COMPETING NARRATIVES BETWEEN NOMADIC PEOPLE AND THEIR SEDENTARY NEIGHBOURS

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Competing Narratives between Nomadic People and their Sedentary Neighbours

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An Unknown Jewish Community of the Golden Horde

Dan Shapira Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan, Israel

In 2001 or in 2002, and then in late 2015, I was working on an incomplete Judeo-Turkic translation of the Pentateuch from the First Firkowicz Collection kept in Saint Petersburg, as well as on other Judeo-Turkic translations of the Bible from the same collection. While studying the MS Evr.I.Bibl.143, I was stricken by the fact that this text is unlike anything other of the kind (as I then imagined what 'the kind' should be like). Now I know that this MS is the earliest Judeo-Turkic text known, and it enables us catch a glimpse of a previously unknown community of Jews of the Golden Horde.

I was not prepared to encounter among the Judeo-Turkic materials of the First Firkowicz Collection anything older than the 18th century. Written on paper produced in Venetian Verona in 1470–80, Evr.I.Bibl.143 can be dated to the last two decades of this successor state of the Mongol Empire, the Golden Horde.

I finished a book on this MS and the cultural world of its authors and copyists (for the MS is a copy going back to a prototype written decades earlier, not too long after the *Codex Cumanicus* had been edited). I hope to have my research on Evr.I.Bibl. 143 published soon, and here I would like to announce some of my findings.

Turkic and Judeo-Turkic

There were (and there still is one) several Jewish varieties of Qıpčaq Turkic. These included two (or possibly more, a couple of centuries ago) dialects of the so-called "Karaim" language, the Qıpčaq Turkic spoken and written by Karaite Jews in Lithuania (mostly, in Troki / Troch / Trakai) and in Galicia (Halicz / Halič) and Wohlynia (Lutsk / Łuck and other places). On other Turkic-speaking Rabbanite Jews in Eastern Europe (Shapira 2007).

The Troki dialect still survives, while the Halicz dialect withered about a decade ago, with the passing away of the last speaker. According to the view of 19th century Karaite scholars, the Karaites of Poland and Lithuania (and, by

¹ Dr. Alexander Grishchenko and Dr. Alexandra Soboleva checked the water marks throughout the MS; Professor Malachi Beit-Arié and Mr. Alexander Gordin from the Israeli National Library confirmed the conclusions of Dr. Grishchenko and Dr. Soboleva. My thanks go to them all.

extension, their Turkic dialects) came from the Crimean Peninsula; this view, which had been politically-motivated at the time of its formulation, was uncritically upheld by the majority of the 20th- and 21st century scholars. According to this writer, these dialects go back to two different, though closely related, types of speech of the Golden Horde (Pritsak 1959: 320). We cannot state where exactly in the Golden Horde the forefathers of the Lithuanian and Galician Karaites came from, but we should remember that five hundred years ago, all the territory inside the circle going roughly from the lower Danube to Kiev to Ryazan' to the Curve of the Volga to the middle course of the Ob' to the Altay Mountains to Lake Balkhash to Khwarazm to the Caspian Sea and from Northern Daghestan to the Kuban river to the northern side of the Taurian Mountains in the Crimea, was speaking Qipčaq Turkic.

The text of the Bible in English is quoted according to the King James' Version that translates the Hebrew original. The Judeo-Turkic text is given in transliteration.

Slavic in the MS

There are reasons to suggest that the text comes from an area of Turkic-Slavic linguistic contact, for it contains a number of words known from Slavic. However, three of these words borrowed from Eastern Slavic are of non-Slavic origin (one is even possibly of Turkic-Khazar origin) and all of them exist by now in different Turkic languages of the former Russian Empire / USSR.

The words are:

1. *ny* ... *ny* ..., 'neither ... nor':

NUM 22.26

NUM 22.20		
And the angel of the	d-''rṭṭy ml'xy ywy nyg	ניוֹסֶף מַלְאַךְ ה'
Lord went further, and	d-ṭwrdy ṭ'r yrd'	עֲבוֹר וַיַּעֲמֹד הְּמָקוֹם צָּר
stood in a narrow	ky ywx tyr ywl m'yl'ytm'	שלוור אין דרד
place, where was no	ny 'wng ny swl	אֲשֶׁר אֵין דֶּרֶךְ
way to turn either to		לָנְטוֹת יָמִין וּשְׂמֹאול.
the right hand <i>or</i> to the		
left.		

2. kun, probably from Slavic gunja / gun'ia / hun'ia (гуня), an overcoat popular with Hutsuls and Cossacks. It translates Hebrew אור 'ōr, which generally means 'skin', but is used here to denote a kind of garment, probably. The word gunja for Hebrew אדרת, 'aderet, 'gown', is also found in the Ruthenian translation of Gen 25:25 in the Manual of Hebrew from the second half of the 15th century, cf.: '. . . ibo izo jutroby matere vyšol [Isav] pr"veje čr"měn" ves', jako gounę volosataja (Temchin 2014).

