

AN 1843 KARAIM DOWRY LIST FROM THE CRIMEA – TURKIC IN HEBREW APPEARANCE

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The Karaim marriage contract, *ketubba* or *šetar* in Hebrew, dealt with in this article is treasured in the First Firkovich Collection of the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg where it carries the call number *Ketubba Evr. I K 7*. The contract is dedicated to the engagement of Joseph b. Jeshu'ah to Sarah b. Isaac in Gözleve, the Eupatoria of today, in the Crimea, on Friday, Elul 27, 5603 which corresponds to the 22nd of September, 1843. The size of the *ketubba* leaf measures 79×55.5 cm and the size of the textual surface is 63×46 cm. The document is decorated with beautiful fronds in green, yellow and orange on the textual margins and silver in the central medallion.

The upper part (in the form of a cupola) of the marriage contract contains the traditional Karaite *ketubba* text in Hebrew – in contrast to Aramaic used by the Rabbanites.¹ The lower “cupola” consists of the dowry list or troussaeu (*nedumyot* or *niddu/onyot*² in Hebrew); in the contract, both the *ketubba* text and the list are written in cursive script. The signatures of the witnesses (*ha-‘edim*) have been written below the dowry list.

In the vertical frame bands of the text, a slightly adapted version of Ruth 4:11–12 is written in Hebrew:

ויאמרו כל העם אשר בשער והזקנים עדים יתן י״י את האשה³ אל ביתך כרחל
וכלאה אשר בנו שתיהם את בית ישראל / ועשה חיל בביתך⁴ וקרא שם במשפחתך⁵
ויהי ביתך כבית פרץ אשר ילדת⁶ ליהודה מן הזרע אשר יתן י״י לך מן הנערה הזאת:

Then all the people who were at the gate, and the elders, said, “We are witness. May the LORD make the woman, [who is coming]⁷ into your house, like

1 For the Karaite *ketubba* text in Hebrew and Karaim, see Harviainen 2007: 63–68.

2 For this pattern, see Harviainen 2007: 79, fn. 30.

3 הַבָּאָה ‘who comes’ of the Masoretic text is missing here.

4 באַפְרֵתָּה *pro* of the Masoretic text.

5 בְּמִשְׁפַּחְתְּךָ *pro* of the Masoretic text.

6 יִלְדֵת with two dots on top of *taw pro* יִלְדָה ‘Tamar bore’ of the Masoretic text.

7 Missing in the *ketubba* text.

Rachel and Leah, who together built up the house of Israel.⁸ May you prosper in your house⁹ and be renowned in your family;¹⁰ and may your house be like the house of Perez, whom T[amar] bore¹¹ to Judah, because of the children that the Lord will give you by this young woman”¹² (translations according to the Revised Standard Version).

In the upper margin band, adaptations of both Esther 8:15–16 and Isa. 61:3 (in which “those who mourn in Zion”, i.e. one of the self-designations of Karaites occurs too) have been employed:

אורה וגילה : ששון ושמחה וצהלה : ובני סגלה : ומעטת תהלה : לחתן וכלה :

Light and pleasure, gladness and joy and shouting! Sons of the people for [His own] possession! A mantle of praise for the bridegroom and the bride!

We are grateful to the National Library of Russia and the personnel of the Manuscript Department for the colour-print copies of the document (see Plates 1 and 2) as well as the permission to publish the *ketubba* with the photos, a translation and commentary. Further, we are convinced that our friend Dr. Bertil Tikkanen, a great polyglot, can enjoy the fruits of a dowry though they are described in Hebrew and Turkic.

EARLIER PUBLICATIONS

While numerous Karaite and Karaim marriage contracts have been depicted and described in various publications, the contents of dowries brought by the brides to their new homes have enjoyed very limited attention; in many instances, these lists are written in careless cursive Hebrew and the dowries consist of jewellery, textiles, dresses, etc. fashionable in their own time, enumerated according to their international designations in unsteady Hebrew transcriptions. The most important contribution to the material culture disclosed by the Karaite *ketubbot* is offered by Judith Olszowy-Schlager who in her extensive *Karaite Marriage Documents from the Cairo Geniza* has taken pains also to decipher a great number of the dowry lists and to delve into their cultural and economic implications. However, the *ketubbot* from the Cairo Geniza date back as early as the 980s to 1201,¹³ and the dowry lists in them are written partly in Arabic.

8 This part of the quotation is located on the right hand side.

9 *Pro* ‘in Ephrathah’ of the Masoretic text.

10 *Pro* ‘in Bethlehem’ of the Masoretic text.

11 Written in an abbreviated form ‘whom T. bore’ in the *ketubba*.

12 This part of the quotation is located on the left hand side.

13 Olszowy-Schlager 1998: 30–37.



Plate 1 Karaim marriage contract, I Firk. Ketubba Evr. I K 7 (1843).
Courtesy of the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg.

