Kyrkłar* or *Kyrkłary*, before it had become known under the Belarusian name *Sorok Tatary*. The name of this village occurs in the form *Kyrk-tatar* in the Turkish treatise *Risāle-i Tatar-i Leh* of 1558, which in endnote 12 is explained by the editor as a name translated from the Belarusian name *Sorok Tatary* into Turkish⁴.

Kryczyński explains the meaning of the name *Kyrkłar* as ‘forty’ and says that the names like this are frequent in Turkic areas where they designate both ‘forty’ and ‘many’⁵. Then he quotes several Tatar village names from the Crimea and

¹ Литовская Метрика. Отдел первый. Ч. 3. Книги публичных дел. Переписи войска Литовского // Русская историческая библиотека. Т. 33, Петроград, с. 112.

² Kryczyński S. Tatarzy litewscy. Próba monografii historyczno-etynograficznej // Rocznik Tatarski. Warszawa, 1938. T. III, s. 3, 96–97; see also Jankowski H. The Names of Habitation Places of Polish-Lithuanian Tatars // Marcinkiewicz Józef, Ostrowski Norbert (eds.). Munera Linguistica et Philologica Michaeli Hasiuk Dedicata. Poznań, 2001, p. 192–193.

³ In fact, Muchliński, who first edited excerpts from this register, shows only the locality *Sorok-Tatary* in Oszmiana district of Troki province (see Muchliński A. Zdanie sprawy o Tatarach litewskich // Teka Wileńska. 1858, nr 5, s. 128); this village is mentioned as *Sorok Tatary* and *Soroktatarska wieś* in the edition by Borawski, Sienkiewicz and Wasilewski (Borawski P., Sienkiewicz W., Wasilewski T. Rewizja dóbr tatarskich 1631 r. – sumariusz i wypisy // Acta Baltico-Slavica. 1991. T. 89, s. 124). For other documentation see e.g. 1594 з села Сорок-Татар (Акты, издаваемые Виленскою Коммиссиею для разбора древних актов. Акты о литовских татарах. (AVAK). Вильна, 1906. Т. XXXI, с. 183) and 1645 Sorok Tatary in Troki province (woiewództwie Trockim), see AVAK, p. 324.

⁴ Unfortunately, since this treatise is not available in a critical edition, we are obliged to quote from Muchliński’s translation, see Muchliński A. Zdanie sprawy..., s. 256.

⁵ See Kryczyński S. Tatarzy litewscy..., s. 98. The same explanation was also provided by Muchliński, who however did not examine the history of this settlement and did not link it to **Kirkłany*.

Turkey⁶. The intuition has not deceived Kryczyński and his erudition enabled him to identify properly *Kirkłany* with *Sorok Tatary*.

2. *SOROK TATARY* AND *Kirk*

The idea of establishing the original Tatar name of the present-day *Sorok Tatary* as *Kirk* was conceived from the analysis of a document dated 1692 and signed, among others, by Husein ibn 'Aysa, the Imam of *Kirk*⁷. Although we have no historical information on spiritual leaders of *Sorok Tatary* ~ *Kirk* from that time, the identification of *Kirk* with *Sorok Tatary* seems to be certain⁸.

The document in question is a confirmation of loan secured against land (*list zastawny*) issued on 23 April 1692 in Mereszlany, Wilna province, on behalf of Hasia Małachowska (Hasia Aziulanka Muratowa Małachowska) and her two daughters, Gulia / Gulshaha and Chadzia / Khadiche, residents of Wilna and Troki provinces, to their creditors Mustafa Fursicz and Abaz Rudziewicz, both being mentioned as landowners from Sorok Tatary in Troki province (województwo trockie).⁹ Hasia Małachowska and her daughters pledged their meadow at Koyszołaki on the river Waka in exchange for 600 Polish Zlotys for three years.

