Abraham's Luggage

From a single merchant's list of baggage begins a history that explores the dynamic world of medieval Indian Ocean exchanges. This fresh and innovative perspective on Jewish merchant activity shows how this list was a component of broader trade connections that developed between the Islamic Mediterranean and South Asia in the Middle Ages. Drawing on a close reading of this unique twelfth-century document, found in the Cairo Genizah and written in India by north African merchant Abraham Ben Yiju, Lambourn focuses on the domestic material culture and foods that structured the daily life of such India traders, on land and at sea. This is an exploration of the motivations and difficulties of maintaining homes away from home, and the compromises that inevitably ensued. *Abraham's Luggage* demonstrates the potential for writing challenging new histories from the accidental survival of apparently ordinary ephemera.

Elizabeth A. Lambourn is a historian of South Asia and the Indian Ocean world, specializing in cultural exchanges with the Middle East before 1500. She is Reader (Associate Professor) in South Asian and Indian Ocean Studies at De Montfort University in the UK.

ASIAN CONNECTIONS

Series editors

Sunil Amrith, Harvard University Tim Harper, University of Cambridge Engseng Ho, Duke University

Asian Connections is a major series of ambitious works that look beyond the traditional templates of area, regional or national studies to consider the transregional phenomena which have connected and influenced various parts of Asia through time. The series will focus on empirically grounded work exploring circulations, connections, convergences and comparisons within and beyond Asia. Themes of particular interest include transport and communication, mercantile networks and trade, migration, religious connections, urban history, environmental history, oceanic history, the spread of language and ideas, and political alliances. The series aims to build new ways of understanding fundamental concepts, such as modernity, pluralism or capitalism, from the experience of Asian societies. It is hoped that this conceptual framework will facilitate connections across fields of knowledge and bridge historical perspectives with contemporary concerns.

Abraham's Luggage

A Social Life of Things in the Medieval Indian Ocean World

Elizabeth A. Lambourn De Montfort University, Leicester





University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107173880 DOI: 10.1017/9781316795453

© Elizabeth A. Lambourn 2018

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2018

Printed and bound in Great Britain by Clays Ltd, Elcograf S.p.A.

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Lambourn, Elizabeth, 1966- author.

Title: Abraham's luggage : a social life of things in the medieval Indian ocean world / Elizabeth A. Lambourn, De Montfort University, Leicester. Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom : New York, NY, USA University

Press, 2018. | Printing House : Cambridge University Press, [2018] | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2017061571 | ISBN 9781107173880 (alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: India – Commerce – History – To 1500. | Ben Yijū, Abraham, active 12th century. | Jewish merchants – Middle East. | Commerce – History – Medieval, 500–1500.

Classification: LCC HF3785 .L36 2018 | DDC 382.09182/4–dc23 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2017061571

ISBN 978-1-107-17388-0 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

For Archibald Petty – "Uncle Archie" to me – who first showed me the world of things.

And for my husband Dominic who, having already shared me with Abraham Ben Yiju these past six years, will hopefully not begrudge me this dual dedication.

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-17388-0 — Abraham's Luggage Elizabeth A. Lambourn Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Contents

		<i>page</i> viii
	List of Tables	ix
	Acknowledgments	_X
	Notes on Style and Transliteration	xiv
	List of Abbreviations	XVI
1	Introduction: A List of Luggage from the Indian Ocean World	1
2	From Ifriqiya to Malibarat: Introducing Abraham Ben Yi	ju 37
Part	I A Mediterranean Society in Malibarat	65
3	Making Homes and Friends: On Shopping and Suhba	67
4	Making a Meal of It: On Food Cultures	104
5	A Jewish Home: On Ritual Foods	129
Part	II A Mediterranean Society at Sea	161
	·	
6	The "Simple" Bare Necessities: On Water and Rice	165
7	"Things for the Cabin": Inhabiting the Ocean	189
8	The Balanced Body: On Vinegar and Other Sour Foods	219
9	From Malibarat to Misr and Beyond – Afterlives	240
	Appendix Abraham's List of Luggage (India Book III, 24)	252
	Select Bibliography	268
	Index	288

