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## **YAZMA MIRAS / WRITTEN HERITAGE: THE IMAGE OF THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN TATARS AS A TRANSFERRED STEREOTYPE IN GERMAN LITERATURE**

**Abstract:** If we look at the subject of Islam and Eastern Europe in the context of the literatures of our countries, we encounter two paradoxes. On the one hand, there are two long-distance literatures that conveyed via translation narratives about Islam of the East into German literature. This is the Russian and Tatar literature. On the other hand, there are the near-distance literatures, e.g. the Polish and Lithuanian literature, as well as in earlier times the German literature of the Baltics and Silesia. The following paradox seems worth investigating in this literary paradigm: while Tatar literature would have been able to mirror a real picture of Tatar Islam, German literature has instead used almost exclusively narratives from Russian literature, often with a corresponding pejorative connotation.

On the other hand, texts dealing with autochthonous Islam in Poland-Lithuania are very rarely translated into the German language. Nevertheless, there is literature in German in this context. However, it is not written by Polish-Lithuanian Tatar, but written by German authors about them.

In this article, we will concentrate on the following topics: the culture translations in texts from long-distance literatures of the Russians, short-distance literature translations from Polish and Lithuanian literature into German and the literatures originally written in German, e.g. Silesia, East Prussia and in today's Germany concerning Tatars of Poland-Lithuania. The

text highlights these phenomena as an overview and is not complete and comprehensive, but representative enough to indicate what the subject of transferred Tatar stereotypes is all about.

**Keywords:** Tatars, written heritage, German literature, Polish literature, Russian literature, stereotype, imagology.

### Introduction

In the Polish, Russian and Ukrainian language areas, negative associations with Tatars are still present in cultural memory<sup>1</sup>. This often seems to be only intertextual or flamboyant, as in the remarks of Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz in May 2008, when he equated the Kaczyński brothers with the horror from the East: “Kaczyńscy są jak Tatarzy – najechali na Polskę” [The Kaczyńskis raided Poland like the Tatars]<sup>2</sup>.

Stereotypes about Tatars can be discovered in the context of the analysis of Russian images and the Russian image of the Germans in times of military confrontation with eastern neighbors as well as in German-nationalistic journalism in the run-up to these wars. The anthology *The Picture of Russia in the Third Reich*<sup>3</sup> deals with pejorative Tatar images as a matrix or predecessor, or as a reinforcement or component of a racist image of Russia. In the context one can read: “Rub the Russian and you will see the Tatar underneath” and “Mongolian-Asian instincts”<sup>4</sup>, from the “Tatar-Mongolian permanent threat”<sup>5</sup>, the “Tatar yoke”<sup>6</sup> or

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<sup>1</sup> In the vernacular of the Poles and Ukrainians there is an appropriate saying: “Desert as in the Tatar”, it is said in Poland, where no cruel treatment and an arbitrary and thirsty government knows a worse expression than Tatar. They feared the Tatars, of whom it is said, “Beware, if the Tatar flees!” and: “A horse without a bridle, the Tatars in Podolia and pills in the womb do not go away without harm” and therefore there is the saying: “I strive for it, as after the favor of the Tatar Khan” and also the deep wish: “Let something bad happen... On the Tatars!” See: O. F. von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Internationale Titulaturen*, Leipzig: Hermann Fries, 1863, pp. 46–47.

<sup>2</sup> <https://wiadomosci.onet.pl/kraj/cimoszewicz-kaczynscy-sa-jak-tatarzy-najechali-na-polske/t9ejj> [20.07.2019].

<sup>3</sup> *Das Rußlandbild im Dritten Reich*, ed. H.-E., Köln: Böhlau, 1994. There the preface and the article of the editor *The Russia-image in schools of the Third Reich*, pp. 225–255.

<sup>4</sup> M. Weißbecker, “If Germans lived here...”. *Persistence and change in the Russian image of Hitler and the NSDAP*, in: *Das Rußlandbild im Dritten Reich...*, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> G. Camphausen, *Das Rußlandbild in der deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft 1933 bis 1945*, in: *Das Rußlandbild im Dritten Reich...*, op. cit., p. 273.

<sup>6</sup> H.-E. Volkmann, *Das Rußlandbild in der Schule des Dritten Reiches*, in: *Das Rußlandbild im Dritten Reich...*, op. cit., p. 252.

“Lenin-Ulyanov, the half-Mongol from Russian and Tatar blood”<sup>7</sup>. The negative stereotypes about Tatars are an integral part of the aggressive-chauvinist image of Russia in the Third Reich. But this has its precursors already in the beginnings of German travel reports and their reception, as well as in the rise of German nationalism in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In this time, a Slavic image as well as Siberian image with “Tatar components” of different negative weightings coined: the more eastern, the more negative<sup>8</sup>.

