

# A critical edition of Mordecai Qazaz's Crimean Karaim poem *Adam oğlu* 'Man's son'

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## ABSTRACT

This paper presents a critical edition of Mordecai Qazaz's poem *Adam oğlu* 'Man's son' written in Crimean Karaim probably at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It was published in 1841 under another title by Jacob Firkovich who did not provide the name of its author. This publication has not yet been examined. It is only now that we can identify it with *Adam oğlu*. In the present edition, the text is edited on the basis of four manuscripts and the printed edition. Attempt was made to establish the basic form of the poem and discuss language features.

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## KEYWORDS

Crimean Karaim, literature, Mordecai Qazaz, *Adam oğlu*, manuscripts, critical edition

## 1. MORDECAI QAZAZ AND HIS LITERARY WORKS

Mordecai Qazaz (d. 1835, Qale, also Chufut Qale) and his *Adam Oğlu* were first mentioned by Seraya Šapšal in his article on Crimean Karaim literature. According to Šapšal, who mistakenly provided the author's name as 'Sh. Kazaz',<sup>1</sup> Qazaz was the first representative of secular Crimean Karaim literature. Šapšal mentioned two works written by him: *Balnuñ solağı* 'Honeycomb' and *Adam oğlu* 'Man's son' (Šapšal 1918: 7–8). *Balnuñ solağı*, under its Hebrew title *Šuf Devash*, was printed in a miscellany along with two other works in Qale in 1835 (Poznański 1913: 44, Walfish 2003: 939, Jankowski 2015: 210). This rare publication has long remained known only by its title. It was in 2009 that *Šuf Devash* was first published by Aqtay (2009: 102–113) together with other works of a manuscript copied by Eliyahu b. Yosef Qılçı. Poznański noted that the language of this poem was Tatar, while Jankowski argued that it was a blend of Crimean Kipchak Karaim and Turkish.

*Adam oğlu* has never been published under this title. It is absent from Poznański's (1913) and Walfish's (2003) bibliographies, though the bibliography by Walfish and Kizilov (2011: 655) does mention it. Shapira (2003: 695) calls *Adam oğlu*'s language Tatar, whereas Jankowski (2015: 211), who used Aqtay's edition, defined it as Crimean Turkish Karaim with many Kipchak elements. Unlike *Balnuñ solağı* or *Šuf Devash*, which is a long poem, *Adam oğlu* is relatively short. Šapšal (1918: 7) calls it an elegy. In Jankowski's opinion, this poem is a moralistic work inspired by the Pentateuch.

According to B. S. El'jaševič (1993: 84–85), Mordecai Qazaz was an outstanding Karaim sage; he worked as a teacher, then senior hazzan and the chair of Karaim Spiritual Consistory in Qale. Šapšal (1918: 7) maintains that Qazaz also wrote a catechism 'in the Turkic language' and a grammar of Biblical Hebrew. Šapšal's information was repeated by El'jaševič (1993: 85). As far as the catechism is concerned, it is probably a work called *Ṭuv Ṭa'am* that was published in one volume with *Šuf Devash* (Poznański 1913: 44, Walfish 2003: 939, Jankowski 2015: 211); both of these works are known from a few later manuscripts. The case with the grammar of Biblical Hebrew is more difficult: if Šapšal did not confuse Mordecai Qazaz with Eliyahu Qazaz (1833–1912), another Karaim scholar who published a Hebrew textbook for Karaim children in Odessa in 1869 (Poznański 1913: 43, Walfish 2003: 943), it may be *Mesilat ha-limud* 'Ways of instruction',<sup>2</sup> which has not been found and is known only by its title.

## 2. PRINTED EDITION AND MANUSCRIPTS

1. The oldest version known so far is a printed edition from 1841 (henceforth G); information about it can be found in Poznański's (1913: 44, item 11) bibliography of 'Karai-Tatar Literature'. Since the title of this booklet – a rarity unavailable to researchers which was published in 1841 in Eupatoria by Jacob b. Abraham Firkovich (d. 1866) – was provided as *Nasi'at adam evladına ve*

<sup>1</sup> For the correction, see El'jaševič 1993: 85 and Aqtay 2009: 23.

<sup>2</sup> I owe this information to Dr Anna Sulimowicz-Keruth, according to whom this work is included in a handwritten collection of Qazaz's writings that was copied by Cumuq in 1864. Among these writings there is also *Adam oğlu*, which is discussed in this article (C), and *Petaḥ hat-teva* 'The Gates of the Nature', formerly attributed by Jankowski (2015: 209) to Joseph Solomon Łucki. I also express thanks to Dr Anna Sulimowicz-Keruth for a copy of the fragment of Cumuq's manuscript which contains *Adam oğlu*, see the next point.



*yahüd tefilası*,<sup>3</sup> i.e. ‘Admonitions to son of man or prayer’, it was difficult to identify it with *Adam oğlu*. Moreover, according to Poznański (1920: 68), its author was Jacob Firkovich and not Mordecai Qazaz. Although, in his outline of Crimean Karaim literature, Jankowski (2012: 56) suspected that this publication may be identical to *Adam oğlu*, he stressed that he could not see it. Jacob Firkovich was the typesetter of the famous 1841 Eupatoria (Gözlöv) Tanakh edition. According to Poznański, the printing of the Tanakh began on 17 April 1841 and was finished on 21 November. As we can read from the title page of *Nasi‘at adam evladına*, it was printed on 1 Sivan 5061, which is 21 May 1841. This publication also includes other texts. *Adam oğlu* is on the first four pages, has the heading *Adam oğlu* (1a), and ends on folio 2b with the text *Geçer dünya emiş bu dünya* ‘This world is said to be a passing world’. The remaining part contains various couplets called *tekerleme* ‘jingle’ etc. Like Q, the publisher of G converted many North-Western forms to the Turkish phonetic and lexical equivalents, but he did it in an inconsistent way. To understand why Jacob Firkovich did not indicate the name of *Adam oğlu*’s author, it is worth citing a note in Turkish from the title page: *Ayruqsı cama‘tımuzıñ manhigleri baña heveslik verdiler mesaderlik öğrenmege rabanlarğa muhtıyac (sic) olmamaq üçin* ‘The leaders of our Holy Congregation encouraged me to learn typesetting to be independent of the Rabbanites’. Therefore, Firkovich undertook this task as a typesetter and he probably thought that there was no need to indicate the name of the authors of the booklet because all members of the Karaim congregation already knew that and, after all, he acted for the sake of the community.

2. The oldest handwritten version of this poem, titled *Adam oğlanı*, is manuscript JSul.I.07 (88a–89a). It is preserved in Józef Sulimowicz’s private collection in Warsaw owned by Dr Anna Sulimowicz-Keruth. It was copied by Eliyahu b. Aharon Cumuq in a manuscript containing Qazaz’s works in 1864 (henceforth C). Unfortunately, this version is shorter than the others available and has only three pages.

3. In chronological order, the next version is the aforementioned *Adam oğlu* (spelled *Adam oğlı* in the headings), copied by Eliyahu b. Yosef Qılcı in 1903 (henceforth Q). This manuscript was critically edited by Aqtaş and published with the facsimile (2009). Volumes I and II comprise the transcription with notes (pp. 102–113) and the facsimile (pp. 34–48), respectively. The manuscript is preserved in a private collection in Simferopol, Crimea; for details, see Aqtaş (2009: 28). This manuscript has many common features with G, thus demonstrating that Qılcı used the printed edition as one of his sources. The most convincing proof for this is the word *yat* ‘foreign; foreigner, stranger’, which was changed by G and Q to *yaş* ‘young’. This is a mistake related to the similarity of the letters *tet* and *šin* in the Crimean Hebrew semi-cursive. As a matter of fact, G and Q *yaşlar da olur onıñ yoldaşı* ‘they have friends among the youngsters’ does not make much sense, while *yatlar da bolur/bolır/olur onıñ/anıñ tanışı* ‘they have friends among the strangers’ (as was used in the other versions) sounds reasonable. Like the copyist of G, the copyist of Q preferred Turkish forms over North-Western ones. Q is also much longer than the original version must have been. The basic text ends on p. 44 with *Geçer dünya emiş bu dünya* ‘This world is said to be a passing world’. The remaining part comprises various couplets, although they also have the heading *Adam oğlu* and end with the formula *tam tam* ‘finished, finished’, see below.

<sup>3</sup> In his later bibliography, Poznański (1920: 68) gives more information, provides the whole title page in Hebrew script (with some inaccuracies) in a mixed Hebrew-Turkish language, says that it contains seven unpaginated folios and provides a summary of its contents as ‘Enthält eine gereimte Ermahnung an den Menschen und ein Gebet zur Privatandacht in hebr. Sprache’. I owe thanks to Prof. Dan Shapira for sharing the first nine pages of this rare print with me.



4. The latest manuscript known is that copied by Barukh (also Boris) b. Ya‘aqov Kökenay (1892–1967) in 1953 (henceforth K). This manuscript, shelf mark ADub.III.89, is owned by Adam Dubiński in Warsaw.<sup>4</sup> *Adam oğlu* is found on five pages. The manuscript is unfoliated. The five pages which contain this poem are numbered 1 to 5 by another hand. There is a colophon by the copyist below the poem: *Bu (Adam oğlu)nı Qalede XVIII-ci hasırda yaşağan Qazaz Moşe QA yazğandır. Köçirdim qıybatlı Altın totama (Taymaz). Ben Baruh ben r. Ya‘aqov Kökenay. 28 dekabr 1953 yılda* ‘This *Adam oğlu* was written in Qale by Moses (sic) Qazaz who lived in the eighteenth century. I, Barukh b. Rabbi Jacob Kökenay, have copied it for my sister Altyn (Taymaz), 28 December 1953’. Below, the name and the patronym of Qazaz was correctly abbreviated in Cyrillic as M. Sh. Qazaz. The version in this manuscript is complete: it contains all stanzas included in G and Q, and an additional one that is absent from all the other versions available starts with the line *Yahşı işleriñ barır Teñriñe* ‘Your good deeds go to your God’.

