

199

29

Two Fragments of Two Copies of a Long Letter sent
by Madmun in Aden, to b. Yiju in India

1135

29 U.L.C. T.-S. 20.137

199 U.L.C. T.-S. N.S. J 1

~~verso~~

ll. 9-22 of no. 29 ~~was~~ published in: Goitein, S.D. "Two Eye-witness Reports on an Expedition of the King of Kish (Qais) Against Aden", Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, and Africa XVI/2, London, 1956, pp. 247-257.

No. 29 is 12.5 cm. wide, i.e. the paper is cut approximately the same as no. 28, except that the person who cut the paper was not careful to cut in a straight line. The reason for this is perhaps to be ~~XXXXX XXXXXXXXX~~ found in the presumption that the writer of the letter/prepared the paper hurriedly himself. The quality of the paper resembles that of no. 28 ; it is also wooly¹, but slightly smoother, perhaps because of different conditions of preservation. The sheet is torn at its beginning and end, but 46.5 cm. of its length are left, preserving 50 lines. Since the verso of no. 29 was ~~XXXXX~~ unused, v. infra, and since we learns from no. 199, which is virtually the direct continuation of no. 29, that the letter originally contained 32+23 more lines at least, we see that the letter was written on a much longer sheet.

The receiver of the letter, b. Yiju, used the verso for calculations, v. infra, no. 64.

The recto is written in Madmun's hand, the verso in that of b. Yiju. The content of the message also removes any doubt that we have here a letter sent by Madmun to b. Yiju.

No. 199, which came to light only at the end of 1954 in the New Series of the Taylor-Schechter Collection, is of the very same paper as no. 29, and precisely the same width, 12.5 cm. Its introduction, more than half the letter, was cut off from it in a deliberate manner and is lost. What is left is the continuation - with a small lapse - of a copy of no. 29 which was made by the same ^{scribe} clerk whom we met in nos. 23-24, v. supra, ad loc.

^{scriba} The clerk wrote until the first word of line 30 which is the last word of the original. The continuation, i.e. ll. 30-32 of the recto and all of the verso is an addition in Madmun's hand.

It is not surprising that the writer made his addition not to the original of the letter which he ~~had~~ himself had written but to the copy of the clerk. This copy, which is executed beautifully, was likely ~~considered~~ considered as the actual letter, while the original, written by Madmun, was sent as a means of security/ only. We must assume as certain that on the very part of no. 29 which has not come down to us the clerk copied Madmun's addition on the second side of the sheet (the upper part of the verso which corresponds to the lower part of the recto) as we found in no. 25, v. supra, p. ((-2-)), and infra no. 32.

The decisive proof that no. 199 is nothing but the continuation of no. 29 is that in no. 29, l. 37 the sum of 685 dinars to b. Yiju's credit ~~XXXXXX~~ agrees with the sum which he owes according to the beginning of no. 199, ll. 5-6. There is but little missing between the last line of no. 29 and the beginning of no. 199.

Several other points support this central argument, as will be seen by the reader in the translation and notes.

The contents of the letter are as follows:

A. Mention of the conduct of Bama, b. Yiju's servant and agent, during his stay in Aden, and acknowledgment of the receipt of a shipment of pepper. (no. 29, ll. 1-8)

B. A description of the raid on the city of Aden by the ships of the King of Kish. (ll. 9-22)

C. Explanation that because of news of/apathy of the market in Egypt, the price of pepper in Aden had declined considerably. (ll. 22-28)

D. Account of what is to b. Yiju's credit. (ll. 28-37)

E. Account of what b. Yiju owes. (ll. 38-50, no. ¹⁹⁹~~XIX~~, ll. 1-7)

F. A shipment of gifts. (no. 199, 7-12)

G. The claims of an elder by the name of Makhluf against b. Yiju. (12-19)

H. Acknowledgment of the receipt of a shipment of betelnuts (fawfal), teak boards and other Indian commodities, and detail of goods sent in exchange for them. (19-26)

I. ~~XXXXXX~~ Greetings (28-30)

Addition in Madmun's hand

J. A request to deliver letters sent by four different ships to their addressees. (30-verso, l. 13)

K. A request to aid &Ali Al-Fawfali, empowered to act on behalf of Madmun, in carrying to completion whatever task he laid upon him. (13-23)

Account of what is to b. Yiju's credit

(no. 29, ll. 28-37) adds up as follows:

pepper, 22 bahars, 60 rotls	510 $\frac{1}{2}$ + 1/12	Maliki dinars
cardamon, sack A	83 $\frac{1}{2}$	
cardamon, sack B	89	
one-half of an Egyptian mithqal	<u>1 3/4</u>	
	685 less 1/6	

