

Behind the Manuscript: Jeshua Josef Mordkowicz and his unique South-Western Karaim translation of the Latter Prophets

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SUMMARY: The present paper delves into a unique South-Western Karaim translation of the Latter Prophets (ADub.III.83), a manuscript discovered in recent years in Poland. Copied by Jeshua Josef Mordkowicz (1802–1884) most probably in the latter half of the 19th century in Halych, this manuscript offers valuable insights into the phonological characteristics specific to Modern South-Western Karaim, distinguishing it from Mordkowicz's earlier works. The paper includes details about the copyist's background, a general overview of the manuscript's paleographical and orthographical features, and highlights specific phonological aspects. Additionally, it provides a short excerpt of the text presented in transcription along with its English translation. The relevant parts of the facsimile are attached at the end of the article.

KEYWORDS: South-Western Karaim, Modern South-Western Karaim, Latter Prophets, Jeshua Josef Mordkowicz, Bible translations, phonology

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1. Introduction

A South-Western Karaim translation of the books of the Latter Prophets¹ was recently discovered in the private archive of the Polish Turkologist Aleksander Dubiński (1924–2002) in Poland. It was copied by Jeshua Josef Mordkowicz (1802–1884) most probably in the latter half of the 19th century in Halych, in present-day Ukraine. The manuscript was catalogued by Michał Németh and Anna Sulimowicz-Keruth under accession number ADub.III.83.² It stands as the sole available translation in South-Western Karaim³ and Eastern (Crimean) Karaim.⁴ ADub.III.83 not only serves as an excellent example of Mordkowicz's skills as a copyist but also as an exemplary representation of Modern South-Western Karaim phonological features which contribute significantly to the periodization of South-Western Karaim.⁵

¹ The Latter Prophets of the Tanakh (also known as the Hebrew Bible), includes the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the Twelve (Minor) Prophets: Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi.

² The digital edition of the entire manuscript prepared by the present author is available at https://middleturkic.lingfil.uu.se/manuscripts/middle-karaim /ADub.III.83 (Last accessed 1 November 2023).

³ The only known North-Western Karaim translation of the Latter Prophets from the second half of the 19th century is registered under accession number F305-90. It is kept in the Karaim collection stored in the Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius, Lithuania. This manuscript also includes the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, and the Five Megillot.

⁴ The Eastern (Crimean) Karaim translation of the Latter Prophets is preserved in two different sources; a manuscript from the 18th century as part of the entire Tanakh (except the Chronicles) kept in the Cambridge University Library, and the Gözleve (printed) edition of the whole of Tanakh (except the Chronicles) from 1841 (Jankowski 2018: 50–51).

⁵ This paper (predominantly Chapter 4) includes content presented at *The Karaim language in use* conference, organised by The Cultural Association of the Lithuanian Karaims and The Institute of Asian and Transcultural Studies at Vilnius University, in partnership with Jagiellonian University in Kraków. The conference took place in Vilnius on May 19, 2022. A paper entitled *Remarks on the phonology of a South-Western Karaim translation of the Latter Prophets*, prepared by the present author, has been submitted

2. Jeshua Josef Mordkowicz (1802–1884) and his activity as a copyist⁶

Jeshua Josef Mordkowicz was born into a scholarly Karaim family in Halych in 1802. His father, Moshe ben Mordechai Mordkowicz (1759–1840), was a renowned teacher of religion and a member of the highly respected ha-Rodi family.⁷ Another notable Karaim scholar and poet from his mother's side was Abraham ben Josef Shelomo Łucki (1792–1855).⁸

In addition to the knowledge he presumably gained from his father, Mordkowicz received an education from Abraham Leonowicz (1776–1851), the local hazzan in Halych at that time. Mordkowicz was only 19 years old when he became the hazzan in Kukizów. In around 1825, he married Deborah (Dorota Mordkowicz) (1813–1872), the daughter of his former mentor, Abraham Leonowicz. Their only child died in the year of her birth in 1840 (Németh & Sulimowicz-Keruth 2023: 564).

Constant economic hardship in Kukizów, followed by a major fire at the beginning of the 1830s, forced a part of the community, including Mord-kowicz's family, to relocate from Kukizów to Halych.⁹ Not long after returning to his hometown, Mordkowicz became a teacher of religion in the local Karaim school and, at the same time, worked as a copyist.¹⁰ In 1866 he assumed responsibility for religious matters and served as the hazzan of the Karaite community in Halych until his death in 1884 (Zarachowicz 1925: 21–23). He was buried in his hometown. His tombstone is

- 8 Abraham ben Josef Shelomo Łucki was the brother of Mordkowicz's mother (Németh 2020: 46).
- 9 Some families moved to Lutsk and Trakai (Zarachowicz 1925: 21).
- 10 It cannot be determined with certainty whether he had already worked as a copyist in Kukizów or only after his return to Halych.

and is currently in the process of publication by the Faculty of Philosophy at Vilnius University.

⁶ Mordkowicz was also a composer and translator (Németh & Sulimowicz-Keruth 2023: 565).

⁷ The ha-Rodi and Leonowicz families were the main providers of hazzans that served the Halych community from the second half of the 18th century until the end of the 19th century. The two families were interrelated through Abraham Leonowicz's mother (Kizilov 2009: 104–105).

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well-preserved and it is one of the most splendid monuments in the Karaite cemetery in Halych (Kizilov 2009: 110).

Mordkowicz was one of the greatest contributors to South-Western Karaim Bible translations. His work is remarkable for a number of reasons: (1) he was a native speaker of the vernacular, (2) he produced a large number of items,¹¹ (3) the quality of his work was excellent,¹² and, most significantly, (4) he prepared a South-Western Karaim translation of the Tanakh. The latter made it possible for less educated members of the community to gain a better understanding of the Scripture, which also led to the fact that (along, or even in place of Hebrew) the Karaim vernacular started to play an important role in liturgy. Mordkowicz's works were highly popular among Karaims, as a consequence, the community in Halych possessed the largest collection of Karaitica in Europe (Kizilov 2009: 111–112).

