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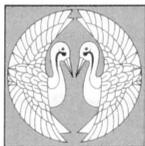
Front cover:

“The Holy Family with Attendants”, *Muraqqa’* (E 14) in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Lucknow school, mid-18th century, fragment of folio 91 a, 10.0×13.3 cm. Watercolour, gouache.

Back cover:

“The Madonna Praying before the Crucifix” (top left), “The Madonna of St. Luke” (top right) and “Ibrāhīm ibn Adham and Angels” (bottom), *Muraqqa’* (E 14) in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, attributed to Manohar Dās, Mughāl school, ca. 1590—1595, folio 53 a. Sizes: 6.0×7.2 cm, 2.8×5.8 cm, 14.8×19.5 cm. Watercolour, ink and gold on paper.

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TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

I. Ianbay

NEW DATA ON THE LITERATURE AND CULTURE OF THE KRIMCHAKS*

The study and publication of materials pertaining to the Jewish Krimchak ethnolect of the Crimean Tatar language started nearly 100 years ago: Ephraim Deinard in 1878 was the first to publish the first 20 Krimchak words [1]. We know of eight books in Krimchak-Turkic published at the beginning of the twentieth century by the Krimchaks themselves: they are listed first by Yizhaq Ben-Zvi [2] and then by Wolf Moskowitch and Boris Tukan [3] as well. Only one of these books, *Sefer Ruth* published by Petrokov in 1906 (52 pages), was given special study in a paper by the author of the present article and Erdal [4]. Some authors such as Kaja, Filonenko, Keren, Khazanov, Polinsky [5] have published several short texts in prose and poetry in the Krimchak ethnolect. However, there are many other undescribed Krimchak manuscripts in various depositories.

The survey presented here is a description of the Krimchak manuscripts mentioned in the article by Lea Medvedeva [6]. Her article on the Karaite written sources in the collections of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies contains also a short enumeration of six [7] Krimchak manuscripts discovered among them. These manuscripts from the St. Petersburg collection are available on microfilms at the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem. Their numbers are: 52845 (A 61 in St. Petersburg), 52368 (A 128), 53591 (B 420), 53034 (B 98), 667836 (C 77), and 69264 (C 18). All of them are written in Hebrew script, and they are works in prose or poetry, memoirs and philological descriptions, epic works and translations of books of the Bible. Nearly all of them were written between the mid-nineteenth century and the 1920s.

Notes on transcription

For all Krimchak forms cited in the article, that is, for single words and phrases, as well as for longer example sentences and passages of texts, the transcription described below [8] is used. The motivation for adopting a transcription into Latin, with the elements of transliteration, was to make the sources accessible to non-Semitologists.

The following vowels — all fairly close to the cardinal vowels in their phonetic realization — are indicated: *a*, *e*, *ï*, *i*, *o*, *ö*, *u*, *ü*. In the Krimchak manuscripts these are spelled by means of 5 letters (א, ה, ו, י, ע) and some *nikud* vowel-pointings. Both diacritics and letters are sometimes omitted. The vowels *a*, *o*, *u*, *i*, which appear also in Hebrew, are presented as in that language. For instance, in the first syllable the letter *alef* with *kamas* and the *kamas* and *patah* signs are rendered in this transcription by *a*, for example, אַי *ay* “month”, דא *da* “and”, סרנוו *sarnav* “song”. At the same time, there are many cases, such as בש *baş* “head”, ברצא *barca* “all, every”, שבת *šabat* “Sabbath, Saturday”. The letter *he* is rendered by *e*, for example, נה *ne* “what”. The letter *yod* is rendered by *i*, for example, בילן *bilen* “with”,

כיביכ *kibik* “like, as”. The combination *alef-yod* is also rendered by *i*, for example, איץ *ič* “in”, אינאן *inan* “to believe”. The letter *ayin* is used in the spelling for rendering the vowel *a*, for example, יעקב *yaakov* “Jacob” as in Hebrew. At the same time, there are cases of using *ayin* for rendering the vowel *e*, for example, ישמעל *ismael* “Ismael”, סעבער *sever* “beloved”, בעש *beš* “five” [9].

Palatal harmony, a characteristic feature of Turkic phonology, is evident in the spelling. There are many suffixes forming pairs by alternating the vowels *a* and *e*, for example, *-al*-*e* (dative); *-da* *l*-*de* (locative); *-dan* *l*-*den* (ablative); *-lar* *l*-*ler* (plural); *-maq* *l*-*mek* (verbal noun), etc. The *a*-suffixes are used in words with back vowels, the *e*-suffixes in words with front vowels, for example, סאילארי *sayıları* “their quantity”, אישצילער *iščiler* “workers”, etc. Besides, the letters *kaf* and *gimel* are only used in words with front vowels, but the signs *kof* and *gimel* with a stroke are used in words with back vowels only. Therefore, the combination *xolam-vav* is rendered in the transcription by either *o* or *ö*; similarly, the combination *vav-shuruk* is

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shown as *u* or *ü*, according to palatal harmony; for example, *künler* “days”, *axar* “is flowing”, *görmesem* “if I do not see”, *baxıtsizlix* “misfortune”, etc.

There are 20 consonant letters in the Hebrew alphabet. By means of using *dagesh* dotting and various strokes the number of Hebrew letters in the Krimchak character inventory is increased considerably. For some Hebrew letters,

Krimchak usage differs from Classical Hebrew. For example, the letter *shin* marks only the sound *š*; there is no *sin*. *Sade* is used for marking *ĉ*. The letter *xaf* marks three different sounds: *k*, *x*, and *h*. *Gimel* with a point (sometimes with a stroke) marks affricate *j*, and *gimel* with a slanting stroke marks both the nasal sonorant *ŋ* and the fricative *ɣ*. The letter *vet* with a stroke indicates fricative *v*; the letter *pe* with a stroke marks *f*. These diacritics are often omitted.

