a half. The total: (15) two units,<sup>15</sup> the weight three *bahārs*, the price three hundred dinars. Exit tolls from the (16) Furda and wrapping in skins and packing, four dinars.<sup>16</sup> Also forwarded to you with Abu 'l-Faraj 'Double Wages (?),' (17) in the large ship, a purse, in which are forty Egyptian *mithqāls*. The price: (18) ninety-six dinars.<sup>17</sup> In the ship together with Abū Zikrī Ibn al-Shamī—may God decree his safe arrival!—(19) is a purse, in which are sixty dinars, old, good dinars. The total of your debit: (20) eight hundred and ninety dinars. There remains to your excellency's credit in 'the house,'<sup>18</sup> pepper—(21) twenty-four *bahārs* of small measure, because your excellency mentioned sending this (22) aforementioned amount [...]<sup>19</sup>

III, E. Correspondence after Leaving India and while Returning 'Home'

III, 29 Letter from Abraham Ben Yijū to his Brothers and Sisters after His Safe Return from India

Aden, 11 September, 1149

# TS 10 J 10, f. 15

Ed. Braslavsky, "Jewish Trade," 135–39. English translation in Goitein, "Two Historical Letters," 51–55; id., *Letters*, 201–6, upon which together with some material in Goitein's other papers the following is based. A translation is also printed in Simonsohn, *Jews in Sicily*, 1:397–400.

The top of the document was detached, but obviously only little has been lost, for the address on the verso is preserved completely. As addresses normally were written near the upper edge of the page, only a few cms. can be lacking. {It is likely that an address in Arabic letters was written in the missing portion of the verso.} Of the length, 20.5 cm have been preserved. The right margin is damaged, but the words written on it can be restored almost completely. The paper is of the same dark-brown variety used in Yemen as in III, 33 and III, 38. The script shows Ben Yijū the scribe (cf. the introduction to III, 17) almost at his best.

Since Braslavsky had at his disposal only one item from Yijū's hand, while we have today over seventy {written by him or relating to his activity}, it is natural that many of his readings, translations and interpretations need qualification. Here no reference is made to most of these.

The letter is marked by the strong attachment of the writer to his brothers and sisters and their families. While out in India during at least eighteen {or: as much as seventeen} years, Ben Yijū had not kept up regular correspondence with them. Our letter shows that he was poorly informed about their children and he needed to supply details about his own children (see line 18); cf. III, 41, lines 20–25 and III, 30, line 7, where his nephew expressly states that the family had been out of touch with him for many years.

The particularly strong upsurge of family attachment felt here had its source in the dire fate that had befallen Ben Yijū's homeland, details of which must have reached Aden when he arrived there from India. The Normans, under King Roger II, had ravaged and occupied al-Mahdiyya and Sfax in 1148. Ben Yijū's relatives, if alive at all, were now captives, or, at best, refugees. Indeed, we find them in Sicily, and not in their native country—as he expected in this letter—and in a completely destitute state (see below sec. G and III, 43). From III, 30 we learn that this letter actually reached Messina in Sicily. Now, Ben Yijū's long years

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Arabic *qiț'a* is used both for the separate pieces and for each of the two shipments. <sup>16</sup> Cf., e.g., II, 16, lines 45–46; II, 48, lines 1–2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> This gives an exchange rate between the Egyptian dinar (*mithqāl*) and the Adenese Malikī dinar of 1:2.4. See 172, n. 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> The warehouse and bourse of Aden. See 343, n. 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The writer finishes here in the middle of the line. The recipient had obviously left instructions not to sell in Aden the 24 *bahārs* of pepper but to ship them to the West. As already mentioned above, it is likely that this pepper was sold by Ben Yijū in the following year, as reported in III, 28, lines 1–2.}

of toil in India made sense: the riches accumulated by him could put his relatives on their feet again.

