

A New Karaite-Turkish Manuscript from Germany: New Light on Genre and Language in Karaite and Rabbanite Turkic Bible Translations in the Crimea, Constantinople and Elsewhere

Dan Shapira
Bar-Ilan University

Abstract

A Karaite manuscript in Istanbul Turkish written in Hebrew characters has turned up in Germany lately. This article investigates the whereabouts of the manuscript and tries to place it in its historical and linguistic context. Although the manuscript was apparently written/copied in Constantinople, the Turkic language used in it has some Crimean connections. The novelty of this discovery lies in the fact that Turkish was used by the 19th century Constantinople Karaites as a literary language.

Keywords

Karaite Turkic, Judeo-Turkic, Turkish, Karaim, Karaite, Qrimchaq/Krymchak, Jewish Bible translations, Crimea, Constantinople/Istanbul, manuscripts

In the Spring of 2013, a collector from Germany established contact with me asking some questions about several manuscripts written in Hebrew letters in his possession. The collector wished them to remain anonymous for the time being. It appeared that two of his manuscripts were copied by Karaites in the Romaniot-Byzantine script used by the Karaites of Constantinople, from which the script of the Crimean and Eastern-European Karaites is derived as well. One of these two manuscripts is a copy of an obscure Hebrew work by a late 19th century German Orthodox rabbi, known only to the best specialists in the late-19th-century Jewish-German life and history; why a Constantinople Karaite would make a hand-written copy of a late and

obscure German-Rabbanite work remains a mystery to me, but we do know that the copying choices of the Karaites were sometimes rather unexpected.

The owner of the manuscripts seems to cherish this work especially, because he is interested in Judaica-Germanica, and this hand-written Karaite copy of such a late Jewish-German work is, indeed, a rarity, if not a *unica*.

However, to me, it is the other manuscript that seems to be of greater value. It was written, I assume, in the latter half of the 19th century and contains Turkic translations of a number of shorter Biblical books and some grammatical material on Hebrew. The language of the Biblical translations is Constantinople-Turkish *Umgangssprache*, thus the importance of the manuscript. As far as I know, this is the first known Constantinople-Turkish Bible translation made by Karaites, besides the idiosyncratic Ottoman-Turkish-cum-Lutsk-Karaim translation prepared by Avraham Firkowicz in the early 1830s in Constantinople.¹

There is an insistence on the predominantly Greek-speaking character of the Karaite community of Constantinople.² However, many of Constantinople's Karaites were Crimeans by origin or the children of Crimeans; the Hasköy Karaite cemetery of Constantinople is full of people whose Crimean provenance is obvious. Avraham Firkowicz tried to create a pan-Karaite Turkic written language precisely because the Karaite community of Constantinople was of mixed character, including locals and Crimeans.

I am not trying to claim that Constantinople's Karaites (or, the majority of them) did not speak Greek as their first language; I am claiming that the question of Greek is irrelevant when we encounter texts in Turkish composed by Constantinople Karaites for inner-community purposes. It has frequently been found, especially in the last few centuries, that Jews used for their inner-Jewish purposes the languages of their countries (or international languages such as German or French), which were not their mother tongues.³

¹ See SHAPIRA 2003a; SHAPIRA 2003b: 1–19.

² HARVIAINEN 1998: 349–356.

³ For example, English has become the inner-Jewish lingua franca in the Scandinavian and German-speaking countries in the last twenty or so years. Jews in the 19th and 20th centuries in Eastern Europe, though speaking Yiddish and sometimes Hebrew, were producing, at the same time, texts in other languages, for use inside the same language community to which they themselves belonged. In the case of the Ottoman Jewry in the late 19th century, French became such a language.

<p>תרגום פרשת וזאיונו</p> <p>הדינלניו אי גוכרר דסיוליים ואשיטסין לב</p> <p>אויר 705</p>	<p>פרשת האזינו 53</p> <p>האזינו השמים ואדברה ותשמעו</p> <p>הארץ</p>
<p>אול ייר ג'ופלרין אנזוכנין : ז אקר יג מור גיבי אקילים דמלר ציי גיפי ג'וו ביס אופק יגמורלר גיבי טזא אזט או זרינא זאירי יגמורלר גיבי אזטלוק א אזרינא : ג כי איסמין ח' נין צקירי ריס וריניו בוויבלוכ טנגרימוזא : ד א אול גוצלו טנגרינין רתסם דיר אישי כי ג'זמלא יוללרי שרעט אילן אינמלי טנגרי ויזקטור אנגיליק סרקתלי וזגרו אל : ה חרב איטטי כנריני ישראל גיירי טנגרילרא טפנידור ואללהין אוו לרלי סילמדילר בו אויפלרי איצון טרס דויר זאגרי : ו ה נאמי אזרסיו בונג דלי אלוס ואסלו דייל שימורי א אול בכך ירטיטי סני אול קילדי סני ד דוזטיטי סני : ז חטירא גטיר גוגלרין דונינין אגלניו יוללרין חר דוירין סו על איילא בבנא יאנגל'טסין סנא אח טיירלרינא ורסינלר סנא : ח פאי איד טיבטא אזכסכ טנגרי אולוסלרי אייר הינינדא אונגללרין אדם נין דורגודו סינזלרין אולוסלרין חיסבינג'ז אונג לרין ישראלין : ט כי פאי ה' נין אלוסו יעקב דיר פאי חיססא סינין : י בולדו אזני יפן יירדא וירן זחרפ יירדא צוור לרי אזני (בולטו אילן)</p>	<p>הארץ אמר פי : ז יערף ת"ה ציק כפטר לקחי הול כפל אמרתי כשעירם עלי- רשא וכרביכים עלי-עשב : ג כי שם יהוה אקרא חבו גדל לאלהינו : ד הצור תמים פעלו כי כל- דרכיו משפט אל אמונה ואין עול צדיק וישר הוא : ה ח"ה צדיק שחת לו לא דור עמש ופרתלחל : ו זאת עם נבל הוא אביף ויכנף : זכר בינו שתות אביף וינדף לך : ח בהנחל בהפרידו בני גבלת עפים ישראל : ט כי עמו יעקב ימצאהו בארץ יכלל ישמן ה רשתי והיא ח חיבה בפני ענמה שני ימות עולם דרזדר שאל ח"ה סגין זקנף ויאמרו- עליון גוים אדם יצב למספר בני הרק יהוה הבל נחלתו : י מדבר ובההו יסכבנהו</p>

A fragment from Avraham Firkowicz's Turkic Bible (Pentateuch) translation, Constantinople 1833.

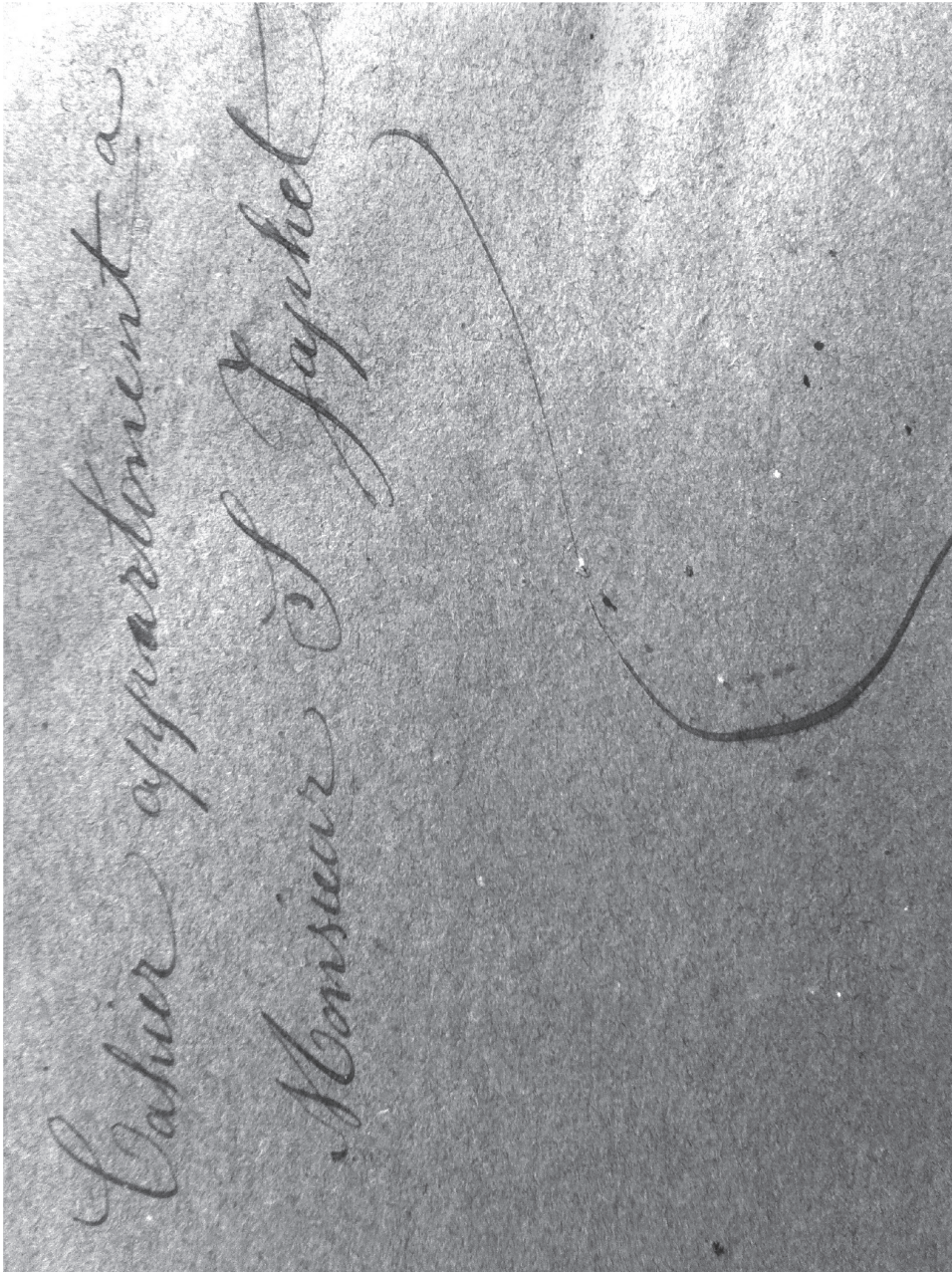
This is also the case of this Judeo-Turkish Karaite MS from Germany, as I shall demonstrate.

