

India Book
Important + Vedas
Indian Names
" Things with Notes & T
Basham - Lingree

Sergeant Mulakkhas
al. Titam

4c.2.7 India book-
important names, etc.

CABLE ADDRESS
"NUMISMA" NEW YORK

TELEPHONE
(212) 234 - 3130



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
(FOUNDED 1858 • INCORPORATED 1865)
BROADWAY AT 155TH. STREET
NEW YORK N.Y. 10032

June 16, 1981

Professor S. D. Goitein
284 Hamilton Avenue
Princeton, NJ 08540

Dear Professor Goitein:

*History of Yemen
and its Books*

Thank you very much for your letter of 1 April, with your kind words about my JESHO article. It came just before I left on a long business trip, which I hope will partly explain and excuse my delay in answering. When I reread my article, I am also exasperated, partly by a few irritating minor mistakes but mostly because I seemed to have had so much difficulty explaining my thoughts in some of the most critical passages. It should be possible to provide a clearer and less confusing picture.

I am not too concerned at this point with the exact reliability of Ashtor's price data--I only want to argue that the value of the small debased silver bits was so low that one of them could serve for most minor daily purchases and one need not seek some other form of small change.

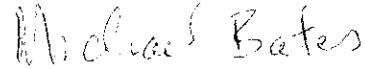
I believe at this point that there were certainly minor fluctuations in the fineness and weight standard of dinars, but these do not seem to have been important enough for a major influence on prices. If forced to estimate a figure, I would guess that the intrinsic gold content of the Egyptian dinar fluctuated by less than 5% in the Fatimid period. The value of the dirham, on the other hand, changed quite a bit as we know. The exact degree and sequence of these changes remains to be studied.

There is apparently no up-to-date survey of Yemen's history in any medieval period. My Ph.D. thesis (Chicago, 1975), is a detailed study of events from 1137 to 1202. It has been accepted for publication, but I can't seem to find time to make the necessary revisions and additions --and the longer I wait, the more needs to be done. There is a useful survey of the coinage and history of Yemen, 132 - 569 H., by Bikhazi in al-Abhath 23 (1970). //

Page ... 2

Thank you also for your comments on my Islamic numismatic booklet,
I hope you will find it useful when it appears.

With sincere regards,



Michael L. Bates
Curator of Islamic Coins

MLB:lgp

Some Indian Names and Words occurring in Geniza Documents
of the 11th and 12th centuries A.D.

Note: The documents are written in Hebrew characters expressing Arabic sounds;

' (i.e. Aleph) stands both for a glottal stop and for long ā.

G corresponds to Arabic J or ġ (as in Bagdad)

K corresponds to Arabic K or H (Scotch ch) H or / at end of a word

Y expresses either Y or I or long ē may express merely the sound a.

W expresses either W or long ū or ö

As Arabic has no P, an F or B may stand for an Indian P. Hebrew script does not discern between P and F.

V stands for sh

Names of Persons.

1-6 are ship's owners

1. BDH son of SLSLYTY (the second word is perhaps a mistake for SLLSYTY, as the word SYTY (sethi, merchant) occurs several times, see below)

2. FDY'R - Fadiyar? This seems to be a title, for the word is sometimes preceded by the Arabic article.

3. FTN SWMY - Patan Swami?

4. NBRDWY - This word could be also Persian (Nabard - meaning war)

5. TYNBW - Tinbo, Tampo??

6. NM BY RW - Nambiru (proper name derived from that of a class of Brahmans in South India?)

7. BMH or BM' - Bama, a slave and business agent. Could be read also Bamma.

8. FL'DR S'NK D'S - Certainly Indian, as Das at the end indicates. An iron-monger.

9. SWS SYTY - Dealer in pepper and iron.

10. KN'BTY - Dealer in pepper and iron

11. LNBY - a coppersmith. Also LNGY

12. BNK SYTY - a dealer in copper and brass

13. S'D FLY - Shad - pala??

14. "RY" FLH - Arya-pala?? Two merchants mentioned together.

14a. Ptn - Ptih. Name of a slave, sold in Cairo in 1194 A.D.

Some Names of Places in India Mentioned in the Geniza

no doubt all of them on the Western Coast of India. I used M. Husain Nainar, Geographical knowledge of India possessed by the Arabs, and Dr. Maqbul, Ahmad, Idrisi.

15. BRGYYN - could be read as Burjiyin and be regarded as an Ar. word derived from burj, tower. The word designs pirates on the Indian coast, against whom the Sultan (which is not said) was fighting. Perhaps a W is lacking and the reference is to BRWJ - Broach, the well-known port.
16. BRYBTN - Baribatan, identical with Banibatan, Nainar pp. 26 and 29-30??
Jinbātan, see Maqbul
17. GRBTN - Jurbatan? Is it better to write battān, with two t and a long a?
18. DHBTN - Dahbattan, Nainar, p. 32.
19. DAIBUL - often mentioned. Identical with Dib?
20. DYYB - Dib, Diu. Why t w o y?
21. DRMTN - Darmatan
- 21.a. KGNDRY - A place where books are made.
22. KY⁺KNWR - Kayāknor???
23. KLMBW - seems to be identical with Kulam (Quilon), which is written KWLM. Why Kalambo?
24. KMHRY - mentioned together with Ceylon as a place infested by Pirates.
25. Malabar is spelled in 4 different ways: Minābār, Manībār, Malibār, Malibārāt (at is the Ar. plural fem.). Which of the four is the nearest to the original?
26. Mangalor is spelled Manjalūr and Manjarūr. I suppose the first form is original.
27. QNY⁺T - Qaniyāt or Qanayāt. Normally, Q is never used for the rendering of an Indian sound. The ms. is clear; no B is lacking, and Cambay is written in these documents Kanbayāt.

V.31
J.G

Some Names of Indian Things Mentioned in the Geniza

28. STMY or STMY - List of goods (and passengers) kept by the captain of a ship and a small payment made to him after arrival.
29. 'KRBH (Akarba?) and NW'SK (Nawāshak or Nawāshakh) - products from Dyyb, mentioned between cocoa nuts and coir (cocoa nut fibre)
30. B'Rbz-āt - (Bārbazāt), packages for iron bars and iron bars themselves.
31. BTRW or BTRWH a kind of copper or brass (Persian But-Ru, Beautiful like a Buddha? hardly)
32. Satt - basket covered with a comic basketwork. Used in Yemen up till now.
33. FELM'N - something to be bought in Nahrwara (Anhalvara in the Gujerat)
34. MWG' - Moja. I took it for the Japanese moxa, for it is called cūd "a wood" or odoriferous wood. It cannot be moxa, banana.
35. T'LM - Tālam "a/t., the opening of which is one span and a half," a bronze vessel.
- 35.a. L'LS or L'NS, explained in the Arabic dictionaries as a red Indian silk (cf. lal).

Indian Coins, Weights and Units Mentioned in the Geniza

36. The common coin of the Malabar coast was called Pili, pl. Piliya or Piliyāt. It appears both as dirham, silver coin, and miqāl, gold coin. Against the assumption that the word is Arabic and derived from Fil, elephant, which would mean that the figure of an elephant appeared on those coins, stands the fact, that in one place repeatedly the coin is called Fāli. The Fili is subdivided into Fanam, a coin known from later times.
37. Tanāya - a gold coin. The emphatic sound T is characteristic of Arabic and normally not used for the rendering of Indian words.
38. Other subdivisions of the Fili are a) rawbaj, a word registered in the Ar. dictionaries, but not defined, and b) hafṣawāt (āt - pl. fem.)
39. Another coin is Fāj, subdivided into halves and thirds.
40. A puzzle is the Arabic word Nacl, shoe, which must be a translation of an Indian word designing both a weight or quantity and a coin.
41. Kawraja is a unit of twenty. Certainly Indian.
42. The Bahār, a weight of 300 pound and its twentieth or $1/24$ part, the Farāsila, certainly are not Arabic. However, as these words have often been treated, there is no need to waste time on them. I would only like to know, whether they have been treated anywhere recently in the scientific literature.



BROWN UNIVERSITY

Providence, Rhode Island • 02912

Box 1900

8 June 1979

Dear Shēd,

Thank you very much for your letter of 20 May. In answer to your query about Tibbets, I believe that he is quite reliable in his identifications of the place names mentioned by the Arabic geographers in India (I have made no effort to check any other aspect of his work). The most exhaustive treatment in English on Indian social customs (though difficult to use because of its Dharmasāstra organization) is P. V. Kane's History of Dharmasāstra in 5 vols; numerous lesser works and monographs and articles on specific subjects naturally exist. I could try to provide references in answer to any specific inquiry you might wish to make. One other book which you may find it profitable to refer to is A. S. Atrekar, The Rashtrakutas and Their Times, Poona 1934.

You are certainly aware of the famous inscription mentioning the Jews of Malabar; there are numerous other inscriptions mentioning Arabs as well as stones from Malabar and

Gujarat (the earliest of those from Gujarat seems to be of the 13th century). It may be of interest that there was an Arab named Madhumati (= Muhammad) Sugatipa (?) who was governor of Samyanamandala (ancient Sanjayapura = modern Sanjan = Ptolemy's Σανγάριον ?) in the early 10th century (Epigraphia Indica 32, 1957/58 (1959), 45599.). Sanjan is in the Umbargaon Taluka, south of Daman. An inscription of 1034 AD mentions the merchants Aliya (Ali), Mahara (Mahr), and Madhumata (Muhammad) from Sanjan (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum 6, New Delhi 1977, p. 72). I would have expected Samyan to be among the places visited by Jewish merchants.

