

921-7042

The India Traders

On the Route to India

Documents ~~on the India Traders~~

of the High Middle Ages

from the Cairo Geniza

אשר

על דרכי הודו

המאות

הגבוהה

4c.1.3 India

bk.- project  
proposal

On the Route to India  
from the Cairo Geniza  
Israel Academic

January 26, 1978

Professor Mordechai A. Friedman  
95A Stern Street  
Kiryat Ono  
ISRAEL

Dear Mordechai:

I am writing to you in English, since this letter might become one day a legal document.

Following your suggestion I have submitted an application to the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities for the publication of my "India Book." I enclose a full copy of my application. Kindly have a copy made for Moshe Gil. This letter is addressed to the two of you.

It is my wish that the two of you should help me with the Hebrew and Arabic editions, as far as help might be needed, and in case something should occur which would render it impossible for me to do the work myself, that you, in collaboration with Gershon Weiss, supervise or carry out the Hebrew and Arabic editions. For the financial aspect see page 2 of my Hebrew application. I have also applied to an important government agency here and set a considerable amount aside for such purposes in my will (a new one, made here in Princeton).

I hope to discuss these and other matters with the two of you orally. But the date of my arrival is uncertain, since I have not yet received the page proofs of vol. III. The reading of those proofs and the making of the Index requires time and there are a lot of other urgent matters here which have to be attended to.

All best,

Cordially,

SDG:ssl

S. D. Goitein

Enclosure

האקדמיה הלאומית

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

Telephone 609-924-4400

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

אליהו קאסוב  
1979/3/30

ספר היד

אב"ד אינצמ'ה האמריקאית הישראלית למדעים

פריד' בוסקוביץ' היקר והנערץ מאד,

אפני שנה, בביאתי ביהוש'ה, השתתפתי במסיבת חנוכה

(הוא עין) "אינני בכורה" בינתיים עברה שנה ואולי חברה

אמה האמאן ואמא האמאן קול. סיבת הכנה, להחלטה להקדים

אם המהפכה האנטי-הממלכתית והמהפכה בלשון הערבית

העברית, וכבר בתחילת המהפכה הישראלית

אבל למדו אתה על המהפכה העברית, תלמדו ממני

ובינתיים, בא שנה ארוכה יאכלו חבלי

ישראלים

לב עזריאל

Prof. S. D. Gottlieb  
284 Hamilton Ave.  
Princeton, N. J. 08540

האקדמיה הלאומית הישראלית למזעים  
THE ISRAEL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES



ז' באדר א' תשל"ח  
14.2.78

לכבוד  
פרופ' ש"ד גויטיין  
ביו-ג'רסי

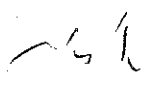
פרופ' גויטיין הנכבד,

"ספר הודו"

לבקשתו של פרופ' רוטנשטריך הריני מאשרת  
בזה קבלת הצעתך לבצוע המפעל הנ"ל מטעם האקדמיה.

הצעתך תובא לדיון בישיבתה הבאה של וועדת  
התכניות.

בברכה

  
א' חיעם  
מזכירה כללית

Prof. S. D. Goitein  
284 Hamilton Avenue  
Princeton, N. J. 08540  
U. S. A.

ז שבט חשל"ח  
15 ינואר 1978

לכבוד האקדמיה הלאומית הישראלית למדעים  
ירושלים.

פרופסור אורבך היקר והנכבד מאד:

זה עשרים ושבע שנים מכין אני מפעל הנודע בחוגים המדעיים המעוניינים  
בשם הקצר "ספר הודו", הכוונה לפרסום מסמכים מן הגניזה הקהירית  
הקשורים בסחר הודו היהודי. כעת פונה אני אליכם בהצעה, שחקבלו על  
עצמכם את הביצוע של המפעל הזה.

מן הרשימה המצורפת (שמסמכים מעשיים תוקפקה באנגליה) הראו, מה נעשה  
עד עתה. מחוכה ומתוך ההצעה המובאת בזה לפניכם תלמדו, מה יש עוד  
לעשות ומה הן הבעיות הקשורות במימוש המפעל.

כתוך 379 ה"בריטיש", שחוארו בחוכן העניינים (שהם למעלה מ-400  
מסמכים שאסכתי) מציע אני לפרסם בערך 235, ועמדת לכת תרגום וביאור  
בעברית. מבחר כזה נדרש, כי אצל מסמכים רבים הקשר לסחר הודו הוא  
בלתי ישיר, כגון הליכת המכתבים של ר' יהודה הלוי ועמיתיו הספרדיים  
עם סוחר הודו המהולל הלפון בן נתנאל (מקווה אני לפרסם חיבור מיוחד  
על נושא זה). החומר, שלא יפורסם במקור ובתרגום מלא יושזר אל תוך  
המבוא הכללי ואל תוך המבואות והביאורים על הקטעים, שיודפסו.