The document is among the holdings of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, call number F 21-1622.¹⁰ In the catalogue it is described as composed of 6 leaves of size 320 x 200. In fact, the file F 21-1622 contains two documents. One is the aforementioned confirmation of loan dated 1692. It contains three leaves with signatures on the third leaf and one separate leaf issued at the same time, which is the

⁶ For additional comparative material and the discussion of Turkic place names with *qırq*, see Jankowski H. A Historical-Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Russian Habitation Names of the Crimea. Brill, Leiden, Boston, 2006, p. 932–936.

⁷ My thanks go to Prof. Andrzej Zakrzewski for making his unpublished notes on this document available to me. Having his notes at my disposal, I could easily localise the relevant documents in the Library of Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius. I also owe thanks to Dr. Andrzej Drozd with whom I discussed some readings and related problems.

⁸ Unfortunately, no mullah is mentioned on the list of Tatar inhabitants of Sorok Tatary of a contemporary document, the tax register of 1690, (*Lulewicz H. Metryka litewska. Rejestry podymnego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Województwo Trockie 1690 r.* Warszawa, 2000, s. 84–85), see the comments below.

⁹ It was registered with the following text: “R. 1692 Apr 23. dawny list za przyznanie prawa zastawnego na łąkę w Mereszlach za sumę 600 złotych od Hazi matki, Guli i Hadzi córek, Małachowskich, panom Mustafie Fursiczowi y Abazowi Rudziewiczowi Tatarom dany.” i.e. ‘Document issued on 23 April 1692 confirming the entitlement to the right to a meadow lent on security against 600 Zlotys by Hazia, the mother, and Gulia and Hadzia daughters to Mustafa Fursicz and Abaz Rudziewicz, the Tatars’.

¹⁰ As we can see from a stamp, this document was once in the possession of Ivan Lutskevich Belarusian Museum in Vilna.

confirmation of the receipt of 600 Zlotys by the debtors. As it appears from a microfilm, this part of the text was signed overleaf. The other document refers to the same deal and the same debtors. It is dated 15 September 1693. The document was also issued in Mereszlany. It was written by another scribe and is difficult to read. It contains two leaves and signatures overleaf. On the left margin of the first leaf there is a note of a later registration of this document dated 1755. Since the debtors were illiterate, they asked witnesses to sign both documents on their behalf. This paper presents and discusses only the signatures and the relevant Turkish formulae. We do not edit the whole documents written in Polish.

2.1. Document dated 1692

PART 1

Among the signatures of the witnesses, there is one in Latin script by Samuel Sobolewski and three in Arabic script written with typical juridical formulae in Turkish.¹¹ One witness signed the document at the right-hand part as *İsmā'il ibn*, which probably imitates the Turkish *İsmail oğlu*, to be searched among such Slavicised Tatar names as Smolski. He added the formula *kendi elim yazdim* '[with] my own hand', which is the translation of the Polish *ręka swą*, Latin *manu propria* and Chancellery Ruthenian *власною рукою*.

The second witness placed his signature at the middle part beneath the text of the deal. He is called *Süleymān ibn Murtaža*. He added a longer formula of proxy for all three women.

The third, and from our standpoint the most important, is the signature seen at the left-hand part beneath the document, just below the Polish juridical formula of proxy finished with the signature of aforementioned Samuel Sobolewski. This signature was put by *Husein ibn 'Aysa*, the Imam of *Kirk*, also with the formula *kendi elim yazdim*.

