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I. Articles

- 7 "Till the Women Finish Singing:" Historical Overview of
Cochin Jewish Women's Malayalam Songs
by Barbara C. Johnson
- 23 Differing Intentions in Vedic and Jewish Sacrifice
by Kathryn McClymond
- 39 India and the Land of Israel: Between Jews and Indians
in Ancient Times
by Meir Bar Ilan
- 79 Jewish Traders in the Indian Ocean—Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries:
A Review of Published Documents from the Cairo Genizah
by Brian Weinstein
- 95 The Camp for Polish Refugee Children at Balachadi, Nawanagar
by Kenneth X. Robbins
- ## II. Book Reviews
- 119 Benjamin J. Israel, *The Jews of India*
Reviewed by Shalva Weil
- 122 Nathan Katz, *Who Are the Jews of India?*
Reviewed by Ranabir Chakrabarty
- 127 Anil Bhatti and Johannes H. Voigt, eds.,
Jewish Exile in India: 1933-1945
Reviewed by Oren Baruch Stier
- 131 Richard C. Foltz, *Religions of the Silk Road: Overland Trade and
Cultural Exchange from Antiquity to the Fifteenth Century*
Reviewed by Steven Heine
- 133 Ken Blady, *Jewish Communities in Exotic Places*
Reviewed by Nathan Katz

III. Communications

135 Letter to the Editor

by Noreen Daniel

IV. Obituary

137 Shirley Berry Isenberg, 1918-2000

by Joan G. Roland

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From the editors

Welcome to the fourth issue of *The Journal of Indo-Judaic Studies*. We trust that you share our delight in the remarkable growth of our field. We are beginning to see signs that Indo-Judaic studies is assuming an significant role in intellectual and academic life. For example, universities are beginning to define faculty lines in the area, and recent grants awarded by the United States Office of Education have funded centers that explore the connections between south and west Asia in general.

We hope that the quality and diversity of articles in this issue is additional evidence that Indo-Judaic studies is "coming of age," or at least beginning to. This issue presents five new articles, five books reviews, a letter to the editor and one obituary. In our next issue, we will resume our bibliographic column.

Our first article, by anthropologist Barbara C. Johnson of Ithaca College in New York, is a study of Malayalam-language Jewish women's songs, a topic that has been a focus of her research for a number of years. She brings a welcome focus on women's religious life to the study of Indian Jewish communities.

Kathryn McClymond of Georgia State University presents a study of sacrifice in Vedic and Judaic traditions. Trained as a comparative historian of religions, Professor McClymond opens new understandings of the significance of intention in rituals.

We have two historical studies. The first, by Meir Bar Ilan, a professor of Talmud at Bar-Ilan University in Israel, surveys rabbinic literature to discern trading patterns between India and Israel in the ancient world. Brian Weinstein of Howard University in Washington, D.C., surveys published materials from the Cairo Genizah pertaining to Jewish India traders during the medieval period.

Finally, Kenneth X. Robbins, a Washington-area physician, art collector, and aficionado of India's princes, revisits the question of Nazi-era Polish refugees in India which was raised in our third issue. Dr. Robbins provides documents that those hosted at Nawanagar were not Jews, but dispossessed Poles. As we send issue number four to press, we are busy with reviewing and editing articles for issue number five. As always, articles, reviews and correspondence are most welcome.

“TILL THE WOMEN FINISH SINGING:” HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF COCHIN JEWISH WOMEN’S MALAYALAM SONGS¹

Barbara C. Johnson

Dedicated to the memory of Shirley Berry Isenberg¹

Probably since before their ancestors left their ancient Indian home in Cranganore in the sixteenth century, Keralan Jewish women have been performing songs in Malayalam—songs for weddings and other life-cycle events, biblical narratives, devotional hymns, and songs about the history and legends of their community. Song expert and translator Ruby Daniel, who was born in Cochin in 1912, described the central importance of this music in traditional Cochin Jewish life:

The Cochin Jews have many songs in the Malayalam language, which were sung only by women, especially at parties...On some occasions the parties were held just for women, especially during the wedding celebrations. For other parties the men and women would all sit at the table...The men knew the Malayalam songs by hearing them, but the women are the ones who sing them...Till the women finish singing, no one will get up from the table.²

To a large extent, the Cochin Jewish women of today have finished singing these songs. Now that almost all the community has migrated to Israel, their use and knowledge of Malayalam is quickly being lost. Though they enthusiastically preserve and pass on traditional Cochin Hebrew songs to their children and grandchildren, they are no longer teaching Malayalam songs to the younger generations.³ The performance of these songs is now confined to an ever-decreasing number of older women who occasionally sing in Malayalam for public ethnic performances, for scholarly documentation, or privately for their own enjoyment. Fortunately a long-term project to collect the songs from Cochin Jewish women in Israel and Kerala has led to the preservation of about 260 song texts (photocopied from 27 hand-written notebooks) and the tape-recording of more than 60 songs (performed by 40 women in many different recordings between 1972 and 2000).⁴ The popularity of certain songs is evidenced by their appearance in many different notebooks and their continued performance by a number of different women, but some songs which are no longer part of the live repertoire are nevertheless of great literary and cultural interest.

Throughout the centuries, these poetic musical compositions by Cochin Jews escaped the notice of Jews from other lands, and also of their Hindu, Christian and Muslim neighbors. However, scholarly efforts are now under way to bring them to public attention in Israel and in Kerala. This article presents an overview of Malayalam Jewish women’s songs, focusing on the language and textual contents of

¹ See her obituary, p. 133.

the songs, their traditional performance and transmission from generation to generation, and a history of efforts toward their publication, translation and analysis.

Language and Dating of the Songs

Today, more than 30 million people in and from the state of Kerala speak Malayalam, a Dravidian language closely related to Tamil with many Sanskrit elements. Its highly sophisticated written literature dates back to the tenth and eleventh centuries, by which time the Jews were firmly established residents of the southwest coast of India.⁵ As expressed by Kerala linguist Scaria Zacharia, Jews were undoubtedly among the first Keralites to speak Malayalam when it emerged as a language distinct from Tamil in the eighth century.⁶

Malayalam contains many different dialects, arising from Kerala's regional, ethnic, caste and religious diversity. (With a Hindu majority of 60%, Kerala's population is 20% Muslim and 20% Christian, reflecting the significant impact of immigrant traders from the west.) Though the Jews made up just a tiny fraction of the population—about 2500 before their mass departure for Israel during the past 50 years—they had their own way of speaking the language. Their "Jewish Malayalam," which contains some Hebrew and Ladino vocabulary and has some peculiarities of pronunciation and word construction, has only recently been subject to Zacharia's preliminary linguistic definition and analysis.⁷ While many of the songs to be discussed in this article would be comprehensible to Hindu, Muslim or Christian Keralites, others are difficult for non-Jews to understand, because of particular linguistic features and vocabulary, as well as references to generally unfamiliar Jewish customs and concepts.

In fact, quite a few of the songs are less than fully comprehensible even to the Jewish women who still sing them. For example, one of the most widely performed songs is "Vazhuvanna" (II-11), a song of blessing for which variant forms are found in 18 different notebooks. It is sung as a prelude to other blessing songs for weddings and circumcisions, but women singing it today report that they do not understand most of the lyrics. Such textual obscurity can be attributed partially to the process of combined oral and written transmission, in which puzzling variants and spelling errors have entered many of the texts. In addition, the oldest of the songs contains archaic words and grammatical forms.

How old are the songs? The easiest ones to date are Zionist songs composed about 50 years ago in Kerala, during a period of patriotic enthusiasm just after the founding of the State of Israel and before the majority of the community made *aliyah*. The lyrics of these are in straightforward modern Malayalam, and the melodies of some were borrowed from cinema songs popular at the time. A few other songs can be dated by their association with known individuals, either their composers or persons referred to in the texts (e.g. a Meir ben Avraham mentioned in a *brit mila* song which contains the date 1691).

It is much harder to assign even an approximate date to most of the songs, especially those found in multiple variants. However, a combination of content and linguistic analysis leads to the suggestion that at least a few have been passed down since the sixteenth century or even earlier. For example, the "Kadavumbagam Synagogue Song" from Cochin (I-15) contains internal evidence that it may have

been composed at the time of that synagogue's construction, 1539-44. Though Zacharia is reluctant to estimate the date of any particular song, he agrees that the language of this one would be compatible with such a dating, and he also notes that a song about the building of a synagogue in Cranganore (I-3) seems to be even older.⁸

The Song Notebooks

The song notebooks themselves are valuable artifacts for study, offering information in the form of occasional names and dates, and some useful data for speculation about transmission and song-sharing (and by extension other social interaction) among the different Jewish communities of Kerala. Ruby Daniel describes the nature and traditional function of the notebooks:

[In Cochin] Every woman had her own book of songs, which she copied, or maybe someone copied it for her, usually in a composition notebook. Young women go to the elderly people who know the songs, and they sing with them and learn. So if they are going to parties, they carry their [note]books with them.⁹

Most of the manuscripts copied for this collection are in the form of notebooks with paper covers, though some have cardboard covers and one is bound in leather. The shortest (S8 with 23 small pages) contains just eight songs and the longest (B3 with almost 200 large pages) has 150 songs. Some notebooks begin with a table of contents, and in many of them at least some songs are headed by a Malayalam title identifying the subject matter or the occasion on which the song should be sung. A few notebooks also include song headings in Hebrew, and some contain Hebrew songs, prayers or popular non-Jewish songs in addition to the Malayalam texts. One includes recipes and knitting instructions in a mixture of Malayalam and English.

The notebooks yield almost no information about composers, leaving for ethnographic research and speculation the important question of who wrote the texts and melodies of the songs. Notebook S13 contains the names of a number of women and men scattered throughout the text, but it is not clear whether they were composers, people from whom the songs were collected or, perhaps, scribes. Only one song author is clearly identified in writing, in Hebrew headings in one notebook (B3). Ruby Daniel has identified several devotional songs, which are late nineteenth century or early twentieth century poetic translations from Hebrew songs, composed by her two grandfathers. Composers of some of the more recent Zionist songs mentioned above have also been identified in interviews; all of these were men, but women sometimes set their lyrics to music.¹⁰

We cannot determine exactly when the Malayalam women's songs were first written down, though notebook S9, which seems to be the oldest in the collection, is probably more than 150 years old. It is in the handwriting of Ruby Daniel's great great aunt, who was also noted for her expertise in the songs.¹¹ One notebook (S13) is dated 1876 on its frontispiece,¹² and another (B3) may be even older, judging by a comment made about it in 1926.¹³ It is quite possible that earlier Jewish women, like Syrian Christian women in Kerala, preserved their song texts by inscribing them on dried palm leaves, as was the common practice for written records

and literary compositions in South India before the widespread availability of paper.¹⁴

Though men or boys with particularly good handwriting copied a few notebooks, more are identified as written by women, and it seems likely that most were copied by their original owners. The most recent notebooks were copied by Cochini women in Israel, either from notebooks they borrowed from relatives or friends or from older notebooks of their own.

Cross-indexing of the notebooks demonstrates considerable overlap in the repertoire of various individual singers and of the different Jewish communities of Kerala. These eight communities, each with its own synagogue, were located within an approximately 25 mile radius of each other, three on one street in the city of Cochin itself, two in the city of Ernakulam across the harbor, and one each in the inland villages of Parur, Chennamangalam and Mala. The collection contains notebooks from six of the eight communities, lacking only manuscripts from Mala and Kadavumbagam-Ernakulam. Apparently songs and notebooks would travel from community to community as brides moved into the homes and congregations of their husbands, following the traditional marriage pattern among seven of the communities.¹⁵ Songs were also shared at ritual and festive events to which members of all eight communities were invited. A high percentage of shared songs are found in the notebooks of women from the Paradesi and Kadavumbagam communities in Cochin—neighboring groups that did not intermarry but which did attend each other's ritual occasions. However it is interesting to note some patterns of exclusivity, with certain songs found only in the notebooks of particular communities.

The Song Texts

The texts of approximately 260 Malayalam Jewish songs, which vary greatly in style and period of composition, have been indexed for this project according to literary content and, to a limited extent, according to the occasions on which they were sung. The index categories, originally formulated by P.M. Jussay in the 1970s and used up to now by Johnson, are problematic in that they are text-based, reflecting the assumptions of researchers but not necessarily those of the women performing the songs.¹⁶ Further ethnographic research may lead to re-indexing with more attention to performance context and possibly to other genres identified by the singers themselves.

Wedding Songs

Sixty-five of the songs are associated with weddings and other life-cycle events. Some of these are identified (by headings in the text) with particular events in the elaborate Jewish wedding rituals of Kerala, such as the various parties held during the wedding week, the making of the ring, the tying of the *tali* (the traditional Kerala marriage necklace), the bride's emerging from the *mikveh*, the boiling of raisin wine for the wedding blessings and the procession of the bridegroom to the synagogue. Some feature references to the semi-legendary figure of Joseph Rabban, an ancestral leader of the Kerala Jews.¹⁷ Others contain advice to the bride or the groom—or in a few cases to the parents of a boy at his *brit mila*—about how to lead a good Jewish life. Some of the most popular songs are those praising the beauty of the bride:

Adorned with gold, you songbird,

Shining with diamonds,
Camphor and rosewater mixed,
All kinds of good-smelling things.
In green silk she is robed,
The woman blessed by God is she.¹⁸
Or the charming bridegroom:
Wearing a fine head-dress and red *kunkum* powder,
The bridegroom is coming through the street.
He seems to radiate chivalry as well as shyness.
Though he is still at the far end of the street,
He has appeared at the turning, within my sight.
Moving this way and that way,
This youth comes through the street.¹⁹

Only a few of the wedding songs are even slightly sexually suggestive, in contrast to vernacular wedding songs in many traditional Jewish communities and non-Jewish groups in India. Also missing from the Cochin Jewish weddings songs are laments for the bride leaving her family home, warnings about the perils of marriage, or songs teasing the bride and groom. Further ethnographic research may reveal that non-Jewish popular or folk songs in Malayalam filled some of these functions, but none are included in the Jewish women's song notebooks.

Historical Songs

About 40 of the collected song texts—the smallest number but in some ways the most intriguing—have been categorized as "historical." These include songs narrating various origin legends of the Kerala Jews, such as the song "In Famous Vanchi" describing the royal procession of Chirianandan (another name for the Jewish leader Joseph Rabban), who received from the Hindu ruler a copper plate engraved with privileges for his people:

In the world-famous city of Vanchi there arose one
Who had the Lord's grace bestowed upon him.
With chieftain's title, day lamp,
And cloth spread upon the way,
Both above the head and under the feet, in an unbroken stretch.
The rich city was filled (with people)
When the king (installed) him the chieftain,
Sprinkling three thousand and six hundred measures of rice.
While rice was being sprinkled, the king among them sat,
And with scribbling noises wrote artistically on copper plates.
And now to describe the procession of Chirianandan—
it is well beyond words!
Lo! There comes the royal Chirianandan riding on elephant's back!
Lo! There comes the virtuous Chirianandan riding on horse's back!
Under the green banner he comes,
By sweet maidens he is welcomed,
And into the synagogue conducted...
A green garland thick he wears,

Over the garb a many-folded robe of green silk he has donned.
 He who earned the ruler's seal,
 Let him reign glorious over his small state,
 Acknowledging the obeisance of his loyal subjects.²⁰

Synagogue (*palli*) songs give descriptive details about the building of particular synagogues in Kerala, like the Kadavumbagam Synagogue mentioned above, and legendary accounts of the origins of other synagogues, such as the one in Mala.²¹ These can be compared with the genre of Malayalam *palli* songs commemorating the construction of certain Syrian Christian churches.²²

Other "wedding" and "historical" songs can also be analyzed usefully in relation to comparable non-Jewish Malayalam songs. P.M. Jussay began this project with his comparison of a few Jewish songs with songs of the Knanaya sect of Syrian Christians in Kerala. Israeli anthropologist Shalva Weil, followed by Richard Swiderski, have used Jussay's preliminary comparisons in discussing cultural similarities between the Cochin Jews and the Knanaya Christians, who maintain that they have a "pure" Jewish ancestry.²³

Uniquely Jewish creations are found in the Zionist lyrics, also included in the "historical" category. One of several from the early twentieth century is the popular "Kakicha's Song:"

The hope we have had since ancient times
 To return to the land
 Given to us by the One God
 Has not faded.
 Brethren of the Diaspora,
 Listen to the song of our future.
 As long as Jews are alive
 Our hope will endure.
 The House of Jacob will again reside there,
 Through the sacred love of God.
 By the grace of the Almighty God
 The *Raja Mashiah* will rule over her.²⁴

Among the songs composed just before and after the creation of the State of Israel is this one from the village of Parur:

It's dawning, it's dawning,
 The freedom we longed for and prayed for so long.
 The independence came
 With its golden beauty spreading.
 The independence that Jerusalem gained
 Is not a symbol.
 Eretz Israel, Eretz Israel,
 Sing to its independence.
 One flag is rising up.
 The chains are breaking and falling from our legs.
 It's dawning, it's dawning,
 The freedom we longed for and prayed for so long.²⁵

Biblical Songs

Approximately a third of the songs collected are biblical narratives, some with a decided Indian flavor. For example the term *puja* is used for religious offerings made by Cain and Abel (III-61) and by Abraham's parents (III-63). In one song that relates the Purim story (III-11), a decree is written on palm leaves (*ola*) and sent out across the land. When the Torah is given on Mt. Sinai, the sound of the Jewish *shofar* or ram's horn is joined by musical instruments typical of south India:

Then the Everlasting God made His royal appearance.²⁶

The sky and the earth all trembled,

And there were thunder and lightning

And the sound of the *shofar*.

All kinds of musical instruments were there:

Aragam, trumpet, violin, and *veena*.²⁷

Identifying *midrashic* sources and recurring themes in these narrative songs, which present convincing evidence of Cochin Jewish women's acquaintance with Talmudic as well as Biblical texts, will be a major project. The image of women in the Biblical songs is another topic for further research. Female characters include the Queen of Sheba, Serah bat Asher, Pharaoh's daughter, Haman's wife and daughter, and Goliath's mother as well as the more familiar Biblical figures of the matriarchs, Deborah, Esther, Naomi and Ruth. Though stories about all these women are found in *midrash*, the proportion of Cochin songs mentioning them seems strikingly large, and the women are generally presented as positive or at least decidedly interesting characters.

Devotional Songs

Most of the remaining songs are devotional hymns, both original compositions and translations from the Hebrew. Comparing these hymns to the Hebrew *piyyutim*, that are performed by Cochin Jewish women as well as men, will be particularly interesting.²⁸ Given the women's intimate knowledge of both genres, it is not surprising that Hebrew and Malayalam songs share a number of popular tunes.

Performance of the Songs

As described here by Ruby Daniel, the Malayalam songs traditionally were sung by Jewish women in Kerala during their week-long wedding celebrations, some during parties for women alone and some at gatherings for women and men together. In addition to parties, the songs were performed in street processions for both the bride and the groom. In Jewtown Cochin, the week of Hanukkah was also a special time for singing Malayalam songs, at women's parties that were held each night of the holiday:

Every night during Hanukkah a few people would join together and have a party in one house or another in the Town, a different house every night. People shared the expenses and made some snacks...This was the time the ladies would sing and dance around in a circle clapping their hands and keeping time with their feet. The ladies and girls from Kadavumbagam Synagogue particularly

enjoyed these songs and dances, and we liked to join in their parties...all the ladies and girls bringing their songbooks.²⁹

Women from Kadavumbagam-Cochin performed the circle dance with clapping, which Daniel refers to in this description, on videotape in a re-enactment at Moshav Taoz in 1981.³⁰ Four older women sat in the center of the circle singing from notebooks, while others performed a slow and rhythmic dance around them, sometimes joining in the songs. Such occasions were associated with the type of song labeled in the notebooks as *kalipattu* or "play song" (e.g. songs I-7, IV-19), probably patterned after the *kaikottikali* dance performed during particular festivals by Hindu women in Kerala: "[*Kaikottikali*] participants, all women or young girls, form a circle, generally around a lighted pedestal lamp, which is placed on a stool, and sing songs and clap their hands, and do simple movements coupled with a stamp of the feet."³¹ Syrian Christian women also used to dance in a circle around a lighted lamp as part of their marriage celebrations, though the custom is no longer practiced; and Mappila Muslims in Kerala traditionally performed "*oppana*" wedding songs while standing in a circle around the bride.³² Some women from Kerala Jewish communities outside of Cochin have said that they did not have the custom of Hanukkah parties with songs and dances, and a few Paradesi women in Cochin told me that they simply watched the dances rather than participating, perhaps because they associated them with non-Jewish customs.

The Jewish women also performed songs at the dedication of a new Sefer Torah, which was customarily kept overnight in the home of the family donating it to the synagogue. Members of the household and their relatives and friends would stay awake all night—praying, feasting and singing songs in both Hebrew and Malayalam—to show respect to the Sefer Torah as an honored guest in their home. The following morning, the new scroll would be carried to the synagogue by the whole community in a procession, with the singing of Malayalam and Hebrew songs and the clapping of hands. In at least two communities, Tekkumbagam in Ernakulam and Paradesi in Cochin, the procession would circumambulate the outside of synagogue on this occasion, as on Simhat Torah.³³ This is one of the songs associated with such an occasion:

The Torah given from Mount Sinai,
 The Torah obtained on a diamond platter,
 It was shown to all the tribes;
 The noble nation accepted it.
 With dancing and singing they took the Torah.
 Then there was happiness in their hearts.
 May the Torah of Moshe prosper as a treasure.
 It is there in our presence as the crowning glory.
 Very soon it reached the great and beautiful Synagogue,³⁴
 The beautiful Sefer Torah
 Kept with joy.
 Fifty-four sections,
 All the sections were given to us.

In the ark with four legs
The Torah was installed.³⁵

Publication and Translation

It is unfortunate, though perhaps not surprising, that the Malayalam Jewish songs have remained unknown for so long outside the Cochin Jewish community. A brief historical overview of efforts to make them available to outsiders shows little concerted activity until the 1970s.³⁶ Until that time, most non-Indians writing about the Cochin Jews were Jewish men, who knew Hebrew and were interested in Jewish elements of Cochin life, which they could situate within the comparative study of Jewish history and culture throughout the world. In the 1960s, ethnomusicologist Johanna Spector and her student, Israel Ross, pioneered the study of Hebrew music in Kerala, but like other scholars before them, they concentrated most of their attention on the synagogue rather than the home, and on male rather than female activities.³⁷

Most importantly, none of the early Jewish visitors to Kerala who wrote about its Jewish culture had any knowledge of Malayalam. For example, the noted Ashkenazi Rabbi Jacob Saphir, who visited Cochin in the 1860s, did not mention the songs at all and, in fact, revealed utter ignorance about the very sophisticated and complex language in which they were written:

Among themselves the Jews speak in the language of the gentiles of the Land: Malabarit...This language is harder to learn than all the others I have heard before. There is not even much language spoken, because the lips and tongue do not meet in pronunciation, only sounds are uttered and simple noises, like the growls of animals... Also the language has no grammar.³⁸

Even in describing Kerala Jewish weddings, the only early writer to mention the songs was the nineteenth century Ashkenazi traveler Shlomo Reinman, who settled down in Cochin for some time and married into the Paradesi community's Hallegua family. His detailed account of a Cochin wedding briefly notes: "And the women sing songs in the language of Malabar."³⁹ In a 1981 text-based study of Cochin Jewish wedding customs through examination of Hebrew wedding songs and liturgy from Cochin, Mishael Caspi writes:

The women of the community are even given special time to sing, after the bridegroom gives the bride the *ketuba*. It is unfortunate that we do not have even one text which introduces us to the women's songs, but it is possible that these were sung in the native language.⁴⁰

Non-Jewish Indian scholars of Malayalam literature and Keralan culture also have lacked access to the songs, missing the opportunity to learn about them because they were not published—in contrast, for example, to the songs of the Syrian Christians. The only non-Jewish Keralite known to have taken a serious interest in the Jewish songs before the 1970s was the Christian historian T.K. Joseph, who in the mid-1920s borrowed two song notebooks from the Paradesi Jews of Cochin and also discussed the songs with a Jew in Parur. In reading the Joseph Rabban song quoted

above (I-10), he interpreted the number 3600 (referring to the measures of rice scattered at a wedding) as a "chronogram" referring to the date of the famous Jewish copper plates—a theory which he proposed in a subsequent newspaper article, which included the Malayalam text of a few verses of the song but did not mention that the songs were performed by Jewish women.⁴¹ He also wrote a letter to a prominent Paradesi Jewish man expressing his conviction that the Malayalam songs were historically important and urging that they be published. "I am ready to prepare the manuscript for the press gratis," he offered, requesting to borrow the notebooks again for this purpose.⁴² Apparently nothing came of his proposal. The next reference I have found to T.K. Joseph's interest in the songs came 20 years later, when A.I. Simon devoted three paragraphs of his pamphlet *The Songs of the Jews of Cochin* to denouncing Joseph's "chronogram" theory, without mentioning him by name.⁴³

Dr. A.I. Simon, a member of the Paradesi community in Cochin, developed a strong interest in the history and traditions of his community after retiring from medical service in Burma. His 1947 pamphlet included the Malayalam text (without translation) of five complete songs and fragments of ten others, with Malayalam footnotes suggesting interpretations of some difficult words. Though some of his English commentary is problematic due to the absence of credit to the women who performed and transmitted the songs and to his commentary's bias against the non-Paradesi Jews of Kerala, this publication was crucially important in bringing the songs to the attention of future researchers, who would take up the challenge of translation and analysis.

The first few English translations of Malayalam Jewish songs were made in the 1970s by the late Jacob E. Cohen, the only Cochin Jewish man in recent times who had both a university-level knowledge of Malayalam and an avid interest in the songs. He and his wife Sarah (an expert singer) were important resources for me in 1974 and 1977, when I began my early work on the songs, and he prepared several translations for my MA thesis.⁴⁴

At about the same time, the late Shirley Isenberg, an Israeli anthropologist, was beginning her efforts to photocopy song notebooks and to tape record Malayalam Jewish songs from Cochin women in Israel. When I received a grant to do the same thing in Kerala, we began corresponding with each other and decided to make it a joint project. She was the one who established an early connection with the Jewish Music Research Center at Hebrew University in Jerusalem and began the process of depositing our recordings in the National Sound Archives. She also put me in touch with Professor P.M. Jussay, whom I met during my 1977 trip to India.

A Keralan Christian scholar and journalist, Jussay had begun collecting songs and discussing them with Jewish acquaintances in his home village of Chennamangalam and in nearby Parur; he later developed a close friendship with Jacob Cohen and others in Cochin, consulting frequently with the Cohens about his translations. He worked with Shirley Isenberg and myself from 1976 to 1981, mostly by mail, and also during a brief period in Israel, identifying and cross-indexing songs in all the notebooks that we were collecting and photocopying. The index framework which he established has been invaluable for processing recently photocopied notebooks. In his translations and analysis, Jussay concentrated on songs about early Jewish settlements in Kerala, addressing his scholarly papers in India mainly to

Kerala historians, though one of his articles was published in Hebrew translation.⁴⁵ In addition, he has been both helpful and influential in my own research and in the work of Weil, Swiderski, and Katz and Goldberg, and has published popular Malayalam articles about Israel and the Jews of Kerala.⁴⁶

The major translation effort was made by Ruby Daniel, now living in Kibbutz Neot Mordecai, in Israel, who brought to her work the invaluable perspective of a woman who has sung the songs since her childhood in early twentieth century Cochin. She learned them from her mother and grandmother, both acknowledged as expert singers by fellow members of the Paradesi community and by their neighbors from Kadavumbagam-Cochin. While translating, Ruby Daniel often referred to explanations and related stories which she remembered from her grandmother Rachel ("Docho") Japheth (1864-1944), who carried into her generation the knowledge of the songs and their meanings which was passed down from her own great aunt. In addition to this deep personal and family knowledge, Ruby Daniel could draw on her experience as the first Jewish woman in Kerala to go to secondary school and then college, where she was introduced to the study of classical Malayalam and developed her fluency in written English. Collaborating first with Isenberg and then for many years with me, she completed more than 120 English translations of the songs, 13 of them included in her book of memoirs.⁴⁷

As discussed above, the project of translating these Jewish songs is complicated by the particular nature of "Jewish Malayalam" and by numerous references to customs and stories, which are not known to Malayalam-speakers outside the Jewish community. This explains the importance of translations by insiders who are familiar with the songs and the culture of their community. However, the prevalence of archaic forms and linguistic transformations in many songs has rendered them unintelligible even to an educated insider like Ruby Daniel, the last member of the community who knows the songs well and has the requisite translation skills.

As noted, Professor Scaria Zacharia is now addressing the problem of textual obscurity in the Malayalam Jewish songs. In addition to his translation skills and expertise in sixteenth to eighteenth century Malayalam, Zacharia has the experience and interest to place the songs in the larger context of Kerala folk literature as a whole. After we began our collaboration in Kerala in 1999, the Ben-Zvi Research Institute in Jerusalem sponsored a period of our intensive work together during the summer of 2000 in Israel. There, Zacharia became acquainted with members of the Israeli Cochini community—an important step in immersing himself in the research. In addition to meeting with them informally and speaking at a large Cochini gathering in Moshav Nevatim, he also consulted with Israeli scholars and delivered an academic conference paper on "Jewish Malayalam." His preliminary work on the songs will soon be published in Malayalam, English and Hebrew, and we are working together on a book and compact disk for the Yuval Music Series of the Jewish Music Research Center.

Conclusion

As I hope this historical overview demonstrates, examination of the Malayalam Jewish song texts provides a fruitful beginning from which to raise issues of ethnographic, historical, literary and musical interpretation. This analysis must be

grounded in recognition and appreciation of interrelated cultural realms. In a recent article, I emphasized the realm of gender, noting the intertwined nature of Cochin Jewish female and male musical traditions.⁴⁸ Similar attention must be given to the encounter and complex relationship of Kerala culture and outside Jewish influences in the songs—for example, through comparative examination of their religious and historical themes, linguistic analysis of their Malayalam and Hebrew elements, and ethnomusicological study of their melodies and performance.

Undeniably, the Malayalam Jewish songs are in danger of being forgotten as part of a live performance repertoire. By the late 1970s and early 1980s, when folklorist Marcia Walerstein did her research in Cochini *moshavim*, she found that a few vernacular songs were still being sung at some weddings and *brit milas*, but only by the older women:

If there is a *Shabbat ha-kallah*, the old women may continue to sing songs from their notebooks or by heart, but there is a definite switch towards the Hebrew Cochini songs...In a four-hour session I observed, only the older women sang a few songs in Malayalam, and the younger women in another room performed many popular Israeli songs.⁴⁹

Now two decades later, the songs have become “museum pieces,” most likely to be performed at such public events as the 1995 opening of an exhibition on Indian Jewry at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem or the Moshav Nevatim gathering addressed by Zacharia in 2000. However, although melodies for the majority of the songs have been forgotten even by the oldest generation of women, the literary, historical and cultural value of their lyrics can be preserved for future generations of the community, as well as for scholarly study, through the ongoing project of publishing and translating them.

NOTES

¹ This paper is based on material collected and translated in collaborative work with Ruby Daniel and the late Shirley Isenberg in Israel and with P.M. Jussay and Scaria Zacharia in Kerala; my appreciation for their efforts and encouragement cannot be measured. I am grateful for the following grants in support of my ongoing research on the Malayalam Jewish songs: Ithaca College Summer Research Grant 2000; Fulbright Senior Research Fellowship 1998-99; American Philosophical Society Research Grants 1996-97, 1994-95; Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture Fellowships 1996-97, 1994-95; Oberlin Graduate Fellowship 1977.

² Ruby Daniel and Barbara C. Johnson, *Ruby of Cochin: An Indian Jewish Woman Remembers* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1995), pp. 174-5.

³ Barbara C. Johnson, “Recent Developments in the Exploration and Expression of Cochin Jewish Identity,” Conference on Identity and Memory, Yad Ben-Zvi, Jerusalem, May 2000. See Edwin Seroussi, “The Singing of the Sephardi Piyyut in Cochin (India),” in *Piyyut in Tradition Series 2* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University

Press). Hebrew. For a discussion of women's contemporary participation in the performance and transmission of Cochin Hebrew songs in Israel.

⁴ Shirley Isenberg, Barbara Johnson, and P.M. Jussay initiated photocopying of the notebooks in a joint project. Scholars hope that more songs will be discovered in notebooks still to be collected; a complete set of photocopies will be deposited in the archives of the Cochin Jewish Heritage Center in Moshav Nevatim, Israel. Audio recordings are available in the National Sound Archives at the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem, and are being studied in cooperation with the Jewish Music Research Center at Hebrew University. An analysis of their melodies will be part of that project. The notebook and song numbers cited in this article refer to the comprehensive index of Malayalam Jewish songs, begun by P.M. Jussay and updated by Barbara Johnson, available in the National Sound Archives.

⁵ For historical perspectives in English on Malayalam language and literature see Krishna Chaitanya, *A History of Malayalam Literature* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1971); and K.M. George, *A Survey of Malayalam Literature* (London: Asia Publishing House, 1968).

⁶ Scaria Zacharia, "Is There a Jewish Malayalam?" paper delivered at the *Sixth International Congress of Misgav Yerushalayim* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, June 2000). Professor Zacharia, chair of the Malayalam Department at Sree Sankaracharya University of Sanskrit in Kalady, Kerala, is now working intensively on translation and analysis of the Jewish songs. See below for further details.

⁷ Zacharia identifies a number of unique features of Jewish Malayalam, but at this stage of investigation he declines to identify it as a separate dialect. Zacharia, "Is There a Jewish Malayalam?" See, A.I. Simon, "Language a Clue to History," in *Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute* 10 (1) (1943), includes a list of words from Hebrew and other languages characteristic of the Malayalam spoken by Paradesi Jews in Cochin.

⁸ Zacharia, personal communication, July 2000. Both these songs are discussed in an article in progress by Orna Eliyahu-Oron and Johnson, analyzing information about Kerala synagogue architecture from the Malayalam Jewish songs. On the Jews in Cranganore, see Barbara C. Johnson (B.J. Hudson). *Shingli or Jewish Cranganore in the Traditions of the Cochin Jews of India, with an Appendix on the Cochin Jewish Chronicles* (MA Thesis, Smith College, 1975); Nathan Katz and Ellen S. Goldberg, *The Last Jews of Cochin: Jewish Identity in Hindu India* (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1993); J.B. Segal, *A History of the Jews of Cochin* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1993); and most recently, Arthur M. Lesley, "Shingly in Cochin Jewish Memory and in Eyewitness Accounts," in *Journal of Indo-Judaic Studies*, Vol. 3 (April 2000), pp. 7-21.

⁹ Daniel and Johnson, *Ruby of Cochin*, p. 174.

¹⁰ The composer of three songs identified in notebook B3 was Moshe Sarfati (d. 1838), a scholar and the scribe of an early nineteenth century Paradesi record book. (See Sassoon Ms.# 1030, photocopy in Mahon Ben Zvi Library, Jerusalem.) Ruby Daniel's grandfathers were Daniel Haim and Eliyahu Japheth, both of Cochin. Japheth also composed an early Zionist song, as did Isaac Moshe Roby of Cochin; known composers of more recent Zionist songs were Eliyahu Meir and Sion

Varamakathu of Parur and Moshe Joseph Hai and Yaacov Itzhak of Ernakulam. Two twentieth century comic love songs are attributed to Isaac E. Hallegua of Cochin.

¹¹ See Daniel and Johnson, *Ruby of Cochin*, pp. xiii and 37 for discussion of notebook S9 and its copyist.

¹² This is the only leather-bound notebook, dated and identified on its title page as belonging to Abigail Madai, a member of the Tekkumbagam community in Cochin.

¹³ The appearance of the penciled initials "TKJ" inside anonymous notebook B3 (from the Paradesi community in Cochin) indicates that it is one of the two manuscripts "of old blue paper" which were examined in 1926 by the Kerala Christian scholar T.K. Joseph who stated, "In my opinion their age is not less than a hundred years." T.K. Joseph, "Letter to the Editor," *The Western Star*, 18 Dec. 1926, Collection of Samuel H. Hallegua, Cochin. The dating of S9 and S13 is more certain.

¹⁴ Richard M. Swiderski, *The Blood Weddings: The Knanaya Christians of Kerala* (Madras: New Era Publications, 1988), p. 38.

¹⁵ Members of the Cochin Paradesi congregation of "White Jews" descend primarily from more recent immigrants to India (sixteenth century and later) in contrast to the more ancient community of Malabari Jews in the other seven congregations. Paradesi and Malabaris did not intermarry, but were culturally similar in fundamental ways, including their knowledge of the Malayalam songs.

¹⁶ Simon (1947, p. 13), distinguished, also by literary content, between "historical songs," "biblical songs" and "hymns," relegating the non-historical wedding songs to a "miscellaneous" category.

¹⁷ On Joseph Rabban in Cochin Jewish folklore, see Johnson, *Shingli or Jewish Cranganore*; Johnson, "The Emperor's Welcome: Reconsideration of an Origin Theme in Cochin Jewish Folklore," in Thomas Timberg, ed., *Jews in India* (New Delhi, Vikas, 1986), pp. 161-176;

¹⁸ Song II-6, from translation by Ruby Daniel. Daniel and Johnson, *Ruby of Cochin*, p. 180.

¹⁹ Song II-7, from translation by Scaria Zacharia.

²⁰ Excerpts from Song I-10, translation by P.M. Jussay. Part of an earlier translation of this song appeared in Jussay, "The Malayalam Folk Songs of the Cochin Jews and the Light They Throw on Their History, Customs and Manners," paper presented at the 39th Session of the Indian History Congress (Hyderabad: Osmania University, 1978). Jacob E. Cohen's translations of the same song are found in Johnson, *Shingli or Jewish Cranganore*, pp. 125-6, and Katz and Goldberg, *The Last Jews of Cochin*, pp. 45-6.

²¹ As noted above, we have not yet located any notebooks from the village of Mala, but the Mala Synagogue Song is found in notebooks from Chennamangalam and Cochin, and was recorded by a woman from Ernakulam.

²² Chummar Choondal, *Christian Folk Songs* (Trichur: Kerala Folklore Academy, 1983), pp. 23, 52. For examples see P.U. Lukas, *Purathanappattukal (Ancient Songs of the Syrian Christians of Malabar)*, seventh ed. (first publ. 1910) (Kottayam, Kerala: Jyothi Book House). Malayalam.

- ²³ Jussay, "The Wedding Songs of the Cochin Jews and of the Knanite Christians of Kerala," Diocese of Kottayam, *Symposium on Knanites*, II, (Kottayam, 1986), pp. 1-7. Shalva Weil, "Symmetry between Christians and Jews in India: The Cnanite Christians and the Cochin Jews of Kerala," in Thomas Timberg, ed., *Jews in India*, New York, 1986, pp. 177-204 (originally published in *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 16:2, 1982). Swiderski, *Blood Weddings*, pp.40-3, 148.
- ²⁴ Excerpt from Song I-24 by Isaac Moshe Roby (nicknamed "Kakicha," d. 1955), translation by Ruby Daniel. Daniel and Johnson, *Ruby of Cochin*, p. 92.
- ²⁵ Song I-33, translation by Scaria Zacharia.
- ²⁶ *Ezhunalli* is a verb used when a king makes an appearance.
- ²⁷ The *aragam* has not been identified. Excerpt from Song III-26, translation by Ruby Daniel and Scaria Zacharia.
- ²⁸ Seroussi, "The Singing of the Sephardi *Piyyut*." For earlier studies see Johanna Spector, "Jewish Songs from Cochin, India, With Special Reference to Cantillation and Shingli Tunes," in *Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, 1963), Vol. 4, pp. 245-265; and Israel Ross, *Cultural Stability and Change in a Minority Group: A Study of the Liturgical and Folk Songs of the Jews of Cochin* (PhD dissertation, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, 1977).
- ²⁹ Daniel and Johnson, *Ruby of Cochin*, p. 40. Laurence D. Loeb, "Gender, Marriage, and Social Conflict in Habban," in Harvey Goldberg, ed., *Sephardi and Middle Eastern Jewries* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1996), see p. 272 for comments on Hanukkah as a women's holiday with special music and games in Habban, Yemen.
- ³⁰ See videotape #Y4477, National Sound Archives, Jerusalem.
- ³¹ Mohan Khokar, "Kerala," in Mulk Raj Anand, ed., *Classical and Folk Dances of India* (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1963), p. 38.
- ³² L.K. Anantha Krishna Ayyar, *Social Anthropology of the Syrian Christians* (Ernakulam: Cochin Government Press, 1926), p. 317. Choondal, *Christian Folk Songs*, p. 39. A. Sreedhara Menon, *Social and Cultural History of Kerala* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1979), p. 145.
- ³³ Confirmed by Isaac Joshua, Ernakulam, September 1999, and by many Paradesi Jews.
- ³⁴ In notebooks from the Paradesi community, this line reads "the Paradesi synagogue."
- ³⁵ Song I-19, translation by Ruby Daniel and Scaria Zacharia. Another song commonly performed during this procession was III-17.
- ³⁶ The songs were not even mentioned in Walter Fischel's article on "The Literary Creativity of the Jews of Cochin," in *Jewish Book Annual* 28 (New York: Jewish Book Council of America, 1970-71), pp. 25-31.
- ³⁷ See, note 28.
- ³⁸ Jacob Saphir, *Even Sapir*, II (Lyck, 1874), p. 86. Hebrew.
- ³⁹ Shlomo Reinman, *Masa'ot Shlomo (The Travels of Solomon)*, W. Schur, ed. (Vienna, 1884), p. 157. Hebrew.
- ⁴⁰ Mishael Marwari Caspi, "Wedding Customs of the Jews of Cochin According to the Book of Poems and the Songs of Praise," in Caspi, ed., *Jewish Tradition in the*

Diaspora: Studies in Memory of Walter J. Fischel (Berkeley: Judah Magnes Museum, 1981), p. 232.

⁴¹ T.K. Joseph, "Letter to the Editor: Bhaskara Ravi's Date," *The Western Star*, 18 Dec. 1926. Collection of Samuel H. Hallegua, Cochin. I have not located a prior letter or article on the topic which Joseph wrote for this newspaper, apparently earlier in the same month.

⁴² T.K. Joseph, to Isaac E. Hallegua, 15 Jan. 1927. Collection of Samuel H. Hallegua, Cochin.

⁴³ A.I. Simon, *The Songs of the Jews of Cochin and their Historical Significance* (pamphlet), Cochin, 1947, pp. 23-5. The material in this pamphlet first appeared as an article with the same title in *Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute*, Vol. 13 (July 1946), pp. 25-38.

⁴⁴ See Barbara C. Johnson, "Jacob E. Cohen—In Memoriam (1913-1999), in *Journal of Indo-Judaic Studies*, Vol. 3 (April 2000), pp. 144-5. Cohen's early translations appear in Johnson, *Shingli or Jewish Cranganore*, pp. 124-7, with later versions in Katz and Goldberg, *The Last Jews of Cochin*, pp. 45-8.

