

Established 1964 Dedicated to the Advancement of Education of Assyrians

First Quarter 1984

# 三田(国 NINEVEH

Volume 7 No. 1

**4** ũm

šeššu ša (y)arah nīsan ūmu u mūši šitgulū

Ixaalo LLL yum šitta d yarh nisan yūma u lēli ištaqqal

The Arrival of Spring

心奈 美哲 註 茶谷 美雄 ##

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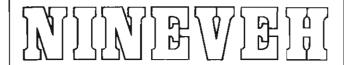
(On) the sixth day of the month of nisan day and night balanced each other;

six BERUs day (and) six BERUs night.

May Nabu and Marduk pronounce blessings unto the king, my lord.

Beru = 2 hours





First Quarter 1984

VOLUME 7

NO. 1

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#### **POLICY**

ARTICLES SUBMITTED FOR PUBLICATION WILL BE SELECTED BY THE EDITORIAL STAFF ON THE BASIS OF THEIR RELATIVE MERIT TO THE ASSYRIAN LITERATURE, HISTORY, AND CURRENT EVENTS.

OPINIONS EXPRESSED IN THIS MAGAZINE ARE THOSE OF THE RESPECTIVE AUTHORS AND NOT NECESSARILY THOSE OF NINEVEH.

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#### Assyrian Periodicals

We urge our readers to read and support the Assyrian publications. The active participation of all Assyrians is the only guarantee of the success of Assyrian periodicals.

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# Letters to NINEVEH

#### In Support of Nineveh

I was delighted to learn about several Assyrian publications. I have been deprived of reading and learning about our people and their present difficulties for quite some time.

I would like you to know that I am well aware of the difficulties involved in bringing a publication to being with minimal resources. And I'd like to take this opportunity to thank you for your effort and dedication to the Assyrian cause. I assure you, your effort is not in vain. Please count on my support when needed.

Isaac Ramsini Santa Ana, CA

#### Nineveh:

Thank you for sending *Nineveh*, Vol. 6, Nos. 3 and 4. I have read in them and learned a good deal about the views of Assyrians and Copts in the U.S.

Daniel Pipes Lecturer on History Harvard University

#### A Homesick Assyrian

I am an Assyrian originally from Beirut, Lebanon, now residing in Peoria, Illinois, undertaking a program of studies that will ultimately culminate in my earning the degree of M.D. at the University of Illinois, College of Medicine, at Peoria.

Since there is no Assyrian group in Peoria, it is easy for one to become homesick. In the hope of ameliorating my condition, I wish to subscribe to your magazine. Reading about my people, though not a substitute for being with them, is at least something.

Ronald Michael Peoria, Illinois

#### Nineveh:

I am an Assyrian student of Civil Engineering in England. I understand that for the 50th Anniversary of Simel Massacre, you have a coverage in Vol. 6, No. 3 of *Nineveh* magazine.

I wonder, therefore, if you would be so good as to send me a copy of that issue for my study.

Before closing my letter let me introduce you to a new Assyrian center in Iran, called: The Voice of Nineveh, which is directed by Mr. Sargon M. Amirkhas. The aim of The Voice of Nineveh is to encourage Assyrian language, religion and culture, particularly amongst youth.

Ramina Aprim Liverpool, England

Nineveh's Note: For more information on The Voice of Nineveh, write to: Sargon M. Amirkhas, c/o The Voice of Nineveh, P.O. Box 31-1590, Tehran 13, Iran.

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#### Assyrian Problem

#### A Petition from Assyrians of Iraq to Mr. Loy W. Henderson, the American Ambassador to Iraq in 1945

Enclosure No. 1 to Dispatch No. 698, dated April 11, 1945 from the American Legation at Baghdad.

From all public speeches and official statements made by the Allied Statesmen since the beginning of the present war the declared policy of the Governments of all the United Nations is understood to be cooperation to establish and maintain permanent international peace and security. The Allied Powers have declared their belief in essentiality of establishing competent international institutions for finding practical solutions for world's social, economic and political problems so as to remove all future causes of wars. It is with this particular object that the Allied Powers are utilizing the services of all experts at their disposal for preparation of comprehensive plans in order to carry out disarmament and complete destruction of aggressive militarism of states whose armed forces have supported unprovoked aggressive policy of their Governments who aimed at annihilation, enslavement and domination of small and defenceless nations and peoples. It is also intended to eliminate Fascism, Nazism and all similar regimes together with their sympathizers, sattelites and collaborationists who supported Axis policy and to replace them by peaceful democratic Governments. It is also intended to make careful consideration of and methods to compensate all damages done by wars of aggressive nations. It is desired to relieve the oppressed and destitute people immediately after their liberation to arrange for their repatriation, restoration of their essential services, to help them in their urgently needed agricultural and industrial productions. Above all to extend recognition of rights of both small and great nations and peoples and to form new entities out of the peoples who have proved their loyalty, wisdom and goodwill to enjoy sovereign rights and equality thus putting in practical practice the high ideals embodied in the Atlantic Charter and subsequent

