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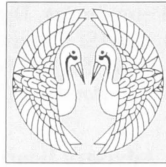
Front cover:

“One-eyed people fighting with their swan-enemies”, *Tarjuma-yi Kharīdat al-‘ajā‘ib wa farīdat al-gharā‘ib li-Ibn al-Wardī*, manuscript B 790 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 111b, 6.7 × 6.3 cm.

Back cover:

“Muslim *mappa mundi*”, *Tarjuma-yi Kharīdat al-‘ajā‘ib wa farīdat al-gharā‘ib li-Ibn al-Wardī*, manuscript B 790 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fols. 2b—3a, diameter: 21.3 cm.

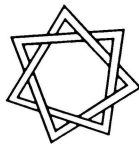
RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH



Manuscripta Orientalia

International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research

Vol. 4 No. 2 June 1998



75ESA
St. Petersburg-Helsinki

FAMOUS COLLECTORS: FACTS AND ASSESSMENTS

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ABRAHAM FIRKOVICH AND THE KARAITE COMMUNITY IN JERUSALEM IN 1864*

The Karaite movement of Judaism was founded by 'Anan ben David in Mesopotamia in the middle of the eighth century A.D. Its tenets were rejection of the Talmudic oral tradition, a return to the Bible, the Old Testament, as the sole source of Divine Law, and repudiation of the authority of the exilarchic and Gaonic leadership. The Karaite reformation was able to appeal also to other antinomian, "sectarian" groups which had existed on the fringes of Judaism through the ages and which possibly had connections with the Second Temple period [1].

Karaite settlement in Jerusalem started in the ninth century. The Karaite quarter was located in *Ṣelá' ha-élef* (Joshua 18:28) — *Ḥārat al-Mušāraqa*, probably to the south-east of the Temple Mount — where the city of King David had stood. According to Karaite tradition, in 755 Anan built a synagogue in Jerusalem, where Karaite synagogue still bears his name. However, it is probable that the present synagogue located in the Jewish quarter dates back to a period after the destruction wrought by the Crusaders, who in 1099 brought to an abrupt end the first Golden Era of the Karaites in Jerusalem [2].

The date of the return of Karaites to Jerusalem is uncertain. However, the Karaite synagogue of Anan within the city walls was probably founded fairly soon after the city was sacked, since in the thirteenth century it was still possible to occupy deserted plots of land and buildings in the city. Since that period a small Karaite community has been living in Jerusalem with only minor interruptions, especially in the vicinity of this underground synagogue. It is reported that the synagogue was repaired and partly rebuilt twice in the nineteenth century, in 1837 and 1864 [3]. We shall soon return to the subject of the later reconstruction.

The number of Karaites in Jerusalem has never been considerable and the same holds true with regard to all of their settlements [4]. In the sixteenth century they had their own quarter (*Maḥallat al-Qara'in*) opposite the Western Wall; however, their number did not exceed 10% of the

number of Jews in the city. This favourable period was followed by rapid decline, and in 1641 they are reported to have numbered 27 living in 15 houses in Jerusalem. Irrespective of better contacts with other centres of Karaism and immigration to Jerusalem, the figures remained on the same level, in tens, until the middle of the twentieth century, i.e. until the Karaite *'aliyya* from Egypt. According to the reports of different Western visitors in the nineteenth century, the number of souls vacillates between six and fifty and that of the households between one and fourteen [5].

A rumour once circulated in Jerusalem that, due to a curse, the number of Karaite males in the city would never reach 10, i.e. the number required to form a *minyān* necessary for public prayer [6].

The famous Karaim scholar **Abraham Firkovich** (1787—1874) arrived in Jerusalem on October 5, 1863. This *grand tour* which extended until March 1865 was Firkovich's last visit to the Near East. During journeys to several lands during these years he collected with great success the majority of his second collection of Hebrew, Arabic, Judaeo-Arabic and Samaritan codices, manuscripts and manuscript fragments as well as other antiquities. The collection consists of more than 15,000 items. It was acquired in 1876 by the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg; at present the library bears the name of the National Library of Russia [7].