5. The fifth version is contained in manuscript JSul.I.25 of the *mejuma* type, also preserved in Józef Sulimowicz’s private collection in Warsaw owned by Dr Anna Sulimowicz-Keruth.<sup>5</sup> This manuscript has 45 folios, but the text ends on folio 19. It is undated and anonymous (henceforth A). The respective poem is contained on folios 13–16 (seven pages). The title on folio 13a is shown as *Adam oğlu*, but in the headings it is *Adam oğlanı*. This version has many mistakes. Although the handwriting of the copyist is skilful, it is evident that he used a low-quality version as a source or had problems understanding the meaning of the poem. This version is incomplete, but longer than version C, which is the shortest.

We know from Šapšal and El’jašević that *Adam oğlu* was very popular in the Crimea and many Karaims copied it and recited it by heart. Therefore, there are many copies, but the exact number can only be determined after examination of many undescribed manuscripts in libraries. V. A. El’jašević (2019) published fragments of *Adam oğlu* from Baqqal’s *mejuma*, which is preserved in Sevastopol, the Crimea, in a Cyrillic transcription, and in a Russian translation online.<sup>6</sup> In this article, the copy of the first page appended by El’jašević to his article will be used (henceforth B). Another miscellaneous manuscript which contains *Adam oğlu* is F 158-9, which is found among the holdings of the manuscript department of the University Library in Vilnius. Unfortunately, I can only use one page which contains the first eight stanzas.<sup>7</sup> The date of the manuscript and the copyist are so far unknown. The manuscript is unfoliated. Its characteristic feature is the numbering of stanzas with Hebrew letters, thus the couplets on the page available are numbered by the letters from *alef* (1) to *het* (8). The copyist did not use any pointing, so there is no vocalisation and the value of the letters *begadkefat* must be deduced from the context. This manuscript will be referred to as V.

In 1980, N. I. Kefeli copied *Adam oğlu* in Cyrillic script and distributed a typewritten copy to the Karaims. He probably used the printed edition as a source of his copy, but some stanzas have been omitted and his copy ends with *Kimine kemħa [...]*. Therefore, it is also incomplete. This version will not be used because the copyist made many mistakes. However, it is interesting to

<sup>4</sup> My best thanks go to Mr Adam Dubiński for sending a copy of this manuscript to me. There were various notes in pencil in this manuscript by a later hand that have been erased from the copy appended to this article.

<sup>5</sup> I express my gratitude to Dr Anna Sulimowicz-Keruth for sharing a copy of this manuscript with me and information on the manuscript.

<sup>6</sup> However, the information on the publication of *Adam oğlu* in El’jašević’s article is inexact, since he claims that it was published in Eupatoria in 1841 in a volume of Qazaz’s selected works called ‘*Tuv Ta’am*’.

<sup>7</sup> I express my thanks to Dr Anna Sulimowicz-Keruth for providing a copy of this fragment of the manuscript.



show how a copyist who could not read and understand particular words tried to convert them to similar words he knew, e.g. *binyetiñ* ~ *binyatıñ* ‘your fundament’ (p. 1) was changed to *bin yaşın* ‘a thousand of your years’, or *tışı* ‘female’ (p. 3) was changed to *kişi* ‘man’.

As for the language, C, K and V retained most typical Middle Karaim or North-Western Turkic forms, while G, Q and B were adapted to Crimean Turkish. Manuscript A is a mixture of both; therefore, it occupies the middle position between C, K, V and G, Q, B.

### 3. COMPARISON OF THE CONTENTS OF EXTANT VERSIONS

A is composed of 30, C of 20, G and K of 42 each, and Q of 55 stanzas. In A, C and K, the text is written in the Oriental form of distich pairs; in Q it is in the form of couplets, though with some irregularity. In A, the text is subdivided into couplets, but real poetry verses are not observed. Table 1 shows the initial words of all stanzas in the five basic versions.

**Table 1.** Comparison of the contents in the five versions

No	G	K	C	Q	A
1	Ey Adam oğlu	Ey Adam oğlu	Ey Adam oğlanı	Hey adam oğlu	Ey Adam oğlu
2	Qanatlı quşlar	Qanatlı quşlar	Qanatlı quşlar	Qanatlı quşlar	Qanatlı quşlar
3	Neçik gi keldiñ	Neçik gi keldiñ	Neçik gi keldiñ	Nêçik ki gèldiñ	Neçik ki geldiñ
4	Bilirmisin ki neden	Bilirmisin ki neden	Bilirmisin ki neden	Bilir misin ki nereden	Bilir misin ki qaydan
5	Fikir ét endi	Fikir et endi	Fikir et endi	Fikir éd endi	Fikir et endi
6	Qaydadır hanlar	Qaydadır hanlar	Qaydadır hanlar	Qaydadır ağalar	Qaydadır hanlar
7	Ullu da kiçi	Ulu da kiçi	Ulu da kiçi	Ulı da kiçik	Ulu da kiçi
8	Yahşı cennetde	Yahşı cennetde	Yaqqılar cennetde	Yahşılar cennetde	Yahşılar cenette
9	Ol vaqıtta körgün	Ol vahtta körgin	Ol vahtta körsin	Ol vaqıtta görgin	Ol vahtta körgin
10	Defter açılıp	Defter açılıp	Defter açılıp	Defterler açılıp	Defter açılıp
11	(Şoħad) hemên de berseñ	Şoħad berseñ	Şoħad da berseñ	Şoħad da verseñ	–
12	Malıñ dirligiñ	Malıñ tirligiñ	Malıñ tirligiñ	Malıñ tirligiñ	Malıñ tirligiñ
13	Altın da gümüş	Altın da kümüş	Altın da kümüş	Altın ve gümüş	Altın da gümüş
14	Tulnı öksüzni	Tulnu öksizni	Tulnu öksüzni	Tulnı öksizni	Tulnı öksüzni
15	Gece da gündüz	Keçe da kündüz	Geçe da kündüz	Gêce ve gündiz	Keçe de gündüs
16	Muna budır ki	Muna budır ki	Muna budur ki	Muna budır ki	Mına budur ki
17	Cümle ‘alemi	Cümle ‘alemiñ	Cümle ‘alemiñ	Cümle ‘alemiñ	Cümle ‘alemiñ



18	Ne acayıptır	Ne acayıpdır	Ne acayıpdır	Ne acayıpdır	Ne acayıptır
19	Néce ki çifttir	Kimi biteydir	Neçesi çiftir	Naslı çiftedir	Necesi acayıptır
20	Kimi bitedir	Neçesi çiftidir	Kimi biteydir	Kimi biteydir	Kimi biteydir
21	Adamlar bardır	Adamlar bardır	Adamlar bardır	Ağalar vardır	Adamlar bardır
22	Kimi ğarıptır	Kimi ğarıpdır	Kimi ğarıpdır	Kimi ğarıpdır	Kimi ğarıptır
23	Kimisi <sup>8</sup> aşap	Kimisi aşap	Kimisi aşap	Kimisi aşap	Kimisi aşap
24	Kimisi her gün	Kimisi her gün	Kimisi her gün	Kimisi [hër gün] aşap	Kimisi er gün
25	Devletli vardır <sup>9</sup>	Devletli bar ki	Devletli var ki	Devletli vardır	Devletli bardır
26	Kimi oynaydır <sup>10</sup>	Kimi oynaydır		–	Kimisi oynaydır
27	Kimi minedir	Kimi mineydir		Kimi éneydir	–
28	Kiminiñ çoqtır	Kiminiñ köptir		Kiminiñ çoqtır	–
29	Kimi qulluqtan	Kimi qullıqtan		Kimi qullıqdan	Eger Adonay bolmasa edi
30	Begler var ki	Begler bar ki		Bêgler var ki	Bazılan bardır
31	Kimi quvatlıdır	Kimi quvatlıdır		Kimi quvatlıdır	Kimi quvatlıdır
32	Ançaq baylar bar	Ança baylar bar		Anca bêgler var	Ança beyler bar
33	Kimisi her gün	Kimisi her gün		Kimisi hër gün	Kimisi her gün
34	Kimi iskerlet	Kimi iskerlet		Kimi [işkerlet]	
35	Kimine kemħa	Kimine kemħa		Kimine kemħa	
36	Kimisi giyer samur	Kimisi kiyer samır		Kimisi giyer cüfte	
37	Kimisi kiyer çifte	Kimisi kiyer çifte		Kimisi giyer samur	
38	Kimi eline	Kimi qoluna		Kimi éline	
39	Kiminiñ vardır <sup>11</sup> bağı	Kiminiñ bardır		Kiminiñ vardır	
40	Nêçeler vardır <sup>12</sup>	Neçeler bardır		Nêceler vardır	
41	Ahır budur ki	Ahır budır ki		Ahır vardır ki	
42	Yahşı işleriñ				

As is seen from the table above, the first twenty-five stanzas are similar in all versions; only 19 and 20 are inverted in K. C ends with stanza 25. Stanza 26 is absent from Q, and stanzas 27 and 28 are

<sup>8</sup> G kimi, but *kimisi* in the catchword.

<sup>9</sup> G mistakenly *varadır*.

<sup>10</sup> G mistakenly 'vyny'..dy'.

<sup>11</sup> G mistakenly *varır*.

<sup>12</sup> G mistakenly *varır*.



not in A. Stanza 29 in A is completely different from all the other versions. A ends with stanza 33. The order of 36 and 37 in Q is inverted in relation to G and K. Q ends with stanza 41 and K has an additional one.

