

[E. Credits due from the *nākhudā* Maḥrūz and another merchant]

(9) I gave to the *nākhudā* Ma[ḥr]ūz¹³ eight *mithqā*[ls also] (10) from my hand into his hand, 32 *mithqāls*. [[[Likewise, owed me] (11) by Sheikh [Ab]ū 'Alī the Little,¹⁴ as a favor for me {alt. tr.: my fee} a *mithqāl* //I collected in full//. T[otal...]]¹⁵

[F. Debts to Maḥrūz]

(12) Due the *nākhudā* Maḥrūz, customs duties [...] (13) a p[iece...] and customs duties for a piece of tin and customs duties for [...] (14) [[and the price of a water skin with oil, one third *filī* and one half *fāj*. (15) His credit: four dirhems less one *fāj* on delivery]].¹⁶

[G. Balance in favor of the *kārdār*'s brother]

[Margin] (1) Balance due Nair,¹⁷ the brother of the *kārdār*, three *filīyā* dirhems, (2) the remainder of the price of the red and the white betel nuts.

¹³ About this Adense notable, see Introduction IIB1.

¹⁴ {Abū 'Alī *al-ṣaghīr*. *Al-ṣaghīr* is hardly a standard byname and was added by Ben Yijū in his private accounts to distinguish the junior Abū 'Alī from another, more senior one. Several Abū 'Alīs were associated with Ben Yijū.}

¹⁵ The line is crossed out, because the money had been paid back. {For *khayritī* (?), 'as a favor for me' (Goitein wrote: 'as a favor on my side,' but I assume this is what he meant), Prof. Werner Diem suggested, in a private communication, to read *kīratī*, to be taken as a plene spelling of *kīratī* = *kīrā'ī* (cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, 2:462a), '(for) my fee'.}

¹⁶ Crossed out, because delivery had taken place. {'On delivery' translates *bi-taslim al-shay* (after which the paper is torn), lit., 'on delivery of the thing/merchandise.' Perhaps restore *bi-taslim al-shay*[*kh*], 'delivered by Shei[*kh*...].'

¹⁷ See 639, n. 17. While the *kārdār* (see III, 18, sec. A, line 2) specialized in cardamom, his brother, as we see here, specialized in betel nuts.

III, 24 *Abraham Ben Yijū's Inventory of Baggage for Journey from India to the West*

India {probably 1140 or 1149}

TS NS 324, f. 114

Detailed list in Ben Yijū's hand of receptacles containing food and other commodities, as well as of certain objects taken with him (on a trip from India to the West).¹

{The list, almost complete, is written on the verso and blank spots of III, 8. According to the heading it enumerates 'the baskets, sacks, bottles, *fātiyas* and remaining baggage.' Actually at least twelve different kinds of containers and their contents are detailed. Fragile items were packed in hay or straw.² It is not clear whether Ben Yijū was on his final journey out of India to Aden or merely traveling there for an extended visit (cf. the list in III, 21, sec. B, which seems to have been written for a relatively short visit). The dates are given according to these two possibilities. The items enumerated presumably represent all of the provisions and accompanying baggage taken on the trip for him and probably for his whole household. The list contains foods; kitchenware, furnishings and other household goods; clothing; metals, viz., iron and copper, including items apparently manufactured in Ben Yijū's workshop, as well as other items. It is a valuable resource for the study of the material civilization and also includes many words, Arabic or Indian, not attested elsewhere, whose exact meaning is yet unclear.

¹ {Goitein's papers preserve this brief description of the document and a draft copy of the Judeo-Arabic text.

² For packing for shipping on the high seas, see Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, 1:332 ff., where this document is not discussed.

Translation

(1) *In the name of the Lord*.³ Specification⁴ of the number of baskets,⁵ (2) sacks,⁶ bottles,⁷ *fātiyas*⁸ (3) and remaining⁹ baggage.¹⁰ These include: a large (4) sack of rice and a small sack of [...] (5) Also for the traveling provisions, four small (6) sacks and two baskets of rice, two baskets of wheat, a basket (7) of coconuts,¹¹ a thin basket and three *fātiyas* of [...], (8) a *fātiya* of *dādhibi* (lichen), a *fātiya* of copper¹² and iron, (9) a *fātiya* of the fishermen's gear¹³ //a bundle¹⁴// in which is iron (10) and *adbash*¹⁵ and a flat basket of palm leaves¹⁶ of bread, five *marīnas*¹⁷ of vinegar,¹⁸ (11) also a bamboo *fātiya*¹⁹

³ Hebrew *beshēm yy*. This form of the invocation written over documents, rather than *bi-shmākh nahmānā*, 'in Your name, O Merciful,' for example, is most rare. See Friedman, *JMP*, 1:91–92.

