

A record of living Karaim folklore in 1960s Crimea. The copybooks of Yosif Kefeli

Anna Sulimowicz

Uniwersytet Warszawski, Wydział Orientalistyczny Zakład Turkologii i Ludów Azji Środkowej

Summary: Following the annexation of Crimea by the Bolsheviks, traditional Karaim folklore found itself endangered by the ongoing process of Sovietisation which intensified after W W II and the deportations of the Crimean Tatars. In response to a request from Józef Sulimowicz, a Polish collector of Caraimica, in the early 1960s, Yosif Kefeli (1900–1976), a Karaim from Simferopol, started to write down or copy various works of Crimean Karaim popular literature. He filled a few copybooks with popular songs, poems and proverbs as well as with theatre plays penned by Karaim dramatists such as A.O. Levi and A.I. Katyk. Written in the Cyrillic alphabet, Kefeli's copybooks today constitute a part of Sulimowicz's collection of Karaim manuscripts. The present article provides a review of the content of these manuscripts, with particular attention paid to those works, which may be regarded as manifestations of the Karaim folklore that was still alive at the time.

Keywords: Karaims, Karaim literature, Crimean Karaim folklore, Karaim theatre, Yosif Kefeli

Mejumas, handwritten collections of folk songs, poems, stories, riddles and sayings, become very popular among Crimean Karaims in the 19th Century and were still in use at the beginning of the 20th Century. Almost every Karaim family had such a manuscript or manuscripts in their possession (Šapšal 1918: 13;

Kokenaj 1933: 14). After World War I and the Russian Revolution they were no longer produced. Being closely related to the folklore of the Crimean Tatars, with which it shared not only a language, but to some extent, also roots in the same literary and musical tradition, traditional Karaim folklore became endangered by the ongoing process of Sovietisation which intensified dramatically after the deportations of the Tatars in 1944 and the repressions that followed them. Traditional popular literature ceased to be transferred to the younger generation. It continued, however, to survive in oral form while its bearers, men and women of the older generation, remained alive.

One of these individuals was Yosif Kefeli from Simferopol. Born on 25th August 1900, he grew up in a traditional Karaim family. His parents were Abraham (Abramaka) and Esther (nicknamed Karamates Sterta = Aunt Esther, the Queen of Spades). His mother knew many popular stories, legends and songs which she passed on to her son. She also practiced popular medicine, preparing various concoctions for her relatives and friends (letter No. 27). Yosif Kefeli attended midrash, a Karaim religious school at the Simferopol prayer house. Boris Saadievich Elyashevich was his teacher and young Yosif sung in the first Karaim religious choir, which was founded by Elyashevich in 1911 (Šaytan 1996). In 1924 KrymOKO, an association representing the interests of Karaim communities, was established in Simferopol. This organization, whose aim was to strengthen national identity and awareness of Karaim culture and popular traditions, attracted many young Karaims interested in reviving interest in the social life of their communities (Kušul 1990). One of them was Yosif Kefeli. He was a member of a theatre group led by Efim Davidovich Pandul, an actor from the Crimean Tatar theatre. The group performed comedies and dramas penned by Karaim playwrights, such as Aaron Ospovich Levi ("Akhyr zeman") and Aaron Ilich Katyk ("Kto prav", "Yaddes", "Achlyk", "Poezd"). Kefeli also sung in the KrymOKO choir.

On 22^{nd} Sept. 1922, he married Anna Abramovna Dubinska (1902–1974), the daughter of Abraam Sima-Isaakovich Dubinski, also known as "smotritel' Kale", a guard of the ancient kenassas in the Djufut Kale. They had one son, Alexander (1923–2001).

Yosif Kefeli made a name for himself by organising *konushmas*, i.e. evening parties at which he was the life and the soul. Karaim ladies prepared national dishes and drinks, and up to 50 participants would gather at a house of one of the members of the Simferopol community. Yosif Kefeli, accompanied by his childhood friend, Beniamin (Misha) Isaakovich Telal on piano, sang and played *gemane* (violin) and *dare* (drum). He knew numerous popular Karaim, Tatar and

Krymchak songs and performed them during the *konushmas*. The purpose of organizing such gatherings was not only to strengthen the ties between the Karaims and keep customs alive, but also to bring people together to help them find a match within the community – Kefeli was also a passionate match-maker and his *konushmas* were likewise very popular among younger generations of Karaims (Šaytan, 1996). As a performer of traditional Karaim and Tatar music he was involved in recordings of popular songs, conducted with the assistance of the composer Abram M. Ayvaz (1899–1982).