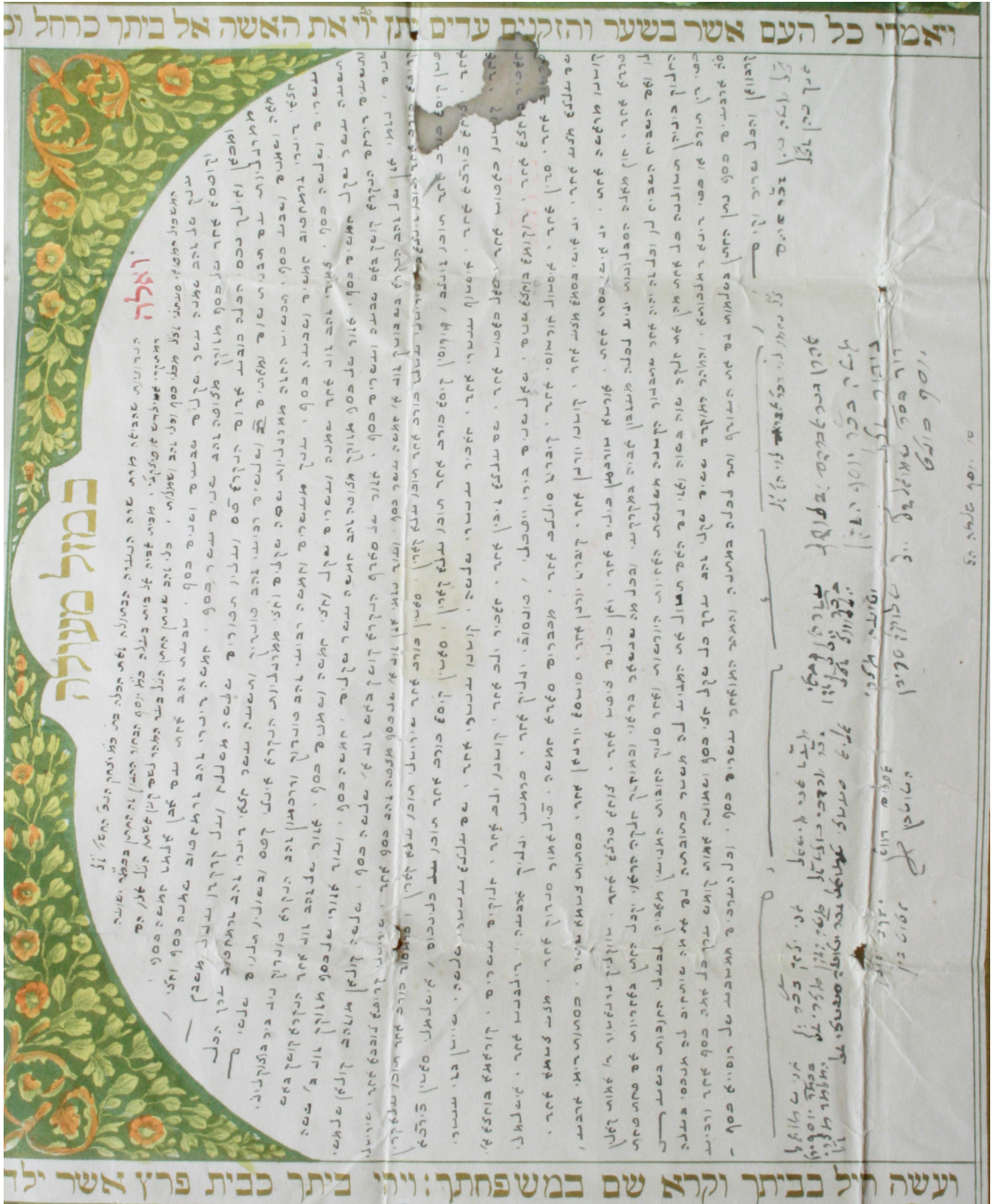


Plate 2 Dowry list and signatures of the Karaim marriage contract, I Firk. Ketubba Evr. I K 7 (1843). Courtesy of the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg.

In 2007, three Karaim dowry lists from Lithuania which date to 1773, 1781 and 1804 were published by Tapani Harviainen.¹⁴ In an interesting way, the great majority of the items mentioned in these Lithuanian *nedunyot* indicate Central and West European connections.

The only description and translation of a Crimean Karaim *ketubba* and its dowry list known so far to us appeared in the article *Karaimskie bračnye dogovory “šтары”* (‘Karaim marriage contracts “shetars”’) published by P.Ja. Čepurina and B.S. El’jaševič in co-operation with F.A. Malecki in Simferopol’ in 1927. The contract was drawn up between Joseph ben *hazzan* and *gebir* Samuel and Sarah bat Berakhah in the Turkish, i.e. pre-Russian, Eupatoria in 1764; unfortunately the publication does not include the Hebrew text, and the photo enclosed in the article (p. 19) is too unclear to allow any reading.¹⁵ In the same way as the dowry lists of the Lithuanian *ketubbot* abound with foreign Central and West European loan words, the Crimean lists in the above-mentioned marriage contract, as well as in our text below, are full of Turkish and Turkic terms; some of them derive their genuine origin from Arabic or Persian, a few of the other ones are loans from Russian. Irrespective of Hebrew characters, the general appearance of these *nedunyot* is very non-Hebrew in both cases.

KETUBBA EVR. I K 7

In the following transcript, translation and notes, we endeavour to offer also for non-Hebraists an interpretation of the contents of the dowry list, its text and vocabulary. For this purpose, the words written in Hebrew characters occur in the commentaries in transliteration in Latin capital letters. The explanations given in the notes go back to the dictionaries referred to in the bibliography; references in detail are necessary only in a few cases. The spelling of the Turkic terms follows the norms of Turkological handbooks; however, the Turkish words are given according to modern spelling habits.

As for the Hebrew spelling of the Turkic words, a number of peculiarities are worthy of notice. In ten cases (YLK *yelek* ‘waistcoat’ twice, SYLŠK *silecek*

¹⁴ Harviainen 2007.

