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## KARAIM TRANSLATIONS OF THE SONG OF MOSES AS SOURCES OF KARAITE RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS

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#### Abstract

As followers of Karaitism, the Turkic-speaking Karaim communities have always placed great value in translations of the Hebrew Bible into Karaim (Zajączkowski 1980). Although the translation methods used by the Karaim were generally standardized, differences can be observed to varying degrees (Olach 2013; Zajączkowski 1932b, 1934). For example, Karaim translations of the Song of Moses (Deut. 32) differ from each other significantly in some points. Some of the variations are based on lexical differences between Karaim varieties. In some cases, a translation deviates from others in the use of tenses, case markers, etc. Thus, the differences might be grammatical. Another type of difference will be,, however the topic of the present study: additions found in Karaim versions of the Song. The Karaim translations of the Song of Moses contain numerous additions which do not correspond to the original Hebrew text. These additions are similar to those found in Karaite-Arabic translations of the Hebrew Bible (Polliack 1997). Therefore, Polliack's classification of additions will be used as the theoretic frame. Textually Interpretive Additions will be briefly discussed, whereas Theologically Interpretive Additions, such as the addition bulutu bila 'with his cloud' in Deut. 32: 10 kursa:dï anï bulut:u bïla [surround:DI.PST3SG he:ACC cloud:POSS3SG with] 'He (i.e. God) surrounded him with his cloud', will be in the focus of the present paper.

Keywords: Karaim, Bible translation, Karaim Creed, Textually Interpretive Additions, Theologically Interpretive Additions

#### Introduction

Among the Turkic speaking people there exist a group of people in Eastern Europe (mainly in present-day Lithuania, Poland, Ukraine and Russia) who are different from the great mass as for their religion since they are followers of Karaite Judaism. Karaite Judaism is based on the Hebrew Bible and rejects the post biblical traditions, i.e. the Mishna, the Talmud, etc. (Nemoy 1978, 603–604). Thus the Old Testament plays a significant role in their religious life.

In order to help the members of Karaim communities, Karaim had started to translate biblical texts from Hebrew to Karaim rather early. They used a special method for the translations: the translators aimed to render the sacred texts in the most accurate manner (Zajączkowski 1980, 161–162). This translational method resulted in Karaim texts reflecting numerous characteristics of Biblical Hebrew, e.g. the word order properties, the special functions of interrogative pronouns, the use of the demonstrative pronouns as translational equivalents of the Hebrew definite article and the Hebrew direct object marker (Olach 2013).

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Despite the special translational method, additions can be found in the Karaim Bible translations. The question arises here: why do these additions occur in the Karaim Bible translations? What do they tell us? Do they provide any information about the religion of the Karaim?

In this paper, additions found in the Song of Moses, that is the 1–43 lines in the 32nd chapter of the Book of Deuteronomy will be discussed. In the Song, Moses talks to the people of Israel and tells them how unfaithful they have been towards God who lead them through the wilderness to a rich land. Their unfaithfulness made God to be inclined to threat them. At the end, however, God promises forgiveness and help to the people of Israel and the demolition of their enemies.

Although, several parts of the Karaim Bible translations have been published until the present day, there are not many verses and chapters of the Hebrew Bible available in all the Karaim varieties. Basically, only the first few chapters of the Genesis in different Karaim varieties have been published by different authors so far.<sup>1</sup> The Song of Moses in all the Karaim varieties provides the basis for this comparative study.

#### Karaim versions of the Song of Moses

A Crimean Karaim translation (marked as CrM in the followings) published by Jankowski was used for the present study. This translation was assumedly composed on the basis of a translation "made no later than the beginning of the eighteenth century" (Jankowski 1997, 2). The text can be found on the following lines and pages in the manuscript: 243a (17)–244b (11) (Jankowski 1997, 43–49). The manuscript of this translation is kept in the Rylands Library, Manchester (England). Another Crimean Karaim version, namely the Gözleve Bible (marked as CrG in the followings) published in four volumes in 1841 in Gözleve (today Eupatoria) on the occasion of the wedding of the future Russian Tsar Alexander II. was used as well (Shapira 2003, 696). This translation was most probably compiled from various manuscripts (Jankowski 2009, 508). The text can be found on the following pages of the book: 380–382.

A Trakai Karaim version (denoted as TF in the followings) published by Mykolas Firkovičius, the late *hazzan* of the Trakai Karaim community (1924–2000) was also examined. The text occurs on the pages 65–69 in the book *Karaj dińliliarniń jalbarmach jergialiari. 1 bitik. Ochumach üčiuń kieniesada.* (The order of prayers for Karaim believers. 1. book. For reading in the house of prayer.) (Firkovičius 1998). Unfortunately Firkovičius says nothing about the manuscript he used for his publication. Thus we know nothing about the date or the author of this Trakai Karaim version.

The Halich Karaim version (denoted as HA in the followings) used for the presentation is part of the family Bible of the family Abrahamowicz who originally lived in Halich (Ukraine). This version is a so far unpublished biblical text in the Halich Karaim variety. Unfortunately no information is given in the book about the author or the date of the translation.

