

# A Document on the Economic Status of the Lutsk Karaites in the Mid-19<sup>th</sup> century

**Anna Sulimowicz**

University of Warsaw

## **Abstract**

Among the various documents preserved in the community's archives is a handwritten list containing the names, properties and professions of the Lutsk Karaites. Compiled in 1854, it provides data about various economic and social aspects of the community's life in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. It is also a valuable source of information on anthroponomy and genealogy. In the article, the content of the manuscript is presented, as well as additional information obtained through a comparison with other sources.

## **Keywords**

Karaites, Karaite demography, Lutsk Karaite community, Karaite manuscripts, Karaite archives

## **1. Introductory remarks**

The social and economic conditions of the Lutsk Karaite community, as well as its financial status and sources of livelihood of its members, remain for the most part unknown. Ananiasz Zajaczkowski claims that the Karaites settled in Lutsk as an “element rolniczy” (agricultural element) (ZAJĄCZKOWSKI 1933, 24). Indeed, such names as “pola karaimowskie” (Karaite fields) or “dworzyszczka karaimowskie” (Karaite farmsteads) are found in documents dating back to the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries (GAŚSIOROWSKI 2008, 193; ZAJĄCZKOWSKI 1933, 24–28); however, there is no evidence that the Karaites of Lutsk were farmers. In a petition addressed by the community sometime between June 22, 1792 and May 1792 (WITKOWSKI 2007) to a commission of the Great Sejm, it is stated

that “grunta siejemy i obrabiamy” (we sow and till the land), but at the same time it is emphasized that they worked the land only in Halicz and Kukizów (Materiały 1969, 525). This clearly shows that the Karaites in Lutsk, unlike those living in the two places mentioned, were not farmers, though they might have owned or leased land.

At the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, a certain Karaite from Lutsk named Moszko Batkowicz leased a tavern, a mill and road tolls in the village of Błudów in the vicinity of Lutsk (GAŚSIOROWSKI 2008, 357). He and his compatriot, Danko Igudycz also loaned money to local noblemen, and had problems obtaining repayment for those loans. Later in the next century, many Lutsk Karaites were involved in this kind of financial activity, among them Nisan, Abram Szmujłowicz, Nachum, Szmojło Abramowicz, Jusko, Icek Abramowicz (GAŚSIOROWSKI 2008, 359). In a report from 1765, we find Karaites as the lessees of taverns in three villages near Lutsk (GAŚSIOROWSKI 2008, 361). From a complaint by Christian tailors, we learn that in the 16<sup>th</sup> century they had Karaite competitors (GAŚSIOROWSKI 2008, 360). Zelman the Tailor and Horszek the Shoemaker are mentioned among the owners of houses on Karaimska Street in Lutsk in the *Lustracja* for the year 1789. However, contrary to what Gaśsiorowski claims (GAŚSIOROWSKI 2008, 361), these are most probably not Karaites, judging by their names, but Rabbanite Jews. Another document from the community’s archive, namely a certificate issued in the name of a certain Samuel Ickowicz by the Crown Treasury Commission, reveals that towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century there was at least one Karaite butcher in Lutsk.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, Aleksander Kozieradzki (1813–1860), a Polish physician, spent a few years of his childhood in Lutsk, where he attended grade school, and has left an interesting note in his memoirs on the local Karaites in the 1820s: “Lutsk had and still has a characteristic peculiar to this town [...] that is the Karaite population settled here in the times of Witold. [...] Carting, butchery, selling dairy products were ways they made their living. Some families moved to nearby villages and engaged themselves in farming or managing taverns” (KOZIERADZKI, 1962, 51).

The documents from community’s archives can shed much light on the economic aspect of the lives of the Lutsk Karaites. In the sixth volume of *Karaj Awazy*, its editor, Aleksander Mardkowicz published an article (MARDKOWICZ

<sup>1</sup> Archives of the Karaite Community in Lutsk (AGKŁ), catalogue No. VII/24/II/02.

1933) on old handwritten documents stored in the gallery for women in the Karaite prayer house in Lutsk, complementing it with a transcription of seven letters found there. The manuscripts discovered by Mardkowicz fortunately remained intact during World War Two and were safely brought to Poland when on July 15, 1945 the members of the Lutsk Karaite community left their hometown to move westwards to the so-called “Recovered Territories” (Dubínska 1999). The collection contains not only letters,<sup>2</sup> but various documents from the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries, concerning mainly administrative matters. Among them is a document which received the catalogue number 4/79. It is a table containing a list of names of Karaites and information on their properties and sources of livelihood. In the light of the fact that relatively little is still known about the economic status of this particular community in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the list provides us with valuable data.

## 2. General description of the document

The plain cream-coloured sheet of paper folded into two halves (350 × 210 mm) contains a table consisting of three columns. The last column is divided into two sub-columns, but only the first one contains text. The table has been drawn up on the first folio recto and verso and on the second folio recto. The folio 2 verso remains empty. The handwriting is careful and clearly legible. The text is written in a semi-cursive variant of the Hebrew script in light brown ink. The manuscript is in almost perfect condition, apart from a few slight wrinkles. In some places, traces of iron gall ink corrosion are visible (the ink has bled through to the other side of the sheet causing brown-coloured stains, but this does not pose any difficulties to the reader).

The table has been drawn up in four languages: Hebrew, Karaim, Polish and Russian. There is no general title for the document as a whole. The headings of the columns are in Hebrew. In column 1 we find the names of Karaites and, although not in all cases, their titles, attributes, and information on their kinship relations. Column 2 contains information on whether the relevant person owned a house or other properties. Column 3 informs us of the profession and sources of livelihood of the respective person. The content of column 1 is

---

<sup>2</sup> A critical edition of altogether 20 of those letters was published by Németh. See: NÉMETH (2010, 2011, 2012, 2013a, 2013b), cf. also NÉMETH (2009).

in Hebrew (with the exception of line 30 and 31 on folio 1 verso, which is in Russian). The content of column 2 is in Karaim and the content of column 3 is mainly in Russian. The text in column 1 is not vocalised (with a few exceptions). In columns 2 and 3, the texts are mostly vocalised. However, in the further part of the document some recurring words have been written without vocalisation.

