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ROME'S TRADE WITH THE EAST: THE SEA VOYAGE TO AFRICA AND INDIA

LIONEL CASSON
New York University

I Introduction

"Previously not twenty ships dared . . . peep outside the Straits [of Bab el Mandeb], but now great fleets are sent as far as India and the extremities of Ethiopia." So runs Strabo's oft-quoted comment (17.1.13 [798]) on Rome's twin lines of trade in the east, with India and with the east coast of Africa. Strabo wrote at the time of Augustus. Half a century or so later, Pliny the Elder delivered his equally oft-quoted remark (6.101) about the fifty million sesterces that purchases from India annually drained from the Empire. This farflung commerce was, no question about it, of substantial economic importance. East Africa, together with Arabia, supplied the incense that smoked on the altars, and the myrrh that perfumed the rich, the length and breadth of Rome's extensive dominions. India supplied their spices, ivory, silk (importing it from China), and other luxuries.¹ The purpose of this paper is to examine more closely than has been done before the precise sailing conditions that governed voyages to these

¹ For a masterly study of the India trade, see E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* (Cambridge 1928). Archaeology has added some information since Warmington wrote; see M. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers* (London 1954), chapters xii-xiii. On trade with Africa, see chapter viii. In East Africa archaeology has so far undertaken only surveys, and these have yielded discouragingly little; see H. N. Chittick, "An Archaeological Reconnaissance of the Southern Somali Coast," *Azania* 4 (1969) 115-30, and "An Archaeological Reconnaissance in the Horn: The British-Somali Expedition, 1975," *Azania* 11 (1976) 117-33, as well as his brief but useful summary, "Early Ports in the Horn of Africa," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 8 (1979) 273-77.

two areas and thereby reveal certain significant aspects that up to now have either escaped notice or not received the consideration they merit.

The sole way to East Africa, and the best to India, was by sea. The trading ventures to both were managed by the merchants of Alexandria. At their direction, the meager exports the Greco-Roman world sent to the east—they were of scant value compared with what was imported—were collected and put aboard Nile boats, brought up-river to Coptos, transferred there to donkeys and camels, and carried across Egypt's eastern desert to either Myos Hormos or Berenice, the major ports on the Egyptian side of the Red Sea. Conversely, at these two ports were discharged the cargoes that arrived from East Africa and India; reversing the path of the exports, they were taken overland to Coptos, ferried down the Nile to Alexandria, and from there distributed all over the Mediterranean world.²

From Myos Hormos or Berenice movement eastward was solely by water, and it involved long voyaging. The African trade route reached down to Zanzibar, more than 3,000 nautical miles away, while the Indian went either to the Indus River delta or other points on the northwest coast or to the Malabar coast, a journey of well over 2,500 in the one case and 3,000 in the other.

This exotic aspect of Rome's commerce has received its share of attention in the scholarly literature. And all who have treated it have recognized that what made voyages over such distances feasible was the monsoons, the winds of the Arabian Sea and western Indian Ocean that blow from the northeast during the winter months and then conveniently switch to the southwest during the summer.³ We have two witnesses, both writing about the middle of the 1st century A.D. or slightly later, to the use of the monsoons by the ancients. The first and most reliable is the anonymous author of the *Periplus maris*

² Pliny, *NH* 6.102–103, gives in detail the route to Berenice. For Myos Hormos, see Strabo 2.5.12 (118). It seems to have been—or become—less important; cf. R. Bagnall, *The Florida Ostraka* (Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Monographs 7, Durham 1976) 34–39. Berenice was well over 200 miles south of Myos Hormos, which meant, for returning vessels, that much less beating against the northerlies which prevail in the Red Sea above latitude 20° north.

³ E.g., M. Charlesworth, *Trade-Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire* (Cambridge 1926) 60; Warmington (above, note 1) 43–51; G. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring* (Princeton 1951) 24–28; Wheeler (above, note 1) chapter x; R. Böker, *RE Supplbd.* 9 (1962) s.v. "Mönsunschiffahrt nach Indien;" M. Cary and E. Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers* (Penguin 1963) 95–96.

*Erythraei.*⁴ This work, the single example of its kind to have survived, is a combination of coast pilot and merchant's guide for two trade routes: one along the western shore of the Red Sea, the southern of the Gulf of Aden, and the eastern of Africa to Zanzibar or a little further, the other down the Red Sea and along the southern coast of Arabia and across the Arabian Sea to India. The author (57) notes that skippers on the India run had for long cautiously hugged the shore, but then learned to sail directly over open water by exploiting the southwest wind. He says nothing about the return, but our second witness, Pliny the Elder (6.106), supplies the lack, informing us that ships left India in December-January, i.e., when the northeast monsoon was well established.

Presumably the vessels that made these monsoon passages were the same types that plied the Mediterranean. This certainly must have been true for the passage to India since, as we shall see, it involved rough winds and waters, and the Mediterranean sea-going freighters of the age were particularly well suited for such work. Not only were they big—the largest were well over 1,000 tons burden—but they boasted massively strong hulls whose planking was held together by thousands of close-set mortise and tenon joints, a method of construction unique to Greek and Roman shipwrights. Their rig, too, made for safety, its major component being a vast broad square sail on a relatively short mainmast; it was, however, slow and only effective with a following wind.⁵ The Arab dhows that sail to India today and have for centuries are less limited; with their lateen sails they can travel against the wind—although, being much feebler in construction than ancient craft, only against a light one.⁶

⁴ The date of the *Periplus*, after a recent flurry of heated argument to lower it to the 3rd century A.D., is back to its previous favored place, the second half of the 1st century A.D. For a judicious review of the problem, see W. Raunig, "Die Versuche einer Datierung des *Periplus maris Erythraei*," *Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 100 (1970) 231–42, esp. 240; and, for a listing of the bulky bibliography on the question, M. Raschke in *ANRW* ii.9.2 (Berlin 1978) 979–80, notes 1342–43.

⁵ See L. Casson, *Ships and Seafarers in the Ancient World* (Princeton 1971) 183–90 (size of Mediterranean freighters), 201–208 (hull structure), 239–43 (rig).

⁶ Thus Ibn Majid, author of a treatise on navigation published toward the end of the 15th century, cautions that, in certain crossings from the south coast of Arabia to the island of Socotra, "they do not travel . . . unless the wind is light because they are travelling contrary to the Kaws [southwest wind]" (G. Tibbets, *Arab Navigation in the Indian Ocean before the Coming of the Portuguese*, Oriental Translation Fund, New Series xlii [London 1971] 229). A few lines later he speaks of a "wind of two sails" also needing a light wind; a "wind of two sails" was a course not even involving a head

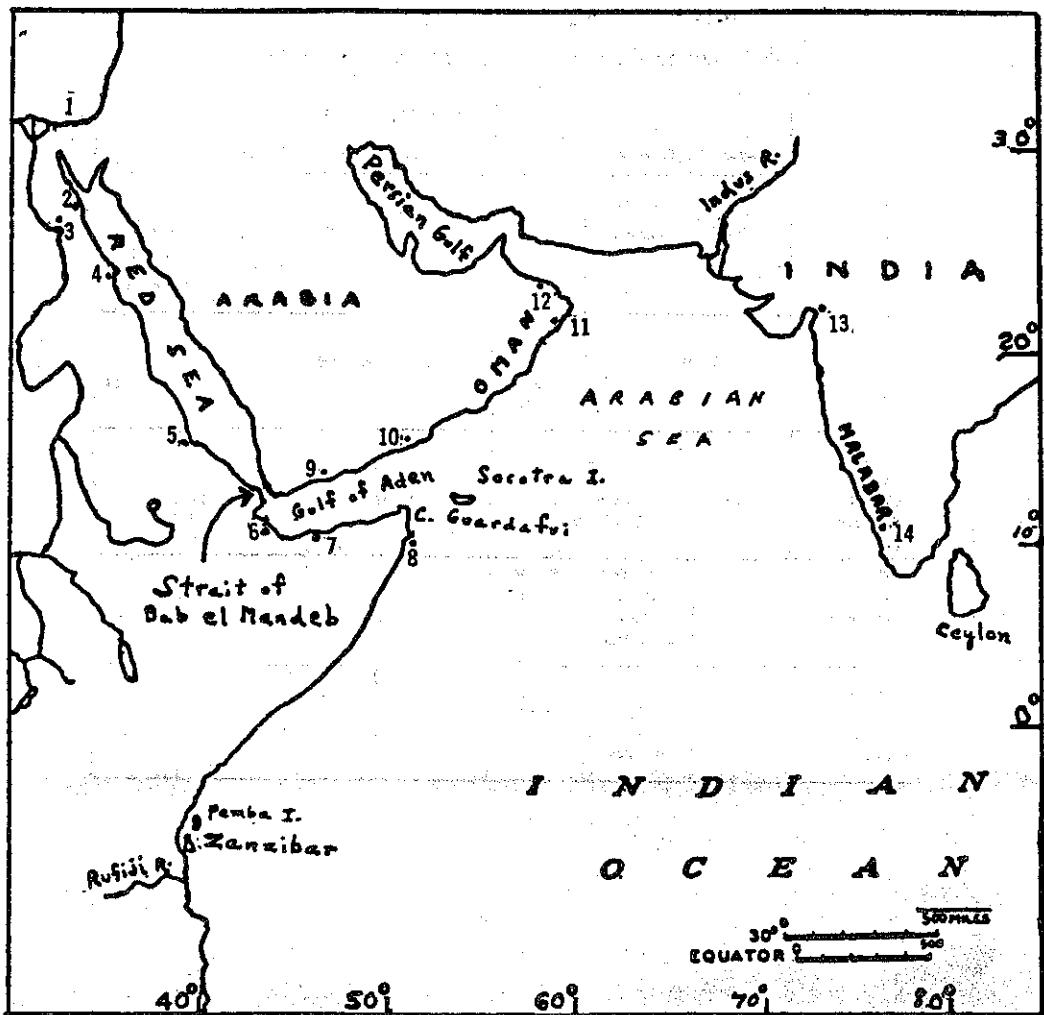
II The Monsoons

To say that the monsoons blow from the northeast in winter and southwest in summer is only partly true and can be misleading. In the first place, there are transition periods in spring and autumn as one monsoon comes to a close and the other begins; at such times the wind ceases to be fixed and turns variable until the new monsoon takes hold. Even more important, the two monsoons differ greatly in their nature. The southwest is boisterous and stormy; to quote Alan Villiers, who wrote from extensive personal experience, "Rain falls heavily during its continuance, and the weather is usually so bad that the exposed ports on the Indian coast are closed and the smaller trading vessels take shelter . . . The other monsoon—the northeast—is as gracious, as clear, and as balmy as a permanent trade, and it is this wind which wafts the great dhows—the argosies of Araby—on their long voyages from the Persian Gulf to Zanzibar and beyond, and which blows the Indian dhows from the Malabar coast to Mombasa and the Madagascar coast."⁷ Lastly, the Red Sea, which had to be traversed going and coming, has its own wind pattern which does not totally coincide with the monsoons. The accompanying chart shows what the winds in general are, month by month, in the areas under consideration.⁸

wind but just a wind on the beam, its name deriving from the fact that one would sail with it on one side and then, returning, on the other (Tibbets 369). Alan Villiers describes a voyage in a dhow during which they beat for 500 miles along the south coast of Arabia; it was against breezes so mild that the ship often merely ghosted along and was frequently becalmed (*Sons of Sinbad* [New York 1949] 26, 30, 48–49).

⁷ *Monsoon Seas* (New York 1952) 7.

⁸ For the monsoons, see U.S. Defense Mapping Agency, Hydrographic Center Pub. 61, *Sailing Directions for the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden* (5th ed. 1965, rev. 1976) Section 1–26 to 28 (Red Sea), 1–29 to 31 (Gulf of Aden); Pub. 60, *Sailing Directions for the Southeast Coast of Africa* (5th ed. 1968, rev. 1975) Section 1–23; Pub. 63, *Sailing Directions for the West Coast of India* (5th ed. 1967, rev. 1976) Section 1–26 to 27.



KEY

- | | | |
|---------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1 Alexandria | 6 Zeila | 11 Sur |
| 2 Myos Hormos | 7 Berbera | 12 Muscat |
| 3 Coptos | 8 Ras Hafun | 13 Barygaza |
| 4 Berenice | 9 Aden | 14 Muziris |
| 5 Adulis | 10 Mukalla | |

Chart of Prevailing Winds from the Red Sea to East Africa and India

	A June to August	B September	C October	D November to December	E December to March	F April	G May
1 Red Sea south of 20° N	N, NW	N, NW shifting to variable	S, SE		S, SE		S, SE shifting to N, NE
2 Gulf of Aden		S, SW, W		variable, shifting to E, ENE		E, ENE	E, ENE also variables
3 East African Coast to Zanzibar	S, SW		S, SW shifting to NE with variables and calms		N, NE		NE shifting to S, SW
4 North- western Coast of India	SW	W, SW with var- iables and calms	S, SW shifting to NE		N, NE	NW to SW	S, SW
5 South- western Coast of India	SW	W, SW shifting to W, NW	light norther- lies		N, NE	NW to SW	S, SW

All who have written on the subject of Rome's Indian Ocean trade make no distinction between voyages to India and Africa but treat them together. And it is easy to see why: after all, they were both about the same length, some 3,000 nautical miles, and took place in roughly the same waters and under the same monsoon winds. The point of what follows is to reveal that these similarities are superficial, that the two trading ventures were not at all alike. To India and back could be done within a year but involved considerable danger. To Africa took twice as long but was a sailor's dream.

III The Voyage to Zanzibar

The *Periplus* (1-18) provides a detailed account of the route to East Africa. At Myos Hormos or Berenice vessels loaded up with the sort of goods that has figured in trade with primitive peoples right up to this century: cheap clothing and cookware and dinnerware, metals for making into ornaments or utensils or weapons, and, for the tribal chieftains, luxury garments and objects of gold and silver. They proceeded along the eastern shore of the Red Sea, where their first important stop was at Adulis (Massawa), Ethiopia's only good seaport; here they took on ivory and tortoise shell. Then they coasted along the south shore of the Gulf of Aden, putting in at points all along the way to trade for the myrrh and incense for which the region was famous. Rounding Cape Guardafui, they sailed down to Ras Hafun, still picking up myrrh and incense, and then continued south along the eastern shore of Africa to Menouthias Island, which is either Pemba or Zanzibar, and, finally, Rhapta, which is either Dar es Salaam or at the mouth of the Rufiji River, depending upon the identification of Menouthias.⁹ Here, as at Ethiopia, the usual cheap trade goods were exchanged for ivory and tortoise shell.

Ships heading for Africa, the *Periplus* informs us (14), left Egypt in July. This is what we would expect. It enabled a skipper to travel

⁹ The identification has long been a source of controversy; for the bibliography, see Raschke (above, note 4) 933, note 1139. Over a century ago Charles Guillain, a seaman who had traveled the waters in the days of sail, set forth the nearly equal claims of Pemba and Zanzibar to be identified with Menouthias and decided in favor of Zanzibar; see his *Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie, et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale* (Paris [1856]) 1.110-15. The latest to take up the question, B. Datoo ("Rhapta: The Location and Importance of East Africa's First Port," *Azania* 5 [1970] 65-75), leaves it open.

from Egypt to the Gulf of Aden with the favorable northerlies (Chart 1A); and

through the Gulf of Aden with the favorable southwest monsoon (Chart 2A).

In the Red Sea, because of its dangerous shoals, all vessels sail only during the day, putting in toward nightfall at the nearest available anchorage.¹⁰ Consequently, even if they traveled steadily, getting quickly in and out of the ports they stopped at, they still would have required at least 30 to 40 days to reach Cape Guardafui.¹¹ In any event, there was no sense in arriving there before the onset of the northeast monsoon in October; a better time yet was mid-October or the beginning of November when it had definitely settled in (Chart 3 C/D).¹² Until then the southwest monsoon was still blowing, and even more efficient sailing craft than the ancients' square-riggers could not have beat down the coast of East Africa against it.¹³ The *Periplus* (14) specifically mentions that some ships tramped, selling and buying cargo at every point along the way, while others made directly for the incense ports of the African horn. They all must have traveled leisurely, taking from seventy-five days (say, July 15 to October 1) to over one hundred (July 15 to November 1) to reach Cape Guardafui. Once there, as we shall see in a moment, there was no need whatsoever to hurry.

¹⁰ Cf. Carsten Niebuhr's experience in 1762 (see T. Hansen, *Arabia Felix: The Danish Expedition of 1761–1767* [New York 1962] 209) and Alan Villiers in 1938 (above, note 6, 7).

¹¹ Ancient ships could make between four and six knots with a fair wind (Casson above, note 51, 288) and thus log roughly 50 nautical miles during a day's run. Guillain (above, note 9) 1.96–97 estimated 48 for the first part of the journey down the east coast of Africa and 60 for the second, the difference caused by variation in the strength of the current (cf. below, note 14). The distance from Myos Hormos to Cape Guardafui is c. 1700 nautical miles.

¹² As Ibn Majid puts it (above, note 6, 234): "Those who travel from Aden and Yemen to Zanj [the African coast off Zanzibar] should start on the 320th or the 330th day [8 or 18 October]." Cf. Guillain (above, note 9) 1.95: "La mousson de l'est se fait sentir [in the Gulf of Aden] dans la première quinzaine d'octobre, et les bateaux qui vont à l'est de ce cap [Guardafui] doivent avoir dépassé son méridien avant le 1er novembre."

¹³ Cf. the rueful words of a British naval commander who in 1799 tried to sail a full-rigged ship against the even milder northeast monsoon: "Thus terminated one of the most perplexing and tedious Voyages ever made by any Ships. It is, I believe, the first Attempt ever made to beat up the Coast of Africa against the Easterly Monsoon, and it is to be hoped Nobody would ever attempt it again" (A. Bissell, *A Voyage from England to the Red-Sea and along the East Coast of Arabia to Bombay . . . 1798 and 1799* [London 1806] 47).

The next stage, from Guardafui southward, was not only smooth sailing but quick, with the northeast monsoon at a vessel's heels (Chart 3D). The distance is some 1400 nautical miles and current is favorable as well as wind.¹⁴ The voyage, during which vessels could sail day and night (cf. *Periplus* 15), might have lasted but two weeks, but we must, of course, allow for stops en route.

Thus arrival in the vicinity of Zanzibar would have taken place in November or December. Now, once there, a skipper was committed to spending no less than eight months in the area. The earliest he could possibly leave, and then only if he intended to dawdle on his way up the African coast, was August. For he had to time his voyage so that he would sail from Zanzibar to Guardafui no later than September-

October in order to catch the end of the southwest monsoon (Chart 3B/C), reach Guardafui not before October in order to catch the early northeast monsoon which would provide favorable winds for traversing the Gulf of Aden (Chart 2C); and finally, to catch favorable winter southerlies in the Red Sea (Chart 1C/D).¹⁵

If we allow for the sail from Guardafui back to Egypt the same amount of time as on the outbound voyage, 30 to 40 days, he would arrive home in November or December, a year and a half after his departure. This left six months or so to collect a cargo for another venture to the area the next July. In effect, two years were required for a round trip.

It was the dog-leg into the Gulf of Aden that caused the trouble, the need, after sailing north to Cape Guardafui, to make an abrupt left turn and head west. Ships returning from Zanzibar to the Persian

¹⁴ Cf. Guillain (above, note 9) 1.96: 1.3 knots of current as far as some 60 miles south of Ras Asswad (4° 34' N), 2-3 from there on.

¹⁵ This is the way the ship that carried Henry Salt from Zanzibar to Aden in 1809 did it; see his *Voyage to Abyssinia* (London 1814, reprinted 1967) 94-99. The southwest monsoon carried them north to Cape Guardafui by 27 September, then a light wind typical of the transition period and adverse current prevented progress all of the 28th, after which the northeast monsoon wafted them to Aden by the 3rd of October. Zanzibar was by no means the only place where the alternation of the monsoons could cause long layovers. "Because of the Azyab [northeast monsoon] . . . he who is forced to moor in Yemen," states Ibn Majid (Tibbets, above, note 6, 227), "must stay there a whole year when bound for India" (from October, when the northeast monsoon sets in, until September of the following year, when the southwest monsoon has quieted down sufficiently to allow a safe passage and arrival [cf. below, note 27]).

Gulf or to India had a straight run and hence could depart with the oncoming of the monsoon in April, after a layover that might be as short as three months.¹⁶ Today dhows bound for the Red Sea may leave with them, taking advantage of the fact that in May the winds of the Gulf of Aden are not yet firmly locked into the southwesterly direction they will have in June but offer some variation.¹⁷ This option was not open to a skipper of an ancient craft with its square rig, slower and less flexible than a dhow's. He could not leave until mid-April or so,¹⁸ and, if the variables in the Gulf held him up,¹⁹ he might not reach the Straits of Bab el Mandeb until the end of May—just when the wind would turn against him in the Red Sea (Chart 1G). Besides, even if he was lucky enough to have a fair passage all the way, he would arrive no earlier than June, and this would hardly leave time to unload, refit, and take on a new cargo for departure in July. By lingering in Zanzibar until the closing days of the southwest monsoon, he would be assured of fair and moderate winds all the way and plenty of time to prepare for a new round trip.

Is it not possible that vessels which started from Egypt went only as far as Africa's horn, leaving the long leg to Zanzibar and back to others for whom the voyage would involve far less waiting for the

¹⁶ Alan Villiers traveled on a dhow from the Persian Gulf that arrived at Zanzibar in February, which was late since others had arrived in January, and left on 15 April (above, note 6, 206, 269). Arrival in January and departure in April is standard practice; cf. A. Prins, "The Persian Gulf Dhows," *Persica* 2 (1965-66) 1-18 at 5-6. Cf. Bissell (above, note 13) 35: "The small *Trading Vessels* from Muscat, and the Red Sea, after discharging their Cargoes, which is chiefly *Dates*, always *dismantle*, and move into an *Inner Harbour*, at the *back* of the town, and wait the *return* of the [southwest] *Monsoon*."

¹⁷ Cf. Datoo (above, note 9) 67.

¹⁸ Vessels could not leave Zanzibar until the southwest monsoon had established itself, and this might be well into April; cf. Bissell (above, note 13) 37: "They [the locals of Zanzibar] ridiculed the idea of our going away, before the SW Monsoon set in, and said we should be plagued with *Calms* and *Variable Winds*, with *Southerly Currents* till the *Middle of April*."

¹⁹ Dhows generally shun the Gulf of Aden during May precisely because the winds then cannot be trusted; cf. Ibn Majid's statement quoted above, note 15, and the observations of a naval officer who visited Berbera in 1848: "From April to the early part of October, the place was utterly deserted . . . but no sooner did the season change, than . . . small craft from the ports of Yemen . . . hastened across, followed, about a fortnight to three weeks later, by their larger brethren from Muscat, Soor, and Ras el-Khyma . . . By the end of March . . . craft of all kinds . . . commence their homeward journey. By the first week of April the place is again deserted" (*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 19 [1849] 54-55; also quoted by Richard Burton in his *First Footsteps in East Africa* [London 1856, reprinted 1966] 225-26).

turn of the monsoons? The *Periplus* (16) distinctly mentions that Rhapta—either Dar es Salaam or on the Rufiji river south of it—was a port of call for Arab craft; could they not have handled its trade? That would leave for Greco-Roman vessels only the trip from Egypt to the horn and back, which could easily be done within half a year, outbound in July–September (Chart 1A/B, 2A/B) and the return in October–December (2C/D, 1C/D). Very possibly some did it this way—but the author of the *Periplus* nowhere speaks of them. What is more, in a handbook written in Greek and therefore addressed to Greek-speaking merchants and skippers, he carries on his description without a break as far as Rhapta; the clear implication is that it was regularly part of the trade route.

Though the voyage was long for these Greek traders, it was easy, since all of it took place under ideal sailing conditions. Outward bound, the leg through the Gulf of Aden was done during the closing days of the southwest monsoon when it had lost much of its bite, and the leg down the coast of East Africa under the mild northeast monsoon. Homeward bound, the leg back up the coast took place during the closing days of the southwest monsoon and the traversing of the Gulf of Aden during the opening days of the northeast monsoon. Indeed, the voyage is so undemanding that currently merchants entrust their goods, and passengers their lives, to dhows of such modest size and in such wretched condition and so hopelessly overcrowded that they could not possibly survive even the slightest storm at sea.²⁰

IV

The Voyage to India

Ships left Egypt for India, as for Africa, in July, the *Periplus* (39, 49, 56) informs us. They did so for the same reasons, to take advantage of the summer northerlies in the Red Sea (Chart 1A) in order to get down to its exit at Bab el Mandeb, and of the southwest monsoon (Chart 2A) in order to get out of the Gulf of Aden. And, again as the *Periplus* (57) specifically informs us, carried by the southwest monsoon they sailed over open water either to the mouth of the Indus River or Barygaza (on the Gulf of Cambay) on India's northwest coast or to Muziris on the southwest coast.

²⁰ Cf. Villiers (above, note 6) 141, 154–55, 282.

How long did the voyage take? Pliny the Elder offers some data (6.104). He agrees with the author of the *Periplus* that vessels made their departure in mid-summer. He then states that "Ocelis in Arabia [on the Straits of Bab el Mandeb] or Cane in the incense country [probably Husn al Ghurab in the Hadhramaut west of Mukalla]²¹ was reached in about 30 days... From Ocelis... one sails with the southwest wind to Muziris... in 40." These figures are cited by everyone who has written on the subject; almost always without question.²² Yet the first is most curiously expressed and the second must be a mistake. Why give the same traveling time to Ocelis and Cane, when Cane is over 200 miles further? It is like giving the same

²¹ For the identification, see W. Schöff's translation of the *Periplus* (New York 1912) 116, and G. Mathew in H. N. Chittick and R. Roitberg, eds., *East Africa and the Orient* (New York 1975) 159–60.

²² W. Kroll, *RE* s.v. "Schiffahrt" (1923) 419; Warmington (above, note 1) 46, 48, and 342, note 48; Wheeler (above, note 1) 126; Cary-Warmington (above, note 3) 97; G. Van Beek in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 80 (1960) 139. Schöff (above, note 21) 233 renders Pliny's words without comment. Hourani (above, note 3) 26 is aware that 40 days is hardly fast but does not question the figure. Warmington does see an error in Pliny's numbers—but in the wrong place. In 6.84 Pliny tells of a traveler, the freedman of a certain Annius Plocamus, who was caught by strong northerlies off Arabia and blown helplessly until, 15 days later, he landed on Ceylon. Warmington (341, note 30) suggests altering Pliny's *xv* to *x* to bring it in line with the figure of 40 days we are discussing. The distance from Arabia to Ceylon is some 1500 to 1600 nautical miles, and this, traversed in 15 days, would work out to an average speed of something over 4 knots—which, as I show below, is more or less what we would expect with winds of presumably gale force or near it. I would reverse Warmington's suggestion and read *x* instead of *xv* in 6.104!

E. Ascher in two articles in the *Journal of Tropical Geography* (a publication of the universities of Singapore and Malaya) entitled "Graeco-Roman Nautical Technology and Modern Sailing Information" (30, 1970, 10–26), and "The Timetables of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* and of Pliny's Voyage to India" (34, 1974, 1–7) questions Pliny's figure—but he questions practically all Pliny's data and the *Periplus* to boot. This is because Ascher is convinced—it must be by intuition, for he cites no sources, either primary or secondary, and indeed there are none to cite—that the Roman merchantman was "undoubtedly inferior to her Greek and Phoenician forebears," was of such a "clumsy nature... [that] in a strong wind [she] was liable to be swamped" (1970, 13); manifestly such a wretched type of ship could not make the voyages Pliny and the *Periplus* attribute to it, so Ascher then proceeds to tell us what Pliny and the *Periplus* should have said. We have nothing but the vaguest notion of what Phoenician craft were like (and no one has ever suggested they were the forebears of "Roman" merchantmen), but we do know for certain that the ships plying the seas in the days of the *Periplus* were vastly bigger, sturdier, and better rigged than Ascher's "superior" Greek forebears (cf., e.g., Lucian, *Navigium* 5). Those vessels "liable to be swamped"? Ascher has not even read the account of St. Paul's shipwreck!

time for the voyage, say, from Marseilles to both Messina and Naples. The second figure, 40 days from Bab el Mandeb to Muziris (just north of Cochin), since the distance in round numbers is 2,000 nautical miles, works out to an average speed of 2 knots. Yet if a ship left Egypt in mid-July, and then 30 days later Ocelis in mid-August, it would have on its heels the southwest monsoon just when that strong wind was blowing its hardest, averaging more than 20 to 30 knots in the waters between the horn of Africa and the southwest coast of India.²³ Ancient sailing craft were capable of doing between four and six knots with favorable winds in the Mediterranean, as we glean from voyages Pliny himself describes; surely they would have done at least as well on the run to India under the southwest monsoon, in other words made the crossing in twenty days, half the time Pliny allots.²⁴ Somehow there is a tendency to gloss over Pliny's errors or forgive them. "Ships sail back from India," he says (6.106), "at the beginning . . . of December or at any rate . . . before January 15," which is precisely what we would expect, since by that time the northeast monsoon had set in. "Moreover," he adds, "they sail from India with the southeast wind." "By a slip," explains E. H. Warmington, author of the definitive study of Rome's India trade, "Pliny calls [the northeast monsoon] Volturnus [southeast]."²⁵ With the same forbearance, let us say that by a slip he wrote 40 instead of 20.

The return was no problem: departure in December–January meant that it took place during the benign northeast monsoon (Chart 4D/E, 5D/E). And, since this lasted from November to April, one could shove off even earlier or later.²⁶ But there was no leeway for the

²³ *Sailing Directions for the . . . Gulf of Aden* (above, note 8) section 1–31.

²⁴ For speed of ancient craft, cf. Casson (above, note 5) 282–88. Dhows frequently make the voyage in 20 days (Van Beek, above, note 22); though faster than ancient ships they sail, as we shall see in a moment, when the winds are more moderate.

²⁵ Above, note 1, 48.

²⁶ Since the winter was precisely the time for returning from India to the Red sea, one is puzzled by the way commentators have consistently interpreted a passage in *Periplus* 32. The author there describes Moscha, one of the ports for the export of frankincense located on the Dhofar plain just west of Oman (cf. Schoff [above, note 21], 140–142). Among the vessels that loaded up here were "those that sailed by [parapleonta] out of Limyrike [the southwestern coast of India] or Barygaza [Broach] and passed the winter [paracheimasanta, sc. at Moscha], the time of year being late." Schoff's translation reveals that he takes these to be Arab craft returning from India (he even renders *parapleonta* "returning"), and he has been followed by Warmington (above, note 1) 342, note 34; Wheeler (above, note 1), 117; Van Beek (*Biblical Archaeologist* 23 [1960]: 79). But there is no reason for Arab craft to stop and winter at Moscha; winter was precisely the time to return from India not only to Arabia but

outbound voyage; that had to be timed as carefully as the home-bound from Zanzibar which we discussed a moment ago. So far as winds were concerned, leaving the Red Sea ports in June might seem as good as July (Chart 1A, 2A, 4A, 5A). But there was more to be considered than the direction of the wind. Departure in June would bring a vessel to India's shores in August—and that was to be avoided at all cost. During most of the summer, sailing conditions on India's west coast are so dangerous that practically all maritime activity ceases. This is particularly true of the southwestern coast, where Muziris, the end of Pliny's "40-day" voyage lay. At present in this area the marine insurance rates, which vary between 1 and 1½% during the northeast monsoon, rise to 20% by the end of May when the southwest monsoon has set in, and, during June, July, and August, marine insurance is simply not available at any price. By September it is again offered at the fairly reasonable rate of 2½%.²⁷ It follows that ancient vessels must have left their Red Sea ports in July and not before in order to reach the coast of India no earlier than September, when the southwest monsoon was approaching its end and beginning to quiet down. Arrival anytime later, in October, was inadvisable since it would have exposed ships to the contrary winds of the northeast monsoon (Chart 4C, 5C).

Thus the skippers who plied between Roman Egypt and India were not foolhardy: by delaying their departure until July, they avoided India's coast when it was most dangerous. But they still had to carry out a good part of their ocean crossing during the time when the southwest monsoon was blowing its hardest, often stirring up violent storms. From the writings of Arab navigators of the late 15th and early 16th century we know that in that age Arab skippers also used the southwest monsoon, but delayed departure until the end of August and the beginning of September when it was beginning to slacken. They were able to do so since their ships were either fast

anywhere west of it. C. Müller, in his commentary to the passage (*Geographi Graeci Minores* [Paris 1855] 1:282), suggested they were vessels which "serius enavigaverant quam ut secundo etesiarum flatu in Africam oram deferri possent"—which makes no sense either; winter was precisely the season for sailing from Arabia to Africa (cf. the observations of a naval officer quoted above, note 19). The ships must have been Indian, not Arab, having lingered in Arabia too long to catch the end of the southwest monsoon in August-September; they had to wait through the winter until it returned the following spring; cf. Ibn Majid's statement quoted above, note 15.