Kefeli maintained close contacts with the Karaims of Trakai and Vilnius, where relatives of his wife lived. He often visited Halicz, from where his daughter-in-law Lena (Lina) Szulimowicz (1926–2006) originated. She was the daughter of Mojżesz (Monio) Szulimowicz (1882–1974), the shamash of the Halicz kenessa in the interwar period and acting hazzan after the death of Zarach Zarachowicz in 1952. Kefeli collected money from the Karaim communities in Crimea to build a wire mesh fence around the Karaim cemetery in the village of Zalukva near Halicz. The fence provided basic protection for the ancient burial place of the Halicz Karaims until a new concrete one was erected by the National Historical Reserve "Davniy Galych" in the early 2000s.

Yosif Kefeli died on 3rd Nov. 1976 in Simferopol.



Józef Sulimowicz, a Polish Karaim and a passionate collector of Karaim manuscripts and antiquities, visited Crimea for the first time in 1957. He returned there five years later, in the summer of 1962. It is difficult to say whether it was during his first or second stay that he met Yosif Kefeli personally. It is also not clear how they came into contact with each other. Perhaps, Irena (Lipa) Szyszman and her children, Michal and Tamara¹, a Crimean Karaim family living in Warsaw and who often visited Crimea, served as an intermediary. Or possibly they were introduced to each other via Kefeli's daughter-in-law's father, Mojżesz Szulimowicz, who was also a relative of Sulimowicz.

In the 1930s Sulimowicz was a student of the Turcological Seminary at Warsaw University. After graduating he was due to work in the Karaim Museum,

The mother and siblings of the Karaim historian and author Simon Szyszman (1908–1993). For more on the Szyszman family, see: M. Abkowicz, A. Sulimowicz *Karaj jołłary – Karaimskie drogi. Karaimi w dawnej fotografii*, Wrocław 2010: 125–134.

which S. Shapshal was preparing to open in Trakai². All these plans were ruined by the outbreak of WWII. However, Sulimowicz, who eventually became an officer and gave up his studies, apparently intended to pursue idea of establishing a Karaim museum or at least ensure that a part of the permanent exhibition in the Ethnographic Museum in Warsaw would be dedicated to the history and culture of the Karaims. He continued the search for all possible artefacts both in Poland and abroad, i.e. in Halicz and in Crimea. As we learn from letters they exchanged, he was helped by Kefeli, who convinced owners of old books, various vessels and textiles to donate them to Sulimowicz (letters no. 16, 42, 62 et a.). Sulimowicz was also interested in Crimean Karaim popular literature, and with the assistance of Kefeli he managed to collect a few medjumas. However, some original manuscripts and rare prints could not be obtained. Thus, on Sulimowicz's request Kefeli took on the task of copying them. He also wrote down songs and proverbs he knew or had recorded in his private notes. In November 1961 he wrote: "В настоящее время я Вам пишу песни наши любимые Караимами и пословицы и другие как Вы пишите. Я пишу русским шрифтом, как говорят и поют Караимы, и буду писать древним Караимским шрифтом" ("At present I am writing our songs, much-loved by Karaims, and proverbs and other things as you wrote me [to do]. I use Russian script, [I write] the way the Karaims say and sing, and I am going to write in old Karaim script". Letter No. 8). Kefeli only partly completed this ambitious undertaking, since he used the Cyrillic alphabet almost exclusively in his copybooks, with the one exception of a few riddles he wrote down in Hebrew script in JSul.I.55.09.

Sulimowicz's collection includes 12 copybooks produced by Kefeli that range in size from 12 to 104 folios. Their content varies considerably (see: Appendix). In two of them we find proverbs and sayings that Kefeli copied from two printed collections: one edited in 1927 by Filonenko³ and another published in 1910 by R. S. Kefeli. Six copybooks contain the scripts of theatre plays penned by

For more on the biography of J. Sulimowicz see: A. Dubiński. Józef Sulimowicz (1913–1973), *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 1973, 4 (88), pp. 365-366; A. Sulimowicz. Polscy turkolodzy Karaimi. *Karaimi*. Warszawa 2012, pp. 128–129; *eadem*, Mieczek i Siunek. *Awazymyz* 2013, 1 (38), pp. 4–13.