Table 1

A summary of the sound values of vowel and consonant characters

Nos.	letter	name	transcription
1	א	<i>alef</i>	<i>a, e</i>
2	ב	<i>bet, vet</i>	<i>b, v</i>
3	ג	<i>gimel</i>	<i>g, j, ɣ, ŋ</i>
4	ד	<i>dalet</i>	<i>d</i>
5	ה	<i>he</i>	<i>h, e</i>
6	ו	<i>vav</i>	<i>v, o, u, ö, ü</i>
7	ז	<i>zayin</i>	<i>z</i>
8	ח	<i>het</i>	<i>x</i>
9	ט	<i>tet</i>	<i>t</i>
10	י	<i>yod</i>	<i>i, ĭ</i>
11	כ	<i>kaf, xaf</i>	<i>k, x, h</i>
12	ל	<i>lamed</i>	<i>l</i>
13	מ	<i>mem</i>	<i>m</i>
14	נ	<i>nun</i>	<i>n</i>
15	ס	<i>samex</i>	<i>s</i>
16	ע	<i>'ayin</i>	<i>a, e</i>
17	פ	<i>pe, fe</i>	<i>p, f</i>
18	צ	<i>sade</i>	<i>ĉ, (s)</i>
19	ק	<i>kof</i>	<i>q</i>
20	ר	<i>resh</i>	<i>r</i>
21	ש	<i>shin, sin</i>	<i>š, (s)</i>
22	ת	<i>tav</i>	<i>t</i>

Before describing the manuscripts mentioned above, some technical notes are necessary. First, letters in round brackets refer to Hebrew proper names in the Krimchak

texts. Second, suffixes, which are sometimes written in texts separately, in the transcription are joined to their stems by means of hyphens.

Manuscripts contents

I. Bible translations and other religious works.

There are the books of the later prophets in manuscript B 98 (microfilm No. 53034), which is a voluminous manuscript without a title page. The manuscript consists of 130 folios, or 260 pages. The name of the translator has not yet been established. On fol. 27, there is a note in Russian: “Simferopol, 1930”. This date is repeated on fol. 96.

The Hebrew texts are absent in the manuscript. It contains translations into the Krimchak ethnolect of the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah and Micah. With the exception of the book of Jeremiah, which lacks an end, all these biblical books are complete. We give here the beginnings and the ends of each book:

1. The Book of Isaiah (fols. 1—68).

The beginning: נבי ליכי ישעיהו נביג' אוגלו אמוץ נביג' כי נביא ליכ' אטטי יהודה אוצון דא ירושלים אוצון דא

Transcription: *nabi-liki isayahu-niḡ oylu amos-niḡ ki nabi-lik etti yehuda ücün da yerušalaim ücün.*

Translation: “The vision concerning Judah and Jerusalem Isaiah, the son of Amoz, saw”.

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. I. v. 1):

חזון ישעיהו בן-אמוץ אשר חנה על יהודה וירושלם

דא בולסין איי בשיסין דאן איי בשיסנדא דא שבת דן תם: שבתי דא כלסין ברצא טן בש אורמג'א אלימא אטטי ייג: תם

Transcription: *da bolsin ay başışin-dan ay başışi-na da şabat-dan şabatın-da kelsin barça ten baş urmaya alima eytti iyeğ: tam.*

Translation: "From one new moon to another and from one Sabbath to another, all mankind will come and bow down before me", says your Lord".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. LXVI, v. 23): ומדי שבת בשבתו יבוא כל בשר להשתחות לפני אמר יהוה:

2. The Book of Jeremiah (fols. 69—96).

The beginning: סוזלרי ירמיהו ניג' אוגלו חלקיהו ניג' אול כהן לרדן כי סנתות טא יירינדא בנימין ניג'.

Transcription: *sözleri yermiyahu-niğ oğlu xelkiyahu-niğ ol kohen-lardan ki santot-ta yerinde benyamin-niğ.*

Translation: "The words of Jeremioh the son of Hilkiah, of the priests in Santhoth (Anathoth) in the land of Benjamin".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. I, v. 1):

דברי ירמיהו בן-חלקיהו מן הפקדים אשר בענתות בארץ בנימן:

The end: דא אושול ברצא כונלרני כ'אן לרי יהודא ניג' וריים קולונדא דושמן לרניניג' דא טלסין לר אלרני דא אלסין לר אלרני דא אלכטיסין לר אלרני בבל גא.

Transcription: *da uşol barça xazinalarını xan-larī yehuda-niğ vereyim qolunda duşman-lariniğ da talasin-lar alarnı da alsin-lar alarnı da alkitsin-ler alarnı babil-ya.*

Translation: "I will hand over to their enemies all valuables of the kings of Judah. They will take it away as plunder and carry it off to Babylon".

Actually, this is not the end of the Book of Jeremiah. The end of the text in this Krimchak manuscript corresponds to the following Hebrew verse (ch. XX, v. 5): ואת כל וצרות מלכי יהודה אתן ביד איביהם ובזזים ולקחום והביאום בקלה:

3. The Book of Hosea (fols. 97—106).

The beginning: סוגו יג' ניג' : כי בולדו הושע גא אוגלו בארי ניג' כונלרין דא עוזיה ניג' : יוסם ניג' אחז ניג' : חיזוקה ניג' כאן לרי יאודא ניג' :

Transcription: *sözü iyeğ-niğ ki boldu ose-ge oğlu bari-niğ könlarinde uzi-niğ yosam-niğ axaz-niğ yexizqiya-niğ xanlarī yeuda-niğ.*

Translation: "The word of the Lord, your God, that came unto Hosea, the son of Beeri, in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah, kings of Judah".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. I, v. 1):

דבר יהוה אשר הנה אל-הושע בן-בארי בימי עזיה יותם אחז וחקיה מלכי יהודה

The end: דא צדיק לר יורור לר אלר בילן דא ביין לר סורושור לר אלר בילן. חם

Transcription: *da çadik-ler yürür-ler alar bilen da beyan-lar soruşur-lar alar bilen: tam.*

Translation: "The righteous walk in them [in the ways of the Lord] and glad persons question them. The end".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. XIV, v. 10): וצדקים ילכו גם ופושעים יפשו גם :

4. The Book of Joel (fols. 106—110).

The beginning: אישיטיג'ז' בונו אול קרטלר דא טיגלאגיז ברצא אוטורג'ן לר.