²⁷ The 15th- and 16th-century Arab writers on navigation took it for granted that most of the ports on India's west coast were closed from May to July and practically all of them in June and July (Tibbets [above, note 6] 367-68). For the insurance rates, see R. Bowen, "The Dhow Sailor," *The American Neptune* 11 (1951) 5-46 at 12.

enough to reach India before the coming of the northeast monsoon, or, failing that, with their lateen rigs could sail against the feeble breezes of its early stages.²⁸ The ancients did not have this alternative. As the author of the *Periplus* (39) puts it in his matter-of-fact way, "The crossing with these [southwest winds] is risky but absolutely fair and shorter."

V Conclusion

Thus, two areas of trade, which traditionally have been treated together, turn out upon examination to be totally different in the demands they made on both shipowners and merchants. A venture to Africa was safe, cheap, and involved only short coastal hauls. Consequently it was open to owners of craft of no great size, on which they had expended no great amount of money for upkeep (like the "incredibly small and decrepit" dhows Alan Villiers saw making the voyage²⁹), and whose scant cargo space they might charter to a handful of small-time traders. And neither owners nor traders were much concerned about storms at sea. However, though their stakes were modest and relatively safe, two long years had to pass before there were any profits to pocket.

On the other hand, ventures to India—at least the ones our sources consider the most important, those that exploited the direct crossing over open water—were just the reverse. It took only a year for the capital invested to yield a return. But the amount of capital required was formidable, and there was a definite element of risk. Such trading ventures were open only to the owners of powerful vessels able to

²⁸ The Arab navigators recommend departing for India as follows (Tibbets [above, note 6] 365): from Zeila and Berbera on 24 or 25 August, from Aden between 24 and 29 August (although Ibn Majid will allow up to 18 September), from Shihor or Mishqas or Zafar (on the south coast of Arabia roughly 300, 400, and 600 miles respectively east of Aden) on 3 September or 14 September or (Ibn Majid again) 8 October. These are consistently later than the ancients' departure date. This is understandable. The later one left, the weaker were the winds of the southwest monsoon that were encountered and the safer the crossing, a crucial consideration for Arab craft, whose mode of construction was far feebler than the Greco-Roman (cf. J. Hornell, *Water Transport* [Cambridge 1946] 234–35). The same departure dates prevail today; see Van Beek (above, note 22) 139 (pace Raschke [above, note 4, 937] who accuses him of not saying exactly what he does say). Van Beek, by accepting Pliny's figures, wrongly concludes that the ancients also left this late in the season.

²⁹ Above, note 6, 141.

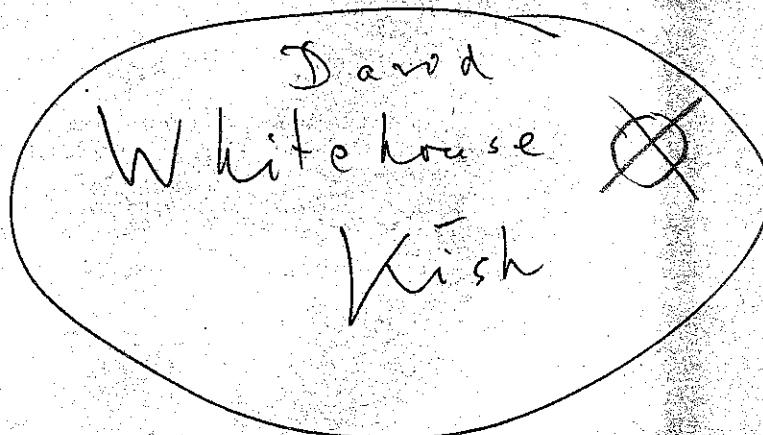
endure the force of the southwest monsoon and to the merchants with the money to purchase enough of the costly merchandise India exported—spices, silks, and the like—to fill the capacious holds. The India trade was for large-scale operators, whether shipowners or traders.

To Prof. S. D. Goitein
with kindest regards
Richard W. Bulliet

SHORTER NOTICES

Bulletin Naw Bahā'

BY
HASAN JAVADI *et alia*



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KISH

By David Whitehouse

With the decline of Sirāf the island port of Kish, 200 km. farther south, became a leading entrepôt for international maritime trade. The early history of Kish is obscure. The rulers, who may have come from southern Arabia, established themselves by piracy during the eleventh century A.D. By 529/1135 their navy was strong enough to attack Aden. Idrīsī, writing in 550/1154, claimed that the amīr of Kish commanded a fleet of fifty *mushayya'at*, vessels sixty cubits (about 27 m.) long and capable of carrying 200 men. The amīr, continued Idrīsī, had raided the African coast and the Indians feared him. The island was rich, with gardens and pearl fisheries. When Benjamin of Tudela visited Kish c. 1170 he, too, described a wealthy town. It contained Indian and Jewish communities. Among the goods in the bazaar were spices, silk, linen, cotton, hemp, *mâsh*, wheat, barley and millet. The islanders prospered as brokers for merchants from Iran, Iraq, India and the Arabian peninsula. Shortly afterwards, the focus of power shifted and in 626/1229 Kish was conquered by the ruler of Hormuz, by now the most important city on the Gulf. After c. 692/1292, however, Kish enjoyed a brief, but spectacular, recovery under Jamāl al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Tibī, the Ilkhānid governor of Fārs. Indeed, the fourteenth century writer Shabānkārā'i styled Jamāl al-Dīn "the first king (*malik*) of Kish". Abu'l-Fidā (672-732/1273-1331), who visited Kish several times during this renaissance, noted its educated citizens, pearl fisheries and gardens of exotic palms. The island's revenues in this period were said to be 400,000-700,000 dīnārs and it is clear that Kish was a major Ilkhānid port. Its wealth was underlined recently by the publication of a unique gold coin, weighing 9.95 gr., struck on Kish for the Ilkhān Oljaitu in 710/1310-11. The boom was short-lived. In 731/1330 Kish was recaptured by the ruler of Hormuz, Tahamatan II, and thereafter declined.

The location of medieval Kish has long been known. It stood on the north coast of the island, overlooking the navigable strait between Kish and the mainland of Iran. Mounds of rubble—the remains of substantial stone buildings—cover an area measuring at least 1.0 x 0.5 km. (Pl. Ia). Between January and May 1974 Mr W. E. Hamilton investigated the site on behalf of the Kish Island Development Organization. Mr Hamilton and his colleagues examined the surface remains and made an extensive collection of pottery, glass and other material. In March 1974 I visited the site at the invitation of Mr Hamilton and, with his kind permission, publish here a note on what I saw.

To judge from the surface remains, most of the buildings in medieval Kish were constructed of rubble, often bonded with *sârûj*. The walls were usually plastered, but surface collecting yielded few pieces of decorated stucco. Several of the larger buildings have outer walls more than 1 m. thick and massive semi-circular buttresses. They recall the remark of Ibn Mujāwir who died in 690/1291, that the houses of Kish "are very high . . . and each has the appearance of a castle". The occurrence on Kish of round buttresses, presumably within the period c. 1000-1330, warns us against applying too hastily the evidence from Sirāf, where round buttresses were replaced by rectangular ones, not later than the tenth century, to other sites in Fārs and the Persian Gulf.

The following features of Kish have particular interest:

(1) Loading bays for boats. The low coastal cliff overlooking the strait contains numerous artificial caves and galleries, which are open to the sea. At high tide many contain more than 1 m. of water. Some were entered from buildings in the town by rock-cut steps; others have vents in the roof, through which a rope or ladder might be passed. Evidently, the galleries served as loading bays for small boats. I saw no trace of a constructed harbour and assume that, as at Sirāf, larger vessels anchored off shore and that passengers and merchandise were transferred to the beach by lighter.

(2) A mosque. The rubble-strewn remains of a mosque, which was noted by several visitors in the nineteenth century, apparently survive to a maximum height of 1 m. The arcades were supported on octagonal piers. The mosque had a minaret with a circular shaft, 3.9 m. across, containing an internal staircase. Near the mosque is the stump of a square tower.

(3) Numerous rectangular houses on the ridge.

(4) Several small kilns, probably glaze.

(5) Middens of oyster shells of later date than the city itself.

(6) No trace of a regular street or from the air (Pl. Ia).

(7) No remains of a city wall that I suspect a wall may have

Outside the city itself ruined and extent of some of the garden particular note is a covered roof that the cistern, which is now of this type found on Kish. Ibu earlier period" which "runs

The pottery from Kish, coll. Among the Islamic glazed ware of the type found on Bahrain, bluish green or green. The decorative hatching, chevrons or groups (without the pseudo-epigraphy so-called "Sultanabad" ware glaze. Mr Farries found one

The Far Eastern ceramics impression that the eleventh to thirteenth century. The date of imported material that Eastern material seems to date 1330. The commonest types considerably later than the abundant varieties include ste. Pl. VI, ignoring the decorated porcelain with a bluish *Ching* shard of high quality Ting wa

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At the end of the final the rock-cut monument of Q. The monument was described seems unlikely that he actually tapes, but no instruments; not a definitive record of the

²² A. Iqtidari, *Āthār-e Shāhanshah Khalif-i Fārs va Dāyā-yi 'Umād*

er south, became a leading entrepôt. The rulers, who may have come in the eleventh century A.D. By 529/1135 550/1154, claimed that the amir of Kish was 27 m. long and capable of carrying 200 ships. The Indians feared him. Ibn of Tudela visited Kish c. 1170 he, 2000 families. Among the goods in the port were millet. The islanders prospered on the peninsula. Shortly afterwards, the ruler of Hormuz, by now the most powerful, sent a brief, but spectacular, recovery force. Indeed, the fourteenth century "History of Kish". Abu'l-Fidā (672/1272) noted its educated citizens, pearl divers and millet. The period were said to be 400,000-500,000. Its wealth was underlined recently by the ruler of Hormuz, who captured the city of Kish for the Ilkhān Oljaitu in 1291.

on the north coast of the island, of Iran. Mounds of rubble—the site on behalf of the Kish examined the surface remains. In March 1974 I visited the site, publish here a note on what

medieval Kish were constructed of stone collecting yielded few walls more than 1 m. thick and 1 m. high. The occurrence of a castle". The occurrence of rectangular ones, not later than

site contains numerous artificial tanks more than 1 m. of water. Have vents in the roof, through which loading bays for small boats. Larger vessels anchored off shore. Noted by several visitors in the arcades were supported on across, containing an internal

(3) Numerous rectangular cisterns, comparable with those at Sirāf. Qazwīnī remarked that only the richest citizens of Kish possessed private cisterns. The same social distinction was observed at Sirāf where, within the city walls, cisterns are associated with either mosques or the "palatial" houses on the ridge.

(4) Several small kilns, one of which was apparently used for making glass vessels or, more probably, glaze.

(5) Middens of oyster shells. The site is littered with oyster middens, most (if not all) of which are of later date than the city itself and presumably are the debris of pearl-fishing in recent times.

(6) No trace of a regular street plan, such as existed at Sirāf, is immediately obvious, either on the ground or from the air (Pl. 1a).

(7) No remains of a city wall survive, although at one point the mounds of rubble end so abruptly that I suspect a wall may have existed.

Outside the city itself ruined boundary walls, cisterns, *qanāts* and other features indicate the locations and extent of some of the gardens mentioned by Idrisī, Abu'l-Fidā and other medieval writers. Of particular note is a covered rock-cut cistern approached down a flight of steps. Mr Hamilton tells me that the cistern, which is now filled with earth, was associated with a *qanāt*. It is the only complex of this type found on Kish. Ibn Mujawir mentioned a "subterranean canal, dug by the kings of an earlier period" which "runs through the prince's garden".

The pottery from Kish, collected under the supervision of Mr Peter Farries, is both rich and varied. Among the Islamic glazed wares by far the most common variety is a bowl with underglaze ornament of the type found on Bahrain. As at Sirāf, the glaze seldom survives. When preserved, however, it is bluish green or green. The decoration is black and consists mainly of radial panels filled with cross-hatching, chevrons or groups of dots. Other varieties of glazed pottery include "late sgraffiato" ware (without the pseudo-epigraphic ornament found at Sirāf), wares with a white frieze body and sherds of so-called "Sultanabad" ware decorated in either black and blue on white or black under a turquoise glaze. Mr Farries found one sherd each of *minā'i* and *tājardīnā* ware, presumably from northern Iran.

The Far Eastern ceramics are no less interesting. They occur in huge quantities; indeed, it was my impression that the eleventh to fourteenth century glazed pottery from Kish contains a higher proportion of imported material than does the ninth to eleventh century pottery from Sirāf. Most of the Far Eastern material seems to date from the period of maximum prosperity between c. 692/1292 and 731/1330. The commonest types are stoneware "Martaban" jars (some of which would normally be dated considerably later than the fourteenth century) and green celadon vessels, mostly bowls. Other abundant varieties include stoneware bowls with an unglazed zone on the inside (cp. *Iran VII* (1969), Pl. Vf, ignoring the decorated sherd), small bowls of "Marco Polo" ware and porcelain or near-porcelain with a bluish *Ch'ing pai* glaze. White porcelain is uncommon, although I saw at least one sherd of high quality Ting ware.

QAL'AT-I HAIDARI

By Warwick Ball and David Whitehouse

At the end of the final season of excavations at Sirāf, Warwick Ball and Husain Bakhtiari visited the rock-cut monument of Qal'at-i Haidari, 60 km. south-east of Bushehr and 25 km. from Khormuj. The monument was described by Iqtidari,⁵⁰ but his plans and sections are far from accurate and it seems unlikely that he actually visited the site. The drawings on which Fig. 2 is based were made using tapes, but no instruments; they are a distinct improvement on anything published previously, but are not a definitive record of the site.⁵¹

⁵⁰ A. Iqtidari, *Āthār-i Shahr-i Bāstān-i Sarab-i va Jazāri-i Khalij-i Fārs va Daryā-yi 'Umān* (Tehran 1969), pp. 233-51.

⁵¹ Warwick Ball hopes to re-investigate Qal'at-i Haidari in 1974-5 as part of a wider study of rock-cut monuments in Iran.

E. J. BRILL — PUBLISHER — LEIDEN

Reminder:

TIBBETTS, G. R. Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese. Being a translation of *Kitab al-Fawaid fi usul al-bahr wa'l-qawaid* of AHMAD b. MAJID al-NADI together with an introduction on the history of Arab navigation, notes on the navigational techniques and on the topography of the Indian Ocean, and a glossary of nautical terms by G. R. T. 1971. (xxvii, 614 p., figs., fold. table, 7 fold. maps in pocket) (Publ. R.A.S., Or. Tr. F. XLII)

cloth Gld. 83.—

IBN AL-MUGAWIR. *Descriptio Arabiae Meridionalis, praemissis capitibus de Mecca et parte regionis Higaz, qui liber inscribitur. I. Præf. al-Mugawir secundum codicem Constantiopolitanum Hagiae Sophiae 3080 collato codice Leidensi Or. 5572 cum adnotatione critica ed. O. LÖFGREN* (de Goeje-Stichting, XIII). 2 parts.

1. 1951. (xii p., viii, 152 [Ar. t.] p., 5 fig.) Gld. 33.65

2. 1954. (vii p., p. 153-304 [Ar. t.], fig. 6-14) Gld. 31.—

VERROES. Die Epitome der Metaphysik [*Kitâb «Umm al-hadîth»*] Übersetzt und mit einer Einleitung und Erläuterungen versehen von S. VAN DEN BERGH. Nachdruck der Erstausgabe (1924). 1970. (XLV, 332 S.) (de Goeje-Stichting, VII) Leinen Gld. 48.—

“... sehr nutzliches Hilfsmittel zum richtigen Verständnis der *Epitome der Metaphysik*. ... Dank der ausführlichen Einleitung ist es leicht, sich über die hier behandelten Fragen zu orientieren. Auf die Erläuterungen hat der Übersetzer offenbar grosse Sorgfalt verwendet. ... Die Übersetzung verfügt von grosser Genauigkeit.” (K. V. ZETTERSTÅHN in *Le monde oriental*)
“... traduction extrêmement précise et claire ... Les notes sont d'un erudit capable de comparer le texte arabe à ses sources grecques, un instrument de travail des plus précis.” (ETIENNE GUISON dans *Revue d'histoire francophone*)

IBN SA'D. *Kitab al-Tabaqat*. Biographien Muhammeds seiner Gefährten und der späteren Uraffen des Islam bis zum Jahre 230 den Einheit. Im Auftrage der Königl. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften vereinigt mit C. BROCKELMANN, J. HOROWITZ, J. LIPPMANN, B. MÜHSEN, B. MÜLLER-WOLFF, F. SCHWALY und K. V. ZETTERSTÅHN herausgegeben von ED. SACHAU. 4 v.

VII. 2. Biographien der Basier, von der dritten Klasse bis zum Ende und der Traditionatier in anderen Teilen des Islam. Herausgegeben von ED. SACHAU 1918. (LXIII S. 207 [ar. T.] S.) Gld. 10.—

IX. (Indices) 3. Verzeichnis derjenigen Personen, die im Main (*Kitab al-Tabaqat al-Kebir*) des Ibn Sa'd erwähnt werden. Herausgegeben von ED. SACHAU 1940. (VI S., VIII, 258 [ar. T.] S.) Gld. 60.—

lement les auteurs des ouvrages sur l'Islam, dans lesquels après une longue introduction historique, un chapitre distinct est consacré aux différentes disciplines de l'islamologie, théologie, droit, mystique, littérature, sciences exactes, etc. M. Miquel a préféré replacer dans leur contexte historique ces manifestations du génie musulman; il en résulte peut-être une plus grande unité dans l'exposé; cela donne aussi un caractère moins abstrait à bien des théories qui, situées dans les circonstances de temps et de lieu qui les ont vu naître, reprennent figure plus humaine.

L'Islam et sa civilisation est divisé en quatre livres qui correspondent aux quatre périodes que l'auteur distingue dans l'histoire de l'Islam. Périodes d'étendue très variable, puisque le livre I ne traite que d'un siècle et demi d'histoire, qui va du début du septième siècle de l'ère chrétienne jusqu'au milieu du VIII^e siècle, tandis que le livre III, consacré à l'hégémonie turco-mongole, s'étend sur plus de sept siècles d'histoire. Entre eux deux, le livre second, celui de l'« ère des rencontres », ne concerne que trois siècles: huitième au onzième, et nous nous trouvons avec le livre IV au dix-neuvième et au vingtième siècles. L'ouvrage de M. Miquel qui débute avec la naissance de l'Islam, nous mène en effet jusqu'en 1967, au moment du conflit israélo-arabe, ce qui, en 400 pages de texte proprement dit, est certainement un record, puisque, à une réserve près, celle sur laquelle nous avons insisté, l'exposé ne laisse dans l'ombre aucun des aspects de cette civilisation islamique, qu'elle soit ancienne ou moderne.

Avant de terminer, signalons la qualité exceptionnelle des cartes et des plans, et aussi celle des « figures », pleines d'enseignement, et qui aident beaucoup à la compréhension du texte.

La dernière partie du livre, qui ne comprend pas moins de 150 pages, contient une bibliographie générale et une bibliographie par périodes, des tableaux chronologiques sur quatre colonnes, dont la dernière signale les événements du monde chrétien, approximativement contemporains de ceux du monde musulman, mentionnés dans les trois premières colonnes.

Ce qui frappe tout de suite, à la lecture de ce livre, c'est l'élégance des formules, la nouveauté de la vision des choses et des gens, le non-conformisme de l'auteur. Bien écrit de bout en bout, d'un style alerte et sans pédanterie, il peut, certes, se lire d'une traite, tellement il est attrayant. Mais on se gardera bien de le remiser, ensuite, dans sa bibliothèque. Que l'on soit spécialiste ou non, c'est toujours avec profit qu'on devra le consulter, pour retrouver une date, un fait, une doctrine, ou le jugement d'un homme d'esprit et de science sur tel personnage ou tel événement de cette merveilleuse histoire de l'Islam.

Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS

J. INNES MILLER, *The spice trade of the Roman Empire 29 B.C.-A.D. 641*, Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press 1969, XXIV + 294 p., in 8°, 4 planches hors-texte, 9 cartes.



En envoyant son livre à *Arabica*, alors qu'il porte sur la période qui précède l'apparition de l'Islam et l'expansion politique arabe, l'auteur a évidemment pensé qu'il était malgré cela susceptible d'intéresser un arabisant; il n'a pas eu tort, mais il va de soi que c'est exclusivement du point de vue de l'arabisant que j'en rendrai compte ici, de façon donc forcément partielle.

En écrivant ce livre, J. Innes Miller associe les deux compétences que lui ont valu d'abord une longue carrière d'administrateur dans les pays

d'origine des épices, puis maintenant une activité universitaire. Malgré quelques lacunes bibliographiques (par exemple Wanda Wolska, *La Cosmographie de Cosmas Indicopleustès*, Paris 1962, il est vrai écrit d'un point de vue très différent du sien; G. F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and early medieval times*, Princeton Univ. Press 1951; A. Toussaint, *Histoire de l'Océan Indien*, Paris 1961, et naturellement les travaux du Congrès d'Histoire Maritime de Beyrouth 1966, dont les actes n'ont pas encore paru au moment où j'écris), l'ouvrage se recommande par l'ampleur de la documentation, l'intelligence et la largeur de l'utilisation qui en est faite; pour l'arabisant, par les domaines d'intérêt suivants:

a) Par le tableau botanique, géographique, historique qu'il donne des différentes épices et en particulier de leur lieu de provenance, qui n'a naturellement pas changé avec l'apparition de l'Islam;

b) Par l'étude des itinéraires du commerce, qui lui non plus n'a pas fondamentalement ou brusquement changé, et dont il est en tous cas nécessaire de connaître l'état à la fin de l'Antiquité lorsque les Musulmans vont y intervenir;

c) Et bien entendu aussi et avant tout par la place que l'auteur est amené à accorder au rôle des Arabes préislamiques dans ce commerce que le titre nous dit être celui de l'Empire Romain parce qu'à bien des égards il y aboutit, mais qui n'en met pas moins en cause et intéresse tous les peuples de la Méditerranée à l'Inde, à la Malaisie et à la Chine, sans oublier l'Afrique Orientale, et par conséquent concerne pour une large part les navigateurs et marchands de l'Arabie méridionale et même, dans une moindre mesure, de toute l'Arabie.

Le chapitre le plus neuf, il me semble, est celui où l'auteur discute de la liaison commerciale directe entre la Malaisie et l'Afrique Orientale, où les Arabes venaient chercher certaines des épices qui donc ne transitaient pas par l'Inde; l'épice principalement considérée est la cannelle (Cinnamone, cf. p. 42-47 et 153). L'argumentation repose sur les considérations suivantes, Il est connu que depuis des époques difficiles à préciser, mais relativement hautes, les Malais avaient trouvé le moyen de traverser, en direction de Madagascar, l'Océan Indien méridional. Cela, bien entendu, ne signifie pas nécessairement qu'il ait existé une route commerciale normalement fréquentée, et dans les deux sens évidemment. Mais la cannelle/cinnamone apparaît presque certainement connue des riverains de la Méditerranée orientale très ancennement (fin du 2^e millénaire?). Sans doute elle aurait pu les atteindre par les routes ordinaires de l'Océan Indien septentrional et l'Arabie. Mais il se trouve qu'elle n'est pas mentionnée parmi les produits transportés par ces itinéraires, et que, contrairement à la plupart de ceux-ci dont les anciens géographes classiques connaissaient parfaitement en gros la provenance, l'origine de celle-ci restait entourée de mystère. Ce qu'on appelait le pays de la cinnamone, parce que les Occidentaux se la procuraient là, mais en sachant que ce n'était qu'une région de transit, était la Somalie et l'Afrique Orientale environnante. Il fallait donc que l'épice y fut parvenue, et naturellement il n'y aurait pas eu de raison de la porter là d'Arabie, puisque les grands consommateurs étaient les Méditerranéens et non les Noirs; absolument rien n'autorisera l'hypothèse d'une culture ou d'une récolte de la plante en Afrique même. Pline, plus particulièrement, sait que la cannelle/cinnamone dont il est fait commerce sur les côtes de l'Afrique Orientale ou sur les routes continentales de l'Éthiopie et du haut-Nil a été apportée du côté de Rhapta (en face de Zanzibar) par des navigateurs traversant sur d'immenses distances l'Océan Indien à bord de canots — ce que font les Malais. La considération

vité universitaire. Malgré Wanda Wolska, *La Cosmographie est vrai écrit d'un point de vue Seafaring in the Indian Ocean*, London Univ. Press 1951; A. et naturellement les tracts de 1966, dont les actes de l'ouvrage se recommandent par la largeur de l'utilisation d'aspects d'intérêt suivants: historique qu'il donne des connexions, qui n'a naturellement

lui non plus n'a pas foncé en tous cas nécessaire que les Musulmans vont y

face que l'auteur est amené à faire commerce que le titre en des égards il y aboutit, avec les peuples de la Méditerranée, l'Afrique Orientale, navigateurs et marchands mesuré, de toute l'Arabie. où l'auteur discute de la l'Afrique Orientale, où qui donc ne transitaient pas la cannelle (Cinnamone, considérations suivantes, éciser, mais relativement traverser, en direction de bien entendu, ne signifie commerciale normalement pas la cannelle/cinnamone dans de la Méditerranée). Sans doute elle aurait été un Indien septentrional donnée parmi les produits à la plupart de ceux-ci sont parfaitement en gros de mystère. Ce qu'on demandera se la procuraient l'occasion de transit, était la Il fallait donc que l'étaissons pas eu de raison assommateurs étaient les en n'autoriserait l'hypothèse en Afrique même. Pline, Cinnamone dont il est fait peu sur les routes contrôlée du côté de Rhapta sur d'immenses distances Malais. La considération

des vents et l'existence ancienne sûre d'établissements malais à Madagascar indique que les hommes qui apportaient leur marchandise à Rhapta avaient fait escale à Madagascar. Ils remportent chez eux du verre, de la bijouterie, des bronzes, des tissus dont le besoin aurait été moins dans les pays hindous ou sinisés du nord de l'océan Indien. Les Gréco-Romains connaissaient les routes du nord, parce qu'eux-mêmes occasionnellement ou leurs sujets d'Égypte les parcouraient au moins partiellement; ils savaient aussi ce que faisaient les sujets de l'Empire Persé. Mais ils savaient seulement des routes de la cinnamone/cannelle que les Arabes gardaient là-dessus un jaloux secret, non qu'ils les parcourussent eux-mêmes mais parce qu'ils se réservaient le monopole du transport d'Afrique Orientale en mer Rouge, Égypte ou Syrie. Des passages du *Périple de la Mer Érythrée* et les investigations archéologiques sur la côte de l'Afrique Orientale viennent à l'appui de ces conclusions. Vers la fin de l'*« Antiquité »*, une partie du commerce de la cinnamone fut dérouté par les Chinois et Hindous vers Ceylan, ou plus simplement ils apportèrent là de la cinnamone produite dans les pays du sud-est asiatique plus directement sous leur contrôle. Certaines espèces poussent en Indochine et Chine méridionale, d'autres en Malaisie insulaire et environs. Ces dernières continuèrent cependant à être apportées en Afrique par les Malais, qui ne comptaient pas avec Ceylan.

Tout cela, bien entendu, devra faire encore l'objet d'enquêtes, autant qu'il est possible. Mais l'ensemble est hautement stimulant et, malgré le titre de l'ouvrage que nous recensons, nous invite, une fois de plus, à prendre conscience que dans l'histoire de l'humanité n'existent pas seules les grandes civilisations classiques, et qu'elles ne sont même pas isolées.

Cl. CAHEN

AL-HAMDĀNī, *Kitāb al-Ğauharatain al-‘atīqatain al-mā’i‘atain as-ṣafrā’ wa'l-baīdā'*; Die beiden Edelmetalle Gold und Silber, édition et traduction par Christopher TOLL, 394 pp., Uppsala 1968.

Abū Muḥammad al-Hasan b. Ahmad al-Hamdānī, né vers la fin du III^e/IX^e siècle à Ṣan‘ā', surtout connu comme géographe et comme historien de l'Arabie, et notamment du Yémen, semble avoir eu une activité littéraire beaucoup plus variée qu'il n'y paraît. On cite de lui des ouvrages d'astronomie, d'agriculture, de médecine, sans compter un *dīwān*, qui semblent malheureusement perdus.

Le *K. al-Ğawharatayn* n'avait jusqu'à présent été étudié que partiellement et superficiellement, et n'avait fait l'objet d'aucune édition. M. Toll comble cette lacune en donnant ici une édition critique du texte (sur 4 mss.) et sa traduction pratiquement juxtalinéaire.

La longue introduction mérite qu'on s'y arrête. Après avoir noté que l'auteur, conséquent avec lui-même, a consacré des ouvrages autonomes à chacun des éléments constitutifs de la « propriété »: la terre, objet du *K. al-Harṭ wa-l-hila*, les animaux (*K. al-Ibil*), et les espèces (le présent ouvrage), l'éditeur donne une analyse détaillée du texte, où l'on distingue fondamentalement deux parties:

— une partie théorique et doctrinale où l'auteur développe des considérations astrologiques et cosmologiques sur les planètes, la matière, le feu, etc. . . , ainsi que des opinions originales sur l'origine des minéraux, souvent indépendantes de l'héritage aristotélicien;

— une partie technique où sont examinés les caractéristiques, les propriétés, le traitement et les emplois de l'or et de l'argent: mines, extraction, raffinage,

DID ROMAN COMMERCIAL COMPETITION RUIN SOUTH ARABIA?

GEORGE F. HOURANI

IT IS not easy to know precisely to what extent the prosperity of ancient South Arabia was dependent on international commerce. The valleys and terraces of Yaman provide plenty of rich agricultural land, and the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* in the middle of the first century A.D. says that this country (the hinterland of the port of Muza) "produces grain in moderate amount, and a great deal of wine," and that for this reason little grain or wine was imported.¹ The Hadramawt has much cultivated land in its long valleys, and its ancient port of Cane is also said by the *Periplus* to import little grain or wine.² In the plains east of Yaman and north of the Hadramawt Mountains, cultivation once extended far into what is now the gravel desert of Sabatayn, as is evident from the many ruins of ancient cities and irrigation works in that area. On the other hand, cultivated area has to be considered in relation to total population, and this is a wholly unknown factor. But at least it can be said with confidence that the wealth of those people above the subsistence level was derived from their well-attested commercial activity.³ The *Periplus* lists the various articles imported: mainly clothing and spices through Muza and clothing and metals through Cane. Even the up-

keep of irrigation systems in the vicinity of trade routes probably depended on the country's commercial prosperity, for "the value of the trade made it worth while to attend to the general security; this in turn made it possible to maintain irrigation and agriculture."⁴

Thus when the South Arabian economy fell into serious ruin, at some time not earlier than the second century B.C. and not later than the sixth A.D., the change may fairly be attributed in the first place to a decline in the country's foreign trade. But we do not know just when or why this decline began. In the standard works on Arabian history it is usually said to be due to Greek and Roman mercantile competition, beginning in the first century B.C. and working powerful effects in the first century A.D.⁵ A representative statement of this view is given in Hitti's *History of the Arabs*, from which I quote a few sentences:

In the course of this first Himyarite period [115 B.C.-A.D. 300] the zenith of the South Arabian power was passed. So long as the Yamanites monopolized the maritime trade of the Red Sea they prospered; but now the control was slipping out of their hands. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (A.D. 50-60), the first record of organized trading with the East in vessels built and commanded by subjects of a Western power, marks the turning-point of the tide of commerce....

¹ F. Stark, *The Southern Gates of Arabia* (London, 1936), p. 205.

² W. H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (New York, 1912), pp. 5-6; D. G. Hogarth, *Arabia* (London, 1922), p. 5; D. E. O'Leary, *Arabia before Muhammad* (London, 1927), p. 80; P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (4th ed.; London, 1949), pp. 58-60; C. Brockelmann, *History of the Islamic Peoples* (New York, 1947), p. 3; H. St. J. Philby, *The Background of Islam* (Alexandria, 1947), p. 102.

