der Märtyrer sind die direkte Fortsetzung des Heroenkults" (217).

Durch die empathische Schilderung der Dionysosreligion gelingt es Ivanov, diese doch fremde und längst vergangene Welt für den Leser wieder zum Leben zu erwecken. Einerseits gibt er durch entsprechende Zitate einen Eindruck von der Schönheit der Dionysosreligion und der Begeisterung, die sie auslösen konnte. Andererseits wird ein Zeitgenosse zitiert, der sich voll ätzenden Spottes über diese lächerlichen Prozessionen der mit Kränzen aus Fenchel und Pappellaub ausstaffierten Mysten äußert. Ivanov bringt Ordnung in die verwirrende Vielfalt der griechischen Götterwelt. Die unübersehbaren verwandtschaftlichen Beziehungen unter den Göttern deutet er als notwendige Erklärungen und Einordnungen lokaler Kulte im Verlauf ihrer Zusammenführung. Die Bedeutung der Götternamen erklärt er am Beispiel von Hera und Herakles, lässt aber mehr oder weniger offen, ob ähnliche Anklänge ebenso bedeutungsvoll sein könnten, z. B. Zeus/Zagreus und Ares/Artemis. Ausführlich deutet er den Namen Melampus (Schwarzfuß), lässt hingegen die Bedeutung anderer Namen wie z. B. Ödipus (Schwellfuß) offen – eine bereits mehrfach beobachtete Arbeitsweise, mit der er vielleicht bewusst eigene Überlegungen oder womöglich gar Bemühungen des Lesers anstoßen möchte.

Ivanovs Werk repräsentiert den Forschungsstand von 1949 und vermutlich sind einige seiner Thesen in Fachkreisen umstritten. Davon gänzlich unbeschadet handelt es sich um eine außerordentlich lohnende und anregende Lektüre, für die man sich allerdings etwas Zeit nehmen muss.

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The Krymchaks

An Ethnic and Religious Group

Kazimierz Banek

Crimea is an exceptionally interesting research area for religious studies scholars. This rather small region (25,900 km²) has been home to – one after the other or at the same time – Tauri, Cimmerians,[1] Maeotae, Scythians,[2] Greeks, Sarmatians, Romans, Goths, Byzantines, Jews, Krymchaks, Khazars, Karaites, Bulgars, Kipchaks, Pechenegs, Slavs, Armenians, Tatars, Italians, and Turks. Each of these nations was frequently characterised by their own more or less strongly defined religious specificity. After the annexation of Crimea to Russia in 1783, the Tatars and Turks began to leave the peninsula, while Russians, Ukrainians, Serbs, Greeks, Albanians, Germans,[3] Poles, Bulgarians, Czechs, and Estonians began to settle, or were re-settled there. For thousands of years, then, Crimea has seen a mix of various peoples, cultures, and religions.

The position of the Crimean peninsula at the crossing of important trade routes meant that for a long time two separate worlds, the Greco-Roman and the "Barbarian," came into contact with one another, and two different types of culture were interlaced: the Asian and the European, Eastern and Western (Glushak and Naumova 1997: 59). Even now, Crimea, being an autonomous republic, is the most multiethnic region of Ukraine (Grigor'yants 1999: 42). The interests of various nationalities, religions, political parties, and economic circles continue to meet and clash with each other (Mamchenko 1998: 41). At the beginning of the 20th century, in Crimean towns Orthodox and Armenian-Gregorian churches, mosques, Catholic and Protestant churches, synagogues, Karaite kenesas, and Krymchak *k'aala* still operated side-by-side. In the town of Feodosiya alone, for instance, in the year 1910 there were ten Orthodox churches, four mosques, three Armenian-Gregorian churches, two synagogues, and one Catholic church (Glushak

1 The Cimmerians are to be mentioned here, if we accept the theory that in the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. they lived on the steppes on the northern and eastern coast of the Black Sea (Hrapunov 1995: 5).

2 That is the name under which they were also known to Greeks; they called themselves Skolots (Herodotus, IV 6).

3 The first wave of German settlers, mostly Protestant Mennonites from Prussia, arrived in Crimea in the years 1803–1823, and the second one – in the 1860s and 1870s. According to the census of 1897, they numbered 30,000 (Laptev 1997: 428 f.).

and Artiuh 1997: 3). According to the census of 2001, 2,033,000 people lived in Crimea, of whom 58% (1,180,000) were Russians, 24.4% (492,000) Ukrainians, and 12.1% (243,400) Tatars.[4] Since these figures amount to 94.5%, it leaves 5.5% for the remaining nationalities (of which there are currently over 100). The ethnic diversity is reflected also in the religious pluralism. As for September 1, 1993, 14,500 religious communities were registered in Ukraine; they belonged to 60 different faiths (Hreczko 1994: 245). In Crimea alone, however, there are at present around 500 religious organisations representing 30 religions, of which the most active are the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (UOC) as well as Muslim congregations. In order to analyze problems facing Crimean society, therefore, we must take into account the fact that, at present, two main religions exist there side-by-side – namely, Christianity and Islam – which are, in turn, associated with specific nationalities, and which, in the course of centuries, created their own, different social systems and cultures. These processes constantly lead to the formation of a specific, syncretic "Crimean culture."

