



An Early North-Western Karaim Text Dating from before 1700. A Linguist's Contribution to the Biography of Josef ha-Mashbir

Michał Németh

Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Faculty of Philology,
Institute of Linguistics

Summary: In this article the author presents a Karaim text from of Josef ha-Mashbir's (died 1700) autograph. The discovery of this source proves that he was a North-Western Karaim native speaker, which, in turn, supports the claims of those researchers who contend that he originated from Lithuania. Importantly, the source in question is one of the oldest known North-Western Karaim texts.

Keywords: Josef ha-Mashbir, Karaims in Halych, Karaims in Troki, the history of Karaims

I. Josef ha-Mashbir's biographical sketch

The person of Josef ha-Mashbir ben Shemuel is well-known for those who deal with the history of Eastern European Karaims. The appearance of this scholar and poet in Halych (in order to take over the duties of the hazzan there) was a cornerstone in the community's history as he raised the level of education by introducing, based on Lithuanian patterns, a number of reforms concerning the religious tradition and everyday life. Based on Fahn's (1929: 40) work in which he published ha-Mashbir's gravestone we can only say that Josef ha-Mashbir was born probably ca. 1650. What we exactly know, however, is

the day of his demise: he died on the Shabbat of the parashat Bo 5460 A.M. (see JSul.II.02: 52 r^o)¹, i.e. on 3 Shevat 5460 A.M. which is 13 January 1700 according to the Gregorian calendar (in Mann 1931: 1437 we find the yearly date 1699/1700 of his death, only). He was the hazzan of the community of Halych most probably from 1685 until his demise.

There is, however, no consensus among historians with reference to the place of his birth. According to such scholars as Abrahamowicz (2001: 13), Akhiezer & Markon (2007: 425), Kizilov (2009: 48), or Šabarovskýj (2013: 150), he arrived in Halych from Derażne. Others, in turn, claim that he originated from Lithuania, see Gašiorowski (2008: 375), and Tuori (2013: 77). In a recently published text edition, Muchowski & Tomal & Sulimowicz & Witkowski & Yariv (2017: 32) represent the view that he moved to Halych from Derażne but he or his family may have ultimately stemmed from Lithuania.

Seen in this light, his North-Western Karaim autograph discovered by the present writer recently in ms. JSul.I.01 is certainly an important addition to his biography and supports the view that he was born to a North-Western Karaim community or, at least, that his parents stemmed from Lithuania. Fürst (1869: 85–86) asserts that Josef ha-Mashbir's teacher was a person called Nisan the aged (*ha-zaqen*) of Lithuania (more precisely: *of Troki*, see JSul.III.69: 218 v^o, JSul.III.79: 268 r^o, and JSul.I.01: 132 v^o), and that Josef ha-Mashbir was, in turn, the teacher of Nisan's son, Mordechai ben Nisan.² If we compare these historical facts, i.e. that Nisan moved from Troki to Kukizów not earlier than 1688³ and, secondly, that Josef ha-Mashbir arrived in Halych before the Karaim community of Kukizów was established (around 1685), it seems very probable that Josef ha-Mashbir received his teachings from Nisan not elsewhere, but in Troki – prior to his arrival to Halych.

Tuori (2013: 77) argues in favour of ha-Mashbir's Lithuanian origins based on the assertion that the Karaim community in Derażne was destroyed during the Khmelnytsky Uprising (1648–1649) and therefore ha-Mashbir could not

¹ I owe this piece of information to Anna Sulimowicz (Warsaw).

² For further sources revealing their acquaintance see Tuori (2013: 77).

³ This is the year when the Karaim community of Kukizów was established (see, e.g., Gašiorowski 2008: 191–192). The Karaim population of Kukizów consisted of both North-Western and South Western Karaim speakers given that the settlers arrived there in two waves: from Troki in 1688 and from Halych in 1692. Compare Simcha ben Chananel's (a citizen of Kukizów) North-Western Karaim idiolect presented in Németh (2014b). Interesting as it may seem, Simcha's father, Chananel, stemmed from Derażne.

have been born there. There are historical data that somewhat support the Karaim oral historiographic tradition saying that the community in Derażne survived the revolts.⁴ Namely, Bałaban (1927: 50) and later Zajączkowski (1934a: 182) quote the Russian census of 1677–1679 in which Karaims are listed along with Jews as inhabitants of Derażne. To be more precise: a tiny group of altogether 6 persons of Jewish and Karaim origin is mentioned. Šabarovskýj (2013: 153–154) takes this census under scrutiny and also agrees that a small Karaim population must have survived there way until the second half of the 18th century. Muchowski & Tomal & Sulimowicz & Witkowski & Yariv (2017: 13–14), however, doubt in the existence of a Karaim community in Derażne after the Khmelnytsky revolts and do not find, in this respect, the data in the census mentioned above convincing.