Q contains 15 additional couplets at the end, which despite being shown as *Adam oğlu* by the copyist in headings, are written in different style and are seemingly not part of this poem. Some of them imitate Qazaz's style, e.g. *Kimini şişke şişlerler* | *Kimini kiyikge taşlarlar* 'Some are roasted on a skewer | Some are cast to the beasts'. However, most are in the style of popular Turkish songs and one is a well-known international proverb *Ne ki ekersin onu çöplersin* 'You reap what you sow', cf. Tur. *Ne ekersen onu biçersin* and English *One reaps what one sows* (Yurtbaşı 1993: 312). Since some similar portions are contained in both G and Q, it may be deduced that Q used G, e.g.

(G) *Seyran ettim ol ciğanda, Acayıplar gördüm anda, | Cemin gezip geldim bunda, Ayyan<sup>13</sup> etme canıma.*

(Q) *Sehir<sup>14</sup> ettim ol cehenemde, | Acayıplar gördim onda, | [Barın]<sup>15</sup> gezip geldim bunda, | Oyan eşitmeye canıña dünyada.*

'I walked in this world, | And saw wonders in it, | I visited all and came here, | To make it clear for me.'

The last nine couplets in Q are again related to the Karaite religion; they comprise references to Abraham, Moses and Messiah.

#### 4. LANGUAGE FEATURES OF THE EXTANT VERSIONS

With no access to the autograph, it is impossible to say if Qazaz preferred Crimean Turkish Karaim or Crimean Kipchak Karaim, although we can suppose that his choice was the latter. This is because the oldest version, which was printed in 1841 by Jacob Firkovich, the son of the famous Abraham Firkovich, under whose influence Jacob acted and who is known for his preference for Turkish, was not completely converted into Turkish and many Kipchak features have been retained. Another argument is that the next version in order, Cumuq's manuscript of 1864, is predominantly Kipchak, although with numerous cases of Turkish influence.<sup>16</sup> An overwhelmingly Kipchak character is evident in Kökenay's manuscript, despite its late date (1953), whereas Qılçı (1903), as a resident of Bakçesaray, opted for Turkish. Manuscript A is most corrupt. The intention of its copyist to adapt the Kipchak forms to Turkish is obvious, but there is still a majority of Kipchak forms.

In Q, most Kipchak words are replaced with Turkish: e.g. *köp* with *çok* 'much, many' (also in G); *qaydan/neden* with *nereden* 'whence'; *könlüñe* 'for your wish' with *gendiñe* 'for yourself'; *hocalar* 'masters' with *paşalar* 'pashas' (*paşalar* also appears in V, which is predominantly Kipchak); *barça* (in *barça miçva*) with *cümle* 'all' (also G); *da* (in a few occurrences) with *ve* 'and'; *neçesi* 'some' with *naslı* 'what kind'; *dinlenir* '(some) relax' with *eglenir* '(some) amuse themselves'; *dilenir* '(some) beg' for *dolanır* '(some) wander around'; *mineydir* '(he) is mounting' and *tüşeydir* '(he) is

<sup>13</sup> This word is corrupt in both copies.

<sup>14</sup> This form stands for Tur. (← Ar.) *seyir et- ~ seyret-* '1. to look, see (spectacle) 2. to move, to go along' (NRTED 1008).

<sup>15</sup> Q byryn; the reading *birin* does not fit the context.

<sup>16</sup> The mixed character of Turkic languages in Crimea is commonplace (Doerfer 1959: 371, Jankowski 2010: 40).





dismounting' with *bineydir* and *eneydir* 'id'; *yaman* 'bad' with *fena*; *öktemlik* 'pride' with *fodıllıq* 'vanity'; *qol* 'hand' with *el* (also G). In contrast, in G only some words are replaced.

Some of these substitutions, for example *paşalar* for *hocalar*, also occur in other versions, thus demonstrating that they are not Qılcı's inventions and already existed in earlier copies.

Lexical substitutions in other manuscripts are rare, e.g. K *zeket* 'alms' for *zehut* 'merit' (note that A did not understand this Hebrew word and wrote *yahut* 'or', which is meaningless in its context).

Much more characteristic of G and Q is phonetic adaptation to Turkish, e.g. changing *k-* to *g-* as in (G) *giyer* '(he) puts on' as opposed to *kiyer*. There are also a few morphological adaptations, e.g. *etkenin* 'what he has done', which in Q is replaced with *ettigin*.

We can demonstrate a few grammatical forms which distinguish the language of this poem from Crimean Tatar, Turkish and Urum:

(1) the second-person singular imperative suffix *-GIn*, e.g. *sağınğın* 'remember', *yürüğüñ* 'walk';

(2) the negative aorist form *-mAstIr*, e.g. *qalmastır* '... will not remain', *yarılğamastır* '... will not pardon (translated as 'no pardon will be done')';

(3) the third-person singular progressive *-(A)ydlr*, even after a consonant stem, e.g. *küleydir* '(some are) laughing', *mineydir* '(some are) mounting'; although these forms are also used in Crimean Tatar, they are limited to the southern dialect (Jankowski 2010: 164–165);

(4) the second-person singular non-evidential or perfect form *-psIn*, evidenced in C, A *kêlpsin* and V *kelipsin* 'you came', whose equivalents in other versions are G *gelgensin*, B *geldiñ sen* and K *kelirsin*, is also absent from modern Crimean Tatar.

Most of these forms are evidenced in old Crimean Karaim Bible translations (Jankowski 1997: 16–17, 54, 67).

It is important to note that the postpositions *kibik* 'as; like' and *bilen* 'with' are also evidenced in Crimean Tatar, but only in archaic texts (Jankowski 2010: 264–265).

With regard to the lexicon, a distinguishing feature is the presence of Hebrew words. There are the following Hebrew words in this poem: *çedaqa* 'alms' (AJ 115), *miçva* 'commandment' (AJ 242), *şohad* 'bribe; present' (AJ 376) and *tora* 'the law' or *Tora* 'Torah' (AJ 409). There are also a few additional ones in individual versions.

The following verbs are not used in modern Crimean Tatar: *sağın-* in the meaning 'to remember' (AJ 332); *yançıl-* 'to be hit, to be broken' (AJ 445); and *yul-* 'to save, to redeem etc.' (AJ 471). There are also a few nouns absent from modern Crimean Tatar, e.g. *erk* 'power, rule, reign' (AJ 154), *quyaş* 'sun' (AJ 324) and *uruv* '1. family, lineage. 2. generation'. From other word classes, we can show two adjectives: *artıqsı* 'supplementary, additional, extra, saintly; selected (translated as 'more')' (AJ 49) and *kiçi* 'small' (AJ 221). There are also adverbs and various pronouns, e.g. *alay* 'in that way (translated as 'as')' (AJ 37), *ança* 'so many' (in AJ 41 *anca*), *neçik* 'how' (AJ 251) and *neme* 'nothing' (AJ 251).

Moreover, we can see some Arabic and Persian words not used in modern Crimean Tatar or used in other meanings and forms, e.g. *şara* 'at 'law, religious regulations; justice, rightness' (AJ 371), an Arabic loanword, from which another word, *şara* 'atçı 'judge' (AJ 372) is derived; and *binyet* 'base, foundation' (AJ 85), a Persian loanword.

Despite the strong phonetic impact of Turkish, some words occur in archaic forms, e.g. *emgek* 'toil' (in *emgeklı* 'toilsome'), cf. CTar. (< Tur.) *emek*, also the Ar. loanword *coğap* 'answer', cf. CTat. (< Tur.) *cevap*.





## 5. ADAM OĞLU IN TRANSCRIPTION

In the following, *Adam oğlu* will be presented on the basis of the printed edition of 1841 and extant manuscripts. As it is most corrupt, A will be taken into account minimally. There are also many corrupt words and phrases in Q, but in length it is similar to G and K, both of which must be considered the equal best. C is important, but it does not contain the whole text. In short, K will be taken for the basic version, but G is important for establishing the rhyme and sometimes also the correct forms of words. To reduce the number of footnotes with alternative readings, minor graphic features will be disregarded. I have attempted to translate the poem truthfully as much as possible, but the translation is not literal.

(G 1a, K 1, C 88a, Q 34, A 13a)

Ey<sup>17</sup> Adam oğlu nüçün yuqlarsın,<sup>18</sup>  
Aç köziñni<sup>19</sup> baq balçiq topraqsın,  
Neçe yaşasañ<sup>20</sup> bir gün köçersin,<sup>21</sup>  
Munda qalmassın adam oğlanı.<sup>22</sup>

O, man's son, why do you sleep,  
Open your eyes; look, you are mud and dust,  
However long you live, one day you will pass away,  
You cannot remain here, O, man's son.

Qanatlı quşlar kibik<sup>23</sup> uçarsın,  
Hem yalançılar<sup>24</sup> kibik qaçarsın,  
Kölege kibik kelip keçersin,  
Binyetiñ yoqtır adam oğlanı.

You fly like winged birds,  
You flee like liars,  
You come and pass like a shadow,  
You have no base, O, man's son.

Neçik ki keldiñ alay ketersin,<sup>25</sup>  
Ya ne artıqsı talap etersin,<sup>26</sup>  
Bilmessin barnı heçke satarsın,  
Bu aqlımdır<sup>28</sup> adam oğlanı.

You will go as you came,  
What do you demand more?  
You ignore the riches<sup>27</sup> and sell them for nothing,  
Is this wisdom, O, man's son?

<sup>17</sup> Q, B *hey*.

<sup>18</sup> G, A, Q, V *yuhlarsın*.

<sup>19</sup> G, K, A *gözüñni*, C *gözünü*, Q *gözüñi*, V *közüñni*.