As part of the Eastern Europe image, Göckenjan, Wakounig and Tokarzewska’s work on the Tatar image in early travelogues<sup>9</sup>. Referring to the Polish image of the Germans and the Russian image of Poland, the Tatar image in 1831 was mentioned in the book *The Polish. A character painting from the third decennary of our century* by Harro Harring and in *Historical stereotype research: methodical considerations and empirical findings* by Hans Henning Hahn<sup>10</sup> at the end of 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The early Tatar image is described by historians including Klopprogge, Connell and Schmieder as a synonym of the Mongol image. Klopprogge examines the years from 1221 to 1245, Connell – from 1240 to 1340 and

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<sup>7</sup> K. Meier, *Sowjetrußland im Urteil der evangelischen Kirche (1917–1945)*, in: *Das Rußlandbild im Dritten Reich...*, op. cit., p. 317.

<sup>8</sup> See: S. Schütz, *Anmerkungen zum Russlandbild Victor Hehns*, in: *Triangulum. Germanistisches Jahrbuch für Estland, Lettland, Litauen. Sonderheft Literatur in baltischen Bezügen*, ed. L. Lukas, T. Taterka, J. Undusk, Riga–Bonn: Baltisches German, pp. 244–260; A. Moser, *Land der unbegrenzten Unmöglichkeiten. Das Schweizer Russland- und Russenbild vor der Oktoberrevolution*, Zürich: CHRONOS, 2006, p. 214; T. Jürgens, *Unser täglich Sibirien gib uns heute. Imaginäre Geographie als deutsche Popkultur*, “Osteuropa” 2007, no. 57, pp. 202–214. Concerning travelogues as a fundament of Tatar images see: M. Hotopp-Riecke, *Iconographie der Angst. Deutsche Tatarenbilder im Wandel: Barbaren, Alliierte, Migranten*, Berlin: Verlag Freie Universität, Dissertationsschrift, 2011.

<sup>9</sup> H. Göckenjan, *Legende oder Wirklichkeit? Nachrichten über das östliche Europa im Werk des arabischen Reisenden Abū Hāmid al Andalusī al-Garnātī (1080–1170)*, in: *Erkundung und Beschreibung der Welt. Zur Poetik der Reise- und Länderberichte*, ed. G. Giesemann, X. Ertzdorff, Amsterdam–New York: Editions Rodopi, 2003, pp. 233–265; M. Tokarzewska, *Ein Bild des ‘wilden Ostens’. Vier Sibirienberichte aus der Zeit um 1900*, in: *Bilder des Ostens in der deutschen Literatur*, ed. U. Wergin, K. Sauerland, Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2009, pp. 137–156; M. Wakounig, *Das Bild der Türken und Tataren bei Johannes Schiltberger*, “Prace Historyczne. Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego” 1992, no. 102, pp. 117–124.

<sup>10</sup> H. Harring, *Der Pole. Ein Charakter-Gemälde aus dem dritten Decenium unseres Jahrhunderts*, Bayreuth: Grau’sche Buchhandlung, 1831; J. Stüben, *Deutsche Polen-Bilder. Aspekte ethnischer Imagotype und Stereotype in der Literatur*, in: *Historische Stereotypenforschung. Methodische Überlegungen und empirische Befunde*, ed. H. H. Hahn, Oldenburg: Universität Oldenburg, 1995, pp. 41–89.

Felicitas Schmieder takes a look at the period from 13<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> century. The synonymous use of concepts ‘Mongol’ and ‘Tatar’ of the 13<sup>th</sup> century seen as a transitional stage ready to be accepted<sup>11</sup>. Other authors associate the Tatar image with the tradition of the Russian one as the images of Eastern steppe federations such as the Scythians, Huns, Hungarians, Sarmatians and Avars, i.e. in the work of historian Johannes Gießauf *Barbarians – Monsters – God’s scourges* or in the article *Russians and Tatars, Slaves, Sarmatians and Scythians. A dispute from the 18<sup>th</sup> century* by the slavist Norbert Franz<sup>12</sup>.

### **The cultural translations in texts from long-distance literatures**

The Tatar image of the Russians and their individual components, as well as other peoples, was transferred into German-language literature by means of translated literature and direct contacts between Germans and Russians. The Russian saying “An unexpected (unwanted) guest is worse than a Tatar”<sup>13</sup> is one of many examples of such an image. In recent years, a new version has been added: “An unexpected guest is better than a Tatar”<sup>14</sup>. This radical version of the previously pejorative bon mot shows the direction of national stereotypes in the post-socialist Russian society. Open racism and anti-Muslim tendencies have become part of the public (however not very common) opinion in the Russian Federation<sup>15</sup>.