⁴ Arabic *ma'rifa*, used here in the same sense as *ta'rif*.

⁵ Arabic *zanābil* (sg. *zanbil*). See 562, n. 57.

⁶ Arabic *jūniya*, *jawānī*. See 343, n. 39.

⁷ Arabic *qanānī* (sg. *qinnīna*). See Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, 2:584, n. 48 (there: flask). In II, 26, line 9, III, 10, line 44, empty *qanīnas* were shipped from Aden to Ben Yijū in India. Often they were sent to him full, usually holding sugar, raisins or almonds.

⁸ Arabic *fātiya*, pl. *fawāti*. I have not found this word, which appears several times in the following lines, in dictionaries. It obviously is a kind of basket or chest; cf. line 11: 'a bamboo *fātiya*.'

⁹ Arabic *baqāya* = *baqāyā* (pl.).

¹⁰ Arabic *dabash*. Cf. I, 22, line 19 and 228, n. 9.

¹¹ Arabic *nārjīn* (cf. *nārjīl*), also below, line 39. As Dr. Amir Ashur informed me the definition (*jawz Hindī*) is from <http://www.lakii.com/cookportal/index.php?doWhat=showcook&cookid=835> (a Saudi cooking forum, accessed March 13, 2007).

¹² Arabic *ṣufr*. For the meaning of this term, see 555, n. 11.

¹³ 'Gear' translates *matā*, which also expresses the construct (see Blau, *Grammar*, 159; III, 25, line 5; III, 48, line 28); accordingly, 'a fishermen's *fātiya*' is also possible.

¹⁴ Arabic *ṣīmād* = *ṣimād*, 'head kerchief,' from which I understand a cloth for tying a bundle. But the word in the text resembles more *ṣīmār*, which I have not found in dictionaries, apparently a term for some type of container.

¹⁵ Meaning unknown. *Dabash*, here, in line 3 translated 'baggage,' also means 'small items.' Perhaps *adbash* = *a-dabash* (= *al-dabash*), with assimilation of *l* before the solar letter *d*; alternatively it could be a defective spelling of *adbāsh* (sg. *dabash*).

¹⁶ Arabic *qarṭāla*. Cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, 2:331a.

¹⁷ Arabic *marānī*, apparently the plural of *marīna*, which also does not appear in dictionaries. See 425, n. 54, where the dual appears for containers for oil (cf. Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, 1:426, n. 28).

¹⁸ Arabic *khall*.

¹⁹ Arabic *fātiya khayzurān*. In TS 10 J 16, f. 3v, line 17, a letter written about a century later, we find a bamboo *fātiya*, covered with a skin, mentioned in connection with Judge Perahyā, a great-grandson of Abraham Ben Yijū. Vessels made of *khayzurān* (also in II, 48, lines 10, 19), were considered expensive. So Maimonides, *Commentary to Mishnah*, 2:372: 'expensive vessels, such as receptacles made of skins and bamboo (*khayzurān*) vessels' (my translation). See Lane, *Dictionary*, 732b; Piamenta, *Dictionary*, 141; Sadan, *Mobilier*, 153. Also see 565–66, n. 12.

of locks²⁰ and a basket (12) and a separate meal carrier²¹ in straw, a table jug²² (13) separate in straw, a basket of manufactured copper²³ items, (14) another basket of manufactured copper items, another basket (15) of manufactured copper items, large,²⁴ three small baskets (16) iro[n (?)] and small items,²⁵ a small basket of glasses,²⁶ two *fātiyas* (17) of glasses, two stone frying pans in hay,²⁷ two stone (18) pots,²⁸ a small basket of china, four jars²⁹ filled with (19) oil³⁰ and sour juice,³¹ a bottle of wine³² a trap (20) for mice,³³ six bottles of oil, a *fātiya* of wood, (21) six empty³⁴ bottles, a bottle of soap (*ṣābūn*), (22) two earthenware vessels³⁵ of lemon³⁶ and ginger, five water skins³⁷ of mango,³⁸ (23) two water skins of (pickled) fish,³⁹ two water skins of lemon, five empty water skins, (24) the small basket of bread, a large round tray,⁴⁰ three *mrbs*⁴¹ and a large (25) *mr̄b*. Of the *qaṣ'a-*

²⁰ For importing Indian locks to Yemen, see 313, n. 7.