⁴⁵ Jussay, "The Malayalam Folk Songs;" also "The Song of Evarayi," in Timberg, ed., *Jews in India*, pp. 145-160. The translation of this article in *Pe'amim: Studies in Oriental Jewry* 13 (1982), pp. 84-95, marked the first Hebrew-language publication of Malayalam Jewish songs. A number of his English translations remain unpublished.

⁴⁶ These articles have appeared in *The Kerala Times*, a Malayalam daily newspaper in Ernaukulam, which Jussay edited for many years after his retirement from Calico Regional Engineering College, where he was Professor of English.

⁴⁷ See Daniel and Johnson, *Ruby of Cochin*, for Daniel's account of how she began the project. Nine of Daniel's translations, rendered into Hebrew by Miriam Dekel Squires, are found in Shirley Isenberg, Rivka Daniel and Miriam Dekel-Squires, *Tishah Shire-Am Yehudi'im ba-Malayalam (Nine Jewish Folksongs in Malayalam)* (Jerusalem, 1984). Hebrew and Malayalam. See, also Ruby Daniel, "More Memories of Cochin Jew Town," in *Bridges: A Journal for Jewish Feminists and Our Friends* 7 (1) (Winter 1997-98), pp. 39-43.

⁴⁸ Johnson, "'They Carry Their Notebooks with Them:' Women's Vernacular Jewish Songs from Cochin, South India," in *Pe'amim: Studies in Oriental Jewry* 82 (Winter 2000), pp. 64-80. Hebrew.

⁴⁹ Marcia Walerstein (Sibony), *Public Rituals Among the Jews from Cochin, India, in Israel: Expressions of Ethnic Identity* (PhD dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1987), p. 118.

DIFFERING INTENTIONS IN VEDIC AND JEWISH SACRIFICE

Kathryn McClymond

Those of us who study Hinduism and Judaism recognize that these two traditions represent and categorize human experience differently than Christianity does. Yet Christianity—particularly western Protestant Christianity—has shaped the academic study and presentation of religion in general. One of the most important contributions we can make to this study, therefore, is to present comparative work that illuminates differences between religious traditions at the same time that it provides an avenue for thoughtful comparison across traditions. Such research recognizes the unique personalities of various religious traditions while affirming our ability and responsibility to compare and contrast different religious communities around the world and across the centuries.¹

For example, Hinduism and Judaism both have rich, well-developed sacrificial traditions.² Ancient sacrificial practices inform other strands of these traditions, strands that persist to the present. At the same time, sacrifice in these two traditions is a very different phenomenon than in Protestant Christianity. The purpose of this essay is to examine one aspect of ancient Hindu (Vedic) and Jewish sacrifice. Specifically, we will ask, what are the various intentions that participants brought to specific sacrificial events? How does the possibility of these different intentions shape the information provided in (and omitted from) the sacrificial texts themselves? Finally, what do these intentions suggest—either directly or indirectly—about what the ritual participants assumed about the nature of sacrifice? While we can only touch briefly on general responses to these questions, relevant Vedic and Jewish texts recognize a wide variety of intentions that, in turn, shape sacrificial practice. The study of these intentions and what they reveal about Vedic and Jewish sacrifice suggest future avenues of exploration for the study of religion.

This essay will focus primarily on texts in brahmanical Hinduism and biblical and rabbinic Judaism that describe sacrificial procedures, specifically the Śrauta-Sūtras (ca. 800-300 BCE) in Vedic literature and the Mishnah (ca. 220 CE) in Jewish literature. The discussions of sacrifice in the Mishnah build on the biblical injunctions given to the Israelites in the Torah, but these injunctions are fleshed out in much more detail in the Mishnah. The opinions presented in the Mishnah are grounded in a tradition that had centuries of practical experience with sacrifice. The Mishnah itself, however, is not a record of this experience. Rather, it includes a compilation of rabbinic opinions about sacrifice. These opinions were compiled after a century and a half of Jewish life without sacrificial practice (after the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE). The Mishnah, then, presents elaborately detailed discussions of what the rabbis thought *should* have happened in different sacrificial situations, not a record of what *did* happen.

Like the Mishnah, the Śrauta-Sūtras are elaborately detailed. In other ways, however, the Śrauta-Sūtras differ markedly from the Mishnah. Jan Gonda notes, “the *śrautasūtras* are manuals compiled for a practical purpose, viz. giving directions to those who officiated at the several solemn sacrificial rites that were performed or recommended in Vedic times. Their authors provide us with many detailed and meticulously accurate descriptions of these ceremonies.”³ The different Śrauta-Sūtras reflect distinct priestly schools’ traditions regarding public or “solemn” sacrificial practices. In addition, they comment on ongoing ritual practices rather than on one that was interrupted by the catastrophic destruction of a single central ritual space, since Vedic sacrifice, while not widespread, continues to be practiced in India today. It would be tempting to treat the Śrauta-Sūtras as records of actual Vedic practice, but it is more accurate to read these *sūtras*, as priestly representations of what Vedic sacrifices should look like. Both the Mishnah and the Śrauta-Sūtras, then, present theoretical characterizations of sacrifice, not historical records.

Both of these textual traditions reveal concerns that the priests and rabbis had about sacrificial practice. Their discussions anticipate four distinct possible sacrificial scenarios: 1) the sacrificial paradigm, in which the sacrifice progresses as it is described in the texts; 2) sacrifices that include unconscious or inadvertent errors, only some of which can be remedied; 3) sacrifices that include deliberate changes that still attempt to fulfill the stated ritual purpose; and 4) sacrifices with deliberate changes that attempt to subvert the ritual’s paradigmatic purpose. The primary texts implicitly anticipate these four possible scenarios, and they suggest that these different scenarios arise as a result of the differing intentions that ritual participants bring to ritual performances. The specific intentions behind specific ritual performances are important because intentions influence—and alter—how ritual participants act. For example, my behavior in a ritual will be different if I intend to sabotage the ritual than if I intend to perform it correctly.

The remainder of this essay will examine several specific ritual scenarios, demonstrating that various intentions shape ritual practice and, by extension, the descriptions of ritual practice presented in the primary texts.

Four factors contribute to a ritual participant’s intentions: individual human desire, the traditional purpose of a particular sacrifice, elements of the execution of a specific ritual, and cultural obligation. The first element, “individual human desire,” refers to what the ritual participants want to get out of the sacrifice, specifically the priest(s) and the ritual patron (the one who benefits from the sacrifice). In simple terms, an individual’s behavior depends on what that individual desires as a result of the ritual.

The second element, “traditional purpose,” refers to the intended result of the ritual according to the tradition, either specifically or more generally. Sacrifices, for example, are often intended to generate wealth, offspring, and atonement for sins or, more generally, maintenance of the cosmos. What one does in a sacrifice is affected directly by the traditional purpose of the sacrifice.

The third element, the “ritual execution,” refers to the actual performance of a specific ritual. As we are all aware, actual ritual performances often differ from the ideal procedures described in manuals. Alterations in the execution of a sacrifice reflect the specific intentions brought to the sacrifice.

Finally, "cultural obligation" refers to the attending social factors that influence a sacrifice. For example, cultural obligation may force an individual to participate in a sacrifice at a given time of the year because of the community's liturgical calendar or his socially prescribed role, not because he particularly wants to participate or because he directly benefits from the sacrifice.⁴ Frequently, for example, church attendance swells at Easter and Christmas, only to diminish again in subsequent weeks. Some who attend church on these holidays frequently do so because it's culturally appropriate, not because they feel committed to the Christian tradition as a whole. Cultural obligation brings external social pressure to bear upon individuals to act in specific ritual ways. As a result people participate in certain rituals because it is expected, not necessarily to obtain spiritual fulfillment or to fulfill a specific religious requirement. Cultural obligation can also place social pressures upon ritual participants in relationship to one another, in particular in the relationship between the priest and the ritual patron. The way an individual responds to his cultural obligations influences the actual ritual scenario.

These four factors influence individual ritual participants. As a result, participants bring different intentions to specific ritual performances. These intentions, in turn, generate different ritual scenarios. We turn to these now.

1. The Paradigmatic Sacrifice

The first scenario is the paradigmatic sacrifice. The Śrauta-Sūtras and the Mishnah exist principally to describe paradigmatic or ideal sacrifices, rituals that unfold exactly as they are supposed to, that go "by the book." Both traditions present models for sacrificial activity, describing the way to execute the sacrifice, explaining its purpose, and identifying the principal participants. The underlying assumption of the sacrificial texts in both traditions is that, when everything goes according to plan, each sacrifice accomplishes its intended specific purpose. In a perfect ritual, individual participants and the community attain their desires or fulfill their religious or cultural obligations. In this scenario, the intention is to execute each ritual according to a prescribed model in order to achieve its stated purpose.

Note that "intention" here has nothing to do with having the right attitude toward God or toward humanity. Vedic and Jewish sacrifices are generally understood to be mechanical processes; if performed correctly, they can't help but generate the promised results. Other strands of each tradition express concerns about the individual participant's inner attitudes, spiritual "fitness," and so on, but the results of sacrifices are generally determined by accurate ritual execution, not by any internal, invisible spiritual state.

While both the Mishnah and the Śrauta-Sūtras focus on the procedures involved in sacrifice, they also reveal differences between the Vedic and Jewish understandings of the mechanics of sacrifice. The Vedic texts assume that their sacrifices have a theurgic efficacy related to their cosmic function.⁵ In other words, the sacrifice keeps the universe running. According to the creation stories, the creator deity, Prajāpati, established the paradigm for sacrifice through his own actions at the inception of the universe. Prajāpati originated the sacrifice as its creator, as the original sacrificer, and as the original sacrificial victim.⁶ Thus Prajāpati introduced sacrifice into the Vedic imagination by modeling it, not by commanding it. As a

result, sacrifices are assumed to be efficacious in the Vedic tradition because the cosmic order assures their efficacy. A sacrifice brought the universe into being, and sacrifice will keep it running. The ritual patron, or *yajamāna*, and the priests manipulate the sacrificial substances just as Prajāpati did.

However, Prajāpati is not in control of the forces in the universe that allow sacrifice to work. Although he is credited with being the first to initiate sacrifice, he does *not* determine the rules that govern its performance. Sacrifice works because its activities resonate with forces and relationships on the macrocosmic level.⁷ Prajāpati may have performed the first sacrifice, but he is not ultimately the source or object of continuing sacrificial practice in the Vedic tradition.

Vedic sacrifices have two purposes. First, they generate and maintain the cosmic order. Second, they can generate specific rewards for the ritual patron, such as rain, children, or cattle. The specific purpose of any particular sacrifice is generally articulated by the *yajamāna* at the beginning of the sacrifice.⁸ This purpose determines many of the materials and procedures used in the sacrifice.⁹ For example, the Kātyāyana Śrauta-Sūtras (KŚS) notes, "the quantity or size of the sacrificial material should be fixed...according to the purpose it is going to serve."¹⁰ The sacrifice is understood to be efficacious because of the stringent cause-and-effect cosmic laws to which even the deities themselves are subject.¹¹

In the Vedic imagination individual sacrifices may benefit human beings, but sacrifice in general was not designed for that purpose. Sacrifice does not exist for the sake of those who perform it. Rather, sacrifice grows out of and reflects the nature of the cosmos. Humans may participate in sacrifice, but they are by no means the center of sacrificial activity.

The Jewish characterization of ritual activity is somewhat different. First, in the Jewish tradition individuals or the community perform sacrifices to fulfill God's command, not to imitate God's behavior. Nothing in the Jewish creation story compares to Prajāpati's model of self-sacrifice and reconstitution. Rather, the Torah makes it clear that the created world is fundamentally "other" than the Creator God. The Torah begins by explaining, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth."¹² God already exists, without explanation. God's people sacrifice precisely because they are different from God, not to follow his example. Second, as far as I have been able to discern, Jewish sacrifices do not attempt to generate earthly goods such as wealth or cattle.¹³ Rather, the sacrifices address various kinds of guilt within a very detailed system of atonement. Certain kinds of guilt require certain kinds of offerings.¹⁴ Third, rabbinic discussions about sacrifices tend to focus on whether or not specific offerings are valid (*kosher*), not whether the sacrifice as a whole is "efficacious."¹⁵ The texts describe different degrees of invalidity: sacrifices that are invalid (*pasul*) but that do not incur guilt as a result, and sacrifices that are invalid and also incur a severe penalty.¹⁶ Many passages in the Mishnah describe activities that invalidate a sacrifice.¹⁷ Ultimately rituals are valid when they are executed in accordance with divine commands, not because they correspond with the cosmic order.¹⁸

In both of these traditions, then, the paradigmatic model of sacrifice, sacrifice "by the book," occurs when the individual desires of the human participants, the traditional ritual purpose, the ritual execution, and the attending cultural obligations

work together. In this scenario, the intention of all the participants is to accomplish the traditional ritual goals by executing the sacrifice correctly, thus fulfilling their cultural obligations. When these four factors are in consonance, the ritual accomplishes its intended goal.

2. Unconscious/Inadvertent Errors in Execution of the Sacrifice

So far we have assumed that rituals always proceed as planned. Both traditions, however, recognize a second scenario in which errors occur during the execution of rituals. For example, the Mishnah refers to a priest who accidentally spilled a basin of consecrated water on his feet rather than on the altar.¹⁹ Everyone agrees that the priest made an error in this instance. The type of "intention" we see in these situations is unintentional error. In these cases human desire, the stated ritual purpose, and cultural obligation are all "in sync," but the actual execution of the ritual fails. Both traditions provide for such situations and discuss extensively which errors, under which circumstances, can be remedied, and which errors cause irreparable damage to the sacrifice.

The Vedic material presents an entire category of expiatory rites specifically meant to redress errors in ritual performances. The texts that describe these expiations (or *prayaścittas*) also make it clear that certain errors can be redressed, but others cannot. "There is instruction laying down the expiatory rites in the case of the principal rites (being) performed improperly."²⁰ If, for example, the ritual patron's wife begins her menses during the course of the New or Full-Moon sacrifice, several of the Śrauta-Sūtras describe expiatory steps to be taken.²¹ Or, if one of the performers of the sacrifice dies in the midst of the sacrifice, another person may be substituted in his place.²² The substitute performer is paid, and it is understood that the benefits of the sacrifice accrue to the deceased performer. We see, then, that the brahmanical texts provide plenty of opportunities to remedy types of errors that occur in sacrifice.

The Jewish material also discusses ritual errors, generally in terms of a sacrifice's validity. In many cases errors do not invalidate a sacrifice, but they limit its impact.²³ For example, Zev. 6.7 asserts that if a priest drains the blood of a bird being used as a whole burnt offering (*'olah*), but "not under its own name," the offering is valid, but cannot be counted as having fulfilled the presenter's obligation (*lo yatza*). In other words, no expiation is required, but the presenter needs to bring another bird and make sure the procedure is performed correctly. Other, more extreme errors, however, can invalidate a sacrifice. In general, if the animal offering is slaughtered improperly,²⁴ if the victim is not valid as a sacrificial offering,²⁵ or if the sacrificial activity is performed incorrectly,²⁶ the sacrifice is invalid. For example, Zev. 1.1 states, "All sacrifices that have not been slaughtered as the sacrifice for which they were intended (lit., "slaughtered not under their own name," *she-lo lishman*) are valid, but they are not credited to the owner in fulfillment of his obligation, except for a Passover offering and a transgression offering." In other words, the offering substance may be sacrificed, but the sacrifice will not fulfill the owner's ritual obligation. In another example, Zev. 4.1 and 2 debate whether or not a priest has effected atonement (*kipper*) if he has failed to perform one act of sprinkling, "Therefore, though he carried out all the acts of sprinkling in the manner

ordained, and only one not in the prescribed manner, the offering is invalid (*pasul*).” Men. 1.2 notes, “If the priest took the handful with his left hand, it is invalid.”²⁷ Thus errors can affect sacrifices to varying degrees.

As in the Vedic case, a substitute may be required for personnel as well as for a material offering. For example, one paragraph of the Mishna discusses what should be done if the high priest dies:

The offering cakes of the high priest were not brought in half-portions. Rather he had to bring a whole tenth, which was divided. Half was offered in the morning and half in the afternoon. If the high priest who offers the half in the morning dies, and they appoint another high priest in his stead, he must not bring a half-tenth from his own house or the half-tenth of the first high priest, but he must bring an entire tenth [of his own], which is halved. He (the new high priest) offers one half [in the afternoon] and allows the other (the first high priest’s) half to perish.²⁸

Thus even the high priest can be replaced if the proper procedure is followed.

In both the Vedic and Jewish material some errors are too great to be expiated. Men. 13.1, for example, notes that the sages say, “Even [for] the one who slaughters the sacrifice within the Temple courtyard and offers it outside, once he has taken it outside, he has rendered the offering invalid.” In the Vedic material similar situations arise in which the error is too great and no expiation can remedy the situation. For example, if the milk collected in the evening for the New- or Full-Moon sacrifice is stolen or becomes defiled, the Kātyāyana, Baudhāyana, and Āpastamba Śrauta-Sūtras all agree that there is no adequate expiation.²⁹

In our second scenario, then, when an unconscious error occurs, individual desire, the traditional ritual goal, and cultural obligation are in consonance with one another, but the actual execution of the ritual fails. An unintentional change occurs in the performance of the sacrifice. In some situations, the unintentional flaw in the execution of the ritual overrides the other three factors and, as a result, the ritual fails to accomplish its stated purpose. In other cases, the unintentional error can be expiated, and the texts describe how. Not only do expiations allow inadvertently flawed rituals to move forward, but the possibility of fixing errors also paves the way for a third scenario in which conscious, deliberate changes are made to sacrificial procedures.

3. Conscious, Deliberate Changes in the Execution of the Ritual

Occasionally the texts in both traditions mention that an individual may deliberately change a procedure in the ritual. The clearest example of this occurs when a ritual participant substitutes one offering substance for another. In these situations participants make conscious, deliberate variations in the ritual procedure, yet they expect the sacrifice to generate the same results.

Extensive discussions regarding allowable substitutions are included in the primary material of both traditions. The Vedic texts imply that substitutions are permitted when a required substance is unavailable. For example, the Kātyāyana Śrauta-Sūtras states, “The Vedic texts have prescribed substitutes for materials that

were not available."³⁰ Many, many passages explain which materials may be used to replace specific substances and under which circumstances.

However, substitutions are restricted. For example, greater leeway is granted regarding substitutions for required rites than for optional rites.³¹ Presumably this is because individuals *had* to perform the required rites, so adjustments had to be made to allow those sacrifices to occur. Optional rites were just that—optional, so if an individual lacked certain offering substances, he simply didn't perform the ritual. Certain rituals can accommodate substitutions; others cannot.

The ability to substitute one offering substance for another should not be taken lightly. Certain ritual elements never have substitutes. One passage states, "a substitute cannot be used in place of the deity, fire, words (of the mantra) and the particular acts...of a rite, since they generate unseen results."³² Presumably an attempt to use a substitute for any of these things would render the sacrifice ineffectual. Being allowed to employ a substitute for certain offerings in many situations is significant.

The Jewish tradition also allows substitutions for some sacrificial animal victims, but there is no sustained explanation of *why* substitutions might be necessary. Certain passages suggest one reason that we don't find in the Vedic texts. The Torah states that substitutions may be used when a specific individual cannot afford an offering. For example, one passage states that if a man cannot afford a lamb for a transgression offering, he should bring two turtledoves or two young pigeons.³³ No other reason is given for substitution, but nowhere does the text explicitly state that this is the *only* reason a substitute would be allowed.

The Mishnah deals at length with sacrificial substitutions in tractate Temurah. In this tractate, we find certain similarities to Vedic practices. For example, some elements in Jewish sacrifice cannot be replaced by a substitute. Tem. 1.6, for example, notes that bird offerings and grain offerings cannot have valid substitutes "because the law (permitting) the substitute was given only for cattle." In addition, substitutions can only be made under certain circumstances. Tem. 1.6 also explains, "neither the congregation nor joint holders can bring substitutes...only an individual can bring a substitute."³⁴ Thus various restrictions limit the substitution of one offering substance for another.

The one thing the text never makes clear is *why* substitutions might be needed. We can conclude from the biblical passage cited previously that substitutions were permitted in some cases because an individual could not afford an animal offering. But the texts never state explicitly that this is the only reason for permitting a substitute. Temurah goes on at length about *how* and *when* substitutes are permitted, but it never mentions *why*.

In fact, neither the Jewish nor the Vedic texts we are examining seem particularly concerned with explaining why a substitution might be necessary. Presumably this was not the concern of the religious elite who authored or edited these texts. Rather, these religious leaders were more concerned with addressing potential problems with substitutions than explaining their existence. In general the Vedic texts suggest that substitutions are permitted when certain materials are unavailable. The Jewish texts state clearly that substitutions are permitted when an

individual cannot afford a particular animal offering. But neither the Vedic nor the Jewish texts explicitly *limit* substitution to these circumstances.

We have seen, then, that the discussions of substitution indicate that conscious, deliberate changes were made in both Vedic and Jewish sacrifices. Both traditions developed ways to vary the ritual performance from the ritual paradigm while still generating an effective or valid sacrifice. The “intentions” in these sacrifices are intentional changes in the execution of certain rituals. Participants intend to accomplish the ritual’s traditional purposes and to fulfill their cultural obligations to one another—as in the paradigmatic sacrifice—but they also intend to alter the methods involved in achieving these goals. In some cases, however, human participants have darker intentions, including subverting the ritual goal itself. These final cases make up our fourth scenario.

4. Conscious Subversion of Sacrifice

Up to this point, we assumed that ritual participants always intend to accomplish the paradigmatic goal of the rituals in which they participate. We have seen that individuals may make errors during sacrifices, or they may intentionally alter the *means* by which certain goals are achieved (as we have just discussed), but in both these cases individuals do not intend to alter the outcome of the sacrifice. At times, however, some participants try to subvert specific rituals. In these situations a participant alters how a ritual is executed specifically in order to alter the final results of the sacrifice. The intent to subvert the sacrifice thus alters the procedures as well as the ritual’s outcome.

As Brian K. Smith pointed out in his research on Vedic sacrifice, certain Śrauta-Sūtras describe how sacrificial priests can subvert a ritual in order to produce unwanted effects in the lives of their patrons.³⁵ For example, the Taittirīya Samhitā describes how a priest can take away a ritual patron’s livestock by substituting a piece of meat without fat for the prescribed piece of meat with fat.³⁶ Smith notes that some changes in the ritual are so slight as to escape the notice of the ritual patron. As a result, a patron may be aware only of the possibility of ritual sabotage, without knowing how to prevent it. He is ritually powerless to prevent the priest’s wrongful intent from subverting the sacrifice.

The Śrauta-Sūtras do not discuss why a priest would (or should) want to subvert a ritual. Certain passages seem to indicate that priests could subvert a sacrifice if the sacrificer was not a good man.³⁷ Another suggestion is that the priests publicized their ability to subvert a sacrifice to remind the ritual patrons that the priests wielded their own kind of power, a supraworldly power that countered the worldly power of the *kṣatrīya* or warrior class. A priest’s ability to sabotage a sacrifice provided a kind of challenge to the worldly advantages of his local ruler.

The problem is that these Vedic texts include oral traditions that were controlled by the priests, not the *kṣatrīyas*. If the references to priestly sabotage were publicized in a daily paper, read by local kings over their morning coffee, we might be able to understand these passages as subtle threats-cum-warnings to the ruling class. The ritual traditions, however, were maintained and circulated almost exclusively within the priestly schools. If rulers knew that the priests could sabotage a sacrifice, it was

only because the priests chose to let them know. But why would priests choose to let this be known?

One possibility suggests itself. Passages referring to ritual subversion provide easy explanations for past ritual sacrifice performances that did *not* generate the desired results (children, victory in battle, agricultural fertility). In his article "Ritual Perfection and Ritual Sabotage," Smith raises a point that we scholars must address: some rituals simply don't work. We are presented with texts that claim that rituals work. Yet we know that, at least occasionally, rituals do not generate the results they promise. This disjuncture deserves our attention as scholars of the primary texts that discuss religious practices. I am suggesting that the notion of ritual sabotage within the Vedic tradition is helpful precisely because it provides an explanation for rituals that didn't deliver. That is, the possibility of ritual sabotage strengthens the position of Vedic priests because it explains past seemingly ineffective rituals, not because it threatens future harm. Suggesting that a ritual has been sabotaged still asserts that priests have control over the results of sacrifice, which is better than suggesting that priestly activity is ineffective.

This is speculation, to be sure. No passage in the Vedic material indicates that priests developed revisionist strategies to explain ineffective rituals. But, secular scholars assert, if at least occasionally ritual performances did not generate the desired results, a contemporaneous theory of subversion explains things nicely.

The Torah and the Mishnah do not present us with this thorny interpretive problem. Jewish texts do not discuss ritual sabotage—but they do not preclude the possibility, either.³⁸ In fact, what is most striking is the *absence* of any concern that a Temple priest might ever want to undercut an individual's sacrificial efforts. The Mishnah does refer to wrongful intentions regarding the actions performed during rituals, not the overall purpose of the ritual. Zev. 1.4, for example, explains that an animal offering can be invalidated if the priest intends to perform certain procedures in the wrong place. Men. 1.3 explains a general principle regarding grain offerings: "If the priest took a handful or put it into the vessel or brought it to the altar or burned it intending to eat any of what is customarily burned outside of its proper place, the offering is invalid." Note that the text never states that the priest intended to invalidate the sacrifice; rather, it states that he intended to perform one of the procedures of the sacrifice in an inappropriate place. The result, however, would be that the offering would become invalid—and any priest worth his salt would know this. Since the priests made offerings on behalf of the community as a whole, the entire community could be affected by a priest's wrongful intentions.

We need to be clear here. The Mishnah never suggests that priests would intentionally desire to invalidate a sacrifice. In fact, the Mishnah does not even raise the possibility that a priest would intentionally try to harm an individual through ritual activity.³⁹ The closest we come to any concern about this is in Sukkah 4.9. The passage indicates that a priest had spilled water on his feet in the past, and onlookers seem to fear that he would do it again. But most scholars assume that onlookers fear another accident, not an intentional act of sabotage. The furthest the Mishnah goes is to acknowledge that some priests, sometimes, wrongfully intend to perform ritual actions in an inappropriate location or at an inappropriate time.

For several reasons, no secondary scholarship on Jewish material parallels Smith's research on Vedic ritual sabotage in the Jewish material. The most obvious reason is that the Mishnah deals with sacrifice as a past—rather than a continuing—practice, since Temple sacrifice had been suspended for about 150 years by the time the Mishnah was compiled. Thus the passages describing sacrifice present an ideal picture, presumably drawing at least somewhat upon past experience but unconcerned with contemporary situations. Because the Temple had been destroyed, the priests of ancient Judaism disappeared as a social force within Judaism in the early third century. Consequently, no reason existed to threaten the possibility of sabotaging a sacrifice when, in actuality, no possibility existed of even performing one. The Mishnah highlights the abilities and authority of the rabbis rather than the priests. While some of the rabbinic disputes concerning ritual practice had real-world consequences (e.g., domestic observance of Shabbat), the discussions regarding Temple sacrifice primarily provided a forum for the demonstration of rabbinic knowledge and authority.

None of this, however, proves that priests did *not* willfully subvert rituals when Temple sacrifice occurred. Clearly, priestly sabotage was possible. For example, one passage notes that if a priest “pinches off the head of a bird with his fingernail from the side, the act of pinching off is invalid.”⁴⁰ Although this could happen accidentally, it is possible that a priest would do this intentionally. A number of passages that seem to refer to inadvertent errors do not preclude the possibility of intentional sabotage. For example:

(When blood) must be sprinkled on the inner altar, if the priest failed to perform even one of the acts of sprinkling he has not brought about atonement. Therefore, although he performed all the acts of sprinkling in the prescribed way, and only one not in the prescribed way, the offering is invalid, but the penalty of cutting off is not thereby required.⁴¹

Given the complexity of Jewish sacrifice, it would have been remarkably easy for a priest to render an offering invalid without being detected. The Jewish texts, therefore, do not preclude priestly sabotage, they simply do not discuss it. They are concerned with the results of the sacrifice, which depend upon execution, not motivation.

In our final scenario, then, a ritual participant brings wrongful intentions to the sacrifice, intentions that run counter to his cultural obligations. These wrongful intentions manifest themselves in the execution of the sacrifice. The specific motives behind these malicious intentions do not concern the Mishnah or the Śrauta-Sūtras. These texts are concerned with method, not motive. But whatever the reason, participants who alter the performance of a ritual do so in order to alter its results. The alterations of the performance conflict with the cultural obligations of the participants, and the newly generated results conflict with traditional ritual goals.

Concluding Remarks

This overview of how various intentions affect sacrifice is in no way comprehensive. We can imagine many other scenarios, scenarios in which a

participant intends to perform a destructive sacrifice correctly, for example.⁴² But we have reviewed enough examples to generate a few conclusions.

First, we have seen that one's "intentions" can be directed toward different elements of the sacrifice. A participant's intentions may be focused on the overall outcome of the ritual or on specific procedures performed during the sacrifice. In addition, a participant's intentions can be good or bad, benefiting or harming those who receive the outcome of the sacrifice. All of these factors lead to different ritual scenarios.

Second, comparing the Śrauta-Sūtras with the Mishnah, we note some significant differences between their respective understandings of sacrifice. The Vedic texts are primarily concerned with ritual efficacy. That is, rituals are supposed to accomplish something, to have an impact on the visible—and invisible—world around us. Sacrifices can have this kind of impact because they are directly linked to the cosmos; actions and relations in the earthly realm parallel and are intertwined with actions and relations in the macrocosmic realm.⁴³ As Francis X. Clooney states, "the sacrifice is a microcosm, wherein the reality of the universe is presented in a pure, intense form."⁴⁴ For a Vedic sacrifice to be "efficacious," it must be consonant with the universe on the macrocosmic level.

Jewish sacrifice is not described as "efficacious" but rather as "valid." This distinction reflects the fact that Jewish sacrifice is not directed at maintaining the universe, but at generating very specific results for the Jewish people. Jewish sacrifice accomplishes results (just as Vedic sacrifice does), but these results are focused on the relationship between God and his chosen people. Nowhere does the Jewish literature suggest that sacrifice is rooted in the nature of the universe. Rather, it is rooted in the nature of God, who is distinct from the created universe. He inaugurates sacrifice at a specific point in human history to address the specific needs of the Jewish people.

The distinctions between "efficacy" and "validity" raise a third point. Vedic sacrifice exists principally to sustain the cosmos, and while human beings participate in sacrificial activity, they are not the reason for its existence. The fact that people benefit from certain sacrifices may be a nice result, but it is certainly not the reason sacrifice was created. Vedic sacrifice does not revolve around human beings. Jewish sacrifice, however, *does*. It restores the community's relationship with God via an elaborate system of offerings that counteracts specific behavioral errors.⁴⁵ Human beings are at the center of Jewish sacrifice; in fact, they make sacrifice necessary.

Our fourth insight has to do with ritual sabotage. By noting the Vedic discussions regarding ritual sabotage, we have opened a new avenue of investigation of the Jewish material, or at least the obligation to revisit the Jewish texts to determine whether or not the possibility of ritual sabotage exists in the Jewish sacrificial system. The absence of any reference to ritual sabotage is interesting in and of itself; the texts, obviously, present a certain picture of ritual life, ritual roles, relationships, and social obligations that each member of the community is required to fulfill. The texts offer a world of "ought" more than "is," a presentation of what the ritual community was supposed to be, rather than what actually occurred.

What do any of these observations matter? I began this essay by asserting that the study of Hinduism and Judaism should have an impact on the discipline of

religious studies in general, a discipline that has been shaped largely by categories derived from western Protestant Christianity. What issues does our study of intention in Vedic and Jewish sacrifice raise for the study of religion in general?

First, it places the roles different individuals play in sacrifice in the forefront of consideration. Discussions of sacrifice tend to focus on how the sacrifice of the offering benefits an individual ritual patron or the community as a whole. But it is also important to pay attention to the intentions and behaviors of the ritual "technicians," the priests. The texts that describe what priests do have as much to teach us as the texts that describe why they do it. Also, focusing on what is supposed to happen in a sacrifice reminds us that rituals don't always proceed as described in ritual manuals. How do the possibilities of substitution, unintentional error, and intentional subversion manifest themselves in other sacrificial traditions? Do we find "substitution" of any kind in other communities? Are there teachings that hint at the fear (or threat) of ritual sabotage?

Perhaps most importantly, Vedic and Jewish sacrifices challenge the assumption that sacrifices are always bloody and dramatic, an assumption that grows out of Christian theology. Sacrifice is far more complicated than a single violent act, especially in the Vedic and Jewish sacrificial systems. Various animal and non-animal offerings are used, and many, many elaborate procedures must be performed correctly for a sacrifice to accomplish its stated ritual purpose. Elsewhere I have argued that *all* of these procedures, most of which are neither bloody nor dramatic, deserve further scholarly attention.⁴⁶ The less dramatic activities—such as measuring grain, flaying goats, and pounding plant stalks—are overlooked in general studies of sacrifice.⁴⁷ Yet we have seen even in this brief essay that the intentions that one brings to these mundane activities fundamentally influence the outcome of sacrifice as a whole. The general study of religion can only benefit by recognizing that non-Christian traditions should not simply contribute data to existing categories of study, but should reshape the fundamental categories of our discipline, including the category of sacrifice.

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NOTES

¹ I would like to thank Francis X. Clooney, S.J., Robert Goldenberg, Richard Hecht, Barbara Holdrege, Brian K. Smith, and David Gordon White for their comments on earlier drafts of this essay. The original version of the paper was presented in 1998 at a panel of the Comparative Hinduisms and Judaism section at the American Academy of Religion conference in Orlando, Florida. All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

² Ample work has been done to demonstrate that the comparative study of sacrifice in Vedic and Jewish literature is significant for the broader field of religious studies. Note, for example, the landmark work of Henri Hubert and Marcel Maus, *Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice*, translated into English as *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Functions*, trans. W.D. Halls. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964.

³ Jan Gonda, *The Ritual Sutras, A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I. 2, Wiesbaden, 1977, p. 489.

⁴ I use male pronouns throughout this essay because both the Vedic and the Jewish texts presume that the priests and ritual patrons are men.

⁵ A well-developed theory of theurgic efficacy existed by the time of the Śrauta-Sūtras. Though this theory is not discussed explicitly in the *sūtras*, it provides the background for the directions given regarding sacrificial activity.

⁶ See, for example, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (AB) 5.32, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (ŚB) 6.3.1.11, 6.1.2.11.

⁷ For further discussion of this point see Brian K. Smith, *Classifying the Universe: The Ancient Indian Varna System and the Origins of Caste* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

⁸ This articulation is called the *samkalpa*. It is a public announcement of the sacrificer's intentions made at the beginning of the sacrifice.

⁹ Note that the inclusion of the ritual patron's resolution indicates that the participants of the ritual recognize that the ritual has a purpose. This contradicts Frits Staal's argument that Vedic sacrifice is "meaningless." Each sacrifice does, in fact, have a specific meaning that is publicly announced at its commencement.

¹⁰ KSS 1.3.13.

¹¹ Note that Sir Monier-Williams indicates that this is, in fact, the original meaning of the word *karma*: "any religious act or rite (as sacrifice, oblation, etc., esp. as originating in the hope of future recompense and as opposed to speculative religion or knowledge of spirit)." Sir Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1993), p. 258. See also Chitrabhanu Sen, who defines *karman* as "a sacrificial act, which must produce a result," in *A Dictionary of the Vedic Rituals* (Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1978), p. 60.

¹² Bereshith (Ber.) 1:1.

¹³ This is according to the texts; we have no idea what the "man on the street" thought as he offered the daily sacrifices in Jerusalem, and it would not be surprising to find that participants expected some kind of earthly prosperity in return for regular sacrificial offerings. The Torah and the Mishnah, however, never address this possibility.

¹⁴ For detailed discussions of the Jewish sacrificial system see Samuel S. Driver, "Offer, Offering, Oblation," in *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. 3, ed. J. Hastings. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900; Baruch Levine, *Leviticus* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989); Jacob Milgrom, "Leviticus 1-16," Vol. 3, in *The Anchor Bible Series* (New York: Doubleday, 1991).

¹⁵ One of the significant issues with regard to guilt in the Jewish literature is the individual's intention with regard to sin. In other words, did he know he was sinning

when he did so or not? This is significant because intentional sin must be addressed differently than unintentional sin.

¹⁶ This penalty is "cutting off" (*karet*), which has been interpreted to mean punishment by death, expulsion from the community, or the inability to produce descendants; see Vayyikra (Vayy.) 19:7-8, for example. One also finds the phrases "he has fulfilled" (*yatz*, Men. 13.10) or "not fulfilled" (*lo yatza*, Men. 13.8) his obligation.

¹⁷ See, for example, Men. 1.1 and Zevachim (Zev.) 9.3.

¹⁸ The Mishnah also uses a phrase translated "effects atonement" (*kipper*, Zev. 4.1, 2) when discussing the sprinkling of blood on the altar. The shift in vocabulary might suggest a difference in thinking about sacrificial activity, and this particular discussion is the closest the Mishnah comes to articulating anything akin to Vedic efficacy. But the discussions are so brief and so specifically delimited that there is no reason to think that any significant distinction is drawn between the sprinkling of blood and other acts connected with sacrifice.

¹⁹ Sukkah 4.9; see also B. Sukkah 4.8b.

²⁰ KSS 1.1.19.

²¹ The *Śrautakośa* records four different expiation rites according to the Baudhāyana Śrauta-Sūtras, the Vaikhānasa Śrauta-Sūtras, the Vārāha Pariśiṣṭa, and the Atharvaveda Prayaścitta. See, R.N. Dandekar, *Śrautakośa* Vol. I, Part 1, English section (Pune: Vaidika Samsodhana Maṇḍala, 1958), p. 440.

²² Jaimini Śrauta-Sūtras (JSS) 6.3.22.

²³ In addition to the examples given in the text, see also Bechorot (Bech.) 5.5.

²⁴ See, for example, Chullin 1.6.

²⁵ See for example Chullin 3.2-7, Bech. 6.3 and throughout Bech., Temurah (Tem.) 6.5, and Meilah 2.2.

²⁶ See for example Kinnim 1.1.

²⁷ See also Chullin 1.6 regarding valid and invalid methods of slaughtering a red heifer and a calf.

²⁸ Men. 4.5.

²⁹ *Śrautakośa*, p. 446.

³⁰ KSS 1.2.20; see also KSS 1.4.5.

³¹ For example "in the absence of the required material one should not perform an optional rite, because its accomplishment depends on the availability of that material. In the obligatory rites, a substitute (for a required offering substance) is to be made according to the similarity of the substance." (KSS 11.3.35-36)

³² KSS 1.6.6.

³³ Vayy. 5:7; see also 5:11.

³⁴ See also Tem. 2.1: "the offerings of the individual can have a substitute, but the offerings of the congregation cannot be replaced by a substitute."

³⁵ Brian K. Smith, "Ritual Perfection and Ritual Sabotage," in *History of Religions* 35, No. 5 (1996), pp. 285-306.

³⁶ TS 6.3.11.5f; see also ĀpSS 7.26.4.

³⁷ See, for example, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (AitB) 3.3.

³⁸ Numerous references concern different opinions regarding how to perform a sacrifice correctly (often reflected in different rabbis' opinions), but the priests still presumably wanted the sacrifice to be performed correctly—they simply disagreed on what "correct" looked like. See, for example, Yoma 4.5.

³⁹ In fact, when I mention this possibility to colleagues who study Jewish sacrifice, they are generally appalled that I would even consider the possibility.

⁴⁰ Chullin 1.4.

⁴¹ Zev. 4.2.

⁴² Such sacrifices do exist; the Śyena and the Iṣu sacrifices, for example, are supposed to be performed by someone intending injury to another party. The "intended harm" associated with these sacrifice is not a result of change in the ritual procedure, but rather a result of correct ritual performance.

⁴³ For more on this see Brian K. Smith, *Reflections on Resemblance, Ritual and Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

⁴⁴ Francis X. Clooney, *Thinking Ritually: Rediscovering the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā of Jaimini*, publications of the DeNobili Research Library, XVII, Gerhard Oberhammer, ed. (Vienna: Gerold and Co., 1990), p. 125.

⁴⁵ Sacrifice is associated with atonement at the very beginning of the sacrificial code in Vayy. 1.

⁴⁶ Kathryn McClymond, "In the Matter of Sacrifice: A Comparative Study of Vedic and Jewish Sacrifice" (PhD dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1999).

⁴⁷ The dominant theories of sacrifice limit themselves to animal offerings, and they present killing as the essential and defining characteristic of sacrifice. See Walter Burkert, *Homo Necans*, trans. Peter Bing. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972; Marcel Détienné and Jean-Pierre Vernant, *The Cuisine of Sacrifice Among the Greeks*, trans. Paula Wissing. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989; René Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, trans. Patrick Gregory. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977; Henri Hubert and Marcel Maus, *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Functions*, trans. W.D. Halls. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.

INDIA AND THE LAND OF ISRAEL: BETWEEN JEWS AND INDIANS IN ANCIENT TIMES¹

Meir Bar Ilan

The ties between India and Israel, like many relationships, began behind the scenes and ended up in the open. The purpose of this article is to evaluate the historic ties between the two countries and the two peoples, the Jews and the Indians, over the course of approximately 2000 years. Links start in the tenth century BCE (if not earlier), and are examined up to the time when the Jews were mentioned in the brass plates from Cochin, written around the year 1000. Sources will be reviewed chronologically, from their beginning in the Bible, through the Hellenistic literature and, finally, in the Rabbinic-Talmudic literature.

A. In the Bible

1. India at the End of the World

India is mentioned only one time in the Bible, in the Scroll of Esther. The scroll begins and ends (Chapters 1 and 9), with a description of King Ahasuerus' reign (Esther 1:1): "Now it came to pass in the days of Ahasuerus, this is Ahasuerus which reigned, from India even unto Ethiopia, over 107 and 20 provinces." That is, the Persian kingdom spread over a large number of countries, and the Persian Empire spread from India in the east to the Land of "Kush" in the west, the largest empire in the world until its time.¹ Indeed, even if—as claimed—the number 127 is only typologically important, the substance is real: the Persian Empire spread over almost all the known world's land mass, as it was understood in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE.

In light of this description, it is now possible to obtain different views from the literary perspective and, more confusingly, the geographical perspective, though both have the same intent.

The geographical description of the Garden of Eden (Genesis 2:10-14) mentions four rivers: the Pishon, the Gihon, the Euphrates, and the Hiddekel. It says:

And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads. The name of the first is Pishon: that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold: and the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium and the onyx stone. And the name of the second river is Gihon: the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia. And the name of the third river is Hiddekel: that is it, which goeth toward the east of Assyria. And the fourth river is Euphrates.

¹ Translated from Hebrew by Danielle Sharon and Erica Meyer Rauzin.

The description in Genesis does not mention India at all, however—as will be explained—the land of the Havilah is India (that is, part of it), as already stated by an Aramaic translator,² while the river Pishon is the Indus. Examining this description in detail, starting with the issue of the rivers,³ proves this view.