There were also Muslim armies serving the Kadamba rulers of Goa. When a group of them who invaded the Konkana was defeated by the Silahara Anantapala, the latter granted exemption from customs duties to two ^{Hindu} merchants from Balipattana in the Ratnagiri District (AD 1025) (CII 6, p. 116). I wonder if Balipattana could be your BRYBTN. Incidentally, Puri was an ancient ^{island} capital of the Thane District before the Silahares. It was sacked by Polakesin II in the early 7th century; its status in the 10th/11th centuries is unclear.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

D. O. (= دیکر)

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

3 April 1979

Dear Prof. Goitein,

For āśu = quick see O. Böhtlingk and R. Roth, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch, vol. 1, St. Petersburg 1855, cols. 719-720. The Nayars (sometimes spelled Nairs) are described in detail in E. Thurston, Castes and Tribes of Southern India, vol. 5. They are the dominant caste in Malabar, and have a very peculiar matrimonial custom. The men do not marry, but the women are ritually married to anyone, even a stranger, merely as a form. They are then free to enter into extramarital arrangements with men of equal or higher status. The children are raised in their mothers' houses, and inheritance is matrilineal. Whether or not this system has any relevance to the situation of your Āśu I can not guess.

Sincerely,

Daniel

Pingree



BROWN UNIVERSITY

Providence, Rhode Island • 02912

Box 1900

9 July 1979

Dear Sheed,

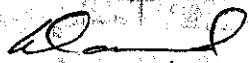
Thank you for your letter of the 5th. I'm glad that the information I sent you last month was of some interest. Would it be helpful if I put together in some more or less organized form all that is known of Arabic traders in Western India before, say, 1200? Most of the epigraphical and literary material is in my office, and so the task would not be unduly daunting.

The inscription mentioning Jews to which I referred is the copper-plate grant of Bhaskara Rarivarma (allegedly 978-1036) to Joseph Rabban, now in the hands of the Jews of Cochin. It might also interest you that V. Rangacharya (A Topographical List of the Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, 3 vols., Madras 1919, vol. 2, p. 1042) refers to an article in the Madras Gazetteer, pp. 397-8, describing "the fort constructed by Eli Perumal, the Jews' Tank,--" at Madai in the Chirakkal Taluk of Malabar District. In the local mosque

in the same village is an Arabic inscription commemorating its foundation in A.H. 518. Unfortunately, I don't at the moment have access to the Malabar Gazetteer.

Fal or Pal I would guess to be a form of Sanskrit plava ("boat"); a vernacular form is polo. Dādā is a common name in Gujarat. The earliest occurrence cited in H. D. Sankalia, Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat, Poona 1949, p. 212 is "Sri Dādāka, the son of Mahādeva, a Mahamatya (?) and Mahattama" (i.e., a member of the king's council) and a Nagar Brahmana, mentioned in an inscription found at Ujjain and dated Sam. 1195 = A.D. 1138. The one best known to me is Dādābhāt, a Cittapāvana Brahmana who wrote a commentary on the Suryasiddhānta in 1719 (see Census of the Exact Sciences in Sanskrit, A3, Philadelphia 1976, p. 97). Nahraward is, as I'm sure you're aware, Anahillapattana. Probably by coincidence, Anahillapattana was the capital of the Cālukya Jayasimha whom Dadaka and his father both served.

Sincerely,



Pingree



BROWN UNIVERSITY

Providence, Rhode Island • 02912

8/27 C.O.D. Box 1900

9 N 5 N 3 N

23 August 1979

Dear Shad,

Please excuse my long delay in responding to your letter of 11 July. I've been busy with Picatrix, and only last week got around to the Arabs in India (extending the date till ca 1300 since the Muslim conquest of Gujarat occurred in 1297, and the Veraval Inscription concerning the mosque built by the trader from Hormuz seemed too good to leave out). I send a manuscript copy (legible, I hope!) since the departmental typist won't be available for another month.

Concerning "polo" I'm afraid I was too hasty. I found it as a vernacular (*bhāṣā*) variant of *plava* in Rādhakāntadeva's Sabdakalpadruma, vol. 3, Varanasi 1961, p. 376 — no indication of a dialect, but a reference to the twelfth century Mitaksara. On further investigation, however, it turns out that "polo" is used for only one of *plava*'s many meanings — an aquatic bird. *Plava* may still be the word you need; it is a raft or small boat (sometimes defined as a canoe, but I'm not so sure

such things existed in medieval India.) There are a number of pictures and descriptions of Indian boats in R. Maekay's, Indian Shipping, Bombay 1912.

Dādā of 12th century and later in Gujarat is perhaps derived from Dadda (also Duddā and Duddā), the name of several early (6th/7th century) Gurjara kings. The Gurjares entered India at about the same time as the Huns in the 5th/6th century, but their origin remains obscure. ^{H.P.} Sankalia (Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat, Poona 1949, pp. 108-109) suggests the derivation of Dadda from Darada or Dardara (Classical Δαράδραι or Dardae, modern Dardistan); this seems very unlikely to me.

I hope you've had an enjoyable summer!
With best wishes,

Sincerely,

— 1 —

in gree



BROWN UNIVERSITY

Providence, Rhode Island • 02912

Box 1900

7 Sept. 1979

Dear Shed,

Thank you very much for your letter of 26 August. I (for purely selfish reasons) am sorry to learn that you are temporarily putting India aside, but wish you every success in vol. 4 and hope that the delay will not be of a very long duration for my South Asian friends. Thank you also for spotting al-Marrī and Amrū. In using these spellings I followed the convention among Indian historians, who crib everything from Elliot and Dowson; however, I corrected some other of their conventions, and so undoubtedly should these as well. I shall send the paper, so corrected, to an Indian journal — probably the Journal of the Oriental Institute at Baroda, which has published other articles of mine. I had a xerox of the manuscript, which is now being typed; therefore you need not return it.

Neusher is flourishing — but says that he has not yet had time to read your

vol. III.

I am in the midst of writing a volume on Indian astronomy, astrology, and mathematics for a new History of Indian Literature. The arrival of students next week, however, threatens to interrupt that disastrously. And Bernie keeps sending new Genizah horoscopes.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Oliver



BROWN UNIVERSITY Providence, Rhode Island • 02912

Box 1900

May 15, 1979

Dear Prof. Goetze,

The following are a few suggestions concerning the Indian equivalents of the words in your lists. Some of them undoubtedly occurred already to Basham I will continue to consider the rest.

1. B^DH is certainly Budha. His father's name is more difficult.

Silasila is a rare word meaning "moving"; not at all likely here. Two proper names are possible if one ignores the TY at the end: Śālmali and Śilasālin. If the second L were a mistake for R, one might think of Śilasresthīn, or even silhasresthīn, "the head of the incense-guild."

Obviously, none of the above is very convincing.

2. FDY>R is probably a Prakrit form of padacāra = "foot soldier".

3. FTN SWMY = pattanasyāmin = "lord of the city".

4. NBRDWY: perhaps NBR = nīvara = "trader".

5. TYNBW: TYN is perhaps Marathi tīna = tri, so that the name corresponds to Sanskrit Tribhuvana.

7. BMH or BM³ = Brahmā or the ending of many Kṣatriya names, -varman.

8. FL³ DR S³ NK D³ S is probably Baladhara Śāṅkaradāsa
(The second name looks more like Saṅghadāsa, but that is Buddhist and therefore unlikely).

9. SWS SYTY = Suvasu or Suvasa Sresthīn.

10. KN³ BTY = Ganapati.

11. LNBY/LNGY. One thinks of Lambin, Lingin, and Luniga.

12. BNK SYTY = vāṇīk Sresthīn, "the head of the merchants' guild".

13. S³ D FLY is perhaps Sādhuphala or Sādhubala.

14. RY³ FLH = Aryaphala or Āryabala.

14a. PTN/PTNH: patin = "foot-soldier"; Patana is the name of a dog.



BROWN UNIVERSITY Providence, Rhode Island • 02912

(in the following T = C. R. Tibbetts, Arab Navigation in the Indian Ocean, London 1971).

15. BRGYYN: $vṛjina$ = "wicked, deceitful".
16. BRYBTN: Puri-pattana (Puri, Orissa)?
17. GRBTN: Giripattana = Girinagara (Girnar, Saurashtra)?
or Gurupattana?
18. DHBTN = 21 DRMTN = Dharmapattana (Dharmapatam Island). T 457.
19. DAIBUL = Tatta (in Sind, Pakistan). But is this Dābul (Dabhol, south of Bombay)? T 454.
20. DYYB from dvipa = "island". The Maldives. T. 460.
- 21 = 18.
- 21a. KGNDRY: I can only think of Gandura in Ceylon. T 464.
22. KY²KNWR: the last part looks like $gīś$ = Cannanore. T 457.
23. KLMBW: undoubtedly $gīś$ = Colombo in Ceylon. T 463.
24. KMHRY = Kumāri = Cape Comorin. T. 458.
29. ?KRBH: $āgarava$ = "formed of aloe-wood". NW²SK:
 $navāṁśuka$ = "new muslim".
30. B²RBZ: the first part seems to be ~~bhīṣma~~ bhīṣma, "load".
34. MWG²: moghā = bignonia suaveolens.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,
Daniel

July 11, 1979

Dear David:

Just received your letter and am overwhelmed, as always when I get something from you - by mouth or by pen. I have to be short, for I am leaving for the seashore with some of my grandchildren (only for a week).