Another possibility is Slavic kun / kuna / kunica (кун / куна / куница), 'marten's pelt'. These served as a form of currency in Eastern Europe (the currency of Croatia, HRK, is still named after these pelts).³

Lev 11:32

Another example is Ex 26:14:

And thou shalt make a	da-yasagayəsēn yapuwb	
	, , , , , , , , , , ,	וְעָשִׂיתָ מִכְסֶה
covering for the tent of		לַאֹהֶל
	tēyriylariy qowṣəqarəlar	ערת אילם
and a covering above	niyg qiyziyl 'ēyṭə <u>k</u> an	• •
of badgers' skins.	da-yapu <u>b</u> iy <u>t</u> əḥaṣiym	מְאָדָמִים
or backers sittis.	q^4 wnlry	וּמַכְסֵה <i>עׁרֹת</i> תְּחֲשִׁים
		= + \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \
	yuwğarəțiyn	

² Histarychny sloŭnik belaruskai movy, Iss. 7 (Minsk, 1986): 198; Slovnyk ukraïns'koï movy XVI-pershoï polovyny XVII st., Iss. 7 (Lviv, 2000): 119.

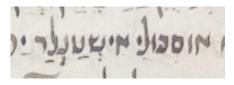
³ Histarychny sloŭnik belaruskai movy, Iss. 16 (Minsk, 1997): 219–220.



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	מָלְמַעלָה.

3. 'išṭan lar, 'trousers', for מכנסים, mik̄nāsayim, (ultimately, of Eastern-Iranian Scythian or Sarmatian origin);



Ex 28:42:

And thou shalt make				נַצְשֵׂה לָהֶוּ
them <i>linen breeches</i> to cover their nakedness; from the loins even unto	yapmaga''ol ṭanin 'uyatnig			מִכְנְסֵי בָד
the thighs they shall reach.	, , ,		אַר	לְכַסּוֹת בְּי ערָנָה
reacii.	di ili bolgaylar	יְרֵכַיִם	וְעַד	בְּיְנָיוּ מִמְּתְנַיִם
				יִהְיוּ.

4. syrg', 'earring' (nowadays known in different modern Qıpčaq languages as a loan from Russian), for נום זהב nezem-zāh $\bar{a}b$;

Ex 32:3:

		וַיִּתְפָּרְקוּ כָּל הָעָם אֶת <i>נִזְמֵי הַּוָּהָב</i> אֲשֶׁר בְּאָזְנֵיהֶם וַיָּבִיאוּ אֶל אַהָרֹן.
--	--	--

Ex 35:22:

And they came, both		וַיָּבֹאוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים על
men and women, as	brṣ' gwmrṭ kwngwlly	 הנשים
many as were willing hearted, and brought	kltyrdy awlx syrg' d-5 syrg'	בָּבֶּ דִּ כֹּל נְדִיב לֵב הֵבִיאוּ
bracelets, and earrings,		
and rings, and tablets,	brṣ' 'lṭyn sbwṭlry	קָה וָנֶזֶם
all jewels of gold: and	d-brṣʾ kyšy ky kwṭrdy	וְטַבַּעת וְכוּמָז
every man that offered	'lṭyn kwṭrmky ywy g'	ָבָל בְּלִי זָהָב בָל בְּלִי זָהָב
offered an offering of		וְכָל אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר הֵנִיף
gold unto the Lord.		הְנוּפַת זָהָב לה'.

⁵ Added on margins: *bwrnw*, nose's.

טונלרוח : ויבוחו : דכלרילר אירנלר כטון לריבלא ברצא ומרט בונוללי כלטירדי קולך סירוא דמירואדיוגוכ דבילגים בורע ברצא אלטין סבוטלרי דברצא כישי כי כוטרדי אלטין בוטרמכי יוי וא : וכל : דברצא כישי כי טפולדי בירגסינא כוכ דיפכין

5. pwsṭ', used for מדבר, לשומם, לשומם, שממה, שממה, 'desert, wilderness, to devastate, to be devastated', etc. (plus once for השמד, 'to destroy, annihilate'). Lev 26: 3–35 has a block where pwsṭ' is used alongside two other verbs, wyran et-, of Persian origin, and tngl-, of Turkic origin.