Here we humbly present the case of a brave, loyal, eligible and most deserving people who once were a great and advanced nation of about forty millions and a powerful Empire whose contribution to science and culture are numerous together with its propogation of christianity, educating and enlightening services throughout the Continent of Asia are unsurpassed. But as a result of twenty six centuries of aresions [sic] and persecutions has been reduced to a few hundreds of thousands.

In order to end their sufferings they accepted the Allies proposals to join them in World War One while realizing the heavy sacrifices which would be demanded by them by fighting the Central powers and their Sattelites. They joined the Allies and fought gallantly making every possible sacrifice, proportionately greater than

any of the other allied nations. Having performed their part and as a result losing their Autonomous political status within the Ottoman Empire and their position as a Millet in Persia (Iran) sacrificing our homeland all our movable and immovable properties and more than half of our men, women, and children who were either killed on the battle fields or massacred in cold blood. Having thus born the heavy expense of the war but performing our part in that great and momentous struggle for the final allied victory.

After the armistice when the Assyrians appeared before the Allied Tribunals demanding a settlement for their claims in accordance with the Allied promises we were unfortunately refused a hearing. It was decided that our ancient fatherland (Assyria) which was wrested from the Ottoman Empire not without the valuable blood of our sons, to be renamed Iraq and be given to the war time enemies of the allies — the Mesopotamian Arabs — who as subjects of the Sultan had fought against the Allied Army ferociously both as regular soldiers, as volunteer Arab tribal hordes and as Moslems. Contrary to all approved principles of justice and humanity these enemies were treated as friends and given the country a constitutional government and independence. Whereas we, the Assyrians, were refused direct representation and treated as enemies and left no alternative but either to starve or become serfs to our former enemies. In spite of our continuous appeals and protestations as to the future treatment which we expected that would be accorded to us by our new and unfriendly masters, no attention was paid to us. Later oppressive social, economic, administrative and political measures were immediately adapted against us intended to bring about gradual but complete annihilation of this loyal people who had thrown their lot with the Allied Powers. Living was made so intolerable as a result of the measures adapted against us and as previously foretold they culminated in the 1933 massacre of peaceful loyal Assyrian serfs living in the villages of their new masters. This act was committed by regular Iraqi Armed Forces under direct instructions from the Central Government. After we brought the case before the League of Nations the sole excuse for this act of barbarism committed against poor, hungry, and unemployed Assyrians who had entered Syria in search of employment, food and lands for settlement and cultivation where they could live in peace and secure from aggression and to escape serfdom, destitution and oppression, was described by the Iraqi delegates as an unexpected excesses to have taken place as a result of stabilizing measures adapted by his Government for maintenance

of internal security. When the League realized the real position of the Assyrians once more reviewed the Assyrian problem and the council decided that it was necessary to find a reasonable and humane solution of the Assyrian problem. Unfortunately before any thing practical could have been done the Axis powers presented and engaged the League with new and more complicated problems. When the present war broke out in 1933 no permanent and reasonable solution had been found. The preliminary steps taken by the League had resulted in dividing the Assyrians between two countries of Iraq and Syria. Whereas their other oppressed brethren in Iran and those who had so kindly been given refuge in Russia and United States and other similar smaller communities all over the world were awaiting a practical solution where they would be allowed to join their brethren and live in peace and secure from molestations.