מציע אני לפרסם כרך של המקורות וכרך של התרגומים עם המבואות  
והביאורים. וטעמי, שהכרך השני (אפשר, שיופיע בתור כרך ראשון) הרבה  
יותר מקיף מן הראשון והמשתמש יזכר-כל הזמן לדפדף ולזכור בבודקו  
את המבוא או התרגום או הביאור בהשוואה למקור. ואולם, אם המקור מונה  
לפניו בכרך לחוד, הוא יוכל לעיין בו בכל עת שימצא צורך בכך. זוכר אני  
העינויים שסבלתי בשימוש פרסומי בפירושים ערביים. יודע אני שמו"לים  
מעדיפים הוצאות מעורבות, מפני שקשה למכור כרך של מקורות. אך מהדורה  
אקדמית דינה טובה. ואפילו מן הבחינה המסחרית נוטה אני לכך, שכרך  
המקורות ימצא קונים בין מי שלא יקנו המהדורה העברית. בחוכן העניינים  
המצורף חילקתי הספר לשני כרכים, כלומר, מדורים, אך מקווה אני,  
שאפשר יהיה לאחדם לכרך אחד. שקלתי גם האפשרות, שלא לכל מקור יש  
צורך להקביל תרגום.

בו בזמן שאני כותב לכם פניתי כאן אל מוסד לא-יהודי בדבר המהדורה  
האנגלית והערבית. עיקר מה שאני מבקש מכב היא הבטחת הדפסת המהדורה  
העברית בצורה נאה ומדוייקת, כווסתכם הטובה, הוצאות להקתוק בעברית,  
ותשלומים למומחים בארץ לענייני הגניזה ולשונה, לכשיהיה צורך בכך לשם  
בדיקת מה שכתבתי והעברת הספר בדפוס.  
סוּך אני עליכם, שתדונו בהצעה זו בכובד ראש וחודיעוני החלטהכם  
בזמן המתקבל על הדעת.

ברשט"ו וביקר,

שלמה דב גויסיין

מעמס אני לקבוע מועדים. אך לפי קצב עבודתי סביר, שאוכל למסור  
את המהדורה העברית (בקורות וחרגומים) לא יאוחר מסוף שנה 1979.

## בדרך אל הודו

מסמכים מן הגניזה על סחר הודו בימי הביניים  
יוצאים לאור עם חרגום, ביאור ומבוא כללי

מאת

שלמה דב גויטיין

כרך א

נגידי ארץ חימן וחסייהם המערביים

פרק א. יוסף לבדי, איש טריפולי ותוניסיה, מסעו אל עדן והודו,  
המשפטים הכרוכים בו, ושאר מסמכים עליו ועל סחר הודו של משפחתו.  
(מאות 11 עד 13).

פרק ב. מִצְמוֹן בֶּן חֲסֵן (יפה) בן בנדאר, "נגיד ארץ חימן" אבותיו וצאצאיו,  
קרובי משפחתו ושאר נכבדי עדן. (מאות 11 עד 13)

פרק ג. אברהם בן יג'ו, איש תוניסיה, מסחרו ובית הרושט שלו לכלי-נהושח  
שבארץ הודו וגורל משפחתו לאחר שובו אל מצרים (מאות 12 ו-13).  
הערה. בהמשך העבודה יוהלס, אם "המבוא הכללי" יושם בתחילת הספר, או בהור  
סיכום בסופו.

כרך ב

גדולי בית-ישראל ועמיתיהם. הצד החברתי והמשפחות הכלל-יהודיה  
בסחר הודו.

פרק ד. הלפון בן נתנאל "המרכז של כל גדולי דורו", נקרא דמיאסי, אך  
מושביו היה בפוסטאט, ומסעותיו בין ספרד ומרוקו לבין חימן והודו.  
ידידו הידוע של רבנו יהודה הלוי.

פרק ה. אבו זכרי יהודה בן יוסף הכהן סג'למאסי, פקיד סוהרים בפוסטאט  
ונוסע הודו. שותפו של הלפון בן נתנאל.

פרק ו. שאר סוהרים מן התקופה הפאטימית ועד ימי השלטון העותמאני.  
מחולק לקבוצות, כקצתן לפי אישים, מקצתן לפי עניינים, ואחרות  
לפי תקופות.

פרק ז. מסמכים המאירים בעיקר את הצד החברתי והמשפחות הכלל-ישראלית  
של סחר הודו.

Project On the India Route: Documents from the  
Cairo Geniza on the India Trade of the High Middle Ages

by S. D. Goitein

A. History.

The project started in 1950. Interested in the interplay of Islamic and Jewish laws and its sociological significance I examined Judeo-Arabic court records from the Cairo Geniza, mainly preserved in England. While commuting between Oxford and Cambridge I discovered and was able to reconstitute an entire dossier of lawsuits against a Jewish trader from the Muslim West, who, while traveling to India, had carried with him goods of merchants from Tunisia and Egypt. That trader reached India but suffered repeated shipwrecks, and naturally, part of the merchandise entrusted to him got lost (1097 A.D.).