Account of what b. Yiju owes

incomplete, since several lines are missing between the end of no. 29 and the beginning of no. 199.

customs duty on the pepper	155 1/3 + 1/12	Maliki dinars
baskets and porter	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ + 1/12	
customs duty on the cardamon	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	
his servant's expenses during		
his stay in Aden	8	
registration fee for the Captain	1	
glass	5 nisafi	?
5 cups	1	
given to his servant for the		
purchase of glass	X $\frac{1}{4}$	
4 Berbera mats	1 nisafi	?

a hide		1
an iron pan		2/3
a sieve	XX	1/3
Soap?	i nisafi	?
2 Egyptian "futas"		4
(bleached) finished "futa"		<u>3½</u>

lacuna between the end of no. 29 and the beginning of no. 199. Here there was written without doubt:

[yellow copper - worth approximately - 430]

[customs duty for 5 bahars of "yellow copper"] 4 1/8

260 rotls of lead 17 1/3

export tax 1/3

living expenses for the servant-agent

on his journey 1

for cash 32

251 11/24 Maliki dinars

total mentioned in the parts of the letter we have, 7 nisafi

total to b. Yiju's credit 685

total debts of b. Yiju mentioned, 7 nisafi (approximately 3½ dinars) and 251 11/24

255

more debts (not preserved in these fragments)

430

Since no 29 ends with the words "total of these items",
 XX i.e. small purchases which had been itemized beforehand,

cf. no. 28, l. 43, there must have surely been mention of a large quantity of merchandise in the part which is lost, and since the first item at the beginning of no. 199 is "lead", it is almost beyond doubt that in the lost section there was mention of copper, of incidental expenses and of customs duty for this shipment, and it is likely that the first line of no. 199 refers to this last item.

Further: We learn from no. 26, l. 46, that 4 1/8 dinars export tax from the port of Aden were paid for 5 bahars of "yellow copper" worth approximately 415 Maliki dinars. Precisely the same amount appears here, no. 199, l. 1. We must, then, assume that here too 5 bahars of copper were sent. The debt of b. Yiju in this case is 430 dinars. The difference between this sum and the 415 dinars which were the cost of the 5 bahars in no. 26 is explained by the natural fluctuations in the price of commodities over the course of years.

The Historical Event described in this letter, and its date ~~XXXXXX~~ below in no. 149, which includes a more detailed description as well as points which make possible the fixing of the date.

TRANSLATION

A (1) And after this he went and rented himself a place and (2) " Give me my living expenses ". So he took from me eight dinars for living expenses for 4 months. After some

xx (4) time he came to me while under the influence of drink
and not hearing (5) a word I ~~KHAK~~ said. I don't know what
purpose my lord had (6) in sending him.

Your pepper arrived, (7) that is from the ship of the
Nahoda Abu 'l-Hasan b. Abu (8) ~~XXXXXX~~ 'l-Khata'ib. The
weight: twenty-two bahars and six rotls.

B (9) This year, at the beginning of the sailing season,
the son of al-&Amid, (10) the ruler of Kish, prepared a fleet
of ships against Aden, ~~XXXX~~ He (had) demanded a ~~XXXX~~ part
but they did not (11) give (it) to him, (so) he resorted to
this expedition. His fleet consisted/two large "normas", (12)
~~XXXX~~ 3 shaffaras and ten jashujiyas, all together ~~XXXXXX~~
carrying (13) about 700 men. They anchored in the sheltered
harbor of Aden lying in wait for (14) ships, but did not
enter the city. In the city, there was much (15) fear of
them, but God ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ did not
help them to victory nor give them success. (16) Many of
their people were killed, their ships were pierced (with spears)
and they died of thirst (17) and hunger.

The first ships which reached the city were the two
ships of the Nahoda (18) Ramisht. They (i.e. the enemy) ~~XXX~~
, and when
attacked them but God did not give them victory~~XXXXXX~~ the
two ships (19) entered the port a large number of regulars
(20)
boarded them. Then, they (i.e. the enemy) were driven from the
harbor and began to sail off in confusion on the open sea. ~~XXXX~~

off worst
They went ~~XXXXXX~~ in the ~~XXX~~ ~~XXX~~ ~~XXX~~ shape, slaughtered (22) (and) beaten.