<sup>20</sup> G, B, V *neçe yaşasañ*, C, A *nece yaşasañ*, Q *nece yaşarsañ*.

<sup>21</sup> Q, B *göçersin*.

<sup>22</sup> K, Q This line comes in the second stanza; G, Q, A, B *Bunda qalmazsın ...*, C *Bunda qalmassın ...*, V *Munda qalmazsın / qalmazsın ...* appears in both first stanzas.

<sup>23</sup> The spelling *kibik* in this and the two subsequent occurrences was unified from G, B *gibi*, K *kibik*, *kibig*, *gibik*, Q *gibik*, *gibi*, *gibi*, A *gibik*, *kibig*, *gibig* and V *kibik*.

<sup>24</sup> G, K, Q *yalancılar*.

<sup>25</sup> Q ... *geldiñ evle gidersin ...*, A *geldiñ ... getersin ...*, B *Neçik geldiñ evle gidersin*.

<sup>26</sup> G *Ya ne artıq ki dalap ...*, C *Ya ne artıq talap ...*, K *Ya ne artıq ki talap ...*, Q *Gene artıqsı dalap ...*, B *Ya ne artıqsı dalap ...*, A *Da neki artıq ...*, V *Ya ne artıqsı talap etersin*.

<sup>27</sup> Lit. 'all'.

<sup>28</sup> V Mistakenly *Bu qadarmdır ...*



(A 13b) Bilirmisin ki neden kelirsin,<sup>29</sup>  
Da ne arağa<sup>30</sup> ki sen barırsın,  
Kimniñ aldına<sup>31</sup> hesap berirsin,  
Anı sağınğın adam (Q 35) oğlanı.

Do you know whence you come?  
And where you go?  
To whom you will render an account?  
Remember this, O, man's son.

Fikir et endi sen de könlüñe,<sup>32</sup>  
Doğru yürüğün her gün yoluña,  
Bil ki ne kelir<sup>33</sup> seniñ halıña,  
Dünyada heçsin adam oğlanı.

Think now about this in your heart,  
Walk the right path every day,  
Know what your fate will be like.<sup>34</sup>  
You are nothing in this world, O, man's son.

Qaydadır hanlar qaydadır begler,  
Qana ağalar qana hocalar,<sup>35</sup>  
Barçası birge yerge<sup>36</sup> kireler,  
Kimse qalmastır adam oğlanı.

Where are the khans, where are the nobles?  
Where are the lords, where are the masters?  
They all will go to the grave,<sup>37</sup>  
Nobody will remain, O, man's son.

Ulu da kiçi mundan eksilir,<sup>38</sup>  
Barı beraber topraq yabunur,<sup>39</sup>  
Yahşı da yaman anda bilinir,<sup>40</sup>  
Şaraʿat bardır adam oğlanı.

The big and the little will perish from here,  
Earth will cover them all,  
Good and bad (people) are known there,  
There is justice, O, man's son.

(A 14a) Yahşı cennetde oynap küleydir,<sup>41</sup>  
Yamanlar otqa tüşüp küyeydir,<sup>42</sup>  
Kimi yılaydır kimi muñraydır,<sup>43</sup>  
(Q 36) Közüñni açqın adam oğlanı.

Good (people) will be playing and laughing in paradise,  
Bad (people) will fall in the fire and be burning,  
Some will be weeping, some bawling,  
Open your eyes, O, man's son.

<sup>29</sup> G ... ki neden gelgensen, B ... ki neden geldiñ sen; C ... ki neden kelişsin, A ... ki qaydan kelişsin, V ... ki neden kelişsin.

<sup>30</sup> G Da nerege ..., Q Gene orağa kirersin, A Da ne ki alarğa sen barırsın. This verse seems to be corrupt in all versions.

<sup>31</sup> Q öğüne or önüne.

<sup>32</sup> V ... sen könlüñe.

<sup>33</sup> Q gelir.

<sup>34</sup> Lit. 'Know that what will come to your state.'

<sup>35</sup> Q Qana hanlar qana paşalar, V ... paşalar.

<sup>36</sup> G Cümlesi birden verge (sic) girerler, Q Cümle birden yere kireler, A Cümlesi bir yerge ...

<sup>37</sup> Lit. 'to the earth.'

<sup>38</sup> G Ullu da kiçi anda bilinir, K, V Ulu da kiçi mundan eksilir, C Ulu da kiçi onda eksilir, Q Ulu da kiçi anda bilinir, Q, A Ulu da [kiçi] anda bilinir.

<sup>39</sup> G Cümlesi ... örtülir, Q ... örtünir; K, V ... yabunur, A ... yabunır.

<sup>40</sup> G ... onda ..., Q Fena da eyi ...

<sup>41</sup> G ... güler, C Yahşılar ..., Q Yahşılar ... küleyir.

<sup>42</sup> G ... küyer, Q, V ... düşüp ...

<sup>43</sup> G Kimisi ağlar kimisi güler, C ... ağlaydır ...



Ol vahtta körgin qačan ki barsaň,<sup>44</sup>  
 Davacıñ bilen davağa tursaň,<sup>46</sup>  
 Şara‘atçıñıñ aldına kelseň,<sup>48</sup>  
 Ne çoğap beresin adam oğlanı.<sup>49</sup>

Look when you go,<sup>45</sup>  
 When you have a court case with a plaintiff,<sup>47</sup>  
 When you stand before a judge,  
 What do you answer, O, man’s son?

(C 88b) Defter açılıp qačan oqulsa,<sup>50</sup>  
 Güneşler içün teftiş olunsa,<sup>52</sup>  
 Eger bir işiñ muhalif kelse,<sup>53</sup>  
 Neçik edersin adam oğlanı.<sup>54</sup>

When your records<sup>51</sup> are opened and read,  
 When your sins are investigated,  
 If your deeds are perverse,  
 What<sup>55</sup> will you do, O, man’s son?

(K 2) Şoħad berseň qayıl olmaştır,<sup>56</sup>  
 Bayğa yarlığa heç yüz körmestir,<sup>57</sup>

There will be no use if you give bribes,  
 There will be no distinction between the rich and the  
 poor,<sup>58</sup>

Yarılğamadır raħim etmestir,<sup>59</sup>  
 Vay [ne] ħalıñdır adam oğlanı.<sup>60</sup>

No pardon, no mercy will be done.  
 Pity you,<sup>61</sup> O, man’s son.

(G 1b) Malıñ tirligiñ canıñnı yulmas<sup>62</sup>,  
 Oğluñ da qızıñ seni qutqarmas,<sup>63</sup>  
 (Q 37) Qarındaş uruv heç fayda bermez,<sup>64</sup>  
 Ançaq ħayırıñ adam oğlanı.<sup>65</sup>

Your goods, your livelihoods will not save you,  
 Neither your son nor daughter will save you,  
 There will be no use of brothers and family,  
 Only your good deeds, O, man’s son.

<sup>44</sup> G *Ol vaqtqa* ..., C ... *körsin* ...

<sup>45</sup> Lit. ‘at that time look when you are going’.

<sup>46</sup> Q *Davacıñ ilen* ..., A *Dav(ğ)acı bilen* ...

<sup>47</sup> Lit. ‘when you stand to a case with a plaintiff’.

<sup>48</sup> A ... *barsaň*.

<sup>49</sup> G, Q ... *verirsin* ..., A ... *berirsin* ...

<sup>50</sup> Q *Defterler* ...

<sup>51</sup> Lit. ‘notebook’.

<sup>52</sup> C ... *olunsa*.

<sup>53</sup> G ... *muqğalif* ..., C ... *muquf* ..., Q ... *egri çıqsa*.

<sup>54</sup> Q *Né covap verirsin* ..., A *Ne çoğap berirsin* ...

<sup>55</sup> Lit. ‘how’.

<sup>56</sup> G Mistakenly (*Şoħad*) *hemin berseň* ..., Q ... *da vërseň heç almaz*.

<sup>57</sup> G *Fuğareye hiç yüz görmez*, which does not make sense, C ... *yüz körmessin*, Q ... *yüz edmez*.

<sup>58</sup> Lit. ‘to the rich, to the poor no face will look’.

<sup>59</sup> G *Yarılqamaz, raħim etmez*, Q *Diñlemez* ...

<sup>60</sup> G *Vay ħalıña* ..., K [ne] the second letter written indistinctively; Q *Ki yolıñdır* ..., which does not make sense, C *Daħı ħalıña* ...

<sup>61</sup> Lit. ‘Oh, what is your state’.

<sup>62</sup> A Mistakenly *canıña* ...

<sup>63</sup> Q ... *ve qızıñ* ..., A mistakenly ... *qayğısı* ...

<sup>64</sup> G *Qardaş ve mişpaħaň* ..., C *Qardaş uruv* ..., Q *Qarındaş olup* ..., A *Qardaşıñ olup* ...; the versions with *olup* are wrong.

<sup>65</sup> Q Mistakenly *Ocaq görñ* ...



(A 14b) Altın da kümüş eger çöpleseñ,<sup>66</sup>  
Neme<sup>67</sup> etmestir canıña bilseñ,  
Eger yarlığa çedaqa berseñ,<sup>69</sup>  
Kelir qarşıña adam oğlanı.<sup>70</sup>

Even if you amass gold and silver,  
It will be of no use, you have to know,<sup>68</sup>  
(But) if you give alms to a poor man,  
You will be recompensed,<sup>71</sup> O, man's son.

Tulnu öksizni yahşı gözleseñ,<sup>72</sup>  
Her tirligiñden zehut<sup>73</sup> çığarsañ,  
Bar<sup>74</sup> köñül bilen bu işni qılsañ,  
Zaval körmezsın adam oğlanı.<sup>75</sup>

If you treat a widow and an orphan well,  
If you have merits in all your life,  
If you do that with all your heart,  
You will see no shortage, O, man's son.