30 And I will destroy your high places, and cut down your images, and cast your carcasses upon the carcasses of your idols, and my soul shall abhor you.	30. d-pwst' 'ytxy mn srdqlryny 'bqlryngyznyg d- xstyrgymn 'wl qwyyš swrtlryngyzny d-qyydwrgy 'wlylryngyzny gw <u>b</u> dlry 'wstyn' 'bqlryngyznyg d-'yrngy kwnglym syzny	ְוְהִשְּׁמַדְתִּי אֶת בָּמֹתֵיכֶם וְהָכְרַתִּי אֶת חַמָּנֵיכֶם וְנָתַתִּי אֶת פָּגְרֵיכֶם עַל פָּגְרֵי גִּלוּלֵיכֶם
		וְגָעֵלָה נַפְשִׁי אֶתְכֶם.
31 And I will make your cities waste, and bring your sanctuaries unto desolation, and I will not smell the savour of your sweet odours.	31 d-qwyygy mn šhr- lryngyzny wyrn d-pwst' 'ytxy mn mqdšlryngyzny d-'yyskmgy mn qbwl 'yysyngyzny	וְנָתַתִּי אֶת עָרֵיכֶם חָרְבָּה וַהְשָׁמּוֹתִי אֶת מִקְדְּשֵׁיכֶם וְלֹא אָרִיחַ בְּרֵיחַ
32 And I will bring the land into desolation: and your enemies which dwell therein shall be astonished at it. 33 And I will scatter you among the heathen, and will draw	32. d-wyrn 'ytxy mn 'wl yyrny d-tnglgylr 'ngr dwšmnlryngyz ky 'wltwrwr 'ydylr 'wstynd' 33. d-syzny sw <u>b</u> wrgy mn 'wlwslrd' d-trtqy mn 'rtyngyz-dn qylys d-bwlgy yyryngyz pwst' d-	נִיחֹחֶכֶם. וַהְשִׁמֹתִי אֲנְי אֶת הָאָכֶץ וְשָׁמְמוּ עָלֶיהָ אֹיְבֵיכֶם הַיּשָׁבִים בָּה.
out a sword after you:	šhrlryngyz bwlgy wyrn	اْھُائادُت غُيُّالُ"

		_
and your land shall be		בַגּוֹיִם וַהָּרִילְתִי
desolate, and your		אַחֲרֵיכֶם חָרֶב
cities waste.		וְהָיְתָה אַרְצְכֶם <i>שְׁמָמָה</i>
		וְעַרֵיכֶם יִהְיוּ חָרְבָּה.
34 Then shall the land	34. 'wlkyz sw <u>b</u> gy 'wl yyr	אָז תִּרְצֶה הָאָרֶץ
enjoy her sabbaths, as	šbtlryny brṣ' <i>wyrn bwlgn</i>	אֶת שַּׁבְּתֹתֶיהָ כֹּל יְמֵי
long as <i>it lieth desolate</i> , and ye be in your	kwnlrynd' d-syz yyrynd'	רָשַׁמָּה
enemies' land; even	dwšmnlryngyznyg	
then shall the land rest,	'wl kyz tyngy 'ol yyr	וְאַתֶּם בְּאֶרֶץ
and enjoy her	d-qbwl 'y ṭxy šbtlryny	אֹיְבֵיכֶם
sabbaths.		אָז תִּשְׁבַּת הָאָרֶץ
		ּוְהָרְצָת אֶת שַׁבְּתֹתֶיהָ.
35 As long as it lieth	35. brṣ' <i>pwsṭ' bwlgn</i> kwnlry	כָּל יְמֵי <i>הָשַׁמָּה תִּ</i> שְׁבֹּת
desolate it shall rest;	tyngy	
because it did not rest in your sabbaths, when	'ny ky tynmdy šbtlryngyzd' 'wltwryngyzd' 'nyg 'wstyn'	אַת אָשֶׁר לא שָׁבְתָה
ye dwelt upon it.	withing 120 miles weight	
, ,		בְּשַׁבְּתֹתֵיכֶם בְּשִׁבְתְּכֶם
		עליה.

This is not an isolated example, for the same word is used in Num 21: 30:

⁶ And his land is perished from Heshbon	dā-ṭarlā <u>b</u> i ṭā's boldu hešbon dan	וַנִּירָם אָכַד חֶשְׁבּוֹן
	di <u>b</u> on gā' də'in dā- pustā' boldi	עַד דִּיבֹן וַבַּשִּׁים
Nophah, which reacheth unto Medeba.	<u>.</u> .	עַד נֹפַח אָשֶׁר עַד מֵידְבָא.