The present writer agrees with the authors of the latter publication and finds the above historical evidence not strong enough to suppose that the Karaim community in Derażne was indeed re-established and that ha-Mashbir could have arrived in Halych from there. It is conspicuous that Josef ha-Mashbir, despite of being abundantly epitheted in the edited sources, is never mentioned as *of Derażne*, unlike, for instance, his contemporary Chananel (the father of Simcha) we mentioned above. Even in Simcha Icchak Łucki's *Ner Tzaddikim* written around 1757 there is no mention of his origin even though ha-Mashbir's person is carefully introduced to the readers (see Mann 1931: 1436–1437). On the other hand, however, in the *zichronot* written by Zarach Leonowicz (1829–1894) ca. 1892, we find an information that Jeshua ben Shemuel, i.e. Josef ha-Mashbir's brother, as well as his parents, i.e. Shemuel ha-Rodi and his wife Shelomit, were buried in Derażne (see JSul.I.01: 198 r^o).⁵ This shows that the ha-Rodi family must have had strong connections to the community of Derażne.

Importantly, Zarach Leonowicz, the author of the above-mentioned *zichronot* was a descendant of the ha-Rodi family: by means of patronyms, his genealogy can be shortly described as *Zarach ben Shemuel ben Levi ben Jeshua ben Shemuel ben Jeshua ben Shemuel ha-Rodi*.

⁴ See, above all, Mordechaj Sułtański's historiographic work entitled *Zecher tzaddikim* published in 1837/1838 by Poznański (1920: 114). See also Rudkowski (1932: 4–5) who was, however, not a historian but a poet. It is ought to be mentioned here that Nosonovskij & Šabarovskýj (2004: 45) argue that the massacre could have taken place in 1650.

⁵ Again, my hearty thanks go to Anna Sulimowicz (Warsaw) for sharing this piece of information with me.

To sum up, the place of birth of Josef ha-Mashbir should still be considered uncertain, yet the text sample shown below proves that his native vernacular was North-Western Karaim. This should be considered as another argument in favour of the Lithuanian roots of him or of his family.

2. Josef ha-Mashbir's autograph

Manuscript JSul.I.01 is a prayer book written in Hebrew, South-Western Karaim, and North-Western Karaim. It is the work of several copyists and was created in the 17th–19th centuries. Today, it consists of a large number of manuscripts copied most probably in Kukizów, Halych, and Lutsk and then bound together by an unknown person. It consists of 318 folios.

Josef ha-Mashbir copied a large part of this manuscript, which means mostly texts in Hebrew. There are, however, also three works that were copied by him in Karaim. These are the *zemer* with the incipit *Bügün Sinaj tavğa* (115 v^o – 116 r^o), the *peshat* of the *piyyut* אֲשֶׁמְתֵנִי בִּיִּקְקָא אֲשֶׁמְתֵנִי *ašmāthēnū ghādhlāh* with the Karaim incipit *Jazyqlarymyz ulgajdydar bijikk'a astry* (118 v^o – 119 v^o), and a *qinah* starting with the words *Men miskin qaldygy* (121 r^o – 123 r^o). The latter two were authored by ha-Mashbir himself. Importantly, these texts are one of the oldest samples of Western Karaim, in general. There are only three older Western Karaim texts, all of them from the 17th century: it is a short *qinah* by Zarach ben Natan copied in 1671 (B 263: 28 r^o),⁶ and two religious poems by Icchak ben Abraham Troki (1533–1594) copied in 1686 (Evr I 699: 15 v^o – 16 r^o).⁷

The language of ha-Mashbir's writings is of clearly North-Western-type. Importantly, such forms as *etadilar*, *imančilar*, or *veřandilar* (see the text sample below) clearly show that ha-Mashbir's idiolect belonged to the post-harmony-shift era, which is a very important addition to the question of the absolute chronology of this change raised in Németh (2014a, 2015, 2018).

Remarkably, in the text of the *peshat* we find three examples of the South-Western Karaim * $\eta > n$ change, too, in place of the North-Western Karaim * $\eta > j$ change expected, see *sana* (119 r^o, 119 v^o) and *mašijahyndan* (119 v^o). It is very probable that the author's idiolect was influenced in this respect by the language of Halych Karaims amongst whom he lived from 1685 on, which

⁶ See Muchowski (2013: 86–87, 97–98), Németh (2015: 170, 172).