Alongside these dominant nations and their religions, there are also a number of smaller ethnic and religious groups, such as Armenians, Jews, Karaites, and Krymchaks. All of them are aware – to a greater or lesser degree – of their identity and the fact that they are the heirs to ancient, often very rich national traditions (Kolodnyi 1997: 242). Nonetheless, this consciousness is not always reflected in their current legal-political-economic situation: among the most important 29 national communities, only five are able to publish their own newspaper and four are allowed time on radio and television. Some of these minorities have serious difficulties in organising and financing their own education system, libraries, folklore groups, etc. (Grigor'yants 1999: 44).

Looking from a perspective of 3000 years and remembering all the ethnic changes that have taken place in Crimea, we can distinguish four main periods of cultural domination on the peninsula: 1. Traditional (Cimmerians[5] and Tauri, with a backdrop of Scythians, Maeotae, and Sarmatians); 2. Greco-Byzantine; 3. Tatar-Islamic; 4. Russian-Orthodox. Apart from this, in diverse ways the following groups have also marked their presence: Khazars, Karaites, Armenians, Jews, Ruthenians, Italians, Turks, and Krymchaks. These nations lived alongside each other and their faiths interacted and blended. In this way certain syncretic cultural forms emerged, which did not preclude conflicts either.

The first decades of the thirteenth century marked the beginning of the period of Muslim domination. In the years 1223–1239, Mongols were invading the peninsula and consequently, in 1242, the land became part of the Golden Horde. Later (between 1443 and 1783), the Crimean Khanate was established. It became part of the Ottoman Empire in 1478. The Muslim era in Crimea began with the acceptance of Islam by the second khan of the Golden Horde, Berke (1255–1266), who enforced a cultural policy of strict Islamisation[6] (Muhamed'yarov 1997: 174). Certain evidence demonstrates however that – at least initially or in official texts – the Tatar khans demonstrated respect toward Christians. For example, in a *yarlyk* (a document issued by the khan) promulgated in 1357, the Metropolitan of Russia, Alexius (1354–1378) was referred to with great consideration (Filatov 2003: 201). As for the policy of Islamisation, in the year 1287 in Solhat,[7] where the governor of the Golden Horde resided, a magnificent mosque was erected, which was then followed by a *madrahs* (Muslim school of higher learning attached to the mosque, educating clerics and the intellectual-administrative elite) – one of the first such establishments in Crimea. We should remember, however, that initially the Tatars occupied only the steppe section of the peninsula, located in its centre and north. In the mountains, on the other hand, in the foothills of southwestern Crimea and on the coast, local Gothic-Alani-Greek-Khazar duchies continued; their capitals were Mangup-Kale, Qirq-Yer, Eski-Kermen, and Tepe-Kermen. In the course of the 13th century, Genoese began to establish themselves the southern coast of Crimea, as – on the grounds of the treaty with the Empire of Nicea (remainder of the Byzantine Empire), signed in Nymphaion, in 1261 – they had gained the right to trade in the Black Sea basin. In the 1270s, they founded the town of Caffa – the present-day Feodosiya (Mavrina 2004: 238), on the site of the former Greek-Alani settlement. In the middle of the 14th century, the Genoese occupied Cembalo (Balaklava) and Sudak, and subsequently settled in Yevpatoria. On the virtue of their agreement with the Golden Horde (1380), they became the owners of the southern coast of Crimea, extending from Sudak to the fortress of Cembalo. In the mid-14th century, when

4 See <http://www.sovmin.at-crimea.org> [19. 11. 2013].

5 Until their defeat at the hands of the Scythians in the mid-7th century A.D. (Hrapunov 1995: 5).

6 During the rule of Khan Uzbek (1312–1342), Islam became the official religion of the Golden Horde.

7 The first information about this town dates back to 1266. The Tatars called it K'yrym or Eski-K'yrym, i.e. Old Crimea (Stary Krym), and this last name has survived until today. Stary Krym now is around 20 km north of Sudak.