An interesting fact is that the root *pust*- is used in the Church Slavonic biblical translation in the same places, e.g., 'i postavlju grady vaša *pusty* (Lev 26: 31), 'i budet zemlę vaša *pusta* i grade vaši budut *pustě*, i blagovoliť zemlę suboty svoę v″ vsę dni o*pust*ěnïa eę (Lev 26: 33–34); whereas *pust*- is not used in Num 21:30, where the Hebrew can be interpreted otherwise. (A. Grishchenko (forthcoming); see also Grishchenko 2016a, and Grishchenko 2018a.)⁷

⁶ KJV: "We have shot at them; Heshbon is perished even unto Dibon, and we have laid them waste even unto Nophah, which reacheth unto Medeba".

⁷ In Num 21: 30, the Hebrew form *Khežbon* was used for Hešbon (with the assimilation of voicing $\check{s}b > \check{z}b$).

It should be stressed that *pusta* is attested in both the Halicz and Troki dialects of the Karaim language, with the derivates *pustalyk* (Halicz) and *pustalyx* (Troki), 'emptiness, desert, a void place, and the verb *pustalan*- (Halicz), 'to make waste, desolate'.' It is also used in Eastern Yiddish for 'desert'. So this is one of the links connecting the language of our MS with the Karaim language of Halicz and Troki.

6. As to Slavic words, we are even more certain with *qwrp* etc. used to translate Hebrew שכה, Lev 2: 14,16:

And if thou offer a meat offering of thy firstfruits unto the Lord, thou shalt offer for the meat offering of thy firstfruits green ears of corn dried by the fire, even corn beaten out of full ears.	d-'ygr kltyrsng twngwsly tyrky ywy g' ⁹ yymyšly qwbwrgn 'wti' qwrply dnly kltyrgy sn tyrkysyn twngwslykyngnyg	וְאָם תַּקְרִיב מִנְחַת בִּפּוּרִים לה' אָבִיב קַלוּי בָּאֵשׁ גָּרֶשׁ כַּרְמֶל תַּקְרִיב אֵת מִנְחַת בִּפוּרֶיךָ.
And thou shalt put oil upon it, and lay frankincense thereon: it is a meat offering.	d-twttky 'wl khn 'ngmkyny qwrp syndn d-'yb ¹⁰ yndn brş' tymyyny 'wstyn' qrbn ywy g'	וְהַקְטִיר הַכֹּהֵן אֶת אַזְכָּרָתָה מִ גִּרְשָּ ה וּמִשַּׁמְנָה עַל כָּל לְבֹנָתָה אָשֶׁה לה'.

The KJV renders the five bold words in Lev 2: 14 as 'green ears of corn dried by the fire, even corn beaten out of full ears', but Evr.I.Bibl. 143 clearly refers to 'barley'. The word qurpa, from Slavic krupa, is attested in the Turkic "Karaim" language of Troki and in the Crimea. The same word appears here and in the next verse in Tirishqan's 1840 printed Karaite Judeo-Turkic edition of the Bible translation. 11

⁸ KRPS: 449a. Cf. KRPS: 142b, bustalıq, cited as the Crimean form, 'ruins, desert'. Obviously, this Crimean form, with its shift *p>b, is a learned borrowing from Northern Karaim manuscripts. The meaning 'ruin' obviously stands for Hebrew שממה. The shift p>b in the Crimean form can be explained by the loss of understanding of the provenance of the Slavic borrowed word and partial contamination with Turkic boš, void. However, the shift p>b existed also in the Halicz dialect, cf. e.g., bosacka, from Polish posadzka (KRPS: 132b), or bostak (KRPS: 132b), 'nogoodnik' (attested also in Yiddish), from Persian puštak, 'passive pederast'.

Other examples of such Slavicisms in Crimean Karaite texts testifying to their being reworkings of Northern Karaim manuscripts are the words *polov*, 'chaff' (KRPS: 125b), and *salam*, 'straw' (KRPS: 448b, 462b).

⁹ On margin: byš....

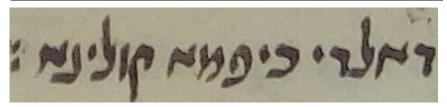
¹⁰ A scribe's error for *y'b, oil.

¹¹ Cf. Jankowski et alii 2019, Vol I: 167; Vol II: 130-131.

Moreover, it could be a case of not only linguistic borrowing but also textual influence from the Eastern-Slavic / Slavonic-Russian *Edited Pentateuch* (see Grishchenko 2018b) which has the word *krupa* in the same verses and elsewhere, cf., 'ašče li prineseši trebu verkh" žita Gospodevi novu i spręženu ot *krup*" pšeničen" (Lev 2: 14), 'i da s"tvorit žrec' pamęt' eę ot *krup*" s maslom' drevęnym' (Lev 2: 16). In other places in the Edited Pentateuch, there are glosses and emendations such as *krupa* for *muka*, 'flour' (Lev 2: 1, 7, Deut 28: 12, etc.) that indicate the special attention paid to this term by the Slavic editor of the Edited Pentateuch.