### 3. Dating the document

The exact date when the document was written is unknown. Fortunately, however, we have at our disposal other documents which allow us to establish the approximate date of its writing. In the community's archive there are two census record lists prepared in 1834 and 1858.<sup>3</sup> Both contain most of the names we find in the analysed manuscript. Another useful document is a list of Lutsk Karaites who died in 1853–1855 (AGKŁ/VII/22/14), compiled in 1874 by Simḥa Leonowicz, the *ḥazzan* in Lutsk at that time.

Namely, bachelor Mordekhay the son of Nisan Mordkov mentioned in lines 16–17 on folio 2 recto, appears in the census list for 1858 as *Мордко Нисанов Мордковичь* (No. 39) with the annotation “added [as a member of the Lutsk community] in 1854”.<sup>4</sup> This means that the list could not have been compiled earlier than 1854. The time scale can be narrowed to this particular year, as Shemoel the son of ribbi Yaaqov, whom we find mentioned in line 2 of folio 2 recto is mentioned in the census list for 1858 as *Самуиль Якововъ Бизиковичь* (No. 24) with the annotation that he died in 1854. And indeed, on the list of persons deceased between the years 1853 and 1855, the date of the death of Shemoel the son of ribbi Yaaqov is recorded as 4<sup>th</sup> Kislev 5615 (November 25, 1854). Putting these pieces of information together, we can say

<sup>3</sup> “Ревизская Сказка 1834 года Апреля дня [...] вольнской Губернии Уезднаго Казённаго Города Луцка о состоявших в отом Караимах Купцах и Мещанах” (AGKŁ/VII/14); “Ревизская Сказка / Тысяча восемьсотъ пятьдесятъ восьмага года мая восьмого дня, Вольнской Губерній Города Луцка о состоящихъ мужска и женска пола Мъщанах Караимахъ” (AGKŁ/VII/13). Both documents contain also data from previous censuses held respectively in the years 1816 and 1850.

<sup>4</sup> He arrived to Lutsk from Kukizów. According to his son, Aleksander Mardkowicz (1875–1944), Mordekhay's father Nisan was the last member of the once flourishing Kukizów community. After his demise his wife and children moved to Lutsk. See ZARACHOWICZ 1936, MARDKOWICZ 1932.

with a high degree of probability that the manuscript was written not earlier than in January and not later than in November of 1854.

#### 4. Author

The manuscript is not undersigned, and there are no annotations that could help identify the person who compiled the list. It was undoubtedly intended for the internal needs of the community, and it is obvious that its author must have been a community member. He refers to Yaaqov the father of Shemuel and Shalom Avraham noted in line 14 on fol. 1 verso as to ‘my master and my teacher’, but this fact does not reveal his identity.

However, when we compare the analysed document to letter No. 7 (82) edited by NÉMETH (2011, 381), we can see striking similarities as far as the form and size of the letters, and the angle of the writing are concerned. Closer examination of the manuscripts allows us to suppose that both were written by the same person, i.e. Yişhaq the son of Zarah Bezikowicz, who undersigned the above-mentioned letter. In the analysed manuscript we find him noted in lines 6 and 7 on fol. 2 recto as Yişhaq the son of the honoured sir and *ribbi* Zarah. Born c. 1807, he is listed together with his wife Sionia and their six children in the census list for the year 1858. The date of his death is unknown.

Németh notes that the lexicon of the author of letter No. 7 (82) exhibits strong Slavonic influences (NÉMETH 2011, 152). This supports our hypothesis since the analysed manuscript also contains quite a large number of Slavonic elements.

Additionally, worthy of mention is the fact that his eldest son Zarah moved to Odessa, where he established a shoe shop in 1860. One of the letters edited by Németh, namely letter No. 3 (78), was written by Zarah’s younger brother Mordekhay on stationery belonging to the establishment (NÉMETH 2011, 235).

#### 5. Content of the manuscript

The list, drawn up in the form of a table, contains 40 unnumbered positions separated by horizontal lines. In each row, we find data referring to one or more (up to four) persons. Those grouped together are generally related or affined to one another, and their family relations are more or less precisely determined. In total, there are 54 persons (52 men and two women) on the list.

## 5.1. Column 1

### 5.1.1. Names and surnames

From among the persons enumerated, 42 are mentioned by their first name and surname, one person by his first name and father's name, eight by their first names only, two merely by their affinity to other persons (brother or father), and one person's identity is hidden under the previously-mentioned acronym. From among those mentioned by name and surname, twenty-two are additionally identifiable by their father's name – in one instance in the patronymic form *Novahov* (נוחוב).

First names are written according to the original Hebrew spelling rules with the exception of *Shimon* (שימון) in line 26 of folio 1 verso.<sup>5</sup> In line 5 of folio 1 recto, we find the abbreviation שׁ, which has been used to note the name of Shalom Kaliski's father: *Simḥa Yiṣḥaq* (שמחה יצחק). A similar abbreviation (שמ״צ), referring to the same person, appears in letters No. 7 (82) and 2 (77), edited by Németh (NÉMETH 2011: 155, 224).

There are nineteen family names of Lutsk Karaites mentioned in the manuscript: *Bubon*<sup>6</sup> (בובון), *Bizikowicz* (ביזיקוויץ/ביזיקוויץ), *Czuczora* (צוצורא), *Firkowicz* (פִּירקוויץ/פִּירקוויץ), *Greczny* (גריצניי), *Huhel* (הוהיל), *Hohub* (הוּלוב), *Kaczor* (קאצור), *Kaliski* (קליסקיי), *Kaphunowski* (קפלונווסקיי), *Kukuriczik* (קוקוריציק), *Kyrhuj* (קירגיי), *Loksiński* (לוקסינסקיי), *Magas* (מגאס), *Rudy* (רודיי), *Sultański* (סולט־נסקי), *Szpakowska* (שפִּקוֹנסקא), *Twerdochleb* (טוֹיֶרְדוֹחְלֵיב) and *Turczyn* (טורצין).

The document contains one cognomen, namely *Nikolajewskij* (ניקולייִוֹסְקֵי), derived from a toponym (*Nikolayev*, rus. Николаев, ukr. Миколаїв, a city in southern Ukraine) and one patronym used as a last name, *Mordkow* (מורדקוּ), i.e. the son of Mordko/Mordekhay.

Family names are written consistently in almost all cases. *Firkowicz*, a frequent family name in Lutsk, in five instances is written as פִּירקוויץ and in two with an additional *rafe* above *pe* as פִּירקוויץ.