the Khan of the Golden Horde, Janybek (1342–1357), initiated the policy of military expansion in Crimea (especially towards the Genoese), the town of Qirq-Yer[8] was taken and subsequently converted it into the centre of the local *beylik* (district) of the Golden Horde. A mosque was also erected to mark the domination of Islam (Gertsen and Mogarichev 1993: 56). Certain mediaeval sources mention the following communities being present in Qirq-Yer: Muslim, Christian, Armenian, and Jewish (Karaite). Nonetheless, in spite of the Moslem expansion, the Christian principality of Theodoro, which occupied the northwestern part of Crimea (with Mangup-Kale as its capital), was able to retain its power and local influences. The Genoese named this land Gothia.[9] Its population, according to a report from the beginning of the 15th century, was predominantly Greek (Gertsen and Mogarichev 1993: 56). Christianity – both Orthodox (Greeks) and Catholic (Genoese) – continued to exist, therefore, in the Tartar-dominated Crimea, especially in its southern and southwestern parts.

The religious, ethnic, and political situation in Crimea in the 13th–15th centuries was therefore quite complex. For around 200 years, the following political entities coexisted there: the Tatar (Muslim) Golden Horde (from 1443 Crimean Khanate) and the Gothic-Greek-Alani (Orthodox) principality Theodoro, the Alani (Orthodox) principality Qirq-Yer, and the Genoese (Catholic) port cities of Balaklava, Sudak, and Caffa. Additionally, the fact that the eastern part of the peninsula in the 13th and 14th centuries bore the name "Khazaria" points to the existence of the Khazars there – the remainder of the Khazar Khaganate – who were adherents to Karaitism and Judaism (Muhamed'yarov 1997: 175). Although the Khaganate ceased to exist in 965 (after the defeat suffered in the war against the Kiev Knyaz Sviatoslav), Crimea constituted the main centre of the Karaite religion up to the 14th century (Babinov 2004).

The appearance of the Mongols led indigenous inhabitants of Crimea to call themselves "Krymchaks" – as it was at this very time when the term "Krym," (Crimea), came into use.[10] On the other hand, other inhabitants of the peninsula, in reference to their religion, called them "Jews," "Crimean Jews," "Sephardites," or "Talmudists." It is also possible, however – as E. Dejnard (1878) suggested in the late 19th century – that the term "Krymchaks" was in fact introduced by the Tatars. According to other contemporary authors – including the eminent Krymchak scholar I. S. Kaya (1887–1956) – people known today as "Krymchaks" have been living in Crimea for over 2000 years, although we do not know what they were previously called.[11] The designation currently used for them appeared only in the 13th century, with the arrival of the Mongols (Lakub 1891; Veysenberg 1913). On the other hand, according to A. Samuil'son, Krymchaks appeared in Crimea as early as the first centuries A.D., when after the destruction of the Jerusalem temple by the Romans in A.D. 70, Jewish missionaries arrived in the Bosporan Kingdom, having travelled through the Caucasus and the Strait of Kerch to spread Judaism. An effect of their actions was the foundation of the Jewish congregation in Crimea. Archaeological excavations brought to light certain inscriptions on stone plates with information about the custom practised in the Bosphorus – and specifically that of freeing slaves on the condition of visiting a Jewish temple. If the former slave failed to comply with this condition, the act of liberation would become invalid. This practice was perhaps related to the small size of the Jewish community, and the need to increase its size by co-opting proselytes. In this way, however, enslaved individuals from various nations turned to Judaism, viewing it as an opportunity to regain freedom (Levi 1997: 232).

According to the most recent studies, the moment of emerging of the Krymchak ethnos should be placed somewhere between the 4th and the 9th century. One of the most significant sources that enable such dating is an old prayer book, carefully preserved by the Krymchaks and featuring the date 847. Nonetheless, no information is available as to when it was written or when it was acquired. It is also argued that the Krymchaks emerged at the time when the Khazars were in power in Crimea – that is between the late 7th / early 8th century and the mid-10th century, although their domination was limited mostly to the eastern part of the peninsula. The intermarried could have played an important role here: Jews married Khazar women, yet they

8 This town is located approximately 3 km east of the khans' palace in Bakhchisaray; later known as Chufut-Kale (lit.: Jewish fortress).

9 Today it is believed that the mediaeval term "Gothia" referred to the territory extending from Inkerman in the west to Aluston (today Alushta) in the east, and Bakle (15 km southwest of Simferopol), as well as Mangup-Kale in the north (Novichenkov and Novichenkova 2003: 41, Fig. 2). It may also refer to the mountainous section of Crimea, including the coast from Sudak to Sevastopol. The capital was to be Mangup (Alekseenko 1998: 232).

10 This term derives from the name of one of the main towns of the peninsula at that time, Solhat, which was re-named *K'yrym* (later Eski Krym) by the Mongols.