The collector in Germany knew nothing about when and how he had come into possession of these manuscripts; first, he believed his father had somehow obtained them. Then, the collector found in his notebooks that he had acquired the manuscripts together with other unchecked old Jewish books in a New York antiquities shop earlier that year. The name of the collector is Rabbi Moshe Baumel of Osnabrück. As I said, the collector is interested in Judaica-Germanica and, before he contacted me, the collector was unaware of the nature of these two manuscripts that turned out to be Karaite. It appears that R. Baumel had just stumbled onto a treasure in a New York antiquities shop and, apparently, the seller was not aware of what he was selling as well. This much is known so far about the provenance of this manuscript, but later I would suggest that at least one of the manuscripts (and, possibly, both) was bought in Constantinople by Elkan Nathan Adler (1861–1946).

The name Yepheth, Japheth, is attested among the members of two Jewish sub-ethnic groupings only – the Karaites and the Yemenis. Japheth is a well-known Karaite personal and family name in Constantinople, in the Crimea and in Egypt; it is unattested among the Karaites of Troki, Halicz or Łuck. On one of the first pages of the manuscripts are mentioned Moshe Yepheth, Eliya Yeraqa, Avraham Yepheth, and Avraham ben Yişhaq Yepheth. The two last persons might, of course, be the same. Yeraqa was a Karaite family in Constantinople with connections to the Crimea, for example, the brothers Afedah and Shabbetai Yeraqa from Constantinople set up a Hebrew press at Çufut-Qal'eh in 1734.

The computerized version of Samuel Poznanski's Hebrew *Encyclopaedia of Karaites* has no entries on Moshe Yepheth, Eliya Yeraqa, Avraham Yepheth, but it does have an entry on one Yişhaq Yepheth, who was a *hazzan* and a *melammed* in Constantinople in 1836/7 and father-in-law of Yişhaq ben Moshe Qirimi Qusdini, a leader of the Karaites of Constantinople who played a role in the Karaite protest brought before the *hakham-başı* Rabbi Yaqir Presiado Astruc Gueron (1813–1874)⁴ against Shelomo ben Nissim

⁴ This rather liberal Chief Rabbi of Adrianople was promoted to the office of the Chief Rabbi of Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire by Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861–1876) in 1863 and held this office till 1871/2, when he left for Jerusalem.



On the manuscript there is written in French: notebook belonging to Mr. I. Japhet.

Qimḥi and his anti-Karaite book in the late 1866⁵ (*en passant*, the very name “Qirimi Qusdini”, meaning “Crimean-Constantinoplean”, hints to the mixed origins of the leader of this Karaite community). Adler bought from the widow of Yiṣḥaq ben Moshe Qirimi Qusdini, the daughter of Yiṣḥaq Yepheth, many manuscripts,⁶ and it is not impossible that the manuscript under scrutiny was among them.

Yiṣḥaq Yepheth, whom Yiṣḥaq ben Moshe Qirimi Qusdini has mentioned as his father-in-law and his teacher,⁷ was possibly the grandson of another Yiṣḥaq (ben Eliyau) Yepheth, one of the richest Karaites of Constantinople in the late 18th century, who went heavily into debt in order to support the Karaite community of Jerusalem.⁸

The contents of the manuscript

The contents of the manuscript are: a list of the *parashoth*: Yithro Friday, Mishpatim Monday, Terumah Monday, Teṣawweh Monday, Ki Tiśśa’ Monday, WaYiqra’ Monday;⁹ then there are three cut-out pages, a translation of Proverbs, 20 plus fol; Song of Songs, four plus fol.; Jonah, two fol.; Esther, 8,5 fol.; Ezra, 5,5 fol. ending in the middle of chapter 7, then two opposing pages of Hebrew grammar, then 4,5 fol. of Ezra till the end; Ruth, 3,5 fol.; Lamentations, 4,5 fol.; Habbakuk, two fol.; Malachi, 2,5 fol.; Obadiah, two opposing pages; Daniel, 17,5 fol.; then about a dozen blank pages.

Here I provide the text of the translation of Obadiah from the manuscript. I chose this particular Biblical book because it is the shortest in the whole of the Bible, consisting of one chapter only. The Latinized transliterated text is given in the second column from the left; the Hebrew original on the right, the fourth column from the left; the first left column is a Modern Turkish version

⁵ The anti-Karaite and anti-modernist book *Melekheth Shelomoh* was published some four years earlier (1862) in Salonica. The author was a conservative and a follower of R. Yiṣḥaq ben Avraham Aqrish, the leader of the anti-modernist Jewish-Ottoman fraction. The book sparked fierce protests by the Karaites, and R. Gueron ordered it to be burned.

⁶ ADLER 1905: 21.

⁷ Yiṣḥaq Yepheth was mentioned by Yiṣḥaq ben Moshe Qirimi Qusdini as deceased in 1884/5.

⁸ MANN 1935, II: 327, 380, 400.

⁹ These seem to be notes for a cantor (implying that in the community there are at least two cantors; we know that in the early 1830s, the Constantinople Karaites used to divide the Torah readings between two cantors), or for a *melammed*.

taken from a Missionary edition. I am including the Modern Turkish texts for the convenience of those acquainted with Turkic languages; in addition, it appears that the Turkish-Karaite translation of Obadiah has two points of similarity with the Missionary translation on understanding some particular points of the Hebrew original.

The third column from the left is a latinized version of Obadiah taken from the Gözleve Bible printed in 1841. The reader shall see that the author of the Constantinople-Turkish translation from the Osnabrück MS was cognoscente of the Gözleve Bible, used the same principles of rendering Hebrew grammatical elements into Turkic, and sometimes used the same fixed Karaim equivalents for Hebrew words.

The system of transliteration I use here for the Judeo-Turkic texts is based on a mechanically Latinized reproduction of the Hebrew characters and symbols; I do not use symbols lacking in Hebrew, such as *ü* and *ö*, for there is no possibility to represent them by using Hebrew script (exactly as in Ottoman-Turkish). I am aware of the shortcomings of this system, but it has the advantages of reflecting the way the authors of the texts grasped their language. For a Turcoligst, this system is not more complicating than reading, say, a fully-vocalized text in Ottoman-Arabic or in Karaim-Hebrew characters.

Examples of the Turkish as used by Constantinople's Greeks and Armenians 100–150 years ago show that the rules of vowel harmony were very lax. We cannot know, but we might suggest that those Karaites for whom Turkish was not their first mother tongue but rather the second one or third, the situation was similar to that of the Turkish-speaking Greeks and Armenians. In any case, it is of no importance to me if the author of the Osnabrück MS pronounced *WPTY* or *WPTY* as *opty*, *opti*, or *öptü*. Personally, I am certain the author pronounced it as *öptü*. They are all dead now and we cannot ask them. What *IS* important, in my opinion, is *HOW* the author wrote his speech and *WHY* he did so this way. We can tell a lot from the author's spellings. If the author of the Osnabrück MS wrote *kwcwq* (as he did), this implies that in this dialect or in this variety of this dialect there was no distinction between *k* and *q*. It also implies that the author's literacy in Ottoman-Turkish in Arabic letters was limited or non-existent. If the author frequently confused *n* and *g* while writing in Turkic in Hebrew letters, it implies either that *ŋ* was still a very prominent sound, or that *ŋ* was withering out, and the author was hyper-correcting. However, Firkowicz in the early 1830s was still writing *soŋra* consistently.