#### Additions

For the classification of the additions, a system based on Polliack's description of additions occurred in Arabic Karaite Bible translations was used. According to Polliack, "additions function as hallmarks which distinguish translation features primarily concerned with cohesion from those concerned with syntax and lexicon" (Polliack 1997, 209). It means, that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> On the published Karaim Bible translations, see Olach 2013, 7–10.

in the case of additions, no correleation can be attested since no grammatical or lexical element of the source language is represented by a grammatical or lexical equivalent of the target language. Additions are "the translator's reader-response to the source text and his interpretation of its meaning as a cohesive unit which generate the use of additions" in the target language (Polliack 1997, 209).

Polliack distinguishes four different types of additions:

- -textually interpretive additions: "which are formed in response to different types of ellipsis in the biblical source text"
- -theologically interpretive additions: "formed in response to extra-textual concerns of the translator"
- -referential links: "generate cohesive ties with previous or following verses of the translated text"
- -temporal links: "forge ties in the translated text in response to an inverted order of events in the source text" (Polliack 1997, 211).

The present analysis focuses on the textually interpretive additions and theologically interpretive additions. For the discussion on the referential links and the temporal links, see Olach's study (forthcoming). The additions will be underlined in the examples.

## **Textually interpretive additions**

Difficult grammatical structures of a biblical verse sometimes result in a textually interpretive addition which can be a single word, a phrase or a clause. Those additions which provide complements of the verb or the nouns in a biblical verse "clarifying the core meaning of the biblical sentence" are called nuclear additions (Polliack 1997, 212). More extensive additions, such as phrases and clauses, i.e. the non-nuclear additions clarify "the immediate context of the biblical verse and [...] restore a logical sequence in the narrative plot" (Polliack 1997, 212).

## Textually interpretive additions – Nuclear additions

Nuclear complements of verbs / Verb completed by a subject

In v. 6, an addition in the Halich Karaim translation can be attested. In the final clause, the subject is not overt in the Crimean Karaim and the Trakai Karaim translations, because its subject is identical with the subject of the first clause, i.e. 'your father'. In the Halich Karaim version, however, the word *yisra'el* 'God' is added to the Karaim text, thus the verb *tizidi* [establish:DI.PST3SG] 'he established' is completed by the subject *yisra'el* 'God'; see example (1).

(1) Deut. 32: 6

Deut. 3	32:6					
BH	hălô²-hû²	<sup>2</sup> ābíkā	qqānékā	hû'	<sup>c</sup> ą̃ś <u>k</u> ā	wąyəkōnənékā
	whether not- he 'Is not he your	your father father, who crea	he created you ated you, who made	he you and	he made you established you?'	and he established you
		<i>,</i>	• ·	2	2	

CrM	muna <sup>2</sup>	ol	ataŋ	yaratti	ï seni	ol	уc	ırattï	seni	da	tüzidi s	eni
	behold!	he	your	he	you	he	he	e	you	and	he y	ou
			father	created	d (ACC)		cr	eated	(ACC)		establi (	ACC)
											shed	
CrG	muna	oldïr	ataŋ	ki	yarattï	seni	ol	yarattï	seni	da	tüzüdi	seni
	behold!	he	your	who	he	you	he	he	you	and	he	you
		(COP	father		created	(ACC)		created	(ACC)		established	(ACC)
		3sg)										
TF	типа	Ol	atey	ki	yarattï	s'eni,	Ol	yoxtan	s'eni	da	t'uz'ud'u	s'eni
			s'eniń <sup>3</sup>					bar				
								ėtti <sup>4</sup>				
	behold!	he	your	who	he	you	he	he	you	and	he	you
			father		created	(ACC)		created	(ACC)		established	(ACC)
HA	типа	oldu	<sup>5</sup> atan	yoktan	seni	ol	yarattï	seni	da	<u>yiśra'el</u>	tizidi	seni
			senin	bar etti	i							
	behold!	he	your	he	you	he	he	you	and	Israel	he	you
		(COP	father	created	(ACC)		created	(ACC	2)		establishe	ed (ACC)
		3sg)						-	-			. ,

## *Textually interpretive additions – Non-nuclear additions*

Clauses giving background information

The second clause of v. 25 in the Song of Moses reads as follows: 'and in the chamber terror'. The various Karaim translations are almost identicals in respect of this verse, only the phonetic properties of each Karaim variety and their lexicon differentiate them. But in the Halich Karaim translation, an added clause can be attested: *eger astan:sa:lar alar:da* [if be in hiding:HYP3PL they:LOC] 'if they were hiding in them'; see example (2). The addition provides no valuable extra information.