¹⁵ Published in *Izvestija Tavričeskogo Obščestva Istorii, Arheologii i Ėtnografii*, I, Simferopol’. Reprinted a decade ago (*sine anno*) with 150 copies by the Karaim community of Eupatoria in the printing house of “KPT” in Simferopol’ (27 pp.); the Crimean *ketubba* is described and translated into Russian with explanatory notes on pp. 16–22 and 25–27 of the reprint. The Lithuanian *šetar* dealt with in the same article (pp. 8–16 and 23–25 according to the reprint; signed in Ponevež in 1730) closely resembles the Lithuanian documents published in Harviainen 2007.

'large bath towel' and KWRK *kürk* 'fur coat' seven times) a word final Turkic *k* is spelled with a Hebrew medial *kaf* which naturally is employed to certify the plosive quality of the consonant; as a rule, Turkic *q* is indicated with Hebrew *qof*. Accidentally, no case of a Turkic final *p* occurs in the text. In the Crimean pronunciation of Hebrew, *šade* is realized as [tš],¹⁶ and thus *šade* is employed to indicate both Turkic [č] (modern Turkish *ç*, e.g. ŞYPT *ç/çift* 'pair') and [dž] (modern Turkish *c*, e.g. YNŞY *inci* 'pearl'). A Hebrew *gimel* with an apostrophe added appears in the suffix of profession *-či* twice in the words WPYŞQGY and S'TGY as well in the adjectival suffix in BYR BWSWQLYG 'one and a half'. The loss of the voiced pronunciation in Turkic word final consonants is reflected in a number of spellings like NYG *nik* 'good' vs. QPS *kepez* 'bride's veil'. The *rafe* line serves to indicate the fricative pronunciation in some words, e.g. PS *fes*, KYRK' *hirka / chyrka* 'short velvet jacket'. More singular is the habit of spelling a Turkic or Russian geminated consonant with two identical Hebrew consonants one after another: MŠLLH *mašallah* 'blue beads or charms', ŞWBB' *cübbe* 'robe with full sleeves and long skirts', KRMNNY *karmannyj* 'pocket-'; since Turkic languages of that period were written in Arabic script, this novelty has been introduced from Russian or another European alphabetical writing system.

Turkic languages do not distinguish between gender forms; as a rule the Turkic nouns are considered to be masculine in this list, e.g. PRD' (*perde*) 'eḥad' ('one curtain') with the Hebrew numeral in the masculine. A number of errors in gender like *qufsa* 'eḥad and *šeba* 'kesef reflect this feature of the Turkic vernacular of the writer.

TEXT

In the traditional *ketubba* text (see note 1, above), at the start of the contract, the persons involved in the act, their fathers and epithets as well as the dates and places are defined:

בסימן יפה

בסימנא טבא ובמזלא מעלייא :

ביום ששי לשבוע שבעה ועשרים יום לחדש אלול שנת חמשת אלפים ושש מאות ושליש
שנים לבריאת העולם : ... פה בקהל הקראים . במדינת גזולוו ... כמ' יוסף הבחור ההגון יצו'
בן כמ' רבי ישועה המשכיל החשוב הנהדר זצל' ... מרת שרה היקרה הנעימה בת כמ' יצחק
הנכבד היקר זל'

16 Harviainen 1997: 106.

On Friday, the 27th of the month of Elul in the year 5603 from the creation of the world ... here in the Karaim congregation in the city of Gözleve ... Mr. Joseph, a decent young man – may God protect and preserve him –, a son of Mr. *ribbi* Jeshu'ah – erudite, esteemed, glorious, of blessed memory ... Ms. Sarah, beloved, sweet, a daughter of the late Mr. Isaac, respected, beloved ...

The *ketubba* text is followed by the dowry list; the slash (/) indicates the end of a line in the original document:

במזל מעולה

ואלה הנדוניות שהביאה מרת שרה הנערה הבתולה זאת הכלה בת כמ' יצחק הנכ' החשו' זל' / דמתקרי אמילדש אופיצקגי'. מבית אביה אל בית בעלה כמ' יוסף הבחור ההגון זה החתן בכמ' ישועה / המשכיל המפואר סעתג'י זצ"ל מכלי כסף וכלי זהב ושמות. כלי זהב שנתן החתן הנל' בעד המהר לשם קנין אשתו הנל' אלו הם / ענק של זהב שמנה עשר שקלים שבעים ושנים כסף. טבעת זהב אחת עם אבן אלמז חמשה כסף / וקופסא אחד של כסף מזוקק מצופה זהב שנים עשר כסף. חמשה דינרי זהב זרמחפוב שמנה כסף וחצי / ומכאן ואילך נכסי הכלה כובע אדום הנקרא פֶס ועליו תפורים שלשה משללה ועל דקדו עגל משבץ - / ממרגליות עם תבנית שום ומאתים רַבֶּ ושלישים רביעי זהב פונדיק ותשעה עשר חצאי דינרי זהב זרמחפוב ערך הכל / מאה ושמונים ושבע כסף. תכשיט החזה ממרגליות ששה שקלים וחצי ממרגליות הנקרא אינצי קפס ובשוליו תלויים שלשים / חצאי דינרי זרמחפוב חמשים ושבעה כסף. ענק מעשרים וחמשה רביעי זהב פונדוק ודרכמון זהב הנקרא פונדוק ניג ביר בוצוקליג'. / עשרים ושלושה כסף. צמידי זהב זוג אחד שמנה ועשרים שקל וחצי חמשה ושמונים כסף. אזור של זהב זוג אחד הנקרא קושק באש / תשעה עשר שקל חמשים כסף. אזור של כסף מזוקק מצופה זהב חמשה עשר שקלים. חמשה כסף. ועוד אזורי של כסף מזוקק זוג ב' ששה / ותשעים דירחם הנקרא קושק באש שבעה ועשרים כסף. אזור של סאדף הנקרא קושק באש זוג א' שלשה כסף. שלשה קולאן מוזהב קולאן של משי / שנים. נזמי און של זהב הנקרא בשבוטק זוג א' חמשה עשר כסף. ועוד נזמי און זוג א' של כסף מצפה זהב כסף אחד. שיריטלי קדיפא צובבא אחד. שיריטלי / קדיפא כורכ אחד תוכו זינצאב [.]. שיריטלי עטלז כורכ אחד תוכו עלא קארין. סאטין כורכ אחד שיריטלי תוכו עלא קארין. ב/כרמסוד כורכ אחד תוכו עלא קרין / פטן קיסא כורכ אחד תוכו זינצב. פירוסיין קיסא כורכ אחד תוכו עלא קארין. סאטין קיסא כורכ אחד תוכו על ב/כלינכום. אישלמלי סאטין כירכא / אחד. צוחא כירכא אחד. אישטוף ענטרי אחד. האכיר ענטרי שלשה. קוטנו ענטרי אחד. שם עלצא ענטרי שלשה. שייטן בזי ענטרי / אחד. קוטנו כאפוט אחד. שאל כאפוט אחד. שם עלצא זיבין אחד. האכיר ילכ אחד. קוטנו ילכ אחד. חלוקים עשרים. קוראמא בוחצא א'. / האכיר בוחצא אחד. דוקומא בוחצא שנים. שאל שנים בירי ייפכלי. פונסובי יגליק אחד. כרמנני יגליק ארבעה. דילבנט אחד. אישלמלי / פארטוכ אחד. סדין אחד. איסטול אורטוסי אחד. קיבריו סילצב אחד. מכברים סאדא חמשה. פֶילאמור סנדוק אחד. מצע צטמא אחד. / שם עלצא מצע אחד. יג אישי בסמא מצע אחד. קוטנו יורגן אחד. קיבריו יורגן אחד. סוטסא יורגן אחד. כסתות צטמא שטים. כסתות דימי ארבע. / קוטנו מראשה אחת. יג אישי כסת אחת. אורטא טורכסטן כילים אחד. ואן כילים ציפט אחד. צוחא פרצא אחד. טווקליק גרנאטור

ד' אמות קאלין / פרדא אחד . חוץ מאלה הסבלונות יגיע לכלה מעזבון אביה במקרקעי ובכל מה שנשאר בראוי ובמוחזק חלקה הראוי יקבל החתן באחריות אם פחת פחת / לו ואם השביח השביח לו וכל זה יהיה אחר שתבגור הקטנה משלשת האחיות היורשות ואחר סלוק החובות המגיעין מאביהן לבעלי החובות בשעת / החלוק ביניהן תטולנה כל אחת מהן את חלקה שוה בשוה ואזי גם האם תטול את המגיע לה משטר כתובתה גם את מה שיתחייב לה מנכסי בעלה / כפי דין תורה או כפי דינא דמלכותא . והמהר המוקדם ששים שקלי זהב ערך כל שקל חצי כסף ושמונה אמות קומש ערך כל אמה כסף אחד ורביע / סה' ארבעים כסף נתן החתן בשלמות גם את העודף ותר לכלה במתנה והמהר המואחר עשרים כסף . וכל הערכים ממטבע של רוסייא כסף - / קרבוואן והכל שריר יקים . ו ה ע ד י ם ...

TRANSLATION OF THE DOWRY LIST

EXCELLENT LUCK!

And this is the dowry that Ms. Sarah, a virgin maiden, i.e. the bride, a daughter of the late Mr. Isaac – respected, esteemed who is called Amildash Opichkaġi¹⁷ –, brought from her father's house to the house of her husband Mr. Joseph, a decent young man, i.e. the bridegroom, a son of Mr. Jeshu'ah – erudite, splendid, Saatġi [= horologist]¹⁸, of blessed memory – of items of silver, items of gold and dresses.

The golden items that the aforementioned bridegroom gave on behalf of *mohar*, for the sake of the acquisition of his aforementioned wife, they are these ones: a golden neck-pendant, eighteen shekels, (i.e.) seventy-two (pieces of) silver; one golden ring with a diamond stone,¹⁹ five silver; one box of assayed silver coated with gold, twelve silver; five golden *zer-i mahbub*²⁰ dinars, eight and a half silver.

And henceforth the property of the bride: a red cap which is called a *fes*²¹ and on it there are three appliquéés of blue beads²² and on its covering a ring inlaid

17 'MYLDŠ: cf. Turkic *amil* 'workman, manufacturer', 'collector of revenues'; *-daš* 'companion, fellow with'; 'WPYŠQĠY: **opčikačġi*; however 'W may be Hebrew 'or' in which case **pičkačġi* would be his second nickname (??).

18 S'TĠY: Turkic *saatčġi* 'watchmaker, watch seller, horologist'.

19 'BN 'LMZ: Hebrew 'eben 'stone'; Turkish *almaz* 'diamond'.