Several phrases refer to Mamai Khan, the legendary generals of the battles of Kulikovo and Kalka River, two significant identification points for the national consciousness of the Russians: “What is this? Here it looks, as if

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<sup>11</sup> A. Klopprogge, *Ursprung und Ausprägung des abendländischen Mongolenbildes im 13. Jahrhundert. Ein Versuch zur Ideengeschichte des Mittelalters*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993, there chapter 6.5.: *Die Tataren als Völker der Endzeit* [The Tatars as peoples of the end times], pp. 168–175; F. Schmieder, *Das Eigene, das Fremde und das Andere: Fremd- und Selbstbilder – Faszination und Distanzierung*, in: *Lebenswelten. Quellen zur Geschichte der Menschen in ihrer Zeit*, ed. G. Fouquet, U. Mayer, Stuttgart: Alteuropa, 2001, pp. 222–241; Ch. W. Connell, *Western views of the Tartars 1240–1340*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University, 1970.

<sup>12</sup> J. Gießauf, *Barbaren – Monster – Gottesgeißeln: Steppennomaden im europäischen Spiegel der Spätantike und des Mittelalters*, Graz: Grazer Universitätsverlag, 2006; F. Genthe, *Der Husar des Großen Königs*, Berlin: Scherl, 1928, pp. 251–260.

<sup>13</sup> Нежданный / незванный гость хуже татарина.

<sup>14</sup> Нежданный гость лучше татарина.

<sup>15</sup> Что за чушь? Какая-то татарская грамота!

Mamai have invaded!”<sup>16</sup> or “He is absolutely abrupt as it was Mamai”<sup>17</sup>. The last saying, though, contains some admiration for the imaginative daring, the bravery of the Tatar/Tatar army commander, but it remains in the canon of negative stereotypes as a rule.

### **Short-distance literature translations from Polish literature into German**

Influences of Polish and Russian historiography and literature on the Tatar image in German-language literature are found repeatedly through literary translations over the centuries, reinforced with industrial book production from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Many influential authors contributed to the Tatar image in Polish literature, and even later Nobel Prize winner Sienkiewicz drew on his works mainly from this popular subject of the contrasts between the Polish Occident and the Oriental-Tatar steppe. This continued until the 21<sup>st</sup> century: The bestseller *Mazurka* by American James A. Michener, which was translated as *The Roman of Poland*, also deals with the never-ending dispute between the East and the West and is full of clichés<sup>18</sup>.

Another reference to the ambivalent relationship with the Tatars can be found in the works by Kazimierz Brodziński, a Polish Romantic poet. For him, “literature [...] was a mirror of nationality” and “love of the fatherland was preceded by the love of art”<sup>19</sup>. According to Aleksander Brückner, Brodziński renounced negative representations in “garish colors in which Hajdamaks and Tatars, such as wild animals, appear in the poetry”. Also, the main work of the Polish romanticist Antoni Malczewski deals with the “struggle on the borders of Christianity with the Tatar hereditary enemies”. Similarly, the confrontation with the Crimean Tatars and Cossacks as well as the reference to Sarmatism is a major element in the works of Polish poets Juliusz Słowacki, Zygmunt Krasiński or Wincenty Pol. The books of one of the most famous novelists, Henryk Sienkiewicz, became bestsellers in Ger-

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<sup>16</sup> Что это такое! Словно Мамай прошёл!

<sup>17</sup> Он абсолютно беспардонный! Просто Мамай какой-то! This phrase is applied to uncouth, rude, impolite people.

<sup>18</sup> Title in original “Poland”. It shows the history of Poland as a novel from Mongol Invasion 1241 until Solidarność 1981. The original Polish title is “Polska” published in 2006.

<sup>19</sup> Ibidem, p. 323.

man versions in Germany including novels *Tatar imprisonment* and *Deluge*, which are full of Polish nationalism and anti-Tatar stereotypes<sup>20</sup>.

When Sienkiewicz lets his hero pathetically say “Praise ye fame, thou great holy past! Praise and glory, you sacrifice blood, you fertilizer of the future!” it seems hardly different from Treitschke’s dictum of 1862 – “A spell is blowing over the soil fertilized by the noblest German blood in the fight for the German name and the purest possessions of humanity” – Frithjof Benjamin Schenk rightly states in the volume *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte* [German places of memory]<sup>21</sup>. The omission of the Tatar component of the Grunwald/Tannenberg myth and thus an update of the exclusion of Tatars from this complex of European identity history is symptomatic in the works of the German nationalist Treitschke as well as of the Polish nationalist Sienkiewicz. The fact that this ignorance is now broken up in the 21st century is due to the Tatars themselves: the erection of the monument for the fallen Tatars of the Grunwald battle (in Lithuania 2010<sup>22</sup>) as well as the Tatar defenders of the Republic of Poland (in Gdansk 2010<sup>23</sup>) and their reception in media and the scientific world contribute to an extension of the Grunwald/Tannenberg discourse to the unimportant Tatar component. The Grunwald specialist Sven Ekdahl also mentioned the “sore points in relations between the nations” with reference to the Tatars and questioned them at the last Grunwald conference in Malbork in 2010<sup>24</sup>.