During 1941 when the existence of the British Empire and of the whole civilized world was threatened by the aggressive and formidable armies of the Axis Powers who had defeated the allied armies in the west and southern Europe and occupied Crete and when the German and Fascist Armies were marching on Egypt, threatening the foothold of the allied armies in the Middle and Near East suddenly Iraqi Government — enemies of the Allies during the first World War and superficial friends of the British during the period between the two wars joined hands with the Axis Powers stabbed the British in the back and invited the Fascist and Nazi Air Forces to come in and help them to push the British out of Iraq so as to enable them to place at the disposal of the Axis Powers all their resources including food supplies, important aerodromes, all lines and means of communications above all the Oil Fields so important to the Allied Armies, Navies and Air Forces. At this historic moment — the Assyrians allies of the former war though treated as enemies during the period between the two wars — seeing this act of treachery declared themselves on the side of Great Britain and her Allies, risking their very existence at a time when even the possibilities of the Allied recovery was doubtful, fought gallantly and fanatically thus winning the first Allied victory in this war over the Fascist and Axis Air Forces and the armies of their Iraqi Sattelites at Habbaniyah and Fillujah in May 1941, thus forcing the Air Forces to evacuate Iraq at the same time defeating the Iraqi Army and Arab tribal hordes bringing about armistice thus securing the whole of the resources of Iraq for the future use of the Allies. How could any other people have made such a noble and historical decision and under such circumstances "A NATION IS A NATION NO MATTER SMALL OR GREAT."

Had the Assyrians acted otherwise as many peoples acted and would have acted under such circumstances, it is almost certain that the Allies would have been deprived of the use of vital war means and materials and how long it would have taken and at what cost to regain them it is a matter for experts to decide. Besides the

Assyrians ignored all war time profits and on the request of the British Authorities volunteered in thousands and joined the Royal Air Force ground forces at a meagre rate of three pounds per mensem and served on the most difficult and important duties of guarding the Aerodromes, ammunition dumps, other important war materials and all lines of communications in the Middle and Near Eastern countries and among internally hostile public of Iraq, Iran, Syria, Palestine, and in Cyprus. They have since taken active part in the Mediterranean and Southern European theatres of war and have crowned themselves in glory by making every sacrifice with one and only object, to be rewarded by a home where they can settle, be secured work and live in peace and have freedom of speech and worship and freedom from want under a Government in whom they will have confidence as promised by Atlantic Charter.

On the other hand the Assyrians in Iran placed at the disposal of the Allied powers a large volume of heavy efficient and reliable mechanical transport for transportation of most important war materials from the Persian Gulf. They also placed at the disposal of the Allies and served in all capacities where they could be of proven use to the Allied War effort. It is needless to mention that when the Germans were invading Caucasus thousands of Assyrians volunteered to join the Red Army and play their part in stemming the advance of the Germans. The Assyrians in Russia and in United States have joined the Armed Forces of their respective countries and are rendering valuable services.

From the available information, it appears that the valuable services and sacrifices made by the Assyrians during the present war similar to those of the last are going to be claimed and credited to others and utilized by the approved oppressors against the interests of the Assyrians. We wanted to be known as it is no secret to us that the Iraqi public still considers the decision of the Assyrians to join and fight on the side of the Allies while they (Iraqis) had decided and joined the Axis powers, a treacherous act on the part of the Assyrians and are therefore looking for a suitable opportunity to retaliate. This opportunity will be provided when the war is over and the Allied forces stationed in this country are repatriated and if no provisions are made to protect the Assyrians against their oppressors.

Unless the leading Allied Powers and noble Governments of the United Nations undertake in the name of justice and humanity to intervene and demand the Assyrians be provided with rights for direct representation, and refuse any possible claims by others the credit for their valuable services and sacrifices during the present war preparations have been made in order to exploit the situation and prevent such claims and thus further prevent repetition of the great injustice which was done to the Assyrians at the end of the last war which has been left homeless destitute oppressed and persecuted.

We further wish to warn those unfamiliar with the mentality of Iraqi Arabs not to be mistaken to believe that a Cabinet change in Iraq as is the case, can any way bring about a change in public opinion and in the existing administrative, political, judicial, diplomatic, military and police machinery of the state, ninety percent of them enthusiastically have supported their Government Policy when that Government declared war on the Allies in support of Axis Powers nothing has undergone any appreciable changes since. It is the same public support led by the same existing state machinery who consider the Assyrians responsible and instrumental in bringing about the defeat of their military forces and shattering of their pro-Axis war aims and inflicting on them losses in men and material, they therefore consider it their prime duty to retaliate in due course.

We the Assyrians appeal to the justice and humanitarian principles of the Allied Governments that:

- (a) We may be considered a separate and distinct people (nation) which joined the allies in both wars and made great sacrifice losing its political Autonomous Status, its movable and immovable property, social educational religious institutions, all of its financial wealth and more than half of its people either killed on the battlefields or massacred in cold blood.
- (b) We may be given the right representation in order to enable us to put our case in its true form before the competent Allied Institutions and to avoid decision taken on its presentation by the interested parties who have misrepresented it in the past as a result of which we have the suffering since the last war.