20 ZRMĤPW: Turkish *zer-i mahbub* 'gold coin of 25 *kurush*' (Redhouse 1974: 1280).

21 PŠ: *fes* 'Fes', 'fez'; see the photo in the *Seraya Szapszal's Karaim Collection* 2003: 85.

22 MŠLLĤ: Turkic *mašallah* 'blue beads or charms'. However, cf. the embroidery with the word MŠLLĤ (spelled in Hebrew with two *lameds*) fixed in a shawl depicted by Lebedeva (2003: 34); thus our text may refer to three similar auspicious embroideries (*mā-šā'-Allāh*) sewn on the *fes*.

with pearls in the shape of a garlic and two hundred golden quarter-*lira*²³ pieces and thirty quarters of *findiq*²⁴ gold and nineteen halves of golden *zer-i mahbub* dinars, to the total value of one hundred and eighty-seven silver; a brooch of pearls, six and a half shekels; of pearls that which is called *inchi kepes* ('headgear of a bride made of pearls')²⁵ and thirty halves of *zer-i mahbub* dinars hang on its fringes, fifty-seven silver; a necklace [consisting] of twenty-five quarters of *findiq* gold and a golden daric²⁶ which is called *funduq nig bir buchuqlig* ('one and a half [pieces] of excellent *findiq* gold'),²⁷ twenty-three silver; one pair of golden bracelets, twenty-eight and a half shekels, eighty-five silver; one pair of golden girdles which are called *qushaq bash* ('end of belt'),²⁸ nineteen shekels, fifty silver; a girdle of assayed silver coated with gold, fifteen shekels, five silver; and further 2 pairs of girdles of assayed silver, ninety-six dirhams, which are called *qushaq bash* ('end of belt'), twenty-seven silver; a girdle of mother-of-pearl²⁹ which is called *qushaq bash* ('end of belt'), 1 pair, three silver; three gilded waistbands;³⁰ two waistbands made of silk; golden earrings which are called *besbutaq* ('five almond-shaped [cloves]'),³¹ 1 pair, fifteen silver; and further 1 pair of silver earrings coated with gold, one silver; one velvet *cübbe* ('long robe with full sleeves

23 $\overline{R}\overline{B}$ (with lines indicating an abbreviation on top of the characters and below them): Turk. *rub'iye* 'golden quarter-*lira* piece' (Redhouse 1974: 961); Russian *rubl'* 'rouble' as a very valuable coin is less probable.

24 PWNDY/WQ: *finduq altim* 'name of a gold coin' (Redhouse 1974: 371); Russian *funduk* 'nut', 'flower bud, calyx' (Šipova 1976: 357) (??).

25 'YNSY QPS: *inci* 'pearl', *kepez* 'headgear of a bride, bride's veil'; Lebedeva 2003: 19: *indžili-kafas* 'žemčužnaja setka' ('veil of pearls'); *Seraya Szapszal's Karaim Collection* (2003: 83, nr. 437): *indžili-kafes* 'woman's dress trimmings worn on the front, made from imitation pearl bead net and a collar embroidered with gold threads'.

26 DRKMWN: Hebrew *darkēmôn*, *darkôn* 'Daric (coin)', Jastrow 1903/1950: 324; *darkēmôn* 'dinar' is a usual monetary unit in the *ketubbot* from the Cairo Geniza published by Olszowy-Schlager (1998). Simultaneously, it refers to the Greek *drachma* which is the source of the Arabic *dirham*; thanks to Professor Klaus Karttunen for the note.

27 NYG: cf. *nik* 'good, excellent; lucky, auspicious'; BYR BWŠWQLYĠ: *bir bučuk* 'one and a half', and adj. suffix *-liġ*, i.e. 'one and a half (pieces) of excellent *findiq* gold'.

28 QWŠQB'Š: *kušak* 'Gürtel' and *baš* 'Kopf, Ende' which in fact refer to a 'buckle of women's belt consisting of two parts, connected with a hoop and hook' (*Seraya Szapszal's Karaim Collection* 2003: 88, nr. 471), cf. the three photos of *kushak-bashy* in the *Seraya Szapszal's Karaim Collection* 2003: 89.

29 S'DP: *sadef*, *sedef* 'mother-of-pearl'.

30 QWL'N: *kolan* 'Gurt, Gurtband'.

31 BŠBWTQ: cf. *beš butaqli [qaranfil sırğa]* 'five almond shaped [cloves, i.e. earrings]' (Kozlov 2003: 96).

and long skirts³²) supplied with a belt;³³ one velvet fur coat³⁴ supplied with a belt, with squirrel [skin]³⁵ on its inside;³⁶ one atlas³⁷ fur coat supplied with a belt, with marten [skin]³⁸ on its inside; one satin³⁹ fur coat supplied with a belt, with marten [skin] on its inside; one K/BRMSWD fur coat with marten [skin] on its inside; one short⁴⁰ PṬN fur coat with squirrel [skin] on its inside; one short PYRWSYN⁴¹ fur coat with marten [skin] on its inside; one short satin fur coat with mart K/BLYNKWM on its inside; one short embroidered satin jacket;⁴² one short jacket of high quality wool;⁴³ one silk damask caftan;⁴⁴ three small⁴⁵ caftans; one half-silken⁴⁶ caftan; three caftans of striped Damascus silk

32 QDYP: *qadife* ‘velvet’; ŠWBB’: *cübbe* ‘robe worn by imams, judges, etc. with full sleeves and long skirts’.

33 ŠYRYṬLY: *širitli* ‘supplied with a belt’.

34 KWRK (with medial *kaf* at the end): *kürk* ‘Pelz’.

35 ZYNŠʾB / ZYNŠB: *zincab* ‘squirrel’.

36 ‘its inside’ (*tokho* in Hebrew) in this and the following occurrences obviously refers to the various furs sewn inside of the coat.

37 ṬLZ: *atlas* ‘silk textile’.