There was another, more intimate, aspect involved in this relationship of Ben Yijū with his family. His wife certainly was an 'outsider,' not, as usual, a cousin, or other more remote relative. Nowhere, not even here, is a reference made to her in his letters.<sup>1</sup> In *Med. Soc.*, 2:20, I suggested that the (probably beautiful) Indian slave girl Ashū, whom Abraham Ben Yijū manumitted in Mangalore on October 17, 1132, with so much ado {III, 17}, might have become his wife and the mother of his children. Now returning to the West and the social climate of his youth, he hoped that at least his daughter would marry into the family. In a later letter, sent from inland Yemen, he again emphasized that many were seeking her hand, but that he had only one wish: to have her married to her cousin.<sup>2</sup> This wish was fulfilled: the Firkovitch Collection in the State Library of Leningrad {today: St. Petersburg} has preserved a detailed list of her trousseau {III, 54}. She married her cousin, in the summer of 1156, seven years after the writing of the letter translated here.

Abraham speaks in this letter to his brother Mevassēr ('Bearer of good tidings,' a name with messianic undertones), because the latter had already visited Egypt and thus shown a sign a life. But the letter is in the first place addressed to the elder of Abraham's two brothers, Joseph, a father of three sons, while Mevassēr, as the extant correspondence shows, was unmarried.<sup>3</sup>

It is interesting to observe that, after so many years out in the East, Ben Yijū relapses here in various places into his Maghrebi dialect, while addressing his brother, whereas in India (II, 55), he wrote the standard Arabic of his time (to be sure, II, 55 is a letter dictated to him).

#### Translation

### [A. Arrival from India to Aden with wealth]

(1) {Add: [This] is to inform you} my brother, {add: that} I do not know what to write; (2) so strong is my longing and so ardent my yearning. I ask God to unite us all presently in the best of circumstances.

(3) This is to announce to you, my brother, that I have set out from {alt. tr.: left} India<sup>4</sup> and arrived in Aden—may God protect it!—(4) safely with my belongings,<sup>5</sup> life, and children. May God be thanked for this! *Let them praise the Lord for His steadfast love, His wondrous deeds* (5) *for mankind*.<sup>6</sup>

Now I wish to let you know that I have enough to live on (6) for all of us. May God, the Exalted, let this money be for my livelihood and my children's and be sufficient for you as well!

#### [B. The forty dinars sent Mevasser]

(7) I have to reproach<sup>7</sup> you, my brother {add: greatly}, that {because}<sup>8</sup> you got as far as Egypt and did not come to Aden.<sup>9</sup> I sent (8) you to Egypt, //with a shipment of {alt. tr.: through the agency of}<sup>10</sup> my master, Sheikh Madmūn,//<sup>11</sup> about fifty ounces of civet perfume<sup>12</sup> worth 40

<sup>7</sup> Arabic 'atbān; cf., e.g., Spiro, *Dictionary*, 288a. {Cf. Hinds & Badawi, *Egyptian Arabic*, 561: 'reproachful, mildly reproving, gently critical.'

<sup>8</sup> Arabic *alladhi* here introduces a causal clause; see Blau, *Grammar*, 227.

<sup>9</sup> After receiving this letter, Mevassēr traveled from Sicily to Aden to meet Abraham: III, 30, line 9; III, 41, line 7.

<sup>10</sup> Arabic *bi-infādb*, lit., 'sent by.' Braslavsky, "Jewish Trade," 138, n. 5, commented that the ship or the caravan in which Abū Naşr (see the continuation) carried the package was owned by Madmūn. While Madmūn was in fact a shipowner on the India route, there is no evidence that his ships (or caravans!) traveled to Egypt. Here the meaning is that Ben Yijū had written from India to Madmūn and asked him to send the gift from Aden to Egypt, which he did by entrusting it to Abū Naṣr, who must have carried a shipment for him as well.}

<sup>11</sup> For Madmun b. Hasan, see Introduction IIB and the documents in chap. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> {See, however, III, 15, lines 27–28. In his note to III, 41, line 22 (730, n. 21), Goitein deduced from the failure to mention Ben Yijū's wife that she was dead.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The intention seems to be to III, 41, which however, was not sent from inland Yemen but from Fustat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Or: had no children—or sons. The greetings to him and his 'household' in the margin, suggest that he may have been married.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Arabic *bilād al-Hind*. For the geographical area that this term designates, see pages 6–7. *Kharaj*, 'set out' or 'left,' conveys 'traveling home'; see 372, n. 4.}