⁷ An edition and concise analysis of the latter two religious poems was prepared by Jankowski (2014).

suggests that the text was written between 1685 and 1700. Here, it is worth to mention that in South-Western Karaim handwritten sources copied in the 18th–19th centuries we find examples of NWKar. *j* being used in place of the expected south-western reflex of OKar. **η*, i.e., in place of *n*. As the analysis of ca. 150 texts copied in 31 manuscripts shows, however, that these forms appear only in texts originally authored by native speakers of North-Western Karaim which were later copied by native speakers of South-Western Karaim. This means that this type of North-Western Karaim forms have entered South-Western Karaim texts most likely because the copyists happened to forget to transpose them into their own dialect; see, for instance, the material of the following manuscripts: JSul.I.01: סײַט אַטײַט *syjyt etijiz* ‘grieve (imperative, 2nd pl.)’ (125 r^o), אײַבײַניו *üvüjnü* ‘your house (acc.)’ (125 v^o) (copyist: Mordechai ben Shemuel; author: Shelomo ben Aharon of Poswol); JSul.I.46: אַלְנײַא *alnyja* ‘before you (dat.)’, אולוסײַא *ulusuja* ‘to your people’, סױַגטלרײַא *savagatlaryja* ‘to your mercies’, and טױַאײַא *tavyja* ‘to your mountain’ (87 r^o) (copyist: Jeshua Josef Mordkowicz, author: Mordechai ben Nisan), or JSul.I.54.03: טױַזױַז *tüzüjüz* ‘compose (imperative, 2nd pl.)’ (2 r^o, 4 v^o), בײַרגײַא *birgeje* ‘with you’ (copyist: unknown; author: Simcha ben Chananel). We have not found religious works authored and copied by native speakers of South-Western Karaim in which there would be North-Western Karaim elements present. The latter is, *mutatis mutandis*, also true for North-Western Karaim texts. In other words, this type of phenomena, including the above-mentioned *sana* and *masiḡahyndan* present in ha-Mashbir’s autograph, are of a philological (not linguistic) nature and cannot be treated as evidence of advanced dialect mingling.

Below the text of the *peshat* with the incipit *Jazyqlarymyz ulgajdylar bijikkā astry* is presented (it is its heading in which the copyist revealed his identity).

We use the same phonemic transcription as the one presented in Németh (2014b). Here, it is worth to mention that: *ö* and *ü* denote the continuants of OKar. **ö* and **ü*;⁸ *q* and *ġ* stand for velar/uvular plosives, *v* was most likely a bilabial friactive (at least in the native lexicon), *h* was either a laryngeal or an uvular fricative (the latter would mean that its phonetic value was identical to that of *h*) and appeared in Hebrew loanwords, only.

The origin and meaning of words that are not lemmatized in KarRPS are explained in footnotes.

⁸ This notation does not mean that the present author interprets these sounds strictly as front labials. Their actual phonetic value remains hidden behind the script and could have varied depending on their position in the word.

Transcription

Folio 118 v°

[1]	[3]	... כמו שכתוב
[2]	[4]	ומסודר בתפלת השבת: ואם ירצה אזי שוב ומתרגם את הפיוט
[3]	[5]	להשמעות אזני הקק בלשון לעז להבין האנשים והנשים הבלתי יודעי
[4]	[6]	טעם מלות הפיוט עצמו וזה כדי להלאיטם יותר להתאבלות חורבן
[5]	[7]	ירושלם תבב להיותם זוכים כל ישראל כאחד לייעוד שמחו את ירושלם
[6]	[8]	וגילו בה ולאופן זה אני הצעיר תרגמתי את הפיוט במשקל בלשון לעז
[7]	[9]	ומציבו לעין הקורא למען ירוץ קורא בו: ויחזק הכותב ויאמץ הקורא
[8]	[10]	א. Jazyqlarymyz ulgajdylar bijikka astry
[9]	[11]	da bojnumuzga qalyn örül-
[10]	[12]	dülar. Vaj bizga ki bu jazygymyz üçün bolduq Tenri-
[11]	[13]	mizga ujatlylar da imançililar. ג.
[12]	[14]	Jazygyüçün atalarymyznyn kesildi kohenlar naviilar da biznin
[13]	[15]	günahtar üçün eksildiilar bar zehtlular. Jollary
[14]	[16]	Cijjonnun jasyldylar kelivcü joğundan mo'edga da qabaq-
[15]	[17]	lary anyn veandıilar. ה. Bolduq çerçakka
[16]	[18]	bar uluslarğa kültkü da çajnavlar. Ki ullu aziz-
[17]	[19]	ligimizdan johtu bugün bizga ni miqdaş ani mizbeah
[18]	[20]	ani kohen tüfatüvcü otjamlar. ח.
[19]	[21]	Debehaler da tirkilar batyl boldular da johtu galutumuzda
[20]	[22]	çyğarmaq olalar da šelamimlar ¹⁰ . Anyn üçün bavlandylar
[21]	[23]	kijizlar byla da syjyt e'adiilar kohenlar kijüvcü qodes ¹¹
[22]	[24]	upraqlar ¹²