C The news from Egypt came (and it was) mediocre. (23)
(As a result) goods sold poorly and there was no demand for pepper (24) or (other) merchandise, even a dirham's worth, except a week before sailing. (25) Had I asked the owners of the pepper for the tax, they would have sold it (26) for less than twenty (sc. dinars/bahar), so I was patient with them for the tax (27) until the day of sailing, until people came from all over, (28) and the price of pepper was ^{stabilized at} cut to 23 dinars per bahar.

D The ~~XXX~~ value (29) of the pepper already mentioned (cf. supra, l. 8) is five hundred and twenty dinars and one-half (30) and two qirts.

As for the cardamon, ^{the} sack of which was delivered by Yaqut al-~~TANJ~~ Tanji, (31) at the sale in the "house" the weight turned out to be two hundred and one bahars, 22 (32), at a rotls~~XXX~~ price (sc. per bahar) ~~XX~~ 48 ; the value~~XX~~ 83 and one-half. The weight of the other sack (33) turned out to be two bahars less seven rotls, at a price of 45 (sc. per bahar) ;/the value is 89 dinars. (34)

Yaqut also gave me (35) ~~X~~, in exchange for half a mithqal (Egyptian) which he still has, two dinars (Maliki) (36) less one-quarter.

The following is everything I have (sc. received):
six hundred (37) and eighty-five dinars, less one-sixth.

(38) You owe: the tax on the pepper, 155 dinars and one-third and two qirts; (39) the cost of baskets and the porter, two dinars and one-half and ~~XX~~ two qirts ; (40) cardamon, two sacks, (whose) weight in the ^{custom house} port was 3 bahrs and ~~XXX~~ 109 bahars ; (41) tax, nineteen dinars and one-half.

You (also) ~~XXX~~ owe: the living expenses (42) of your ~~XXXXX~~ servant for 4 months, from 'Iyyar to the end of Ab, eight (43) dinars ; the registration fee for the captain, Bakhtiyar, one dinar ; the sum of (44) 5 ^{Nisafis} ~~dinars~~ (for) ~~XXX~~ glass~~X~~ and ~~XXX~~ 5 cups/in coasters, a dinar ; (45) and Bama has one-quarter dinar to purchase glass, cups ; (46) and 4 Berbera mats for a nisafi ; and a hide for a dinar; (47) and an iron pan for two-thirds ; and a sieve for one-third ; (48) and for a nisafi, soap, 12 rotls ; and ~~XXXXXX~~ "futas" , (one from) Homs, (49)(one) Egyptian, worth 4 dinars ; and a woollen "futa" (50) bleached, worth $3\frac{1}{2}$. The total of all these single items [(51).....

..... 5 bahars of yellow copper the tax for the yellow copper]

(no. 199) (1) 4 dinars and one-eighth, and also, in the ship of the Nahoda Abu 'l-Hasan, (2) a piece of lead ; the weight: two hundred and sixty rotls ; the ^{price} ~~XXX~~: (3) seventeen dinars and one-third ; the harbor fee, one third ; and Bama (4) has

one dinar for buying water and bodily needs.

Your total (5) debt: six hundred and fifty-three dinars, leaving you (6) thirty-two dinars. To your debit with Abu 'l-Khair, thirty- (7) two dinars.

F I have also sent to you with Sheikh Abu 'l-Khair (8) and Bama a gift from me to you: 6 (?) quarters of (9) sugar and raisins and a set of white paper. As for the paper, for two years now (10) it has been impossible to get (sc. in the market), and I have given you this (sc.paper) from ~~MYXWDXWDX~~ (the stock) (11) I keep for myself. I have sent you a piece of coral for your son Surur (12) and one-quarter grain-measure of herbs. Please be sure to get all this.

G (13) Together with my letter, a letter from Makhluf "the orphan" was dispatched to you, (14) which he had sent from Aydhab. I have more than 20 of his (15) letters, all of them worthless - he is an old man in his (16) dotage, and has become ~~old~~ senile/in his old age and doesn't know what he ~~says~~ is doing. As for the documents (17) which I wrote out according to Muslim and Jewish (Law) wherein he frees (18) you from any claim, demand, attachment, or oath, they are in my (19) safe-keeping and are reliable certified by ~~EALXWLA~~ witnesses.

H Regarding what (20) you mentioned about the ~~betel-nuts~~ which I sent/you with (21) Sheikh ~~Abd~~ Abd al-Malik last year and the two boards (of teak), I took (22) this and sent you last year in their place, with Sidan, (23) ~~sugar~~ sugar and raisins etc., but God ordained what he ordained.

As for the remaining (24) boards, Sheikh Joseph and Sheikh Khalf took (them) - they were ~~having~~ (25) coming to them from the year (before).

