

Jan Grzegorzewski's Karaite materials in the archive of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kraków¹

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Abstract

The article focuses on the survey of Jan Grzegorzewski's Karaite-related materials kept in the archive of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kraków. The article also analyzes the biography and contribution to the field of Karaite studies of Jan Grzegorzewski (1846/9-1922), one of the earliest students of the Karaim language in Europe. Quite an eccentric person, Grzegorzewski was at the same time traveller, litterateur, Slavist, and Orientalist. Although some academicians (e.g. T. Kowalski) have expressed their scepticism about Grzegorzewski's scholarly activity, there is no doubt that his Karaitica articles remain highly significant contribution to the field of the history of the Karaim language and folklore. Jan Grzegorzewski's archival collection contains varied materials such as ethnographic and linguistic data, fairy-tales, proverbs, poetry, letters, drafts of articles, statistics, and official documents. Some interesting documents from Grzegorzewski's collection are published as appendices at the end of the article.

Keywords

Jan Grzegorzewski, Tadeusz Kowalski, archives, Karaim language, Eastern Europe

¹ In my article I shall normally use the original Polish toponymy (thus, Kraków instead of Cracow and Lwów instead of L'vov or Lviv).

1. Jan Grzegorzewski, his biography and contribution to Karaite studies

Jan Grzegorzewski² (b. Szulajki, 1846/9, d. Lwów, 1922) was one of the earliest students of the Karaim language in Europe and perhaps the first Polish scholar to devote his attention to the Polish-Lithuanian Karaites. He was quite an eccentric person – litterateur, the author of a few very non-academic accounts of his most likely imagined adventures and travels – and scholar, Slavacist, ethnographer, and, finally, Orientalist. We do not really possess any precise information about his life. It is not entirely clear whether he received a systematic academic education or not, as it is not sure whether he travelled as far as China, the Himalayas, and Tian–Shan as he claimed in his publications (e.g. GRZEGORZEWSKI 1902). He spent much of his life travelling between Sofia, Istanbul, Vienna, Zakopane, Kraków, Halicz and Lwów, usually attempting to carry out his sometimes highly eccentric academic and non-academic projects. A Polish patriot and ardent enthusiast in anything that he tried to achieve, he was a great admirer of Oriental and East European peoples and ethnic minorities such as the Bulgarians, Slovaks, Ukrainians (Rusyns), Armenians, górale [Polish Highlanders], Tatars, Kashubes, and Karaites. According to one of his biographers, Grzegorzewski “had been burnt with [the flame of] thousand enterprises which he could not realize” (REYCHMAN 1971: 107). Grzegorzewski’s friend, Andrzej Gawroński, claimed that “in his novels [...] *Dichtung und Wahrheit* were entwined in such inextricable way that it was easier to write on their basis a most interesting moral story than an exact biography” ([GAWROŃSKI] 1925: 333). Having spent several years in Halicz in the 1910s and 1920s, Grzegorzewski returned to Lwów where he died on 17 November 1922 (for more information about his life, see ZAJĄCZKOWSKI 1960-1961: 95-97; REYCHMAN 1971; REYCHMAN 1972: 72-75; [GAWROŃSKI] 1925: 332-336).

Grzegorzewski left a vast academic and literary *Nachlass* consisting of dozens separate books and brochures and perhaps as many as several hundred articles and journalist reports and papers. Although some academicians

² In his German publications he called himself Johann von Grzegorzewski; he also employed the nom de plume Ewan and some others.

expressed their scepticism about Grzegorzewski and his scholarly activity, there is no doubt that many of his *stricto sensu* academic publications remain important contribution to the general field of European and Oriental history, ethnography and linguistics. It was Grzegorzewski who initiated in 1914 the publication of the famous Polish Orientalist periodical, "Rocznik Orientalistyczny," and found financial sources to support it ([GAWROŃSKI] 1925: 336; REYCHMAN 1971: 66). Equally important are his studies on various aspects of the history of Poland, Albania, Bulgaria, and Slovakia (e.g. GRZEGORZEWSKI 1912; GRZEGORZEWSKI 1919; GRZEGORZEWSKI 1914; GRZEGORZEWSKI, JAN 1914-1918b: 297-333).³

Grzegorzewski's Karaitica articles remain a highly significant contribution to the field of the history of the Karaim language and folklore.⁴ It is not entirely clear when exactly the scholar started to be interested in the Karaites. He apparently came across them during his travels and studies in Austrian Galicia in the 1890s. In Autumn 1896 Grzegorzewski spent a month in Halicz (GRZEGORZEWSKI 1903: 4) being largely engrossed in studying the local Karaitic community and its literary heritage. It seems that from this period on he frequently visited this little town – where he eventually spent his last year(s).

³ For more details, see the select bibliography of Grzegorzewski's publications in [GAWROŃSKI] 1925: 334-336.