²¹ Arabic *ḥāmīl*. See Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, 4:141 ("a contrivance consisting of several compartments and a handle in which various warm dishes could be brought home at a time"), 148, 390, 394. According to al-Qaddūmī, *Gifts*, 422: "a stand (for a pot or a jar)."

²² See 555, n. 13.

²³ Arabic *naḥās*. For the meaning of this term, see 555, n. 11.

²⁴ I am not sure whether the adjective modifies the preceding 'basket' or the 'copper items.'

²⁵ Arabic *ḥawā'ij*. For the different meanings of this word as cited in Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, see Diem, *Dictionary*, 50.

²⁶ Arabic *salla jazāj* (= *zajāj*; Goitein's note).

²⁷ Arabic *ḥashīsh*.

²⁸ Arabic *burma*.

²⁹ Arabic *raṭālī* (or *raṭālā*), sg. *raṭliya*; see 345, n. 51.

³⁰ Arabic *salīṭ*. Cf. III, 8, line 12.

³¹ Arabic *ḥumūda*. Cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, 1:323.

³² Arabic *nabīdh*.

³³ Arabic *misyaḍa li-l-firān*. While I am not familiar with other evidence from the Geniza for the use of mousetraps, the translation, suggested by Prof. Joel Kraemer, is beyond question, and Prof. Joseph Sadan informs me that mousetraps in fact appear in medieval Arabic sources. The kitchen, of course, is where the mice were most annoying, and this explains why this item appears here in the list.

³⁴ Arabic *farīgh*; cf. line 23 (*f-r-gh* or *f-r-j* could be some unidentified commodity, however).

³⁵ Arabic *barniyya*.

³⁶ Probably pickled lemon. Cf. III, 8, line 4: *lim makkūs*.

³⁷ Arabic *jaḥla*.

³⁸ Arabic *'anbā*. Cf. III, 3, line 4.

³⁹ Cf. III, 8, lines 6, 9.

⁴⁰ Arabic *ṣabaq* can denote a cover, round tray, large dish, bowl ('saucer,' Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, 2:150; cf. Sadan, *Mobilier*, 86, n. 323). The context suggests the definition given by Piamenta, *Dictionary*, 300: 'flat wicker-tray... used for serving bread.'

⁴¹ Vocalization and meaning unknown. It is presumably a serving utensil. Hava, *Dictionary*, 236, defines *marabb* 'gatherer.' *Mirabba* means 'preserved fruit.' Cf. Lane, *Dictionary*, 1007.

bowls:⁴² two *qaṣ'a*-bowls, also a large (26) *qaṣ'a*-bowl, a new *qaṣ'a*-bowl and two old *qaṣ'a*-bowls. (27) And of the *fātiyas*: four *fātiyas* of clothing. (28) Two earthenware vessels of melted butter.⁴³ Four legs for a bedstead.⁴⁴ Two old (29) *qaṣ'a*-bowls, four new *qaṣ'a*-bowls, three bundles⁴⁵ of pots.⁴⁶ (30) An unfinished door of a cabin.⁴⁷ (31) [top] With the *nākhudā* Abu 'l-Sh[...] a *maḥbal*,⁴⁸ (32) a *mawjah*⁴⁹ and four *qaṣ'a*-bowls. (33) [upside down][...] boards (of teak wood)⁵⁰ [for] the cabin, and three boards for bedsteads,⁵¹ (34) four rods and a stool⁵² board, (35) and a [...] in which are small items. (36) [recto top] Of the copper (*sufi*): a table jug, a frying pan, a basin and ewer, (37) three *tālīms*,⁵³ twenty carpets,⁵⁴ an iron lamp, (38) [recto margin] two strips of leather,⁵⁵ [...] *farāsila* [...], (39) a steel comb (?)⁵⁶ for the coconuts, seven [...], a *mizār*⁵⁷ [...] six [...] with the *nākhudā* Abu 'l-Faraj.⁵⁸

⁴² About these bowls, see 326, n. 33.