Based upon this view of the world, the “Garden” is actually the populated world. There are four real rivers in it, two in its center, even if the word “center” is not mentioned, and two more rivers surrounding (“that circle”) the world.

Therefore, Gihon is the Nile flowing north, while the river Pishon is the Indus flowing south.⁴ Thus, a kind of “symmetry” and “roundness” is formed in the map of the world, similar to the map described in regard to Ahasuerus’ reign. The “center” of the world is in Mesopotamia and in this center are two big rivers. Far away on each side is a “circling” river that flows to the sea, going about and around, until it comes out again. It appears that the world—that is, the Garden—is surrounded by water.⁵

At least on the surface, this geographical approach seems to disagree with the Bible of the land of Israel, due to the fact that Mesopotamia is located in the center, even if this is not specifically mentioned. In fact, the scriptural portion on the flood, which follows the portion on the Garden of Eden, makes it evident that Noah’s Ark rested on the mountain of Ararat, which is close to Mesopotamia (and not, for example, on the summit of Mt. Hermon). This description expresses the Mesopotamian background of the story. Apparently, this phenomenon is a consequence of the beginning of the Book of Genesis being part of the Wisdom Literature, which was prone to move more easily from one place to another. Anyway, there is no point on insisting on a picture of the world where there are two rivers in the middle and two more “surrounding” that world.⁶

The Gold

In essence, the double marking of the word “gold” in the scriptural portion (“there is gold there and gold”), can be interpreted as a literary style. However, it is more likely that this double marking is intentional and was meant to emphasize the importance and the value of the gold coming from the land of Havilah.⁷ Given both the double marking of “gold” and the description emphasizing the richness of Havilah, the text appears to hint of a wonderland with enormous riches. This description says Havilah is the land that exports bdellium, the land of the onyx stone.⁸

Remains of approximately 100 gold mines were found in upper Egypt, in Nubia (in Egyptian, the land of gold). However, the land of Havilah did not export only gold; it also exported bdellium and onyx. Clearly, parts of upper Egypt (Sudan or Ethiopia) could not qualify as candidates for the “land of Havilah.” Nevertheless, Sumeric and Akkadian documents make it appear that in the third millennium BCE various places in Mesopotamia were already importing gold and other merchandise in ships from a place named Dilmun, described in documents as, “a wonderful place on earth.”⁹ In the second millennium BCE, Dilmun sent Ur, which was in the south of Mesopotamia, not only gold but also silver, brass, necklaces of semi-precious stones, ivory combs, and pearls. Even though Dilmun was never clearly identified, it

probably was one of the cities in the valley of the Indus.¹⁰ Reputably, gold was exported much earlier from India, particularly from the Indus Valley.¹¹

During the reign of Darius in the sixth century BCE, India was considered the richest country in the Kingdom of Persia, bringing 360 talents of gold as tax revenue every year.¹² This literary evidence joins other archeological findings, which clearly show, from the remains of hundreds of mines spread throughout India, the intensity of metallurgical activity in ancient India. Mines for a variety of metals—gold, silver, brass, iron, lead, etc.—date from the fourth millennium BCE onward.¹³ When Rome conquered Egypt in 30 BCE, it imported gold from India.¹⁴ Clearly, India continuously supplied gold for many generations, although the Egyptian gold mines did not.¹⁵

The close biblical link between gold and the land of Havilah is historically supported by India's reputation as a gold exporter at that time. Even if one cannot conclusively identify the geographical location of the land of Havilah from this evidence alone, it is clear that it was in India, somewhere in the region of the valley of the Indus.

The Bdellium (*B'dolakh*)

Different interpretations have been offered as to the meaning of *b'dolakh*. Is it a type of a precious stone, a crystal or another species, or is it a type of perfume, an essence emanating a pleasant aroma?¹⁶ The traditional interpretation that it is a precious stone probably comes from Rav Aibu, a Talmudic scholar who lived in the land of Israel in the third century CE. Rav Aibu said *b'dolakh* was not a perfume, but a stone.¹⁷ However, he probably did not know that the word *b'dolakh* already existed in Akkadian and meant "perfumes." Thus, biblical scholars are inclined to interpret "*b'dolakh*" as perfume (indeed, the *shoham* is described as "stone"),¹⁸ and some scholars believed that it referred to perfumes from plants growing in southern Arabia and Somalia. However, this geographical observation seems to be only an extension of a mistaken opinion prevalent in Rome during the first century CE, according to which cinnamon (and, most probably, the other perfumes) originated in Arabia and Somalia.

Today, it is certain that most perfumes did not grow there, but grew in India and Sri Lanka. The peoples of Arabia and Somalia were, instead, the middlemen in the perfume trade.¹⁹ Even if Somalia and southern Arabia did grow perfumes such as myrrh and frankincense,²⁰ disproving India's role as a source of perfume would still require proving that the people of Mesopotamia maintained commercial activities with these distant locations, and not with the people of India even though India was much closer. India and Mesopotamia had a well-documented trading relationship because Mesopotamians could trade with India by water—a cheaper option than the "Ishmaelite Caravan"—by sailing along the shores of the Persian Gulf. This also avoided the risk of sailing the open seas, which were subject to monsoon winds.

For generations, India was known as an exporter of perfumes due to its unique weather conditions and vegetation. In the first century CE, many varieties of bdellium perfume, imported from India, were well known²¹ in Bactria and other places, suggesting that exports during the later period reflect earlier reports. Therefore, bdellium brought from the land of Havilah is perfume.

The Onyx Stone (*Shoham*)

Modern researchers identify the *shoham* as onyx, or malachite, among other opinions.²² This stone is mentioned in the Bible not only as an export from the land of Havilah, but also as a stone placed in the tunic and breastplate of the High Priest.²³ It is difficult to say anything clear about it. Possibly, the reference is to a “family” of semi-precious stones,²⁴ not to only one particular variety of stone, as is the custom in our days. However, even if the reference is to one particular stone, or even to a specific semi-precious stone, so little is mentioned about it in the Bible that it remains in question. One thing is clear: India was and still is an exporter of semi-precious stones, diamonds, and more, particularly the south of India, the location of four port cities. These include Muziris (that is Cranganore), located about 30 kilometers north of Cochin, which was established later.²⁵ Muziris exported ornamental stones—a variety of beryllium stones, sapphires, and diamonds—found in the middle of the country.²⁶

In view of the above, the geographic description of two circling rivers surrounding the world (among them the Pishon, which circles the land of Havilah) like the description of the export products of this country (gold, perfumes, and precious stones) necessarily leads to the conclusion that the land of Havilah is India. Probably, the reference is not to the entire Indian sub-continent, but to classical India, that is, the cultural center in the valley of the Indus, from whence the name “India” derives.

Gold, bdellium, and ornamental stones could be obtained not only in India, but also in Ethiopia, so the possibility still remains that the land of Havilah is in Ethiopia, except for one other comparison. For many generations, India attracted people of the west as tourists, merchants, or conquerors, not only because of its uniqueness, but also due to its richness and business opportunities. In contrast, Ethiopia was hardly ever conquered over the generations. This fact indicates that the land the Bible calls “*Havilah*”—the land it grants a good reputation for gold, bdellium, and ornamental stones—must be India and not Ethiopia, and that Ethiopia is only mentioned “thanks” to the confusion between it and India, not only in the Middle Ages,²⁷ but also much earlier.²⁸

In any event, the biblical narrator is aware that India is located at the end of the world: on one side is Kush, which is upper Egypt (Sudan and Ethiopia), and on the other side of the world is the land of Havilah, which is India.

2. Maritime Travels from the Land of Israel to India

The land of Israel first enjoyed a period of prosperity during the days of King Solomon in the tenth century BCE.²⁹ After the biblical narrative describes the richness and greatness of the King, as well as his vast network of connections with Pharaoh, King of Egypt, and with Hiram, King of Tyrus, one encounters the following description:

I Kings 9:26-28	II Chronicle 8:17-18
And King Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom. And Hiram sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon. And they came to Ophir, and fetched from thence gold, 420 talents, and brought it to King Solomon.	Then went Solomon to Ezion-geber, and to Eloth, at the seaside in the land of Edom. And Hiram sent him by the hands of his servants ships, and servants that had knowledge of the sea; and they went with the servants of Solomon to Ophir, and took thence 450 talents of gold, and brought them to King Solomon.

Scholars differ about the location of Ophir, and their uncertainties are difficult to clarify.³⁰ The narrative does not provide enough data about the commercial question, "What did the slaves of Solomon trade in exchange for the gold?" But, by analogy to what is known from a later period, it is possible to assume that Israeli and Phoenician exports included products which the two neighboring countries excelled in: glass (glassware, necklaces, and raw boulders),³¹ purple dye paint (from Phoenicia), grain, wheat, wine, raisins, dried figs, olive oil, dates, honey, almond nuts, brass (from the land of Israel and Edom), and others.³² However, the large quantity of the gold, approximately 13 metric tons in modern weight, could help indicate Ophir's location. Such a large quantity of gold leads to the assumption that it came from a process of continuous gold production, and not from an occasional extraction of gold. This large amount of gold suggests that this must refer to India, and not to Africa—where there were gold mines, but no urban coastal center that was capable of trading in gold.

The biblical author, while describing the coming of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon, remembers to mention additional details about the delegation to Ophir:

I Kings 10:11-12	II Chronicles 9:10-11
And the navy also of Hiram, and the servants of Solomon, which brought gold from Ophir, brought alnum trees and precious stones. And the King made of the alnum trees terraces to the house of the Lord, and to the King's palace, and harps and psalteries for singers: and there were none such seen before in the land of Judah.	And the servants also of Hiram, which brought gold from Ophir, brought alnum trees and precious stones. And the king made of the alnum trees terraces to the house of the Lord, and to the king's palace, and harps and psalteries for singers: and there were none such seen before in the land of Judah.

This indicates that the vessels brought back not only gold, but also precious stones (the Indian origin of which is described above) and prime quality timber. While it is possible that timber was imported to the land of Israel from Africa, the word "alnum" has been identified as a transliteration from the Sanskrit *valgum*.³³

Those who believe that Ophir was located in India include Josephus (*Jewish Antiquities*, pp. 4, 6, 8) and the Church Fathers, Eusebius and Hieronymus. In *Le*

Septuagint, the city's name was translated as Soupheir as well as Ophir, and it seems that the reference is to Sopara, somewhat south of Bombay in India. Given that, Ophir is actually Sopara, one of the most important port cities in the Roman Empire period.³⁴

More so, King Solomon's vessels reached another location, as it is written in Kings and Chronicles:

I Kings 10:22	II Chronicles 9:21
For the King had at sea a navy of Tarshish with the navy of Hiram: once in three years came the navy of Tarshish, bringing gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks.	For the King's ships went to Tarshish with the servants of Hiram: every three years once came the ships of Tarshish bringing gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks.

That is, Solomon's fleet had two destinations: the first—Ophir, a destination reached, as is specifically written, from Ezion-geber. The second expedition's port of departure is not specified. Moreover, the second destination (rendered "*Tarshish*" by scholars) remains anonymous, possibly on purpose, as written in the Book of Kings.³⁵ On the other hand, in the Book of Chronicles, Tarshish³⁶ is mentioned as the country of destination, a place whose identity will be clarified below.

Forget the apparent possibility that this second fleet, unlike the first fleet, was the fruit of maritime cooperation in the Mediterranean—a more in-depth investigation will show that this was impossible. Remember that Phoenician dominance of the Mediterranean didn't require the support of King Solomon. Consequently there was no advantage in a joint Judeo-Phoenician expedition in the Mediterranean Sea or beyond the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar).³⁷ Moreover, the streams and wind patterns in the Mediterranean Sea are relatively mild, so a round trip that lasted such a long time in the Mediterranean Sea—or even outside of it, sailing around Africa or to the north of Europe—seems improbable.³⁸ On the other hand, cooperation in the Southern Sea looks more reasonable because other instances of cooperation are known from other sources. A port location (Ezion-geber) is not cited, probably because the author assumed this "minor" detail was insignificant, due to his lack of experience and understanding.³⁹

The translation attributed to Jonathan writes that this trade was with Africa. Rashi and Rabbi David Kimhi share this opinion, but the issue requires a more in-depth analysis. Scholars past and present tried to find a hint of the geographic destination of these marine voyages, but they considered only part of the available information, while ignoring the broader reach of data in this work.

First, "*ani-tarshish*" most probably describes the type of vessels used, and not the destination of the voyage. That is, wood for the vessels was brought south (like the cedars brought for the Temple in Jerusalem) and the vessels were built according to the "model" set by "Tarshish." That is, they were not built as local fishing boats or local merchant vessels, but as commercial cargo ships, which nowadays would be called "Trans Atlantic" ships. Such ships would sail from Tyrus to Tarshish—which possibly was in Asia Minor or somewhere else (Sardinia)—and their name derived

from that locale. The vessels built in Ezion-geber were built according to the appropriate model for a long-range voyage.⁴⁰ That this refers to a Phoenician ship model is self-explanatory. Clearly, due to their characteristics, these vessels were not adequate to face the monsoon winds, just as the sailors aboard them, even if very experienced in the Mediterranean Sea, had no such experience in the Indian Ocean, which required very different seamanship than the Mediterranean.⁴¹

These facts, sailors, and ships, also explain why each voyage took three years. Even if the biblical author was not meticulously precise about the length of the voyage, and "rounded up" the time, evidently it was a very long sailing time (compared to the scale of much later periods). However, before discussing the actual length of the voyage, it is important to note a few observations about the wind patterns and the sailing routes from Egypt or the land of Israel in the Indian Ocean approximately 1000 years after King Solomon.

Around the first century BCE, it became possible for a vessel sailing from Egypt to India in July under good conditions (ship, captain, sailors, and luck), to return with cargo from India within a little less than a year, because—among other reasons—the ship could now take advantage of the monsoon winds, which had not been possible before due to lack of technical expertise in shipbuilding. Only ships with a relatively large volume were capable of exploiting the monsoon winds to make the trip in a year, which was considered a very short duration at the time. Until this development, it was impossible to sail westward for several months of the year.⁴² No standard Phoenician ship was adequately built to dare the Indian Ocean's winds. Vessels of the period before the Roman Empire had no choice but to follow the same, along-the-shore navigation patterns used by vessels in the Mediterranean Sea. That is, a vessel leaving Ezion-geber would sail to the south until it came to Yemen, continue east along the southern shores of Arabia, cross the Persian Gulf and continue south along the shores of the Indian sub-continent. Not only was this a longer route than the one taken by later period monsoon-ships, but the crews of the ancient ships had to be careful with the unfamiliar winds. One suspects that the maritime navigational talent of the famous Phoenician sailors of antiquity helped them avoid the dangers of unknown wind patterns. Considering the danger the monsoon winds presented to the Phoenician vessels—due to the longer route they had to travel, their relative slowness, and their inability to sail in bad weather—a three-year return voyage (including a significant number of months in which the sailors idled) looks like a very reasonable duration for ships departing from Ezion-geber to Ophir on the western shores of India and returning safely to their bases.⁴³

If Ophir was in Africa, the long duration of the voyage has no plausible explanation. Moreover, no archeological evidence supports the existence of real ties between the Middle East and Zimbabwe in Africa.⁴⁴ The identification of India as the destination of Solomon's and Hiram's maritime expeditions in Tarshish ships was accomplished due to the "small" detail describing the extremely long duration of the voyage to that country. Analyzing the products imported from that mysterious country—gold, silver, ivories, monkeys and parrots—strengthens the assumption that it refers to India.⁴⁵

In terms of metals, gold was covered above. As for other metals, the silver and lead mines of Nal in Baluchistan (north of the valley of the Indus) were already

known by the fourth millennium BCE. Ancient silver, lead, and zinc mines also were known to exist in six other regions of India. Clearly, therefore, the export of silver in ancient times fits India more than any other country, definitely so, when the silver is exported with gold.

To comment on the exported animals, both from the zoological and the linguistic points of view, note that the Hebrew words for "monkey" and "parrot" are unique. According to linguists, they originate from Tamil, a sort of dialect of Sanskrit.⁴⁶ "Monkey" and "Parrot" are the first written Tamil words that are in use today, although some cast doubt on this etymology (albeit, without offering a better explanation). Therefore, it is appropriate to examine these animals from the zoological point of view.

When examining the animals and other items on the export list, one could also, at least apparently, consider Africa as the possible exporter of ivory, monkeys, and parrots. Investigation proves that it is not. The Hebrew word "*shenhav*" (ivory) is from the Egyptian, so one cannot deduce anything about ivory's origin from its name. Therefore, when discussing ivory, one must look instead at the elephant itself, and consider the differences between Africa and India in regard to elephants and the trade in elephants. The Asian elephant was domesticated in India thousands of years before. Therefore, its trade in ivory is similar to trade in the products of other livestock, like cow's milk or sheep's wool. In contrast, the African elephant was not domesticated, and trade in its ivory was in the hands of hunters and, thus, incidental in nature.⁴⁷ In ancient times, eastern Africa had no city-kingdom along the Indian Ocean that could consolidate this occasional flow of ivory brought by hunters. But Abu, that is Elephantine, in upper Egypt, could do this, and derived its name from doing it. That is, ivory that arrived in the land of Israel in an orderly fashion through marine merchants could have only come from India, not from Africa.

The case of the Tukki teaches nothing, whether the reference was to the parrot known as such in the modern Hebrew language, or whether the reference was to the peacock, as some scholars believed (and perhaps rightly so). However, the monkeys brought in ships could better hint as to the homeports of the vessels that brought them. Indeed, there are monkeys in India as there are in Africa, but these monkeys are significantly different. As among elephants, the Indian monkey can be domesticated, even if not completely, while the African monkey is a wild animal. During early generations, both Africa and India exported wild animals to different places, but the essence of the question is the type of the monkey. If the reference is to a wild animal, then it must have either been tied or caged in a safe place so that it would not harm people, or so that it would fight people, like the exotic animals that Rome imported from Africa,⁴⁸ and somewhat like the handling of different wild animals, among them monkeys, being sent from Egypt to Mesopotamia.⁴⁹

The Indian monkey is, uniquely, a pet, which is why it was exported for many generations, and still is. This monkey helps harvest coconuts and, in modern times, even helps handicapped people. Given this, did Solomon's seamen bring other pet animals, such as the parrot, or domesticated animals, such as the elephant, or did they bring wild animals, those dangerous to people? No evidence exists that the land of Israel had caging facilities for animals until the arrival of Hellenistic culture, as is evident in the Bet-Guvrin theater. Since India exported monkeys, peacocks, and

parrots for generations, it is reasonable to believe that the monkey brought by Solomon's sailors was from India—this being the long-tailed monkey, the same monkey Egypt imported from the land of Punt.⁵⁰ The Indian monkey is small and brings only pleasure and fun to animal lovers, as well as being entertaining during long, lonely sailing days. However, the African monkey, a dangerous animal, could only interest zoologists; its only place is in the zoo or in the wild. So we can conclude that the monkeys that Solomon's sailors brought came from India and not from Africa.

In summary, the thrust of this entire database and of each data element indicates that Solomon's expedition reached India. This data is further strengthened by the emergence of a sort of an Indian "export profile," as a consequence of India's climate and ocean. This profile fits what is known about India from a variety of sources and from different periods. Due to India's relative advantages over many other places in the world, the profile shows a continuity of export activity through many generations.

King Jehoshaphat

About 100 years after King Solomon, in the ninth century BCE, Jehoshaphat, the son of Asa, reigned in Judea. He is considered one of the greatest Judean kings. After consolidating his power in the south of the country (as it is written about him in I Kings 22:49), Jehoshaphat made Tarshish ships to travel to Ophir for gold. However, the ships got destroyed at Ezion-geber.

This short and concise verse teaches us that King Jehoshaphat probably tried to follow King Solomon, his great-grandfather, but couldn't. The ships that broke down in the southern port probably indicate maritime activity in this region. It seems that the ships were anchored at port and a strong, unexpected wind smashed the vessels against each other, or pushed them to the shore so strongly that they were ruined. This further testifies that, at this time, the people of Judea lacked maritime expertise. They lacked experience with the special wind patterns of the Bay of Eilat and, needless to say, of the Indian Ocean. In reality, the final fate of these ships was already set from their inception. Note the difference in the maritime activity between Jehoshaphat and Solomon. King Solomon maintained a broad network of connections and cooperation with Tyrus in many areas, including maritime cooperation, while no evidence exists of such cooperation between Jehoshaphat and Phoenicia. The silence of the narrative about such cooperation is significant. The following verse strengthens the lessons learned from the destruction of the ships and is illuminating because it was written right afterward (I Kings 22:50): "Then said Ahaziah, the son of Ahab, unto Jehoshaphat, 'Let my servants go with thy servants in the ships.' But Jehoshaphat would not."⁵¹ That is, the King of Israel—whose father married Jezebel, the daughter of the King of Sidon, who probably could help him in this area where Phoenician sailors were experts—rejected the offer of help on the spot for reasons of prestige and politics, reasons that turned out to be wrong after the ships broke down.⁵²

No more attempts were made, even later, to develop a port city in the south of the land of Israel. Maritime activity was renewed in this area only in the twentieth century, in the era of steamships, with the establishment of the state of Israel.⁵³

The story of Jehoshaphat's maritime failure only shows, by comparison, the strength of the successful aspects of King Solomon's venture, a success that remained unequalled for many generations. At the same time, the driving force behind these maritime activities was gold. However, the political ability to achieve this goal was inconsistent and, clearly, no continuous ties were maintained between the land of Israel and Ophir, that is India. The scarcity of details about Ophir in the historical memory of the biblical authors is noticeable. From the point of view of the Bible, and of modern researchers, the various names of different countries on the Indian sub-continent, thousands of miles away from the land of Israel, were destined for oblivion.⁵⁴

3. The Importation of Perfumes from India and Sri Lanka

Gold is not the only import for which a land of origin, in this case India, is not mentioned. The lack of citations of countries of origin is an evident problem in relation to other products mentioned in the Bible, particularly perfumes.

The bride's description in the Song of Songs 4:13-14, says: "Thy plants are an orchard of pomegranates, with pleasant fruits; camphire, with spikenard, spikenard and saffron; calamus and cinnamon, with all trees of frankincense; myrrh and aloes, with all the chief spices." India was the country of origin of at least three of these perfumes: calamus, spikenard, and cinnamon.⁵⁵ To these add the "cassia" (Psalms 45:9), which is made of the shell of a tree of the cinnamon family.⁵⁶ Specific testimony about perfumes being exported to the land of Israel from India and Sri Lanka exists from the Roman period (see below), and so this is obviously not just a later innovation. Nabataean Arabs brought the perfumes to the land of Israel, but they neither knew nor told about the origin of the perfumes, therefore the name of India is not mentioned concerning such perfumes as "Spikenard-India." Since no similar product existed, contemporary observers had no need to mention its origin.

Due to the similarity between Indian love songs and the Song of Songs (which precedes the Indian songs by hundreds of years), and due to the mention of Indian perfumes in the Song of Songs, some believed that the Song of Songs was influenced by Indian literature,⁵⁷ more so, because the authorship of this book is attributed to King Solomon, whose connections to India were described above. However, this opinion seemingly has no basis in fact. Love songs exist in any place where the human race lives, and one must not assume that the author of the Song of Songs knew that the perfumes he described came from India. This theory has other problems, including the probability that King Solomon did not compose the Song of Songs in the first place, but this is not the venue to discuss them.⁵⁸

Cinnamon and calamus are mentioned in the description of the sacred oil ointment in the temple (Exodus 30:23-25). Possibly calamus is also a perfume from Sri Lanka.⁵⁹ However, in all of these cases, the origin of the perfumes is not actually mentioned, just as the origin of the precious stones in the temple is not mentioned. This is because the perfumes and the stones reached the land of Israel by desert routes without leaving us the identity of their country of origin. Also, the fact that the Temple's rituals required the import of things from so far away only emphasizes that, in the first millennium BCE, or maybe even earlier (in Canaanite temples), the land of Israel received a continuous supply of perfumes from India. The investment

involved in the importation of perfumes was much smaller than the one involved in importing gold. If importing gold was the enterprise of kings and emperors, importing perfumes was considered a small-scale activity that didn't demand the large capital investment required to import gold.

B. In the Hellenistic Literature

Josephus Flavius relates a story attributed to Clearchus of Soli, a pupil of Aristotle, in regard to Aristotle's meeting with a Jewish sage. According to tradition, this was the first (known) encounter between Jews and Greeks. In *Against Apion* (A, 177-181) it is written, approximately:

[And Aristotle said:] "True, that [man] was a Jew from his origin, from Coele in Syria, however, they [the Jews] are descendents of the Indian philosophers, and as they say, the philosophers in India are called *Kalanim*, and in Syria [the philosophers are called], Jews..."⁶⁰

An in-depth research project, dedicated to the "discovery" of the Jews by Aristotle, clarified that this is most probably not a true story. No historical proof exists of any encounter between Aristotle and Jews. Moreover, Clearchus related this story as taking place between 345 and 347 BCE, notwithstanding some anachronisms that are connected by the name "Kalanim" (after Kalanos, the Indian gymnosophist). Alexander the Great did not know any Jews until his expedition in 327 BCE. Thus, even if the story is untrue in the strict historical sense, the question still stands: how did it come into anybody's mind to see the Jews as descendents of "Indian philosophers?"⁶¹ Whether this is a good story, a joke, or a philosophical fairytale (in the hypothetical struggle among different philosophical schools), even if it is not historical, it is bound to reflect a certain reality. The question being asked is: how could such a mistake as identifying the Jews with the Indians⁶² happen to Aristotle or Clearchus (or to the one whose words Clearchus related)? Thus, the following discussion is aimed at "defending" Clearchus, and explaining the reasons for his mistaken view that the similarity between the Jews and the Indians is significant enough that they would be considered one people, descendent of the other. Clearly, this is not an intent to "reconstruct" Clearchus' thoughts, because that can be accomplished, if ever, only when more portions of his lost works are discovered. Nonetheless, the aim here is to explain the breath of views and ideas in the Greek world in the second half of the fourth century BCE, a world in which—as will be explained below—it was possible to assume that Jews and Indians were people of the same nation.

Two possible approaches to the similarity between Jews and Indians are the resemblances among their social and dietary customs and the resemblance between the geographic locations of their settlements.

1. The Resemblance in Customs: Social Stratification, Purity and Impurity, and Diet

The western observer who describes India is usually very much impressed by its unique social structure, a society based on castes.⁶³ The existence of different castes that do not mix with each other and that observe distinct customs is a well-known

reality in Indian life today; with some variations, it was also a known reality in the fourth century BCE. This system bore no resemblance to fourth century Greek society; however, Jewish society in the land of Israel at that time did have many characteristics of a socially stratified society. The Mishnaic teachers taught in the Mishnat Kidushin 4:1:

Ten castes came up from Babylon:

Priests, Levites, Israelites, Impaired priests, Converts, Freed slaves, Mamzeri, Netini, "Silenced ones," and Foundlings.

Priests, Levites, and Israelites—are permitted to marry among one another.

Levites, Israelites, Impaired priests, Converts, and Freed slaves—are permitted to marry among one another.

Converts, Freed slaves, Mamzeri, Netini, "Silenced ones," and Foundlings—are all permitted to marry one another.⁶⁴

According to the opinion of the Mishnaic teachers, Israel's stratified society—particularly its stratified marriage rules—came from the fifth (or fourth) century BCE, the days of the Babylonian immigration. Even if this tradition requires validation from the historical point of view—to what degree is it reliable?—the Talmudic literature has more examples that testify to this social stratification, as well as to the tensions that arose because of it.⁶⁵ Clearly, one cannot know the precise situation in India or in the land of Israel in ancient times, but the Greeks could have seen the existence of social stratification (such as in the status of the permanent priests, even those who were not necessarily linked to the temple's rituals) as two phenomena, deriving one from the other.

The rigid, socially stratified structure that existed in different degrees continued, not only in the area of marriage, but also in the adherence to purity and impurity in everyday life. This differs from Greece, where purity and impurity applied only when visiting the temples. But, it extended to Indian and Jewish dietary restrictions, which had no counterparts in Greek culture. Greek eating habits varied, but the Greeks recognized almost no "forbidden" foods in the Indian or Hindu religious sense. The main Greek food restriction was based on the Hypocrite medicine.⁶⁶ The exceptions were a small minority of Pythagoras' disciples, or Orphaic groups, who refrained from eating certain foods in a manner resembling Jewish customs. Pythagoras spent decades in the east, in Egypt and Mesopotamia,⁶⁷ so it may not be a coincidence that later authors thought that he also stayed in India. Nevertheless, a Greek would have looked with astonishment at Indians or Jews who refrained from eating meat served to them, and would have probably regarded their abstention as deriving from the same (ethnic-religious) source.

Moreover, it is possible that social stratification left its marks, both in India and in the land of Israel, on the clothes of the different classes, as it transpires from Rabbi Meir, a Mishnaic teacher of the second century CE (or this may be an addition by later editors). Rabbi Meir said to Avnimus the Gardi, "As we found there were a number of markets in Jerusalem and they did not mix one with the other, a market for kings, a market for prophets, and for priests and for the members of tribe of Levi

and for that of Israel, they were foreigners in the way they dressed and in their markets, what these would wear the others wouldn't."⁶⁸

While it is difficult to determine to what extent this is a historical description, it is necessary to mention the notion of "priesthood garments." Even if this idea doesn't exist as a permanent expression in the Bible, but only in the Talmudic literature, it nevertheless clearly reflects a social reality wherein stratification of the classes was recognized in clothes that only higher social classes (i.e. priests) were allowed to wear.⁶⁹ The markets also had foodstuffs that were sold only to priests, or only to the members of the tribe of Levi.⁷⁰ This clarifies why "groups of priests" ate by themselves, and why members of Israel could not join their meal.⁷¹ Based on earlier law, Jews were careful not to eat with bastards, and to avoid any social ties with them, as it is written (Deuteronomy 23:3): "No bastard will come among the people of G-d." This means that strict prohibition of social exclusion was regarded far more severely than Mishnaic sages' prohibition about marriage.⁷² Perhaps social and halachic forces suggest the historic background reflected in Rabbi Meir's tradition. Clearly, social stratifications (or castes, in modern language) were present among the Jews in terms of marriage, socializing, eating, dress, and the strict application of purity laws. Apparently, these examples were sufficient to convince an outside observer, such as a Greek, that a real resemblance existed between the life cycles of Indians and Jews in the ancient times and that Indians and Jews could belong to the same people.

Which of these elements attracted Clearchus' attention and caused him to believe in the existence of an ethnic connection between Jews and Indians? Evidence presented here demonstrates that he could have arrived at this conclusion. Though it may look improbable at first glance, it definitely becomes more plausible after deeper analysis. However, a geographical gap of thousands of kilometers still separates India and the land of Israel. This gap looks like a real barrier against any attempt to connect Jews and Indians. In light of this dilemma, one must examine the geographical puzzle.

2. Geographical Distances: The "Expansion" of the World

How could a "mix up" occur between Jews residing in the land of Israel and Indians residing in India, located thousands of miles away in the east? Even if one assumes that the Jews resembled the Indians in their social customs, one still cannot ignore such a large distance. That matter requires a separate explanation.

First, note that modern astrophysical thinking is divided on whether the universe is of a fixed dimension or is expanding. In comparison, the size of our world, as far as it is known, is fixed. However, during the progress of human history, the world "expanded" twice in human perception. That is, the reality did not change, but twice mankind's understanding of the size of the world changed. The first time came during the days of Alexander the Great,⁷³ and the second occurred in the sixteenth century with the discovery of the "new world." Before the world "expanded," the distances among places were perceived differently than any child knows them to be today.⁷⁴ Thus, the following makes an attempt to explain what happened in this area in the sixteenth century, a subject relatively well known in research. The

"expansion" of the world in the sixteenth century is comparable to what probably happened in the fourth century BCE.

In 1492, Columbus traveled west to find India. Until the day of his death, almost 13 years later, he thought that he had reached China instead. During the sixteenth century, it became clear that Columbus really had discovered a new continent, and that the distance between Europe and India was far bigger than had previously been thought. Only in the sixteenth century did it finally become clear that the world is a globe, an idea that had floated, of course, in the human consciousness thousands of years before, but only as a philosophical and astronomical supposition.

In the sixteenth century, it became clear that the world had "expanded" in size, and myths that were thousands of years old slowly disappeared from people's minds. It is a known phenomena that looking at a distant object causes a mistaken evaluation of the actual distance between the observer and the observed object. By analogy, observers from Europe looking west found the distance to India was greater than they thought. Suddenly, India moved both further away and closer to Europe. After a few years, this same "distancing" caused the breakthrough that allowed the circling of the Cape of Good Hope from the west eastward, and later the circling of the globe from the east westward. This change in mankind's perspective of the world is very well known, but—in this frame of reference—it is worth mentioning that many researchers in the sixteenth century were certain that the Native Americans were the descendents of the ten lost tribes.⁷⁵ That is, the geographical mistake, even if later corrected, was still bound by an ethnological mistake.

A similar process occurred in human consciousness of the world and its size with the discovery of India during the travels of Alexander the Great. Until the fourth century CE, Europeans (that is Greeks) thought India was at the end of the world. However, Alexander's conquest of northern India brought about a better understanding of the distances and directions of the ancient world.⁷⁶ When Alexander the Great—Aristotle's pupil—went to conquer India, he hoped to find the sources of the Nile, and only later realized his mistake.⁷⁷ During the same period, these geographical notions were unclear even to those who could afford the best education, including Alexander, who was taught by Aristotle.⁷⁸

The world, or the western world-view, "expanded" twice, as the knowledge of new land discoveries made scholars aware of the world's real size. The first time was in the fourth century BCE, within the first or second generation after the discovery of India. That shift in perspective was smaller than the one that occurred in the sixteenth century, within one or two generations of the discovery of North America. Until these discoveries, the European inhabitants of the west had a mistaken view of the east, based, of course, on the knowledge available to them at the time. In both cases, the world "expanded," and in both cases, Jews were considered to be already present in those distant places. This period of geographical-ethnological mistakes could not have lasted very long and, within a generation or two after the geographical discovery of either India or North America, it became impossible to link the Jews to those wonderful places. Therefore, Clearchus' words could have been written only during one possible period: the days of Alexander the Great or shortly afterward, precisely when the east "opened" and Greece became aware of India and of the Jews.

C. The Talmudic Sources: Under the Roman and Byzantine Rule

With the conquest of Egypt, under the Roman rule in 30 BCE, a real change occurred in the commercial ties between Rome and India.⁷⁹ Even before the conquest, Egypt served as a natural, intermediary between the exporter—India, and the importer—Rome, due to special growth conditions in India and Sri Lanka that did not exist elsewhere. However, under the rule of the Roman Empire, the ties between Rome and India became closer.⁸⁰ This explains the increase in merchandise and Roman coins discovered in India, especially in southern India.⁸¹ With these circumstances and, probably, with the strengthening of Egypt, in general, and Alexandria, in particular, as the intermediary between India and Rome, there was also an increase in the merchandise that reached the land of Israel from India. Thus, the people of the land of Israel enjoyed the same Roman prosperity (except for local uprisings, which cost the lives of thousands of people in the land of Israel). Even if some trade between the land of Israel and India passed, in general, through Ptolemaic Egypt, another part of it arrived via Arab and Nabataean caravans which transferred merchandise either from southern Arabia or the region of Eilat. The next section presents a number of testimonies and examples of imported products that reached the land of Israel from India.⁸²

1. Imports from India

Spices and Medications

Among the many products imported from India, the spices and perfumes were particularly famous.⁸³ These were a natural extension of Indian exported goods from earlier periods. In addition to spices, medicines also reached Rome from India.⁸⁴ The Indian influence on Rome was so large that it is possible to identify the influence of Indian medicine on Roman medicine in the first century CE.⁸⁵

Most probably, all the pepper and cinnamon mentioned in Talmudic sources was imported from India. Even if there are sources indicating that cinnamon was grown locally, the special climatic conditions needed for growing cinnamon and pepper⁸⁶ hint that these products were not grown in the land of Israel but reached it as finished imported products.⁸⁷

High Quality Cloth

The description of the High Priest's ritual during the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur) includes details about his clothes, which he used to change during the performance of these rituals.

In Mishnah Yoma 3:7-8 it is told:

They brought him white vestments. He dressed and sanctified his hands and his feet. In the morning he would don Pelousion worth twelve *maneh* and in the afternoon Hinduyin worth 800 *zuz*. These are the words of Rabbi Meir. But, the sages say, in the morning he would don (garments) worth eighteen *maneh* and in the afternoon worth twelve *maneh*—altogether 30 *maneh*.⁸⁸

On the Day of Atonement, the High Priest wore "golden clothes" (as this garment collection is called in the Talmudic literature), his most magnificent clothes.

In the morning, he wore clothes brought from Pelousion located on the eastern branch of the Nile.⁸⁹ At dusk, the High Priest changed his clothes and wore less expensive ones—although they were also expensive—brought from India, most probably via Egypt.⁹⁰

In the Jerusalem Talmud, Yoma 3:6, 30d, there is a clarifying tradition:⁹¹

We have learnt: And the second clothing from Pelousion was not any more beautiful from the first one from India, and this is based on a tradition stated in a detailed report: type A from the best cloth brought from Pelousion—there is no better than it, the type B from the cloth from Pelousion is equal in quality to type A of the cloth brought from India, and type B from Pelousion is not more beautiful than type A from India, according to the tradition (account) stated in the detailed report.⁹²

The Talmudic teacher knew that the merchandise brought from Pelousion was of better quality than goods from India, and that it was 50% more expensive. Nonetheless, the Talmudic teacher emphasizes that the level of cloth type B from Pelousion is equal to cloth type A from India (according to either R. Meir or the sages).⁹³ The Jerusalem Talmud raised additional traditional points about the expensive garments of priests who worked in the temple. One of them was the High Priest Ishmael ben Phiabi,⁹⁴ and the other was Eleazar ben Harsom, who was extremely wealthy.⁹⁵ These facts explain the high price of the garments exported from either Pelousion or India.⁹⁶

Most probably, the millet wares mentioned in the Talmudic literature a few times as expensive garments were also imported from India. So it is told, for example, in Ketubot 66b:

“Surely it was taught: It was said about Nakdimon ben Guryon that whenever he would leave his house [go] to the academy, carpets of fine millet would be spread out beneath him, and poor people would come: and roll them up after him.”

It is clear that extreme wealth is being described here. Consequently: as it is told in the Baba Batra 146a:

“Come, learn that Rav Yehudah said in the name of Shmuel: There was an incident involving a certain person who sent to the home of his father-in-law a hundred wagons, [containing] jugs of wine, jugs of oil, silver utensils, gold utensils and fine wares of millet and in his elation rode...”⁹⁷

The storyteller added more on the subject of millet wares,⁹⁸ but the central issue is still unclear: what are the millet wares, and why were they so expensive?

Indeed, even if the word is pronounced, as some would say it, with an “ah” vowel (as in *milat*), it would still resemble the word “millet” in English, a word that came to English from Latin with French mediation, a word whose meaning is millet, the grain plant.⁹⁹ In the context of this subject, the importance is not only the etymological perspective of the word, but the testimonies that millet was exported

from India to the Roman Empire.¹⁰⁰ Consequently, it appears that the extremely high price of the cloth called millet originated from the fact that it came from India. In fact, no known cloth is woven from millet, but it seems that these products were called after the main export item. Therefore, since the vessel was loaded in India with millet (and at a location also called Millet, the name of its main export item), the cloth itself was called "millet," too, even if it was not actually made from that plant.¹⁰¹

Iron

Iron was exported from India in the period of the Roman Empire, if not for many years before it.¹⁰² Indian iron had a reputation as being a reliable material for weapons. It was produced using a unique technique that made it less fragile than the iron known in Europe and, therefore, was found to be adequate for battle swords. In fact, modern researchers studying ancient metallurgy found that Indian iron was actually steel (iron with at least 1.5% carbon) and was melted at temperatures of at least 1400 degrees Celsius.¹⁰³ Obviously, anyone whose life depended on good armory valued superior metal and was willing to pay for it accordingly. Talmudic Literature includes the following three testimonies in regard to the Indian steel.

1) In the Babylonian Talmud, Avodah Zarah 16a, it is explained:

Said Rabbi Ada Bar Ahavah: One should not sell foreigners raw bars of iron. Why? Because, the foreigners use them to make weapons. If so, said the speaker, we would not sell the foreigners even pick-axes or axes from which one can make weapons! Rav Zevid answered: The prohibition is on iron from India, on which the prohibition is valid, because this metal is appropriate for weapons. But aren't we today selling foreigners iron against the original verdict? Responded Rav Ashi: We are selling only to the Persians who are protecting us.

In fact, all this is said in Babylon, not in the land of Israel, but it will immediately be shown below that the export of iron from India didn't stop in Babylon and had reached the land of Israel (and also Rome, of course).

2) Midrash Tehilim (Psalms) 6 (Yalkut Shimeoni Tehilim, Remez, 635):

Said R. Elazar: The issue is a parable of a king who was angry with his son while holding an Indian sword in his hand.

Here is a Talmudic scholar in the land of Israel who knows about a sword made of Indian iron.¹⁰⁴

3) Midrash Tanhuma (Buber), Portion Va'etkhanen, paragraph tag F:

Said R. Abbahu: What does it resemble to, to one of the highest in the kingdom who found a Indian sword, like nothing similar in the world, and said: This befits no one

but a king! What did he do, he brought it as a present to the king, said the king: Cut his head with it.¹⁰⁵

These two traditional portions from the land of Israel of the third century CE, approximately, make it evident that India exported iron (steel), of excellent quality that reached both the Jews of the land of Israel and the Jews of Babylon. Note that both cases refer to iron in the hands of kings. It was expensive merchandise that only the very rich could afford. But, as is known, there were many kings in ancient times, as there were many wars, a fact that explains how Indian iron reached the fertile crescent region—and, during the same time frame, how numerous coins and goods from the west reached India. Therefore, it is evident that Indian iron was considered “good” iron, just as Indian gold was considered good gold a few hundred years earlier.

What was the origin of the iron in India, a large sub-continent? Well, the suggestion is that the iron originated in a place called Chera.¹⁰⁶ Chera is identified as a kingdom whose main port in southern India was Muziris. This city is now known by its modern name, Cranganore, and is a neighbor of Cochin, which was established hundreds of years later.¹⁰⁷ So, the iron that came from India to the land of Israel in the Roman-Byzantine periods is documented in the Talmud. And, this iron came from the same region of India where hundreds of years later there were Jewish communities, which saw themselves as being of ancient origin.

As long as Rome ruled the Mediterranean, in general, and Egypt, in particular, it imported various products from India. However, apparently, as a result of inflation in the Roman Empire during the third century CE, the demand for luxury items started to decline and the trade between Rome and India shrunk. This reduction was felt also in the land of Israel. With the fall of the Roman Empire, imports from India declined even further and returned to what they were in the past: small scale imports carried out by private merchants without the backing of a central government.