Obadiah

Modern Turkish	Osnabrück MS	Turkish Gözleve Edition	Hebrew
1. Obadya'nın görümü. Egemen RAB'bin Edom için söyledikleri: RAB'den bir haber aldık: Uluslara gönderdiği haberci, “Gelin, Edom’la savaşalım!” diyor.	1. navi-liği ‘Obadyah nin boyyle ¹⁰ dedi Ya tanrı ‘Edom ğa ¹¹ haber eşittiq yanından Ya nin ve elçi yollanılmış qalqiniz ¹² ve qalqtiq uzerine cege.	1. navi-liği ‘Obadyah nig bulay aṭti Adonay ṭagri ‘Edom ucun xabar eşitṭiq qaṭından YWY nig da-elli uluslarda yikirildi ṭuruniz da-ṭuralim uṣṭuna uruṣqa.	חזון עבדיה כה אמר אדני ה' לאדום שמועה שמענו מאת ה' וציר בגוים שלח קומו ונקומה עליה למלחמה
2. Edom’a, “Bak, seni uluslar arasında küçük düşüreceğim, herkes seni hor görecek” diyor.	2. şimdi kucuq ¹³ verdim seni milletlerde ḥorlanmış sin sen ḡayet.	2. muna kici berdim seni uluslarda xordir sen gayet.	הנה קטן נתתיך בגוים בווי אתה מאד

¹⁰ Two *Yods* after a vowel and before the Y-consonant here and in other cases indicate the front pronunciation of the previous vowel.

¹¹ Note the Qıpçaq-like Dative suffix.

¹² A word, apparently **ḥalqlarda*, “in the nations”, was omitted because of graphic similarity, before *qalqiniz*. This implies that the text is a copy.

¹³ The initial *Kaph* indicated the front pronunciation of the vowels.

3. Kaya kovuklarında yaşayan, Evini yükseklerde kuran sen! Yüreğindeki gurur seni aldattı. İçinden, ‘Beni kim yere indirebilir?’ diyorsun.	3. yaramaliği qalbinin aldati ¹⁴ seni meskan eyyle quvuş larında qaya nin oşuruşunda oşseq ¹⁵ yerinin ki dersin qalbinda kim indirir beni yere.	3. cayaliği koglignig aldadi seni toxtavci quvuşında qayanig biyik yerin oşıraşinig aytuvci oglında kim endirir meni yerga.	זדון לבך השיאך שכני בחגוי סלע מרום שבתו אמר בלבו מי יורידני ארץ
4. Kartal gibi yükselsen de, Yuvanı yıldızlar arasında kursan da, Oradan indireceğim seni” diyor RAB.	4. eyyer oşseqlensen qara quş gibi veeyyer qosan ¹⁶ yuvvani arasına ¹⁷ yildizlarin ondan indiririm seni sozu Ya nin.	4. agar biyik eşsag qaraquş gibi oşıraşigni de-egir arasına yulduzlarinig qoysag uyagni andan endirimim seni sozi YWY nig.	אם תגביה כנשר ואם בין כוכבים שים קגך משם אורידך נאם ה’

¹⁴ It is interesting that the Gözleve Translation and the Turkish-Karaite and the Turkish-Christian translations read here *hişşî[ekha]*, “it/he took [you up]”, and not *hişşî[ekha]*, “it/he provoked [you]”. The missionary Turkish Bible has been updated many times and some older layers of it go back to Karaite Turkic translations, as is well known. Here we have one of these examples. On the other hand, there can be little doubt that Constantinople Karaites were sometimes consulting the missionary translation of the TaNaKh as well as the Gözleve Translation.

¹⁵ The front pronunciation is not expressed.

¹⁶ Correctly grasping that Hebrew *šîm* is a Stative.

¹⁷ *arasinna* < *arasinda*? Or, a misspelling? But compare the Gözleve Translation.

<p>5. Hırsızlar ya da haydutlar gece sana gelselerdi, Yalnızca gereksindiklerini çalmazlar mıydı? Üzüm toplayanlar bağına girseydi, Birkaç salkım bırakmazlar mıydı? Ama seni ne felaketler bekliyor;</p>	<p>5.eyyer xirsızlar gelse ediler sana ya yağmağilari gece nin nasli sin kesilmiş¹⁸ çalmasa ediler yiytişir qarar ya oraçqılar gelse ediler sana buraqmaz ediler fena ediniler.</p>	<p>5.egar ugdilar¹⁹ keldilare ediler esa saga egar talovciları kecenig necik kesildig muna ugurlar ediler yetkililarında egar borla coplavcilar keldilar esa saga muna qaldidir ediler certimlar.</p>	<p>אם גנבים באו לך אם שודדי לילה איך נדמיתה הלוא יגנבו דים אם בצרים באו לך הלוא ישאירו עללות</p>
<p>6. Esav'ın her şeyi yağmalanacak, gizli hazineleri ortaya çıkarılacak.</p>	<p>6. nasli tebdil oldular işleri 'Esav nin beqçileri arandilar.</p>	<p>6. necik tıntıldilar komulmişlari 'Esav nig izlandilar saqlanmişlari.</p>	<p>איך נחפשו עשו נבעו מצפניו</p>
<p>7. Seninle antlaşma yapanların hepsi seni toprağından sürececek. Güvendiğın insanlar seni aldatıp yenilgiye uğratacak, ekmeğini yiyenler sana tuzak kuracak ve sen farkına varmayacaksın bile”.</p>	<p>7. ol sinor edeq yolladilar seni cumle kişeleri şertinin aldatılar seni qadir oldular sana kişileri selametinin yiyenleri eqmeinin qordular yara altina yoqtur aqnamaq ona.</p>	<p>7. ol sinorga degin uzatqilar seni jumla kişeleri şartignig aldadilar seni bulay aldilar sana bariş kişilarig ileri selametinin ešakcilar ašigni qoydilar yara yaşirtinlik bilan yoqtur aqil anda.</p>	<p>עד הגבול שלחוד כל אנשי בריתך השיאוד יכלו לך אנשי שלמד לחמד ישימו מזור תחתיד אין תבונה בו</p>

¹⁸ For the meaning of the Hebrew word, cf. Zephaniah 1:11.

¹⁹ This is a misprint for **ugrilar*, see APPENDIX I.

8. RAB diyor ki, “O gün Edom’un bilge adamlarını, Esav’ın dağlarındaki ilgiçleri yok edeceğim.	8. o gunde sozu Ya nin ve qayyib itmeim kāmiller 'Edom dan ve aḡnamaq dağından 'Esav nin.	8. muna ol kunda sozi YWY nig da-ṭas eṭirmin uklilarni 'Edom dan da-aqilligi ṭağından 'Esav nig.	הלוא ביום ההוא נאם ה' והאבדתי חכמים מאדום ותבונה מהר עשו
9. Ey Teman, yiğitlerin öyle bir korkuya kapılacak ki, Esav’ın dağlarında bulunanların hepsi Kıyıma uğrayıp yok olacak.	9. ve bağadirlarin qapılmış olurlar ey Tēmān kişi içun kesilmiş olur dağından 'Esav nin olum ²⁰ den.	9. da-sinigirlar bagatirlarig Tēmānanig ucun kesilgay kişi ṭağından 'Esav nig oldirmakṭan.	וחתו גבוריך תימן למען יכרת איש מהר עשו מקטל
10. Yakup soyundan gelen kardeşlerine Yaptığın zorbalıktan ötürü utanca boğulacak ve sonsuza dek yok olacaksın.	10. zulum luğundan Ya'aqov qardaşinin ortsun ²¹ seni utanmaq ve kesilsin dunya adeq.	10. avanligından qardaşig Ya'aqov nig yakar seni uyatliq da-kesilirsin dunyaga degin.	מחמס אחיד יעקב תכסך בושה ונכרת לעולם

²⁰ The front pronunciation is not expressed.

²¹ As above.