<sup>5</sup> The same person appears in the 1834 and 1858 census lists as *Шимонъ* (No. 19). This indicates that the spelling reflects the pronunciation.

<sup>6</sup> Most surnames in the document are not-vocalized. In ambiguous cases, we can attempt to reconstruct, to some extent, the pronunciation of them, based on the census list for the year 1858 and the registrar records for the years 1871–1947 (both written in the Cyrillic script) and documents from the interwar period, in which surnames are noted in Polish orthography. We have decided to cite the surnames based on the contemporary Polish spelling system.

Family names with typical Slavonic endings are mostly written in their Ukrainian or Russian form, that is with the endings *-ij*, *-yj* instead of the Polish *-i*, *-y*: *Grecznyj*, *Kaliskij*, *Kaplunowskij*, *Loksynskij*, *Rudyj*, *Sultanskij*. The only exception is the last name *Szpakowska* (שפּאָקױסַקאַ) rather than, as could be expected, *Szpakowskaja*. The surnames *Hołub*, *Huhel* also reflect the Ukrainian rather than the Polish and Russian forms *Gohub*/*Golub*, *Gugel*/*Gogel*/*Gogol* noted in the registrar records for the years 1871–1947.<sup>7</sup> The same forms (with the exception of *Sultanskij*) are attested in the letters edited by NÉMETH (2011, 128–129).

From among the surnames listed, five appear vocalized, similarly to the cognomen. Unlike the case of the moniker, which might have been less known and thus vocalization would have eased understanding, it is difficult to explain convincingly why these particular last names have been vocalized and others not. The surname *Szpakowska* is not typical of Lutsk, and perhaps this fact caused the scrivener to vocalize it. As far as the family name *Kaczor* (קאַצױר) is concerned, a need to distinguish two forms could be due to the fact that on the census list for 1858 we find *Качоръ* (No. 9) and *Качуръ* (No. 21), so vocalization in this case could have had a distinctive function. However, the first form does not appear in the manuscript at all. On the other hand, in the above-mentioned census list, we find *Локиинскиѣ* (No. 10, 11 and 12) attested also in the form *Лукиинскиѣ* (No. 36), but in the analysed manuscript this surname remains in a non-vocalized form לוקיסינסקיי, and it is not possible to determine whether it was written with י or ו. The same applies to the surname *Sultański*, which in the census list for the year 1858 is written *Soltanskij*. The surname *Bizikowicz* (ביזיקױװיץ), which is at least as frequent in Lutsk as *Firkowicz*, is noted in seven instances, but it is vocalized only once (ביזיקױװיץ), and surprisingly, when it appears for the second, rather than the first time. However, in this particular case, all elements, i.e. the first name, the patronym, and the last name, are vocalized (ביזיקױװיץ נחזוּוּ שימוּן). The question remains as to why surnames typical of Lutsk, though not so frequent, e.g. *Hołub*, *Twerdochleb*, *Czuczora*,<sup>8</sup> were vocalized. All in all, the above clearly shows that, for the time being, there is no rule that would describe the practice of vocalizing surnames.

<sup>7</sup> AGKŁ VII/17, VII/17a, VII/19, VII/19a, VII/20 and VII/20a.

<sup>8</sup> In the census lists for the year 1834 and 1858 this surname is noted as *Čičera* (Чічера). Moreover in registrar records we find it noted in 1872 as *Čočora* (Чочора). The alveolar

The notation of the surname לוקסינסקי with two *samekh* is rather unusual, as in manuscripts from Halicz and Lutsk it is generally spelled as לוקשינסקי(י), and in the census lists it is noted as *Lokšynskij/Lukšynskij*. This could indicate that the surname could be pronounced *Loksynskij*.

Worth mentioning is also the fact that two surnames which in the census list for 1858 appear in an “ennobled” form – *Tverdohlebov* and *Kirilovič* (*Kirgilovič* in the census list for 1834) – in the manuscript are written in their “common” form, *Tverdochleb* and *Kyrhyj*. The surname *Kukuriczik*, in turn, is present in its “common” shape both in the analysed manuscript and in the census lists, but in letter 51<sup>II</sup> (written sometime between 1855 and 1868) it appears in its Russified form, *Kukuriczkin* (NÉMETH 2011, 257).

### 5.1.2. Hebrew honorifics and titles

Hebrew honorifics and titles, which were used by Karaites with great frequency, in this particular document are relatively rare, with the exception of כִּמְע (the abbreviated form of מַעֲלָת (כבוד מעלת) ‘Honourable sir’ we find in 21 instances. Interestingly, the abbreviation יִצְו standing for וְגוֹאֲלוּ וְצוּרוֹ יִשְׁמְרֵהוּ ‘May his Rock and Saviour guard him!’,<sup>9</sup> which is also quite frequent in Karaim texts, appears only twice, referring each time to members of the Huhel (Gogol) family, namely to Yaaqov the father of Shemoel and Shalom, and to David, whom we find in census lists as Yaaqov’s brother (see folio 1 verso lines 15 and 22).

Another Hebrew abbreviation, namely זָל, which stands for זְכוֹרֵנוּ לְבִרְכָה ‘may his memory be blessed; of blessed memory’, appears only once (see line 2 on folio 2 recto), in reference to *ribbi* Yaaqov, the father of Shemoel (Bizikowicz). Although it could be applied also to Shemoel Bizikowicz, the father of Avraham<sup>10</sup> (see lines 36–39 on folio 1 verso), since the mother is mentioned as “the widow”.

---

pronunciation of *tsade* is typical for Crimean Karaim. It was quite frequent in Lutsk Karaim, though (Németh 2011, 27).

<sup>9</sup> Or possibly וְיִחִיֵּהוּ וְצוּרוֹ יִשְׁמְרֵהוּ “May his Rock guard him and keep alive”.

<sup>10</sup> It seems that in this particular case the scrivener erroneously transposed the names, since there is no Avraham son of Shemoel in the census list for 1858; however, we find there Самуиль Абрамовичъ (Shemoel the son of Avraham) together with his widowed mother Слоня (a diminutive form of Shelomit) and two younger brothers, Зарахъ (Zarah) and Яковъ Шимонъ (Yaaqov Shimon) among the members of the Bezikowicz family (No. 20).