The collection also houses the personal archive of A. S. Firkovich, where a great number of letters received by him are kept as well as copies of letters sent by him. The majority of the correspondence is written in Hebrew, while a few letters are in Karaim, the Turkic native language of Firkovich, his relatives and the East European Karaites (Karaims) in general. On the basis of Firkovich's letters we can learn a great deal about the situation of the Karaim community in Jerusalem in those days. In addition, Firkovich gives a detailed report of his building activities for the benefit of the tiny community as well as of his "Zionistic" plans for the future of his brethren in the Holy City [8].

* A shorter version of this paper was read at the *Sjette nordiske kongres i judaistik* in Aarhus (18—20 May 1996).

Among the letters of the personal archive of Abraham Firkovich known to me, the most informative passages concerning Jerusalem are contained in a letter to the Karaite community in Constantinople sent from Jerusalem on March 24, 1864 (Thursday, the 16th of Adar Sheni; No. 605:18v—19v), a letter to Şadoq Yerushalmi from Nablus (Sikem) dated April 8, 1864 (Friday, the 1st of the 1st month; No. 607:1r—2r) [9], the list of 45 inscriptions in the courtyard and the doors of the synagogue (605:12v—14r), and a report to R. Abraham b. Jehuda ha-Mišri

yošebim bo šomre ḥaşrot ha-godeš). Besides this, there were 9 houses, and a new one had been built by Abraham Firkovich — obviously for himself.

The lack of *minyan* is also mentioned by Firkovich, who expresses the wish that the immigration of the “Hītes” will “take away the reproach of the Rabbanites against the Karaites that the latter have not a single *minyan* in Jerusalem; in their opinion, this is all caused by a curse with which, by taking out a Torah scroll, their sages cursed the Karaites so that there would never be found a *minyan* for



Abraham Firkovich (1787—1874)

dated September 16, 1864 (Friday, 15th of Elul 1864; 607:4r—7v) [10].

In his letters Firkovich does not offer a detailed description of the Karaite community in Jerusalem nor of its members or its synagogue. Nevertheless, we can cull a fair amount of information from references intended for other purposes.

The number of Karaite households in Jerusalem was reported to have been 8 or 9 and the number of people between 6 and 4 in the 1850s [11]. Abraham Firkovich corroborates the scale of these figures in his letter to his co-religionists in Constantinople [12], whence he applied for economic help for the Karaites of Hīt who desired to move to Jerusalem — I have dealt with this affair as well as Firkovich's attempt to acquire all the manuscripts preserved in Hīt in an article in *Folia Orientalia* published a few years ago [13]. In this letter Firkovich writes that he has informed the people of Hīt that in Jerusalem the Karaites possess 11 houses which the immigrants from Hīt may share “until the Lord enlarges their territory” (*ad yarḥib h' 'et gebulam*). One of the houses was an entrance room for the gatekeepers of the synagogue courtyards (*mabo' šey-*

them in Jerusalem” [14]. Firkovich writes that he prays to the Lord that he would turn the curse into a blessing; he was convinced himself that soon there would be enough Karaites in Jerusalem for four *minyanim*. In this view he was encouraged by the hope of the immigration of Karaites from Hīt as well as by the promises of respected Karaite participants in the Feast of Shavu'ot, who built three new houses in Jerusalem; Firkovich enumerates the names of these prospective donors. These houses and three others, two of them built by Firkovich, were intended for the newcomers from Hīt, “as was reported in the English newspaper” [15].

It is obvious that Abraham Firkovich and his family enjoyed a position of respect among his brethren *bene miqra'* in the Holy City. He enjoyed the support of the Russian consulate. He was a rich man, and in the *firman* signed by the Ottoman Sultan Abdül Aziz, it was stated that the Karaites were not subject to the same legislation as the Rabbanites [16]. Due to his good connections, Abraham Firkovich was able to visit the Temple Mount and the Dome of the Rock (*Harām as-Şarīf*) several times with his relatives and Karaite friends. As a consequence, he could also enjoy the good services of the community members.

On the basis of his letters we are acquainted with Shabbetai Levi of Jerusalem, who as Firkovich's agent established secret contacts with the Samaritans in Nablus. However, David *he-hakham* ha-Levi, the General Commissioner (*ha-paqid ha-kolel*) of the community, was Firkovich's "beloved friend" in Jerusalem. David acted as an intermediary between the Samaritan High Priest 'Amran and Firkovich, when the Samaritans sold more than one thousand Samaritan manuscripts to Firkovich, and at the same time he was the latter's Arabic interpreter.

