(6H) III,18

# Five Accounts written by Ben Yiju in India

# Between 1136 and 1149

ULC T.-S. 20.137 verso

46, 5 x 12, 5 cm

The accounts are written on the back of No. 29, a letter sent by Madmun from Aden to India in 1135. See the description of the ms. there. As B.Y. returned from India in 1149, see No. 68, the accounts must have been written between these two dates. The accounts are separated from each other by intervals of 2-4 lines left blank. Section C is very much damaged and effaced. The beginning and the end of the page were cut away, see No. 29.

# End of Account A

This is the end of a draft of a yearly account for a merchant, most probably residing in Aden, for whom Ben Yiju did business in India. A good example of a fair copy of such an account is No. 81.

#### Deals in Cardamom and Iron

The name of the merchant for whom the account was made (see 1.2) is not preserved. A deal in cardamom with B.Y. through the Kardar (1.2) is referred to in Halaf b. Isaac's letter to B.Y. No. 58, 11.27-34. From this, however, it does not follow necessarily that he is meant here.

Mitqal (abridged here as m.) certainly denotes the Egyptian gold coin, see 1.11.

Cardamom and iron appear together frequently, e.g. below E, 11. 6-7;

("eggs")

No. 60, 1.11; No. 66, 1.6; No. 67, 1.29, perhaps because they were exported from the same ports.

The upshot of the cardamom business is the following: The Kardar had not bought the two bahars ordered, and Ben Yiju had to procure them from elsewhere on his own account; in any case, the merchant for whom the account was made is not charged as Halaf in No. 58, 11.27-34, had indeed demanded, cf. ib. Ben Yiju had to pay 17 m., while the Kardar was expected to procure them for 14 m., which indicates perhaps that the K. specialized in that commodity, see below section E.

As to the iron deal, 11.6-11, it seems strange that a <u>bahar</u> of <u>muhdat</u>, "refurbished" iron, which was regarded as inferior, see No. 60, 1.36, was sold in Mangalore for 3 1/2 m. while the same quantity of <u>amlas</u>, "smooth" cost 2 m. in Fandarina. On the other hand, one gets the impression that B.Y. acted here in compliance with No. 60, 11. 36-40, exchanging the "smooth" for the "refurbished" iron.

Here the "smooth" is packed in juniyas, bags, and not in barbaza, as in No. 60, 1.38.

In addition to cardamom and iron, the account had contained many other entries, for the total given at the end, 1.12, is 75 m., while the sums mentioned here do not sum up to more than 35 m. As stated above, the upper part of the page was cut away.

(1) The balance of the account from the bs!rh (bisara?) 3 m. (LOSS)

(2) The Kadar (!) - may God curse him - owned him 14 m. (3) for (an order of) two bahar cardamom, which he did not deliver. I bought him (4) instead two b. from Fandarina for 17 m. (5) Thus I paid for him 3 m. more and the freight of the cardamom, which was one m. and a half.

(6) In his favor lh m., the proceeds of h b. "refurbished" iron (sold) in Manjarur. (7) For this, I bought him from Fandarina 6 b. (8) "smooth" iron in two juniyas, (bags) price 12 m., freight (9) two m., which makes the account even.

The bags and the expenses are included (10) in the price, they were one eighth of a  $\underline{m}$ .

To his debit (11) damage of two Filiya m., a raubaj // and hfsw't // making one sixth (((corrected from: one eighth))) of a m.

(12) Total 75 m. less one third. (13) Balance in his favor one m. and one quarter, with which the whole account is closed.

- I This is the end of the previous item; bisara means "insight", "intimate knowledge", but one expects here the name of a merchandise or a ship. The reading is above doubt.
- 2 Kadar For Kardar, see No. 51, 1.13. This Persian word was misspelled by the Arabic writing merchants in different ways, see below E, 1.1. God's curse is invoked upon this agent of doubtful reputation also in No. 58, 1.27.
- expenses Ar. muna, which means here most probably the cost of the transport Pankara'ina overland from Fandarina to Mangalore, while with "freight" of course the payment for the transport overseas is intended. As the cost, together with that for the bags, was less than 1/100 of the price, it was included in the latter, with other words the merchant in Fandarina undertook to deliver the iron in Mangalore, packed ready for overseas transport.
- It is not stated here, on what the damage was incurred. This was certainly done in one of the previous items.

