

of mats of attractive workmanship, as much as possible [...] which (2) [...] for the house... (3) nine cubits, in breadth nine cu[bits...] (4) one of them nine cubits, in breadth four and a half cubits [...] (5) [If] you (my lord) will have had something made already, fine. And if not, my lord, have both made for me short, the pair.²⁶

And tell Sheikh Abū [...] not (?) (7) to have something else made. This is through your kindness—may I [never] lack for it! Please add, (8) my lord and master,²⁷ an exquisite [...] together with the aforementioned (9) that is debited to me, your servant. *And Peace.*}

²⁶ Arabic *al-qaṣīrayn al-zawj*. If Abū Naṣr were unable to purchase mats to fit the size of the rooms in the house, he should get two small ones that would go in any room.

²⁷ Arabic *mālik*; cf. 362, n. 13.}

II, 44 *Memorandum from Joseph b. Abraham to Ishāq Nafūsī*

Aden, 1130's

Westminster Misc. 9

Ed. Goitein, *Yemenites*, 106–19, on which the following is based.

The preceding documents have acquainted us with the grandees of Yemen in the commercial and public contexts. The next section—an order sent to the Egyptian capital for a variety of miscellaneous items—brings us right into their homes, showing us the everyday life of a wealthy Adenese family in the twelfth century. The significance of this list becomes clear if one remembers that only some of the household goods used by such families were manufactured in Egypt. Delicate tableware of thin porcelain was imported from China (and sent from Aden as a gift to Maṣliḥ Gaon, the Head of Egyptian Jewry);¹ India supplied the copperware (most utensils used at the time, whether in the kitchen, the dining-room or the bathroom, were made of copper). Textiles produced from cotton, such as bedding and bed-covers, were also imported from India as well as costly fabrics, such as *lālas* (red silk; this was also presented to Egyptian notables as a token of respect).² To the extent that furniture was used in those times, it was another import from India (this is still the case today) because good wood, not common in Egypt, was abundant in India. Both India and North Africa 'exported' maid-servants for Egyptian matrons. In addition, hides, leather goods, ivory, ivory goods and gold were brought from East Africa. However, since the travelers who left us their documents in the Geniza were not involved in trade with Africa, we hear little of those matters. Yemen itself also supplied a variety of commodities; besides comestibles, such as flour, fowl and livestock and also exported textiles, in particular, *būrdas*, that is, striped coats, which were used as outer clothing and nightgowns.

An important feature of the orders in this document is that the writer repeats, again and again, that he is interested exclusively in choice, exquisite (*rafi'*) wares; indeed, a letter written by the same individual, preserved in the Geniza, confirms receipt of some of the clothing and expresses appreciation of its quality. While the acquaintance, who dealt with the purchases had apologized for the high prices, the person who

¹ See above, II, 34.

² {See 307, n. 10.}

ordered them reassures him that the prices were not at all exaggerated for such high quality. Such comments attest to some wealth, and also to a level of good taste and etiquette.³

Another characteristic feature of the goods ordered here is the geographical range represented by their names: from Jurjān, southeast of the Caspian Sea, to Spain. The Yemenite merchant was a citizen of the world—from China to Spain, from East Africa to the northern limit of the civilized world in Central Asia.

The list represents wealth indeed, but not extravagant purchase of luxury items. Compared with the costume of a contemporary rich Egyptian bride,⁴ or that of an eleventh-century Tunisian merchant and scholar,⁵ the items listed are modest. The list contains no jewelry, undoubtedly because local Jewish gold- and silversmiths supplied the needs. One indication of this is the fact that Maghrebi Jewish smiths coming to Aden found that they could not make a living in Yemen, and embarked on the long, dangerous journey to Ceylon to try their luck there.⁶

This is a typical memorandum (*tadhkira*): a page folded into two long, very narrow columns, only one of which was filled out (recto and verso). The page was damaged, with half of the first eight lines torn out and numerous holes, erasures and many letters covered with some dark-colored material. Nevertheless, thanks to the clear script, almost the entire document is legible.

Written in Arabic letters in the blank column, probably by another hand: "Notes (instructions) from Aden (probably about two bales) and other matters." As usual, the Arabic is written without vowel signs.

Since the document is not a letter but a memorandum, handed to the person to whom it was addressed, it does not end with greetings that might have enabled us to identify the recipient. Judging from the content of the list, he was clearly highly placed and familiar with the leaders of the Cairo community. Moreover, he was a relative or at least a close friend of the writer and a frequent visitor to the latter's home; this is indicated by the sentence "*fūtas* [...] like those worn by Joseph's

³ No. VI, 28. {The writer also insists on the best quality in the memorandum in II, 43. For a complaint by grandees of Aden that the goods sent them from Egypt did not meet the standards of exquisiteness, which they had asked for in their order, see II, 61, lines 44 ff.}

⁴ See Goitein, "Three Trousseaux," 93–97, 107–10, doc. 3 (the document is TS J 1, f. 29) {Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, 4:322–25}.

⁵ Goitein, *Letters*, 76.

⁶ See II, 32, lines 25 ff.

children" (lines 24–26). One Aden merchant who is known to have been in Cairo at that time was Maḥrūz b. Jacob;⁷ but the person to whom the requests in the memorandum were addressed could obviously have been any traveler from and to Egypt. {The person's name, Iṣḥāq Nafū[sī], can be deciphered on recto, line 2. This is Isaac (Iṣḥāq) b. Makhluḥ al-Nafūsi, concerning whom see below here and page 258 and n. 1 there.}

The name of the writer is also not specified.⁸ However, on the verso, lines 17–19, he orders a costly *shāshiya*⁹ and requests that the name 'Abraham b. Joseph b. Abraham b. Bundār b. {al-}Ḥasan' be 'written'—that is, embroidered—on it. This Abraham was surely Joseph b. Abraham's eldest son, as the eldest son is customarily named for his grandfather (even during the latter's lifetime), and it seems likely that this expensive prayer shawl was being ordered for a special occasion. It could not have been a 'Bar Mitzvah' celebration, which was not customary in Yemen; and it would have been pointless to buy a child a prayer shawl, embroidered with his name, that he would soon have outgrown. Most probably, therefore, the occasion in question was the son's wedding.¹⁰ Some support for this conjecture comes from the fact that the bearer was also asked to buy a good *shofar* {ram's horn}, indicating that the order was made shortly before the month of Tishri; and the autumn months, when merchants usually returned from their voyages, were a popular season for weddings.

{In his studies on Yemenite Jewry in the twentieth century, Goitein clarified that this community had no Bar Mitzvah ceremony, and elsewhere he commented that there is no evidence in the Geniza documents for this rite of passage, which marked the changed status of thirteen-year old boys and their obligation to fulfill the commandments. As already noted, however,

⁷ He is the subject of Introduction IIB1.