7. The next word is, actually, an emendation; we remember that Evr.I.Bibl. 143 is a copy and we would suggest here a scribal mistake while copying the text. In Num 25: 7 we read:

Now when Phinehas the	d-kwrdi pynḥs 'l'zr 'wgly	וַיַּרָא פִּינְחָס בֶּן אֶלְעַזָר
son of Eleazar,	'hrn khn 'wgly	+ ₊ :
	d-ṭwrdy 'wrṭsyndn jm't	בֶּן אַהַרֹן הַכֹּהֵן
priest, saw it, he rose	nyg	
C	d-'ldy <i>kypm</i> ' qwlwn'.	וַיָּקָם מִתּוֹךְ הָעֵדָה
congregation and took a		
<i>javelin</i> in his hand		וַיָּקַח רֹמַח בְּיָדוֹ.
		7 7



There is no Turkic word kypm' for 'lance, javelin, spear' (Hebrew המכ); in fact, all these were not part of nomadic warfare¹², but Eastern Slavs, who called it *kopie / kopio* ($\kappa onue$), used it as their infantry weapon of choice. We may suggest that the two *yods* " were read by the copyist as a *mem* \mathfrak{D} .

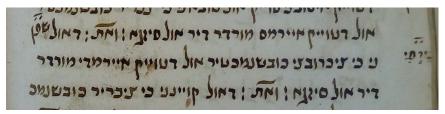
8. There are at least three cases in which the readings of Evr.I.Bibl. 143 are identical to those of the Slavonic-Russian Edited Pentateuch and may derive from its glosses and emendations.

¹² Different Turkic languages as well as Hungarian all used loan words of Arabic, Persian, or Italian provenance to name a spear.

The most striking example is that of JDW, šāpān, 'coney', glossed over on the margin as 'hedgehog', kirpi. This gloss may go back to the Czech Bible of the First Redaction, ¹³ from where it was taken into the Slavonic-Russian Edited Pentateuch.

Lev 11: 5:

he cheweth the cud, but	d-'wl špn ¹⁴ ny ky şyxrwbşy kwbšnmktyr 'wl d-twyyq 'yyrmdy mwrdr dyr 'wl syzg'	מעלה גרה
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The Text is Rabbanite, not Karaite:

Num 6: 18, where the Hebrew text was understood in the light of the Mishnah, Nazir 2: 5-6, says:

And the Nazarite shall	d-ywlygy
shave the head of his	'yšygynd'
separation at the door of	nzyrly bš
the tabernacle of the	
congregation, and shall	'wṭ 'wsṭy
take the hair of the head	nyg dbḥ-s
of his separation, and put	
it in the fire which is	

'wl nzyr ny¹⁵ 'hl mw'd nyg śyny d-'lgy 'wl nyg d-qwyygy yn' ky šlmym synyg ty<u>b</u>ynd'

וִגִּלַח הַנַּזִיר פַתַח אֹהֵל בָזְרוֹ ראש אֶת מועד וַלַקַח אָת שִׂער רֹאשׁ נַזָרוֹ וָנַתַן על הַאֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר תַחַת זָבַח הַשָּׁלַמִים.

Olomouc Bible from 1417, fol. 82a (see the digital copy on: http://www.digitalniknihovna.cz/), has the reading gieżka (= ježka) 'hedgehog' (accusative form), see Grishchenko 2017: 617.n.13.

¹⁴ On the margin: kiyrpiy.

¹⁵ Understood as Accusative;