⁴ See GRZEGORZEWSKI 1903: 1-80 (pp. 63-70 include samples of the texts in the Halicz dialect of the Karaim language – poems by Abraham Leonowicz, Zachariasz Abrahamowicz, Jacob Joseph Leonowicz, and an unknown author in Karaim in Hebrew characters; translation of a Hebrew prayer by Joseph Mordkowicz; two tales in the everyday variant of the language); GRZEGORZEWSKI 1914-1918: 252-296 (includes 1. the poem "Karanhy bułut" [Black cloud] by Joseph ben Jeshua from Derażno; Karaim in Hebrew script, pp. 268-270, comm. pp. 274-279; 2. a Karaim transl. of Psalms by Joseph ben Samuel Ha-Mashbir, in Hebrew script, pp. 270-272, comm. pp. 279-287; 3. description of the rite of circumcision by Marek Szulimowicz and Mardocheusz Leonowicz, in Latin transliteration, pp. 273-274, comm. pp. 287-291, Polish transl. pp. 294-296; 4. poem "Oj ucared' (sic!)" by Zacharjasz Abrahamowicz, facsimile of a MS original between pp. 274-275, comm. pp. 291-294); GRZEGORZEWSKI 1917: 2-6. Cf. also a popular article about the Karaites and Armenians in Poland: GRZEGORZEWSKI 1920; [GRZEGORZEWSKI] 1924: 9-10.

An enthusiastic Turkophile, he praised highly the Karaites' diligence and honesty, and fidelity to their traditions:

"These Halicz Karaites, like other *Łach Karaiten*,⁵ are a peaceful, honest, and industrious tribe. They are occupied mainly with agriculture or earn their bread as craftsmen and day-labourers. In earlier times, however, they also conducted active trade with the Orient" (my translation from GRZEGORZEWSKI 1903: 2).

Grzegorzewski managed to establish very friendly relations with the Halicz Karaite community. He was the first scholar to discover the talent of one of the most promising Karaite poets – Zacharjasz / Zachariah-Isaac ben Samuel Abrahamowicz (1878-1903) (for more information about this poet, see KIZILOV 2009: 171-173). Grzegorzewski was the only scholar to maintain correspondence with Abrahamowicz; it is only due to this fact that we have at our disposal manuscripts of three poems by this poet.⁶ Furthermore, Grzegorzewski was the first European Orientalist to publish several most interesting samples of Karaite folklore and literature in the Karaim language (GRZEGORZEWSKI 1903; GRZEGORZEWSKI 1914-1918). Most of these samples remain hitherto untranslated into any European language. He also pioneered works on the compilation of a comprehensive dictionary of the Karaim language. Unfortunately, this project as well as an attempt to write a monograph on the history and ethnography of the Halicz Karaite community remained unfinished.

After the end of the First World War, being a witness to the general pauperization of the Halicz Karaites, Grzegorzewski composed a memorandum depicting the pitiful state of the community sent to the Ministry of Religious Confessions and Public Education (*Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych*

⁵ I.e. Polish Karaites; to our knowledge, Grzegorzewski was the only scholar who used this term to designate the Polish Karaite community.

⁶ According to Grzegorzewski, a short while before his death, Abrahamowicz sent him a manuscript collection of his poems (GRZEGORZEWSKI 1914-1918: 292). It seems that later this manuscript was lost and only one autograph (the poem "Tachanun le-yom ha-kippurim") survived.

i Oświęcienia Publicznego or *MWRiOP*): "after the raids of Tsarist, German, Bolshevik, and Petlura troops, their [i.e. Karaite] settlement represents now the image of mere ruins and piles of ashes." In order to improve the situation Grzegorzewski somewhat unrealistically suggested selling off "sites which would cost some millions, once a possession of the Karaite community of Łuck, and now illegally captured by the Jews and Moskals."⁷ The Polish-Lithuanian Karaite community warmly remembered Grzegorzewski's friendly attitude to the Karaites and published an article dedicated to his memory in the periodical *Karaj Awazy* (ANONYMOUS 1931: 30-31). Post-war Karaite authors also positively evaluated Grzegorzewski's research activity in the field of Karaite studies (ZAJĄCZKOWSKI 1960-1961: 95-97; DUBIŃSKI 1960: 148-149, 151-152).

Grzegorzewski bequeathed his personal collection to the Institute of Oriental studies at Lwów University. It took about twelve years to dispatch Grzegorzewski's Karaite materials to Kraków where they were examined by Tadeusz Kowalski.⁸ For some reason, Grzegorzewski's Karaite materials had been never returned to Lwów and remained in Kraków where they formed the collection "Spuścizna K III-6. Jan Grzegorzewski" in the Archive of the Polish Academy of Sciences.⁹ Kowalski, who surveyed Grzegorzewski's archival materials as early as 1934, wrote an undeservedly harsh and sceptical review of Grzegorzewski's collection¹⁰ which influenced the opinion of later scholars

⁷ Archiwum Akt Nowych, MWRiOP, call no. 1461, fols. 39, 42. Here Grzegorzewski most probably referred to the so-called "Pola Karaimskie" near Łuck, which had once allegedly belonged to the Karaites. According to Reychman, sending memoranda to officials was Grzegorzewski's life-long passion (REYCHMAN 1971: 16).

⁸ Tadeusz Jan Kowalski (1889-1948) was representative of much younger generation of Polish Orientalists. In contrast to Grzegorzewski, he received a systematic Orientalist education in Austria and Germany. He published many scholarly monographs and articles, including his famous *Karaimische Texte im Dialekt von Troki* (Kraków, 1929) (for more information about Kowalski's biography, see STACHOWSKI 2010: 149-168).

⁹ Full Polish name of the archive is Archiwum Nauki Polskiej Akademii Nauk i Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności (i.e. "Archive of Polish Academy of Sciences and Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences").