11. Çünkü yabancılar onların malını mülkünü yağmaladıkları gün uzakta durup seyrettin. Öteki uluslar kapılarından içeri girip Yeruşalim için kura çektiklerinde Sen de onlardan biri gibi davrandın.	11. durduğun gunde qarşidan gununde yabancilarin gutyurur ²² ediler yyesirler quvvetini ve yabancilarin girer ediler qapi larından ve atar ediler qur'a Yeruşalayim uzerine daği sensin biri gibi olardan.	11. ırgan kunigda qarşidan esir eđkan kunda yađlar malin da-yađlar kildilar qabiqlarina da-Yeruşalayim uşuna taşladilar cek dagin sen bir gibi alardan.	ביום עמדך מנגד ביום שבות זרים חילו ונכרים באו שערו ועל ירושלם ידו גורל גם אתה כאחד מהם
12. Yahudalı kardeşlerinin o kötü gününden zevk almamalıydın. Başlarına gelen yıkıma sevinmemeli, sıkıntılı günlerinde onlarla alay etmemeliydin.	12. ve gormedin gununde qardaşinin gunde ki oldu yabanciliđi ve sevinmedin evladlarına Yehudah nin gununde qayyibliqlarinin ve buyyutmedin ađzini gununde siqletin ²³ .	12. da-baqmagin kuninda qardaşignig yađ bulgan kuninda da-sevinmagin ugranlari ²⁴ ucun Yehudah nig taş bulgan kunlarında da-ulgaytmagin agzigni kuninda țarliqnig.	ואל תרא ביום אחיד ביום נכרו ואל תשמח לבני יהודה ביום אבדם ואל תגדל פיך ביום צרה

²² As above.

²³ Compare the Turkish-Christian version; this is the second example of parallelism in the choice of roots.

²⁴ A misprint for *uglanlari*?

<p>13. Halkım felakete uğradığı gün Kente girmemeliydin, O gün halkımın uğradığı kötülükten zevk almamalı, malını mülkünü ele geçirmeye kalkmamalıydın.</p>	<p>13. girmedin qapisinda milletimin gununde siniqliqlarin gormedin daḥi sen fenaliğında gununde siniqliğinin ve uzatmadın elini²⁵ malinda gununde siniqliğinin.</p>	<p>13. kelmagin qabigina ulusimig kuninda siniqliqlarinig baqmagin dagin sen yamanligina kuninda siniqliginig da-qol sunmagin malina kuninda siniqliginig.</p>	<p>אל תבוא בשער עמי ביום אידם אל תרא גם אתה ברעתו ביום אידו ואל תשלחנה בחילו ביום אידו</p>
<p>14. Kaçmaya çalışanları öldürmek için yol ağzında durmamalı, o sıkıntılı günde kurtulanları düşmana teslim etmemeliydin.</p>	<p>14. ve durmadın ol ayrılmaqta kesme qurtulmuşlarını ve teslim itmedin qalmışlarını gununde siqletin.</p>	<p>14. da-ṭurmagin ol buzuq ustuna kesma qacqinların da-cigara barmagin qaldıqların kunında ṭarliqnig.</p>	<p>ואל תעמד על הפרק להכרית את פליטיו ואל תסגר שרידיו ביום צרה</p>

²⁵ Actually, this word for “hand” does not appear in the Hebrew text; compare the Turkish-Christian and the Gözleve Translation.

<p>15. RAB'bin bütün ulusları yargılayacağı gün yaklaştı. Ey Edom, ne yaptıysan sana da aynısı yapılacak. Yaptıkların kendi başına gelecek.</p>	<p>15. zire yaqın dir gunu Ya nin cumle ol milletler uzerine nasil ki qildin oyyle qilinir sana goremesin doner başına.</p>	<p>15. ki yuvuqtır kuni YWY nig jumla ol uluslar uşuna necik-ki qildig alay qilinir saga kuluvig qaytır başıga.</p>	<p>כי קרוב יום ה' על כל הגוים כאשר עשית יעשה לך גמלך ישוב בראשך</p>
<p>16. Ey Yahudalılar, kutsal dağımda nasıl içtiyseniz, bütün uluslar da öyle içecekler. İçip içip yok olacaklar, hiç var olmamış gibi”.</p>	<p>16. ki nice içtiniz 'aziz dağım ozerine oyyle içerler cumle ol millet ler daim ve içerler ve olurlar ve olurlar olmazınlar gibi.</p>	<p>16. ki necik-ki içtiğiz ayruksi tağim ucun alay ickaylar jumla ol uluslar dayim da-ickaylar da-caypalgaylar da-bulgaylar yoq gibi bulgaylar.</p>	<p>כי כאשר שתיתם על הר קדשי ישתו כל הגוים תמיד ושתו ולעו והיו כלוא היו</p>
<p>17. Ama kurtulanlar Siyon Dağı'nda toplanacak ve orası kutsal olacak. Yakup soyu da mirasına kavuşacak.</p>	<p>17. ve dağında Ciyon nin olur qurtuluş ve olur qodeş ve evi Ya'aqov nin meraslarlar merasçilari.</p>	<p>17. da-tağında Ciyon nig bulir quşulmaq da-bulir qodeş da-merislarlar jama'ati Ya'aqov nig merasliklarin.</p>	<p>ובהר ציון תהיה פליטה והיה קדש וירשו בית יעקב את מורשיהם</p>

18. “Yakup soyu ateş, Yusuf soyu alev, Esav soyu anız olacak. Onları yakıp yok edecekler. Esav soyundan kurtulan olmayacak”. RAB böyle diyor.	18. ve evi Ya‘aqov nin olur ateş ve evi Yosef nin alef ve evi ‘Esav nin samana ve yanarlar olarda ve yaqarlar olari ve olmaz qaldıq evine ‘Esav nin ki Ya soyyledi.	18. da-bulir jama‘aṭi Ya‘aqov nig oṭ da-jama‘aṭi Yosef nig yilin da-jama‘aṭi ‘Esav nig quvda ²⁶ gibi da-yanarlar alar bilan da-orṭırlar alarni da-bulmaz qaldıq jama‘aṭına ‘Esav nig ki YWY sozledi.	והיה בית יעקב אש ובית יוסף להבה ובית עשו לקש ודלקו בהם ואכלום לא יהיה שריד לבית עשו כי ה' דבר
19. Yahudalılar’dan Negev halkı Esav’ın dağlarını; Şefela halkı Filist bölgesini; Yahudalılar’ın tümü Efrayim ve Samiriye topraklarını; Benyamınliler Gilat’ı mülk edinecekler.	19. ve kişileri ki cenub t̄yaraṭın meraslarlar dağı ‘Esav nin ve ol alçaqlanmişi Pelištım lere ve meraslar lar t̄yarlasın ‘Efrayim nin ve t̄yarlasın Šomeron nin ve Binyamin ol Gil‘ad ni ²⁷ .	19. da meraslarlar ol xušlikni ṭağın ‘Esav nig da-ol alçaq yerni Pelištım larni da meraslar lar ṭuzun ‘Efrayim nig da ṭuzun Šomeron nig ve Binyamin ol Gil‘ad ni ²⁸ .	וירשו הנגב את הר עשו והשפלה את פלשתים וירשו את שדה אפרים ואת שדה שמרון ובנימן את הגלעד

²⁶ This is a misprint for **quvra*, see APPENDIX I.

²⁷ Note the Qıpçaq-like Accusative suffix

²⁸ As above.

20. Kenan'dan sürülmüş olan İsrailli savaşçılar Sarefat'a kadar uzanan toprakları, Sefarat'taki Yeruşalimli sürgünler de Negev'deki kentleri mülk edinecekler.	20. ve yesirliği bu ol quvvetin evladlarından Yisrael nin ki Kena'anım Cārefat edeq ve yesirliğin Yeruşalayim nin ki Sefarad tya maraslarlar şehirleri ol qibla nin.	20. ve yesiri ušbu ceriv nig oglanlarinig Yisra'el nig ki Kena'anlilar Cārefat qa degin da yesirli Yeruşalayim nig ki Sefarad da maraslarlar šaharlarin ol xušliknig.	וגלת החל הזה לבני ישראל אשר כנענים עד צרפת וגלת ירושלם אשר בספרד ירשו את ערי הנגב
21. Halkı kurtaranlar Esav'ın dağlarını yönetimleri altına almak için Siyon Dağ'na çıkacaklar ve egemenlik RAB'bin olacak.	21. ve çıkarlar qurtaricilar dağında Ciyon njin šerā'atÿ itme dağın nin 'Esav nin ve ol padişahliq olur Ya dan.	21. ve çıkarlar qutqarywçilar tağında Ciyon nig šarā'atÿ eṭma tağına 'Esav nig da-bolir YWY ga ol xanlıq.	ועלו מושעים בהר ציון לשפט את הר עשו והיתה לה' המלוכה

The text of Obadiah in the Osnabrück MS is a copy, as is evident from the omission of words (Obad 1). We encounter reflections of interaction between the Missionary text of the Bible translation into Turkish and the Karaite translations (Obad 3, 12).

There is no distinction between *q/k* (*kucuq*, Obad 2; *okseq*, Obad 3; *oqseq-lensen*, Obad 4), as is normal in Constantinople and, probably, in the Southern Coast of the Crimea.²⁹ Oğuz and Qıpçaq Dative and Accusative suffixes (Obad 1, 19) are used interchangeably, with the Oğuz variants being the majority. This is quite normal for an author with a Crimean background; mixing Oğuz and

²⁹ My friend and neighbor, Dr. Chernin, has observed that the Qımçaqs did not distinguish between these two consonants in Hebrew, while they do in their own Turkic language. Cf. CHERNIN 2000/2001: 31–38.