According to Zarachowicz (1925: 22), Mordkowicz prepared a few copies of the Tanakh in South-Western Karaim. Although Kizilov's visit to Halych was not successful in finding these manuscripts,¹³ and he claimed (2009: 110) that most of Mordkowicz's works disappeared during World War II, many of them have been found elsewhere in Europe in recent years. Today, some of these manuscripts make up the entire Tanakh in South-Western Karaim.¹⁴

Bearing in mind the sound changes that took place from around the second half of the 18th century in the South-Western Karaim phonological system, i.e., primarily the delabialization of $/\ddot{o}/$ and $/\ddot{u}/$ and the fronting of

¹¹ According to the most recent data collected by Németh & Sulimowicz-Keruth (2023: 565), Mordkowicz's productivity resulted in more than 70 items. These include Bible translations (*targumim*) and prayer books (*siddurim*), translations and interpretations (*peshatim*) of other religious works, secular and religious poetry (*piyyutim*), elegies (*qinot*) and various treatises. He used both Karaim and Hebrew in his work.

¹² Mordkowicz had excellent calligraphic skills. Displaying great passion for his work, he attached great importance to quality, including in the case of his calligraphy tools, to such an extent that he chose the paper with great care and even prepared the ink himself. He also made leather bindings for his manuscripts (Kizilov 2009: 111).

¹³ He found one prayer book and several letters written by Mordkowicz (Kizilov 2009: 111).

¹⁴ For its constituents, see Németh (2021b: 16).

/š/, /ž/, /č/ and /ž/,¹⁵ Mordkowicz's works can be divided into archaic and less archaic translations. Although the above-mentioned sound changes are considered to have been more or less complete by the beginning of the 19th century (Németh 2020: 57), the translations prepared by Mordkowicz in the first half of the 19th century still include archaisms. Németh & Sulimowicz-Keruth (2023: 566) suggest that these works were most likely based on Middle South-Western Karaim texts, while another possibility could be that Mordkowicz was speaking an idiolect that still had archaic features. Therefore, the manuscripts he prepared in the first half of the 19th century are considered archaic. On the other hand, his texts from the second half of the 19th century clearly exhibit Modern South-Western Karaim characteristics. The latter also applies to ADUb.III.83, however, it is possible that this was not the first South-Western Karaim translation of the Latter Prophets.

3. Paleographical and orthographical features of ADub.III.83

ADub.III.83 is a great example of Mordkowicz's outstanding work. It has distinguishable letters correctly written with good quality dark brown ink on yellowish, ribbed paper. The manuscript is bound in wood and brown leather, and it has a ribbed outer spine. The head, fore-edge and tail are red coloured. It comprises 245 folios, each measuring 210×160 mm. The manuscript has remained in relatively good shape, with some minor damage, such as worn paper edges, stains and light creases on the surface of the paper, caused by ageing and use. Ink bleeding can also be observed on some folios, however, they do not cause any problems when reading the text.

The manuscript was originally not foliated. The folio numbers were marked in pencil with European Arabic numerals before the text was digitized.¹⁶ The names of the books with the chapter numbers (their numerical value indicated with Hebrew letters) are located at the top of each page. On average, each page has 25 lines. Each verse starts with the first word of the Hebrew original, indicated in parentheses. The cantillation mark *sof pasuq* (:)

¹⁵ For a more detailed analysis of Western Karaim phonology, see Németh (2020: 59–99).

¹⁶ The transcription follows this additional foliation. It starts on 11° and ends on 245V°.

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indicates the end of each verse. Catchwords appear in the lower-left corner of each verso side of the leaf.

The main text is entirely handwritten in the Northern-Karaitic semi-cursive Hebrew alphabet. It is fully vocalized and easily legible. The incipits, headings and endings of books (including titles, praises to God, quotations from the Tanakh, reading instructions etc.) are consistently written in non--vocalized Hebrew block script. Some parts of the manuscript contain glosses added by the copyist, i.e., explanations regarding a verse or even certain words of both native and foreign (mostly Hebrew) origin that are likely difficult for the reader to understand. These amendments are typically placed between verses and are introduced in Hebrew with cursive letters followed by the explanation in Karaim written in semi-cursive script.

Corrections of scribal errors and omitted parts additionally inserted by the copyist are always written in the same way as the main text. These are always placed interlinearly, i.e., above the respective word or section that required correcting. Crossing-outs and duplications of words or longer segments of text occasionally occur.

It is important to point out that the Karaim text often contains additional information that does not exist in the standard text of the Hebrew Bible. These interpretative additions usually include biblical figures, locations and events. They are always included in the verse and are written in Karaim. This makes Mordkowicz's translation relatively rich in interpretations, and, as a consequence, it can be considered a more open translation. In general, Karaites are believers of written tradition only,¹⁷ which certainly favours literal over free translations. However, since the source of the present Karaim translation is unknown, we cannot know whether these additions were added by Mordkowicz or only copied. Compared to the North-Western Karaim translation of the Latter Prophets (F305-90), at first glance, the two manuscripts are different in this respect.