¹⁰ Kowalski 1934: 19-28. Archive of Polish Academy of Sciences and Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kraków houses two manuscript versions of this review article

who made no use of Grzegorzewski's materials – largely because of Kowalski's criticism.¹¹ The aim of this article is to compose a new survey of this collection and demonstrate that Kowalski's harsh criticism was unfair and incorrect. Some interesting documents from Grzegorzewski's collection are published as appendices at the end of the article.

2. Survey of Jan Grzegorzewski's archival collection

Tadeusz Kowalski distinguished the following groups of Karaite-related materials in Grzegorzewski's collection: materials for the dictionary of the Karaim language (mostly in the Halicz dialect); documents related to the Karaite community in Halicz; texts in the Halicz variety of the Karaim language transliterated with Latin characters; Karaim texts in Hebrew characters; ethnographic, historical and linguistic miscellanea which he did not have time to properly study and which he deemed unworthy of additional attention (KOWALSKI 1934: 19-28). Although this subdivision does make sense, in my article I shall analyze Grzegorzewski's collection in accordance with the folders and subfolders into which his materials were subdivided by assistants of the archive of the Polish Academy of Sciences much later than Kowalski's life-time.

A few additional remarks should be made before starting an analysis of the collection. First, some materials that were available to Kowalski are no longer

which do not really differ from the published text (Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, Kraków Spuścizna K III-4. Tadeusz Kowalski, call no. 28). According to Jan Reychman, Kowalski also published a posthumous memorial article about Grzegorzewski in the Kraków newspaper "Nowa Reforma" (REYCHMAN 1971: 231, przyp. 1; unfortunately, I was unable to locate this publication because Reychman had not provided the exact reference to this article). Kowalski apparently did not know that as early as 1904 Grzegorzewski had donated to Ossolineum his large and valuable library which was unfortunately completely destroyed in 1918 ([GAWROŃSKI] 1925: 334). This is why Grzegorzewski's posthumous *Nachlass* contained only a handful of books of little value.

¹¹ To my knowledge, the author of these lines is the only scholar who used Grzegorzewski's unpublished materials so far (see KIZILOV 2009a). According to Reychman, Tadeusz Kowalski was in general very strict and critical when he had to evaluate publications of his colleagues (REYCHMAN 1971: 67).

present among Grzegorzewski's documents. Second, many interesting materials that *are* present in the collection were apparently not analyzed or seen by Kowalski. Third, several documents and notes, which were originally among Grzegorzewski's materials, are currently located in Kowalski's archival collection also kept in the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kraków (they were most likely inserted into Kowalski's collection by Kowalski himself who apparently forgot to return them to Grzegorzewski's collection).¹² Finally, for some reason Jan Grzegorzewski's archival materials did not have any pagination. I was therefore forced to refer to call numbers only, without providing exact page or folio numbers. The work with Grzegorzewski's documents is not always easy because of Grzegorzewski's hardly legible handwriting; furthermore, his collection also contains additional materials that were sent to him by his Karaite informants (e.g. by Zacharjusz Abrahamowicz or Ryfcia Leonowicz).

Call no. 16 (Spuścizna K III-6. Jan Grzegorzewski. Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, Kraków) contains miscellaneous Karaite-related documents. Grzegorzewski's extracts and notes from different Karaite-related publications demonstrate that the scholar was well-read in contemporary Karaite studies composed in Hebrew and in European languages (e.g. one can find there notes taken from the works by Julius Fürst, Tadeusz Czacki, Abraham Firko-wicz, etc.). A note in a hardly legible script most likely represents an excerpt from a document copied by Grzegorzewski in Lwów archives. According to this note, an old Karaite cemetery of Lwów was located on Brusłowska Street; at some point in the early twentieth century the territory, on which it had been located, was appropriated by a certain lawyer Mamikow [?]. Furthermore, ca. 1914-1915 Rabbanite Jews and Orthodox Christians occupied a part of the cemetery and built houses there. A certain Jew responsible for the desecration of the cemetery was fined; further construction works on its territory were not allowed.¹³ Two documents are related to the state of the Halicz Karaite

¹² For more information about Kowalski's collection, see PORADZISZ 1973: 53-99; KIZILOV 2009b: 193-209; KIZILOV 2011: 31-48.

¹³ Majer Bałaban tried to make excavations on the territory of the cemetery in 1914, but was not able to find anything apart from small fragments of the tombs with

community at the end of the nineteenth-and early twentieth centuries. One of them, entitled “A list of the families of the Karaite sect in Halicz”, contains a detailed list of the members of the Halicz community in 1896. This list was composed apparently by the hazzan Simcha ben Yeshua-Jacob Leonowicz¹⁴ at the request of Jan Grzegorzewski. The other is a certificate issued by the Halicz town council to the local Karaite community with an enumeration of the losses suffered from the fire on 31 October 1913 (see appendices 1 and 2).

Call no. 16 also contains perhaps the most interesting part of Grzegorzewski’s collection, namely, drafts of chapters from a large monograph focusing on the Halicz Karaites. This monograph was never finished by Grzegorzewski before his death. Nevertheless, his ethnographic notes represent a real treasure house of data about the Halicz Karaite community and its customs. Grzegorzewski divided his notes into six subcategories: 1) engagement and marriage; 2) shrine;¹⁵ 3) rites, ceremonies, and customs; 4) funeral; 5) astronomy; 6) participation in public and town social life.