The title of *hakham* might imply that David *he-hakham* ha-Levi was the leader of the Karaites in Jerusalem in that period. However, Mr. Mourad al-Qudsi writes in his unpublished genealogy that David Levi's father, *hakham* Abraham ben Moshe Levi (1776—1865) died in 1865 and was then succeeded by his son David (1806—1872) [17]. Obviously Abraham Levi was too old to take care of all community matters in 1863—64, and his son David, "the General Commissioner" was in fact his deputy [18].

We know that Abraham Firkovich was not fluent in Arabic [19]. Al-Qudsi, for his part, knows that David Levi's younger brother Moshe ben Abraham (1810—1905) [20], in addition to Arabic and Hebrew, spoke French, English, Spanish (obviously Ladino), Turkish, Greek and "the Tatarish language of the Karaites of Eastern Europe and Crimea". On the other hand, Mrs. Elizabeth Ann Finn writes that the *hakham* visited by her in 1858 came from the Crimea and spoke excellent Turkish; most probably this *hakham* was their father Abraham Levi. For some time her husband, Mr. H. B. Finn, studied Turkish with the chief of the Karaite Jews, who was a Turkish subject from the Crimea. According to her, "the Karaites consisted chiefly of one family", and she "saw very little of them" [21].

On the basis of Finn's and al-Qudsi's notes, we can be rather certain that Firkovich could use Turkish and his native Karaim language in his communication with the congregation and his Karaite collaborators — as well as in wider contact with the Turkish authorities in the Near East.

Before this journey Firkovich had visited Jerusalem at least once, in 1830, and during that visit he had purchased manuscripts which were preserved in the *geniza* of the Karaite synagogue [22]. As a consequence, there was not much new to be found. As a dedicated explorer, however, he copied 45 inscriptions which the earlier Karaite visitors had written "on the gate of the synagogue courtyard, the gate of the house opposite the gate of the synagogue and on a stone in the wall of the small garden". Jerusalem was the destination of Karaite pilgrims, who after their visit used to affix the honorary title *yerushalmi* to their name. These inscriptions of pilgrims were quite short; they are of the type "I have come, I, X ben Y on the date so-and-so from the holy congregation of Z". The texts date back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Kaffa, present-day Feodosia in the Crimea, is the most common home city of the visitors. These memorials would provide material for the prosopography and phraseology of those centuries.

Abraham Firkovich attempted to draw the attention of his co-religionists to Jerusalem and the Karaite congregation there and he wished that at least one out of every hundred Karaites would visit the Holy Mount each year — as the Muslims do during their pilgrimage — and that many of them would settle in the Holy City. Nevertheless, he considered the name *yerushalmi* to be a deception when it was used by a person who did not intend to stay in

Jerusalem, even if this person could afford to do so without exercising any occupation. As a notorious example he mentions the rich Crimean Karaite Moshe Hallelovich (Gelevich) [23] and his wife who after a single visit returned to the Crimea [24].

The main activity of Abraham Firkovich for the benefit of the Karaite community in Jerusalem concerned the old underground synagogue of Anan and its compound [25]. For this purpose he asked the congregation in Constantinople to send him all documents dealing with the Karaite buildings in Jerusalem and in Hebron in particular. In another letter, to his friend Mr. Şadok ha-Yerushalmi [26], Firkovich gives a detailed description of how he rebuilt the synagogue and what his plans were for the future of the Karaite community centre in Jerusalem. A parallel but shorter report is included in the request for support sent to the congregation in Constantinople [27].

Before the first visit to Aleppo in the autumn of 1863, Abraham Firkovich had made a vow to donate 500 roubles for the repair of the ruins of the Holy City of Jerusalem; his wife had added 100 roubles to this sum, and the recipient of the letter, Firkovich's friend Şadok, also contributed 100 roubles. Seeing the condition of the old synagogue (*bet 'elohenu miqdaš me'at ha-qadmon*) he decided to spend the 600 roubles donated by himself and his wife for its repair and rebuilding. The work was started at the beginning of the month of Kislev; the 1st of Kislev was November 12, 1863. Before that Firkovich and Şadok had made repairs in the synagogue in the month of Heshvan; in 1863 Heshvan occurred between October 14 and November 11.