Transcription: *eşitiğiz bunu ol qartlar da tiğlağiz barça oturğanlar.*

Translation: "Hear this, ye old man; and hear, all ye inhabitants [of the land]".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. I, v. 2):

שמעו דאת הנקנים והאזינו כל יושבי הארץ

The end: וניקה דא ארובלם קולרי אוצון ארובלם דיר דא ייג קונר ציון דא.

Transcription: *ve niqah-da aruvlasam qanlarī üçün aruvlamam-dir da iyeğ qonar çion-da.*

Translation: "Their bloodguilt, which I have not pardoned, I will pardon. The Lord, your God, dwells in Zion".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. IV, v. 21): ונקיית נקם לא-נקיית ויהוה שכן בציון :

5. The Book of Amos (fols. 110—119).

The beginning: סוזלרי עמוס ניג' : כי בולדו קוייגו לרדא תקועדן :

Transcription: *sözleri amos-niğ ki boldu qoyji-larda teqoada.*

Translation: "The words of Amos, one of the herdmen of Tekoa".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. I, v. 1):

דברי עמוס אשר-הנה בנקדים מתקוע

The end: דא טיכיים אלרני יירלרי אוסינא דא טשלן אסין דגין יירלרי אוסטון דן כי ורדים אלרגא אטטי ייג טגרי : חם

Transcription: *da tikeyim alarnı yerleri üstüne da taslan-asin degin yerleri üstün-den ki verdim alarğa aytti iyeğ teğri: tam.*

Translation: "I will plant them upon their own land, to be never uprooted from the land I have given them, said the Lord, your God. The end".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. IX, v. 15): ונטעמים על-אדמתם ולא ינקשו עוד מעל אדמתם אשר-נתתי להם אמר יהוה אל-היך :

6. The Book of Obadiah (fols. 119—120).

The beginning: נביא ליכי עובדיה ניג' ייכולי אטטי ייג טגרי אדום אוצון כבר אישיטיטיב קטנדן ייג ניג' :

Transcription: *nebi-likı obadiya-niğ yaxoley etti iyeğ teğri edom üçün xaber eşittik qatından iyeğ-niğ.*

Translation: "The vision of Obadiah. This is what the Lord, your God, said concerning Edom".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. I, v. 1):

חזון עבדיה כה-אמר אדני יהוה לאדום

The end: דא מינסין קוטולגן לר דגנדא ציון ניג' יירשעט אטמגא אושול דאגני אשו ניג' דא כילסין ייג ניג' אול כאנליק.

Transcription: *da minsin qutulğan-lar dayında çyon-niğ yişraat etmege uşol dayini isav-niğ da kelsin iyeğ-niğ ol xanlıq.*

Translation: "Saviours shall come up on Mount Zion to judge the mount of Esau; and the kingdom shall be the Lord's".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. I, v. 21):

ועלו מושעים בהר ציון לשפט את-הר-עשו והיתה ליהודה הקלוכה :

7. The Book of Jonah (fols. 120—123).

The beginning: דא בולדו סוגו ייג ניג' וינה גא אוגלו אמתי ניג' דמגא

Transcription: *da boldu sözü iye-niğ yona-ya oylu amitya-niğ demege.*

Translation: "The word of the Lord to Jonah, the son of Amittai".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. I, v. 1):

יְהִי דְבַר-יְהוָה אֶל-יְוֹנָה בֶן-אֲמִתַּי לֵאמֹר

The end: אול אולו שיהר כי ורדיר אנדא כוב, און אכי טומן דן ארטיק אדם. כי בילמדי ארסינא אוג' יניג'י דא סוג' ינינא. דא חיינ כוב. תם

Transcription: *ol ulu šeher ki vardir anda köb on eki tuman-dan artıq adam ki bilmedi arasına oñ yanınıñ da soñ yanına. da xayvan köb.*

Translation: "The great city [Nineveh] wherein are more than a hundred and twenty thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand, and also much cattle".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. IV, v. 11):

הַעִיר הַגְּדוֹלָה אֲשֶׁר יָשָׁבָה הָרְבֵבָה מְשֻׁתָּם-עַשׂוּרָה רַבּוֹ אֲדָם אֲשֶׁר לֹא-יָדַע בֵּין-יְמִינוֹ לִשְׁמֵאלוֹ וּבֵינֵיהֶם רֶבֶה :

8. The Book of Micah (fols. 123—130).

The beginning: סונו ייג נג' כי בולדו מיכה אול מורשתי גא כונלרנינדא יותם נג' אזו נג' יחוקיה נג' כאן לרי יאודא נג'

Transcription: *sözü iyyeñ-niñ ki boldu mixa ol moraşfı-ya küñlerinde yotam-niñ axaz-niñ yaxzaqıya-niñ xan-ları yeuda-niñ.*

Translation: "The word of the Lord that came to Micah the Moresheth (Morasthite) in the days of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. I, v. 1):

דְבַר-יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר הִנֵּה אֶל-מִיכָה הַמְרַשְׁתִּי בְּיַמֵּי יוֹתָם אֶתָּה יְחֻזְקֶנָּה מְלֶכֶת הַיְהוּדָה

The end: וריר ברלכני יעקב גא דא כרם אברהם גא כי אנדיטטיג' אטא לרימיזגא בורונג כונלר דא.

Transcription: *verir birlikni yaaqob-ya da kerem avraham-ya ki andettij ata-larımıçya burunyu küñler-de. tam*

Translation: "You will perform the truth to Jacob, and mercy to Abraham, which you has sworn unto our fathers in the old days. The end".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. VII, v. 20):

תָּתֵן אֶמֶת לְיַעֲקֹב כְּסֵד לְאַבְרָהָם אֲשֶׁר-נִשְׁבַּעְתָּ לְאַבְתָּנוּ מִיַּמֵּי קְדָם :