38 L’QRYN: cf. Čepurina-El’jaševič (note 57) who mention that in the *ketubba* published by them, there occurs the term אלה קרין אלע which refers to ‘pestroie brjuško’ (‘motley belly’); some other *šetars* mention קרין בייז ‘white belly’. According to them, these phrases are not found in dictionaries; however, T.S. Levi-Babovich, ‘one of the most notable contemporary Karaim scholars’ [senior *hazzan* in Sevastopol in 1911–1930 and the leader of Karaites in Egypt, T.H.], considers קרין to be ‘kunica (?)’ (‘marten’) which has either a motley or white belly. (??)

39 SṬYN: French and Russian *satın* ‘satin’.

40 QYS’: *qusa* ‘kurz’.

41 Cf. Turkish *firuze* ‘mixed silk material with longitudinal stripes’ (Redhouse 1974: 376) (??).

42 YŠLMLY SṬYN K̄YR̄K̄: *işleme* ‘feine Stickerei’; *işlemeli satın hirka* ‘embroidered satin woolen jacket (wadded and quilted jacket)’; Karaim *chyрка* ‘short open velvet jacket or coat’, see the photo in the *Seraya Szapszal’s Karaim Collection* 2003: 78.

43 ŠWH’: *çuba* ‘glatter, feiner Wollstoff, Tuch’.

44 ŠṬWF: *ištof* < Russian *štof* ‘(silk) damask’. NṬRY: *entar* ‘langes loses, orient. Gewand’; cf. note 48 in Čepurina-El’jaševič: אנטרי is ‘dlinnij nižnij kaftan s rukavami, nadevaemyj sverh kamzola, on byvaet iz šelkovej materii i perepojasyaetsja kušakom’ (Budagov I 1869: 102), and the pictures of *entaris* in the review of the exhibition at the Topkapı “Selim III: Reformist, Poet and Musician” by Philip Mansel 2009: 9, 11 and 14.

45 H’KYR: *hakir* ‘klein’.

46 QWṬNW: *qutnu*, cf. Čepurina-El’jaševič (note 49): בוטנו – bumažnaja tkan’ s primes’ju šelka (‘cotton fabric with admixture of silk’).

and cotton;⁴⁷ one velveteen caftan;⁴⁸ one half-silken capote;⁴⁹ one shawl capote;⁵⁰ one *zibin* jacket of striped Damascus silk and cotton;⁵¹ one small waistcoat;⁵² one half-silken waistcoat; twenty shirts;⁵³ 1 portable square wrapper shawl;⁵⁴ one small square wrapper shawl; two square wrapper shawls woven of cotton;⁵⁵ two shawls, one [of them] silky;⁵⁶ one crimson handkerchief;⁵⁷ four pocket⁵⁸-handkerchiefs; one turban;⁵⁹ one embroidered apron;⁶⁰ one blanket (/linen shirt);⁶¹ one tablecloth;⁶² one Cyprian bath towel;⁶³ five common⁶⁴ covers/

47 ŠM 'LS': *Šam alaca* (si) 'striped (Damascus) silk and cotton material for dresses' (Redhouse 1974:1048); cf. Čepurina-El'jašević (note 50): שׁאֵלֶצֶט – Damask i raznocvetnyj; pestrjad', bumažnaja materija iz krašennoj nitki, polosataja, s preobladajušćim sinim cvetom. Russian 'šamaladži' stands for 'šam aladžasy', 'šamalaci', Kozlov 2003: 396.

48 ŠYYṬN BZY 'NṬRY: *šeytan bezi entari* 'velveteen robe' (Redhouse 1974: 169, 1060; Šipova 1976: 107).

49 QWṬNW K'PWT: *quṭnu kapuṭ* 'silk-cotton capote'; *kapuṭ* < French/English *capote*.

50 Š'L Q'PWT: *šāl kapuṭ* 'shawl capote'.

51 ŠM 'LS' ZYBYN: cf. note 47, above; *zibin* 'a kind of shirt or jacket; a kind of garment with three flaps' (Redhouse 1974: 1283).

52 YLK (with medial *kaf* at the end): *yelek* 'waistcoat, vest'.

53 H̄LWQYM םהלוק: pl. of Hebrew *hālūq* 'plain garment, (under)shirt' (does not occur in this sense in the Old Testament), Jastrow 1903/1950: 465.

54 QWR'M: *qurma* 'portable'; BWḤṢ: *bohça* 'Einschlagetuch'; 'square wrapper for a bundle, square shawl [for presenting gifts]'; cf. Čepurina-El'jašević (note 62): kvadratnaja šal', uzal, salfetka ili kusok materi, v kotoruju zavertyvajut plat'e, bel'e i pr. (v russkom: *bakča, bakša*) (Budagov, t. I). Cf. '... *bokhtcha*. Some of these are small square napkins, others are kerchiefs that were used by women to tie up things they carried when leaving home. Bokhtcha is made of two pieces of twill weave cloth, with characteristic ornament woven at the ends. The main colours are ... blue, red, white, yellow being rarer' and the descriptions in nrs. 571–577 in the *Seraya Szapszal's Karaim Collection* 2003: 97, 102.

55 DWQWM: *doquma* 'woven (tissue), cotton cloth'.

56 YYPKLY: *ipekli* 'silk-, silky', *ipek* 'Seide'.

57 PWNSWB̄Y YGLYG: Russian *puncovyj* (< French *ponceau*) 'bright red', 'purple'; *yağlık, yağlıq* 'feines, reichbesticktes Tuch', 'large napkin, handkerchief'.

58 KRMNNY: Russian *karmannyj* 'pocket'.

59 DYLBNT: Turkish *dülbend, tülbent* (< Persian) 'turban'. However, Čepurina and El'jašević (note 46) interpret תולבנט to refer to Russian *tjul'* 'tulle' which as a textile material, however, cannot indicate a detached noun in this list.