In the text, we find a few other Hebrew honorifics and titles, e.g. בחור 'bachelor' (abbreviated as ב), אדוני מורי 'my master, my teacher' (abbreviated as א"מ), רבי 'rabbi', and in the Karaite tradition, the title of a scholar (abbreviated as ר), גבירה 'lady' (abbreviated as ג), and מרת 'lady' (abbreviated as מ). The kinship relations are described in Hebrew with the exception of lines 30 and 31 on fol. 1 verso, where we find *dwurodnij[e] bratia* (Rus. двоюродные братья 'first cousins'). In two instances, the persons mentioned are described as נער 'boy'; the expression is used to refer to David the son of Yiṣḥaq Turczyn and the above-mentioned son of Shelomit the widow, aged respectively ten and twelve at the time the document was written.

In the 35<sup>th</sup> row of the table (folio 2 *recto*) there is no name, just the acronym רמאבמ"ר, whereas in the 3<sup>rd</sup> column the profession of this person has been described as עבד קה"ק 'the servant of the Holy Community'. Undoubtedly, this particular expression refers to a *ḥazzan* and the acronym can be deciphered as: *Ribbi Moshe Avraham ben Mordekhay*. According to a list of *ḥazzans* in Lutsk published in *Karaj Awazy* (RIBBILER 1932), Yuhuda Magas officiated as *ḥazzan* until 1853<sup>11</sup> and was followed in the office by Moshe Avraham Turczyn, although there is no time range given next to Turczyn's name, just the year 1868. In the same year, his duties were taken over by Yeshua Leonowicz, a newcomer from Halicz, who remained in office until 1870.

### 5.1.3. Identification of the persons mentioned in the manuscript

The identification of the persons listed in the analysed manuscript, even those noted without their surnames, does not cause major difficulties since we have the census lists at our disposal. For instance, on folio 1 verso in lines 10–11 we find Aharon the bachelor, his brothers Moshe and Avraham and their brother Eliezer. Although neither their surname nor their father's name is written down, we can identify them as the sons of Pinḥas Aronov Pilecki, noted in the census list for 1834 (No. 39) together with his two sons: Aron, age six, 5-month-old Moisei, and his nephew, Eliazar Nisanov Nowicki<sup>12</sup>, age 11.

<sup>11</sup> According to the list of persons deceased in 1853–1855, *ḥazzan* Yehuda the son of Moshe passed away on the 29<sup>th</sup> of *Heshvan* 5614 (November 30, 1853).

<sup>12</sup> We find his signature under a letter dated October 15, 1857 and sent from Trysten in the vicinity of Lutsk, inviting the *ḥazzan* to come in order to slaughter animals in the prescribed ritual manner. The document written in Polish was published by MARDKOWICZ (1933, 5–6).

The order in which the community members are listed in the document does not match the order in the census lists, which are arranged according to financial criteria. Five families from among those enumerated in the census list for the year 1858 are missing in the manuscript: three that have lost their male head since the previous census in 1850 and had no other male member, one consisting of one person, Samuil Novachov Łukszyński, and that of Jevšia Abramovič Leonowicz, a newcomer from Halicz, who joined the community in 1855. It is impossible to establish any general rule as far as the order is concerned, since we do not know for what the analysed list was intended.

In lines 16–17 on folio 1 recto we find Avraham Moshe Firkowicz titled as פּרנאָס (Hebr. ‘community leader, community elder’). In letter 52<sup>II</sup>, edited by Németh, the same person appears as *Avraham Moshe kahalnyj* (*kahalnyj*: ‘principal, senior of the Karaite community’), and since the content of the currently analysed document was not known at the time of Németh’s edition, he identified him erroneously as Avraham Moshe Gołub (NÉMETH 2011: 332). We can now say that Avraham was also the person who undersigned the letter edited by Németh, putting his signature just below the signature of *ḥazzan* Moshe Avraham Turczyn (NÉMETH 2011, 256).

## 5.2. Column 2

At the top of the list, we find Moshe Magas together with his brother, who can be identified as Solomon (Shelomo). The Magas brothers are noted as the owners of a garner, a small house with an abattoir, a house with a mill and land. Their father, Avraham the son of Moshe, the younger brother of the previously-mentioned *ḥazzan* Yehuda Magas, is not listed, though he was still alive at this time.<sup>13</sup> He was the wealthiest Karaite in Lutsk; therefore, he appears at the top of the census lists. In the list for 1834, he is described as a “3<sup>rd</sup> guild merchant” with an annotation that during the previous census in 1816 he was still listed among the burghers. J. Sulimowicz mentions in his private notes that according to a contract dated *Sivan* 5592 (1832), Avraham Magas was the lease-holder of horse changing stations in Młynów and Warkowicze in the vicinity of Dubno.<sup>14</sup> We find him in the inventory list of the Lutsk prayer

<sup>13</sup> According to the list of persons deceased in 1853–1855, he passed away on the 19<sup>th</sup> of *Av* 5615, i.e. on July 22, 1855, according to Julian calendar (August 3, 1855, according to the Gregorian account).

<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately, we are not able to identify this document.

house<sup>15</sup> as the donator of a Torah scroll in 1829. In 1853, he decorated this scroll with eight silver plaques engraved with the names of the members of his family and placed it in a silver covered case with silver handles.

Yaaqov Gugel, the second on the census lists, does not appear in the analysed document. However, in lines 13–15 on fol. 1 verso, we find his sons Shemoel and Shalom-Avraham. Surprisingly, they do not own a house as might be expected judging by their father's relatively high position as the "3<sup>rd</sup> guild merchant".

Shalom the son of Simḥa Yiṣḥaq Kaliski (line 5) and David the son of Yiṣḥaq Turczyn (line 21 on fol. 1 recto) own one piece of land each, but there is no information what kind of land this was.

From among the persons listed, twelve were the owners of houses. One of them, namely Yiṣḥaq Kapłunowski, even had two in his possession. The Magas brothers shared a house next to mill and owned also a small house with an abattoir arranged inside. Two other persons owned half a house each – Shalom Firkowicz inherited it from his father Avraham (line 17 on fol. 1 recto), and the other half came into Yiṣḥaq Nisan Firkowicz's possession as dowry for his wife (fol. 1 recto line 6). Since Yiṣḥaq Nisan's spouse Ruḥama was the daughter of Avraham, most probably they shared the house. Next to the name of Yosef Shelomo Firkowicz, we find the intriguing information that he owns a house, but it belongs to sir Moshe the elder. Unfortunately, we do not know how Yosef became the owner of the house and what his relation was to sir Moshe, whose identity remains unknown.