While speaking about the marriage traditions of the Halicz Karaites Grzegorzewski provided equivalents of the traditional Hebrew terms in the Galician-Volynian dialect of the Karaim language (hereafter abridged as *GVKar*). According to Grzegorzewski, in Halicz an engagement was normally preceded by the so-called *sadchanłyk*, i.e. matchmaking. For this purpose Karaite bachelors used so-called *sadchanlar* (cf. Hebrew and Yiddish *shadkhanim*), whose task was to go to the bride’s parents’ house for matchmaking. Matchmakers discussed the conditions for the marriage, especially the amount of *nedan/nidunja* (from Heb. *nedunyah* – dowry) and *katyn* (bride-money). The engagement ceremony was called *kelesmek*, while *huppah* (wedding canopy) – *basjapmak*. The ceremony itself always took place on a Thursday evening, i.e.

practically illegible inscriptions (BALABAN 1906: 6-7, BALABAN 1927: 16).

¹⁴ Simcha ben Yeshua-Jacob Leonowicz was the Karaite *hazzan* in Łuck from 1871 to 1876 and in Halicz from 1894 to 1900.

¹⁵ Grzegorzewski uses here the Polish term *świątynia* which literally means ‘shrine.’ By this term he designated the Karaite prayer house, also called *synagogue* or *kenesa*.

at the beginning of the day preceding the Sabbath (cf. Gen. 1:23).¹⁶ According to Jan Grzegorzewski, only one song, *Bu ol bijenc kinimizni kuvanaik* (GVKar. "Let us celebrate this happy day of ours") was traditionally sung in Karaim.¹⁷ Grzegorzewski recorded one more wedding song in Karaim with the refrain *hatan da kalah* (GVKar. "a groom and a bride").

The subchapter dedicated to the Karaite prayer house (synagogue / kenesa) mentions that on feast days the floor of the "shrine" was covered by carpets, while the walls were covered in draperies. Grzegorzewski also mentioned that the Halicz Karaites also had a special flag (Pol. *sztandar*) used for religious ceremonies. Later he explained that this flag had the inscription *degel mah-aneh yeshurun* (Heb. "the flag of Israel's camp") and on special occasions was placed on the right of the *dukhan* (pulpit for a preacher). Furthermore, the flag was often carried at the head of ceremonial processions which took place outside the synagogue walls.¹⁸

The subchapter devoted to the rites, ceremonies and customs contains highly curious information on the religious and everyday traditions of the Halicz Karaites. Especially important are his data about religious traditions which Grzegorzewski witnessed himself during his stay in Halicz. According to the scholar, the Karaites used to arrange special processions outside the kenesa's walls on festive days. Nevertheless, at some point the local Rabbanites began harassing the Karaites who took part in these processions. Grzegorzewski himself witnessed how Rabbanite boys entered the Karaite procession and began to mock the Karaites' singing and bellow like cows. As a consequence, the Karaites were forced to make these processions inside the kenesa, around the *dukhan*; every male Karaite who took part in the procession carried on the right hand a Torah scroll belonging to his family. This perhaps can explain

¹⁶ In nineteenth-century Crimea it was traditional to perform the final part of the wedding ceremony at about midnight (BEIM 1862: 63-81).

¹⁷ For a full text of the song, see Manuscript Division of the Lietuvos Mokslų Akademijos Biblioteka, Vilnius, F. 305, no. 102, fols. 251r-252v.

¹⁸ This was perhaps the same flag, with the image of the Star of David, that was photographed by G. Smólski (SMÓLSKI 1903: 483; see fig. 3).

why at the end of the nineteenth century in such a small community as that of Halicz there were as many as 23 Torah scrolls kept in the local synagogue-kenesa.¹⁹

Grzegorzewski also paid special attention to the Karaite burial tradition. By the time of his arrival in Halicz the local Karaites stopped hiring the Rabbanite *hevra qadisha* and were performing the funerals by themselves. He mentioned that during the burial the *hazzan*²⁰ wore a special *talet kapłański* (Pol. “priest’s tallit”) while the rest of the male community wore an *arba kanfot* (i.e. *tallit qatan*). By the 1920s the Halicz Karaites, apparently under the influence of their Rabbanite neighbours, had developed a tradition of celebrating the so-called *elgen-kinler* (Yidd. *Yortsait*,²¹ i.e. a commemoration day) with long and solemn funeral repasts – something that their rigorous ancestors would hardly have approved of.²² Grzegorzewski also mentioned that the Halicz Karaites made trips to Kukizów to visit the old Karaite cemetery there.

In the subchapter dedicated to the calendar Grzegorzewski mentions that the local Karaites used traditional Hebrew names of the months. This is another evidence that Szapszal’s reform of the 1930s, which replaced Hebrew terms with Turkic ones, was not based on any Karaite tradition (for more information, see KIZILOV 2007: 399-425). Among his notes Grzegorzewski also provides three highly curious anecdotal stories about Rabbanites who wanted to get registered as the Karaites (see attachment 4).

Call no. 17 contains materials relevant to the history of the literature in the Karaim language (words, songs, poems, psalms, translations of the Bible into Karaim, etc.). In this folder one can find, *inter alia*, two aforementioned wedding songs (*Bu ol bijenc kinimizni kuvanaik* and the other one with refrain

¹⁹ FAHN 1897: 140.

²⁰ Grzegorzewski normally used the Polish terms *rabbin* or *kaplan* to designate the *hazzan* (the head) of the Karaite community.