Folio 119 r°

[23]	[1]	upraqlar. ט. Körüp murdar umalar
[24]	[2]	Jišma'el da Edom eksikligin bar azizliknin bizdan
[25]	[3]	öz murdarlyqlaryn bizga laqabladylar. Da hökümlük

⁹ = Heb. בְּעִזְיוֹתֵינוּ וְאֶשְׁמְחֵינוּ. Cf. the Hebrew original (JSul.I.01: 118 r° – 118 v°). The beginning of each part is indicated with an abbreviation that stands for the first words of the two respective Hebrew portions of text of the original. Henceforth not explained separately.

¹⁰ < Heb. שְׁלָמִים, the pl. of Heb. שָׁלַם 'peace offering'

¹¹ < Heb. קֹדֶשׁ 'a holy object'

¹² Catchword.

- [26] [4] sūrādīlar üstümüzğa ki jazylarymyz üçün miqdaşyn
 [27] [5] Tenrinen meaşlādīlar. 𐰽𐰪. Kertiđan bar
 [28] [6] bu imānçlik japyt jüzümünü ki kemiştik qylma
 [29] [7] çebar micvalaryn ki Torada jazylğandyar. Bolalmajbiz
 [30] [8] barma Jeruşalajimğa körünma qyblalaryna H-nyn jylda
 [31] [9] üç qurlalar. 𐰽𐰪. Vaj bizğa ki teliligimiz
 [32] [10] byla ĥor ettik resimlarin Tenrinen da šarajatlaryn
 [33] [11] da özümüzda bolduq ĥorlanganlar. Ačyrgandyrdyq
 [34] [12] any saqlamajyn šertin ol kesilğan birgamizğa eki
 [35] [13] keatlar. 𐰽𐰪. Ullu ökamligimiz-
 [36] [14] đan jerimizda tersajdik ters tana kibik anyn
 [37] [15] üçün har vaĥt tol[tur]abiz¹³ ačuvlar. Kemiştik Tora-
 [38] [16] syn da tanyqlyqlaryn da töraların anar kōra özümüz-
 [39] [17] da bolduq bar jamanga uçranganlar. 𐰽𐰪.
 [40] [18] Haligiña körüp ki günahlarimiz üstümüzđadi da
 [41] [19] har vaĥt ulğajady tarlygymyz neçik tengizda tolgun{lar,}
 [42] [20] anyn üçün firjat eabiz sana¹⁴ H biz jarlylar muĥtaç-
 [43] [21] lar tüslü qajğylarbyla munajganlar. 𐰽𐰪.
 [44] [22] Öküñabiz sana tarlygymyzdan galutta ökünğanlaj
 [45] [23] ačy žanly tullar da öksüzlar. Qoltqabyla körgün

Folio 119 v^o

- [46] [1] qyjyn čydağanymyzny da jarlylyq kötürganimizni da ešittir-
 [47] [2] gin bizğa mašijahyndan¹⁵ ĥabarlar. 𐰽𐰪.
 [48] [3] Qajtarğyn H ošol qajtuvumuznu burundağylaj
 [49] [4] bijlikka da sürtkün özün üçün bar qylğanymyzny
 [50] [5] tüslü jazylar. Ĥajifsingin üstümüzğa körüp ki
 [51] [6] har jyl biz qyna oĥujbiz da čuvlajbiz¹⁶
 [52] [7] ki Cijjon da Jeruşalajim veandılar, da ki zoĥe
 [53] [8] tüvülbiz juvutma sana qarban¹⁷ har kün ani jañğajda

¹³ The absence of the causative form is most probably a scribal error. Cf., however, *tolabiz* in the other copies of this text in mss. JSul.III.63, JSul.I.45, ADub.III.61, JSul.III.69, JSul.III.79, and JSul.I.11.

¹⁴ SWKar. influence, see also lines 44, and 53.

¹⁵ < Heb. מָשִׁיחַ 'Messiah'.

¹⁶ In fact: *da jaslajbiz* {*da jylajbiz*} *da čuvlajbiz*; the passage *da jylajbiz* 'and we cry' was, however, added later by another hand in different ink on the margin.

¹⁷ < Heb. קָרְבָּן 'offering, sacrifice, oblation'.

- [54] [9] ani moedđ'a ani šabatta eki qozular jylylyq
 [55] [10] balalary tüğalġar. ¹⁸וְנִבְיָאִים הַשְּׁבֵת שְׁנֵי כְּבָצִים.

