

[A (II). Prices of the commodities listed above]²³

(12) Price of the five water skins with melted butter, three *filī* (13) *mithqāls*. Price of the two *dasts* of paper,²⁴ one *mithqāl*. (14) Price of the four cushions, one half of a *mithqāl*. (15) Price of two *farāsils* of garlic, $\frac{1}{4}$ *mithqāl*. (16) Price of ten stones, one quarter of a *mithqāl*. (17) Price of the silver beads and the bells, (18) three quarters. Price of the Manārī *fūta*, (19) one *mithqāl*. Price of the woolen, 'fulled' *fūta*, (20) one and a half *mithqāl*. Total: nine *mithqāls* (21) less one quarter.²⁵

[B. Payment due the *nākhudā* for the transport of the goods listed in sec. A from India to Aden]

(22) [[Pepper

(23) His credit: [[7 (?)]] *mithqāls* for freight after the *bārbazā*²⁶ (24) [[and he received]] and also his credit]]²⁷

(25) His credit: freight for eight *bahārs* of pepper, less (26) one *bahār* duties paid for his father²⁸ (27) and one *bahār bārbazā*, balance in his credit, six (28) *mithqāls*.²⁹

His credit: freight for two *bahārs* of iron (29) and one *bahār* of 'eggs,' three *mithqāls*, including the customs.

(30) Total: nine *mithqāls*. His debit: freight (31) for one *bahār* of iron belonging to his father.

²³ In two cases, lines 8–10, the writer had already stated the prices and repeats them in lines 18–20. This is only a rough copy and precision is not to be expected.

²⁴ Arabic *kāghadh*. {On its manufacture and use, see Huart & Grohmann, "Kāghadh." This word is familiar from a variety of sources but appears only sporadically in the letters of this book. Another example is in III, 48, line 32. The same is called *qirtās* in line 4; this shows that the terms were interchangeable. See also Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, 4:348–49, 19 (there spelled *kāghidh*).}

²⁵ The total of the prices enumerated in lines 12–20 is $8\frac{1}{4}$ and not $8\frac{3}{4}$ *mithqāls*. The reading of all the numbers is certain. {The end of line 13 is torn; perhaps read there *wa-nisf*, 'and a half.'}

²⁶ 'After the *bārbazā*' obviously means that for the iron sent in *bārbazā* packing (cf. III, 11, line 38) freight had been paid in advance in India. {Ben Yijū often spells *tā marbūta* with *alif*—see 332, n. 16—accordingly, probably read here and in line 27: *bārbaza*.}

²⁷ Lines 22–24 are crossed out.

²⁸ The pepper belonged to Ben Yijū (see sec. A, line 2), but a sum equivalent to the freight of one *bahār* had been paid by Ben Yijū to 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Katā'ib's father. The word *rasm* (duties) seems to have been added later and in different ink.

²⁹ This shows that for one *bahār*, costing seven *mithqāls*, a freight of one *mithqāl* was paid for the transport from India to Aden.

III, 22 *Statements by Two Yemenite Merchants about Consignments Shipped by Ben Yijū and Mostly Lost*

India, probably 1145

TS 18 J 2, f. 14

Thick, light-grayish paper. On recto, beneath line 22, about 10.5 cm of the height were left blank and obviously had been intended for another statement, which was, however, written on the verso, in the middle of the page.

The two merchants themselves wrote the statements, and both betray typical Yemenite hands. The first is of the cursive type, like III, 7 and III, 32, while the second, with its unusually big and strong letters, resembles III, 33 and III, 38.

Maḍmūn b. Sālim, the writer of the first statement, was in the spring of 1153 {read: 1156} a member of the rabbinical court of Aden (II, 71v, margin, line 12). However, as his very erratic spelling, his afterthoughts (lines 1, 2, 10), and his clumsy and awkward sentences show, he was not experienced in drawing up written statements.¹ Even less trained is the hand of his companion, Abraham b. Fayyūmī, a merchant mentioned in several documents as staying in India (see II, 20, line 29; II, 24v, line 1–2).