Filipa or fili is an Indian coinage of both gold and silver and is called in No. 239, 1.2 and verso, 1.4 fili Kullam, i.e. the coinage of the port of Kullam (Quilon). The filipa mitqal seems to have been more or less equivalent with the Egyptian, as once it corresponds to 2,5 Adenese Maliki dinare. For a more detailed discussion see vol. I, ch. "Coins and Money".

For raubaj see below D. 1. 3, and in particular No. 65, 11. 5-6. hfswit

# Account B(1)

# Expenditure for Ben Yiju's Brass factory

In order to understand this section, we have to bear in mind that the metals (copper and tin or zinc) were normally provided by the customers, as we learned from many letters to B.Y., cf. No. 51 ff. Likewise they paid the individual coppersmith for his work, cf. No. 51 verso, 1.5; No. 219 (55 x), 1.21. The proprietor provided the place, the tools and, as we see here, also the fuel (for which the artisan had to pay)—and, of course, it was he who procured customers. Conditions similar to those found in our papers seem to have remained up to the end of the 19th century, see Census of India, 1931, vol. 28, section Travancore, Trivandrum 1932, p. 450.

Expenditure, as is evident from 1.4, means cost of fuel, as which rice husks served. For this is the meaning of ruzz here. Rice husks are still used as fuel in the bronze industry, see the above mentioned volume on the Census of India, p. 449.

In addition to LNGY (on the pronunciation of this name see the Commentary), who worked on his own account and provided in one case also a small quantity of

copper, B.Y. worked himself with the assistance of slaves and a man called Abram, most probably a local or Yemenite Jew.

The subsection B(1) is divided into two parts, the total in 1.5 referring to part two only.

#### Translation

- (1) Due from LNGY for expenditure ten filiya dirhams and one Egyptian (?) mitqal.
- (2) The period of the expenditure begins on the New Moon of Nisan and it is 30 nacl, 5 for every month.
- (3) Due to LNGY 4 dirhams and also for 33 fills of BTRW (copper) the price of
- (4) six dirhams and a half and half a faj. Furthermore, due to him the cost of the rice husks for my expenditure and that (5) of the slaves and of Abram at the price of two dirhams and a half. Altogether 13 dirhams and half a faj.

- LNGY Could be pronounced as Lanji, Linji, Langi, Lingi with variations. It is perhaps not an Indian name, cf. the name Ben LNGW in No. 158, 1.5, where  $f_{\mu\nu}$  also  $g_{\mu\nu}$  certainly a North African is intended (dated 1037).
- 2 The Jewish month of Nisan corresponds to March-April. The fuel was thus provided for the six months of spring and summer.
- na<sup>c</sup>l Cf. 11. 9, 10 and 11. Obviously a certain measure.

  fill 1/100 of a farasila, see No. 51 margin, 1.1.

  BTRW A type of copper, see No. 13b, 1.19.
- faj A small Indian coin, as we see here less than 1/2 dirham. See here and Nos. 65 and 200(67x), passim.

# Account B(2) Sundry Entries

### Translation

(6) Due from me to by brother-in-law Nā'ir one dinār. (7) To Sulaiman one fāj and a third, the price of the dadī. (8) To Joseph, the maternal uncle of work work in the james and a half and half a fāj. (9) To Joseph LNBY in Darmattan a nacl of melted butter ((( for half a dirham))). (10) To him also due the price of 5 nacls rice husks. Due from him 3 fāliyāt and another 3 fāliyāt. (11) Also two nacls.

#### Commentary

Three tracker in laws of B.Y. appear in our papers. Na'ir and Joseph, is probably identical with CA mentioned here, 11.6 and B. and Abu C'li, who came with him can to Cairo, see the list of the donators for B.Y.'s synagogue in J. Mann, The Jews in Egypt etc., II, 292, 11.12, 21 and 25, and in particular ms. SIG T. - S. 6 K 149, a list, which is headed by "Abu V'li, the brother-in-law of Ben Yiju", which shows, that the man was known in Cairo under this designation. From all this it is evident that B.Y., while out in the East, married there a local Jewish woman, Indian or Yemenite.