I became electrified. The Geniza treasures had been known to the scholarly world since the 1890s, and I had assumed that their main contents were well known. That discovery showed that the study of their socioeconomic aspects had hardly begun. By 1957, about 200 documents dealing with the trade on the India route, among them the most important ones of the entire collection, had been brought together. In 1954, a first report on this undertaking was submitted to the scholarly world ("From the Mediterranean to India," Speculum, 29, pp. 181-197, revised, but shortened, in Studies in Islamic History and Institutions, Leiden, 1966, pp. 329-350.

In 1957 I accepted the call of the University of Pennsylvania, mainly in order to write the "India Book." After a year of great toil it



became evident that this was a questionable undertaking: The India trade, as represented in the Geniza, was only one of many activities of a highly developed urban Mediterranean society. One cannot study a branch before knowing the root. By summer 1958 I was off "India" and on the Mediterranean.

This was, however, a far more extended undertaking. The material is twenty times or more as copious as that relating to the India trade and, naturally, far more diversified since it illustrates every aspect of medieval life. While collecting documents for the Mediterranean studies I continued looking for "India" material. The total number of items for the "India Book" now amounts to 379. After having examined the "New Series" at the University Library, Cambridge, and the E.N. Adler Collection at the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, I do not expect to find any additional material of importance. The appearance of that work has long been expected. It is now time to proceed with its publication.

#### B. Significance.

The trade in Oriental spices, as well as pharmaceutical, dyeing, and many other materials was the backbone of medieval international economy. America was discovered because a direct sea route to India was sought. However, no documents on that trade during the High Middle Ages have been found thus far. This indicates the unique significance of the Geniza papers.

The Jewish traders cooperated with Muslims, Hindus, and Christians, and in no way made any special contribution. They are representatives of the middle class, about which we know very little from literary sources. The Geniza shows that during most of the eleventh century middle class merchants in Muslim Spain and Sicily, North Africa, Egypt, and Palestine-Syria took little interest in the India trade. There was enough to

occupy them in the Mediterranean area. By the end of the eleventh century, when the Italians had driven the Muslim fleets off the Mediterranean, did the route to India become the main field of activity for middle class overseas traders. By the second half of the thirteenth century, the India trade was dominated by great Muslim merchants' families. The middle class faded out. About great Jewish merchants we do not learn from the Geniza, but from Muslim literary sources: they had converted to Islam.

Needless to say that such a treasure trove of authentic witnesses from the High Middle Ages is valuable not only for economic history, but for the study of material, social, and spiritual civilization as well. Attention is drawn to my book Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders, Translated from the Arabic, Princeton University Press, 1973, especially the Introduction and pp. 62-71, 175-230 ("The India Traders"), 335-338, where samples of letters written on the India route are translated with detailed introductions and comments. They exemplify also the specific importance of this collection for the history of the Jewish community and its culture.

C. Materials in hand.

1. A complete descriptive Table of Contents of 379 items related to the India trade (written in English and comprising 76 typed pages).

2a. Typed copies of most of the original texts, most of which are in the Arabic language (slightly admixed with Hebrew) and in Hebrew script; some, especially letters of thanks and poems (of praise or dirges), are in Hebrew. About ten are in Arabic characters, and, with one exception, have been copied in long hand.

6

b. Because of technical reasons, a considerable number of these typed copies will require retyping.

c. This material is arranged according to subject matter and divided into seven chapters (see the Hebrew enclosure). The collection consists of an original stock of 196 items, followed by eight supplements, mostly entered when identified, irrespective of content.

3. The first two chapters, containing over fifty of the most important documents, have been translated by me into Hebrew with detailed commentaries and introductions, also a general introduction to chapter I (altogether 300 large pages of 29 lines each).

Chapter III and the beginning of chapter IV, comprising about forty documents, including numerous of high value, have been translated into English (about 300 short pages of 22 lines).

For many of the other documents handwritten notes are attached to the texts copied.

4. Three card-indexes have been prepared: (a) Persons, (b) Geographic, and (c) Subject matter/Terms/Linguistic usage. This was done systematically only for the original stock (see 2, above). Translations and explanations, if at all, have been provided in the language of the source from which they were taken. All these indexes have to be reworked and rewritten.

5. Of most (but not of all) documents I have photostats, black on white, or white on black, or Xeroxes. This collection must be replenished.

6. A considerable number of items of the "India Book" have already been published, e.g. many of those connected with Jewish Yemenite affairs or with Yehuda ha-Levi.

D. Publications considered.

1. An edition of the originals, accompanied by Hebrew translations, commentaries, and introductions. See the accompanying letter.

2. An English edition to be entitled (tentatively) On the Route to India: Geniza Documents on the India Trade of the High Middle Ages, containing the translation of about 125 representative specimens of an average length of 4 printed pages (including the introductions and notes to each piece). It will comprise also a general Introduction, a complete descriptive list of all the Geniza manuscripts related to the India trade, a glossary and an index.

The material from the items not given in full translation will be worked into the introductions and notes to the texts. Many of these have already been edited in separate publications, and others are planned.