(2)

~~ ~ ~

Deut. 32:2:	5								
BH	ûmēļ	hădārîm		2ên	ıā <sup>h</sup>				
	and a	t chambers.CONJ.PR	EP.N:M	ASC.PL.ABS terr	or.N:FEM.	SG.ABS			
	'and	in the chamber terro	or'						
CrM	da	hujra:lar:de	ın	qorquw					
	and	chamber:PL	ABL	terror					
CrG	da urda:lar:dan		п	qorquw					
	and	chamber:PL	ABL	terror					
CrEB	da	hujra:lar:de	ın	qorquw					
	and	chamber:PL	ABL	terror					
TF	da	xuj̃ura:lar:a	lan	qorxuw					
	and	chamber:PL	ABL	terror					
HA	da	xudzura:lar:dan	eger	<u>astran:sa:lar</u>	a	lar:da	qorquw:u	elet:nin	
	and	chamber:PL:ABL	if	be in hiding:HY	p:3pl tl	ney:LOC	terror:POSS3SG	plague:GEN	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> On the translation of the Hebrew  $h\dot{a}l\hat{o}'$  construction with *muna* 'behold!' into Karaim, see Olach 2013, 165–168.

 $<sup>^{3}</sup>$  On the preferences of Karaim translators in the Song of Moses concerning Hebrew genitive constructions, see Olach (forthcoming).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Only a derived form can be found in KRPS (246) marked as an element of the Trakai Karaim and the Halich Karaim lexicon: *yoqtan bar etiwci* 'one who creates from nothing'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The shortened form of the copula *-dur* can be found in the Halich Karaim verse, i.e. *ol:du* [he:COP3SG] 'he is' (Musaev 1964, 129–130).

#### Theologically interpretive additions

In order to demonstrate theologically interpretive additions representing religious concepts of Karaim, the basic dogmas of Karaitism, i.e. the Ten Principles of Faith of the Karaites acknowledged also by Karaim will be used.

Christianity, as well as Islam, had already a fixed dogma and creed by the twelfth century, when the Karaite theologian Yehuda Hadassi composed the Ten Principles of the Karaite faith. Those dogmas and creed composed the basis for the Karaite Ten Principles. As it can be seen, all the Karaite Principles begin like the Credo: I believe in full faith that.... Later, other Karaite scholars, e.g. Eliya Bashyachi, issued their own versions of the principles (Tuori forthcoming). The Principles have always been studied by the Karaim and they were thought to the children of the Karaim communities.<sup>6</sup>

Shorter or longer versions of the Principles have been published several times, e.g. by Jacob b. Benjamin Duvan (1890), Ananiasz Zajączkowski (1964), Mariola Abkowicz (1987). In this study, the Principles will be quoted as Harviainen gives them (2003, 839–840).<sup>7</sup>

Besides the Ten Principles, when they are relevant, the Ten Commandments will be referred as well. The Ten Commandments are called *On Sioźlary Tienriniń* ('The Ten Words of God') in Trakai Karaim and were published in 1935 by Szimon Firkowicz. Mykolas Firkovičius, the late leader of the Trakai Karaim community published the Ten Commandments again with slight modifications in 1993.

## Theologically interpretive additions – The concept of the only God

According to the Third Principle, there is no other God but the only true God. The Principle reads as follows: "I believe in full faith that the Creator has no similarity, He is absolutely one in every respect and there is no oneness as His oneness, He is not a body and the qualities of a body do not apply to him" (Harviainen 2003, 839).

The concept of the only God together with the disallowance of worshipping other gods or idols are expressed also in the Karaim Ten Commandments. The beginning of the Second Commandment reads as follows: "*Bołmasyn saja öźgia tienrilar, kybłałarym alnyna. Kyłmahyn öziuja jonma abach da hiecz tiursiuń nieki kioklardia johartyn da nieki jerdia aszahartyn, da nieki suwłarda aszahartyn jergia. Basz urmahyn ałarha da kułłuch eźmiagiń ałarha, ki mień Adonaj Tienrij sieniń [...]." "There shall be no gods of your own, in front of my divine face. Do not make carved idol for yourself and no image at all neither in the heavens above nor on the earth below, nor in the waters under the earth. Do not worship them and do not serve them, because I am the LORD, your God [...]." (Firkovičius 1993, 5).* 

In v. 16 in the Song of Moses, we see how the people of Israel broke the Third Principle and the Second Commandment as well: 'They stirred him to jealousy with strange gods; with abominations they provoked him to anger'. By the addition of *qulluq etkenleri* bila 'with his serving of' in the Halich Karaim translation, the action of serving is emphasized. Moreover, the idea of other God(s) is replaced by the expression 'idol': *da kinilikke keltirdiler anï qulluq etkenleri bïla yat abaqlarġa* [and jealousy:DAT bring: DI.PST3PL he:ACC serve:GAN:POSS3PL with strange idol:PL:DAT] 'and they made him jealous with serving strange idols'. In comparison, the idea of rejection other God(s) does not occur

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> A numerber of Karaim scholars wrote commentaries and/or poems on the Principles; see Nemoy 1989, Tuori 2014, Tuori (forthcoming). Such poems were recited before or after the official worship in the kenesa (Karaim house of prayer) or at home during meals (Tuori 2014, 84).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Since Duvan published his work in Hebrew and Russian, Harviainen, in his article, lists the Principles given by Duvan in English.

in the other Karaim translations, so we find yat tanrilar bilän / yat tangrilar bilän / yat *Teńrilar bila* [strange god:PL with] 'with foreign Gods'.