I accept with enthusiasm your suggestion about Arab traders in Western India, say, before 1250, but on one condition: this must be an Appendix appearing under your name and mentioned on the title page.

I was happy to learn about plava and polo (in which vernacular?). Do we know how those things looked? What does Dada mean; it is, of course, a children's word.

I have now completed Chapter I, altogether 44 texts, partly translated and partly summarized. It is dedicated to Joseph Lebdi and his son Abu 'l-Barakāt, both traveling as far as Gujarat, but still the Mediterranean is prevailing. It occurred to me that I should call the book:

THE MEDITERRANEAN
INDIA TRADERS
[Of the Middle Ages]*
Documents from the Cairo Geniza

*probably not necessary.

At first blush, somewhat repelling. How do you like this?
What does Jews' Tank mean? A place where Jews took their ritual baths?
Or is Tank a title.

I must close. By July 19th I hope to be back.

With best regards from house to house,

Cordially,

S. H. T.
Shed

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

Telephone-609-924-4400

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

8 April 1979

Dear David:

your letter of 3 April was a real birthday present for me. I understand now that Indian names may possess a high socio logical meaning.

I just have before me a letter (24 or 1-17) where greetings are extended to two merchants in Mangalore : Sūs sītī (sas syty) & Kimbātī (km b'ty), who must also have been ship owners. The (Jewish) representatives of the merchant in Aden advise them to load pepper iron in Mangalore than to sail to Dīn (Dipā), where they are advised to take in additional freights; pl. have a look at the article attached. Tell me

whether p. 8/9, 12/13, make sense or are non-sense.

On p. 12, has Bamah a meaning? On p.

21, l. (4a) Nambiyār^r(ani) is a guess (nambiyārⁿ? Rāmīst was a Muslim; hence Persian?

I stop here. I should rather like to go

over with you all my Indian names & words

I could send you a copy, together with the

guesses made thus far.

As to Āśu (Nimble), perhaps the
Nayars had also the custom to sell girls
if they could not have the means for bringing
them up, or perhaps both girls & boys. A propos,
Āśa's former master (a future husband) left
us a letter, which shows that (as like other
years) he was an enthusiastic proselytizer.

Again, many thanks!

Concilely

SD

Call me G (without "Professor") or Sholom Dov
(which is a little clumsy)

Basham

January 14, 1959

Professor A. L. Basham
School of Oriental and African Studies
University of London
London, W.C. 1, England

Dear Professor Basham:

Having come back from a lecture tour to California, I find your extremely kind letter of November 24 with the detailed answers on my questions about Indian terms.

Needless to say that your remarks will be of great value for me and will be naturally duly acknowledged.

I thank you also for the names of the Indian scholars which I might approach for further elucidation.

I have left for some time my India book and am working at present on a shorter book with no text, but only translations into English, to be called approximately Mediterranean Society in the Middle Ages, Records from the Cairo Geniza. As soon as I shall be through with this, I shall go back to my India book and try to complete it as soon as possible.

If I can make it, I hope to be again in England during the forthcoming summer.

I have not heard anything from Mr. Gelblum. I hope he is all right.

Again, many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

S. D. Goitein,
Professor of Arabic

SDG:iso

- Middle A. Dravidian
Basāla (c. 1400 B.C.E.)
1. Budha or Buddha. SYTY is certainly setthi, or cetti, merchant. SLSLYTY difficult to account for, perhaps salisa-setthi, 'water merchant'.
 2. Pattana-svami. 'Lord of the mart'. Chief of merchant guild in a port or market-town, roughly corresponding to 'mayor'.
 3. Possibly Nambidiri, a caste of Malabar brahmans.
 4. Perhaps Nambyar, another Caste of S.India, if not Nambidiri (above).
 5. Bamha, Bamma, a vernacular form of Brahma, name of a god, often used as a component of proper names.
 6. FL'DR suggests Phalādri 'Fruitmountain', possibly used as a proper name. Haladhara of which Phāladhara would be a possible variant, is the epithet of a god, often used as a proper name, but the vocalization does not fit so well. S'NK suggests Sāṅkar, a common proper name (epithet of the god Siva), or Sāṅkha (vernacular chank or shank), which means conch-shell, and might be an element of a proper name. I am inclined to prefer Sāṅkar Dās, a common proper name to this day.
 7. Perhaps Siva Setthi; or Sauca (Purity), though I have not seen this as a n.pr.
 8. Ganapati, the god Ganes, often used in proper names.
 9. This suggests Hindi tambiya, a copper pot, written tambī TNBYA in Persian script, of which the variant tambe occurs in Marathi. An extra T might give Lingapati possibly an epithet of Siva used as a proper name. Lavanapati vern. Lonpati is also possible.
 10. Banik, vernacular pronunciation of Vanik, merchant, from which the modern bania is derived.
 11. Shād is well known in Mod. Indian languages, but is a Persian loanword, and could never be combined with -pāla. Sāradāpāla is possible. Just possibly sādvalī 'verdant', used as a woman's name, though the correct form is sādvalī.
 12. In Dravidian languages the common form of Arya is Ayyar, often used as a respectful epithet to a n.pr. Pāla in everyday conversation might also be used without any other component. Kṛyā (with long final vowel) would be feminine, meaning simply 'lady'.
 13. Suggests Bhrgukacchīna 'belonging to Broach', which in a medieval vernacular might take some such form as Barucchin.
 14. Perhaps pedra-p Padra, north of Cambay. BTN is evidently pattana mod Marathi and Hindi pattan meaning emporium or port, and might be tacked on to any name.
 15. There is a Dabhol in Chiplun district, S.of Bombay. What of the famous Debal in Sind, often referred to in early Muslim sources.
 16. Seems to be Kannur (anglice Cananore) in Malabar, with a prefix. Tamil kai = lesser; kāyal = saltpan.

KGNADB KGNDRH (pencilled in your list) suggests Gajendra (Large elephant) or Khagendra ('Lord of birds', Garuda, a mythical 'roc') but I know of no places named thus.

23. Why not Colombo, famous as a haunt of pirates until it was occupied by the Portuguese? There is a Kolaba S. of Bombay. In vernacular speech nasals were, and still are sometimes inserted. If this must be Quilon I suggest Skt bhu, Tam. pū (in compounds pronounced bū), meaning 'district' 'land' 'region' added.

24. Kumāri = Comorin. Or possibly Kanheri, N. of Bombay.

25. The correct few classical form is Malayapāram, pronounced -bāram; also correct are Malaipār, Malayepār, Malaipāram. In each case the p, coming between vowels, is pronounced as b.

26. Mangalur is the correct form.

27. The full name of Cape Comorin is Kāya-kumāri. The former element means 'a girl' and the latter 'a princess'. A well known legend is told about the origin of the name. It seems to me that this is the first element, the -t added as the Semitic feminine. I cannot account for the Q.

29. ? Skt aguru, mod. agar, = aloe. Navāmsuka, which might be pronounced something like nūshuk, is a compound of nava, new, and amsuka, fine cloth, muslin.

30. Skt. bhāra, mod. bhār = Pers. bār 'load', 'burden'. For the second part of the word I have no suggestion. There is no z in Indian languages; here z probably represents Indian j.

31. Hindi pattara = sheet of metal.

32. Tam. cattam, often pronounced sattam = frame.

33. Hindi mogra = jasmine.

35. Tam. tālam = dish.

36. The correct form of this—the fanam is panam. I cannot suggest anything very good for filli. There was a small weight called pala, and coin and weight names were often interchanged. Canarese inscriptions refer to a small coin bele, but this was apparently less than the panam.

37. Seems to be tankī, a coin or medal in general.

39. Haga or pāga, a subdivision of the panam.

40. None of the words I know meaning shoe in Indian languages has anything to do with coinage. Sanskrit pādā pādukā, however, is very like pādikā, a diminutive fem. form of pāda = quarter, which might conceivably have been used for a coin in some vernacular form. Tam. nālu, nāl = 4.

41. Kaurī in Hindi = 20.

42. I know nothing about these. Bahār seems to be the bhāra of 30 above.

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, W.C.I

Telephone Number: MUSEUM 2023/4
Telegrams: SOASUL, PHONE, LONDON

24th November, 1958 +717
*The list
in the blue file
attached*

Dear Professor Goitein,

I have now shown your list to several people at S.O.A.S., who might be helpful, and have done what I can with it myself, and I enclose a number of suggestions from various sources, which I give you for what they are worth. More might certainly be done if serious research were undertaken on the names, but nobody seems to have much time. Possibly if you sent a copy of your list to Prof. T.V. Mahalingam, University of Madras, who is very interested in economic history, and a profound authority on medieval S. India; he might be able to help you further, or Certainly if you publish your documents the strange words will be taken up by Indian scholars. Another person who might help you further is Prof. Sandesara, of Maharaja Sayaji Rao University, Baroda.

The people to whom I have shown the list are Dr J.D.M. Derrett, Dr J.A. Marr, Dr. F.R. Allchin, and Pandit G.M. Joshi. All have special interests in the Deccan and S. India. I will keep the list, and if any further ideas come to me, or if I find any other people who might help, I will write again.

I trust that all goes well with you, and look forward to hearing more of your very interesting researches.

Yours sincerely,

A.L. Basham

Professor S.D. Goitein,
Oriental Department,
Graduate School,
305 Bennett Hall,
Philadelphia 4,
Pa., U.S.A.