3. An Arabic edition, consisting of the texts contained in the English version, transcribed from Hebrew into Arabic (and with Hebrew phrases translated into Arabic). Islamists and Arabic scholars today are not any more familiar with Hebrew, and although it is an easy matter to learn the Hebrew alphabet, it takes no small effort to read Arabic in Hebrew script. Most scholars interested in this material are historians who wish to use their sources without loss of time. Moreover, the book has interest for readers in Arab lands, especially of the Mediterranean area, wherefrom most of the India traders came. This volume might be printed in an Arab country (preferably Tunisia).

NEH  
1977  
for 78 80

Project On the India Route: Documents from the  
Cairo Geniza on the India Trade of the High Middle Ages

by S. D. Goitein

A. History.

The project started in 1950. Interested in the interplay of Islamic and Jewish laws and its sociological significance I examined Judeo-Arabic court records from the Cairo Geniza, mainly preserved in England. While commuting between Oxford and Cambridge I discovered and was able to reconstitute an entire dossier of lawsuits against a Jewish trader from the Muslim West, who, while traveling to India, had carried with him goods of merchants from Tunisia and Egypt. That trader reached India but suffered repeated shipwrecks, and naturally, part of the merchandise entrusted to him got lost (1097 A.D.).

I became electrified. The Geniza treasures had been known to the scholarly world since the 1890s, and I had assumed that their main contents were well known. That discovery showed that the study of their socioeconomic aspects had hardly begun. By 1957, about 200 documents dealing with the trade on the India route, among them the most important ones of the entire collection, had been brought together. In 1954, a first report on this undertaking was submitted to the scholarly world ("From the Mediterranean to India," Speculum, 29, pp. 181-197, revised, but shortened, in Studies in Islamic History and Institutions, Leiden, 1966, pp. 329-350.

In 1957 I accepted the call of the University of Pennsylvania, mainly in order to write the "India Book." After a year of great toil it

became evident that this was a questionable undertaking: The India trade, as represented in the Geniza, was only one of many activities of a highly developed urban Mediterranean society. One cannot study a branch before knowing the root. By summer 1958 I was off "India" and on the Mediterranean.

This was, however, a far more extended undertaking. The material is twenty times or more as copious as that relating to the India trade and, naturally, far more diversified since it illustrates every aspect of medieval life. While collecting documents for the Mediterranean studies I continued looking for "India" material. The total number of items for the "India Book" now amounts to 379. After having examined the "New Series" at the University Library, Cambridge, and the E.N. Adler Collection at the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, I do not expect to find any additional material of importance. The appearance of that work has long been expected. It is now time to proceed with its publication.

B. Significance.

The trade in Oriental spices, as well as pharmaceutical, dyeing, and many other materials was the backbone of medieval international economy. America was discovered because a direct sea route to India was sought. However, no documents on that trade during the High Middle Ages have been found thus far. This indicates the unique significance of the Geniza papers.

The Jewish traders cooperated with Muslims, Hindus, and Christians, and in no way made any special contribution. They are representatives of the middle class, about which we know very little from literary sources. The Geniza shows that during most of the eleventh century middle class merchants in Muslim Spain and Sicily, North Africa, Egypt, and Palestine-Syria took little interest in the India trade. There was enough to

occupy them in the Mediterranean area. By the end of the eleventh century, when the Italians had driven the Muslim fleets off the Mediterranean, did the route to India become the main field of activity for middle class overseas traders. By the second half of the thirteenth century, the India trade was dominated by great Muslim merchants' families. The middle class faded out. About great Jewish merchants we do not learn from the Geniza, but from Muslim literary sources: they had converted to Islam.

Needless to say that such a treasure trove of authentic witnesses from the High Middle Ages is valuable not only for economic history, but for the study of material, social, and spiritual civilization as well. Attention is drawn to my book Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders, Translated from the Arabic, Princeton University Press, 1973, especially the Introduction and pp. 62-71, 175-230 ("The India Traders"), 335-338, where samples of letters written on the India route are translated with detailed introductions and comments. They exemplify also the specific importance of this collection for the history of the Jewish community and its culture.

C. Materials in hand.

1. A complete descriptive Table of Contents of 379 items related to the India trade (written in English and comprising 76 typed pages).

2a. Typed copies of most of the original texts, most of which are in the Arabic language (slightly admixed with Hebrew) and in Hebrew script; some, especially letters of thanks and poems (of praise or dirges), are in Hebrew. About ten are in Arabic characters, and, with one exception, have been copied in long hand.

b. Because of technical reasons, a considerable number of these typed copies will require retyping.

c. This material is arranged according to subject matter and divided into seven chapters (see the Hebrew enclosure). The collection consists of an original stock of 196 items, followed by eight supplements, mostly entered when identified, irrespective of content.

3. The first two chapters, containing over fifty of the most important documents, have been translated by me into Hebrew with detailed commentaries and introductions, also a general introduction to chapter I (altogether 300 large pages of 29 lines each).

Chapter III and the beginning of chapter IV, comprising about forty documents, including numerous of high value, have been translated into English (about 300 short pages of 22 lines).

For many of the other documents handwritten notes are attached to the texts copied.