²¹ Grzegorzewski transliterated this term as *jurcait* (cf. Yiddish יאָרצײַט).

²² For Karaite criticism of grave visitations by the Rabbanites as a superstition, see ASHTOR 1959: 164.

hatan da kalah), the Karaim poems of Joseph Mordkowicz,²³ Karaim translation of Psalm 91, and some other. Equally interesting are the letters of the Karaitess Ryfcia (Ryfka/Rivka/Rebecca) Leonowicz, the daughter of Mordecai Leonowicz. There one can find the Polish transliteration of the poem "Adam kicsiz kiska kinli" (A powerless man is short aged) and two fairy-tales which were published by Grzegorzewski in one of his articles (cf. GRZEGORZEWSKI 1903: 68-69, 74-77). Ryfcia's letters also contain Karaim original of these tales in Hebrew characters.

Call no. 25 contains drafts of an article entitled "My position in the study of the Halicz dialect" (Pol. "Moje stanowisko w badaniu narzecza halickiego"). Call no. 16 contains a draft of another unfinished article entitled "Karaitic cursive as a historical document" (Pol. "Skoropis Karaimski jako dokument historyczny"). Call nos. 18 and 22 contain working materials for the Karaim-Polish dictionary and morphology of the Halicz dialect of the Karaim language. Dismissed by Kowalski as unworthy of further attention, these materials nevertheless provide us hundreds of the most interesting expressions and words noted by Grzegorzewski during his stay in Halicz. Grzegorzewski also provided long lists of loanwords in the Karaim language and hundreds other useful linguistic details many of which had never been noted by any other linguist (I include in appendix 4 a selection of some interesting loanwords from Hebrew and Slavic languages).

These seem to be all Karaite-related documents from Grzegorzewski's archival collection. As I have mentioned above, some important documents which had originally been among Grzegorzewski's documents were taken out from the Grzegorzewski collection by Tadeusz Kowalski in the 1930s. Kowalski subsequently forgot to return these materials to Grzegorzewski's collection. As a consequence, although originally belonging to Grzegorzewski, they are currently kept among Kowalski's materials which are also housed in the archive of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Especially important is the manuscript

²³ Yeshua-Joseph ben Moses Mordkowicz (b. Halicz, 1802; *hazzan* in Kukizów in the 1820s; *hazzan* in Halicz 1867-1884; d. Halicz, 1884; for more information, see KIZILOV 2009a: 110-112, 127-128, 164-166).

of Zacharja Abrahamowicz's poem "Tachanun le-yom ha-kippurim" (Heb. "Hymn to the holiday of Yom Kippur").²⁴ This poem is Abrahamowicz's only extant manuscript. Furthermore, among Kowalski's materials one can find some other additional documents that originally belonged to Grzegorzewski. Among them, for example, original versions of the Karaite fairy-tales (legends) that had only been partly published by Grzegorzewski (cf. GRZEGORZEWSKI 1903: 63-70). Original versions of these folklore sources were written by Abraham ben Joseph Leonowicz and Zarach Zarachowicz. Zarachowicz recorded the story about the destruction of Derażna community by the Haydamacks according to the words of a certain Karaite woman, Rutkowska of Łuck.²⁵ A literary version of this folk-tale was later published by Sergjusz Rudkowski (RUDKOWSKI 1932); the original Karaim version still remains unpublished.

3. Conclusion

As I have demonstrated above, Jan Grzegorzewski's archival collection contains a number of highly interesting documents and data collected by the scholar during his stay in Halicz and Lwów. His collection contains varied materials such as ethnographic and linguistic data, fairy-tales, proverbs, poetry, letters, drafts of articles, statistics, and official documents. Some of his observations provide us with information which is not available in any other sources or secondary literature. This may be explained first of all by the fact

²⁴ Although the title is in Hebrew, the poem is in the Halicz dialect of the Karaim language (Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, Kraków Spuścizna K III-4. Tadeusz Kowalski. No. 122: 2. Materiały karaimskie. Notatki, wypisy z literatury, wiersze, utwory sceniczne. 1921-1927. Subfolder 1, fol.84 (cf. Illustrations 2-3)). Later Karaite publishers for ideological reasons transformed the title of this poem into "Tachanun ułu king'e" (The hymn to the great day) (see ABRAHAMOWICZ 1931: 24-29; in passing, it is worthwhile mentioning that in fact it should be *kin'ge* (Dat. "to the day") and not *king'e*).

²⁵ Abrahamowicz's fairy-tale was recorded in two different variants, one starting with the words "Chodza bijde bir birlej uwłu" and the other beginning with "Edi ezine bir chodza adam, edi anda bir uwłu" (see Archiwum Nauki PAN i PAU, Spuścizna K III-4, no. 122:2, subfolder 2, fols. 5-7, 16-17).

that Grzegorzewski spent several years in Halicz and maintained close friendly contacts with the local Karaite community. Many of the Karaim lexica recorded in his ethnographic and language notes are not to be found in any existing dictionaries of the Karaim language. Further research should be directed to closer study of Grzegorzewski's archival collection, publication of hitherto unpublished drafts of his articles, analysis of linguistic and folklore data.