Qıpçaq was characteristic of Muslim, Jewish, and Christian texts written in the Crimea, with the prevalence of Oğuz or Qıpçaq elements depending on the author, his style at this particular moment, or his presumed audience; in addition, plain dialectal slips were made. These texts found in the MS may have been composed either in the Crimea (apparently, in the Southern part of the Peninsula, most probably in the largest Karaite center on the Crimean Southern Coast, Feodosija), or in Constantinople, by a Crimean Karaite from elsewhere who tried to write Turkish. Here arises the very interesting question of the existence (or non-existence) of a unified Turkic written language amongst the Karaites in the Crimea in the 19th century. My own gut-feeling is that there was not any, as there was no common written language amongst the Crimean Muslims, prior to Ismail Gasprinski (which was not a “Crimean” language, either).

No expression of front-back vowel variants was made,³⁰ as is evident from the use of emphatic and laryngeal letters in the words with front pronunciation (*kucuq*, Obad 2; *okseq*, Obad 3; *guṭurur*, Obad 11).

We can therefore see that a late-19th-century Karaite in Istanbul (or Kefe / Feodosija?) was translating Biblical texts into Constantinople (or Kefe?) Turkish, slightly tinted by Qıpçaq, but into undeniably Turkish, using the same translation techniques used by the 17th and 18th centuries’ Karaite translators into Karaim,³¹ by Avraham Firkowicz who used an artificial Turkish-cum-Karaim language in the early 1830s, and, as I am going to demonstrate in APPENDIX III, by the early 20th century Rabbanite Qrimčaq (who were copying the Karaim techniques).

A comparison one would make with the highly archaic Karaim language of the Gözleve edition of 1841 is also quite telling. Thus, what was frequently seen as trademarks of the Karaim language, are, possibly, merely characteristics of a literary *genre*.

APPENDIX I

Here I provide notes on some interesting words found in the Gözleve Translation of Obadiah, basing myself on Baskakov, N. A., A. Zajončkovskij, S. M. Šapšal (eds.). 1974. *Karaimsko-russko-pol’skij slovar’*. Moskva: Russkij Jazyk.

³⁰ On this phenomenon in Turkish as used by Jews, cf. JANKOWSKI 2012: 257–264.

³¹ See SHAPIRA 2013: 133–198.



The cover of the MS.

alçaq yer, השפלה, Turkish *alçaqlanmış*; for *alçaq*, see Baskakov, Zajončkovskij, Šapšal 1974 (henceforth: the dictionary), p. 66 (*niski*).

avanliq, חמס, Turkish *zulum-luğ*; according to the dictionary, p. 39, tk *avan* (грех, проступок / grzech, występek) is of Hebrew origin (apparently, from *ʾawōn*); this is likely, though the orthography, with an *aleph*, looks weird; аванлык h, беззаконие, произвол / besprawie, samowola; подлость / podłość; etc., pp. 39–40.

borla coplavcilar, בצרים, Turkish *oraqçilar*; thk *borla* = виноградник / winnica; виноградная кисть, виноград; изюм / winne grono, winogrona / rodzynki, p. 131. *coplavci* / *čoplavči* is not attested in the dictionary, but see p. 631, k *čopla-*; cf. p. 538, thk *topla-*; p. 614, h *copla-*; p. 628, t *čopla-*.

buzuq, פרק, Turkish *ayrılirmaq*; h *buzuk* = испорченный, zepsuty; разрушенный, zniszczony, p. 137. The GT (Gözleve Translation) and OT (Osnabrück Translation) have here different understandings of Hebrew PRQ.

cayalığ, זדון, Turkish *yaramalığ*; k *čayalyk* = надменность, заносчивость; гордость, высокомерие, спесь / pucha, дума; zarozumiałość, wyniosłość; дерзость; упорство / zuchwałość; upór; злонамеренность / szkodliwość; необузданность / niepowściągliwość, p. 621, and similar forms in the Halicz and Troki dialects.

caypal-, לע"ע, Turkish *öl-*; tk *čaypal-* = tk быть испорченным, портиться / być zepsutym, psuć się; / пропадать, гибнуть / ginać; / развращаться, быть развращённым / psuć się, być zepsutym; обманывать / oszukiwać, p. 621, and similar forms in the Halicz and Troki dialects.

cek, גורל, Turkish *qur'a*; k *ček* = жребий / los; предел, граница / granica, kres, p. 640; compare t *ček* on p. 626, where only the meaning “border” is given (an evident mistake by Shapshal or Zajączkowski, demonstrating thus limits of Hebrew proficiency of one of them) and similar forms in the Halicz and Troki dialects.

certimlar, עליות, Turkish *fena ediniler*; k *čertim* = малая гроздь, малая кисть (винограда) / mała kiść (winogron), p. 641. The author of the OT committed here an error in his Hebrew.

elli, ציר, Turkish *elçi*; there is no *elli* in the dictionary, but this form might be a misprint in the GT.

kuluw, גמול, Turkish *goreme* = **göreme*; *kuluw* seems to be connected to h колувцу [kołuwcu M] проситель / petent ср. колувчу. колувчу t [kołuvcu K]

проситель / *petent*; ср. колувцу, р. 331. I doubt the meaning ascribed by the dictionary to these words.

qutqarywci, מושיע, Turkish *qurtarici*; k *qutqar-* (кьуткьар-) спасать, избавлять; освободить / *ocala*ć, *wybawia*ć, *wyzwala*ć; k кьуткьарывчы, спаситель, избавитель / *zbawiciel*; etc., р. 376, cf. pp. 350–351.

quṭulmaq, פליט, Turkish *qurtuluş*; k кьутул-, избавляться, спасаться, освободиться / *ocala*ć się, *wybawia*ć się, *wyzwala*ć się; cf. k кутул-, кьутылы-; k кьутулуш, избавление, спасение, освобождение / *wybawienie*, *oswobodzenie*, р. 376.

quvda, שק, Turkish *saman*; *quvda* is a misprint for k **quvra*, солома; сено / *|słoma*; *siano*, р. 373.

saqlanmişlari, מצפני, Turkish *beğçileri*; k сакьлан-, скрываться, прятаться / *ukrywa*ć się, *chowa*ć się; cf. k сакьлангьан k, неизменный, непреложный / *niezmieniy*; k сакьланмыш / *saklanmyş*, спрятанный / *ukryty*, р. 462.

sinig-, ח"ת, Turkish *qapılmış olurlar*, and *siniqliq*, טיא, Turkish *siniqliq*; th *synykta*, сынык, ломаться / *łama*ć się; падать духом, мучиться / *upada*ć na duchu, *męczy*ć się; *synyklyk*, обломок / *odłamek*; перелом / *złamanie*; слабость; боязнь; раскаяние / *słabość*; *bojaźń*; *skrucha*; etc., р. 493.

ṭarliq, צרה, Turkish *siqlet*; тарлык А [*tarlyk* М] беда, нужда / *bieda*, *nędza*; мучение, испытание; беда, *bieda*, *męczenie*, *doświadczenie*; etc., р. 515.

ṭalouci, שודד, Turkish *yağmaçı*; thk талав, грабёж, разбой, опустошение; уничтожение / *rabunek*, *rozbój*, *spustoszenie*; *zniszczenie*; награбленное, добыча / *zdobycz*, *łup*; h талавцу, разбойник, грабитель / *łupieżca*, *rabuś*; t талавчу, талавчы, талувчы, разбойник, грабитель, опустошитель / *łupieżca*, *rabuś*, *pustoszyciel*; k талавчы, грабитель / *łupieżca*; etc., р. 507.

ṭintildilar, נחפשו, Turkish *tebdil oldular*; k тынт-, обыскивать; исследовать / *rewidowa*ć; *bada*ć, *studiowa*ć.; k тынтув, обыск / *rewizja*; р. 557.

ṭas, אב"ד, Turkish *qayyib*; thk *tas* = уничтожение, исчезновение / *zniszczenie*, *zniknięcie*; etc., р. 516.