Keçe da kündüz toranı quvsañ,<sup>76</sup>  
Barça miçvanı yahşı saqlasañ,<sup>77</sup>  
Hışım kününde eger muñaysañ,<sup>78</sup>  
Qutarır seni adam oğlanı.<sup>79</sup>

If you observe the law day and night,  
If you keep all the precepts firm,  
If you grieve on the day of wrath,  
He will deliver you, O, man's son.

(Q 38) Muna budır ki barır aldıña,<sup>80</sup>  
Qalqanıñ bolır turır yanıña,<sup>81</sup>  
Yalbarır seniñ içün begiñe,<sup>83</sup>  
Qutqarır seni adam oğlanı.

Here is what will come to you,  
It will be your shield and be<sup>82</sup> by you,  
It will entreat your Lord for you,  
He will deliver you, O, man's son.

(C 89a) Cümle 'alemiñ hıdadır başı,<sup>84</sup>  
Kökde da yerde yoqtır oħşaşı,<sup>85</sup>  
Yoqtan var qılmış yaratılmışı,<sup>86</sup>  
Hekmetli<sup>87</sup> dünya emiş bu dünya.

God is the head of all the world,  
There is no one similar in heaven and on earth,  
He created everything from nothing,  
This world is said to be a wise world.

<sup>66</sup> Q ... *devşirsen*.

<sup>67</sup> G, C, A *Fayda* ...

<sup>68</sup> Lit. 'if you know'.

<sup>69</sup> G, Q ... *fuqarêge çedaqa vërseñ*.

<sup>70</sup> G, Q *Gelir* ...

<sup>71</sup> Lit. 'comes to you'.

<sup>72</sup> G ... *közetseñ*.

<sup>73</sup> K *zeket*, which is the Ar. word *zekat* 'alms', is related to Islam, commonly used in Crimean Tatar and Turkish; this word does not fit the semantic and confessional context; the word in the other versions is Kar. *zehut* 'merit' of Heb. origin, see AJ 479; G ... *dirligiñden* ...

<sup>74</sup> G *Cümle*.

<sup>75</sup> G, Q ... *görmezsın* ...

<sup>76</sup> G *Géce da gündiz ... oħusañ*, A ... *gündüs* (sic) ... *qılsañ*.

<sup>77</sup> G *Cümle miçvalarını* ..., Q *Cümle miçvalarını èyi* ...

<sup>78</sup> G ... *gününde* ..., Q ... *muñrasañ*.

<sup>79</sup> G, C, A *Qutqarır* ..., Q *Qutarırım* ...

<sup>80</sup> G ... *varır* ..., Q ... *gélir qarşıña*.

<sup>81</sup> G ... *olur* ..., Q ... *olur durır* ..., A [*qalqan*].

<sup>82</sup> Lit. 'stand'.

<sup>83</sup> G [*Ricañ*] *olur* ..., Q *Yalvarır* ..., the fragment *begiñe* ... *seni* is wanting.

<sup>84</sup> C ... *kökdedir* ..., Q ... *gökdedir* ..., A ... *haydadır* ...

<sup>85</sup> Q *Gökde ve yerde* ..., A *Köktedir* ...

<sup>86</sup> Q ... *var edmiş* ...

<sup>87</sup> Q *tmh*'ly, probably for Tur. *tenha*(lı) 'lonely'.



Ne acayıpdır dünyanın işi,  
Kör yıldızları ayı quyaşı,<sup>88</sup>  
Hem denizleri dağları taşı,<sup>89</sup>  
Acayıp dünya emiş bu dünya.

How strange are the things of this world,  
Look at the stars, the moon and the sun,  
The seas, the mountains and the rocks,<sup>90</sup>  
This world is said to be a strange world.

(K 3) Neçesi çiftidir erkek da tişi,<sup>91</sup>  
Biri biriniñ bolır<sup>92</sup> yoldaşı,  
Teregi keter qalır yemişi,<sup>93</sup>  
Değişilme<sup>94</sup> dünya emiş bu dünya.

How many males and females are in pairs?  
One is a partner to another,  
(Even if) a tree disappears, its fruit remains,  
This world is said to be a changing world.

(Q 39) Kimi biteydir kimi yeteydir,  
Birisi kelip birisi keteydir,<sup>96</sup>  
Eksilmek yoqtır turmay artaydır,<sup>97</sup>  
Aqıntı suvğa beñzer bu dünya.<sup>98</sup>

Some are sprouting,<sup>95</sup> some ripening,  
Some are coming, some are going away,  
There is no decrease, (everything) is increasing,  
This world is similar to flowing water.

Adamlar bardır<sup>99</sup> uzundur yaşı,  
Hem malı bar hem oğlu qardaşı,<sup>100</sup>  
Yatlar da bolır onıñ tanışı,<sup>101</sup>  
Huzurlu<sup>102</sup> dünya emiş bu dünya.

There are people who live long,  
Have goods, sons, siblings,  
They have friends among strangers,  
This world is said to be a peaceful world.

(A 15b) Kimi ğaripdir yoqtır bilişi,  
Kiminiñ her dem aqar göz yaşı,<sup>103</sup>  
Ne aşı bardır ne hem kiyişi,<sup>104</sup>  
Eksikli<sup>105</sup> dünya emiş bu dünya.

Some are foreigners and have no friends,  
The eyes of some always tear,  
They have nothing to eat and to wear,  
This world is said to be a deficient world.

<sup>88</sup> G Gör ..., Q ... küneşi.

<sup>89</sup> G ... daşı, K ... denizleri ..., Q ... dağ ilen daşı, C mistakenly repeated ... ayı quyaşı.

<sup>90</sup> Lit. 'stone'.

<sup>91</sup> G Nêce ki ... dişi, C Nêçesi ... dişi, Q Naslı çiftedir ... ve dişi, A nêcesi acayıptır arħa(r)daşı.

<sup>92</sup> G, C, Q, A ... olur ...

<sup>93</sup> G Diregi ..., C ... gider ..., Q Tiregi gider ...

<sup>94</sup> Q Değişirilme ...

<sup>95</sup> The verb *bit-* can also mean 'to finish; to end up'.

<sup>96</sup> G ... gelip ekisi ..., C ... gelip ...

<sup>97</sup> G ... durmaz ..., K ... turmaz ...

<sup>98</sup> G Aqındı ..., C Aqındı suya, Q ... suya beñzeyir ..., A Aqan suya ...

<sup>99</sup> Q Ağalar vardır ...

<sup>100</sup> G ... var oğlu ..., Q Hém oğlu vardır ve hem qardaşı, A ... vardır ...

<sup>101</sup> G, Q Mistakenly Yaşlar da olur onıñ yoldaşı.

<sup>102</sup> Q Eksikli ...

<sup>103</sup> G, C ... ağar köz ...

<sup>104</sup> G ... var ... rubası, Q ... vardır ve nê yoldaşı, A ... vardır nê yoldaşı.

<sup>105</sup> C Mehnétli ...



(G 2a) Kimisi aşap içip diñlenir,<sup>106</sup> Some eat, drink and relax,  
 Kimisi qapu qapu dilenir,<sup>107</sup> Some beg from door to door,  
 Gendi gendini görüp arlanır,<sup>108</sup> See themselves and are ashamed,  
 (Q 40) Meñnetli dünya emiş bu dünya<sup>109</sup> This world is said to be a burdensome world.

Kimisi her gün aşap içeydir,<sup>110</sup> Some eat and drink every day,  
 Asretlik bilen küni keçeydir,<sup>111</sup> Spend their days with ardent desire,  
 Kimisi ağzın yelge açaydır,<sup>112</sup> Some open their mouths to the wind,  
 Çarasız dünya emiş bu dünya. This world is said to be a desperate world.

Devletli bar ki aşamaz içmez,<sup>113</sup> There are prosperous people who neither eat nor drink,  
 Her gün samutdır göñlüni açmaz,<sup>114</sup> They are silent, do not cheer up,<sup>115</sup>  
 Canları bilen köñlü hoş keçmez,<sup>116</sup> Never raise their spirits,<sup>117</sup>  
 Aldayıcı dünya emiş bu dünya. This world is said to be a deceitful world.

Kimi oynaydır kimi küleydir,<sup>118</sup> Some are playing, some laughing,  
 Kimi tañsırlıq bilen küyeydir,<sup>119</sup> Some are burning in need,  
 Küni keçesi aç ıylaydır,<sup>120</sup> Some are weeping bitterly day and night,  
 Qıyınlı dünya emiş bu dünya. This world is said to be a difficult world.

Kimi mineydir kimi tüseydir,<sup>121</sup> Some are mounting and some dismounting,  
 Kiminiñ aħçası artıp taşaydır, Some are multiplying their money,<sup>122</sup>  
 Kiminiñ yoqlıqdan aqlı şaşaydır,<sup>123</sup> Some are going mad from poverty,  
 Dertli dünya emiş bu dünya. This world is said to be a sorrowful world.

<sup>106</sup> G *Kimi ...*, Q ... *ëglenir*.

<sup>107</sup> G *Kimi de ...*, C ... *qapu qapudan ...*

<sup>108</sup> A *Gendi gëndiden ...*

<sup>109</sup> Q *Mistakenly mañnalı ...*, A *Minnetli ...*

<sup>110</sup> G ... *ıçeydirir*, C ... *her tan ...*, Q *her gün is wanting*, A ... *er gün ...*

<sup>111</sup> Q ... *ilen ömri geçeyir*.

<sup>112</sup> Q ... *açayır*.