vii

Figures

1a	Diagram summarizing the ductus of Abraham's luggage list,	
	T-S NS 324.114 (verso). Design by John Crawford.	page 4
1b	Photograph of T-S NS 324.114 (verso) in Cambridge	
	University Library. Reproduced by kind permission of the	
	Syndics of Cambridge University Library.	5
2a	Diagram summarizing the ductus of T-S NS 324.114 (recto).	
	Design by John Crawford.	6
2b	Photograph of T-S NS 324.114 (recto). Reproduced by kind	
	permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.	7
3	Map of maritime Eurasia. Design by Sebastian Ballard.	38
4	Map of northern Malibarat showing the principal port sites and	l
	rivers. Design by Sebastian Ballard.	51
5	Representation of a ship from the Maqāmāt (Assemblies) of al-	
	Hariri, Iraq, 634 AH/1236-37. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale,	
	Arabe 5847, fol. 248.	190
6	Double-page representation of the constellation al-Safina (Argo)
	Navis), al-Sufi's Kitāb Suwar al-Kawākib al-Thābitah (The Book	2
	of the Fixed Stars, Illustrated), 400 AH/1009-10. The Bodleian	
	Library, Oxford, Ms. Marsh 144, fols. 367-8.	200
7	Noah's Ark, from the Jāmi ^c al-Tawarīkh (Universal History) of	
	Rashid al-Din, Tabriz, Iran, 714 AH/1314–15. The Nasser	
	D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, MSS 727, fol. 45a (fol.	
	285a of the reconstructed manuscript).	209
8	Portable medicine chest. Dated to the later twelfth or first half	
	of the thirteenth century and recovered in northern	
	Afghanistan. The David Collection, Copenhagen, 89a-y/2003.	
	Photograph courtesy of Pernille Klemp.	223

viii

Tables

1	Household items dispatched to Abraham in Malibarat at no	
	charge.	page 71
2	Household items dispatched to Abraham in Malibarat and	
	charged for.	82

Acknowledgments

Beginnings are often difficult to pinpoint retrospectively, but the idea of writing about some aspect of what I now think of as the "Material Worlds of the India Book" goes back to a review I wrote in 2009 of *India Traders of the Middle Ages* for the British journal *South Asian Studies*. More than any other previous publication of India Book material it began to open up the material complexity and distinctiveness of the western Indian Ocean; I could not but be seduced. The idea for *Abraham's Luggage* took more concrete form during the summer of 2011. The credit here goes to the Leverhulme Trust, whose award of a Major Research Fellowship spurred a fertile and exciting period of research even before the award formally began in October 2011. This book is one of many outputs generated during the two years of that fellowship but this is the first monograph to emerge from it and I cannot thank the Trustees of the Leverhulme Trust enough, nor the anonymous reviewers who supported my application, for giving me these years to think. They were blissful and busy.

My Leverhulme award included funds for Research Assistants to revise translations of sources in languages other than Arabic and Persian. I am grateful to Sally Church for her verification and occasional revisions to the Chinese sources cited here, to Alastair Gornall for his work on the Sanskrit, to Daniel Davies and Philip Ackerman-Lieberman for initial work on Hebrew sources and to Ofer Livnat for coming on board as my research assistant in the final months of completing this manuscript. It has been a privilege to work with them all.

Many people and institutions have played a part in this book since 2011. The Sohaib and Sara Abbasi Program in Islamic Studies at Stanford University offered me a home for the duration of my Fellowship and in Green Library I found one of the best Humanities libraries I could have hoped for. Special thanks are due to the Abbasi Program's Burçak Keskin-Kozat and to Mary Louise Munill of Stanford's Interlibrary Services Information Center. Back in Leicester I am grateful to our own Interlibrary Loans staff and to DMU's History Research Group for funding assistance for library visits beyond the city.

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-17388-0 — Abraham's Luggage Elizabeth A. Lambourn Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Acknowledgments

Working on the India Book material in depth has brought new challenges, particularly with regard to the Judaeo-Arabic in which the majority of documents are written. With no published coursebook for the study of medieval Judaeo-Arabic, its apprenticeship depends on the willingness of specialist scholars to share their knowledge. I have benefited during this time from long exchanges with Amir Ashur, whose intellectual generosity and huge patience in answering my many questions have made this book possible. The final edition of the Judaeo-Arabic and its Arabic transliteration presented in the Appendix are his work. Mordechai Akiva Friedman has been similarly encouraging and ever willing to answer questions and queries. It goes without saying that this book could not have been written without all his work organizing, and so often completing, the edition and translation of the India Book documents begun by S.D. Goitein. Working on T-S NS 324.114 has given me a small insight into the huge scale and complexity of that task and any expression of gratitude and admiration is bound to feel inadequate.