³ *Periplus*, ed. H. Frisk (Göteborg, 1927), Chap. 24.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Chap. 28.

⁵ Particularly noteworthy is the assertion of Agatharchides (late second century B.C.), "On the Erythraean Sea," Chap. 102 in K. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores* (Paris, 1882): "For no nation seems to be wealthier than the Sabaeans and Gerrhaeans, who are the agents for everything that falls under the name of transport from Asia and Europe."

When Egypt under the Ptolemies became once more a world power the first attempt was made to contest the supremacy of the sea with the South Arabians. . . . Rome, which captured Egypt from the Ptolemies about the middle of the first century B.C., followed the Ptolemies in the policy of maritime competition against the Arabians and in the desire to free Egypt from commercial dependence upon al-Yaman. . . .

The entry of Roman shipping into the Indian Ocean sounded the knell of South Arabian prosperity.⁶

My aim is to show that such a view is unwarranted: that the evidence does not point to any decline in South Arabian prosperity as a whole in the first century B.C. or the first A.D. and that the decline, when it did occur, cannot be considered an effect of the Greco-Roman commercial activity down the Red Sea in those two centuries.

I shall begin with a brief survey of Greco-Roman activity in trading with India via the Red Sea. Voyages from Ptolemaic Egypt to India began after Eudoxus of Cyzicus led the way in 120 B.C. and became more frequent after Hippalus had discovered direct ocean sailing in the Indian Ocean with the southwest monsoon. Hippalus is now generally dated between 120 and 90 B.C. The sailings from Egypt fell off in the middle of the first century B.C., owing to the disturbed conditions in the Mediterranean world, but revived again under Augustus. Strabo says that under the latest Ptolemies "not even twenty ships [annually] dared to traverse the Arabian gulf so as to come out beyond the straits, whereas now great fleets are sent to India and the Ethiopic headlands"; in another place he gives the figure of 120 ships as the size of the annual expedition which was setting out from Myus Hormus for India in 25–24 B.C.⁷ For the first century A.D. the

Periplus and Pliny show Greco-Roman shipping still very active in the Red Sea and beyond; and quantities of Roman coins of this period have been found in southern India. In the second century Ptolemy Claudius shows increased acquaintance with the geography of the countries bordering the Indian Ocean.

Is there any evidence for a South Arabian economic decline coincident with this period of Greco-Roman activity? If there is, it has not been stated by our historians. But let us gather for ourselves some indications which could be suggested.

1. The *Periplus* indicates that before direct sailings from Egypt to India started, Aden used to be the leading port of international commerce between West and East; but the city was subdued by "Caesar," "not long before our time,"⁸ and it is now no more than "a village by the sea." Whoever this "Caesar" was who occupied Aden for a short or long period, the fact is clear that the port suffered a decline when it lost its international role as a market, owing to the changed conditions brought about by the direct sailings. This is substantial evidence as far as it goes. But it only refers to the fate of one city. The *Periplus* describes two other ports as flourishing, Muza on the coast of Yaman and Cane in Hadramawt; and these may well have absorbed the former trade of Aden or replaced it with commerce of a different kind in the new conditions.

2. The important excavations of the American expedition in the Wādi Bayḥān in progress since 1949, have revealed the end of the state of Qatabān in the first century B.C. The capital, Tamna^c, was destroyed by fire, ca. 50 B.C., and thereafter Qatabān was incorporated in the

^a Geography xvii. 1, 13; ii. 5, 12.

^b Νῦν δὲ οὐ ποτὲ πολλοῦ τῶν ἡμετέρων χρόνων Καίσαρ αὐτὴν κατεστρέψατο, chap. 26.

^c *O.p. cit.*, pp. 59–60.

kingdom of Hadramawt.⁹ But this again is of no more than local significance. It could perhaps be explained entirely by the fortunes of war; but, if the event has an economic background, it may well have been due to the replacement of the overland caravan routes, passing from the Indian Ocean through the Western Hadramawt (Qatabān) and on to Najrān and the north, by the cheaper sea route which the Arabs were forced to use in face of Greco-Roman competition.

So far as I know these are the only two facts which may indicate economic decline in any part of South Arabia in late Hellenistic and early Roman times. Over against them there are other facts which reveal a prosperous state of affairs in the first century A.D.. At the time of the *Periplus* Muza is a busy market town full of Arab shipowners and sailors; it has a varied trade with Egypt, Barygaza in India, Somaliland, and Rhapta in East Africa. Rhapta is tributary to Muza, and the Muzans sail there in their own ships. Through Muza the Sabaean king receives gifts of horses and asses, valuable clothing, and manufactured work in gold, silver, and bronze: these are sent by the Roman emperor, presumably to insure commercial privileges and protection for Roman merchants.¹⁰ Cane is the port for the export of frankincense and aloes, and she trades with Egypt, India, and the Persian Gulf.¹¹ Pliny writes (A.D. 77) that the demand for frankincense has increased so much recently in the Roman Empire that the gum is now gathered twice a year and the lumps are not given a chance to grow to full size; that the amount consumed at Poppaea's funeral alone (A.D. 66) was more than the whole annual pro-

⁹ W. F. Albright, "The Chronology of Ancient South Arabia," in *BASOR*, No. 119 (October 1950).

¹⁰ *Periplus*, Chaps. 16, 21, 23, 24.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Chaps. 27-28.

duce of Arabia; and that India, China, and Arabia are receiving Roman currency at the rate of one hundred million sesterces a year.¹² Indirect evidence for the fortunes of South Arabian commerce is provided by the history of the caravan cities of Nabataea. The prosperity of Petra in particular was almost entirely dependent on caravan traffic between Egypt and Syria, on one side, and South Arabia, on the other.¹³ Now the ruins of Petra show definitely that the city was flourishing in the first century A.D. After the Roman occupation in the time of Trajan there was probably a slow decline; but then we find Petra's place taken by Jerash, Bosra, and other cities of the Decapolis which received the caravan trade.¹⁴ We may also make mention of the political condition of South Arabia for what it is worth as an indication of economic conditions. In the course of the first century B.C. practically the whole country came under the rule of the two kingdoms of Saba and Dhu-Raydān in the west and Hadramawt in the south, and from our still limited information we may gather that this political stability endured in the first century A.D. There was even some overseas expansion, for the kingdom of Axum was founded in this century by colonists from South Arabia, while ports of East Africa were under Arab political control.

Now, if the evidence has been correctly interpreted so far, we can say briefly that Greco-Roman trade began late in the second century B.C. and became sub-

¹² *Nat. Hist.* xii, chap. 32, secs. 58, 62; chap. 41, sec. 83.

¹³ Traffic with Mesopotamia naturally passed through more northerly cities such as Palmyra. To the south, Petra had sea routes via Aelana and Leuce Come, but these could never have handled much traffic owing to the inhospitable character of the sea and shore in that region.

¹⁴ See M. Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities* (Oxford, 1932).

stantial by 24 B.C. at latest, while South Arabian economic decline did not start until the second century A.D. at the earliest. Is it possible to find a causal connection between the two events? Allowing fully for delayed effects in matters of economic history, I do not see how a trade situation which was in full play by 24 B.C. can be considered the cause of changes which did not begin to appear for over a century after that date.

I suspect that the theory being criticized was never based primarily on historical evidence, which we have seen to be generally unfavorable,¹⁵ but on mistaken conceptions about the normal course of events in commercial history. It may have been assumed, by Schoff or some predecessor, that an increase in Greco-Roman trade must have meant a decrease in South Arabian trade in the same regions. The idea of trade as a fixed quantity tends to persist in popular economic thinking. One answer to it, in our particular case, is that the trade between the Roman Empire and India, into which the merchants of Egypt entered so vigorously, expanded enormously in the period with which we are concerned, so that there may still have been room for South Arabians to take part in it with their own shipping. But apart from such direct participation—for which there is actually little positive evidence—the ports of Muza, Cane, and Ocelis must have drawn wealth from the expenditures of the northern seamen in them, and the Sabaean king is known to have received payment from Rome for

¹⁵ The destruction of Tamna^c was unknown when the theory was formed. On the other hand, it used to be thought that Aden was "destroyed," not "subdued"—a mistaken translation of *κατερπιθενο* in *Periplus*, Chap. 26; and Hippalus and the subsequent rise of substantial Greco-Roman trade with India used to be dated much later, in the middle decades of the first century A.D. Thus on balance the theory once seemed more plausible than it does today.

trading facilities in these ports.¹⁶ In modern times ports like Aden, Malta, and Port Said have flourished entirely on foreign shipping. A port is doomed by being in the backwaters, not by being on the main lines of international trade. But, most important of all, the direct trade of the Mediterranean world with South Arabia was very greatly increased by the rise in the demand for spices, which followed on the general rise in the security and prosperity of the Roman Empire in the first century A.D. And, finally, South Arabian trade with East Africa and with the Persian Gulf was little touched by the new competitors.

Another conception which has been applied indiscriminately is that of economic imperialism, the use of armed forces by states in concerted effort to secure trade monopolies. Such a policy has of course been put into practice by many nations—a pertinent example is the use of naval force by the Portuguese against the Arabs to secure for themselves the Indian trade in the sixteenth century. But there is no evidence that the Romans resorted to such an active policy in the Red Sea and beyond. If they sent an expedition under Aelius Gallus, if they captured and garrisoned Aden or Socotra, it was not for the purpose of excluding other nations from trade but solely to obtain security for their own traders.

To find the conditions which would naturally bring ruin to South Arabian commerce, we have to look in the third and following centuries. The contraction of the entire Mediterranean economy in the third century led to a shrinkage in the demand for oriental products. The demand for myrrh and frankincense dried up as Christianity replaced paganism, for the early Christians were averse to pagan

¹⁶ *Periplus*, Chaps. 23–24.

odors. What through-trade with the Indian Ocean remained to the merchants of Egypt was now transacted largely through the Abyssinian port of Adulis, and thus the Arabs were largely deprived even of the profits of their ports of call.

What then took place in South Arabia is still unknown; definite evidence of its economic history in these obscure centuries now waits upon the further progress of excavation.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Arabic in Mass Texts

pp. 124-126. 135-6. 139¹⁵-140.

140-1. 142-5. 166-7. 181-3.

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432-4. ~~etc.~~ 465 ~~for~~ ^{for} 1^o

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From K.R. Hall and J.K. Whitmore, eds.
The Origins of Southeast Asian Statecraft
(Ann Arbor, 1976)

With best wishes,
J. Hall

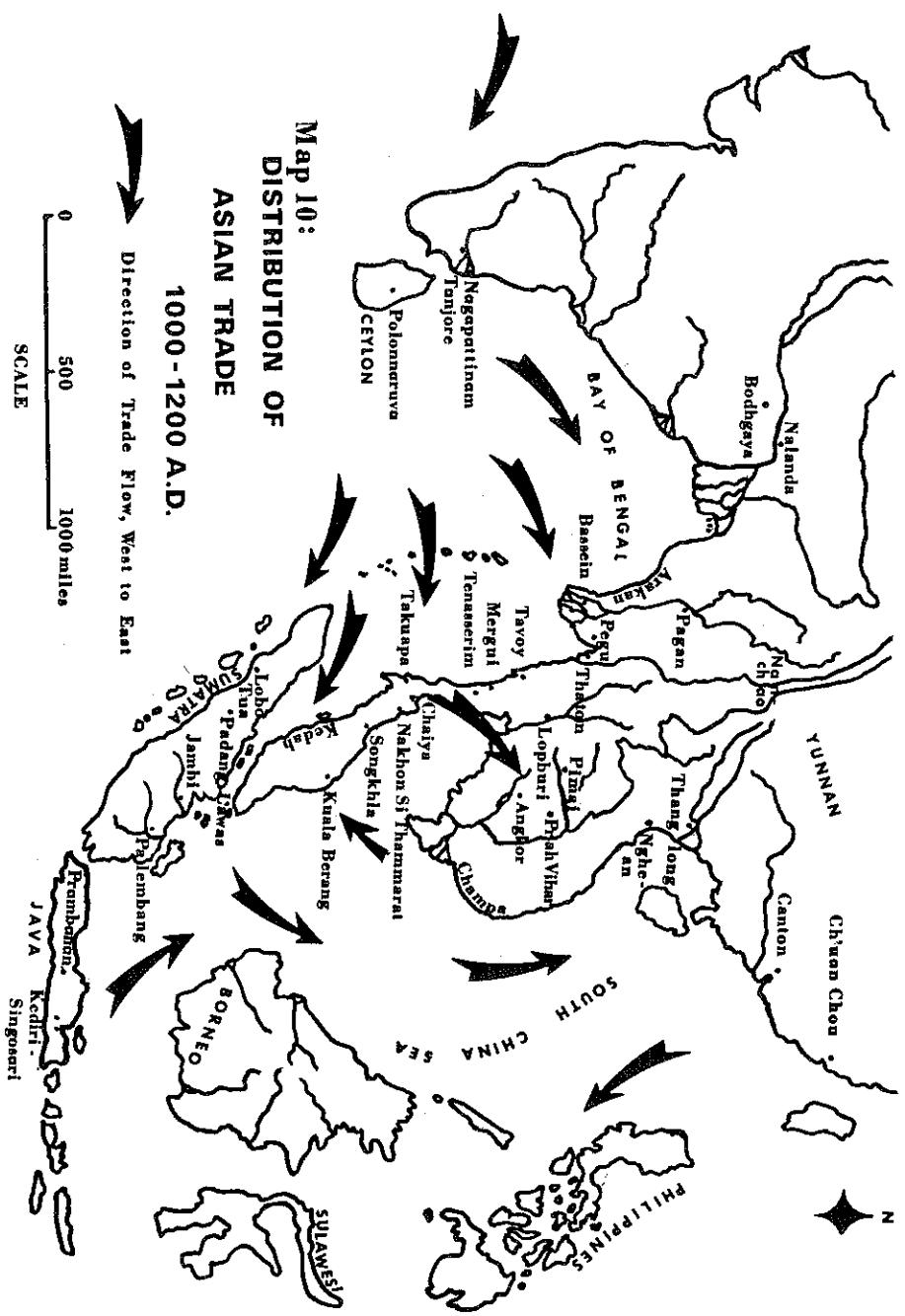
Southeast Asian Trade

and the Isthmian Struggle, 1000-1200 A.D.¹

by
Kenneth R. Hall and John K. Whitmore

The role of Southeast Asia in the international trade route has over the centuries been predominantly one of providing a key link in that route, rather than having been a source of goods for the route. The merchants on the route, directly or indirectly, focused on the wealth at both its ends, the riches of the Mediterranean and the Middle East and the greatness of China. All the points in between served as a series of links carrying the goods along and feeding in local goods at the regional entrepôts. Certainly in the Chinese view, the waters stretching from the coast of China and the South China Sea to the Indian Ocean and the coast of Africa were in essence one ocean, the Nan-yang or Southern Seas.² The key fact of Southeast Asia in this context was that it lay astride this single ocean and its communications. In such a position, the Malay Peninsula and the islands adjacent to it possessed both negative and positive potential. On the one hand, any strife could disrupt the flow of trade; on the other, the maintenance of political stability and the establishment of entrepôts could lay a proper foundation for and encourage this flow.

As O. W. Wolters has demonstrated, the history of the coastal regions in Southeast Asia has been intimately linked to this trade route and the ebb and flow of its commerce.³ The Malay peoples of these coasts had long known far-reaching navigational techniques and had gradually become familiar with the peoples and cultures lying on both near and distant coasts. When the international route itself began to appear, over two millennia ago, these Malay peoples were in a position to learn about and to take advantage of the commercial possibilities. In particular, they appear to have supplied the ships and manpower needed to carry the commerce between Ceylon and China, thus forming a crucial link in the route. Gradually, as Wolters has described so well, the Malays took



**Map 10:
DISTRIBUTION OF**

ASIAN TRADE

Direction of Trade Flow, West to East

SCALE

0 500 1000 miles

a greater and more active role in the trade itself.⁴

Initially during the third and fourth centuries the international route had gone across the Kra Isthmus, disembarking on the west side around Takuapa and being carried over the peninsula to the Bay of Bandon on the east coast. It had then proceeded across the Gulf of Siam to the Funanese port of Oc-eo. The Chao Phraya valley seems to have received influence from the Kra in this period, while the Irrawaddy area undoubtedly had a coastal contact with the Ganges delta. By the fifth century, however, the Malays appear to have taken the initiative, and the route went through the Straits of Malacca to southeastern Sumatra, making direct contact with the richly endowed Java Sea area.⁵ Out of this development rose the classic maritime state of Srivijaya. Based on the Malay role in the trade route and located on the "favored coast" of southeastern Sumatra, this power stood between the flow of international trade and the wealth of Java and beyond. In Wolters' terms, the rise of this state and its subsequent career were intimately linked to the rise and fall of the T'ang dynasty and the vast wealth that a unified and prosperous China meant. Having emerged from the mass of harbor states competing for a place on the trade route in the seventh century, Srivijaya gained control of the seas in the vicinity of the Straits of Malacca, put down piracy and competition, and established a cosmopolitan trading center, it would seem, at Palembang. The ports of Srivijaya then furnished supplies, local products, Chinese and Western goods, storage facilities, and hostellries for waiting out the monsoon season to the passing traders. The extent of this loosely knit empire covered the coasts of Sumatra and of the Malay Peninsula, and the trade that had existed for China with the Malay Peninsula and beyond to Java now came to be focussed on the Srivijayan ports. The ports of the Kra Isthmus remained secondary and under a loose Srivijayan control.⁶

Through the ninth and tenth centuries, when the T'ang state was slowly collapsing and China was splintering into numerous small political entities, the trade seems not to have dipped to any great degree due to the efforts of the Southern Han and Min regimes based respectively at Canton and Fu-chou.⁷ Yet new pressures were building up along the

sea routes. Where previously the political development of the region was such that there had been little conflict among major regional powers, the tenth century saw the beginnings of such conflict, particularly with the rise of maritime power in eastern Java and on the Tamil section of the east coast of India. Added to this inter-regional competition was the major upsurge in trade tied to the reunification of China under the Sung dynasty and its efforts to reopen the communications of the Southern Seas over the final third of the tenth century.

The hundred years following the upsurge along the trade route saw a serious weakening of the position of Srivijaya as the political and economic strains proved too great for it. First, the Srivijayan rulers sought to consolidate their position with diplomatic maneuvers in the direction of India and Ceylon⁸ and then followed with a war against Java. The Javanese attacked Srivijaya in 992, but in 1016 suffered a devastating raid from their enemies, allowing the Srivijayan ruler to refer to himself when he sent a richly laden mission to China the following year as 'king of the ocean lands.'⁹ Yet, within a decade, the Cōla power of the Coromandel coast had sacked the legendary riches of the Srivijaya capital and for the next fifty years was to play a role in the politics of the Straits area.¹⁰ The attack of 1025 seems to have disrupted the concentration of the international route through the Srivijayan ports along the Straits, and by the last quarter of the eleventh century the trading pattern had become more diffuse. No longer were Palembang and its subordinate harbors the single focus of the international route in Southeast Asia. The ports of east Java began to surpass them in wealth, drawing traders from India and the mainland of Southeast Asia as well as from the eastern islands, and Chinese maritime vessels were for the first time sailing the Southeast Asian seas and going beyond them into the Indian Ocean.¹¹ Indeed, the small harbors of northern Sumatra began to act independently of the once great power to the south and to profit directly from the variety of traders now circulating along the sea routes.¹²

The 1025 Cōla expedition appears to have been critical in the expansion of several major states on the Southeast Asian mainland as well. By removing Srivijaya's presence in the ports of the upper Malay Peninsula, the Cōlas cleared the

way for the expanding mainland states to fill the resulting power vacuum.¹³

Stage One: The Khmers

By the first half of the eleventh century, the Khmers of Cambodia had pushed their control to the west into the Chao Phraya valley of present Thailand and towards the Kra Isthmus. Where tenth century Cambodia's commercial interest had been directed toward the eastern portions of its land, Sūryavarman I (1002-1050) reversed this pattern with his activities in the west.¹⁴ Although his motivation may well have been in terms of conquest, Sūryavarman's extension of Khmer administration into the Lopburi region had strong economic implications. Control of the lower Chao Praya provided access to international commerce at Tambralinga on the eastern Kra, giving the Khmer a more direct contact with the international trade routes than had previously been the case. After the Cōlas had eliminated Srivijaya's power over the Kra, the Khmer seem to have established their own influence over Tambralinga.¹⁵

In another article¹⁶ Hall has speculated that a stronger Khmer relationship with the Kra allowed the development of commercial contact between Cambodia and South India. In 1020, before Rājēndra Cōla's Southeast Asian raid, Sūryavarman had sent presents to the Cōla king, an act which, based on other epigraphic records, must be viewed as a culmination to eleventh century Khmer commercial expansion. A Sūrya image found at Chaiya has been traced to the eleventh century style of the Cōla dynasty.¹⁷ Other Cōla-style remains from the Vieng Sra area on the Isthmus appear to date to the same tenth and eleventh century period, reflecting a trans-peninsular route between the west coast port of Takuapa and the Bay of Bandon.¹⁸ Archeological research by Alastair Lamb has shown that Takuapa was the terminus of the Persian-Arab trade until the mid-eleventh century, when it was shifted south to the Kedah coast.¹⁹ "Kalah," as the Arabs called the Malay coast entrepot, was the center of Arab-Persian trade, while "Srivijaya" was the center of the China trade. Kalah's ability to handle the trade of two worlds was the source of

its importance. The Arabs knew it as a place where a large amount of profit could be made, a fact reflected in the quantity of artifacts found at both the Takuapa and Kedah sites.

As the Khmer were developing commercial contacts with the west, the Burmese were pushing south into the delta of the Irrawaddy and were also moving toward the Isthmus. After establishing a base at Pagan in the tenth century, eleventh century Burmese expansion annexed the Mon kingdoms of Pegu and Thaton. Here the Burmese established control over the Mon commercial centers, one of which may have been Papphala, the Mon port sacked in the Cōla raid. Around 1050, the Burmese were expanding into the Malay Peninsula, where they seem to have encountered little resistance from the Khmer.²⁰ About that same year, the Chams were applying pressure to the eastern Khmer border, sacking Sambupura on the Mekong,²¹ and Sūryavarman died. Thereafter Khmer epigraphy reflects a seeming lack of interest in the commercial development of the Cambodian empire until the late twelfth century. In this period the center of Khmer political power shifted north into the Mun River valley beyond the Dangrek mountain range. Internal political strife as well as external pressure may well have contributed to the lack of security adequate for generating the extensive commercial activity of the early eleventh century. We may speculate that after 1050 internal disorder prevented a Khmer presence in the Malay Peninsula, leaving the Kra to the Burmese.

Stage Two: The Burmese

In a recent article, Janice Stargardt has suggested that tenth century disorders in the Nanchao region blocked the overland commercial networks connecting the Irrawaddy plains and China and thus generated Burmese interest in opening commercial channels to the south.²² Prior to the closing of the northern route, Burma had served as a center of exchange between northern India and China; overland trade to Bengal via Arakan had been of major economic importance to the Burmese heartland. If Stargardt's analysis is correct, then commercial centers on the Malay Peninsula provided an alternative source of foreign commodities for this India trade

after the route to China had been closed. The Kra port of Takuapa was located well within the range of Mon coastal shipping. The Mon port identified as "Papphala" in the Tanjore inscription, located somewhere on the Pegu coast, could thus have connected the overland route to northwest India with this maritime route. This port's channel of communication with the Kra was undoubtedly disrupted by the Cōla raid.

Under Anirruddha (1044-1077), there was new interest in restoring commercial intercourse with the Kra. Around 1057, Anirruddha followed his conquest of Thaton by moving his armies south to Mergui. From Mergui, G. H. Luce believes that the Burmese forces crossed the Kra.²³ Burmese military success in this direction may be reflected in a request by King Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110) of Ceylon for aid against the Cōlas, to which the Burmese king ("the king of Rāmaṇī") responded with "peninsular products," which Luce believes were used to pay Vijayabāhu's soldiers.²⁴ As interpreted by Luce, the Cōlas did not look favorably upon this show of support. In 1067, they launched an expedition against "Kaḍāram" (Takuapa), in "aid of its ruler" who had been forced to flee his country and had sought Cōla assistance: "Having conquered (the country of) Kadaram, (he) was pleased to give it (back) to (its) king who worshipped (his) feet (which bore) ankle rings."²⁵ Cōla administrative problems in Ceylon made this intervention short; by 1069-1070, South Indian control over Ceylon had been eliminated. The Cūlavamsa, the Ceylonese Buddhist chronicle, records that in 1070, after Vijayabāhu I had gained control over Ceylon, many costly treasures were sent to the Pagan king²⁶; then in 1075, Buddhist priests from Burma were invited to Ceylon to purify the Order.²⁷

Takuapa's position as the dominant port on the peninsula seems to have been dealt a death blow by this second Cōla raid. As reported by Lamb, the archeological evidence from the Takuapa area terminated in the second half of the eleventh century, a period corresponding to this raid.²⁸ It is significant that the Cōla inscription recording the 1067 raid states that "Kaḍāram" was the object of this attack. South Indian inscriptions from the early eleventh century were consistent in their reference to the King of Srivijaya as the ruler of Kadāram, the Malay Peninsula's trade entrepot,

calling him the Kidārattaraiyan.²⁹ Thus George Coedès interpreted the Perumbur inscription as a reference to a revolt by Kadāram against Srivijaya's control in which the Cōla ruler was called upon to put down this revolt and restore Srivijaya's sovereignty.³⁰ In making such an interpretation, Coedès ignored the possibility of a Burmese presence on the Kra.

We have speculated that the 1025 Cōla raid resulted in a loosening of Straits commerce, with new ports developing as alternative entrepôts to Srivijaya/Palembang. By the late eleventh century the northern Sumatra coast was on its way to being an important commercial center. The Kedah coast was more strategically located to participate in this new pattern of Malacca Straits commerce; there are even architectural similarities between Kedah and northern Sumatra temples constructed in this period, suggesting a direct contact between the two coasts.³¹ A Burmese military presence at Takuapa, followed by the second Cōla raid may well have reinforced Kedah's attractiveness--Takuapa was no longer a port which could offer security to foreign merchants. Archeological remains at Takuapa and Kedah support such a shift, with evidence at Takuapa ceasing and that of Kedah showing a dramatic increase during the second half of the eleventh century. One could suggest that the port elites of Takuapa transferred their operations to the new "preferred port" at Kedah, which may help to explain the Arab geographers' continued use of "Kalah" to identify their Malay coastal entrepot. Similarly, even after Palembang had been replaced by Jambi as the capital of the Srivijaya maritime state, the name "Srivijaya" still identified the ports of the southeastern Sumatra coast.³² It is perhaps significant that in 1070 the eastern Kra port of Tambralinga presented its first tribute to the Chinese court since 1016.³³ This mission may be seen as a response to the events of 1067: while the Cōla raid against Takuapa and the shift of "Kalah" to the Kedah coast established a new pattern on the west coast, Tambralinga's mission was sent to reassure the Chinese that its east coast status was unchanged.³⁴

After the 1067 Cōla raid, the Burmese moved to insure their external trade connections. The importance of

communication networks linking Burma with northern India was recognized by Kyanzittha (1077-1112) in his restoration of the Bodhgāyā shrine in Bengal.³⁵ An inscription from Bodhgāyā (1105/1106) recorded that ships laden with large quantities of jewels had been sent by the Burmese ruler to finance the restoration and the endowment of the Buddhist monument.³⁶ The fact that this mission was sent by sea is indicative of Pagan's new status as a participant in the regional trade of the Bay of Bengal. An inscription from Pagan records another mission which Kyanzittha sent to either South India or Ceylon:

Then the king wrote of the grace of the Buddharathna, Dhammaratna, and Sangharatna (upon a leaf of gold with vermillion ink). The king sent it to the Chōli prince. The Chōli prince with all his array, hearing of the grace of the Buddha, the Law and the Church, from King Srī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja's mission....he cast off his adherence to fake doctrines, and he adhered straight away to the true doctrine....³⁷

Although stated in religious language, there are strong economic implications to such a mission. As Janice Stargardt has suggested, "campaigns which were clearly military in character, and probably economic in purpose, were recorded as religious missions."³⁸ Military campaigns became "quests for relics." By triumphantly carrying back relics and sacred treasures the expenses of campaigns whose "benefits might remain obscure to the people of the kingdom" were justified.

A network of Buddhist religious diplomacy actually pre-dated Kyanzittha's efforts. Srivijaya rulers had endowed vihāras at Nālandā in Bengal during the tenth century and at Nāgapattinam on the Coromandel coast in the early eleventh century.³⁹ In 1090, the Cōla king Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1122) renewed an endowment of village revenues to the Nāgapattinam vihāra.⁴⁰ In this inscription certain people who were occupying the previously granted lands were evicted, suggesting that the earlier (1006) grant had been ignored for some time. It is apparent that in 1090, Kulōttuṅga saw some benefit in restoring the original grant. It may be significant that by the early twelfth century the Nāgapattinam vihāra had

come under the control of the Theravāda school of Buddhism,⁴¹ the same school that was soon to become dominant in Burma. Since Kyanzittha's inscription indicates that Pagan was actively seeking a trade alliance with either South India or Ceylon in this same period, it is conceivable that the "Chōli prince" who received his mission may have been Kulōttunga himself. In this case the restoration of the earlier grant, the conversion of the vihāra to Theravāda Buddhism, and Kyanzittha's claim to have converted the "Chōli prince" may all be connected.

The last line of the Shwesandaw inscription quoted above includes the statement that the Chōli prince showed his gratitude by presenting to Kyanzittha "a virgin daughter of his, full of beauty," together with other presents.⁴² Kulōttunga's pattern of beneficent diplomacy is also recorded in Chinese sources. A stone tablet inscription dated 1079, which was discovered in a Taoist monastery temple in Canton, states that the Cōla king ("Ti Hua Ka Lo"), also known as the "Lord of the land of San Fo Tsi" (i.e., Srivijaya), was the temple's benefactor. Kulōttunga's gift totaled 600,000 gold cash--a sizeable sum--which drew the praise of the Chinese court and bestowal of the title "Great General Who Supports Obedience and Cherishes Renovations."⁴³ While clothed in religious garb, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the diplomatic efforts of both Kulōttunga Cōla and Kyanzittha were economic in motive. Closer economic ties by sea to South India and Ceylon would have provided new economic potential for Pagan, and, as Kyanzittha's inscription indicates, royal patronage was granted to efforts to open such new channels of communication.

Using these records to reconstruct the history of the late eleventh century, it appears that, as Burma came to dominate the Takuapa region and as "Kalah" shifted to the Kedah coast, the Burmese empire became a focal point of regional commerce. In this case, South Indian merchants who were formerly active at Takuapa may have moved their activities either south to Kedah or north to the regional commercial centers of the Burma coast. In the process, the old focus of international trade achieved by Srivijaya along the Straits of Malacca was shattered even more. Java and the northern Sumatra ports drew the major international route south and west, the Burmese drew the regional route of the Bay

of Bengal north, and the Isthmus came to exist essentially as a transition area to the mainland states.