<sup>113</sup> G ... *vardır aşamaz ...*, A ... *bardır ...*

<sup>114</sup> G ... *kün ...*, C ... *samut ...*, Q *mistakenly ... göñli açılmaz*, A ... *köñlini ...*

<sup>115</sup> Lit. 'do not open their soul'.

<sup>116</sup> G ... *göñli ... gelmez*, C, Q ... *göñli hoş olmaz*, A ... *köñül hoş keçmes*.

<sup>117</sup> Lit. 'with their souls their heart does not pass nice'.

<sup>118</sup> A *Kimisi oynaydır kimisi güleydir*.

<sup>119</sup> A ... *bunaydır*.

<sup>120</sup> A *Günü ... alay ...*

<sup>121</sup> Q ... *ëneydir ... bineydir*.

<sup>122</sup> Lit. 'the money of some is multiplying and overflowing'.

<sup>123</sup> Q *wanting*; therefore, this line is only present in G and K.



- Kiminiñ köptir malı tirligi,<sup>124</sup> Some have many goods and livelihoods,  
 Kimi faqirdir bar eksikligi,<sup>125</sup> Some are poor and needy,<sup>126</sup>  
 Neçeniñ yoqtır başına erki,<sup>127</sup> Some do not have power over themselves,<sup>128</sup>  
 (Q 41) Emgekli dünya emiş bu dünya.<sup>129</sup> This world is said to be a toilsome world.
- (K 4) Kimi qullıqtan beglikke çıqar,<sup>130</sup> Some rise to lordship from slavery,  
 [Argımaq] minip davulbaz<sup>131</sup> qaqar,<sup>132</sup> Some mount steeds and beat drums,  
 Kiminiñ başına köp zaval baqar,<sup>133</sup> Some are poverty stricken,<sup>134</sup>  
 Zavallı dünya emiş bu dünya. This world is said to be a miserable world.
- (A 16a) Begler bar ki ħor bolır dostına,<sup>135</sup> There are nobles who are despised by their friends,  
 Alçaqta qalır yerniñ üstüne,<sup>136</sup> Remain at the bottom on the ground,  
 Qullar oturur tahtnıñ üstüne,<sup>137</sup> There are slaves who sit on the throne,  
 Yüze gülüci dünya emiş bu dünya. This world is a scornful world.
- Kimi quvatlıdır bardır sağlığı,<sup>138</sup> Some are strong and healthy,  
 Kimi zayıfır körmez yarığı,<sup>139</sup> Some are weak and do not see light,  
 Kimi oğulsız (dır) söner çırağı,<sup>140</sup> Some are sonless, their candle will go out,  
 [Ferah]<sup>141</sup> buzucı dünya emiş bu dünya. This world is said to be a world which destroys happiness.
- Ança baylar bar oğıl qız körmez,<sup>142</sup> So many rich people beget neither sons nor daughters,<sup>143</sup>  
 (Q 42) Faqirde can var yedirme bulmaz,<sup>144</sup> The poor are vital<sup>144</sup> but can find no food,  
 Delige döner etkenin bilmez,<sup>145</sup> They turn mad and do not know what they do,  
 Qıyınlı dünya emiş bu dünya. This world is said to be a difficult world.

<sup>124</sup> G ... *çoqtır ... dirligi*, Q ... *çoqtır cümle ...*

<sup>125</sup> G ... *ğarıptır vardır ...*, Q ... *çoqtır eksikligi*.

<sup>126</sup> Lit. 'some are poor and have deficiency'.

<sup>127</sup> G *Néce adamların yoqtır başına erki*; G *Géceniñ ... erbabı*.

<sup>128</sup> Lit. 'to his head'.

<sup>129</sup> G *Hekmetli ...*

<sup>130</sup> Q ... *béglikge çıqar*, K ... *beglige çığar*.

<sup>131</sup> Tur. *davulbaz* 'archaic 1. drummer 2. small drum hung at the saddle' (NRTED 276).

<sup>132</sup> G *Ağırmaq ... binip ... qağar*, K *Ağırmaq ... biner ...*

<sup>133</sup> G, Q ... *çoq ...*

<sup>134</sup> Lit. 'to the heads of some decline looks'.

<sup>135</sup> G ... *var ...*, Q ... *var ... olur ...*, A *Basları* (a mistake for *begleri*) *bardır ...*

<sup>136</sup> K ... *yer ...*, Q ... *yeriñ ...*, A corrupt.

<sup>137</sup> G ... *tahtnıñ ...*, K, Q ... *tahtlar ...*

<sup>138</sup> K ... *hanlığı*, G, Q ... *vardır ...*, A *Kimi quvatlıdır sağlığı*.

<sup>139</sup> G, Q ... *görmez ...*, A mistakenly ... *zengindir ...*

<sup>140</sup> G, Q K ... *oğulsızdır ...*, A ... *oğulsız ...*

<sup>141</sup> The reading tentative; G *ħrmd*, K *ħarman*, Q *dərman*, A *prħn*.

<sup>142</sup> G *Ançaq ...*, Q *Anca bégler var ...*, A *Ançaq ... bar ... körmes*.

<sup>143</sup> Lit. 'so many rich people see neither a son nor a daughter'.

<sup>144</sup> Lit. 'there is soul in poor'.

<sup>145</sup> G ... *édtingin ...*, Q ... *éttigin ...*, A *yyrym* dbyr ... *étgenin bilmes*.





Kimisi her gün ‘azizleneydir,<sup>146</sup>  
Atlaslar kiyip güzelleneydir<sup>147</sup>,  
Kimi qoy kibik boğuzlanaydır,<sup>148</sup>  
Qanlı<sup>149</sup> dünya emiş bu dünya.

Some are esteemed every day,  
Wear satin robes and grow pretty,  
Some are slaughtered like sheep,  
This world is said to be a bloody world.

(G 2b) Kimi iskerlet tüşer astına,<sup>150</sup>  
Keçer oturur tahtlar üstüne,<sup>151</sup>  
Kiminiñ saman tüşer postına,<sup>152</sup>  
Cana qıyıcı dünya emiş bu dünya.

Some lay down scarlet (rugs) under themselves,  
Pass and sit on thrones,  
Some lay down straw on their seats,<sup>153</sup>  
This world is said to be a killing world.

Kimine kemha tonlar biçilir,  
Körer sevinir köñli açılır,<sup>154</sup>  
Kimi yaman kün bilen yançılır,<sup>156</sup>  
Ahlı<sup>157</sup> dünya emiş bu dünya.

To some, brocade robes are tailored,  
They look, rejoice and cheer up,<sup>155</sup>  
Some break down on the wrong day,  
This world is said to be a woeful world.

(Q 43) Kimisi kiyer samır hem sansar,<sup>158</sup>  
Öktemlik bilen ayağın basar,<sup>159</sup>  
Kiminiñ yoqtır aç bolır<sup>161</sup> suvsar,  
Dermansız dünya emiş bu dünya.

Some wear sable and squirrel (gowns),  
Tread with pride,<sup>160</sup>  
Some do not have [...], are hungry and thirsty,  
This world is said to be an irremediable world.

Kimisi kiyer çifte düle<sup>162</sup>,  
Donanır beñzer kırmızı güle,<sup>164</sup>  
Kiminiñ kelir<sup>165</sup> başına bela,  
Belalı dünya emiş bu dünya.

Some put on pricey<sup>163</sup> clothes,  
Embellish to resemble red roses,  
Some are stricken by troubles,<sup>166</sup>  
This world is said to be a troublesome world.

<sup>146</sup> G ... azizlenir, K ... bar gün ..., A ... azislenedir.

<sup>147</sup> G Dürülü libazlar ... güzellenir, K Libaslar ... küvezleneydir, Q [cübbeler] giyip güzelleneydir.

<sup>148</sup> G ... gibi boğuzlanır, Q ... qoyun gibi boğuzlanaydır, A ... kibig boğazlanır.

<sup>149</sup> G Qasêvetli, A İlmetli.

<sup>150</sup> G ... altına, Q [işkerlet] (spelled 'yşparl't) ... tahtına.

<sup>151</sup> G Geçer oturur ..., K ... olturır ..., Q Geçer oturur ...

<sup>152</sup> G A Kimisi piçen tüşer postına, Q mistakenly Kimini tutar kölege.

<sup>153</sup> Another meaning may be 'some are killed', see the Tur. expression *postuna saman doldur* 'to kill' (NRTED 938), especially if related to the next line.

<sup>154</sup> G Görer ... gönü ..., Q ... gönli ...

<sup>155</sup> Lit. 'its soul opens.'

<sup>156</sup> G, Q ... fena gün ilen ...

<sup>157</sup> G Ahlı vahlı ...

<sup>158</sup> G Giyer ..., Q ... giyer ... <nep'>.

<sup>159</sup> G Fodulluq ilen ..., Q Fodılıq ilen ...

<sup>160</sup> Lit. 'presses his foot.'

<sup>161</sup> G, Q ... olur ...

<sup>162</sup> G ... giyer, K davalı, Q ... cüfte tonlar, cf. Tur. (Per.) *dülâ* 'twofold, doubled; double' (NRTED 317).

<sup>163</sup> Lit. 'doubled.'

<sup>164</sup> G Dolanır ..., Q Tolğanır ...

<sup>165</sup> G gelir, Q geleyir.

<sup>166</sup> Lit. 'To the head of some comes trouble.'