Text of the document

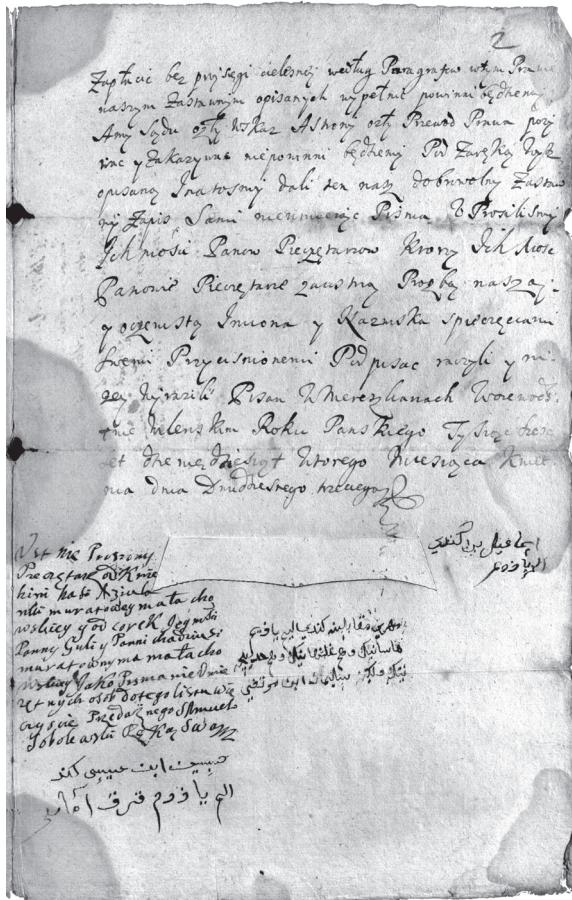
Right-hand column

اسماعيل بن كندي [1]
الم ياذديم [2]

Middle column

مهریم مقابلینه کندي الیم یاذ [6]
حد چه هاسائیک و هم غلشها نیک و هم [7]
نیک وکنه سلیمان بن مرطضی [8]

¹¹ For more on these formulae, see *Jankowski H.* Polish-Lithuanian-Belorussian Tatar Documents // *Materialia Turcica*. 2003, p. 24, 128–129.



DOCUMENT 1692 PART 1

Transcription of the Turkish text

Right-hand column

- [1] İsmā'ıl ibn¹² kendi
- [2] elim yazdım

Middle column

- [6] mührüm muğabiline kendi elim yaz[d]ım
- [7] Hasia'nıñ¹³ ve hem Gulşaha'nıñ ve hem Hادىچه
- [8] niñ vekil[liğ]ine¹⁴ Süleymân ibn Murtażâ

¹² The letter *alif* is written as a small vertical stroke above the letter *nün*.

¹³ The letter *sin* is read by the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars in a palatalised way.

¹⁴ Written *wlknb*, the correct form of which should be **وَكَلَّكَنْهُ**, a more common form of proxy being **وَكَلَّتْهُ**.

Left-hand column

- [1] Ustnie proszony
- [2] pieczętarz od knia
- [3] hini Hasi Aziula-
- [4] nki Muratowej Małacho
- [5] wskiey y od corek jeymości
- [6] panny Guli y panni

Chadziusi

- [7] Muratowny {ma} Małacho
- [8] wskiey jako pisma nie
umie
- [9] iętnych osób do tego listu
wie
- [10] czyscie przedażnego
Samuel
- [11] Sobolewski ręką swą
- [12] حسین ابْن عَیَّسَى كَنْدَی [i]
الم يَانِدَم قَرْقَ امَامِی [i]
- [13]

Left-hand column

[12] Hüseyin ibn 'Aysa¹⁵ kend[i]
 [13] elim yazdım Kırk imāmi

Translation***Right-hand column***

[1-2] I, Isma'il's son, have signed [with] my own hand

Middle column

[6] According to my seal, I have signed [with] my own hand
 [7] On behalf of Hasia, and Gulshaha, and Khadiche
 [8] Süleyman, Murtaza's son¹⁶

Left-hand column

[1] Orally requested
 [2] sealer by Lady
 [3] Hasia Aziula-
 [4] nka Muratowa Małacho
 [5] wska, and by her daughters
 [6] Gulia and Chadziusia
 [7] Muratowna Małacho
 [8] wska, who as illite-
 [9] rate, have authorised [me to sign] this
 [10] letter of sale¹⁷. Samuel
 [11] Sobolewski with his own hand
 [12-13] I, Hüseyin, 'Aysa's son¹⁸, have signed [with] my own hand.
 The Imam of Kirk