II. Poetry. Krimchak manuscript B 420 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (microfilm No. 53591) contains the collected poems of the Krimchak poet Marcel Perich (פרץ), who lived at the turn of the twentieth century. The title of the manuscript is: "Marcel Perich' širleri" (מרסל פרץ שירלרי "Marcel Perich's verses"). This copy-book, which contains 53 pages, is written in one hand. Most probably, the text was written at the end of the 1920's because the manuscript contains a poem dedicated to the tenth anniversary of the 1917 Russian revolution, that is, the poem could be written in 1927, not earlier. There are also 43 poems of various contents, including lyric and satiric verses. Almost all of them have titles, for example, *Klub demek ne demek* ("What does club mean?"; חורוז דוראר חרְבֶּעֶנְדֵן *Xoroz durar erkenden*) "A cock gets up early"; קושלאריג ורגן אוגוטלרי בן אדם גא *(Quşlarıñ vergen ögütleri ben-adem-ge)* "Birds requests for people"; שיר *(Şir)* "Song"; אנא וא יאברולרי *(Ana ve yavruları)* "Mother and her chicks"; שטן וא ישמעל *(Satan ve Yismael)* "Satan and Ismael"; אברהם יצחקני עקדה גא אליף כיטכן סוג' *(Satan ve Ismael)*

(*Avraham yixxaqni akeda-ya alıp-kitken soñ*) "When Abraham has led Ishaq to put to death"; לַעֲנִין לַעֲנִין לַעֲנִין! (*Lenin Lenin Lenin*) "Lenin, Lenin, Lenin!"; בֵּן דּוֹקוּחַ יוֹז בַּעַשׂ (*Bin dokuz yüz beş*) "Nineteen hundred and five"; אוכטיאבר (*Oktıabr*) "October". etc.

Even a brief glance at the orthography of the titles shows some distinctions from the other texts: the letter כ (*xaf*) is used for rendering the consonant *h*, not *x*; the letter פ (*xet*) with *segol* in initial position and the letter ע (*ayn*) in a closed syllable are used here for rendering the vowel *e*.

In the poem by Marcel Perich, dedicated to the first of May, we find the following lines:

Text

נישאן גון דור פרב'וי מאי ...
כפיסי צ'חאקן מיידאנגא
סאיילארי כיסאפסיז
ביר טראפדאן אישצילער
אויילה גא כם כומסומולאר, ארדי סירא פייאנערלער ...
אגילארנינדאן אהאר באל גול אינטער נאציונאל

Transcription

Nışan gün-dür pervoy may, [...]
Hepisi cıxqan meydanğa, ortalıñı faqir, bay;
sayıları hisapsız, inanmasañ, otur say;
bir taraftan işçiler, nizam ilen gezerler;
öyle de hem komsomollar, ardı şıra pionerler [...]
ayızlarından axar bal; güzel internasiyonal.

Translation

"It is the special day — the first of May. [...]
Everybody is on the square,
Both the poor person and the rich;
They are countless.
If you do not believe, please, count [yourself];
The workers are going in lines, followed by the [members of] Komsomol;
The pioneers are after them [...];
Like honey the beautiful [song of] "The International"
Is pouring out of their mouths".

The poet's verses are evidently influenced by his concern for the circumstances of his ethnic group: he writes, for example: *(yisraal milletij polajışeni-si)* "Status of the Israel people" consisting of 19 hemistiches, and *(qrimçakij aslı olmaxı)* "The origin of the Krimchaks" (18 strophes plus 2 lines). We cite here, for example, the first strophe of the latter verse:

Text

ג'אנים אטאם! סעבער אטאם. / ריג'אם סאג'א, אגלאט מאג'א /
נה דען אסלי וא כם נאסלי פעדה אולג'אן בן קרימצאק.

Transcription

janım atam! sever atam / rıjım saña, añlat maña / neden aslı ve hem naslı / peyde olğan bu qırımçaq?

Translation

"My dear father! My beloved father, / I have a favour to ask of you, tell me, / what roots the Krimchaks have / [and] how they came to being?"

The question about the Krimchaks is only a rhetorical device of the poet, since Marcel Perich seems to know the answer, and he answers the question himself. He says that

the Krimchaks originate from Palestine, their forefathers lived there some thousands of years ago. Then they came to the Kingdom of Bosphorus and settled in the town of Panticapeum and in the other cities of the country. The poet also says that every Krimchak knows these descent legends as well as the history of his people. The poem is an important document indicative of the historical self-identification of the Krimchaks, who considered themselves Jews by origin.

We can also extract some biographical information, if scant, on the poet. During the 1920s Marcel Perich appears to have gone hungry just like everyone else in the Crimea in this period. The poem called 1921—22 קיטליח טורכוסו (*Qitlix türküsü 1921—22*) "The song about the 1921—1922 famine" shows that clearly. The poet also lost his son. Four poems by him are dedicated to the death of the son. Three of them, written in Krimchak, are entitled יעקב'ס מענים (*Ah, benim yakovim*) "Oh, my Jacob"; אצון יעקב פרץ אצון: (*Sevgili oğlum yakov peric için*) "To my beloved son Jacob Perich"; and באחסטזליח (*baxıstızlix*) "Misfortune". One poem, called לזכרון בני יעקב פרץ זל (*Perich*), is dedicated to the memory of his son Jacob, is written in Hebrew.

III. Songs. There are two other collections of Krimchak songs among the above-mentioned manuscripts preserved on microfilm at the Hebrew University Library.

1. MS A 128 (microfilm No. 52368) contains 324 short songs (or poems) on the folios 7—67. They consist of 4, 6 or 8 lines. We give here, for example, a short song of a man who is in love (p. 18):

בן סני ארר בולורום : יולוג'א קורבן אולורום :
 ביר גון גורמסם אולורום : טורנם בן אבני דיגילים :
 אינן יולגני דיגילים

Transcription: *ben seni arar bulurum / yoluğa qurban olurum / bir gün görmesem ölüürüm / turnam ben avji digilim / inan yalanji digilim.*

Translation: "I am looking for you, / I shall find you, / I shall fall a victim on your way; / if I do not see you [even] one day, I shall die. / My crane, I am not a hunter; / believe [me], I am not a liar".

Or another song (p. 13):

גמי לרדא וזו אולור : גול אצילסא יזו אולור :
 בן סנא גול דימדים : אומרז אז אולור

Transcription: *gemi-lerde vaz olur / gül açılrsa yaz olur / ben sana gül deymedim / ömürü az olur.*

Translation: "Ships have balance; / if roses are blossoming, / [it means] it is summer; / I do not call you a rose, / its lifetime is short".