11 Earlier they may have been known as Jews, Crimean Jews, Sephardists, Talmudists, etc.

could not regard their progeny as Jews, as in Judaism ethnicity is determined according to the female line. Mixed marriages, therefore, contributed to the emergence of a new ethnic group that no longer belonged to Jews (in an ethnic sense) but followed Judaism – the Krymchaks. This people still spoke their Turkic mother tongue, and their religion, Judaism, was enriched by elements taken from cultural traditions of various neighbouring peoples. In short, Judaism of the Orthodox type became the principal factor that unified Krymchaks as a group and constitutes the foundation of their distinct identity, while the language they use to speak belonged to the same group that comprises the languages of Tatars (Crimean, Lithuanian, and Belorussian), Turks, Karaites, and Gagauzes.

As we can see, therefore, the ethnogenesis of the Krymchaks has not yet been satisfactorily explained. What is sure however is that they present a blend of various ethnic groups of Crimea, in which the unifying factors have been the common language and religion, with a number of other cultural elements – mostly of Turkish and Italian origin. This is shown by Krymchaks' first names and surnames, such as: Achkinazi (Jewish), Gurdji (Georgian), Gotta (Gothic), Prva (Slavic), Angelo, Piastro, Lombrozo (Italian), Chapicho, Masot, Koporto (Spanish), Stamboli, Tokatli, Mizrachi, Izmierli (Turkish), Peysach, Asherov, Purim, Levi (Jewish from Palestine and Mesopotamia), Varshavsky, Berman, Fischer, Lechno, Lur'ie (Polish and German) (Levi 1997: 234 f.). Furthermore, in 1891, P. M. Lakub described the Krymchaks as "tall, well-built men of swarthy complexion" and their women as "beautiful." Anthropological research conducted at the beginning of the 20th century confirmed the occurrence in them of characteristics of the former inhabitants of the peninsula – that is, the tribes that belonged to the Khazar Khaganate – as well as other non-Turkic nations including Jews (refugees from the East or from European countries). The same conclusions were reached in 1928, after a biochemical analysis of the Krymchaks' blood had been performed. Specific physical feature of the Krymchaks are also reflected in their surnames and nicknames, such as Kose (beardless), Kokoz (blue-eyed), K'arakoz (black eye), etc.

The formation of the Krymchak nationality was a long process that began between the 6th and the 8th century, i.e., during the period of the Khazar domination in that region.[12] An important document confirming their existence is the already-mentioned manuscript from the mid-9th century, and specifically the prayer book dated at the year 847. Moreover, an analysis of sources from the 11th to the 15th century points to the fact that the Turkic-speaking adherents of Judaism also emerged during that period, as conversion to Judaism was also a form of obtaining freedom from slavery.[13] This process resulted in a gradual emergence of ethno-religious identity among the Krymchaks (Achkinazi 2000). However, the term "Krymchak" itself – deriving from the name K'yrym – has been dated back to the second half of the 13th century, and specifically, the beginning of the Tartar domination on the peninsula. In the *yarlyks* of Crimean khans, issued to some Krymchak families in 1597 and 1742, they were identified as *Iegudim* (Judaeans) or Jews (or Jews-Talmudists). Particularly important here is the fact that individual Krymchaks were mentioned for the first time in these documents, and specifically the individuals who were granted certain privileges, such as for example the descendants of Kokos, a merchant from Caffa known from 15th-century sources (Levi 1997: 230).

The Krymchaks spoke a Turkic language, which they called "Chagatai," and which similar to Crimean-Tatar. Specifically, it bore more resemblance to its southern dialect than to its northern (Nogai) one. It also contained a number of borrowings from other languages, such Turkish, Persian, Azerbaijani, and Arabic. As a large number of words in this language are different from their counterparts in Crimean-Tatar and Turkish, however, and its alphabet is based on the Old-Yiddish script, today linguists agree that Chagatai should be classified as a separate language within the Turkic family.[14] Three languages belonging to the Turkic family coexisted therefore on the Crimean peninsula for centuries: Crimean Tatar, Krymchak (Chagatai), and Karaite (Rebi 1997: 239). They were very similar and interacted with each other, although their speakers remained culturally conservative and jealously maintained their identity.

The invasion of Crimea by the Turks in 1475 and its subsequent subordination to the Ottoman Empire had huge consequences for all peoples living there, including the Krymchaks. After the capture of the fortress Mangup-Kale in 1492, the principality of Theodoro ceased to exist, and the Genoese domina-

12 This is the opinion of I. V. Achkinazi (2000: 41 f.) – the son of another student of Krymchak history and culture, V. M. Achkinazi.

13 This is similar to the case of Khazar Khaganate, where Judaism and Karaism spread from the beginning of the 9th century, although this took place mainly at the khan's court.