4. Three card-indexes have been prepared: (a) Persons, (b) Geographic, and (c) Subject matter/Terms/Linguistic usage. This was done systematically only for the original stock (see 2, above). Translations and explanations, if at all, have been provided in the language of the source from which they were taken. All these indexes have to be reworked and rewritten.

5. Of most (but not of all) documents I have photostats, black on white, or white on black, or Xeroxes. This collection must be replenished.



6. A considerable number of items of the "India Book" have already been published, e.g. many of those connected with Jewish Yemenite affairs or with Yehuda ha-Levi.

D. Publications considered.

1. An edition of the originals, accompanied by Hebrew translations, commentaries, and introductions. See the accompanying letter.

2. An English edition to be entitled (tentatively) On the Route to India: Geniza Documents on the India Trade of the High Middle Ages, containing the translation of about 125 representative specimens of an average length of 4 printed pages (including the introductions and notes to each piece). It will comprise also a general Introduction, a complete descriptive list of all the Geniza manuscripts related to the India trade, a glossary and an index.

The material from the items not given in full translation will be worked into the introductions and notes to the texts. Many of these have already been edited in separate publications, and others are planned.

3. An Arabic edition, consisting of the texts contained in the English version, transcribed from Hebrew into Arabic (and with Hebrew phrases translated into Arabic). Islamists and Arabic scholars today are not any more familiar with Hebrew, and although it is an easy matter to learn the Hebrew alphabet, it takes no small effort to read Arabic in Hebrew script. Most scholars interested in this material are historians who wish to use their sources without loss of time. Moreover, the book has interest for readers in Arab lands, especially of the Mediterranean area, wherefrom most of the India traders came. This volume might be printed in an Arab country (preferably Tunisia).

ז שבת חשל"ח  
15 ינואר 1978

לכבוד האקדמיה הלאומית הישראלית למדעים  
ירושלים.

פרופסור אורבך היקר והנכבד מאד:

זה עשרים ושבע שנים מכין אני מפעל הנודע בחוגים המדעיים המעוניינים  
בשם הקצר "ספר הודו", הכוונה לפרסום מסמכים מן הגניזה הקהירית  
הקשורים בסחר הודו היהודי. כעת עונה אני אליכם בהצעה, שתקבלו על  
עצמכם את הניצוץ של המפעל הזה.

מן הרשימה המצורפת (שכמעט טעשיים תוקהקה באנגליה) הראו, מה נעשה  
עד עתה. מתוכה ומתוך ההצעה המובאת בזה לפניכם תלמדו, מה יש עוד  
לעשות ומה הן חבציות הקשורות במימוש המפעל.

בתוך 379 ה"כריטיס", כתוארו בהוכן העניינים (שהם למעלה מ-400  
מסמכים שאספתי) מציע אני לפרסם בערך 235, ומהם לתת תרגום וביאור  
בעברית. מבהר כזה נדרש, כי אצל מסמכים רבים הקצר לספר הודו הוא  
בלתי ישיר, כגון הליפת המכתבים של ר' יהודה הלוי ועמיתיו הספרדיים  
עם סוחר הודו המהולל חלפון בן נחמאל (מקווה אני לפרסם חיבור מיוחד  
על נושא זה). החומר, שלא יפורסם במקור ובתרגום מלא יושזר אל חוף  
המבוא הכללי ואל חוף המבואות והביאורים של הקטעים, שיודפסו.

מציע אני לפרסם כרך של המקורות וכרך של שחרגוכים עם המבואות  
ובביאורים. ותעמי, שהכרך השני (אפשר, שיופיע בתור כרך ראשון) הרבה  
יותר מקיף מן הראשון והמשתמש יוכרח כל הזמן לדפדף ולזכור בבודקו  
את המבוא או התרגום או הביאור בהשוואה למקור. ואולם, אם המקור כונח  
לפניו בכרך לחוד, הוא יוכל לעיין בו בכל עת שימצא צורך בכך. זוכר אני  
העינויים שסבלתי בשימוש פרסומי בפירוטים ערביים. יודע אני שמו"לים  
מעדיפים הוצאות מעורבות, מפני שקשה למכור כרך של מקורות. אך מהדורה  
אקדמית דינה שונה. ואפילו מן הבחינה הסטטוטורית נוטה אני לכך, שכרך  
המקורות ימצא קונים בין מי שלא יקנו מהדורה העברית. בתוכן העניינים  
המצורף חילקתי הספר לשני כרכים, כלומר, מדורים, אך מקווה אני,  
שאפשר יהיה לאחדם לכרך אחד. שקלתי גם האפשרות, שלא לכל מקור יש  
צורך להקביע תרגום.

בו בזמן שאני כותב לכם פניתי כאן אל מוסד לא-יהודי בדבר המהדורה  
האנגלית והערבית. עיקר מה שאני מבקש מכם היא הבטחת הדפסת המהדורה  
העברית בצורה נאה ומדוייקת, כווסתכם הטובה, הוצאה לתקתוק בעברית,  
וחלומים למומחים בארץ לענייני הגניזה ולשונה, לכשיהיה צורך בכך לשם  
בדיקה מה שכתבתי והעברת הספר בדפוס.  
סומך אני עליכם, שתדונו בהצעה זו בכבוד ראש וחודיעוני החלטתכם  
בזמן המתקבל על הדעת.