ṭuz, שדה, Turkish *tarla*; *ṭuz* = k *tüz* (compare the “very non-Crimean” spelling with a *ṭ* in word with a front vowel) = равнина, поле; долина / *równina*, *pole*; *dolina*, р. 552, and similar forms.

ugdilar, גנבים, Turkish *xirsizlar*; *ugdilar* is apparently a misprint for **ugri-lar*, “thieves”; the word is absent from the dictionary, but cf. forms on p. 580.

uklilar, חכמים, Turkish *kāmiller*; apparently, from Arabic *ʿaql*, but there is no *ukli* in the dictionary. Cf. Turkish of Turkey *ukalâ*.

uruš, מלחמה, Turkish *ceng*; tk *uruš* = война, борьба, сражение, битва / wojna, walka, bitwa, p. 582, and similar form in the Halicz dialect.

xušlik, גנב, Turkish *qibla*, *cenub tarafı*; *xušlik*, apparently, from a Persian loan word meaning “dry”, is not found in the dictionary.

yilin, להבה, Turkish *alef* [**alev*]; there is no *yilin* / *jylyn* in the dictionary.

APPENDIX II

RUTH

I am giving here three translations of Chapter 1 of the Book of Ruth.

I

The text to the left is taken from the new Judeo-Turkish manuscript from Germany; this text is, basically, Oğuz / “Ottoman”-Turkish / South-Western Turkic, with some Qıpçaq / Crimean-Tatar features (*dağın* / *dahın*, *ilen*).

II

The text in the middle is excerpts from the Turkic translation of Ruth made for the Crimean-Tatar-speaking Qırımčaq Rabbanite Jews at the very end of the 19th century, at the command of R. Hizqiyahu Medini (1832–1904). R. Medini was an Ottoman subject born in Hebron in the Ottoman Judaea, and he ordered to translate the so-called *Second Translation of the Scroll of Ruth* from Aramaic into the best Turkish language possible for his Qırımčaq Rabbanite community (whose language he did not speak). The book was published in 1906 in Petrokov, translated by Nissim Levi Čexčir. Yanbay and Erdal published a scientific edition of the text;³² in their introduction, they wrote (p. 2): “The language of our source cannot be taken identical with Krimchak ...”.

³² IANBAY & ERDAL 1998: 1–53.

The original Aramaic *Targum* of Ruth or the *Second Translation of the Scroll of Ruth* is a very long *midrashic* text organized around the verses of the Book of Ruth. It was written in Galilean Aramaic, abundant in both Greek and Middle Iranian words. The text was widely read in many Rabbanite communities, for it contains much *aggadic* or folkloric material and suited the tastes of women and the less-educated. When the knowledge of Aramaic diminished, translations were made from Aramaic into vernaculars, one of them into a language suitable for the Crimean-Tatar-speaking Qrimčaq Rabbanite Jews. I designate the language of the Crimean-Turkic translation as “a language suitable for the Crimean-Tatar-speaking Qrimčaq Rabbanite Jews”, because I have no a better name for it: clearly, it was not the language they spoke; this language was obviously supposed to be understood by them. I claim that this literary language of the Crimean-Tatar-speaking Qrimčaq Rabbanite Jews was modelled on the language of Karaite/Karaim Bible translations, which was seen by the Qrimčaq Rabbanite Jews as a language of prestige. We do not have many texts representing the way the Qrimčaq spoke, for their folkloric texts were written down in the language of their neighbours; in **Appendix III**, I will provide a short specimen of a Qrimčaq Bible translation.

III

The right column is taken from a manuscript previously belonging to the Elyashevich-Babadjan (Babacan) family. My old friend Dr. Maxim Hammal, who had introduced me to this fascinating Karaite family in Moscow and through whom I was lucky to make copies of parts of this important manuscript, announced me that this MS was gone. In the best case scenario, the family gave it out to the Lithuanian Karaite community.

What we can learn from just having had a glance at the page – and one has no need to know any Turkic – is that the Karaite text from Troki (?) agrees with the first and the second columns.

Megillath Ruth In Three Turkic Translations

The Osnabrück MS	Excerts, Krymchak Targum Shenı, p. 15–16	a MS from Troki (?)
ve-oldu šerā'aṭ gunlerinde o šerā'aṭçılarnın ve-oldu qıtlıq yerde ve bir kiři Yehudah nin Bet Leḥem den gıṭṭı iskan iṭme ṭarla sinda Mo'ab nin o ve-qarısı ve-eki evladları	da oldu šeraat etken künlerinde ol šeraatçı-lar-niñ da oldu ... qıtlıq yerinde [yisrael-niñ] ... çıqtı ... kiři beyt lexem yehuda-dan da vardı yarip olmaya tüzlerinde (çöl-lerinde) moav-niñ ol da xatını, da eki oylul-ları	da-edi šara'aṭ etken künlerinde ol šara'aṭçılar da-boldı qıtlıq yerde da-vardı kiři Bet Leḥem-an-dan Yehudah-niñ ṭayralma tuzlarında Mo'ab-niñ ol da- xatını da-eki oğlanları
ve adi kiřinin 'Elimelek ve adi qarısının Nā'omı ve adi eki evladlarının Maḥlon ve Kilyon 'Epratim ler Bet Leḥem den Yehudah nin ve-geldiler ṭarlasına Mo'ab nin ve-ediler onda	da adı ol kiři-niñ elimelex da adı xatınıniñ noomi da adı eki oylul-lariniñ maxlon da kilyon epratlı-lar ... beyt lexem yehuda-dan da keldiler tüzlerine deign moav-niñ da oldular onda ...	da-aṭı ol 'Elimelek da-aṭı xatınıniñ Nā'omı da-aṭı eki oğlanlariniñ Maḥlon da-Kilyon 'Epratlılar Bet Leḥem-indan Yehudah niñ da-keldiler tüzlerine ³³ Mo'ab niñ da-boldılar anda
ve oldu 'Elimelek qocası Nā'omı nin ve-qaldı o ve-eki evladları	da öldü elimelex eri (qoğası ³⁴) noomi-niñ da qaldı ol [tul] da eki oylul-ları [öksüz-ler]	da-oldı 'Elimelek eri Nā'omı-niñ da-qaldı ol da-eki oğlanları
ve-aldılar kendilerine qadılar Mo'ab-lılar adı o birisi[n] 'Orpah ve-adi o ikinci nin Rut ve-oṭurdular onda on šeneh qadar	da aldılar olarıya (gendilerine) ... xatın-lar qız-larından moav-niñ adı ol birisi-niñ orpa da adı ol ekinği-niñ rut ... da oturdular onda on yıllar qadar	da-aldılar ozlerine Mo'ab-li xatınlar aṭı ol birisiniñ 'Orpah da-aṭı ol ekinjisiniñ Rut da-oṭurdular anda on yıl teğli

³³ The final suffix *-ne* written above the line.

³⁴ In Yanbay-Erdal, *ğ* = Modern Turkish *c*.

ve-olduler daħi ekisi Maħlon ve-Kilyon ve-qaldi o qari eki evladlarından ve-qocasından	da-öldüler [h]em ekileri maxlon da kilyon ... da qaldı ol xatın mahrim eki oğullarından da tul erinden	da-oldılar danin ekisi Maħlon da-Kilyon da-qaldi ol xatın eki oğlanlarından da-erinden
ve-qalqı o ve-gelinleri ve-dondu ıarlasından Mo'ab nin zira eşııı ıarlasında Mo'ab nin ki sag/c/ı/ındi Ya miletini verme onlara eqmeq	da turdi ol da kelin-leri da qayttı tüzlerinden moav-niı ki müğde ³⁵ -lendi tüzünde moav-niı ... ki aıdı adonay xalqini ... vermege olarya ökmek	da-turdi ol da-kelinleri da-qayttı tüzlerinden Mo'ab niı ki eşııı tüzlerinde Mo'ab niı ki sagındi YWY şol ulusin verma alarna oımak ³⁶
ve-çııı o yerdan ki edi onda ve-eki gelinleri onun ilen ve-giıtiler yolda donme yerine Yehudah nin	da çııı ol yerden ki oldu onda da eki kelinleri barabarına da yürüdüler yolda qaytmaya yerine yehuda-niı	da-çııı ol yerdan ki edi anda da-eki kelinleri birgasına da vardılar yol bilan qaytma yerına Yehudah niı
ve-dedi Nā'omı eki gelinlerine variniz donunuz her bir qari evine anasının qilsin Ya sizin eyle merħameı nasıl ki yaptiniz oluler bilen ve-benim ilen	da eytti noomi eki kelinlerine varııız qaytııız xatın evine anasıniı etsin adonay barabarııızya yaxşıliı neıik ki ettiıız, ol ölgen erleriıız ilen ... da barabarıma	da-ayttı Nā'omı eki kelinlarına barııız qaytııız xatın evına anasıniı qılğay YWY birnaıızga şagawaı ol olular bilan da-birnama
versin Ya size ve-bulasız rāhatliı her bir qari evine qocasının ve-optu olari ve qaldirdılar seslerini ve-aıladılar	versin adonay sizge ... da tapqaysız rahatliı er beriıız da birııız evinde eriniı da öptü olarıni da köterdilar seslerini da yııladılar	birğay YWY sizga da-tapqaysız ıancliı har xatın evında eriniı da-opti alarıni da-koıardılar avazların da-yayladılar
ve-dediler ona ki senin ile donelim miletine	da eyttiler oıa, ... ki emme barabarına qaytırbız xalqııa	da-ayttılar anar ki birnaıa qaytırmiz ulusına
ve-dedi Nā'omı donunuz qızlarım neıün gelirsiz benim ilen daıan varmi bana evladlar qursağimda ve-olsunlar size qocalara	da eytti noomi, qaytııız qızlarım! ne üçün varırsız barabarıma. eger aıız ... varmıdır maıa oyullar qursağim-da da olsunlar sizge erler-ge	da-ayttı Nā'omı qaytııız qızlarım nuçün barırsız birnama daginemi maıa oğlanlar qursağimda da-bolanılar sizga eranlarga

³⁵ In Yanbay-Erdal, ğ = Modern Turkish c.