V. I. Filonenko. Atalar sozy – karaimskie poslovicy i pogovorki. Izvestiâ Tavričeskogo obŝestva istorii, archeologii i etnografii. Simferopol' 1929, 3, pp. 117–138.

⁴ The copybook bears the title "Atalar sëz'. 500 karaimskich poslovic izdano litografičeskim sposobom 1910 godu s perevodom na russkij jazyk". However, Walfish and Kizilov in *Bibliographia Caraitica* give a different title: *Atalar sozy* and add St. Petersburg as the place of its publication (Walfish, Kizilov 2011: 7713, p. 669).

Karaim dramatists. They include A.O. Levi's "Ahyr zeman" which was published in Petersburg in 1911⁵, three unpublished plays by A.I. Katyk, namely "Mattanasyz", written in Eupatoria in 1920, "Alyšmagan baška kalpak yarašmaz" and the author's final work, "Sanki proletar" penned in Moscow in 1927⁶. We also also find here "Alimnyn kobasy", a two-act play whose author is unknown, and "Alym krimskiy razbojnik", a translation (or adaptation?) of a five-act play by the Russian playwright Vladimir Karpov-Krimskij aka Proskurenko⁷. Both of them represent stage adaptations of a popular Crimean legend. We can presume that these manuscripts are copies of materials remaining in Kefeli's possession and are connected with his aforementioned activity in the KrymOKO theatre group. The four remaining copybooks contain popular literature and various materials of ethnographic character. Their content will be presented later.

With the exception of A.O. Levi's play and two collections of proverbs that Kefeli copied from their print editions, we have no information on the original sources of the materials that had been copied/written down. The copyist does not provide us with this information either in the manuscripts themselves or in the letters he sent to Sulimowicz. However, based on the letters we can estimate when the manuscripts were produced. In his letter of 24th November 1962 Kefeli mentions that "в настоящее время собираю и записываю, верней хочу добавить те песни которые не вошли в Вашу тетрадь" ("At present I am collecting them and writing them down. I mean I want to add the songs that have not been included to your copybook yet". Letter No. 15). It appears that the first copybook was written in 1961 and given to Sulimowicz during his stay in Crimea in the summer of 1962 - most probably this manuscript bears the inventory number JSul.I.55.10. Kefeli continued to write after that, filling the next copybook with material not included in the first – in his letter of 27th July 1963 he enumerates the titles of 24 songs he was going to write down (letter No. 23). In December 1963, he was still writing (letter No. 27). We find most of the listed songs in manuscript No. JSul.I.55.02, which was probably completed at the beginning of 1964.

See: Čaduk-ben-Šimon. Ахыр земан. *Караимская жизнь*. Москва 1911, 2, pp. 40–44.

⁶ See: Šaytan, I. A. Vydaûŝij pisatel' i pedagog. Karaimskie vesti 1 (1995); idem, Ego znali ne tol'ko karaimy. Krymskie izvestiâ, 28.07.1994.

The play was staged by members of the amateur Karaim theatre group for the first time in Eupatoria on 16th Feb. 1909, and it was performed successfully for several years after that. It was directed by E. Chouyun, with E. Shammash appearing in the title role. See: Polkanov, Yu. *Vekovaâ programma spektaklâ o narodnom geroe kryma razbojnike Alime. Karai – artisty.* http://kale.at.ua/publ/teatralnaja_zhizn_karai_artisty/4-1-0-38 [Access: 15.09.2016].