ברשט"ו וביקר,

שלמה דב גויסיין

מעמס אני לקבוע מועדים. אך לפי קצב עבודתי סביר, שאוכל למסור  
אה המהדורה העברית (בקורות וחרגומים) לא יאוחר מסוף שנה 1979.

David Stephen Powers

age: 26

Education:

B.A.	Yale	1973	Near Eastern Languages and Lit.
M.A.	Princeton	1977	Near Eastern Studies
Ph.D.	Princeton	1979	Near Eastern Studies

(expected)

Languages: Arabic, Hebrew, French, Turkish

Publications: "Revenues of Public Endowments in 16th Century  
Jerusalem." (scheduled to be published in Archivum  
Ottomanicum in 1979).

Address: 22 Madison Street  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540  
telephone: (609) 921-3215

## בדרך אל הודו

מסמכים מן הגניזה על סחר הודו בימי הביניים  
יוצאים לאור עם תרגום, ביאור ומבוא כללי

מאת

שלמה דב גויטיין

כרך א

נגידי ארץ חימן וחטוייהם המערביים

פרק א. יוסף לבדי, איש טריפולו וחוניסיה, מסעו אל עדן והודו,  
המשפטים הכרוכים בו, ושאר מסמכים עליו ועל סחר הודו של משפחתו.  
(מאות 11 עד 13).

פרק ב. מִזְמוֹן בן חסן (יפח) בן בנדאר, "נגיד ארץ חימן" אבותיו וצאצאיו,  
קרובי משפחתו ושאר נכבדי עדן. (מאות 11 עד 13)

פרק ג. אברהם בן יג'ו, איש חוניסיה, מסחרו ובית חרושת שלו לכלי-נושט  
שבארץ הודו וגורל משפחתו לאחר שובו אל מצרים (מאות 12 ו-13).  
הערה. בהמשך העבודה יוחלט, אם "המבוא הכללי" יושם בתחילת הספר, או בהור  
סיכום בסופו.

כרך ב

גדולי בית-ישראל ועמיתיהם. הצד החברתי והמשמעות הכלל-יהודית  
בסחר הודו.

פרק ד. הלפון בן נהנאל "המרכז של כל גדולי דורו", אקסאדמאסטי, אך  
מושב היה בפוסטאט, ומסעותיו בין ספרד ומרוקו לבין חימן והודו.  
ידידו הידוע של רבנו יהודה הלוי.

פרק ה. אבו זכרי יהודה בן יוסף הכהן סג'למאסי, פקיד סוחרים בפוסטאט  
ונוסע הודו. שותפו של הלפון בן נהנאל.

פרק ו. שאר סוחרים מן התקופה הפאטימית ועד ימי השלטון העותמאני.  
מחולק לקבוצות, מקצתן לפי אישים, מקצתן לפי עניינים, ואחרים  
לפי תקופות.

פרק ז. מסמכים המאירים בעיקר את הצד החברתי והמשמעות הכלל-ישראלית  
של סחר הודו.

Project Director: S. D. Goitein  
Institution: Institute for Advanced Study  
Project Title: Geniza Documents on the India Trade from the  
High Middle Ages  
Total Request from NEH: Grant Period:

Summary

The Geniza documents, written mostly in the Arabic language and Hebrew characters, are invaluable because (a) there are no other documents on the India trade, and the backbone of international economy of that period, and (b) those documents originated in the middle class, for which we have very little information from literary sources.

The applicant has collected, deciphered and copied about 375 items, and card indexed and translated many of them. No significant additions can be expected. He intends now to edit about 250 specimens and to present in English translation about 125 accompanied by comments and preceded by an Introduction. Hebrew and Arabic versions are also planned. The time requested: 30 months.

Project On the India Route: Documents from the  
Cairo Geniza on the India Trade of the High Middle Ages

by S. D. Goitein

A. History.

The project started in 1950. Interested in the interplay of Islamic and Jewish laws and its sociological significance I examined Judeo-Arabic court records from the Cairo Geniza, mainly preserved in England. While commuting between Oxford and Cambridge I discovered and was able to reconstitute an entire dossier of lawsuits against a Jewish trader from the Muslim West, who, while traveling to India, had carried with him goods of merchants from Tunisia and Egypt. That trader reached India but suffered repeated shipwrecks, and naturally, part of the merchandise entrusted to him got lost (1097 A.D.).

I became electrified. The Geniza treasures had been known to the scholarly world since the 1890s, and I had assumed that their main contents were well known. That discovery showed that the study of their socioeconomic aspects had hardly begun. By 1957, about 200 documents dealing with the trade on the India route, among them the most important ones of the entire collection, had been brought together. In 1954, a first report on this undertaking was submitted to the scholarly world ("From the Mediterranean to India," Speculum, 29, pp. 181-197, revised, but shortened, in Studies in Islamic History and Institutions, Leiden, 1966, pp. 329-350.