As for , none has come this year (26) at all, and I
wasn't able to get any .

I Concerning what you mentioned about (27) ~~Khal-~~ Kal- Ka&ki ,
he has not sent you a thing this year and I have not (28) seen a letter of
his.

J Please accept for yourself and your son the best of greetings
my best regards
from me, (29) and please convey ~~to~~ to the illustrious Nahoda,
&Ali 'l-Fawfali. (30) And Peace.

Addition in Madimun's Hand

K Know, my lord, that in the ship of the Nahoda (31) Ramist,
and in the ship of his two sons and two brothers-in-law, and in the ship
of (32) the Nahoda Abu 'l-Hasan b. Abi 'l-Khata'ib, 4 ships....

VERSO

(1) In each ship there is a bundle of letters for you and
for Abraham (2) b. Fayyumi, and for all the Banyans of Mangalor and for
the Nahoda (3) al-Fawfali, and for &Amran and Sa'id. Please be sure to
get (4) everything and take care of them. Please give the Nahoda (5)
(6)
Bashir his letter, and &Amran and Sa'id their letters./As for the letters
of the people in Mangalor // you take them // [when Sheikh (7) Ibrahim
b. Yishu arrives] For my sake, please take care of the letters for the ~~the~~
(8) people in Mangalor since there are many matters which concern me in all of
them. (9) Please take care of them and give each person his letter (10)
personally. By God ! Take care ! And Peace .

L (11) Especially the letter to the Nahoda &Ali al-Fawfali,
 (12) there are many things which concern me in it, and likewise (in
 the letters to) the Banyans of (13) Mangalor.

I have empowered the Nahoda &Ali al-Fawfali (14) to sell the
 packages and all the (other) items (15) and to take receipt of the
^{feb:}
 shallow pot which is in the possession of Bada, (16) the son of
 Salsaliti, [..], which was left with him (17) by Abu Sa'Id, and to
 get the large brass kettle (18) for cooking dates which ~~XXXXXX~~ (19)
 has, and to get the (20) and all the (other)
 things which are in the warehouse ; (21) he is empowered to take every-
 thing which belongs to me there. (22) Please help him in this, and,
 by God, take care for (23) the letters - all of them ! And Peace.

NO. 29NOTES

1. "he" - i.e. the slave and commercial ~~XXXXXX~~ agent of Abraham b. Yiju
 who was called Bama (apparently an Indian name), v. infra, l. 42, and
 no. 199, ll. 4, 8.

The import of the missing portion of the beginning of the letter
 becomes clear. Kadmun acknowledged with thanks the receipt of a letter
 or greetings delivered to him by Bama upon his arrival in India, ~~XXXX~~
 commented briefly on this Bama, and then before passing on to business
 matters described the frightening events in the city of Aden/in the
 summer of 1135. , where he writes from,

4. for drunkenness among India travellers v. infra, no. 179.

6. "in sending him" - Ar. "נַתְנָא לְךָ". The same spelling ("^{X>X}"
 for "^{לְךָ}") ~~XXXXXX~~ infra, ll. 10, 19, 27, cf. " ^{X>Y}" " for " ^{לְךָ}"

1. 21.

9-22. v. infra, no. 149 concerning the event described here.

9. "at the beginning of the sailing season" - Ar./" 'awwal 'l-waqt" "at the beginning of the season". This translation seems more appropriate to me than "the first time".

"prepared" - Ar. "jahaza", "fitted out ships and sent them off", hence "jihaz", "fleet", "ships", v. infra, l. 11, 17, supra, no. 24, verso, l. 8, 13, no. 28, verso, ll. 4-5, and in the Index to the Introduction.

11. "norma" - in the article referred to above, p. , I read "burma", interpreting it as an oval boat, or one fashioned from a single block of wood, ibid. p. 252. I did this on the assumption that the letter before us was a copy in which the scribe had erred, that the correct reading was "burmataini", ibid. n. 1. Since then new material has been forthcoming, e.g. no. 199, from which it becomes obvious that we are undoubtedly dealing with the original, written by the correspondent himself. Thus, the reading "normataini" in the manuscript is original and may even be hinted at by Ibn Mujawir, Lipgreg, Aden in the Middle Ages, p. 43, l. 9, in the corrupted name of a type of ship which took part in this attack, v. Ibn Mujawir, p. 124, l. 7. An attempt is made to explain this word in the Introduction, p. .