Fortunately, we have another source for the events so imperfectly described in these statements, namely a passage in the letter III, 12, lines 10–26. From the two documents, the following details emerge:

Ben Yijū, whose family name is spelled Yishū by Maḍmūn and Ishū by Ibn Fayyūmī, sent from India consignments of pepper and ginger on a ship called *ghazāla* ('Gazelle'). Its owner bore the name Bashīr (lines 2, 6, 9 {see II, 24v, lines 4–5}), while its captain was Makki b. Abu 'l-Hawl (line 19).

A smaller ship, described as a *shaffāra*,² escorted the 'Gazelle.' When an attack occurred, the sailors would jettison part of the cargo in order to increase the speed and maneuverability of the galley. Such an instance is reported in II, 31, lines 9–10, with reference to an attack of Indian pirates in the Fam al-Khawr, the entrance to the gulf of Broach and

¹ {Maḍmūn b. Sālim was a merchant, who traveled back and forth between Aden and India, and is mentioned in several documents in connection with Ben Yijū. See III, 12, line 36, III, 22, lines 1, 3, 22, III, 32v, line 1.}

² See 341, n. 26.

Cambay.³ A similar disaster occurred here; see III, 12, line 16. After the losses incurred by the attack, the ships returned to a harbor on the Indian coast. It was there that the two Yemenite merchants—no doubt old acquaintances or friends of Khalaf b. Isaac—made their statements. Copies of the statements or quotations from them certainly were forwarded to the Adenese merchants concerned, as the clear allusions to them in III, 12 prove (compare, e.g., III, 12, line 14 with III, 22, lines 9–10). This fact provides us also with the date for III, 22. Since III, 12 was sent almost certainly in 1146 (see the introduction there), our statements, which are repeatedly referred to there as written in the previous year, must be dated 1145.

The formal depositions of the Yemenite merchants had been necessitated by the fact that prior to the departure of the 'Gazelle,' Ben Yijū had sent with Abū 'Alī b. Ṭayyib (see III, 1, line 11), slightly different statements about the consignments forwarded to Khalaf. In those letters, it was certainly stated that ginger belonging to Khalaf had been sent in the *shaffāra* (see III, 12, line 12), while in III, 22, lines 21–22, it is emphasized that none destined for him was carried in that galley. Only during the night preceding the departure of the ships, the merchants made their final arrangements, which were described in memorandums carried in two copies, one in the 'Gazelle' and another in its accompanying galley.⁴ However, owing to the confusion during an attack by pirates—or perhaps in a stormy sea—both copies were lost. Thus, the two merchants had to verify the facts from the *shatmī*, the manifest of passengers {?} and wares kept by the captain (lines 18–20). It seems certain that the ships did not return to the port from which they had sailed and where Ben Yijū lived, for otherwise Ben Yijū himself could have made the enquiry.

On first reading III, 12 and 22, I had the impression that the two accounts reported that the 'Gazelle' was lost altogether and that the main consignment carried for Khalaf, 2¼ *bahārs* of ginger, had been lost (see III, 12, line 19 and III, 22, lines 7 and 21). However, this is expressly ruled out by III, 22, line 14. Thus, we must assume that Khalaf correctly surmised that Ben Yijū forgot to mention that consignment in his letter (see III, 12, line 16). In other words, Ben Yijū reported the disaster, which befell the *shaffāra*, but did not find it necessary to say anything

³ {See my discussion at the end of the introduction to II, 31 (page 369), on the identity of Fam al-Khawr.

⁴ For sending multiple copies of letters or accounts, see page 9 (n. 23).}

about the goods carried in the main boat, which obviously had been salvaged.