Translation

Folio 118 v^o

- [1] [3] ... As is it written
 [2] [4] and arranged among prayers for Shabbat. And, if one¹⁹ wishes, then (one should) go back and translate this *piyyut*,
 [3] [5] to make it heard to the ears of the holy community, in the foreign language²⁰ in order to make it understood to the men and women who do not know
 [4] [6] the meaning of the words of the *piyyut* itself and to gently teach them to mourn for the destruction
 [5] [7] of Jerusalem, may it be rebuilt and re-established speedily in our days, so that the whole (congregation of) Israel may have the merit (to experience) the (divine promise):
 [6] [8] 'Rejoice with Jerusalem, and be glad with it.'²¹ And for this purpose, I have translated this *piyyut* in metre into the foreign language, and I present it
 [7] [9] to the eye of the reader, so he may run who reads it²². And may the writer be strong, and the reader be mighty.
 [8] [10] (1). Our sins have increased greatly
 [9] [11] and have been thickly plaited around our neck.
 [10] [12] Woe betide us, for because of our sin(s) we have become
 [11] [13] ashamed and embarrassed (in the presence of our) Lord. (2).
 [12] [14] Because of the sin(s) of our fathers, (we have been) deprived of the priests, the prophets,
 [13] [15] and because of our transgressions the (people) with merits have vanished. The ways

¹⁸ See, Numbers 28:9.

¹⁹ I.e., *one who leads the prayers out of this manuscript*.

²⁰ I.e., *Karaim*.

²¹ See, Isaiah 66:10.

²² See, Habakkuk 2:2. The phrase is used to express 'So that the reader will read it easily and fluently.'

- [14] [16] of Zion have been mournful because of the lack of those who would join holidays, and its gates
 [15] [17] have been destroyed. (3). We have become laughing stock
 [16] [18] of all nations, (the object of their) ridicule and mockery. For from the great holiness
 [17] [19] of ours there is not (even) a shrine, or an altar
 [18] [20] left today or a priest who would burn incense. (4).
 [19] [21] The sacrifice and offering have become prohibited in our exile, there is no
 [20] [22] offering of burnt offerings and peace offerings. For this reason,
 [21] [23] the priests who had been wearing – strapped up themselves with felt and grieve –
 [22] [24] ᵘholy garments²³

Folio 119 r^o

- [23] [1] holy garments. (5). When the unclean nations
 [24] [2] of Ishmael and Esau saw the lack of all kind of holiness among us,
 [25] [3] they have ascribed²⁴ their own uncleanness to us. And
 [26] [4] they ᵘtreat us ruthlessly²⁵, for because of our sins they
 [27] [5] inherited the shrine of God. (6). Indeed, all
 [28] [6] this shame has covered our face, because we have stopped doing
 [29] [7] His noble commandments that are written in the Law. We cannot
 [30] [8] go to Jerusalem to appear to the countenance of the Lord
 [31] [9] three times a year. (7). Woe betide us, given that by our folly
 [32] [10] we have rejected the statutes of God and His laws
 [33] [11] and we, too, have become condemned. We made Him angry
 [34] [12] by not obeying His covenant, the (one) made with us two
 [35] [13] times. (8). With great pride
 [36] [14] we have persisted in our land like a disobedient calf, (and) for
 [37] [15] this reason we arouse (His) anger all the time. We have abandoned
 [38] [16] His Law and His witnesses and His laws and, according to that,
 [39] [17] we have also joined those who have met with evil. (9).
 [40] [18] Now, seeing that our sins are upon us and

²³ Catchword in the Karaim text.

²⁴ Lit. 'termed, named'.

²⁵ Lit. 'pull ruthlessness upon us'.

- [41] [19] that our misery keeps increasing all the time like the waves in the sea,
 [42] [20] we cry to You, Lord, we, the worried miserable,
 [43] [21] wracked by troubles of all kind²⁶. (10).
 [44] [22] We yearn for You, (to get out) from our misery in the exile, as
 [45] [23] the sad widows and orphans yearn. We beg You, see

Folio 119 v^o

- [46] [1] the suffering borne and the misery suffered by us and make us hear
 [47] [2] news from Your Messiah. (11)
 [48] [3] Lord, give us back (the opportunity) to restore
 [49] [4] our kingdom as it was before and remove, for this very reason all our
 [50] [5] sinful deeds²⁷. Have mercy on us by seeing that
 [51] [6] every year we sing *qinot*²⁸, and shed tears, and yell
 [52] [7] because of the destruction of Zion and Jerusalem, and because we do not have the honour
 [53] [8] to bring You offerings every day, or (every) month
 [54] [9] or even on holidays, or even on Shabbat, (an offering of) two lambs of the first year
 [55] [10] without blemish. [And on the Sabbath day two lambs...]²⁹

Bibliography

i. Manuscripts

ADub.III.61 = A prayer book in Hebrew and South-Western Karaim copied in 1850/1851 in Halych by Jeshua Josef Mordkowicz.