The aforementioned *Mazurka* by James A. Michener has been the best-seller since 1970. This anti-Tatar book written in mild-romantic style, first published in English, has now been sold for over a decade in Poland and for

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<sup>20</sup> H. Sienkiewicz, *Sintflut*, Berlin: Globus, 1916. Around 1909 all novels came out as paperback editions in several editions.

<sup>21</sup> F. B. Schenk, *Tannenberg/Grunwald*, in: *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, ed. E. François, H. Schulze, München: Beck, 2001, pp. 438–454.

<sup>22</sup> M. Hotopp-Riecke, *Paradigmenwechsel. Tataren als Alliierte in der Schlacht von Tannenberg 1410*, <http://tamga.files.wordpress.com/2010/07/paradigmenwechsel-tataren-als-alliierte-in-grunwaldschlacht.pdf> [20.06.2019].

<sup>23</sup> In the presence of Mustafa Dzhemilev, the President of Poland Komorowski and other guests from Tatarstan, the Crimea, the chairmen of the Tatar communities of Poland, Lithuania, Belarus and the Muftis of Poland and Lithuania, the monument was inaugurated.

<sup>24</sup> Prof. Dr. Sven Ekdahl (Prussian Secret State Archives, Berlin) at the conference “Grunwald–Tanneberg–Žalgiris 1410–2010. History – tradition – politics”, 20–24 September 2010, as part of the UNESCO Year of the Rapprochement of Cultures. Many thanks to Prof. Ekdahl for sending the manuscript of the lecture.

three decades in Germany. Michener presents Tatars as barbaric almost immortal nomadic warriors, with “unpredictable and destructive power” that even Genghis Khan, “the scourge of God” could not conquer for a long time. But finally, everyone headed for Poland: “Sixty thousand lance-and-dagger-armed, wiry, pugnacious horsemen with drooping whiskers that burst out of the steppe like a stream of fire” conquered Kiev and devastated Poland<sup>25</sup>. Her greatest weapon was the “hunger for prey, which they hoped to make and their lustful desire for women”. The novel is advertised as the national epic “from the invasion of the Tatars in the 13<sup>th</sup> century to the quarrels over Lech Wałęsa”, as “captivating history of a country in the maelstrom of history”. Almost 800 pages here are the thread of Sienkiewicz and other Polish authors recorded and issued as prose-written history lessons about the uncivilized hordes.

During the period of Bloc Confrontation almost no information from the Polish literature about Tatars came into German literature. The Polish-Tatar writer Jerzy Edigey (1912–1983), who emphasized his Tatar heritage with his self-chosen artist name, but did not – at least in German – comment on this issue. He wrote over 30 (often historical) crime and adventure narratives, many of which were translated into German and published in 1971 in East German publishing houses.

**The literatures originally written in the German language  
(in Silesia, East Prussia and in today’s Germany concerning  
Tatars of Poland and Lithuania)**

*Lipka Tatars in the mirror of original German-speaking authors in the  
19<sup>th</sup> century*

It is hardly surprising that warlike conflicts lead to literary conflicts. War is generally regarded as the most emotional and traumatic experience in human existence. With the settlement and the subsequent immigration of Tatar families to Lithuania, the settlements close to the border also become the focus of German-language chroniclers. But even before that, in the course of the “Tatar and Mongol storms” in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, early reports and descriptions already contain clearly traditional forms and norms of religious as well as cultural building and differences. The Battle of Legnica 1241 is such an example, if you refer to the tradition in the *Kölner Königs-Chronik*:

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<sup>25</sup> J. R. Michener, *Mazurka. Der Roman Polens*, München: Droemer, 1984, p. 55.

This year, we heard of a fatal calamity that came upon the Christian people, the invasion of the Tatars, whose cruelty makes our ears ring and our hearts shake. [...] The Tatars rage against all, they spare no state and no monastic order. [...] Of the origin, customs and way of life of these barbarians, we were told a great deal of unbelievable and completely inhumane things, about which we do not want to write here until we have learned the pure truth<sup>26</sup>.

The German writer Theodor Mundt (1808–1861) also knew about the alleged horrors of the Battle of Legnica. Regardless of his interest e.g. in the diplomatic, and also cultural relations of Frederick II to the Khans of the Crimea in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, he describes in his essay on Prince Pückler in the *Deutsches Taschenbuch* (1837) the terrible battle of the Tatars “as a horror picture of the devastation and at the same time makes the contrast between the dark Middle Ages and the mature now”<sup>27</sup>.