Translation

[A. Maḍmūn b. Sālim's statement]

(1) This is what I testify,⁵ //I//, Maḍmūn b. Sālim: Abraham b. Yishū wrote (2) the letters⁶ a few days⁷ before //he settled the account// with the *nākhudā* Bashīr; and we, (3) namely I, Maḍmūn b. Sālim and Sheikh Abraham b. Yishū, handed them over to Sheikh (4) Abū 'Alī the Egyptian b. Ṭayyib⁸ after one or several days.⁹

Now,¹⁰ (5) when there remained only one night before the sailing,¹¹ we all made the account with¹² the *nākhudā* (6) Bashīr in one place. There were listed¹³ for Sheikh Joseph b. Abraham (7) and Sheikh Khalaf b. Isaac in the boat 'Gazelle,' 5½ *bahārs*¹⁴ of (8) ginger, worth 22 *mithqāls*. And the *nākhudā* Bashīr (9) took the freight from¹⁵ the ginger, for he

⁵ Arabic *nashhadu anā*, lit., 'we, I, testify'; the same in line 22. This *nql* is not a 'Maghrebi' form, but 'the plural of modesty,' used by the Yemenites up to the present day; cf. Goitein-Habshush, *Travels in Yemen*, 78, para. 29. The plural of modesty is used in all tenses, as *takashshafnā* in line 18 shows. {Cf. Blau, *Emergence*, 53, n. 2. In the present case, this form could also be considered *nql* for 1st pers. sg. imperf.—for which see 743, n. 5. When he writes *takashshafnā* in line 18 (there without the independent pronoun or name), Maḍmūn might be referring to actions taken by him and others.}

⁶ To Joseph b. Abraham and Khalaf b. Isaac.

⁷ *B'ym "dh.* For Arabic *bi'ayyām* 'idda. The writer knew that the *tanwīn* was expressed by an *alif*, but regarded it as a part of the following word. {For vestiges of the *tanwīn an*, see the discussion and references in the introduction to III, 47 (page 751).}

⁸ Abū 'Alī carried the letters with him to Aden.}

⁹ Arabic *yawm wa'ayyām*, either a mistake for *aw ayyām* or meaning the same. {For *wa* = *aw*, cf. III, 32, line 15, *al-wāhid wal-itḥnayn*.}

¹⁰ *Qad*, in the original, is detached from its verb. {See 351, n. 91.}

¹¹ Arabic *lsfr* (*li-safar*) for *lṣfr*.} The Yemenites (and others) often omit *l* before the so-called sun- letters, because it is not pronounced; see also lines 6, 12, 17, and verso, line 3. However, there is no consistency in this matter; in our document that *l* is mostly written, as indeed Yemenites do today.

¹² Arabic *ma'ā*, as spoken and often written in Yemen today; see Goitein-Habshush, *Travels in Yemen*, 94 {Piamenta, *Dictionary*, 469}.

¹³ Arabic *thubbita* or *thabata*, the former being preferable, as the word here is parallel to *kutiba*, 'registered,' in line 11.

¹⁴ Five and a half *bahārs* for the two partners, two and three quarters for each; cf. III, 12, line 13. The partners had assets totaling 33 *mithqāls* (cf. {line 8 and} line 10), one half of which being 17½ (cf. III, 12, line 19). {These are the figures listed in those references, but obviously the arithmetic is incorrect. Perhaps something is missing in Goitein's note.}

¹⁵ Written *jamb*, as pronounced, for *janb*. Ibn Fayyūmī writes *janb*, verso, line 2.

insisted (10) on taking for it gold //as his freight// {alt. tr.: because he refused to take gold for its freight}.¹⁶ There remained to their credit 11 *mithqāls*, (11) constituting one-third of their assets.