PART 2**Text of the document*****Right-hand column***

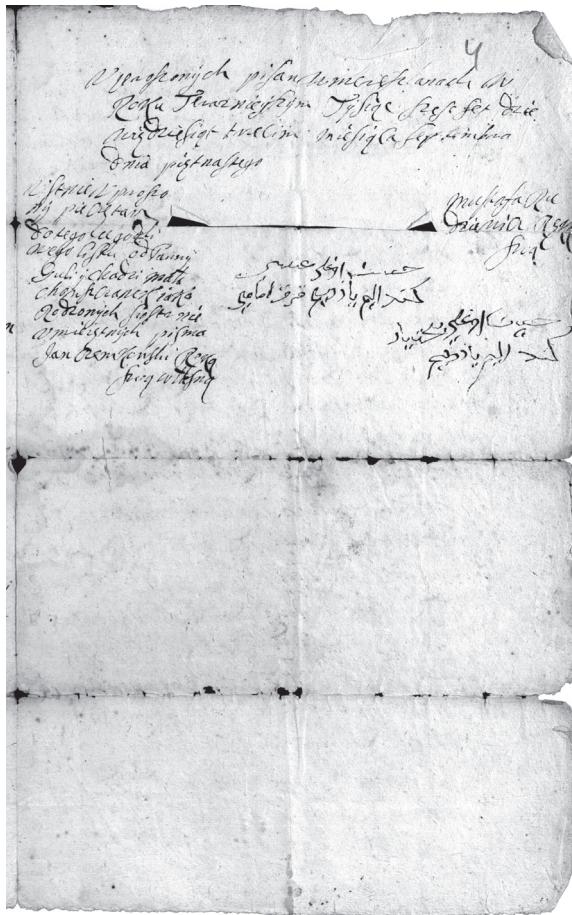
حسنوا او غلي مصطفى ابن [1]
 كندو اليم دخى ياذديم [2]

¹⁵ This is the Tatar pronunciation of the Arabic m.n. *īṣā*, it is evidenced in historical Crimean Tatar (see *Jankowski H. A Historical-Etymological Dictionary...*, p. 139–140), Kazakh (see *Januzaqov T., Esbayeva K. Qazaq esimderi. Anıqtama sózdisk Almatı, 1988, p. 41*), and Kirghiz (see *Caparov Š. Qırız adam attarı. Frunze, 1989, p. 99*).

¹⁶ Or, less likely, Murtaza, Süleyman's son, see the discussion below.

¹⁷ Quite interestingly, despite the pledge character of document, Sobolewski, who represents the women, uses the term “letter of sale”.

¹⁸ Or, less likely, 'Aysa, Hüseyin's son, see the discussion below.



DOCUMENT 1692 PART 2.

حسين ابن عيسى [3]

كند [ي] الم ياذدم [4]

فرق امامي [5]

Middle column

مهريم مقابلينه [1]

كندى اليم ياذديم [2]

عيش و هم غولا نيك و هم [3]

نيك وكلنه مصطفى [4]

ابن حاضوس [5]

ابو بكر [6]

Left-hand column

[1] Ustnie oczywisto

[2] proszony pieczętarz

[3] do tego listu od Jeymo

[4] ści paniey Małachow

[5] skiey i corek JMości

[6] jako nie umiejętnych

[7] pisma Jan Czen

[8] pkowski ręką

[9] swą pod<pisał się>

Transcription of the Turkish text

Right-hand column

[1] Həsanov¹⁹ oğlu Muşṭafā ibn

[2] kendü elim dahi yazdım

[3] Hüseyin²⁰ ibn 'Aysa²¹

[4] kend[i] elim yazdım

[5] Kırk imāmi

¹⁹ The reading is tentative; probably *hsnuw*, written with a small vertical stroke above the second *vāv* as in the word *kendü* below; although the first letter looks like *h*, the dot above it may be taken as the dot of the defectively written *nūn*.