B.Z. Kedav June 28, 80

ג'ז, ג'ז, ג'ז

השוואות אפשריות בין סוחרי הגדנזה לסתוריהם האיטלקיים

1. קיימים שוני פסיבי בתקופה: אין בידינו מכתבי סוחרים מן המאה ה-12. רק במאה ה-13 מתחילה הופיעו מכתבי סוחרים מטוסקנה, ככלומר מפנינים הארץ; מכתבים של סוחרי הערים הימיות גנוואה ווניציאנה מופיעים במאה ה-14. (הכתב הקדום ביותר של סוחר אחד מונזואה לשנחו, שידוע לי עליון ביום, הוו משנת 1382; יש בדעתם לפרנסו יומ אחד). אפשר מכך שהציגו בהופעת המכתבים נובע מרמת ההשכלה: רק ב-1369 שוכרת הקומונה של גנוואה מודרים שילמדו את בני העיר קרוא וכתוב. (פרטים בספריה, עמ' 38).

מבחן של מכתבי סוחרים איטלקיים בתרומות אגולי מופיע אצל Lopez & Raymond, Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World, pp. 379-407.

מאז יצא אוסף המכתבים שנהנמען שהנמען הוא פיניוול זוקאלו. (אבן, רוב הכתבים הם בני פנים הארץ, שעוסקים גם בסחר ימי).

R. Morozzo della Rocca, ed., Lettere di mercanti a Pignol Zucchello, 1326-1350. Venice, 1957.

מכתבים ספורים מופיעים במאה ה-14 נמצאים זה אצל L. Liagre de Sturler, Les relations commerciales entre Gênes etc. (1369), doc. 544, pp. 718-719.

G.-G. Musso, Navigazione e commercio genovese.... (Rome, 1975), pp. 248-249, 251-252.

2. סוחר ווניציאני בן המאה ה-12 אהתודות מאפשרות לנו לשער את הקאריריה שלו הוא

F.C. Lane, Venice: A Maritime Republic (Baltimore, 1973), pp. 52-53.

R. Heynen, Zur Entstehung des Kapitalismus in Venedig. Stuttgart, 1905.

דוינה לאחזר מאוחר יותר Richard D. Face, "Symon de Gualterio: A Brief Portrait of a 13th-Century Man of Affairs," Explorations in Economic History 7(1969-70), 75-94. [= Economy, Society and Government in Medieval Italy. Essays in Memory of Robert L. Reynolds]

3. אפשר ללמוד מהו על מנטלויות של סוחרים בעלי אוניות על פ' השמות שנתנו לאוניותיהם. על שמות אלה כתבה-

Giovanna Balbi, "I nomi di nave a Genova tra i secoli XIII e XIV," Miscellanea di storia ligure in memoria di Giorgio Falco (Genova, 1966), pp. 65-86. וכן בספריה, עמ' 102, 105-142.

4. דוגני אחד ההבדלים הבולטים בין סוחרי הגדנזה לסתוריהם האיטלקיים מזו, בהם לאסטרולוגיה. כפי שכחנות במאמר "The Mentality of the Middle Class in Medieval Islam",

לא נתנו בני המעבד חביבוני דעם על כבון זה. ואילו פאו ה- manuale di mercatura הראשון שנשתמר בידינו, והוא משנת 1278, ואילך, מוצאים אותו התייחסות מרובות לאסטרולוגיה בספרות המסחר האיטלקית (הערתי על כך בספריה, עמ' 39-40).

האם כבר סוחרי המאה ה-12 נתנו דעתם על כך, לא אוכל לומר.

Sincere Dines charatra

Engo No. 8

2008/09/20

Die Verwendung von *Wolffia* als Kultursubstrat ist in der Praxis weit verbreitet und hat sich in den letzten Jahren aufgrund der guten Ergebnisse in der Anzucht von *Hydrocoleus* bestätigt. Die Anzucht von *Hydrocoleus* auf *Wolffia* ist jedoch nicht ohne Probleme. Ein wesentliches Problem besteht darin, dass die *Wolffia*-Pflanze eine sehr hohe Sauerstoffaufnahme aufweist und somit die Sauerstoffversorgung des gesamten Kultursystems beeinträchtigt. Dies kann zu einem Anstieg des Ammoniumgehalts im Wasser führen, was wiederum die Entwicklung von *Hydrocoleus* negativ beeinflussen kann. Um dieses Problem zu überwinden, kann man die *Wolffia*-Pflanze durch eine gezielte Aussaat und Pflanzung in einem separaten Bereich des Kultursystems trennen. Durch diese Trennung kann die Sauerstoffversorgung der *Hydrocoleus*-Pflanze gewährleistet werden, während die *Wolffia*-Pflanze weiterhin die Nährstoffversorgung sicherstellt.

Georgian Gothic Revival architecture, featuring a tall, narrow tower topped by a spire.

Consequently, the first step in the process of creating a new culture is to identify the values that are to be upheld. This requires a deep understanding of the existing culture and its strengths and weaknesses. It also requires a clear vision of the desired future culture and the values that it should embody. The process of identifying and defining these values is often a long and difficult one, involving extensive research, consultation, and debate. However, it is essential for the success of any cultural transformation effort.

After a period of time, the body becomes accustomed to the new diet, and the individual begins to feel better and more energetic. This is the first stage of the diet.

Marie + Martin

7/7/79

7/8 always

Dr. S. D. Goitein
284 Hamilton Ave.
Princeton NJ 08540

Dear Dr. Goitein:

Dr. Michael Bates of The American Numismatic Society recently showed me some correspondence which you initiated with George Miles some years ago concerning the coinages of peninsular and western India. Mike spoke to me because my academic interests focus on the Bahmanid period (1350-1525), in the northern portion of the peninsula, and include South Asia from before the time of the Ghaznavids until well into the Mughal period.

The numbers below refer to the numbers in your original letter of April 9, 1958.

X 1. The dirham of Nahrwara in Gujerat. There may have been a state called Nahrwara in Gujerat. This can be checked in the British Gazeteer series of 1939 and should be confirmed in D. C. Sircar, The Geography of Ancient India (approximate title). Nahrwara, however, may be a misspelling of Marwar, an ancient geographical designation for part of Gujerat known for its merchants, both Hindu and Jain. Jain merchants have been very important as traders and money lenders on the western coast of India and have been in the Karnatic from the time of Asoka (3rd century B.C.). There is a book by Salatore, Medieval Jainism (again an approximate title) which may be of some help to you (unfortunately, I have not read it). In any case, if the province can be located, then it may be possible to identify an appropriate coinage.

CJ 6. a. The Fili Kullami. I suspect that Kullami refers to the southern port of Quilon, the name of which has been transliterated in many different ways, but which was part of the Roman trading network. The 'Fili Kullami', then, would be the 'elephant of Quilon', and might correspond with what Indian numismatists call the Gajapati Pagoda or 'elephant pagoda'. The provenance of the Gajapati Pagoda is not clear, but coins with elephants have been struck by several dynasties in various parts of peninsular India during the period spanned by the Geniza documents. (See D. C. Sircar, Studies in Indian Coins, Delhi: Motilal Benarsidass, 1968, pp. 243-247, and Brajadulal Chattpadhyaya, Coins and Currency Systems in South India c. AD 225-1300, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1977, pp. 44-48, both of which may be too specific for your purposes but establish the coinage type.)
3544

C 46
1977

6. b. Tanayah may be a geographical reference relating to Thāna, an ancient entrepot near Bombay, but additional information is necessary for more concrete speculation or identification.

6.g. Na'l, pl Ni'al, both a weight or quantity and a coin. If this refers to a weight or quantity, I would expect the word to be derived from a South Asian language; however indigenous South Asian languages do not have the 'ɛ'. I am not a linguist but it seems probable to me that the 'ɛ' before the 'J' may reflect a retroflex 'el' sound (transliterated from the Devanagari 'ळ'), yielding the South Asian नालि 'nali' or नालि 'nāli', the latter being a quantitative measure found in most of peninsular India, but not (I believe) in the North. The amount varies, but is usually stated to be a bowl full or a few handfuls (see T. W. Rhys Davids, On the Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon, London: Trubner and Co., 1877, pp.18-20). The root is, of course, Indo-European, ना॒ल् in Persian, नाल् (nāl, no retroflex) in Sanskrit, and means 'reed'. Presumably it would have been initially a measure of quantity which varied depending on the size of the hollow reed used.

Precious metals in South Asia. Usually it is assumed that the coinage of southern India was gold and copper, while in the northern areas the coinage consisted of gold, silver, copper and billon (not always contemporaneously). The exception to this, however, is the early, and not well explained punch-marked coinage in both silver and copper which was in use for most of the millennium between 500 B.C. and A.D. 500 throughout the subcontinent. These coins have been found in large quantities in both the north and south which conflicts with the usual assertion that southern coinages were based on gold and copper. Furthermore, the information available on southern states and coastal entrepots during the period from perhaps 800 to 1500 suggests that the entrepots were self-contained and well regulated; therefore, I suspect that they may have been free currency areas and that silver would have been an important element in exchanges and trade. I am not acquainted with any source that adequately examines the problems of precious metals, coinage and/or trade between, say, 800 and 1300, let alone adequate specific works on particular dynasties or regions. In fact, those interested in these matters have been waiting for your work in hopes that it will give us ideas and tools with which to examine these problems from the Indian side of the ocean.