2. Religious Influences on India and Immigration to It

The inhabitants of the Middle East, Jews among them, immigrated to India over the generations, most probably as a result of the broad commercial activity between the two regions. King Ashoka, who reigned over most of India (except the south), in the middle of the third century BCE, mentions the Greek King Antiochus in one of his kingdom's decrees.¹⁰⁸ Scholars identify this king as Antiochus II,¹⁰⁹ and from that period on, the “*Yavanah*” are mentioned many times in Sanskrit and in Tamil.¹¹⁰

One of King Ashoka's decrees was found in Afghanistan. It had been published as a bilingual document, in Greek and Aramaic, which means that there were enough people in India who spoke and read Aramaic; Jews could have been among them. However, these people came to India from the north over land, and it is somewhat hard to imagine the presence of Jews from the land of Israel in caravans that passed through Persia and Afghanistan. The shortest and easiest route to India for the people from the west, including Jews, was by sea. In fact, plenty of Hellenistic finds exist in India and Sri Lanka, especially along the shores. Those “*Yavanah*” were not only Greeks from Greece who settled in India, but were also people of the Levant who went through the process of Hellenization. With the strengthening of the economic ties between Ptolemaic Egypt and India, they made their way to India and remained

there as commercial representatives of the west. No doubt, the people of India could not distinguish between Jews and "Yavanah," as to them, they were all "white" and foreign. In any event, there is no known reference to Jews in India during this period. The Jews from the land of Israel had only a marginal share in the commerce with India, so their numbers among settlers in India was, most probably, also marginal.

There were exceptions, however. Nicanor, who lived in Alexandria in the first century CE, accumulated his wealth from the Indian-Roman trade,¹¹¹ and possibly also sent his representative to India, was, obviously, a Jew. Maimonides' brother, who lived in Egypt in the twelfth century CE, drowned in the Indian Ocean during a trip to purchase precious stones for his business. That fact only strengthens the understanding of the background of the Jews who settled in India. The people of the "Yavanah" settlements were merchants, representatives, and relatives of those who lived in Egypt and who were concerned about the economic interests of their partners overseas.

Nothing is known about the precise time when the Jews came to India, but Thomas, one of Jesus' disciples, who lived as Jew in the land of Israel, spread the Christian gospel when he reached India in 52 CE.¹¹² His area of activity is not as clear as Paul's in Asia Minor, but by using analogy, one can deduce that Thomas worked among the Hellenistic merchants. If a Jewish community existed there, he was likely to have visited it. It is difficult to determine if Thomas was, in fact, persecuted and had to flee to India, but if this was so, then it could have been a precedent for other refugees from the west to follow—fleeing an intolerant, fervently religious culture to live in a multi-cultured, spiritual world that believed in tolerance.

Scholars who reject the church's traditional accounts as unhistorical still must admit that Christian activity in India started among the Hellenistic communities, and that these Christians were located in southern India, close to the shores of Muziris. Scholars stress that Christianity in India started as a Hellenistic spiritual activity, just like in Asia Minor. Since the Middle Ages, the Christians of Saint Thomas have been linked with the Assyrian church (the Nestorian/Syrian and other streams of the religion), that is, with others of the same religion in the Persian Gulf. However, these Christians' spiritual origin was the Mediterranean Hellenism that reached India via Egypt and Yemen. Only after their connection with the west was broken—following the fall of the Roman Empire and the massive decline in commerce in the Indian Ocean—did they build ties with Christians in Iraq and Syria.

The histories of the Christians and the Jews in India have several parallels, as is to be expected of two monotheistic minorities with partially common traditions, living within a pagan society.¹¹³ However, the testimonies on Christian settlements in southern India apparently look more reliable than the ones on Jewish settlement there in the first centuries CE. Yet, remember the possibility that there could have been just an "optical mistake" there, and what was called a Christian settlement was originally a Jewish one that over the years converted to Christianity.

3. A Talmudic Scholar of Indian Origin

To end this discussion of the ties between the land of Israel and India, it should be mentioned that a Talmudic sage lived in Babylon. He was named Rabbi Yehuda

Hindua, that is Rabbi Yehuda the Indian, and the following is written about him in the Babylonian Talmud *Baba Batra* 74b:¹¹⁴

Rabbi Yehuda the Indian was telling a story: Once we sailed on a vessel, and we saw in the water a precious stone guarded by a crocodile circling around it. A diver descended to bring the stone up, the crocodile came and wanted to swallow the vessel. A predatory bird came and cut the head of the crocodile, and water turned to blood. Another crocodile came, the partner of the first, took the stone and placed it on the dead crocodile and it returned back to life! The crocodile came back and wanted to swallow the vessel again. Came the bird and cut off his head. They raised the stone and brought it on the vessel. We had on our boat salted bird's meat. They put the stone on the birds and they came to life and flew away taking with them the precious stone.¹¹⁵

This story, told by a Jewish sage of Indian origin, probably reflects the way of life in the Persian Gulf—where there are divers and where pearls are collected,¹¹⁶ and where there was room for popular myths about “the stone of life” and about marine monsters (like the stories of Rabba bar bar Hana and their continuation).¹¹⁷ This sage is mentioned only one more time in the Babylonian Talmud, in *Kiddushin* 22b, where he is described as a “converted Jew who has no heirs.” The text notes that he had a slave and that he lived during the days of Mar Zutra (fourth to fifth centuries CE). That is, this sage is an Indian who converted to Judaism and settled in Babylon. It is no surprise, therefore, that the story he tells is about a sea that connects India to Babylon. From the Jewish tradition, it seems that this was a unique case, but from analyzing cultural ties that lasted thousands of years between Mesopotamia and India, it appears that there is nothing to wonder about in this phenomena. Ties between Indians and the residents of Babylon (including Jews) led, most probably, not only to Indians converting to Judaism, but also to the conversion of Jews to Indian religions (and/or to Christianity).

With Rome's decline, the commerce between the west and India diminished, reducing the flow of news about what was happening in the Indian Ocean during the Byzantine period.¹¹⁸ This obscure period in regard to ties between India and the land of Israel lasted for hundreds of years after the conquest of the land of Israel by Islam. It remains very hard to find clues to the history of Indian Jews during the hundreds of years that passed between Hellenistic activity and Jewish settlement in southern India.¹¹⁹

As is known, the Jews of Cochin kept brass tablets written approximately in the year 1000 CE. These tablets show the rights the Jews of Cochin gained from the local government.¹²⁰ Probably, these rights would not have been given to the Indian Jews if they hadn't been in this place for at least 100 or 200 years, but it is impossible to say they were with assurance. Geographical conditions didn't change in the marine arena that included the Indian Ocean or in the areas where the Jews of Yemen and Iraq lived. However, as it turned out, new European colonial activity in India, starting with the arrival of Vasco da Gama in 1497, started a new phase of

commercial and military maritime activity. From this resurgence forward, the Jews of Cochin began to enter the historical consciousness of the Jewish people.

Immigrants probably built the Jewish community in Cochin over many generations, and so it is not the result of a one-time settlement, as the *History of the Jews of Cochin* claims.¹²¹ For many generations, marine and commercial conditions as well as Islamic persecution, or the Roman administration, or Byzantine Christianity, provided good excuses for many generations of immigration to India. Moreover, it seems that analysis of the later, broader history of the Jews of Cochin confirms the community's beginning as a settlement of Jews at the "end of the world," a result of forced immigration from several places, but mainly Yemen.

Summary

Almost 2000 years went by from the time that the ships of King Solomon visited the shores of Ophir in India and the time when Jews are mentioned in India. Almost another thousand years passed until the marine trade-lines between the land of Israel and India were opened.

The fundamental geographical conditions didn't change, but over the years, the world gradually shrank. Once seemingly enormous distances were considered reasonable enough to traverse. The land of Israel enjoyed Roman trade with India, even if it was on its margins, since most of this trade passed through Egypt and Alexandria.

The decline of the Roman Empire caused the "disappearance" (if not the conversion) of the "Yavanah" in India, Jews most probably among them. Actually, Indian Jews, and more precisely, the Jews of Cochin, appear in a "charter" which was written around the year 1000 CE (even if the city of Cochin didn't exist then). One must hope that we can learn more, in a better way, about other ties between India and Egypt, and the Jewish activity there from geniza documents that S.D. Goitein collected in his *Book of India*, a book we are expecting.

NOTES

¹ The Babylonian Talmud, Megila 11a, says: "From India to Kush; Rav and Samuel." One said: "India is the end of the world and Kush is the end of world." Another said: "Both are mentioned as being neighbors." This second interpretation is far from simplistic, and was possibly said under the inspiration of Genesis 14:23: "from a thread even to a shoelatchet."

² The translation attributed to Jonathan says: "Pishon is surrounding all the land of India." Consequently, this is also the translation in the Neofiti version. Genesis 25:17: "From Havilah unto Assyria," was translated in a work attributed to Jonathan as, "From India to Halutza." The Neofiti accepted this version.

³ Scholars disagree about almost every word involved in this entire subject matter, and it is impossible here to consider all the opinions. However, see: I.M. Grintz, *Origins of Generations* (The United Kibbutz, 1969), pp. 50-3. In short, Grintz's

interpretation is that Havilah refers to Ethiopia. He almost completely disregards the possibility that it is India, and does not take into consideration a significant portion of the discussion outlined here. It is worthwhile to view his opinion as a "balance" to the discussion in this research, even though in his entire work, not even one piece of evidence supports a reference to Ethiopia (more on this to follow). Even if some scholars claim that "Havilah" is one of the sons of "Kush," it does not necessarily mean that Havilah must be physically close to Kush. Moreover, there is a Havilah who is Ophir's brother, as well as Hazarmaveth's (Genesis 10:21-29). However, compare I.M. Grintz, *The Antiquity and Uniqueness of the Book of Genesis* (Jerusalem, 1983), p. 65, "It seems that the reference is to the land of Ethiopia, even though there are those who assume that Havilah is India." For more on the research, see E.A. Speiser, "The Rivers of Paradise," R. von Kienle, A. Moortgat, and Festschrift Johannes Friedrich, eds. (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1959), pp. 473-485.

⁴ Of course, a number of opinions exist about this issue. The choice here was based on considering linking the two rivers in the center of the populated world, and the two other rivers in the "end" of this world. The word "surrounding" in regard to these two rivers testifies about them. See also Geula Cohen, "Pishon," in *Biblical Encyclopedia*, Vol. 6 (Jerusalem, 1981), pp. 480-1. About the views of the past sages, attributed to Jonathan, and for more see A.M. Haberman, ed., *The Writings of Avraham Epstein* (Jerusalem, 1950), pp. 57-9. Note, that the author of the *Book of Enlightenment (Zohar)*, or someone from his school, was under the opinion that the Pishon was the Nile. See *The Book of Zohar, Midrash Ne'elam, Life of Sarah*, 125a.

⁵ Hecataeus, considered the "father of geography," held this view of the world. In this description the world is round (meaning a disk) and surrounded by water. While the Mediterranean Sea is correctly depicted, even if relatively so, to its south Hecataeus describes only four rivers: the Nile, the Euphrates, the Hiddekel (drawn without a name) and the river Indus. See Guido Majno, *The Healing Hand, Man and Wound in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. 228 (based on a map from the fifth century CE). This means that the Greek grasp of the world was based on the old approach (both Mesopotamian and Biblical), though the Greeks already knew a "larger" world.

⁶ For more about the link between Literature of Wisdom and the story of the Garden of Eden, see R.B.Y. Scott, *The Way of Wisdom in the Old Testament* (New York: Macmillan, 1971), p. 81; R.N. Whybray, *The Intellectual Tradition in the Old Testament* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1974), pp. 104-8; Calum M. Carmichael, "The Paradise Myth: Interpreting without Jewish and Christian Spectacles," in *A Walk in the Garden*, P. Morris and Deborah Sawyer, eds. (Sheffield: JSOT, Supplement Series 136, 1992), pp. 47-63.

⁷ It is worthwhile to observe that the description "and the gold of that land is good" is close to the one about King Solomon's work on the Temple (II Chronicles, 3:5): "And the greater house he ceiled with fir tree, which he overlaid with fine gold," was, most probably, the good gold mentioned here, and described below, in regard to King Solomon's travels.

⁸ To a certain degree, this description is reminiscent of the Eldorado legend and the gold rush in North America (below you will find discussion of other similarities between the discovery of India from one side and of North America on the other).

⁹ S.N. Kramer, "Dilmun: Quest for Paradise," in *Antiquity* 37 (1963), pp. 111-5.

¹⁰ Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Civilizations of the Indus Valley and Beyond* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1966), pp. 64-6, 70, 151. This contains descriptions of additional economic ties, as well as chronological issues outside the scope of this article. Modern day proposals to identify Dilmun (together with two other relatively near locations) with Bahrain are not withstanding criticism (first, one must bring evidence to the existence of a culture there in the third millennium BCE, and then one must question if Bahrain could export these products). See W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamia Cosmic Geography* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1998), p. 328.

¹¹ In fact, the Mesopotamian sources mention a number of places in the same direction: Dilmun, Magan, and Meluhha, and the researchers struggled about whether to locate these places in India or in Ethiopia, finally deciding for India, in the region of the Indus (among other reasons, because of its closeness compared to Ethiopia). They did all this without yet being aware of the difficulties of sailing in the Indian Ocean (see below). See W.F. Leemans, *Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960), pp. 159-166.

¹² Herodotus, 3, 94; I. Lior and M. Schpitzer, "India," in *Biblical Encyclopedia*, Vol. II (Jerusalem, 1954), pp. 792-5.

¹³ Dilip K. Chakrabarti, "The Old Copper Mines of Eastern India," in Robert Maddin, ed., *The Beginning of the Use of Metals and Alloys* (London: MIT Press, 1988), pp. 239-244. About the origin of iron production in a relatively later period, see D.D. Kosambi, "The Beginning of the Iron Age in India," in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 6 (1963), pp. 218-309.

¹⁴ Vimala Begley and Richard Daniel De Puma, eds., *Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), pp. 12, 15.

¹⁵ The deriving explanation is simple: The longer the operational period of the mine, the more difficult it is to satisfy its firing energy needs, and more uneconomical the operation becomes. This phenomenon explains the closing down of other mines (such as the brass mines in the land of Israel and Trans Jordan), even though the need for firing materials was much smaller in the tropical climate of India.

¹⁶ S.A. Loewenstam, "Bdellium," in *Biblical Encyclopedia*, Vol. II (Jerusalem, 1954), pp. 35-6.

¹⁷ Midrash Rabba Genesis 16:b follows: "Rav Aibo said: You might think that the *bedolah* used by perfume-makers is a sap of a tree," therefore it says, "Its fellow telleth concerneth it (Job 36:33), just as the latter is a precious stone, so is the former a precious stone."

¹⁸ In the Syrian-Israeli translation: "And Yemen is *gumarta* and the rock *dehirta*." See M. Goshen-Gottstein, *The Bible in the Syrian-Israeli Translation*, (Jerusalem, 1973), p. 4. The "*gumarta*" is a perfume placed on coals to spread good scent, and "*dehirta*" can be explained in a number of ways.

¹⁹ R.H. Warmington, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, 2nd revised edition (London: Curzon Press, 1974), pp. 187-8, 216. Apparently, the origin of the mistake was in the system of marine transportation, from which obvious considerations (see later), split the import activity to vessels of one kind for the Indian Ocean, and to smaller vessels of different kinds, in the Red Sea (and in the Gulf of Bengal), and as a result, the Indian merchandise (and merchandise from Sri Lanka, etc.), was constantly stored in warehouses in Yemen and in Somalia (such as glass which was found in Moza in Yemen). This does not mention, however, that no middleman would readily admit that he was not the producer, but merely the go-between.

²⁰ See Y. Felix, *Trees of Perfume, Forest and Ornament: The Vegetation of the Bible and the Sages* (Jerusalem, 1997), pp. 80-4, 89-97; M. Har'el, *The Historical Geography of the Land of Israel* (Tel Aviv, 1997), pp. 457-9; Majno, *The Healing Hand*, pp. 207-227, 447-450. (Very extensive bibliography on the archeological and literary findings in regard to Arabian perfumes.) In approximately 2500 BCE, Egypt imported myrrh from the land of Punt (that is India, see below), and possibly production of myrrh was transferred to Arabia from India.

²¹ Felix, *Trees of Perfume*, pp. 33-5. The origin of the word "b'dolakh" is probably from the Sanskrit "madalaka."

²² About the onyx stone, and about other precious stones, see D. Soler, "Precious Stones," in *Encyclopedia Eshkol*, Vol. A (Berlin, 1929), pp. 273-285; D. Ginzburg, "The Identification of the Breastplate's Stones," in *Appendices to Vol. 2, The Opinion of the Bible: Book of Exodus*, A. Hahkam, ed. (Jerusalem, 1991), pp. 67-73.

²³ In the translation of Exodus 35:27 attributed to Jonathan, there is a link between the breastplate's stones and India, because the translator says: "and clouds of the sky flow to Pishon and from Yemen my stones are drawn." Pishon, as mentioned, surrounds the land of Havilah, that is India. See also M. Goshen-Gottstein, *Excerpts from the Aramaic Translations of the Bible* (Ramat-Gan, 1983), p. 65.

²⁴ One related example is in the name of the biblical expression of leprosy. Even if the identification of this disease requires investigation, it is absolutely clear that it does not refer to one illness but to a "family" of illnesses (as with the plague). Consequently, possibly the "shoham stone" is not a particular stone, but a group of ornamental stones now referred to as "semi-precious stones," or a "family of beautiful stones," for which people are prepared to pay a high price, though less than for a diamond.

²⁵ For the identification of Muziris, see Begley and De Puma, *Rome and India*, p. 122, n. 25; see also comments by Brian Weinstein at the end of the article, particularly p. 502.

²⁶ Begley and De Puma, *Rome and India*, p. 116.

²⁷ See M. Bar Ilan, "Prester John: Fiction and History," in *History of European Ideas*, 20/1-3 (1995), pp. 291-8.

²⁸ James S. Roman, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 82-3. An example of the confusion between

India and Ethiopia is evident in the eighth century CE map based on earlier sources. In this map, most parts of which are "correct," the river Ganges flows in Ethiopia (one must remember that the further an object is from the eye, the larger the scale of the mistake in distinguishing its details). See Evelyn Edson, "The Oldest World Maps: Classical Sources of Three Eighth Century Mappaemundi," in *The Ancient World*, 24/2 (1993), pp. 169-184. (In the various maps there are examples of other mistakes, including that the world is a "disk" and surrounded by water.)

²⁹ Review, M. Avi-Yona, *Essays and Studies in Geography* (Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem, 1964), p. 156; M.H. Stern, *The Influence of the First Israeli Kingdom on the Economy of the Country and the Life of the People* (Tel-Aviv, 1973), pp. 61-3.

³⁰ A.S. Hartum, "Ophir," in *Biblical Encyclopedia* (Jerusalem, 1950), pp. 163-4. Hebrew.

³¹ Glass is implied here for two reasons: 1) The relative advantage of Phoenicia in this area; 2) The vessels assigned to import gold needed to export cargo of similar weight, even if only for ballast or balancing needs (the characteristic weight of gold is 19.3 and of silica approximately 2.2). Also, one should not disregard the exporters of metals, partly as brokers for merchandise from other seafaring countries. It is possible that Phoenicia or the land of Israel were the sources of some of the glass artifacts discovered in India, of which the identity is not yet known. See Begley and De Puma, *Rome and India*, p. 117.

³² Exported products were also foods for the sailors, including fruits, which the land of Israel excelled in growing (Deuteronomy 8:8). Also see Y. Braslavy, *The Historical Geography of the Land of Israel*, pp. 98-107. Brass is also a possibility due to the same reasons given for glass: a) Relative advantage, given the brass mines in "Jordan Square" where King Solomon was active (I Kings 7:46; II Chronicles 4:17); b) The vessel's weight in export which was supposed to be similar to its weight in import. The characteristic weight of brass is 8.92 and the meaning of this data is that the volume of the gold imported to the land of Israel was much smaller than the volume of brass and glass exported. Compare, Y. Braslavy, *Information on the Land of Israel from the Bible* (Tel-Aviv, 1970), pp. 51-4.

³³ Braslavy, *Geography to the Bible*, p. 54.

³⁴ Support for the assumption that Ophir is actually Sopara can be found in the two words transliterated from Sanskrit to Hebrew—"ophir" and "algum," by dropping the prefix consonant. Actually, this is also the case in the transliteration of the name Indus, whose origin in Sanskrit is "sind." Here too, the prefix consonant was dropped (similar to the dropping of the first letter in psychology). To complete the understanding of the transliteration of "supara" "ophir," one must first make an observation about the vocalization and, later, about the consonants. The biblical author wrote in a short style, using only consonant-based writing. The "yod" was added later to the words as a vowel-letter (especially towards the end of the word), in the much earlier period before vowel-signs were added. The adding of the "hey" at the end of the written word was accomplished by a similar, though different, method, and there are examples of the letter "reish" as a final form with a consonantal force

(as in Genesis 24:57; Deuteronomy 22:20; and others). During the period of the First Temple, the guttural letter "fei" was pronounced hardened as "pei," that is, with an aspirated sound. See J. Liebes, "Seven Doubled Consonants: Bet, Gimel, Daled, Khaf, Fei, Reish and Taf." More on the "doubled reish," and the background of the "Sefer Yezira," in *Tarbiz* 61 (1992), pp. 237-247 (particularly p. 240). A further point can be made about the word India (*Hodu*). In Sanskrit, the letter "samekh" was used as a breathed, initial letter; the initial "samekh" was then dropped, and the "nun" disappeared due to its closeness to the other consonant (as in other cases in other languages). The remaining letters "he" and "daled" were vocalized in the Bible just like other foreign words (such as: Pharaoh or Sennacherib), according to "Jewish" rules. On the other hand, in Greek, the "samekh" disappeared and so did its aspirated sound but the letter "nun" remained in India, due to its different pronunciation and spelling rules.

³⁵ Remember that the ancient navigators did not possess maps, and if they had "guide-books," these, most probably, were kept secret as maps in Europe were kept secret during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as were directions to hidden treasures. Probably, this is why a precise description of the route is missing, so the places cannot be clearly identified without further archeological finds.

³⁶ There are two interpretative directions: 1) The word "tarshish" was introduced here by the author by a mistake, because it appears in its place later in the verse, but the subject actually deals with Ophir. 2) In this "Tarshish," one can see a name of a different place than the one in the Mediterranean Sea, and if so, the "ani-tarshish" is referring to vessels headed to Tarshish (in this case, there is no author's mistake and the description in the sources is the same). The Bible mentions a precious stone called "tarshish" (beryl) together with onyx and "jasper," all in the clothes of the High Priest and in the court of the King of Tyrus. (Ezekiel 28:13: "Thou hast been in Eden the garden of God; every precious stone was thy covering, sardius, topaz, and the diamond, the beryl, the onyx, and the jasper, the sapphire, the emerald, and the carbuncle, and gold.") It is possible that the stone is named after its origin, and if so, not only gold was brought from Tarshish but also precious stones that found their way to Tyrus as a result of the cooperation mentioned above, between Judea and Tyrus. Also see M. Eilat, *Economic Ties Between the Countries of the Bible During the First Temple* (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1977), p. 190, n. 36.

³⁷ The settlement of people from Tyrus and Phoenicia in western Africa is known from a later period. It is obvious that there, too, the Phoenicians had no need for joint ventures with King Solomon, just as it is obvious that the length of the voyage was not so long.

³⁸ This is a counter argument against those who want to find Tarshish in Spain, even though no data has been provided on gold mines in this region. See Z. Herman, *Peoples, Seas, Ships* (Tel-Aviv: Masada, 1962), pp. 205-220. For more on Tarshish, see M. Eilat, "Tarshish," in *Biblical Encyclopedia*, Vol. 8 (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 942-5; Eilat, *Economic Ties*, pp. 150-3.

³⁹ The large difference between the two descriptions could indicate that two separate kingdom clerks authored them. Both wrote about the cooperation between King Solomon and King Hiram that brought gold to Jerusalem, but beyond it, there accounts are different in all the other details. However, this difference does not necessarily point to a different departure port, or to a real difference in the definitions of the destination ports of the various expeditions.

⁴⁰ For a picture of a model of a Phoenician vessel from the seventh century BCE, featuring a crew of approximately 25 people, see Herman, *Peoples, Seas, Ships*, opposite p. 200. In the carvings from Sennacherib's palace, Phoenician vessels are described with triangular sails, two rows of rowers, and a crew numbering altogether approximately 20 to 25 people. See Eilat, *Economic Ties*, Table 4, opposite p. 47.

⁴¹ John H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 649-1571.

⁴² All data is taken from top expert in the area: L. Casson, "Ancient Naval Technology and the Route to India," in *Rome and India*, pp. 8-11. See also Y. Braslavsky, *Do You Know the Land?* 4 (En-Harod: Hakibuz Hameuhad, 1952), pp. 430-3.

⁴³ In a very later period, a monsoon vessel sailed only for seven months in a year; for the remaining time, it was anchored in a port without being able to shorten its voyage. On the other hand, vessels of the "normal" (Phoenician) model, sailed along the shores and had to be careful with these winds. However, the sailors who sailed to India and returned had to overcome barriers of the kind that even Odysseus could not manage: 1) Sailing from Muza along the shores of Arabia without being swept with the winds toward the open sea (and the same difficulty coming back), 2) Sailing along the shores of India under wind conditions that either push or pull the vessel from or to the shores; 3) Sailing the Red Sea, "The Sea of Storms;" and after that heading north toward Ezion-geber against the wind. Moreover, sailing along the shores of western India was considered extremely dangerous during a little more than three months, and it meant that a ship arriving at the mouth of the Indus in the month of June had to wait a few months before it could proceed southward. To summarize this subject matter, even if it is difficult to calculate precisely the number of months that the sailors had to sit idle, it is obvious from the three years the vessels were absent from Ezion-geber, that a little more than half of this time was spent in port (from here derives the genealogy of the sons of Joktan in Genesis 10:26-29: Hazarmaveth, Sheba, Ophir, Havilah, and Jobab, which were stations in the maritime voyage from the land of Israel to India. Compare this with the claim of those who believe that Ophir was on the shores of the Red Sea, and that the trip to Ophir lasted only a year and a half or two (this without doubting the author's report on the large amount of gold). See Eilat, *Economic Ties*, pp. 146, 192. On the other hand, Har'el, *Historical Geography of the Land of Israel*, A, p. 220, is of the opinion that the other Tarshish was located in the Malay islands. That is, he considered the extremely long duration of the voyage and "translated" it to a long distance, but without taking into

account the special conditions in the Indian Ocean as well as other considerations upon which he did not elaborate.

⁴⁴ Herman, *Peoples, Seas, Ships*, pp. 241-7. Moreover, Herman identifies Ophir with Punt, as known from Egyptian sources, starting from the fifth dynasty as the "land of El" (and this is also the opinion of most scholars, see Eilat, *Economic Ties*, pp. 193-4, but he didn't mention India as he didn't evaluate the export products of Punt). From Punt, Egypt imported perfumes, myrrh oil, ebony trees, silver and gold alloys, and midgits. Later, in the fifteenth century BCE, Egypt imported from Punt: myrrh essence, ebony trees, ivory, gold, cinnamon, frankincense, kohl for eye-shadow, long-tailed monkeys, gray dogs, and panther hides. (Herman, *Peoples, Seas, Ships*, pp. 39-48) From this description, it appears clear that the land of Punt was in India, and no "so-called discovery" can change this. About the culture in Zimbabwe, see R. Summers, "City of Black Gold," in *Vanished Civilizations*, Eduard Bacon, ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1963), pp. 33-54. For more on Indian export products see below. As to midgits, this seems to refer to the people of the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal, a few hundred kilometers east of India (which were, and still are, part of India). See A. Montego, *The Man—His First Million Years* (Jerusalem: Targumei Hamada Haisraeli, 1964), pp. 78-81. After I wrote this, I found a book that claims to be a research work, but is actually a fairytale. See E. Valikovsky (Israel, 1997). While there is no need to discuss all the mistakes in the book, it is enough to mention that according to him, both Punt and the "land of El" are the land of Israel. If one ignores the question of timing (and that is the author's method), it is still completely clear that the land of Israel never exported perfumes, ivory, or high quality wood. See, for example, *Periods in Tohu*, pp. 86-91, 101-4. For more on the rejection of his work, see E.C. Krupp, "Observatories of the Gods and Other Astronomical Fantasies," in *In Search of Ancient Astronomies*, E.C. Krupp, ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979), pp. 241-278.

⁴⁵ From the history of this research, it is worthwhile to note that the many scholars who dealt with the issues covered here considered only a part of the data and not all of it, moreover, they did not try to tackle navigational issues in the Indian Ocean, an unknown problem to the inhabitants of Europe and to scholars originating there. Therefore, the study of research work on the issues related to this article is similar to a study of a journey in suppositions than to ordinary and orderly research. The zoological discussion below, as well as the review of oceanographic problems, are essential to any world-broad discussion of this kind whose beginnings are in biblical philology and whose issues are spread over many fields

⁴⁶ H. Rabin, "Indian Words in Hebrew," in *Our Language to the People* 14 (1963), pp. 232-245. Among the suggested words in the article are: horse (*soos*), sheath (*nadan*), violin (*kinor*), saffron (*karkom*), spikenard (*nerd*), aloes (*ohalot*), plumb line or lead, (*anakh*), tin (*b'dil*), sapphire (*sapir*), topaz (*piteda*), carbuncle (*bareket*), fine linen (*carpas*), crimson (*karmil*), mauve (*argaman*), monkey (*kof*), parrot (*took*), and more. The Indian word is "*kapi*" and the rules of the ancient transliteration discussed in relation to Ophir are valid here as well. The parrot (*tukki*)

is the "toga" and it is the peacock (which anyway is a more fitting gift to a king than is a parrot). See also Braslavsky, *Did You Know the Land* 4, p. 419, for more issues related to the research work on Ophir.

⁴⁷ On the attempts by the people of Carthage to use elephants as war animals, see H.H. Scullard, *The Elephant in the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge: Thames and Hudson, 1974), pp. 146-9. Note that even if there was any success in training African elephants, it was done with the assistance of Mahouts from India; so, in any event, India carries an advantage in this case.

⁴⁸ See Warmington, *The Commerce*, pp. 150-1.

⁴⁹ Eilat, *Economic Ties*, pp. 124-7. One must pay attention to the difference between a one-time export or war spoils and continuous import, which was the case with King Solomon's vessels (even if one could claim that the biblical author was imprecise).

⁵⁰ See also S. Bundheimer, *The Wild Life in the Countries of the Bible*, A (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1950), p. 296, about an ornament from Megiddo consisting of the front part of an animal identified as an African baboon. In Egypt, and maybe also in Mesopotamia, many animals were kept as "holy animals" in temples, but it is very doubtful that one can say that there was a similar situation in the land of Israel.

⁵¹ The narrative in II Chronicles 20:35-37 describes the issue somewhat differently, but the end result is the same, and is unimportant to the issue at hand: "And after this did Jehoshaphat, King of Judah, join himself with Ahaziah, King of Israel, who did very wickedly: and he joined himself with him to make ships to go to Tarshish: and they made the ships in Ezion-geber. Then Eliezer, the son of Dodavah of Mareshah, prophesied against Jehoshaphat, saying, 'Because thou hast joined thyself with Ahaziah, the Lord hath broken thy works.' And the ships were broken, that they were not able to go to Tarshish." Originally it was clear to the author that Tarshish is a name of a place.

⁵² It seems that the Crusaders' maritime failure in this arena was due to different reasons than Jehoshaphat's, even if in both cases, the issue was the lack of experience in the region. See I. Prawer, *History of the Crusader's Kingdom in the Land of Israel* (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1963), pp. 501-3.

⁵³ In addition to the serious problem of lack of sufficient good drinking water, there were a number of elements that when combined, prevented settlement in this place:

- a) The difficult wind patterns for northbound sailing in the Bay of Eilat, analogically to the lack of development of Suez (Clysmia, Cleopatris). (See, Begley and De Puma, *Rome and India*, pp. 12-21.) The winds in the Bay of Eilat blow almost always southward and very rarely northward, a fact that denies the vessels the ability to sail north most days and in most hours, and the south wind turns into storms reaching up to 85 knots. (See Braslavsky, *Did You Know the Land*, pp. 360-7; the writing there is "must reading" to King Jehoshaphat's advisers.) These facts clarify Strabo's testimony that the spices and perfumes brought to Rhinocorura (*Al-Arish*) from Petra, were unloaded in the port of Leuke Kome which is located south of the Bay of

Eilat, approximately in the latitude line of Myos Hormos (Har'el, *Historical Geography*, pp. 427, 459).

- b) Both in the land of Israel and in Eilat, the vessels had to unload their cargo and transfer it by land to a waiting ship in the Nile or in the Mediterranean Sea. However, because the overland transportation increased the cost of the imports significantly compared to the cost of marine transport, the relative advantage of Egypt was very obvious; there, the overland routes from the Red Sea to the Nile were much shorter compared to the route connecting Eilat to Gaza, for example. See Albert C. Leighton, *Transport and Communication in Early Medieval Europe AD 500-1100* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1972), pp. 157-165.
- c) A monsoon ship had to be relatively large and, consequently, the volume of merchandise in it was large and required large capital for the initial investment. This capital existed in the Ptolemaic and Roman densely populated Egypt, but not in the land of Israel, which was scarcely populated, and therefore, lacked a centralized administration that could support such broad import and export business. In light of all this, it is understandable why Eilat was a small place and almost without Jews in the Roman period. See I. Zafrir, "Eilat and the Bay of Eilat in the Greek and Roman Sources," in *Kathedra* 53 (1990), pp. 149-193. Hebrew.

⁵⁴ Some of the issues brought up here, as well as a similar research approach, were already proposed more than a hundred years ago, but were missed by the researchers. According to this view, Ophir was located at the mouth of the river Indus, even if the defenders of this approach were aware of the problem of a lack of similarity between the biblical name and the later name. See J. Kennedy, "The Early Commerce of Babylon with India—700-300 BC," in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 5 (1898), pp. 241-288.

⁵⁵ Y. Felix, *The Biblical Vegetation World*, 2nd edition (Ramat-Gan: Masada, 1968), pp. 244, 263-9; the origin of the word *nerd* (spikenard) is in Sanskrit, pp. 263-9.

⁵⁶ The word "*cassia*" is already known in the Greek literature, and those who trace its etymology from Chinese should not say that the "*cassia*" reached Israel from China (even if the origin of the plant is in southern China). Such suppositions were made because it was not known that there were Chinese merchants in Mantai, Sri Lanka, the source of the cinnamon and *cassia*. (Their western post, that is, the entrance to the Indian Ocean, required special expertise.) See Felix, *Trees of Perfume*, pp. 107-112; Begley and De Puma, *Rome and India*, pp. 10-1, 199-200; and Majno, *The Healing Hand*, pp. 219-221.

⁵⁷ Ch. Rabin, "Indian Connections of the Song of Songs," in *Sefer Baruch Kurtzweil*, A. Soltman, M.Z. Kadari, and M. Schwartz, eds. (Tel-Aviv: Schocken, 1975), pp. 264-274; Ch. Rabin, "The Song of Songs and Tamil Poetry," in *Studies in Religion* 3 (1973-4), pp. 205-9. For additional literature and questions related to the Song of Songs, see M. Bar Ilan, "Examination of Syntax, Erotic Issues, and

Witchcraft in the Scroll of Song of Songs," in *The Annual for Research on the Bible and the Ancient East* 9, (1987), pp. 31-53. Hebrew.

⁵⁸ Marvin H. Pope, "Song of Songs," in *The Anchor Bible* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1977), pp. 28-33.

⁵⁹ Felix, *The Biblical Vegetation World*, p. 264.

⁶⁰ In this entire subject matter, I rely on valuable research on the issues and their historical interpretation by B. Bar Kochba, "Aristotle, the Jewish Sage, and the Indian 'Kalans,'" in *Tarbiz* 67 (1998), pp. 435-481. Hebrew. The translation is taken from p. 441. For early discussions on this subject matter, see the broad bibliography mentioned there. Note, the focus of this work is on the Jewish-Indian subject, and does not pretend to discuss other issues.

⁶¹ Bar Kochba, "Aristotle, the Jewish Sage," pp. 474-5, relies (without much enthusiasm) on opinion expressed in prior research stating that the resemblance of the names could lead an observer to see in one a descendent of the name of the other. However, even if the view offered below is disputed, it still seems that the etymological view above must be completely rejected. The assumption that one name, "India" containing a "nun" was the source for name "Jews" (*Yehudim*), without the "nun," seems like a total etymological failure. Plato, Aristotle, and his pupils also worked with etymology, and whoever claims that any of them thought that the dropping of the consonant "nun"—like claiming that the name elephant (*pil*) derives from the root "nun.pe.lamed" and therefore from the word "defeat" (*mapalah*) also deriving from "nun.pe.lamed"—would have to have brought examples of such etymology from the Greek philology. See also, Plato, *Cratylus* 426; E. Hovdhaugen, *Foundations of Western Linguistics* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget A/S, 1982), pp. 19-39.

⁶² The reader will notice the transition from the history of a period and a place to another history of a period and a place, and it gets worse: there is also a transition from the history of people and events to the history of ideas. These different transitions serve to explain the speculative nature of this discussion compared to the previous discussion above on one side, and to the discussion to follow below (regarding the history of the Roman Empire).

⁶³ The following is based upon, J.H. Hutton, *Caste in India: Its Nature, Function and Origins*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp. 71-91. The caste structure is a manifestation of a stratified society, but a rigid and multi-faceted version of one. It should also be noted that all scholars admit that in the fourth century BCE, if not much earlier, India already had a caste system, but how large is the difference between the ancient and "modern" systems is unknown. Since the discussion here refers only to general resemblances, and not to details (which possibly were different in the past from the modern reality), it is possible to ignore the historical gap (a large one!) between the modern reality and the description of the past.

⁶⁴ Following are the changes according to manuscripts, in the Mishna: *Kaufmann Ms.* (Jerusalem: Makor Press, 1968), p. 250, concerning relationships, Mamzeri, and

Netini, Israelis and freed slaves, the line: "Levites, Israelites," etc. until "converts" was omitted by the author, due to the similarity among them, and later completed in the margin, "are permitted to marry one another" (without "all"). In the *W.H. Loew Ms.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1883), p. b100: omissions were: in castes, to marry, the line "Levites, Israelites" until "another" is missing. The line "converts, freed slaves" exists until "and Foundlings are permitted," and here the author skipped to "in our father Abraham," to the end of the chapter and the tractate. In the manuscript *Parma "C," de Rossi 984* (Jerusalem, 1971), p. 211, there are some small variations: in "Ten relationships." There are some differences in addition or subtraction of the connecting prefixes "vav," and the addition of the letter "yod" in "Giri." The author forgot the second part of the Mishna, and later completed the text in the page's notes. In the *Paris 328-329 Ms.* (Jerusalem: copy in author's possession, 1973), p. 470, the changes are even more minute. In b. Yebamot 85a, the Mishna is brought in a version that looks like it was edited. For example, all the suffixes, except "silenced ones (*shtuqi*) and Foundlings (*Asufi*)," are written as in Hebrew with the suffix "-im." Even the word "freed slaves" (Aramaic: *harurim*), received a Hebrew suffix. See A. Liss, ed., *The Complete Talmud: Dikdukei Soferim, Yebamot, C* (Jerusalem: Makhon Hatalmud Haisraeli Hashalem, 1989), pp. 245-6. On another version's corrections, see I.N. Epstein, *Introduction to the Mishnah Text*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv: Magness-Devir, 1964), p. 379.

⁶⁵ About this class-line list, and for more precision on social stratification, its social and textual parallels, the laws governing this, and more, see M. Bar Ilan, *The Polemics Between Sages and Priests Towards the End of the Second Temple Period* (PhD research in philosophy. Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1982). Hebrew.

⁶⁶ J. Wilkins, D. Harvey, M. Dobson, eds., *Food in Antiquity* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1995).

⁶⁷ Kenneth S. Guthrie, *The Pythagorean Sourcebook and Library* (New York: Platonist Press, 1919), expanded and revised edition (Grand Rapids, MI: Phanes Press, 1987), pp. 60-1, 84. According to Iamblichus, Pythagoras was in his origins a Phoenician from Sidon.

⁶⁸ Sh. Buber, *Midrash Zuta* (Vilna, 1891), p. 41; *Yalkut Shimeoni Ruth, Remez*, 601. For more, see L. Ginzburg, *The Legends of the Jews*, Vol. 5 (Ramat-Gan: Masada, 1966-1975), p. 132, n. 43. The differences in the markets are explained by having markets based on donations ("sale to priests only"), markets in which the merchandise sold was from the first-tenth and to members of the Levi tribe only (there is no documentation about this), and regular merchandise for Israelis. The members of the lower classes in the society got "rests," food that became impure or got contaminated with some rejects, and generally, the quality of the food paralleled the level of the class-line.

⁶⁹ In the language of the Bible, these garments are called "holy clothes" (as in Exodus 28:2-4; Leviticus 16:4; Ezekiel 42, 14, etc.), or "ceremonial clothes" (Exodus 31:10). These expressions emphasized the ritual character of the garments.

However, in the Talmudic literature, these garments are described as "service clothes" (m. Zevahim 14:10), and, mainly, as "Priesthood clothes" (t. Kilayim 5:26; t. Yoma 1:23; b. Yoma 68b-69a, and many more).

⁷⁰ The sale of donations to priests, or the one-tenth to Levites, which is not mentioned in the Bible, may have originated from reasons outside the scope of this paper. However, see: m. Terumot 5:1; m. Bekhorot 4:9; t. Damai 1:5; t. Zevahim 8:13, etc. The reference here, of course, is to a norm, and not to an act of felony (m. Bekhorot 4:9; t. Avoda Zara 40b).

⁷¹ Priests eating among themselves are explained in Brakhot 1:1. As an event, it parallels and follows their purification in the daily bath (b. Berakhot 2b). That a group of priests was eating the Passover sacrifice without the presence of members of Levi or Israel amongst them is already known from m. Pesahim 7:3 and 9:8. It is important to note that Rabbi Yohanan or another Amora (in the third century) didn't allow the formation of a "group of proselytes" (y. Pesahim 8:7, 36a; y. Pesahim 91b).

⁷² M. Bar Ilan, "The Attitude Towards Mamzerim in Jewish Society in Antiquity," in *Jewish History* (in press).

⁷³ Romm, *The Edges of the Earth*, pp. 82-120.

⁷⁴ It is worthwhile to pay attention to the significant gap between modern geographical perceptions and ancient ones in the physical understanding of distances. When a child sees a picture of the earth from space, the child will perceive the reality at once, but when a child tries to understand the structure of the atom, the child, like his ancient predecessors, will find himself in an entirely different situation.

⁷⁵ Andre Neher, *Jewish Thought and Scientific Revolution of the Sixteenth Century: David Gans (1541-1613) and His Times*, trans. David Maisel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 123-6.

⁷⁶ The study the history of cartography is a necessary introduction to understanding of ancient geographical thinking. See O.A.W. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), p. 36. The author does not necessarily stress the point of view discussed here, but it is quite evident from his historical review that the knowledge of geography became clearer and more precise with the progress of the generations. In this book, one can find reconstructions of various maps, among them those that describe the world as a circle, and those that contain four rivers, which meet in the middle of the circle, and more.