²⁰ The letter *yā* is written without under-dots.

²¹ The letter *yā* is written without under-dots.

Middle column

- [6] mührüm mukâbiline kendi elim yazdım
- [7] 'Ayşa'niñ²² ve hem Çula'niñ ve hem
- [8] Hadziu[sia]²³ niñ <vekilliğine>²⁴ Muştafa ibn
- [9] Abū Bekir²⁵

Translation

Right-hand column

- [1] I, Mustaficz Hasanov²⁶
- [2] have also signed [with] my hand
- [3] I, Hüseyin, 'Aysa's son,
- [4] have signed [with] my own hand
- [5] The Imam of Kırk

Middle column

- [1] According to my seal, I have signed [with] my own hand
- [2] On behalf of Hasia, and Gulia, and
- [3-4] <Hadziusia>, Mustafa, Abu Bekir' son²⁷

Left-hand column

- [1] Orally and factually
- [2] requested sealer
- [3] to this letter by Lady
- [4] Małachow
- [5] ska and her daughters,
- [6] who are illiterate,
- [7] Jan Czen

²² The reading of this word is difficult, but most probably the letters should be read ǵyś, which in later Polish-Lithuanian gravestone inscriptions may stand for the Arabic *Ā'iṣa*, the well-known Islamic name (see *Баранов X. К. Арабско-русский словарь*. Москва, 1984, с. 553); in Turkish this name has the form *Ayşe* (see *Aysan Adviye, Tuncay Selma*. Türkiye'de Kadın Erkek-Adları Sözlüğü. Ankara, 1993, p. 20), in other Turkic languages, e.g. Kazakh, *Aysa* (see *Januzaqov T., Esbayeva K. Qazaq esimderi...*, p. 438).

²³ Spelt *h'żw nyñ*, although the first letter of the suffix *+niñ* may also be read *ȝ*, since there is another dot for the *nūn* left to it; this word should probably reflect the diminutive form *Hadziusia* of *Hadiçə*.

²⁴ The reading is tentative, see the note on the same word in the part 1, above.

²⁵ A frequent local writing of the Ar. name **ابو بکر**.

²⁶ The first name of this sealer is not provided and *Muştafa ibn* probably reflects what in Polish is *Mustaficz*, a patronymic form derived from this name. His surname, if our reading is correct, is provided in the Slavicised form with the Slavic suffix *+ov*.

²⁷ Or, less likely, Abu Bekir, *Mustafa'* son, see the discussion below.

- [8] pkowski, has signed
- [9] with his own hand.

2.2. Document dated 1693

As said above, this document was issued in Mereszlany and signed by two men in Latin script, Mustafa Rudziewicz and Jan Czemkowski (another variant of his name being Czenpkowski) as well as two other witnesses in Arabic script. One of them is the already known Imam of Kirk, Hüseyin, 'Aysa's son, the other being Hasan or Hüseyin, Bahtiyar's son. In both signatures the Arabic word *ibn* 'son' was replaced with the Turkish *oğlu* 'son's'.

The text of the document

Right-hand column

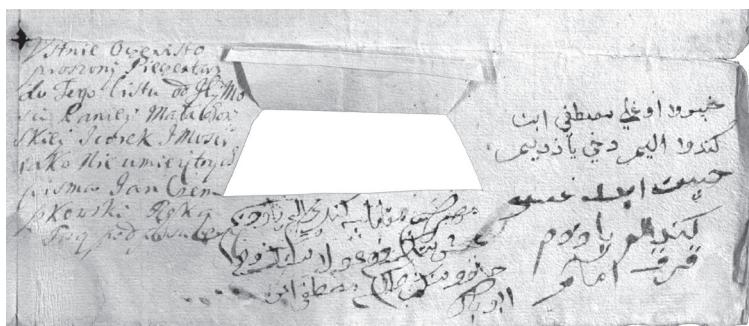
- [1] Mustafa Ru
- [2] dziewicz ręką
- [3] swą
- [4] بحثیار حسن او غلی
- [5] الیم یاذدم کند[ی]