Na'ir - This Arabic name is extremely rare; however, it occurs again in No. 200(67x) verso, margin, where it is borne by the brother of the Kardar. Evidently it was in use in those parts. More probably it is a translation of the brother was in use in those parts.

7 This Sulaiman may be identical with S. b. Sitrun, who, in No. 73, 11,27 and 35, brings merchandise and greetings from Abraham Yiju to his brother Joseph.

dadi - This product also No. 223 (72x-b), 1.52, No. 179, 11, 2, 15, 19. See Meyerhof-Maimonide, Matièré médicale, Cairo 1940, p. 46, No. 86, and in

particular 0. Loefgren, Aden im Mittelalter, p. 51, 1.8, from which it appears clearly, that dad was used for fermenting processes in the production of wine. About the countries of origin of the dad see the literature given by Meyerhof and Loefgren. According to Idrisi's ms. book on plants, quoted by Meyerhof, the best quality of this edible lichen (Lecanora esculenta Ev.) grew in Khorasan in North Eastern Iran, although an inferior quantity was found also in Spain. Thus it was obviously imported into India. On the other hand, dadhi is a common word in India for curdled milk, see George Watt, The Commercial Products of India, London 1908, p. 470 and 474, and thus perhaps the very word came from there. From our No. 179 it appears, however, that the dad occurring in these documents was imported into India.

- the maternal uncle Of course, B.Y. could have written instead: "my brother-in-law". However, as he had used the word two lines before, he prefers to introduce another expression, in accordance with a principle of Arabic stylistics, which acted certainly quite subconsciously.
- 9 LNBY As another LNBY appears in No. 65, 11.2, 13, 15, this one is differentiated from the other by the name of his domicile. Darmattan or Darmadam (Dharmapattanam "city of the law" or "of pepper", Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Oxford 1899) is according to Husain Nainar, The Arab Geographers knowledge of Southern India, Madras 1942, p. 32, note, identical with Dahfattan, see above No. 56, 1.17.
- 10 <u>fäliyät</u> Most probably identical with <u>filiya</u>, above A, 1.11.
- 11 two nacls Certainly of rice husks, see 1.10.

#### Account C

## Advances to important merchants

This section is very poorly preserved and, in addition, crossed out, which means that the accounts registered had been settled. It is interesting to learn from it that these merchants, one of whom is called a ship's-owner, took comparatively small advances. This seems to indicate that money always was in rotation and even bigger merchants did not keep with them much cash. For orders, sometimes money was paid in advance. In other cases, payment was not made even immediately after delivery, see 1.10.

## Transl ation

- ((( (1) Due to the brother, my master, the Namoda Sacd 5 filing mitqal, as advance.
- (2) Of these, he took 3 filiya m. Balance in his favor: (3) two f.m.
- (3a) To my master...Sa<sup>C</sup>d one <u>dinār</u> advance. (4) Another <u>d</u>. advance. (5) Due to him two Maliki <u>dinārs</u>. He took for one dinar wax (3) and two <u>nis afis</u>.
- (6) .... (7) .... (8) Due to my master, the most illustrious Sheikh Abu
  'l-Hasan b. Ja<sup>C</sup>far (9) two dinars for the locks from Kajandra(?). (10) ... One
  fili mital advance. (11) ..... betel-nut(?) and he took eight nisafis.)))

#### Commentary

the brother - this merely indicates that Ben Yija was an intimate friend of this ship's-owner, who seems not to be mentioned in other papers published here. B.Y. had promised him an advance on the purchase of some merchandise to the amount of 5 filiyā mitqāls, of which Sacd, so far, had cashed in

- only 3. LL. 3a and 4 show that the rest was paid in another two instalments (under the assumption that B.Y. uses here dinar loosely for mitqal. For in 1.5, Maliki dinars are mentioned expressly, which makes it improbable that Maliki dinars were intended here as well).
- 5 wax See No. 65, 1.10.

nişafi - This half-dinar of Yemen - see No. 28, 1.34, No. 56, 11.40-4 - was in use in India just as the Maliki dinar of Aden, see here 1.11 and No. 223 (72x-b)c, 1.1.