⁷⁷ Majno, *The Healing Hand*, p. 261; Arrian, *De Expeditione Alexandri (LCL)*, trans. E.I. Robson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press and London: Heinemann, 1949), VI, 1, Vol. 2, pp. 103-4. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, pp. 134-5. For more on this, see R. Wittkower, "Marvels of the East: A Study in the History of Monsters," in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942), pp. 159-197 (especially p. 161, n. 4).

⁷⁸ Aristotle himself refers in four places to Ctesias of Cnidus and his book *Indica*, while rejecting the testimonies as unreliable. See J.M. Bogwood, "'Ctesias,' *Indica* and Photius," in *Phoenix* (Toronto), 43 (1989), pp. 302-316. In view of this, it is

possible to see in Dicaearchus' "testimony" a sort of "rebellion" against the famous master. Another of Aristotle's pupils, Dicaearchus from Mesina (in approximately 320 BCE), wrote a book named *Periodos Ges* (*The Turning of the Earth*), in which the world is described from the "Pillars of Hercules" (Gibraltar) to the Himalayas. (Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, p. 30.) Theophrastus, Aristotle's famous student, also collected materials about India. (Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, p. 135) As Clearchus elaborated on the spiritual arena, so Theophrastus elaborated on the physical, and in all of this, on the wonders of India. See John Scarborough, "Adaptation of Folk Medicine in the Formal Materia Medica of Classical Antiquity," John Scarborough, ed., in *Folklore and Folk Medicine* (Madison, WI: American Institute of the History of Pharmacy, 1987), pp. 21-32 (especially p. 22). That is, in one short period in the fourth century BCE, there was an enormous political change, as well as intensive scientific activity, and within these, geographical discoveries that expanded, so to say, the east of the world. Based on this, one cannot but guess the precise scope of the geographical knowledge known before that in the Greek world.

⁷⁹ From the point of view of data collection and classification, we find ourselves on much firmer ground than in earlier times. The various sources were collected diligently and consistently in a manner almost without precedent in its scope, see Manfred G. Raschke, "New Studies in Roman Commerce with the East," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Roemischen Welt* II.9.2 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1978), pp. 604-1361. The author opens by calling his composition an "article," but in reality it is a valuable book containing more than 750 pages, 1,791 notes, 17 different indexes and 6 maps, identifying approximately 680 locations. In fact, the author deals with the world trade of ancient times with a summary of literary and archeological finds from all possible sources that deal with manufacturing and trade in the entire world: from north of Russia to the southern part of Africa, and from Rome in the west to Japan in the east. Even if most of the discussions do not relate to the narrower discourse here, still, this important research can provide summarized background and depth to the different subjects discussed here.

⁸⁰ About the Periplus and the maritime trade, with a list of the sources of the different products, see L. Casson, "Egypt, Africa, Arabia, and India: Patterns of Seaborne Trade in the First Century, A.D.," in *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 21 (1984), pp. 39-47.

⁸¹ Until a few years ago, it was possible to rely mainly on, R.E.M. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers* (London: Bell, 1955), pp. 137-153. In this source, p. 138, there is a map with the summary of the archeological findings of Roman money treasures, almost all of them to the south of India and Sri Lanka. The findings clearly show that India had ties with Rome, but these relations took place only in the south of the sub-continent, a little in the eastern shores (and up the rivers), and some over land, up the river Indus. The more current map of the findings is not much different in substance.

⁸² The work of collecting the sources—literary as well as archeological—and their evaluation in regard to imported products to the land of Israel was not yet done, and it is obvious that there is a lot to add to it. See Z. Muntner, *Rabbi Shabtay Donolo*, II (Jerusalem, 1949), pp. 78-82.

⁸³ J. Innes Miller, *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1969). (A review by Raschke, [above n. 79] p. 650).

⁸⁴ V. Nutton, *From Democedes to Harvey: Studies in the History of Medicine* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1988), Ch. IX.

⁸⁵ Majno, *The Healing Hand*, pp. 374-381.

⁸⁶ See A. Feldman, *The Vegetation of the Bible* (Tel-Aviv: Devir, 1957), pp. 204-7. Well commented on Erubin 28b: "Rabbi Yohanan said: For those who lived in earlier times, who did not have pepper, would grind it and dip their roasted into it." More about the pepper (imported from India to Babylon), see in Yoma 81b and Rashi there: "that comes from the land of the Hindus—land of Kush," just like the "mix up" described above.

⁸⁷ Compare Felix, *Trees of Perfume*, p. 266; Har'el, *The Historical Geography*, I, pp. 332-4 (needless to advance it to the days of the queen of Sheba). Clearly there were gardens around Jerusalem where perfume trees were grown, but it does not mean that the cinnamon was among them).

⁸⁸ According to the *Kaufmann Ms.*, p. 125 (abbreviations were extended, such as: Rabbi, and Sages say). In the Babylonian Talmud Yoma 34b (Print editing. Manuscript JTS 218: Indians, Pelousion); Parallel in: Jerusalem Talmud Yoma 3:6, 30a, the spelling there is: Phelusion, Hindvan, Pelousim.

⁸⁹ Har'el, *The Historical Geography*, I, pp. 468-478. The ancient Egyptian textile was known for its excellence. See testimony from much earlier period in Joan A. McDowell, "Kahun: The Textile Evidence," in A.R. David, *The Pyramid Builders of Ancient Egypt* (London, Boston and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986), pp. 226-252; Florence E. Petzel, *Textiles of Ancient Mesopotamia, Persia and Egypt* (Corvallis, OR: Cascade Printing Company, 1987), pp. 130-226. In the third century CE Arsinoe in Egypt was a textile export center. See on this, Raschke, *New Studies*, p. 904, n. 1000.

⁹⁰ Most probably the clothes from Egypt were linen. About the Indian cloth see immediately below; A. Sh. Hershberg, *The Cultural Life in Israel During the Mishnaic and Talmudic Period*; on cloth and production of cloth (Warsaw: Stiebel, 1924), p. 66.

⁹¹ The syntax is difficult, and the addition of the words "detailed report," is unique. Actually, there are two doubles in this short paragraph, both in the double words in the explanation ("according to the tradition"), as well as in that after the words: "the second that is in the first and the first that is in the second—are equal." There was no need for the words "and there is no second in the first more beautiful than the first in the second." Indeed, in the *Leiden Ms.* (Jerusalem: Kedem Press, 1971), II, p. 499, the author omitted the first doubled sentence, and later "completed" it in the page's notes (but it is hard to determine what the text was before this).

⁹² Another approach is to explain the first sentence as a question sentence (and not as a statement sentence). However, from the frame of reference and from the fact that the sentence appears at the beginning and at the end in a modified form, it seems that the suggested explanation is preferred (following Moses' direction). See M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, The Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and Midrashic Literature* (New York: Pardes, 1950), pp. 1219-1220. This was edited as *Peruti*, but was probably written as *Perut'*, with the abbreviation's apostrophe turned into a "yod."

⁹³ The disagreement among the Talmudic teachers in the Mishna was in relation to the price, but not to the relative value of the products.

⁹⁴ See t. Menahot 13:21, Zukermendel edition, p. 533. In the Jerusalem Talmud, this is written, "and he wore his tunic worth a hundred *mena* and stepped up to perform the sacrifice ritual." But even if this is just an exaggeration used for enhancement, it is obvious that the clothes were very expensive.

⁹⁵ Jerusalem Talmud, Yoma 3:6, 30d: "A story about Rabbi Elazar ben Harsom who wore his tunic worth 20,000 and stepped up to perform the sacrifice ritual, and his brother priests would not allow him to wear it because [it was transparent and] he looked as though he was naked." This story reminds one somewhat of "The Emperor's New Clothes," even if the ending is different. According to the tradition in Yoma 9a, Rabbi Elazar ben Harsom was a High Priest. In Yoma 35b, there is a related tradition, though somewhat different. Based on that, clearly, Elazar ben Harsom was extremely rich (see also the Kiddushin 49b: "On condition that I am a wealthy person—we do not say as Rabbi Elazar ben Harsom or Rabbi Elazar ben Azaryah.").

⁹⁶ Possibly the cloth that came from Pelousion was of Indian origin and the importer simply didn't disclose the source and, due to this, the people of the land of Israel thought that the products came from two different locations. This assumption is based on: A) The Talmudic teacher was himself aware that type B from Pelousion was equal to type A from India, that is, it was the same product from the same source. B) The relative advantage of Egypt over the land of Israel, as an exporter, was not so significant as to cause importation from Pelousion to be so much more expensive and so better in its quality, to the extent that customers would be ready to pay such a high price for it. As is known, a high price was (and still is), a function of the transportation distance of the product, and Egypt is not that far away from the land of Israel to cause its prices to rise so high as to reach the price level of products arriving from India. C) As was already explained above, one of the historical problems in identifying Indian products stems from merchants hiding their origins.

⁹⁷ This is approximately how it is written in the *Munich 95 Ms.* In the *Florence II Ms.*, I 7-9 there is a completely different version, probably based on another traditional portion (not due to a simple author's mistake). It is written there, "The story about one man who sent to the house of his father-in-law a hundred carts of silver, a hundred carts of glass-ware, and rode in his happiness," (there is no food

and no millet-ware!), and later, "...that he sent to the house of his father-in-law new wine, and new oil, and new linen-ware in a holiday of assembly."

⁹⁸ Such as, Shabat 30b, "And then Rabban Gamliel sat and expounded that the Land of Israel is destined to bring forth bread rolls and fine woolen clothes," etc. (and the *Yalkut Shimeoni Tehilim* (Psalms), *Remez*, 806: Rabban Shimeon Ben Gamliel).

⁹⁹ Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim*, p. 775. Jastrow explained this word as: "fine wool," but it is therefore unclear why its price was so high. The argument here is based on the combination of the etymological background, the historical knowledge and the price, so "fine wool" is not convincing.

¹⁰⁰ Begley and De Puma, *Rome and India*, pp. 10, 22, 131. Compare these pages about the importation of cloth from India. One can still find Indian cloth in the markets.

¹⁰¹ The Mocha Coffee can be used as an example, a coffee called after the name of the city of its origin: Mocha (or Muza in Yemen). However, the issue discussed here is different because the point is that in the Indian port where vessels were loaded with millet, they were also loaded with clothes, and the entire cargo was called millet.

¹⁰² See Majno, *The Healing Hand*, p. 512, n. 39 (where he mentions that Damascus blades were actually from Indian iron). There is no mention of it in Begley and De Puma, *Rome and India*.

¹⁰³ I. Bodenheimer, B. Rotenberg, and D. Pizanti, "Metallurgy of the Talmudic Period: The Iron in the Talmudic Sources," in *Badad* 4 (1997), pp. 5-21 (especially pp. 12-3).

¹⁰⁴ In Ms. 15 in the Jewish Theological Seminary in America, the gemara is presented with two significant differences: 1) The one answering is not Rav Zavid but Rav Yehuda. 2) At the end there are the words "Rav Ashi said" in parenthetical form, meaning that this is a page addendum. If so, there is no question and answer here but a simple statement, which is an addition of the "Geonim." In favor of this version one must add that almost all the "ve'ha'idna" in the Talmud are inconsequential and verbalized as statements. Indeed, in Shabat 10b (Beiza 17a) it is written: "but nowadays that we are concerned about sorcerers? What Rav Pappa said: he rubs (in Beiza: "rubs" is spelled with two "yods" instead) with the same type." However, in the *Yalkut Shimeoni* on the Torah portion of the scripture *Ki-Tisah*, *Remez*, 390, it is written: "but nowadays that sorcerers, it rubs of the same type."

¹⁰⁵ S. Buber, ed., *Tanhuma*, (Vilna, 1885), p. 10.

¹⁰⁶ This, according to Raschke, "New Studies," p. 905, n. 1007. I could not locate the place in India based on his description, as the name was mistakenly dropped from the list of key words for India.

¹⁰⁷ Wilfred H. Schoff, "The Eastern Iron Trade of The Roman Empire," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 35 (1915), pp. 230-7 (especially p. 236).

¹⁰⁸ Majno, *The Healing Hand*, p. 266.

¹⁰⁹ The inscription mention medicines for people and animals, and it is possible that it meant elephants ("working beasts" in India). The ties between Ashoka and Antiochus led to the sale of elephants that served the Seleucid army (also against the Hasmoneans). From collected data on commerce in the Indian Ocean, it turns out that these elephants reached Antiocheia through Egypt and Alexandria.

¹¹⁰ Begley and De Puma, *Rome and India*, p. 175, n. 44. The book covers vast literature on the Greeks in India.

¹¹¹ A. Fuks, "Notes on the Archive of Nicanor," in *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 5 (1951), pp. 207-216; Raschke, "New Studies," p. 847, n. 801.

¹¹² L.W. Brown, *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956); Jean W. Sedlar, *India and the Greek World* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1980), pp. 176-185.

¹¹³ Shalva Weil, "Symmetry Between Christians and Jews in India: The Crnanite Christians and the Cochin Jews of Kerala," in *Jews in India*, T.A. Timberg, ed., pp. 177-204.

¹¹⁴ This is how the text was written. In the *Munich 95 Ms.* a significant number of the words are abbreviated with an apostrophe mark, and there are a number of other changes (as improvements or detriments). The type of bird is not clear, and the essence of the story is as in the text.

¹¹⁵ The version of "diver" is confirmed in Rabbi Samuel Ben Meir's explanation of the preceding story. In the beginning of the story, Rashi writes: "Thus must be read" to say that some scribes desecrated their hands in the story.

¹¹⁶ Read, Raschke, "New Studies," p. 841, n. 781.

¹¹⁷ Read, M. Bar Ilan, "Monsters and Imaginary Creatures in the Ancient Jewish Legends," in *Mahanaim* 7 (1994), pp. 104-113.

¹¹⁸ For more on the end of the period of the Roman Empire, see Yaron Dan, "Jews in the Marine Commerce in the Indian Ocean Before the Islamic Period," in *Research Works About the History of the Israeli People and the Land of Israel* 5 (1980), pp. 147-158. One must take care not to draw far-reaching conclusions. Even if there were Jews in Yatvath (that is "Pharaoh's Island," near Eilat), still, one cannot deduce that they actually traded with India.

¹¹⁹ For a comprehensive bibliography on this subject see M. Bar Ilan, "Books from Cochin," in *Pe'amim* 52 (1992), pp. 74-100 (at the end of the article is a comprehensive bibliographical list).

¹²⁰ Walter J. Fischel, "The Exploration of the Jewish Antiquities of Cochin on the Malabar Coast," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 87, Walter J. Fischel, ed. (1967), pp. 230-248; Fischel, *Jews in Unknown Lands* (New York: Ktav, 1973); Fischel, "Cochin in Jewish History," in *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 30 (1962), pp. 37-59; Fischel, "The Contribution of the Cochin Jews to South Indian Jewish Civilization," in *Commemoration Volume—Cochin Synagogue Quatercentenary Celebration*, S.S. Koder, ed. (Cochin, 1971), pp. 13-64; and Myron M. Weinstein, "A Putative Ceylon Rite," in *Studies in Jewish*

Bibliography History and Literature in Honor of I. Edward Kiev, Ch. Berlin, ed. (New York: Ktav, 1971), pp. 495-509.

¹²¹ Read the two previous notes, and also M. Bar Ilan, "The Words of Gad the Seer," in *Journal of Biblical Literature* 109/3 (1990), pp. 477-493.

The Places Mentioned in the Article

Land Locations:

Afghanistan, Africa, Alexandria, America, Andaman Islands, Antioch, Arabia, Arsinoe, Babylon, Bactria, Bet Guvrin, Bombay (Mumbai), Cape of Good Hope, Chera, China, Cochin, Cranganore, Dilmun, Egypt, Eilat, Ethiopia, Ezion-geber, Gibraltar, Greece, Havilah, The Himalayas, India, Japan, Jerusalem, Klyasma, Kush, Leuke Kome, Magan, Malaya, Meluhha, Muza (=Mocha), Muziris, Myos Hormos, Nal, Nubia, Ophir, Persia, Petra, Pelousion, Punt, Rinocorora (Al-Arish), Rome, Russia, Sheba, Somalia, Sopara, Sri Lanka, Suez, Tarshish, Yeb, Yemen, Yotvath, and Zimbabwe.

Seas and Rivers:

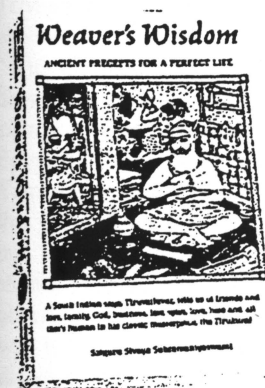
Bay of Bengal, Bay of Eilat, Euphrates, Ganges, Gihon, Hiddekel, Indian Ocean, Indus, Mediterranean Sea, Nile, Persian Gulf, and Pishon.

The following maps and illustrations can be added to this article:

1. Perfumes from Arabia—Har'el, *Historical Geography*, A, p. 459.
2. Findings in India from the Roman period—Begley and De Puma, *Rome and India*, p. 2.
3. The Red Sea and its ports—Begley and De Puma, *Rome and India*, pp. 13-4.
4. Map of India, the Indian Ocean, Land of Israel + Monsoon—Begley and De Puma, *Rome and India*, p. 9.
5. The map of the world in the eyes of the Greek—in the fifth century BCE—Majno, *The Healing Hand*.
6. A picture of ships from Tyrus out of Sennacherib's tablet—Har'el, *The Geography*, p. 61.
7. The rivers surrounding the Garden of Eden in the church of Medba—Zafirir, *The Land of Israel From the Destruction of the Second Temple* 2, p. 417.
8. Maps showing India in ancient times (like the Foitinger map), see N. Kadmon, in *Ariel* 116 (1996), pp. 89-96
9. Maps and restored ancient maps: Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985).

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Tamil, translated as *Weavers Wisdom*, has retained its power to transform one's psyche. May the wisdom of the *Kural* remain with us forever as our guide and counselor."

—Tirumati Vimala Krishnapillai, Ph.D.; Sri Lanka

JEWISH TRADERS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN—TENTH TO THIRTEENTH CENTURIES: A REVIEW OF PUBLISHED DOCUMENTS FROM THE CAIRO GENIZAH¹

Brian Weinstein

“After asking God, the exalted, for guidance I constructed a boat in Aden and sent goods in it to Ceylon in partnership with the illustrious sheikh Bilal. These of our coreligionists traveled in it: Salim, the son of the cantor, Ibn Hidada (‘of the art of smithing’) and al-Batiti (‘maker of slippers’), and the goldsmith, who had arrived here in his company, and the two goldsmiths, who came this year, Abu ‘Ali and the Maghrebi. All these traveled in the boat, may God ordain their safe arrival.”¹

This excerpt from a letter written by the Trustee of Merchants in Aden to a merchant in Fustat (Old Cairo) in about the year 1130 shows the links among Egypt, Aden, and South Asia. Further, it is evidence that there were partnerships between Jews and Muslim Arabs (sheikh Bilal, for example); that Aden was a key intermediate point in trade between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean; that traders came from different professions such as goldsmithing and cantorial families, and that consequently they had limited capital; and that they came from the Maghreb (Tunisia). The references to God required that the letter had to be preserved. And, the most convenient place to preserve it was in the genizah. It is, thus, an excellent example from the Cairo genizah of proof of the presence of Jewish traders in the Indian Ocean.

Between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, Jewish traders—such as the author of the above letter—participated in the reopening of the ancient Roman sea route from Egypt to India by sailing south on the Red Sea to Yemen and then east on the Indian Ocean to the Malabar Coast and Gujarat State. Their letters, court depositions, and contracts give a human face to the interactions between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. Of what relevance is their religious-ethnic identity? Why did the Jews go and not someone else? What routes did they follow? What goods and merchandise were changing hands? What was the relationship between these men and other communities? How did they deal with different governments? Thousands of documents discovered in a storeroom of the Ben Ezra Synagogue in Fustat, Old Cairo, provide the answers.

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A word about the *genizah*, the Hebrew word for “storehouse,” “archive,” or “hiding place.” According to Jewish tradition, it is forbidden to destroy anything with the name of God written or inscribed on it. This obviously includes prayer books, Bibles, and other explicitly religious material; it also includes any direct or indirect references to the “Almighty” in secular letters, contracts, court depositions, prose, and poetry. A religious Jew would never write the Biblical name of God, the Tetragrammaton; rather, he or she would write “*HaShem*” (the Name). Many observant Jews begin personal letters to other Jews with an abbreviated form of “With the help of The Name.” In the twelfth century, some word for God would also be written in official correspondence with Muslim authorities. In about 1123, for example, Musa ibn Sadaqa, a Jewish merchant, wrote a petition to the government of Egypt pleading for the release of merchandise he had purchased in India and in Yemen and shipped to Egypt. He terminated the petition with words that guaranteed that the document could not be destroyed: “The blessings and peace of God be upon our lord Muhammad the prophet and his family.” The reference to Muhammad shows, of course, that however free the Jews were in Fatimid Egypt, they carefully observed certain Muslim conventions.² This letter along with letters between Jews was to be buried in a *genizah*, often located in a cemetery where all texts would disintegrate.

Fortunately, the *genizah* of the Ben Ezra Synagogue of Fustat, Old Cairo, was above ground in the synagogue itself and, because of the dry climate of Egypt, the documents survived. During the nineteenth century, scraps, bits, and pieces of prayers and letters began to appear on the antiquities markets. Scholars recognized their value. Solomon Schechter (1857-1915) and his colleagues from Cambridge University arranged to have the majority of the materials transported to Cambridge at the end of the century. Today, the quarter million documents and fragments of documents retrieved from this and other Egyptian sources are available in the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit of Cambridge University Library, as well as at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, the Freer Collection in Washington, D.C., the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the Heidelberg University Library, the Strasbourg University Library, and elsewhere. They are probably the most important non-Indian archive of primary source materials dealing with the Indian Ocean prior to the arrival of western European explorers, traders, and colonialists.³

Genizah Materials

Access to most *genizah* material is limited to those who can read Judaeo-Arabic, a variety of Arabic written with Hebrew letters, used for the last 1,000 years by Jews in Arab lands from Spain to Tunisia, to Egypt, to Iraq to Yemen.⁴ Hebrew texts are also in the Cairo *genizah*, for Hebrew was always used as the language of sacred books, prayers and, thanks to inspiration from Arabs, as the language of poetry. The Arabic language texts in the collection are mainly Jewish communications with the government. Some Arabic documents found in the *genizah* have nothing to do with Jews, however. They concern relations among Muslims. Using these sources Hassan S. Khalilieh completed a PhD dissertation in 1995 at Princeton University: “Islamic

Maritime Law in the Classical Period 815-1492: A Study Based on Jurisprudential, Historical, and Geniza Sources.”

Scholars have produced a steady stream of publications based on genizah documents, and they have illuminated Jewish secular and religious life in North Africa, the land of Israel, Yemen and points east to India, particularly during the twelfth century. In the process, much has been revealed about the Jews' role in trade. One of the most creative recent examples of the uses of genizah materials in this regard is Amitav Ghosh's historical novel *In an Antique Land*.⁵ Ghosh spins an interesting tale from the letters and other materials by and about Abraham Ben Yiju, a Jewish trader and manufacturer.

Ben Yiju was born in Qayrawan, Tunisia; he moved to Fustat and then settled in Mangalore during the 1130s. He stayed in India for 17 years and in Yemen for three years. His factory made and repaired metal pots, which he exported, and he shipped betel nuts and other products from India.⁶ Ghosh tells the story of this trader's discovery of India and Indians; in his view, Ben-Yiju's "life is emblematic of the genizah, for it brings together the cultural and economic worlds of the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea."⁷

For example, in 1139 Khalaf b. Isaac b. Bundar wrote from Aden to Ben Yiju in Mangalore to tell him that his shipment of iron, brass vessels, cardamom, vessel covers arrived although the betel nuts did not. The pepper arrived in a different ship, he added. The following excerpt—published by S.D. Goitein, not Ghosh—shows how payment for these items was made:

I sent to you five mann of good silk on my account, for I saw that my master the illustrious elder Madmun, had sent some to Ben 'Adlan and to others and it was reported in his (Ben 'Adlan's) name that it is selling well in Malabar. Therefore, I thought it was preferable to send, instead of gold, merchandise which might bring some profit. Thus, kindly sell it for me for whatever price God, the exalted, assigns and send it to me in any ship, without any responsibility for any risk on land or sea. If there is an opportunity to buy betel-nut or cardamom, kindly do so, but you, my master, need no instructions, for you are competent. Indeed, I cause you trouble every year; but, you, my master, do excuse me, as it has always been your habit, past and present."⁸

The most important book of genizah materials about the Jewish link between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean still has not been published, however. This is, of course, Goitein's "India Book."

Shlomo Dov Goitein was born in Bavaria in 1900. After his university studies in Frankfurt and Berlin, he settled in Palestine where he became the first instructor in Islamic studies at the Hebrew University, which was founded in Jerusalem in 1923. His research into genizah documents focused on Indian Ocean commerce. "By 1957, he had assembled about 200 documents dealing with the trade across the Indian

Ocean."⁹ He realized, however, that the Jewish role in Indian Ocean trade was part of a larger picture of Jews in Mediterranean society, culture, and economics.

Goitein then decided to concentrate on studies of Jewish communities in the Mediterranean, particularly during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as shown in genizah materials, and to return to his India project later. The results of his research, the five volumes of *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World As Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Genizah*, were published between 1967 and 1988. In 1993, the University of California Press produced a sixth volume—*Cumulative Indices*—which his former assistant Paula Sanders prepared.¹⁰

Goitein always knew his initial project, the "India Book," was important, and he helped Shaul Shaked publish a "tentative" genizah bibliography in 1964 which included letters relevant to India.¹¹ Shaked's brief descriptions give glimpses of the variety and richness of these documents: a question to Moses Maimonides about Jewish law, e.g. "the rights of the wife of an absent India merchant," on p. 44. An "account of Ibn Yuji's brass factory [in Mangalore], and two copies in Ibn Yiju's hand of a ship's papers relating to the captain Abu Abdallah b. al-Kata'ib, on p. 45. A fragment of a letter from Kalaf b. Isaac, Aden to Halfon b. Nethaneel in Cairo, Oct-Nov 1140, on p. 211. A letter from Madmun b. Japheth of Aden to Ben Yiju, India, on p. 47. A power of attorney against Ibn al-Raqqi who disappeared in India with the merchandise specified (about 1050), on p. 50.

In 1973, Goitein published a few important India-related documents in his *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*. By the time of his death in 1985, he had collected, translated, classified, and edited about 400 fragments and fairly complete documents left by Jewish traders in the India trade. To this day, his manuscript has not been published, but fortunately, Goitein's students, colleagues, and others have published and continue to publish articles and books based on this collection.¹²

Their publications alongside the voluminous writings of Goitein¹³ have brought to light many of the approximately 1,000 individuals mentioned in genizah documents. Of these, a few dozen were actively involved in the India trade.¹⁴ The names include Abu Ya'qub Joseph Lebdi, Abu Zikri Judah Kohen, Joseph Ibn 'Awkal, Madmun b. Yaphet, the Maimonides family (David and Moses), Halfon b. Nethaneel, and Abraham b. Yiju. They appear in court depositions, marriage contracts, deeds of sale, personal letters, business letters, letters to authorities, communal affairs, questions to rabbis and scholars with their responsa, scrolls, poetry, and other forms of creative writing—almost all on paper. They wrote from Egypt, the Maghreb, Yemen, the Malabar Coast of southwest India, elsewhere in the Indian Ocean, and further afield.

Professor Stefane C. Reif's *Published Material from the Cambridge Genizah Collections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) is of great help in grappling with genizah documents. Reif is director of the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit. Reif and his colleagues are currently updating that book. Thanks to their generosity, I examined the list of published and unpublished items from the Cambridge documents that Goitein collected for his "India Book." According to my count, as of June 1999, the published items number 151, while 191 are not published,

and the publishing history of 30 items is unknown. Thus, the majority of the India materials have not appeared in print.

The single most important source for published genizah materials relating to India are, thus, still Goitein's five volume *Mediterranean Society* along with his *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*. Even without the very valuable "India Book," which should eventually be published, we can begin to understand how a small group of middlemen participated in what Indian Ocean scholars, Helene Basu and Peter Fleugel, have called western India's "historical integration in global networks of trade and migration."¹⁵

Why the Jews?

In the European mind, the Jews are the quintessential middlemen, but in every part of the world some group—Chinese in southeast Asia, Armenians in Turkey, Indians in East Africa, Arabs in west Africa, Greeks in Egypt, Parsis in India, Hausas in west Africa, and Japanese in Brazil—plays this role, particularly in times of economic and social change. Theoretical works and case studies are increasing our understanding of middlemen or, more appropriately, of scholar Walter P. Zenner's "intermediate minorities [who are] ethnic groups which are disproportionately represented in commercial or financial occupations."¹⁶

Other epithets have been used by scholars such as Daniel Chirot, Anthony Reid, Abner Cohen, Philip Curtin, Zenner, and Edna Bonacich. They have made the most recent contributions to a body of literature that began with Max Weber's and Werner Sombart's studies of the origins of capitalism. Max Weber used the rather pejorative "pariah capitalists;" Abner Cohen and Philip Curtin wrote about "trade diasporas;" Zenner coined the term "minorities in the middle;" and Anthony Reid preferred "entrepreneurial minorities."¹⁷ They agree that during times of rapid economic expansion and change, certain minorities are more likely than others to take risks and to find a profitable niche for themselves by entering a new profession or by trading new products which the majority eschews out of ignorance or fear of social disapproval.

Minorities are more likely than majorities to take risks in times of unsettling economic change. They are already somewhat marginalized with less of a stake in the status quo than the majority, which means they are willing to experiment. Because they are also part of a diaspora, they can mobilize capital and use information from other members of their community outside the country. In Europe and southeast Asia:

The Jews and the overseas Chinese were the quickest to exploit the opportunities of the new commercialism because they were uninhibited by feudal traditions or landholding and because they had the necessary international contacts to move capital and goods across boundaries.¹⁸

From the late Roman Empire, Jews, like Greeks, were dispersed in the Mediterranean. To survive, they had to understand majorities and move carefully around them; they had to have excellent sources of information about economic and

technological change and opportunities; and they had to be innovative. The stakes were high, and they were highly motivated. Braudel puts it best:

“But all Jewish communities were obliged to engage in a dialogue, sometimes in dramatic circumstances when around them the entire nature of the dominant civilization changed. The Moslems replaced the Christians in Spain, then the Christians returned after the belated victories of the Reconquest. Jews who had spoken Arabic now had to learn Spanish.”¹⁹

With these language skills and an understanding of the different civilizations, they moved from country to country bringing new products and concepts.

The niche the entrepreneurial minority occupies is often temporary because once the majority understands the benefits, it tries to reserve them for itself. In a non-democratic system it is easy for the majority to pass discriminatory laws and create or exacerbate antagonisms toward the minority when it wants to remove them from profitable economic activities. If displacement of the minority is not possible, segments of the majority may from time to time express their jealousies and frustrations in violent actions against the minority. Recent attacks on the Chinese merchants in Indonesia are an example.

Jewish migration in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean was the result of fears about conflict where they lived, perceived economic opportunities elsewhere in a niche not occupied by others, assurances from local authorities of safe haven, and the presence of a welcoming Jewish community. Since Biblical days, Jews had lived in the eastern Mediterranean; they spread themselves out over the whole Mediterranean Sea during the Roman Empire, but what about the Indian Ocean?

Jewish Migration in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea

According to their own oral traditions, the Bene Israel of Maharashtra and the Jewish Malabar of Kerala came to India from Israel or from Persia after the destruction of the First Temple in 586 BCE (Before the Common Era, a nonsectarian alternative to BC) or after the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE (Common Era, a nonsectarian alternative to AD). No independent evidence about such an eastward migration exists, but an ancient Jewish awareness of India is evident in the biblical Book of Esther, the first century CE writings of Josephus, and the fifth century CE Babylonian Talmud.²⁰ Documents such as lists of concessions inscribed on copper plates, inscriptions on tombstones, and testimonies by Arabs and the first European visitors prove a Jewish settlement in India from at least the tenth century.

Babylonian and Persian Jews participated in the trade between the Persian Gulf and India even earlier than that. Beginning with the accession of the Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad in the eighth century Jews, along with Muslims, traded from their base in Baghdad and Basra with India.²¹ Although documents from Jewish traders of Mesopotamia have not been discovered, as far as I know, Jewish intellectuals in Mesopotamia such as Saadia Gaon (882 to 942) refer to Jews trading in and traveling to India. During the same years, their co-religionists around the Mediterranean were satisfied to trade within the Mediterranean. Each traded within

their own realm, but steady communication persisted between Jews living in the western part of the Muslim empire and Jews living in the eastern part.

Pax Islamica, like Pax Romana, facilitated Jewish international trade, migration, and intra-communal spiritual and secular communications. An interesting document related to the activities of Abraham ben Yiju shows the links between Mangalore, Baghdad, and Fustat. It also shows that there were enough Jews in Mangalore to constitute a court. On October 17, 1132, this court manumitted a slave girl belonging to Abraham b. Yiju.

In the city of Mangalore...the royal city, which is situated on the Great Sea and which is under the jurisdiction of our Lord Daniel, the great prince, the head of the diaspora of all Israel, the son of our lord Hisday, the great prince...and also under the jurisdiction of our Gaon Masliah ha-Kohen, the head of the *Yeshiva Ge'on Ya'aqov* [the Palestinian Academy], the son of Solomon, the head of the Yeshiva...²²

The reference to Lord Daniel is to the exilarch in Baghdad, who claimed to be a descendant of King David and the leader of all Jews in exile. The reference to the Gaon is to the prestigious spiritual and intellectual principal of the Palestine Academy, then was located in Egypt. In short, the court felt its actions would be legitimate only if it recognized the superior authority of Jewish institutions in Iraq and Egypt with which it had contact. The human side is never absent from genizah documents: Abraham b. Yiju probably went to all this trouble to formalize the freeing of this girl because he wanted to marry her. (This is what Ghosh believes.)

When the center of Muslim power shifted, the Jews moved as well. Their survival depended on understanding and adapting to internal Muslim Empire power struggles and ideologies over which they had absolutely no control. While the Caliphate and the center of Islamic power rested in Baghdad, the Jewish community of Mesopotamia grew and prospered. With the decline of Baghdad, the Jewish presence there almost disappeared. The Jews moved west toward the more stable Mediterranean where new centers of Islamic power and Islamic intellectual activity were established.

In the tenth century, Tunisia was one of the Jews' most important destinations, particularly Qayrawan, a commercial and intellectual center. From their new base in the Maghreb, these middlemen filled a niche in trade trade. However, to Europe agriculture was more important and prestigious than trade. And, according to Robert Lopez, although Islam had a high regard for traders and merchants, Tunisia's lack of individual freedom initially hindered commercial expansion.²³ At the end of the century, Jews followed the Fatimids to Egypt, which the latter conquered in 969. More Jews made the move in the eleventh century after the Bedouin of Banu Hilal invaded and destroyed Qayrawan in 1057. The "Maghrebis," as they were called, settled in Fustat or old Cairo among Jews whose existence in Egypt has been documented since about the sixth century BCE.

According to Ashtor, 12,000 Jews of all origins lived in dozens of different villages, towns and cities in Egypt during the twelfth century.²⁴ The largest

community was in Fustat, where Stillman estimates about 4,000 Jews lived at the turn of the eleventh century. Another 2,000 lived in Alexandria.²⁵

At this time, Jews shared certain characteristics which attracted them to commerce. Since rabbis and other learned men believed they should not take money for teaching religion, they sought other sources of income, but they avoided agriculture because of the risks of land confiscation. The Jews had a high rate of literacy and numeracy so they could keep accounts and understand reports. Because Jews were on the margins of the Islamic world, they were often considered to be "neutral intermediaries" between Christians and Muslims and between different Muslim communities.²⁶ Jewish dispersion facilitated finding trading partners in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. Jews who had come from Iraq or who still had relatives and friends in the Persian Gulf could send and receive information about trade with India. And, Jews lived along the route to India, even though Malabar had no Jewish settlements.

Traders would leave Fustat for Qus, a provincial capital in Upper Egypt near Luxor and Aswan 45 to 50 days up the Nile by ship.²⁷ They stopped in Qus to rest and to find a caravan that would take them overland to the Red Sea coast to get ships to Aden. The 300 Jews of Qus provided hospitality, facilities for religious observances, and information about trade. The traders may not have had to continue beyond Qus because its market was full of Indian goods. Ashtor called the town an "emporium of the Indian trade."²⁸

The attitude of the Fatimid regime was a key advantage for the Jews. The Fatimid rulers encouraged Jewish traders and used their services to help transform first the Maghreb and then Egypt into Mediterranean centers of trade.²⁹ Under Fatimid rule traders were free to trade and move about as they wished and where they wished carrying Egyptian gold dinars, widely accepted as an "international means of payment."³⁰ The rulers even recruited Jews for high positions in the state bureaucracy, although those in the highest positions, such as vizier, were expected to convert.

In addition to finding new opportunities in commerce, Jews willingly took professions that others eschewed such as tanning animal hides, lending money, collecting, dyeing cloth, smithing gold and silver, and manufacturing textiles. Because of their earlier experiences or family ties in Iraq, they knew more about sugar refining than Arabs in Egypt, and therefore tended to participate fully in that industry. Because of prior Jewish experience in the medical sciences and because the Jews experimented with the spices they received from India, running a pharmacy became a major Jewish occupation in Egypt.³¹

In Fustat, the Jews' religious and secular life revolved around two synagogues, the Ben Ezra or Palestine synagogue, and the Babylonian synagogue. Each person's choice depended on family origins, Palestine/Israel or Mesopotamia. Each community was well organized. Influenced by Islamic Caliphate and the government's encouragement of minority communal structures, the Jews set up their own complex bureaucracy to settle conflicts, assist the needy, enforce rules, deal with the Egyptian state, and communicate with other Jewish communities, both in Egypt and outside Egypt. For example, Jewish officials collected money to send to

institutions of higher learning, Yeshivot, in Palestine and Babylonia.³² Maghrebis affiliated with the Ben Ezra synagogue used its community structure to resolve disputes, witness contracts, arrange marriages, and enlarge their networks, as well as to pray.

The combination of opportunities and entrepreneurs with capital put Egypt at the center of world trade. By the middle of the eleventh century, Egypt was the principal hinge between the Indian Ocean and Mediterranean basins, the point at which the complex commercial networks of these two zones were knotted together.³³ The Jews operated on both sides of the hinge, often at great risk. As David Maimonides wrote to his famous brother about 1170:

“This is my story: I reached Qus and after Passover I booked for ‘Aydhah [the Sudanese port] in a caravan...When we were in the desert, we regretted what we had done, but the matter had gone out of our hands. Yet God had willed that we should be saved. We arrived in ‘Aydhah safely with our entire baggage. We were unloading our things at the city gate, when the caravans arrived. Their passengers had been robbed and wounded and some had died of thirst...

To make a long story short: I arrived in ‘Aydhah and found that no imports had come here...at all. I found nothing to buy except indigo. So I thought about what I had endured in the desert and how I was saved; then it appeared to me an easy matter to embark on a sea voyage...

My company in the Mala [bar] sea will be...Sallim, the son of the (female) broker and his brother’s son...”³⁴

After writing this letter David Maimonides died, probably in a ship wreck. More information comes from the documents left by “The House of Ibn ‘Awkal.” According to Stillman, their letters and business documents form:

The oldest private collection of business documents in the genizah, it is also one of the oldest, if not the oldest, private collection of correspondence from the Mediterranean world during the Middle Ages.³⁵

In one letter sent from the Maghreb to Egypt, a buyer of pearls asks Joseph b. ‘Awkal to purchase pearls from pilgrims returning to Egypt from the Hajj because pilgrims often obtained pearls originating in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean. Money, not goods, would be used to pay for the pearls.³⁶ He informed Joseph that:

“...the pearls which you were kind enough to send arrived—may God make your honored position permanent...As to the cloth which was with it, I sent it on to Spain because it does not sell well for me here this year. ...if—God forbid—it should happen that pearls will be scarce this year, then buy me whatever you can with

half the sum, and with the other half buy some high-grade *istas* (variety of indigo...)."37

In India, traders purchased pepper, cardamom and other spices, indigo and brazilwood for dyeing, brass products, iron, textiles, and precious gems. Indians were less interested in products from the west, but they purchased coral, arsenic, copper, and lead. They also received gold and silver from the traders to make up the difference in trade accounts. Like the Romans, the Mediterranean Arabs had an unfavorable balance of trade with India.

Their relationship with the Jews of Yemen, especially in the port city of Aden, was a key to Jewish success in this trade.

The Importance of Yemen to Jewish Traders

Certainly Yemen had been an important destination for Jewish travelers and a place for Jewish settlement since the time of Solomon, king of the United Kingdom of Israel in the tenth century BCE. According to much current scholarly wisdom, southwest Arabia was the Biblical Ophir from which gold was procured for King Solomon and his Phoenician allies. Both Jewish and Arab evidence shows continuous Jewish settlement in Yemen for the last 2,000 years. According to Jewish oral traditions, Jews have lived in Yemen for more than 2,500 years.

The Yemeni port of Aden, located on the channel connecting the Red Sea with the Arabian Sea, was the most important way-station on the sea route to India and east Africa. Caravans from Yemen crossed Arabia to Egypt, Iraq, and Iran. For Jews, Yemen meant India: in many texts in the genizah collection the expression "Yemen and beyond..." refers to India. This phrase meant that traders would leave Fustat hoping they could purchase Indian goods in Aden. If not, they had to be prepared to continue further across the Indian Ocean toward the original source of these precious goods.³⁸ Jewish traders saw their Yemeni "co-religionists" (a term they often used) as mediators between themselves and the Indian subcontinent.³⁹

Yemenite Jews performed many services for the Jews of north Africa and Egypt.⁴⁰ Providing for spiritual needs came first. The traders were observant Jews and highly literate. The large Jewish community in Yemen assured Jewish traders from Egypt that they could celebrate holy days, enjoy kosher food, keep the Sabbath in a friendly environment, and maybe find a wife. The Yemenite community provided information as did members of their own diaspora, first, in Ethiopia and later in Cochin. For example, in 1198, a correspondent made the following list about prices in Aden for his co-religionists:

Pepper, a sack—sold for 52, later went down to 45

Cinnamon, a sack—45

Brazilwood obtained different prices:

 Good Amiri, a sack—18

 Middle Quality—16

 End pieces, a sack—16

 The long variety, a sack—18

Indian Indigo, a piece—70 din.

Clove—not to be had; the mediocre—45

The odoriferous woods are of middle quality and expensive.