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The writer mentions his belongings first, because the aim of his letter was to invite his refugee brothers to share them with him. {The tripartite expression of gratitude for arriving safely, in body (Arabic  $r\bar{u}h$ ), with children and possessions, reflects the midrash Ber. R. 69:5, 940. There the order of 'children and possessions' is reversed in some manuscripts.}

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ps. 107:8, 15, etc. Always said after safe arrival.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Arabic *zbd*', to be read *zabada*. For this form of the word, see Dozy, *Supplément*, 1:578b. In line 10, the usual form *zabād* is used. Ben Yijū often spells *tā marbūța* with *alif* {see 332, n. 16}, e.g., line 11 *tyq*'—*thiqa*, or verso, line 6 *mhdy*'—*Mahdiyya*.

#### SECTION TWO, CHAPTER THREE

dinars,<sup>13</sup> carried by the elder Abū Naşr (9) b. Elisha<sup>14</sup>—may he be remembered with blessings {alt. tr.: favorably}!<sup>15</sup> Afterward, I learned from the elder Abū Zikrī, the Kōhēn //al-Sijilmāsī//, the brother-in-law of my master, Sheikh Maḍmūn,<sup>16</sup> (10) that the civet arrived duly {lit., 'safely'} in Miṣr (Fustat); however, as they did not find you there, my brother, they forwarded it to you (11) to Sicily with a trustworthy Jew called Samuel, (himself) a Sicilian.<sup>17</sup> //I hope it has reached you.//

<sup>14</sup> About this important India trader from Alexandria, see III, 15, line 32. Abū Nașr carried a consignment for Madmūn and also consented to make a delivery for Ben Yijū. Forty dinars were sufficient for one year of modest living. {For Abū Nașr, see 487, n. 2. As indicated by the alternate translation in line 8 (see note there), the consignment for Madmūn was not explicitly mentioned. For the value of the dinar, see Goitein, *Med. Soc.* 1:359.}

<sup>15</sup> 5 Hebrew *yizzākhēr beţõvā*, a blessing for the living. The usual form is *be-ţõv*, so in {I, 34a, line 11; IV, line 33; VI, 21*v*, line 7} VI, 26, line 3; VI, 27, line 30; ib. margin, line 21, etc. For the Arabic equivalent *ahsana 'llāhu dhikrahu*, see IV, 18, margin, line 4, IV, 31, line 33, V, 2, line 19. {This can be associated with the variant *yizkerēhū be-ţōvā* or *yizkerehā be-ţōvā*, 'may He remember him/her favorably,' in III, 48*v*, line 34 and III, 49, line 10. But a closer Arabic equivalent can be cited from PSR 1444, line 9: *dhakarahu 'llāhu bi-khayr*. For *yizzākhēr* alone, see III, 48, line 32; III, 49, line 38. For the blessing *z*"*l* for the living, see 312, n. 4.}

<sup>16</sup> Abū Zikrī Judah b. Joseph ha-Kohen Sijilmāsī (Ben Yijū wrote 'Silijmāsī') is the subject of chap. 5. {Abū Zikrī often signed his name 'Abū Zikrī Kōhēn,' without the def. art. Here Ben Yijū uses the Arabic def. art., '*al*-Kōhēn.' He uses the same form in reference to a business associate in India, III, 27, sec. C, line 2. Abū Zikrī was probably visiting Aden, as he sometimes did, when he conveyed this information to Ben Yijū, rather than by correspondence. He died about a year later; see II, 61. 'Brother-in-law' here translates *sihr* in the original, the same word used below in line 25; for the use of this term, see the note to II, 24, line 31 (348, n. 76). Goitein (*Letters*, 62, in the introduction to the text translated there, II, 55; *Yemenites*, 39) noted that Madmūn married Abū Zikrī's sister. From II, 34, side d, lines 6–7, we learn that Abū Zikrī's wife was Maḥrūz b. Jacob's sister; see on him Introduction IIA2.