60 'YŠLMLY P'RṬWK: 'embroidered apron'; cf. note 42, above; Russian *fartuk* 'apron'.

61 SDYN ךידס: Hebrew *sādin* '(linen) sheet'; used a few times in the Old Testament with a reference to a garment, 'wrapper', later 'bedcloth', 'blanket', cf. Jastrow 1903/1950: 957 and Koehler-Baumgartner 1967–1990: 702.

62 'YŠṬWL 'WRṬWSY: Russian *stol* 'table' with a prothetic 'alef; Turkish *örtü* 'Decke'.

63 QYBRYZ SYLŠK (with medial *kaf* at the end): cf. *Qıbrıs* 'Cyprus'; *silecek* 'large bath towel'.

64 S'D: *sade* 'simple, plain'.

carpets;⁶⁵ one chest of linden wood;⁶⁶ one *chatma* ('cotton cloth') mattress;⁶⁷ one mattress of striped Damascus silk and cotton;⁶⁸ one mattress of a better quality⁶⁹ calico;⁷⁰ one half-silken quilt;⁷¹ one Cyprian quilt; one SWṬS' quilt; two *chatma* ('cotton cloth') cushions;⁷² four fustian⁷³ cushions; one half-silken head supporter;⁷⁴ one cushion of a better quality;⁶⁹ one Central Turkestan *kilim* rug;⁷⁵ one pair of Van Lake rugs;⁷⁶ one cloth of high quality wool;⁷⁷ trimmings of the bride's veil⁷⁸ 4 cubits as a present of the bridegroom to the bride;⁷⁹ one curtain.⁸⁰

Apart from these bridal gifts, the bride is to receive her share which she deserves from his father's legacy, real estate⁸¹ and all that is anticipated and recognized to be left [by him]. The bridegroom is to be responsible [for it] – if he will depreciate, he will depreciate from himself, and if he will increase in

65 MKBRYM מַכְבְּרִים **makhbërim*, sg. *makhber*, an enigmatic word which occurs once in the Old Testament in 2 Kings 8,15, 'cover', 'carpet' (?), employed only seldom in later Hebrew, cf. Koehler-Baumgartner 1967–1990: 548 and Jastrow 1903/1950: 781.

66 P̄YL'MWR SNDWQ: *filâmur* 'linden tree (*Tilia europaea*'); Arab. *şandūq*, Turkish *sandık*, Russian *sunduk* 'chest'.

67 ṢṬM': cf. Čepurina-El'jaševič (note 60): צַטְמָא ṢṬM', rod kumača dlja posteli ('a kind of cotton cloth for beds'), similarly *čatma* in Karaim 'rod kumača dlja posteli' (Baskakov *et alii* 1974: 625); MṢ': Hebrew *maššā'* 'mattress, bed' (does not occur in this sense in biblical Hebrew), Jastrow 1903/1950: 827; cf. the photo of a grey *tchatma yastik* (cover for *set* cushion) in the *Seraya Szapszal's Karaim Collection* 2003: 101.

68 ŠM 'LṢ' MṢ'; cf. notes 47 and 67, above.

69 YG 'YŠY: *yeğ işi* 'better work'.

70 BSM': *basma* 'printed cloth, calico'; MṢ', see note 67, above.

71 QWTNW YWRGN: *quṭnu yorgan* 'Steppdecke, oberes Bettuch', 'half-silken quilt'; in this text also spelled YWRG'N.

72 KSTWT ṢṬM': Hebrew כַּסֵּת, pl. כְּסוֹתוֹת *keset*, pl. *kēsātōt* 'bag, bolster, cushion' (does not occur in this sense in biblical Hebrew), Jastrow 1903/1950: 656; ṢṬM', see note 67, above.

73 DYMY: *dimi* 'fustian (coarse cotton cloth)' (Redhouse 1974: 300 < Greek).

74 MR'ŠH מִרְאֵשָׁה: Hebrew singular **mēra'āšā* coined on the basis of the biblical plural **mēra'āšōt* 'place at the head', 'head supporter', cf. Jastrow 1903/1950: 835 and Koehler-Baumgartner 1967–1990: 596.

75 'WRṬ' ṬWRKṢṬN KYLYM: cf. *orta Türkistan kilim* 'Central Turkestan rug', *kilim* 'Kelim, Wirk-, Wandteppich'.

76 W'N KYLYM ṢYPT': 'Van Lake rug'; *çift* 'pair, double'.

77 ṢWH' PRṢ': *çuba parça*, cf. note 43, above; ṢWH': *çuba* 'glatter, feine Wollstoff, Tuch'; *parça* 'Stück, Stoffrest (für einen Anzug)'.

78 ṬWWQLYQ GRN'ṬWR: *tuvaq* 'bride's veil', *duvaqlı* 'veiled' (ṭ and d are in variation); *tuvukh* 'a veil which conceals the bride', Kozlov 2003: 68; *garnitür* 'trimmings (of a dress)'.

79 Q'LYN: *kalın* 'present or settlement given by the bridegroom to the bride', 'bridal trousseau' (Redhouse 1974: 587; the homonymous *kalın* 'thick' does not make sense here). Four cubits equal c.180 cm.