The Battle of Grunwald/Tannenberg (1410), which was later meaningfully charged in German-language literature, is also documented by a chronicler. The Dominican monk Simon Grunau, born near Elbing in 1470, in his *Cronica und beschreibung allerlustlichsten, nützlichsten und waren Historien des namkundigen Landes zu Prewssen* published in 1526, directly addresses the Lipka Tatars and reports about them. However, connections with stereotypes of the “savage”, the “heathen” and the “barbarian” often appear here as well.

Although his chronicle was often criticized in the later centuries, important authors such as the Prussian historian and cartographer Christoph Hartknoch (1644–1687), the historian Johannes Voigt (1786–1863), and above all the most important historian of Prussia Max Toeppen (1822–1893) used it too. However, the early historiography of the Teutonic Order and the later Duchy of Prussia never assumed a comparatively outstanding position in German historiography. The territory was not part of the Holy Roman Empire and was of little interest. In addition, in Protestant Prussia the German Order of Knights and its related history (including its neighbors) was considered critical and rather incidental until 19<sup>th</sup> century. But then Heinrich von Treitschke, already mentioned, transformed it into “his” Prussian tradition as the embodiment of the German “mission in the East” and as evidence of a “role of

<sup>26</sup> *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, p. 280.

<sup>27</sup> T. Mundt, *Fürst Pückler. Ein Lebensbild*, in: *Deutsches Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1837*, ed. K. Büchner, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1836, pp. 1–63.



German culture". The Order's state was for him the "strong harbor dam, boldly built out from the German shore into the wild sea of the eastern peoples", the defeat of the Order also at the same time against the Tatars a defeat of the West against the barbarian East. The Order represented "Traits of the German nature [...] the aggressive power and the authoritative ruthless hardness"<sup>28</sup>.

Coming back to the descriptions of the Lipka Tatars, the travel descriptions emerging from the 16<sup>th</sup> century turn out to be an interesting cultural-historical and ethnological approach, for the most part beyond the usual political-functional stereotyping. In this connection, the descriptions of Baron Sigismund von Herberstein in 1557<sup>29</sup> already anticipate the first features of ethnological interests in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and first attempts to hide the medieval religious discrepancy like the reflections of Frederick II in connection with the settlement of Muslim Lipka Tatars in West Prussia. He officially supported religious tolerance due to his strong beliefs and ideas. In a letter from Frederick to the great French philosopher Voltaire in 1775 we can read:

You [Voltaire] have preached tolerance, according to Bayle, undoubtedly you are one of the wise men who has done the most good of humanity. But even though you have enlightened the whole world, they were averse to their light, whose use depends on superstition; and they are the ones who still rule over the nations.

Well, as a faithful disciple of the Patriarch of Ferney, I am currently negotiating with a thousand Mohammedan families to whom I want to give homes and mosques in West Prussia. So there will be the prescribed foot washings here, and without being indignant you will hear hilli and halla singing. This was the only sect that was missing in this country<sup>30</sup>.

On the other hand, the descriptions and explanations in the context of the creation of special Lipka-Tatar riding units at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in New East Prussia are quite different. The later published sequence of plans,

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<sup>28</sup> H. von Treitschke, *Das deutsche Ordensland Preußen. Mit einer Einleitung von Walter Bußmann*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1955, p. 22.

<sup>29</sup> S. von Herberstein, *Moscovia der Hauptstat in Reissen, durch Herrn Sigmunden Freyherrn zu Herberstain, Neyperg vnd Guetenhag Obristen Erbcamrer...*, Wien: Michael Zimmermann, 1557 (digital under: <https://gdz.sub.uni-goettingen.de/id/PPN339971460>).

<sup>30</sup> *Letter of Friedrich to Voltaire, 13<sup>th</sup> August 1775*, in: *Voltaire – Friedrich der Große: Briefwechsel*, ed. H. Pleschinski, Munich: dtv, 2004, p. 587.

negotiations and the progress of the project, suggest a completely different way of dealing with the new Muslim inhabitants of New East Prussia<sup>31</sup>.

An equally balanced image of the Tatars from the immediate neighborhood, however, is only rudimentary: in the four partly autobiographical soldiers novels *Der Vater*, *Von Bosniaken und Towarczys*, *Der Husar des großen Königs* and *Und setzet ihr nicht das Leben ein*<sup>32</sup>. These first ones mention Tatar soldiers of the Prussian army. In the novel *Der Vater. Roman eines Königs* from 1937 “Turkish” soldiers are mentioned<sup>33</sup>. It is still unclear whether they were Ottoman “Turks” or Lipka, Crimean or Volga Tatars from the Baltic troops.

In the book by Dufner-Greif on the *Bosniaken und Towarczys* as well as in Genthe’s *Der Husar des Großen Königs*, the Crimean and Lipka Tatars are remembered as comradesly combatant soldiers, not without interspersed condescending remarks and all kinds of ethnic-national distortions<sup>34</sup>.