The price of the copper was—

Copper in fragments, first—72, later—85
in bars—70; later it attained 90

Tin—70

Corals—11

Antimony (kohl) of Shalwadh, a sack—17

of Madrid, a sack—25 [ndlr: reading doubtful]⁴¹

Genizah documents show the importance of the Adenese "*wakil al-tujjar*" (Hebrew: *peqid ha-soharim*)—the "representative of the merchants."⁴² Madmun ben Japhet was one such representative and, as such, he supervised traders in Aden, he facilitated trade among the Jews, and he made his storehouse available for storage. As a neutral party, he made sure all the traders received their merchandise and divided up the profits as agreed; he provided a place for traders to negotiate. Verbal agreements were considered valid and enforceable if they were made in Madmun's warehouse. When a trader died at sea, Madmun sent condolences to the family along with some material assistance. His acceptability to all Jews depended on his reputation for probity, his astuteness, and probably his reputation as an observant Jew. In a long letter, to India he explained that one of his own ships sank in the Arabian Sea, but he quickly loaded another:

May God the exalted recompense and substitute what has been lost...I asked God for guidance and fitted out a new ship, the M[ubarak], which will sail to Mangalore...May God ordain its safe arrival, I have done so because I dreaded that [my enemies] and whoever has no good in him will gloat over my misfortune.⁴³

Jewish communities in Baghdad and Fustat recognized him as the representative of traders and respected his judgments. The fact that he was a business partner of the Arab governor of Aden protected him and the Jews he helped. His wife came from Fustat and her brother married an Aden shipowner. Madmun's son took his place when he died in 1150.⁴⁴

Contacts among the Jewish populations also appear in liturgy and music. For example, Johanna Spector found and analyzed very specific similarities in Jewish music in Mesopotamia, Cochin, and Yemen.⁴⁵ Oral histories—about sending brides from Yemen to Cochin and family genealogies—provides more data about the connections.

Decline of the Jewish Traders

Abraham b. Yiju and his Jewish colleagues were always middlemen operating in the interstices of a potentially hostile environment. The Fatimids had been friendly, but their successors were against the Jews. In 1169, with the advent of the Ayyubids, power began to shift to the Sunni majority, and the role of the Jews began to decline. In 1250, Mamluk slave soldiers seized power, and put an end to Jewish trade activities. The Mamluk regime was centralized and "statist," and trade was no longer free. According to K.N. Chaudhuri and others, the Egyptian regime began to control

which ships could enter the Red Sea by "a system of safe-conduct passes."⁴⁶ By this method, they could encourage Muslim traders and discourage all others. Furthermore, special controls were imposed on Jews and Christians: they had to pay higher tariffs on goods than Muslims, opportunities for government employment decreased, guilds restricted membership, and a humiliating dress code was instituted. One reason for Mamluk hostility was their own sense of insecurity: they were recent converts to Islam, and they were threatened by Mongol expansionism; they feared a return of the Christian crusaders.

The rise of the Karimi traders also contributed to the decline of Jewish participation and influence. The Karimi seem to have been large Arab Muslim wholesalers who could easily undercut the Jews, particularly when the regime helped them. Michael Chamberlain wrote:

As far as can be determined, the Karimis were a loose association based on partnerships, who owned their own ships and enjoyed a poorly understood legal status. The Ayyubids provided protection and built warehouses and port facilities for them, but otherwise did not interfere in their activities.⁴⁷

The Mamluks needed the Karimis:

Lacking a navy or merchant marine of its own, the Mamluk sultanate was dependent on the Karimi merchants who monopolized the commerce of the sultanate, especially the spice trade, in the Red Sea and the eastern oceans."⁴⁸

Genizah letters and contracts show that to join the Karimis one needed a great deal of capital. Even rich Jews had difficulty, although some sold goods to Karimi through their representative in Aden.⁴⁹ According to a genizah letter, a Jew by the name of Furajallah al-Karimi participated in the Karimi associations, but there is little evidence about other Jews. Ashtor concludes, "the Karimis did not exclude Jewish traders from their activities because of their religious denomination...But, the Karimis thrust the middle class merchants aside, and most Jewish traders had belonged to this group."⁵⁰ By the mid-thirteenth century, references to trade in genizah documents declined, implying that Jewish participation was drawing to an end.⁵¹

Jewish Links in the Indian Ocean

Jews formed their own network between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea: their ties extended from the Malabar Coast west to Aden or north to Baghdad and then west to Qus and Fustat, Cairo, and beyond. The contacts benefitted the Jewish community by helping maintain a uniformity of religious practice, diffusing new interpretations of Biblical and Talmudic texts by intellectuals such as Moses Maimonides and Saadia Gaon. The Jews made money by filling a niche that no one else seemed to want and by serving as intermediaries between other communities. Genizah documents written by these intrepid traders give us a glimpse of their

motivations, their successes and failures, their conflicts, their pain and joy, and their commitment to their communities and religion.

From the documents left by this "trade diaspora," we can understand more about shipping routes, goods traded, the postal service, travel time from India to Aden and from Aden to Egypt, and the problem of staying away from home for years on end. As yet, scholars do not know enough about Indians from these records, although 20 different ports in India are mentioned.⁵² Ranabir Chakrabarti suggests that Indian epigraphic evidence has yet to be fully exploited and may eventually yield interesting confirmation and complementary data about the Jewish traders.⁵³

These partially published documents give evidence of what Basu and Fluegel call the "interaction between the local and the global" and prove that south Asia was in communication with the rest of the world during those centuries.⁵⁴ Genizah evidence of links between south Asia and the Mediterranean also gives a human face to the entrepreneur minority. They show that among their other qualities, these Jewish traders of the Indian Ocean were creative and courageous.

NOTES

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² Geoffrey Khan, *Arabic Legal and Administrative Documents in the Cambridge Genizah Collections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 3.

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⁴ Brian Weinstein, "Judaeo-Arabic in India," in *The Journal of Indo-Judaic Studies*, Vol. II (1999), pp. 53-68.

⁵ New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993.

⁶ Also, see Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, p. 39.

⁷ Amitav Ghosh, "Tragic and Turbulent," in *Genizah Fragments*, No. 22, October 1991, p. 4.

⁸ Reprinted in Goitein, "The India Traders," in S.D. Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, p. 190.

⁹ Abraham Udovitch, "Foreword," in S.D. Goitein and Paula Sanders, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Genizah*, Vol. 5 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. xii.

¹⁰ S.D. Goitein and Paula Sanders, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Genizah*, Vol. 6—Cumulative Indices (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

¹¹ Shaul Shaked, *A Tentative Bibliography of Genizah Documents*, prepared under the direction of D.H. Baneth and S.D. Goitein (Paris: Mouton, 1964).

¹² For some of the most important scholars of genizah see Joshua Blau and Stefan C. Reif, "Genizah Research After Ninety Years: The Case of Judaeo-Arabic: Papers Read at the Third Congress of the Society for Judaeo-Arabic Studies," in *University of Cambridge Oriental Publications* 47 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

¹³ See Robert Attal, *A Bibliography of the Writings of Professor Shelomo Dov Goitein* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1975).

¹⁴ Interview with Prof. Mordechai Friedman, 18 June 1999.

¹⁵ These two German scholars organized a workshop in October 1999 at the annual meeting of the German Anthropological Association. Quoted from their email messages to potential participants, explaining why they thought such a workshop was important.

¹⁶ Walter P. Zenner, comments in *H-JUDIAC DIGEST*, E-mail: H-JUDAIC@H-NET.MSU.EDU, 7-8 June 1999.

¹⁷ See Daniel Chirot and Anthony Reid, eds., *Essential Outsiders: Chinese and Jews in the Modern Transformation of Southeast Asia and Central Europe* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1997). Philip Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984). Abner Cohen, "Cultural Strategies in the Organization of Trading Diasporas," in Claude Meillassoux, ed., *The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa* (London, 1971). Walter P. Zenner, *Minorities in the Middle: A Cross-Cultural Analysis* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991).

¹⁸ Anthony Reid, "Entrepreneurial Minorities, Nationalism, and the State," in Chirot and Reid, eds., *Essential Outsiders*, p. 43.

¹⁹ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Vol. II (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), p. 808.

²⁰ See Nathan Katz and Ellen S. Goldberg, *The Last Jews of Cochín: Jewish Identity in Hindu India* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1993), pp. 8-34.

²¹ See Andre Wink, *Al-Hind: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World, Vol. I: Early Medieval India and the Expansion of Islam, Seventh to Eleventh Centuries* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990), pp. 99-100.

²² INA D-55, f.10, "India Book 331a," cited by Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, Vol. II, pp. 20-1.

²³ Robert Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages 950-1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 57.

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- ²⁷ Goitein and Sanders, *A Mediterranean Society*, Vol. I, pp. 287, 299.
- ²⁸ Eliyahu Ashtor, "The Number of Jews," Part IIIa, p. 16.
- ²⁹ Ashtor, "The Number of Jews in Mediaeval Egypt," p. 19.
- ³⁰ Goitein and Sanders, *A Mediterranean Society*, Vol. I, p. 61.
- ³¹ S.D. Goitein, *The Yemenites: History, Communal Organization, Spiritual Life—Selected Works* (Jerusalem: Ben Zvi Institute, 1983), p. 35. Hebrew.
- ³² Elinoar Bareket, "Origins and Society in the Jewish Community of Fustat in the Eleventh Century," in *Pe'amim*, No. 34 (1988), pp. 3-28. Hebrew.
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- ³⁵ Norman Arthur Stillman, *East-West Relations in the Islamic Mediterranean in the Early Eleventh Century—A Study in The Genizah Correspondence of the House of Ibn 'Awkal* (PhD dissertation Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1970), p. 161.
- ³⁶ Stillman, *East-West Relations*, p. 287.
- ³⁷ Stillman, *East-West Relations*, p. 289.
- ³⁸ Goitein, *The Yemenites*, p. 35. Goitein and Sanders, *A Mediterranean Society*, Vol. I, p. 180.
- ³⁹ Goitein, *The Yemenites*, p. 34.
- ⁴⁰ See Morcechai Abir, "International Commerce and Yemenite Jewry," in *Pe'amim*, No. 5 (1980), pp. 4-26. Hebrew.
- ⁴¹ Goitein, *The India Traders*, pp. 214-5.
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- ⁴⁶ K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 60.
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- ⁵¹ Goitein, *The Yemenites*, p. 35.

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⁵³ Personal communication, Chennai, 26 December 1999.

⁵⁴ Basu and Fluegel, communications with workshop participants.

THE CAMP FOR POLISH REFUGEE CHILDREN AT BALACHADI, NAWANAGAR [INDIA]

Kenneth X. Robbins

The Journal of Indo-Judaic Studies recently published a letter by Maharaja Shatrushalyasinhji entitled "Holocaust Refugees and the Maharaja of Jamnagar."¹ The Maharaja in question was his father, Digvijaysinhji. This letter was written because of an inquiry by me and therefore I feel responsible for making sure that the correct facts are entered into the historical record.

This story was of great interest to me because my primary area of research is the maharajas and other Indian princes. I have been gathering information also on the Jews of India with special focus on Jews in Cochin, Janjira, Gujarat, Maharashtra, and elsewhere in "Princely" India.

The rulers of Nawanagar [also known after its capital as Jamnagar] were styled maharajas or jamsahebs. The princely family was known internationally for its cricketers including Maharaja Ranjitsinhji, who was a superstar in nineteenth century England. Four generations of the Jamnagar royal family have played test cricket: Ranji and Duleep for England and Indrajit and Ajay Jadeja for India.

Maharaja Digvijaysinhji became Jamsaheb of Nawanagar in 1933. He promoted the study of Ayurvedic medicine because "medicine is the largest factor that ensures the proper safeguarding of social well-being...the new revival in her art and letters, and her aspiration for political independence, did naturally awaken her interest in the past of her medical history and achievement and led to the joy of a glorious discovery."²

This Jamsaheb was an effective Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes from 1937 to 1942, a member of the Imperial War Cabinet, and President of Rajkumar College [Rajkot] from 1939 to 1966. When India became independent, his state was integrated along with many other princely states into a newly formed entity called Saurashtra. He became its first ceremonial governor (*Rajpramukh*) and presided over the laying of the foundation for the new Somnatha Temple, which many Hindus identified with the eternal national identity of India.³ He later represented India at the United Nations.

I had previously located passing references to Jews or possible Jews in Nawanagar. 1) According to Roland Wild, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, "always held that the Rabaris, who live a nomad existence in the Barda Hills, were descendents of one of the lost tribes of Israel, and the cast of their features, the curious details of their religious ceremonies, their facial decorations, their nomad habits, and their scriptural names, certainly lend support to this belief." I am unaware of any other such fanciful claim about the Rabaris though many other persons have claimed that various groups on the subcontinent were descended from the "Ten Lost Tribes."⁴ 2) F.C. Nissen was manager and engineer-in-chief of the Jamnagar & Dwarka Railway.⁵ Many Bene Israel worked on the railroads and Nissim may be a Jewish name. 3) Rufus Isaacs,

the Jewish Viceroy Lord Reading, visited Nawanagar several times.⁶ 4) A statue of Edwin Montagu, a Jew who was Secretary of State for India, was unveiled at Jamanagar by Lord Reading in 1925.⁷ When I asked Anirudhsinhji, a member of the Nawanagar nobility, to take me to see it, he said it had been taken down because he was a "bloody Englishman." 5) A German physician, Karl Eisenstaedt, was a tuberculosis specialist at the Irwin Hospital. I was unable to verify whether he was Jewish, but a large percentage of Jewish refugees in India were doctors. Jewish refugee doctors did work in other cities like Bikaner and Jaipur.

With only these meager results in mind, I was surprised to learn there were many refugees in Nawanagar. The source was reliable: Navtej Sarna, the press counselor at the Indian Embassy in Washington, had met in Warsaw with members of the "Children of Jammagar" group, which was affiliated with a Polish-Indian friendship society. They told him that they had been refugees in Nawanagar.

Though most Poles are Catholic, I just assumed that the refugees were Jewish. My inquiries at both Yad Vashem and the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C. revealed no knowledge of any such Jewish refugees.

I asked Sam Daniel, a leader of the Indian Jewish community in New York City, to investigate. He passed the request on to J.M. Benjamin of New Delhi. Mr. Benjamin contacted Maharaja Shatrushalyasinhji, the son of the ruler of Jammagar during World War II. The Maharaja sent the aforementioned letter in reply. Mr. Benjamin wrote to Sam Daniel: "You may request your friend who is doing research on this subject to give as much publicity as possible in the American media."

Before I did that, I wanted to verify the specific facts involved. In England, I finally found and interviewed eight members of the Association of Poles in India 1942-1948.⁸ They were very forthcoming and shared a great deal of information, which is to be published in a book co-edited by T. Glazer and Jan Siedlecki.⁹ The group supplied me with English translations of the writings of Wieslaw Stypula, who had been one of the children at Balachadi.

By combing the India Office Records in the British Library, I located many original documents. I took photocopies of these documents to be housed permanently at the Sainik School, which was built later on the site where the Polish camp had been.

One must not be in any way critical of the account by the son of Maharaja Digvijaysinhji. He was just a boy at the time and there had been little or no interest in these events until about 40 years later, when the Poles surprised the locals by erecting a memorial in honor of his father's actions. The book entitled *Poles in India 1942-48 in the Light of Documents and Personal Reminiscences* is to be first published in Polish because these events were not discussed during the communist days in Poland. Therefore, neither Poles nor Indians had any familiarity with the facts.

Many of the other accounts, even those contemporaneous with events, contradict each other. Fanciful numbers and unreliable or misleading statements are the norm in this discourse. For example at a January 9, 1998, Rashtrapati Bhavan banquet in honor of the President Aleksandar Kwasniewski of Poland, the President K.R. Narayan of India spoke of more than 1,000 Polish refugee children in Nawanagar.

He failed to even mention that the largest Polish camp containing several thousand refugees was elsewhere in India.

The following statements in the article published in the *Journal of Indo-Judaic Studies* do not stand up to historical scrutiny:

[1] The many accounts of the number of children all contradict each other. The number clearly never reached 1,200 but was more like half of that.

[2] There was no ship that sailed around the African continent. In fact, the children came overland though a few may have traveled by ship from Karachi to Nawanagar.

[3] The Maharaja did not have to fight against British unwillingness to let the Poles enter India. Though the British did not let a boat filled with Jewish refugees land in Bombay in 1939, the British did not refuse landing permission to these Polish refugees.

[4] In fact, the British initiated the plans to bring the Poles to India and asked several Indian princes to provide land for their camps.

[5] Maharaja Digvijaysinhji did not bring the Poles to his states as "personal guests" rather than refugees. The British and the Polish Government in Exile knew them as refugees.

[6] Though the Maharaja provided a wonderful piece of land and was a gracious and giving host who treated them as beloved guests, the refugees were not financially supported mainly by the Maharaja.

[7] Only a few of the children were Jewish. Maharaja Shatrushalyasinhji correctly refers to the refugee children as Poles not as Polish Jews. A review of the circumstances will show why there were few Jews at Balachadi, whereas there were many Jewish refugees elsewhere in India.

[8] The letter gives the impression that the only Polish refugees in India were in Nawanagar state. In fact, the largest numbers were in Valivade in another princely state, Kohlapur. Most Polish Jews went to Bombay.

All this in no way takes away from the Maharaja Digvijaysinhji's great services to these unfortunate children. He was a great man for many reasons. However, research reveals a different picture of what did happen. Further research will certainly reveal many more facts and will correct some of these mistakes.

Many Poles were deported to the then U.S.S.R. after the Russian invasion and occupation of the eastern part of Poland in 1939. Anthony Eden described the situation in the following words: "The Poles are pressing us hard again over their civilians in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, whom they represent as living in harrowing conditions, diseased and threatened by death from starvation. Our own

reports on the conditions of those Poles who have reached Persia recently confirm much of what the Poles tell us...The Poles argue that between the German extermination policy and the fate of their people in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the basis of their national life is being destroyed."¹⁰

The fate of the children was of particular concern because, as A.W.G Randall of the British Foreign Office put it, they "are excellent material, and will be very valuable for the future Poland."¹¹ Many were orphans or had only one parent from whom they had become separated.

Later on, when Germany attacked Russia a treaty was made between the Polish Government in London and the Soviet Union. Soon after an army was being created in Russia out of the Polish Prisoners of War. Some of their families were then allowed to accompany them out of Russia and it was within this framework that the Polish children, orphans or half orphans, came to Jamnagar.¹²

Places of accommodation for displaced Poles were developed across the globe largely with British help. A 1995 book *Tulacze Dzieci-Exiled Children*¹³ gives extensive photo-documentation of refugees, Polish orphans and other children in India, Iran, Lebanon, Palestine, Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, North and South Rhodesia, New Zealand, and Mexico. The Foreign Office saw India as "the most promising solution...either as a destination or a transit territory, or both."¹⁴

The British chose not to house these refugees in British India but in the Indian Princely States, which were in subordinate alliance with them. The Secretary of State for India gave the reason that there was "congestion in the hill stations and lack of housing."¹⁵

A.W.G. Randall of the Foreign Office suggested an appeal to princely states like Mysore, Hyderabad, and Patiala.¹⁶ Eventually an orphanage was set up at Balachadi within Nawanager State and a larger refugee camp housing about 5000 persons, mainly women and children, was established at Valivade in Kohlapur State.

POLISH REFUGEE CAMPS AND SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA¹⁷

Bombay: Polish consulate and Representatives of Polish Government in London	1933 to October 12, 1946
Bombay: Jewish refugees	Starting in 1930's
Bandra, Bombay: Temporary accommodation for children on way to Balachadi	April 12 to August 16, 1942
Panchgani: Health and recuperation center	April 1942 to November 1946
Balachadi, Nawanagar, Western India [now Gujarat]: Orphanage	August 16, 1942 to November 1, 1946
Karachi: Transit camp in country club	November 4, 1942 to October 2, 1945
Malir near Karachi: Temporary camp	March 2, 1943 to August 18, 1943
Valivade, Kohlapur, Deccan [now Maharashtra]	July 23, 1943 to February 22, 1948

From the start, the agreement was that the Polish Government in Exile would reimburse all of the expenses of the "upkeep and maintenance of Polish refugees."¹⁸ The British Treasury suggested the following plan: "Polish Government are [sic] financed in respect of their sterling area expenditure out of the Credit made available by H.M.G. The Government of India should render accounts at regular intervals, say once every two months, to the Polish Consul General, Bombay. The latter could telegraph details to his Government in London, who would then ask H.M.G. Treasury for authority to pay out of the Credit granted by H.M.G."¹⁹

The Government, while retaining financial control, left "internal administration in the hands of a delegate of the Polish Ministry of Social Welfare subject to authoritative advice from the Government of India." Those involved also sought charitable contributions to defray costs. I was unable to obtain figures indicating the actual costs and what percentage was paid by the Polish Government in Exile and what percentage came from the largesse of the hundreds of Indian princes [maharajas, rajas, nawabs, and the nizam] and other sources.

The Polish Government in Exile in London paid for the construction of the Balachadi camp. The Polish Children Fund, subscribed to by some maharajas, business enterprises and wealthy individuals maintained the camps. The secretary was Captain A.W.T. Webb, Principal Refugee Officer in the Government of India.

The children's education was also paid for from the same Fund, supplemented by the Ministry of Education of the then Polish Government in London.²⁰

The Government of India estimated the costs as follows on July 2, 1942:

So far as we can estimate the cost of maintenance of 500 Polish children over a period of two years will be [a] non-recurring Rs. 200,000. On construction of camp [b] non-recurring initial transport of equipment and children and urgent medical attention Rs. 50,000; and [c] recurring Rs. 500,000 at average Rs. 42 per mensem per children. Thus on assumption that the camp will be occupied for two years inclusive average cost per head about Rs. 60 monthly. Receipts to date Rs. 53,700 including grant Rs. 50,000 for H.E. the Viceroy's War Purposes [?Fund].²¹

The figures given a few months later were: "Capital outlay at roughly 2.5 lakhs per 1,000 children and maintenance Rs. 40 per mensem per child. With rising costs however, these figures may have to be slightly enhanced."²²

Webb wrote "one body of Poles reached Askabad [sic] in Uzbekistan [sic], on the borders of Iraq. Then typhus broke out, killing most of the adults. The Polish orphans India received were mostly from that area and came into India via Meshed and Narkundi in Baluchistan."²³ A second group also traveled overland.²⁴

No trip was made by ship around Africa. The only ship involved with the first group of child refugees was the Polish ship "Kosciuszko" whose crew visited the children in Bandra and gave them a banner that later flew as a "symbol of Poland" from the mast in the camp in Nawanagar.²⁵ Stypula writes of a third transport, not mentioned by other authors, which he says, traveled from Meshed overland via Zahidan and Hyderabad to Karachi, where the refugees boarded a ship for Jamnagar.²⁶ If this were true, the ship would have docked, not in Jamnagar city, but probably at the port at Bedi.

The Jamsaheb of Nawanagar and the Maharaja of Patiala had been "approached informally" by the British Government and "expressed willingness to permit camp sites for 2,000 and 5,000 children respectively in their states."²⁷

The Indian Office Library's records on this matter include some confusing and contradictory statements: "His Highness was originally approached by the Government of India as to whether he would be willing to receive in Nawanagar State some 2,000 Greek children evacuees. To this request His Highness assented. Some time later a further communication was received saying for Greek children read Polish children and for 2,000 read 500. These Polish children were being evacuated from Russia through Persia, Baluchistan, and so into India."²⁸

Later correspondence spoke of 3,000 not 5,000 in Patiala and suggested that the Nawanagar camp be filled first.²⁹ In any case, the British had difficulty obtaining any further response from Patiala.³⁰ No refugees were ever sent to Patiala.

Maharaja Digvijaysinhji, the Jamsaheb of Nawanagar, was a man of his word according to Major Geoffrey Clarke, an officer of Nawanagar State. The Foreign Office informed the Poles "the Nawanagar State authorities have done an excellent

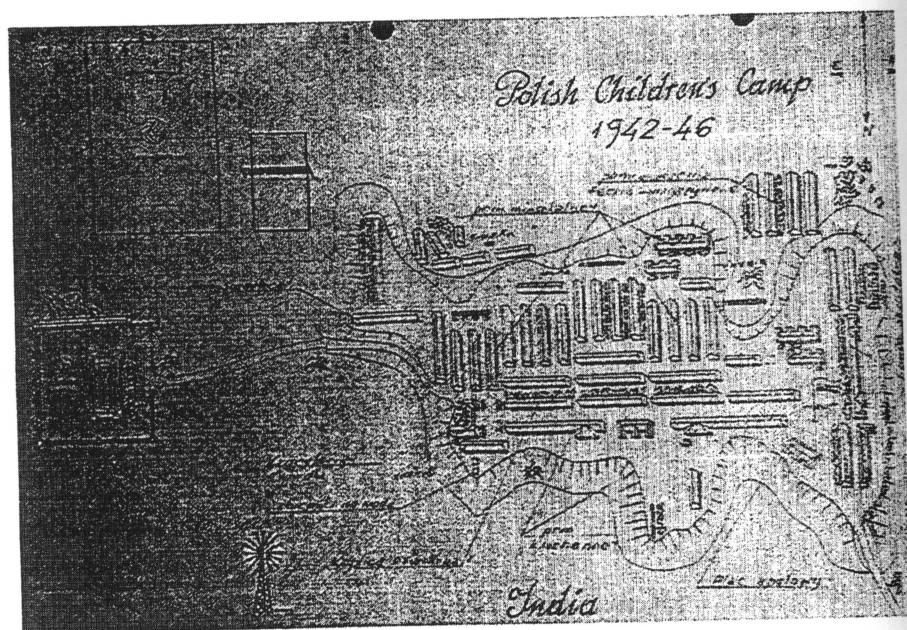
piece of work."³¹ According to Webb, the cost was "about six lakhs. Accommodation for 800 orphans and Staff."³²

The authorities informed the Jamsaheb that the first group would be arriving in six weeks: "The State Authorities immediately took the matter in hand and within six weeks from the receipt of the intimation of the children's arrival, a camp consisting of Pukka Masonry buildings, complete with furniture, was in being and ready for their reception though the site was at Balachadi, seventeen miles from Jammagar and an equal distance from the nearest railway station."³³

The state authorities built a road about one mile long, installed telephone equipment and machinery to insure water supply, and supervised the contracts between local merchants and camp authorities.

The Balachadi camp was built on summer palace grounds lent by the Jamsaheb. The Jamsaheb "placed at their disposal his gardens, tennis courts, and swimming pool."³⁴ His guesthouse was used as a school. No records documenting the money paid out of his funds have been published to my knowledge; I would guess that the sums involved were quite substantial.

The Camp for Polish Children at Balachadi



T. Herzog did these sketches, supplied by Jan Siedlecki, when the camp was still open. Many changes have been made on this site since the Poles left.

Maharaja Digvijaysinhji himself welcomed the children. The photographs in the book *Tulacze Dzieci-Exiled Children* show the ease and affection that existed between him and the Polish children.³⁵ He even attended a Polish language performance of *Cinderella*.

The main road through the camp was named Digvijaysinhji Avenue and it was expected that "in the New Warsaw to be rebuilt after the war, one of the principal streets will be re-named with His Highness's name."³⁶ Jan Siedlecki says that a private school in Poland recently has been named Jamsaheb School after him.³⁷

Due to railroad congestion, each transport group of children could not exceed 500.³⁸ Details given in an anonymous report in an India Office file are as follows: The first group led by Madame Banasinska, wife of the Polish Consul-General in India, consisted of 260 children. The second group, which was delayed by heavy rains in Quetta, increased the number of children to "some 750" with the expectation at that time that a total of "up to 2,000" were expected.³⁹ However, the many subsequent accounts of the actual numbers of children who reached the camp conflict greatly.

Routes Taken from the USSR to India



W. Stypula is writing the chapter on Jamnagar for the book co-edited by Glazer and Siedlecki for the Association of Poles in India 1942-1948. He says that the first group of 92 children with five guardians was evacuated to Meshad on March 12, 1942, and left Bandra for Balachadi on July 16, 1942. After quarantine and medical examination in Meshad, they were taken by road to Quetta and by train through Delhi to Bandra.

He says the second group was made up of 237 children and nineteen guardians. Monsoon rains delayed their progress three weeks until a ferry could safely take them across the Indus River to Hyderabad in Sind province. They arrived at Balachadi on September 27, 1942.

Stypula also noted a third transport of 250 children, which traveled from Meshed overland via Zahidan and Hyderabad to Karachi where they boarded a ship for Jamnagar.⁴⁰ Many other authors overlooked this group.

Martin Moore, a special correspondent for the *Daily Telegraph*, gave a third set of numbers claiming that the first group at Balachadi was made up of 800 children and the second one was only 280.⁴¹ In January 1943, a New Delhi newspaper gave the total number as 600.⁴² The British Foreign Office gave the number as "700 or so" in October of that year. Jan Siedlecki gives the number as 658.

No information indicates that there was ever anything like 1,200 children in Balachadi. Possibly Maharaja Shatrushalyasinji heard the story of "1227 survivors from Poland, including orphaned children" who "arrived in transit to Palestine."⁴³ Though Jewish relief officials sent a Polish Jew, Dr. H. Cynowicz, it is unclear from the reference in the book by Joan G. Roland whether they were all Jews, whether they were on a ship, and whether all of them wound up leaving India. Non-Jewish Polish refugees were also sent to Palestine and elsewhere in the Middle East.

Stypula also describes a group of girls from orphanages in Iran who journeyed through Tehran, Isfahan, Jocabu, Hyderabad, Ahmedabad, and Baroda where they went at the invitation of the Gaekwar of Baroda. Neither Stypula nor I found any further mention of this group and he feels they were possibly incorporated into the Balachadi group.⁴⁴

Even the lower numbers related above couldn't all be correct as they contradict each other. Raj Patel, an 'old boy' of the Sainik School knows the site well and believes, "It is not possible to house 1200 children on that plateau where their camp was. At any point in time, there were a maximum of 200 to 250 children which has been confirmed by a number of people I met."⁴⁵ It is unclear whether this means he believes that the estimates ranging from 600 to 700 are inaccurate or that they reflect the total number rather than the number at any given time.

After reviewing all the evidence, Roman Gutowski has come up with yet another set of numbers. Gutowski spent time in Balachadi and was sent back to Warsaw after the War. He is presently the Secretary of the Association of Poles in India 1942-1948. His findings are accepted as authoritative by Siedlecki, who is himself a most careful and thoughtful researcher, and therefore should represent the best summary to date. These figures add up to 636 children and 22 guardians:

The first transport in March 1942 consisted of 92 children under care of five adults. They traveled from Ashkhabad (in Russia) to Meshad (in Persia), where a week later they

were joined by additional 74 children. All these children traveled in army lorries through Zahedan to Quetta (now in Pakistan) in India, then via Lahore and Delhi to Bandra, on the outskirts of Bombay. Here they were accommodated in bungalows from the beginning of April and then in mid-August transferred to Balachadi.

A second transport of 220 children with their seventeen guardians traveled again from Ashkhabad to Meshad in mid-July 1942, and after a stopover in Quetta arrived in Balachadi by the end of September 1942.

The third transport of some 250 children traveled from Meshad via Zahedan and Hyderabad (now in Pakistan) to Karachi, from where they went by boat to Jammagar, arriving in Balachadi at the beginning of December 1942.⁴⁶

The first principal of a school at Balachadi was Maria Skorzyzna who established a primary school with 15 classes. Older children were sent to Valivade, Panchgani, Mount Abu, and even a convent in Karachi for high school.⁴⁷ According to another source, Professor Hadala of the Polish Ministry of Education headed a staff, which consisted of 23 Polish and two English teachers in 1943.⁴⁸ The English teachers were Brother Stanislaw and a Czech Brother Oskar who had been missionaries in Burma. The school emphasized Polish culture and language. A photograph of a girl taken by the Nawanagar court photographer shows her in Polish national costume.⁴⁹

Originally, I had just assumed that this was a camp for Jewish children. However, the camp commandant was Fr. Franciszek Pluta, who was a Catholic chaplain in the Polish Army. Mary "Bunty" Allen, whose father headed the Jamsaheb's motor pool, remembers children in Polish dress singing Christmas carols and Polish songs as well as acting in nativity plays. When I learned these things, I wondered if there had been any Jews in Balachadi.

Two items in the files of the India Office Library suggested the possible presence of Jewish children among the Polish refugees. In August 1942, the Polish Government reported that 21 Jews with Palestine visas and another 21 evacuated from Burma were being included by [the Government of India] in the quota allotted for Polish children from Soviet Russia. They earnestly requested reconsideration so as to allow the 42 Jews to stay on in India without prejudice to the children's quota" especially those without onward visas.⁵⁰ The Government of India replied that the, "21 Poles from Burma may remain in India if included in above quotas; otherwise they may proceed to Palestine for which visas are available. Other Poles arrived in India in transit with Palestine visas...Expulsion orders were accordingly issued on their indicating refusal to depart and the Polish Consulate-General's failure to agree to inclusion in sponsored quota...We would emphasize that there has been no discrimination against Poles in transit."⁵¹ A 1942 letter from Anthony Eden stated, "a great proportion of the Polish children are Catholics."⁵² This suggested that some non-Catholic children were known to be among the refugees.

Stypula wrote that the "majority of the children [in Balachadi] were Polish citizens but there were also Ukrainians, Byelorussians and a few Jews. The Jewish

children did not stay long as they either joined their families or were taken over by Jewish orphanages."⁵³ Mrs. Daniela Szydlo, who was in the Balachadi camp, gave me the names of five Jewish children who were there: Eliza and Maria Spalter, Roza Hoch, Zygmunt Mandel, and Cyla Rozengarten. Further discussion by London members of the Association of Poles in India led to two other names: Naomi Brammer and Ida Wanderszperk.

This list is composed mostly of girls. Yet Gutowski says: "With regard to the Jewish children amongst us, as far as we can now remember, when we arrived in Bombay, the girls were collected by the local rabbi, whilst a few boys remained with us and went to Balachadi." An Indian e-mail correspondent told the author there was another Jewish boy who went to Australia and was a ham radio operator, but he did not give the boy's name.⁵⁴ Perhaps other Jewish children can be found on the lists of Polish refugees to be found in the India Office Library files and at the Polish Institute and General Sikorski Museum in London.⁵⁵

Gutowski offers this explanation of why so few Jews were among the refugees in Balachadi and Valivade:

It must be emphasized that the Soviet authorities insisted that only ethnic Poles were allowed to leave, placing obstacles against 'minorities' such as Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Jews (all of whom were originally deported from Poland). Nevertheless the Polish organizers of the overland transport managed to 'smuggle out' some Jewish children amongst the Polish ones.

With regard to the Jewish children amongst us, as far as we can now remember, when we arrived in Bombay, the local rabbi collected the girls, whilst a few boys remained with us and went to Balachadi. When the second transport reached Meshad in July 1942, a representative of the Palestine Jewish agency in Tehran came to meet Dr. T. Lisiecki, who was in charge, with the result that a Jewish group was detached from us and in August they went in two army lorries to Tehran, where the Jewish committee took them. Their representative in Meshad was Mr. Jos[h]ua Pollak.⁵⁶

Most of the Polish and other European Jews seeking refuge in India had not been deportees in the Soviet Union. They mainly settled in Bombay and did not join the Polish Refugee Camps. Some Jewish doctors were also seconded from the Polish Army to work in the Polish Refugee Camps in India.⁵⁷

However, identifying Polish Jews from documents is often difficult. [See Appendix B] For example, so far I have been unable to ascertain whether Julius Stefan Norblin, whose paintings grace the Umaid Bhawan Palace in Jodhpur and the Palace in Morvi, was or was not Jewish.

When the children came to Balachadi, their medical and dental condition was generally poor. The State Medical Department provided two local physicians, Dr. Kirit Ashnai and Dr. Anant Joshi, who were retained even after a Polish doctor arrived.

Mrs. Geoffrey Clarke, the wife of the Jamsaheb's personal aide, was appointed to be liaison officer between camp authorities and both the Nawanager and the government of India. She was a trained nurse and midwife.

A self-contained unit in Irwin Hospital in Jamnagar was planned. The Balachadi Camp dispensary contained more than 30 beds. The improvement in the medical condition of the first group was said to have been "most marked" within a few weeks.⁵⁸

However, Stanczyk, representing the Polish Minister of Social Welfare, found unhealthy conditions during a 1943 inspection. Randall of the Foreign Office wrote: "We pointed out that the Poles had originally been enthusiastic about Nawanager, to which he replied that they were at first but that eventually the children's health suffered."⁵⁹ The Poles felt that an "epidemic of malaria was a constant threat."⁶⁰

Malaria was not mentioned in the 1943-44 Nawanager annual administration report but statewide there were 230 cases of smallpox with 75 deaths and "the death rate per mille of population was 15.6 as against 14.8 of the last year" in Nawanager. The Tuberculosis Department treated 1158 cases and 69 persons were given serum to prevent rabies.⁶¹

Another children's refugee camp within Nawanager State was planned in Chela. A.W.T Webb wrote, "an existing RAF camp was taken over for 1,000 Polish orphans at a cost of six lakhs. It was never used due to Polish muddle and intrigue and finally returned to RAF."⁶² More probably, this plan was not carried out because of Polish perception that the climate in Kohlapur was more salubrious and healthful.

In 1943, the Polish Government unsuccessfully requested that all the children at Balachadi be transferred to Kohlapur. In 1944, Mr. Haluch, a visiting Polish government representative, found the Balachadi camp "not quite satisfactory" whereas Polish officials considered other Indian facilities "entirely satisfactory."⁶³ According to Stypula, "the number was falling each year until only 300 were left."⁶⁴ The Balachadi camp was closed in November 1946 and the children were transferred to Valivade in Kohlapur state. They were maintained by UNRRA (later IRO) and the British Government.

In 1947, as India moved towards freedom, the Maharaja of Kohlapur asked that the refugees leave his territory, since his state was unable to support them.⁶⁵ All the Poles were gone by 1948.

Many of the children from the orphanage were returned to Poland. Most adult Poles did not return to Poland but settled elsewhere across the world.⁶⁶

The reasons why return to Poland was an anathema to the adult Poles was lost on some British authorities. Webb was quite hostile in his remarks:

"Due to their past experiences at Russian hands and the belief [fostered by educated people among them chiefly for their own selfish ends] that Poland is now completely dominated by Russia, they have, with the exception of about 300 persons, refused absolutely to return to Poland. This attitude has certainly been strengthened by a promise made by Mr. Churchill [and, later confirmed by Mr. Bevin] that no Pole would be forced back to Poland against his or her will...For it seems that the previous

reactionary propaganda can only be cured by Communist inoculation...I suggested to Mr. Findley of UNRRA that an able pro-Polish Government propagandist should be sent to this country."⁶⁷

In 1947, a local Indian newspaper described the refugee's plight much more sympathetically:

The Government which sits in Warsaw is not the Government of the people of Poland...A rule of political terror, through the secret police, has been imposed on Poland...Russia is now trying to make Poland her political and economic satellite...Attempts are being made to prejudice the case of these Poles by declaring that they are not prepared to go back because they are afraid of misery and hard work...They still run the risk of deportations and even deaths. Besides, their return to Poland is likely to be interpreted as tacit acceptance of the present [communist] Warsaw Government to which they are opposed.⁶⁸

The question of the legal guardianship of the Polish orphans became a contentious matter after the end of World War II.⁶⁹ In the United States, the case of Elian Gonzalez raised questions about sending a single child back to a Communist country, even to be reunited with his father. Imagine the feelings among these patriotic Poles when so many orphaned Polish children could be sent back to a Communist country though they themselves had suffered terribly in the U.S.S.R.

A Nawanagar court gave guardianship of some of the children to Father Pluta. Retrospective permission had to be sought for the removal of the orphans from Balachadi to Valivade when the Balachadi camp was closed. According to H.H. Eggers, "in the opinion of an eminent Bombay lawyer, the formal documents are water-tight from a 'legal point of view'."⁷⁰

Father Pluta tried to take them to the United States where he lived between the World Wars. The British asked Australia to accept 400 children.

The Communist government of post-war Poland claimed that in international law and custom children who are displaced persons are always considered wards of the government of the country of origin.⁷¹ Many of the orphans were eventually returned to Poland.

Some of these "orphans" were reunited there with parents from whom they had become separated during the chaotic conditions of wartime. One thirteen-year-old boy was shown a letter ostensibly typed by his father to the Polish Government. He angrily said:

Why should my father write a typewritten letter to a stranger like you? Why would he not write to me? I am very anxious to meet my father but not in Poland today. How can I forget the death of my mother on the streets of the concentration camp in Russia where she was lying without food? If you try to take me away, I shall jump out of the train or the boat.⁷²

Many Poles had to migrate to other countries to avoid returning to Poland, the country for which they pined. As Teresa Glazer put it, they were "reluctant immigrants." Their opposition to the Communists created an awkward problem for the British.

There was a marked change in the attitude of the British people from the wartime years, when the Polish soldiers stationed in Scotland, or the Polish pilots who joined the R.A.F., had been welcome. At the end of the war, when the Russians were the favorites, we became rather embarrassing allies.⁷³

The Poles fondly remember their stay in India. As Maharaja Shatrushalyasinhji wrote, the Jamsaheb did treat them as "royal guests" and "not as refugees." On February 28, 1985, some of the Children of Jamnagar came back and entered their names in the visitors' book of the Sainik School, which was started many years later on the site where the Polish camp once stood.

School officials had known nothing of their Polish predecessors. An Englishman who taught there was once puzzled when some one said that he was the first Pole the local man had seen in 20 years.

On April 16, 1989, Dr. Tadeusz Szelachowski, a high Polish government official, unveiled a large bronze memorial plaque commemorating the generous spirit of the Jamsaheb.⁷⁴ The figures on this monument show a woman in a sari holding a small child while another child clings to her. Raj Patel, one of the 'Old Boys' of the Sainik School, produced a first draft of an English translation of the Hindi text as follows:

Salutations to the land of Jamnagar, which, during the hard days of Second World War gave shelter to thousands of Polish children and welcomed them as guests. Grateful are the Polish people and those Polish children who stayed here during the years of 1942 to 1946. Hail, O far away land, thou art gratifying and of compassion.⁷⁵

It was my pleasure to introduce Raj Patel to eight members of the Association of Poles in India 1942-1948 at a memorable meeting in a Polish restaurant in London. Raj has befriended Jan Siedlecki and together in May 2000, they journeyed to a Warsaw reunion of the Polish refugees. Raj Patel has worked with Commander Dinesh Lambda, head of the Sainik School, to create a permanent memorial to the Poles at the school. He was also a conduit for information from Jan Siedlecki to me.⁷⁶

The Poles who were at Valivade in Kohlapur state were also grateful to 'their' Maharaja. The Bulletin of the Association of Poles in India 1942-1948 proclaims: "For five years, Valivade was our 'home [away] from home,' a sunny peaceful refuge after the harrowing deprivations of years spent in forced exile in Russia."⁷⁷ In 1998, they erected a monument in Kohlapur inscribed "Dispersed throughout the world we remember India with heartfelt gratitude."