12. "shaffara" - apparently a ship which was protected from above by a deck, cf. the aforementioned article, p. 253. According to the philological explanation given there, the expert on war-ships , R.H.M. Dolley, in a letter to the present writer dated September 12th, 1954, surmised that the reference was to "decked as opposed to open galleys".

"jashujiya" - undoubtedly derived from "jashu", "sailor", a word which is used in the Persian Gulf area to this day, and which also appears in Ibn Mujawir's account of this event, p. 125, ll. 2, 16, 19. It seems that

ships which were especially used for war purposes are meant. v. Index to Introduction.

13. "sheltered harbor" - Ar. "mukala'", as opposed to "bandar", the regular harbor, *infra*, 19-20; for the topography of Aden see the Introduction.

It is natural that the Trustee of the Merchants in Aden gives such ~~an~~ a ~~MAXIMISING~~ painstakingly detailed description of the different types of ships used by the enemy, since Abraham b. Yiju who resided in India would be compelled to travel the sea lanes which were terrorized by the King of Kish ~~MAX~~ when returning to the west.

17. "ships" - Ar. "jihaz", v. *supra*, l. 9.

18. Ramisht - this Indian ship-owner is mentioned frequently in these papers, v. Index to the Introduction.

19. "regulars" - Ar. "al-diwan". To this very day in South Arabia we find the sociological phenomenon of whole castes specializing in one soldier type, cf. ~~EMIL~~ Grohmann, South Arabia, A, 86-88. Today they are generally called "&askari". However, Professor R.B. Serjeant has found the term "diwari", that is, a soldier listed in the government register, in a manuscript dating from the 14th century dealing with tribal law in South Arabia, cf. the aforementioned article, p. 254, n.1.

22. Information on prices in Egypt sometimes reached India at the same time it was received in Aden, v. *infra*, no. 52, l. 18-19.

23. "the goods sold poorly" - in the city of Aden.

24. "before sailing" - from Aden westward.
25. "had I asked" - Madmun, the Trustee of the Merchants in Aden, was also in charge of the customs house. He was anxious that the merchants obtain the best possible prices. Accordingly, he did not collect the tax from them ~~MM~~ when they arrived from India with the pepper, but waited instead until they were about to set sail for the west, at which time there was a definite demand and the price was better. The magnitude of price fluctuations can be assessed from the fact that at this time (1135) only a price of 23 dinars (Maliki) was obtained, whereas in no. 28, l. 20, (at the earliest 1133) Madmun sold for Abraham b. Yiju at a price of 37 dinars.
- 29-30. Altogether, 22 bahars and 60 rotls were received. Two qirts equal $\frac{1}{12}$ of a dinar. $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{12} = \frac{7}{12}$. Sixty rotls are equivalent to 0.2 bahars. Total: $23 \times 22.2 = 510.6$ dinars. Madmun approximates 6/10 to 7/12 since the dinar does not lend itself to decimal division.
30. Yaqt - the name of b. Hen. Slaves were usually called by names such as these. We must assume that Yaqt was a slave, or a freed slave-agent, and hence is mentioned without the title 'sheikh' or a nickname ('Abu...') or a patronymic. His name derives from the city Tanger in Morocco. *Tanger*
- 31-34. As the juxtaposition of the texts at hand shows, in reality only one sack of cardamon was sold for 48 dinars per bahar, whereas the other was sold for 45. Seeing that both were received at the same time, we must assume that they differed in quantity, even though this is not stated explicitly, as might be expected. It may be that the difference in price was dependant on the result of the 'public auction' (dilala).

- the Hebrew letters used as numerals occur here in the reverse of the normal order, that is, the units are written before the tens. The reason is that this is their order in the Hebrew alphabet. However, there is no consistency in this, v. infra, l. 48, and not . 31. "in the 'house'" - the historian of the city of Aden, Abu Nakhrama (1465-1540), describes several communal "houses" in this city, v. Lipgren, Aden in the Middle Ages, pp. 10-13. However, the reference is undoubtedly to the "house of success", "daru 'l-sa'ada", a business exchange, and perhaps also a domicile for merchants, which was situated opposite the "furda", the customs house of Aden. In a letter to Madmun, infra, no. 31, ll. 20-21, this house is called "al-daru ~~KKSHM~~ 'l-sa'ida". Originally the "house of success" was erected by a member of an Egyptian merchant family which settled in Aden when he was in charge of customs tax (Ar. "nazara" ፳, Lipgren, Ibid., p. 10, l. 13). See, for example, ibid., p. 253, 9-10, where a merchant is described as in charge of (nazir) the customs tax in the port of Shahr east of Aden. A house bearing the name "daru 'l-wikala", the ~~KKSHM~~ normal name for an inn, storhouse and exchange, was erected only in 625 a.h. (1227/8), v. Lipgren, op. cit., p. 63.