Inconsistency in the spelling of certain words (regardless of origin) is attestable but not very common. It affects both vowels and consonants. It can be observed in the word stems, e.g., בִירִימָן vs. בָירִימָן berimen 'I will give,'¹⁸

18 Lit. give-FUT.1SG.

¹⁷ Karaites do not recognize the post-biblical tradition of talmudic and rabbinic works (Nemoy 1997: 603).

and in the suffixes, e.g., אייָרָיְלְקָיָא איי שיי verenlikke 'into devastation' as well. This phenomenon is not unusual in Western Karaim manuscripts written in the Hebrew script.¹⁹ The reason behind this inconsistency is that Karaims had no official, standard orthography for their mother-ton-gue (Németh 2011: 100). However, it is true that scribes like Mordkowicz tended to make fewer mistakes as they were trained professionals. For more information on the different orthographic tendencies, see Németh (2011: 101–130). The Hebrew (loan)words of the text are written according to the original Hebrew orthography, while the spelling of words of other, e.g., Arabic, Persian and Slavonic origin, tend to show Modern South-Western Karaim peculiarities in their spelling.

4. Modern South-Western Karaim phonological features in ADub.III.83

The orthographic features of ADub.III.83 reveal some of the distinctive phonological traits of modern South-Western Karaim which suggests that ADub.III.83 belongs to the less archaic group of manuscripts copied by Mordkowicz, likely originating from the latter half of the 19th century. Below, we will examine some of these distinctive phonological features.

4.1. The delabialization of the front rounded /ö/ and /ü/

In Karaim manuscripts, there is typically a clear distinction between the Hebrew letters denoting front rounded and front unrounded vowels. The letter *waw* (1), combined with the respective diacritical marks, consistently represents front rounded vowels, i.e., $/\ddot{o}/$ and $/\ddot{u}/$, whereas front unrounded vowels, i.e., /e/ and /i/ are primarily represented by the letter *aleph* (κ) with their respective diacritics.

The orthography of ADub.III.83 reveals that the manuscript contains no / \ddot{o} / and / \ddot{u} /. Likely a result of the Slavonic linguistic environment,²⁰ the

¹⁹ The same applies to later Western Karaim printed texts based on the Latin alphabet (Németh 2011: 100).

²⁰ The front rounded vowels /ö/ and /ü/ are not part of the phonemic inventories of the surrounding Slavonic languages, therefore, it might have easily affected the South-Western Karaim vowel system. Slavonic influence had an impact on the North-Western Karaim vowel system as well, however,

front rounded vowels underwent complete delabialization, as seen in *kekler* 'heavens' rather than **kökler*, *kin* 'day' rather than **kün*, *ezine* 'for yourself' rather than **özüne* etc.

The shift from / \ddot{o} / to /e/ and from / \ddot{u} / to /i/ gradually occurred sometime between the first half of the 18th century and the early decades of the 19th century. Initially, it affected word-final syllables, particularly in suffixes, and later extended to word-initial syllables (Németh 2020: 72–75). While earlier manuscripts copied by Mordkowicz display the / \ddot{o} / \sim /e/ and / \ddot{u} / \sim /i/ alternation, in ADub.III.83, this shift is fully complete.

4.2. The $/\check{s}/ > /s/$ change

Generally, in Karaim manuscripts, the Hebrew letters *shin* $(\boldsymbol{v})^{21}$ and *sa-mekh* (\boldsymbol{v}) are used to distinguish between /š/ and /s/, respectively. In ADub.III.83, however, there is no significant trace of $\langle \boldsymbol{v} \rangle$ being used to render /š/.

As for the Turkic lexicon, words that historically featured /š/ occur with (ס), e.g., אָקיק *basymda* 'in my head', קוס *qus* 'bird'. Even though (ש) was no longer employed to represent /š/, it remained a part of the orthography in Modern South-Western Karaim manuscripts, taking on a new function. It is used in front of /i/, e.g., אָיאָבי נכּרָשָיו *sizge* 'for you',²² *basarsiz* 'you will tread down',²³ and occasionally in front of palatal(ized) consonants, e.g., *eske keltirir* 'he/she will remember',²⁴ to indicate [ś].

The same applies to Arabic and Persian loanwords. Words that historically contained /š/ occur with (ס), e.g., Ar. דּוּקַמַן serbet 'sherbet', Per. דוּקמַן dusman 'enemy'. Moreover, (ש) appears in front of /i/, e.g., Ar. דיפיים resim

- 23 Lit. tread.down-FUT.2PL.
- 24 Lit. mind-DAT bring-FUT.3SG.

it produced different results in the two Western Karaim varieties (Németh 2020: 74). A similar phenomenon can be seen in other Turkic languages, e.g., in Afshar, Khashkay, Khalaj etc. under the influence of Iranian languages (Bulut 2022: 291).

²¹ The diacritical dots distinguishing the two phonemes of *shin* (v) in Hebrew are not marked in the manuscript.

²² Lit. you-dat.

'commandment', Per. שִׁיִרְיְאָליק sirinlik²⁵ 'favour', and also in front of palatal(ized) consonants, e.g., Ar. מִישָׁרִין miskin 'poor' to render [ś]. Alternation between $\langle \boldsymbol{u} \rangle$ and $\langle \boldsymbol{a} \rangle$ in words that etymologically contained /š/ is attestable but the number of examples is very few.

The use of $\langle \boldsymbol{v} \rangle$ and $\langle \boldsymbol{D} \rangle$ in Slavonic loanwords, on the other hand, appears to be more ambiguous. However, it is clear that the number and frequency of Slavonic loanwords are lower than those of Arabic and Persian origin. We must also bear in mind that Mordkowicz (and Karaims in general) had a good command of the surrounding Slavonic languages,²⁶ and therefore certain Slavonic loanwords may have retained their original spelling for longer. A Polish example, *piščjalka ~ piscjalka* 'pipe, a kind of musical instrument' (cf. Pol. *piszczałka*) occurs twice in ADub.III.83, once with $\langle \boldsymbol{w} \rangle$, i.e., פִיסְצָיָאלְקָא, and once with $\langle \boldsymbol{D} \rangle$, i.e., פִיסְצָיָאלְקָא, The Ukrainian loanword *reskal* 'a kind of shovel' (cf. Ukr. *pucĸaль*) appears four times, three times with $\langle \boldsymbol{D} \rangle$, e.g., יָסְכָלְלֵיְרִייָיִיָר *reskallerinizni* 'your shovels',²⁷ and once with $\langle \boldsymbol{w} \rangle$, i.e., אָ

Finally, since the Hebrew words of the manuscript are written according to the rules of Hebrew orthography, the use of $\langle \boldsymbol{v} \rangle$ and $\langle \boldsymbol{D} \rangle$ are consistent in them. The realization of $\langle \boldsymbol{v} \rangle$ and $\langle \boldsymbol{D} \rangle$ in the Hebrew words of the text cannot be precisely determined, even though the South-Western Karaim dictionary entries for Hebrew loanwords in KRPS distinguish between /š/ and /s/.