The Twelfth Century

In the following decades, the upper peninsula became the center of a multi-partite interaction among the Singhalese, the Burmese, and the Khmers as the regional route developed. Based on his study of Buddhist votive tablets and other evidence, G. H. Luce believed that Pagan controlled the Kra from 1060 until roughly 1200.⁴⁴ Examining the Ligor Chronicles of Nakhon Si Thammarat together with additional evidence, David Wyatt has revised Luce's dating, suggesting that, from 1130 to 1176, Tambralinga was under Singhalese hegemony.⁴⁵ To support his position, Wyatt cites Pali literature from Ceylon which regarded Tambralinga ("Tamalingāmu") as an important twelfth century center of Buddhist scholarship.⁴⁶ Indeed, a Polonnaruva inscription from the reign of the Singhalese king Vikkamabāhu I (1111-1132) may even record the "conversion" of Tambralinga to the Mahāvihāra Theravāda school.⁴⁷ It describes a great dignitary (thera) of the Ceylon saṅgha named Ananda as being instrumental in purifying the Order in that land.⁴⁸ In the Ligor Chronicle story, the prince and princess of Tambralinga fled to Ceylon after an invasion of their land. After a period of exile, the king of Ceylon assisted them in their return home--an event which Wyatt believes took place around 1130--imposing his sovereignty on the new rulers in the process. About 1176, King Narapati (Narapatisithu of Pagan, 1174-1211) of Pegu (Hansavati) made an expedition into the Kra and apparently established Pagan's control over the Tambralinga area "with the permission of the King of Ceylon."⁴⁹

Although the furthest extent of archeological evidence documenting Pagan's control over the peninsula has been found only at Mergui, the Pagan king Cañsū II (Narapatisithu) claimed control over peninsula ports at Tavoy (a town near Mergui), Tenasserim, Takuapa, and Phuket--all on the west coast.⁵⁰ Burma's twelfth century influence on the upper peninsula is substantiated by the Cūlavamsa.⁵¹ When in the 1160's the Burmese refused (or monopolized) the trade in elephants and

blocked the way across the peninsula to Angkor, the Singhalese responded with a retaliatory raid. In this account, five ships from Ceylon arrived at the port of "Kusumīya" (Bassein) in Rāmañña (lower Burma) led by a certain Nagaragiri Kittī. Further, a ship commanded by a goverment treasurer reached Pappala, the Mon port mentioned in the Tanjore inscription, where Singhalese troops fought their way into the country's interior to the city of Ukkama and killed the monarch of Rāmañña. This brought the kingdom under Ceylon's influence. The people of Rāmañña granted certain concessions to the Singhalese and envoys were sent to the community of monks on the island with the result that the Theravāda monks interceded with Ceylon's king on behalf of the Burmese.⁵²

Since only six ships reached Burma, this could not have been the record of a large scale war but rather of a successful naval raid against lower Burma. Such a plunder expedition was similar to those undertaken by the Cōlas in the eleventh century, with additional emphasis given to gaining trade concessions. It is unlikely that the raid penetrated to Pagan and killed the Burmese king. Gordon Luce has attempted to show that the death of king Alaungsithu (1113-1165?) coincided with this raid, representing as he does the 1160's as a period of general disorder in Burmese history. However, recently published inscriptions indicate that Alaungsithu ruled until 1169, four years after the date of the Singhalese raid.⁵³ Rather than a period of disorder, Pagan epigraphy reflects the 1160's as a time of great prosperity, with normal state affairs continuing vigorously. However, Burmese chronicles record that during Alaungsithu's reign the lower Burma provinces were in a state of "anarchy" and "rebellion," suggesting that a local governor had become quite powerful and may well have attempted to assert his independence from Pagan. "Ukkama," the residence of the "king" killed by the Singhalese, has been identified as a commercial and administrative center of lower Burma--possibly Martaban, a later capital of the area--where a local governor could well have been put to death by the raiders.⁵⁴ Lower Burma governors derived considerable income from trade revenues generated by the regional commercial networks. Such an obstruction of commerce may actually have represented an attempt to establish independent control over this lucrative trade. It is notable that one of the

attack ships was led by a Singhalese treasurer, an individual who would have had a great interest in increasing trade revenues. Herein we can see the raid of the Singhalese on lower Burma as the high point of the twelfth century competition for control of the Isthmus, and it is probably best explained in terms of an interruption and difficulties concerning the patterns of trade and communication in this area.

Epigraphic evidence from Ceylon supports such an economic interpretation of the raid. An inscription from the twelfth year of the Singhalese king Parākramabāhu I (1165) records a land grant to a certain Kit Nuvaragal (Kitti Nagaragiri) as a reward for carrying out a successful expedition against "Aramaṇa" (Rāmañña).⁵⁵ The expedition had been sent against "Kusumiya" (Bassein), which had been sacked. When the people of Aramaṇa sent envoys to conclude a treaty, Parākramabāhu granted favors to Kitti Nagaragiri--for forcing the envoys to be sent and not for a great military achievement. At the death of Parākramabāhu in 1186, his successor Vijayabāhu I concluded a final treaty of peace with Burma,⁵⁶ and through the remainder of the twelfth century the way to Cambodia remained open.

While the twelfth century relationship of Ceylon and Burma is relatively clear, that between Ceylon and Angkor is not. As indicated in the Cūlavamsa, the major reason for the 1160's conflict between Ceylon and Burma was Ceylon's concern that Burma was preventing free access to the communication channels between Ceylon and Cambodia. This explanation is probably indicative of the peninsula's relationship to Angkor as well. The upper peninsula was significant as the intermediary between Ceylon and Angkor such that it was more important as a source of economic and cultural contact than as an area to be dominated politically. As a result Ceylon was willing to risk a war with Burma to preserve the peninsula's neutrality.

Further evidence of contact between Ceylon and Angkor is provided in two twelfth century inscriptions from Ceylon. One inscription from late in the century specifically states that friendly relations with Cambodia were maintained.⁵⁷ In the second inscription, one of the city gates at Polonnaruva was

called "Kamboja-vāsala," suggesting a possible Cambodian settlement in the city.⁵⁸ Of particular interest is the Cūlavamsa's reference to the interception of a Singhalese princess en route to "Kamboja" by the Burmese, a story which is presented as one of the events leading to the 1160's war.⁵⁹ Such a marriage alliance between the Singhalese and the Khmer is suggestive that such alliances were a common tool of the Singhalese royal house. The cross-cousin marriage patterns of the Singhalese royalty favored continuing relationships, and to form such an alliance with Cambodia would have provided long range benefits.⁶⁰

Thus, as in the eleventh century, the northern peninsula seems to have played an important role in such communication between Cambodia and the west. From the other direction, Chinese authors of the Sung period saw the upper east coast of the peninsula as being within the Cambodian sphere of influence, and one of them believed that its markets produced some of the best incense available:

Beyond the seas the Teng-liu-mei gharuwood ranks next to that of Hainan [where the price of incense had become too high]. It is first-rate. Its trees are a thousand years old....It is something belonging to the immortals. Light one stick and the whole house is filled with a fragrant mist which is still there after three days. It is priceless and rarely to be seen in this world. Many of the families of the officials in Kuangtung and Kuangsi and families of the great ones use it.⁶¹

The relationship of Angkor to the peninsula may perhaps be seen in terms of the relationship between it and Tambralinga on the east coast of the Isthmus. The last recorded embassy of the latter to the Chinese court had been that of 1070, while Cambodia was sending embassies in 1116, 1120, 1128/29, and 1131.⁶² This suggests either of two interpretations: a) that the Khmer came to dominate the upper coast between 1070 and 1130, such that they sent embassies and Tambralinga did not; or b) that with Cambodia's internal political problems in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries Tambralinga became a neutral port. In the twelfth century Chinese merchants were

dealing directly with the sources of supply on the peninsula, Sumatra, and Java, eliminating the earlier Chinese need for a dominant port of the Srivijaya type. Tambralinga, as a recognized source of forest products, would not have needed to advertise these products by sending embassies to the Chinese court. This differed from the case of the Chen-la (Cambodian) state of Lo-hu (Lavo) which sent elephants as a present in 1155 to the Chinese court in search of recognition.⁶³ If, as O. W. Wolters believes, Southeast Asian states sent embassies to China mainly in times of stress as in the case of Lo-hu, then the Khmer, who were more concerned with pressuring Vietnam and Champa in the east during the first half of the twelfth century, needed to undertake missions to reassure the Chinese that the disorders would not interrupt the flow of southern commerce.

Both Khmer and Chinese participated in the twelfth century China/Cambodia exchange network. Sūryavarman II (1113-1150) is said to have been personally involved in trade relations with China and to have possessed his own fleet.⁶⁴ The Sung hui yao kao contains references to Chinese trading vessels visiting Cambodia with cargoes of silk goods and porcelain.⁶⁵ In 1147, "specific favors" were conferred upon Cambodia by the Chinese.⁶⁶ Sung porcelain has been excavated at Angkor, but there is a noticeable gap in the epigraphic evidence of any commercial relationship until the reign of Jayavarman VII (1181-1218) when the inscriptions of Ta Prohm (1186) and Prah Khan (1191) make reference to Chinese articles.⁶⁷ In addition, an inscription from the Phimānākas at Angkor mentions a flag made of colored Chinese silk.⁶⁸ The Prah Khan inscription also includes a reference to localities in the northern access zone to the peninsula, including Ratburi and Petburi, but there is no record of any specific relationship between Angkor and the Kra.⁶⁹ Using Cham inscriptions, E. Aymonier recorded an undocumented reference to a campaign by Jayavarman VII on the peninsula in 1195, which may indicate an attempt to restore a formal Khmer relationship.⁷⁰

On the other hand, archeological remains suggest a cultural and economic tie between the Kra and Cambodia rather than direct Khmer political presence. Earlier historians used the Khmer inscription of the Grahi Buddha near Chaiya, which

they dated to 1185,⁷¹ as proof of Cambodia's administrative control over the upper peninsula, but since J. G. deCasparis depicted the inscription as a product of the last decades of the thirteenth century,⁷² many historians quickly dropped this conclusion. However, when recently working on an eleventh century inscription from Pimai (1041), Hall's attention was drawn to the presence of an animal dating cycle typical of later Thai rather than Khmer practice.⁷³ It has been suggested that this may be early evidence of Thai speaking peoples who were administratively incorporated into the Khmer government of Sūryavarman I.⁷⁴ Significantly, this same animal cycle is used in the Grahi Buddha inscription. DeCasparis argued that this reference to the Thai animal cycle forced one to assign a date to the Grahi Buddha later than 1183. We would postulate, however, that, based on the Pimai inscription's earlier use of this animal cycle and on evidence of a communication network connecting Pimai and Lopburi in the eleventh century, it is indeed possible that Thai speaking peoples had reached the lower Chao Phraya valley and the peninsula by the late twelfth century and had taken their place within the mixed cultural configuration of that area with its international commercial routes and communications.⁷⁵ This may allow us to reestablish a late twelfth century date for this inscription and to show a definite Khmer cultural presence in this key area at that time.

Clay Buddhist votive tablets scattered between the Bay of Bandon and Nakhon Si Thammarat may provide further evidence of communication between the Kra and Angkor. These twelfth century tablets have been linked to the multiple figures of Angkor Thom, departing from earlier Mahāyāna style tablets of the eleventh century, and appear to have had more affinity to Theravāda Buddhism.⁷⁶ Thus, a common Theravāda Buddhist religious interest, as with Mahāyāna in the earlier centuries, would have encouraged regular communication among Pagan, Ceylon, and Cambodia. The *Cūlavamsa* records such twelfth century religious interaction between Pagan and Ceylon. By the mid-twelfth century, Tambralinga had also become a center of the Theravāda Buddhist school. Legend records that Pagan was converted to the Singhalese Theravāda school at the end of the twelfth century when five monks returned to Burma from a pilgrimage to Ceylon and built the Chapata temple under the

patronage of king Narapatisithu. One of these monks was said to have been the son of a Khmer king, probably Jayavarman VII.⁷⁷ Indeed, art historians believe that Preah Palilay at the Bayon, constructed during Jayavarman VII's reign, exhibits a Theravāda Buddhist style which may well have been introduced from Burma via the Menam valley.⁷⁸

We have suggested that Burma and the upper peninsula lay on a more regional route of communication across the Bay of Bengal connecting Ceylon to Pagan and Angkor. While Luce and Wyatt postulate that the Isthmus was politically dominated by one or another of these powers at various times in the century, we have presented evidence that Burma, Cambodia, and Ceylon each had a real interest in the peninsula, but that this interest was probably more of a commercial nature, making attempts to dominate the peninsula politically both unnecessary and perhaps undesirable. As we have stated, the raid of the Singhalese on lower Burma in the 1160's can best be explained in terms of an interruption and difficulties concerning the pattern of trade and communication in the area. The Burmese had come to dominate this trade and had blocked the way across the peninsula to Angkor, thereby bringing the retaliatory raid from Ceylon. Through the end of the twelfth century the way was reopened and rapidly became a path for the spread of Theravāda Buddhism to the western and central sections of the Southeast Asian mainland, establishing a cultural relationship of great significance for later centuries.

Thus, the upper Malay peninsula receded from the patterns of power and trade in the island world and was drawn into those of the mainland. In addition, where previously it had been the mode of outside contact with the islands and the international currents for the Mons of Rāmaññadesa and Dvāravatī in Burma and Thailand, now the Isthmus provided a more regional contact for the greater empires of Pagan and Angkor and, through their territories, to the northern mountain areas where the stirrings of the Thai-speaking peoples were becoming ever more important.

To understand the economic and cultural significance of the upper peninsula, let us put it in perspective by examining the other major trade routes of Southeast Asia in the early

thirteenth century and the goods that flowed along them.

Southeast Asian Trade, c. 1200

By the end of the twelfth century, a major diffusion had taken place in the international route as it went through Southeast Asia. No longer was its chief focus on Srivijaya and the latter's control of the Straits of Malacca. The wars with the Javanese and the Cōlas had opened up the Java Sea area to direct commercial contact and had left the straits region in a situation that would remain, until the fifteenth century and the rise of Malacca, a vague vacuum of commercial control. In 1178, Cho Ch'u-fei could write, in his Ling Wai Tai Ta:

Of all the wealthy foreign lands which have great store of precious and varied goods, none surpasses the realm of Ta-shih (Arabs). Next to them comes She-p'o (Java), while San-fo-chi (Srivijaya) is third; many others come in the next rank.⁷⁹

Indeed, the flow of trade moved toward the developing ports of east Java and the spices they offered. The route taken was apparently, from the west, along both coasts of Sumatra and, from the east, across the South China Sea and around the west coast of Borneo. Thus, the main thrust of international commerce moved away from the Isthmus directly toward the produce of Sumatra and the riches of Java.

On the mainland, only the east coast seems to have been involved, through a subsidiary route, with the international path. This secondary route was one of two which, besides the central route, connected Canton and the new ports of the southeastern coast of China, Fu-chou and Ch'uan-chou, to different parts of Southeast Asia. It appears to have gone by way of Champa down to Fo-lo-an (Kuala Berang in Trengganu) on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula⁸⁰ and on to the ports of east Java. The other subsidiary route seems to have developed contemporaneously with the new China ports in the ninth and tenth centuries and extended along the coasts of the Philippine Islands.⁸¹

Paul Wheatley's work on the location and type of commodities involved in the Sung maritime trade demonstrates the above pattern from the Chinese point of view, both in terms of those areas which they knew and those which they did not know. His initial map⁸² reconstructs the world as known to Chao Ju-kua, Superintendant of Maritime Trade at Ch'uan-chou and author of the Chu-fan-chih, a 1225 work on maritime trading patterns which must have derived much of its information directly from the seamen and traders themselves.⁸³ This map divides Southeast Asia into an Upper Shore (Shang An) involving the mainland and the peninsula, a region with which the Chinese had had contact in prior centuries, and a Lower Shore (Hsia An), covering Sumatra and the Java Sea, whose trading network had been controlled by Srivijaya. On the former were Champa, Cambodia, and the east coast of the peninsula; the latter included the old favored coast of southern Sumatra, the ports of Java, and the south coast of Borneo. Two areas are conspicuously missing from this Chinese view in any geographical detail, the hinterland of the Isthmus (including the expansion to the west of the Angkorian empire and to the south of the empire of Pagan) and the eastern islands beyond the Java Sea (Sulawesi and the Moluccas).

Yet where the latter, merely referred to en masse as the Ocean Islands (Hai Tao), were concerned, the Chinese still possessed an idea of the types of goods which the area produced and which it took in exchange. The Chinese record shows that this area, known later to Westerners as the Spice Islands, sent cloves, nutmegs, lakewood, and tortoise shell to the international route via Java and Sumatra in exchange for such goods as fermented liquor, porcelain, silk, and coarse salt.⁸⁴ Regarding the central and western mainland, on the other hand, the Chinese record leaves no such indication of goods produced or exchanged. Cambodia probably took some of the goods from the area of present-day Thailand and put them into the international trade along the east coast, but, as yet, archaeological work has shown little evidence of Chinese goods in central Thailand from this time and the Chinese mention nothing of any such occurrence. Whereas the Nakhon Si Thammarat area of Tambralinga is well described by Chao Ju-kua, the upper peninsula, known to the Chinese as

Teng-liu-mei, received only a confused description in Chao's work,⁸⁵ and the Chinese knowledge of Pagan was gained from the land route via Nanchao rather than by the sea route.⁸⁶ Indeed, the only product noted in the Chinese works which Wheatley can specifically trace back to this hinterland area is lead, a product seen by Chao as an export from India, but which undoubtedly was mined in the Shan Hills of northeastern Burma.⁸⁷ It would thus appear that this area north of the Isthmus was only linked in an indirect way to the main international trade route known to the Chinese and hence existed outside the realm of Chinese observation.

While one point of contact between the hinterland area and the international route was perhaps the east coast of the peninsula and its ports of Tambralinga and Kuala Berang, a more important point was probably the Ceylon/Coromandel area across the Bay of Bengal. Evidence of such commercial contact is provided in a thirteenth century Pagan inscription which notes that a native of the Malabar coast made a donation to a nānādēśī temple at Pagan.⁸⁸ The nānādēśī was one of several organizations of South Indian itinerant merchants in existence during the Cōla period whose activities also took them to the northern Sumatra coast in the late eleventh century.⁸⁹ A similar group is associated with the Takuapa Viṣṇu temple which has been dated to the ninth century.⁹⁰ The thirteenth century Pagan inscription indicates that the merchants' temple had been present there for some time; the recorded gift provided for the construction of a new maṇḍapa for the temple compound, which was also dedicated to Viṣṇu. Further evidence of a continuing economic relationship between Pagan and South India is reflected in Chou Ch'u-fei's note of 1178 on the Cōlas: "Some say that one can go there by way of the kingdom of P'u-kan."⁹¹

The pattern of trade that followed these various routes, both international and regional, through Southeast Asia was essentially a luxury trade, though increasingly bulk items, such as ceramics, were becoming a part of the commerce.⁹² As Wheatley has shown us, a Chinese trade inventory of 1141 listed 339 important items which can roughly be broken down into four general groups: aromatics and drugs, textiles, metal goods and minerals, and miscellaneous products.⁹³ The first

group, that of aromatics and drugs, had been the most important through the T'ang period⁹⁴ and remained so under the Sung with at least forty different types, many of which derived from Southeast Asia. As noted above, nutmegs and cloves came from the Moluccas to join pepper and sandalwood in Java where they were injected into the international route itself.⁹⁵ A variety of forest products, such as camphor and sapanwood, came out of the hills in other locations through the islands (and on the eastern mainland)⁹⁶ and entered the international route by various ways, particularly as the north coast ports of Sumatra began to deal directly with the foreign traders. Just as impressive a list of products, including frankincense, myrrh, and indigo, flowed through Southeast Asia from various areas in the Middle East and India.⁹⁷ Rhinoceros horn, that famed panacea, was supplied by many different tropical regions, with the longest type coming from the black rhino of east Africa.⁹⁸

The international trade through the first millennium A.D. was based on such goods as the above aromatics and drugs, together with other exotic forest and ocean products as kingfisher and peacock feathers, pearls and talking parrots, coral and ivory from both Southeast Asia and further west.⁹⁹ Yet, through Sung times and the growth and diffusion of trade routes within Southeast Asia, other relatively more practical and more bulky goods had become almost as important along the trade route. Textiles stood very high on the list, as they would in the centuries to come. While the luxurious silk continued as it had under the T'ang to play a major role in the exchange for the forest products of Southeast Asia,¹⁰⁰ cotton textiles, particularly from India, appear to have become a major part of the international system. These piece goods came mainly from the Coromandel and Malabar coasts of South India, but they also originated in northern India and the Middle East, with a variety of cruder local products being exported from various locations in Southeast Asia as Champa, Java, and the northern Philippines.¹⁰¹ These centuries also saw the trade in porcelain grow much greater and penetrate Southeast Asia (and beyond, all the way to the African coast) much more deeply than had hitherto been the case. Fine Sung wares have been found, as can be seen throughout the Philippine Islands, in forms hardly less exquisite than those in China itself.¹⁰²

Indeed, at the site of Santubong in present day Sarawak, a port which appears to have flourished greatly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we see, to quote the archaeologist Cheng Te-K'un, "practically all the known ceramics of the T'ang and Sung periods." Products of all the major Chinese kilns have been found there.¹⁰³

Beyond the trade for textiles and ceramics, the Southeast Asians sought a variety of practical objects, such as metal mirrors and scales,¹⁰⁴ yet the trade deficit was China's. For all the rich goods she produced, China still did not have enough to offer Southeast Asia and the other areas in exchange for the drugs and aromatics¹⁰⁵; the gap was made up by a flow of metals, mostly copper cash, and was to a great extent illegal. Certainly Sung coins, like porcelain, have been found throughout Southeast Asia and all the way to Africa. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, prohibitions were constantly being promulgated by the Sung court against this flow, though with little effect.¹⁰⁶ The result was a great strain on the supply of metals within China, and ultimately the Sung dynasty had to use iron in its coinage. Thus the flourishing semi-industrial port of Santubong in Sarawak may have been a source of iron and even steel for Ch'uan-chou, the center of the iron industry during the Southern Sung as well as being one of its major ports.¹⁰⁷

As noted, the hinterland of the Isthmus appears to have been linked only indirectly to the world trade routes of the early thirteenth century. Little evidence of Chinese porcelains and coins has yet been found in this area, and in their brief descriptions of "Teng-liu-meï" and Pagan the Chinese authors made no mention of any goods sought by the people of these two regions, though they did note that the products of the former were superb gharuwood, cardamoms, bee's wax, and lac.¹⁰⁸ Let us look at the products traded in this area approximately 250 years later in order to determine the commercial potential that existed there. Out of the hinterland came silver and lead, rubies and sapphires, benzoin and lac, besides the teak junks, supplies of rice, and other foodstuffs, in exchange for china, cloth, quicksilver, copper, vermillion, spices, pepper, and opium.¹⁰⁹ Earlier, lac of course had come from Teng-liu-meï, but of the other principal products only the barest of hints

exist for trade in gems and lead¹¹⁰ and, if commerce took place in either silver or benzoin from this area, the trade was well disguised by the Arab, Indian, or Malay merchants who acted as middle men.¹¹¹ It would thus appear that the regional trade which involved the hinterland of the Isthmus was rapidly absorbed into the economy of its partners, such that it was shielded from the eyes of the Chinese who have provided us with the above descriptions.

The period we are examining here stood midway in the development of the international trade route. Before it the trade had been essentially limited to luxury goods and was handled by Arab and Malay traders and shippers. The route itself within Southeast Asia had had a relatively narrow focus through the Straits of Malacca and the sea empire of Srivijaya. Then, during these centuries and after, the amount of trade (increasingly in bulk goods), the number and types of traders and shippers, and, through Southeast Asia, the areas directly and indirectly involved in the trade all become much greater than before. Hidden from our eyes though it is, the hinterland of the Isthmus must also have been brought more deeply into this growing international trade, where in earlier centuries it had existed merely on local coastal routes to Bengal and Tongking. Now the Chinese and, especially for this area, the Indians had begun to take a part in the trade itself rather than sitting and waiting for the goods to be delivered, just as the Europeans would do some three centuries later, and, like the European ships, those of China and South India took advantage of a diffuse trading situation, partly created by them, to gain more direct access to the goods they were seeking.

For Southeast Asia, the significance of these trade patterns lay not only in the greater penetration of the trade throughout its extent, but also in the interesting correlation that exists between the differing trade routes on the one hand and on the other the belief systems that were to develop in the following centuries. The Neo-Confucianism of Vietnam came from nearby China. Islam may also have come out of China, going along the eastern coastal route to Champa, Trengganu, and eastern Java¹¹² on the one hand and following the trade link south to the Philippines¹¹³ on the other. In general, however, Islam followed the major international route from the west

around Sumatra (perhaps both the east and west coasts) to Java and thence deeper into the island world.¹¹⁴ As we have noted, the upper Isthmus and its hinterland lay on a more local route linked to South India and Ceylon, whence came Theravāda Buddhism to the Isthmus, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos. For the different parts of Southeast Asia, a new age was moving along the sea routes of international commerce. Increasingly, in these and later centuries, Southeast Asia was being opened up, not only to the commercial possibilities and material goods of the international route, but also to the new modes of thought as the classical patterns of the Southeast Asian states were changing.

NOTES

1. Portions of this essay were originally presented by Whitmore in "Trade and Communications in Southeast Asia" on the panel, "Links East and West: Medieval Asian Maritime Trade, 10th-12th Centuries," at the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association (New Orleans, 1972); and Hall in "Changing Commercial Patterns on the Malay Peninsula, 1000-1100 A.D., " D. C. Sircar Felicitation Volume (Mysore, India, 1975).
2. O. W. Wolters, "China Irredenta: The South," The World Today, 19, 12 (1963), pp. 540-552; for a more recent statement of this concept, see O. W. Wolters, The Fall of Srivijaya in Malay History (Ithaca, New York, 1971), pp. 20-22.
3. O. W. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, A Study of the Origins of Srivijaya (Ithaca, New York, 1967), and Wolters, Fall of Srivijaya, op. cit.
4. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, op. cit.
5. Ibid., chs. 2 and 5.
6. Wolters, Fall of Srivijaya, op. cit., ch. 2.
7. Ibid., p. 42; E. H. Schafer, The Empire of Min (Rutland, Vermont, 1954), pp. 75-78; and Wang Gangwu, "Early Ming Relations with Southeast Asia" in J. K. Fairbank, ed., The Chinese World Order (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1968), pp. 47, 296, n. 27.
8. This activity is documented in several South Indian Tamil inscriptions which record the religious donations of the Srivijaya monarchs. See Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (henceforth ARE) (1956-57), nos. 161, 164, 166; and Epigraphia Indica (henceforth EI), 22, pp. 213-281.
9. Wolters, Fall of Srivijaya, op. cit., pp. 1, 14; George Coedès, The Indianized States of Southeast Asia (Honolulu, 1968), pp. 130, 142, 144.

10. For an extensive analysis of the 1025 Cōla raid see George W. Spencer, "Royal Leadership and Imperial Conquest in Medieval South India: The Naval Expedition of Rajendra Chola I, c. 1025 A.D.," Ph. D. dissertation, University of California (Berkeley), 1967.
11. See Wolters, Fall of Srivijaya, op. cit., pp. 42-48; and F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, Chau Ju-kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, Entitled Chu-fan-chi (St. Petersburg, 1911), pp. 10-11.
12. An initial survey of surface deposits on the coastal areas of the northeastern Sumatra coast has shown large quantities of Sung ware present, reflecting this area's participation in the eleventh century trade routes. Previous archeological research has virtually ignored Sumatra's west coast, yet Bennet Bronson of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, who did a preliminary survey of potential sites during the summer of 1973, has found a considerable amount of surface material in the Barus area--particularly pot sherds and Sung porcelain which can be dated to the historical period being considered. When properly excavated this material may well reveal that trade on a comparable level to that of the western Malay and eastern Sumatra coasts was being transacted on the western Sumatra coast as well. Indeed, in 1088, Tamil merchants were active at Lobo Tua near Barus [see K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, "A Tamil Merchant Guild in Sumatra," Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde, 72, 2 (1932), pp. 314-327]. Such evidence will no doubt indicate that by the eleventh century the Straits of Malacca was no longer the focal point of the island trade, as alternative routes were available and were being used by the various maritime traders. Hall wishes to thank Dr. Bronson for discussing this information with him.
13. The Malay Peninsula ports attacked by the Cōlas are named in the Tanjore inscription of 1030. See South Indian Inscriptions, 2, pp. 105-109; this inscription has also been translated into English by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, History of Srivijaya (Madras, 1949), p. 80.

14. See Kenneth R. Hall, "Khmer Commercial Development and Foreign Contacts under Suryavarman I," JESHO, 18, 3 (1975), pp. 318-336.
15. Past literature has presented Tambralinga as the scene of eleventh century conflict between the Srivijaya maritime empire and the expanding mainland power of the Khmer [see L. P. Briggs, "The Khmer Empire and the Malay Peninsula," Far Eastern Quarterly, 9, 3 (May, 1950), pp. 256-305]. In response to an expansion of the Sung China consumer market in the late tenth century, Tambralinga is believed to have made an attempt to free itself of Srivijaya's dominance. In 1001, a Tambralinga embassy brought a large quantity of sapanwood (an incense) to China in an attempt to impress the Chinese with the quality and quantity of local products [see O. W. Wolters, "Tambralinga," BSOAS, 21 (1958), pp. 587-607]. Embassies were also sent in 1014 and 1016, but in the latter year Tambralinga's hopes for recognition as a "first class" port were frustrated when the Chinese relegated the area to a "second class" status. These embassies have generally been seen as a reassurance to the Chinese in a time of internal disorder related to Khmer politics (see Wolters, loc. cit.).

George Coedès has interpreted the dynastic controversy surrounding Suryavarman's ascension to the Khmer throne as involving the ruling family of Tambralinga [George Coedès, Inscriptions du Cambodge, v. 7 (Paris, 1964), pp. 164-189]. In translating the Prasat Ben inscription (1008), Coedès suggested that Suryavarman I had expelled the Malay prince of Tambralinga, Jayaviravarman, from the Khmer capital in 1008 (Coedès had earlier believed that Suryavarman was a Malay and Jayaviravarman a Khmer). In general, it appears that Khmer expansion and Srivijayan defeat coincided nicely and undoubtedly allowed Cambodian power to make itself felt more strongly in the area.

16. Hall, loc. cit.
17. Stanley J. O'Connor, Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam (Ascona, 1972), pp. 60-62 and figure 34.

18. David Wyatt has told Hall of a Ligor Chronicle reference to a Tamil inscription from Songkhla dated 983. In this account, a monk states that he is copying this inscription, which records an overland route to the west coast. Wyatt has discussed the sources for Nakhon Si Thammarat's eleventh century history in David K. Wyatt, trans., The Crystal Sands, The Chronicles of Nagara Sri Dharrmarāja (Ithaca, New York, 1975), pp. 45-47, which include what seems to be an eleventh century Tamil inscription from Vat Mahādhātu [Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam; deuzième partie: Inscriptions de Dvāravati de Crīvijaya et de Lavo (Bangkok, 1961), p. 38]. A. Teeuw and D. K. Wyatt, The Story of Patani (The Hague, 1970), II, p. 263, notes a Phatthalung chronicle version of the Malay tale "Lady White-Blood" which apparently indicates such a trans-peninsular route.
19. Alastair Lamb, "Takuapa: The Probable Site of a Pre-Malaccan Entrepot in the Malay Peninsula," in John Bastin and R. Roolvink, eds., Malayan and Indonesian Studies (Oxford, 1964), pp. 76-86.
20. G. H. Luce, in his article, "A Cambodian (?) Invasion of Lower Burma--A Comparison of Burmese and Talaing Chronicles," Journal of the Burma Research Society, 12, 1 (1922), pp. 39-45, speculated that around 1050 there was a Cambodian invasion of lower Burma to check the Burmese expansion in the peninsula, but in his more recent work, Old Burma, Early Pagan (Locust Valley, New York, 1969, 1970), vol. 1, pp. 21-23, 26, he asserts that the Burmese attacked to stop Mon-Khmer expansion westward.
21. See Milton Osborne, "Notes on Early Cambodian Provincial History: Isanapura and Sambhupura," FA, 20, 4 (1966), p. 447.
22. Janice Stargardt, "Burma's Economic and Diplomatic Relations with India and China From Early Medieval Sources," JESHO, 14, 1 (1971), pp. 38-62. Michael Aung Thwin's research indicates that the southern Burma commercial centers at Bassein (Kusumi) and Tala (a port near Pegu) became high priority administrative centers

under Pagan rule. Important ministers were allowed "to eat" (*cā*) a percentage of the revenues (trade revenues?) of these commercial centers. In 1058, Aniruddha erected a statue of Gavaruputi, not only the patron saint of the Mons but also of merchants and seaman, at Pagan after his 1057 sack of Thaton.

23. G. H. Luce, "The Career of Htilaing Min (Kyanzittha), the Unifier of Burma," *JRAS* (1966), p. 59.
24. G. H. Luce, "Some Old References to the South of Burma and Ceylon," in Felicitation Volumes of Southeast-Asian Studies Presented to His Highness Prince Dhaninivat (Bangkok, 1965), vol. II, p. 270. Luce used the Cūlavamsa as his principle source for this article.
25. Perumbur inscription, seventh year of Virarājēndra I, South Indian Inscriptions, 3, no. 84; and Charala Plates of Virarājēndra, Copper Plate no. 1 of ARE (1937-38), sixth plate, as discussed in *EI*, 25, pp. 241-266. On the location of Kadāram, see n. 29 below.
26. Wilhelm Geiger, trans., Cūlavamsa (Colombo, 1953), 58:8-9.
27. Luce, Old Burma, 1, p. 40.
28. Lamb, loc. cit.
29. See the "Larger Leiden Grant," *EI*, 22, pp. 213-266; and ARE (1956-57), nos. 161, 164, 166. There has been some controversy concerning the location of "Kadāram." General agreement places it on the western Malay coast, but many early historians considered the words "Kadāram" and "Kedah" and the Arab geographers' reference to "Kalah" to be the same, and therefore placed "Kadāram" on the Kedah coast [see K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Colas, 2nd edition, (Madras, 1955), pp. 217-218]. Alastair Lamb's archeological research has shown that the Kedah coast could not have been "Kadāram" in the South Indian references until the late eleventh century--a period dating later than all the inscriptions with references to "Kadāram" [see Alastair

Lamb, "Kedah and Takuapa: Some Tentative Historical Conclusions," Federated Museums Journal, 6 (1961), p. 84], and that, based on archeological evidence, Takuapa had to be the "Kaḍāram" of these epigraphic and literary references.