14 A supporter of the thesis about the autonomy of the Krymchak language was the Karaite turkologist, Prof. S. M. Shapshal (Rebi 1997: 239).

tion on the southern coast ended (Podhorecki 1987: 21). The cities of Sudak and Caffa fell into Turkish hands, many churches and monasteries were destroyed or deserted, and the social and economic situation of Christians deteriorated significantly. This resulted, primarily, from the introduction of the Quranic principle according to which Islam was to be the state religion, with the sultan (as caliph) as the spiritual leader of all Moslems living under his jurisdiction. The policy of Islamisation of the local population began, simultaneously, and with it came also religious intolerance. The expanding policy of Islamisation resulted in the accelerated diffusion of the Arabic language, which now became the liturgical language, and as such it was taught in *maktabs* (a Muslim secondary school in Turkic communities). Additionally, a school of Islamic higher education was founded in Bakhchisaray (Zincirli Madrasa), in the year 1500, and, in 1552, the beautiful mosque Juma-Jami in Kozlov (the Yellow Fortress; today's Yevpatoria) was designed and built by the famous architect Mimar Sinan (1489–1578). According to E. Czelebi (1969: 285, 300, 304), in the mid-17th century, in Bakhchisaray, there were 24 *camis* (great mosques),[15] one of them having been the Ak-Mechet' (White Mosque). Similarly, in the year 1784, in Simferopol – the seat of the *kalga sultana* (the Khan's heir) – there were, five mosques, two *medreses*, and three dervish monasteries, while the locality of Karas (inhabited by Turks, Armenians, and Krymchaks) had 27 mosques, five of which were *camis*. At the same time, the Christian population of the peninsula, mostly Greeks, Armenians, and the descendents of Alani and Goths, was put under a considerable political and cultural pressure. Qirq-Yer, the former capital of the Christian principality of the Alani, became the capital of the Crimean Khanate, and historical sources no longer mention Christians in that area beginning with the 15th century on. As a result, in the course of the 18th century, the southwestern section of Crimea became Islamized almost entirely. Nonetheless, it is also worth mentioning that the Crimean-Tatar was not only by the Tatars themselves but also – as a *lingua franca* – by Greeks (Orthodox) and by Armenians – that is, Christians of the Armenian rite (Chernin 1983: 93 f.). In spite of the consistent Islamisation, however, the Krymchaks maintained their identity, both ethnic and religious. At the beginning of the 16th century, they even adopted the so-called "Caffa ritual," designed in response to the perceived disparities in conducting ritual ceremonies in the city in which ethnic Jews and Proselytes lived side by side. In this way, the religious community of the Krymchaks, "K'aal akodesh" came about; it emerged from the combination of Orthodox Judaism with "pagan" forms of worship. Nonetheless, the nature of religious life of the Krymchak community was to a significant degree determined by its separation from the Jewish centres as well as its long-term coexistence with the Crimean Tatars. The territory they occupied on the peninsula changed according to the current political and/or economic context. In the course of the 10th–16th centuries, they inhabited towns of eastern Crimea (which can be explained by the earlier dominance of the Khazars there), in the 16th century they inhabited mostly Karasu Bazar,[16] Ak-Mechet, and the mountainous region (Mangup-Kale, Chufrut-Kale), while in the late 18th century they were also to be found in Caffa, Eski-Krym, Bakhchisaray, and Temryuk. There were around 800 of them at the time (Levi 1997: 229 f.).

Toward the end of the 15th century, a schism occurred in the Krymchak community in Caffa, and as a result, a majority of them left the city in search of new locations. They settled in Karasu Bazar (lit. "market at black water"), today Belogorsk,[17] and they lived there for the next 400 years as a close-knit group in a suburb situated on the left bank of the Karas river (lit. "black water"; today Karasevka). They were skilful tanners, leatherworkers, cobblers, and producers of hats. In 1843, near to the Donuzlav lake, another group of them established the farming settlement Rogatlikoy (lit.: "peaceful village"), which was however abandoned in 1856 following a ruling of the Tsarist administration. Such discrimination against non-Russian population of the peninsula occurred frequently during the Crimean War and the time immediately following it.

The Krymchaks lived in one-storey stone houses comprising a kitchen and one or two rooms. Their basic occupations were craft (mostly to do with processing of leather) and trade. They were therefore tanners, upholsterers, cobblers, and saddle makers. Early in the 20th century, the Jewish ethnographer S. Weisenberg compiled an almost complete list of

15 *Cami* derives from *al-ǧāmi*, which means "gathering" (Danecki 2002: 133).

16 The population of that town played a special role at this time in the process of shaping the Krymchak community, as did the activities of David ben Eliezer Lechno (Achkinazi 2000: 62 f.).