³⁶ k>t, a Halicz shift?

donunuz qızlarım gidiniz zira extiyar oldum olmadan qocana zira dedim vardır bana omud daħi olsam bu gece qocaya ve-daħi doğursam oğlanlar	qaytñiz qızlarım ... varñiz xalqñiz-ya ki qartaydım olmaqtan evlengen erge ki eytsem edi ... vardır maña ümüt em evlensem edim bu geğe ³⁷ erge da em doyursam edim oylar	qaytınız qızlarım barınız ki qartaydım bolmaqtan erga ki aytkay edim vardır maña musanç dagın bolirmimi bugaça erga dadagın dogurirmimi oğlanlar
beklermisiz olar için ħattâ ki buyyuq olurlar aliquonurmusuz olar için olmamaya qocaya yoq qızlarım zire aci bana ğäyyet sizden zire qudreți anın çiqti benden	belki olarya siz toqtayırsız çaq ki öserler, xatın kibik ki toqtar kiçkene biya-ya evlenmege erge. eger olar üçün siz otururmusız baylılar olmamaq üçün evlenfenler erge. yalvarmaq ilen qızlarım! ağıtmegeysiz ğanım-ni ki ağı-dir maña artıq sizden ki çiqti mende xişim alından yeya-niñ	alargami mosanirsiz dagınça ki ulgaygaylar alargami keçenersiz bolmamaqqa erga yoq qızlarım ki açi boldi maña sizden artıq ki çiqti maña xişim alından YWY-niñ
ve-qaldirdilar seslerini ve ağladılar daħin ve-optu 'Orpah qaynanasına ve-Rut yapışti onun ilen	da köterdiler seslerini da yıyladılar daa ... da öptü orpa qaynanasını da rut yapışti onda	da-kořardilar avazların da-yayladılar dagın da-optı 'Orpah qaynanasın da-Rut yapuşti anar
ve-dedi Nā'omi şimdi dondu eltenin miletine ve-Ṭaṭrisina don ardından elteninin	da ayttı, muna qayttı kelindeşiñ xalqına da avoda-zara-sına qaytqın artına kelindeşiñ-niñ	da-ayttı muna qayttı kelindeşiñ ulusına da- Ṭeṭrisina qaytqın artından kelindeşiñniñ
ve-dedi Rut ricâ etmeyyesin bana buraqma için donmeye ardından zire nereyye varsan varırım ve- nereyye qonsan qonırım miletin olur miletim ve- Ṭaṭrin Ṭaṭrim	da ayttı rut, qaherletmegeysin meni taşlamaya seni qaytmaya ardından ... ğümle ne-ge ki varsan varayım ... ğümle yerde ki qonsan qonayım ... xalqñ olayım ... taṭriñ ol- dır taṭrim	da-ayttı Rut yalvarmaniñ maña kemişma seni qaytma artından ki qayda ta varsan vararmin da-qayda ki qonsan qonarmin ulusiñ ulusum da-Ṭeṭriñ Ṭeṭrim

³⁷ In Yanbay-Erdal, ğ = Modern Turkish c.

nerede olupsan olupsam ve-orada komulupum boyyle qilsin Ya bana ve- oyyle artırsin andan ol olum ayırır arami ve-arani	ğümle ne-ge ki ölseñ öleyim ... da onda alayım kömülgen ... bulay etsin maña adonay da bulay arttırsın üstüme ki ol ölüm olsun ayırın arama da arañ	qayda ki olsañ olarmin da-anda komulırmin bulay qılğay YWY maña da-bulay arttırgay ki ol olum ayırır arama da arañ
ve-gordu ki keskindir o ğıtme onun ilen ve-bazgeçti soyleme ona	da kördü ki küçeyir ol varmaya barabarına da vazgeçti söylemekten oña	da-kordi ki kuçaydır ol varma birgasına da tayıldı sozlamaktan anar
ve-ğıtler ekisi beräber gelincädeq Bet Lehem ve-oldu geldiq leri gibi Bet Lehem ve- bulabdi cumle kişileri o şehernin olar için ve- dediler bumu Nā'omī	da yürüdüler ekileri kelgenlerinçe degin beyt lexem-ge da oldu qaçan ki keldiler beyt lexem-ge da engeme-lendiler ğümle oturıyanları ol şehir-niñ üsterine da eyttiler, eger bumıdır noomi?	da-vardılar ekisi kelganlarına degin Bet Lehem ga da-edi kelganları kibik Bet Lehem ga da-mugradi karça ol şahar ustlarına da-ayttılar bumudır Nā'omī
ve-dedi olara çaxırmanız bana Nā'omī çaxırınız bana Mārā zire açi etti beni Qadir Tañrı peq ğāyyet	da eytti olarğa olmay aysız çaqırın-lar maña noomi çaqırınız maña ağı ğanlı ki ağıtti qadir tañrı meni ziyade	da-aytti alarga ațamanız maña Nā'omī ațañız maña açi ki açi etti Qadir Teñrı maña asrı
ben dolo ğıttım ve-boş dondurdu beni Ya neiçun çaxırsız bana Nā'omī ve-Ya qinadi beni ve-Qadir Tañrı fenā etti bana	men dollu kittim, ... da boş qaytardı meni adonay ... ne için bu siz çaqıraysız maña noomi da alından adonay-niñ saatlıq etti minim ... da qadir teñrı yaman etti maña	man tolu vardım da-boş qaytardı meni YWY nuçun ațarsız maña Nā'omī ve- YWY qayndı meni da-Qadir Teñrı yaman etti maña
ve-dondu Nā'omī ve-Rut haMo<abiyah gelini onun ilen ol donen țarlasından Mo<ab nin ve-olar geldiler Bet Lehem ge ilkinde orağı arpaların	da qaytti noomi da rut hamoavia kelini barabarına ki qaytti tüzlerinden moav- niñ da keldiler beyt lexem- ge ... ki oldu arpa-lar-dan ³⁸	da-qaytti Nā'omī da-Rut ol Mo<abli kelini birgasına ki qaytti tüzlerinden Mo<abniñ da-alar keldiler Bet Lehem ga ilkanda oraginiñ arpalarniñ

Appendix III

In this Appendix, my purpose is to illustrate that the language chosen by the 19th-century (?) Rabbanite Qırmçaqs was very much modelled on that of the Crimean tradition of Bible translations. The text is Daniel 1:1–4 and is taken from a published image of a 20th century copy, *Krymçaki*, ed. by D.I. Rebi & V.M. Lombrozo, Simferopol' 2001, p. 35. The English translation is taken from the King James version.

ucungi yyilda hanlıqına Yehoyaqım niñ hani Yehudah niñ keldi Nebukadnecar hani Babel niñ Yeruşalayim ga da heseret qurdu ustune

In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came to Jerusalem and besieged it.

da dedi H' qoluna oşol Yehoyaqım niñ hani Yehudah niñ da birazından sağıtları avi ol tañriniñ da geñirdi olarnı yyerine Babel niñ evine 'abodah zarah siniñ da oşol sağıtlarını keñirdi evine haznasi 'abodah zarah siniñ

And the Lord delivered Jehoiakim king of Judah into his hand, along with some of the articles from the temple of God. These he carried off to the temple of his god in Babylonia[a] and put in the treasure house of his god.

da eñti ol han Aşpanaz ga ağasi qadim ağalarnıñ geñirmeğa oğullarından Yisraelniñ da zura'atından ol hanlıq niñ da ol beğlerden

Then the king ordered Ashpenaz, chief of his court officials, to bring into the king's service some of the Israelites from the royal family and the nobility

ballar ki yoñtur ollarda cumle saqañliñ da yañşilari korumnıñ da anlañanlar cumle usulluñ da da bilgenleri bilmekniñ da anlañanlari anlamañniñ da ki quwañ var dir olarda turmağa sarayda ol han niñ da oğereñme olarga seper da ñili Kasdim niñ

Young men without any physical defect, handsome, showing aptitude for every kind of learning, well informed, quick to understand, and qualified to

³⁸ The text towards the end is overly paraphrased.