Some songs in the collection betray a philosophical bent. For example, on p. 35 we find the following lines:

בין ייל אומרזג' אולורסא
 כר גון חזנא גלירסא
 אורזיל גניג' אלירסא
 מליג' בורדא קליר.

Transcription: *bin yıl ömürüğ olursa / her gün xazana gelirse / azrail janıñ alırsa / malıñ burada qalır.*

Translation: "[Even] if your life is a thousand years, / if your treasure is [growing] every day, / when Azrail will take your soul, / all your property will remain here".

Or another example (p. 35 v):

דירכ טא אולור יפרק
 דוכולור קליר ציפלק
 אינסן יירגא גירדיכ צז
 אלור ביר אוזן טופרק

Transcription: *direk-te olur yapraq / dökülür qalır çiplaq / insane yirge girdik çaz / olur bir avuç topraq.*

Translation: "There are leaves on the tree, / after they fell, [the tree] becomes naked, / when man is buried, / he becomes a handful of dust".

2. MS B 420 (microfilm No. 53591) includes 54 wedding songs on 11 folios, with the first page decorated with a drawing — an ornament made in ink, which has a note in Russian placed on the edge: "I love, I loved and I will love all my life". Within the ornament one can read in Hebrew: לחטונה "For a wedding" (with the letter ט).

The first line: הורמטלי סיילי בנילירים אשטיזי סרנוולירים

Transcription: *hürmetli sıyllı biyelerim eşitiyiz sarnavlarım.*

Translation: "My dear sirs, hear my songs".

The end: אולנלרי תורגא אוהוגילר ד מץנלרין טרנינין קיים :
 טויסקילר איוב ישראלקליר

Transcription: *olanları tora oxuğaylar da miçvalerin tenrinin qayam tutqaylar aruv israeller.*

Translation: "Their sons, the pure Israelites, will read the Torah and will fulfil commandments of the Lord".

IV. Prayers and dirges. Prayers and dirges are also present since they were performed during the services. Although the language of the religious texts of the Krimchaks is Hebrew, it is important that the Krimchak dirges were also performed in Turkic. There is a prayer-book comprising 245 folios (490 pages in the microfilm No. 69264). It is *Seder Tisha be-Av* in Hebrew. There is no date in the text. Lea Medvedeva [10] thinks that the manuscript is written on Crimean paper manufactured in the seventeenth century. The book contains a number of religious hymns in the Krimchak ethnolect of the Crimean Tatars (103 lines on pp. 133—143). We cite here one of them (fols. 139v—142r).

The beginning: קרנשלירים דוקטלרים סיזא חכייט איילים :
 איגר דיגלר סגיז ביר סוו סוילירים : יקשילר יולגנא גן קורבן אוליים :
 אגליים אגליים קגלי ייש דוכיים : שול וכטטא כשע קיסר זמנינדא :
 קצן כי ישראל אוניג אלגנא : כחט אולקמ' ישראל חץ גלותי דא : גור נלר
 קגלי אול און אולי חכמים כשינא.

Transcription: *qardaşlarım dostlarım size xikayet eyleyim : eger diñlar-sañız bir söz söyleyim : yaxşilar yolına jan qurban olayım : aylaýmıñ iglayım qanlı yaş dökeyim : şol vakıtta raşa kesar zamanında : qaçan ki israel onıñ elinde : raxat olmadı israel hiç galuti-da : gör neler geldi ol on olı xaxamım başına.*

Translation: "My brothers and friends, shall I narrate something to you. I shall tell you if you listen [to me]. Let my heart be a sacrifice to a good people: I am crying bitterly with bloody tears. It was at the villain king's time when Israel was taken in his hand [and] the Israelites had no peace at all in captivity. Look what happened to the ten great wise persons".

The end: מקבול אולדי אוגומא אול יקשי אשֶלְרִיג'יז
 Transcription: *maqbul oldi ögüme ol yaxşı işleriniz.*
 Translation: "Your good deeds became accepted by me".

Microfilm No. 67836 contains twenty various manuscripts. Three of them concern the mourning on the day of the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. It is a book and two fragments of the *Seder Tisha be-Av*. There is a note in Russian on the first page of manuscript No. 11: "The mourning on the day of the destruction of Jerusalem in Hebrew and with its translation, with neither beginning nor end. It was brought back by Wiener from Odessa in 1887" [11]. The text in Hebrew is here divided into small parts, each of them followed by the Krimchak translation. The manuscript consists of 10 folios, i.e. 20 pages, 17—18 lines per page. There are two dates on it: 1850 and 1863. The name of Akiva Peysakh (?) is written beside the colophon.

The Hebrew beginning of the text: בליל זה יבכין :: וייללו :: בני :: ליל חרב ביתי :: ינשרדו ארמוני :: וכל בית ישראל יהרגו בינוני :: יבכו השרפה אשר שרף ייא :: ::

The Krimchak beginning of the text: / בו גגא גי גגא דא / אנגליז חף מני / קרדשלים דוסטלרים / סרנגיו ויי מני / יקטילר אבימני / וירן אטטילר מקדשמני / בו גגא גי גגא דא אנגליז חף מני :
 Transcription: *bu geje-gi geje-de l aʕlanjiz hep meni / qardaşlarım dostlarım / sarmajiz vay meni / yaqñilar evimni / veran etiler miqdaşimni / bu geje-gi geje-de aʕlanjiz hep meni.*

Translation: "On this night / everybody will mourn over me. / [both] my brothers [and] my friends; / oh, grieve, over this: / they have burnt my house, / they have devastated my temple; / at this night everybody will mourn over me".

The end: בו קינות ני יזיב ביהירדים 1850
 Transcription: *bu qinot-ni yazıb bitirdim 1850.*

Translation: "I finished my writing of this *kinot* (dirge — *I. I.*) in 1850".

Manuscript No. 12 in this set of 20 manuscripts (the same microfilm) is the *Seder Tisha be-Av*, which consists of 11 folios. The Hebrew text appears together with the Krimchak translation. The Krimchak text starts on page 4. This manuscript has an owner record (in Russian): "From the W. Radloff collection". It also bears the same date — 1850.