APPENDIX A: SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

I did not go to Warsaw to check the Archiwum Akt Nowych, Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego, or the Archiwum Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych. Tadeusz Krowczak, Director of the Archiwum Akt Nowych, suggested such files as "Ambasada RP w Londynie, Ministerstwo Pracy i Opieki Społecznej Rządu RP na Uchodźstwie or Generakny Pełnomocnik Rządu RP do Spraw Repatriacji w Warszawie."⁷⁸

I did not visit the archives of the Instytut Polski i Muzeum im. gen. Sikorskiego [Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum] in London, the Hoover Institution Archives at Stanford University, or the old Nawanagar State Archives in Jamnagar. The records of the Jewish Relief Association in Bombay have not been traced.⁷⁹ I was unable to obtain two papers by the anthropologist Henry Field in the Otto G. Richter Library of the University of Miami.⁸⁰

APPENDIX B: LIST OF REFUGEES WHO MAY BE JEWISH

Compiled by Mrs. W. Kleszko

Just for this paper, Mrs. W. Kleszko very kindly reviewed the names of Polish refugees on the list in the possession of the Association of Poles in India. This list did not identify persons by religion. Mrs. Kleszko listed those persons with obviously Jewish surnames. Additional indicators for inclusion on this list were those persons who had Jewish-sounding first names or parents with such names. See end of article for list.

NOTES

¹ His Highness Shatrushalyasinji, "Holocaust Refugees and the Maharaja of Jamnagar," in *Journal of Indo-Judaic Studies*, Vol. 3 (April 2000), pp.137-9.

² *Charaka Samhita*, English and Gujarati translations (Jamnagar: Gulabkunverba Ayurvedic Society, 1949), Vol. 1, p. 3.

³ Richard H. Davis, *Lives of Indian Images* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1999), pp. 186-221.

⁴ Roland Wild, *The Biography of Colonel His Highness Shri Sir Ranjitsinhji Vibhaji, Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar G.C.S.I., G.B.E., K.C.I.E.* (London: Rich and Cowan, 1934), p. 205. For a photograph of a Rabari, see opposite p. 128.

⁵ Maneklal H. Shah, *Jam the Great: Sketches of the Life and Administration of the Late Jam Saheb of Nawanagar* (Nadiad: Gujarat-Times Office, 1934).

⁶ Shah, *Jam the Great*, photograph opposite p. 115.

⁷ Shah, *Jam the Great*, photograph after p. 106.

⁸ The organization's addresses are Kolo Polakow z Indii; Chairman, Z. Bartosz; ul. Grawerska 3/9 04-474 Warszawa, Poland and Mrs. W. Kleszko, Flat 18, Cleverly Estate; Wormholt Rd. London W12 OLX, UK. After a long unfruitful search for the group, the "Children of Jamnagar," Andrzej Przewoznik of Rada Ochrony Pamięci Walk I Męczeństwa in Warsaw provided me with this information. The "Children of Jamnagar," an informal group, became part of this larger group.

⁹ Wieslaw Stypula, chapter on the children of Jamnagar in *Poles in India, 1942-48, in the Light of Documents and Personal Reminiscences*, T. Glazer and J. Siedlecki, eds. (To be published in Polish) Jan Siedlecki has answered my many, many questions and provided copious documentation as well as thoroughly proofreading and critiquing my draft. Mrs. W. Kleczko arranged the London meeting and worked hard to try to identify Polish Jews. [See Appendix B.]

¹⁰ Anthony Eden, to L.S. Amery, 6 June 1942 [POL 4248 1942], India Office letter file. For a personal account of the horrible conditions in places like the "punishment camp called 'Dry-Without-Water' near Gorky, and Transit Prison No. 6 in Kazakhstan," read the letters of Janina Sulkowska on the Internet at <http://www.geocities.com/chrisgladum/janka1.html>.

¹¹ A.W.G. Randall, Foreign Office, to J.P. Gibson, India Office, 20 August 1942 [POL 6251 1942], India Office letter file.

¹² Roman Gutowski, to Brij Mohan Sinha, 24 July 2000.

¹³ Wieslaw Stypula, *Tulacze Dzieci-Exiled Children* (Warsaw: Fundacja Archiwum Fotograficzne Tulaczy, 1995).

¹⁴ A.W.G. Randall, Foreign Office, to J.P. Gibson, India Office, 20 August 1942 [POL 6251 1942], India Office letter file.

¹⁵ Secretary of State for India, to the Viceroy, draft telegram undated, India Office letter file.

¹⁶ A.W.G. Randall, Foreign Office, to J.P. Gibson, India Office, 17 November 1942 [POL 9478 1942], India Office letter file.

¹⁷ Jan K. Siedlecki, to author, 18 July 2000.

¹⁸ Government of India, Home Department, to Secretary of State for India, 6 August 1943 [POL 5646 1942], India Office letter file.

¹⁹ Treasury Chamber, London, to R.N. Gilchrist, India Office, 28 September 1942 [POL 8404 1942], India Office letter file. The signature on the letter is difficult to decipher.

²⁰ Roman Gutowski, to Brij Mohan Sinha, 24 July 2000.

²¹ Government of India, Home Department, to Secretary of State for India, cypher telegram, 2 July 1942 [POL 4814 1942], India Office letter file.

²² Government of India, Home Department, to Secretary of State for India, cypher telegram, 16 October 1942, India Office letter file.

²³ A.W.T. Webb, memorandum concerning European refugees in India, p. 9, undated India Office letter file. On p. 10, Webb describes the adult Polish refugees in very negative terms.

²⁴ Stypula, *The History of the Balachadi Camp*, typescript, pp. 1-2.

²⁵ Wieslaw Stypula, "W goscinie u maharadzy Navangaru" in *Tulacze Dzieci-Exiled Children* (Warsaw: Fundacja Archiwum Fotograficzne Tulaczy, 1995).

²⁶ Stypula, *The History of the Balachadi Camp*, p. 2.

²⁷ Government of India, Home Department, to Secretary of State for India, 6 August 1943 [POL 5646 1942], India Office letter file.

- ²⁸ "Note on Polish evacuee children received by H.H. the Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar in the Nawanagar State," India Office letter file, no identifying number, p. 1. This document was written while the children were still at the camp.
- ²⁹ A.W.G. Randell, Foreign Office, to Josef Rucinski, Polish Embassy, 20 October 1942 [POL 8924 1942], India Office letter file.
- ³⁰ Government of India, Home Department, to Secretary of State for India, cypher telegram, 15 September 1942 [POL 8046 1942], India Office letter file.
- ³¹ A.W.G. Randall, Foreign Office, to J.P. Gibson, India Office, 5 November 1942 [POL 9244 1942], India Office letter file.
- ³² Webb, *Memorandum*, p. 12.
- ³³ "Note on Polish evacuee children," p. 1.
- ³⁴ "Note on Polish evacuee children," pp. 2-3.
- ³⁵ Stypula, *Tulacze Dzieci*, pp. 92-9.
- ³⁶ "Note on Polish evacuee children," p. 4.
- ³⁷ 1 Spoleczne Liceum Ogolnoksztalcace ul. Bednarska 2/3, 00-31 Warszawa.
- ³⁸ Government of India, Home Department, to Secretary of State for India, cypher telegram, 16 October 1942, India Office letter file.
- ³⁹ "Note on Polish evacuee children," pp. 2-3.
- ⁴⁰ Stypula, *The History of the Balachadi Camp*, p. 2.
- ⁴¹ Martin Moore, "Refugee Trek to India: Polish Children Arrive," possibly from *The Daily Telegraph*, no date. A copy was in an India Office letter file.
- ⁴² "Polish Children's Haven," *Statesman*, 17 January 1943.
- ⁴³ Joan G. Roland, *Jews in British India: Identity in a Colonial Era* (Hanover, NH: University of New Hampshire Press, 1989), p. 225.
- ⁴⁴ Stypula, *The History of the Balachadi Camp*, p. 2.
- ⁴⁵ Raj Patel to the author, E-mail, 3 July 2000.
- ⁴⁶ Roman Gutowski, to Brij Mohan Sinha, letter, 24 July 2000.
- ⁴⁷ Stypula, *The History of the Balachadi Camp*, p. 2.
- ⁴⁸ "Polish Children's Haven," *Statesman*, 17 January 1943.
- ⁴⁹ Robbins Collection of the Indian Princely States.
- ⁵⁰ Secretary of State for India, to Government of India, cypher telegram, 25 August 1942 [POL 6229/42], India Office letter file.
- ⁵¹ Government of India Home Office, to Secretary of State for India, cypher telegram, 10 September 1942 [POL 6952 1942], India Office letter file.
- ⁵² Anthony Eden, to L.S. Amery, 6 June 1942 [POL 4248 1942], India Office letter file.
- ⁵³ Stypula, *The History of the Balachadi Camp*, p. 2.
- ⁵⁴ Apurva Jadeja, to author, E-mail, 13 July 1999. However, a letter dated August 9, 1946 from R.N. Benerjee, Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Commonwealth Relations [New Delhi] to Sir Ragunath P. Paranjpye, High Commissioner for India in Australia, states that all of the 400 Polish children offered for resettlement in Australia were Catholic.

⁵⁵ The London chapter of the Association of Poles in India 1942-48 has a copy of the P.I.G.S. list prepared in Bombay by representatives of the London-based Polish Government in Exile. Siedlecki gives the file numbers listing 4775 Poles as follows:

- 0001-3121: November 15, 1943 [Ref # L.dz 5910/E/43]
 3122-3605: Supplement
 3606-4075: January 31, 1944 [Ref. # L.dz 900/E/44]
 4076-4775: November 29, 1944 [Ref. # L.dz 10102/E/44]

Siedlecki estimates that there were about a dozen Jews at Valivade. Shalva Weil names Tamba Drimer and her sons, Leon and Jacob, as having been in Kohlapur. See Shalva Weil "From Persecution to Freedom: Central European Jewish Refugees and their Jewish Host Communities in India," in Anil Bhatti and Johannes H. Voight *Jewish Exile in India* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1999), in association with Max Mueller Bhavan, pp. 80-1. See Appendix B for Ms. Kleszko's attempt to identify the Jews on the list mentioned above.

⁵⁶ Roman Gutowski, to Brij Mohan Sinha, 24 July 2000. Gutowski's reference for this information is the Polish Institute and General Sikorski MUSEUM: London, letter A73-67, no. 109 (II/42 dated 18 VIII 1942)

⁵⁷ Jan K. Siedlecki, to author, 18 July 2000.

⁵⁸ "Note on Polish evacuee children, received by H.H. the Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar in the Nawanagar State," India Office letter file, no identifying number, pp. 2-3.

⁵⁹ A.W.G Randall, Foreign Office, to R.N. Gilchrist, India Office, 12 October 1943 [POL 7166 1943], India Office letter file.

⁶⁰ Wieslaw Stypula, "Indie/India," in *Tulacze Dzieci-Exiled Children*, (Warsaw: Fundacja Archiwum Fotograficzne Tulaczy, 1995), p. 82.

⁶¹ "Administration report of the Nawanagar State for the Year 1943-44," Nawanagar State Press, 1946, pp. 46-9. Appendix XXIV gives the death rate for the previous year as 12.3.

⁶² Webb, *Memorandum*, p. 12. He wrote here, "For the full, sad story, read pages 3 and 4 of my third periodical report to London dated 20.5.43 and pages 1 and 2 of my fourth report of 13.9.43 in File No.50/46-Poll [Evn]."

⁶³ Sir R. Bullard, Tehran, to M.E. Min, Foreign Office, cypher telegram, 15 April 1944, India Office letter file.

⁶⁴ Stypula, *The History of the Balachadi Camp*, p. 3.

⁶⁵ Secretary to the Government of India, Commonwealth Relations Office, New Delhi, to Under Secretary of State, India Office, London, "Fast air mail," letter, 15 May 1947 [POL 7997 1947], India Office letter file.

⁶⁶ Jan Siedlecki says that the number returning to India and the number settling abroad is not yet known: "Our membership however might give a rough guide: 98 in Poland and 360 elsewhere [although my own suspicion is that an even greater number stayed outside Poland]."

⁶⁷ Webb, *Memorandum*, pp. 10, 25-6.

⁶⁸ Syt. Sitaram Puranik, "Problem of the Poles in India: Why they do not want to return," *The Mahratta*, February 1947.

⁶⁹ Webb, *Memorandum*, p. 33.

⁷⁰ H.H. Eggers, Treasury Chambers in London, to R.N. Gilchrist, India Office, 23 May 1947 [POL 8103 1947], India Office letter file.

⁷¹ Asaf Ali, Washington, to Foreign Office, New Delhi, telegram, 12 March 1947, India Office letter file.

⁷² Syt. Sitaram Puranik, "Problem of the Poles in India: Why they do not want to return," *The Mahratta*, February 1947.

⁷³ Teresa Glazer, "Newcomers to London: Poles the reluctant immigrants," speech, n.d.

⁷⁴ Indian accounts called him the Vice President or Deputy Chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic.

⁷⁵ Letter to author, 19 August 1999. The last line was not legible in the photograph he used. He wrote: "My translation should not be relied upon as I am not a trained translator and my Hindi is rusty. I am sure a Polish to English translation would make more sense."

⁷⁶ Cmdr. Lamba has since written a short as yet unpublished essay, "Children of Jamnagar—History of Polish refugees in Balachadi."

⁷⁷ Special Supplement to Bulletin No. 16, 1998, inside of front cover.

⁷⁸ Letter to author, 24 August 1999.

⁷⁹ Joachim Oesterheld, "British Policy towards German-speaking Emigrants in India 1939-1945," in Anil Bhatti and Johannes H. Voight, *Jewish Exile in India* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1999), p. 41, in association with Max Mueller Bhavan.

⁸⁰ Collection 72 Report M24: "Polish Refugees in Iran, Africa and India," 2 August 1943, and Report M-59: "Polish Refugees in India," 28 March 1944.

Z Y D Z I według Spisu Wchodzców Polskich na terenie Indii. Według stanu w dniu 15 listopada 1943; (31 stycznia 1944, 1 listopada 1944; Listy Wzupuznieh Sporządzone przez Delegaturę Ministerstwa Pracy i Opieki Społecznej w Indiach L.dz.5910/F/43 Bombaj dnia 10 grudnia 1943; L.dz.900/F/44 Bombaj 15 lutego 194 L.dz.10103/F/44 Bombaj dnia 29 listopada 1944.

NAZWISKO I IMIĘ ROK I MIEJSCE UR.		IMIĘNA RODZICÓW	Adres w Polsce	Adres w Indiach
1.	Drimmer Tauba 1904	Dębowa Wola w.Kielce	Izrael Szwaiga	Warszawa Kolhapur
2.	Drimmer Leon 1926	Warszawa	Izaak Tauba	Warszawa Kolhapur
3.	Drimmer Jakub 1941	posiołek Tarza	"	"
4.	Ehrlich Edmund 1928	Pilica w.Warszawa	Leon Cecylia	Warszawa Bombaj
5.	Ejsak Helena 1910	os.Horka w.Nowogr.	Alexander Maria os.Horka	"
6.	Ekert Danuta 1927	Złoczów	Piotr Stefania	Stanisławów "
7.	Ekert Zofia 1895	"	Ignacy Paulina	"
8.	Flecker Edyta 1902	Dziedzice	Otto Anna	Dziedzice Kolhapur
9.	Hochhauser Antonina 1899	Tarnów	Maurycy Joanna N.Sącz	Bombaj
10.	" Irena 1929	N.Sącz	David Antonina	"
11.	" Teodor 1929	"	"	"
12.	Ringler Helena 1908	Rorysław	Otto Salomen	Rorysław
13.	Rosenthal Maksymilian 1902	Bystra k/Riel	Leśka Dawid Augusta	Biała Kolhapur
14.	Siring Izabela 1933	Ujście Biskupie	Edward Maria	Ujście
15.	Siring Maria 1906	"	Adolf Michalina	"
16.	Szykier Fryda 1897	Rorysław	Joachim Laura	Szczuczyn Bombaj
17.	" Jerzy 1928	Łódź	Mieczysław Fryderyka	"
18.	" Stela 1923	"	"	"
19.	Wehrenstein Annal 1880	Niepołomice	Maciej Maria	Bosznów Kolhapur
<u>Pierwsza Lista Wzupuznieh</u>				
20.	Ajzen Dawid 1911	Brześć	Lejb Cywia	Bombaj
21.	Arfa Brajna 1917	Pułtusk	Jozef-Majer Estera	"
22.	" Fajwel 1913	"	Moszek Szura	"
23.	Aronsohn Judwik 1895	Kraków	Samuel Natalia	Agra
24.	Bregman Hersz 1911	Olewk, Rosja	Aron Leja	Bombaj
25.	Chajlowicz Józef 1920	Nowogrodek	Gerc Maika	"
26.	Charlab Chaim 1920	Nieświcz	Ajzyk Panta	"
27.	Choczner Hirsz-Lejb 1904	Tarnów	Artur Sara	"
28.	" Amalia 1915	Rybna	Artur Estera	"
29.	Chodorowski Maks 1917	Bachmut	Berek Chana	"
30.	Cmunt Jozef 1906	Dolin Krupa/Czechy	Emil Karolina	"
31.	" Marta	"	"	"
32.	Cywinger Mordchaj 1913	Maków Mazowiecki	Moszek-Jankiel Sara	"
33.	Cynowicz Hersz-Zelik 1903	"	Josel Szyrka	"
34.	Diamant Samuel 1900	Kraków	Maksymilian Berta	"
35.	Domanowicz Hersz 1912	Kutno	Abraham Frajda	"
36.	Eilenberg Chejjet 1907	Krośniewice	Pinkus Sara	"
37.	Fisner Chinka 1906	Warszawa	Szloma Zerka	"
38.	Fajlowicz Jakub 1910	Łódź	Szloma Hinda	"
39.	Fenigstein Grzegorz 1902	Warszawa	Zewykr Berta	"
40.	" Flora	"	"	"
41.	Feuer Ignacy 1913	Kraków	Matias Libe	Delhi
42.	" Antonina 1914	Zgłobin p.Kzeszów	Józef Regina	"
43.	Finkel Mojsiej 1910	Mir p.Stołpce	Lejzer Maika	Bombaj
44.	Flancreich 1910	Warszawa	Chaim Reszka	"
45.	Frankenstajn Berszon 1900	Przeziny P.Łódź	Benjamin Pesa	"
46.	Frider Jakub 1916	"	Hersz Tauba	"
47.	Frizberg Fiszel 1920	Kowel	Szymon Ryfka	"
48.	Friedman Simon 1916	Proბზna/Czortków	Majer Nechoma	"
49.	Frydman Bocuch 1910	Riała Podlaska	Szml Perla	"
50.	" Maurycy 1901	"	Izaak Maria	South India

NAZWISKO I IMIĘ	Rok i Miejsce urodzenia Imiona rodziców		AURES w	
			Polsce	Indiach
51. Frydman Mojsze	1909	Lachiszyn/Pińsk	Abram Chowa	Bombaj
52. " Pesla	1917	Pińsk	Abram Ejdl	"
53. Ginz berg Maks	1900	Mosty Wielkie	Samuel Regina	"
54. Gitein Jazar	1904	Łódź	Gerszon Gisja	"
55. " Małka	1912	Warszawa	Chaim-Josek Dwojra	"
56. Glezer Mowsza	1918	Stolin Polesie	Josel Chaja	"
57. Goworczyk Rachmil	1914	Goworów	Szumł-Moszek	"
58. Grinberg Mojsze	1913	Warszawa	Jakub-Majer Henia	"
59. " Sara	1914	Wilno	Abram Sima	"
60. Gross Samuel	1900	"	"	"
61. " Suita Klara	1911	Berlin	"	"
62. Grynberg Chaskiel	1897	Mołczadz	Abram-Icek Miriam	"
63. Gryngauz Izrael	1907	Warszawa	Piotr Elsonora	"
64. " Maria Fwelina	"	"	"	"
65. Guberman Rfroidm	1910	Dubno	Aurum-El Gitla	"
66. " Sara-Syma	"	"	"	"
67. Gudes Daniel	1914	Mikieł (Grodz)	Szymiel Gienia	"
68. " Szymiel	1881	"	Jewel Rocha	"
69. Hochberg Szuml	1920	Radom	Lejbuś Tauba	"
70. Hochenberg Abram	1890	Łódź	Mojsze Tauba	"
71. " Meri	"	"	"	"
72. " Mojsze	"	"	"	"
73. " Janina	"	"	"	"
74. Ickowicz Abram	1905	Częstochowa	Izaak Malia	"
75. " Estera	"	"	"	"
76. Igielski Chaim	1909	Przeżyny/Łódź	Abram Chawa	"
77. Issak Józef	1920	"	Alter Mindla	"
78. Issler Auchel	1911	Przybysz/Mielec	Samuel Sabina	Peszawa
79. Itison Morduch	1892	Orsza	Abram Chana	Bombaj
80. Jagłom Boruch	1895	Prutany	Jakub Sara	"
81. " Esfir	"	"	"	"
82. " Anna	"	"	"	"
83. " Jakub	"	"	"	"
84. " Mozes	"	"	"	"
85. Kallir Karol	1897	Brody	Leon Klara	"
86. Kamienkowski Chaim	1913	Ciechanowice	Eljasz Sara	"
87. Kapłan Izrael	1904	Warszawa	Szyja Chana	"
88. Kapłanski Szolem	1918	Riałystok	Abram Masza	"
89. Kapusta Jankiel	1914	Sikory p. Wysokie Maz.	Abram Sara	"
89. Karp Falk	1919	Tuczyn	Jojne Szyndla	"
90. Katzenell Fryd.	1907	Stanisławów	Józef Maria	"
91. " Małgorzata	"	"	"	"
92. Kichler Juliusz	1897	Metz	Izaak Rachela	"
93. Kleinberg Maurycy	1897	"	Ludwik Halina	"
94. " Salomea	"	"	"	"
94. Knoff Czesław	1883	Warszawa	Mateusz Maria	"
95. Knoff Wanda	"	"	"	"
96. Kohn Regina	1918	Łódź	Wof Ritzbieta	Łódź
97. Konarski Stanisław	1912	Łódź	"	"
98. Korn Hersz	1905	Łódź	Rafel	Podna Lahore
99. " Alfreda	"	"	"	"
100. " Lejb	1907	Łódź	Moszek Ita	Bombaj
101. Korngold Jerzy	1919	Kraków	Jakub Erna	"
102. Koszer Abe-Pejsach	1898	Warszawa	Josek Sara	Kalkuta
103. Kotler Michel	1914	Traby/Łożyn	Alter Sirl	Bombaj
104. Krawiec Judka	1911	Rudki/Łomża	Aron Szyora	"
105. Kremitzer Staniaw	1910	Brody	Gerazo Fma	"
106. " Celina	"	"	"	"
107. Krischer Benjamin	1900	Jasło	Jakub Hinda	"
108. Kronenberg Abram	1912	Łódź	Jakub Ruth	"
109. " Chaja	"	"	"	"

NAZWISKO I IMIĘ	Rok i miejsce urodzenia	Imiona rodziców	ADRES w Polsce i Indiach
111. Kupferman Leopold	1912 Trzebiianka/Chrzanów	Samuel Laura	Rombaj
112. Langsam Elias	1915 Praga	Dawid Beile	"
113. Laufer Jakub Rubin	1905 Chrzanów	Nochim Estera	"
114. " Chaim	"	"	"
115. Lejzerowicz Benjamin	1919 Podrębnie	Sulim Ruchla	"
116. " Józef	1915 Lalicz	Mojtesz Róta	"
117. Leuschner Wacław	1911 Poznań	Franciszek Jadwiga	"
118. Lewi Józef Chaim	1915 Siedlce	Srul-Icek Prywa	"
119. Lichtenstein Abram	1902 Opatów	Moszek Kajla	"
120. Lichtiger Jeszaja	1915 Brześć	Mowsze Ruchla	"
121. Lifschutz Szymon	1905 Żółkiew	Sender Sara	"
122. Lindberger Edmund	1898 Lwów	Adolf Róta	"
123. " Elżbieta	"	"	"
124. Lipinski Nochem	1908 Konin	Chaim-Lejb Jetta	"
125. Lipszyc Boruch	1921 Białystok	Izrael Golda	"
126. " Moszek	1918 Kamień/Piotrków	Izrael Frymeta	"
127. Luksemburg Abram	1904 Chmielnik	Moszek Gena	"
128. Złinter Szaja	1910 Chonele/Warszawa	Noszek Fajga	"
129. Melodysta Leyla	1909 Erdine	Mahim Maria	"
130. Meldensohn Manes	1894 Warszawa	Majer Chaja	"
131. " Nachman	1919 Turzysk/Kowel	Chaim Sosia	"
132. Mendzylewski Szymon	1903 Radzymin	Jakub Estera	"
133. Minc Abram	1906 Sulejów	Icek Itta	"
134. " Aida	"	"	"
135. " Rafał	1919 Jędrzejów	Natan Leja	"
136. Miś Jan	1909 Hajduki Wielkie	Leon Wilhelmina	"
137. Nadel Henryk	1904 Opawa Śląsk	Leopold Selma	Benares
138. " Anna	"	"	"
139. Naida Michał	1900	Grzegorz Rozalia	"
140. " Irena	"	"	"
141. Natanowicz Mojtesz	1916 Warszawa	Abram Rojla	Karachi
142. Osnos Józef	1904	Leon Olga	Rombaj
143. " Marta	"	"	"
144. Paszyc Aleksy	1912 Petersburg	Mikołaj Zofia	"
145. Piepes-Weisner Eugen	1909 Budapeszt	Arnold Regina	"
146. Poszuszny Marian	1884 Rędzin	Kalma Adela	"
147. " Kazimierz	"	"	"
148. Przybyszewicz Józef	1897 Łódź	Szulim Jachwella	"
149. " Rozalia	"	"	"
150. Raab Izrael	1900 Jasienica p.Brzoźów	Samuel Chana	"
151. Rabinowicz Chana	"	"	"
152. " Gutel	1887 Jurburg	Izaak Bina	"
153. " Tanchum	1917 Stołpce	Elja Fida	"
154. Rachsztajn Szmul	1921 Szczepieszyn/Zamość	Abram Ela	"
155. " Moszek	1916	"	"
156. Reich Samuel	1894 Czudec/Rzeszów	Michał Toni-Tauba	"
157. " Karolina	"	"	"
158. Reichenbaum Erwin	1903 Ustroń p. Cieszyn	Szymon Ida	"
159. " Sara	"	"	"
160. Rosenberg Elżbieta	1902 Kraków	Leon Franciszka	"
161. Rotter Salo	1907 Dryndycze/Rohatyn	Eliasz Estera	"
162. Rozenbach Ludwik	1895 Warszawa	Michał Cecylia	Jahore Rombaj
163. " Maria	"	"	"
164. " Elżbieta	"	"	"
165. Rubinek Chil	1895 Janów p. Opoczno	Boruch Chana	"
166. " Izrael	1899	"	"
167. Rubinowicz Zawel	1920 Białystok	Samuel Estera	"
168. Rudrof Zofia	1916 Wiedeń	Franciszek Cecylia	"
169. Ruttenberg Samuel	1898 Białystok	Chickiel Chaja	"
170. " Szejna	"	"	"
171. " Jerzy	"	"	"

NAZWISKO I IMIĘ	Rok i miejsce urodzenia	ADRES w	
		Polisce	Indiach
172. Stefański Marian	1909 Osnowa p.Chełmno	Józef Marta	Kalkuta
173. Steinbach Gizela	1914 Kraków	Maurycy Natalia	KrakówKarachi
174. Sternbach Edward	1874 Drohobycz	Józef Antonina	Rombaj
175. " Klara	"	"	"
176. " Ludwik	1909 Kraków	Edward Klara	"
177. Sterlicht Hugo	? Trzciana	Michał Rozalia	"
178. Szapiro Mowza	1911 Olszanep.Oszmiana	Josel Pasia	"
179. Szapiro Kopel	1904 Riazystok	Izrael Fajga	"
180. " Debora	"	"	"
181. Strauch Rerek	1901 Jędrzejów	"	"
182. Tajkef Lejzer	1903 Lublin	Hersz Eta	"
183. " Nelly	"	"	"
184. Teichler Jakub	1902 Rzeszko p.Rochnia	Kalman Tauba	"
185. " Blima	"	"	"
186. " Natan	"	"	"
187. Urbach Dawid	1911 Chrzanów	Józef Erna	"
188. Wachsmacher Henryk	1904 Kraków	Samuel Bronisława	"
189. Weinres Guido	1919 Lwów	Natan Pepl	"
190. Weitz Kalman	1877 Kałusz	Midiat Anna	"
191. Wiecha Chaim	1917 Wysokie Mazowieckie	Jankiel Sara	"
192. Wiatreich Artur	1890 Wola Żużalska p.Gorlice	Solomon Anna	"
193. Zylbersztajn Wof	1915 Rusko	Lejbus Rozalia	"
2-ga Lista Uzupelnien - nic.			
3-cia Lista Uzupelnien			
194. Citron Adela	1891 Kraków	Leon Bronisława	Warszawa "
195. " Edwin	1893 Jasło	Jakub Ernestyna	" "
196. Feler Józef	1905 Lwów	Racamil Lifsz	Lwów Kolhapur
197. Finkler Gustaw	1904 Lwów	Wolf Klara	"
198. Hochfield Fryderyka	1912 Kraków	Maurycy Roza	Warszawa Rombaj
199. Lipczyc Kazimiera	1890 Kraków	Władysław Eugenia	Kraków
200. Nigelszporn Alfred	1893 Warszawa	Ludwik Justyna	WarszawaKolhapur
201. Rubinsztejn Józef	1894 Warszawa	Jakub Fejga	Warszawa Jamnagar
202. Tajchner Marqus	1893 Żarnowiec	Jakub Henena	SosnowiecKolhapur
203. Weydling Eleonora	1882 Kraków	Józef Regina	Kraków Bombaj
204. " Jadwiga	1923 "	Roman Eleonora	"
205. Wieselberg Samuel	1900 Kołomyja	Samson Pani	Lwów Karachi
206. Żarnower Michał	1899 Warszawa	Aron Ludwika	Warszawa Kolhapur

ADDENDUM

Dodatek do listy. "Podejrzani" z powodu nie czysto polskiego nazwiska:

Allerhand Ernestyna	1867 Kołomyja	Józef Zofia	Rombaj
" Irena	1922 "	Ludwik Maria	"
" Ludwik	1889 "	Leon Ernestyna	"
Anichwer Anna	1901 Żniniec	Razyli Emilia	Kolhapur
" Dawid	1886 Osowów	Polesie Jan Pelagia	"
" Piotr	1931 Żniniec	Dawid Anna	"
Arch Marian	1886 Riazystok	Michał Cecylia	Rombaj
Braumüller Alfred	1927 Kraków	Rudolf Małgorzata	Mount Abu
Burger Julia	1891 Chocien	Antoni Ann	Kolhapur
" Józefa	1932 "	Jan Julia	"
" Emilia	1926 "	"	"
Palk Maryla	1906 Lwów	Juliusz Rerta	Kalkuta
Horblin Stefan	1892 Warszawa	Stanisław Bronisława	Warszawa Rombaj

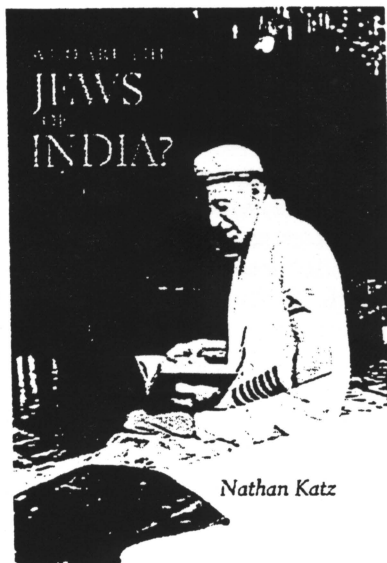
Who Are the Jews of India?

by Nathan Katz

Of all the Diaspora communities, the Jews of India are among the least known and most interesting. This new book, full of vivid details of everyday life, is the first integrated, comprehensive work available on all three of India's Jewish communities.

"Who Are the Jews of India?" is the first book to present a readable, interesting, integrated treatment of the three distinct Indian Jewish communities that have evolved—the Cochin Jews, the Bene Israel, and the Baghdadis. It also brings together material on the Baghdadi communities of Bombay, Calcutta, and Southeast Asia in a way that I have never seen before. Its presence is most welcome; its scholarship is superior."

—Daniel Gold, author of *Comprehending the Guru: Toward a Grammar of Religious Perception*



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Beth-El Synagogue, Calcutta. Photo by Ellen S. Goldberg.

BOOK REVIEWS

Benjamin Joseph Israel, *The Jews of India*, New Delhi: Mosaic Books, 1998. (New Edition)

India had three prominent Jewish communities: the Bene Israel of Maharashtra State, the Cochin Jews of Kerala, and the Baghdadis who came from Iraq and other countries to India beginning in the eighteenth century on. As Benjamin Joseph Israel notes in *The Jews of India*, the Bene Israel community, relative to its miniscule size, produced a remarkable number of educated members, who excelled themselves in government service, the armed forces, the legal and medical professions, and academic life. During the last century, a not insubstantial number of Bene Israel devoted themselves to recording the history and culture of their own community. Most of these treatises, which tended to dwell on the origins and peculiar customs of the Bene Israel of India, are useful to researchers outside the community, who can analyze these texts in order to understand "the native point's of view." The unique quality of *The Jews of India* is that the book manages to maintain a degree of objectivity, which is rare in native scholars, while providing insight into the unusual situation of Jewish communities in India which maintained their Jewishness while clearly adopting customs and mores from the surrounding environment.

B.J. Israel (1906-1987) hailed from an educated family, which originated in the Konkan villages, south of Bombay.¹ Like other members of the Bene Israel community, who were Indian yet marginal by virtue of their Jewishness, his great-great grandfather abandoned village life and joined the East India Company's Bombay Army. In 1837, B.J. Israel's grandfather enlisted in the Fourth Rifles Regiment and, upon premature retirement from the army, served for many years in the police in the Ahmednagar District. His father, Khan Bahadur Jacob Bapuji Israel (d. 1932), served as Deputy Collector in the Maharashtra Districts and as *Karbari* (chief administrator) of Aundh State (Satara District).² B.J. (as he was popularly known) was born in 1906 and educated at Elphinstone College, Bombay, where he was selected as a College Scholar (1923-27) and Daksbina Fellow (1927-29). He served for 30 years in the Bombay Government Secretariat (1929-1959) and for ten years as Secretary of the Bombay Public Service Commission. Between 1962-64, he acted as President of the Bombay Philosophical Society, for which he wrote several papers and reviews. On the one hand, he stood aloof from his community, describing himself as a "very marginal member" of the Bene Israel community; on the other hand, he can be considered the most important native Bene Israel researcher since

¹ Since 1995, Bombay has been officially known as Mumbai. However, I am leaving Bombay in the text since this designation is better known.

² For a full biography, see B.J. Israel, *Khan Bahadur Jacob Bapuji Israel*.

Haim Samuel Kehimkar, who completed his manuscript on the history of the Bene Israel in 1897.³

The Jews of India published in 1998 is not a new work; neither is it exactly a republication of an old work. It is in fact a re-issue of two previous versions of the text with a few brief and minor additions inserted by the late B.J. Israel's brother, Samuel Israel.

The first version of the work appeared in 1982 with an original Foreword written by the late Ezra Kolet, then President of the Jewish Welfare Association in New Delhi. In 1987, after the death of B.J. Israel, the volume was reprinted and a piece entitled "The Jewish Contribution to India," which the author had drafted but not finally revised, was added. In this 1988 version of the volume, these two contributions are included with welcome updates and a Foreword by his brother, Samuel Israel, as well as two other studies ("Religious Evolution among the Bene Israel of India since 1750" and "Bene Israel Surnames and their Village Links") by B.J. Israel which appeared in *The Bene Israel of India—Some Studies*, published by Orient Longman in 1984.⁴ The result is a fascinating insight into of the Jews of India, even if the format (with two Forewords and a different table of contents) is somewhat muddling. It is a pity that no integrating introduction or concluding chapter by the current editor attempts to wrap up the different strands, but clearly the aim is authenticity and tenacious preservation of the original works.

The first half of *The Jews of India* surveys the history and contemporary situation of India's three Jewish communities, as they were in the early 1980's. The 'Concluding Remarks' by the author reflect his belief that Indian Jewry should continue in India and that the move to Israel was not always wise. The supplementary chapter on "The Jewish Contribution to India," only serves to reinforce that belief while recounting the magnificent contributions to the development of India by foreign Jews and members of the local Jewish communities in multifold fields ranging from the Defense Forces to the medical professions to education. As the current editor hints when stating, "no claims to comprehensiveness are being made...." (p. 61) the list of outstanding Jews in India is indeed impressive. Recently, a book on Jewish exiles in India⁵ revealed to the world the singular contributions of individual Jews who had fled the hostile shores of Germany and other Central and Eastern European countries prior to and during the Second World War and sought India as a place of exile. Among these were Rudolf von Leyden the

³ Dayag Press in 1937 published H.S. Kehimkar's manuscript, "The History of the Bene Israel of India," completed in 1897, in Tel Aviv with the aid of the Sanskrit scholar Dr. I. Olswanger.

⁴ B.J. Israel, *The Bene Israel of India—Some Studies* (Bombay/Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 1984). For a review of this book, see Shalva Weil, in *Asian and African Studies* 19, 1985: 131-2.

⁵ A. Bhatti and J.H. Voigt, eds., *Jewish Exile in India: 1933-45* (New Delhi: Manohar in association with Max Mueller Bhavan, 1999).

caricaturist,⁶ Alex Aronson the author,⁷ and Dr. Margarete Spiegel, who was one of Gandhi's most faithful followers,⁸ but must have influenced him somehow.

The second half of *The Jews of India* contains a useful map of some major Bene Israel villages in the Kolaba District, today known as Raigad, and two of B.J. Israel's most famous studies. The article entitled "Religious Evolution among the Bene Israel of India since 1750" is an impressive treatise that appeared as a reaction to the burning issue of the day: the controversy concerning the status of the Bene Israel and their acceptability in the early 1960's as 'full' Jews in Israel, capable from the *halakhic* (Jewish legal) point of view of marrying other Jews.⁹ The chapter traces the beginnings of the Bene Israel and various theories of origin, the influence of the Cochin and Iraqi Jews on the religious development of the Bene Israel, the paradoxical effect of missionary activity among the latter community, and the reinvigoration of the Jewish community through its affiliation both with Liberal Judaism (the Jewish Religious Union founded in Bombay in 1925) and Orthodox Judaism. As B.J. Israel himself points out: "It is a measure of the dearth of authentic information outside India about the Bene Israel that the pamphlet, when published in 1963, attracted more attention than its slight character merited. In particular, it served me as an introduction to a few foreign scholars who have undertaken studies about the Jews of India," (Israel, 1984: x).¹⁰ Not least, it provided the 'native' yet 'not-quite native' version of the history of the Bene Israel published in Strizower's book on the Bene Israel (1971), for whom B.J. acted as key informant."¹¹ Although 'Religious Evolution' was published in 1984 and written well before that, the religious condition of the Bene Israel in India, as described by B.J. Israel, remains uncannily similar in the new millennium.¹² B.J. points to three problems which face the spread of orthodox Judaism: the lack of Jewish literature in Marathi, the mother tongue of most of the Bene Israel in Maharashtra; the absence of good religious instruction; and the problem of finances to run communal religious institutions.

⁶ K. Khanna, "To Rudolf von Leyden: A Letter out of Season," in A. Bhatti and J.H. Voigt, eds., *Jewish Exile in India: 1933-45*, pp. 186-190.

⁷ M. Kampchen, "Alex Aronson: Refugee from Nazi Germany in Santiniketan," in A. Bhatti and J.H. Voigt, eds., *Jewish Exile in India: 1933-45*, pp. 127-149.

⁸ J.H. Voigt, "Under the Spell of the Mahatma: Dr. Margarete Spiegel," in A. Bhatti and J.H. Voigt, eds., *Jewish Exile in India, 1933-45*, pp. 150-160.

⁹ This problem was resolved in 1964 after objections and a strike by members of the community and a rabbinical commission of enquiry, which finally declared the Bene Israel "full Jews in every respect."

¹⁰ I thank Samuel Israel (in private correspondence 24 April 2000) for drawing my attention to this point.

¹¹ Schifra Strizower, *The Children of Israel; the Bene Israel of Bombay* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971).

¹² In April 2000 I returned from a trip to India sponsored by Marg Publications during which I visited several Jewish communities in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Calcutta, Cochin, Pune and the Konkan villages.

While world Jewish organizations, such as AJDC (American Joint Distribution Committee) and the Jewish Agency attempt to boost Jewish awareness in Bombay and other contemporary Jewish centers in India, objectively, the level of Jewish knowledge remains extremely limited. The Jewish communities in India never sported a Rabbi and the religious leadership among the Bene Israel derived from secular authority.¹³

The final study in the volume on "Bene Israel Surnames and Village Links," is a classic, based upon scientific research. It gives a comprehensive list of Konkani villages in which the Bene Israel once lived and the surnames which they retain linking them to those villages of origin. The fascinating appendices derive from 1961 and 1971 census data and provide a rich source of material for future research. B.J. Israel concludes his chapter with the remark that "With the migration of the majority of the Bene Israel to Israel it remains to be seen how long the traditional village-derived surnames will remain in use." (p. 121) In practice, in Israel, where the majority of the Bene Israel today lives, members of the community still use those names. Some call themselves by their —kar names on a day-to-day basis, while others only apply them in ethnic-religious situations. The affirmation of —kar names is reasserted in all synagogue matters such as membership registers, accounts and so on.¹⁴

Although B.J. Israel passed away in 1987, meanwhile, no member of the Bene Israel community either in India or in Israel has taken his place as objective researcher and incisive thinker. New novels have appeared, such as Esther David's *The Walled City*,¹⁵ but there is no recent equivalent of *The Jews of India*. This is a shame because the Jews of India represent a fascinating case study of Jewish communities who withstood the test of time in a non-hostile and unique environment.

Shalva Weil
Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

Nathan Katz, *Who Are the Jews of India?* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000, pp. ix+205; 20 illustrations.

American scholarship in humanities has created a special niche for both Indic and Judaic studies. While the contributions of American academician to Indic and Judaic studies as two distinct disciplines are well known, the inter-relatedness

¹³ Weil, "Religious Leadership vs. Secular Authority—The Case of the Bene Israel," in *Eastern Anthropologist* 49 (3-4), 1996: 301-9.

¹⁴ Weil, "Names and Identity Among the Bene Israel," in *Ethnic Groups* 1 (1), 1977.

¹⁵ E. David, *The Walled City* (Madras: Manas, an Imprint of East-West Books, 1997).

between the two has been recognized of late. This has taken shape in the emergence and burgeoning of Indo-Judaic studies as a special field of inquiry in the last decade and a half. The launching of *The Journal of Indo-Judaic Studies* has provided the ideal platform for highlighting the various facets of the interactions between the Indian and Jewish communities. Current research shows that at the center stage of Indo-Judaic studies stand the readings in the *Jews of India*, which is the present volume under review. A relatively new theme, the Jews of India have attracted scholarly attention and Professor Nathan Katz, has been contributing to this in a very significant measure. In this enthralling book Katz, explores the problems related to understanding the identity of the Jews of India, certainly a tiny minority in the vast and variegated population of India. At the root of his examination of the marginality of the Jews in India lies the reality that the Jews are the smallest minority group in India and simultaneously, in India resides the smallest Jewish Diaspora in the world. Katz is credited with bringing this tiny minority group into the limelight, and situating it in the perspective of pluralistic Indian society. The significant point is that the book not only presents many unknown facets of the socio-cultural life of the Jews in India, but that the story of their accommodation into Indian society offers a refreshing understanding of the host society itself, i.e. India. By illuminating the little known Indian chapter of the Jewish diasporic history, the author ably demonstrates that Jewish history is not merely European, but richly Asian, too.