30. Coedès, The Indianized States, op. cit., p. 148.
31. Alastair Lamb, who conducted excavations at Kedah in the late 1950's, suggested that a temple he had excavated at Candi Bukit Batu Pahat in Kedah was similar in style to Candi Biaro Si Topajan at Padang Lawas in north central Sumatra, the center of a historically unidentified, but seemingly important twelfth century state [see Alastair Lamb, op. cit., pp. 2-9, 76]. Lamb's view is supported with new evidence in B. A. V. Peacock, "Pillar Base Architecture in Ancient Kedah," JMBRAS, 47, 1 (1974), pp. 66-86.
32. O. W. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, p. 266, fn. 33; and "A Note on the Capital of Srivijaya During the Eleventh Century," Artibus Asiae Supplementum 23 (Felicitation Volume Presented to Professor G. H. Luce) (Ascona, 1966), vol. I, pp. 225-239.
33. Wolters, "Tambralinga," op. cit., p. 595.
34. O. W. Wolters has seen the Tambralinga mission of 1070, sent to inform the Chinese of its status as an independent port, as evidence of the shift of the Srivijaya center to Jambi. To him Tambralinga's mission symbolized the decline of Srivijaya's old economic control over the China trade. See Wolters, "A Note," loc. cit.
35. Shwesandaw Pagoda Inscription, Epigraphia Birmanica (henceforth EB), I, viii, p. 163.
36. EI, 11 (1911-12), p. 119.
37. EB, I, viii, p. 165, the Shwesandaw Pagoda Inscription.
38. Stargardt, op. cit., p. 52.

39. EI, 22, pp. 213-266.
40. "The Smaller Leiden Grant," ibid., pp. 267-281.
41. S. Paranavitana, "Negapatam and Theravada Buddhism in South India," Journal of the Greater India Society, 11, 1 (January, 1944), pp. 17-25.
42. Luce, Old Burma, op. cit., I, p. 63.
43. Tan Yeok Seong, "The Sri Vijayan Inscription of Canton (A.D. (A.D. 1079)," JSEAH, 5, 2 (1964), pp. 17-24. Tan wrongly follows an earlier interpretation of Indian historians (see R. C. Majumdar, Suvarnadvipa, 1937, pp. 182-190) that Kulöttunga had served in a high position in the conquered country of Srivijaya before ascending the Cōla throne. Neither this inscription nor other evidence which Hall has examined substantiates this claim. Such interpretations consider the Cōlas to have exercised considerable control over Srivijaya's government on a continuing basis during the eleventh century. The Chinese themselves were not quite sure of the relationship between the two; some Chinese chronicles represent the Cōlas as being subordinate to Srivijaya (see a passage from the Sung Shih which is quoted in the Tan article, p. 21).
44. G. H. Luce, "The Early Syam in Burma's History: A Supplement," JSS, 47, 1 (June, 1959), pp. 60-61.
45. David K. Wyatt, "Mainland Powers on the Malay Peninsula," a paper presented to the International Conference on Asian History (Kuala Lumpur, 1968).
46. See S. Paranavitana, Ceylon and Malaysia (Colombo, 1966), p. 80.
47. Epigraphia Zeylanica (henceforth EZ), 4, pp. 66-72, as cited by Wyatt, loc. cit.
48. The inscription also states that this same monk was instrumental in the establishment of the Buddhist religion in the Cōla country. See S. Paranavitana, "Negapatam," op. cit., p. 24.

49. "Episode of the Tooth Relic," see Wyatt, The Crystal Sands, op. cit., pp. 26-28, 38-39, 42, 59, 66-71, 72-79, and Wyatt, "Mainland Powers," op. cit., pp. 13-14. The dating of Narapatisithu is based on the recent research of Michael Aung Thwin, as cited in n. 53 below.
50. G. H. Luce, "Some Old References," op. cit., p. 276. The "Dhammarajika Inscription" of 1196 A.D. commemorates Narapatisithu's conquest of the south.
51. Cūlavamsa, 76:10-75.
52. Ibid., 76:59-75.
53. Burma Archaeological Department, She Haung Myanma Kyauksa Mya, 1 (1972), pp. 33-37; the 'Cañsu Mañ Kri Inscriptions,' and the "Mrat Kri Cwā Khai Ton Inscription of 1169." Michael Aung Thwin has discussed these inscriptions and other evidence relating to the Singhalese raid in his article, "The Problem of Ceylonese-Burmese Relations in the 12th Century and the Question of an Interregnum in Pagan: 1165-1174 A.D.," JSS (forthcoming).
54. Sirima Wickremasinghe, "Ceylon's Relations with South-east Asia, with Special Reference to Burma," Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies, 3, 1 (1960), p. 48. See also C. E. Godakumbura, "Relations between Burma and Ceylon," JBRS, 49, 2(1966), pp. 145-162.
55. EZ, 3, no. 34, p. 321.
56. Cūlavamsa, 80:6-8.
57. EZ, 2, no. 17.
58. EZ, 2, p. 74.
59. Cūlavamsa, 76:35.
60. Thomas R. Trautmann, "Consanguineous Marriage in Pali Literature," JAOS, 93, 2 (1973), pp. 158-180.

61. Wolters, "Tambralinga," op. cit., p. 600, translated from the Ling wai tai ta (1178).
62. Ibid., p. 605.
63. Wolters has argued that this may represent a temporary independence of the Chao Phraya valley from Khmer control. Wolters, loc. cit.
64. Ibid., p. 598, n. 5. Possible Khmer ports have yet to be discovered. This fleet may well have been confined to river transport on the Mekong and the other major rivers of the Khmer domain. In the eleventh century one of the major commercial routes to China seems to have gone north on the Mekong to a point near the Ha-trai pass, where goods passed to Nghe-an on the Vietnamese coast. Nghe-an in turn had contact with commercial developments of the Red River Delta and the Vietnamese capital at Thang-long. That this would seem to have been the case comes from the 1128 Khmer attacks on Viet Nam which followed this route. One of these attacks is even noted as involving over seven hundred boats, which may be an indication of the extent of travel involved in the upstream area on the Vietnamese side (Dai Viet Su Ky Toan Thu (Hanoi, 1967), I, pp. 263, 347].
65. Ibid., p. 606, n. 5.
66. Ibid., p. 605.
67. Ibid., p. 598.
68. IC, 2, p. 178.
69. George Coedés, "La stele de Prah Khan d'Angkor," BEFEO, 41 (1941), pp. 255-301.
70. E. Aymonier, Le Cambodge, iii (Paris, 1904), p. 528.
71. See Pierre Dupont, "Le Buddha de Grahi et l'école de C'āiya," BEFEO, 42 (1942), pp. 105-113.
72. J. G. deCasparis, "The Date of the Grahi Buddha," JSS, 55, 1 (1967), pp. 31-40.

73. IC, 7, pp. 124-126.
74. Hall wishes to thank Hiram W. Woodward, Jr., Assistant Professor in the History of Art at the University of Michigan, for calling his attention to this inscription's use of the twelve year animal cycle and its implications.
75. In a recent article Michael Vickery establishes that the language of the Grahi Buddha is not linguistically Thai [Michael Vickery, "The Khmer Inscriptions of Tenasserim: A Reinterpretation," JSS, 61, 1 (January, 1973), pp. 52-53, n. 8], and in his doctoral dissertation Hiram Woodward argues on stylistic grounds that the Grahi Buddha does in fact date to this earlier period [Hiram W. Woodward, "Studies in the Art of Central Siam, 950-1350 A.D.," (Ph. D. dissertation, Yale University, 1975), 1, pp. 91-102]. Woodward presents evidence that the Grahi Buddha not only is a copy of a twelfth century Khmer image but also incorporates stylistic influences from Burma and the peninsula.
76. S. J. O'Connor, "Si Chon: An Early Settlement in Peninsular Thailand," JSS, 56, 1 (1968), pp. 1-18.
77. Taw Sein Ko, The Kalyāṇī Inscriptions (Rangoon, 1892), p. 53. In 1181, according to this inscription, four monks returned to Pagan with the Burmese monk Chapatai-Śivali from Tamalitthi; Ānanda of Kāñcīpuram; Rāhula, a Singhalese; and Tāmalinda, the son of the Khmer king.
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86. Hirth and Rockhill, op. cit., pp. 58-59.
87. Wheatley, "Geographical Notes," op. cit., p. 114. Two other such cases might have been carnelians, which are found in Burma and Mergui, but which Chou Ch'u-fei saw as a product of Syria (ibid., p. 93), and amber, seen by the Chinese as coming from India's Coromandel coast, which to quote Wheatley (ibid., p. 81), "was probably a re-export from the Middle East but conceivably may have come from mines in the Hukaung Valley in the Myitkyina district of Burma."
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100. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, op. cit., pp. 40-42, 78-79, 82-82, 150; Wang, "Nanhai Trade," op. cit., pp. 91, 95; Schafer, Vermilion Bird, op. cit., p. 77;

- Schafer, Golden Peaches, op. cit., pp. 12, 15, 18, 24, 64, 65, 195-204; Wheatley, "Geographical Notes," op. cit., pp. 96-98.
101. Wheatley, "Geographical Notes," op. cit., pp. 35-36, 59-61.
 102. Ibid., pp. 39-40, 83-85; Fox, "Archaeological Record," op. cit., pp. 54-56; Locsin, Oriental Ceramics, op. cit., pp. 2, pp. 2, 6, 9; Gernet, Daily Life, op. cit., p. 84; Wolters, Fall of Srivijaya, op. cit., p. 42.
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Arch. Soc. of Hist. Studies

From the World of Arabic Papyri By Dr. Adolf Grohmann Adelphi Press
Caro 1952

102 one should not hesitate to correct obvious slips of the pen,
occasional scribal errors and oversight, to solve abbreviations -
ligations - to amend di-lographies.

(1) Until present made for G. B. S. even if you had reason to believe
to account for all abbreviations in his ap. cont.

103 infrared films or Prof. Kölz's system

Archiv f. Papyrusforschung X (1932) no. 11. - 1933 - 1934

J. n. Egypt. Archaeology XIX (1933) p. 62

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{ } di-lographs etc. which are to be omitted e. 1.)

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Cincinnati

Jenssen

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Mr. Rylands (partly) 10000 little fragments

Selly Oak College Birmingham 40 ..

Berkeley

29

Frankford destroyed

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ASIAN STUDIES

208 SOUTH THAYER STREET
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48104

February 6, 1974

Dear Dr. Goitein,

Thank you once again for your interest and encouragement. I have a reference for you concerning our discussion on artha and dharma in the Indian context. Manu (The Laws of Manu) suggests that merchants were identified as "thieves", but their actions were justified because the pursuit of artha, or self-interest, was permissible to those of their dharma, or duty. I would hold that artha would have been recognized as an acceptable motive only in terms of dharma in relationship to the Whole of the social system, as we discussed. Ludo Rocher of Penn. has done some work on the position of merchants in Sanskrit texts. You might direct a question to him.

Please also find enclosed a paper by Burton Stein on the organization of medieval South Indian trade. I hope you will find it of interest.

With all my best wishes,

Kenneth Hall

Kenneth Hall
Hieronymus (Jérôme) Epistulae 129, 4

Patr. Lat. XXII, 1104

Jewish Settlement from Mauritania
to India

339, K 1503 = 210K, 2nd v. 2 K21N
52-7787

THE STRUCTURE OF INDIA'S EARLY MEDIEVAL TRADE

Burton Stein, University of Hawaii

For Presentation to the American Historical Association,
December 1972

I

India's trade links to the east and west during the tenth to the twelfth century were but tenuous appendages of its complex local and long-distance internal trade. It may seem trivial to say that it is only in connection with the internal trade structure that India's external trade can be understood. However, since it is the special concern of this paper to consider the role of Indians in the external trade of that time, the connections with the internal trade system are of importance. Moreover, since it is the case that almost all that is known of the external trade system of India comes from the observations of foreigners--from the early classical descriptions of the Periplus to Chinese, Arab, and European accounts of the medieval period--a reconsideration of this trade from the vantage point of Indian evidence is overdue.

~~Sixty years of serious scholarly attention to the role of Indians in the maritime trade of the sub-continent has left the issue at least confused. R. K. Mookerji's Indian Shipping, published in 1912,¹ is perhaps more important as an early example of Indian scholarship influenced by nationalist sentiment than as a satisfactory explanation of early trade. Since that time three~~

great careers. But, it is not only, nor most significantly, in political terms that this sixth century period was important. It is rather in the decisive ascendency of rural institutions over urban ones what D. D. Kosambi spoke of as the "rustification" of the Indian civilization context.² Here, the development of urban-centered trade, industrial, and nascent bureaucratic forms of the previous millennium is seen to have ended, and a new direction was taken which not even the Muslim sultanates of the fourteenth century onward—with their commitment to effective centralization and trade--could reverse.

For about a thousand years, from the sixth to the sixteenth century, three foci of trade activities are important. The first focus, and most important in terms of overall production and exchange, were thousands of locality systems, the rustic nodes of Indian civilization. The second focus was a linkage structure among localities and, in some regions, between local socio-cultural, political, and economic systems and trade beyond India. The third was that with overseas peoples. It is the argument of this paper that these foci of trade activity were fundamentally different in both function and structure and that the maritime trade of the early medieval period can only be understood within this total context.

II

Defining the locus of primary economic organization in early medieval times is no simple task. By the "primary locus of economic organization" I

mean the arena of production and exchange which provided not only the subsistence requirements of most people but such other goods and services necessary to maintain a mode of life which was identifiably "Indian." Thus, in a material sense, the Indian peasant household was probably not different from peasant households elsewhere in Asia and even perhaps Europe at the same time. But, when we have moved beyond the peasant household to consider more encompassing institutions, we encounter the institution of caste, we encounter specifically Indian forms of community organization and religion, and we encounter the Indian state. Until a few years ago, historians of the early medieval period identified the primary unit of economic organization as the village, a view largely shaped by the perceptions of British administrators of the early nineteenth century who spoke of ubiquitous "village republics." More recently, a larger unit of primary economic organization has been recognized by many scholars who speak of "Indian feudalism." While there are serious reasons for questioning the concept of feudalism in India, particularly where it applies to trade, one salutary effect of this more recent scholarship has been recognition of the territorial segmentation of early medieval India. Political organization, religious sectarian organization, and production-exchange systems were coordinate and comprised territories as large as modern taluk or district administrative divisions. Such a locality might include hundreds of villages but its extent was finally limited by the physiographic determinants of agriculture as well as by poor transportation facilities.

Within such localized territories were fully articulated caste systems, localized variants of Hindu religious orders, and durable chieftainships or petty kingships (rajadoms); that is, the minimal essential marker elements of Indian culture of the age were present. In many of these locality systems, moreover, there were significant distinctions drawn between two kinds of economic organization. On the one hand, there were relationships of agrarian producers and their clients, including those who served their productive needs with tools and other services and those who were active in the trade of agricultural goods. On the other hand, there were artisan-traders who produced valuable wares for general consumers outside of agrarian-centered, patron-client relationships.

Such localized territories possessed a high degree of self-sufficiency; yet all had some external economic relationships. Depending upon the population and wealth of a locality, one of two kinds of trade linkages may be identified. Trade contact among the localities least favored by nature, i.e., those poorer and more removed from the major population cores, were sustained through itinerant trade groups. Little is known of most of such groups, but of others there are records which describe bands of well-armed traders claiming a high status, appropriate to those who supported Brahmanical religion, and trading in exotic commodities ranging from gems to elephants. These bands skirted the better developed localities, and their records, as for example those of the "500 Swamis of Ayyavole," indicate a great range of movement.³

In contrast to itinerant trade groups were corporate organizations of long-distance traders who were more firmly linked to the trade networks of more

prosperous localities. To most Indian historians, these corporate trade organizations are "guilds," based on a meaning of the Sanskrit word "sreni.⁴" The more prominent leaders of such guilds were called "srestha", a Sanskrit term which is transformed into vernacular Indian languages as "seth" or "setti." Guild traders differed from itinerant traders in being permanent and valued parts of locality economic systems. However, these corporate groups were always different from the caste trading groups of a locality. They differed first in being multi-caste organizations and were thus aberrant with respect to the usual alignments within the caste-ordered localities of wealth. Secondly, such corporations were often distinguished by their religious affiliations. They were often Jains or Buddhists long after the great days of these religions and were treated as tolerated heretics by the resurgent devotional Hinduism of the early medieval period. Finally, such corporations of traders were often favored by the great and petty rajas in whose territories they lived, being granted governing rights over trade settlements and protection of their trade. South Indian trade groups such as the valanilayar and manigramam involved in trade with Ceylon and Southeast Asia are good examples of the benign support received by the politically powerful.

The third arena of early medieval trade was maritime. Here we almost entirely dependent upon foreign sources. An excellent sampling of this evidence for the eastern and western coasts of peninsular India and for the tenth to the twelfth centuries may be found in A. Appadorai's Economic Conditions in Southern India (1000-1500 A.D.).⁵ There are several things to

be stressed about the trade described in these foreign reports. First, many of the commodities mentioned in the trade were not Indian in origin, but were imported from Ceylon, Southeast Asia, and even China and Egypt. Thus, there is an important entrepot aspect of India's foreign trade placing a heavy reliance on storage and banking facilities which appear to have been in the hands of Indians and an equally heavy reliance upon foreign carriers. Secondly, foreign traders appear seldom to have penetrated the interior uplands of the coasts; this is stated in some of the foreign sources and supported, negatively it is true, by the absence of references to foreign traders in literary and inscriptional sources from within India. Thirdly, while there are occasional references to Indian traders in places like Siraf in coastal Persia (according to Abu Zayd Hasan in 916 A.D.),⁶ such references are rare. It is not as competitors in the sea trade, but as assemblers of export cargoes and distributors of imported goods that Indians are mentioned. Finally, distinctions are drawn by Muslim commentators between their coreligionists from western Asia and resident Muslim communities on the trade coasts such as the Mappilas of the Malabar coast.

~~Contemporary evidence from within India on overseas trade is almost non-existent. Among literary sources, the eleventh century Kathasaritsagara of the Kashmiri Brahman Somadeva is often cited. This work recounts the adventures of the merchant Samudrasura (samudraocean) and others in Suvarnadvipa, probably Sumatra. Like other literary genres, the kathā form was intended to be entertaining and didactic; it is a genre difficult to evaluate~~

as historical evidence. Inscriptions are the most important historical sources of the early medieval period, and they are almost entirely silent on the matter of foreign trade. Unlike even the most modest internal trade groups, Indians who can positively be associated with overseas trade are simply not mentioned even in those regions known to have been places of considerable overseas trade.

During the tenth to the twelfth centuries, Muslims controlled the foreign trade of the west coast from Gujarat to Cape Camorin; this dominance continued to the sixteenth century. Other foreign traders here included Jews, Indian Christians, Persians, and Chinese. On the eastern coast, Muslims appear to have been less important until after the thirteenth century. Here, Tamil, Telugu, and Bengali traders may have been especially important in what appears to have been a well-established bulk trade across the Bay of Bengal and with Ceylon according to foreign traders' reports. However, foreign traders were also active on the Coromandel coast. These included Arabs, Chinese, and Southeast Asians.

In fact, the strongest case for active Indian involvement in overseas trade has been made with respect to Southeast Asia. However, revisions in the historiography of that trade have raised serious objections to a long-standing (and one might add, deeply cherished) Indian view of its commercial and cultural relations with insular and peninsular Southeast Asia. Space does not permit a rehearsal of the arguments against the older idea of Indian colonization. It seems to me that unequivocal evidence on both sides of the issue is equally scarce, but that on balance I am persuaded that the major

initiative and involvement in the early relations between Indians and Southeast Asians belonged to the latter.

One reason for this belief of mine has to do with the explicit pollution prohibitions against overseas travel by Hindus about which much has been written. There were obviously many Hindus who defied these prohibitions in the tenth to twelfth centuries just as there were those who defied it in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. But, however frequently flaunted, seafaring was regarded as the activity of untrustworthy and reckless men. According to the *Mitaksara* commentary on one of the great medieval smriti works, the *Yajnavalkya*, men of the sea ("samudragāh") were as incapable of acting as surely as were bandits.⁷ And, one of the very rare Coromandel inscriptions dealing with overseas trade, a Kākatiya inscription of 1244 A.D., refers to sea-going trade as a "mahāsāhasa," that is a profoundly reckless and dangerous activity. This may have been a reference to the actual physical dangers of the trade or to the frequently expressed danger of pollution of the seas.

Nilakanta Sastri's reading of this record concludes with the judgment that Indians were probably not engaged in the overseas trade from this Kākatiya port of Mōtupalli.⁸

From evidence of a later time--the seventeenth century--overseas trade continued to be viewed as a risky, if profitable, activity. Thus, while the actual carrying trade was most often in the hands of non-Indians, import and export activities at coastal ports were the preserve of quite marginal Indian groups and individuals. Indian Jains were conspicuous actors in the trade at

Surat and elsewhere in western India; Indian Muslims (Māppilas and Labbais) were equally active there and, in the seventeenth century, on both coasts of the southern portions of the peninsula. There is reason to believe that both the medieval Jain and Muslim communities of peninsular India were recruited primarily from Hindu artisan trader castes, those who in many parts of Dravidian India were associated with "left-hand castes." Both of these sectarian groups of "native" Indians would appear to have functioned as surrogate communities replacing temporarily or permanently the conventional castes from which the traders came. In this way, the functions of the ancient social category, "sreni," that is a group of persons of many castes involved in joint economic ventures, was preserved.

What is perhaps even more striking than Indian trade groups involved in import and export activities, at least in major regions of maritime trade such as the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, Gujarat, and Bengal, was the scope for individuals and families of enterprising trade capitalists. Again, judging from evidence of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, many of the most influential traders involved in foreign trade transactions at coastal ports were individuals. These entrepreneurs financed much of the trade at the ports. Occasionally these financiers participated in voyages; on this point there is evidence as late as the Portuguese period. However, this was probably rare since the carrying trade was not their strong suit. It was rather as trade financiers, as revenue agents, and probably as bankers for the rulers in whose territory the port existed that Indian participants excelled. Inscriptions from

Nasik, in western India, and elsewhere from as early as the sixth century record the civil powers and political influence possessed by trade financiers whether those involved in long-distance trade or overseas trade. Most interesting about such persons is that they do not become the nucleus of caste specializations within the framework of a territorial caste system, but carry their economic roles as individuals. Many Hindus in these roles probably became Jains or Muslims which then lined them, perhaps only for a time, to durable social entities more appropriate to their activities than the caste context. There was obvious vulnerability in being outside of the established caste context, but this must have been a manageable hazard, since many of such traders are easily identified in the British evidence of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

III

The role Indian traders played in the trade from and to India was significant. Indian merchants were not significantly involved in the carrying trade of the early medieval period. This seems to have been the major concern of foreign traders. However, Indian merchant-bankers were intermediaries in the system of trade relations reaching from coastal ports through the network of long-distance trade relations and finally to those locality systems which produced exportable quantities of textiles, spices, and other commodities. None but Indian middlemen could have moved through the levels of trade organization which existed during the early medieval period just as none but

Indians could have performed the same linkage functions during the period of European trade dominance later. There were differences however. During the later period of trade dominance by the Dutch and British especially, Indian middlemen in the export trade system were rendered increasingly subordinate by the growing productive capability at European factory settlements. This capability was absent in pre-European days just as it was during the Mughal period even after state trade and control of trade revenues became a part of state policy. Thus, in the early medieval period, Indian intermediaries--those virtuosi acting as individuals or as part of loosely joined groups of Jain or Muslim traders--were less subordinate, more equal partners with foreigners in the trade from and to India. Lacking state protection, very often, and always stripped of the protection of caste or guild affiliations characteristic of locality and internal, long-distance trade, their position was a hazardous one, but one most significant for the operation of the external trade system of India.

This assessment of the early medieval trade structure has been an attempt to account for diverse primary evidence and scholarly findings from the field of early South and Southeast Asian history. Three findings may have potential interest to scholars in these fields.

First, there is a body of evidence which grows in volume to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries relating to the scope for individual entrepreneurship in connection with maritime trade. Such individuals operated alone or loosely tied to other Indian entrepreneurs not so much in actually

carrying commodities in the trade but in mobilizing and distributing these commodities at the ports as intermediaries for the dominant shipping role carried out by non-Indians. For scholars such as Louis Dumont who have argued that "individualism" in ancient India was reserved for the renouncer of the material and social world (sannyasi-s), the commercial entrepreneurs of this age stand forth among others within the fold of the contemporary agarian order--notably its chiefs and "little kings"--as counter examples. There appears to have been considerable scope for ambitious and adventurous men to accomplish much within and beyond the confines of the caste organized society of this time and later.

Secondly, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that India's long-distance trade and its overseas trade was severely handicapped by the constraints of localized caste systems. This has been argued by Kosambi and other scholars along with the corollary proposition that closed, caste-bound locality systems of production and exchange inhibited the development of competing, class-like formations in connection with trade. Why this should have the case is a complex question and beyond the scope of this discussion.

Thirdly, it must be recognized that the success of later medieval maritime trade agents, including Europeans, in using Indian agents ^{to} ~~in~~ attaining dominance over India's foreign trade was a direct consequence of the vulnerability of Indian commercial entrepreneurs, who were admirably suited to the Indian traders as individuals or as multi-caste and even non-caste groups were admirably suited to provided the vital subordinate linkages in the foreign-dominated foreign trade of the sub-continent. They were never seen as by foreigners as serious competitors in this activity.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE
PUSEY LANE
OXFORD
OX1 2LE
Telephone 59272

26 October 1979

Dear Professor Goitein,

Thank you very much for your letter.
I am afraid that I took too literally your saying that there was no hurry for a reply. It is my turn now to apologise for the inordinately long delay.

You asked me how a possible title for your book sounds 'to a British ear'. I must confess that to me Mediterranean India Traders does not sound very elegant. It is difficult to think of alternatives that do not seem to become rather long and clumsy. However, what would you think of the following:

The Mediterranean Merchants and the India Trade
Documents from the Cairo Geniza.

I am flattered that you should say that you profited from my Karaite paper. Although my expertise in the field is less than thorough, I feel that my limited aim of making certain material available in some form is justified. However, I have not been able to proceed very much with the similar work on the conveyancing documents et alia from St.Catherine's. Your letter encourages me to get down to the material again and put my notes etc. in order. If you think this material could be of use to you, when it is in a decent shape, I could always send you a copy. There would be no need to wait for its publication.

I am at the same time committed to producing a monograph for our relatively new Faculty series on the decrees of officials (other than the Sultan's) extant in the St.Catherine's archive. This would be a sort of companion to Ernst's work on the Sultansurkunden, though I would hope to be able to make sure that a number of plates were included.

You have, I believe, already met Simon Digby, who wishes me to pass on his kindest wishes. He is the one person 'locally' who is interested in Indian Ocean trade. His home address is

38 Birchington Road,
London, NW 6.

He would be very pleased to correspond. In conversation he mentioned the following titles- perhaps you know of them.

Lallanji Gopal, Economic Life of Northern India, c.
A.D. 700-1200, Delhi 1965.
B.N.S.Yadava, Socio-economic History of India in the
11th and 12th centuries, Delhi, Motilal Benarsi Dass, 1975(?)



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PUSEY LANE
OXFORD
OX1 2LE
Telephone 59272

Forthcoming is Vol.1 of The Cambridge Economic History of India for the 12th century onwards. The editor is T.K.Raychaudhuri and Digby mentioned articles by himself and Binton Stein and I.Habib.

Digby also mentioned an article on the export of ceramics, touching on the Middle East, India and the Maldives in Transactions of the Oriental Ceramics Society. The year is between 1975 and 1977. Sorry I cannot be more precise. I hope this may be of some use.

Before finishing this letter I wonder if I might ask whether you can help me out. I am preparing a text and translation etc. of the section in al-Umari's Masalik al-Absar on Egypt and Syria. I have some queries.

i) What are taklāwāt(?) in the following (the dress of the ahl al-mamlaka is in question).

وأما زين خالقية الترية والشلوات فوتها تم اهبا، الاسلام
خوقها وعليه تنه المنفة والسين

ii) Can you specify exactly what is meant by the following stuffs;
والمجموع من نوع من الكثا والخطا والكتبي والتحمل والاسكندراني والشرب
والعصافى والاصوات

iii)

Writing of the dress of "those of the rounded turbans", he mentions their riding equipment. What are Tanrikīyat?

ويكتب أعيان ذلك العلة النساء البغات بسرور غير معرف
ذلك ويختد عوش الطنكيات في السروج عرقهينات وهي شبيه
بنوب السرج مخترعه ودهورى جوخ وقد يكون من أنواع الأذيم
ويشتق ويعمل بين السرج ومسيرته

[The 3 Mr. noting are actually طنكيات / الطنكيات / الطنكبات]

iv) Wairs & Kuttah:

ويعمل نكابرهم الادهنجات في الكنم
Do you think one could translate this as "fluted ruches"?

I would be grateful for your comments & help.

Best wishes, Donald Richard.

Curriculum vitae

1982

Name: Rajam Ramamurti

Position: Lecturer in Dravidian Languages and Literature

Present Mailing Address: Department of South Asia Regional Studies
Williams Hall/ CU
University of Pennsylvania

Nominated By: Dr. Rosane Rocher

Education: B.Sc. (Mathematics), University of Madras. 1961
M.A. (Tamil Language and Literature), University of Madras. 1963
M.A. (Linguistics), University of Pennsylvania. 1977
Ph.D. (Linguistics), University of Pennsylvania. 1981

Experience: Fatima College, Madurai: Lecturer in Tamil (1963-65; 1967-75).

University of Pennsylvania: Teaching Fellow in Tamil (1975-80).

University of Michigan: Instructor in Tamil (1980).

University of Michigan: Assistant Professor of Linguistics (1981-82).

University of Pennsylvania: Lecturer in Dravidian Languages and Literature (1982-).

Publications: Dissertation: A Comparative Study of Two Ancient Indian Grammatical Traditions: Tamil Tolkappiyam Compared with Panini's Astadhyayi and Other Sanskrit Grammars.

"Is Tolkapiyyam 92 an Interpolation?" in Indian Linguistics, 1982.

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"On the Poetic Convention of Identifying People by Name in cankam Literature" in Proceedings of the 5th International Conference, Seminar on Tamil Studies, Madurai, 1981.

"Purattinai iyalam Canka ilakkiya purappatalkalum" in Vijai IV (Madurai University Publication).

Current project: Fr. Henriques' Tamil Grammar (The earliest missionary Grammar in Portuguese).

Corals

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Trade no. 18 (no. 18) N

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Diamond and Coral Trade with India
dominated by Jews

1762-1795

East Indies

Portuguese

Portuguese Empire

Portuguese Empire

Prafulla Chandra Ray

Hindoo
1861-1944

A History of Indian Chemistry

- Calcutta 1904-1925

2 vols.

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Prafulla Chandra Ray
1904-1925

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THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO
جامعة أميريكية بالقاهرة



3 December 1978

Prof. S. D. Goitein
THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
Princeton, N. J. 08540
U. S. A.

Dear Professor Goitein:

As you must realize a newspaper article is not a sure guide to contextual statements. I had no control over content, and saw the substance ten days after publication. I am grateful for the publicity, but to satisfy your curiosity I must make emendation.