The Hebrew beginning of the text: ברור ייא מה היה לנו אוי :: הביטה וראה את חרפתנו / אוי אוי מה היה לנו

The Krimchak beginning of the text: אנגליז ייא נא בולדו :: בינגא ני בקקון נא כורגון אושול כורלובומזני וני ני נא בולדו בינגא
 Transcription: *aññan ya ne boldu bizge vay baxqin da körgün üsöl xorluxumuzni vay vay ne boldu bizge.*

Translation: "Do realize what has happened to us! Oh, look and see our disgrace, what has happened to us!"

The end: מקבול אולדו אול יקשי אישֶלְרִיג'יז
 Transcription: *maqbul oldu ol yaqñi işleriniz.*
 Translation: "Your good deeds became accepted".

V. Epic literature. Turkic *destans* of the sixteenth — eighteenth centuries "Ashiq Gharib", "Dahir and Zoxra" and "Kör-oghlu" have penetrated Krimchak literature. Love stories and adventures connected with two persons in

love with each other constitute the basis of the *destan* plots; they were equally popular in the Caucasus, in the Volga area, in Central Asia and Asia Minor [12]. The presence of these epic works in the Krimchak manuscripts proves that the members of the Jewish community had a vivid interest in their neighbours' oral heritage, and it was not a local phenomenon characteristic of the Krimchaks solely.

1. "Ashiq Gharib" in manuscript A 128 (microfilm No. 52368, pp. 67—202) is an anonymous folk *destan* believed to date from the sixteenth — seventeenth centuries [13].

The beginning: זמן אילן ביר זמן דא : טוריו שהינדא ביר : וא אדם וזר אדי : אוגלו וזר אדי :

Transcription: *zaman ilen bir zaman-da : tevriz şehirinde bir ixtiyar adam var edi : ve o adam-niñ bir qarışı ve bir qızı ve bir oğlu var edi.*

Translation: "Once upon a time an old man lived in the city of Tebriz. This man had a wife, a daughter and a son".

The end: אללה קא צוק שוכור אדיף קאושוטולר אייליכ ייקשיליק : אילן מוראדלארינא ייטשטילר.

Transcription: *allah-qa çoq şükür edip qavuşular iyilik yaqñılıq ilen moradlarına yetiştiler.*

Translation: "They thanked the Lord very much and joined together, [and] they achieved what they searched for by their good deeds".

2. There is also a fragment of "Dahir and Zoxra" in manuscript B 420 (microfilm No. 53591, pp. 24—27) lacking neither beginning nor end.

The beginning: אולסון : בן דן קאירי יאר סוייסאג איכי כוגוג : כור אולסון.

Transcription: *olsun : ben-den qayri yar söysey eki közüñ kör olsun.*

Translation: "Let it be [so]: if you fall in love with someone except me, [then] let both your eyes become blind".

The end: דונדור באנא יוזוגו .

Transcription: *döndür bana yüzüğü.*

Translation: "Give me back the ring".

3. Among the manuscript texts, we also find "Kör-oghlu", which is an epic *destan* popular both in the Middle East and Central Asia. It is dated approximately to the seventeenth century [14] and is known in various versions. A further study of the Krimchak version may shed some additional light on the history of the text.

Manuscript B 420 (microfilm No. 53591, pp. 18—24) contains a large fragment (beginning) of the *destan* "Kör-oghlu" in the Krimchak ethnolect.

The beginning: כור אוגלו . סינא איללי דורט דא סאפאר אטילדי
 Transcription: *kör oğlu. sene elli dört-de safar etildi.*

Translation: "Koer-oghlu. It is written down in [18]54".

The end: דיריא דיגיז יולוג אולסון

Transcription: *derya deniz yoluñ olsun.*

Translation: "Let a river and sea be your way".

עלום

דברי : סוגרי עלום ניג . כי בולדו קיינו לדרה תקועין
 כי כדים לים אצמי ישראל אונן . כולרינידא
 עוניה ניג באני יהודה ניג . דא כולרינידא ירבעם ניג
 אונלו יאט ניג . באני ישראל ניג . אבי יל אול רעטן
 בורן : ויאמר : דא אצמי יג . ניון דן סיקידיד . דא
 ידעניס דן אביר אונני . דא ורן אונסון לר אורון לרי
 אול טובן נרניג . דא קודוסין אול אסמול לי יוד : בבה
 בולני אצמי יג . און טובן לרי אונן דאטק ניג . דא
 דורא אונן קייאר אס דיר אגי . בסקלנרי סיגרי . דא
 אסמול לרי אונן דאיר ניג . אונול אול נלעדגי . אסמול
 אסמול אדום נא : ואלמתי : דא יודיים אול קלמ סיגרי
 ענה ניג . דא ינסין סראני לרי . אונלו הדד ניג : אסמול
 דא כסייס אונרנגן ני אטדוד ניג דן . דא אונקן אונקן
 אטקלן דן . דא קייארניים כטיהיס ני עקרון אסמול
 דא אס אונסון לר קלנני בניטאייס ניג . אצמי יג אצמי
 כה : בולני אצמי יג . און כין לרי אונן אורנני . דא
 דורא אונן קייארלס דד אגי . אסמול אונסון לרי
 אונן . אונל סרטן אדום נא . דא אטאדו טראי קר
 דא לרי ניג : ואלמתי : דא יודיים אול קלעה סיגרי
 אורנני . דא ינסין סראני לרי : בבה : בולני אצמי יג
 און כין לרי אונן אדום ניג . דא דורא אונן קייאר
 אס דיר אגי . קובנני אונן קיינין כילן קרדאטי ע דא
 לייגרי דאס לריני . דא כייאר לרי דונייס נא אונכוני
 דא כייטיאני סכלרי אונרנני : ואלמתי : דא יודיים
 אול אונן . דא ינסין סראני לרי בולרה ניג : בבה : בולני

Fig. 1

כיר גון גורגא גירר לר:
 טופרק אורטולמוש דורור:
 ידן דוגייה דא אזגין:
 אונדא פיריני קיזגין
 וריר אוגונו דיזגין סגא
 דיזילי דורור:
 דר כים ניג יוזו אקטיר גנלט
 אוגא דורק טיר בין דיג
 אטי מורד דיר אול קימט גונקדא:
 דר כים נפיסינא אוייר טטלר
 גנינא קייר יוזונו קריא
 בויר עלם סירינא דורור:
 סירי נא דורור:

Fig. 2

4. Tales, which like epic works, constitute a part of oral literature, are represented in our Krimchak manuscripts by three different tales. All of them are found in manuscript B 420 (microfilm No. 53591, pp. 28—47). Each of them begins with the traditional beginning זימאני אילן (*zemani ilen*) "once upon a time".