(3)

Deut.	32:	16	
DII			-

-2 1 4					1			
yaqnī'uhû		bəzā	rîm		bətôʻēbōt	ya <u>k</u> isuhu		
they made h	nim jealous	s with	strange (PL	)	with abominati	they provoked him		
'They stirre	d him to je	alousy wit	th strange go	ods; with a	bominations the	y provoke	d him to anger.'	
küllättilär	anï	yat	taŋrïlar	bilän	iränčiliklär	bilän	ačuwlandïrdïlar	anï
they	him	strange	gods	with	meannesses	with	they made	him
made	(ACC)	0	C				angry	(ACC)
jealous	. ,						0.	
künlättilär	anï	yat	taŋrïlar	bilän	iqraxlïqlar	bilän	ačuwlandïrdïlar	anï
they made	him	strange	gods	with	abominations	with	they made	him
jealous	(ACC)	-	-				angry	(ACC)
K'un'ul'atti	il'ar anï	yat	T'eńri	l'ar bïld	a, ir′ańčilikl′	ar bïla	ačïrhandïrdïlar	Anï
they made	him	n stran	ige gods	wit	h meannesse	s with	they made	him
jealous	(AC	C)					angry	(ACC)
kinilediler	anar	da	kinilikke kel	tirdiler	anï	qulluq et	kenleri bïla	
they	to him	and	they made je	ealous	him	their serv	ing with	
made			•		(ACC)		C .	
jealous								
vat	abaala	rởa v	erenci	isler	hïla	aci	roʻandïrttïlar anï	
							0	n (ACC)
strange	10015	a	oonnaole	unings	with		5	I (ACC)
	'They stirre küllättilär they made jealous künlättilär they made jealous K'un'ul'attu they made jealous kinilediler they made	they made him jealous 'They stirred him to je küllättilär anï they him made (ACC) jealous künlättilär anï they made him jealous (ACC) K'un'ul'attil'ar anï they made him jealous (ACC) kinilediler anar they to him made jealous <u>yat</u> <u>abagla</u>	they made him jealous with 'They stirred him to jealousy with 'They stirred him to jealousy with küllättilär anï yat they him strange made (ACC) jealous künlättilär anï yat they made him strange jealous (ACC) K'un'ul'attil'ar anï yat they made him strange jealous (ACC) kinilediler anar da they to him and made jealous yat they and him strange yat they made him strange jealous (ACC)	they made him jealous with strange (PL,   'They stirred him to jealousy with strange gods   küllättilär anï yat taŋrïlar   they him strange gods   made (ACC) jealous jealous   künlättilär anï yat taŋrïlar   they made him strange gods   jealous (ACC) K'un'ul'attil'ar anï yat T'eńri   they made him strange gods jealous (ACC)   K'un'ul'attil'ar anï yat T'eńri they made him strange gods   jealous (ACC) (ACC) kinilediler anar da kinilikke kel   they to him and they made je made je   jealous    gods je   yat abaqlarġa yerenci  gods	they made him jealous with strange (PL) <u>'They stirred him to jealousy with strange gods; with a</u> <i>küllättilär anï yat taŋrïlar bilän</i> they him strange gods with made (ACC) jealous <i>künlättilär anï yat taŋrïlar bilän</i> they made him strange gods with jealous (ACC) <i>K'un'ul'attil'ar anï yat T'eńril'ar bila</i> they made him strange gods with jealous (ACC) <i>K'un'ul'attil'ar anï yat T'eńril'ar bila</i> they made him strange gods with jealous (ACC) <i>kinilediler anar da kinilikke keltirdiler</i> they to him and they made jealous made jealous <u>yat abaqlarġa</u> yerenci isler	they made him jealouswith strange (PL)with abominations'They stirred him to jealousy with strange gods; with abominations theküllättiläranïyattaŋrîlarbiläniränčiliklärtheyhimstrangegodswithmeannessesmade(ACC)jealouskünlättiläranïyattaŋrîlarbiläniqraxlïqlarthey madehimstrangegodswithabominationsjealous(ACC)K'un'ul'attil'aranïyatT'eńril'arbilarir'ańčilikl'they madehimstrangegodswithmeannessejealous(ACC)kiniledileranardakinilikke keltirdileranïthey made jealoushimandmade(ACC)jealousjealousyatabaqlarĝayerenciislerbila	they made him jealous with strange (PL) with abominations'They stirred him to jealousy with strange gods; with abominations they provokeküllättilär anïyattaŋrïlarbiläniränčiliklärbiläntheyhimstrangegodswithmeannesseswithmade(ACC)jealous	they made him jealouswith strange (PL)with abominationsthey provoked him'They stirred him to jealousy with strange gods; with abominations they provoked him to anger.'küllättiläranïyattaŋrïlarbiläniränčiliklärbilänačuwlandïrdïlartheyhimstrangegodswithmeannesseswiththey mademade(ACC)angryjealousačuwlandïrdïlarbilänačuwlandïrdïlarkünlättiläranïyattaŋrïlarbiläniqraxlïqlarbilänačuwlandïrdïlarthey madehimstrangegodswithabominationswiththey madejealous(ACC)angryK'un'ul'attil'aranïyatT'eńril'arbïla,ir'ańčilikl'arbïlaačïrhandïrdïlarthey madehimstrangegodswithmeannesseswiththey madejealous(ACC)angryif'ańcilikl'arbïlaačïrhandïrdïlarthey madehimstrangegodswithmeannesseswithjealous(ACC)angryif'ańcilikke keltirdileranïqulluq etkenleribïlakiniledileranardakinilikke keltirdileranïqulluq etkenleribïlatheyto himandthey made jealoushimtheir servingwithmade(ACC)islerbïlaacïrġandïrttïlaranïyatabaqlarġayerenciislerbïlaacïrġandïrtt