Given all of the above, with the exception of Hebrew (loan)words, ADub. III.83 exhibits a highly dominant use of *samekh* (\mathfrak{D}). Therefore, the /š/ > /s/ shift may be concluded as complete in the language of ADub.III.83. Unusual

- 26 These may include the local dialects of Polish, Ukrainian, Russian and Belarusian.
- 27 Lit. shovel-pl-poss.2pl-ACC.
- 28 Lit. shovel-pl-dat.

²⁵ The example שִׁר עִלִיק sirinlik 'favour' might seem debatable since etymologically it contained /š/, however, except for these three examples presented here, there is no other Persian or Arabic word that would consistently be written with (שֹ). In fact, the word שוֹם dusman 'enemy' occurs forty times throughout the manuscript, in every case written with (ס). All other examples show the same or a very similar tendency. Therefore, the (שׁ) in sirinlik is very likely to appear because of the subsequent /i/.

or unique spellings of words can easily have originated from the source manuscript, or are simply the result of misspellings made by the copyist.

4.3. The fronting of $/\check{c}/, /\check{z}/$ and $/\check{z}/$

In Karaim manuscripts, the Hebrew letter *tzade* (\mathfrak{X}) and its final form *tza-de sofit* (\mathfrak{Y}) are generally used to indicate both /č/ and / \check{g} /. Over time, they also came to represent /c/ and / \mathfrak{Z} /. The letter *zayin* (\mathfrak{I}) is used for both / \mathfrak{Z} / and / $\check{\mathfrak{Z}}$ /.²⁹

The fronting (or dealveolarization) of /č/, /ž/ and /3/ in South-Western Karaim co-occurred with the /s/ > /s/ change (Németh 2020: 57). Therefore, even though the phonetic value of $\langle \gamma \rangle$, $\langle \varkappa \rangle$ and $\langle \imath \rangle$ cannot be detected from the orthography itself, it is highly likely that these changes are also evident in the language of ADub.III.83. Consequently, the transcription employs the dental /c/, /z/, and /3/ in accordance with Németh's (2020: 103) approach, rather than their alveolar counterparts.

Furthermore, Németh (2021a: 319, 2023: "Slavic impact on the Karaim sound system," para. 5) cautions against confusing the sibilant fronting with similar phenomena found in other Turkic (e.g., in Kazakh, Nogai, Azeri dialects spoken in Iran etc.) and Slavonic languages (e.g., Polish mazuration) as it was a more systematic and historically distinct process in South-Western Karaim. Furthermore, he proposes that it was very likely a contact-induced process triggered by South-Eastern and North-Eastern Borderland Polish. Nevertheless, the issue needs further investigation.

5. Transcription and translation

The transcription and the English translation of the last chapter of the Latter Prophets, namely Malachi 3 (folio 244v°–245v°), are presented below to demonstrate the language of ADub.III.83. The translation is based on the King James 2000 Bible and the English Standard Version, however, the aim is to provide the reader with the most accurate possible translation of

²⁹ Depending on the manuscript, they might sometimes be combined with a supporting letter or other diacritics to specify the value of the respective letter, e.g., the combination of $\langle \mathbf{x} \rangle + \langle \mathbf{i} \rangle = \mathbf{x}_{\mathbf{i}}$ resulting in /č/, or in later manuscripts even in /ž/ and /3/ (Németh 2020: 59). However, in ADub.III.83 there is no trace of additional letters or diacritical marks.

the Karaim text. Due to the structural differences between Karaim and English, oblique translation techniques have been applied in addition to a literal translation approach.³⁰ Whenever necessary, the literal translations of words or phrases are provided in the footnote. Segments written in Hebrew are left in their original form in the transcription, however, except for the verse-initial Hebrew words, their English translation is provided. The verse numbers given in square brackets have been added both to the transcription and translation. The full forms of the Hebrew abbreviations are based on the dictionaries of Buxtorf (1708 [1985]), Stern (1926) and Baader (1999). Misspellings left unnoticed by the copyist are corrected and indicated in square brackets in the transcription, while the corrupt forms are given in footnotes. Whenever necessary, a comparison will be made, predominantly with the North-Western Karaim variety. Corrections of scribal errors and omitted parts additionally inserted by the copyist are indicated in curly brackets.

5.1. Transcription

244V^o

[...]

Malachi 3

- (...4) (הנגי) [1] ג׳ (הנגי)
- (5) Muna men ijermen elcimni da arytyr jolnu alnymda menim da
- (6) kenetelej kelir sarajyna ol bij ki siz izlejsiz da elcisi ol
- (7) sertnin ki siz klejsiz muna kelir ajtty H jaratuvcu ceva'ot-
- (8) nu. (ימי) [2] Da kim cydajalyr osol kelgen kinin anyn da kim bolur ol
- (9) turuvcu kergizilgeninde ki ol bolur otu kibik syzyyr[t]uvcu-
- (10) nun³¹ da sapunu kibik kete[n]³² ayartuvcularnyn. (3] Da olturur
- (11) syzyyrtuvcu da arytuvcu kimisni da arytyr osol uvullaryn

³⁰ For a discussion of the translation techniques, see Molina & Albir (2002: 501-504).