If you have specific problems with South Asian references, I would be delighted to try and track them down for you as they would be related to my own interests. I hope to finish my dissertation on Bahmani and Delhi Sultanate coinage early next year (for the University of Michigan) and will be permanently in New York as Assistant Editor for The American Numismatic Society beginning next month.

Sincerely yours,

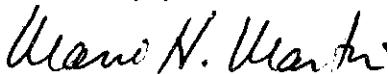
Marie H. Martin

The American Numismatic Society

Broadway at 155th

New York NY 10032

July 7, 1979



Yule, Sir Henry & Burnell, Arthur Cole, Hobson-Jobson
1886
New ed. W.C. Crooke 1903

[A hot Boiler]

- Davies C. Collin, An historical atlas of the Indian peninsula
Deshpande C. D. Western India, a regional geography 1948
India. Survey of India 1913
Spate, O.H.K. India & Pakistan. A general & regional
geography Ceylon

827 pp. 1954

Sindehara of the Arab writers,
Journal of Indian History 10, p. 191

Georg
S. Moraos The Kadamba Kula
Mr. J. F. Archer, ^{Madras} Victoria & Albert Curator of Indian
John Erwin yrs

|| Drama - Varma 1957-10 6 22
Drama - Brahma

India Book
Additional Bibliography

Rothpletz Werner, chinesische Porzellanscherben
aus Fostat bei Kairo

Ethnologische Zeitschrift (Zürich, 1970) 41-46
§ 3 (2 000) 95, 1916 152 15

Hess, Andrew C. The Evolution of the Ottoman
Seaborne Empire 1453-1525 35v p. 8v
Art Review 75 (1970), 1892-1919. 13x v. 21

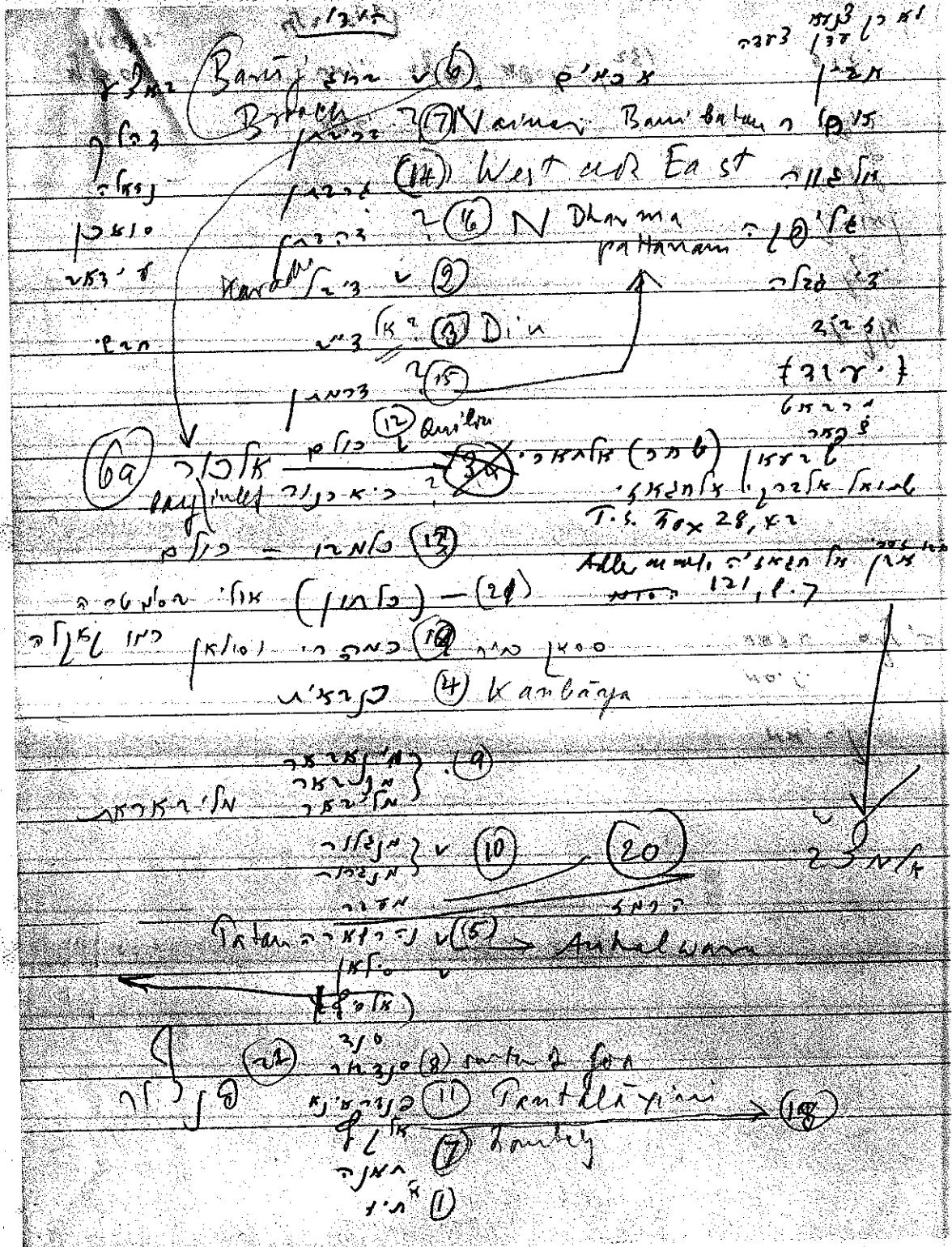
M. Grosset-Grange, Comment naviguent aujourd'hui les Arabes
de l'océan Indien? } Arabicca 19 (1972)
" , Les traités arabes de navigation.

R. Rose di Meglio Il commercio arabo con la Cina dalla
Galiliyya al X secolo Annali Ist. Ori. di Napoli 14 (1964)
523-552

J. Friedmann Oissat Shakarwati Far mād
(sv. Or. St. V 233-258 Malabar Coast

Add from Indian words

fig 330 sly or cabin



LNG 250

-3.93±2
605168

132 2105 1032 1MP

100)

f 100

(x13) 100

100

500±2

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

100

12/12/65

208(60x)

20

גַּדְעָן בְּנֵי אֶתְנָר 210 פְּנִים וְבְּשָׂמָחָה
בְּנֵי אֶתְנָר וְבְּשָׂמָחָה וְבְּנֵי אֶתְנָר וְבְּנֵי אֶתְנָר
וְבְּנֵי אֶתְנָר וְבְּנֵי אֶתְנָר וְבְּנֵי אֶתְנָר וְבְּנֵי אֶתְנָר

וְבְּנֵי אֶתְנָר

He had sent here, for

(בְּנֵי אֶתְנָר וְבְּנֵי אֶתְנָר וְבְּנֵי אֶתְנָר)

Sends presents (or received goods ordered) to יְהוָנָה

1147 fix

91

גַּדְעָן בְּנֵי אֶתְנָר (54) בְּנֵי אֶתְנָר קְנָתָה

בְּנֵי אֶתְנָר 58½ גְּדוֹלָה 275

בְּנֵי אֶתְנָר (55) גְּדוֹלָה 1,000 לְנָס

20.12.1937

Place names

R.B. Segments written
Commodities. ملخص الفتر

اجابر This might be mod. التمر المحاجر

(الثياب الخطاى والنبيع والدوخ والمنج) types of cloth الدوخ

(الجندى = ماء) الثياب الصنادت types of cloth الضرات

الخواى (Clothing Wiltsch suggests Turkish types of cloth. But this does not fit
خواى (Clothing probably Goan cloth?)

(جوازى) (With stated to be same as سباعية (which of
جوازى across is known)).

الثياب اطشانى types of cloth.

والدرى (Clothing - Qawqali? from Georgia
الثياب القوقلى والنيفه Types of cloth - India?

خانى (Clothing - Persia) Wiltzsch's احواليه ما (Mahas) is known - but not the others.
والحاليه

الثياب العشارى Found in al-Muqawir - presumably refers
to types of weave - but have you more information?

الابراد الشاورى From شاوران in Persia - or from
شاور in Yemen?

(؟ الحال) الكادر البنحالى Bengal paper.
وهو لا يبني Readings dubious

البولا من امارة واطهريل Readings dubious. I have
found many kinds of steel but none quite fit.
Mahomed of course would be all right if we're
sure this is the reading. How can references
to types of steel?

العولدى والارادى (?) واطعامات الماج Wood -

وطعامات

البلاستيك Plastic

البكار ? Do you know a trading group called

It might be like the Karavans.

البرىج ? اطیبع ? Rice ارز امریک

الخام النهائى ? cloth

الدهن ← This is all right

الثياب المطاطي واللبدان
والثياب السروق / السروي

2

cloth

? معرة النعمان من الثياب المطاطي

الثياب المطاطي cloth

الإبراد العرقية اطهار ?

اطلاقات العان الصوخر ? Kitasi ? hanbati
Futūhi (as in Mayawir)

الكتان العرالي

cloth (Egyptian?)

الدسوت

التفاصيل الغامض

? (possibly Sans madcap as
(العرالي

الإطباق اطهار : - if

the latter does it have some
such sense as "inlaid"

الخاتم العوالي cloth.

الصفر المدورة copper

الهال اطعوف Cardamom

الجذر الاسمر Is this ^{اسمر} ? Is it sharp
— ^{اسمر} الجذر الاسمر ?

القرفان البذر الشمعي ?