Similarly, the expression qulluq etkenleri bila [serve: GAN:POSS3PL with] 'with their serving' is added to the Halich Karaim version in v. 21 in the context 'they made me jealous with their serving to non-God'; see example (4) below. In the other Karaim translations we find only 'they made me jealous with non-God'. Since there is no God except the one true God for Karaim, the translator of the Halich Karaim translation felt it necessary to explain that the people made jealous God not with other (non-)Gods but with SERVING other (non-)Gods.

(4) Deut. 32: 21											
BH	hēm	qin²ấnî			bəlō'-'ēl		kī <sup>c</sup> ăsûnî		b	əhablêhem	
	they	they ma	de me jealo	ous	with-not-C	od 1	they prov	oked me to	o w	ith their idols	
	( )						anger				
	They	have made	ne jealous	with what	at is no goo	l; they hav	ve provol	ked me to a	nger wit	h their idols.'	
CrM	alar	künlättilä	r meni	taŋrï	bilän	dügil	ačuwla	ındïrdilär	meni	<i>ḥevlikläri</i>	bilän
	they	they made	e me	god	with	not	they m	ade	me	their	with
		jealous	(ACC)				angry		(ACC)	quarrels	
CrG	alar	künlättilä	r meni	taŋrï	bilän	dügül	ačuwl	andïrdlar	meni	hečlikläri	bilän
	they	made	me	god	with	not	they n	nade	me	their	with
		jealous	(ACC)	U U			angry		(ACC)	paltriness	
TF	alar	k'un'ul'att	il'ar M'e	rni t'uv	'ul' T'e	hri bïla	, ačïrh	andïrdïlar	M'eni	h'ečlikl'ari	bïla
	they	they made	me	not	god	with	n they	made	me	their	with
		jealous	(AC	C)			angry	/	(ACC)	paltriness	
HA	alar	kinilettiler	meni	gullug ei	tkenleri	bïla	tivil	tenrige			
	they	they made	me	their ser	ving		not	god			
	•	jealous	(ACC)		U U			U U			
	ačirga	andïrttïlar	meni he	ec aba	qlarï bi	ïla					
	they n	nade	me	their	r w	ith					
	angry		(ACC)	palt	riness						

## Theologically interpretive additions - Resolving anthropomorphism

The Third Principle of Faith is the basis for the following Karaim religious concept as well. Since the Principle says that "He (i.e. God) is not a body and the qualities of a body do not apply to him" (Harviainen 2003, 839), Karaim avoid the anthropomorphic description of God. Therefore, expression such as 'the hand of God', 'the breath of God' is not used in Karaim Bible translations (Zajączkowski 1961, 28–29). Since God is not antropomorph for Karaim, it is not possible that God has sons like human beings. Therefore, in v. 5, the Halich Karaim translator added a verb *indel:me:di:ler* [be called:NEG:DI.PST3PL] 'they were not called'; see example (5) below. It demonstrates, that it was important for the translator to emphasize that people cannot be the sons of God, but they can <u>be called</u> as the sons of God.

Besides, a textually interpretive addition can also be observed in the Halich Karaim text in the same verse: *uwul:lar:ï qayam tenri:nin* [son:PL:POSS3SG eternal god:GEN] 'sons of the Eternal God'. This addition serves as a clarification who is he in the expression *uwul:lar:ï anïn* [son:PL:POSS3SG he:GEN] 'his sons'.