B 263 = A manuscript in Hebrew written in 1662 in Torki by Abraham ben Yoshiyahu with North-Western additions from 1671 (a *qinah* by Zarach ben Natan). Stored

²⁶ Lit. 'various'.

²⁷ Lit. 'all that of ours that made all kind of sins'.

²⁸ I.e., *dirges*.

²⁹ See, Numbers 28:9.

in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg.

- Evr I 699 = A commentary on the precepts of the faith written by Icchak ben Abraham Troki in Hebrew and North-Western Karaim. Stored in the National Library of Russia in Saint Petersburg. Copied by Mordechai ben Icchak (Łokszyński?).
- JSul.I.01 = A prayer book in Hebrew, South-Western and North Western Karaim. The work of several copyists (among them Josef ha-Mashbir, Mordechai ben Shemuel, Jeshua Josef Mordkowicz) created in the 17th–19th centuries and bound together. The manuscript as a whole was copied most probably in Kukizów, Halych, and Lutsk.
- JSul.I.11 = A prayer book in Hebrew and North Western Karaim copied in Lutsk in 1878 by Zecharia ben Chanania Rojecki. Folios 53 r^o – 55 r^o copied by an unknown person.
- JSul.I.45 = A payer book in Hebrew and South-Western Karaim copied in Halych in the 1st half of the 19th century (after ca. 1825) by Jeshua Josef Mordkowicz.
- JSul.I.46 = A prayer book in Hebrew and South-Western Karaim copied in the 1st half of the 19th century (after ca. 1825) in Halych by Jeshua Josef Mordkowicz.
- JSul.I.54.03 = A collection of piyyutim in Hebrew and South-Western Karaim. Copied at the turn of the 19th century by an unknown person (most likely in Halych).
- JSul.II.02 = A prayer book in Hebrew from the turn of the 18th century. Copied by an unknown person.
- JSul.III.63 = A prayer book in Hebrew and South-Western Karaim copied ca. 1788 (1797 the latest) in Halych by Jeshua ben Mordechai Mordkowicz.
- JSul.III.69 = A prayer book in Hebrew and South-Western Karaim. Copied ca. 1851 (1866 at the latest) in Halych by Jeshua Josef Mordkowicz (except some Hebrew fragments which were copied by an unknown person).
- JSul.III.79 = A prayer book in Hebrew and South-Western Karaim. Copied ca. 1851 (1866 at the latest) in Halych by Jeshua Josef Mordkowicz.

2. References

- Abrahamowicz, Zygmunt. 2001. Dzieje Karaimów w Haliczu. – *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 198–199: 3–16 [Prepared for print by Stefan Gąsiorowski].
- Akhiezer Golda & Markon Isaak Dov Ber. 2007. Joseph ben Samuel ben Isaac ha-Mashbir. – Skolnik, Fred & Berenbaum, Michael (eds.). *Encyclopaedia Judaica. Second Edition*. Vol. 11. Detroit, New York, San Francisco, New Haven (Connecticut), Waterville (Maine), London: 425.
- Baġaban, Majer. 1927. *Studja historyczne*. Warszawa.
- Fahn, Reuven. 1929. כתבי ראובן פאהן. ספר הקראים. Bilgoraj [*non vidi*].
- Fürst, Julius. 1896. *Geschichte des Karäerthums von 1575 bis 1865 der gewöhnlichen Zeitrechnung. Die letzten vier Abschnitte. Eine kurze Darstellung seiner Entwicklung, Lehre und Literatur*. Leipzig.