Appendices:

1. *List of the members of the Halicz community (composed apparently by Simcha ben Yeshua-Jacob Leonowicz at the request of Jan Grzegorzewski in 1896).*

Spis rodziny sekty Karaitów w Haliczu [1896]

1. Abrahamowicz Moses zamieszkały w Załukiew.
2. Abrahamowiczowa Ruchamcia wdowa po Samuelu Abrahamowiczu zam. w Załukwie.
3. Abrahamowicz Samuel zam. w Załukwie.
4. Abrahamowicz Izaak zam. w Załukwie.
5. Abrahamowicz Mordko zam. w Załukwie.
6. Abrahamowicz Salomon w Haliczu
7. Abrahamowicz Moses w Haliczu
8. Abrahamowicz Mordko zam. w Żyrawie w powiecie Chodorów.
9. Abrahamowiczowa Estera wdowa po Abramie Abrahamowiczu
10. Leonowicz Szymon [Simcha] chazan
11. Leonowicz Jakub Józef ribi i nauczyciel
12. Leonowicz Leon
13. Leonowiczowa Ryfka wdowa po Zacharjaszu L[eonowiczu].
14. Abraham Leonowicz bez żony za Dniestrem w Hamarni
15. Leonowicz Szymon nauczyciel w Jekaterinosławie
16. Leonowicz Abraham zam. w Haliczu
17. Leonowiczowa Ryfka córka Mordka Leonowicza
18. Mordkowicz Szymon wdowiec

19. Mordkowicz Samuel
20. Mordkowiczowa Domicela wdowa po Mojzeszu Mordkowiczu gminnym sekretarzu i zastępcy prokuratorji w Bursztynie w powiecie Rohatyn. i teraz zamieszkała we Lwowie.
21. Mordkowicz Szymon bez żenny.
22. Mordkowicz Ozyasz
23. Mordkowicz Mojzesz zamieszkały w Łucku w Rosyi
24. Mordkowiczowa Rachela wdowa po Mordku Mordkowiczu
25. Eszwowicz Izaak
26. Eszwowicz Mojzesz
27. Eszwowiczowa Salomea wdowa po Szymonie Esz[wowiczu].
28. Eszwowiczowa Amalia wdowa po Judzie Esz[wowiczu].
29. Eszwowicz Samuel
30. Eszwowicz Salomon
31. Eszwowicz Samuel
32. Eszwowiczowa Estera wdowa po Samuelu Esz[wowiczu].
33. Nowachowicz Józef wdowiec zam. w Załukwie
34. Nowachowicz Szulim //.....//
35. Nowachowicz Samuel //.....//
36. Ickowicz Sara wdowa po Nowaku Ick[owiczu].
37. Ickowicz Samuel
38. Ickowicz Eszwa zamieszkały w Kończakach.
39. Ickowicz Eszwa //.....// w Dubowcach
40. Szulimowicz Samuel
41. Szulimowicz Józef bez żenny
42. Szulimowiczowa Sara wdowa po Abrahamie Szul[imowiczu].
43. Szulimowicz Szulim
44. Szulimowicz Abraham
45. Szulimowicz Natan Szulim
46. Szulimowicz Szymon wdowiec zam. w Załukwie
47. Szulimowicz Eszwa
48. Szulimowicz Mojżesz zam. w Żyrawie p. Chodorów.
49. Samuelowicz Samuel zam. w Załukwie

50. Samuelowicz Abraham
51. Samuelowicz Izaak zam. w Załukwie
52. Samuelowiczowa Salomea wdowa po Samuelu
53. Samuelowiczowa Amalia wdowa po Mojżesz Sam[uelowiczu]
54. Syn Józef c.k. Auskultantem²⁶ w Kołomyi
55. Samuelowiczowa Domicela wdowa po Zacharjaszu
56. Samuelowiczowa Mincia wdowa po Izaaku Sam[uelowiczu].
57. Zarachowicz Mojżesz
58. Abrahamowicz Izaak zam. w Łucku w Rosyi

Zliczono dzieci z tychże familii

mężczyzn 54.

dziewcząt 49.

Starszych osób 89.

po między temi znajdują się

13 wdów

3 wdowców

2. Certificate issued by the Halicz town council to the local Karaite community with enumeration of the losses suffered on 31 October 1913 from the fire.

Ze strony Zarządu miasta Halicza poświadczają się, że wybuchły w nocy 31 października 1913 w Haliczu pożar zniszczył świątynię karaicką oraz domy i zabudowania gospodarcze następujących karaitów:

- 1/. Mojżesza Eszwowicza 2/. Eszwy Jckowicza 3/. Józefa Mordkowicza
- 4/. Samuela Eszwowicza 5/. Jsaka Szulimowicza 6/. Mojżesza Szulimowicza
- 7/. Domiceli Szulimowicz 8/. Estery Jckowicz 9/. Mojżesza Zoruchowicza
- 10/. Abrahama Leonowicza i 11/. Marka Leonowicza.

²⁶ Germ. *Auskultant*.

Członkowie gminy wyznaniowej karaickiej złożonej z 50 rodzin byli w tymże roku nawiedzeni kilkakrotnymi powodziami elementarnymi, a trudniąc się wyłącznie rolnictwem ponieśli znaczne szkody, to też nie są w stanie swymi siłami odbudować w mowie będącej świątyni niemniej swych domów i zabudowań gospodarczych.