- 8 Abu 'l-Hasan In No. 56, 1.25, he is carrying goods for B.Y. from India to Aden.
- 9 For Indian locks, see No. 57, 1. 15.

#### Account D

- (1) Due to my master Sheikh Abu )1-Hasan Ibn al-Marida of Qairwan (2) two filipa mitqals advance. Furthermore a dirham to the boy of ....
- (3) He received six Egyptian mitqals less one raubaj (4) for which he will deliver two farasila of copper (sufr).

- 1 Ibn al-Marida An important businessman, as appears from No. 60, 1.19. He, or his family, came from Q. in Tunisia.
- 2 boy Som or servant.
- Leaving Aden, a bahar of copper cost from 60 to 68 Maliki dinars, see No. 61(30x-a), 11.11-2, and No. 28, 1.26. As a farasila normally was 1/20 of a bahar, 2 farasilas would have cost 6 to 6, 8 M.d. If the reading mary is correct, then here the price would be about 2 1/2 times higher, as one

Egyptian m. was worth about 2 1/2 Maliki d. Naturally, for a commodity coming from the West, prices would be higher in India than in Aden. Still, the differences seems to be too great. Perhaps mlky' is to be read for msry'; on the other hand, here again we would be forced to assume that B.Y. uses the word loosely, as in all our papers Maliki dinars, but not mitqals, are mentioned.

## Account E(1) and (2)

Other dealings (1) in cardamom with the Kardar and (2) in cardamom and iron with an Indian supplier.

The Kardar had not delivered a consignment of cardamom for a merchant called Semah b. Nissi. Instead, we have to assume, B.Y. had done it. B.Y. is now being compensated with another consignment, which he reserves for a relative of his, for whom he also placed orders with an Indian business friend.

## Translation

- (1) Due to me from the Kadar (!) //for// the cardamom of Şemah b. Nissi
- (2) twenty eight farasila cardamom in bales(?), of which I shall take delivery
- (3) on the first day of Kislew, if God will, for Abu 'l-Hai(r?) (4) Ibn al-Minna..., the son of my maternal aunt. He paid me two .... dinars in advance.
- (5) Due to me from FL'DR S'NK Das in Fandarina: (6) two bahars "smooth" iron and 3 farasila and 55 fill (7) cardamom in bales(?) for Abu 'l-Hai(r?) Ibn al-Minna, may (God) make permanent his ....(8) of which he will take delivery from him in QNY'T, if God will.

- 1 Kadar The same misspelling as above A, 1.1.
- 2 For 28 farasila one would have expected: 1 bahar and 8 far. It seems,

however, that reckoning according to <u>farasilas</u> was common in Mangalore, where B.Y. had his seat.

bales(?) - Ar. FTS, perhaps to be read fais and to be translated by "bales", cf. Dozy, Supplément II, 293 faisa "bande", with the derivation fayyas "bander, lier avec une bande". The word is derived from Spanish, but appears as a loanword in Arabic already in the XIIIth century Vocabulary, edited by Schiaparelli. Thus it would not be excluded that it was used by merchants coming from the West to India in the XIIth century. However, the word might mean something quite different; thus fais in modern Yemenite speech is a common word in the meaning of "open field"; accordingly, the phrase could indicate here, that the cardamom was still not plucked, but on the fields; in this case, however, one would rather expect bil-fais. In any case, the reading of the letters, both in 11.2 and 7, is sure.

- 3 Kislew November/December.
- Hen Yiju extends greetings to his maternal aunt in his letter No. 68 margin, 1.20. The two letters after the name may contain a eulogy. This is the only indication of a person from the Yiju family being out in India together with Abraham Y.

Before the word dinars, one expects "Maliki", which is, however, not sufficiently legible.

- As the familiar component of an Indian name "Das" (servant) indicates, the person must have been a Hindu.
- 8 QNY'T Obviously the name of a place. The form of the letter N is slightly unusual, but hardly another letter could be read in its place.