- (c) In order to enable direct representation we request that provisions are made by the Allied Governments in requesting all countries in which the Assyrians domiciled to allow them to appoint their own representatives so as to make up a delegation of all Assyrians for submitting their case and representing their people before the competent Allied institutions which will be formed for organizing post war world order.
- (d) That our request for secure home where our refuge disorganized oppressed persecuted and homeless people to be given serious consideration.
- (e) That Assyrians to be placed on the agendas of all competent institutions which will be formed in order to take into consideration and make necessary compensation for all moral political and material damages caused by the two successive wars and precautions taken to prevent the loyal Assyrians from becoming victims for having supported the Allied but to be included for every constructive and relief work intended for reparations of damages, proper settlement rehabilitation and restoration of their urgently needed services and in their agricultural and industrial production required for peaceful daily life.

### The Great IQ Debate

Race, ethnicity, and the limits of intelligence tests

This report is excerpted from the newsmagazine "The Economist" of London.

hat precisely is intelligence? Although the word is bandied about and most people consider themselves good judges of intelligence or the lack of it in others, it is extraordinarily hard to define.

It is not synonymous with worldly achievement. One individual may have been educated in the "best" schools, have climbed a ladder of good connections to a coveted position, and still be regarded as dim. Another may be judged bright but prove lazy or uninterested. Nor is intelligence synonymous with erudition. Most people would make a distinction between a good memory and a good intellect, be-

tween acquired knowledge and the capacity to reason.

What is it: the ability to solve problems; to think abstractly and analytically; to distinguish between the relevant and the extraneous; to discern a pattern in a jumble of information, to "see the woods for the trees"? Probably that is closer to what the layman has in mind. But it is a narrow definition; it embraces only "cognitive skills."

Consider these definitions: "To judge well, to comprehend well, to reason well — these are the essential activities of intelligence." And: "the aggregate or global capacity of the individual to act purposefully, to think rationally, and to deal effectively with his environment." The first was propounded by the French psychologist Alfred Binet, the original inventor of intelligence tests;

the second by David Wechsler, the American deviser of widely used modern IQ tests.

Curious as it now seems, particularly in the 1940s and 1950s, intelligence tests were seen as liberating and democratizing. It was accepted without question that the tests could penetrate the veneer of wealth and privilege and that talent was no respecter of family, class, or race. It followed that properly framed ability tests could advance the American dream of giving each person the opportunity to express his talent.

That view has changed radically, both in the U.S. and elsewhere. Too often exaggerated claims were made for what intelligence tests could reveal. Many of the early tests were poorly conceived and poorly administered. And the political and social context in which

they were used has changed. The focus has shifted from the chosen to the excluded — IQ testing as a tool not of liberation but of discrimination.

Intelligence tests focus on a relatively narrow, if important, range of cognitive skills: verbal, quantitative, and abstract reasoning abilities. They do not, except tangentially, measure determination, motivation, social awareness, intuition, or creativity. Practice or coaching can boost scores, and an individual's performance can be affected by mood, attitude, and health.

The items on a modern IQ test are arranged in ascending order of difficulty. The easier items familiarize people with the idiosyncrasies of the test-deviser and constitute training for the harder items. Somebody who is both quick and accurate will do particularly well, but speed and high scoring do not necessarily go together.

IQ tests are meant to be tied as little as possible to specific knowledge. A typical achievement test measures reasoning ability as well as a repertoire of facts; an IQ test demands a knowledge of language, numbers, and other basic skills. IQ does, however, predict academic performance better than anything else.

Not surprisingly, scores on different intelligence tests tend to correlate highly. The various tests have in common an ability to measure an underlying "general ability" or even "general intelligence."

In the nineteenth century measuring brain size seemed the only way to measure brainpower. When Alfred Binet began trying to measure intelligence of children around the turn of the century, he began by measuring their heads. The results were often anomalous or statistically insignificant, so he decided to measure the children's performance instead.

Binet's intelligence test was an instant success. By 1911, the year he died, it was being used by seventy-one of the eighty-four American cities that administered psychological tests to identify retarded children. The transformation of Binet's idea — the development of intelligence tests as instruments of screening — came quickly.

World War I launched mass IQ testing in the U.S. army. The tests were unsophisticated and their administra-

tion often chaotic, but the impact after the war was huge. The army experiment had demonstrated that mass testing was possible and had bequeathed a corps of trained psychologists eager to carry on the good work.