<sup>17</sup> A certain Samuel's arrival in Sicily (from Egypt) is mentioned in the letter of Peraḥyā and Moses Yijū to their father Joseph in III,  $43\nu$ , line 6. R. Samuel the Sicilian's death is announced in the letter of Peraḥyā and Moses' brother, Samuel Yijū, in III,  $48\nu$ , line 36.}

#### [C. Invitation to brother to join him in Aden]

I (also) met (12) Sheikh Sulaymān Ibn Gabbay [//...//]<sup>18</sup> and he told me that you have been reduced to a single loaf of bread; therefore, I ask you, (13) my brother, to come to me under any circumstances and without delay; *come down to me without delay*, (14) *there I will provide for you*.<sup>19</sup> I have a son and a daughter, take them and take with them (15) all the money and the riches—may the Lord fulfill my wishes for good and yours!<sup>20</sup> (16) Come quickly and take possession of this money; this is better than strangers taking it.<sup>21</sup>

#### [D. Offer to give daughter in marriage]

(17) Also, find out who is the best of the sons of my brother Joseph or the sons of your sister<sup>22</sup> Berākhā, so that I may marry him off to my daughter. (18) After you come here, we shall live in Aden or Fustat or Alexandria, if it will (19) not be possible for us to go to al-Mahdiyya or to Ifrīqiya, namely, to Tunis or Qayrawān.<sup>23</sup> (20) Everything, of course, is in God's hand {alt. tr.: But God governs all}.

## [E. Greetings, condolence, etc.]

Please convey the best greetings to your brother Joseph and to his children {alt. tr.: sons}<sup>24</sup> in my name, and say (21) to him: "Your brother

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Here, certainly, Egyptian dinars and ounces are intended. In 1133, ten ounces civet perfume cost in Gairo seven dinars; see V, 1, lines 18–19. {Ben Yijū, writing in Egypt, notes the value of ten ounces in 1153 as nine dinars minus a fraction: III, 42, list 3, lines 5–6; but according to VII, 38*v*, line 14-margin, line 1, ten ounces were worth eight dinars. In III, 15, lines 30–34, it is also noted that Madmūn sent with Abū Naṣr 40 dinars for Mevassēr, without further specification. But in II, 29, line 3, it is specified that Ben Yijū had asked Madmūn to send 40 Malikī dinars, not Egyptian dinars. Presumably the same sum is referred to in all three documents, but the matter requires further study.}

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Gabbay, 'Almoner,' is a common Jewish family name today, but is rare in the Geniza. It is likely that this Sulaymān Ibn Gabbay is none other than the merchant bearing this name who accompanied the Spanish Hebrew poet Judah ha-Levi on his voyage to Egypt in 1140. See Goitein, "A Letter to Judah ha-Levi," 345. {See above, page 68. The supralinear addition is illegible. In his unpublished papers, Goitein suggested, with hesitation, *al-Andalusī*. But the letter before *s* appears to be *alif*. Perhaps read *al-Fāsī*.}

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Gen. 45:9, 11. Joseph sending a message to his father Jacob.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> {Cf. Ps. 20:6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Cf. III, 41, lines 23–24 (and 730, n. 24), written after the death of Ben Yijū's son.}

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> In lines 22, 20, he speaks of '*my* sister' and '*your* brother.' {Here he apparently wrote 'his' first then corrected to 'your.'}

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Ifrīqiya is present-day Tunisia. Interesting is the emergence of the town of Tunis, which was of little importance in the eleventh century, and the revival of Qayrawān. In a few more years the whole region came under Almohad domination and was uninhabitable for non-Muslims.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> {Arabic *awlād*, which in the continuation the writer uses for sons rather than children.}

Abraham says to you: By God, I shall not grudge you a thing; this money, which I have here, (22) is at your disposal." Likewise, greet my sister Berākhā and her children {alt. tr.: sons} and tell her (23) the same.

I heard that Ma'mar, Yumn's husband, died,<sup>25</sup> but was not sure about {alt. tr.: unable to verify} it. If it is (24) true, may God comfort you all! However, by these lines,<sup>26</sup> it is hard for me to write words of consolation on the death (25) of anyone {lit., 'it is hard for me to console anyone on his death'}.<sup>27</sup>

Convey to my brother-in-law Marwān,<sup>28</sup> son of Zikrī—*may he rest in Eden!*—Ibn Biḥār<sup>29</sup> the best greetings in my name—may God (26) keep him alive and preserve him for you!<sup>30</sup>—and likewise to Abu 'l-Barakāt b. Qayyōmā<sup>31</sup> the best greetings.