At first, Firkovich divided the outer courtyard of the synagogue, *ha-'azara*, into two parts with a stone wall which extended from the ground to the roof [28]; before that the court was filled by granaries. The left half of the courtyard Firkovich again divided into two parts. The granaries of the commissioners of the community remained in the lower part, above which Firkovich built a wooden ceiling. Between these new and old roofs he constructed a complete new house with a window and door towards the poor-house rented out to the Rabbanites. The inside (?) of the dark and low half of the synagogue intended for women was repaired by him, and outside in the courtyard (*ba-ḥašer*) Firkovich built a kitchen, *bet ha-mibšalim* in Firkovich's Hebrew, and a coffee room, *bet ha-kafe'*. He planned to rent out these rooms — therefore they were built to be as beautiful as possible — and Firkovich supposed that the rent would afford a profit of more than 500 *groush* annually.

The right-hand part of the outer courtyard, which bordered on the men's synagogue on the lower level, was also divided, and the wall between the synagogue and the court was demolished. Thus the men's synagogue was extended so as to be 12 cubits long and 7 cubits broad, while the seats of the elders took 2.5 cubits — according to the custom in the Karaite synagogue of Gözlävä, i.e. Eupatoria in the Crimea.

Then Firkovich removed the steps and the door which he had constructed with Şadok a month earlier. Instead, he opened a new door three steps deeper in the wall, and thus the elders had only two steps to climb to their seats. The upper part was rebuilt to be the women's synagogue, six cubits long and four cubits broad; new screens were painted green. The door of the women's synagogue led to the kitchen; as a consequence the old ladies had only six steps to negotiate from their house to the synagogue, instead of

the eighteen steps down and nine up before the repair. It is interesting to note that in the repair of the Samaritan synagogue in Nablus, Firkovich was concerned to grant the Samaritan women an opportunity to participate in the synagogue service.

In Jerusalem, the earlier installation of the windows of the synagogue had turned out to be unsuccessful — water leaked in during the winter rains — which even in our day is not an exceptional phenomenon in Jerusalem. Firkovich carefully put a frame around each window on the outside of the wall and wire netting to protect the glass screens [29]. Inside the synagogue he enlarged the windows diagonally and could thus double the amount of light in the synagogue, which in addition was plastered with the best whitewash. Firkovich planned to paint the synagogue later in colours resembling marble.

Inside the synagogue Firkovich also renewed the deep, narrow and dark Ark of Torah scrolls, *hekhhal še-hayu bo sifre ha-torot* — as he calls it in Rabbinic Sephardi terms. The new ark measured 1.5 cubits by a quarter of a cubit, it had two doors, and a *geniza* was located under the ark. On the top of the *hekhhal* doors Firkovich put a circular crown with a picture of a *menora* in the centre, on the right he wrote the Ten Commandments, on the left *qeri'at šema'* and all around them Biblical verses stressing the importance of prayer. In addition, a place for a new rostrum — a *dukhan* — was built by Firkovich between the ark and the synagogue room for the *ḥazzan*. The *dukhan* was dedicated to the synagogue by his grandson Samuel Firkovich, and three curtains (*parokhet*) were donated by Abraham Firkovich and his wife.

The roof of the Cave, i.e. the entrance to the synagogue, was removed by Firkovich and replaced by a cupola with three glass windows facing east, west and north; thus the Cave too was illuminated.

“And if I intend to write down every single thing which I added and repaired in every detail, the story will be prolonged,” Firkovich said in his letter. “Just in short I shall say that for five full months seven carpenters and masons have been working each day with the exception of sabbaths, because all of them are Rabbanites. ... And indeed, the glory of this Holy House and its beauty and its brightness have become at this time greater than those of the first one”.

Abraham Firkovich was not successful in his call to the Karaites to settle in the Holy City, although in his opinion it was the time when Jeremiah's prophecies of the return were about to be fulfilled [30]. He saw that, instead of Karaites [31], various other peoples came to Jerusalem and settled there. Among these were all types of Rabbanites: “*sefaradim, perushim, ḥasidim, mitnaggedim*” who built their great synagogues “which are already five in number and which are not sufficient for them, but they have to pray *minyān* by *minyān* in private houses”.