³¹ ADub.III.83: *syzyyruvcu*; a scribal error.

³² ADub.III.83: keter; a scribal error. | F305-90: uprah.

- (12) Levinin da syzyyryr alarny altynny kibik da kimisni kibik da bolurlar
- (13) H-ya juvutuvcular tirki rastlyq byla. (וערבה) [4] Da qabul bolur
- (14) H-ya tirkisi Juhudanyn da Jerušalajimnin emirdegi jyllarda kibik
- (15) segizinci kininde milu'imnin zamanynda Moše rabenunun da avaldayy
- (16) jyllarda kibik qutlamayynda Bet Hamiqdašnyn zamanynda Šelomonun
- (17) ol melehnin. (וקרבתי) [5] Da juvurmen men ezim siznin byla terege
- (18) da bolumen tanyq ʒaḥtlavcu ec alma ʒaduvluq etivcilerden da
- (19) ant etivcilerden šemimden menim jalyanya da zulumlavcularda³³
- (20) jalyn jalcynyn tulnun da eksiznin da tajdyruvcularda teresin
- (21) yaripnin da qorqmajdylar menden ajtty H jaratuvcu ceva'ot-
- (22) nu. (') [6] Ki necik men H ekilenmemen birligimden alaj siz e
- (23) uvullary Ja'aqovnun tigelice tavusulmassiz galutta. (למימי) [7]
- (24) Kinlerinden avalyy atalarynyznyn kettiniz kedergi resim[-]
- (25) lerimden da saqlamadynyz alarny ajttym qajtynyz mana tešuva

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- (1) byla da qajtymen sizge raḥmetlerim byla ajtty H jaratuvcu
- (2) ceva'otnu da ajtasiz nendij jazyqlar icin qajtajyq. (דיקבע) [8]
- (3) Talajdymo adam Tenrisin ki necik siz talajsiz meni da ajtasiz ne
- (4) byla biz talajbiz seni bermesizliginiz byla ol oncany da
- (5) ol terumany. (במארה) [9] Qaryys byla siz qaryalasiz ki menim
- (6) bernelerimni siz talajsiz e ḥanlyq barysy. (הביאו) [10] Keltiriniz
- (7) osol bar ol oncany ol hazna ivge da synanyz endi meni
- (8) bunluq byla ajtty H {jaratuvcu ceva'otnu} eger acmasam sizge terezelerin ol
- (9) keklernin da suvurumen sizge bereket artyq kerekten. (אנערדעי) [11]
- (10) Da qaḥyrlenimen siznin icin cegirtkede asavcu bi[t]isin³⁴ ol jernin
- (11) da cajpamasty sizge osol jemisin ol jernin da tuv etmesti sizge
- (12) ol borlalyqny tizde ajtty H jaratuvcu ceva'otnu. (ואשרו) [12]

³³ ADub.III.83: *zulumlavucularda*; a scribal error.

³⁴ ADub.III.83: *bisisin*; a scribal error.

- (13) Da maḥtarlar sizni bar ol ḥanlyqlar ki bolusiz siz toḥtavcular
- (14) jerde ki klegim menim anda ajtty H jaratuvcu ceva'otnu.
- (15) (חוקו) [13] Kicejdiler istime cajnav sezleriniz siznin {ajtty H} da ajtasiz
- (16) nendij cajnav s[e]z³⁵ sezledik senin icin. (אמרתם) [14] Ajttynyz mufttu
- (17) qulluq etme Tenrige da ne fajdady ki saqladyq saqlavun
- (18) anyn da ki jiridik qaralyp alnyndan H-nyn jaratuvcunun
- (19) ceva'otnu. (ועתה) [15] Da haligine biz maḥtajbiz cejalarny
- (20) dayyn qondaryldylar qyluvcular qynyyrlyqny dayyn synadylar
- (21) Tenrini da qutuldular. (۱۳) [16] Ol vaḥtta sezlestiler qorquv-
- (22) culary H-nyn kisi dostuna da qajyrdy esitivin H da esitti
- (23) da jazyldy sayynclyq bitikte qorquvcularyna H-nyn da
- (24) syjlavcularyna šeminin H-nyn. (והיי) [17] Da bolurlar mana onca
- (25) ajtty н Tenri jaratuvcu ceva'otnu jaryu kinde ki men

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- (1) qylarmen da hajifsinimen alar istine alaj ki necik hajifsinedi
- (2) kisi uvlu istine ol rast ʒan byla qyluvcu jumusun
- (3) anyn. (18] (ושבתם) Da qajtysiz da kerersiz nendij ajryc bardy
- (4) arasyna cadiqnin raša' byla arasyna qulluq etivcinin
- (5) Tenrige kim byla ki qulluq etmejdi anar. [(۲۵) [19] Ki muna
- (6) ol jaryu kini keledi janadoyan pec kibik da bolurlar
- (7) bar cejalar da bar qyluvcu qynyyrlyqny qura kibik da
- (8) jalynlar alarny ol kin ol keledoyan ajtty H jaratuvcu
- (9) ceva'otnu ki kemismesti alarya qartny da jigitni.
- (10) (וורחה) [20] Da balqyr sizge qorquvcularny šemimnin qujas
- (11) kibik jaly zehutlu isleriniznin da onyalmaq bolur jajylmaq-
- (12) larynda anyn da cyyarsiz da sekirgelersiz borslayan buzovlar
- (13) kibik. (ועסותם) [21] Da basarsiz raša'larny ki bolurlar tilge
- (14) tabanlary tibine ajaqlarynyznyn ne kinde ki men qylarmen
- (15) ajtty H jaratuvcusu ceva'otnun. (זכרו) [22] Sayynynyz Torasyn
- (16) Mošenin qulumnun ki bujurdum anar Horevde ivretme bar
- (17) Jisra'elge resimler da tereler. (הנה) [23] Muna men ijermen sizge

³⁵ ADub.III.83: *siz*; a scribal error.