⁸ {The next paragraph, which states that the original list ended with the name of the sender, seems to contradict what was written here. The order of the paragraphs perhaps reflects the sequence of research.}

⁹ A *shāshiya* (see line 11, verso, lines 17–19, 31–32) was a long piece of silk, or silk mixed with some other thin material, which was wound around a turban or used as to cover the upper body. When provided with fringes {cf. Num. 15:38} it could be used as a prayer shawl (*tallit*). {According to Busul, "Clothing," 45–46, a *shāsh* could be used both for winding around a turban and as a head cover, whose ends were allowed to descend on the shoulders, but a *shāshiya* was used only as a turban; cf. al-Qaddūmi, *Gifs*, 438; Stillman, *Arab Dress*, 235.

¹⁰ Through a technical mishap, in Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, 4:403, n. 143, Joseph b. Abraham became: "the father of the Adenese bride."

it is uncertain that the *shāshiya* served as a prayer shawl that a youth might outgrow. Moreover, I am unaware of any evidence of a custom for embroidering the groom's name on a festive garment. A recently published study by Haggai Ben-Shammai describes what appears to be a rite of passage celebrating the first time a (Karaite) youth read a portion from the Torah and Prophets (*haftāra*) in the synagogue in Egypt, in 1163. The event was commemorated in poems, which praised the youth and his father, who dedicated a Torah scroll to the synagogue. One of the passages in these poems mentions: "Valuable and attractive clothing, which contain the names of the lord and his son." As explained by Ben-Shammai, this refers to the wrappings of the Torah scroll, on which the names were embroidered. The two passages—one describing the valuable clothing, on which were embroidered the name of the (Karaite) boy who read the Torah and Prophets in Egypt; the other the order from Egypt of a gilded *shāshiya*, on which the name of the son of a wealthy Adenese merchant would be embroidered—might be mutually illuminating. The *shāshiya* too could have been intended to celebrate the boy's first reading of the Torah (and Prophets) in the synagogue (and theoretically could have also been a wrapping for the Torah). This hypothetical rite of passage in Aden does not imply that the twelfth century Yemenites had a Bar Mitzvah celebration, since Goitein has already demonstrated that in Yemen a boy often read from the Torah years before he reached adolescence.¹¹

The original list ended on the verso, line 15, with the name of the sender, Joseph b. Ibrahīm. In the meantime, further proposals to order goods came up in the family, and Joseph was obliged to add further quantities of oriental spices in order to finance the additional purchases.¹² For such purposes it was customary to send goods abroad rather than hard currency.

The first part of the list (A, lines 1–7) are instructions for the sale of the goods that the bearer was taking along. The few surviving words indicate that the shipment included pepper and other spices, and that the bearer had instructions as to the payment of travel expenses.

¹¹ See Goitein, *Yemenites*, 244–45; id., *Med. Soc.*, 5:28, 512, n. 83; Ben-Shammai, "Celebration" (Prof. Ben-Shammai has informed me that the Karaite affiliation of the boy and his father is implied by the identity of the poet). Hypothetically, such a rite of passage could be alluded to in the good wishes offered the father of a boy after his circumcision, according to *Tosefta Berakhot* 6:12 (ed. Lieberman, 37, following Codex Erfurt and parallels): "Just as you brought him into the covenant, so may you bring him into Torah and the wedding chamber." I hope to deal with this elsewhere; see 776, n. 5.

¹² Cf. the penultimate paragraph in the introductory remarks ("The total value," etc.) and the note to verso, line 14.

Most of the fragment as we have it, sec. B, lines 8–25, and sec. E, line 30–end, consists of orders from Cairo. The list is indeed extremely interesting. Although everything was ordered from Cairo, the provenance of the items ranges from Jurjān in northern Iran (lines 10 [see note there], 13), Qurqūb in southwestern Iran (verso, line 17), Āmid in Kūrdistān (line 17), and Iraq (line 20), to Beirut (verso, line 17), Ashmūn in Upper Egypt (line 16), Tūna on the Mediterranean coast of Egypt (verso, line 14), Tunisia (verso, line 6) and Spain (line 25). Needless to say, it is quite possible that what is meant in each case is an item manufactured in the style of the place specified; but one gets the impression that for the most part the goods were actually brought from there, such as the glass from Beirut, the fabrics from Spain or the city of Ashmūn, and so on; see comments on the document.

The orders may be divided into the following types:

- (i) Clothing and headgear—some fifty orders, for the writer and for the women, men and children of his household. Of particular interest is the order of the expensive *shāshiya*, with embroidered inscriptions of (a) five generations of the writer's son's lineage (lines 18–19) and (b) biblical verses, such as the Priestly Blessing. Since the writer comments "verses such as . . .," it was clearly customary in Yemen as well to embroider such verses on a garment used as a prayer shawl; see below in our comments.
- (ii) Household utensils and other everyday items, such as a table (line 30), different kinds of porcelain and glassware (lines 17–19; verso, line 28), tubes and brushes for treating the eyes (line 9).
- (iii) Medicines, cosmetics and cleansing agents, such as *Salsola kali*—plant ashes used as soap {and for medicinal purposes} (line 33), anti-mony (line 20), ammoniac salt (line 21) and white lead (line 22).
- (iv) Wine, oil for lighting, nuts, pistachios, broad beans, etc. (line 31–verso, line 1).
- (v) A good *shofar* (verso, line 32). Since the *shāshiya* (above, [i]) was to be embroidered with biblical verses, it, too, should be reckoned among items of a religious category.

One part of the document (C, lines 26–30) is devoted to gifts and donations to be distributed from the proceeds for the goods sent by the writer. The recipients are of three kinds: (a) six religious or community functionaries; (b) the endowed synagogue of Dammūh; (c) the poor.

The gifts and donations total 54 dinars. Lacking most of lines 1–7, we cannot evaluate the main shipment of goods. However, a reasonable

estimate of the value of the additional goods (verso, lines 15–17) may be made. Since cardamom and *khawlān* were common items, their prices are frequently indicated, though primarily in trade between India and Aden.

As far as Egypt is concerned, the following figures have been recorded, for the present:

Hayl: According to VII, 38v, line 14 ({there: *hāl*} written in Fustat, Egypt), five dinars bought approximately five *manns* (= 10 pounds) of cardamom. According to VII, 37 line 16, ten (dinars) bought ten (*manns*) (approximately 20 pounds) in Alexandria. Hence, 100 pounds of cardamom would cost approximately 50 dinars.

As to *khawlān*, in one of those incredible coincidences so common in the Geniza, we possess a large, though badly damaged, fragment of a letter written by Joseph b. Abraham b. Bundār (or by his permanent secretary), referring in the first nineteen lines to a letter from the bearer of the memorandum translated here. The cardamom and the *khawlān* are mentioned in lines 2, 16.¹³ When I copied this fragment (VI, 28) at The Ben-Zvi Institute in Jerusalem, on August 8, 1961, from the collection of Jacob Mann and Isaiah Sonne, I paid little attention to these very defective lines. I was mainly interested at the time in the report, following those lines, of the vast commercial activities of another Maghrebi, Isaac {b. Makhlūf} al-Nafūsī. However, while I was preparing the present document for my book *Yemenites* (April 1981), the combination 'the cardamom and the *khawlān*' in my card index caught my eye, and this is what I found: "after considerable effort" {VI, 28, line 2} these items had sold for a very good price: the *khawlān* (ib., lines 3–7) brought 24 $\frac{3}{4}$ dinars, but there were only 85 *raṭls* (not 90 = 30 × 3 *raṭls*, as follows from Joseph b. Abraham's memorandum, verso, line 16; Joseph comments that the discrepancy in weight was surely due to the payment of customs duty and agents' fees).