The weights of the two sacks of cardamon at the time of the sale in the "house" (1 bahar, 222 rotls , 1 bahar, 293 rotls) make a total of 3 bahars, 215 rotls. However, below, l. 40, we have the statement that in the customs house the combined weight of the two sacks was 3 bahars^t 169 rotls. Since the cardamon did not, of course, increase on the way from the customs house to the "house of success" which stood opposite (v. supra), we must assume that the weighing in the customs house

was carried out with definite partiality. The question is whether every India merchant was treated to such favoritism, or whether this was done specifically for Abraham b. Yiju, ~~MAXIM~~ the ~~IXXAK~~ friend and business associate of Madmun who was in charge of customs duty, and finally, whether there may not be a hint of this special relationship in the words of Madmun (l. 31) that the weight of the cardamon at the time of the sale in the "house" was such and such? *

here Egyptian
34-37. The ratio/of the/mithqal (dinar) to the Maliki dinar is 1:3.5, but above in no. 26, verso, l. 16, no. 28, l. 32, no. 81, l. 23, ~~MAX~~ the ratio is 1: 2.3 or 1:2.35. In distinction to this in no. 22, margin, ll. 7-9, the both ratio is 1:4, which approximates/the relationship here and what is known from literary sources. v. supra, p. (-75/6-) and Introduction p. .

38. If the duty on 22 bahars, 60 rotls pepper (v. supra l. 8) is 155 dinars and one-third and two qirts, then the tariff is 7 dinars per bahar. The same rate is found above, no. 26, ll. 7-8, ll. However, Ibn Mujawir, p. 140, l. 3 = Lüfgren, Arabische Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter, p. 59, l. 1, states that the tariff on pepper, which was reintroduced in Zuray&id times by a Jew, Khalif an-Nihawandi (that is, from Nihawand in Persia) - it seems that he, like Madmun here, was in charge of customs - was 8 dinars per bahar. The Zuray&ids ruled Aden until ~~IXXAK~~ the conquest of Yemen ~~MAXIM~~ Turan-Shah, the brother of Saladin, in 1173, v. Encyclopedia of Islam, s.v. Aden. We must, then, assume that this change in the tariff occurred after this period. In no. 81, ll. 5-6, 18, we find a tariff of 8 dinars per bahar. This document was written about the year 1140, that is about five years after the letter at hand.

42. In 1135 the month of 'Iyyar began on the 16th of April and the month of Ab ended on the 11th of August. It seems that Bama stayed in Madmun's house for several days, v. supra, l. 1. Ships, then, arrived from India about the beginning of April and set sail for India in the middle of August, v. Introduction, p. .

If we consider that in the same year 3.5 Adenese dinars were equivalent to one Egyptian dinar (v. supra, ll. 34-37), then the expenses of this ~~XXXXXX~~ agent-slave were comparatively small, or perhaps the cost-of-living in Sden was cheaper than what ~~IX~~ known ~~XXXXX~~ from Egypt. On the other hand, we hear that this Bama was almost perpetually drunk, v. supra, l. 4, and any drink, let alone date wine, costs money.

43. "registration fee" - v. supra, no. 26, l. 30.

"the captain, Bakktiyar" - his son, Ahmad b. Bakhtiyar, was ~~IX~~ titled Nahoda, no. 28, l. 25, 28, indicating that he had risen economically and socially, unless the word 'Nahoda' is used loosely as a synonym for 'captain' which does not seem likely.

44. "nisafi" - for this coin, v. supra, no. 28, l. 34.

"glass" - the reference is to glass tumblers for use, see the following line.

"cups" - Ar. "rital" instead of ~~MARTAL~~ " 'artal ".

"coasters" - Ar. "shutut", the plural of "shatt", a small basket so woven that it fits exactly the cup which it contains, holding the cup firmly. Such coasters are still widely used in Yemen today and ~~XXX~~ bear the same name with the same plural, v. S.D. Goitein, Jemenica, Leipzig, 1935, p. 90, no. 604.

"firmly set" - Ar. "muhkam". The same usage in identical circumstances, infra, no. 51, verso, l. 10, no. 61, l. 9. The word is in the masculine because it is used adverbially.

44-50. For such household utensils, the likes of which recur^f in several accounts, v. Introduction.

[(51) the completion is explained in the introduction to this document.