Also regional passages such as the description of *Bachtschisarái, der Hauptstadt des Chanats* can be found<sup>35</sup>. The confidential discussions of the German Captain with his “friend and brother”, the Khan of the Crimea and his dealings with his sister are amusing. They are written already quite in the “Groschen-Roman” style: “The princess shook hands with the friend with firm pressure”<sup>36</sup>. Although very free in describing the Tatar customs and Prussian-Crimean Tatar relations, after all, they are fictional texts, but these publications transported a rather friendly, relaxed to adventurous image of the (Crimean) Tatars.

Striking is the period of publication of these military “Honor and Battle” novels: Genthe (1928), Logan-Logejus (1934), Dufner-Greif (1936)

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<sup>31</sup> See: J. D. Dziengel, *Geschichte des königlichen Zweiten Ulanen-Regiments*, Potsdam: Riegel, 1858; S. Theilig, *Türken, Mohren und Tataren: Muslimische (Lebens-)Welten in Brandenburg-Preußen im 18. Jahrhundert*, Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2013.

<sup>32</sup> F. Genthe, *Der Husar des Großen Königs*, Berlin: Scherl, 1928; M. Dufner-Greif, *Von Bosniaken und Towarczys. Das Leben ihres Generals Heinrich Johann Freiherr von Günther (1736–1803)*, Berlin: Hans von Hugo und Schlotheim, 1936; J. Klepper, *Der Vater. Roman eines Königs*, München: dtv, 1981 (1937); J. F. A. Logan-Logejus, *Und setzet ihr nicht das Leben ein. Meine Erlebnisse als Reiteroffizier unter dem Großen König in den Jahren 1741–1759*, Breslau: Korn, 1934. The latter evidently represents an adapted version of the *Selbstbiographie des Husarenobersten von Lojewsky oder: meine militärische Laufbahn im Dienste Friedrich des Einzigen* (Leipzig 1843, 2 volumes).

<sup>33</sup> J. Klepper, op. cit., p. 418.

<sup>34</sup> Thus, the Tatars are also called “Lithuanian lancers” or “Bachmat”.

<sup>35</sup> F. Genthe, op. cit., pp. 153–154.

<sup>36</sup> Ibidem, p. 168.

and Klepper (1937). On the one hand relaxed soldier style of the texts compared to other strictly nationalist-“völkisch” publications is mentioned. On the other hand, the suspicion that the Tatars should be introduced in advance for a certain number of clients as future anti-Bolshevik fighters. Information in this direction can be found in these works as well. Thus, it is said in Dufner-Greif that a soldier through his war experience is a piece of elementary wisdom “much more connected with blood and soil rather than those book stories” and Heinrich Günther, the legendary first chief of the Prussian Bosniak regiment, as man in which the “idea of the last value of the man as a nationalist militant” rises<sup>37</sup>.

### ***The heritage of East Prussia and Silesia: legends and memories***

A vast amount of literature on the former German East, on life and culture in East Prussia, Pomerania and Silesia has been and will be published. In this – in the best sense of the word – memorial literature, the Tatars are often to be found as the unwelcome others. In family biographies like *Stürme fegten über ihr Land. Geschichte einer Familie aus Ostpreußen*<sup>38</sup>, in various legends and tales of Tatar stones, graves, tombs and hills and not least in fiction of great literary authors born in East Prussia such as Siegfried Lenz passages that are relevant for this investigation are found.

Not only fiction and poetry were published after 1945 as a memorial literature to the old homeland. Also academics from the former eastern provinces of Germany now – in the FRG – write about history and expulsion from their perspective: authors like Will-Erich Peuckert did both: think about German intellectual history in the West and publish old legends about the “Tatern”<sup>39</sup>.

Probably the most widespread and long-narrated narrative are those around the Battle of Legnica and the Tatar raid of 1241 should be the most important and nationally widespread core of the myths of the Festivals of Ears of Wahlstatt and the legend of the Štramberk Ears.

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<sup>37</sup> Ibidem, pp. 9, 30.

<sup>38</sup> E. Bohn, *Stürme fegten über ihr Land. Geschichte einer Familie aus Ostpreußen*, Aachen: Karin Fischer, 2005, p. 12.

<sup>39</sup> “Die Tatern” in W.-E. Peuckert, *Die Tatern*, in: *Schlesische Sagen*, München: Bechtermünz, Eugen Diederichs, 1998, pp. 19–23; “Versunkene Schätze” in W.-E. Peuckert, *Versunkene Schätze*, in: *Schlesische Sagen*, Eltville (Hessen): Bechtermünz, 1998, pp. 312–323.