In 1964, when sending greetings on the occasion of Purim Kefeli mentioned that he intended to write down recipes of Karaim delicacies such as akalva (letter No. 30) - and indeed, manuscript No. JSul.I.55.09 includes a number of recipes of various Karaim dishes and desserts (in Russian). In JSul.I.55.01 we find the exact date of a performance of a certain song: 14th November 1965, which means that this particular copy book could not have been completed earlier than in the last months of 1965. In November of that year Kefeli informed Sulimowicz that he had managed to find Filonienko's Atalar sozy and mentions that this publication contains different proverbs than those collected by R.S. Kefeli (letter No. 48). Accordingly, both copybooks with proverbs must have been written at the end of 1965 and the beginning of 1966. The plays of Levi and Katyk were copied as the last in the collection - Kefeli mentions them in his letters of December 1966 and 4th July 1967 (letters Nos. 60 and 62). In a letter dated 17th May 1970 he once again mentioned collecting materials - songs and sayings - and writing them down (letter No. 81a). However, even if this last copybook had been produced, it never reached Sulimowicz, who by the time was seriously ill and died three years later.



Four copybooks containing popular songs, poems, riddles and other ethnographic material produced in the first half of the 1960s – a kind of contemporary *mejumas* – constitute undoubtedly the most interesting part of Kefeli's manuscripts. However, the fact that the scribe did not provide any information on the origins of the material to a certain extent undermines its academic value.

Item No. JSul.I.55.10 was written in 1961/62 and is rather miscellaneous in character, containing as it does rather heterogenous material. It includes a list of Crimean Karaim family names in alphabetical order, together with their meaning in Russian, a few proverbs and sayings with some of them also translated into Russian, one riddle, a schedule of Karaim religious holidays and feasts (Hebrew names) for the year 5723 (1962), an anecdote about students at a Karaim religious school in the 19th century, the names of colours and ranks in a Karaim card game called *taburlet*, a list of names of professions, and last but not least 20 popular songs, including two chants *čyŋ*, and a playful chant in the form of a dialogue between a woman and a *molla* on a minaret. It also includes a Purim song called an *ahavat* (another one is translated into Russian). In an accompanying note, Kefeli explains that this particular *ahavat* was composed by himself and performed on that holiday for the relatives and friends of Seraya Shaphal

(Kefeli played violin and his friends drums). Another note refers to a well-known tune called *Port Artur*⁸ as being the favourite song of Shapshal. All this indicates that at least this part of the manuscript must have been written after Shapshal's death in November 1961, most probably in the early spring of 1962.

Similarly to manuscript No. JSul.I.55.10, No. JSul.I.55.09 also contains a variety of literary materials: the contemporary poems of I. I. Ayvaz⁹ in Russian, a poem of Iosif Isaakovič Erak (1832–1896) in Turkish, recipes for numerous traditional Crimean Karaim dishes (in Russian), two riddles, one tale, one saying referring to the family name of Taymaz, and - once again - a large number of songs (55 to be precise). Among them we find several soldier songs (such as the aforementioned Port Artur or Варшава йиры, most probably a Tatar song from the Polish-soviet war 1919–1921) as well as two versions of the song Berkut written in 1827 as an expression of gratitude to Simcha Babovich for his successful efforts to exempt the Karaims from compulsory military service. Interestingly, this particular copybook features material which obviously belongs to Western Karaim: the names of seasons, a few salutations, and Karaim names of months. The presence of these texts can be explained by Kefeli's contacts with Karaim communities in Lithuania, as is evidenced by an anecdote about Professor Kowalski that Kefeli wrote in Russian together with a note that it had been told to him by doctor K. Lopatto of Vilnius (JSul.I.55.10, loose-leaf).

Copybook No. JSul.I.55.02, which is next in chronological order after No. JSul.I.55.10 and, as we learn from Kefeli's letter, constitutes a kind of supplement to it, contains 40 songs. This brings the total number of songs recorded in three of Kefeli's copybooks to 115. As has already been mentioned, the origin of the materials copied by Kefeli remains unknown. However, it is clear that we are dealing here with products of popular Crimean Karaim literature (e.g. *Kapaŭ κωзω* in JSul.I.55.10 f. 18r°–19r°, *Αχ καραμμ, καραμμ* in JSul.I.55.02 f. 18r°–18v°), as well as the literature of the Crimean Tatars (*Μολλα минарете изан окуюр*, JSul.I.55.10 f. 42r°–43r°; *Тан-илдызы* JSul.I.55.02 f. 10r°–11r° or *Эмине* JSul.I.55.02 f. 29r°–29v°). Motifs from literary traditions lying outside Crimea can also be

The song, which describes the Battle of Port-Arthur during the Russo-Japanese war in Manchuria in 1904, was very popular among Karaims. It was first published in *Karaimskaâ Žizn'* (1911, 10–11: 15) and later by A. Szyszman in *Myśl Karaimska* under the title "Pieśń epicka o poruczniku Tapsaszarze" (1939, 12: 61–62). We also find versions of it in Aqtay (2009: 505–509) and Âlpačik (2001: 117).