הרביני נְזִיר (עָלַי לְגַלַּח נָזִיר, וְשָׁמַע חֲבֵרוֹ וְאָמֵר וַאָגַי וְעָלֵי לְגַלַּח נָזִיר, וְשְׁמַע חֲבֵרוֹ וְאָמֵר וְאָבֵי וְעָבִי לְגַלַּח נְזִיר, משנה מסכרק ב אָם הָיוּ פּקְחִים, מְגַלְּחִים זָּה אֶת זֶה. וְאָם לָאו, מְגַלְּחִים נְזִירִים אֲחֵרִים אָחַרִים עָלִי לְגַלָּח חֲצִי נָזִיר זָה מְגַלַּח נָזִיר שְׁכַם וְזֶה (ו) הָרֵי עָלִי לְגַלָּח חֲצִי נָזִיר שָׁלֵם דִּבְרֵי רַבִּי מֵאִיר וַחֲכָמִים אוֹמְרִים זָה מְגַלַּח חֲצִי נָזִיר שָׁלֵם דִּבְרֵי רַבִּי מֵאִיר וַחָכָמִים אוֹמְרִים זָה מְגַלַּח חֲצִי נָזִיר וְזָה מְגַלַּח חֲצִי נָזִיר וֹיְהָה מְגַלַּח חָצִי נָזִיר וֹיִה מְגַלַּח חָצִי נָזִיר וֹיִה מְגַלַח חָצִי נָזִיר וֹיְהָה מְגַלַּח חָצִי נָזִיר וֹיִה מְגַלָּח חָצִי נָזִיר וֹיִה מְּגַלְּח הָבִיי מִאִיר וַחָּכָמִים אוֹמְרִים זָה מְצִלְּח חָצִי נָזִיר וְיָבְּמִי מִיִּיר מְּבָּי מֵאִיר וְחָבָּמִים אוֹמְרִים זְה מִּבְי בְּיִיר וֹיְהָה מְגַלָּח הָּבִיי מִיּיִר בְּיִי מֵאִיר וְחָבְּמִים אוֹמְרִים זְה מִינְיר וְיִבְּי מִיִּיר וְּיִבְּיִי מִיִיר וְּיִבְּיִיר מְיִבְּיִּים בְּיִּיר מְיִיר שְׁנִיר וְּיִבְּיִיר מְיִבְּיִר מְצִיר מְיִבְּיִיר מְבִּיִיר מְּבִּיִים מִּיִּיר בְּיִר מִיּבְיִר מְיִיר וְּיִבְּיִיר מְיִּיר מְיִבְּיִּים מְּבִיי מִיּיִר מְחִיר מְּבִּים מִיבְּיִיר מְיִבְּיִּים בְּיִּיר מְּבִּים מְּיִר מְיִבְּיִים מְבִּיִיר מְּיִּיִּים הְּיִבְּיִּיִיר וְיִיּבְּיִיר מְבִּיִיר מְיִּבְּיִיר מְיִיר שְׁלִיי מְבִּים מִיּיִיר מְיִבְּיִּים מְּיִיר מְיִיבְּיִים מְּבִּים מִּאִיר בְּיִר מְבִּים מִיּיִים בְּיִיבְּיִים בְּיִיבְיִים בְּיִיבִיים בְּיִים מִיבְּים מִיּבְּים מִיבְּיִים בְּיִּיבְיִיבְּיִים בְּיִּיִים בְּיִּיִים בְּיִיִים בְּיִים מִיּיִים בְּיִּים מִּיִּים בְּיִיר מִיבְיִים בְּיִיר מְיִיבְייִים בְּיִייִים בְּיִייִים בְּיִים מִיּיִים בְּיִיים מְיִייִים בְּיִייִים בּיִייִים בּיּיִים מִיּיִים מְיִייִים בְּיִים מִיּיִים מְיִייִים מְיִיִּיִים בְּיִיים מְיִיים מְיִיים מְיִיים מְיִייִים מְיִיים מְּיִיים מְּיִייִים מְיִיים מְּיִים מְיִיים מְיִייִים מְיִיים מְיִיים מְיִייִים מְּיִים בְּיִים בְּיִים מְיִים מְיִים מְּיִים מְּיִים מְיִיים מְיִיים בְּיִיים מְיִים מְיִים מְּיבְיים מְיִים מְיִיים מְּיִיים מְּיִיים מְּיִים מְיִּי

under the sacrifice of the	
peace offerings.	

The word שכינה, Shechinah, is used as a gloss to the Arabo-Persian word ndr translating 'God's face/presence in Ex 33: 14–15:

And he said, My presence shall go with thee, and I will give thee	d'yṭṭy <i>ndr</i> ym ¹⁶ brgy d-'syyš 'yṭky mn sg'	וַיֹּאמֵר פָּנֵי יֵלֵכוּ וַהָּנָחֹתִי לָךְ.
rest. And he said unto him, If thy face/presence go not with me, carry us not up hence.	d-'yyṭṭy 'ngr 'ygr hdrtyng brms' myndyr mgyn byzny mwndn	וַיּאמֶר אֵלֶיו אָם אַין פָּנֶיךָ הֹלְכִים אַל תַּעֲלֵנוּ מִזֶּה.