[F. Further plea to Mevasser to come and take over business]

(27) By God, and again by God,<sup>32</sup> do not delay your coming here, take this dirhem,<sup>33</sup> (28) which I have earned, and buy and sell with it, God

<sup>27</sup> Abraham was shaken by the terrible news from his native country, to which he had intended to return, and was in general a tired man. {Arabic *la-gad 'azza 'alayya al-'azā' fībi wāḥid*. In his original draft, Goitein adhered to the literal translation. I take the phrase to mean that Ben Yijū was so grieved by Ma'mar's death that he could not console anyone else over it and left the consolation to God.}

<sup>28</sup> This name of the founder of the second Umayyad dynasty was in use among Jews in Syria and Spain, countries formerly ruled by the Umayyads. See Goitein, *Letters*, 87, n. 22. {This Marwān is also mentioned in III, 41*v*, line 5; see also the introduction to III, 50.}

50.} <sup>29</sup> 'The Seas,' 'An Ocean of Bounty,' a family name still popular in many different forms with North African Jews.

 $^{30}$  {The blessing is added to his name after the death of the other brother-in-law was mentioned.

<sup>31</sup> For the name Qayyōmā, see Friedman, JMP, 2:439, where this reference is also found.

 $^{32}$  In the original, the urgency is emphasized by repeating God's name four times: *wa-'llāh Allāh thumma Allāh Allāh*, 'by God, by God, and again by God, by God.' See 730, n. 18, where the text is torn away after the first pair. Cf. here, verso, line 2, *fa-'llāh Allāh*, which appears frequently in our papers.

<sup>33</sup> Arabic *dirham* parallels *mal* in the rest of the letter and means simply 'money.' The dictionaries give the plural *darahim* in this sense, but not the singular. *Dirham* is used willing. Saying less about this would have been enough.<sup>34</sup> (29) Would I try {read: set out}<sup>35</sup> to write all that is in my heart, no letter could contain it and no epistle could comprise it.

(30) Written on the 7th of Tishre—may God let you partake in the blessings of the month {lit., 'acquaint you with its blessings'}!—of the year (31) 1461 E.D.<sup>36</sup>

## [G. Postscripts: Greetings]

To the cantor {R.} Moses, son of the cantor Abraham—may he rest in Eden!<sup>37</sup>— [Margin] my best regards. And Peace. And to my brother, his children {alt. tr.: sons} and [his] wife special greetings. Likewise, to my sister, her husband Marwān, her sons and her daughter, special greetings. And to the daughters of my paternal uncle, their sons and their daughters greetings. To my maternal aunt and her ch[ildren] {alt. tr.: so[ns]} greetings. Greetings to you and to your household!<sup>38</sup>

[H. Forwarding of letters, more urging and greetings]

[Verso] (1) I gave instructions that my letters to you should be in the hands of Sheikh Abraham b. Joseph—*may he rest in Eden!*—Ibn al-Baqqāl ('Grocer')<sup>39</sup>—(2) may God ordain his safe arrival! And, by God, come as quickly as possible to Aden {add: God willing}.

<sup>35</sup> Arabic ghazaytu for ghazawtu. {I read ji'tu. For this use of jā'a with following imperf., see, e.g., Wehr, Dictionary, 150. The synonymous dhahab is used the same way, e.g., IV, 78, line 2, law dhahabtu aşif, 'were I to begin to describe.' For this expression, see Diem, Arabische Briefe, 73. Braslavsky, "Jewish Trade," 137, also read ji't, but not being familiar with the nqtl form for first pers. sg. imperf. (see page 743, note 5), he translated (139), with following naktub: "were you to come, we would write."}

<sup>37</sup> {Ben Yijū sends regards to him also in III, 41*v*, line 9.} Up to the present day, in Jewish North Africa, the public offices are rigorously hereditary; see Chouraqui, *La Condition juridique*, 123.