17 This name ("white rock") comes from the steep mountain (343 m) situated 7 km to the north known as Ak-Kaya. In 1777, the peak was the site of the headquarters of Gen. A. W. Suvorov and, in the year 1783, Prince G. A. Potomkin took the oath of faithfulness to Russia from representatives of Crimean-Tatars.

Krymchak families. The analysis that he carried out demonstrates that the majority of them (up to 60%) were indigenous inhabitants of Crimea. Additionally, the names of over 30% of the families expressed their professions and crafts: Atar (apothecary), Bakshi (fruit farmer), Demerji (blacksmith), Kolpakchi (hat maker), Taukhtchi (bird trader), Hafuz (scholar), Hekim (doctor), Kadja (chief, elder). During mealtimes, Krymchaks would gather around a round table named *soffa* and sit on the floor on special pillows called *yan yastichlar*. The men wore black kaftans, trousers, shoes made of soft leather without heels, on which they wore leather boots called *katir*, and they covered their head with a round karakul hat. The main element of the female dress was a dark lilac or purple kaftan and plimsolls embroidered in silver. The heads of girls were decorated with a Turkish cap trimmed with beads, and adult women wore the complicated garment called *bash bagy*.

Krymchaks were commonly viewed as composed, reliable, and very family-oriented. Older people were treated with great respect and the family was patriarchal in character: its head was the father, whose authority was limitless and his wife and children followed his orders without any disobedience. The community cared for orphans and paupers (common funds were used to organise funerals and to marry impoverished girls). Following an ancient tradition, it was the mother who used to choose the candidate to marry her son. This had to be a modest, hard-working girl who could sew, embroider, and knit (crochet). If the young man met the favour of the girl's parents, an agreement was made regarding the wedding and the duties of the future spouses decided on. Divorces practically did not exist. In general terms, Krymchak family life was based on strict observance of the corresponding principles of Judaism.

Twice a day, in the morning and in the evening, they made their way to the prayer house, known as *k'aal*. They prayed in Old-Yiddish. Their prayer books were written in Old-Yiddish and sometimes Aramaic, but due to rather poor literacy among them, (comp. Lakub 1891: 233), the content of prayers was seldom fully understood. No contacts were maintained with centres of Jewish Orthodoxy either. There emerged, therefore, certain differences between the Krymchak and Jewish religious practice. One of them was the fact that older and more respected people would sit at the back of the synagogue, close to the entrance, while the others would take their place at the front. The rabbi fulfilled the duties of spiritual leader as well as of healer and political leader. He was chosen from among people who were experts in theology and distinguished themselves through impeccable moral conduct. Rabbis were not awarded any regular salary, but supported themselves with donations for the rites that they performed.

The Krymchaks did not have their own writing system but used an Old-Yiddish script. Because only a small percentage of them knew Russian, they learnt to read biblical texts in a Tatar translation. The relatively long coexistence of Krymchaks with Crimean Tartars left a significant imprint on their culture. For example, they lined the floors of the synagogues with carpets, as it was usually done in Tatar mosques (Lakub 1891: 236), and some Krymchaks sat on the floor during prayer. Lakub also observed that they said some prayers in a singing voice, and these melodies were "pure Tatar." Moreover, according to the same author (who lived among them for about 30 years), even the external aspect of the *k'aala* resembled a mosque.

The situation in Crimea changed radically after Russia's victorious war with Turkey (1768–1774), and the Russian-Crimean pact signed in 1772 in Karasu Bazar. A large number of Tatars, especially higher Muslim clerics and *mirzas* (chiefs, princes), left Crimea because they were unable to accept the increasing Russian influence (Podhorecki 1987: 255). This phenomenon escalated after Crimea was annexed by Russia in 1783. It happened in spite of the declaration of Catherine II (of April 8, 1783), who promised to look after the inhabitants of the peninsula, "defending their wealth, their temples, their traditional religion, whose free practice with all its recognised customs should not be forbidden" (Abdullah Zihni Soysal 1938: 50). At this time, Crimea became a "Tauric district," and in 1802 a province of the Russian Empire. General J. I. Igelström, who headed the Russian administration in Crimea, estimated that there were almost 170,000 Muslims and 1,531 mosques, 21 monasteries, 25 *medreses*, and 35 *maktabs* (Podhorecki 1987: 273). Christian places of worship, on the other hand, numbered about 30–40. During the mass emigration out of the peninsula which began at that time around 110,000 Tatars left Crimea, and between 1796 and 1802 further 30,000. The migration, mostly to Turkey, lasted throughout the 19th century.