⁴³ On the consumption of *samn* (ghee), see 650, n. 10.

⁴⁴ For the bedstead, *sarīr* (also below, line 33), see Goitein, *Med. Soc.*, 4:113 (where it is noted that it went out of fashion during the eleventh century), 114, 379, nn. 36, 37. *Sarīr* can also be a sofa or elevated seat. For its different meanings and a detailed description, see Sadan, *Mobilier*, 32–51 (*arjul*, 'legs,' ib., 75).

⁴⁵ Arabic *barākhīs*, sg. *barkhas*. See Piamenta, *Dictionary*, 25.

⁴⁶ Arabic *buram*, sg. *burma*. See above, line 18; II, 24*v*, line 17; III, 20, line 6. Wehr, *Dictionary*, 55: 'earthenware pot'; Piamenta, *Dictionary*, 28: 'hanging lamp.'

⁴⁷ Arabic *bilīj*. Cf. below, line 33 and 577, n. 28.

⁴⁸ Meaning unknown.

⁴⁹ Arabic *mujh*. Perhaps the same as *mōja* in III, 12, line 39, where it is also coupled with *qaṣ'a*-bowls (as in the continuation here); see 619, n. 31.

⁵⁰ See 347, n. 69.

⁵¹ Arabic *sirwar*, sg. *sarīr*. See Piamenta, *Dictionary*, 219, and above, line 28.

⁵² For the *kursī*, see note to III, 4, line 3.

⁵³ The singular *t'lm*, whose meaning is unknown, appears in III, 3, line 12.

⁵⁴ Arabic *busuṭ*.

⁵⁵ Arabic *siratayn*.

⁵⁶ Arabic *mīhakkīmahakkī*. Perhaps translate 'shining brush'; see Dozy, *Supplément*, 1:309a; Blau, *Dictionary*, 138 (*mīhakkā*).

⁵⁷ See above, line 7.

⁵⁸ A *mizār* is a 'wrap'; see Diem, *Dictionary*, 3. But according to Piamenta, *Dictionary*, 7, it is a "small sharp stone placed behind facing stones to keep the latter in position and straight," which may fit the context here.

III, 25 *Account written by Abraham Ben Yijū: Compensation to Khalaf b. Isaac and Joseph b. Abraham*

Yemen, 1149 or later {1149–52}

TS 8.19

The account was written by Ben Yijū on III, 14*v*. For a description of the manuscript, see the introduction to III, 12–14. Lines 1–12 are written in large bold letters, with much space between the lines. The postscript in lines 13–17 is much more compressed and irregular.

The background might be reconstructed as follows: Although III, 14 was sent from Aden to India, there can be no doubt that this account, written on the verso of that letter, was made in Yemen, almost certainly in Zabīd, whose seaport was Ghulayfiqa. A ship carrying a cargo of pepper and cardamom for the two Adenese merchants Khalaf b. Isaac and Joseph b. Abraham, for which Ben Yijū was responsible, as well as a load of iron for the latter, foundered off Ghulayfiqa. The pepper and cardamom were lost, the iron, or at least the part specified here, was salvaged. The Adenese merchants had to be compensated. This was done not with money, but in kind, probably because merchandise delivered promised additional profit.

Evidently, the first four *bahārs* had been salvaged and sent on to Aden, while an additional one, later salvaged, remained in Ghulayfiqa, when Ben Yijū made the account.

As the text is somewhat involved, a table showing the account in full is given first.

Note: one *bahār* (abridged *b.*) = 300 *ratl* (pound abr. *r.*), *mīhqāl*, abr. *m.*

Due Khalaf, for pepper	1 <i>b.</i>	14 <i>r.</i> of iron
For cardamom 2 <i>m.</i> worth		120 <i>r.</i>
Khalaf, total	1 <i>b.</i>	134 <i>r.</i>
Due Joseph, for pepper	1 <i>b.</i>	75 <i>r.</i>
For cardamom 4 <i>m.</i> worth		240 <i>r.</i>
Joseph, total	2 <i>b.</i>	15 <i>r.</i>
Total, Khalaf and Joseph	3 <i>b.</i>	149 <i>r.</i> of iron, worth 17½ <i>m.</i>
Balance for Ben Yijū	1 <i>b.</i>	151 <i>r.</i>
Total	5 <i>b.</i>	