{There are several additional similarities between the two documents. In the letter (VI, 28), Joseph b. Abraham mentioned items that the addressee had purchased for him, and some of these were obviously included in the orders in the memorandum—though not necessarily in the same quantities. The addressee had purchased a *dabīqī* garment of silk and a *fūṭa* of silk; the memorandum (lines 23–24) lists at least eight silk *fūṭas*. In the memorandum (line 15), Joseph ordered four pieces of clothing of exquisite

¹³ In Goitein's publication there is a typographical error: 'lines 12, 16.'

Ṭalī cloth; in the letter (line 11) he mentioned the purchase of one piece of clothing of exquisite *Ṭalī* cloth. Moreover, with reference the *shāshiya* discussed above, Joseph wrote in the letter (VI, 28, line 14: "[You mentioned that] you had not found an artisan to make the [*sh*]āshiya in these days." As we have seen, the name of Iṣḥāq Nafūsī, is written at the top of our memorandum, and it was evidently intended for him. Nafūsī is also mentioned, as noted by Goitein, in Joseph's letter (VI, 28), but he was clearly not its addressee. We thus conclude that for some reason Joseph b. Abraham wrote two similar—but not necessarily identical or concurrent—memorandums for sales and purchases in Egypt, one which was given to Iṣḥāq Nafūsī, the other to the anonymous addressee of VI, 28.)

The total value of the additional shipment would therefore have been some 75 dinars. It is quite possible, however, that after the reckoning of the main shipment and the orders had been completed, it became clear that the estimated value of the goods exceeded that of the ordered items by some amount, small or large. A family consultation was held, and, as usual on such occasions, the cost of the additional orders turned out to be more than the surplus value of the first shipment, so further items had to be added; the extra shipment, however, does not reflect the entire estimated cost of the new orders. The names of the various functionaries to whom donations were sent according to this document, taken together, imply that it was written in the 1130s or the late 1120s. Maṣliḥ Gaon 'reigned' in Egypt from 1127 to 1139, and each of the other persons mentioned is known to have been active during that time.¹⁴

In sum, even this torn, smudged memorandum tells us much of the socio-economic situation of Jewish merchants of Aden in its Golden Age.

¹⁴ See Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, 2:26, 512–13. {Since one of the gifts was intended for Ḥalfon ha-Levi b. Manasseh, 1138, the last year of his activity, can be taken as a *terminus ad quem* for writing the memorandum. For various reasons I assume that it was written ca. 1134–35.}

Translation

[A. Opening; merchandise shipped to Egypt]

(1*) *In Your name, O Merciful*.¹⁵ (2*) M[emorandum] for {add: Iṣḥāq Nafū[sī]}.

(1) Five hundred {add: and t[en...]} (2) *manns*¹⁶ and also {add: a bale} [...] (3) and he should take what it (the merchandise) owes [for shipping expenses] (4) from the gate of 'Aydhāb¹⁷ to [the Egyptian capital...] (5) {add: *manns* less} a quarter {add: of 'ūd (aromatic wood)} [...] (6) emblic¹⁸ and a satchel of pepper¹⁹ [...] (7) *Kābulī* {or read: *Kābilī*} myrobalan,²⁰ thirty *manns* [...]

¹⁵ Upon reexamination of the photograph of the manuscript, I realized that the first two lines, of which only fragmentary letters have survived, constitute a heading. After the invocation, 'In Your name, O Merciful' {in Aramaic}, the second line contains the word, *ṯ[adhkīra]*, 'memorandum,' followed by the name of the sender or of the bearer. This discovery proves that we possess the document from beginning to end. Nevertheless, I have not altered the line numbers, since I have quoted copiously from this document. {The second line contains the name of the bearer, Isaac al-Nafūsi; see above. His name was covered by tape pasted to the document, which made it difficult to read. Compare the heading of II, 43.}

¹⁶ Weighing approximately two pounds.

¹⁷ Customs were paid in Aden by Joseph b. Abraham himself. But from the vessel's docking at the port of 'Aydhāb till the bearer's arrival in the Egyptian capital, the latter had to defray the cost of shipment with part of the proceeds from the goods in his charge.

¹⁸ Arabic *amlaj*. A species of myrobalan (see line 7), similar to small blackish plums, used as a remedy for stomach ailments. This oriental medication was unknown to the Greeks (according to Maimonides-Meyerhof, no. 374). {See Lev, *Medicinal Substances*, 151-52.}

¹⁹ Pepper was generally sold in large sacks, *bahārs*, weighing 300 pounds. In this case, the bearer had been given a small quantity in a satchel, presumably to cover expenses.

²⁰ Arabic *halīlaj*; the dictionaries and Geniza documents usually read *ihlīlaj* or *ihlīlij*. Myrobalan, as it is called in English and French, is a medicinal plant common all over India and Burma. The green fruit constipates, but when ripe acts as a purgative. It first reached the West through Afghanistan, whence its name, *halīlaj kābulī*, for the Afghan city of Kabul. Myrobalan may still be found in Cairo markets; it is used today mainly as a constipating agent and in tanning (according to Maimonides-Meyerhof, no. 112). According to VII, 36b, line 18, one *mann* of preserved (*murabbā*, in the plural) *halīlaj kābulī* cost one dinar in Cairo. {I read *kābilī* for *kābulī*. The word usually appears without a vowel letter (here *y*, not *w*, pace Goitein) after the *b*; cf. Gil, *Ishmael*, 4:929, who vocalizes *kābilī*. Presumably this product is to be identified with the Chebulic Myrobalan (*Terminalia Chebula* Retz), for which see Watt, *Commercial Products*, 1073-74. For additional medicinal and other uses, see Abraham, *Merchants Guilds*, 172-73; Lev, *Medicinal Substances*, 151-52.}

[B. Orders from Egypt]

(8) To be purchased:²¹ a large tray²² [...] (9) a good one, and two silver kohl tubes with their brushes and cases,²³ (10) and four *Jurjānī* tunics²⁴ with their wimples,²⁵ (11) and two gil[ded] *shāshiyas* [...], and two exquisite scarves²⁶ (12) or two gilded *mukhlafs*²⁷ suitable for children. And if (13) there are no *Jurjānī* tunics, there should be instead (14) exquisite silk dresses

²¹ Arabic *al-mushṭarā*. There is no need to add *wa-yakūn*, 'will be,' or the like (even though there is room for such a restoration in the lacuna at the end of the previous line), since what follows is a list, written very concisely, in telegraphic style. See below, verso, line 17.