- (18) osol 'Elijany ol navini kelmesten burun jaryu kini H-nyn ol
- (19) ullu da ol qorqunclu. (והשיב) [24] Da qajtaryr jiregin atalarnyn
- (20) birden ulanlar byla da jiregin ulanlarnyn birden atalar byla aziz
- (21) Toranyn jollaryna mayat klemeseler tynlama kelimen da vatymen
- (22) osol ol jerni verenlik byla.¹³⁶ Muna men ijermen sizge osol
- (23) 'Elijany ol navini kelmesten burun jaryu kini H-nyn ol ullu da ol
- (24...) qorqunclu.

³⁹ أُسَرَّجَّةٍ³⁷: בَّרَّד³⁸ اَحَدَّلَّاتٍ أَهْرَبُّ (...24)

(25) תמו נבואות תרי עסר: בעזר אלהי הרוחות לכל בשר:

5.2. Translation

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[...]

Malachi 3

- (...4) [1]
- (5) Behold, I will send my messenger, and he will clear the way before me. And
- (6) suddenly will come to his temple the Lord, whom you seek, and the messenger
- (7) of the covenant, whom you desire; behold, he will come, said the Lord, the creator of hosts.
- (8) [2] And who can endure the day of his coming? And who will
- (9) stand when he appears? For he will be like a refiner's fire
- (10) and like a launderer's⁴⁰ soap. [3] And
- (11) the refiner and the purifier of silver will sit; and will purify the sons
- (12) of Levi, and will refine them like gold and like silver, and they will

³⁶ Malachi 4:1–6 in the standard Hebrew text.

³⁷ An abbreviation for Hebrew קינות, קהלת 'Isaiah, the Twelve Prophets, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes'.

א abbreviation for Hebrew בר דוד 'Son of David'.

³⁹ An abbreviation for Hebrew ברוך נותן ליעף כח ולאין אונים עצמה ירבה 'Blessed be he who gives power to the weak, and to those who have no might he increases strength'. Cf. Isaiah 40:29.

⁴⁰ Lit. 'linen whitener'.

- (13) bring an offering to the Lord with righteousness. [4] And will be accepted
- (14) by the Lord the offering of Judah and Jerusalem, as in former⁴¹ years,
- (15) $_{l}$ on the eighth day of ordination, in the time of our Teacher, Moses, and as in the ancient
- (16) years during the celebration of the First Temple, during the time of Solomon,
- (17) the King.¹⁴² [5] And I myself will approach for judgment along with you.
- (18) And I will be a swift witness to take revenge on sorcerers and
- (19) on swearers of my name with lies, and on oppressors of
- (20) the wage of the labourer, the widow, the orphan and on those who refuses the right
- (21) of the foreigner; and they do not fear me, said the Lord, the creator of hosts.
- (22) [6] For, as I, the Lord, I will not duplicate my oneness,¹⁴³ therefore you, oh
- (23) sons of Jacob, you will not be completely destroyed $_{L}$ in exile.¹⁴⁴ [7]
- (24) From the days of your late fathers, you have turned aside from my commandments,
- (25) and you have not followed them. I said return to me with repentance

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- (1) and I will return to you ₁ in my mercy,¹⁴⁵ said the Lord, creator of
- (2) hosts. And you say for what sins shall we return? [8]
- (3) Does a man rob his God? Yet you are robbing me. And you say
- (4) in what way are we robbing you? By not giving tithe and
- (5) offering. [9] You are cursed with a curse, for
- (6) you are robbing me of my offerings, oh the whole nation. [10] Bring

- 42 An interpretative addition to Malachi 3:4.
- 43 Lit. 'I will not become duplicated in my oneness'.
- 44 An interpretative addition to Malachi 3:6.
- 45 An interpretative addition to Malachi 3:7.

⁴¹ Lit. 'eternal'.

- (7) all the tithes to the storehouse, and try me now
- (8) in this, said the Lord, {the creator of hosts}; if I do not open the windows
- (9) of heavens⁴⁶ for you and pour out abundance as long as it is needed. [11]
- (10) And I will rebuke the locust⁴⁷ for you, the harvest devourer of the land,
- (11) and it will not destroy the fruit of the land for you and lit will not destroy
- (12) the vine 1^{48} in the field for you, said the Lord, the creator of hosts. [12]
- (13) And all the nations will praise you, for you will be the inhabitant
- (14) of the land, in which my will is, said the Lord, the creator of hosts.
- (15) [13] Your harsh words have been strong against me, {said the Lord}.And you say
- (16) what harsh word(s) have we said to you? [14] You said it is vain
- (17) to serve God; and what is the profit of that we have followed his charge
- (18) and that we have walked mournfully⁴⁹ before the Lord, the creator
- (19) of hosts. [15] And now we praise the shameless,
- (20) not only are the doers of wickedness built up, they even tried
- (21) God and escaped. [16] That time the fearers of the Lord spoke
- (22) to 1 one another 1^{50} and the Lord 1 listened 1^{51} and heard.
- (23) And there was written a book of remembrance for the fearers of the Lord and
- (24) for the admirers of the name of the Lord. [17] And they will be my chosen ones,

- 47 An interpretative addition to Malachi 3:11.
- 48 Lit. 'it will not abort the vine'.
- 49 Lit. 'turned black'.
- 50 Lit. 'man to its friend'.
- 51 Lit. 'turned his hearing'.

⁴⁶ Lit. 'skies'.