القرفان الظاهري

الارفع - cloth - perhaps ^{انف} a sort of
^{العنابي والزيلاندي} tail of a tar ban etc? ^{والارفع، والزنقة؟}

الكتوالى or الثياب الحرالى cloth

الثياب البحري cloth ^{لبحري} ? (or Aolin)

الصنادفات (as above)

العنف الفخر وهو اطعاف العوسى Copper - might be 3
Qubnisi, but it seems to be written
as I have transcribed it.

الرسع an epithet of lead (رسوب)
Or it might be a weight or form
of packing.

شمدكان entirely unknown. May be an
error.

السكرن الباب والروسا sugar
(الروسا) والطرف

الفزان الشمن

الرطب

الثياب الخزير الحوان (as above) cloth

الثياب السري cloth

الدست .. باسم سوري التدهري Is this Shimri of Tadmor?

الفوط الساباعي ... الهمسي fabrics.

العلان الزيت Myrrhe or perhaps a
separate substance?

الحديد الضرعوم رعن (v. dubsas) 170

العنكبوت might be sheil.

وہی کامد رکھا ای

فق عرب

البِقْمَ - الْكَلْمَ مُحَمَّد بْنُ جَعْلَنَ but MS signs
الْكَبِيرُ عَلَيْهِ وَهُوَ مُطَلَّبٌ مُحَمَّد

الدَّرْكُ الْعَقْنِي
وَالْعَقْلِي

ال歇爾 الجیان من مکھر

April 3, 1963

Dear Sergeant,

It was good to hear from you. But I have to disappoint you. As my study of the inventories of Sirdar's transoceanic trade taught me, there must have been a considerable break in material civilization around 1220. Most of the figures for materials and clothing change, and there are practically no Gezira papers with regard to the India trade after 1220. — just a few remarks to your question:

p. 1 Fig. 1 is perhaps 1220, when in my papers also comes from China. It unique design the color of a male dove! Taylor-Scheckler 16.263 has (in red) between Wood and عَرْبٌ. The text is mediterranean and very common in transoceans. A pencil colored drawing simply, of the type worn by noble people in an India trade letter. I send you a copy written in Arabic with you.

عَسَارٌ: I have read this in a mediterranean text.

16 فُولَدٌ its different types of steel are mentioned, but 5 types of رِنْد (one new casting) differing from (عَزْد).

b. 2 اطْلَادَاتِ التَّانِي ؟

p.3 العقوف الخنزير هل هي السعر؟ In the
Geniza open 725 there would be الخنزير. I take
it as "pieces" as opposed to كيلو "bars". e.g.
India Book 219, line 17 في ٤ سكاكين كلها ١٩ جرام
i.e. comparatively small pieces of $4\frac{3}{4}$ pounds.
نسمى الباينا؟ Not mentioned in the Geniza.
This family name was common in Egypt.
كيلو common in the Geniza as a merchandise
coming from the West and sold in Aden. 450
pound كيلو Cost in Aden (± 1133) ٢٣٥ weight
24½ kilos (2 secks ^{or Egyptian} eg. 2 secks) India book
206, ll. 4-5. For fish this could perhaps be too
high a price.

As you see, the pre-1220 A.D. Geniza
is of no help for your late medieval text.
I have here a card index of 1030
localities in Geniza which I made in
1949-51. I doubt, however, whether it
will be of any use for you. As you
know the Jews lived mostly up in

the mountains and not near the sea.

My A Mediterranean Society in the
High Middle Ages comprises now 1075 typed
pages and the companion volume Readings
in Mediterranean Social History about
500. At present, however, I am preparing
for print a volume to be called Studies
in the Social and Religious History of Islam
The India book comprises 311 pages, or
more however 80 are concerned with the
peculiarities of the India trade and not directly
with this trade itself.

Finally: a request. Please put me
on your mailing list. All you write
is of interest to me.

I wish you all best for your pro-
longed trip to Britain & the con-
tinents. Kindly subscribe me to
Correspondence.

This project.

Yours very sincerely

S D Goede

CABLE ADDRESS
"NUMISMA" NEW YORK

TELEPHONE
AUDUBON 5-3030



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

(FOUNDED 1858 - INCORPORATED 1865)

BROADWAY BETWEEN 155TH AND 156TH STS

NEW YORK 32, N.Y.

December 20, 1958

Professor S. D. Goitein
305 Bennett Hall
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia 4, Pa.

Dear Professor Goitein,

I am covered with confusion when I consider that your letter of April 9 is still unanswered. You will have learned through a letter from my assistant that I was in Greece when you last wrote. I left here late in August and have only just recently returned. I can see now that I never will reply unless I do so immediately, so I will not put off any longer what I realize is going to be a very unsatisfactory answer. I had hoped that I might be able to do some digging into your questions so that I might at least make some suggestions about them, but it is clear that with too many other commitments I will never get around to it.

It seems to me that everything connected with South Arabia has an element of mystery in it. Years ago (Numismatic Chronicle, 1939) I wrote about the coinage of the Ayyubids of the Yemen and found myself faced with all sorts of problems. This was a purely numismatic study, where I had something tangible to deal with. It is when one tackles metrology, nomenclature, values etc. as observed to date in written sources that the difficulties are compounded. Over and over again, in regions less esoteric than South Arabia, I run into the same problem: trying to reconcile what one reads with the coins themselves. — In short, I find most of your questions unanswerable.

Maliki dinar: the only numismatic note I know is E. von Zambaur in Numismatische Zeitschrift, Wien, NF VII (1914), pp. 171-3, in which a Maliki dinar of Aden, 498 H., is published. The coin appears to have been current from 479-543 H. That specimen weighed 2.33 grams. We have one in our collection, dated 529, which weighs precisely the same. These coins are very rare. The only only references I have to Zurayid coinage are: P. Casanova in Revue Numismatique, 1894, pp. 200-220; S. Lane-Poole in JRAS, 1876, p. 291; BM Cat. Or. Coins, Vol. V. — For the weights of contemporary Egyptian Fatimid coins, see my Fatimid Coins (Num. Notes and Monographs No. 121, 1951). See also recent articles by A. Ehrenkreutz in ESGAS and JAO. I have a reference to ZDMG II, p. 499, but as I haven't the journal here I am not sure what it is about and whether it is relevant.

The "dirham in Nahrwara in Gujerat": I know nothing. I know of no coins actually of Gujerat until the 15th century.

Mansūri, Husaini and Ahmadi dirhems in Zabīd around 1150; I have never heard of them. Furthermore there are, so far as I know, no known dirhems preserved of this area of the mid-6th c. H.

Jibli Niṣāfi: unknown to me.

Maliki and zbdy dinars: yes, I would agree that zbdy probably refers to Zabīd. But unfortunately I know of no dinars of Zabīd of this period, although I do know of some in the previous two centuries.

Sa'idi and Maliki dinars in 1133: No coins of Sa'īd b. Najjāh are known. In any case his dates were 473-481, and 1133= 527 H.

Malabar Coast: All of this I am afraid is hopeless, but I do not pretend to know anything about the area. The principal numismatic work is Walter Elliot, Coins of Southern India (London, 1886); I do not find any of these names there. I wonder if Norman Brown could help; but doubtless you have already discussed these things with him. Or perhaps Walter Maurer; the last address I have for him is Division of Orientalia, Library of Congress.

I am really sorry to be so helpless. But you are by no means the first person who has turned to a numismatist vainly for help.

Very sincerely yours,

George C. Miles
George C. Miles

even even I will never mind at smooth things have fallen. . . .
very smooth word on , when I go not go , one good extensionist , now no more
. H , S Red-Blue all to note what is better

ON OF TWO DAYS WHICH FOLLOW.

500M of exeter vididom vtsi vait serys blow I say jersath vtsi has biffed word ob I reportis , bolzeg sind to biffed to standa on lo wond I vietnamming tol self-judgeo ovf employo mit al cases to

In 1988 - 89 the IBA-CTU study reported that about 70%

for business for ab I find , especially at biocite and I think he has a strong interest
, will be review of flow of information beginning with zero and goods produced from
, strong concern about to the half job of I : (MGI , noisier) after completion of project
, because this is even very good work and which things more useful to us
and not even I see this deal off ; request review regarding "C" min with agency and
, according to your will , information to noisier at

1971 adf species on 2d era nov jnd assigned as ad of *virgo* *gibber* ms 1
adfed to *virginia* *gibber* from s. of bennet and now accepted

CHENG SHIQUAN JIAO YU

Scutellaria *lanceolata* L.

2000 m.s.t +

February 22, 1979

Dr. Michael L. Bates
American Numismatic Society
Broadway at 156 Street
New York, New York 10032

Dear Dr. Bates:

Following my note of 1 February, which confirmed receipt of your very instructive missive of January 11, I should be grateful for any new information with regard to the Yemenite and Indian coins mentioned in the 1958 correspondence between our lamented master George Miles and myself.

As I wrote, I hope to go over the entire material of numismatic relevance with you once I have fully collected and sifted my own material. But this very process would be more effective if I had at my disposal all the information which could be provided at present.

In connection with this: if I may ask, what are your plans for the future? May I expect to have you so near to Princeton as at present, also in the forthcoming years?

Do you have any information how late Ashrafis were used in Egypt-Yemen? I have letters from the sixteen (and, maybe, seventeenth) century, where they seem to appear.