(5) Deut. 32: 5

he caused trouble 'They have	to him	not h	is sons	their ble					
'They have					U	Ĩ	erverted		
crooked and			nim; they a	re no longer	his childrer	because they	are blemisl	ned; they are	e a
čaypadï	kendini	Israel	tangrï	dügül	, da	alar	dügül	dir oʻglar	ılarï
he	himself	Israel	god	not	and	they	not	his so	ons
destroyed	(ACC)		-			-	(COP3	SG)	
da	budïr	ol	ay	viplari	ters	dävir	da	qïngïr	
and	this (COP3SG	the			wrong	generation	and	crooke	d
čaypadï	kendini	Yisra'el	tangrï	dügül	, da	alar	dügül	dir oʻglar	ılarï
he	himself	Israel	god	not	and	they	not		ons
destroyed	(ACC)		C			·	(COP3	SG)	
da	budïr	ol	ay	viplari	ters	däwür	da	qïngïr	
and	this (COP3SG	the			wrong	generation	and	crooke	d
čeypadï	ť uv 'ul'	öz'uń,	ančex	ulanlarïna	a ayipl'ar	i alarnïn;			
he	not	himself	but	to his son	s their	their			
destroyed		(ACC)			shame				
dor	ťerś	da	tornaxšï						
generation	wrong	and	crooked						
caypadï	ezi	ezin	yisra'el	<u>indelmedil</u>	<u>er</u> uwulla	rï anïn	uwullarï	qayam	tenrinin
he	himself		Israel	-	ot his son	s his	his sons	eternal	God
destroyed		(ACC)		called					(GEN)
da	bu	boldu	ayipleri	alarnïn	dor	ters	da	tornaqsï	
and	this	became		their	generat	ion wrong	and	crooked	
	he destroyed da and čaypadï he destroyed da and čeypadï he destroyed dor generation caypadï he destroyed	he himself destroyed (ACC) da budïr and this (COP3SG čaypadï kendini he himself destroyed (ACC) da budïr and this (COP3SG čeypadï t'uv'ul' he not destroyed dor t'erś generation wrong caypadï ezi he himself destroyed da bu	hehimselfIsraeldestroyed(ACC) $da$ $bud\ddot{r}$ $ol$ $da$ $bud\ddot{r}$ $ol$ andthisthe(COP3SG) $(COP3SG)$ $\check{c}aypad\ddot{r}$ $kendini$ $Yisra'el$ hehimselfIsraeldestroyed(ACC) $da$ $bud\ddot{r}$ $ol$ andthisthe(COP3SG) $\check{c}zypad\ddot{r}$ $t'uv'ul'$ $\check{c}eypad\ddot{r}$ $t'uv'ul'$ $\ddot{o}z'u\dot{n}$ ,henothimselfdort'erś $da$ generationwrongand $caypad\ddot{r}$ $ezi$ $ezin$ hehimselfhimselfdestroyed(ACC) $da$ $bu$ $boldu$	hehimselfIsraelgoddestroyed(ACC) $arg$ da $bud\ddot{r}$ $ol$ $ay$ andthistheth(COP3SG)shčaypadīkendiniYisra'eltangrīhehimselfIsraelgoddestroyed(ACC) $arg$ dabud $\ddot{r}$ $ol$ $ay$ andthistheth(COP3SG)sh $cop3sG$ shčeypadīt'uv'ul' $\ddot{o}z'u\dot{n}$ , ančexhenothimselfbutdort'erśdatornaxšīgenerationwrongandcrookedcaypadīeziezinyisra'elhehimselfhimselfIsraeldestroyed(ACC) $arg$ $arg$ dabubolduayipleri	hehimselfIsraelgodnotdestroyed $(ACC)$ $ay\ddot{v}plar\ddot{r}$ $ay\ddot{v}plar\ddot{r}$ andthisthetheir $(COP3SG)$ shame $\check{c}aypad\ddot{r}$ kendiniYisra'eltangr $\ddot{r}$ $d\ddot{u}gud$ hehimselfIsraelgodhehimselfIsraelgodnotdabud $\ddot{r}$ olay $\ddot{v}plar\ddot{r}$ andthisthetheir $(COP3SG)$ shame $\check{c}eypad\ddot{r}$ t'uv'ul' $\ddot{o}z'u\dot{n}$ ,and $\check{c}x$ nothimselfbutto his sondestroyed $(ACC)$ datornaxš $\ddot{r}$ generationwrongandcrookedcaypad $\ddot{r}$ eziezinyisra'elindelmedifhimselfIsraelthey are notdestroyed $(ACC)$ calleddabubolduayipleriandthisbecametheir	hehimselfIsraelgodnotanddestroyed(ACC) $da$ $dy \ddot{v} p lar \ddot{r}$ $ters$ da $bud\ddot{r}$ $ol$ $ay \ddot{v} p lar \ddot{r}$ $ters$ andthisthetheirwrong(COP3sG)shame $cop3sG$ shame $\check{c}aypad\ddot{r}$ kendiniYisra'el $tangr\ddot{r}$ $d\ddot{u} g \ddot{u} l$ , $da$ hehimselfIsraelgodnotanddestroyed(ACC) $da$ $ay \ddot{v} p lar \ddot{r}$ $ters$ da $bud\ddot{r}$ $ol$ $ay \ddot{v} p lar \ddot{r}$ $ters$ andthisthetheirwrong $(COP3sG)$ shame $cop3sG$ shame $\check{c}eypad\ddot{r}$ $t'uv'ul'$ $\ddot{o}z'u\dot{n}$ , $an\check{c}ex$ $ulanlarina$ $ay ip l'ar$ henothimselfbutto his sonstheirdor $t'ers$ $da$ tornaxši'generationwrongandcrookedcaypad $\ddot{r}$ $ezi$ $ezin$ yisra'elindelmedileruwullarhehimselfhimselfIsraelthey are nothis sondestroyed(ACC)calledalarnindorda $bu$ $boldu$ $ayipleri$ alarnindor	hehimself destroyedIsraelgodnotandtheydabudirol $ayiplari$ tersdävirandthisthetheirwronggeneration(COP3SG)shame(COP3SG)shamedigül,daalaricaypaditkendiniYisra'eltangridügül,daalarhehimselfIsraelgodnotandtheydestroyed(ACC)olayiplarittersdäwürdabudirolayiplarittersdäwürandthisthetheirwronggeneration(COP3SG)shameshamediarinialarnin;kenothimselfbutto his sonstheirdort'erśdatornaxšigenerationwrongandcrookeddabubolduayiplerialarninhehimselfhimselfIsraelthey are nothis sonshisbecametheirtheirdortersandthisbecametheirtheirgenerationdabubolduayiplerialarnindortersandthisbecametheirtheirgenerationandthisbecametheirtheirgeneration	hehimselfIsraelgodnotandtheynotdestroyed(ACC) $acccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	hehimselfIsraelgodnotandtheynothis socdestroyed(ACC) $a$ <