Consisting of three main chapters and an Introduction and Conclusion, the book presents for the first time a comprehensive study of three distinct Jewish communities in three disparate regions of India, vis-à-vis the Jews of Cochin, the Bene Israel of the Konkan Coast and the Baghdadi Jews of Mumbai (Bombay), of Rangoon in Burma, but now mainly of Calcutta. The long existence of Jewish communities in three principal port towns of India implies that they can be located in the overall context of trade and cultural contacts among diverse human societies across the Indian Ocean. Sifting through an impressive range of evidence—epigraphic, ethnographic, literary, mythic and, of course, religious observances of these Jewish communities—Katz underlines that the three communities did not represent an undifferentiated cultural baggage with a generic 'Jewish' label, but had their respective distinctions. The individual traits and contours of the three communities, although falling under the overarching Jewish identity, can be seen in their origin myths and in their borrowing of 'status-generating motifs' from both Indic and Judaic civilizations. Katz presents an in-depth study of how the three Jewish groups attempted to seek and establish their identities with reference to high-ranking *jatis* and social groups in the three regions. Thus, the Jewish diasporic communities in three separate areas looked for identities in relation to the norms of social ranking in the host (Indian) society. This led the author to ask a vital question: whether members of these three communities were either Jewish or Indian, or simply Jews living in India. An unmistakable demographic fact is that the Jews constitute the tiniest minority in India, their number in India having considerably shrunk since the advent of an independent Israel (1948) where many Jews of India returned.

The chapter on the Cochini Jews informs us that the Jewish settlers in Cochin, a premier port in Malabar, have the longest tradition of linkages with India, the most

telling testimony of which is offered by the Cochin Synagogue. Emphasizing the immense cognitive power of myths and legends, Katz suggests on the basis of Jewish myths that first Jewish Diaspora in India was established in Shingly in Malabar in ca. 72 CE, following the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE by the Romans. Shingly was a celebrated port, variously called Muciripattanam in the earliest Tamil Sangam literature, Muziris in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* and Ptolemy's *Geography* and identified with modern Cranganore in Kerala, for being the principal point of shipping of the Malabari pepper, 'black gold,' to the West. There is a strong likelihood that the Jews participated in India's trade with the Roman Empire, though not much direct evidence is available. The masterly editing and translation of a mid-second century CE maritime loan contract document by Lionel Casson ("New Lights on Maritiem Loans: P. Vindob G 40822," in *Zeitschrift fu Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Band 84, (1990), pp. 195-206), leaves little room for doubt about the importance of Muziris—a document which could have been used by the author to further strengthen his position. There is little evidence of the presence of the Jews in Kerala from the fourth to the tenth centuries. The growth of Indian Ocean maritime trade after 1000 CE once again brought the Malabar Coast into great prominence. Along with various Arab Muslim groups, the Jewish merchants came to Kerala. Katz has rightly argued for the active role of Jewish merchants in Kerala by drawing upon the evidence of an inscription of ca. 1001 CE of the local ruler Bhaskara Ravivarman I who granted many favors and concessions to Joseph Rabban, leader of the Jewish community. The continuity of the Jews' flourishing activities is also suggested by the thirteenth century accounts of Benjamin of Tudela. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, many Jewish merchants with very strong linkages with al Fustat (Old Cairo), al Mahdiyya (Tunisia) and Aden did frequent Malabar and at least some of them must have settled down in Malabar port towns. The author has briefly touched upon this issue, but one expects a more elaborate treatment of the subject on the basis of the 'documentary Geniza.' The monumental study by S.D. Goitein of the geniza papers in general and of the letters of 'India traders' in particular offers irrefutable evidence of Jewish presence in Malabar and along the Kanara coasts. The letters of 'India traders' are probably the most significant non-Indian archive of primary sources dealing with the role of the Jewish merchants in the western Indian Ocean (including the west coast of India) during the first two centuries of the second millennium. More significantly, they are replete with extremely valuable data on cultural exchanges and coexistence among Arab Muslims, and Hindus of India and Jewish merchants on the Malabar Coast and the Konkan. The author has also ably dealt with the position of the Jews in Kerala during the 1500's to 1800's. While the Portuguese attitude toward the Jews in Kerala was certainly hostile, the Jews at Cochin flourished there from the sixteenth century onwards. The building of the beautiful Synagogue in 1568, the patronage of the Cochin royal family on behalf of the Jewish settlement, the role of the *Mudaliar* (headman) of the Jewish community and the position of the pre-eminent Syrian Jewish Rahabi family (e.g. Yechezkel I, David, Yechezkel II and Naphtali—seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), and the quarter centenary celebration of the Cochin Synagogue (1968) are major landmarks of the history of this minority community in Kerala. Their interactions with both Indian society and

European Jewry generated increasing complexities within the community, obviously to claim social exclusivity following the *jati* norms in the Hindu society. The 'superior group' consequently denied the 'inferior group' a role in synagogue life and the social organization became colored by racial considerations (the infamous separation between the white and the black Jews).

From Cochin, Katz takes the reader to the Konkan coast, sandwiched as it were between the Malabar and Gujarat littorals, for his excellent presentation of the changing image of the social position the Bene Israel. This is, in the opinion of the reviewer, the most complex and fascinating chapter of the book. The first definite occurrence of the expression "Bene Israel" as a Jewish community dates back to a letter from Yechezkel Rahabi in 1768. Katz convincingly argues that perhaps an even earlier mention about them was made by Maimonides in a letter from around 1199-1200, which informs us that the Jews of India have "nothing of religion except that they rest on Sabbath and perform circumcision on the eighth day." Their arrival to India from their supposed home in northern Israel cannot be precisely dated, though a legend associates their landing on the Indian shore with a shipwreck. The author must be credited for making known to the readers a very recent breakthrough in genetic research: the "genetic kinship among the Jews from Yemen, Lemba tribes people of southern Africa and Bene Israel" has been revealed, giving some concrete credibility to the legend of Bene Israelis' arrival mentioned above. "What for years has been assumed to be merely a *myth* (italics author's), this DNA research suggests, has a scientific basis" (p. 2). Their Jewish identity began to be sought as they began contact with other Jewish groups in India. The Bene Israelis were best known as Shaniwar Telis, because as oil pressers they abstained from work on Saturdays, which was the chief marker for their Jewish identity. Generally looked down upon by Cochini and Baghdadi Jews of India because of their low profession and lack of observance of orthodox Jewish rituals, attempts were made (e.g. by David Yechezkel Rahabi) to train selected young Bene Israelis in the rudiments of Judaism with the purpose that they would subsequently take up communal and religious leadership among these Konkan Jews. This Jewish community, too, was influenced by the Indian *jati* system and divided into two hierarchic sub-groups of Gora (white i.e. the offspring of the seven shipwrecked couples and hence purer) and Kala (black, i.e. children of a concubine between a Gora Bene Israel and a low caste gentile woman and therefore lower and less pure). As long as they used upper caste Hindus as their reference groups, the Bene Israelis took recourse to Sanskritization for gaining status in the *jati*-based Indian society. But their transformation from an oil pressing caste into an urbanized, Mumbai-oriented, modernized entity also witnessed increasing Hebrewization, which enhanced their social status. With the advent of independent Israel in 1948, many Bene Israelis left for Israel with a view to signifying an end to their portrayal as an 'Indian sub caste.' But their transfer to and accommodation in Israel were not free from difficulties. Despite their proliferation (50,000 as compared to the Indian Jewish population of 5,000) and prosperity, the Bene Israelis in their new home were branded till recently as Indians in Israel, i.e. they were viewed as outsiders in Israel.

The last Jewish group to reach India was the Baghdadi Jews, appearing more or less simultaneously in Mumbai and Calcutta in the 1790s. The founder of the

Baghdadi community in Calcutta was Shalom Obadiah Hakohen, who moved to this city from Surat (1798). Jacob Semah moved from the same place to Mumbai to start the Jewish Baghdadi community. The marriage between the Hakohen and Dwek families resulted in the emergence of the Hakohen-Dwek trading empire, especially in the opium trade to China. In Mumbai, the towering figure of Sheikh David Sassoon (1794-1862) dominated the Jewish community. The Baghdadis in Mumbai found a close business partner in the Parsi community (especially the Tatas), another tiny minority, to invest in huge textile mills. The Calcutta scenario is marked by their lively interaction with the Armenians, also noted for their business ventures. The Calcutta Jewish community preferred to build up their residential quarter in the 'brown town' of the city, distinguishable at once from the white town of the Europeans and the black town of the native Indians. After 1857, there was a distinct urge on the part of Jews to become more and more Anglicized, with much greater emphasis on Western/English education. Conscious efforts to distance themselves from the Bene Israelis soon followed. Coupled with this was an ardent desire and endeavor to be looked at and classified as Europeans by the British; emulation of the British way of life, including dress, by the Baghdadis became the order of the day starting in the late nineteenth century. The Baghdadis of Mumbai felt amply rewarded in that they were recognized as Europeans as early as 1885. They have been rightly considered as Jews of the Raj. After 1947, many of the Baghdadis either moved to Israel, or Britain and other English speaking countries. Those who remained in India, like David Nahoun, the head of the Baghdadi community in Calcutta and the owner of a famous pastry shop in the city (the reviewer being as fond of their pastries as the author!), "embraced India as none of their community ever did before."

The excellence of the book lies in its rich details of the rites and rituals of three Jewish communities, the lively accounts of the Synagogues in Cochin, Bombay, Pune and Calcutta, and the lovely black and white photographs, many of them being taken by Ellen S. Goldberg, Professor Katz's wife. The outstanding feature of the book is the author's fine tuning of empirical presentation with a flowing readability; Professor Katz has never lost sight of the human face of his subject. For an Indian the book conveys a vital message: there has been a remarkable tradition of tolerance to and coexistence of various minority communities, like the Jewish ones, in India for millennia. In the recent past, there have been concerted efforts by a brand of religious leaders and political leaders to belittle and destroy this age-old tradition of India in the name of bolstering the identity of the majority population, i.e. the Hindus. This despicable design has systematically taken recourse to the distortion and abuse of history and tradition. Nathan Katz's book drives home the point that the process of acculturation and not assimilation of minority communities is the crucial factor in the maintenance of the essential fabric of the pluralistic socio-cultural milieu of India and any attempt at reversing this process will only be calamitous for India and its hallowed civilization.

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Anil Bhatti and Johannes H. Voigt, eds., *Jewish Exile in India: 1933-1945*, New Delhi: Manohar/Max Mueller Bhavan, 1999, pp. 195, b/w photographs, cloth, Rs. 300. ISBN 81-7304-237-3.

At first glance, this is an important book in the context of the current interest in diasporas and displaced persons worldwide. How have the original people of "exile" fared in the geographical and cultural extremity that is India? The case of Jewish exiles in India during the war years offers a field rich for the exploration of issues involving cross-cultural and inter-religious encounter. The introductory section, "Persecution of the Jewish People: Prelude to the Holocaust," by co-editor Johannes H. Voigt, establishes the tone for the bulk of the papers in this collection: "Many of the persecuted Jews who had a chance abandoned their homes, families, friends, places of work and all that was dear to them, and chose to live in exile in order to escape further victimization. They sought acceptance in many countries, including British India. Nearly all of them were destitutes, who could offer nothing but their skills and goodwill. In the end, such qualities benefited the countries which had opened their gates to them, including India. They left the marks of their contribution in many fields of activity." (p. 17)

Voigt essentially sets up the issue of exile in India in opposition to Nazi policies of resettlement and annihilation. He suggests that those who escaped the Nazi machine did so largely through luck and the refuge found in other countries, though he also acknowledges that many countries' immigration policies did not bend to allow Jewish refugees safe harbor from the Nazi onslaught. Voigt informs us that approximately 1,000 Jews survived the war in India. The suggestion is that more may have found safety if they only had known the barbarism that was to come, but, of course, few had the foresight to see the "obvious writings on the wall. Even Gandhi...could not imagine the immensity of the barbarism that was to follow" (p. 19) and wrongly advised non-violent resistance.

Section one of the collection, entitled "Policies and Responses," offers the historical and political context for colonial India's less-than-positive attitudes toward European exiles. The focus, however, is more general than specifically tuned towards Jewish experiences. The first selection here, Joachim Oesterheld's "British Policy towards German-speaking Emigrants in India 1939-1945," shows, based on archival research, how restrictive British policy towards refugees really was, as in the issue of visas. The controversial policy of internment of German and Austrian nationals in India also receives attention. The author notes the Jewish Relief Association of Bombay's concern over the government's treatment of those nationals, which initially did not distinguish between Jewish refugees and the "German Nazis...responsible for their persecution," even interning them together. (p. 31) But the author spends time casting his net over the broad issue of enemy nationals in India, especially with regard to their re-internment following Germany's wartime advancements, rather than focusing more specifically on the fate of the sub-continent's Jewish émigrés, who remained subject to a series of restrictive measures throughout the war.

Next is Majid Hayat Siddiqi's "Jews and Central European Nationals in Exile in Colonial India between the Two World Wars." This short piece, based on anecdotal

evidence, provides some background and context for the previous selection's argument that attitudes toward outsiders in colonial India were particularly restrictive. Siddiqi argues for the presence of an "imperial-colonial syndrome" (p. 46) in the Raj dating back to World War I that bred a xenophobic attitude, and against the notion that British India was an open haven for European exiles and identities during World War II. Thus, Siddiqi suggests that "the very question of European identities itself was in refuge." (p. 48) Indeed, this claim is supported by the very real challenge to European identities posed by the period in the first place. He concludes that colonial India's handling of refugees during the war was driven more by a "mentality of exclusiveness" than by humanitarian concerns. (p. 52) Tilak Raj Sareen's short "Indian Responses to the Holocaust" follows. Here Sareen considers both wartime and (briefly) post-war responses to the mass-murder of European Jewry. While notable high-level politicians such as Jawaharlal Nehru, preoccupied though they were with anti-British-colonial activities, were keenly sympathetic to the plight of Jewish refugees from Germany, they were able to do little to offset British policy decisions regarding those refugees. Moreover, politicians like Nehru made it clear that India's own "land hunger" would make it difficult to settle any serious quantity of refugees within its borders. Sareen argues that India's local government was also opposed to assisting Jewish refugees because of its concern for its Muslim citizens. He also presents remarkable words from Gandhi, whose suggestion that if he were a Jew in Nazi Germany he would practice *satyagraha* sounds naïve today. It would be an interesting study, indeed, to compare Indian resistance to British colonialism with Jewish resistance to Nazi policies. Even at the time, as Sareen points out, Gandhi's advocacy of non-violence in the German context was criticized as having no basis in reality. Sareen's conclusions, however, seem to go too far by implying that, though India's leaders greatly opposed Nazism and its policies towards the Jews, their distance from Europe prohibited them from assisting Jews in whatever way they could.

The final chapter in this section, Shalva Weil's "From Persecution to Freedom: Central European Jewish Refugees and their Jewish Host Communities in India," is a well-structured and nuanced essay offering the most thorough contextualization of the situation of Jewish exiles in the footsteps of the much older communities of Bene-Israel and even eighteenth and nineteenth century Germans fascinated with the subcontinent. Thus, a "dialectic" existed between the established Jewish communities of India, who "never suffered from anti-Semitism in any form in India," (p. 65) and were fairly well incorporated into Indian society, and the new exiles of the 1930s and 1940s who found such incorporation difficult. Weil offers an informative and entertaining overview of the established Jewish communities in India (Bene-Israel, Cochin and Baghdadi) as well as an important mention of the "other" Jewish refugees of the wartime period: Eastern Jews fleeing their native Persia, Bukhara, and Afghanistan on their way to Palestine. Weil also provides a detailed profile of the European refugee community, noting that they can be divided into three groups in terms of religio-cultural affiliation. These groups included assimilated Jews who were attracted to India's religion, culture, and politics and hardly affiliated with the established community; communally active Orthodox Jews; and, the largest group, Jews whose communal affiliation seemed tied to their initial

need for financial assistance. Needless to say, relations between all these communities were complex, but Weil suggests there was a certain amount of jealousy or even anti-Semitism particularly directed at successful businessmen and doctors among the new exiles. But most Indians remained ignorant or apathetic regarding the presence of these Jews. Weil then systematically outlines the character of relations between the new Jews and the established communities, noting cooperation on the issues of refugee relief and Zionism. Though some of the assimilated and Orthodox Jews remained in India, many of the refugees, it turned out, left for Palestine and other countries after the war.

The next section, "Personalities and Problems," shifts the focus to the profiles of four notable Jewish exiles who lived in India during the period in question. It includes photographs and other additional material. The first piece here is Agata Schindler's "Walter Kaufmann: A Forgotten Genius," an adoring review of composer/conductor (and, later, accomplished musicologist) Kaufmann's 12 year stint in India beginning in 1934. Schindler clearly reveres her subject, though the reader is a bit mystified as to the reasons for this fascination. She mixes this devotion with reviews of Kaufmann's work, long quotations from Kaufmann's own writings, and speculations as to his creative and personal motivations. Kaufmann's main interest in coming to India seems to have been cultural: by the mid-30's, his music already showed an "exotic" non-European element that he wished to cultivate at its source. But his motivation was to escape persecution. Unfortunately, beyond a brief review of Kaufmann's compositions, this chapter hardly delves into the deeper aspects of Kaufmann's Indian exile. Like his friend Kaufmann, Willy Haas, an important Weimar-era editor, film critic, and scriptwriter, also escaped the Nazi onslaught by being in India. Anil Bhatti (co-editor of this collection) mingles observations concerning Haas' time in India (1939-47) with a dense, literary critical reading of Haas' autobiography and the role India plays in it in "Willy Haas and Exile in India." The result, on one hand, is perhaps the most provocative essay in the collection, as it offers a real engagement with the very idea of exile and the clash of cultures it engenders. On the other, Bhatti's use of postmodernist jargon tends to obfuscate rather than illuminate. Nonetheless, Bhatti's musings, based on Haas' memories of his Indian period, offer an interesting discussion of the differences between Indian and Jewish worldviews and, in Haas' story, the encapsulated attempt to come to terms with such differences.

The third selection in this section is Martin Kampchen's "Alex Aronson: Refugee from Nazi Germany in Santiniketan." Kampchen's contribution focuses on the academic Aronson's wartime stay in India, most of it at Rabindranath Tagore's ashram. But Aronson came to India to teach in Santiniketan's Visva-Bharati University; one could say that he became a refugee only when the outbreak of war in Europe prohibited his return to Germany. Indeed, the author notes that, according to his research, no European refugee found shelter at Santiniketan. Thus, Kampchen criticizes the utopian Santiniketan for being so unconcerned about alleviating in any way the political situation in Europe, though he observes that its residents did express some sympathy for the plight of Jewish refugees. As in Bhatti's chapter, Kampchen's utilizes autobiographical material to paint a picture of Aronson's time and, especially, his intellectual output while in India. The reader wonders, however,

what we are to learn from this portrait. The most relevant section of this piece recounts Aronson's arrest and internment for being a German national at the outbreak of the war, a matter that, though resolved because of his identity as a Jew, nonetheless outraged Aronson. It would have been useful if Kampchen had spent more time discussing Aronson's experiences of exile, cited several times in the chapter but largely unexplored.

Johannes H. Voigt's essay, "Under the Spell of the Mahatma: Dr. Margarete Spiegel," closes this section of the collection. It offers a biographical sketch of one female émigré who had a lifelong fascination with India. Spiegel, trained as a philologist, had even attempted to teach *ahimsa* (based on Gandhi's writings) to schoolgirls in Berlin in 1933. But she soon left for India in advance of her dismissal from the civil service because she was Jewish. Spiegel went straight to Pune to meet with Gandhi, and she subsequently joined his ashram and trained for Harijan work. She left the ashram in 1934, unable to adjust to manual labor. She settled in Bombay and began teaching. The ensuing letters Voigt cites from Gandhi to Spiegel show a good deal of anger and scorn in response to her evident adoration of him (most of her letters are lost). This chapter thus concludes with more of an assessment of Gandhi and his influence on Spiegel than with a consideration of Spiegel's own experiences in exile.

The third section of this collection, "Receptions and Reflections," takes up the discussion of Jewish exile in India through the lens of literature in two essays. The first, Rainer Lotz and Rekha Kamath's "Interculturality: A View from Below: Anita Desai's *Baumgartner's Bombay*," analyzes themes surrounding that 1988 novel's protagonist, a German Jewish emigrant. Hugo Baumgartner, the novel tells us, has lived in India for 50 years, since his flight from Nazi Germany before the war. But the authors of this chapter note that Baumgartner's identity is in constant flux and ill-defined; the protagonist is unsure of who he is (German, Jew, or foreigner), and Lotz and Kamath suggest that this identity confusion is the plight of the exile, in particular the one who has little choice in his country of residence. These are "existential outsiders who belong nowhere," (p. 166) but the authors resist the implication that such exiles are "champion[s] of multiculturalism...[or] post-colonial subject[s]...constantly aware of the fragmentation of identities." (pp. 166-7) According to Lotz and Kamath, then, Desai's novel opens up the theme of exile to make a "statement on migration as a modern condition." (p. 169) The mundane nature of Baumgartner's fictional experience, and his brutal end, must give the reader pause in musing about the real-life impact of exilic experience.

The second essay devoted to literary criticism is Rajendra Dingle's "*Ranangan* or Response in Marathi Literature to the Theme of Jewish Emigration." In it, Dingle wishes to examine the "transcultural, human, secular, anti-Fascist, and nuanced nationalist implications" (p. 172) of Vishram Bedekar's 1939 novella. The narrative tells, from a variety of perspectives, the story of and the relationship between Chakradhar Widhwans, a young Maharashtrian man returning home from Europe, and Herta Van, a young German Jewish woman escaping Germany for Shanghai, like many others on the Italian ship. It is clear that Chakradhar exhibits classic, if virtually unconscious, anti-Semitic ideas, which soften as he considers the Jews' situation in Europe and the broader issues of persecution and nationalism. It turns out

that Bedekar had closely observed Jewish refugees on a ship while in England and, according to Dengele, this was the basis of his novella. But much is left unsaid in this short analysis, and it remains little more than a recounting of the narrative in question. Though it is clear that *Ranangan* offers an interesting, if transitory, fictional encounter between a German Jew and an Indian, it is not clear what its implications are for the study of Jewish exile.

The concluding essay of this collection, composed as a short farewell letter, is artist Krishen Khanna's "To Rudolf von Leyden: A Letter out of Season." In it, the author reflects on von Leyden's time in India (when he worked as an art critic) and his subsequent years in Vienna. It is an affectionate piece, reminiscing on friendship and von Leyden's hobbies, but it hardly addresses his Jewishness. As the last selection of the book, it is a fitting conclusion to a spotty collection whose essays often lose sight of what purports to be the collection's subject. As a whole, the strength of this collection is its interdisciplinary breadth, and it is admirable indeed for the editors to gather such a diversity of academic approaches. But this is also its weakness: it would have benefited from a longer introduction devoted to linking the disparate chapters together and explaining their relevance to one another and to any broader issues the editors may have wanted to address in producing this work in the first place.

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Richard C. Foltz, *Religions of the Silk Road: Overland Trade and Cultural Exchange From Antiquity to the Fifteenth Century*, New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1999, pp. xiii+186. Paper, ISBN: 0-312-23338-8, \$14.95; Cloth, ISBN: 0-312-21408-1, \$24.95.

This is, perhaps, the first book that attempts a comprehensive account of how the experience of the network of trade routes through Central Asia linking east and west from antiquity through medieval times that were known collectively as the Silk Road—so named by Ferdinand von Richthofen near the end of the nineteenth century—affected a variety of world religions. These include Buddhism, which moved westward from India, Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity, and Islam, which traveled to the Far East from the Middle East, as well as Gnosticism and Manichaeism, syncretic movements that developed through Silk Road interactions and then spread and assimilated in both directions.

Foltz does an excellent job of weaving together various historical accounts, legends, and anecdotes to portray the interaction of religion and political economics that framed this unique period and locale of religious diversity and pluralism. As he explains, "The Silk Road was more than just a conduit along which religions hitched rides East; it constituted a formative and transformative rite of passage. No religion emerges unchanged at the end of that arduous journey." (p. 8) The weaker part of the book is that in covering such a vast scope of material, it does not explore any

particular aspect in great depth. *Religions of the Silk Road* relies almost entirely on secondary sources for evidence. As Foltz notes, these sources are often questionable and are currently in the process of being rewritten. The main topic that receives a more in-depth treatment is the Islamicization of the Silk Road states, that is, how Islam developed out of the melting pot as the dominant faith in the region of Central Asia. The book also does a good job of highlighting a number of fascinating historical anomalies, such as the assimilation of Buddhism and Iranian religion along with Greek cultural elements in Gandhara, west of India, long before the spread of Buddhism to East Asia; the role of Nestorian Christianity in helping shape Buddhist devotional rites in China; and the way Jewish communities in Central Asia helped facilitate the dissemination of Christianity to the east.

What is the function and significance of Judaism as a participant in Silk Road interaction? The role of Judaism is quite extraordinary from historical and geographical standpoints. First, although the dating for this is rather speculative, Jewish trade for silk with the Chinese probably began in the First Temple period and may have been as early as the time of David and Solomon, which would make this one of the earliest examples of trans-regional economics in the history of civilization. Some centuries later, the aftermath of the Babylonian exile placed Jews in a prime location to take part in exchanges of goods and religious ideas throughout the period of antiquity and into the early middle ages. In addition, the relatively large Jewish presence in Kai-feng, well to the east of Chang-an and Lo-yang, the trade route capitals in China, marked the easternmost excursion of western religious traditions, although there is still debate about the origins of the Kai-feng Jewish community and whether it arrived by land or by sea.

Foltz focuses on three other main aspects of the history of Judaism on the Silk Road. One aspect is the issue of Iranian influences and how Judaism became a conduit for Zoroastrian ideas about the apocalypse and last judgment, the notion of evil and the devil, and the function of angels, messianic salvation, and bodily resurrection. These notions infiltrated into the Books of Job, Daniel, and Ezekiel. The Iranian springtime fertility festival of Fravardigan was an influence on Purim, which comes out of the Esther story, in that both holidays "began on the fourteenth day of the month of Azar and included an exchange of gifts." (p. 33) The second element is the role of the Jewish traders during the Muslim period. These traders, known as Radanites, received favored status from the Khazar dominions and became so widespread that they helped develop the *responsa* literature that began in the eighth century. Finally, Foltz points out that in the context of the multiplicity of languages used along the Silk Road—the documents discovered by Aurel Stien at Tun-huang and other sites were written in as many as 17 languages—the reluctance or refusal of Judaism to translate its scripture from Hebrew no doubt led to a strong sense of self-identity but also to a lack of converts, who had been won when Hebrew texts were translated into a popular language, the Greek Septuagint, during the Roman period.

Ken Blady, *Jewish Communities in Exotic Places*, Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, Inc., 2000. Hardcover, pp. 422+xxvii.

This very ambitious book contains brief (20 to 50 page) surveys of Jewish communities in locales the author deems "exotic." Included under this rubric are Yemen, Iran, Kurdistan, the Crimea, Georgia, Daghestan, Bukhara, Afghanistan, India (the Bene Israel and the Cochini), China (Kai-feng), Morocco, Libya, Tunisia and Ethiopia. In other words, Jews who are not mainstream Sephardic and certainly not Ashkenazi are "exotic."

This work is based upon the author's broad readings of popular and scholarly works. It is, therefore, an entirely derivative book, which makes no pretense of presenting new discoveries, of pioneering interpretations, or of the reflexive self-awareness that underpins scholarship. The book should be welcomed for what it is, namely a volume similar in many ways to Karen Primack's 1998 edited book, *Jews in Places You Never Thought Of* but with two exceptions. Blady's book is his own, whereas Primack's is edited; and Blady only discusses groups generally accepted as Jews, avoiding the marginal marranos, crypto-Jews, lost tribes, and the like. And whereas Primack includes a concluding section of eight brief essays which reflect on the phenomenon, Blady is content to present his 17 stories without benefit of reflection on their significance.

These are fascinating stories, and no doubt readers will be captivated by Blady's telling. But it is impossible to avoid the problem of interpretation. Blady's key interpretative category is "the exotic," although he never explores how his interpretation interacts with his data. Naively, he implies by the absence of any such discussion a neutral, objective perspective; the author's role is as storyteller, not interpreter.

But it is precisely this search for "the exotic" which leads to the greatest difficulties.

For the purpose of a review in a journal concerned with the experiences of Jews in India, we shall consider only his chapter entitled "Jewish Untouchables." (pp. 210-249) It includes all the stereotypes about India first promulgated by the British. For example, Blady reports that "[b]ecause of the caste system, life has changed remarkably little in India over the centuries" (p. 213). While the system undoubtedly provided for social stability, the view of India as an unchanging, eternal land is an unfortunate legacy of her encounter with colonialism, which justified the exploitation of the subcontinent by proclaiming it to be a passive, inert, unchanging object to be shaped by the colonialists' forces of "progress." These same colonialists' interpretations of India relied heavily on this sense of her as "exotic."

And from a Jewish point of view, what could be more "exotic" than polytheism, an unchanging, primitive counterpoint to the "ethical monotheism" of religious modernists? Of course, that is how Indian religions are depicted in British travelogues and on fundamentalist Christian television. Blady takes this one step further, suggesting that "oriental" Jews share polytheism with their neighbors: "Religious Jews pray only to God," he writes, "but in oriental lands it is traditional to visit the grave of a great rabbi or saint and beseech the soul of the deceased pious one to plead on their behalf." (p. 222) By inference, Brooklyn must be an "oriental"

place! Blady seems to equate "Judaism" with some rationalist-modernist movements, ignoring popular piety, eastern or western.

Blady's discussion has many such problems, but the most egregious is found in the chapter's title. I know of no observer who has ever described Indian Jews as "untouchables," a deeply offensive term. While Indian Jews interacted with India's caste system in complex, unique and, at times, disturbing ways, no one doubts that the Jews of Cochin were regarded as high caste, and that the Bene Israel were never considered to be so beyond the pale as the term "untouchable" implies. Perhaps Blady is just using the wrong word, but it seems more likely that his category of "the exotic" compels him to highlight that which is most unfamiliar to his own experience, which in the case of the India is the caste system, and to highlight the unfamiliar category as integral to Jewish experience in the community being studied. Several key elements get lost amid this fixation with the bizarre, including the liturgical creativity of Indian Jews, their piety, their close community, their creative adaptations of Indian cultural traditions within their folk beliefs—all in Blady's unanalyzed quest for "the exotic."

Actually, the book offers one attempt at understanding "the exotic," but it is in an introduction by Steven Kaplan, (pp. xxi-xxvii) identified only as a "scholar." Kaplan raises the issue of "the exotic," and justifies its use by correctly pointing out that, "[t]hroughout history people have studied those in distant lands, not only to comprehend the other, but also to use them to achieve a better understanding of themselves." (p. xxxi) I do not know who Kaplan is, but he is right. Scholarship must of necessity contain this self-reflective dimension. We study "the other" in order to learn about ourselves. Blady's book would have been so much better had he taken Kaplan's introduction more to heart. Indeed, we can learn a great deal from the study of "exotic" Jewish communities, but unless that learning is as much about oneself as about the other, then the other becomes a curiosity, a sideshow, some oddity found in a museum perhaps—all of which is demeaning. Scholarship, on the other hand, is capable of raising the level of the analysis so that both the observer and the other retain their humanity.

Nathan Katz
Florida International University

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

To: The Editor,
The Journal of Indo-Judaic Studies, Vol. 3, April 2000

Dear Sir,

I was happy to read Dr. Joan G. Roland's article "Religious Observances of Bene Israel; Persistence and Refashioning." Her effort to record Bene Israel traditions is commendable.

The Bene Israel strongly believed in Rabbi Akiva's thinking that tradition is the hedge that not only beautifies but also safeguards the garden of the principles of the Torah. These traditions have been passed on from generation to generation over centuries. Most of the observations in the article are factual but a few points need to be clarified.

- 1) Page 30, the last paragraph regarding the "Eliyahoo Ha-Navi ceremony." It is not obligatory to have an Asara of ten adult males for this ceremony unless the host desires to say *Mincha* or *Maariv* prayers in his house before the ceremony.
- 2) Page 29, second paragraph and also page 40, first paragraph, regarding Cynthia Guy's reference to the partaking of Malida. It is considered by most of the Bene Israel as a spill over of the temple grain/fruit offering in Jerusalem. The Talmud mentions that every Jewish home is considered to be a sanctuary and every table an altar. That's what we were told to believe. The offering is made to the Almighty but as Eliyahoo Ha-Navi is still supposed to help people in need, the Bene Israel consider him to be the one who at the command of G-d would intercede on their behalf. The leader of those present—as was done in temple times by the high priest—later distributes the offering made to G-d.
- 3) Page 39, first paragraph, regarding *hadi boshi* (kiss of peace) should actually read, "the Bene Israel had a traditional way of greeting each other by touching the tips of another person's hands and then by touching their own lips with palms held together."

As an active member of the Bene Israel community, I would appreciate if these corrections are brought to the notice of your readers.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

Noreen Daniel
Rego Park, NY

Contemporary South Asia

EDITORS

Gowher Rizvi, *5/1 Shanti Niketan, New Delhi, India*

Apurba Kundu, *University of Bradford, Bradford, UK*

The region of South Asia—comprising Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka—is home to one quarter of the earth's population and some of its poorest states. Yet South Asia also contains the world's most populous democracy and includes the sixth and seventh declared nuclear weapons states. The region has spawned the great world religions of Buddhism, Hinduism, Jainism and Sikhism.

Unfortunately, examinations of South Asia's diversity have all too often been limited by the national borders of its nation-states. *Contemporary South Asia* seeks to remedy this by presenting research and analysis on contemporary issues affecting the region as a whole. It seeks to cultivate an awareness that South Asia is more than a sum of its parts—a fact of great importance not only to the states and peoples of the region, but to the world as a whole—and to address the major issues facing South Asia from a regional and interdisciplinary perspective.

The overriding purpose of the journal is to encourage scholars to search for means, both theoretical and practical, by which our understanding of the present problems of co-operation and confrontation in the region, amongst its diaspora, and within the global context can be enhanced.



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OBITUARY

Shirley Berry Isenberg-In Memoriam 1918-2000

The field of Indian Jewish studies lost one of its pre-eminent scholars in April 2000, when Shirley Berry Isenberg passed away at the age of 82. Shirley's major book, *India's Bene Israel: A Comprehensive Inquiry and Sourcebook*, (Israel: Popular Prakashan and Judah Magnes Museum, 1988), with its unprecedented collection of primary materials, will remain a standard reference work for years to come.

Shirley Berry Isenberg was born in Boston in 1918 and graduated from Radcliff College of Harvard University with a BA in Social and Cultural Anthropology. Her first trip to India and Pakistan in 1949 resulted in an unpublished study entitled "The Boat-People of Sri Nagar, Kashmir; with emphasis on the House-Boat People." She and her husband, Artur, lived and worked in India from 1955 to 1970, spending six years in Madras and nine in New Delhi. While in Madras, she worked as a Research Scholar at Madras University, writing about "Changes in Occupation and Status of Women in South India." She continued her research while in New Delhi, where she also worked for the Educational Resources Center of the State University of New York, developing and writing educational materials relating to India for use in American schools and universities. At the same time, she was a staff member of the American International School in New Delhi, in charge of intercultural relations and enlarging Indian studies as part of the school's curriculum.

During her stay in India, Shirley began her study of the Bene Israel, which she continued even after 1970 when she arrived in Israel, where she and her husband lived until her death. In addition to her major book, cited above, Shirley wrote articles and chapters on the Bene Israel for the *Encyclopedia Judaica Year Book*; Thomas Timberg, ed., *Jews in India*; Orpa Slopak, ed., *The Jews of India: A Story of Three Communities*; and Nathan Katz, ed., *Studies of Indian Jewish Identity*. She also wrote a chapter "The Kaifeng Jews and India's Bene Israel: Different Paths," for Jonathan Goldstein, ed., *The Jews of China*. Additionally, she published in various journals.

An independent scholar, Shirley will be especially remembered for her kindness, generosity and willingness to help other scholars. She gave unstintingly of her time, ideas, materials, and contacts, as well as her warm hospitality to support their research. From the late 1970s until her death, she helped us immensely in our research on Indian Jews in India and in Israel, whether checking details about the Bene Israel, or foraying further afield to help collect the Malayalam-language folksongs from Cochin Jewish women. Shirley's carefully documented recordings and photocopied texts of the latter have contributed greatly to the preservation of this material. She was especially loved by Indian Jews and she valued their friendships. "Other foreign scholars, they call when they want something," a Bene Israel once

remarked, "Shirley, she calls just to say hello and ask how you are."

In the 1970s, she was an advisor to students from the Friends World College and one of the founders of that institution's Israel Center in Jerusalem where she served as co-director and faculty advisor. She was a consultant to the Israel Museum's Department of Ethnology on its Indian exhibitions and a member of the Israel Anthropology Society.

Those who knew Shirley Berry Isenberg will always remember with gratitude her passion for her research, and her love of India and of the Indian Jewish communities there and in Israel. She is survived by Artur, her husband of almost 60 years, and by two of their three children, and is buried on her son's Kibbutz. May her memory be a blessing for them and for all of us.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

MEIR BAR ILAN is Professor of Jewish History and Talmud at Bar-Ilan University in Israel. He has written books and papers on social history (especially regarding women and children), liturgy and mysticism, in addition to two papers on the Jews in India. He is spending the current academic year at the Institute for Judastik in Vienna, Austria.

RANABIR CHAKRAVARTI is Professor in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture at the University of Calcutta. His main area of research is the social and economic history of early India, with particular reference to India's maritime trade and linkages in the Indian Ocean during the period from 700 to 1500 CE. The author of *Warfare for Wealth: Early Indian Perspectives* (Firma KLM, 1986) and *An Economic History of Early India* (in Bengali, Ananda, 1991), he has contributed to and co-edited *A Sourcebook of Indian Civilization* (Orient Longman, 2000) and *Samaj, Sanskriti O Itihas: Essays in Memory of Ashin DasGupta* (in Bengali, Ananda, 2000). His forthcoming books are *Trade in Early India* (Oxford University Press, 2001) and *Explorations in Trade and Society in Early India* (Manohar, 2001).

STEVEN HEINE is Professor of Religious Studies and History, and Director of the Institute for Asian Studies at Florida International University. His research specialty is Buddhism in East Asia, and his latest book dealing with Zen Buddhism is *Shifting Shape, Shaping Text: Philosophy and Folklore in the Fox Koan* (University of Hawaii Press). He is editor of the *Japan Studies Review*.

BARBARA C. JOHNSON is Associate Professor of Anthropology and Coordinator of Jewish Studies at Ithaca College. She has been engaged in research on the Cochin Jews of India and Israel for almost 30 years. In addition to her many published articles on the community, she co-authored with Ruby Daniel the book *Ruby of Cochin: An Indian Jewish Woman Remembers* (JPS, 1995). She is working with Prof. Scaria Zacharia on a volume of Malayalam Jewish song translations, to be published with an accompanying compact disk.

NATHAN KATZ, co-editor of this journal, is Professor and Chair of Religious Studies at Florida International University in Miami. His latest book, *Who Are the Jews of India?*, was released by the University of California Press in 2000,

KATHRYN McClymond is Assistant Professor of Philosophy in the Religious Studies Program at Georgia State University in Atlanta. She is a comparative historian of religions focused primarily on ritual in Hindu and Jewish traditions. Her current research focuses on the nature and elements of sacrifice as presented in brahmanical Hindu and biblical and rabbinic Judaic texts.

KENNETH X. ROBBINS, M.D., has published many articles on Indian art history, culture, medicine, religion, philately, and numismatics. He has documented his collection about Indian Princely States with 300 slides available from the American Committee for Southern Asian Art through the University of Michigan, as well as by curating nine exhibitions. He also collects all items relating to Jews in and of India.

OREN BARUCH STIER is Assistant Professor of Religious Studies at Florida International University in Miami, and Associate Director for Judaic Studies in FIU's Institute for Judaic and Near Eastern Studies. A specialist in Jewish cultural studies, Stier is presently completing a book entitled *Memory Matters: Contemporary Holocaust Memorial Culture*. He has published articles on Jewish and Holocaust memory in the *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* and *Prooftexts* and has lectured widely on the topic. Stier's other research interests include contemporary Hasidism and South African Jewry.

SHALVA WEIL is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Education at Ben Gurion University in the Negev, and Senior Researcher at the NCJW Research Institute for Innovation in Education at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. She has specialized in research on the Jews of India for more than 25 years. Her publications include articles on religious leadership and secular authority, names and languages between the Bene Israel, symmetry between Cochin Jews and Cranite Christians in South India, double conversion among the "Children of Menasseh," and reviews of books on the Baghdadi Jews. Dr. Weil is the founding Chairperson (with Zubin Mehta as President) of the Israel-India Cultural Association. She is on the editorial board of several Indian scientific journals and is the General Editor of the World Heritage Hindu-Judaic Series.

BRIAN WEINSTEIN, Professor of Political Science, Emeritus, at Howard University in Washington, D.C., studies the role of Jewish traders, particularly in the Indian Ocean and Mediterranean Sea areas. He recently published "Biblical Evidence of Trade Between India and the Land of Israel: A Historical Analysis" in *The Indian Historical Review*.



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New Publication from the Jewish Historical Society of Hong Kong

A Resource Guide on the Social History of the Jews of Hong Kong

by

Dr. Caroline B. Pluss

In its over 150 years' existence, the Jewish Community of Hong Kong has evolved from a small, distant outpost of the Diaspora into the hub of Jewish life in East and southeast Asia. It is most appropriate that an in-depth study of the social history of Hong Kong Jewry has begun at this time. In the process of carrying out this project, Dr. Caroline B. Pluss, D. Phil., Oxon, uncovered, and gathered together, a wide variety of resources that have never before been readily available to researchers in one body of collected materials. Many new, and hitherto not widely known, materials have been unearthed in this process. In the interests of sharing this historical wealth with other scholars and researchers, Dr. Pluss has produced a bibliography which has now been published as an Occasional Paper of the Jewish Historical Society of Hong Kong.

Covering the period from 1842 to 1998, this bibliography lists 216 newspaper & newsletter articles, 62 books & journal articles, 8 items of private correspondence, 22 private collections of documents, and 51 photographs. Copies of all the materials listed are now archived in the Judaica Library, Jewish Community Centre of Hong Kong.

Copies of the *Resource Guide* are available by mail order, at a cost of US\$10.00 plus shipping, from:

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The final results of Dr. Pluss' research will be published early in the year 2000. It will be entitled *Hong Kong Jewry: A Social History of the Jewish Community of Hong Kong*.

Copies of Leventhal, D. A. & M. W. Leventhal (Eds.), *Faces of the Jewish Experience in China*, Monographs of the Jewish Historical Society of Hong Kong, Volume III (1990), are still available. Cost, US\$15.00 plus shipping.

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