In the *shaffāra*, there was registered for them one *bahār* (12) less two *qirāṭs*¹⁷ pepper, free of freight.¹⁸

Nothing was salvaged for Sheikh (13) Abraham b. Yishū, of eleven *bahārs* of ginger in the *shaffāra*, (14) except for two *bahārs*, no more. There remained, however, the merchandise, both ginger and pepper, (15) which had been in the ship. {lit., 'The remainder of the merchandise'¹⁹... was in the ship.} In the *shaffāra*, there were salvaged only (16) three *bahārs* of pepper belonging exclusively to Abraham b. Yishū and one *bahār* less (17) two *qirāṭs* for Sheikh Joseph b. Abraham and Sheikh Khalaf b. Isaac.

(18) I {alt. tr.: we} verified²⁰ this from the *shatmī*²¹ of the ship, which was kept by (19) Sheikh Makki²² b. Abu 'l-Hawl,²³ as the memos²⁴ in the (20) ship had been lost, and those that had been in the *shaffāra* also were lost.

(21) No ginger belonging to Sheikh Joseph or Sheikh Khalaf had been carried in the *shaffāra*, (22) none whatsoever.

This is what I testify, I, Maḍmūn b. Ṣālim.

¹⁶ The freight used to be paid either at dispatch (cf. II, 16, lines 40–49; verso, lines 11–14) or on delivery (cf. III, 21, sec. B, lines 25 ff. [and here, verso, line 2]). In any case, before the ship sailed, it was stipulated from which item the freight was to be paid. As this document shows, the stipulation was of great practical importance: Ben Yijū, after having lost most of his consignment carried in the *shaffāra*, was freed from paying for the rest; see verso, line 3. {For Arabic *ghalab*, 'refused,' see 616, n. 8. On the prerogative of the *nākhudā* to choose between taking cash or part of the cargo for the freight charge, see Khalilich, *Maritime Law*, 64.}

¹⁷ See III, 12, line 23.

¹⁸ Because it had been stipulated that the freight was to be paid from the ginger; see lines 8–10.

¹⁹ {Arabic *baqiyat* (*bqyr*)... Cf. verso, line 4, *al-bāqī*.

²⁰ Arabic *takashshafnā*. See the note to line 1.}

²¹ Manifest. See 325, n. 20, where the word is spelled *satmī*.

²² Concerning the writing of this rather rare name [as Makī], see Brockelmann, *Literatur*, 1:515, n. 1, with the reference to Noeldeke, *Geschichte*, 336, n. 1. Brockelmann (*Supplementband*, 3:493 and 644) himself spells Makki. {In the introduction to this document, Goitein corrected Makī to Makkī, but left Makī in the translation here. A search of *EI* shows three articles with Makī and 199 with Makkī. Ibn al-Zubayr, *Asmā'*, 2441, and id., *Mu'jam*, 1661, registers only Makkī.}

²³ 'The one experienced with terrors.' {This *kunya*, lit., 'Father of Terror,' is the Arabic name of the sphinx of Gizeh. It is uncommon to find people who were called this. One example is the poet Abu 'l-Hawl al-Ḥimyarī.

²⁴ Arabic *riqā'*. For this passage and the distinction between the *satmī* and *ruq'a* (sg.), see page 131.}

[B. Abraham b. Fayyūmī's statement]

[Verso] (1) Abraham b. Ishū had eleven (2) *bahārs* of ginger, from which its freight was to be deducted.²⁵ Of these, (3) there were salvaged in the *shaffāra* two *bahārs*, free of freight. (4) The rest was in the ship 'Gazelle.'

Written by²⁶ Abraham (5) b. Fayyūmī, who is sincere (6) in affection for you.²⁷

²⁵ I.e., after arrival, see above, lines 8–10. Arabic *kharaja nawluhā min janbihā*, 'its freight was, or is, deducted.' However, if Ben Yijū already had paid freight, there would have been no point in stating, line 3, that the two *bahārs* salvaged were free of charge.

²⁶ {Arabic *wa-kataba*. For this signature formula, see 119, n. 135.}

²⁷ Arabic *ṣafī waddihī*. See 621 and n. 42, for this rare phrase.