These acknowledgments would not be complete without thanking the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit at Cambridge University Library and its Director Dr. Ben Outhwaite for access to its collections. Nor should I forget Marigold Acland, then Commissioning Editor with Cambridge University Press, who first approached me about publishing with the press, and, of course, her successor Lucy Rhymer. I am grateful to both for the time they spent with me in discussions about what eventually became *Abraham's Luggage*. During production my Content Manager Matt Sweeney and copy-editor Frances Brown were both a delight to work with and their attention to detail kept me on my toes.

In India, Kesavan Veluthat has generously shared his deep knowledge of medieval south Indian history and facilitated introductions to other scholars. Chinnappa Gowda and Surendra Rao were exemplary guides during my visit to Mangalore in August 2013, and B.A. Viveka Rai untiringly answered my many questions about Tulu language and culture. I am grateful to Mangalore University for hosting me during this time and to its library staff and the staff of the History Department for their warm welcome and cooperation; and to Tukaram Poojary and his wife for opening their ethnographic collection, the Thulu Baduku Vasthu Sangrahalaya at Bantwal, to me and answering questions about many objects.

During the course of researching and writing this book many scholars have answered questions, and read and fed back on draft chapters. There is no way to rank these contributions large and small, and I am equally grateful to everyone who has taken the time to interact with me. Thanks are due – in no order other than the alphabetical – to Philip Ackerman-

xii Acknowledgments

Lieberman, Christina Anderson, Menashe Anzi, Amir Ashur, Sussan Babaie, Lucy Blue, Gerrit Bos, John Chaffee, Christine Chojnacki, John Cooper, Paul Craddock, Donald Davis Jr., Jean-Charles Ducène, Nahyan Fancy, Finbarr Barry Flood, Arnold E. Franklin, Mordechai Akiva Friedman, Dorian Fuller, Ophira Gamliel, Jessica Goldberg, Monica Green, Shireen Hamza, Anne Haour, J.D. Hill, Rub'a Kana'an, Derek Kennet, Sharon Kinoshita, Mahmood Kooriadathodi, Mike Laffan, Ephraim Lev, Paulina Lewicka, Sarah Longair, Roxani Margariti, Kathleen Morrison, Nawal Nasrallah, Annliese Nef, István Perczel, Craig Perry, Sebastian Prange, Jessie Ransley, Mariam Rosser-Owen, Axelle Rougeulle, St. John Simpson, Patricia Skinner, Sharada Srinivasan, Zvi Stampfer, Eric Staples, Carol Symes, Roberta Tomber, Éric Vallet, Marijke van der Veen, Philip Wagoner, Cheryl Ward, Stephanie Wynne-Jones and Zhao Bing. Colleagues on Monica Green's MEDMED-L, the list for medieval medicine, generously advised and sent references. Sebastian Prange was kind enough to share final proofs of his forthcoming book Monsoon Islam. Lucy Greeves gave the manuscript a much-needed initial copyedit before submission.

Among those already mentioned above I need to single out for particular thanks those who took the time to read whole chapters for me, and even the whole book. J.D. Hill read a very early iteration of what is now Abraham's Luggage; I am similarly grateful to Cheryl Ward for reading what later became Chapters 6 and 7. Neither will probably recognize this book in its present form. Closer to the finish line I am indebted to Eric Vallet for detailed feedback on Chapters 1 and 2. Philip Ackerman-Lieberman and Jessica Goldberg both responded to Chapter 3 while Mordechai A. Friedman was kind enough to read Chapter 5 and direct me to a fuller use of Abraham Maimuni's responsa. Eric Staples made a thorough job of Chapters 6 and 7. Nahyan Fancy and Shireen Hamza wrested time to feed back on Chapter 8. I regret that there was in many cases no space to include the rich references they shared. Finally, I want to express a huge thank you to my long-time colleague Finbarr Barry Flood and to Mordechai Akiva Friedman for reading the whole manuscript before it went to press. As it is customary to say, any remaining omissions or errors are entirely my own.

At De Montfort University my colleagues Ruth Jindal, Christine Jordan and Grahame Hudson have uncomplainingly helped to defend my research and writing time from the ever encroaching demands of teaching and administration. This book would not have been completed without their help. Lastly, Elizabeth Edwards, whom I first met at DMU, has been a constant support and friend during the writing of *Abraham's Luggage* and her mentoring has been formative. Our conversations helped me

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-17388-0 — Abraham's Luggage Elizabeth A. Lambourn Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Acknowledgments

xiii

clarify different approaches but also spurred me not to give up on what sometimes felt like an unmanageably broad-ranging project.