Mishnah Negaʻim 1: 1, a Rabbanite text, is quoted on fol. {48.2} / 49a:

שהוא בתכלית הלובן והוא כמו	<u>שאת</u> הוא הנגע שאינו בלובן כמו הבהרת
: מוק מן העור אבל נראה יותר גבוה	צמר נקי ונקרא שאת לפי שאין מראהו ע
לה לשאת כמו לובן קרום ביצה	<u>ספחת</u> הוא למטה בלובן מהשאת והיא טפ

Lev 18: 9, where 'born at home', or 'born abroad' is translated 'born with qiddushin' or 'born without qiddushin' (qiddushin being an integral part of the lawful Rabbanite marriage):

The nakedness of thy	'yybyn+qyz+ qrdšyngnyg	עֵרְוַת אֲחוֹתְךָ
sister, the daughter of	'ṭng nyg qyzyn y'	·
thy father, or daughter of thy mother, whether	'nng nyg qyzyn qdwš bl' ṭwbgn y'	בַת אָבִידָ אוֹ
she be born at home, or	qdwš syz	בַת אָמֶּדָ
born abroad, even their	'ṣmgy sn 'yybyny	מוֹלֶדֶת בַּיִת אוֹ
nakedness thou shalt		מוֹלֶדֶת חוּץ
not uncover.		לא תְגַלֶּה עֵרְוָתָן

Lev 19: 20, where the Rabbinic punishment of flagellation (מלקות) is added to the translation instead of *biqqoret* ('he shall be punished by מלקות, *malqutli bolsun*'):

And whosoever lieth	d-kyšy 'ygr yṭs' ''wrṭ bl'	וָאִישׁ כִּי יִשְׁכַּב אֶת אִשָּׁה
	ytmky 'wrlwx nyg d-'wl	
that is a bondmaid,		י י י י י י שִׁפְחָה נֶחֶרֶפֶת לְאִישׁ
	d-ywlwmg' ywlwnmdy y'	יַבְּדְּיֶּי, שְּׂיֶּשֶׁ בְּיִּרְתָה וְהָפְּדֵה לֹא נִפְּדָתָה
The state of the s	'ztlyq brmgn dyr 'ngr	
redeemed, nor freedom	mlqwt ly bwlswn	אוֹ חֻפְשָׁה לֹא נִתַּן לָה

¹⁶ On the margin: šxynh, "Shekhinah", divine presence of God in the Rabbanite Judaism.

given her; she shall be scourged; they shall not be put to death, because she was not free.		בָּלְּרֶת תִּהְיֶה לא יומְתוּ כִּי לא חַפָּשָׁה.
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Num 7: 3, where אַגלות צב is translated according to the Rabbanite commentator Rashi (1040–1105): 17

And they brought their offering before the Lord, six covered wagons, and twelve oxen; a wagon for two of the princes, and for each one an ox: and they brought them before the tabernacle.	'wšwl qrbn lryny ywy nyg 'lnyn' 'lty ypwlmyš 'rblr d-'wn 'yky sygyr byr 'rb' 'yky wzyr dn d-'wgwz byrysyn' d-yw <u>b</u> wttylr	וְיָבִיאוּ אֶת קַרְבָּנָם לִפְנֵי ה' שֵׁשׁ עָגְלֹת צָב וּשְׁנֵי עָשֶׂר בָּקֶר עְגָלָה עַל שְׁנֵי הַנְּשִׁאִים וְשׁוֹר לְאֶחָד וַיַּקְרִיבוּ אוֹתָם לִפִּנִי הִמּשְׁכֵּוָ.
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However, all these can be found in a Karaite text produced under heavy Rabbanite impact. The most decisive evidence for the Rabbanite provenance of Evr.I.Bibl. 143 is Lev 23: 40, where I cite the printed Tirishqan Karaite edition of 1841 as evidence:

King James Version Tirishqn Evr.I.Bibl. 143

And ye shall	da-'liygiyz	d-'lgysyz knsyngyz	וּלְקַחָתָּם לָכֶם בַּיּוֹם
take you on the	'ozugiyzgah 'ol	g' bwrwngy kwnd'	הָרָאשׁוֹן
first day	burunji gundan	ymyšyn 'trwg	·
	burun (sabaḥliyq)	(etrog fruit)	
the boughs of	yēmiyšiyn siyliy	lwlbyn tmr nyg	פְּרִי עֵץ הָדָר
goodly trees,	'agaṣniyg	(lulavs of tamar)	
	(fruit of esteemed	ď bwtkyn hds nyg	
	tree)	(branch of hadas)	
branches of	xurmalar		כַפֿת הְמָרִים
palm trees,	yapraqlariyniy		
	(leaves of dates)		
and the boughs	da-buṭagiyn qaliyn	ʻrbh syn şwgrq nyg	וַצֶנַף עֵץ עָבֹת
of thick trees,	yapraqliy ṭērakniyg	('ara <u>b</u> ah ¹⁹ of	
	(branch of tree	course of water)	

¹⁷ On Rashi's impact on the glosses of the Slavonic-Russian Edited Pentateuch see Grishchenko

¹⁹ Note FEM.SG against PL.MSC in Hebrew.

and willows of the brook; and ye shall rejoice before	with thick leaves) da-ṭallariyn 'ozanniyg (willow-twigs of rivulet) da-sēwiyniygiyz 'aldiynah ywy niyg yədiy gunlar ¹⁸	d- šṭyr bwlgy syz ywy ṭngry- ngyz 'lnyn' ydy kwn	וְעַרְכֵּי נָחַל
the Lord your God seven days.	, , ,		וּשְׂמַחְתֶּם לִפְנֵי ה' אֱלהֵיכֶם שִׁבְעַת יָמִים.