(25) said the Lord, God, the creator of hosts. On the day of judgement, that I

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- (1) prepare, I will have mercy on them, in a way that man has mercy
- (2) on his son who serves him with a true heart.
- (3) [18] And you will return and will see what difference there is
- (4) between the righteous and the wicked, and between those who serve
- (5) God and those who do not serve him. [19] For, behold,
- (6) the judgement day is coming like a burning oven; and
- (7) all the shameless and all the doers of wickedness will be like chaff and
- (8) will burn them up the day, the one that is coming, said the Lord, the creator
- (9) of hosts, so that he will not leave (either) old or young.
- (10) [20] It will rise upon you, fearers of my name, like the sun,
- (11) $_{l}$ the wage of your meritorious work, 152 and there will be healing in $_{l}$ its wings; 153
- (12) and you will go out and leap like fattened calves.
- (13) [21] And you will tread down the wicked, for they will be ashes
- (14) under the soles of your feet on the day that I prepare,
- (15) said the Lord, the creator of hosts. [22] Remember the Law
- (16) of Moses, my servant; for I commanded him in Horeb to teach all
- (17) Israel commandments and law. [23] Behold, I will send you
- (18) Elijah the prophet before the coming of the Lord's day of judgement,
- (19) the great and dreadful. [24] And he will turn the heart of the fathers
- (20) $_{L}$ to the children, 154 and heart of the children $_{L}$ to the fathers 155 $_{L}$ to the way of the holy
- 52 An interpretative addition to Malachi 3:20.

⁵³ Lit. 'its spread'.

⁵⁴ Lit. 'together with the children'.

⁵⁵ Lit. 'together with the fathers'.

- (21) Law, so that if they do not want to listen, 1^{56} I will come and hit
- (22) that place with a destruction. LBehold, I will send you
- (23) Elijah the prophet before the coming of the Lord's day of judgement, the great and
- (24...) dreadful.¹⁵⁷
- (...24) Lasiah, the Twelve Prophets, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes.¹⁵⁸ Son of David. Blessed be he who gives power to the weak, and to those who have no might he increases strength.¹⁵⁹
- (25) The Twelve Prophets have come to an end. With the help of the God of the spirits of all flesh.¹⁶⁰

Abbreviations

Ar.	=	Arabic	fut.	=	future
Per.	=	Persian	lit.	=	literally
Pol.	=	Polish	loc.	=	locative
Ukr.	=	Ukrainian	pl.	=	plural
1	=	first person	poss.	=	possessive
2	=	second person	ro	=	recto
3	=	third person	sg.	=	singular
acc.	=	accusative	vo	=	verso
dat.	=	dative			

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ADub.III.83 = András, A. 2021. A digital edition of the Karaim biblical manuscript ADub.III.83. – Károly, L., Németh, M. (eds.).
 A database of Middle Turkic documents. Uppsala. Last accessed 31 October 2023. https://middleturkic.lingfil.uu.se /manuscripts/middle-karaim/ADub.III.83.

- 59 Cf. Isaiah 40:29.
- 60 Cf. Numbers 16:22, 27:16.

⁵⁶ An interpretative addition to Malachi 3:24.

⁵⁷ The custom in Haftarah reading is to repeat the penultimate verse (here Malachi 3:23) at the end of the books of Isaiah, the Twelve Prophets, Lamentations and Ecclesiastes, in order to end with a less harsh tone (van Staalduine-Sulman 2017: 55).

⁵⁸ The names of the biblical books indicate the repetition of Malachi 3:23.

- F305-90 = Johan, Zs., Ebo-Żurek, M., Németh, M., Sulimowicz-Keruth, A. 2023. A digital edition of the Karaim biblical manuscript F305-90. – Károly, L., Németh, M. (eds.). A database of Middle Turkic documents. Uppsala. Last accessed 14 Dec 2023. https://middleturkic.lingfil.uu.se/manuscripts/middle -karaim/F305-90
 KRPS = Baskakov, N.A., Zajončkovskij, A., Šapšal, S.M. (eds.).
 - RPS = Baskakov, N.A., Zajončkovskij, A., Šapšal, S.M. (eds.). 1974. *Karaimsko-russko-poĺskij slovaŕ. Słownik karaimsko--rosyjsko-polski*. Moskva.

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Facsimilia

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i subn בר קילו בצו ימנינא יחסידיא עיני אטלרי נדא גינן דאלרניאול איווידי יימיסי פינאידי איסיא פי ימורא ליקאביקר לייבאבי אלני אי און איניהן ני גינייניא אקנדא בחיקימייני אלנדא ימו חיליוולירין אלרטן: 2 (222) מולא מו איינמן אילגימני בארי איר יולרו אלנימבא מנים בא פיניטיליי פיליר סרייבא אול בייפי שיז איזליישיג דאילצישיאול o. כֹּחְהוֹ כִּי אֵז כְּלָייְאָז מוּהָא כִּיּהָר אַיִּהְׁחְאוּ כָּ יָאַרחוּבְצוּ בְצאוֹה -- רוי: (וא.) בכים ביבייליר אוסול בילובן ביען אינן בכים בולור אול טורוקצו בירויילוגינייא כיאול בולור אוטו כיביק סייורוקצו --רון בספורו ביציל כיטיר אדירחול גולנהו : (וישר) באול חורור סיזובר מולגו באני חולגו כימיסה באני איר אוסול אובוללניו ליהו בסיזה ניר אלינהא אלחילהא פיציל בביאיסה ביציל בצוקולי בָּרא יובוטובצור טירסי דַסְטְוּיק בִילָא (ושרבה) בקבול בולור בָּרָא חִירְכִּיְאֵי יִפּאַרִאוֹ בֿיִרוּאָזָישׁׁאָן אָימִיכָריא יילָלָבָא כִיצִיל סהז בגי ביה בני מקואי ביו זמה כבא משי בצי הומו באווקבה יין כבא כיביל לוחקמוברבא כישטעל גמון זמהובא אקמירא און מְלְבֹהוֹ: (וזניכי) ז.א ורניבמן מו אוזיים היזהן בילא אוני און בבוקימו חהל בטחקוובו איאאלמא בנוכקיל איאיונגיללביובא אלח איחיווגילניין אַמיפנין אופיילדיא בזולקלוויגולניא יאליו הקציהו חולרו באיל מוזה בא היביר ובצולבנא הני או דַיּנְפְׁעִן זָרָא לוֹנְיֹלמִיָּיבייזָר מֶוֹהָין אָיִיחָחָיא פָ אָרחוֹפְבוּגְבָאוֹני -- דוי ו (כ.) כ. הגיל מול איכי לילמו בירר המבין און. היז א אובוללני ייבלברון איציליב. עווסולאסביז דרורהא : (למימי) כּירְקָירִירְצָין אַווֹלְצָא אַחַלָאַנִירְיְצָוֹל פָּיקְיֹאי הָז כִּיבָילָה בֿיאָש ליריארין בסקלמדיני אלרפא אייטחים קייטיני מנא רטיבה