<sup>39</sup> Having been informed that his letters would be forwarded to them through this merchant, Ben Yijū's family would inquire with him from time to time whether any mail had arrived for them. About Abraham b. Joseph, see II, 70, line 22 and the accompanying note. He was a native of al-Mahdiyya, like the Yijū's, and actually contacted Ben Yijū's nephews; see III, 46, lines 27–28, where we find him traveling from Tyre to Sicily. {There he is referred to as Abraham of al-Mahdiyya and he carried letters also for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Ma'mar (or Mu'ammar), 'Long-lived.' Yumn, 'Happiness, Good Luck.' She must have been another sister of Abraham Yijū, for Abraham's granddaughter was also called by this name (III, 55, top, line 12), presumably because the sister had no offspring of her own.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> An oath, meaning: just as the letter, which the receiver holds in his hands, is something real, thus the assertion is true. {Arabic *wa-ḥaqq hādhihi 'l-aḥruf*. While not very common, this oath is found in a number of letters: II, 58, line 15, III, 41, margin (also written by Ben Yijū), III, 47, line 12 (written by Moses Yijū, Ben Yijū's nephew), VI, 1, line 24.]

the same way, in the quote, or rather paraphrase, of Abraham Ben Yijū's letter in III, 50, line 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> The same expression in III, 41, line 25.}

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> September 11, 1149.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> 1 Sam. 25:6.

(3) And kiss the soil<sup>40</sup> before my lord, //our teacher// Labrat, the dayyān (judge), son of his honor, our master and teacher Moses, (4) the dayyān-may he rest in Eden!<sup>41</sup>---(and convey to him) the best greetings; to all my friends of my age class {alt. tr.: our coreligionists of my generation},42 the best greetings. And Peace.

# [I. Inquiry about the disaster that befell Tunisia]

(5) I heard what happened to {alt. tr.: of the tragic events43 in} the coastland of Ifrīqiya, Tripoli, Jerba, Qarqanna, (6) Sfax, al-Mahdiyya, and Sūsa. No letter, however, from which I could learn who died and who remained alive, has arrived.44 (7) By God, write exact details {confirm in writing]<sup>45</sup> and send your letters with reliable people to soothe my mind. And Peace.

<sup>40</sup> Üsed in reference to a judge, Muslim or Jewish. Abraham Ben Yijū had no doubt studied under Labrat II (see page 552), and was himself an accomplished Talmudic scholar, as is evident from the many learned notes written by him on the reverse sides of letters received in his office. {For kissing the ground before a Muslim, see an example in the introduction to II, 67a, before a Jewish judge see II, 74, line 1.

<sup>41</sup> For Labrat b. Moses, see III 29a.

<sup>42</sup> Arabic ashābunā bny gyly. As the italics in his translation indicate, Goitein took the last two words to be Hebrew, bene gili. They could very well be Arabic (as noted by Braslavsky, "Jewish Trade," 139, n. 14), banī jīlī. For ashābunā, 'coreligionists,' see above, page 202, n. 25. <sup>43</sup> Arabic *mā ṭarā*.}

<sup>44</sup> Ben Yijū had heard about the Norman devastation and occupation of the Tunisian coastland, but knew no details as to how his friends and acquaintance were affected by these events. The towns mentioned are well known, with the exception of Qarqana, an island ten miles off the coast of Sfax. See Yaqut, Geographical Dictionary, 4:66-67, who says that the scholars spelled the name Qarqanna, while local people pronounced it with one n. {See Louis, "Qarqana," according to whom after conquering al-Mahdiyya in 1148, the Normans raided Qarqana, which is an archipelago, consisting of two main islands fifteen miles from the Sfax coast, but did not take possession of it until 1153. Cf. Hirschberg, History, 1:85.

<sup>45</sup> Arabic taktubū wa-tu'akkidū. Cf. Dozy, Supplément, 2:836b.