As can be seen from the above, in Lutsk in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, there were twelve houses in the possession of Karaites. We cannot ascertain whether the houses were located in Lutsk or in its vicinity, since a relatively large group of Lutsk Karaites used to live outside the city in the surrounding villages and farmsteads.<sup>16</sup>

### 5.3. Column 3

The language of this part of the document is Russian (with the exception of the Karaim *bezirgen* 'the merchant' in line 5 and Hebrew עבד קה"ק in line 8 on fol. 2 verso), however, it exhibits the visible influence of Polish and Ukrainian as far as vocabulary (*šinkar*, *reznik*) and pronunciation (*usluhami*) are

<sup>15</sup> AGKŁ VII/22/03.

<sup>16</sup> The list of the villages with Karaite inhabitants published in *Karaj Awazy*, most probably by Mardkowicz, contains forty names. See SIFCEGI 1933.

concerned. We will not discuss here peculiarities concerning the spelling and pronunciation of the Russian words, since it is not the subject of this paper. We would like merely to mention that it seems that the use of Slavonic lexemes here might have been guided by the lack of adequate terminology and by the author's insufficient knowledge of the Karaim language. As was mentioned above, a strong Slavonic influence is a characteristic feature of Yişḥaq the son of Zarah Bizikowicz's style of writing.

There are five professions noted in the analysed manuscript: *šinkar* (שינקר) 'tavern keeper, publican', *reznik* (רִיזְנִיק) 'butcher', *melnik* (מִילְנִיק) 'miller', *χlewo pasec* or *χlewopasnyj* (חֶלְיָבוּ פֶּסֶנְיִ) or (חֶלְיָבוּ פֶּסֶיִן) 'herdsman, cattleman' and *bezirgen* (בִּיזִירְגִין) 'merchant'. The most frequent profession among Lutsk Karaites, held by eleven of the persons mentioned, were publicans. They are followed by butchers – six persons held this profession, and millers – there were three among the community's members. One person had a double profession: Zekharya Turczyn (line 9 fol. 2 recto) was a publican and a butcher. From among the millers, two were father and son: Yaaqov Yişḥaq and his son, who can be identified as Yaaqov Yişḥaq the son of Nisan Kaczor and Shemoel, his son from his first marriage. According to the list, the *hazzan* had no other occupations aside from his religious duties.

Surprisingly, none of the two Karaim "3<sup>rd</sup> guild merchants" in Lutsk is mentioned as a merchant, while there is a reference to Yişḥaq the son of Simḥa Bizikowicz (lines 3–5, fol. 2 recto). His monicker *Nikolajevskij* alludes to the city of Nikolayev (present-day Mykolaiv), where he must have spent some time, since among the letters edited by Németh we find letter No. 52<sup>11</sup> written most probably by him and sent from this city in 1853.

Two persons are listed as being a herdsman or a cattleman, namely the previously mentioned Eliezer Nowicki and Mordekhay, the brother of Shalom Kukuriczik (line 9 on fol. 1 verso). Next to the name of the latter, we find an intriguing annotation: *uw otlučnej* (אִוּ אֹטְלוֹצְנֵי). Russian *отлученный* means literally 'excommunicated'. In this particular case, we do not know if it means a temporary excommunication from the community for some unknown reasons or just living apart (Polish *odłączony* 'disconnected, separated'). However, on the list of subscribers for I. Sinani's *Исторія возникновенія и развитія караимизма* (1888, 112), we find Mordekhay Kukuručkin (*sic!*) living in Odessa.

The main sources of livelihood are described as being farming, which concerns two persons, namely the Magas brothers, owning a leasehold property (seventeen persons, among them six who had another source of livelihood or profession), being engaged in individual services (eight persons, among them four who were also leaseholders). The livelihood of Sara Szpakowska, the only woman listed, was provided by her relatives with whom she probably shared the house she owned. One person, namely the previously-mentioned young David Turczyn is described as being in college (Rus. *ученике*) and engaged in handicraft – his case is quite difficult to explain, as we have no information on his further life. The question whether he was a student of a high school or an apprentice, and later, in what kind of craft he was engaged, remains open. Likewise, the leasehold estates and the services exercised by Lutsk Karaites remain unknown. However, as far as Yişhaq the son of Avraham Moshe Holub being listed as a miller and leasehold owner, we may assume that he leased a mill, especially when we take into consideration the fact that in the interwar period his son, Michał (Moshe-Avraham) Gołub was a mill leaser in Czekno in the vicinity of Lutsk.

## 6. Conclusion

The content of the analysed documents shows that in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, farming had not been for a long time the main occupation of the Lutsk Karaites, if it ever was. The most frequent source of their livelihood was leasehold – owned by one third of the persons mentioned, and indefinite private services executed by almost 15 percent of them. From among 50 adult men listed, 22 percent are shown as tavern keepers, 12 percent as butchers. Comparing this data to the results of a survey of 1851 concerning Zhitomir (a town larger than Lutsk but with a similarly sized Jewish population), which shows that 39 percent of the local Jews as inn and tavern keepers, 25 percent as tradesmen and shopkeepers, and 21 percent as craftsmen (Gartner, 2001, 188), we see that Karaites were less active in trade and crafts than Rabbanite Jews, although they were relatively often involved in professional activity that was popular among Jews, such as tavern keeping.