Manuscript C 77 (microfilm No. 67836) contains memoirs about the Russo-Japanese War (1904—1905) written by Menahem Berman and Yonah Peysakh, who took part in it as soldiers. Both wrote in the same copy-book, but each wrote his own memoirs separately. The notebook, made of bad ink-absorbent paper, consists of 124 folios and has neither cover nor title. Menahem Berman's memoirs take up 74 folios in the note-book, but the text is written on one side of each folio only, which constitutes 74 pages of text in prose. Of the author, Menahem Berman, we know that he lived in Odessa. In 1904, he was called up and dispatched through Siberia to the theatre of operations. There he was taken prisoner and spent some time in captivity in Japan, like many other Russian soldiers. In his memoirs, he depicts all his misadventures on his way through Siberia, in the army and in Japan. His impressions of the war and his life in captivity are reflected in the memoirs.

The first page of the text: בין דוקוז יוז דורדונגו סנא דא אבגוסט יגירמי דוקוזונגו גונו ראש השנה נג' אכנג' גונו אדפס שפירנא חבר גלדי ניפולאי פאדישינג' אמירי גאזט אילן יאזאיר כי אדעססי אוכרונג'א אולאן זאפוסני סאלדאט לארי גמיסיני גיף מאנגוראג'א יאפן ג'א קארשי יוללאמאג'א דוגוש אטמייא או אטני אנני סאט כי ראש השנה גונו מוסאף טא ונסנה תוקאף אוהולאן סאט: קאצאן אישטיילר גומלה ישראל קארדש לאר קהל איצינדא אונ דושט גומלה נג' איצינה אונטולוד דאש השנה גונו אולדוגו קהל איצינדא אולג'אן חאלק באשלאדילר ייגלאמייא סיזלאמייא טישא באב גונו כיביכ אונטולוד מוסאף באשלאדילר חאלק דאג'ילמג'א קהל בושאני שאמאש באטיכא קהל בושאני אורטטו קהל ני קאיטיי אבינא: שנידי בידא אבינו יונה פסה וא מן מנחם ברמן קהל דן קאיטייק יורכ אג'יריסי אילן אבימוגא: שנידי ראש השנה ציקטיג' גונו אויבאלני דאג'ילדי דורט ביר טאראף קא אדעסא איצינא ארכי יאזאיר גאט סאט און אכני דא גנדי אוצאסאסינא יאביטא אולסין דייר: אחשאם אולדו גמימי אוצאסאט ג'א יאביטא אולדוק שנידי צאסטאן גיידילאר ביולרי סארדילאר דורט טארפ'מיזו כאנינו אילן אראסטאט כיביכ גומלמיו אילאדילאר.

Transcription: *bin doquz yüz dördünjü sene-de avgust yegirmi doquzunju günü roš-a-šana-niņ ekinji günü Ades šeerine xaber geldi nikulaj padišiniņ amiri gazet ilen yazayır ki Adesski okrugda olan zapasnoy saldat-ları jamisini jiyip manjura ya yapun-ya qarşı yollama ya duguš etmeye o saati angi saat ki roš-a-šana günü musaf-ta unetene toqef oxulan saati: qačan işittiler jumle israf qardaşlar qahal içinde ot düştü jumle-niņ içine unutuldu roš-a-šana günü olduǵu qahal içinde oylan xaliq başladılar yilamaya sizlamaya tiša-be-Av günü kibik unutuldu musaf başladılar daylmaya qahal boşandı şamaş battıq qahal boşandı örttü qahal-ni qayttı evine: şindi biz da ekimiz Yona Peysax ve men Menaxem Berman qahaldan qayttıq yörek ağırısı ilen evimizge: şindi roš-ha-šana cüqtüğü günü obyavleni daşıldı dört bir taraf-qa Adisa içine bu ki yazayır neqadar zapasnoy saldad var ise Odesa içinde arkez yarın geje saat on eki-de gendi uçastkasına yavitsa olsun diyir: axşam oldu jamimiz uçastka-ya yavitsa olduq şindi eşattan jiydilar bezleri sarıdilar dört tarafimizi kanıy ilen arastant kibik jümlemizi ayaladılar.*

Translation: "It was on the 29th of August of 1904, the second day of *Rosh-ha-shanah* when a piece of news came to the city of Odessa. Tzar Nicolas' order was published in newspapers. It was written in newspapers that all the soldiers who were kept in the reserve of the Odessa military district were to be mustered together and [then] to be sent to Manchuria to fight against Japan. It was the time of *musaf* of the day of the *Rosh-ha-shanah* that they read the prayer of *Unetane Toqef*. When the Israelite brothers in the synagogue heard [the prayer], fire broke out in their hearts. [All] forgot about the day of *Rosh-ha-shanah* [and] those present in the synagogue began to cry and to weep as if it were the day of *Tishah be-Av*. The *musaf* was forgotten [and all] began to break up. The synagogue became deserted [and] it was [entirely] empty by the time of sunset. They closed the synagogue and [all] came back to their houses. At that time the two of us, Yonah Peysakh and me, Menahem Berman, [too], came together back to our houses with a heavy heart. On the day after *Rosh-ha-shanah*, an announcement appeared throughout Odessa, which stated that each reservist soldier in Odessa should come to his assembly place at twelve o'clock in the midnight. Evening fell. All of us had come to our assembly place. At that time, soldiers took us in custody from the four sides as if we were prisoners, [thus] putting us in a state of shame".

The end: יאמאן ראסעלמעכ ראסעלדי מאג'א בו יאשליק ואקיטימ דא.

Transcription: *yaman raskelmek raskeldi maga bu yaşliq vaqitım-da.*

Translation: "Bad meetings took place in my youth".