NO. 199

the ship of

1. "the Nahoda Abu 'l-Hasan" - This is the same ship which brought the pepper from India, cf. no. 29, ll. 7-8. The ship of Ramisht also came to Aden and returned from there to India without continuing from there to Red Sea ports such as &Ydhab and , v. supra, no. 26, ll. 3, 47.

3. "the harbor fee" - in no. 26, verso, l. 11 there was no mention of any exit tax, although the amount there is greater (26 7/12 there ~~EXCESSIVE~~ compared with 17 1/3 here). Since the exit tax was very small perhaps they dispensed with it there entirely.

3-4. "buying water and bodily needs" - Only one Maliki dinar was given to the agent-slave for buying water and food on the long trip from Aden to India.

"cabin" - Ar. "biliж". For this word, v. supra, no. 20, verso, l. 3.

6-7. "Abu 'l-Khair" - seemingly to be identified with a man of the same name mentioned above, no. 24, l. 24.

9-11. It is strange that Madmun always prides himself for obtaining good paper, v. supra, no. 24, l. 20, no. 26, verso, l. 32.

11. "keep" - Ar. "marfu&f", v. Dozy, I, p. 540. The reading is absolutely clear, and there is no possibility of reading "madfu&f", even though l. 10 has "dafa&tu".

"Surur" - v. supra, no. 24, l. 36.

12. "herbs" (chicory,) - cf. ~~WORKS OF~~ Maimonides, Glossary of Drug Names, ed. M. Meyerhof, p. 285, G. Dalman, Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina, Gutersloh, 1932, vol. 2, p. 285. We see, then, that seeds were sent to westerners resident in India so that they could cultivate herbs which they were accustomed to. is

12-19. This Makhluf who had claims against b. Yiju/undoubtedly "Sheikh Makhluf" to whom the large sum of 300 dinars was paid as ~~severance~~^{Compromise} money, no. 131, l. 11, by b. Yiju, cf. no. 61, margin; cf. below/whether there is any connection with the family of b. al-Yatim.

17. "which I wrote"~~MIK~~ - as far as Hebrew-Arabic orthography is concerned it is also possible to translate ~~MIK~~ "you wrote". However, people usually do not write out documents to themselves testifying that all their obligations have been met, and in no. 61, margin, we hear expressly that the settlement of b. Yiju's obligations to Makhluf was made in Aden by Madmun when b. Yiju was in India. "I wrote" means, of course, that I have made all the necessary arrangements to have these documents made out according to Muslim and Jewish Law - the Introduction explains why this matter was brought before the Muslim as well as the Jewish courts.

18. "from any claim etc" - this ~~MI~~ is the accepted form in documents, cf. for example .

21. "Abd al-Malik" - I have not yet found a Jew bearing this name. Even among the Muslims it was not too common in this period. In any case, it is documented as a Muslim name in South Arabia at about the same time, cf. O. Løfgren, Arabische Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter, pp. 126-127.

"boards" - cf. below, l. 24. The reference is undoubtedly to boards of teak, cf. Løfgren, op. cit. This nullifies what I wrote in "The Cairo Geniza as a Source for the History of Muslim Civilization", Studia Islamica, III, Paris, 1955, p. 82, that there is no mention of Jews in the lumber business in the Geniza papers. When the aforementioned article was written the document at hand had not yet come to light.

22. "Sidan" - to be identified without doubt with Sidan b. Abu 'l-Fatah Yiju who brings b. ~~XXX~~ merchandise from Aden to India in no. 61, l. 14.

23. "but God ordained what he ordained" - that is, this shipment was lost at sea.

25. - cf. above, no. 26, l. 13.

"nil" - it seems from here that b. Yiju who resided in India requested that "nil" be purchased in Aden. Nil, in general, is the name of the dye plant known as Indigo (*Indigoferia tinctoria* L.) and is so used, apparently, also /above no 3, l. 6, no. 9, verso, l. 11. However, although it is known that indigo of poor quality was grown in Egypt, it is inconceivable that this indigo was traded with India. Rather, the Arabs (and hence Maimonides, nos. cf. op. cit., ~~XXX~~ 126, 249) also gave the name "nil" to the dye plant *L. isatis tinctoria* (woad), known from the Mishna (Shebiith, VII, 1, Kilayim, II, 5) cf. G. Dalman, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 330-301.

Therefore, we must assume that here and in no. 179, l. 15, when "nil" is traded from the west to India, the meaning is woad.