## 7. Text

Fol. 1 recto

משא מתניהם ומלכאתם	עזבוניהם ובתיהם המוחזקים	קביעת שמות האנשים	[1]
זנימייטסא	שפיקליר אוינציקבי אויטדא בוינאבא	'כמע' <sup>17</sup> משה מגאס עם אחיו	[2]
חזיקטוום	ביוקלר קטינא איב כיימיינביא דא		[3]
	גרונטלרביא		[4]
שינקר	ביר גרונטו ברדי	שלום בן ש <sup>18</sup> קליסקיי	[5]
ריזניק	ברדי יירים איבי קטיניסרי	יצחק ניסן פירקוויץ	[6]
ריזניק	ברדי איבי	כמע שמואל בן אהרן קירגיי	[7]
ריזניק	ברדי איבי	ב <sup>19</sup> משה בן שמחה פירקוויץ	[8]
סודירזיט	ברדי איבי	כמע יצחק משה גריצניי	[9]
אוקרוצניי			[10]
קטט			[11]
שינקר	יוחסו איבי	כמע משה צוצורא	[12]
סודירזיט	ברדי איבי	כמע שמחה יצחק לוקסינסקיי	[13]
אוקרוצניי			[14]
קטטיי			[15]
אי ריזניק			[16]
שינקר	יירים איבי אטסינדן	כמע שלום בן אברהם פירקוויץ	[17]
סודירזיט	יוחסו איבי	כמע אברהם משה פירקוויץ	[18]
אוקרוצניי		פרנס	[19]
קטטיי			[20]
ווא אוצלישעצי	ביר גרונטו ברדי	הנער דוד בן יצחק טורצין	[21]
זנימייטסא			[22]
רוקודילים			[23]
מיליניק אי	ברדי איבי	כמע יצחק בן אברהם משה	[24]
סודירזיט		הולוב	[25]
אוקרוצניי			[26]
קטטיי			[27]
ריזניק	איבי איבי	כמע יצחק הזקן קפלונוסקיי	[28]
סודירזיט	יוחסו איבי	כמע משה הזקן רודיי	[29]
אוקרוצניי			[30]
קטטיי			[31]

<sup>17</sup> כמע: A frequent abbreviation standing for כבוד מעלת 'honourable sir'. In further part of the text as כמע.

<sup>18</sup> ש: An acronym to note שמחה יצחק (*Simḥa Yiṣḥaq*).

<sup>19</sup> ב: Abbreviated בחור 'young men', in Karaite tradition stands for 'bachelor'.

Fol. 1 verso

סוֹדְרִיָּא אֲבֵרֻצְנִי	יֹחֲטוּ אִיבְלִירִי	יַעֲקֹב עִם אַחֵיו אֵלִיה	[1]
סְטִי		בִּיזְקוּוּיָן	[2]
שִׁנְקֶר	בְּרִדִי אִיבִי אֵלִי אֹל אִיב	כִּמְעָ יוֹסֵף שְׁלֹמֹה פִּירְקוּוּיָן	[3]
	כִּמְעָ מֹשֶׁה הֹזֵקֵן גֵּן דִּי		[4]
שִׁנְקֶר	יֹחֲטוּ אִיבִי	שְׁלוֹם בֶּן יוֹסֵף קוֹקוּרִיצִיק	[5]
זְנִמְיִטְסָא צְסִטְנִמִי	יֹחֲטוּ אִיבִי	אַחֵיו אַבְרָהָם	[6]
אוֹסְלוֹהֶמִי	בְּרִדִי אִיבִי	יַחֲזָקָל	[7]
חֲלִיבֹפְסִנִי			[8]
אוֹב אֲוִטְלוֹצְנִי	יֹחֲטוּ	מֵרֵדְכִי	[9]
זְנִמְיִטְסָא צְסִטְנִמִי	יֹחֲטוּ אִיבְלִירִי	ב' אַהֲרֹן אַחֵיו מֹשֶׁה אַבְרָהָם	[10]
אוֹסְלוֹהֶמִי			[11]
חֲלִיבֹ פְסִיץ	יֹחֲטוּ אִיבִי	אַחִיהֶם אֲלִיעֶזֶר	[12]
סוֹדְרִיָּא אֲבֵרֻצְנִי	יֹחֲטוּ אִיבְלִירִי	כִּמְעָ שְׁמוּאֵל וְשְׁלוֹם אַבְרָהָם	[13]
סְטִי		בְּנֵי אֲמָם <sup>20</sup> כִּמְעָ יַעֲקֹב	[14]
		הֹזֵקֵן יִצְוִי <sup>21</sup> הוּהִיל	[15]
מִלְנִיקִי	יֹחֲטוּ אִיבְלִירִי	כִּמְעָ יַעֲקֹב יַצְחָק הֹזֵקֵן	[16]
		עִם בְּנֵי	[17]
שִׁנְקֶר	יֹחֲטוּ אִיבִי	כִּמְעָ נַח הֹזֵקֵן	[18]
		לוֹקְסִינְסְקִי	[19]
זְנִמְיִטְסָא צְסִטְנִמִי	יֹחֲטוּ	יוֹסֵף בֶּן מֹשֶׁה	[20]
אוֹסְלוֹהֶמִי		בֹּבוֹן	[21]
אֲבֵרֻצְנִי סְטִי	יֹחֲטוּ	כִּמְעָ דוֹד יִצְוֹ הוּהִיל	[22]
צְסִטְנִמִי אוֹסְלוֹהֶמִי	יֹחֲטוּ	יוֹסֵף בֶּן ר' יַצְחָק <sup>22</sup>	[23]
		פִּירְקוּוּיָן	[24]
שִׁנְקֶר	יֹחֲטוּ	ר' יוֹסֵף מִגָּאָס	[25]
שִׁנְקֶר	יֹחֲטוּ	שִׁמּוֹן נִזְחֹו	[26]
		בִּיזְקוּוּיָן	[27]
צְסִטְנִמִי אוֹסְלוֹהֶמִי	יֹחֲטוּ	ב' שְׁמוּאֵל בֶּן יַעֲקֹב שְׁמַחָה	[28]
		קֶאצוֹר	[29]
אֲבֵרֻצְנִיעַ	יֹחֲטוּ	יַצְחָק בֶּן מֹשֶׁה	[30]
סְטִי		בִּיזְקוּוּיָן	[31]

<sup>20</sup> אָמָּ: The abbreviation stands most probably for מוֹרִי אָדוֹנִי מוֹרִי 'my master, my teacher'

<sup>21</sup> יִצְוֹ: An abbreviation standing for יִשְׁמְרֵהוּ צוּרוֹ וְגוֹאֲלוֹ 'May his Rock and Saviour guard him!'.  
In line 22 below we find it again, but in less legible shape.

<sup>22</sup> ר': Abbreviated רִבִּי 'ribbi', in Karaite tradition a title of a scholar.