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245 I atter F דינא בקייטימן שיזה בחמטלירים בילא שייטטי ביארטוב צו בבאותרו באיינואשינ נוריי יאציקר איצין קייטייק ו (היקבים) חריינימן אבש ארכימין כי גביל איז חריישיז מה באייחאשיז הא נילא ביז חלי. ביז סמ בינמי שיזי הית בילא און אולבאהאבא אול הרומפהא : (במארה) ברבהם בילא שיו קרבלשיו בי מנים בירבליריא ני שיי עליי שיי אי גועל בריסיא : (כביאו) בילטיריני אוסול בר און אוליצאהא און טזרא איוודא בסיראה אורבי מה בוקויך הילא איי טעוא ב אייור א במסב טיוי טירי ביצילירין אול בי קי ראו בסובורוטן שינא ביריביט אַרְשִיק ביריקטן : (ואמרמ) בלטיבקי המו היזהו איצין ביהכחכתה אשרבר בישיםין אול ירה בג פמסחיא אינה אוסוק המיאין אול ירמובחוב איחמסה אינה אול בורלליקע טייגריא אייטטיא גיארטובצו צבאות בו: (ואשרו) דא מחטרלר שיזני בר אול העליקלר כי בולושיז שיז טוחטווצולר ייניא ביכליבם מנם אנדא אייטטיא ג יארטובצו צבאות עוי: נטילו) ביבייביקיר אישחימי ביירו סיוקיריהו ביזרו דאייסאביר לרביי ציירון סיג סיגלידיק טען איצו : (אמרמת) איי ט טיניג מופטטו לוללול איאמי ארכיהא בהא בייבאביא כי סלקוול אהודבי ויניב.ל לנאקים אקההבו בחו אנחובגוהו באושלי לובטל בכקידהא ביז מטחייביו ביאקרנהא באין קוֹבְרָיְלְבִילָר קילוּבְצוֹלָר קייִבּילים בָבָן סינארילר טְיְרִינִ בְּרְנִטוּלְבּוּלָר : (אוֹ) אוֹל ווְחְטְטַא בּיְגְטָיִסָאילָיִר צּוֹרְקוּב -גולאניא בינו בישי בוסחולא בליינריא אי שיחיוון ב נאישיחה. דאי איילריא סויניליק ביטיקטי קורקיבצולריבא פינו דא טיילוו בולרינא פמינון אינן: (וביו) דבולורלר מנא אוניבא איי א חיא ל אורני יאל חולצו בצו שראושרוי. לדופילה כי מו

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I SHSH קילרמן דא חייפטי נמן אלר אישטיע אליי כי נציר חייפשינדי כישי אובלו אישטיניא אול רסט באן בילא קילובצו יומוסון אנו: (ושריש) בקניטישיו בכירירשיו ננריי איירי קברביא אראסירא בריקין כשעבילא אראסירא קוללוק אישיווציען ארנידא כים ביוא כי לאלויל איחמיידי אדר : (כ.) כי מודא און יינדו פיה פיקיבי אוראבודו פיא כיצ'ל בבוקולקר בר גייאלר בבר קיליבצו קייוירליקיט קירא כיביק בא יאלינלר אלרטא אול כין אול כילידואן אייטטי ב יארטוב צו גינא (טרו פ. פֿיאים מאַזה אַכָּרָהא לנא הא בייהאהו: (וירחה) דא בלקיר שיוה קורקוב צולריא שמי בען קוייאס כיביק יאליא זכותלו איסל ריעזען באוידלמק בולור יאילמקר - זְּיִהְצָא אָאָלוֹ בַאָּרְיֹבִיּה בַסָּכּיֹבֹאָה כָאָ באָי בוּנְסְלָדוֹ צַאוֹבְזָר ביביק : (ועשורם) דבסראיז רשעלרנאבי בולורלר טילוי א ביקניא איציגא איילקנייאא הא כילי כי או ליקלא אייטיא ב יארטובגוסו גבאומרון : (זכרו) סארהי בולרטין מְאֶׁרָה לוּאַלא כי בעיניבוש אדר עונכני איווני אמא בר ישנאקה בישקיר בא חיביקר ונייב) מודא מן איירמן ביזהא אוסון אליטהא און דביאה בּילמי פֿינמי אוראיביה ציה און אוללו באול קורקובצלו: (וושיב) דקייטריר יירייון אעלריין בירדין אולילר בילא בייריאן אול ארין הידין אעלר בילא איי יינלטה וולאלי לא מהח בלימיסיקיר חירקאא ביקימן בווחימו אוסול אול יירה וויביריל בילא מודא מן איירמין ביוד אוסול אלישה אול הציאה פילטסחו בגנו יינהו פיה פיח אול אולוי באול ברד בניך יתקק : לוכלור בקוי בעזר אלהי הרוחות לכל בשר: תמו נכואות תרי עטר :