Several other similar Tatar sagas have been detectable since the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Dozens of books from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century published these legends in several editions<sup>40</sup>. They are often – as shown in the example above – tied to toponyms of the region. It is possible to find similar or congruent descriptions of different localities, such as the legend of the Stramberger ears (Štramberske usi)<sup>41</sup>: on May 8, 1241 (Ascension Day), the Christians of the city allegedly defeated the Tatar-Mongol army. To commemorate the victims of the Tatars whose ears are said to have been cut off, the “Stramberger Ears” have been baked since that time. Stramberg Mayor Pavel Podolsky said in 2006:

When the town of Stramberg defended itself against the Tatars in 1241, it was helped by a storm. The Tatars were routed. All that remained were the bags with the ears that the Tatars cut off from their opponents. And in memory of these events this sweet pastry has been baked in Stramberg since that time<sup>42</sup>.

The Hedwig saga and thus also the constructed Yaroslav saga and the various legends about the murder of the “Tatar Empress” of Neumarkt lifts probably on the historical background of the murder of a Kievan princess in 1240. Then, in December 1240 Michael Vsevolodovič, The Prince of Kiev and Černigov ran away before the Mongol armies first to hide at Prince Daniel’s of Halicz, then at the Principality’s of Mazovia and finally at the Principality’s of Wrocław. There then his entourage was murdered together with his granddaughter (i.e. niece) because of the transported wealth. According to Mosbachs 13<sup>th</sup>-century Mosbach Hypatius chronicle, Vsevolodovič was bitterly disappointed and turned back to Konrad of Mazovia.

If you follow the leading Czech historian of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, František Palacký, there is another interpretation – based on events around the bat-

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<sup>40</sup> In addition to the Hedwig legend and various entries in world chronicles and encyclopaedias, Johann George Thomas lists 19 titles to literature from 1597 to 1811 in his handbook of the literary history of Silesia alone. See: J. G. Thomas, *Handbuch der Literaturgeschichte von Schlesien*, Hirschberg: C. W. I. Krahn, 1824, pp. 44–46; C. F. Velde, *Die Tatarenschlacht. Eine Erzählung aus dem Jahre 1241*, in: *Sämmtliche Schriften*, ed. C. F. Velde, Dresden–Leipzig: Arnoldsche Buchhandlung, Dritter Bd., 1830, pp. 189–196.

<sup>41</sup> See: W.-E. Peuckert, *Schwarzer Adler unterm Silbermond*, Hamburg: Goverts, 1940, p. 72.

<sup>42</sup> Podolsky has now had the Stramberger ears protected as the first regional specialty from the Czech Republic by copyright throughout European Union.

tle of Olomouc – on offer. According to the (dated by him) Köninghofer's manuscript from the 13<sup>th</sup> and the (original) Dalimil manuscript from the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the death of Gengisides before Olmütz 1241 is the background of the legend of the murdered "Tatar princess". Whatever historically witnessed event, the legends surrounding the murder of Neumarkt or the series of legends about the Battle of Legnica, they are a reflection of the insecurity and fear of those times and Christian end-time expectation.

Also Siegfried Lenz, born in 1926 in Lyck (Ełk) and raised with the Tatar sagas of his homeland, deals with the Tatars in his work. In the novel *Liebesgeschichte* [Love story] he lets the protagonist "old Guschke", a swift, voluptuous woman with a Tatar look, look down on the lumberjack. Lenz elaborates on the Tatar legends in the novel *Heimatmuseum* of 1978<sup>43</sup>.

In the legends of the Tatar invasions, which – angrily if not found silver treasures – led the local population into captivity, massacred and burned down villages, Lenz relies on the sources of the Teutonic Knights, obviously, only those who fit into this picture. He processed nothing from the temporary alliances of Crusaders with Lipka and Crimean Tatar associations<sup>44</sup>.

Similar representations can be found starting with John Mehlis in 1597 and in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century with Richard Kühnau in *Mittelschlesische Sagen geschichtlicher Art*<sup>45</sup>, in *Sagenbuch des Preußischen Staats*<sup>46</sup> and in *Sagenschatz des Königreichs Sachsen*<sup>47</sup>, with Johann Georg Theodor Grässe and Joseph Klapper in the *Tatarensage der Schlesier*<sup>48</sup>, Gerhard Neumann in *Auftürkischen Spuren in Altpreußen*<sup>49</sup>, in various publications by Erich Pohl<sup>50</sup>, with Max Töppen in *Aberglauben aus Masuren*. According

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<sup>43</sup> S. Lenz, *Heimatmuseum*, Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1978, pp. 40–43. See also: M. Westerwinter, *Siegfried Lenz' Heimatmuseum – Das Museum existiert im Kopf oder der Versuch einer 'Erinnerungszerstörung'*, in: *Museen erzählen. Sammeln, Ordnen und Repräsentieren in literarischen Texten des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. M. Westerwinter, Bielefeld: transcript, 2008, pp. 33–73.

<sup>44</sup> S. Lenz, op. cit., p. 300.