²² Arabic *ṣmīyya*—a large, circular, silver or copper tray, over which one ate. {See 209, n. 2. For the continuation of the line, see the note to line 30, 'the table.'}

²³ Thin sticks for the application of kohl to the eyes. The *ketubba* {trousseau list} of the daughter of Berakhōt Lebḏī (II, 36) see Goitein, "Three Trousseaux," 89-90 [Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, 4:319], lines 15-16) mentions, besides two silver brushes, two brushes made of crystal. {For these ornamental makeup accessories, the *mukhala* and *mirwad*, see Goitein, ib., 4:223-24.}

²⁴ Arabic *ghalā'īl*. The *ghilāla* (sing.) is a woman's garment, mentioned in many *ketubbot* among items brought by the bride from her parental home. Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, 78, mentions Ṭabaristān, south of the Caspian Sea, as one source of this piece of clothing. *Jurjān*, referred to here and below, line 13, lies slightly farther to the east, at the southeastern corner of the Caspian Sea. These data may perhaps imply that the tunics ordered did in fact come from far-off *Jurjān*; and see below, line 13. However, it is more plausible that they were brought to Egypt from the Spanish town of Almería, where *Jurjānī* tunics were manufactured; see Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, 170. {Cf. Constable, *Trade*, 145. For the *ghilāla*, see Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, 6:40 (Index). Maimonides, in his commentary, *Shabbat* 16:4, lists the *ghilāla* (to be read so there) as an item of clothing worn, not exclusively by women, over two *thawbs* (Shailat, *Shabbat*, 145); cf. Stillman, *Arab Dress*, 44.}

²⁵ Arabic *ma'ājirhā*. The *mi'jar* was a cap with which women adorned their heads—at home, of course—just as men showed off their turbans. It might cost as much as 15 gold dinars (see Goitein, "Three Trousseaux," 94, and ibid., 83, n. 24). As far as I have been able to ascertain, it was made of a costly fabric, sometimes woven with gold thread, but not decorated with silver ornaments, as was the Yemenite *qarqūsh*. Just as the *jilāla* was used as a housecoat, the *mi'jar* was the cap seen on a woman's head at home. This detail—the listing of a piece of women's clothing together with the accompanying headgear—is also common in *ketubbot* (e.g., Goitein, "Three Trousseaux," 90, line 20, 21; 95, line 23; 96, line 3). The fact that the writer repeatedly orders four items of each kind (here and in lines 15, 23, 24) does not necessarily imply that his household consisted of four women (say, wife, mother, and two adult daughters) and four infants (line 23); most probably, this was how such items were ordered—one, two or four of a kind. {The *mi'jar* was a turban-like garment worn by women, large enough to be wrapped around the body. See Stillman, "Female Attire," 142-44; id., *Arab Dress*, 229; Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, 6:122.}

²⁶ Arabic *radda*, a very common word in the Geniza. See, e.g., Goitein, "Three Trousseaux," 105, lines 22, 23, 27. {See Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, 6:103, s.v. 'Scarf'; Stillman, "Female Attire," 179-88, and below the note to verso, line 19.}

²⁷ A piece of clothing made of different pieces of cloth, very common in the Geniza. {See Goitein, ibid., 24, s.v. 'Cloak.'}

{alt. tr.: clothing} suitable for women, (15) and they should be tailored,²⁸ and four dresses {alt. tr.: pieces of clothing} of exquisite *Ṭalī* cloth²⁹ (16) made in Ashmūn.³⁰ And for two thirds of a *mithqāl* [...] (17) and a basket of good earthenware made in Āmid or Fustat³¹ (18) and a case of fine glasses {alt. tr.: fine copper vessels for wine},³² and for two *mithqāls*

²⁸ This stipulation was necessary because the word *ṥawb* also denotes an ordinary piece of cloth {cf. page 170, n. 13. For the plural *ṥiyyāb*, which appears here, see 304, n. 8; here it might be used for *ṥawbs* (robes)}. (But perhaps this word, *makhayyāṥa* {*mukhayyāṥa*}, means 'embroidered,' as it does in modern Yemenite colloquial Arabic {see Piamenta, *Dictionary*, 141}. That is to say, embroidered for ornamental purposes, not with inscribed names and verses, which would be referred to as *ṥirāz*; see below, verso, lines 5, 18–19, 20. However, the term usually used for embroidery in the Geniza is derived from the root *r-q-m*.)

²⁹ Also below, verso, line 22, *Ṭalā* {*ṥl(y)*}. Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, 72, cites al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 2:45–46, referring to the Katchaks, who lived between the Caucasus and the Black Sea: "In their country there are various kinds of cloth made of linen of a kind called Ṭalā, finer than *Dabiqī* (Egyptian cotton), and more lasting in wear. A garment of this stuff fetches as much as ten dinars. They were carried to the adjoining Islamic countries. {These cloths are brought from the nearby countries, but cannot be compared with those (of the Katchaks).} This fabric also receives frequent mention in Geniza *ketubbot*. For example, a *farajyya* (overcoat) made of *ṥalī* is mentioned in TS 20.6 (from the year 1037), ed. Assaf, "Old Deeds," 31, line 15; in Bodl. MS. Heb. a. 3 (Cat. 2873), fol. 43 (from 1059), line 10, we read: *walhalātha ghalā'īl ṥalī*, 'three *ṥalī* tunics.' Since the word is spelled with a *yod* wherever found in Geniza documents, never with an *alef*, it follows that the Jews referred to the material as *ṥalī* and not as *ṥalā*. {For *ṥalī*, see further Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, 4:188; 409, n. 222; 414, n. 289, where II, 44 is cited. The spelling *ṥalī* is taken by Serjeant from the French edition of al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, loc. cit. However, al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (Beirut), 1:218, which I have checked, also has *ṥly* and so does al-Qaddūmī, *Gifts*, 109 (where it is transliterated *ṥalī*), 296 (citing the aforementioned Beirut edition). Evidently, *ṥalī* is the correct pronunciation in the Arabic sources as well, and the editors mistakenly took the *y* in *ṥly* as *alif maqsūra*.}

³⁰ Today a tiny town; in the first centuries of Islam, however, as in previous periods, it was one of the major cities in Upper Egypt. It is better known as al-Ashmūnayn; see Becker, "Al-Ashmūnain." As to the name, see Yāqūt, *Geographical Dictionary*, 1:283: Ashmūn, and the inhabitants of Egypt call it al-Ashmūnayn. The city was famous for the production of textiles, including "upholstery similar to Armenian upholstery" (see Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, 141 and esp. 156). The present reference informs us that this city, in the far south of Egypt, was also involved in the manufacture of fabric in imitation of that manufactured north of the Caucasus. The incentive for such activity was of course the popularity of the aforementioned *Ṭalī* material. It is interesting that the produce of Ashmūn was to be purchased in the markets of Cairo, not in the city of Qūs, near Ashmūn, which was on the way back to Aden.