With kindest regards,

Cordially,

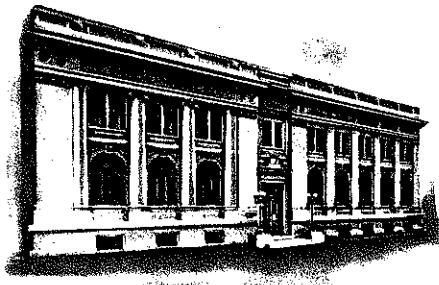
SDG:ssl

S. D. Goitein

Dictated but not signed

Home address:
284 Hamilton Avenue
Princeton, N.J. 08540

CABLE ADDRESS
"NUMISMA" NEW YORK



TELEPHONE
222-3333
(212) 234-3130

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
(FOUNDED 1858 • INCORPORATED 1865)
BROADWAY BETWEEN 155TH AND 156TH STS.
NEW YORK N.Y. 10032

January 11, 1979

Professor S. D. Goitein
284 Hamilton Avenue
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

7, 48 (190)
Wadi

Dear Professor Goitein:

I'm not sure I can be of much help with your query of 8 January, but I have some ideas, which you may take for what they're worth (not much, I suspect).

Ya'qub seems to be a rather scarce name in Yemen; I have only one Ya'qub in my extensive file of Yemeni personalities of the 12th century compiled for my thesis, and he is a very minor figure, not a ruler. In fact, from my notes and poor memory, I can think of only one 12th century ruler named Ya'qub who might have given his name to dinars, namely the Muwahhid Ya'qub b. Yusuf, 580-95/1184-99. His gold coins are well-attested but not exceedingly common.

This raises two questions that I cannot answer. One is, could your document be as late as Ya'qub's dates? The other is, could Muwahhid dinars have circulated as far as Aden, or put another way, could the document have come from somewhere other than Aden? I would not be surprised to hear of Muwahhid dinars there, since the Muwahhid gold coinage is said to have enjoyed great prestige; but I have no evidence for their circulation in Yemen (of course I am thinking only about their possible use by international merchants, not of their circulation in daily transactions).

Another problem is the exchange rate quoted in your text. The Muwahhids used an unusual system, with a double dinar of 4.55 g. and a dinar of 2.27g. (according to Hazard). But 100 Muwahhid dinars of 2.27g. would translate into about 95 Maliki dinars of ca. 2.4g. I would suspect that the small discrepancy between the two figures in your letter indicates that this is not an exchange rate, but rather an evaluation by count and by weight.

January 11, 1979

page 2

Even if the letter is proven to come from Aden, it seems to me that it does not necessarily follow that "dinar" without qualification means Maliki dinars. Since the letter was sent to Cairo, it could be that its author had in mind ordinary dinars of the kind he and his correspondent were familiar with. Probably the Maliki dinars would be the ones which would have to be explicitly identified to avoid confusion.

The Ahmadi, Mansuri, and Husayni dirhams are a puzzle. I know of no 12th century Yemeni dirhams before the arrival of the Ayyubids. Nothing about the Ayyubid dirhams would lead to their identification by the three names you mention.

On the other hand, it may be that Egyptian dirhams circulated to some extent in Yemen (again, among the merchants, not in everyday life). A prominent feature of the cut black dirhams of the 12th century was the central field inscription on one side consisting of two or three lines with the title "al-imam" followed by the imam's personal name (ism). Since these coins were small but struck with large dies, the central inscriptions are often the only legible part of the coin. Dirhams with this feature were struck from 491/1098 until 596/1200.

Dirhams with "al-Imam/Ahmad" were struck by the Fatimid al-Musta'li (very scarce today) and by Salah al-Din with the 'Abbasid caliph al-Nasir (quite common). Dirhams with "al-Imam/al-Mansur" were struck by al-Amir the Fatimid. In fact, it is apparently during his reign that the "cut" dirhams were introduced (a historical source mentions a change in the dirhams in his time, and his are the earliest known of this distinctive fabric). Al-Musta'li's dirhams, although similar to those of al-Amir in design and legends, are quite different in physical shape, and may have been regarded as a different dirham coinage. Al-Amir's dirhams may have given their name to the entire series down to the end of the Fatimid period, just as the name "Nasiri" from Salah al-Din was given to coins struck as late as the time of Baybars. This would account for the absence of mention in your documents of dirhams with designations derived from the names of al-Amir's Fatimid successors (although their actual dirhams survive).

The stumbling block for my theory is the name Husayni, for there was no 12th century caliph with this ism. On the other hand, there was "al-Imam/al-Hasan" al-Mustadi bi-amr Allah, whose name appears on common issues of Salah al-Din, 567-75. Is there any possibility that Husayni could be an error for Hasani?

Of course these names for these cut dirhams were not used in Egypt, where they were called Amiri, Nasiri, etc. But they may have been used in Yemen because of the prominence of the ism on the coins.

Professor S. D. Goitein

January 11, 1979

page 3

Otherwise I can think of no possible identification, even theoretical. The names do not fit the sequence of rulers of any major city in Yemen, and the historical sources lend support to the numismatic evidence that there was no indigenous silver coinage there before the Ayyubids.

Your letter of 9/4/58 and Miles's reply to it were of great interest to me; I wish I had known about the correspondence before. New discoveries and research provide some clues for your questions about Yemeni and Indian coins, but I don't know if you are still interested after 20 years. Since this letter is already very long, I'll wait to hear from you before writing more.

With my very best wishes for the New Year,

Yours sincerely,

Michael Bates

Michael L. Bates
Curator of Islamic Coins

MLB:mw

Vogelau VI 48 (Index 190.)

(Index 82 p 4)

of Correspondence

January 8, 1979

Sadiq Maliki

perhaps = Zabid

~10 ~20 150s 20' 123pl 10N

Dr. Michael L. Bates
American Numismatic Society
Broadway at 156th Street
New York, New York 10032

Dear Mr. Bates:

I hope you have returned from Cairo in the best of health and spirits, and are busy in removing backlogs. Our lamented colleague G. Miles wrote to me in detail about Yemenite coins on December 20, 1958. Perhaps you could find a copy in your office, or I could send you a Xerox. (It will take me some time to find it. I refer to it in my notes.)

Today I have a question. In a quite unusual letter, written in Aden(?), probably around the middle of the twelfth century(?), the writer confirms to have received textiles from India, worth 315 3/4 dinars (Maliki?), and 100 ya'qubiyya, worth 101 1/4 dinars (probably Maliki dinars). The identification of the coin might help me to fix with more or less accuracy the date of the letter, which was sent, it seems, by merchants from Iraq. Iraqi merchants writing from Aden are very rare.

With best wishes for 1979,

Yours very sincerely,

SDG:ssl

S. D. Goitein

Dictated but not signed

Home address: 284 Hamilton Ave.
Princeton, N.J. 08540

P.S. I believe I have asked Miles about Ahmadi, Mansuri, and Husayni dirhems, which were in use in Yemen (Aden, Dhu Jibla or Zabid) around 1150. I assume coins of such little value have not been preserved.

April 14, 1978

Mr. Michael L. Bates
American Numismatic Society
Broadway at 156th Street
New York, New York 10032

Dear Bates:

I am very grateful to you for sending me your very important paper on the glass weights. Did I understand well that there is consensus that, as from the caliphate of al-'Aziz, glass weights were used as currency?

My main point in vol. IV will be that references to actual payments in dirhems or parts of them by poor people seem to prove that these were made not in paper ("order of payment"), but by some sort of coins. Without your article I would not have been able to write that section.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

SDG:ssl

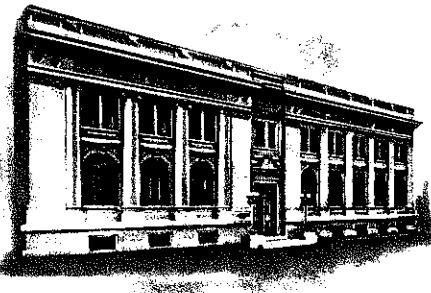
S. D. Goitein

Dictated but not signed

P.S. Ibn Mammati's book is repeatedly misspelled as Qawawin (nn. 21, 42).

CABLE ADDRESS
"NUMISMA" NEW YORK

TELEPHONE
286-3030



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
(FOUNDED 1858 • INCORPORATED 1865)
BROADWAY BETWEEN 155TH. AND 156TH. STS.
NEW YORK N.Y. 10032

8 April 1978

Prof. S.D. Goitein
School of Historical Studies
The Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, N.J. 08540

Dear Professor Goitein:

Thank you for your letter of 6 April. I enclose a copy of a finished draft of my article on the use of the glass weights. My intention is to submit it to JESHO for publication. I would appreciate your advice, and especially would be grateful for critical comments.

I will change my copy of the text to note that your comments on the subject will be in vol. IV, not III. I had not known that Med.Soc. would be extended to four volumes. I look forward to reading vol. III, and I hope it will not be long before IV also is published.

It seems that you have anticipated me to the idea that the glass weights were used to weigh out payments, not individual coins, but I think it may be useful for me to publish anyway. Too many historians are apt to give undue respect to the arguments of a "numismatist" on such a subject, even though the article is not based on numismatic expertise to any extent.

Balog, I believe, is well and likely to live many more years, although he is constantly pessimistic. His publications continue to appear in a steady stream, and his correspondence is constant.

With my best regards,

Yours sincerely,
Michael L. Bates
Michael L. Bates

Over

Dear Dr. Salas:

I am very grateful to you for sending me your very important paper on the glass weights. Did I understand well that there is consensus that ^{as} from the caliphate of al-Azīz, glass weights were used as currency?