80 PRD': *perde* 'Vorhang, Gardine'.

81 MQRQ'Y מִקְרָקְעִי: Hebrew *mēqarqē'ē* 'attached to the ground, real estate' (non-biblical word used in non-biblical Aramaic plural form, Jastrow 1903/1950: 833).

value, he will increase in favour of himself. And all of this will take place when the youngest of the three sisters who are legal heirs becomes mature. After the settlement of the debts which go from their [fem. pl. = the bride and her sisters] father to the debtors at the moment of the apportionment among [all of] them, each of them [fem. = the three sisters] is to draw out her share in equal parts. And then she [= the bride] indeed will draw out both that which she deserves from her *ketubba* document and that which is justified for her in the property of her husband according to the law of the Torah or the local public law.

The advanced *mohar* makes sixty golden shekels – each shekel equals half (a piece of) silver – and eight cubits of kumash (= red cotton cloth) 82 – each cubit equals one (piece of) silver and a quarter –, in total forty silver. The bridegroom also donated the necessary (?)⁸³ surplus as a gift in full to the bride. And the delayed *mohar* makes twenty silver.

All the prices are [defined] according to the Russian currency, assayed⁸⁴ silver. Everything he [= the bridegroom] will put into effect steadfastly.

FINAL NOTES

Dresses and jewellery described in the *ketubba* can be compared with the early photos and paintings of Crimean Karaim ladies copied, e.g. in the *Seraya Szapszal's Karaim Collection* (2003: 10, 28) and in the chapters “Dress and Jewellery” and “Interior Textiles”⁸⁵ of the same book (pp. 78–103); some of them also appear in Lebedeva (2003: 19, 33, and the costume of bride in the Karaim Museum in Eupatoria, idem: plate 3). However, the terminology used in the *Seraya Szapszal's Karaim Collection* deviates to a surprising degree from that in our *ketubba*, while a number of items have preserved their old names; parallel terms are referred to in the notes of the translation above.

’WPYŠQĠY, K/BRMSWD, PṬN, PYRWSYN, K/BLYNKWM and SWṬS’ are terms which have escaped our attempts at interpretation; however, on the basis of the context, it is evident that K/BRMSWD, PṬN and PYRWSYN refer to various fabrics, SWṬS’ is the material of a quilt, while K/BLYNKWM is a kind of fur and ’WPYŠQĠY a nickname (see note 17, above). Question marks could be attached to the explanations of PWNDY/WQ, Q’RYN fur and WTR.

82 QWMŠ: cf. Osmanlı and Crimean Turkic *kumaš* ‘ein rotes Baumwollgewebe’, ‘Schnittware’ (> Russian *kumač* ‘red cotton fabric’) < Arab. *qumāš* (Räsänen 1969, p. 300; Šipova 1976: 206–207).

83 WTR: cf. Turkish *vatar* ‘a necessary or important thing’, ‘necessity’ (??).

84 QRBWW’N: Ukrainian *karbovanij* ‘engraved, chased; clear, firm’.

85 Written by Liuda Gaigalienė and Rita Pauliukevičiūtė.

A great majority of the items referred to in the dowry list bear Turkic names; a number of them occur as loans in Russian, too. In contrast, only a few Russian (Ukrainian) terms (*satın, štof, puncovyj, karmannyj, fartuk, stol; karbovanij*) appear among the *nedunyot*, and, in fact, many of them are of West European origin. The designations in Hebrew are similarly rather few in number; many of them (*darkemon, ḥaluq, sadin, makhber, mašša', keset, mera'aša, meqarqe'e*) reveal, together with numerous medieval Hebrew expressions, interesting post-biblical transformations of the references and patterns – too often, Karaim Hebrew is considered to represent solely biblical calques. In respect to the minor East European influences, the list closely resembles those of the Lithuanian Karaims published in Harviainen 2007 (p. 82). While the Lithuanian Karaims looked to the West without contacts to the Turkic Orient, their co-religionists in the Crimea similarly did not display material connections with Lithuanian or Polish Karaims in this dowry list. In contrast, the Turkic ethnic heritage had not lost its fashionable prestige among the Crimean Karaims, and they still directed their gaze to the centres of (material) culture and fashion in their former host country, i.e. the Turkish Empire.

However, the monetary system of the Russian Empire occupied the market in the Crimea. Thus, “all prices are [defined] according to the Russian currency, assayed silver”, as it is stated at the end of the dowry list, and the values of various items are defined in silver. Obviously, this is connected with the monetary reform which was introduced by E.F. Kankrin, the Minister of Finance in Russia, at the beginning of the 1840s. While the former rate of copper coins equalled 36 roubles minted from one pood (16,380 kg) copper, the relation after the reform was 16 roubles from a pood. The new copper coins released in 1839–1848 carried the inscription *serebrom*, i.e. (copeck) in silver. In comparison with “assayed silver”, these copper coins “in silver” enjoyed only minor reliability; in 1849 the rate was devalued to 32 roubles and the text “serebrom” disappeared from copper copecks.⁸⁶

The list includes numerous references to the rates of exchange which prevailed between various sorts of precious metals and currencies. It is evident that the rates between shekels, (pieces of) silver (the ratio of shekel and silver mentioned in the text varies between 1:4, 1:3 and 1:2), golden *zer-i mahbub* dinars, dirhams, *findiq* gold, etc., do not depend on a par value; in contrast, the percentages of their contents probably defined their mutual proportions.

The figures offered by this *ketubba* can be used as comparative material in connection with other account and exchange documents from the frontier areas

⁸⁶ Spasski 1957/1981: 178; Kaim 1968: 151–152.

of the Russian and Turkish Empires in the same period. Similarly, comparisons with dowry lists, deeds of inventory, auction bills, etc., drawn up by other ethnic groups in the Crimea and elsewhere in the Russian Empire in the same decades present a thus far untapped source for the history of economy and its variation on the basis of national, ethnic or areal factors.

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