		דָּבּוּ רודניי	[32]
צָסְטִינִימִי אוֹסְלוֹהֶמִי	אֵיבְלִירִי יוֹק	ברטייע	[33]
אי סוֹדִירְזֵט		זרח יצחק לוי	[34]
אוֹבְרוֹצְנִיע		שמואל	[35]
קָטְטִיי		נערי כמֵע אברהם	[36]
אוֹבְרוֹצְנִיי	יוחטו	בן שמואל ביזיקוויץ	[37]
קָטְטִיי		אמם ג <sup>23</sup> שלומית	[38]
		האלמנה	[39]
Fol. 2 recto			
	שינקר	ב' שמחה סולטנסקיי	[1]
		שמואל בן ר' יעקוב זל <sup>24</sup>	[2]
		יצחק בן שמחה	[3]
צָסְטִינִימִי אוֹסְלוֹהֶמִי	יוחטו	ביזיקוויץ ניקולייִוֹסְקִיי	[4]
בִּיזִירְגִין			[5]
סוֹדִירְזֵט אוֹבְרוֹצְנִיי	יוחטו	כמֵע יצחק בן כמֵר	[6]
קָטְטִיי		זרח ביזיקוויץ	[7]
עבד קהֶק <sup>25</sup>	יוחטו	רמאבמר <sup>26</sup>	[8]
שינקר רִיזִינק	יוחטו	זכריא טורצין	[9]
סוֹדִירְזֵט אוֹבְרוֹצְנִיי	יוחטו	כמֵע נח יעקב פירקוויץ	[10]
קָטְטִיי			[11]
שינקר	יוחטו	כמֵע שלום בן ניסן	[12]
		טִינְרֵדוּ תְלִיב	[13]
ריזינק	יוחטו	ב' מרדכי בן ניסן	[14]
		מורדקוו	[15]
פֶּרִירוֹזְנִיח	בְּרָדִי אֵיבִי	מ <sup>27</sup> שרה הזקנה האלמנה	[16]
		שפּוֹקוֹסְקֵא	[17]

<sup>23</sup> ג': Abbreviated גבירה 'lady'.

<sup>24</sup> זל: An abbreviation of לברכה זכרונו 'may his memory be blessed; of blessed memory'.

<sup>25</sup> קהֶק: An abbreviation standing for קהלת קדש 'Holy Communities'

<sup>26</sup> The acronym רמאבמר can be resolved as רבי משה אברהם בן מרדכי 'Ribbi Moshe Avraham ben Mordekhay'.

<sup>27</sup> מ': Abbreviated מרת 'lady'.

## 7. Translation

Fol. 1 recto

[1]	A list <sup>28</sup> of names of the people <sup>29</sup>	Their estates and the houses owned by them	Their trades and crafts
[2]	Honourable sir Moshe Magas and his brother	A garner together with a small house with an abattoir inside	They are engaged
[3]		near bivouacs <sup>30</sup> a house together with a mill	in farming
[4]		and a piece of land	
[5]	Shalom the son of Simḥa Yiṣḥaq Kaliskij	He owns a piece of land	The publican
[6]	Yiṣḥaq Nisan Firkowicz	He owns half of a house thanks to his wife	The butcher
[7]	Honourable sir Shemoel the son of Aharon Kyrhyj	He owns a house	The butcher
[8]	Moshe the bachelor, the son of Simḥa Firkowicz	He owns a house	The butcher
[9]	Honourable sir Yiṣḥaq Moshe Grecznyj	He owns a house	He owns
[10]			leasehold
[11]			properties
[12]	Honourable sir Moshe Czuczora	He owns no house	The publican
[13]	Honourable sir Simḥa Yiṣḥaq Loksynskij	He owns a house	He owns
[14]			leasehold
[15]			properties
[16]			and [he is a] butcher
[17]	Honourable sir Shalom the son of Avraham Firkowicz	[He owns] half of a house [inherited] from his father	The publican
[18]	Honourable sir Avraham Moshe Firkowicz	He owns no house	He owns
[19]	the community leader		leasehold
[20]			properties

<sup>28</sup> Literally 'setting, determining'<sup>29</sup> I owe my sincere thanks to Professor Piotr Muchowski for his assistance and consultations in Hebraistic matters, as well as translation of the Hebrew headings.<sup>30</sup> The meaning is unclear, probably a location in Lutsk or in its vicinity.

[21]	David the adolescent, the son of Yişhaq Turczyn	He owns one piece of land	In a school
[22]			engaged in
[23]			handicraft
[24]	Honourable sir Yişhaq the son of Avraham Moshe	He owns a house	The miller and
[25]	Hołub		he owns
[26]			leasehold
[27]			properties
[28]	Honourable sir Yişhaq the elder Kapłunowskij	He owns two houses	The butcher
[29]	Honourable sir Moshe the elder Rudyj	He owns no house	He owns
[30]			leasehold
[31]			properties
Fol. 1 verso			
[1]	Yişhaq together with his brother Eliyya	[They] own no house	He owns leasehold
[2]	Bizikowicz		properties
[3]	Honourable sir Yosef Shelomo Firkowicz	He owns a house but this house	The publican
[4]		belongs to Honourable sir Moshe the elder	
[5]	Shalom the son of Yosef Kukuričik	He owns no house	The publican
[6]	His brothers Avraham	He owns no house	Engaged in private
[7]	Yehezqel	He owns a house	services
[8]			The herdsman
[9]	Mordekhay	He owns no [house]	The separated
[10]	Bachelor Aharon, his brothers Moshe [and] Avraham	They own no house	Engaged in private
[11]			services
[12]	Their brother Eliezer	He owns no house	The herdsman
[13]	Honourable sirs Shemoel and Shalom Avraham,	They own no house	They own leasehold
[14]	the sons of honourable sir Yaakov		properties
[15]	the elder, may his Rock and his Saviour guard him, Hohel		
[16]	Honourable sir Yaaqov Yişhaq the elder	They own no house	The millers
[17]	together with his son		

[18]	Honourable sir Noaḥ the elder	He owns no house	The publican
[19]	Loksinskij		
[20]	Yosef the son of Moshe Bubon	He owns no [house]	Engaged in private
[21]			services
[22]	Honourable sir David, may his Rock and his Saviour guard him, Hohel	He owns no [house]	Leasehold properties
[23]	Yosef the son of ribbi Yiṣḥaq	He owns no [house]	Private services
[24]	Firkowicz		
[25]	ribbi Yosef Magas	He owns no [house]	The publican
[26]	Shimon Novaḥov	He owns no [house]	The publican
[27]	Bizikowicz		
[28]	Shemoel the bachelor, the son of Yaaqov Simḥa	He owns no [house]	Private services
[29]	Kaczor		
[30]	Yiṣḥaq the son of Moshe	He owns no [house]	Leasehold
[31]	Bizikowicz		
[32]	First	[They] own no house	Private services
[33]	cousins <sup>31</sup>		and they own
[34]	Zaraḥ, Yiṣḥaq, Levi,		leasehold
[35]	Shemoel		properties
[36]	My boy, honourable sir Avraham	He owns no [house]	Leasehold
[37]	the son of Shemoel Bizikowicz,		properties
[38]	their <sup>32</sup> mother lady Shelomit		
[39]	the widow		