My main point in vol. IV will be that refer-

ences to actual payments in dinars or by poor people
parts of them seem to prove that these were
made not in paper, but by some sort of
coins. Without ~~the~~ your article I would not
have been able to write that.

With every good wish,

M. S.

P.S. In Marmatī's book is repeatedly
misspelled as Qawāīn (nn. 21, 42).

April 6, 1978

Mr. Michael L. Bates
Curator of Islamic Coins
The American Numismatic Society
Broadway between 155th and 156th Sts.
New York, New York 10032

Dear Mr. Bates:

Your letter of March 21 reached me only today after my return from the Settimana of Spoleto.

I am of the same opinion as you, namely that these glass "coins" must have been used for payment. But, not being a numismatist, I do not feel myself competent to participate in the discussion. The field is open for you.

Volume III deals solely with "The Family" and should be on the market in two or three months.

To the problem of glass weights as payment I hope to return in Volume IV (already 400 pp. are typed out) and shall be happy to make use of your paper.

By the way, how is Balog's health? I have not heard from him for a long time.

With best wishes,

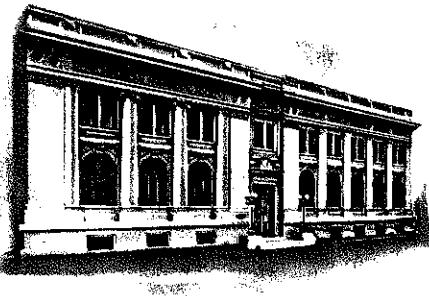
Yours sincerely,

SDG:ssl

S. D. Goitein

CABLE ADDRESS
"NUMISMA" NEW YORK

TELEPHONE
632-0000
(212) 234-3130



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

(FOUNDED 1858 • INCORPORATED 1865)

BROADWAY BETWEEN 155TH AND 156TH STS.

NEW YORK N.Y. 10032

March 21, 1978

Professor S. D. Goitein
284 Hamilton Avenue
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Dear Professor Goitein:

At the AOS meeting in Toronto I will present a paper in which I will argue that the glass weights of the Fatimids and Ayyubids could not have been used for fiduciary currency. My major objection to Balog's hypothesis is the complete absence of any reference to such a remarkable practice in literary sources and documents, including the Geniza material. I also argue that many features of the weights, such as their large quantity, the finds of hoards, and the existence of double denominations for which there are no corresponding coins, can be explained by the assumption that coin weights were not used to "test" individual coins--which would have been pointless--but rather were used in quantity to weigh out payments, either by themselves or in conjunction with bronze large denomination weights.

I write to you now because I recently noted in your Mediterranean Society, I, 360, that you promise a fuller discussion of the use of these weights in MS III. I hope that my paper will not infringe upon ground you have already covered; do you have any objection to my going ahead with publication of the paper after it is delivered? And secondly, I wonder whether you have from the Geniza or elsewhere any evidence I should know about, especially evidence which would call my arguments into question. Any advice you may have will be gratefully received and acknowledged.

Thank you very much indeed for your interesting offprints on the house in Fustat and on marriage contracts.

With my best regards,

Yours sincerely,

Michael L. Bates

Michael L. Bates

Curator of Islamic Coins

Dear Mr. Baker:

Your letter of March 21 reached me
only today after my return from the
Settimana di Spoleto.

I am of the same opinion as you,

namely, that these glass "copies" must
have been used for specimens B-1,
~~being~~ (now) a minimum distance of
not feel myself competent to participate
in the discussion. The field is open for
you.

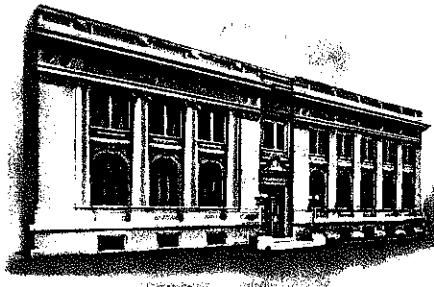
Vol. III deals solely with The Fauny.

It should be on the market in two or
three months.

To ~~the~~ problem of glass weights as
to payment 1 copy to return ~~in~~ Vol IV
(already 400 pp. are typed out) - shall
be happy to make use of your paper.

CABLE ADDRESS
"NUMISMA" NEW YORK

TELEPHONE
286-3030



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

(FOUNDED 1858 · INCORPORATED 1865)

BROADWAY BETWEEN 155TH AND 156TH STS.

NEW YORK N.Y. 10032

21 March 1979

Dear Professor Goitein:

I enclose notes on the various numismatic points raised in your letters to Miles and to me. Each point is discussed on a separate sheet for my convenience in writing and your convenience in filing. But on a couple of non-numismatic points you raised:

I am Secretary of the American Institute for Yemeni Studies at least until 1980. Manfred Wenner is the author of Modern Yemen 1918-1966 (Johns Hopkins Press, 1967), a professor of Political Science at Northern Illinois U., and Vice-President of AIYS; he has been in charge during the absence of the President, MacGuire Gibson. We are about to send out the first issue of the AIYS Newsletter. As its editor, I would appreciate from you any news of Yemen studies for forthcoming issues.

Your question about my plans for the future suggests that you have heard reports that I'm unhappy at the ANS. This is true, and I'm looking for a position elsewhere teaching medieval Islamic history, but the current job situation does not leave me much hope. It looks like I'll be here at the ANS for a while at least. I would also consider a temporary position anywhere, or a part-time position in the N.Y. region.

I don't know how much help the enclosed notes will be to you, but I remain extremely interested in the monetary evidence you are finding in the Geniza documents, and would like to help with any further questions you may have.

With my best regards,

Yours sincerely,

Michael Bates

Michael L. Bates

P.S. Is your book "Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders" the same as "Mediterranean People?"

jiblī nīṣāfi

After

Since you asked Miles about this coin, you have probably seen the coin from Dhū Jibla published by N. Lowick in Num. Chron. 1964, pp. 263-64, dated 530H. This is the only coin so far known to me from this mint, but probably there were others. Its weight is 1.20 grams, 1/2 the weight of the Maliki dinar. I commented on the coin in my 1972 ANSMN article, p. 156, but this latter has nothing to do with the coin's economic function.

zbdy dinars

I would tend to agree that zbdy is Zabīdī as this is philologically possible. N. Lowick, in the Actes of the International Numismatic Congress, 1973 (publ. 1976), described some dinars of Zabīd of the mid-11th century. In the offprint he sent me, he added a handwritten note that he has since discovered in a private collection a dinar of al-Fatik b. Muhammad, the Najāhid ruler of Zabīd 531-552 or 553, with the caliph al-Muqtāfi, 530-55, from the Zabīd mint, date illegible, weighing 2.27 grams, approximately the same as the Maliki dinar. Another coin has been attributed to Zabīd, 534 H., but I am dubious about that attribution.

In any case, the dinar of al-Fatik shows that there was a mint for dinars in Zabīd in the first half of the 12th century.

'adliyya

I noticed an old note from you to Miles on this coin designation, which reminded me of your reference to it in Med. Soc. I, p. 231. I have been wondering whether this, instead of referring to some special deluxe issue, might not be the ordinary Egyptian coinage of al-Zāhir, struck from 421 to 424 H., which had in the center the single word 'adl. I don't know if this would fit the context of the document in which the coin is mentioned.

ashrafiṣ

I have no special knowledge on this late period, but I would not be surprised to learn that Mamluk coins were still being used in Egypt and Yemen after the Ottoman conquests. An Ottoman document from Yemen dated 1525 refers to the use of "Għawri" gold coins for official expenditures (Arabian Studies 4, 1978, p. 82). The editor's note there says that the Ottoman gold coins of Egypt were also called ashrafiṣ. The weight standard of the late Mamluk and the Ottoman gold coins was about the same, both being based on the Venetian ducat. Ashrafiṣ were also struck by the Safavid Shahs from the 16th to the 18th centuries, along with other gold coins.

Baker 3/21/79

filī

The word suggests elephants, and indeed there is a series of Indian gold coins with very obvious and handsome elephants on them. These have recently been attributed by B. Chattpadhyaya (Coins and Currency Systems in South India, c. AD 225-1300, New Delhi, 1977, p. 45) to the western Gangas of Karnataka, 11th-12th and possibly 13th centuries. Elsewhere he says (p. 142) that they may have circulated widely in South India. Their weight range is 3.7 to 4.1 grams, somewhat less than but comparable to the Fatimid dinar. There are similar smaller gold coins of 1/10th and 1/40th their weight; he takes the one to be the pāna or fanam and the smaller to be the pāga, possibly your fāj.

Chattpadhyaya's book, his Ph.D. thesis (apparently for SOAS, 1969), looks quite good and intelligent, but I am so ignorant of Indian history, geography, and numismatics that I can't really judge. He lists hundreds of coin names mentioned in the Indian literary and epigraphic sources, but I couldn't find any to correspond to the names in the Geniza documents except, possibly, pāna and pāga, for fanam and fāj.

These elephant gold coins might be your mithqal filī and its fractions, but it doesn't solve the other problems you raise, especially your impression that the filī coins were silver. Scarcely any southern Indian silver coinage of the Geniza era seems as yet to have been recognized, although Chattpadhyaya says that the Indian sources refer to silver coins as much as to gold. What struck me in reading his book is that he (and presumably other students of medieval Indian money) did not know of your important Geniza evidence. On the other hand, I see that Hall, in JESHO 1978, knows of your evidence, but does not seem to know of Chattpadhyaya's book. The communications gap!