In the 1968, 1971 and 1972 seasons at Fustat I discovered what seemed to be a type of "aggregate housing", i. e., one made of earlier distinct elements and then "enthroned" in a later period, either by contiguous sanitation or manipulation of wall limitations (single vs/and/or double walling). As streets generally define the limits of any one or other domicile, I was anxious to find those of this house which seemed to grow "like Topsy". Only to the north, along the Darb al-Ma'asir, did I find definition. My emergency season this year was predicated on finding ~~xxxxx~~ the other defining streets. Alas, I was unsuccessful, but the house or houses is/are enormous in their ground planning. Such a house could be predicated from the Geniza documents, particularly if the inventory discussed by Stillman ~~were~~ housed ~~ever~~ and processed ~~within~~ within one building. Further, ~~xxx~~ M. Gil's analyses would seem to fit these "bourgeois" houses on either side of the Darb. In 1971 we discovered a cache of coral in one of the rooms of this enthroned domicile, and in 1972 a dinar of al-Zahir turned up beneath the paving stone of another room which we were dismantling for stratigraphical analyses. My ~~xxxx~~ surmise, and I meant no more, was based on the "enthroning", the coral (mentioned in the inventory) and the dinar. I regret JARCE is six to seven years behind in publishing my Reports; their Egyptological reports are generally au courant. As it is, I must subsize each Report, and frankly the well is dry.

At all events, cher maitre, thank you for the interest you demonstrate in our work. I enclose an up-to-date list of our publications. I am at your service for any further queries you choose to make.

Sincerely yours,

George T. Scanlon
GEORGE T. SCANLON
Professor, Islamic Art
& Arch.

FUSTAT EXPEDITION PUBLICATIONS: To Jan. 1, 1977

(by George T. Scanlon, unless otherwise noted)

(Abbreviated Form of title)

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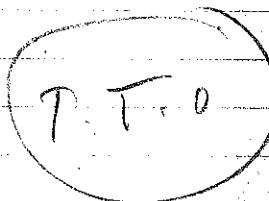
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THE NEW YORK TIMES
PUBLISHED ON SATURDAY EVENING

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Charles Pichet, Un Texte peu connu relatant au
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Bashir A.L.: The Border that was India, 1954

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It goes to me to prove the plausibility, I am afraid.

（三）在本校的學生中，有許多是沒有上課的。

19. 19. 19. 19. 19. 19. 19. 19. 19. 19.

10. The following table gives the number of hours worked by each of the 100 workers.

10. The following table shows the number of hours worked by each employee.

Watt, Sir George Watt. Indian Art at Delhi 1903 London Murray 1904

X The Commercial Products of India 1908.

Marsham, A.L. The Underworld of India London 1954

Tell from
Library

Curt Lindhagen, The Servant Motif in the Old Testament
Uppsala 1950, esp "The non-violent language" 51-81

25/11/2015 11:55:20

وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ يَرْجُو
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جیلے اسیں جیلے میں

جهاز لـ 5 وكنبر 5 وليس ابن قند من حناته المتأخر

May. 11th {
Ceylon

Pirogue 11th

Ceylon p. 119 23rd 82nd

Voyage du Marchand fabriqué
sur l'agriculture en Inde et en
Chine. — G. Ferrand
réédité en 85th
Ed. Dossard Paris 1922

12075 Kharar 2nd et

878

MS. 23rd

Markham Dennis

Doss

Gujarat.

MS. 115.1.16.1.1

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ابن هرون هو عالم مصري وله كتاب الأذن الميالز في علم الحجر
وهو من اكتشافاته العظيمة دعوه إلى إقامته ولها سبب
لما هاجر إلى إنجلترا رأى لباس القرامطة فنصح
العربي ونارس بتأثره على لباسهم والارتداد كسائر أهل

Pisani, Vittore. "Indo-griechische Beziehungen aus dem Mahabharata". ZDMG 103 (1953) 126-131.

Kenz 'Julische Einflüsse auf die frühchristliche Theologie' Abh.

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Kirfel 1952 Wārā Wārā 102(1952) 102

J. Kennedy, 'Early Commerce of Babylon and India' JRA 5 1898 pp. 241ff
X Meissner - pl. XXIX fig. 1

J. Howell Nature Activity in the Days of Soliloquies
and Rambles III Authorizing xxi ~~xx~~ 72.

Robert Gortis, The Long 12 Songs n.y. 1938,

p. 25
= Kaplan p. 26
justice

n. 21 (Koplen 22) /'ɪŋglɪʃk/ = par yar ba = Balangueum
Nile, Glosary of Anglo-Indian words

J. Fireman Jicc & Sabu glitz / syn
syn = Kjel o'kay syn jib. eti

2

Vincenzo, G. Commerce and Navigation of the
Ancient in the Indian Ocean

Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India

J. W. McCrindle, Ancient India as de-
scribed in classical literature

Destiniester 1901

6. 10' N 110' E 20° 12'

135° 22' E 131° 45' S 37° 11' N

10' 10' 0' 0' 0' 0' (noon)

State XV 22

medicinal plants, roots 7° 51' 28' 67' 27' 0' 30' 30'
cinnamon, spikenard, other aromatics

precious stones

Coral

Prices are determined by the fashion pre-
valing in each country. The forms of
coral are no less appreciated by the men
of India than are Indian beads by women
jewelry as they root rays a popular good
coral is the most sacred of amulets ensuring
protection against all dangers, so highly do they
value it both as an ornament and an
object of devotion Pliny XXXII c 2 (ii)

135° 61' 0' ~ 131° 45' S 37° 11' N

Geog. 1/

To Indika or Kles in the Kardian

J. W. McCrindle
La 1877

" " Megasthenes & Arrian

ancient India
described by M. A.

(Periplous)

Ptolemy

Invasion of ^{India} Alexander

A. Paul, Deyan (954 P. 377-382 1/4)

Turbo Lov § 298 use

13° N. 0122 - 01

§ 306 Col. 1000 ft

(1000 ft sea level)

39-42. 13° 38' N.
46° 38' E.

§ 231

- 150?

A.P. Newton, Travel and Travellers by the M.A. London 1930

T. D. Arnold, Arab Travellers Merchants

X S. Magbul Ahmad, Al-Mas'udi's Contributions to Medieval
Arab geography J.R. Camb. xxvii (1953) 61-77

p. 61. ²⁵ on a tide 7th month 303/915 720 Cambay ~
p. 70. Tanbih 30.30.110. ^{C. 200-150 A.D.} ⁱⁿ ²⁵
to claim a worldmap was attached. Maxima of Tyre
Claudius Ptolemy (90-168) with ^{A.D.} 70-130 A.D.

Continued XXVIII (1954)

p. 284 O Barbava and Jafuna, ^(i.)

How mad are your waves! ^{with drawing}

) in Madras ^{part} ^{p. 11A} ^{Jafuna} ^(i.) Barbava of 16 days ^{long} ^{island}
jafuna p. ^{11A} Theirs are the waves to see

23 T 438-9

sailors' song Sea of Zang off the east coast of Africa

X D. Guest, Zafar in the Middle Ages J.R. Camb. A (1935)

Last way between Aden & Muscat

H.O. 2-410

p. 403 On the other end of the Bay Mirbat was known to Hamdan,
but he does not know Zafar. It is said that Mirbat was ruled
by the Persians at that time. Persian Minjanji family ruled
from there. One of his family, Ahmed b. Nuh, is a Minjanji
who ruling in Dhofar in 1145.

Nothing known about this or founders.

S.A. Huzayyin, Arabia and the Far East Cairo 1942
449.59.11.13x min 1183 sf

J. N. L. Baker, Medieval Trade Routes, d. 1938

F. Hirth and W.W. Rockhill, Chaw-Yu-Kua, His Work
on the Chinese Trade in the XI to XIII Centuries Pet. 1011

Juan Vermet, La Cartografía Márctica tiene un
origen Hispano - Árabe?

Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios
Islamicos 1-1. 1953-1372, 66-91

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mittelalterlichen Seefahrt, Sonago Mundi 1935

G. Ferrand, Introduction à l'astronomie
arabe, Paris 1928

Relations de voyage 1913

Les poids, mesur et monnaies des vues
du sud aux 10-19 siècles JA 1920 15-100
193-712

L'éléments Persan dans les textes
marqués avale du XV-XVI mill.

JA 1924, 123-257

238-339. 1926, 16-18

Ceylon

37/24 115 n° 15010 110 '800 mètres 1' 11 E
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PWK (1932) p. 2260-2272 Taprobanne (Ceylon) Herrmann

2270 Indes orientale Stedensadeln (Cory?) Adelie roja

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32

13500 mètres 200 m. de l'île Père

Tigre royal Hyacinth & Tropicale Les esp. Trop. Lays 1948

Rubis

Plin. nat. hist. II 82

2270 - 2271

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Salines d'Adula Adula Kosmas 560

Ceylon = Serinda pr. 10' et 14' 600 m. 1000 m. 2271

Sikala-dipa (transcr. Sinhala-dvipa 2271)

Salines d'Adula 1000 m. 2271

p. 2283 Onesikritos Sumatra 5 1911

Pierre Paris Note sur deux passages de Strabon et de Pline

dont l'authenticité n'est pas seulement romaine

J.A.C.C.XXIV 1951, 13-27

Mia - St. Wipph

A. Zeki Vakfı, die Schule der Frauen, nun Sch. Quellen 2016-adress

اید دن بخت بمنصب الکندی رسالت که ۲۰۰۰در امدادیم ۲۰۱۶

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۹۵۲،

~~Meille Pierre des Yavanas dans l'Inde Tamoule JA 232 (1940-1)~~

Hip, also

Washington 2) f. 1.6. max 30-40 1/2 (W.W. ac 1/32 p. 85)

1881 105.85 Tarn 105 son. No. Charlesworth 1881

Makar et al. 1995 ~ terminer miles from west Pline NHVI 104 at 40 p66

machines

par les golfe de Manaar

les bon radeaux, chefs-d'œuvre provenant des Yavaras... viennent avec de l'or et partent avec du poivre + 18 poivre noir jas. Noi la poire long jas. pippali 1: singa charap 2 res borques couvertes de sogn Parana, PuRan 375, 1-11 jas. p. 93 les marchandises de la montagne

Meile, Pierre. La naissance d'un post. Cochin, Ann. de Géogr. no 273

il n'y a qu'un pays de poivre noir, c'est le Kuttanadu et les montagnes avoisinantes.

Yarana = yaraNaN /ʃ/ + yarana m'jna w'la 'Swor
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1981-02-23 (1981-02-23) (Grenzüberschreitung) 85 e.

Sur une rivière connue sous le nom de Garana à 114-5
se trouve un type traditionnel de lampes en terre cuite

Group 10 19125 nr St. Thomas. 31° 4' Chapman's 116
West Bank of Keweenaw River at Allamay 20' N. E. Ground surface

Siglo de Luis de Góngora. Contra el lirismo, pero como límite 123

1594 Inc

1910-1911 & 1915-16, 1922 Plan of the State of Goa & 1930-31
C. R. Boxer, A Glimpse of the Goa Archives GOA AS XIV (1952)

219-325

Savages - 1913 or 1914 - 1915 or 1916

R. H. C. A. 1912-1913 was for 1913. District members for 1913

1910 or

Aureishi H.H. Textile Industry in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent
Survey by M.A. Jaf. Pak. Hist. Soc. I, pp. 101-4 (1953)

Macaulay, Plan of Divis. and reigns 1910-1915 of Goa

Ch. Collart, Le Milieu Basin et la Formation de l'âge

X 37-40 Sindjous et Indiens

Jaffer S.M. The Arab Administration of Sind.

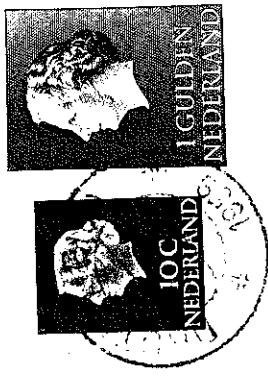
X Isl. Coll. vol XVII no 2 April 1943, ~~pp.~~ 119-129

Idrisi (Mus. b. Mus.) Géographie d'Idrisi, trad. par P.A. Joubert

Paris 1836-40

Soc. 2117 A 50-51

" India & the neighbouring countries
described by the Sharif al-Idrisi ed. Mabruk
Ahmed ~~1854~~¹⁸⁵³ (Aligarh) ~~1853~~¹⁸⁵⁴ 1854
Muslim University Aligarh 1954
Department of History



100

Prof. S. D. Goitein

Dep. of Arabic

Univ. of Pennsylvania

Philadelphia

U.S.A.

100

100

S. H. 1959

2. November 1959
Rotterdam Boeriestr. 2d
1009 B 120° N 11° 18' E
56° 12' 10'' S 103° 10' E
82° 22' N 110° 10' E
131° 10' W 110° 10' E

Boeriestr. 2d
Rotterdam, Boeriestr. 2d. 22. Oct. 1959

13. Oct. 1959 sehr geehrter Herr Professor Soitein,

Mit sehr grossem Interesse habe ich Ihr Buch "Jews + Arabs"
gelesen und vor allem auch Ihren Artikel: "From Medi-
teranean to India" in Speculum. Durch einen Ihrer
früheren Schüler, Herrn Peter Reed, den Sie jetzt beim
Leidenden Sinologen Prof. Hulsewé arbeitet, krikt sehr,
dass Sie mit einem Werk über Arab.-Chines. Relations
beschäftigt sind und es war Professor Hulsewé der mir
nicht, Ihnen zu schreiben.

Das Thema das mich beschäftigt, könnte man zum
Schein analog : Jewish - Chinese Relations nennen, wobei
ich mich allerdings vorläufig auf das Problem der
Rabaniten und der jüdischen Kleinkaufleute, eventuell
zu und vor allem während der T'ung Dynastie, beschränkt.
Natürlich kenne ich "Jewish Merchant Adventurers" von

I. Rabinowich, aber ich glaube nicht, dass damit das
letzte Wort gesprochen ist. Ausser den z.B. bei Rabinowich
genannten Hinweise auf die anwesenheit von Joden im China
und Langs des innerasiatischen Handelsroute, habe ich eine
ganze Gruppe von sehr merkwürdigen Tang Grabplastiken
gefunden die möglicherweise jüdische Händler westlichen
Herkunft darstellen, wobei das vorstehende Wort Westen
nicht durch Franken ersetzt werden könnte. Bis jetzt
habe ich 5 Plastiken dieses Typus gefunden. Die wertvollste
ist hier in Rotterdam. Seider habe ich momentan
keine bessere als beitragende Foto.

Ich wende mich mit meinem Problem an Sie mit
der Bitte um Hilfe. Ich habe alle mir bekannte erreich-
bare Literatur durchgearbeitet (was sehr viel mehr ist als
was z.B. I. Rabinowich angibt) und komme zum Ergebnis,
dass meine Theorie über die Identität der Händler,
möglich ist. Ich, ausser eben den Statuetten, habe ich
kein neues Material finden können. Vor allem hoffe ich,
dass Sie inzwischen bei der weiteren Durcharbeit der
Senzira fragmente eventuell etwas gefunden haben.

das ein neues Licht auf die Radaniten werfen könnte,
oder dass Ihnen anderes neues Material zu dieser Frage
bekannt ist.

Natürlich glaube ich nicht, dass die Plastik einen
Radaniten darstellt. Im Allgemeinen aber sind auf den
Sparen der jüdischen Frankfurter Kleinhändler zu finden,
und um welche könnte es sich handeln. Die Tatsache,
dass ich schon fünf verfließbare Plastikteile gefunden
 habe deutet auf eine geringe Häufigkeit des Typus hin:
 auch auf ein Interesse der "Tauf-Chinesen" daran.

Hu-Barbaren waren ja damals sehr "Mode".
Der Typus selbst häuft scheinbar seinen eigenen Stichlauf.
Vor allem sind Hut und Bart sehr charakteristisch, aber
auch Kleidung, Riegel und Wasserflasche. Was ich
bis jetzt äußerlich finden konnte verweist die Kleider
bestimmt in den Raum des fränkischen Dorches.

Ich hoffe sehr, Ihnen mit meinen Händlern nicht
altruistisch zu fallen und in allem Hoffe ich, dass
Sie mir beim Feststellen ihrer Identität helfen können.
Bitte entziehen Sie, dass ich Punkt schwebe, aber es schwierig
ist mir diese Sprache am geläufigsten.

Mit unglockter Hochachtung

Zimmer Sprachen. Münzen



Gedalia Moger - Diamonds Coral:

Anglo-Dutch Jews in 18th Century Trade

Leicester Un. Press 1978 360 pp.

(front cover)



Feb 18

J. Innes Miller, ^{Re} Spice trade & the Roman
Empire

Oxford 1969 V.P.

ser Arabic XVII (1970)
↓ 317-a Cates
at home

X Aubin, Jean, La ruine de Siraf et les routes
du Golfe Persique aux XI^e et XII^e siècles
Cahiers de civilisation médiéval, Paris 2 (CATS) 29^e
301

westmynster

W.M.

HF 56 Colloque internat. d'hist. marit. 6th
C 6 .1962 Océan Indien et Méditerranée 1964

N. P. Gulewskaja, Byzanz auf den Wegen nach
dem Südküste Indien Film (1969)

C. H. Becker, Islamstud. I, p. 214 Magrib 800 I, 104, 2.6

800 value 2 media trade in gross (SIC 1958) per ~
 $\sqrt{27.6 \times 33.36}$ 600000 over 800 000 den.

Kish X David Whitehouse noted above
1952 ed) 1952 1952 1952 1952 1952 1952 1952
Greece Cyprus

JBB Iran 14 (1976) British Acad. & Persian Stud.
pp. 146/7

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Issue - The Trade of Asia

ed. D. S. Richards

n^o 2

(Papers on Ad. Hist. vol 2)

Spices & Spice Trade
J. Felix

Bud. XV

Sir George Watt 1780? 182

X 1820-1821 (reports 1812)

(1820) INK, p 1

To download

I Chelmsford, 2nd ed. Arden 25, 1888

X

XL

5/2 zweiter und 7/2 ist 1/2 قطع [?] ausführ.
 p. 89 7/2 ist 1/2 قطع [?] ausführ.

مكرونة سكرانة 6/2 [؟] ausführ.

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LII über den zweiten bei den Muslimen
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٤٨٢ ٥٦٢ كاتل = ٦٢
 ٤٨٣ ٢٦٧ - ٢١٥ [؟] ausführ.

LV Nachrichten zu dem Aufenthalte

مكرونة
 48449 (1916 - 1917) ٣٢٢ - ٣٢٨ /

Wiedemann XXXII Hautdosen-Darstellung
fiz. d. phys.-med. Societät Erl. 45 (1913)
15-20% 35-54
O,5 ml 0,2 ml 1 ml

XL Verfälschung von Drogen

über Basen δ

S: 6. A. p. 46(1914) 172 - 206

$\int \frac{dx}{x^2 + 1} = \arctan x + C$

and very little hope is

XLI Zur Geschichte des Rückens

E. O. von Lippmann, Leipzig 1890

Site: 47 (1915) 83-92

٢٠١٤-٢٠١٥م التوسيعى لـ زوجى و موسى زوج

$$q_{(10)}(\sqrt{11}) = q_{(1)}[\dots]$$

مُعَمَّر (۳۷۰۲) وَ مُعَاوِي (۴۱۸)

Fahrkarte ~~10~~

Der geborene Sohn ist simp. Honig

جے فیس مارکٹ

الجواب على ادلة
الجنة و دليلها
عند زنجيل myrobelan
نحو ١٣٠ مل ١٢٥ نحو ١٣٠
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يكون ماءً ماءً ماءً
فأنا أجزم أن زنجيل
يكون ماءً ماءً ماءً

xxiv Cherrice 43 Ed 1911 Max Mencke

نوئار راج تونیا (Malachite) / دلخه (Zoroastrian) / فرد سین قلیمبا (Kashmir) / سفید (Silver)

العنوان: ٦٠٧ - ٦١٣ بـ ورد

distillation?

XXV 4_3 (1011) 114-131 ~~Experiments~~ Sketch

über Stein und Eisen bei den menschlichen Völkern.

L. Brügel für Gewinnzettel E. Schlesinger 1890/1.

300 mms ab sea level

rapidly, until 2000-3000 feet.

جامعة الملك عبد الله للعلوم والتقنية

الطبقة - العدد 5 من 10 - ٢٠١٣

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102 STidab
128 9-3 1958 8Ka1 3/16 115m
78L5 2 0/190.9
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جبل نينجون

Magnesian Kalk, Vitriol, minerals, plants
is unusual such as area a meadow, some will
etc. 1812 1813 1814 1815

XXX zw Mineralogie im Labor 205-236

() participant in phys.-med. Society 44 (1912)

الكتابي - سعى إلى ملخص

244. *Koelle* 22. 11. 1963 W. 21
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~~Very difficult to sing~~

W. J. Kamo

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10. The following table shows the number of hours worked by each employee in a company.

10. The following table shows the number of hours worked by each employee.

[View Details](#) | [Edit](#) | [Delete](#)

f. 259 ملک

soziale Versare d. physikalisch-medizinischen Gesellschaften
II - 37 (1905) Erzähler

IV فنچان بنگاه خنکیں بنگاه رسانیده
بنگاهات بیانیہ Persian = Penang
جنگان نسخہ ۱۸۷۹

V 412 Mechanic-Geometer

VI 416 یون فرما ابرالقا عباس Magani F. 259

418 فنچان فنچان یون ۱, 383

489-49 / 1916-1917 / نسخہ ۱۸۷۹

max Mensche

738-1

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199/102

Jensaleus

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20° 1086 180° walk

199/102 56-59

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~~I 186~~ 20° N 55° E

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K 20° N 55° E

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W1100 88-58
59-60 1930 I Pisces Polar Fish

Hirschfeld JQR N.S. 16 (1925) 280-286

Mann (5) 107-8 6 20/38
1922

Or 5542 f 35 Afghanistan to W.N. Gerba

345 1920 I ~ Turkmenistan 13° S 61° E
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N.Y. Public Library 270 p. II Geol. 1915

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ADEN, port and city in south-west Arabia with an ancient Jewish community of great importance for the history of Jewish letters.

The Origins. Ezekiel 27:23, speaking of "Eden, the merchants of Sheba", probably means this place. The Greek and Roman authors referring to Aden make no mention of Jews; it is, however, feasible that the Jews who came to Yemen (q.v.) in Roman times, did so not only by land, but also by sea, i.e. mainly through Aden. In addition to influx from the West, the Jewish population of Aden was formed also by immigrants from the East. According to Arabic tradition it was the Persians who turned the port into a fortified city shortly before the advent of Islam. A Jew, called Khalaf from Nihawend, a town in Persia, is credited with the creation of the customs tariff of the port of Aden which was supposed to remain in force "until the day of resurrection" (cf. Löfgren, Aden im Mittelalter I, 58). This Jew was active at the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century. However, long before, the Jews of Aden had been regular contributors to the upkeep of the Jewish academies of Babylonia-Iraq (see Tarbiz 51, 1962, 363). In 1154, we find a "persian Jew", who claimed to be a cousin of the Rosh ha-Gola, or Prince of the Exiles, in Aden and recognized there as the latter's representative, see below.

Twelfth century efflorescence. The Jewish community of Aden reached its highwater-mark during the twelfth century. At that time, the city was under the suzerainty of the Fatimids, and later the Ayyubids, of Egypt and formed a great emporium on the sea route to India. On the other hand, the India trade was not yet monopolized by the trading company of the Karim (q.v.), which dominated it in the subsequent centuries. Thus, there was ample opportunity for the initiative and skill of the Jewish merchants. The Cairo Geniza (q.v.) has preserved about one hundred and fifty letters and documents written in Aden or sent there or otherwise connected with this city. To this, the many other documents and letters

related to Yemen in general must be added, since the Yemenite Jews communicated in those days with world Jewry almost exclusively via Aden. Already at the end of the eleventh century, a Jew acted as "representative of the merchants" in Aden. His name was Abu ^cAli al-Hasan, in Hebrew: Japheth, b. Bundār, the latter being a name of Persian origin. Those "representatives" fulfilled many economic and administrative functions, comparable to those of the consuls of the later Italian merchants' colonies of the Levant, cf. Speculum 29, 1954, 189-191. Japheth b. Bundār bore the Hebrew title Sar ha-Cehillot, or Chief of the Congregations (in the plural), which indicates that he was head not only of the Jewish community of Aden, but of other Jewish communities in Yemen as well. This was in conformity with general political developments in South Arabia at that time, when San^ca (q.v.) had ceased to be the capital and part of its Jewish population had moved, together with the government to Dhu Jibla (q.v.) north of Aden.

Madrūm Madmun, the "Nagid of the Land of Yemen". The son of Japheth, Madmun (more exactly: Madmūn), held the title "Nagid of the Land of Yemen", in addition to six other Hebrew titles, including that borne by his late father. These titles were conferred on him partly by the Rosh ha-Gola of Bagdad, and partly by the Gaon Maṣlīḥah, the Head of the Palestinian Yeshiva, who, at that time had his seat in Old Cairo. In Arabic, Madmun was styled "The Confident of the lords of the seas and the deserts", which means that he had made agreements with the various rulers and pirates who controlled the sea routes between Egypt, Arabia, Africa and India, as well as those chieftains who held sway over the hinterland of the south-Arabian ports. Madmun served as superintendent of the harbor of Aden, and as such had control over the customs, and as representative of the merchants was influential on the fixation of the market prices. He was also a shipowner.

In addition to ships going to India - one of which foundered - he opened a direct route to Ceylon (q.v.). A number of Jews ~~were~~ from North-West Africa travelled in the first boat sailing there, among them three goldsmiths - a fact illustrative of the transfer of the small arts from one distant country to another. The Ceylon ship was owned by Madman in partnership with Bilāl b. Jarīr, the vizier and actual ruler of southern Yemen, by whom he was joined also in another large business undertaking directed towards Egypt.

Connection with other Jewish communities. Madmun worked in closest cooperation with other prominent Jewish merchants of Aden, who partly were his relatives, and he was connected by ties of friendship and family with a great many Jewish merchants from the Mediterranean countries. He himself was married to the sister of Abu Zikri Judah b. Joseph ha-Kohen (q.v.), a great India traveller, who was representative of the merchants in Old Cairo, but originated from Sijilmasa (q.v.), an important city in Morocco, situated on the fringes of the Sahara. Abu Zikri himself was married to the sister of another prominent Jewish shipowner of Aden. As late as the fifteenth century we read about Mediterranean Jews taking wives in Aden, cf. ⁶Asaf, MMTY 235.

Together with business and family ties, communal and spiritual connections were formed between the Jews of Aden and practically all the Jewish communities of the Islamic world. "Aden and India" formed one juridical diocese, in other words, the Jewish merchants and craftsmen active for shorter or longer periods in about twenty different ports of India and Ceylon were under the jurisdiction of the rabbinical court of Aden. In Yemen itself, the authority of Madmūn extended as far north as Sa'ida (q.v.), the northernmost important Jewish community of the country. In its turn, the rabbinical court of Aden regarded itself

to

as subordinate of that of the Egyptian capital, which was instituted by the
Head of the Palestinian Academy. A statement about a release granted by a Jew
from Aleppo, Syria, to another from Tripolitania, Libya, on the basis of
Madmun's accountbooks refers to Aden as being under the Reshut, or authority
of Maṣliḥah, the Gaon of the Palestinian Yeshiva, resident in Old Cairo, cf.

~~Tanach, Talmud, Midrashim, etc.~~ S.D.Goitein, Documents on the India Trade (abbreviated in the following as DIT), no. 82. Twenty years later, in a letter addressed to Old Cairo, the rabbis of Aden describe themselves as constituted by their Rosh-Gola and their Nagid, but add that they acknowledged "our masters in Egypt" as an authority higher than themselves, see E.Strauss (Ashtor), Zion 4(1959), 226 and 251, and DIT, no. 36.

Aden between the Rosh ha-Gola of Bagdad and the Palestinian Gaon. Owing to its connections with both the West and the East, the Jewish community of Aden was drawn into the rivalry between the Jewish centers of Iraq and Palestine-Egypt. When the Palestinian Gaon Maṣliḥah took residence in Old Cairo in 1127, he was not unanimously recognized in that city, which comprised a considerable congregation of Iraqi Jews. These dissensions in the Cairine community were carried over by the India travellers to Aden, where they erupted in spring 1134. The Geniza has preserved six complete or fragmentary documents referring to this event, see S.D.Goitein, Sinai 16 (1955), 225-257, and DIT, nos. 86-89, 254 and 304. On the Sabbath before Passover that year, a scholarly Jew from Sa'ida, see above, was honored to lead the community of Aden in prayer. As he had been accustomed to do in his home town in conformity with written instructions received from Madmun, he made mention in his sermon first of the Rosh ha-Gola and secondly of the Palestinian Gaon. However, Cairine opponents of Maṣliḥah, who happened to be present, objected to his public recognition during communal

prayer, and the scholar from Sa^cda was forced by a cousin of the Rosh ha-Gola, who sojourned in Aden (and perhaps had been sent there to counterbalance the influence of the Palestinians) to recant publicly for his faux pas. Madmun tried to steer a middle course, but seems to have become convinced that only highest Jewish authority should be mentioned in public prayer. After Passover, the merchants from North Africa and Egypt, most of whom were ardent adherers of the Palestinian Gaon, arrived in Aden, either coming from the West or returning from India. Dismayed by what they learned about the happenings in the South-Arabian port, they gathered around Halfon b. Methanei Dimyati, renowned in Hebrew literature as an intimate friend of the Spanish Hebrew poet Judah ha-Levi and prominent in the Geniza as a commuter between India, Aden, Egypt, Spain and Morocco. The followers of Masliah went so far as to threaten Fatimid that they would apply to the authorities. However, this threat was not carried out, and as the events in Maimonides' time prove, the Adenese never severed their allegiance to the Jewish center in Bagdad. However, the close commercial connections between Aden and Egypt, the continued presence of scholars of repute in Old Cairo and the general shift of Jewish creativity from Iraq to the countries of the Mediterranean had the effect that the Jews of Aden became mainly dependent on the leadership of the Egyptian seats of learning. Madmun and the other well-to-do merchants of Aden sent regularly contributions to the Gaon and the members of the rabbinical court in Old Cairo and various letters of thanks on the side of the latter have been preserved. These gifts consisted partly in cash and partly ~~and partly~~ in precious oriental spices and clothes. Queries sent to Cairo prior to Maimonides. Once, Madmun sent the Gaon Masliah among other things, a set of translucent Chinese porcelain, accompanied by the religious query, so often repeated in later sources, whether china could not be

regarded ritually as glass rather than pottery. Madmun's query is just one example of the questions which the Jews of Aden and Yemen used to submit to the scholars residing in Egypt, long before Maimonides. Isaac b. Samuel ha-Sefaradi, one of the two chief judges of Old Cairo, of whose hand a great many court records have been preserved from the years 1095-1127, sent response to Yemen, and his great commentary on the Prophets (not yet published) was still studied in that country three hundred years later, cf. J. Mann, Tarbiz 6 (1935), 75-78, and J. Qafah, Ha-RIF le-Hullin, Jerusalem 1960, 8-9.

The Successors of Madmun. Madmun died in 1151, highly eulogized by Abraham Yiju (q.v.), who also had devoted to him a number of panegyrics during his lifetime, cf. DIT 41-44. His eldest son Halfon is styled "our Nagid" both in mentioned above the document DIT 56 from the year 1155 and on his tombstone which states that his death had occurred on 26 October 1172. Like his father he was a shipowner, and the document alluded to describes in detail how a ship of his perished on its way to India. His activities are illustrated by several Geniza papers. Another Nagid Halfon, son of a Nagid Madmun, died in August 1248, and two years later, in April 1250, his brother Yeshu^a, also styled Nagid, was laid to his rest. It is highly probable that these Nagids were descendants of the first Madmun. Whether the same is true of a Mar (approximately: Mr.) Madmun, son of rabbi Halfon, / who died in 1218 / cannot be made out. It seems however, that Madmun b. David, who is praised in a poem as a Nagid and scion of Nagids, DIT 40, and who is referred to as the leader of the community in two Geniza documents was the grandson of Halfon I b. Madmun I. A highly interesting letter of his, dated 9 July 1202 and referring to Maimonides, was published by D.Z. Baneth in the J.N.Epstein Jubilee Volume, Jerusalem 1950, 205-214. Most probably, he is identical with the Nagid

of the Land of Yemen Shemarya b. David, to whom the Spanish Hebrew poet Judah al-Harizi dedicated (a copy of) his *Tahkemoni*, for both the Arabic and the Hebrew name means "protected by God". This Nagid Shemarya also was a representative from Aden to Alexandria of the merchants. In one Geniza document, DIT 511, he forwards/a large sum left by an India traveller who had died on his way. The carrier was a Muslim cadi, which seems to indicate that in those days the India route was not frequented by Jews as much as in previous times. An Arab description of Aden ascribes to ~~XXXX~~ the construction of three wells in the city to a Jew called Da'ud, which is David, b. Madmun, who might have been a son of the Nagid Madmun b. David. The author of the *Midrash ha-Gadol*, David b. Amram Adani (q.v.), who lived at the end of the ~~thirteenth~~^{15th} and at the beginning of the 14th century, is also styled Nagid and it is not excluded that he came from the Madmun family.