The Karaite text *translates* Hebrew; Evr.I.Bibl.143 *explains* it accordingly to the Rabbanite tradition. No Karaite text could have *lulav*, *'etrog*, and *hadas*, for these are based on the Rabbanite Chain of Tradition and as such, are not used by the Karaites.

Another indication of the Rabbanite provenance of Firk I Bibl. 143 is Num 24: 24, where Firk I Bibl. 143 only translates 'fleets / ships of Chittim' as 'boats of the hand of Roma', as in Qumran and in the Aramaic (Rabbanite) Targum:

KJV	Tirishqan	Istanbul 1831-3	3 Eidlisz	Firk 143	
And	da-gemilar	ve-quraq	dgmylr	d-kyrplr	וְצִים
ships	gelirlar	[ve-gemiler]	'wrnindn	rwm'	מיַד
shall	ornindan	yerdekiler	ktym nyg	qwlyndn d-	בּיבי כתים
come	kittim nyg	yerinden	dqyynrlr	qyyngylr	
from the	da-	kitimin ve-	'šwr ny	'šwr ny d'	וְעִבּוּ
coast of	qiyynarlar	izyyeţ	dqyynrlr	qyyngylr	אַשׁוּר
Chittim,	'ashur	vrirler	ʻbr ny	'br ny hm	וענו
and shall	ḥalqini da-	ašura' ve-	ddḥyn 'wl	'wl	יי עֶבֶר
afflict	qiyynarlar	izyyeţ	'wmwrg'	'wmwry ṭ's	
Asshur,	ʻe <u>b</u> er ḥalqini	vrirler	dgyn ṭs	bwlwr	וְגַם
and shall	da-dagin ol	'e <u>b</u> ere' ve-	bwlyr		הוא
afflict	ozi qiyynalir	daḥin o			עֲדֵי
Eber, and	gayyip	gayyib			אֹבֶד
he also	olunĵa'	olunĵadeq			
shall					
perish for					
ever.					

¹⁸ Compare Nehemiah 8: 15, Tirishqan: da-kiy 'ēšiytṭiyrgylr d-kēṣiyrgaylar 'awaz jumla' šaḥarlariyndah da-yərušālaim da' dēmah ṣiygiygiyz 'ol ṭaggah da-kēṭiyrirgiyz yapraqlariyn zaytuwnnig da-yapraqlariyn 'agaṣiyniyg yagniyg da-yapraqlariyn hadās niyg da-yapraqlariyn xormalarniyg da-yapraqlariyn qaliyn yapraqliy ṭērakniyg qiylmah 'alaṣiyqlar nēṣiykky yaziylgandiyr

וַאָשֶׁר יַשָּׁמִיעוּ וְיַצְבִירוּ קוֹל בְּכָל עָרֵיהֶם וּבִירוּשָׁלָם לֵאמֹר צָאוּ הָהָר וְהָבִיאוּ עֲלֵי זַיִת וְעֲלֵי עֵץ שֶׁמֶן וַאֲלֵי הְדָס וַעֲלֵי תְמָרִים וַעֲלֵי עֵץ עָבֶּת לִעֲשֹׁת סֻכֹּת בַּכָּתוּב.

The word translating 'fleets' is *kyrp-lr*, with *kyrp* being ultimately of Greek origin; the question is whether it was borrowed directly from Greek in the Black Sea basin, or from Slavic? Other versions use well-attested Turkic words for 'ship' or 'boat'.

Summing Up

The translation was made in the Turkic-Slavic linguistic contact zone. The copyist or the glossator had access to the Slavonic-Russian Edited Pentateuch produced in Ruthenia (probably in Kyiv) in the second half of the 15th century and later copied in Novgorod and Muscovite monasteries. For some reason, this Edited Pentateuch was held by the glossator in high esteem (Grishchenko 2018b). The translation was made within a Rabbanite community, not in a Karaite one. Though the language is highly similar to that of the Karaite Judeo-Turkic known as "Karaim" of Halicz and Troki (then in the Kingdom of Poland and in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania) of the later dates, it is not identical with it. There was a Rabbanite community in the Golden Horde speaking a language very similar to the later "Karaim", and this community, possibly, moved to Poland or Lithuania (Kyiv, e.g.?), as did the Karaites of the Golden Horde. The MS Evr.I.Bibl. 143 is the only direct evidence for this Rabbanite community.

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