In 1957 I accepted the call of the University of Pennsylvania, mainly in order to write the "India Book." After a year of great toil it

became evident that this was a questionable undertaking: The India trade, as represented in the Geniza, was only one of many activities of a highly developed urban Mediterranean society. One cannot study a branch before knowing the root. By summer 1958 I was off "India" and on the Mediterranean.

This was, however, a far more extended undertaking. The material is twenty times or more as copious as that relating to the India trade and, naturally, far more diversified since it illustrates every aspect of medieval life. While collecting documents for the Mediterranean studies I continued looking for "India" material. The total number of items for the "India Book" now amounts to 379. After having examined the "New Series" at the University Library, Cambridge, and the E.N. Adler Collection at the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, I do not expect to find any additional material of importance. The appearance of that work has long been expected. It is now time to proceed with its publication.

#### B. Significance.

The trade in Oriental spices, as well as pharmaceutical, dyeing, and many other materials was the backbone of medieval international economy. America was discovered because a direct sea route to India was sought. However, no documents on that trade during the High Middle Ages have been found thus far. This indicates the unique significance of the Geniza papers.

The Jewish traders cooperated with Muslims, Hindus, and Christians, and in no way made any special contribution. They are representatives of the middle class, about which we know very little from literary sources. The Geniza shows that during most of the eleventh century middle class merchants in Muslim Spain and Sicily, North Africa, Egypt, and Palestine-Syria took little interest in the India trade. There was enough to



occupy them in the Mediterranean area. By the end of the eleventh century, when the Italians had driven the Muslim fleets off the Mediterranean, did the route to India become the main field of activity for middle class overseas traders. By the second half of the thirteenth century, the India trade was dominated by great Muslim merchants' families. The middle class faded out. About great Jewish merchants we do not learn from the Geniza, but from Muslim literary sources: they had converted to Islam.

Needless to say that such a treasure trove of authentic witnesses from the High Middle Ages is valuable not only for economic history, but for the study of material, social, and spiritual civilization as well. Attention is drawn to my book Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders, Translated from the Arabic, Princeton University Press, 1973, especially the Introduction and pp. 62-71, 175-230 ("The India Traders"), 335-338, where samples of letters written on the India route are translated with detailed introductions and comments. They exemplify also the specific importance of this collection for the history of the Jewish community and its culture.

C. Materials in hand.

1. A complete descriptive Table of Contents of 379 items related to the India trade (written in English and comprising 76 typed pages).

2a. Typed copies of most of the original texts, most of which are in the Arabic language (slightly admixed with Hebrew) and in Hebrew script; some, especially letters of thanks and poems (of praise or dirges), are in Hebrew. About ten are in Arabic characters, and, with one exception, have been copied in long hand.

b. Because of technical reasons, a considerable number of these typed copies will require retyping.

c. This material is arranged according to subject matter and divided into seven chapters (see the Hebrew enclosure). The collection consists of an original stock of 196 items, followed by eight supplements, mostly entered when identified, irrespective of content.

3. The first two chapters, containing over fifty of the most important documents, have been translated by me into Hebrew with detailed commentaries and introductions, also a general introduction to chapter I (altogether 300 large pages of 29 lines each).

Chapter III and the beginning of chapter IV, comprising about forty documents, including numerous of high value, have been translated into English (about 300 short pages of 22 lines).

For many of the other documents handwritten notes are attached to the texts copied.

4. Three card-indexes have been prepared: (a) Persons, (b) Geographic, and (c) Subject matter/Terms/Linguistic usage. This was done systematically only for the original stock (see 2, above). Translations and explanations, if at all, have been provided in the language of the source from which they were taken. All these indexes have to be reworked and rewritten.

5. Of most (but not of all) documents I have photostats, black on white, or white on black, or Xeroxes. This collection must be replenished.

6. A considerable number of items of the "India Book" have already been published, e.g. many of those connected with Jewish Yemenite affairs or with Yehuda ha-Levi.

D. Publications considered.

1. An edition of the originals, accompanied by Hebrew translations, commentaries, and introductions. See the accompanying letter.

2. An English edition to be entitled (tentatively) On the Route to India: Geniza Documents on the India Trade of the High Middle Ages, containing the translation of about 125 representative specimens of an average length of 4 printed pages (including the introductions and notes to each piece). It will comprise also a general Introduction, a complete descriptive list of all the Geniza manuscripts related to the India trade, a glossary and an index.

The material from the items not given in full translation will be worked into the introductions and notes to the texts. Many of these have already been edited in separate publications, and others are planned.

3. An Arabic edition, consisting of the texts contained in the English version, transcribed from Hebrew into Arabic (and with Hebrew phrases translated into Arabic). Islamists and Arabic scholars today are not any more familiar with Hebrew, and although it is an easy matter to learn the Hebrew alphabet, it takes no small effort to read Arabic in Hebrew script. Most scholars interested in this material are historians who wish to use their sources without loss of time. Moreover, the book has interest for readers in Arab lands, especially of the Mediterranean area, wherefrom most of the India traders came. This volume might be printed in an Arab country (preferably Tunisia).