(K 5) Kimi qoluna qınalar yaqar, <sup>167</sup> Horonlar tepip avuçın qağar, <sup>168</sup> Kiminiñ közinden qanlı yaş aqar, <sup>169</sup> Açuvlı dünya emiş bu dünya.	Some henna their hands, Dance and clap their hands, Some shed bloody tears from their eyes, <sup>170</sup> This world is said to be an angry world.
Kiminiñ bardır bağı bahçesi <sup>171</sup> , Çalınır neyi hem kemañçesi, <sup>172</sup> Kiminiñ ahlıdır küni keçesi, <sup>173</sup> (Q 44) Tasalı dünya emiş bu dünya. <sup>175</sup>	Some have vineyards and gardens, Flutes and violins are played, Some sigh <sup>174</sup> days and nights long, This world is said to be a worrying world.
Neçeler bardır yurtu tüzülir, <sup>176</sup> Ança adamnıñ evi buzulır, <sup>177</sup> Kün bar ki kelir görü qazılır, <sup>178</sup> Binyetsiz <sup>179</sup> dünya emiş bu dünya.	There are many whose homes are arranged, (But) the houses of many are destroyed, One day their graves will be dug. This world is said to be a baseless world.
Ahır budır ki biri eksilir, <sup>180</sup> Qara topraqqa kirer kesilir, <sup>181</sup> Yaş otlar kibik qurur kesilir, <sup>183</sup> Keçer dünya emiş bu dünya. <sup>184</sup>	The end is that one perishes, Goes to the black earth and vanishes, <sup>182</sup> Dries up like fresh grass and vanishes, This world is said to be a passing world.
Yahşı işleriñ barır Teñriñe, Qalqanıñ bolır turır yanıña, Yalvarır seniñ içün begiñe, Qutqarır seni adam oğlanı.	Your good deeds will go to your God, They will be your shield and stand by you, They will beg the Lord for your sake, And will deliver you, O man's son.

<sup>167</sup> G *Kimi eline bilezik taqar*, Q *Kimi eline yaqar qına*.

<sup>168</sup> G ... *tebip* ... *qağar*, Q *Bulunır tabib* ...

<sup>169</sup> G ... *gözünden* ..., Q ... *gözinden* ...

<sup>170</sup> Lit. 'from somebody's eye a bloody tear drops'.

<sup>171</sup> G ... *vardır* ....

<sup>172</sup> G ... *dahresi* ...

<sup>173</sup> G ... *günü* ..., Q ... *ağlaydır günü* ...

<sup>174</sup> Lit. 'are with alas'.

<sup>175</sup> G *Ahlı* ..., Q *Pahlı* ...

<sup>176</sup> G *Neçeler vardır yurdu düzüdür*, Q ... *vardır buzılır*.

<sup>177</sup> G ... *ğaripniñ* ...

<sup>178</sup> G, Q *Gün var ki gelir* ...

<sup>179</sup> Q *Bahtsiz* ...

<sup>180</sup> Q *Ahır vardır ki barır kesilir*.

<sup>181</sup> G ... *gelir kesilir*, Q *wanting*.

<sup>182</sup> Lit. 'is cut', also below.

<sup>183</sup> Q *Ağaç gibi qurır kesilir*.

<sup>184</sup> G, Q *Geçer* ...



6. VOCABULARY<sup>185</sup>

acayıp	strange	bağ	vineyard
aç	hungry	bağçe	garden
aç-	to open	<i>bahtsız</i>	unhappy; unfortunate
açı	bitter; bitterly	balçıq	mud
açıl-	to be opened	baq-	to look
açuvlı	angry, annoyed	bar <sup>1</sup>	there is
adam	man	bar <sup>2</sup>	all
ağa	lord	bar-	to go
<i>ağla-</i>	to weep, to cry	barça	all
ağça	money	bas-	1. to tread upon. 2. to press
ağır	end	baş	head
ağlı	woeful	bay	rich, wealthy
ağlı vahlı	(very) woeful	beg	noble; lord
alay	in that way; <i>here as</i>	beglik: beglikke	lordship
alçaq	low	bela	trouble
aldayıcı	liar	belalı	troublesome
aldına	before	beñze-	to be similar, to resemble
‘alem	world	ber-	to give
altın	gold	beraber	together
altına	<i>see astına</i>	biçil-	to be tailored
ança	so many; so much	bil-	to know
ançaq	but, only	bilen	with
anı	<i>see ol</i>	bilin-	to be known
aq-	to flow; to be shed	biliş	acquaintance
aql	wisdom; aqlı şaş- to go mad	bin-	<i>see min-</i>
aqındı	<i>see aqıntı</i>	binyet	base
aqıntı	current, flowing	binyetsiz	baseless
argımaq	steed	bir	one
arlan-	to be ashamed	birge	together (with)
art-	to grow, to increase	biri	someone
artıqsı	more	bit-	1. to sprout. 2. to finish, to end
asretlik	longing	boğuzlan-	to be slaughtered
astına	under	bol-	to become, to be
aş	food; meal	bu	this
aşa-	to eat	bul-	to find
at	horse	bunda	<i>see munda</i>
atlas	satin; ~lar satin robes	buzıl-	<i>see buzul-</i>
avuç	the hollow of the hand	buzucı	destroying; that destroys
ayaq: ayağın	foot; leg	buzul-	to be destroyed
ay	moon	can	soul
‘azizlen-	to be esteemed	cennet	paradise

<sup>185</sup> In this vocabulary, the Karaim words are glossed to explain the meanings of the words in which they appear in the edited poem. If the variants are distinguished by the feature *é* : *e* only, this distinction is ignored. The italicized headwords are distinct lexical units and are not included in the reconstructed basic version. Evidently erroneous forms are not included.



coğap: ~ ber-	to answer	eksilmek	decrease
covap	<i>see</i> coğap	el	hand
cüfte	<i>see</i> çifte	emgekli	toilsome
cümle	all	emiş	it is (was) said to be
çalın-	to be played	ên-	to get down; to dismount
çarasız	desperate, hopeless	endi	now
çedaqa	alms	er	<i>see</i> her
çıgar-	to take out	<i>erbap: erbabı</i>	expert
çıq-	to go out; to go up; to rise	erk	power, rule, reign
çıraq: çırağı	candle	erkek	man
çift	double	et-	to do
çifte	doubled; pricey	ev	house
çoq	much; many	ey	Hey
çöple-	to gather, to amass	ëyi	good
da	too, also; and	faqir	poor
dağ	mountain	fayda	benefit; profit
dahı	still; yet; more	fëna	bad
dahre	tambourine	ferah	happiness
dalap	<i>see</i> talap	fikir et-	to think
daş	<i>see</i> taş	<i>fodıllıq</i>	<i>see</i> fodıllıq
dava	lawsuit	<i>fodıllıq</i>	vanity
davacı	plaintiff; complainant	<i>fuqarë</i>	poor
davulbaz	drummer; drum	garip	stranger, foreigner
de	too, also; and	gel-	<i>see</i> kel-
değişilme	changing	giy-	<i>see</i> kiy-
değişirilme	<i>see</i> değışılme	gök	<i>see</i> kök
deli	mad; foolish	gönül: gönlünü	heart; mind
dem	time; moment	gör	grave
deñiz	sea	gör-	to see
dermansız	irremediable	göz	<i>see</i> köz
dertli	sorrowful	gözle-	to observe
devletli	prosperous	gül	rose
diñlen-	to relax, to take a rest	gül-	<i>see</i> kül-
dirlik	<i>see</i> tirlik	gülüci	<i>see</i> yüz
dişi	<i>see</i> tişi	gün	day
donan-	to be equipped, embellished	gündiz	<i>see</i> kündüz
dost	friend	gündüz	<i>see</i> kündüz
dön-	to turn	güneş	sin
dur-	<i>see</i> tur-	güzellen-	to grow pretty
düle	twofold, doubled; double	hal	state
dünya	world	han	khan; monarch
düş-	<i>see</i> tüş-	hayır	good deed; charity
düzül-	<i>see</i> tüzül-	heç	nothing
eger	if	hekmetli	wise
ëglen-	to amuse oneself	hem, hem	also; and
egri	curved	her	every; each
eksikli	deficient, defective	hesap	bill; account
eksiklik: eksikligi	deficiency, shortage	hışım	anger, wrath
eksil-	to perish; to decrease	hoca	master



h�r	despised	mundan	from here
h�ron: ~ tep-	to dance <i>h�ron</i>	mu��ra-	to bawl; to bellow
h���	kind	<i>muquf</i>	able
h�da	God	ne	what; ~ ara�a where
h�zurlu	peaceful	ne ara�a	(to) where
i�-	to drink	nece	<i>see ne�e</i>
i��n	for (one's sake); because	ne�e	how many; many; some however
ilen	<i>see bilen</i>		long
iskerlet	scarlet	ne�ik	how
i�	work, job; deed	neden	from what
ke�-	to pass	neme	nothing
ke�e	night	nerege	<i>see ne ara�a</i>
ke�er	passing	ney	flute
kel-	to come	n���n	why
keman�e	violin	o��l: o��lu	son
kem�a	brocade	o��ls�z	sonless
kesil-	to be cut	o��lan	<i>here</i> son
ket-	to go away; to leave	ol	this
ki	that	ol-	to became, to be
kibig	<i>see kibik</i>	oltur-	<i>see otur-</i>
kibik	like; as	olun-	to became
ki�i	small, little	onda	<i>see anda</i>
kim	who	on�n	his, her, its
kimse	none	oqul-	to be read
kir-	to enter	ot <sup>1</sup>	grass
kiy-	to wear	ot <sup>2</sup>	fire
kiyi�	clothes	otur-	to sit
k��-	to pass away	oyna-	to play; to dance
k�k	heaven	���ne, ���ne	<i>see ald�na</i>
k�lege	shadow	�ksiz	orphan
k���l: k��li	heart; mind	�m�r: �mri	life
k�p	much; many	�rt�l-	to be covered
k�r-	to see	�rt�n-	to be covered
k�z	eye	<i>pa�a</i>	pasha
<i>k�zet-</i>	to look after, to take care	<i>pi�en</i>	hay
k�l-	to laugh	post	post; seat
k�m���	silver	qa�an	when
k�n	day	<i>qadar</i>	as much, as many
k�nd�z	by day; daytime	qa�-	to run away; to flee
k�ne�	<i>see quya�</i>	qal-	to remain; to stay
mal	possession; goods, riches	qalqan	shield
me�netli	burdensome	qana	where
mi�va	commandment, precept	qanatlı	winged
min-	to mount	qanlı	bloody
minnetli	<i>see me�netli</i>	qapu	door
mu�halif	opposite	qaq-	to hit, to beat; to clap
muna	well, then	qara	black
mu��ay-	to be sad	qarda�	brother
munda	here	qarında�	brother