Firkovich asked himself what benefit there was in his building activity, since even afterwards not a single complete Karaite *minyān* prayed in Jerusalem and the Rabbanites and even Christians and Muslims mocked them because of it. At that time Firkovich did not know that the Karaites of Hīt would in fact come to Jerusalem. He did not know, either, that they would soon turn their backs on the Holy City and return to Hīt [32]. However, as a fervent advocate of immigration to Jerusalem, Abraham Firkovich could be included in the number of the early Zionists.

In contrast to the settlement plans, Firkovich's achievements as the constructor of the Karaite courtyard in Jerusalem remained in effect as long as the Karaite community lived in East Jerusalem, and partially they are visible to this very day in the Holy City, where a new Karaite congregation prays on the same site in its underground synagogue.

Notes

1. Cf. Johann Meier, “Oppositional trends within Judaism during the Talmudic and early Gaonic period”, *Nordisk judaistik — Scandinavian Jewish Studies*, 13/1 (1992), pp. 1—11 with bibliography.

2. For details and sources, see Nathan Schur, *History of the Karaites* (Frankfurt am Main—Berlin—Bern—New York—Paris—Wien 1992), pp. 29—41, 55—7. — Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums, Band 29. Also Haggai Ben-Shammai, “The Karaites. From the first settlers to an established community and a spiritual center”, *The History of Jerusalem. The Early Muslim Period 638—1099*, eds. Joshua Prawer and Haggai Ben-Shammai (Jerusalem—New York City, 1996), pp. 201—24.

3. Schur, *op. cit.*, p. 92, and the sources referred to by him; Jacob Mann, *Texts and Studies*. Vol. II: *Karaitica*. Ktav Publishing House (New York, 1972), pp. 120—7, 321—32; vol. I (1972); first publication — in 1931. Jacob Pinkerfeld offers a general description of the synagogue and its architecture together with ten drawings, see Ya'aqob Pinkerfeld, “Bet ha-keneset la-'adat ha-qara'im b-Irušalayim”, *Yerušalayim*. Muqdaš le-zeker hr"m Luṣṣ z"l (Yerusalayim, 5588/1928), pp. 204—20.

4. According to a letter of Abraham Firkovich (No. 1051, 2r, in the personal archive of Firkovich, cf. below, n. 9) to Hamadan in 1851, there were 1,062 Karaite *patres familias* in the Crimea, 200 in Poland, and 220 in Constantinople, Egypt and Jerusalem, which makes a total of 1,482 households. According to the census of 1897, there were 12,894 Karaims in Czarist Russia. With the exception of two hundred Austrian Karaims in Halicz (Galič), the entire Karaite population lived at that time within the boundaries of the Empire, in the Crimea, Lithuania, the city of Luck (Luck) in the Ukraine as well as in the chief cities of the country (Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kiev, Odessa). In addition, there were almost thirty smaller communities of Karaims in the Russian Empire at the beginning of the nineteenth century; the communities had 17 sanctuaries at their disposal. See the list in Szyszman 1989, p. 59, n. 159. Obviously the census of 1897 gives the highest figure for the Eastern European Karaims throughout the ages.

5. A table of the size of the community according to these reports is offered by Schur, see *op. cit.*, pp. 79—99.

6. Schur, *op. cit.*, pp. 90—1. Firkovich also mentions the curse in his letter to R. Abraham the Egyptian (607:4r—7v; Friday, 15 Elul 1864) 607:5r: *le-gallot herpat ha-rabbanim 'al ha-qara'im še-'en lahem 'afillu minyan 'ehad b-lru' [šalayim] we-kol ze le-fi da'tam mip-pene ha-qelala 'aser qillelu ḥakamim 'et ha-qara'im be-ḥoša' at [šefer]t[ora] šel-lo' yimmaše lahem minyan šalem b-lru' [šalayim] le-'olam*.

7. On the collections, their collector, his travels and acquisitions, see K. B. Starkova, “Rukopisi kolektsii Firkovicha Gosudarstvennoi publichnoi biblioteki im. M. E. Salytkova-Shchedrina” (“Manuscripts from the Firkovich collections at the M. E. Salytkov-Shchedrin State Public library”), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka. Istoriko-filologicheskie issledovaniia. Ezhegodnik, 1970* (Moscow, 1974), pp. 165—92; *idem*, “Les manuscrits de la Collection Firkovici”, *Revue des Études Juives*, 134 (1975), pp. 101—17; V. Lebedev, “Jidishe skavjaden in der leningrader efentlekhler bibliotek”, *Sovetish hejmland*, 11/1989 (Moscow, 1989), pp. 154—8; V. L. Vihovich