³¹ Arabic *ghadār*, a delicate porcelain. The town of Āmid, north of Mūsul—better known as Diyār Bekr—is still known for its pottery; see Huart, "Diyār Bakr." {This line is cited by Goitein, *Med. Soc.* 4:146, 393, n. 50. For this type of pottery, see further al-Qaddūmī, *Gifts*, 267, who vocalizes *ghudār*.}

³² Arabic *kizān*. See the next note and 601, n. 40. Sadan, "Masbrūbat," 712: "The long and narrow vessels like, among their other functions, were used for the preparation or storage of this 'beer' [*fuqqā'*], were the *kizān* (sing. *kūz*)." According to al-Qaddūmī, *Gifts*, 425: "a long-spouted ewer."

tumblers³³ (19) and goblets {alt. tr.: jars}³⁴ manufactured in the house of al-Jawhar.³⁵ And a bottle³⁶ of (20) Iraqi rose water, and a dinar's worth of antimony.³⁷ (21) And a dinar's worth of ammoniac salt. And a half dinar's worth of gallnuts.³⁸ (22) And a dinar's worth of rose jam. And a dinar's worth of white lead.³⁹ (23) And four silk *fūṥas*,⁴⁰ small ones for children, (24) and four large *fūṥas* of twisted silk.⁴¹ And two *fūṥas* (25) of Andalusian manufacture, exquisite and fine, like those (26) worn by Joseph's children. And what remains⁴² (27) should be in silver vessels.⁴³

³³ Arabic *aqdāḥ*. Y. Ratzaby writes (*Ma'ariv*, December 9, 1983, Cultural supplement): "This is an order for vessels for wine and goblets for feasting. Jews from Ṣan'a have told me that for a bridegroom's festive meal the celebrants would borrow vessels with spouts, made of fine copper, which were known as *kizān*. The bridegroom would pour wine from these vessels into goblets and distribute them among the guests. *Aqdāḥ* are wine goblets. On the basis of this Arabic term, R. Samuel ha-Nagid, in his poetry, coined a new (Hebrew) word for a wine goblet: *eqdāḥ*." Drinking wine from a *qadah* was also part of the betrothal ceremony; see, e.g., Friedman, *Polygyny*, 110, line 8. According to al-Qaddūmī, *Gifts*, 433, a *qadah* is "a beaker, a drinking glass with no handles, large enough to satisfy the thirst of two people."

³⁴ Arabic *arṥāl*, plural of *raṥl*, which served not only as a weight (pound), but a jar (pint measure). See Lane, *Dictionary*, 1102; Piamenta, *Dictionary*, 183. *Arṥāl* is used this way also in III, 10, lines 42, 43. Cf. 345, n. 51, for *raṥālī* (or *raṥālā*).

³⁵ A place previously known for the sale of gems {*jawhar*}, which had in the meantime become a wholesale market and factory for other goods.

³⁶ Arabic *qumqum*, a sprinkler-bottle still in use today throughout the Arab world. Such bottles were also used in the rose-water trade (see also VII, 41). {For a description of a *qumqum*, see also Baer, "Ma'din," 988a; see also below, 565, n. 8.} Though Iraq was famed for its rose water, one doubts whether the rose water in question here indeed originated there.

³⁷ Arabic *rāsukht*, a Persian word. Used as an emetic.

³⁸ {For the medicinal faculties of gallnuts (*ṥfs*), see Lev and Amar, *Medicinal Substances*, 70.}

³⁹ Arabic *isfidāj*. Though the paper is torn along the whole word, the reading is quite positive. The word is derived from the Persian *saped*, 'white,' and denotes, as indicated, white lead, or *céruse* in French—an ointment for cosmetic and medicinal purposes. It is already mentioned in BT Gittin 69b: אספידא (printed there with various errors; see Krauss, *Archeology*, 299, n. 244. {See Maimonides, *Lexicography*, ed. Muntner, no. 29; Lev, *Medicinal Substances*, 56–57. In V, 24v, line 4, *isbidāj*; cf. Hirschberg, "Persecutions," 149, comment to line 4.; Blau, *Dictionary*, 11.}

⁴⁰ Piece of cloth shaped like the India *sārī* {see pages 175–80}.

⁴¹ Cf. Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, 199: "turbans of twisted silk," *āmāim maṥṥūla*.

⁴² {From the proceeds of the goods shipped to Egypt} after these purchases.

⁴³ {Arabic *yakun fiḏa*, lit., 'should be silver.' Cf. VI, 11, line 11: "he collected from me 65 dinars for silver," on which Goitein ("Portrait," 457, n. 35) comments: "most probably silver vessels of Egyptian manufacture, such as were sent to India according to other Geniza sources." See, for example, I, 1, lines 13 ff.}

[C. Gifts to religious functionaries and to the Dammūh sanctuary]

And ten *mithqāls* for our lord.⁴⁴ And for Dammūh,⁴⁵ ten. (28) *And for the poor*,⁴⁶ twenty. And four for the 'Diadem.'⁴⁷ For the Rabbi [read: *The Rabbi*, 6.]⁴⁸ (29) The *Fellow*, 3.⁴⁹ Al-Qaṣabī,⁵⁰ two *mithqāls*. Al-Qaṭā'if,⁵¹ two *mithqāls*. (30) The scribe of the *Rayyis*,⁵² three.

⁴⁴ I.e., the Gaon Maṣṭiah b. Solomon ha-Kohen, as follows from the names of the other persons mentioned here.

⁴⁵ For a sacred synagogue in the village of Dammūh, near Giza in western Cairo. A detailed account of the traditions associated with this synagogue was rendered as far back as the fifteenth century by the celebrated Muslim geographer al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khūṭa*, 2:464–65. For bibliography and details see Ashtor, *Mamluks*, 1:245–46, 385; cf. also Golb, "Topography," 124–25. It is frequently mentioned in the Geniza. {See Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, 6:27 (Index) and Kraemer, "Cult of the Saints."}

⁴⁶ *Wela-anīyyīm* and not *walīl-anīyyīm*. The Hebrew word *anīyyīm* is treated here as a proper noun {and therefore does not need the Judeo-Arabic definite article, *al-*, which would be represented by a second *l*.} Interestingly, the sacred synagogue was to receive the same sum as the Gaon, while the poor were to receive twice as much.

⁴⁷ Hebrew *nēzer*. Various personages earned the honorific 'Diadem of ...,' such as 'Diadem of the *havērim* (Fellows of the Yeshiva),' 'Diadem of the *maskīlīm* (Discerning),' and the like (see Goitein, *Yemenites*, 26). A gift of three *mithqāls* was sent to Nathan the Fellow, 'Diadem of the Fellows' {b. Samuel}; however, he was the scribe of the Yeshiva (above, II, 33b, line 7), and he is probably the person referred to in line 30 as 'scribe of the *rayyis*.' Here, therefore, the title more probably refers to the 'Diadem of the *maskīlīm*,' the judge Eli ha-Levi b. Nethanel—brother of Halfon ha-Levi b. Nethanel—who was generally referred to as the 'Diadem,' unqualified, as he is here (see Goitein, "Judah ha-Levi," 148). A similar sequence may be found in a letter from Aden to Cairo (II, 46, lines 57–60), where greetings are sent to the *rayyis*, that is, the Gaon; to Eli Ibn al-Dimyāṭī, that is, the 'Diadem of the discerning'; and last to 'the Diadem, scribe of our lord,' that is, Nathan b. Samuel.