The annexation of Crimea to Russia ended the period of Islamisation of this region and created a historical opportunity for Christians, Krymchaks, and Karaites. There were only around 800 Krymchaks at the time, living mostly in Karasu Bazar, Caffa, Mangup-Kale, Bakhchisaray, and Stary Krym. In the mid-1840s they numbered 1,300, and in 1897 – 4,600 (57% living in Karasu Bazar). In the

1880s, the Krymchaks began to move out of Karasu Bazar to other towns (Simferopol, Sevastopol, Feodosiya, Yevpatoria, and Kerch) as well as to the Caucasus, although at the end of the 19th century the town continued to be their most important centre. There were three Krymchak prayer houses (*k'aala*) and a clerical school. In Feodosiya, too, there existed an old prayer house, although it was converted into a Jewish synagogue in the beginning of the 20th century. The migration of Krymchaks to other urban centres produced new prayer houses. In Simferopol, for instance, there were even two of them – one for the poor (*fk'arie k'aal*) and one for the rich (*zengyn k'aal*).

Still, the Russian authorities conducted a repressive cultural policy towards Krymchaks and Jews. For example, Jewish young men were recruited to the Tsarist army at the tender age of 12, and their service lasted up to 25 years, which was in fact a common practice in Russia at that time. During the military service, they were subject to harsh indoctrination, which resulted in their forgetting their native language, religion, and even their names. In this situation, the Krymchaks made determined, and ultimately successful, efforts to be recognised as a distinct nationality, and not identified with Jews. In 1841, "Krymchaks" were mentioned[18] by Knyaz M. S. Vorontsov (1786–1856), the governor-general of the Novorossiysk and Bessarabian Region in the years 1828–1854, and soon afterwards the first recorded use of "Krymchak" in an official document was also made (ministerial regulations of August 18, 1859 concerning Karas Bazar[19]). Finally, Krymchaks appeared as a separate category in the national census of 1897.

In the course of the 19th century, the Krymchaks did not have their own writing system yet. Printed prayer books could be found only in few homes. The literacy was usually limited reading a passage of the Torah translated into Tatar. We know, however, that many Krymchak families kept *jonkas* – handwritten notebooks containing children's stories,[20] parables, proverbs, adages, and songs – and written in the native language but using a very old alphabet, described as "Aramaic." Even in the 20th century, there still lived Krymchaks who were able to read these manuscripts (Rebi 1997: 239). The Russian language was being adopted by Krymchak communities with difficulties. As a result, in the census of 1897, Krymchaks turned out to be the nation with the highest level of illiteracy: only 35% of the men and 10% of the women knew Russian. The first two secular primary schools were opened for Krymchak children in Simferopol, in 1902, and Karasu Bazar (in 1907) only in the beginning of the 20th century – with Russian as the second language of instruction.

A particular role in the process of strengthening national consciousness among the Krymchaks was played by David ben Eliezer Lechno (died 1735),[21] I. S. Kaya,[22] E. I. Pejsach (1903–1977),[23] and W. M. Achkinazi (1927–1992) (see Kizilov 2010: 270f.). The first publications about Krymchaks appeared in 1860 in Simferopol in A. Samuil'son's magazine *Rassvet*, and the first scholar to study the history of the Krymchaks was I. S. Kaya, the director of the only Talmud Torah in Karas Bazar – the main centre of Krymchak life until the end of the 19th century. The opening of secular primary schools, teaching Russian as an auxiliary language, contributed to the process of formation of Krymchak intelligentsia that continued to use the language, and thus supported the process of emerging of "Krymchak" national identity. In the years 1923–24, the community created its own national institutions: parks for children (in Simferopol and Sevastopol[24]), schools (in 1926 there were 300 pupils and seven teachers in two schools), clubs (in Karasu Bazar, Simferopol, Sevastopol, and Feodosiya), and cultural-educational associations. The basic teaching was conducted in the native tongue. A special textbook was also published for that purpose. In the cultural club in Sevas-

18 One reads in a letter to the minister of internal affairs: "The Krymchaks … have accepted Russian command …, they are keeping the customs of their ancestors, and speak in a dialect of the Tatar language" (Levi 1997: 231).

19 This regulation concerned the "change in status of Krymchak land owners from the settlement of Rogatlikoy to the citizens of the city of Karasubazar" (Levi 1997: 231).

20 We can find there a story similar to "The Tale of Tsar Saltan" by A. S. Pushkin, as well as the tale "Aszyk' G'arip," which is known – albeit in various versions – among several peoples of the Caucasus and Central Asia; it was recorded by M. J. Lermontov as "Aszik Kerib" (Rebi 1997: 240). The story "Aszyk' G'arip" can be also found in the *jonka* of I. J. Ga'aja, preserved in the collection of the Ethnographical Museum in Simferopol.

21 He was a Krymchak chronicler who wrote the history of 50 years of the Crimean Khanate, also mentioning the Krymchaks in the context of destruction of Krymchak and Christian temples in Karas Bazar (Levi 1997: 231).