<sup>31</sup> In the census list for the year 1858 Zaraḥ, Yiṣḥaq and Levi are listed together with Yiṣḥaq the son of Moshe Bizikowicz as the sons of his first paternal uncle (according to the census list for the year 1834 his uncle's name was Shimon – ШИМОНЪ), as well as Samuil, Zaraḥ and Yaaqov Shimon as the sons of his second paternal uncle (Avraham). Both uncles died before 1850 and they are not listed in 1858. In the analysed document Shemuel (Samuil) must have been erroneously noted twice. See the footnote No. 10. Worth mentioning is the fact that Shemuel the son of Avraham, born about 1842, was the father of Abram Samoilovitch Besicovitch (1891–1970), professor of mathematics at the University of Cambridge.

<sup>32</sup> According to the census list mentioned, Shemuel Bizikowicz, noted here as Avraham, had two younger brothers. This could explain the use of a plural possessive pronoun.

Fol. 2 recto			
[1]	Simḥa the bachelor Sultanskij	He owns no house	The publican
[2]	Shemoel the son of ribbi Yaaqov, may his memory be blessed	He owns no [house]	
[3]	Yiṣḥaq the son of Simḥa		
[4]	Bizikowicz Nikolajewskij	He owns no [house]	Private services
[5]			The merchant
[6]	Honourable sir Yiṣḥaq the son of honourable sir and ribbi	He owns no [house]	
[7]	Zaraḥ Bizikowicz		
[8]	R[ibbi] M[oshe] A[vraham the son of] M[ordekhaj the] R[ibbi]	He owns no [house]	The servant of the Holy Community
[9]	Zekharya Turczyn	He owns no [house]	The publican [and] butcher
[10]	Honourable sir Noaḥ Yaaqov Firkowicz	He owns no [house]	He owns leasehold
[11]			properties
[12]	Honourable sir Shalom the son of Nisan	He owns no [house]	The publican
[13]	Twerdochleb		
[14]	Mordekhay the bachelor, the son of Nisan	He owns no [house]	The butcher
[15]	Mordkow		
[16]	Lady Sara the elder, the widow	She owns a house	[Lives] at her relatives
[17]	Szpakowska		

## References

- DUBIŃSKA, Anna. 1999. Garść danych o Karaimach z Łucka, *Awazymyz* 2 (3), 9–10.
- GARTNER, Lloyd P. 2001. *History of the Jews in Modern Times*, Oxford.
- GAŚSIOROWSKI, Stefan. 2008. *Karaimi w Koronie i na Litwie w XV–XVII w.*, Kraków – Budapeszt.
- KOZIERADZKI, Aleksander. 1962. *Wspomnienia z lat szkolnych 1820–1831*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków.
- MARDKOWICZ, Aleksander. 1932. Zeretlerinde Kukizownun. *Karaj Awazy* 3 (5), 11–16.
- MARDKOWICZ, Aleksander. 1933. Sahyncyna “babinecnin”. *Karaj Awazy* 6, 1–10.

- Materialy = EISENBACH, A., MICHALSKI, J., ROSTWOROWSKI, E., WOLIŃSKI, J. (eds.). 1969. *Materialy do dziejów Sejmu Czteroletniego*, vol. 6, 524–526. Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków.
- NÉMETH, Michał. 2009. Errors with and without Purpose: A. Mardkowicz's Transcription of Łuck-Karaim Letters in Hebrew Script. *Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagiellonicae Cracoviensis* 128, 69–101.
- NÉMETH, Michał. 2010. North-Western and Eastern Karaim Features in a Manuscript Found in Łuck. *Studies on the Turkic World. A Festschrift for Professor St. Stachowski on the Occasion of His 80<sup>th</sup> Birthday*, Mańczak-Wohlfeld E. and Podolak, B. [eds.], Kraków, 75–94.
- NÉMETH, Michał. 2011. *Unknown Lutsk Karaim Letters in Hebrew Script (19<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> Century). A Critical Edition.* (= *Studia Turcologica Cracoviensia* 12). Kraków.
- NÉMETH, Michał. 2012. A North-Western Karaim Manuscript Found in Lutsk – A Case of Dialect Mingling? *Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagiellonicae Cracoviensis* 129, 139–162.
- NÉMETH, Michał. 2013a. Karaim Letters of Jehoszafat Kapłanowski. I. A Critical Edition. *Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagiellonicae Cracoviensis* 130, 237–257;
- NÉMETH, Michał. 2013b. Karaim Letters of Jehoszafat Kapłanowski. II. Linguistic Analysis, *ibidem*, 259–276.
- RİBBİLER = Ribbiler, kajsyłar hazzanlyk ettiiler Łuckada baslap burunhu jarymyndan XIX izjilnyn, 1932. *Karaj Awazy*, 3 (5), 16.
- SİFCEGI = Sifcegi sałalarnyn, 1933, *Karaj Awazy* 6, 22.
- SİNANI, Isaak O. 1888. *Исторія возникновенія и разутія караимизма*, Simferopol.
- WITKOWSKI, Rafał. 2007. Odezwa Karaimów łuckich w czasach Sejmu Wielkiego, *Almanach Karaimski*, Wrocław, 57–58.
- ZAJĄCZKOWSKI, Ananiasz. 1933. Karaimi na Wołyniu. *Rocznik Wołyński* 3, 1–45.
- ZARACHOWICZ, Zarach. 1936. Uruwu jaryk eltiwcilernin. *Karaj Awazy* 9, 2–6.

**Anna Sulimowicz** is a senior lecturer in the Department of Turkish Studies and Inner Asian Peoples in the Faculty of Oriental Studies of the University of Warsaw. She is the secretary of the Association of Polish Karaims (Związek Karaimów Polskich w RP). Her research interests are focused on the history of the Karaites communities in Lutsk and Halicz. She is also a teacher of Turkish and a translator of the Nobel Prize winner Orhan Pamuk's novels into Polish.