Adenese and Yemenite Jews. This impressive list of Chiefs of the Congregations and of Nagids from Aden during two centuries and more should not be understood as implying that these notables exercised authority over the Jews of Yemen during the whole of this period. The *Iggeret Teman*, the famous epistle of Maimonides, in which he responded in 1172 to the problems raised by the appearance of a false messiah in Yemen, was addressed to Jacob, the son of Methanel b. Fayyumi (q.v.). Methanel is referred to by Maimonides as the Nagid of the Land of Yemen, i.e. exactly the same title as the one borne by Madmun I b. Japheth. Qafah, in his edition of the *Bustān al-^cUqūl*, "The Garden of True Concepts", a philosophical book by this Methanel, Jerusalem ca. 1360, 11-15, has made it probable that this Methanel lived in Higher Yemen and not in Aden. Despite the close connection between the Jews of Aden and those of inner Yemen, there were also tangible differences between them, and they were referred to as "Adani and Yemeni respectively when travelling abroad. In the ~~twelfth~~ 12th century, Adanis are found in Egypt, as well as far west as Mamsa in Morocco, cf. DIT,

no. 109. It is also not excluded that an Arabic papyrus of the 9th century from Fayyum in Egypt, mentioning one Abu Yahya al-Adani and a person called Yahuda, refers to Jews, although Christians too used to bear such names, cf. K.Jahn, Archiv Orientalni 9 (1957), 18.

Karaites in Aden. In view of the large participation of the Jews from the mediterranean countries in the India trade it is not surprising to find in Aden also Karaites who tried to make souls for their persuasion. In the poems in honor of Madmun b. Japheth, referred to above, he is credited with crushing these endeavors. Disputations with Karaites are reflected in ancient Yemenite writings.

Relations with Maimonides and his descendants. The Adeneese tradition of contributing to the yeshivas of Babylonia and Palestine was continued with regard to that of Maimonides. A very large donation is earmarked for Maimonides in a letter sent from Aden, cf. Tarbisli (1962), 369-370, and costly presents were forwarded from there to Maimonides younger contemporary, Yehudah Menahem, the spiritual leader of the Jews of New Cairo, so highly praised by the poet Judah al-Harizi. Abraham, the son and successor of Moses Maimonides, answered queries addressed to him by the scholars of Aden (distinguished in his Responsa, ed. A.H.Freimann, Jerusalem 1957, 196-201, from those of Yemen), and so did Abraham's great-grandson/Joshmiah (1310-1350), where, however, this distinction is not made. For the relations of Maimonides and his descendants with the Jewish communities of Yemen in general see Yemen.

The Importance of Aden for Hebrew literature. Together with donations for scholars and gifts for the poor of the Egyptian capital, the Jews of Aden used to send there money for the purchase of books. In DIT, no. 238, the writer orders a particularly valuable Bible codex worth fifty gold pieces, while the

regular price was about one half of that sum. Madmun b. David, in his letter of (q.v.), July 1202/ asks to send him the medical treatises of Moses Maimonides and other useful books, but he wanted to have copies written on good paper and in a good hand. The Jews of Aden were so avid bibliophiles that the Egyptian India traveller Halfon b. Methanai was searching there for books which he could not get elsewhere, /of the Jews of Aden and Yemen and their DIT, no. 246. This interest in books ~~and their~~/financial capacity to acquire them ~~and their~~ were of great significance for the history of Hebrew letters. Many of the most important creations written in Hebrew, such as the collections of poems of Judah ha-Levi or Moses Ibn Ezra, have been preserved in manuscripts found in Yemen. The Midrash ha-Gadol of ~~the~~ David Adani (q.v.) shows that he possessed an exceptionally rich, specialized library, containing also books which have not yet been found in their entirety elsewhere.

Most of the letters from Aden, consisting predominantly in business correspondence, are in Arabic, which was in those days the lingua franca of commerce throughout the Islamic world and beyond. However, the often very long Hebrew/ poems to these letters, as well as the personal letters written in Hebrew prove that their writers were well versed in Hebrew literature and were possessed of a strong inclination for the style of the Midrash and the type of poetry called Piyyut.

The Jewish Tombstones. A great many tombstones with Hebrew inscriptions have been found in Aden and formed the subject of learned discussions for over a hundred years. Some are preserved in the British Museum, many more in public and private museums in Aden, while most of them have become known through squeezes and photographs made of tombs still in situ. The comprehensive study of the subject by H.P. Chajes in the Sitzungsberichte of the Viennese Academy of Sciences, vol. 147, no. III (Vienna 1904) was complemented by additional material published by I. Ben Zvi, Tarbiz 22(1951), 198 ff., E. Subar, JQR 49 (1959), 301 ff.

and S.A.Birnbaum , JSS 6(1961), 95 ff., and by the critical survey by S.D.Goitein JSS 7 (1962), 81 ff. The oldest of those inscriptions are from the ~~xxvii~~ 12th century and some of them, referring to persons mentioned also in the Geniza documents are of particular interest. There are others from the ~~xxviii~~ 13th and 14th centuries and a great number from the 15th through the 18th. The wording in the more ancient inscriptions is extremely modest and concise, while the later ones are occasionally more elaborate. In the tombstones of women, as a rule the names of their fathers, but not those of their husbands are indicated, even ~~xxix~~ when the person concerned is described as an ishshā hashūvā, "an important lady."

Later Developments. A. remained a busy port and its Jewish community ~~impr~~ prospered well into the 16th century. Despite the shrinking of the Jewish share in the India trade

Jewish mediterranean merchants continued to frequent A., and scholars called Adani (q.v.) and known to have lived in A. made considerable contributions. The replacement of a local dynasty by the Ottoman Turks in 1538 did not adversely affect the fortunes of the Jews of A. ^{the beginning of the Ottoman} A Muslim book/s of legal opinions from that period gives the number of Jewish male taxpayers as 7000. (Since taxes used to be paid for boys at the age of nine approximately, this number of taxpayers presumes the existence of about 3000 Jewish families in A.) When , in the 18th century the India trade was at its lowest ebb and A. came under the rule of the tribal Sultan of Lahj, it fell into utter decay. Still, even then the customs house was under the control of a Jew. When the British captured the place in January 1859, it counted reportedly only 500 inhabitants, the majority of whom were Jews.

In modern times. The enormous development of ~~xxix~~ A. under British rule, especially after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, deeply affected Jewish life there, but not always to the good. The Jewish population increased to 2000 in 1872, 3700 in 1916 and 4750 in 1947. (An additional 3800 Yemenite Jews were, at that time, harbored in camps outside A.) Because of the Sabbath laws and their

ignorance of the English language the local Jews were not employed in the government service, while Jews from India played an important role in this field in the early decades of British rule. The poorer sections of the population experienced hardships similar to those met with later in Israel. The handicrafts and skills in which they had excelled amidst of their traditional society had no place in the economy of a modern port city like A. The adverse impact of modernization was already ~~from~~ reported by the keen observer Jacob Saphir Jewish (1858). He and von Maltzan (1872) still found the majority of the population still engaged in manual occupations, above all as silversmiths, also as weavers, carpenters, masons, butchers, even armorers. Only few were really rich such as the Mesa (i.e. Musa, Moses) - Benin (i.e. Benjamin) family, which had headed the Jewish community before 1833 and still does so today. By the beginning of the 20th century most of the traditional occupations had become obsolete or taken over by others. Semach of the Alliance Israélite Universelle (1910) and Yaneeli of the Palestine office of the Zionist Organization (1911) described the Jews only to a small degree in of A. as engaged mostly in small business and silversmithery ~~from~~ⁱⁿ.

The general situation of the Jews of A. improved considerably in the wake of the foundation of modern schools for boys and for girls, although the occupational problem was never completely solved. With its four synagogues, schools and a hospital, the community was in a fairly flourishing state, when on 2 December 1947, three days after the United Nations decision about the partition of Palestine the Jewish quarter was attacked by an Arab mob, a number of persons were murdered or wounded and many buildings were burnt down, among them the King George School for Boys (which had been founded by a member of the Mesa-Benin family). Accusations that the disturbances had been engineered by the British intelligence service with the connivance of merchants eager to get rid of Jewish competition cannot be substantiated.

This blow and the subsequent establishment of the state of Israel had the consequence that the majority of the Jewish population of A. emigrated there. By 1965, only a few hundred remained, including some of the more well-to-do families.

The Jews of A. had a liturgy of their own and religious practices and customs different from those of the Yemenites., which is indicative of an old, unbroken local tradition. From 1895 through 1925, there operated a Hebrew printing press in A., but Adenese Hebrew books were printed also in Calcutta, India, Livorno, Italy, in Egypt and, in particular, in Palestine. For the Jews in the former Protectorate of A. and the exodus of the Yemenites through A. see YEMEN.

Bibliogr. in the article. Also: R.B.Serjeant, The Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast, Oxford 1963, 139-140. Jacob Saphir, Eben Saphir II, Mainz 1874. H. von Maltzan, Reise nach Sudarabien, Braunschweig 1873, I, 172-181. Mahalal ha-Adni, Ben Aden le-Tesan (Between A. and Yemen), Tel Aviv 1947. Y. Semach, Une mission d'Alliance au Yemen, Paris (no date). S.Yavneeli, Massa British Admiralty, le-Teman (A journey to Yemen), Tel Aviv 1952. A Handbook of Arabia. Colonial Office, Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Disturbances in Aden in December 1947, London, H.M.S.O. 1948, Colonial No. 235. Serōr Iggarot... cal ha-sho'a be-Aden (Letters etc. about the Aden massacres), Histadrut ha-Ovdim (Jewish Labor Organization), Tel Aviv 1948. H.N. Bentwich, The Jewish (Anglo-Jewish Association) Monthly, April 1948. I. Yesha^cya, Yalkut ha-Mizrah ha-Tikhon, February 1948. Jewish Agency, Dappe Aliyya, 1949-50. Samuel b. Joseph Yeshu^ca Adani, Nahalat Yosef (An A. ritual and anthology). A. Yaari, Hebrew Printing in the East, Jerusalem 1936, 86-87. E. Brauer, Ethnologie der Jemenitischen Juden, Heidelberg 1934.

AYDHAH, during the 11th and 12th centuries the most important harbor on the African coast of the Red Sea and a great entrepot for the trade with Yemen, East Africa and India. The merchants from the mediterranean countries used to travel or on Nile boats up to Aswan ~~and~~ its environment (about 40 days from Cairo), and crossed from there the desert to A. in about 15-20 days. In A. they tried to exchange oriental for western goods (or gold) and returned home or proceeded by sea to Yemen, India and the Far East. On their return from the East, they also often tarried in A., for selling there was, under certain circumstances, more profitable than carrying the goods over the long and dangerous route to Cairo. A. owed its efflorescence to its good anchorage and to the fact that in the more northern part of the Red Sea the winds were adverse to navigation as practiced in that time. When the Crusaders made that part insecure by piratic attacks, A. became even more important.

The Cairo Geniza (q.v.) has preserved many letters written in A. or addressed or referring to it. Here David, the brother of Moses Maimonides, wrote to his illustrious brother excusing himself that he was embarking on a boat sailing to India, although Moses (who was the leading spirit in the business) had given him express instructions not to proceed further than A. The trip through the desert which was infested by the wild and rapacious Beja tribesmen had become particularly dangerous at that time, and David, unlike others, was lucky to reach A. unscarred. Encouraged by this success, he wrote to Maimonides: "God, who has kept me in the desert, will preserve me in on the ocean." This hope, as is wellknown, was not realized. In A., before setting out on the long journey to India, the merchants would give last instructions to their relatives or partners, or, while returning from the East, report about happenings in India or Yemen. As it took about two months to reach A. from

the capital of Egypt, A. also was a place of refuge for debtors who were unable to meet their obligations.

Despite its great importance in international trade and the continuous presence of Jewish traders in A., no local Jewish community seems to have developed in that place. The "representatives of the merchants" and the tax-farmers in charge of its customs house are referred to in a way which suggests that they were not Jewish. Once, two Jewish merchants from Old Cairo were murdered in A. and the storeroom which they had there was plundered. Whether this was done by the unruly Ghuzz Turks who garrisoned ~~that~~ A. and sometimes robbed the merchants is not stated. The wording of a document from A. from December 1141 seems to indicate that there was no ~~Jewish~~ rabbinical authority available in that place. Ibn Jamahir, a Jewish merchant from Old Cairo, wellknown also from other Geniza documents, was accused by the business agent (who legally was a slave) of the Head of the Palestinian Yeshiva, which then had its seat in Old Cairo, that he had kept a slavegirl, while out in the Indian waters, and, when she became pregnant, disposed of her in the African port of Berbera. Ibn Jamahir/complained/with the governor, whereupon the latter sent for all the Jews found in the town in order to settle the dispute.

Not all the merchants in town followed his summons. In their presence./The agent was flogged despite the intervention of a Maghribi merchant on his behalf (the Maghribis were staunch supporters of the Palestinian Yeshiva) and put into prison, from which he was released only after a heavy payment was made for him. The document was drawn up, because the affair was to have a sequel before the rabbinical court of Old Cairo// . The absence of a local Jewish community in A. might have had its reason in the murderous climate and the lack of good drinking water and fresh food. The name A. was explained jokingly by the travellers as "adhab", affliction, and legend described the place as the prison created by King Solomon for the disobedient

little jinnies of his entourage. By the end of the 13th century A. had lost its importance and was finally destroyed early in the 15th. Nothing but a heap of ruins has remained of it today.

E.I. A.Mez, Die Renaissance des Islams, Heidelberg 1922, 476-7. S.D.Goitein, Tarbiz 21(1950), 185-191; id., Documents on the India Trade during the Middle Ages, passim.

Valeria Fiorani Placendini ~~X~~

Hovmor Milano 1975 ~~X~~

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6 Fuller Street
Brookline, Massachusetts 02146
December 29, 1975

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

Dear Professor Goitein:

Thank you again for the privilege of meeting with you at your home on Labor Day.

Yesterday I was startled to find my letter of September 5 to you. I apologize for this negligence.

On the day following our conversation I went to the New York Public Library to copy the Mossner article in the Jewish Review of 1913. The librarian in the Jewish Division refused permission to xerox or otherwise copy the article because of the condition of the journal. I therefore took relevant notes, which you will find enclosed. Since, as my earlier letter noted, the Union List of Serials shows that the Princeton Theological Seminary has a copy of the journal, I did not request a copy from any of the cited libraries.

With regard to our discussion of the possibility of finding Geniza materials in the Basatin cemetery, I believe that there is one gentleman in Cairo who may be of help. He is an elderly Yemenite Jew, who is at present the shohet and in charge of certain cemetery matters. His name and address are:

Mr. Daoud Salim Shammah
9 Shari' Darb al Kuttab
Haret al Yahoud
Gamalieh
Cairo.

He and his blind wife live in abject poverty in a large apartment building that was recently sold by the Jewish community. You may be interested to know that I have been told that he has infuriated government bureaucrats through the years by insisting on always signing his name only in Hebrew.

The other name and address that you requested is that of Dr. Abdel Rahman Abdel Tawwab. He is a member of the staff of the General Authority for Antiquities, and is both Director of the Islamic Arts Department and Director of Cataloguing, Department of Islamic and Coptic Antiquities.

His superior is Dr. Gamal Mokhtar, the Chairman of the General Authority for Antiquities. Dr. Mokhtar, a Pharaonic specialist, is Undersecretary for Antiquities in the Ministry of Culture.

Dr. Abdel Tawwab's address is:

Dr. Abdel Rahman Abdel Tawwab
General Authority for Antiquities
Ministry of Culture
Cairo

Dr. Abdel Tawwab, who was enthusiastic about the importance of Geniza studies, is very interested in obtaining reproductions of Geniza materials for his departmental library and for the libraries of the major Egyptian universities. He spoke of receiving numerous inquiries from local academics regarding all materials relevant to Geniza research and of the paucity of these books and journal articles in Egypt. In our final meeting on March 11 he also broached the possibility of establishing a small committee in Cairo or Beirut for the purpose of translating into Arabic books and articles dealing with the Cairo Geniza.

With late best wishes for the New Year and now for 1976,
I am,

Respectfully yours,

Boruch K. Helman

Rabbi Boruch K. Helman

See Jr 215

Mosseri. 1913

Excerpts from Jack Mosseri. "A New Hoard of Jewish MSS.", The Jewish Review, 4, No. 21(September 1913), 208-216.

p. 208. In January, 1896, Mr. Elkan Adler was permitted by the Chief Rabbi of Cairo to take away from the Ghenizah at Old Cairo a "sackful of paper and parchment writings." A few months later, Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson, Professor Sayce and Professor Kaufman, bought several fragments from dealers, who had acquired sackfuls of documents, at the cost of a small "backshish."

.... the Cairo Ghenizot. Ghenizah means simply a room for archives, and in Cairo there were two such rooms, one of which was situated in the ladies' gallery to the left of the ark in the Old Cairo Synagogue.... Unfortunately, about 1890 the Shamyin Synagogue was pulled down and rebuilt. As to the synagogue, mentioned in a deed of title, Hogga No. 692, in the possession of the Cairo Community and also by Ibn Duqmaq, who is quoted by Neubauer, all traces of it have been lost.

p. 209. The second Cairo Ghenizah is situated in the Jewish cemetery of Bassatine, on the fringe of the desert to the south of the town, in that part known as the "Hosh El Rabbanim or Hakkamim."

p. 210. Yet, in spite of the numerous inroads made on the Ghenizot by the wise men of the West, there still remained with the Cairo Community a considerable hoard of Judeo-Arabic MSS., concerning which we here give a few details. It was in 1909 that M. Raymond Weill, of Paris, and the writer of these lines, at Monsieur Israel Levi's request, first visited the Ghenizot at Old Cairo and Bassatine in order to give Monsieur Levi certain information which he wanted. We found out that there still existed a few documents in the Ghenizah at Old Cairo, which was thought to have been utterly ransacked.

A careful examination of these fragments proved to us that they were of considerable value, and we naturally had them put in a safer place than the Ghenizah. In the following years (1910-1911 and 1912) further research work by Professor Gottheil, Monsieur Weill, Mr. Chapira, and myself led to the complete emptying of the Ghenizot, and to further discoveries both at Bassatine and at Old Cairo which constitute the new collection. The work at Bassatine, where we hoped to find a new Ghenizah, was not very fruitful. At Old Cairo, however, thanks to the information given to us by Zeki Pasha,

(p. 211) the Secretary of the Council of Ministers and one of the most distinguished Arabic scholars in Egypt, to whom documents were offered for sale, and thanks also to the Chammas who knew how and where they were discovered, we were able to unearth those fragments which had been thrown out and buried in the ground when the synagogue was pulled down. (see J.E., Vol. V, p. 612).

p. 211 contd. For the last twelve months Mr. Chapira, of Paris, has been drawing up the catalogue of these MSS.... ...the collection of MSS. belonging to the Cairo Community is relatively rich in its contents, and abounds in rare documents. ...The entire collection of Judeo-Arabic MSS. unearthed from the Ghenizot of Old Cairo and Bassatine amounts to roughly 4000 fragments. Out of these, 1000 Biblical and ritualistic pieces have been set aside; the rest constitute a collection of upwards of 2000 dossiers.

p. 214. Apart from its interest for the History of Jews and Judaism, the find of manuscripts will, it is hoped, do something for the spiritual revival and the strengthening of the historic consciousness of the Egyptian Jewish Community of to-day. The collection of the fragments of the Old Ghenizot has served as a nucleus for the creation of a new Ghenizah and a communal library attached to the Ismailia Synagogue, which have been instituted by the Cairo Jewish Community in order to promote the study of Medieval Jewish History in Egypt and in the East, and to reestablish in the capital of Old Egypt a centre of intellectual and scientific work.

p. 215. In the new institution have been collected the architectural relics, beautiful carved gates and altar doors, of the Keneset El Shamyin at Old Cairo; manuscripts formerly scattered in the hundred and one synagogues of the Musky, the Jewish quarter in Cairo, those kept at the Rabbinate, and finally Hoggas (official deeds) and books gathered from the numerous Yeshiboth, many of which were printed in the sixteenth century....

p. 215. contd. The Hoggas are about four hundred in number; most of them are Government and Administrative title deeds, contracts.... Their dates vary from the first part of the sixteenth century down to the present time. They concern more particularly Old Cairo (Fostat as it was called in the Middle Ages), where a large Jewish population dwelt up to the last century, and the cemetery of Bassatine. The best preserved among them have reference to the synagogues of Old Cairo. One of them (No. 692) mentions the synagogues of the Shamyin and of the Irakyin, and give useful information regarding the topography of Old Cairo and the respective positions of the two synagogues. That of the Shamyin was pulled down and restored in about 1890, but that of the Irakyin, as has been said above, was destroyed long before that.

p. 216. The field is thus now wide open for the historian of the Jewish Communities of Egypt. No synthetic work exists of that history, and it is hoped that it may soon be compiled. Such a work is of paramount importance not only from a Jewish or an Egyptian point of view, but also from that of the general history of the development of social and intellectual ideas. In this it is hoped that the new Ghenizah attached to the beautiful new synagogue of the Sephardic Community at Cairo will be not only a storehouse like the Ghenizah of old.....

The Book of Plants *ابن الديناوري*
ed. Lewin

ابن سينا *الطب*

Löw, Flora der Juden

J. H. Burkhill, A Dictionary of Economic
Products of the Malay Peninsula
London 1933

India Trade in later centuries

16.216 + Letter of 1020 A.D. to 975

(¹⁰²⁰ 1075) (it seems, relative)

1.35 372 228 1500

on 10th 13th 18th & 19th cent. (1020)

mailed 1020 AD: 1st pr 1020 1020

16.216, f. 41 (last page) (1020)

372 228 1500 1020 1020

Arabic 41, f. 49 372 228 12 15

+ Ashtar III 115

from arabic 15

von Grueber

Notes on the Chinese Jews of Kaifeng

JAOs 85 (1965) 126-129

p. 126 Synagogue first erected in 1163

Did these Jews come from by sea or overland?
Crossing by land. Right up in the North.
deep inland.

J. Merchants arrived & were ordered to settle
in Kaifeng under the Emperor of the Northern
Song (960-1124) - 1163 the synagogue
first erected

Coincidence in time with my India papers

Authoritative

Donald D. Leslie 1969

SSB 1931 Jewish Journal of Sociology XI:2
175-185

175-185 1850s

on C 1850s

and in the III on the right

IX. 1850s the III going westwards



Friday,
August 14, 1964

Professor Dr. S. D. Goitein,
Oriental Department,
University of Pennsylvania,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Professor Goitein;

You might recall having met me during my life in Jerusalem; perhaps in the company of the late Professor Sukeinik or Professor Reifenberg, or in the Bezalel Museum. Perhaps even in what used to be my antique shop "Marein".

About ten years ago I moved to Montreal for family reasons and I am presently active dealing in antiques in general and Jewish Ritual in particular as well as to a certain extent, in those of archaeological origin.

Hillel Manuscript: I have in my posession this manuscript, details of which I am enclosing herewith. I thought you might like to learn of it with the intention of acquiring it for some of the institutions you are in connection with.

The University of McGill here in Montreal has taken a serious interest in it. They originally contracted a collection of fragments of the Dead Sea Scrolls from the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and

. / .

the latter broke the contract and did not supply the fragments. McGill is therefore very interested in some example of manuscript if not of the Dead Sea Scroll then of similar era.

Looking forward to your reaction, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

M. Y. KLEIN

MYK/as
Encls.

HILLEL MANUSCRIPT: (Translated in Hebrew and English)

Authorities are thrilled by the existence of this manuscript for obvious reasons; one of them being that it forms the missing link in establishing the characteristics of the Aramaic Hebrew writing which was not known for this particular period.

Prior to this, the Dead Sea Scrolls are a good example and for after the period of the Hillel manuscript, writing of manuscripts are known.

- - - - -

Parchment envelope: length when open as shown on the photograph: 16 inches,
width: 6 inches.

the manuscript: 10 inches by 3 1/2 inches, parchment.

MTK/as

68
201

329

Petit Musée Ltée
1486 SHERBROOKE ST. W.
MONTREAL - CANADA
TELEPHONE AV. 8-3434

GENERAL HISTORY: HILLEL MANUSCRIPT

About twenty odd years ago, after floods destroyed a great part of the old section of the biblical city of Tiberias near the Sea of Galilee, a Safardic Rabbi of an old family of Rabbis, who was in charge of those houses in which very poor people lived, was desperately looking for funds with which to repair and restore those homes. This Rabbi had a manuscript in his possession which had been in his family for many generations.

He went to Jerusalem to discuss the matter with the writer (MYK) at which time it was suggested that he part with the manuscript in question, enabling him to raise the necessary funds.

It was in this way that the writer acquired the manuscript.

The information accompanying it was that the Rabbi's ancestors, who originally came from Baghdad, (Iraq), found this manuscript in a cache in some old ruins outside of Baghdad, in what was known to have been the quarters of the Jews taken as hostages out of Jerusalem; the name of that town was Pompeadita. The manuscript was found behind a loose stone in a wall in what was thought to be either a synagogue or a house of learning.

The manuscript was found in an envelope also made of parchment. It was folded in the envelope, which was tied with a cord and sealed. At the bottom of the manuscript one can see an imprint; on the closed envelope a similar imprint of the seal can be detected, this imprint being crisscrossed by the cord which closed the envelope. In other words, the seal was applied on the envelope over the cord.

In approximately 1952 the writer (MYK) showed this manuscript to the late Professor Sukenik and the late Professor A. Reifenberg of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, who took a serious interest in it and consulted with the known Talmudic Professor Judge Asaf. Professor Asaf being the expert in Talmudic law; Professor Reifenberg being the expert in Hebrew archaeology and Hebrew archaeological history and Professor Sukenik having become a great expert in the Aramaic texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls, which he had by then deciphered. It was found to be of the utmost interest and furthermore, that the content of the Hillel manuscript is almost repeated verbatim in the Talmud Babyl (Babylonian Talmud).

The conclusion was formed that the composer of this part of the text of the Talmud must have had the Hillel manuscript in front of him, thus enabling him to use the text in the Talmud.

The Jews in exile in Pompeadita were in doubt as to the date of a certain holiday. They wrote to the Jewish authorities in Jerusalem, "Knesseth", to decide this question for them. The answer to their question is contained in this Hillel manuscript.

Petit Musée Ltée

MYK/22

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TRANSLATION OF THE HILLEL MANUSCRIPT

"Sent by the hand of a trusted one to a people trusted to the Holiness Head of the Diasporah Master Uqva and Head of the order whose name is big in the city Pombidita. Peace unto you and unto your boundries and unto all the colleagues and students and their helpers and all our brethren the sons of Jacob (the children of Jacob) in the Diasporah from me the burdened-down-one the offspring of Nach'shon. This year my teacher (Rabbi) asked me to determine one guard (one date) and the "Arami Halez" did not let do so. And it gathered together the gatherers (and it convened the Knesseth Hagdolah) and determined the guard (date) in the month in which died Aaron the Priest his Holiness. In your studies in your way of life there in the hard times known to us we too have not got it better than you, our hope will be in our life love shall prevail in our offspring and in our students shall increase wisdom with the light of the Torah for generations and generations and from Heaven shall be enlightened our darkness and singing words our mouth shall glorify and our future shall be good in our land please Father in Heaven. We and the land of Judah and Galilee in the month Siv in the year two hundred and sixty and one of destruction which shall be rebuilt amen as come spring blessing on us all. I Hillel the son of our Master and Rabbi Judah the Count."

Note: To make the meaning of the letter more understandable the translator has added words in brackets, which of course, are not in the original script. For similar reasons some of the words in the script have been transposed.

Petit Musée Ltee
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TELEPHONE AV. 8-3434

שלוחה ביד אמון לעם אמונהקדושת ראש הגולה מר עזקבא

וריש סדרא שמייה רבה בעיר פומבדיתא שלום עליכם וגבבוכם

ולכל החברים והתלמידים ועווזרים וכל אחינו בני יעקב בתוך גולה

מן עמוס ירכי נחשון שנה זו רבינו בקשו לקבוע נציב אחד

ולא הניח הארמי הלא ונאספו בעלי אסופות וקבעו את הצעיב

בחדש שמת בו אהרן הכהן קדושתו בלמודכם בדרך חייכם שם בזמנ

השברוי הזה ידענו אף לנו טוב מכם תקוותנו יהיה בחינוך אהבה

ישכו בפורינו ובתלמידים הרבה תבונה ולבט יגעה חכמה ותבונה

באור התורה לדור דורים וממרום יגעה את השכנו ושפתי רגשות יהל

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פִּינְוֹ וַאֲחָרִיתָנוּ תָּהִי טֹבָה בָּאָרֶץִינוּ כִּא אֲבִינְוֹ שְׁבָשָׂמִים אֲנָהָנוּ

ארֵץ יְהוּדָה וַהֲגָלִיל בְּחָדֶשׁ זָיו בָשָׁנָה מְאַתִּים וּשְׁשִׁים וְאֶחָד לְחֹורְבָן

שִׁיבָּנָה אָמֵן כְּבָא הַאֲבִיב בְּרָכָה לְכָלָנוּ אֲנִי הַלְּ בָנָ אֲדוֹנָגָנוּ

וְרַבְּינְוֹ יְהוּדָה הַנְּשִׁיאָ

תלמוד בבל

בבל; "עֲבָלְבָלְבִּין יַב." זהה שלחו ליה לרבה זוג בא מרכז ותפסו נשר ובידם הנעשה בלוז ומאי ניחנו חבלת בזכות הרחמים ובזכותם יצאו בשלום ועמוס יריבי נחשון בקשׁו לקבוע נציב אחד ולא נניכן אדומי הלז "

"אבל בעלי אסופות נאספו וקבעו לו נציב אחד בירוח שמת בו אהרן הכהן"; ערך זג ג' ; דוד פ' ; שני תלמידי חכמים באור מתרביה כראמן במגילה רתקת זו טבריה ותפסן נשר עיכבן המלך כי נשר הוא המלך בדתתיב הנשר הגדול ר' י"א עיכבן המטר הנושר מן השמיים ובידן דברים הנבעים בלוז הן חבלת וציצית ובזכותם יצא שלום לעולם ועמוס יריבי נחשון בלוMER נשייאי בני דוד המתיחסים מזרע נחשון שהוא משפט יהודה ולא נניכן אדומי זה שר אדום המושל עליהם בעלי אסופות הם חכמים כדכתיב דברי חכמים כדרבוניות וגבור' בעלי אסופות בקשׁו לקבוע נציב אחד זה חודש העיבור בירוח שמת בו אהרן זה חדש אב"

רש"

סנהדרין יב. "נשר חיל פרטיטים, הנבעים בלוז חבלת בלוז עושין אותה כראמן בסתה דף מו: היא לוז צובעין בה חבלת, עמוס יריבי נחשון נשיא שברארץ ישראל שהוא מזרע נחשון בן עמנא רב ראשון לנשייאים, נציב אחד בקשׁו להוציא חדש אחד על השנה לעברה, ולא הבין אדומי הלז מלבות הרשעה גורה גזירה עלייהן, בירוח שמת בו אהרן באב",

ר' חננאל

; שם . "ובזכותם יצא מידם הזוג ההוא לשлом בלבד היוזק, ולא הכיהם אדומי זהה בלבד מצעם שר אדום המושל עלייהן, אבל בעלי אסופות.... אעפ"כ נתקצאו החכמים וקבעו עיבור בירוח אב הוא החדש חמישי. רוח שמת בו אהרן הכהן",

צ"ה חיוט

; שם . "נ"ב הנה ידענו שלא הניחו הרומים לעבר השנה כמ"ש למלטה וכתבו המכtab ברמז שלא יבינו עובדי האלילים והדלותרין ותפסן נשר הינו רומי שדגם היה נשר, ולא הניחן ארמי צ"ל רומי וביהם דברים הנבעים בלוז צ"ל לוד הינו עיבור השנה היה עיקרן בלבד אשר בהודה עיין ירושלמי פ"ק דסנהדרין ... בימי רבינו נבנשו לעבר שנה בלבד ומפ"ז כידו לעיבור בשם דברים הנבעים בלוז ומאי שאמרו ומאי ניחנו חבלת עשו הכל בחכמה להסתיר ולהעלם הדבר",

יעב"ז

; שם . "בא לשון יחיד וכן ותפסו דקי עלי שם הזוג שהוא ע"ד שם היחיד ושותן ובידם לשון רבי מוסב על השנים שכוללים הזוג",

ר' רנן"ר ; בספר דקדוקי סופרים, שם . שלחו ליה לרבה בכ"י פ' שלחו לרבה "

דובנוב

; כרך שלishi עמוד 121 ד"ה המרידה... בימים ההם היה מכון בנשיאות הלל השני (לערוך 333-365) בן יהודה נשיאה השלישי לפיכך תיכון הנשיא "קהלתך אני בשנת 359 סדר מסויים וכו' ..

asm...ITCHEN שבשעת המלחמות עם הפרטיטים אסרו הרומים על יהודי הארץ יריאל לבוא בדרכם עם אחיהם בבבל, מחש בגדיה, בחלמוד יש זכר לדבר, בימי המרידה בגليل נשלח מארץ יריאל לבבל אל רבא - ראש ישיבת מהוזא מכתב כתוב במליצת מידות שבנו מודיעים לו על דבר רדייפות הנשר "(רומי) שלא ניתן לקבע נציב (חודש העיבור בשתו) והכרחו חכמים לקבוע נציב בירוח שמת בו אהרן הכהן (בחדש אב)"

עוד שם הערתה 2 , "הזמן שבו נתקנה תקנה זו ידוע מסורת שביד רב האי גאון המובהה בספר העיבור לר" אברהם בר חייא החובן המפורסם של המאה ה"יב; שנה תר"ע למנין שטרות שהיא שנה 559 למה"נ, אבל יש חולקים על הדיווק שבסורת זו;;"

א"ה וו"י

"בספרנו דד"ז חלך ג' ממוד 114, ד"ה בימי ר' יוסי הוא הלל"
 "אשר בחתה י לח נשיוארה (330?) בעזד ר' יוסי ח' חקן וכ"ו
 "בעל חמואר ר"ה פ"א, ספר העיבור לר' אברהם בן חייא אד 97,
 "השגת הרמב"ן לסח"מ מ"ע קdeg ובסכת זאת התקנה בלא ספק
 "היתה מפניהם תרומות המלכחות, והלא ידענו שכבר הנשיאים שקדמו (?) איזים
 "היו משלדי מלושות במחושב ובסחר את מעשה הקידוש החדש והעיבור
 "(סנהדרין יב). רועתה יצדק מה אמרנו כי בתחלת נשיאות
 "היתה זאת שתיקון לקדש על פי השבון שאז עוד הייתה הממשלה צרה...
 "אבל אחרי כן במשך ימי נשיאותו שנתקorder הקיסר يولיאנוס (ד"א קכ)
 "(361) אשר היה טוב ומיטיב...."