22 The first Krymchak student of history of his nation and an active educational activist. He was one of the first Krymchaks to receive a solid humanist education (he graduated from the teaching institute), and later became director of the Talmud Torah (primary school for Krymchaks).

23 Pejsach researched Krymchak folklore. He also studied customs, collected music (around 200 songs), as well as photographs, sayings (gathering approx. 600), and proverbs; he also conducted a census of 2,500 Krymchaks. His collection was exhibited in the Ethnographical Museum in Saint Petersburg.

24 In the year 1929, it was converted into a school which operated until 1941.

topol, located in the building of the former Karaite kenesa, dance evenings, dressmaking, and sewing courses were organised and a theatre group met. In Simferopol, on the other hand, the poetic talent of Yakov Chapichev emerged; he published a collection of poems entitled "Valour," in 1939, and subsequently he was accepted into the official association of Soviet writers. According to data collected by the Krymchaks themselves, in the year 1913 they were almost 8,000 individuals who identified themselves as "Krymchaks," of whom 90% lived in Crimea. In the years 1914–1921, however (World War I, civil war, famine, chaos), large groups of them emigrated to Turkey, Palestine, and to the USA, where they continue to form a separate community. Consequently, their numbers gradually dwindled. The census of 1926 recorded only 6,383 Krymchaks – the majority of them in Crimea – with 74% of these giving Krymchak as their mother tongue.

By the outbreak of World War II, the Krymchak centre continued to be Belogorsk, where 50% of them lived, and nearby there were two kolkhozes, "Krymchak" and "Yengy Krymchak" ("new" Krymchak) (Levi 1997: 237 f.). In the 1930s, as part of a programme of secularisation of society, the Soviet authorities started a battle with Krymchak religious establishment: prayer houses were closed or designated for other purposes. They were not return to the Krymchaks after the war. Young Krymchaks stopped observing traditional religious rituals whereas the older generation practiced their religion either in Jewish synagogues or in private homes.

During World War II the Nazis saw Krymchaks as Jews – descendants of emigrants from Italy, who had spent 400 years in Crimea, adopted the Tatar language and customs but kept their religion – and murdered a large number (almost 80%) of them (Kizilov 2010: 282; Rebi 1997: 241). With them, the Krymchak language practically died out too. In Simferopol, in early December 1941, the German authorities ordered the registration of all Krymchaks, supposedly in order to resettle them in Bessarabia, and then on December 11–13, they were transported towards Feodosiya and summarily executed. As a reminder of that tragedy, a monument has been placed at the site of the massacre, and December 11 is marked by Krymchaks as the *T'kun* holiday. In Yevpatoria, the execution of Krymchaks was carried out in December 1941, in Kerch in June 1942, and in Sevastopol in July 1942. After World War II, the process of assimilation of the Krymchaks into the Soviet society intensified. Approximately 60% of the marriages were mixed, which led to weakening of national consciousness and the gradual disappearance of the Krymchak ethnos as such. During the census of 1959, only 1,500 Krymchaks were counted (of whom 900 were in Crimea), and the data from 1989 give a figure of 1,448, out of whom only 604 lived in Crimea (Kizilov 2010: 282 f.). The current population is estimated at around 2,500–3,500 individuals, of whom ca. 600 live in Crimea, especially in Simferopol, Sevastopol, Yevpatoria, Kerch, Feodosiya, and Yalta (Levi 1997: 230 ff.). Outside Crimea, the presence of Krymchak people has been recorded in Novorossiysk, Suchumi, Moscow, and Saint Petersburg.

Crimea is a region where various peoples coexisted throughout centuries, which resulted in emergence of unique cases of cultural/religious hybridity, although conflicts were not exceptions either (Starowojt 1994: 278 ff.; Zdioruk 1994: 198 f.). Many of these ancient peoples have disappeared almost without trace. Still, the present-day "indigenous" inhabitants of Crimea are all their descendents and heirs to a greater or lesser degree.

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Relationship between Religion, Politics, and Society in the First Postcommunist Decade

The Cases of the Czech Republic and Poland

Tomáš Bubík

Introduction

In the course of the last two centuries, religion was gradually banned from participation in public life in European countries. Political elites believed that churches had already finished their historical role, and the dominant position in society was to be now occupied by the state. Churches were kept within legal limits that made them "harmless" in the public sphere, and religion as such was supposed to assume a strictly private role. It was also believed that the state has come out victorious from the last century's battle between religious and secular worldviews. Historically, the most dangerous enemy of Christianity turned out to be the states that adopted the communist ideology, which have had similar social ambitions as the churches traditionally had (Maier 1999: 9–17). Communism in Eastern Europe, especially in the 1950s, followed the example of the Soviet Union and enforced the principle of separation of state and church. All concordats and treaties with churches were renounced, religious ed-