27. "Musalan al-Kakki" - 'Musalan' is ~~IKHAN~~ 'Meshullam', a normal Jewish name. 'Kakki', 'baker of tarts', is the family name. It is very possible that he is to be identified with an India merchant Musalan who is so called in a family form in no. 83, l. 28, and no. 131, margin.
cf.

29. "Ali al-Fawfali" - ~~MEM~~ below, verso, ll. 3, 11, 13. For this personality, who is mentioned several times in these documents, see the Index, s.v. 'Ali b. Mansur al-Fawfali'.

VERSO Here, it should be noted that, in general, letters were not sent to Banyans.

1-2. "Abraham b. Fayyumi" - ~~MEM~~ cf. above, no. 28, l. 29. 'Fayyumi' denotes a man from the Fayyum district of Egypt, but it should be remembered that the name of Abraham's father is 'Fayyumi' and not 'al-Fayyumi', and it is in this form that the name Fayyumi appears below in no. 224 (72x-c), l.

32. The grandfather of this person, to whom Maimonides sent his Epistle to Yemen, is termed 'Fayyumi, may the Spirit of God give him rest' (a eulogy for the dead), see now the edition of A.S. Halkin, based on the ms. of the British Museum, Moses Maimonides, Epistle to Yemen, ed. A.S. ~~HALKIN~~, Nethaneel New York, 1952, p. 1, n. 1. Likewise, the father of the philosopher ~~MALKHAIX~~ b. Fayyumi, who is perhaps to be identified with the former, ~~MEM~~ cf. Joseph

in his introduction to his edition of 'Bustamu 'l-aqul', 'The Garden of Reason', Jerusalem, n.d., p. 12. There is a tradition among the Jews of Yemen that their ancestors called their children ~~MEM~~ by the given name

in veneration of Sa~~k~~adya al-Fayyumi, the Gaon and many-faceted writer, (942), many of whose works, as is often noted, have been preserved in Yemen alone. It can be seen from our documents that the living oral tradition of the Jews of Yemen is reliable.

"Baryans" - Indian merchants, cf. above, no. 24, verso, l. 2, no. 26, l. 21.

"Mangalore" - for this principal Indian city cf. Index to Introduction.

3. "Amran" - This is not a short form of 'Abu Amran'. Abu Amran nos.
b. Nafi~~s~~ was an Indian merchant to whom letters ~~M~~ 148 and 149 are addressed, cf. also 153. However, since we find him, according to no. 149, in Cairo in 1135, he cannot be identified with the 'Amran' in the document at hand, to whom letters were sent in the same year to India.

5. "Bashir" - This same ship-owner is found to be in very close relationship to b. Yiju in no. 62, ll. 2, 6, 9.

6-7. The erased words [when Sheikh Abraham b. Yiju arrives] were written absent-mindedly here because the writer undoubtedly used them in the accompanying letters which he gave to the messengers who carried his letters to the people in India in the four aforementioned ships.

The explanation of the erased words is as follows: Abraham b. Yiju circulated between the cities of Mangalore and Pandariyana on the ~~Kashmir~~ west coast of India. Madru exorts the messengers to deliver the packet of letters to Abraham b. Yiju when he arrives in Mangalore.

10. "By God !XXXX Take care ! " - Ar. "Allah Allah bi-dhalika", cf. below, 1, 22. Even today Yemenites write in their letters, "Allah Allah bi-l-jawab", "Answer at once ! "

* (-note below-)

14. "packages" - apparently mentioned in a previous exchange of ~~xx~~
letters.

15. "shallow pot" - Ar. " 'anjar", cf. Dozy, II, p. 642 A, "jatte,
vase rond et sans rebord, plat (vaiselle)", Wahrund, I, p. 135 A, "eine
flache Schüssel". This word also means 'anchor', but there can be no
doubt that the reference here is to a copper vessel, cf. below, l. 17.

17-19. It seems that the vessels mentioned were made to order for Madmun
by these Indians.

17. "Abu Sa&id" - This is Abu Sa&id b. Mahfud, cf. above, no. 28,
l. 15.

18. "for cooking dates" - to make &arak brandy.

19. " " - a resin of fine odor used for polishing, cf. below
no. 193, l. 17.

20. "warehouse" - It is not stated whether this is a communal
warehouse or whether Madmun had his own warehouse in India.

*11/3. "alFawfali" - "trader in betel-nuts", used here as a family name.
He forwarded a shipment of pepper to Madmun with b. Yiju, cf. no. 30, ll.
9-10. He later lost his ship and fell into arrears and defaulted. Other
details known about him will be discussed in the notes to no. 54, verso,
l. 1.