<sup>45</sup> R. Kühnau, *Mittelschlesische Sagen geschichtlicher Art*, Breslau: Ostdeutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1929, p. 469.

<sup>46</sup> J. G. T. Grässe, *Sagenbuch des Preußischen Staats*, op. cit.

<sup>47</sup> J. G. T. Grässe, *Der Ursprung...*, op. cit.

<sup>48</sup> J. Klapper, op. cit., pp. 160–196.

<sup>49</sup> G. Neumann, *Auftürkischen Spuren in Altpreußen*, in: *Altpreußische Geschlechterkunde*, Hamburg: Verein für Familienforschung in Ost- und Westpreußen, 1963, pp. 229–233.

<sup>50</sup> E. Pohl, *Der Tatarenstein bei Neidenburg*, in: *Die Volkssagen Ostpreußens*, Königsberg–Hildesheim: Olms-Verlag, 1943.

to Czapliński, the topos of Legnica and the various Tatar legends are firmly established as the canons of Silesian memorial sites and were also decisive in the formation of a regional Silesian identity<sup>51</sup>.

But in the other former German provinces the memory of the Tatar invasions was also a constituent element: “In the historical memory of the Masurian population, the terrible years of the Tatar invasion played a major role”<sup>52</sup>. These years would then have experienced demonization and “finally formed an integral part in the anti-Polish canon of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries”. The Poles “were in the course of time equated with the Tatars and thus stood for the danger from the East” – writes Kossert in his work *Masuren. Ostpreussens vergessener Süden*<sup>53</sup>.

In the process, the initial Polish view of the neighbors as “barbarians from the East” only changed over the centuries from the Polish to the German population, until the latter finally subsumed Poles, Russians and Tatars as barbarians, argues Günter Stökl, because the concept of “Asiatic Russia” was first developed in Poland, Livonia and Sweden. In contrast, the humanists saw the Scythians of antiquity in the Russians, and the momentum of this enemy was distinguished from the Muscovites as well as the Turks and Tatars<sup>54</sup>.

The image of the Tatars in the Silesian, Saxon and Prussian legends is therefore a late image of the Mongol troops in 1241 in Silesia and Moravia and the so-called Tatar invasions of 1656–1957. To a lesser extent, other events such as the service of the first Tatar Ulans in the ranks of the Saxon army (legend of the devilish officer Sybillsky<sup>55</sup>) are reflected. As the articles in newspapers of the East Prussian Landsmannschaft have already shown, the tradition of this narrative continues.

These literary Tatar images have been questioned, analyzed and in worked on mixed multilingual teams with pupils and students in the youth workshops, seminars and educational programs of the Institute for Caucasica, Tatarica and Turkestan Studies as well as the Brandenburg-Prussia

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<sup>51</sup> *Schlesische Erinnerungsorte: Gedächtnis und Identität einer mitteleuropäischen Region*, ed. M. Czapliński, H.-J. Hahn, T. Weger, Görlitz: Neisse-Verlag, 2005, pp. 55–60.

<sup>52</sup> A. Kossert, *Masuren: Ostpreussens vergessener Süden*, Berlin: Siedler, 2001, p. 77.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 77.

<sup>54</sup> G. Stökl, *Des Aufsatzes von Ekkehard Klug*, “Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas” 1988, vol. 36, p. 623.

<sup>55</sup> J. G. T. Grässe, *Martin Pumphut in der Lausitz und der General Sybillski*, in: *Der Sagenschatz des Königreichs Sachsen*, Dresden: Verlag von G. Schöfeld's Buchhandlung, 1855, pp. 539–542.

Museum in Germany and other European countries<sup>56</sup>. The literatures mentioned and highlighted in this article form a solid basis for this and, using the example of the Tatars, can show that the devaluation and stigmatization of the “stranger” has been used in all our national literatures and, unfortunately, is still present and growing. But in cooperation with the Academy of Sciences of Tatarstan, e.g. in the project “Yazma Miras”<sup>57</sup> we set up these outdated views of contemporary joint activities for a better understanding of history, cooperation and tolerance in Europe.

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<sup>56</sup> The Tatar stereotypes surrounding the folklore of Small Poland (such as Hejnał, Lajkonik) and Masuria (Tatar stone, Tatar trail, etc.) still carry negative images in the 21st century. See: M. Hotopp-Riecke, *Lajkonik und Hejnał. Negative Tatarenklischees in der Folklore Kleinpolens*, “Altbash” 2009, no. 5, pp. 21–25.

<sup>57</sup> ‘Yazma Miras’ means ‘Written Heritage’ in Volga-Tatar language and is a cooperation of the Marjani Institute for History of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan with the Institute for Caucasia, Tatarica- and Turkestan-Studies (ICATAT) and the Brandenburg-Prussia Museum in Germany, duration since 2014.