This final sentence of the memoirs of Menahem Berman may be regarded as a sort of summary of his memoirs.

The memoirs of Yonah Peysakh mentioned by Menahem Berman are in the same manuscript (the same microfilm). It is almost impossible to discern the first half of the text written on two sides of the folios. The second half of the text is written only on one side of the folios. The folios of the beginning and of the end of the memoirs are absent. The subject matter of the notebook is similar to Menahem Berman's memoirs (see above).

The beginning: קהל ג'א ורדיח. תפילא בשלאדיק גוזמוזו סאטא. אטטיח מוסאף באשלאדיח סאטא און אכייא כלדי כרכלי אולדו מוספי אורטאג'א ד בוראקיף כיטימייא שו שאטני בוראקטיק מוסאפי אכני אראקאדאש מנחם ברמן וא יונא פסה כיטיטיכ וויספי נאצאלניק בה. באקטיק פא גומלא ישראל קארדש לאר.

Transcription: *qaxal-ya vardix. tšila başladıq gözümüzü saata. astix musaf başladix saat on ekiye keldi korxlı oldu musafni orta ya boraqıq kitemeye şu saati boraqıq musafı eki arqadaş Menahem Berman ve Yona Pesax kittik voyski naçalnik-ka baqıtiq ki jumle israel qardaşlar.*

Translation: "We came in to the synagogue [and] began to pray, not letting [however] our watches out of our sight. We started *musaf* and we began to read it. The clock showed almost twelve. It was terrible to break off the *musaf* in the middle and to go away. At that time, we two friends, Menahem Berman and Jonah Peysakh, went to the military chief. There we saw that all [of us] are Israelite brothers".

The end: או סאטני ור אללה קוט די בשלאדימ אורמאג'א ביר כוטר

Transcription: *o saati ver allax quvet diye başladım urmağa bir danesi qol kötermedi.*

Translation: "At that time, I thought, 'God help me', and I began to beat them [so that] no one [could] lift his hand [against me]".

The final part of the text contains a description of a scandal. The author of the memoirs recounts that some Japanese accused him of stealing money, but this accusation appears to have been false.

Manuscript C 77 (microfilm No. 67836) also contains fragments of two linguistic works. One of them is the beginning of a Hebrew grammar written in the Krimchak ethnolect. Some points connected with the Hebrew vowel sounds and letters are discussed in this part. The text breaks

off in the middle of the sentence: אַמא א אוּלסא תבה ניג סוג'ונדא (ama alef olsa teva-ning sojunda) "if the [letter] alef is at the end of [the word] teva...".

The other is a fragment of a Hebrew-Krimchak dictionary organised in alphabetical order (א — ח). It contains about 1,250 individual Hebrew words along with their translation into the Krimchak ethnolect: for example, אָבִיב באהר (bahar) "spring"; אָדוּן אַפִּנְדִי (efendi) "sir"; אָיךְ נַסְלִי (nashi) "how"; אָשֶׁם יאַגְמֹר (yagmur) "rain", etc. Some Hebrew words are translated in the dictionary by Hebrew words, such as, for example, קְאִוְרִה דְלִיכ (dlik) "flammable", which indicates the presence of Hebrew loan words in the Krimchak ethnolect. The value of the Hebrew-Krimchak dictionary is that it has preserved many words of the Krimchak ethnolect of Crimean Tatar.

Notes

1. E. Deinard, *Massa Krim* (Warsaw, 1878).
2. Y. Ben-Zvi, "Sifrutam shel yehudey krim", *Kiriat sefer*, 25 (1952), pp. 250—4.
3. W. Moskowitch and B. Tukan, "Adat hakrimchakim, toldotham, tarbutam velishonam", *Pe'amim*, 14 (1982), pp. 5—31.
4. I. Ianbay and M. Erdal, "The Krimchak translation of a *Targum šeni* of the Book of Ruth", *Mediterranean Language Review*, 10 (1998), pp. 1—53.
5. I. S. Kaja, "Qrimčaklar qrimda ve oqulari işleri", *Oqu işleri*, 8—10 (1926), pp. 11, 15—9; V. I. Filonenko, "Krimchakskiye etudy", *Rocznik orientalistyczny*, 35 (1972), pp. 5—35; Y. Keren, *Yahadut Krim mikadmutah ve'ad hashoah* (Jerusalem, 1977); A. Khazanov, *The Krymchaks* (Jerusalem, 1989); M. S. Polinsky, "The Krymchaks: history and texts", *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher*, 63 (1991), pp. 123—54; *idem*, "Crimean Tatar and Krymchaks, classification and description", in *The Non-Slavic Languages of the USSR* (Chicago, 1992), pp. 157—88.
6. L. Ia. Medvedeva, "O kolleksii karaimskikh i krymchakskikh rukopisei v LO Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR" ("On the collection of Karaite and Krimchak manuscripts in the Leningrad Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies"), *Sovetskaiia tiurkologiia*, 6 (1988), pp. 89—102.
7. The list Medvedeva presents contains seven items, but MS A 59 is in fact a tale in Karaite, not in Krimchak.
8. For more details on transcribing the Krimchak source written in Hebrew script, see Ianbay and Erdal, *op. cit.*
9. Professor Michael Zand is convinced that instances like these show the impact of the Yiddish Hebrew on the Krimchak spelling (private consultation).
10. See Medvedeva, *op. cit.*
11. About him, see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 16, p. 502; see also Ia. Ianbaeva (I. Ianbay), "Tiurkoiazichnyye knigi iz evreiskogo fonda v byvšem Aziatskom Muzei" ("Books in Turkic languages from the former Asiatic Museum fond"), in *Jews in Russia, History and Culture* (St. Petersburg, 1998), pp. 8—9.
12. Kh. G. Kor-Ogly, *Oguzskii geroicheskii epös* (Oghuz Heroic Epos) (Moscow, 1976), pp. 100, 105, 118—20ff.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*

Illustrations

Fig. 1. "The Book of Amos", part of Karaite manuscript B 98 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 110a, 15.5×20.3 cm.

Fig. 2. A collection of poems, Karaite manuscript A 128 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 35a, 10.5×17.7 cm.