and V. V. Lebedev, "Zagadka 15 000 drevnix rukopisei (K sporam vokrug samoï bol'shoï v mire kollekcii vostochnykh rukopisei, khra-niashchikhsia v Leningradskoi publichnoi biblioteke im. M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina, i lichnosti eë sobiratel'ia — karaimskogo uchenogo A. S. Firkovicha)" ("The enigma of fifteen thousand manuscripts: to the controversy on the largest collection of Oriental manuscripts, kept in the Leningrad M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin Public library, and its collector, a Karaim scholar A. S. Firkovich"), *Materialy po arkhologii, istorii i étnografii Tavrii*, fasc. 2 (Simferopol, 1991), pp. 130—40; T. Harviainen, "Abraham Firkovitch och hans samlingar i Rossijskaja nacional'naja biblioteka i St Petersburg", *Nordisk judaistik*, 14/1 (1993), pp. 79—83; Haseeb Shehadeh, "Diwvuah rishoni 'al 'osef kitbe ha-yad ha-šomroniyim be-Saṭ-Petersburg", *Proceedings of the Eleventh World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Division D, Vol. I: The Hebrew Language, Jewish Languages (Jerusalem, 1994), pp. 61—4; V. V. Lebedev, "Novye dannye o sobiratel'skoï deiatel'nosti A. S. Firkovicha" ("New data on A. S. Firkovich's manuscript collecting"), *Vostochnyi sbornik GPB*, Gosudarstvennaia ordena trudovogo krasnogo знамени Publichnaia biblioteka imeni M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina, fasc. 4 (Leningrad, 1990), pp. 32—44, esp. pp. 35—41; Tapani Harviainen and Haseeb Shehadeh, "How did Abraham Firkovich acquire the great collection of Samaritan manuscripts in Nablus in 1864?", *Studia Orientalia*, 73 (Helsinki, 1994), pp. 167—92. Reprinted in *A. B. — The Samaritan News — Alef Bet — Hadashot ha-šomroniyim*, 633—636, Holon, 13.4. 1995, pp. 158—80; and T. Harviainen, "The Cairo genizot and other sources of the Second Firkovich Collection in St. Petersburg", *Proceedings of the Twelfth Congress of the International Organization for Masoretic Studies. Masoretic Studies*, 8, ed. E. J. Revell (The Society of Biblical Literature. Scholars Press, 1996), pp. 25—36.

8. The personal archive of Firkovich kept in the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg (F. 946, Lichnyi arkhiv A. S. Firkovicha).

9. The letter addressed to his grandson Gabriel Firkovich begins on page 607:2r and is dated — "on Thursday the 30th of Adar Shenî which for the Samaritans was the 1st day of the New Year" — i.e. on April 7, 1864; in Harviainen and Shehadeh, *op. cit.*, pp. 175—6, the first pages were erroneously mentioned as part of the letter to Gabriel Firkovich.

10. Abraham Mišri (Micri or Michri, 1830—1917) was a famous Crimean Karaites; a great number of cultural achievements are connected with his name, see B. S. El'iashevich, "Karaimy" (Materials for the series "Narody i kul'tury"), vol. XIV (Moscow, 1993), pt. 2, No. 160, pp. 141—5.

11. Schur, *op. cit.*, pp. 90—1.

12. Letter 605:19v.

13. T. Harviainen, "Abraham Firkovitch, Karaites in Hit, and the Provenance of Karaites Transcriptions of Biblical Hebrew Texts into Arabic Script", *Folia Orientalia*, vol. XXVIII (1991), Studies in Memory of Andrzej Czapkiewicz (1) (Wrocław—Warszawa—Kraków, 1992), pp. 179—91.

14. Firkovich was in favour of a *minyān* consisting of ten men, see Tapani Harviainen, Haseeb Shehadeh, Harry Halén, "Samaritan and Karaim Commitments to *Minyan*, Abraham Firkovich, and the Poor of Trakai", *Studia Orientalia*, 82 (1997), pp. 85—98. Cf. also above, n. 7.