Middle column

- [1] حسين او غلی عيسى
- [13] کند[ی] الیم یاذدم قرق امامی

Left-hand column

- [1] Ustnie proszo
- [2] ny pieczętarz
- [3] do tego <>



DOCUMENT 1693

- [4] od paniey
- [5] Guli i Chadzi Mała
- [6] chowszanek iako
- [7] ◊ nie
- [8] umiejętnych pisma
- [9] Jan Czemkowski ręką
- [10] swą własną

Transcription of the Turkish text

Right-hand column

- [4] Ḥasan oğlu Baḥtiyār
- [5] kend[i] elim yazdım

Middle column

- [4] Hüseyin oğlu 'Aysà
- [5] kend[i] elim yazdım. Kırk imāmı

Translation

Right-hand column

- [4] I, Hasan, Bahtiyār's son²⁸
- [5] have signed [with] my own hand

Middle column

- [1] I, Hüseyin, 'Aysa's son
- [2] have signed [with] my own hand. The Imam of Kırk

Left-hand column

- [1] Orally request
- [2] ed sealer
- [3] to this ◊
- [4] by Lady
- [5] Gulia and Chadzia Mała
- [6] chowska as
- [7] ◊ il
- [8] literate
- [9-10] Jan Czemkowski with his own hand.

²⁸ Or, less likely, Bahtiyār, Hasan's, see the discussion below.

3. COMMENTS

Two creditors whose names appear in these documents may be identified in historical sources. Mustafa Fursicz is mentioned in a tax register (*rejestr podymnego*) of 1690 as a Tatar man.²⁹ According to Dziadulewicz, Abbas Rudziewicz with his wife Rasia Taborówna was mentioned in a legal document dated 1683.³⁰ The aforesaid tax register of 1690 also lists Rudziewicz's wife as Obazowa Rudziewiczowa, adding that her husband was on military duty.³¹

The debtor, Hasia Małachowska, is also known.³² She is mentioned in the Lithuanian Registers (Metryka Litewska) as Chasia Muratowa in Mereszlan, Wilna province.³³ As we can see from her name, she was married to Murat Małachowski, her maiden name being Aziulanka, i.e. Azulewicz's daughter. One of her two daughters, Chadzia, had the Tatar name Hadiçe³⁴, whereas Gula's Tatar name in the document of 1692, part 1, is *Gülşaha*³⁵, in part 2 and Polish texts *Gulia* ~ *Gula*, which is a Slavicised diminutive form of the Persian name *Gul*, in the Turkish version *Gül*, or any other composite name whose one component is *Gul*- ~ *Gül*.³⁶

Of the witnesses who signed the documents in Latin script, we may identify Mustafa Rudziewicz. He is mentioned in the tax register of 1690 as a Tatar man from Sorok Tatary.³⁷

Unfortunately, we cannot identify with certainty anybody of six witnesses who signed the document with their names in Arabic script, notably *İsmā'il ibn*,

²⁹ *Lulewicz H. Metryka litewska...*, s. 84.

³⁰ *Dziadulewicz S. Herbarz rodzin tatarskich w Polsce*. Wilno, 1929, s. 277–278.

³¹ *Lulewicz H. Metryka litewska...*, s. 84.