*On the Route to India*  
*Geniza Documents on the India Trade*  
*of the High Middle Ages*  
D. Description of Project

1. History

The project started in 1950. Interested in the interplay of Islamic and Jewish laws and its sociological significance I examined manuscripts from the so-called Cairo Geniza, mainly preserved in English and American libraries. Most are documents and letters from the tenth through the thirteenth centuries A.D., and written in the Arabic language, but with Hebrew letters (and a slight admixture of Hebrew words). While commuting between Oxford and Cambridge I discovered and was able to reconstruct an entire dossier of lawsuits against a Jewish trader from the Muslim West, who, while traveling to India, had carried with him goods of merchants from Tunisia and Egypt. That trader reached India but suffered repeated shipwrecks, and naturally, part of the merchandise entrusted to him got lost (1097 A.D.).

I became electrified. The Geniza treasures had been known to the scholarly world since the 1890's, and I had assumed that their main contents were well known. That discovery showed that the study of their socioeconomic aspects had hardly begun. Being at this time occupied with another major scientific project and involved, as Director of the School of Oriental Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, in its reconstruction, I was able to search for "Indian" material in the Geniza only during the summers. Yet, by 1957, about 200 documents, among them the most important ones, had been brought together. In 1954, a first report on this undertaking was submitted to the scholarly world ("From the Mediterranean to India," Speculum, 29, pp. 181-197).

S. D. Goitein

D. Description of Project (cont'd.)

In 1957 I accepted the call of the University of Pennsylvania, mainly in order to write the "India Book." After a year of great toil it became evident that this was a questionable undertaking: The India trade, as represented in the Geniza, was only one of many activities of a highly developed urban Mediterranean society. One cannot study a branch before knowing the root. By summer 1958 I was off India and on the Mediterranean.

This was, however, a far more extended undertaking. The material is twenty times or more as copious as that related to the India trade and, naturally, indefinitely more diversified since it illustrates every aspect of medieval life. While collecting documents for the Mediterranean studies I continued looking for "India" material. The total number of items for the "India Book" now amounts to slightly over 375. I do not expect to find any additional material of importance. The appearance of that work has long been expected. It is now high time to proceed with its publication.

2-3. Purpose and Significance

The trade in Oriental spices, as well as pharmaceutical, dyeing, and many other materials was the backbone of medieval international economy. America was discovered because a direct sea route to India was sought. However, no documents on that trade during the High Middle Ages have been found thus far. This indicates the unique significance of the Geniza papers.

The Jewish traders cooperated with Muslims, Hindus, and Christians, and in no way made any special contribution. They are representatives of

S. D. Goitein

D. Description of Project (cont'd.)

the middle class, about which we know very little from literary sources. The Geniza shows that during most of the eleventh century middle class merchants in Muslim Spain and Sicily, North Africa, Egypt, and Palestine-Syria took little interest in the India trade. There was enough to occupy them in the Mediterranean area. By the end of the eleventh century, when the Italians had driven the Muslim fleets off the Mediterranean, did the route to India become the main field of activity for middle class overseas traders. By the second half of the thirteenth century the India trade was dominated by great Muslim merchants' families. The middle class faded out. About great Jewish merchants we do not learn from the Geniza, but from Muslim literary sources: they had converted to Islam.

Needless to say that such a treasure trove of authentic witnesses from the High Middle Ages is valuable not only for economic history, but for the study of material, social, and spiritual civilization as well (and also for the history of the Arabic language). Attention is drawn to my book Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders, Translated from the Arabic, Princeton University Press, 1973, especially the Introduction and pp. 62-71, 175-230 ("The India Traders"), 335-338, where samples of letters written on the India route are translated (with detailed introductions and comments).

4. Product

The proposed project will result in a series of publications:

1. A book to be entitled (tentatively): On the Route to India: Geniza Documents on the India Trade of the High Middle Ages, containing

D. Description of Project (cont'd.)

the translation of about 125 representative specimens of an average length of 4 printed pages (including the introductions and notes to each piece). There will be also a general Introduction, a complete descriptive list of all the Geniza manuscripts related to the India trade, a glossary, and an index.

The material from the items not given in full translation will be worked into the introductions and notes to the texts translated or will be edited in separate publications. Much of that material has already been published by me.

2. An Arabic edition, consisting of the texts contained in the English version, transcribed from Hebrew into Arabic (and with Hebrew phrases translated into Arabic). Islamists and Arabic scholars today are not any more familiar with Hebrew, and although it is an easy matter to learn the Hebrew alphabet, it takes no small effort to read Arabic in Hebrew script. Most scholars interested in this material are historians who wish to use their sources without loss of time. Moreover, the book has interest for readers in Arab lands, especially of the Mediterranean area, wherefrom most of the India traders came. This volume might be printed in an Arab country (preferably Tunisia).

3. An edition of about 235 of the originals, which are, with the exception of about ten written in Arabic letters, all in Hebrew script. Such an edition, in order to be commercially feasible, must be accompanied by partial Hebrew translations and introductions. This edition of the originals is indispensable in order to enable scholars to check my readings, translations, and comments.