15. Letter 607:5r (to Abraham ha-Mišri). The donors were Ezra *yerushalmi ha-gebir* Babağan (1796—1869; El'iashevich, *op. cit.*, pt. 2, No. 13, pp. 6—7), Selomo *ha-gebir* and his brother Jacob *yerushalmi ha-gebir* Kefeli, Mrs. Rachel, Mrs. Gulam (?) and Mrs. Hannah *yerušalmit*, the widow of Mišael Koğaš (Koğak?) who had built a small house to live in it until her death, and Mordekhai *he-ḥakham ha-ḥazzan* (for his namesake, cf. El'iashevich, *op. cit.*, pt. 1, No. 74, p. 94, d. 1761).

16. Harviainen and Shehadeh, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 174, 186, and n. 30.

17. I am grateful to Mr. Mourad al-Qudsi for the opportunity of using his unpublished family documents as a source for this study.

18. H. Bonar in 1856 calls the *hakham* by name Daud, cf., Schur, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

19. Harviainen and Shehadeh, *op. cit.*, p. 184, n. 70; nor was he satisfied with his knowledge of French.

20. Moshe ben Abraham Levi was the *hakham* of the Cairene Karaites community until the death of David in 1872, when Moshe returned to Jerusalem to be the chief *hakham* there.

21. [E. Finn], *Reminiscences of Mrs. Finn* (London — Edinburgh, 1929), pp. 177—8. A considerable number of the Karaims in Jerusalem came from the Crimea, see Schur, *op. cit.*, pp. 92—4.

22. Lebedev, "Novye dannye", p. 32—4.

23. Moisey Mordekhaiyevich Gelelovich (1788—1869) occurs as number 50 (pp. 34—5) in the second part of the *Karaimskii bibliograficheskii slovar'* (The Karaim Bibliographical Dictionary) by B. S. Elyashevich (El'iashevich), see above, n. 10.

24. Letter 605:19r.

25. The Karaites synagogue of Anan in Jerusalem was for centuries the recipient of support from the Eastern European Karaims and a site of pilgrimage (see Schur, *op. cit.*, pp. 79—90). An interesting case is the "holy money" collected by Josef b. Jeshua' *ha-zaqen* of Deražnia (Deražnia in the present-day Ukraine) in 1768. The funds were obviously intended for the repair of the *kenesa* in Jerusalem. However, the Khan of the Crimea put him in prison in Bakhchisarai and the donations he had collected were confiscated. In a poem, written in the Karaim language, entitled *Qarangi bulut* ("The Black Cloud"), Josef describes his troubles and expresses his hope of being released from prison and having the contributions collected by him returned. The poem was published, e.g., by Jan Grzegorzewski in his article "Caraimica. Język Łach-Karaitów. Narzeczce południowe (lucko-halickie)", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 1 (Kraków, 1916—1918), pp. 252—96, pp. 268—70, 274—9; I am grateful to Mr. Keijo Hopeavuori for the Finnish translation of the poem.

26. Letter 607:1r—2r; the Hebrew text will be published by me in my article "Abraham Firkovitch ve-ha-miqdaš ha-qara'i b-Irušalayim" (forthcoming in *Mehqarim be-lašon 'ibrit u-b-sifrutah*. Proceedings of the 12th Hebrew Scientific European Congress, Université de Strasbourg du 30 juin à 4 juillet 1996. Brit Ivrit Olamit, Jerusalem, 1998).

27. Letter 605:18v—19r; the Hebrew text will be published in the article mentioned above in n. 26.

28. *'ad sippun ya'ani kyw' gyr g' d'*; the Karaim (?) equivalent of Hebrew *sippun* ("roof") is unknown to me. The drawings by Pinkerfeld (see above, n. 3) and the tables 1—3 in the *Karaims in Poland* by Ananiasz Zajęzkowski (Warszawa—La Haye—Paris, 1961), pp. 33—5, help to visualize the description by Firkovich.

29. See table 2 in Zajęzkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

30. Firkovich refers to Jeremiah 3:17—18 in his letter to Constantinople (605:19r).

31. "Who every day, in the morning and in the evening, are sworn to say: 'If I forget you, O Jerusalem ... Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I do not remember you, etc.'" (sc. Ps. 137:5, TH), letter 605:19r.

32. W. Schur (Sur), *Mahazot hayyim* (Wien, 1884), p. 66; A. Ben-Ya'aqob, *ha-Yehudim be-Babel* (Jerusalem, 1965), pp. CCCXVIII—CCCXX.