# [J. Address]

(1) This letter [should reach] my dear brothers-may God prolong [their] live[s]!—(2) Joseph and Mevasser, the sons of Perahya—may he rest in Eden!-Ben<sup>46</sup> Yijū. God may recompense him that will be concerned (3) to make an effort to transmit it into their hands, and from the Lord he will receive good reward!<sup>47</sup>

(4) Convey and get remuneration.<sup>48</sup> This is a deposit entrusted {alt. tr.: Steadfast faithfulness.}<sup>49</sup>

(1) (From) Their brother, who is longing for them—(2) may God unite him with them!-(3) Abraham b. Perahyā-may he rest in Eden!-Ben Yijū. To al-Mahdiyya, God willing, or anywhere else (5) in Ifrīgiya.

<sup>46</sup> I leave here 'Ben' (instead of 'Ibn'), because Ben Yijū, especially in the French spelling Benichou, is still common among Jews of North African origin, of whom Paul Benichou, the author of Morales du Grand Siècle (6th ed., 1948) is particularly well known.

<sup>47</sup> {Unlike the following phrases in line 4, such elaborate blessings (in Arabic and Hebrew) for divine reward to the messenger who makes an effort to deliver a letter are unusual in the Geniza. They reflect the uncertainties in sending a letter with an unknown address. On the other hand, we note the similar wishes on letters from other members of the Yijū family. In III, 48v, Samuel b. Joseph Yijū writes (also in Arabic and Hebrew) on his letter from Sicily to his brothers Perahya and Moses: "Whoever delivers it-it will be considered a meritorious act-to Alexandria or Fustat may he be blessed by the Almighty and may He decree his safety on land and sea!" And on his letter, their father Joseph b. Perahyā Yijū writes (III, 49v): "And he who makes the effort to deliver them, may there be fulfilled for him 'When you pass through water, I will be with you,'etc. (Isa.43:2). And may He provide him with support and aid. [...] Whoever sees my letters should act in my behalf for the sake of heaven and make an effort to deliver them. May the Lord bless him with the blessing of the Patriarch Abraham and guard his going and coming (cf. Ps. 121:8). Amen."}

<sup>48</sup> Arabic balligh tujar (or tu'jar). The same formula, in Arabic letters, in III, 55, a letter from Abraham Ben Yijū's nephew, written many years later. The meaning of the formula is evident: on delivery the bearer of the letter will receive a reward from God. It is found also in a letter, quoted by Goldziher, "Mélanges," 55. Goldziher read blgt wid; however, from a photograph of the document referred to, DK XVII, it appears that there, too, balligh tujar is to be read. The comparatively rare occurrence of the formula in our documents is to be explained by the fact that, on the India route, letters were normally carried by business friends, while on the southern shore of the Mediterranean, mail was sent with paid messengers, fayj. {Another example of balligh tujar in Arabic letters is found in IV, 52. On whether or not this phrase implies that the reward will be from God, see Goitein, Med. Soc., 1:284 and the note to III, 55v (789, n. 25). A letter from the Red Sea port of Qusayr, reads at the end of the address, as edited (Guo, Commerce, 304); بلغ بلغ (*ballagh nūḥ amānīh mawlāh*), which the editor translated: "Nūh has fulfilled نوح امانيه مولاه his master's wishes." The Arabic obviously should be read: المغ توجر امانة مودّاه (balligh tujar amāna mu'addāh) and translated: "Convey and get remuneration, as a trust to be delivered" (on the last words, see 257, n. 13). For fayj, pl. fuyuj; cf. Goitein, ib., 283-84.}

<sup>49</sup> About this Hebrew formula, see 257, n. 13. In III, 55, address, too, it is found together with the Arabic formula just discussed.

the nephew, Moses b. Joseph Yijū, to his family. This, however, could refer to Abraham b. Elijah of al-Mahdiyya, the addressee of III, 30. Also see the note to III, 41, line 35, where Goitein assumes that Abraham mentioned there is the same Abraham b. Joseph. In his introduction to II, 70 and his note to II, 70, line 22 (529, n. 21), Goitein remarked that Ibn al-Baqqāl had been in Aden in 1149 (as he was in 1146, according to III, 12, line 34, there called Abu Ishaq b. Joseph) and that he took from Ben Yiju his letter on his way back to Egypt. The present letter was apparently one of several sent to the family.}