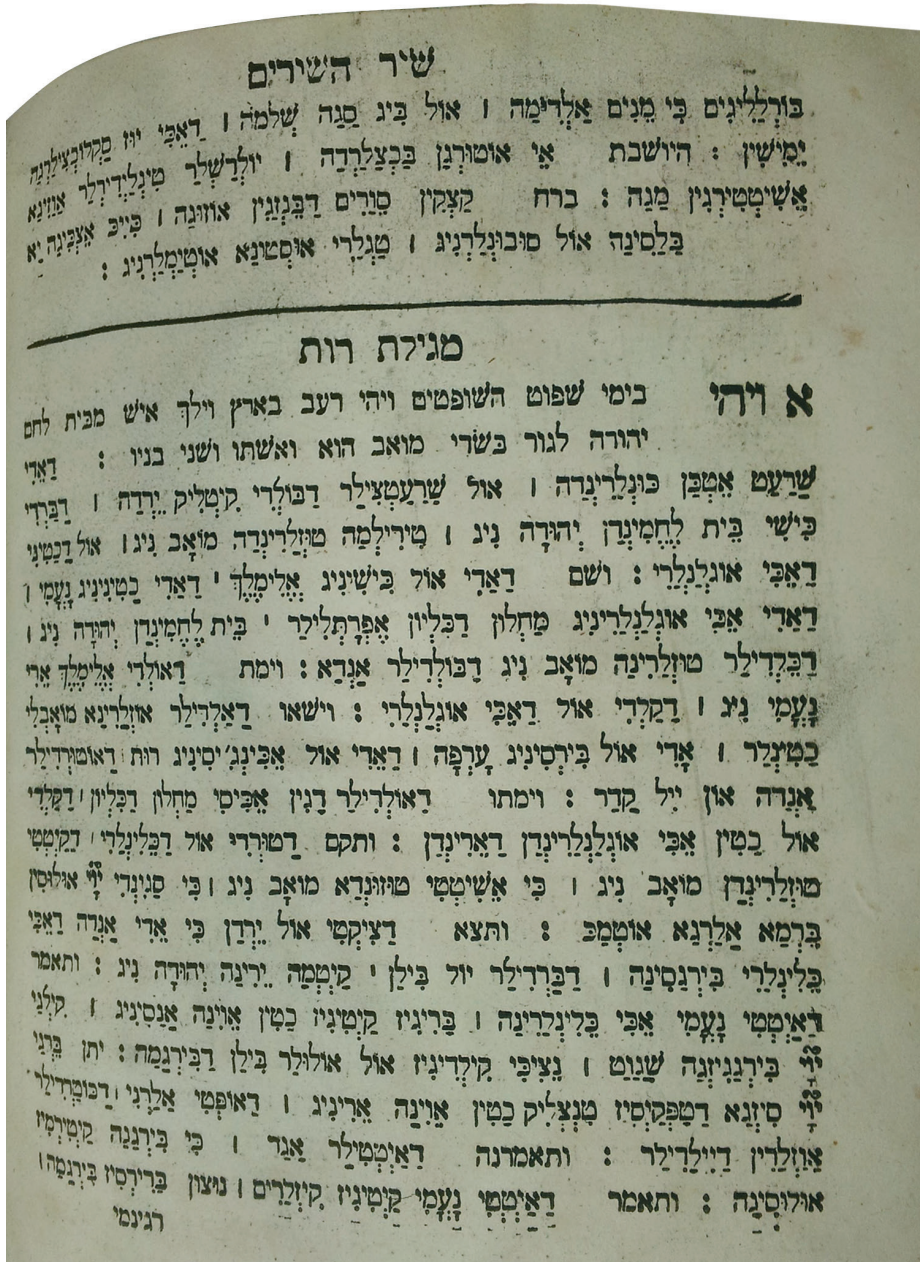
serve in the king's palace. He was to teach them the language and literature of the Babylonians. The king assigned them a daily amount of food and wine from the king's table. They were to be trained for three years, and after that they were to enter the king's service.

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Dan Shapira obtained his Ph.D. in 2000 on *Studies in Zoroastrian Exegesis: Zand* (in English, two volumes) under the supervision of Prof. Shaul Shaked, HUJI; and since 2013 has held the post of full professor at the Department of Middle Eastern Studies, and is the Feldman Professor of the History and Culture of Eastern European Jewry, Faculty of Jewish Studies, Bar-Ilan University, Israel.

The Elyashevitch-Babadjan MS is, practically, identical with the text published by Yiṣḥaq Tırıṣqan in 1841 (the Gözleve Bible):

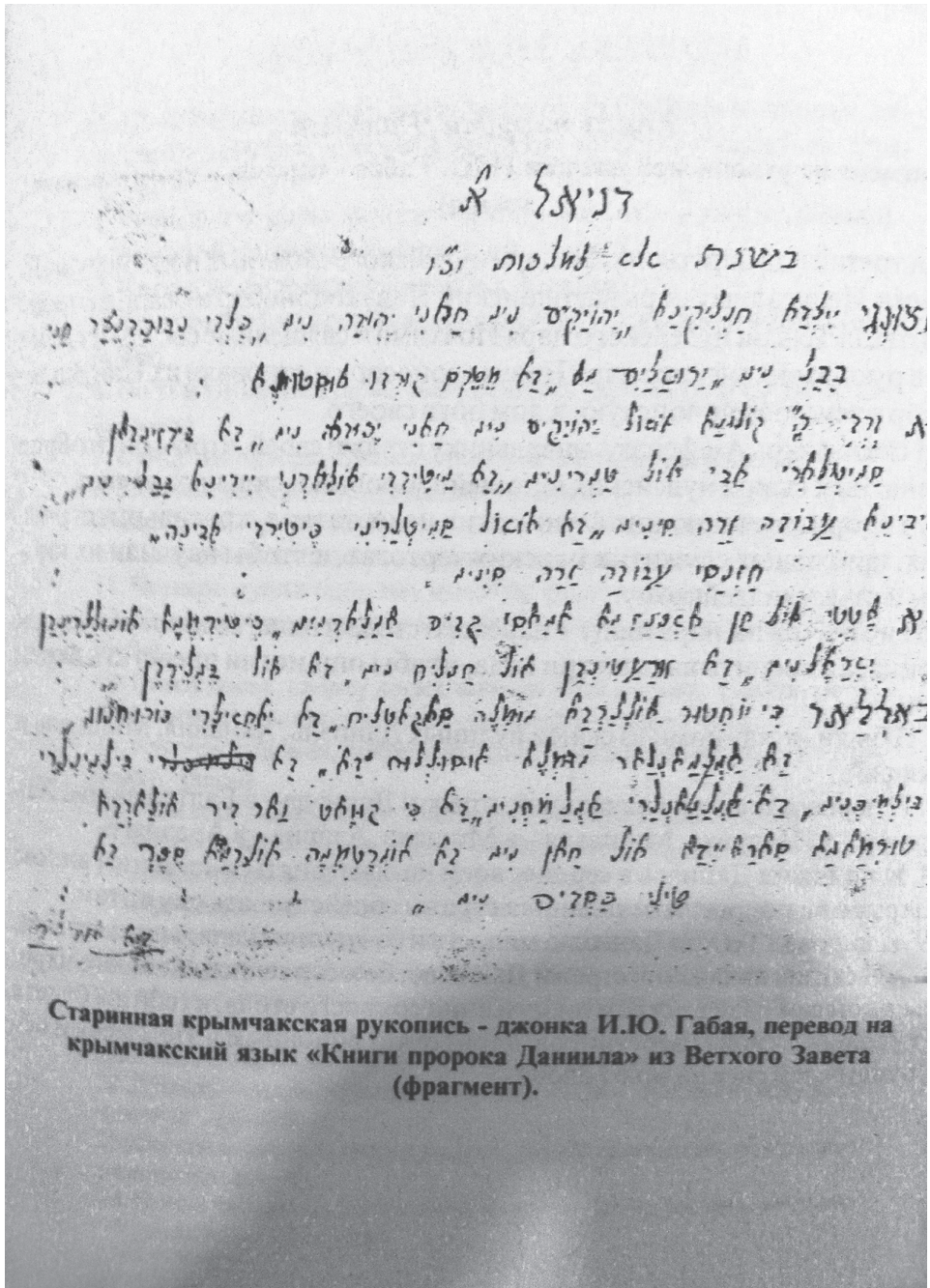


ה

רות

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(ב) ולנעמי דנעמינה פליש ארנה פיש פנימירי אריניג |
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 רמונא בית



Старинная крымчакская рукопись - джонка И.Ю. Габая, перевод на крымчакский язык «Книги пророка Даниила» из Ветхого Завета (фрагмент).