³² The name *Hasia* ~ *Chasia* was well-known among Polish-Lithuanian Tatars, e.g. *Chasia Daymowa Eliaszewiczowa* in 1690 (see *Lulewicz H. Metryka litewska...*, p. 79). It is probably derived from an Arabic name beginning on *Has-* or *Has-*, as *Hasana*, although it was rarely employed, cf. Tatar *Xäşänä* (*Sattarov G. Isemej matur, kemnär kuygan?* Kazan, 1989, p. 248), a female name equivalent to *Hasan*. However, as we can see from part two of the 1692 document, it may also be a local variant of *Ayşa*.

³³ See *Rachuba Aj. Metryka litewska. Rejestry podymnego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Województwo Wileńskie 1690 r.* Warszawa, 1989, s. 105.

³⁴ From the Arabic *Hadiça* (see *Баранов X. К. Арабско-русский словарь...*, с. 212), Turkish *Hatice* (see *Aysan Adviye, Tuncay Selma*. *Türkiye'de Kadın Erkek-Adları Sözlüğü*, p. 55).

³⁵ In Turkish *Gülşah* (see *Aysan Adviye, Tuncay Selma*. *Türkiye'de Kadın Erkek-Adları Sözlüğü*, p. 50).

³⁶ As a diminutive form, *Gulia* ~ *Gülia* is commonly used by the Turkic peoples affected by Russian culture who employ personal names of Arabic and Iranian origin with Russian endings. Since those names are perceived as Russian, they are normally absent from dictionaries of names, though see Kirghiz *Güla* (*Caparov Š. Qırğız adam attarı*, p. 88) and Tatar *Göliya* (*Sattarov G. Isemej matur...*, p. 160) which suggests an Arabic suffix.

³⁷ *Lulewicz H. Metryka litewska....*, s. 84.

Süleymān ibn Murtažā, Hasanov oğlu Muṣṭafā ibn, Muṣṭafā ibn Abū Bekir, Hasan oğlu Baḥtiyār and the most important *Hüseyin ibn 'Aysā* (the 1692 document, part 1 and part 2) ~ *Hüseyin oğlu 'Aysā* (the 1693 document), the Imam of Kırk. Moreover, there is a problem with establishing what is a first name, what is a patronym, and what is a surname in most of their compound names. Tentatively, we may identify *İsmā'īl ibn* with *Chasien Smolski* mentioned in 1690 in Sorok Tatary in Troki province³⁸ and in Mereszlany in Wilna province.³⁹ He may also be identical with *Chusieyn Smolskiewicz* (identical with the preceding *Chasien*?) from another document.⁴⁰ An additional support for this identification may be delivered by a court verdict of 1688 in which we see the name *Smolskiewicz*, a patronymic form of the name *Smolski*, hence the translation of *İsmā'īl ibn*. He could have been a good acquaintance of Hasia Muratowna Małachowska who had lands in the same villages.

As is known, in the Islamic names modeled on Arabic, the word *ibn* stands after the name of a man and before the name of his father, i.e. it is a patronym. Consequently, *Hüseyin ibn 'Aysā* must be translated 'Hüseyin, 'Aysa's son'.⁴¹ However, the case of Turkic names is different by that the Turkish *oğlu* follows the name of a man's father, and the name of the man that it designates normally precedes it, though sometimes may follow it, e.g. '*Ali Hasan oğlu* or *Hasan oğlu 'Ali*, the son of Hasan'. Therefore, the name *Hüseyin oğlu 'Aysā* in the document of 1693, who certainly designates the same personality as *Hüseyin ibn 'Aysā* of 1692, should be translated 'Aysa, Hüseyin's son'. If the Arabic word *ibn* was employed as the Turkish word *oğlu*, the Slavic name of this imam should be Asanovich Aisa, if it was used in an Arabic way, the name should have the Slavic form *Asan/Khasien Aisich*. We may suppose a similar use of the Turkish word *oğlu*, i.e. either a correct Turkish use or its substitution for the Arabic *ibn*. Naturally, the final interpretation may only be possible if we can identify a given person. At this stage of research, we may not determine the principle of the substitution of *oğlu* for *ibn* or conversely. There is no problem like this in those documents in which the first name precedes the patronym, e.g. *Aḥmed Taras oğlu* for Achmieć Tarasowicz,⁴² but *Hurremşā oğlu*

³⁸ *Lulewicz H. Metryka litewska...., s. 85.*

³⁹ *Rachuba A. Metryka litewska..., s. 105.*

⁴⁰ AVAK, p. 490–492.