In order to evade the possibility of misinterpretation, Karaim translators inserted some nonanthropomorphic expressions into the tenth verse of the Song of Moses; see example (6) below. The Hebrew verse reads as follows: 'He found him in a desert land, and in the howling waste of the wilderness; he encircled him, he cared for him, he kept him as the apple of his eye'. In the Gözleve Bible, we can see two additions: *čewrälä:di anï <u>bulut:u bilän</u>* [surround:DI.PST3SG he:ACC cloud:POSS3SG with] 'he (i.e. God) surrounded him <u>with his</u> cloud' and *aqïllandïr:dï anï <u>tora:sï bilän</u>* [make wise:DI.PST3SG he:ACC law:POSS3SG with] 'he made him wise with his law'. The expressions qurša:dï anï bulut:u bïla [surround:DI.PST3SG he:ACC cloud:POSS3SG with] 'he surrounded him with his cloud' and abra:dï anï hašġaxa:sï *bila* [protect:DI.PST3SG he:ACC superior supervision:POSS3SG with] 'he protected him with his superior supervision' occur in the Trakai Karaim translation. In the Halich Karaim version, we find all the three expressions: qursa:di ani bulut:u bila [surround:DI.PST3SG he:ACC cloud:POSS3SG with] 'he surrounded him with his cloud', aqüll(at):tü anü tora:sü büla [make wise:DI.PST3SG he:ACC law:POSS3SG with] 'he made him wise with his law' and abra:dï anï hasgaxa:si bila [protect:DI.PST3SG he:ACC superior supervision:POSS3SG with] 'he protected him with his superior supervision'. Thus, the inserted expressions 'cloud', 'law' and 'superior supervision' presents a God operating with higher power.

Furthermore, the Halich Karaim translation contains a clause expressing comparison kisi bebey:i:n kez:i:nin [protect:GANLAY person pupil:POSs3sG:ACC (abra:ġanlay eye:POSS3SG:GEN] 'like a person protects the apple of his eye'. This clause can be classified as a textually interpretive addition.

(6)	
Deut. 32: 10	
BH	yəsōbəbenhû yəbốnənḗhû yişşərenhû kəʾîšôn <sup>c</sup> ênô
	he encompassed him he cared for him he kept him like pupil of his eye
	'He encircled him, he cared for him, he kept him as the apple of his eye.'
CrM	čewrälädi anï aqïllandïrdï anï saqladï anï bäbägi kibik köziniŋ
	he him he made him he him pupil of like his eye
	surrounded (ACC) wise (ACC) protected (ACC) (GEN)
CrG	čewrälädi anï <u>bulutu bilän</u> aqïllandïrdï anï <u>torasï</u> <u>bilän</u>
	he him (ACC) his cloud with he made him (ACC) his law with
	surrounded wise
	saqladï anï gözüning bäbägini gibi
	he protected him (ACC) his eye (GEN) his pupil (ACC) like
TF	quršadï anï <u>bulutu</u> <u>bïla</u> aqïllattï anï da abradï anï <u>hašġaxasï bïla,</u>
	he him his with he him and he him his with
	surrounded (ACC) cloud made (ACC) protected (ACC) superior
	wise supervision
	b'eb'ayiń kibik k'oz'un'uń
	his pupil of (ACC) like his eye (GEN)
НА	qursadï anï <u>bulutu bïla</u> aqïll(at)tï anï <u>torasï bïla</u>
	he him (ACC) his cloud with he made him (ACC) his law with
	surrounded wise
	abradï anï <u>hasġaxasï bïla</u> abraġanlay <sup>8</sup> kisi bebeyin kezinin
	he him his with like one person his pupil his eye
	protected (ACC) superior who of (ACC) (GEN)
	supervision protected

## Theologically interpretive additions – the concept of Exile

(6)

The v. 29 of the Song of Moses reads as follows: 'If they were wise, they would understand this; they would discern their latter end.' However, in the Halich Karaim translation - in this verse – a clause is added to the end of that: viśra'el:nin nendiv asayislik bol:ur alar:ga *cik:sa:lar ol icinci galut:tan* [Israel:GEN what pleasure be:R.NPST3SG they:DAT go out:HYP3PL the third exile:ABL] '(they would turn their attention to the end) of Israel, what a joy it will be for them when they get out of the third exile!'; see example (7) below. Thus, the translator

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The converb –GAnlAy is not listed among Karaim suffixes published by Zajączkowski (1932a), but it can be attested in other Kipchak languages, e.g. Kazakh (Kirchner 1998, 329), Noghay (Csató & Karakoç 1998, 340).

expresses his hope and belief in the escape from the Exile. Actually, this is what the Tenth Principle of Faith orders for all Karaite believers.