⁴⁸ {For the identification of this person see next note.}

⁴⁹ Of all persons then in Cairo {Fustat}, only R. Isaac b. Samuel the Spaniard was titled 'Rabbi,' in the sense of a person authorized to issue Halakhic rulings in responsa, with the exception of R. Eleazar b. al-Qaṣabī (also a Spaniard, see next line), who was apparently his deputy. {As I read the previous line, 'the Fellow' was a different person; see, II, 43, line 18. On Isaac b. Samuel the Spaniard, see page 183, n. 10.}

⁵⁰ Undoubtedly "the venerated judge R. Eleazar b. al-Qaṣabī," mentioned in IV, 19, line 3, and IV, 20, line 2, as having sent a gift to his brother in Spain with Halfon ha-Levi b. Nethanel.

⁵¹ Halfon ha-Levi b. Manasseh ibn al-Qaṭā'if, for whom see above, introduction to II, 11a, which is a letter of thanks he addressed to Khalaf b. Isaac. {Correct: 'Abraham b. Bundār'; see above, II, 43, line 17, and references cited there.}

⁵² Probably referring to Nathan the Fellow (of the Yeshiva), 'Diadem of the Fellows'; see above, line 28 {and see introduction to II, 45}.

[D. Additional orders]

And the table⁵³—whatever the price. (31) And a *mann* [...] wine. And two *marīnas*⁵⁴ of oil, (32) 'hot.'⁵⁵ And a dinar's worth of hazel nuts.⁵⁶ A dinar's worth of pistachios.⁵⁷ A *wayba*⁵⁸ (33) of *ushnān*.⁵⁹ Two *waybas* of garden beans⁶⁰ [Verso] (1) [...] for a din]ar. Two bags of almonds,⁶¹ weighing (2) [...] {add: pound}, and three wrappers⁶² (3) [...] *da*] *būqī*,⁶³

⁵³ Arabic *mā'ida*. A low circular table, on which to place the large tray (*siniyya*; see above, line 8) or a large dish (*sahn*) when dining (III, 2, line 20). {The table was probably ordered in the missing continuation of line 8. See the description of the *mā'ida* in Sadan, *Mobilier*, 67–85.}

⁵⁴ Arabic *marīnatayn*, a word I have found nowhere else. However, in VI, 37, line 19, an order sent to Cairo by a resident of Aden, it appears in the very same context: *marīnatayn zayt hār*. Consequently, it must have been a vessel holding a certain quantity of 'hot' oil. {The plural form appears in a list of packing equipment, III, 24, line 10, 'five *marānī*.' Goitein's conclusion as to the meaning of *marīna* is confirmed by a thirteenth century document from Quṣayr. The edition (Guo, *Commerce*, 168, line 3) reads المربتين اللزيت الذي مکتوب عليهم سابق ابن ایاس for Sābiq ibn Iyās. The manuscript obviously does not have diacritics, and the first word should be read المریتین and the phrase translated: 'the two *marīnas* of oil, on which is written "Sābiq," etc.}

⁵⁵ That is, oil for lighting lamps. See Gil, *Foundations*, 97–99, 178–79, and the article cited *ibid.*, 99, n. 1.

⁵⁶ {For the medicinal faculties of hazel nuts (Arabic *bunduq*), see Lev and Amar, *Medicinal Substances*, 74.}

⁵⁷ For the medicinal faculties of pistachios (Arabic *fustuq*), see Lev and Amar, *Medicinal Substances*, 72.}

⁵⁸ A measure of 10 *manns*, weighing 12.618 kg; see Hinz, *Islamische Masse*, 52 {cf. Gil, "Masse," 169}.

⁵⁹ A plant whose ashes were used as soap for washing hands; for details see Maimonides-Meyerhof, no. 24. Vessels for *ushnān*, known as *lawr*, were among the objects that a Jewish bride regularly brought with her from her parental home; see Goitein, "Three Trousseau," 92, line 3 [= I, 36]. At the beginning of the Abbāsid period, Arab guests of the Persian nobleman Ibn al-Muqaffā' were surprised when, after the meal, he offered them *ushnān* with a towel; see Goitein, *Studies*, 152. {For *ushnān*, see further Goitein., *Med. Soc.*, 4:140–141, 183, 390, n. 14; Lev, *Medicinal Substances*, 273–74 (see there medicinal uses and additional literature); Epstein, *Gaonic Commentary*, 114–15; Perahyā, *Commentary on Shabbat*, 106; al-Qazwinī, *Ajā'ib*, 308.}

⁶⁰ For the medicinal faculties of garden beans (Arabic *ful*), see Lev and Amar, *Medicinal Substances*, 176.

⁶¹ For the medicinal faculties of almonds (Arabic *lūz*), see Lev and Amar, *Medicinal Substances*, 242.}

⁶² Arabic *maḥābis*. In I, 14, lines 14 {see 207, n. 12 on *mihbas*}, 20, and VI, 27, lines 12, 14, 16, such *maḥābis* were bought in India to be sent to Aden; in IV, 1, line 3, they were sold in Aden, probably also after having been brought there from India. However, though most of the line is torn here, our text is undoubtedly concerned with the purchase of a few *maḥābis* in Cairo.

⁶³ This fine Egyptian cotton fabric, mentioned five times in this document alone (lines 3, 4, 20, 21, 25), was named for the town of *Dabīq*, which was no longer in existence

'*arḏī* material,⁶⁴ (4) [...f]line. And a piece of *dabīqī*. (5) Exquisite [*būr*]*das*⁶⁵ with embroidery. (6) Exquisite *Sūsī*⁶⁶ [...] (7) of exquisite workmanship (8) [...] By your kindness {alt. tr.: His grace upon you}.⁶⁷ And five (9) [...] and please⁶⁸ purchase a dress, (10) [...] fulled,⁶⁹

in the Geniza period (and today); even its location is unknown today. {See page 169, n. 5.}

⁶⁴ A kind of material wound around the head as a turban. Like the *shāshiya* (above, recto, line 11), the '*arḏī* could also be used as a prayer shawl. {Cf. Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, 4:152, 196.}

⁶⁵ The text here reads [*bur*]*ūd*, that is, striped coats or cloth. The restoration is tentative. The *burda* was worn chiefly in Yemen.