This book is dedicated to Archie Petty, the man singlehandedly responsible for introducing me to the study of material things when I was barely a teenager. Without the opportunities he gave me to handle Georgian silver or visit the Japanese galleries at the V&A there is no doubt in my mind that I would not have chosen the career path I did and so, in many ways, this book is all his "fault." He is not alive to read *Abraham's Luggage* but as a Cambridge man and an alumnus of St John's, the British "home" of genizah studies, I like to think that he would have been more than enthusiastic about its subject matter.

I cannot finish my acknowledgments without thanking my husband Dominic Fried-Booth for unstinting and unquestioning love and support (and not a little bafflement) before, during and after the writing of this book. No one will be happier to see it finally published than him, and only he knows how much he has contributed, and how.

Notes on Style and Transliteration

I have kept diacriticals to a minimum, reserving them for transliterated passages and specialist terms. This book broadly follows the International Journal of Middle East Studies guidelines on translation and transliteration, though with a British twist. As Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary is not widely available in the UK I have substituted the Oxford English Dictionary Online. Non-English words that have now entered common British English (e.g. genizah, Torah, halaka, zakat) are spelled according to the OED and will not be singled out by either italics or diacriticals. As recommended by *IIMES* all placenames follow the modern English or most commonly used Romanized spelling. Although not geographical terms in current usage, for convenience I use Romanized Ifriqiya for the central North African area that includes Tunisia, and Malibarat, rather than *malībārāt*, to refer to the Malabar coast as this was the appellation used by the India traders. Personal names, titles, the names of organizations and titles of books and articles will not use diacritics but will otherwise follow IIMES transliteration and capitalization rules; they also preserve ^cayn and hamza. In a departure from *IJMES* guidelines, for convenience all specialist terms are made plural through the addition of "s."

All transliterated passages or titles are indicated in italics. Transliterated Arabic and Persian follow *IJMES* guidelines, Hebrew the guidelines of the Library of Congress (as recommended by *IJMES*), and Aramaic (extensively used in Jewish legal documents) likewise. A huge variety of transliteration systems exist for Indic languages and to simplify the matter in all cases here – principally for Sanskrit – I adopt the appropriate Library of Congress system while carrying across *IJMES*'s broader guidelines on what to transliterate and when. Chinese follows the Pinyin system. Regarding transliteration of the Judaeo-Arabic, there is no consensus on this and transliteration of the involves correcting colloquial usage to more normative Arabic forms as well as a substantial amount of guesswork about the voweling of the Middle Arabic. Wherever possible I have followed the spellings used in S.D. Goitein and Mordechai

xiv

Notes on Style and Transliteration

A. Friedman, India Traders of the Middle Ages: Documents from the Cairo Geniza ("India Book") (Leiden: Brill, 2008) or in other publications. I have relied for the main part on existing editions and translations but where I, or a research assistant, have translated a passage or revised an existing translation, this is indicated in the associated footnote.

With the exception of T-S NS 324.114, the piece of paper at the heart of this book, the different genizah documents I rely on are cited not by their collection accession number but by the India Book number assigned by S.D. Goitein. The "New List" of India Book documents is published on pages 826–30 of *India Traders of the Middle Ages*. This system helps to differentiate different texts found on a single fragment, as is the case with T-S NS 324.114, and also simplifies the many instances in which documents have been reconstituted from multiple fragmentary copies, often held across different collections.

Referencing follows Chicago Style as set out in *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 16th edn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010). In accordance with Chicago Style recommendations, scriptural and classical references are cited in text or in footnotes, not in the final bibliography. As is current practice in Jewish Studies, I include among these classic texts the corpus of rabbinic literature (the Talmud, for example). Likewise, dictionary and encyclopedia entries are not listed individually in the bibliography but indicated in the footnotes with facts of publication omitted.

Due to length restrictions, the final bibliography is a Select Bibliography only including those sources explicitly cited in the discussion. However, footnotes throughout the book gather wider background reading around different subjects.

All dates are CE unless otherwise indicated.

xv

Abbreviations

AH	Anno Hegiræ, the Islamic calendrical system
AM	Anno Mundi, Jewish calendar era based on the year of creation
BCE	Before Common Era
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
CE	Common Era
EALL	Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics
ED	Era of Documents, the Seleucid calendar used by
	medieval Jews
EI^2	Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edn
EIr	Encyclopaedia Iranica
EJ	Encyclopaedia Judaica
EJIW	Encyclopaedia of Jews in the Islamic World
IB	India Book
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
NS	New Series
OED Online	Oxford English Dictionary Online

xvi

© in this web service Cambridge University Press