Halicz dnia 27 kwietnia 1914

signature: [illegible]

stamp: Magistrat król. woln. miasta Halicza

3. *Stories about the Rabbanite Jews who tried to be registered as Karaites.*²⁷

A [Rabbanite] Jew from Czernowic, who lived in Odessa, arrived in Halicz and asked the local *hakham* Leonowicz to register his marriage to a [Rabbanite] Jewess and provide them a Karaite marriage contract. He supported his request by showing a certificate with his name, which was issued in Odessa [and certifying] that he was a Karaite. The *hakham*, who suspected that the certificate was a fake, says to him:

– I cannot solve this issue by myself; come to the gathering of our community elders and tell them about your request.

He at the same time sent a letter to Odessa requesting detailed information [about this Rabbanite].

When they received an answer [from Odessa] confirming that the certificate was forged, the [community] gathering answered in the negative and did not agree to perform a marriage.

Another [Rabbanite] Jew, who wanted to get registered as a Karaite, attempted to give 1,000 golden rubles to [*hazzan* Józef] Mordkowicz. [*Hazzan* replied:]

²⁷ Translated from the Polish original by M. Kizilov. These stories, composed without proper syntax and word order, reflect the oral nature of these sources. I tried to reflect this not-too-correct style of the Polish original in my translation.

– I cannot either register you as a Karaite since you are not a Karaite, or accept your donation, because I don't know what I should get it for. If we had so artificially and uninvitingly [?] produced Karaites, we would compromise not only us, but also the Austrian Emperor and Austrian state [...]

In ^{Halicz also 28} Luck when [a Rabbanite] Jew came to the Karaite ^{Rabbi} superior, he [the Jew] openly informed that he wanted to get converted to Karaism and receive a relevant certificate. The rabbi said to him:

– [...] We shall accept you, citizen, to Karaism only if you undergo a noviciate of three years,²⁹ after which, in case of the successful request, you can get a certificate that you are a true believer of Karaism.

The Jew, who urgently needed a [Karaite] identity card in order to use it [...] against [the laws?] created by the Russian government for the Jews, dashed away – and never turned up again.

4. List of selected Slavic and Hebrew loanwords.³⁰

Hebrew	translation	Slavic	translation
dor	generation	lulka	tobacco pipe
ribi	rabbi (hazzan)	ziewała	jaws
qawodun	respected	dali	further
peloni	somebody	wino	wine
midbar	desert	kukurudza	corn
chatan	bridegroom	wedelka	fork
gałut	exile	vysovatme	stick out, protrude
małach	angel	hryzcytme	worry
zemer	song	sirnikler	matches

²⁸ Words and letters in superscript were added by Jan Grzegorzewski at a later stage of editing his notes, above the earlier drafts.

²⁹ Grzegorzewski commented that this was in accordance with LEVITICUS 19:23.

³⁰ I provide the loanwords in Grzegorzewski's Polish transliteration; many of these words are absent from BASKAKOV, DUBIŃSKI, ISKHAKOVA *et al.* (eds.) 1974.

sulchan	table	hruska	small pear
malchut	kingdom	dosyt	enough
azis-sabat	holy Sabbath	obed	lunch
mamzerler	bastards	redka	radish
kohenlik	priesthood	cerwikler	boots

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Illustrations:

- 1-2. Jan Grzegorzewski.
3. Shammash Samuel Mordkowicz inside the Karaite synagogue (*kenesa*) of Halicz with the flag for religious ceremonies (ca. 1903).
- 4-5. Autograph of Zacharja Abrahamowicz's poem "Tachanun le-yom ha-kippurim" (Hymn to the holiday of Yom Kippur).