According to this Principle, "God has not disparaged us who live in the Diaspora, although at this moment we are under His chastisements. Every son of Israel who believes in God is always obliged to wish and wait for His salvation, which is to take place by the hands of His Messiah from the House of David, and for the restoration of His Temple" (Harviainen 2003, 840).

(7)

Deut. 32: 29

BH	lû		<i>ḥā<u>k</u>mû</i>	ų	vaśkîlû	zō² <u>t</u>		yābî	nû	lə <sup>2</sup> al	nărî <u>t</u> ām	
	would that they		they wer	e tl	hey	this		they consider		to th	to their end	
			wise	u	inderstand							
	'If they	were w	vise, they w	ould unde	rstand this;	they would a	liscern th	neir lat	ter end!'			
CrM	vali	uslï	bolgay	edilär,	aŋlaġay	, edilär	munï,	aŋ	jlaġay ed	lilär	axïrlarïn	
	if	wise	they wo	ould be	they wo	uld	this	th	ey would	l	their end	
					understa	and	(ACC)	ur	nderstand	l	(ACC)	
CrG	egär	uslu	bolsala	r edilär,	aŋlar ec	aŋlar edilär			išünir ed	ilär	axïrlarïnï	
	if	wise	they wo	ould be	they wo	they would		th	ey would	their end		
					understa	and	(ACC)				(ACC)	
TF	Ėg′er	uslu	bolsa ėd	bolsa ėdil'ar		anlaha ėdil'ar		ėśl	'ariń koy	ha	sonhularïna	
								ėdi	l'ar			
	if	wise	they wo	uld be	they wou	they would		this they would		to their end		
					understa	nd	(ACC)	cor	nsider			
HA	yezeli	uslu	bolsïydi	ilar	anlaġïya	anlaġïydïlar		bunu eslerin qoygiydilar		çïydïlar	songularïna	
	if	wise	they wo	uld be	they wor	uld	this	the	y would		to their end	
					understa	nd	(ACC)	cor	nsider			
	visra'el	nin	nendiy	asavïslïa	g bolur	<u>alarġa</u>	cïqs	alar	<u>ol</u>	icinci	<u>galuttan</u>	
	Israel (		what	pleasure		ill to then		they	the	third	from	
					be		go o	ut			exile	

### Conclusions

In this study, only a few of the additions have been demonstrated. Taking into account the proportion of the additions, however, there are certain differences. Additions occur in all the books of the Karaim Bible translations. As for the Song of Moses, different proportions in the different Karaim translations can be observed. The highest proportion of additions – in the discussed versions – can be found in the Halich Karaim translation: altogether twenty-three additions of the textually interpretive type and ten insertions of the theologically interpretive type occur. In the Trakai Karaim version, the proportion is fifteen textually interpretive additions can be attested, but only two additions of the theologically interpretive additions appear twelve times, whereas theologically interpretive additions are not characteristics of the other Crimean Karaim translation kept in Manchester.

To sum up, the Halich Karaim translator of the Abrahamowicz Bible applied far more additions than the translators of the other Karaim Bible translations. It is a very interesting feature of the Abrahamowicz Bible, since this translation, as it was illustrated it in Olach 2013, is the closest both to the semantic and the morpho-syntactic patterns of the Hebrew original.

As the analysis of the additions has demonstrated it, these additions provide information about the basic religious concepts of the Karaim such as the concept of the only God who has no body, thus anthropomorph visualization of God is not acceptable. A comprehensive study on the additions in Karaim Bible translations, thus, will shed light on other religious notions and also on the influence of Rabbinic Judaism, Christianity and Islam on these basic concepts.

#### Abbreviations

Sources

Crimean Karaim Bible translation published in Gözleve (1841)
Crimean Karaim Bible translation kept in Manchester
Halich Karaim Bible translation in the possession of the Abrahamowicz family
Baskakov, N. A Zajączkowski, A Szapszal, S. M. (1974): Karaimsko-
russko-pol'skij slovar'. Moskva, Russkij Jazyk.
Redhouse Büyük Elsözlüğü. İngilizce-Türkçe, Türkçe-İngilizce / The Larger
Redhouse Portable Dictionary. English-Turkish, Turkish-English (1994)
Trakai Karaim Bible translation published by Mykolas Firkovičius (1993)

Glosses in the examples

3	Third person
ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative
DI.PST	Past in –DI
GANLAY	Converb in -GAnlAy
GEN	Genitive
НҮР	Hypothetical
NEG	Negation
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
R.NPST	Non-past in -(V)r
SG	Singular

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