- Gąsiorowski, Stefan. 2008. *Karaimi w Koronie i na Litwie w XV–XVIII wieku*. Kraków, Budapest.
- Jankowski, Henryk. 2014. Two Karaim religious poems by Isaac ben Abraham Troki. – *Karaite Archives* 2: 35–57.
- KarRPS = Baskakov, Nikolaj Aleksandrovič & Zajączkowski, Ananiasz & Šapšal, Seraja Markovič (eds.). 1974. *Karaimsko-russko-połskij slovar'. Słownik karaimsko-rosyjsko-polski*. Moskwa.
- Kizilov, Mikhail. 2009. The Karaites of Galicia. An ethnoreligious minority among the Ashkenazim, the Turks, and the Slavs 1772–1945. (= *Studia Judaoslavica* 1). Leiden, Boston.
- Mann, Jacob. 1931 [1972]. *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature. Volume II: Karaitica*. New York [second edition: 1972].
- Muchowski, Piotr. 2013. Pas Yeda' and Mass' ha-ʿAm: The lost works of Avraham ben Yoshiyahu (Abraham Ezyaszewicz). – *Karaite Archives* 85–112.
- Muchowski, Piotr & Tomal, Maciej & Sulimowicz, Anna & Witkowski, Maciej & Yariv, Arie. 2017. Dokumenty historii Karaimów polsko-litewskich. Edycja krytyczna wybranych rękopisów w językach hebrajskim, łacińskim i polskim. (= *Prace Karaimoznawcze* 7). Poznań.
- Németh, Michał. 2014a. A historical phonology of Western Karaim. The evolution of consonant harmony in the north-western dialect. – *Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis* 131/4: 353–369.
- Németh, Michał. 2014b. An early North-Western Karaim Bible translation from 1720. Part 1. The Torah. – *Karaite Archives* 2: 109–141.
- Németh, Michał. 2015. A historical phonology of Western Karaim. The process of its diversification into dialects. – *Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis* 132: 167–185.
- Németh, Michał. 2018. A historical phonology of Western Karaim. The process of its diversification into dialects. Part 2. Supplementary data on the absolute and relative chronology of sound changes. – [forthcoming in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 71/2].
- Nosonovskij, Michail & Šabarovskij, Vladimir [= Šabarovskýj, Volodymyr]. 2004. Karaimskaja obščina 16–18 vv. v Deražnom na Volyni. – *Vestnik Evrejskogo universiteta* 9: 29–50.
- Poznański, Samuel (ed.). 1920. ספר זכר צדיקים או קצור אגדה להקראי מרדכי בן יוסף סולטאנסקי. *Zecher Caddikim. Kronika historyczna Karaity Mordechaja Sultańskiego*. Warszawa.
- Rudkowski, Sergiusz. 1932. *Krwaawe echo Humania na Wołyniu (rzeź kotowska 1768 r.). Podanie*. Łuck.
- Šabarovskýj, Volodymyr. 2013. *Karajimy na Volyni (štrychy do portreta zahadkovogo narodu)*. Łuck.
- Tuori, Riikka. 2013. *Karaite zēmīrōt in Poland-Lithuania. A study of paraliturgical Karaite Hebrew poems from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*. Helsinki.
- Zajączkowski, Ananiasz. 1934. Karaimi na Wołyniu. – *Rocznik Wołyński* 3: 149–191.

Editorial symbols

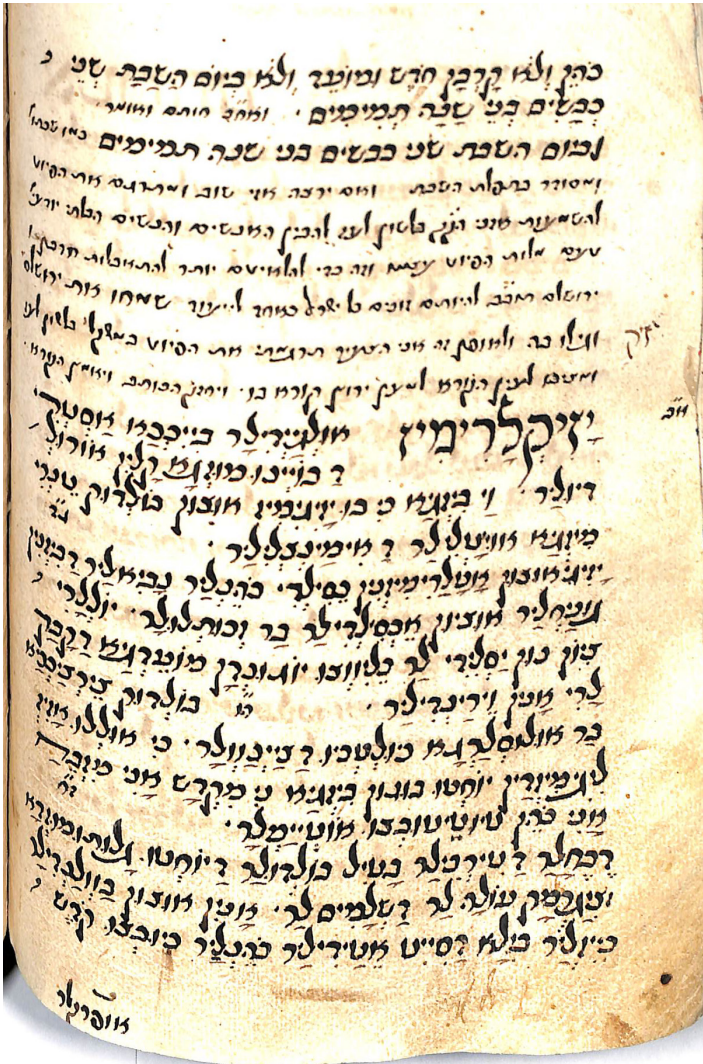
- [abc] = reconstructed passage
{abc} = text added interlineally or in margins
(abc) = (in the translation) amplification for clarity or motivated by the structure of English
└abc def¹ = passage commented on in one footnote

Acknowledgement

This project benefited from the support of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation in the framework of the Alexander von Humboldt Return Fellowship.