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Fig. 1



Fig. 2

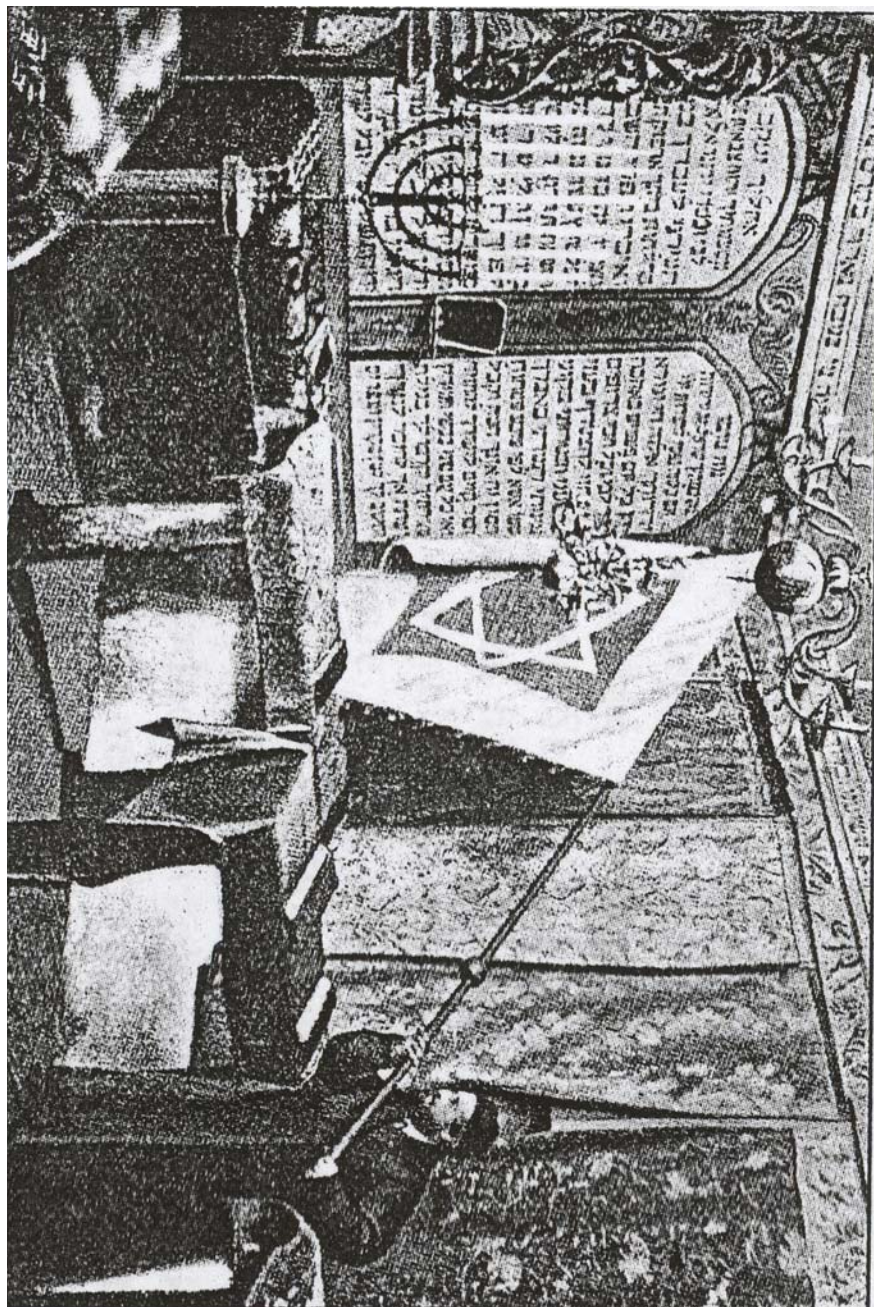


Fig. 3

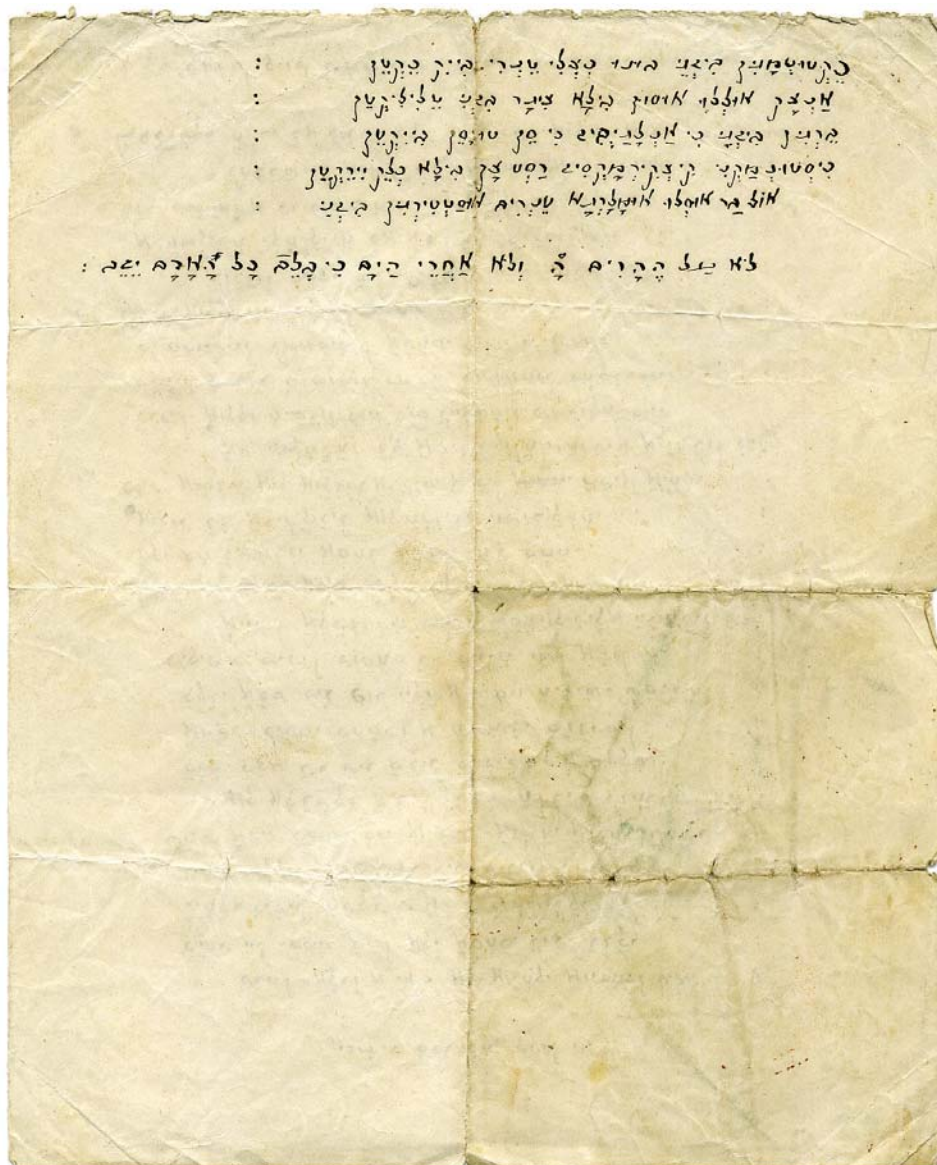


Fig. 5