In actual fact, the poems were penned by Irina Valentinovna Ayvaz, née Isakovich, the wife of the composer A. M. Ayvaz (S.I. Shaytan, personal communication, December 2016).

found among Kefeli's materials, for instance the Anatolian Turkish *Караджа* оглан (JSul.I.55.10 f. 31v°–32r°), Лейля Меджнун (JSul.I.55.09 f. 78v°–79r°) and *Казанская песня "Пенджереми ачык куюб*" (JSul.I.55.10 f. 31r°–30v°), which apparently represents the folklore of the Kazan Tatars.

The last copybook, No. JSul.I.55.01, contains just two items: an *ahavat* composed by A.O. Levi in Ekaterinoslav and a collection of couplets under the title *Syčan*, which were composed by Kefeli and performed during a *konushma* meeting he organised. The latter may be regarded as a record of living Crimean Karaim folklore. A brief description is required.

Syčan consists of 15 humorous couplets preceded by a kind of introduction in which Kefeli explains the circumstances surrounding the creation and performance of the following couplets: "Этот сычан посвешчаю вечеру Быр яшлыкта – быр картлыкта" ("I dedicate this Syčan to the evening entitled Together when young, together when old"). The konushma took place on 14th Nov. 1965 and was attended by 34 Crimean Karaims whose names are listed in the copybook¹⁰. As we learn from couplet No. 4, Irena and Michał Szyszman from Warsaw also were present. Hence, it is highly probable that they delivered the manuscript to Sulimowicz. During the meeting, Kefeli played the gemane, Efim Pandul the dare and Misha Telal the piano. Each couplet is dedicated to one person mentioned by name and describes her/his arrival at the party or behaviour during it. It is followed by a refrain which resembles the refrain of two Syčan songs – from Kohen's mejuma and the mejuma published by Radloff – recently analysed by Smętek (2015):

Ах сычан вах сычанOh, mouse, oh, mouse,Эки козы кёр сычанBlind in both eyes" mouse,Ах сычан вах сычанOh, mouse, oh, mouse,[...] олмуш бу сычан[name] became the mouse.

Most of the couplets contain a narrative part in Crimean Karaim and statements in Russian of the participants described in the couplet. It is noteworthy that the collections of proverbs contain translations into Russian originally provided by their authors. The remaining materials copied by Kefeli are not

Of these individuals, Alik (Aleksandr) Firkovich (Simferopol), Dagmara Bakkal (St. Petersburg) and Ella (Eleonora) Telal (Simferopol) are still alive (S.I. Shaytan, personal communication, December 2016).

Literal translation. Smetek suggests that the meaning of this expression is similar to Turkish gözü kör olası 'damned, darned' (2015: 42).

accompanied by translations, with the exception of JSul.I.55.10, in which Karaim family names, as well as 2 songs, 3 sayings, 2 proverbs and one anecdote have been translated into Russian.

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The aim of this paper was to provide a description of the Yosif Kefeli copybooks together with the circumstances which led to their creation. Therefore, there was no space to carry out a detailed analysis of the linguistic and literary features of their rich content. Despite some of the shortcomings mentioned above, this material with its highly heterogenous content should undoubtedly be considered unique and valuable. In recent years, critical editions of two *mejumas* have been published¹². Bearing in mind the fact that the oldest preserved mejumas date back to the beginning of the 19th century¹³ and that the Kefeli copybooks were produced in the 1960s, the development of Crimean Karaim folklore can be traced over a period of 160 years. An in-depth analysis and a comparison of the content of the manuscripts are still required.