Facsimile



119

אופרעל ט' כירופ מורדד חופה לר
ישמעאל ד מודום חכס'כלען בר חויזלכטן בודין
און מורדרל קלרין ביניא קבלה ילד ד חוכמלונ
סודרילר אונט'מייניא כ' ויקלר'מיו חובון מרדטין
טכר'טן מיר'סלר'לר' טל כר'ע'דין בר
בו חי'מינעלכ יפטי יונומונוכו כ' כמי'טיכ קילמא
צבר מ'ב'ה'רין כ' תורה ד' יין'ג'לר' בולע'מיו
ברמח יושלם נא כורנמיא קבל'לר'י'א ר'טן י'לר'א
מיון קול'לר' מ'ט' וי'ביניא כ' טל'ע'מיו
בלמ חור טעטיכ דס'מלרין טכר'טין ד'ט'י'טלרין
ד'אונמוודיא בולר'וק חור'ל'ג'ג'ל' מ'ט'ר'ג'ר'ד'ק
מ'ט' סק'ל'מיו טר'טין אול' כס'ל'ען בר'צ'מיו'מ' כ'כ'
כר'ט'לר' ס'ט' חול'טו אוכ'ט'מל'ע'מיו
דין י'ר'מ'י'די'א טיר'ס'י'די'ב טיר'ס ט'מ' כ'ב'ב א'טין
אונ'בין הר' ו'חט ט'נ'ל'ביו מ'ב'ול'ר' כ'מ'י'ט'י'כ תורה
סין ד'ט'ט'ק'ל'ר'ג'ין ד'ט'ור'ל'ר'ין אונ'ר' כ'ור'מ' אונ'ומ'ו
די'א בול'ר'וק בר' י'מ'ג'ו אונ'ר'ל'ג'ג'ל'ר'
ה'ט'ע'מ' כ'ור'ופ כ' ו'צ'ח'ל'ר'י'מיו אונ'ט'י'ומ'י'וד'ר' ד'
הר' ו'חט אונ'ל'ג'י' ט'ר'ל'ע'מיו נ'צ'ב ט'כ'ע'י'די'א ט'ול'ע'ב'
א'טין אונ'בון פ'רי'ט א'ט'ביו ס'מ'א ר' ב'ו י'ל'ע'ר' מ'וח'ט'ב'
ל' ט'וס'ל'ן ק'י'י'ע'ל'ב'ל'א מ'וכ'י'ל'ע'
אוכ'ונ'כ'י'ן ס'מ'א ט'ר'ל'ע'מיו'ר'ן ל'ל'ות'ט'א אוכ'ונ'כ'ל'
א'ט' י'צ'ע'ל' ט'ול'ל'ר' ד'אוכ'ונ'ט'ל'ר' ק'ל'ט'ק'ב'ל'א כ'ור'ו'ן

ק"ן בדיני ממונות ד' ירמלך בטרור צמיח ד' משיטטי
 ז'ן בוצח משיחיתין חבלה
 קייטתין ה' אוטול קייטותיכו בורבדא עלמי
 בייטכיה דסודטכו זונון זונון בר קייטמייט
 טוסלו ייקל חייפייגן אוסטומונע כורפ ט
 הר יל פו קיפה מזחוייבן ד' יסלייבן ד' זובלייבן
 ט צון ד' ירושלם יירי כריתר דכי זוכ
 טובלבו יובוטפיה סמך קרבן הר כיון מיט ינערא
 מיט מוצר דיא מיט שבת טח מיכ קומלד יילעק
 בלגרי טונלטר ובוים השבת טי כבשים
 ובעת הכבוד ראש חדש חוב' שבו א ישראל נבחר אזי באוקס
 אומן הארבע ירי רבון שאכרנים ראשי חדשים זואר זו
 תיבה זכו יכרין ט מחליפ' מוצע או תיבה אשירה האכאור איגיל
 על מפיסה ובער א טכסיס קמלא והגבורה והעטרה הפזורה ומקולי
 עים יתל עבה גלות
אשחר עבדי ולממד ענה
 ומפקוד כותי ורבה שמיה
 עבדו רחוינות וקריות בטויות
 ועיפה אמופל ועיף וציה
 וקפוד תקיטן ועורב יקופין
 ועיפות ותילות מרבנות בציה
 לעמה ומה ועיה וריה
 נמסער וזבל וקול המנה
 אהמט