⁶⁶ From (or: in the style of) the town of Sūsa. {See 169, n. 8.}

⁶⁷ "In His kindness to you and His grace." Arabic *faḍluhu laka wabimannihi*. The reading [*bi*-]*faḍlihi* is impossible, given the blank space before the first letter. The phrase is probably an expression of courtesy, referring to God. {Arabic *faḍluhu laka wabimannihi*, word for word, means something like, 'His grace upon you, and by His goodness.' However, the word *wabimannihi* (وَبِمَنَّيْهِ) is not found in the text; perhaps this was how Goitein copied the word *wakhamsa* (وَاخْمَسَا, 'and five') after *laka* in a preliminary stage of his research. Subsequently, he corrected the reading and the translation, as printed above; but the note remained unchanged. Nevertheless, the phrase is probably an expression of courtesy, and the pronominal suffix in *faḍluhu laka*, 'His grace upon you,' refers to God. One who performed an act of kindness was thought to be the recipient of God's grace. In the Quran 11:3: *wa-yu'ti kulla dhi faḍl faḍlahu*, 'He gives His grace to everyone gracious.' Al-Zajjāj interpreted this (according to *Lisān al-'Arab*, 11:252): "God grants him merit and advances his station in religious matters in this world." *Faḍluhu laka* is both a statement of gratitude and a prayer for more divine grace to the benefactor. At the beginning of line 8, perhaps restore [*yaj'alja'al*] *allāhu faḍlahu laka*, 'May God grant His grace to you!' Cf., e.g., VI, 28, line 4, *fa-abā 'llāhu an yaj'al al-faḍl illā li-ab[lihi] fa-huwa fa-qad ja'alahu 'llāhu fī-mā yakhtassuhu bihi*, 'God has refused to give grace other than to he who deserves it, and to you God has given it by what you have been granted.' We need not presume that anything is missing from the beginning of the phrase here, however, since we find the expression *li-mawlāya al-faḍl*, 'it is of my lord a favor'; *al-faḍl laka*, 'kindness is yours' (= 'grace upon you'), in III, 37, line 7. Similarly, IV, 35, line 11, and IV, 42, margin, lines 1, 3 (*fa-lu-lahu al-faḍl*), both written by the same man in Spain; in two other Spanish letters, IV, 52, margin, line 2; IV, 53b, line 16, *fa-lak al-faḍl* (and in IV, 63v, margin, written by Ḥalfon ha-Levi b. Nethanel after returning from Spain, *wa-lak al-faḍl*) and at the end of two legal queries, sent, so it seems to R. Isaac Alfasi (as suggested by Akiva Sylvetsky), TS NS 308, f. 79: *wa-lahu al-faḍl al-jazīl*, 'for him (= you) abundant grace.'

⁶⁸ Arabic [*wa*-]*asā* expresses a request; see Baneth, "Autographs," 301; Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, 2:579, n. 69, where it is found in a letter from Egypt. Our document provides documentation from Aden. The word is used similarly in III, 47v, line 7 (see 754, n. 30); III, 48, line 39, verso, line 15; III, 49v, line 15, all letters from the Tunisian Ben Yijū family, writing from Sicily. As noted by Yahalom & Blau, *Wanderings of Alharizi*, 271, this usage is common in Spanish-Arabic (there are several examples in the letters from Spain in chap. 4 of our corpus); it is nevertheless attested in other places. See further III, 43, line 24, *wa-asa'a* used this way.}

⁶⁹ Arabic *maqṣūr*. The classification of fabrics as *maqṣūr*, 'fulled' and *khām*, 'not fulled,' lit., 'raw,' is also found in the next line, in line 13, and in particular, in line 21 in contrast to line 25. After being woven, material was placed in a barrel full of water and

of silk, in three (11) parts. And a fulled, gilded, *subā'ī*⁷⁰ kerchief, (12) and a fulled wrap⁷¹ with four frills,⁷² (13) yellow ones, and an exquisite 'raw' (not fulled) [...] (14) in *Tūnī* style.⁷³ And if anything remains,⁷⁴ please give me an advance from your (money). (15) Joseph b. Ibrahim.⁷⁵

[E. Addition: yet more items shipped and orders]

Qāqūlī cardamom,⁷⁶ one hundred (16) pounds, and three containers of *khawlān*,⁷⁷ weighing thirty (17) [poun]ds.

fuller's earth; it was then trampled until the weave had become compact and strong. The biblical verb for this operation is *kbs* in the *qal* conjugation (related to the roots *kbs*, *kws*; see *sedē kōvēs*, 'fuller's field,' Isa. 7:3; 36:2; etc.). The corresponding Aramaic root is *qsr*: the material, in shrinking, also becomes shorter (denoted by this word). The Arabs borrowed the term from the Aramaic. Merchants frequently also dealt in *khām*, 'raw,' material, in its original, non-fulled condition, when it was easier to change its color or to dye it. {See also 170, n. 13.}

⁷⁰ Line 23 below specifies an order for two *fūtas* of the same material—probably adorned with seven stripes or seven cubits wide; cf. below, line 29: *sudāsī*, see Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, 130, n. 65 {and above, 176, n. 14}.

⁷¹ Arabic *liḥāfa*, undoubtedly some kind of clothing. {See page 186, n. 16.}

⁷² Stripes of another material or other materials, see below, line 25. This kind of decoration is still popular among Yemenites. The *pārōkhet* (curtain) of the Torah Ark (the *hekhal*) in the synagogue is made of some material of uniform color, such as green, bordered, say, by two red and two blue stripes, each corner of the curtain being left in the basic color. Sometimes the two border stripes are of a single color, such as light blue, with the main part of the *pārōkhet*—and the four corners—in a yellowish hue.

⁷³ Produced in an Egyptian town on the Island of Tūna, near Dimyāṭ (Damietta), on the Mediterranean coast, famed for its textiles; see Yāqūt, *Geographical Dictionary*, 1:901, and Grohmann, "Tirāz," 788. The site of a royal workshop for woven and embroidered goods, whose produce was also sold to the public, it is mentioned in the Geniza a few times, in different periods: TS 20.2, line 19, a Karaite marriage contract: *thawb* (robe) *tūnī* {for this marriage contract see Olszowy-Schlanger, *Karaite Marriage Documents*, 354–58; ENA 3030, f. 7v: *radda* (scarf) *tūnī*—both marriage contracts probably date to the eleventh century.

⁷⁴ {If there is a balance in your favor.

⁷⁵ I assume that Joseph signed his name here to ensure it would be a legally binding commitment to repay the loan requested in the previous line. In his memorandum, II, 33–34, side f, line 12, Maḍmūn writes his name in a similar context.}

⁷⁶ Arabic *hayl*. This medicinal herb and spice is still in use today (in modern Israel as well) and is very common in these documents. It is discussed in Maimonides-Meyerhof, 58 {Maimonides, *Lexicography*, ed. Muntner, 42}, no. 116, s.v. '*qāqūla*,' a kind of Indian cardamom which was easily marketable both in the Indian Ocean and in the Mediterranean. *Qāqūla* is already mentioned in Assyrian cuneiform lists.

⁷⁷ A medicinal plant, *Succus lycii*; see Dozy, *Supplément*, 1:413b. It was used, e.g., in the treatment of eye diseases (see ULC Or. 1080 J 5v, margin, a physician's letter), and was a very common commodity.