הלו'

; בספרנו דורות הרשוניות חלק ב' עמוד 394. "ורבי יהודה נשיא זה
 ר' יהודה נשיא השלישי (רביעי לסגנון התוס') וhalb בנו אשר
 ישב על מקומו אמן כי הוא נשאר לזכר עולם על ידי עניין
 בגدول אשר נתקן בימי לדורות עולם ונשאר כל זכר הדבר בקבלה
 הగאנים כי בימי היתה כזאת ועל פיו היתה שומה לחדש ושים
 לדורות עולם, וקבעו גם מצום הזמן אשר היתה כזאת והוא שנת חרא'
 לשטרות (ד"א קי"ט ק"כ ליצירה) והוא בימי הקיסר يولיאנוס אשר
 מלך בחודש נאורעבער שנה 361.....
 "והחכם גרעץ בח"ד עמוד 344 (עה"ע ח'ב 403) יאמר; בעתותי רעה ומץק
 "אללה עליה במחשבה לפניו היל השניה לנשיאותו על זכות הנשיאות
 "וכו' לשם קץ אל כל הספיקות והמכשולים, הנהיג הנשיא היל השניה את
 "סדר העיבור הקבוע והמתמיד סדר זמנים הנחוג לבני ישראל עד היום.
 עוד שם עמוד 396... "והוכרחו אז לעשות כן מפני שהוכרחו לבטל השלווח
 כי כבר בתחלת הימים ההם היו בסכנה גדולה....."
 העורה שם.; "(ע"ו) מתחילה ימי הרדייפות אז נשאר בידינו עניין הנאמר
 "בגמ' סנהדרין יב. רועש רשי' אבל כפי הלשון נראה שהיתה גם
 "השליחות האחרונה מא"י שהם שלחו כבר דברי השלוחים מרקט ונראים
 הדברים שיראו שתהיה שליחות לבית המחייתה כי על כן בשלחו אז לרבע
 למחרוזה ומזה בטלו שלוחים כי גם אלה הי' כבר בסכנה....."

אייזענשטיין

; בספרנו א"ז חלק ד', ערך היל בן ר' יהודה נשיא "עליה אחרי אביו על
 כסא הנשיאות (330-365) ובו פסקה הנשיאות והיה דור עשר להיל הדקון
 בימי מלך קומנטאנטינוס והיה רשות כמו אנדראיאנס שקדון, והמלכות
 גזרה בזירה על הסמכה שככל הסוטה ירגוב, ולא יכולו לקדש החודש ע"פ
 הראיה אז עמד היל נשיא עם בית דין זה וגאים שהיה בדור ההוא
 ויפדו את השבון העיבור ע"פ ר' אדא ומסרו קביעות ראיי חדשים
 ורמوعדים גם לחכמי בבל (עיין תשב"ז בספר אזהרות) ר' יוסי בר
 אבין הי' חותן היל ורבו....."

ה

; בספרנו א"ז חלק ח' ערך עוקבא פר. "אב בית דין בבבל אחרי ר' הונא
 ועמד על שומרתו שנים רבות כי מת אחרי שמראל (מיתת שמראל 257 צ"פ)
 והוא שולחים לו מא"י להודיעו קביעות המועדים بعد הגולה, עיין ר' ר"ה
 דף יט: שלחו ליהלמר עוקבא וכו'". פר עוקבא נבחר לנשיא
 ואב"ד אך לא הי' ריש גלווחא....."

"

; בספרנו א"ז חלק ט', ערך רבא" אחדר מגדולי אמוראי בבל. ברוב ימי
 ישב בעיר מגורי אביו (מחוזא) ושם מת בשנת 352 ...".

"

; בספרנו א"ז חלק ט', ערך רבא. "אמורא בבל לפוי גרעץ ח' שנים שנה
 ומת בשנת 330 הוא הרים את מעלה ישיבת פומבדיתא למרום פסגת וחתמי
 עליונה לכל בתיה ה תלמוד לישראלי בעח ההיא....."

"

מחזר וו"ט; עמוד 478.. הוצאת הורוויץ העורה,). היל בן של ר' יהודה נשיא
 היה בימי אבבי ורבא ... ולפי שראה שנטבלת הסמכה ע"כ
 "תכן לנו זה החשוב שандו סומכין עליו בגלוח עד שיבא אליו זיל
 ונחזר לקדושינו ע"פ הראייה. ועיין בס' המצוות להרמב"ש מצוה קב"ג
 וברמב"ן שם, ועיין בס' יסוד עולם סוף מאמר ד'. ובסות'ת חשב' ח"ר
 סימן קלו. ובסות'ת מהרלב"ח סי' קמז. ובד' בחמי פרשה בא, ...

203 25' 3' 80 MJ 261 225 m/s
Bottom 1' 1/16" ↓
MJ II 25' T-S. Box Library Collection?
203 bottom 1/16" 225' 1' 220 in next row

MJ's 261
Dr 1080 2
1081

223 L.8 1419 fol. (108) Remains of old stand on - 28
281/2 ft

24) no. 7 1410 (108) 160 ft. from first
Dr 1080 47 281/2 ft

294 Bottom (e) 1570 M. Cavo 1188 16 1078
1189 1227 fol. 1/2 ft. 223 1/2 ft.

327 (h) 1231 A-D bldg. 160 1/2 ft. 1578

373 bottom 1485 (1173) 11072 1/2 ft. 1080 m/s
81/2 ft.

Pearson-Cane up to 1949 (main) Library Tech
Main 6, 16

M.S. Lib. f. 56 (Cat. 2821) no. 16 fol. 4a-51

gathered

Marie Cramér

des ch. d. koptische Ägypten

Hans Rosenthal

1959

Mohamed Ferid guzi (Tunis-Paris)

st 1st XI 39-71

tun group social: Les Raffines

2. wafa

الدوحة 31. 10. 1959

Larose

11 rue Victor Cousin

Paris V

15L. XII

C. E. Dubler, La Materia Medica
de Dioscorides I-VI

X Barcelona 1952-53
Nov 1958

I-VI

Seignobos le Boum Barone

H. Friedenwald, The Jews in Medicine 1944

in basement

X
Dr. Raziya Al-Dinawari ed. B. Lewin
The Book of Plants Uppsala Universitets Arktskrift 1953
Ibn al-'Awwām, Kitāb al-Talāḥa trad. Clément-Muller &

Robinson, Researches in the doce ment and results à la culture
DEI 1950 II

Miller-Wolday, Islamic 32 (1957)

1st. Edelweiss VIII (1939) Arboretum Zürich 12/16

Business Opportunities, Standard Oil Co. (Gasoline)

J. P. Hopkins Med. Univ. Giovanni
Romano, London 1956
T.G. 82 Pharr / Apr 202
Tibet passus 350 ft (106) 1956

Copie of Kraemer, Excavations at Naukratis
Non-literary papyri Production 1956

monogram Watt Skinner and the Archaeology
Q32 1st JRAE 1960 154 - 22

D'Assomption de Corse et la révolution jacobéenne
vers 1796 829 pp.

Halle/S C2, Karl Liebknechtstr.23,

den 9.1.1961

Lieber Goitein!

Mit Vergnügen habe ich Ihren Artikel im neusten Heft der STUDIA ISLAMICA gelesen. Vielleicht ist Ihnen mit dem Hinweis auf folgende Bonner Dissertation gedient:

Hans Kindermann, "Schiff" im Arabischen. Untersuchung über Vorkommen und Bedeutung der Termini.

Zwickau i. Sachsen 1934 117 Seiten.

Es ist eine etwas trockene, aber stoffreiche Aufzählung einschlägiger Fachausdrücke, die vor allem wegen der Quellennachweise wertvoll ist. Die von Ihnen erwähnten Bezeichnungen qunbar und khinzira sind freilich auch Kindermann nicht bekannt.

Sie kennen wohl Hadi Hasan, A History of Persian Navigation,
London 1928. ~~Helmut~~

Im ORIENS Band 11, 1958 S. 298-305 hat Ritter eine sehr ausführliche Kritik der von T.A. Zhumovskij herausgegebenen 3-nautischen Lehrgedichte des Shihabuddin Ahmad b. Majid geschrieben. Die Ausgabe enthält auch ein arabisch-russisches Glossar der nautischen Fachausdrücke (S. 353-159).

Herzlichen Gruß und alles Gute zum neuen Jahr!

Ihr

Fück

150-402 N

University Library
Cambridge
England



Please reply to
~~THE LIBRARIAN~~

2. iii. 1961.

Paymen

Dear Professor Goitein,

Thank you for your letter. You shall have the colour transparencies before 22 March
to await your order for the photostats of
T.S. Box 8. As for the series T.S. 16. in glass
— there are 385 items. I don't know whether
you wish to have them reduced to 11x7 (as
the photostats you have from J) or 15x11,
which would be more or less the original
size. As a rough estimate, the 11x7
would cost £150 and 15x11 £262.
Mr Rawlings would do the work as soon as
he could.

I am glad to hear that you are coming in
August. I shall be delighted to talk to you
then, as always, but I am afraid that I
shall not be able to tell you anything about
the latest Gerigo developments. A Committee
consisting of Prof. Thomas, Dr Teicher, Prof.
Rothcliffe and the librarian has met several times

and has reached a decision, of which I have
not been informed. You will probably
attend the third World Congress of Jewish
Studies in Jerusalem in July and there you
will see Dr Teicher, who will tell you all
about it — or you may write to Prof. Hirsch.
The librarian is taking 9 months study
leave, from January to October so he will
probably not be able to see you. But
you may, of course, see his Deputy, Mr
Stallites if you like.

← First told here →

Rabbi S. D. Goitein,
606 N. Camac,
Philadelphia 41,
Pa.
U.S.A.

→ Second told here →

Send return address:
THE LIBRARIAN, S. A. SKOLLITER,
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY,
CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND

AN AIR LETTER SHOULD NOT CONTAIN ANY
ENCLOSURE, IF IT DOES IT WILL BE SURCHARGED
OR SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL



Ibn Baithar I 56
ابن بثیر = Le Clerc
Paris 1874
Loew

400
340:
110
~~100~~
Soleilhane ~~100~~
Jan-Bey

Ahmed Isma Bey
Dictionnaire des
noms des plantes
Le Caire 1930
en latin &
ar et ar

Handwritings

- Hebrew Paleography 1786 6 vols to 1811 26 fol 212
- Hebrew The language Müller, Friedländer 1801 + 02, 1803 + 04 + 05 + 06
- Forms & letters Gothelein 1805/1806
- Forms & documents.
- Languages of Asia
- Letters 1801

Dev Re legge Position
'n f n' o = J b

Mann von 6"
216 10' 0", man fr 2000
216 10' 0" Hg' 1812 2 98

Documents classified

1) Their character

1. Letters

1. Business

2. Private

3. Public Affairs

Total

2. Document.

1. Private
1. Contracts
2. Receipts
3. Legal Procedural

2. Public

Total

3. Accounts

2) Place of origin

Cards

Africa

Some years ago

India

East Africa

Years

Not identified

3) List of mss. rec'd to ~~for~~ ^{libraries} books

60 - 0

Le 0 " 2
in gkn in 2" 30 30

Evdokia = ~~and~~ ⁱⁿ
Fleuryng Wallace B., The History of Type
my 1915

Pozanski Dob. Gorium
Cystisus Monachus H7.3483-5

Ibrahim Khawny

Lahawayad'

Ibn Magid.

BEP Dausa vol. 24

(B5)

Nayir Al Siraj

NOVI

Now in Tikkets

| JUNE | | | | | | |
|------|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| S | M | T | W | T | F | S |
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| 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 |
| 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 | | |

Thursday

16

June

1955

| JULY | | | | | | |
|------|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| S | M | T | W | T | F | S |
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| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
| 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 |
| 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 |
| 31 | | | | | | |

Andre' L. Sayous Sayous

Le Commerce des Européens

a Tunis depuis le XII siècle
jusqu'a la fin du XVI^e.

Paris 1929

(Bibl. d'Histoire Coloniale June 16)

Passenger and Freight Service to all parts of the World

Lavoye

1.01 +
1.02 *for you my regards*

THE DROPSIE COLLEGE
FOR HEBREW AND COGNATE LEARNING
PHILADELPHIA

941
my regards

February 18, 1959

Dear Doctor Goitein:

I wish to thank you for

the articles which arrived here in Doctor
Neuman's absence. I am sure he will be
pleased to see them upon his return to the
college.

Yours sincerely,

Evelyn Wehrle

Evelyn Wehrle
Secretary

Doctor S. D. Goitein
238 Buckingham Place
Philadelphia 4, Pa.

B. Münz Ar. Palaeography 19th 1032 Dec
Abel, Agippz Münzdeutung p. 9 1038
osb nos 873 v.l.

Karakalpak Führer

Dubler Cesr E. Großstadt Leben 16.
Halbmond

Sayon 83m

Adlyya

Schroeder Friedrich von Nördlicher d.
Münzkunde 1830

b. 141 a Mu'izz 15th Dirhem

b Khan's al-Adas Friedensmünze 20

Murabitū Maravédes ca 4g

Alex. - 130-1269 Dobra 4, 46 - 4, 70.

Dirhem 2.97g 7.10

b. 146 Aufzug 11 Jh. w' ganz Vorderasien
Silberkrise, obwohl eine sehr ungewöhnliche
wurde. - Winkelsche Silberprägung Almoraviden
1016-1147

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Department of Oriental Studies

Jan 21, 60
Program in Near Eastern Studies

Dear Professor Jassein:

I have ransacked the files of my memory, University Library card catalog and liaison Catalog to produce adequate answers to the queries you addressed to me. Nevertheless, I am far from being satisfied. However, I can promise you that in three weeks from today when I shall be headed towards Cairo, staying at Lebya, if you have any personal charge to commit to me I shall be glad to do it. Meanwhile if you wish to enter into personal correspondence with any Egyptian scholars and use my name I have no objection.

of the old timers ~~is prof. Dr.~~ (now retired from history chair Eg. University, Cairo, but can be reached through University) author of *al-Wilāyah* (1958), formerly visiting prof. University of Pennsylvania (about 1953) will probably be most helpful. I saw him last summer in Cairo on his return from ~~vis.~~. He also wrote *al-Wilāyah* (1948). ~~His~~ ^{Dr.} ~~his~~ Hamdani published a book on *al-Wilāyah* (Cairo, Sirorī, 1956), he can be reached Eg. University.

~~is prof. Dr.~~, also at Eg. University, is a young specialist on ~~leila~~ but I can't find any of his works in our catalogs. ~~is prof. Dr.~~ Ziyadah, deals more with Egypt but he was visiting professor at Utah & is eager to return to the States. He will, I am sure, be responsive to any queries. I saw several times recently. He also lectures at American University of Cairo and may be addressed there ~~at~~ ⁱⁿ Cairo.

al-Shayyal is a young specialist on silk, author *جَلَالُ الدِّينِ*.

al-Wā'ilī (Cairo, 1958) *وَالْوَاعِدُ* abt Mershrafah published in Cairo *مَسْرُفَةٌ* (trans.), also as Eg. trans.

On other topics: Metals and Silk — ~~مُهَاجِرٌ~~ died two years ago Hassan Curator of Museum of Moslem art, Cairo author of "Muslim Art in Egypt", "Treasures of the Fatimids" etc. A young specialist is Dr. 'Abd al-Sālim, due to move from University of Cairo to that of Alexandria next month. On economics *عُسْلَيْجِيْبِيْل* 'Abdullah is author of *كِتَابُ الْمُؤْمِنِ*. On medicine & plants: Dr. 'Abd al-Jabbar author *غَلَبَيْلٌ* (Cairo, 1944) & other dictionaries of medicine & hospitals

I should have put above *بَيْرُنْجِيْنِي* *بَيْرُنْجِيْنِي* (Cairo 1952). Both *كِتَابُ* *كِتَابُ* are well covered in *أَسْلَامٌ* Hasan *كِتَابُ الْأَسْلَامِ* (Cairo, 1943). Salam.

Cordially
Muhammad

H.H. Abdül Wahab, Nisrin b. Yaqub, el-Nafra, Tunis, Janv. 1953

Arabisch, R. Singh fatwa de J. Margain 13-20

La Tunisie dans le Haut Moyen Age. Caire 1948

Mesures de capacité de la Tunisie médiévale. RA 1935, 22, 86-96

Sur les mesures au commencement du XVII siècle AIEO 1937
22-23

Idris H.B. Mesures de capacité C. T. 1956 MA-126
Lien à Tunisie tunisie de l'acte
d'Etat. Cr. - Alger

Pernoud R. Histoire du Commerce de Marseille. 3 vols. Paris 1949-1951

Tome I 109-375 Moyen Age jusqu'en 1291

Tirrenaie H. Histoire Econ. de l'Océan Atlantique. Bruxelles 1957

Tornauer S. Kalicot Hamoud. REJ 58 (1907), 297-298

F. Vial Doménech (études monetaires) dp. Lame-Poal fatwas

Licet 4t, 190 g. 4t 1037. Alcor, dikh. 2, 975 g.

C. Pella & -mugaddas Difl. arabe française Alger 1950

Sayous A.E., Le commerce des tunisiens à Tunis

J. Margain et Ponsot L. Objets tunisianes Tunis 1948-1952

Il 209 un fragment de parchemin rédigé en hébreu a trad

à une donation de femme galante à Madi'a (XII sc.)

ZOT Chapl. IX 642-673 sociale

X 674-763

مساكن قرية تون 1874 well 5 L. Leclerc

9/21/77 Monnie

$$\text{Haffnies II 74)} \quad \text{فرق} \quad \text{فیل} \quad \text{و} \quad \text{بیک} \quad \text{و} \quad \text{بیک} \\ \boxed{\text{فرق}} \quad \frac{1}{2} \text{ distance} \\ \text{distance} = 2.5$$

¹⁶ *Abu Sa'id al-Harifi (vers 408/1017-8) deux itineraires 32 journ.
et 46 journ.*

$$\text{wadi } 52-53 : \frac{1}{2} \text{ distance} = 61 \text{ km}$$

Verba filion (copper coin)

T20 : Après la reprise HHT (1049/50) 3, 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35, 40, 45, 50

1968 Häri I 278 Fagnum I 415 Fagnum (278) MM

Distance = 35 miles

prosperity 1945 38 L

(?) ~~Dear Mr. and Mrs. G. B. Smith, 1214 12th Street, Washington, D.C.~~

301-2878-1826, C. 12762. 8025 128 13

Good news, we're coming back to you.

721 Les distances futures sont trop rares.

swiecht 53-4 welche 137 müssen und nicht 138 sein ~~gleich~~ ^{gleich} 138 sein.

~12'6" x 10'10" parallel 13.18'3" S 22° 51' 16" E

نحو زمانه مُؤمِّنه مُؤْمَنٌ مُؤْمِنٌ

722 n°223 Tazouli n°1 Rabat 112 r. au niveau d'école se fixe

payer un décaissement par an, un rebâti d'avance et un rebâti à terme fixe.

note 4 Tumani pour tunun west affecté que par un futur

for the Mayor (after Bonnelli)

note 7 des livres négociés profitables antérieurement par

cf. Habium, first appearance in 427 1035-6 is ^{SV} June 1468 A.

JAN 119 Diorama - GRENADA

1) Mathanam 362 = 12/5 = 10% 9.72 km , 2 monnaies à 8 distances (= 16 dist.)
= 1 heure 14' 22" 183 (magni = 1367/1948)

2) Magriti, Negreti 14 (Inst. 1298 ft., Ext. 57 ft.)
 $15 \frac{1}{2} = 1 \text{ km}$ $\text{km} = 0.92 \text{ m} \text{ per sec.} \times 60 \text{ sec.}$

3) Jon Muyassar & H. Macé les Whelips Tatouins des Cara 1919
Publ. de l'Inst. Burq. d'Ach. Or.

les distances à batrounante = 18,5 km = 992 mètres

4) Doratium gila = 77-100 m + distances

La rationnelle des distances $\text{km} = 3.72 \text{ km} / 100\%$

Magni Negreti 14 $3.72 \text{ km} = 2 \text{ deg. } 1008$ $1 \text{ deg.} = 34 \text{ dist.}$

$15 = 1 \text{ km} = 0.92 \text{ m}$

$(\text{km} / 100\%) \times 34 \text{ dist.}$

723 Poids en mesures,

Jlelo = 1, w^o = ~~d~~ - leurre-poids = d. monnaie
sanga = poids de merci.

mesures de capacité fètu. Mesurades à Bellat 50-57.

724 H.H. Abdal Wahab possède une liste de poids en plomb trouvés au Tunisie.

Fabri 27 / trad. 61 Hafsi. T. 250. ~~g~~ kg No. = 410,53 g. $\frac{1}{10}$ No

4105,5 ~~g~~ K. 1000 g. 3200 g. 1200 g.

No. 1 = 12 qifir = 12 tariqas.

725 mout qafir de Kairouan = 192 no. de K. = 149 532 litres.

Kairouan.

qafir = 8 asfar = ~~8~~ = 192 mudd.

cariba = 4 tunnas

140,736 l.

1 tunna = 6 mudd

727 huile qafir 3 = ~~delij~~ (l.)

mataar = 5 qafir huile quelle perte 3 moutas

172,5 litres son ces Hafsi's huile.

موجز ٥١ ١٩٦٧ / جواں avait le départ d'el-Maïd

تک ۲۶۲۵۰

" (ref) = actes (concessions) ou partage (part tax)

٦٨٧/٨ ٧-٨٠٠٠٠ دراهم للذهب ورق ٦٠٠-٦٣٠

٦٨٨ فرنجی جدید ٢٠٠ جان باپتا جان
٦٨٩ même la même ٦٦١ excepte que le florin

٦٨٣) le texte n'est pas fini ? ce qui signifie que c'est

فران فرانسل جن ملے ١٧٥ (٦٨٦)

٦٨٦ زنجيون نه فرنجی جن ملے ١٧٥

٦٨٧ ^{نحو} الديوان يعطي ترتيب منتجات على سوق (٦٨٧)

٦٨٩ ^{نحو} نبذة عن الديوان

٦٩٠ (٦٩٠) une esclave ٦٦٦ ٣٢ ٣٧٦

وهي نسورة نسورة

٦٩٢ (٦٩٢) ^{نحو} جاهز لـ ٦٣٨ ٦٧٥ ٦٧٦

٦٩٤ تاریخ من اقتصاد: جنادی، ملک، افغان، ملک

٦٩٥ جوامن: ^{نحو} على الضرائب المفروضة على الموارد ٦٦٧ ٦٦٨

وهي ملخص تفصيلي لبيانات في الموارد

٦٧٢ ^{نحو} ملخص الموارد: جنادی، ملک، افغان، ملک

الى ٦٦٧

٦٧٣ ^{نحو} جاهز لـ ٦٣٨

وهي ملخص تفصيلي

٦٧٤ ^{نحو} ملخص تفصيلي

| | | | |
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| | | | |

Edgar and Hunt
Select Paper
Wells + T

David and Grunberg
Paper Machineries
(Brooklyn)

Morocco
Under sea
Forest & lake

Paul Wheatley, Geographical
Notes on some Commodities
involved in Sung Maritime
Trade

Journal of the Malayan Branch
Royal Asiatic Society
(No 186) Vol 32 Pt 2

p. 138 Commodities: an index
of English names

Dr. Rudolf Kebon,

Histor. Stand. aus einer
Planung. Luck - by

Mrs. Doyga & Heller 1893

A. Dr. C. von Seeger!
Aachen 1893

points in General

MP 51X

1002 1003
1004 1005
almost

After J. was 60 years

the proper philological treatment of J. texts / may possibly
new checker - ex. JQR 13(1900) 220/1

Tzurimti REJ 48(1904) 173-5

J. Chapiro REJ 66(1908)

Leib's son

(con) J. Mann did not translate to Hebrew + Arabic
or intricate codes suggest with brief lips complicated in full
of locution and question marks.

Cowley

Hornfield

Mr. Meissner 1060 X Y V 179, i p. 3

Papyrus or Todus

J. Mann, The Geniza, Monona Journal VII p. 248

Great Papyri at least 600

1000 p. 228 & 230 1000 p. 500 [n] 1000 1000 1000 1000
Baedeker, Egypten p. 110 in the modern Syriac. sch. Shapira
she Knesset Eliyahu

Norman Bentwich, Solomon Schechter 1048 126-163

De Ces Geniza L' 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000

J. S. Yerkes, 61, rue de France, Paris XV
Sur la Geniza de Caïre. VT 193 (193), 411-413
E. L. Sukenik, The Story of the Chorus of Egypt (1937)
and Chorus of the Dead (1938). pp. 478-9
and Chorus of the Dead (1938). pp. 478-9

T. Kretschmer, VT, 192-84

Gesiza (Lsc. Jud. Gesiza · Sbess zwv:
7,250-255

720-774

great uncle of H. Neine Simon von Gelten 16-8-3-720-

saw the Geism with Reference to David Kaufmann,
Aus H. Neine's Abhandlungen Dresden 1896
fol 23a 1752

292 1752
in the Dreyer Context ? 1' 1" 1" 1"
173) 123 2 1752 M 0'

Preface to Alexandria von Elkan Adler

16 2156 f

Mauritius 192

Texts

1864 $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{Oct} \\ \text{Nov} \end{matrix} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{Dec} \\ \text{Jan} \end{matrix} \right\}$ 1865 1866

$\approx 110^{\circ}$ $\approx 10^{\circ}$ $\approx 10^{\circ}$ $\approx 10^{\circ}$

May 1863 $\approx 15^{\circ}$ $\approx 15^{\circ}$ $\approx 15^{\circ}$

Aug 1863 $\approx 15^{\circ}$ $\approx 15^{\circ}$ $\approx 15^{\circ}$

as $\approx 15^{\circ}$ $\approx 15^{\circ}$

1423-4 $\approx 10^{\circ}$

$\approx 13^{\circ}$

80° $\approx 10^{\circ}$ $\approx 10^{\circ}$ $\approx 10^{\circ}$

62° $\approx 10^{\circ}$

1910 NOV 22 PM 12:30

625
100
100

1910 NOV 22 PM 12:30

10 S. Cedar
Depression of Colusa River, Ranch, Napa

Off. of Education

Washington 25-28

Foothills. Under tree

Vajda:

Prof. Grisebach

R 1955 1000 245 ✓
T. - S. Art. 43

T. - S. Arab. 43

५४

Philosophy : HOMI
ESTABLISHED : 1860

Box 3
1/2
1286
256

✓ K 67
2000

1961-10-25

11074
H2O2

73
M. H. S.
Methodol.

Jedder Kita Ma'ānī Al-Nafīs
Salihi 1907 p. 10^x (zu Kodexen
nr. 3)

Privateisch an den Nāqid
Jehūdah Kōtēs b. El Āzār

Hdsdr. der Mugh. Ak. de l'WW
(wars kelt kopiert)

النحو في نسخة سليمان
= النحو في نسخة سليمان
مع تعليلات

= Guinei: Beratshk
S. Kandil I 3rd nr.

engen Nr. 31

- 5' 18' 0" R

Bentovia Soc. lectures 1pm & 3pm T-S.

Hirshfeld JGR 15, 16] Arakio leaves in C. 12000
JUN 13 5000 '136" 0" -

(132) 1.21.1 - or Westminster College

1770m msn 714 1122m Newhaven 2150, 1/2 Oxford

July 21st Lehman 1122m
steep on 710

area 2 0.25 or 500 m count on
long & very wide alluvium

1700' 1.300 west side 1160m near Adel

Schwab 10 msn 101 2100m Paris

20 1100m 1100m 1100m 1100m 1100m Budapest

21 1130m 1100m shop? Stasberg Collection
4077/78 fig. 31

11000 Chagrin Rd 1012' + mossy
~ 30 per cent

Gaster 1100 British Museum

60, 132m 1100m 810 56 (! Post) Philadelphia

1100m 1100m 1100m 1100m 1100m
21 mls

1132 1131 1100 Washington
D.C.

Strassburg

1901 Jerusalem

Cincinnati

George Washington

Exhibit 8. 18
8 1/3 in 2 p Meander

باب المغارب 1952 "Pez" D. Chapiro

Manchester

G. Jacob

No. d'Inventaire
X 1.108

1894

X 1.301 D'Objets

A. Marx

STX L

Document de patolog. 1894

Pl. 1 Série de suivi

à l'heure actuelle

1894 - En cours de suivi par écrit. Fin des observations.

1895

11/11

1896 - (En cours de suivi)

1897 - 6x6 cm végétal. C'est la 1^e fois qu'il a été placé

1898 - 20 cm

Pl. 2

long 12x3 cm fin. à l'heure actuelle. 1899

Pl. 3

long 12x3 cm fin. à l'heure actuelle. 1899

1899 - 1894

1899 - 1894

1899 - 1894

A. Mexx Pal.

Gepligt - 32161 (612 014) vlo - 1'09' - 58' 09'

Salvator. Cusa I dipinti greci e arabi. Tomo II
di Sicilia Palermo 1868

جعفر بن معاذ بن جعفر بن سعيد بن أبي طالب

Cusa 46

(ما ذكره في المخطوطات والكتابات والآثار)

جعفر بن معاذ بن جعفر بن سعيد بن أبي طالب

Cusa 46 - 238 Pl. 1 1.35

جعفر بن معاذ بن جعفر بن سعيد بن أبي طالب

How to type
multi content

151 D V T D V 151
جعفر بن معاذ بن جعفر بن سعيد بن أبي طالب

Tapayri (A73)
Margolin, Daylands Julian
b: 27 A: 12

بـ ٢٧ Dec. ١٢

يابان العراق ٣٠ منتقال ٨٠٠ # ٣١٤ ~

any form of tribute or ruler.

REG 82 (1926) p. 317

Bernard Chapiro

Densidad, Sobre el eje 161-162

~~which had appeared
early in the century
in considerable quantities~~