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Yosif A. Kefeli's letters to J. Sulimowicz:

Letter No. 8 of 10th November 1961

Letter No. 15 of 24th November 1962

Letter No. 16 of 7th December 1962

Letter No. 23 of 27th July 1963

Letter No. 27 of 17th December 1963

Letter No. 30 of 24th February 1964

Letter No. 42 of 17th March 1963

Letter No. 48 of 2nd November 1965

Letter No. 60, written in December 1966

Letter No. 62 of 4th July 1967

Letter No. 81a of 17th May 1970

Appendix

The Kefeli copybooks and their contents

Inventory No.	Creation date	Title	Content
JSul.I.55.01	1965	1. Agavat; 2. Syčan	 A Purim song; Syčan couplets composed on the occasion of a party held on 14th November, 1965
JSul.I.55.02	1964	Pesni	40 popular songs
JSul.I.55.03	1966/1967	Alimnyn kobasy	A theatre play. Author unknown
JSul.I.55.04		Ahyr zeman	A theatre play by A.O. Levi
JSul.I.55.05		[Mattanasyz]	A theatre play by A.I. Katyk
JSul.I.55.06		Sanki proletar /Lžyvyj proletarij/	A theatre play by A.I. Katyk
JSul.I.55.07		Alym krymskij	A theatre play by V.G. Karpov-Proskurenko.
		razbojnik	Translator unknown
JSul.I.55.08		Alyšmagan baška kalpak jarašmaz	A theatre play by A.I. Katyk
JSul.I.55.09	1964	_	Miscellanea (54 popular songs, poems of I.I. Ajvaz, cooking recipes in Russian, a poem of I.I. Erak in Turkish, a tale, riddles etc.). Some material of Western Karaim origin.
JSul.I.55.10	1961/1962	_	Miscellanea (a list of Crimean Karaim family names; proverbs and sayings; a riddle; a schedule of Karaim religious holidays and fasts for the year 5723 (1962); an anecdote on 19 th century students at a Karaim religious school; the names of colours and ranks in <i>taburlet</i> , a Karaim card game; a list of names of professions; 20 popular songs including two chants <i>čyŋ</i> and a chant in the form of a dialogue between a woman and a molla on minaret; a Purim song).
JSul.I.55.11	1965/1966	R.S. Kefeli. Atalar sëz'. 500 karaimskih po- slovic izdano litogra- fskim sposobom 1910 godu. S perevodom na russkij jazyk	Proverbs; a copy of Кефели, Р. С. Аталар созы.
JSul.I.55.12	1965/1966	Atalar sozy. V.I. Filo- nenko. 146 i drugih. Karaimskie poslovicy i pogovorki	Proverbs. A copy of Филоненко В. И. Атлар созы – караимские пословицы и поговорки; 4 proverbs added by Kefeli.

Illustrations



III. 1. Young Yosif Kefeli in national Karaim costume. 1920s.



III. 2. Yosif Kefeli and his wife Anna née Dubinska in the backyard of their house in Simferopol, 36 Tavricheskaya street. 1950s/1960s.



III. 3. The Kefeli-Szulimowicz family. From left to right: Anna Kefeli, Alexander Kefeli, Lena Kefeli née Szulimowicz, Yosif Kefeli, Mojżesz Szulimowicz. Simferopol, 1960s.



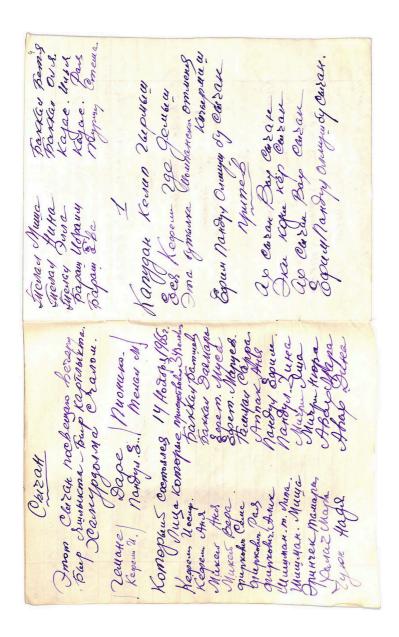
Ill. 4. Yosif Kefeli next to the fence of the Halicz Karaim cemetery. 1970s.



Ill. 5. Yosif Kefeli and Józef Sulimowicz, Tchufut-Kale, Crimea, 1962.



III. 6. Yosif Kefeli playing gemane (violin) probably during a konushma.



III. 7. A page from JSul.I.55.01 featuring the beginning of Syčan couplets.



Ill. 8. The cover of JSul.I.55.02.

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