Please buy⁷⁸ a *Qurqūbī*⁷⁹ *shāshiya*, (18) gilded, and 'write' upon it: *Abraham b.* (19) *Joseph b. Abraham b. Bundār b. Ḥasan* [read: al-Ḥasan].⁸⁰ (20) An exquisite *dabīqī nisfīyya*,⁸¹ embroidered in gold (21) or in silk, a fine one. A fulled *dabīqī* kerchief, (22) five cubits long.⁸² And a most exquisite *Talī*⁸³ dress {alt. tr.: piece of clothing}, (23) and two [*fī*]tas [*...su*]bā'ī⁸⁴ made either of silk (24) with silk or of silk with cotton, provided only

⁷⁸ Unconnected to the previous items, as above, recto, line 8, since this is the beginning of a new paragraph.

⁷⁹ Qurqūb, a well-known industrial city in Khūzistan, southwestern Iran, on the road from Wāsiṭ, southern Iraq, to Tustar, the capital of Khūzistan. Qurqūb was the source of the celebrated *sūsanjird* fabric, exported to countries all over the world (see Iṣṭakhrī, 93), and of "the fabrics intended for royalty" (Idrīsī, *Géographie*, 1:383); see Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles* {45}. By the time of our document, *Qurqūbī* may well have denoted a type of material, which was not necessarily brought to Cairo from far-off Qurqūb. In any event, it was a costly material, as follows from the present special order, and from the trousseau that the bride Khalifa d. Abraham, brought with her to her husband, Ḥalfon b. Solomon, according to the list in TS 12.12 (ca. 1020). That list, lines 17, 18, includes two items, probably not pieces of clothing but bedding (the two words before the adjective *Qurqūbī* are missing), one valued at fifteen (dinars) and the other at forty.

⁸⁰ This does not mean that the name should be written on the package containing the *shāshiya* [as was often done with packages shipped abroad], but that it should be embroidered on the material itself. This follows from lines 31–32, where the writer orders the *shāshiya* to be done in red gold, that is, embroidered in red gold thread, including also verses from the Torah. Moreover, the very instruction to write such a long name, spanning five generations, proves that this was a private *ṭirāz*. That is, just as kings and viziers would embroider their names on elaborate garments, sometimes giving them as gifts to persons they wished to honor, we see here that private individuals did the same. For the Islamic *ṭirāz* see Grohmann, "Ṭirāz." The custom was known in the Jewish community before the rise of Islam: scholars in the court of the Babylonian exilarch had 'signatures' (Aramaic *ḥatīmei*) on their clothes, with the exilarch's name (BT Shabbat 58a). Maimonides prohibited the adornment of clothes with fringes with biblical verses in square script, since it was forbidden to make secular use of the letters in which the two Tablets of the Law had been given, and a piece of clothing, even with fringes, was a secular item. See Maimonides, *Responsa* (Blau), 2:510 ff., and in particular *ibid.* {Freimann's note}, the extensive rabbinic literature on this question. Maimonides was not immediately able to enforce this stringent injunction, as we possess a responsum on the question addressed by his in-law, R. Ḥananel the *dayyān* b. Samuel, to the Alexandria community; see Goitein, "R. Ḥananel," 386–88. {Cf. VII, 59, where a man in Aden orders a scarf (*radda*) with his son's name (Jacob b. Moses b. Benjamin) to be embroidered on it. This proves that such orders were not exceptional. For the bestowal of robes of honor by officials, see 402, n. 5; Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, 2:351, 4:11, 184. For *ṭirāz*, see now Stillman, *Arab Dress*, 120–37.}

⁸¹ A kind of cape for the upper part of the body, worn by both men and women. {See also Goitein, *Letters*, 54 n. 6, where this document is referred to; *id.*, *Med. Soc.*, 4:182, 412, nn. 250, 251, where it is also called a 'half garment.'}

⁸² See 410, n. 5.

⁸³ See above, recto, line 15.

⁸⁴ See above, line 11.

that there be no adulteration.⁸⁵ (25) And a 'raw' (not fulled) *dabīqī* kerchief, decorated⁸⁶ with fine stripes (26) of silk, two stripes on each side, in such a way that (27) the kerchief should have four fine stripes. (28) And a case of glasses,⁸⁷ the red Beirut⁸⁸ glasses, (29) and if there are none, white ones. And two *sudāsī*⁸⁹ *fūtas*, of cotton, (30) of the best available, each one worth a *mithqāl*. (31) And the *shāshiya* should be in red gold,⁹⁰ and the verses (32) such as "The Lord bless you!"⁹¹ and the like. And a good *shofar*.⁹² (33) *And peace.*⁹³

⁸⁵ Is the writer referring to two kinds of silk, so that the stripes should stand out? {Cf. Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, 4:403, n. 143: "he wishes to say that the ornament should be made either with silk, probably of another color, or with linen."} The warning against 'forgery' was motivated by the fear that the weaver, as might be expected when two kinds were being mixed, would intentionally use more of the cheaper kind.

⁸⁶ Arabic *muzannar*, a term derived from *zunnār*, 'belt' (particularly worn by a non-Muslim) and occurring very frequently in the Geniza; probably referring to striped ornamentation across the width of the dress (not lengthwise).

⁸⁷ {See above, recto, line 18.}

⁸⁸ At the time these documents were written, Beirut was still in Crusader hands. It was then a small town, inhabited by only thirty-five Jewish families when conquered by the Crusaders. See Goitein, *Palestinian Jewry*, 295. The Jews of Tyre were actively involved in this industry, both as merchants and as workers; see Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, 1:109–10, 421–22, nn. 65–70; 2:456, no. 65a.

⁸⁹ Probably meaning six handbreadths wide; see above, line 11.

⁹⁰ {According to al-Qaddūmī, *Gifts*, 420, *dhabab aḥmar*, red gold, "is the best kind of gold; its redness resembles that of fire."}

⁹¹ The Priestly Blessing, Num. 6:24–27. One should remember that *ṭirāz* inscriptions generally begin, after the words 'In the name of Allah,' etc., with *baraka min Allāh*, 'Blessing from God.' See the examples in Grohmann, "Ṭirāz." It is hard to say whether the present case was an imitation of the Muslim custom or, conversely, maintained a Jewish tradition dating to pre-Islamic times; see above, note to verso, line 19.

⁹² It is interesting that the writer is ordering a *shofar* from Egypt. If three *shofars* were found in the legacy of a traveling merchant (probably from the west) in Aden (VII, 22, line 20), we may assume that it was indeed customary to import *shofars* to Yemen, or at least to Aden, from the Mediterranean countries. In more recent times, however, Yemen itself became famous for its *shofars*, made from the long horns of an African antelope. {See Gaimani "Shofar," 25–26, according to whom the identity of the animal whose horns serve for these *shofars* has not yet been firmly established.}

⁹³ The closing blessing indicates that this is the end of the memorandum.