⁴¹ A similar name and surname of a Tatar inhabitant *Asan Ejsciz* of Pikteniszki is listed in 1690 (see *Lulewicz H. Metryka litewska..., p. 81*), but the identification of these two men is doubtful for several reasons. Firstly, the name of that one is *Asan* which comes from *Hasan*, not *Huseyin*. Secondly, *Asan Ejsciz* is not shown as a mullah. Thirdly, Pikteniszki is in another district. Despite these doubts this identification cannot be completely excluded.

⁴² See *Jankowski H. Polish-Lithuanian-Belarusian Tatar Documents*, p. 120. Also unambiguous is the name of *İsmā'īl Muṣṭafā oğlu* in a document of 1689 and *Abdurrahmān Murād oğlu* in a document of 1595 (see *Jankowski H. Polish-Lithuanian-Belarusian Tatar Documents*,

'Alī in the same document may be ambiguous, though the interpretation 'Ali, Hurremsha's son' is more likely since *Mortaža kizi 'Ayşa* who is mentioned just after his name is certainly 'Aysha, Mortaza's daughter'. It is also possible that there was not a unified principle. However, judging upon the latter document, the case of *İsmā'ıl ibn* and the alternation *Hüseyin oğlı 'Aysà ~ Hüseyin ibn 'Aysà* it is more likely that *ibn* was used as the Turkish *oğlı*. Unusual word order may be explained by the Slavic influence.

These documents clearly demonstrate that at least some Polish-Lithuanian Tatars had command of Turkish in both writing and understanding at the end of the 17th century, although their Turkish was not up to the standards of Turkey. Those who were literate often acted as so-called sealers, Polish *pieczętarze* 'those who authenticate'. They authenticated acts for ordinary people who were illiterate. The authenticating formulae that they employed were a blend of Turkish official style and translation of local juridical style, e.g. *...niñ vekilliğine* (in Turkish rather *vekāletine*) and *kendi elim yazdim* (the correct Turkish form being *kendi elim ile yazdim*). Also some graphic features show the local Tatar tradition of writing in Arabic script, e.g. the use of the letter ڇ instead of the normal ڙ for Turkish /z/.

Despite the fact that the Imam of Kirk who used to write his name *Hüseyin ibn 'Aysà* or *Hüseyin oğlı 'Aysà* remains unknown, the identification of the village *Kirk* with Sorok Tatary is almost certain since all other toponyms⁴³ lie close to this village and there is no other village called *Kirk* in this region. The documents were issued in Mereszlany, for Mrs Małachowska and her daughters resided there. It is for this reason that Mrs Małachowska declared that she had possessions in two provinces, Troki and Wilna.

EDITORIAL SYMBOLS

- [] – lacking letters
- ◊ – reconstructed or amended letters
- { } – unnecessary letters

p. 122, 125). It should be noted that it is striking that two similar Islamic names, Hasan and Husayn, were confused not only in Latin script, but, as we can see from the documents discussed, also in Arabic script. In Kazakh, the name Husayn occurs in the following variants: *Xusayın, Qusayın, Qusan, Qusen, Üsen, Üseyin* and *Xuseyin* (see *Januzaqov T., Esbayeva K. Qazaq esimderi...*, p. 457).

⁴³ For example, the meadow at Koyszołaki is described as adjacent to the river Vaka (e.g. document 1, part 1, line 11–12). In addition, the creditors Mustafa Fursicz and Abaz Rudziewicz were residents of Sorok Tatary (*ibid*, line 15–17).