qarşı	against	teftiş	control
qayda	where	Teñri	God
qayıl	content	tep-	<i>see</i> ħoron
qazıl-	to be dug	terek: teregi	tree
qıl-	to do	tirlik: tirligi	life; livelihood
qına: ~ yaq-	to apply henna	tişi	female
qırmızı	red	<i>tolğan-</i>	to suffer ( <i>at childbirth</i> )
qıyııcı: can ~	killer	ton	robe
qıyınlı	difficult	topraq	earth; dust
qız	daughter; girl	Tora	the Law (Torah)
qol	hand	töşe-	to lay down
qoy	sheep	tul	widow; widower
qul	slave	tur-	to stand
qullıq	slavery	tüş-	to dismount, to go down; to fall
qurı-	<i>see</i> quru-	tüzül-	to be put in order; to be arranged
quru-	to dry (up)	uç-	to fly
quş	bird	ullu	<i>see</i> ulu
qutar-	to rescue; to save	ulu	big, great
qutqar-	to deliver; to save	uruv	family; lineage
quvatlı	strong, mighty	uzun	long
quv-	to drive away; <i>fig.</i> to observe	üstüne	on
quyaş	sun	vaħlı	<i>see</i> aħlı vaħlı
raħim	merciful	vaħt	time
<i>ruĥa</i>	clothes	var	there is
sağın-	to remember	vay	Oh!
sağlıq: sağlığı	health	<i>ve</i>	and
saman	straw	ver-	<i>see</i> ber-
samır	sable	ya	or
samut	reticent	yabun-	to be covered; <i>here</i> to cover
sansar	squirrel	yaħşı	good
saqla-	to preserve; to save	yalancı	<i>see</i> yalançı
sat-	to sell	yalançı	liar
sen	you	yalbar-	to beg; to entreat
sevin-	to rejoice	yalvar-	to beg; to entreat
sön-	to go out (fire etc.)	yaman	bad, wrong
suv	water	yançıl-	to be broken
suvsä-	to be thirsty	yaq-	to spread; qınalar ~- to apply
şara'at	justice; law		henna, to henna
şara'atçı	judge	yaratılmış	created; creature
şas-	to be bewildered	yarılga-	to pardon, to mercy
şoĥad	bribe; present	yarılqa-	<i>see</i> yarılga-
taħsırlıq	fault; shortage; need	yarıq: yarığı	light
taħt	throne	yarlı	poor
talap et-	to demand	yaş <sup>1</sup>	tear
<i>tan</i>	dawn; morning	yaş <sup>2</sup>	young, fresh; ~ otlar fresh grass
tañış	acquaintance	yaşa-	to live
tasalı	worrying	yat	stranger, foreigner
taş	stone	yedirme	food
taş-	to overflow, to run over	yel	wind



yemiş	fruit	yul-	to save, to redeem
yer	earth; ground	yuqla-	to sleep
yet-	to attain, to reach	yurt	home
yıla-	to weep, to cry	yürü-	to walk
yıldız	star	yüz	face; ~e gülüci scornful
yoldaş	friend; comrade	zaval	wane; decline
yol	road; way; path	zavallı	poor, miserable
yoq	there is no	zayıf	weak
yoqlıq	poverty	zehut	merit
yuqla-	see yuqla-	zeket	alms

## CONCLUSION

Although Qazaz's autograph remains unknown, it seems that the shape, meaning and the style of *Adam oğlu* can be established on the basis of the printed version and the copies available. For the time being, we have to establish the poem as it was presented in chapter 5. As stated above, Qılcı used the printed edition or, less probably, a manuscript which goes back to the printed edition, though Qılcı modified it and added further portions. One of the best proofs is the mistakes found in both Qılcı and Firkovich's publication, e.g. *yaş* 'young' for *yat* 'foreign'. A good and early manuscript is Cumuq, but his version is incomplete. Despite its late date, Kökenay's manuscript is very important. Notwithstanding some mistakes, it presents a good, complete version to us.

## ABBREVIATIONS

### 1. Sources

A – undated anonymous copy

B – Baqqal's copy, preserved in Sevastopol, partly published by V. A. El'jašević

C – Eliyahu b. Aharon Cumuq's copy of 1864

G – Gözleve printed edition of 1841

K – Ya'aqov Kökenay's copy of 1953

Q – Elyahu ben Yosef Qılcı's copy of 1903

V – Vilnius copy, not examined

### 2. Languages

Ar. – Arabic

CTat. – Crimean Tatar

Heb. – Hebrew

Kar. – Karaim

Per. – Persian

Tur. – Turkish

### 3. Others

AJ see Aqtay and Jankowski 2015

NRTD see Alkım 1991





## Editorial symbols

[ ] – amended text; [...] – lacking or ignored text

() – unnecessary text; text added by editor in translation

‘vyny’..dy’ – transliterated words like this in the footnotes are used for unclear parts

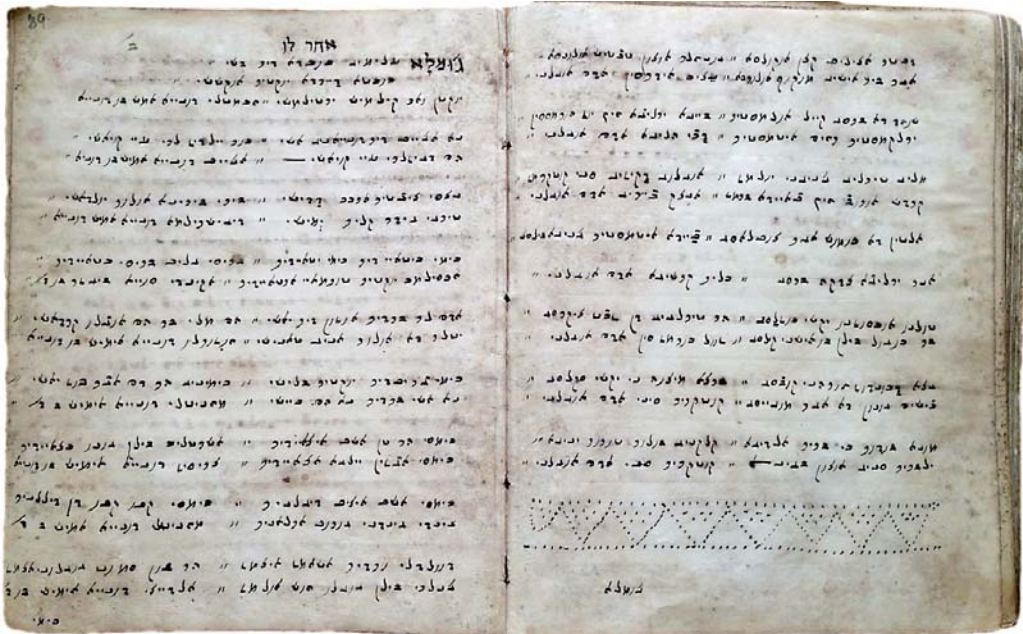
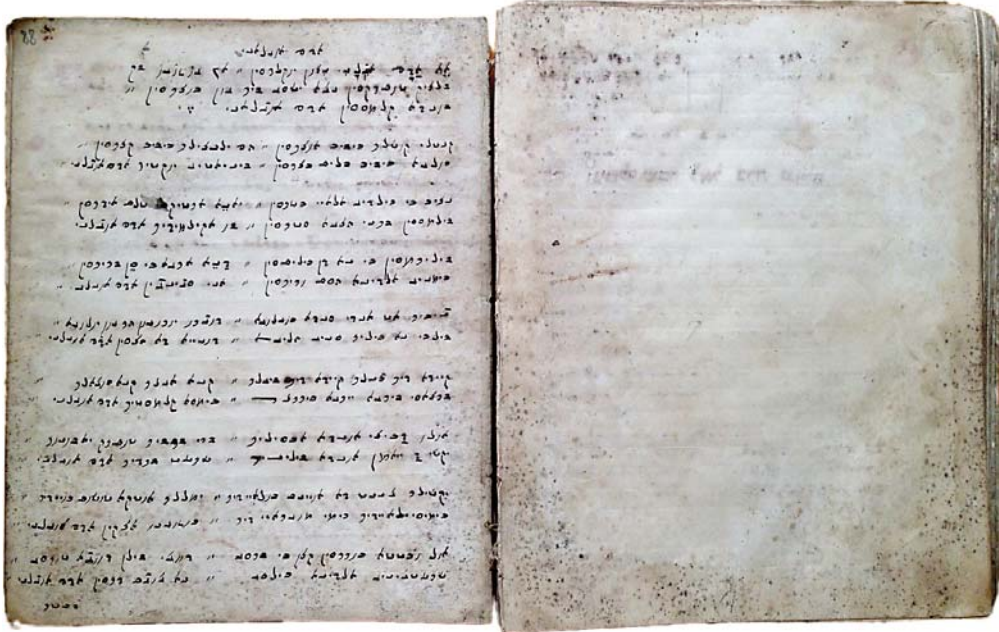
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MANUSCRIPT C

(Cumuq's version)













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 דינע קלענען געבלישע אדער, אדער ווען מען האט גע-  
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