The wartime experience also demonstrated the degree to which test results can lead to extravagant conclusions. Eugenists pounced on data showing that native whites scored highest, northwestern European immigrants not badly, and immigrants from southern and eastern Europe much lower. The fact that test scores correlated strongly with the number of years of residence in the U.S. and of

# "Still a black-white gap..."

schooling was blithely ignored. Arguments drawn from the army data were partly responsible for the bias in the 1924 immigration act against southern and eastern Europeans.

By the time World War II was over Americans had become the most tested people on Earth. In 1956 the president of the Educational Testing Service described computer-scored mass tests as America's secret weapon in its contest with the Soviet Union.

The bubble burst when optimistic theory ran up against unpalatable fact. In the U.S. the National Academy of Sciences reported in 1982 that evidence accumulated in the 1960s indicated that "whatever the distribution of merit in society, the ability to do well on specific tests was not equally divided among different segments of society. When the federal government undertook, in a series of major civil rights statutes, to insure that all groups share equally in the benefits and participate fully at all levels of society, testing entered a new phase."

IQ became the object of litigation and the center of a passionate debate over the relative intelligence of blacks and whites. Based on hundreds of studies, American blacks score 15 IQ points below American whites. But is the gap a measure of the impact of past and present discrimination or of something else as well?

The gap matters psychologically because it can be used to label blacks as intellectually inferior. But are IQ tests that are fair for whites unfair for blacks because of the way they are constructed and administered?

Research efforts have been made to see whether the tests may be biased because they use "standard" English and are administered by white examiners; because they are culturally weighted through the use of test items referring to things such as exotic animals, fairytales, or musical instruments; or because predictions of test results consistently underestimate the actual performance of blacks. (Educators and employers often use "prediction equations" calculated from past IQ-type scores to judge candidates.)

In 1969 Prof. Arthur Jensen, an American psychologist, published an article that caused a storm. Many people, worried about the black-white IQ gap, had regarded it as an indicator of past and present discrimination and had assumed that it could be wiped out eventually by measures insuring that blacks were treated equally.

In his article Prof. Jensen argued that most of the gap was due not to differences in environment but to differences in genetic inheritance. Virtually nobody doubts that most human traits are the product of both genes and environment, and there is no reason to think that this is not also true of intelligence. But it is impossible to assess the relative importance of nature and nurture. For one thing, little is known about the genetic underpinning of intelligence except that a great many genes must be involved. There is no single gene for IQ as there is a gene for, say, red hair.

More to the point, it is possible to postulate circumstances in which environment would be all-important. If you took a newborn infant, isolated it in a dark room, arranged for it to be robot-fed, and then, at age ten, gave it an IQ test, its score would be zero.

If you could arrange that a group of people had completely identical environments you could say that, error aside, differences in the IQ performance must be explained entirely by genetic variation. Alternatively, in a

group with an identical genetic makeup differences in performance could be explained entirely by differences in environment. Obviously you cannot find a sample of people who have experienced identical environments in every way — continuously — from the moment of conception, but you can find people with identical genetic makeups: identical twins.

Twin studies lie at the heart of heritability estimates. But there are huge snags. Identical twins raised apart are not available in large samplings. Nor are they likely to be scattered over a representative sample of families; some may have been brought up by close relations; others carefully placed by adoption agencies in a limited range of "acceptable" homes, quite possibly unlike their parents'.

The one highly convincing set of data on identical twins — and one that yielded a very high estimate of heritability — was produced by Sir Cyril Burt, a respected English psychologist. But after his death in 1971 Sir Cyril was indicted for both conscious and unconscious fraud and his data have been set

aside. Other studies of identical twins raised apart all have weaknesses.

That there is a correlation between children's IQ and social class — or socioeconomic status — is well established. But in the U.S., if you plot children's IQs according to the usual status indicators — parents' education; the job and income of the head of the

"Coaching can boost scores..."

household — there is still a substantial black-white IQ gap, averaging 10-12 points. In short, if environmental factors are depressing blacks' IQ performance they are too subtle and pervasive to be captured by crude statistical indicators of class.

Unfortunately there is no way to transport a sample of black children into a color-blind white environment in the U.S. to see what would happen to

IQs. The closest approximation to this was an accident of history: the fathering of children by black occupation troops in Germany after World War II. A study of a representative sample of such children and of a comparable sample fathered by white troops yielded intriguing results.

The children were mothered by German women, mainly from the working class; had no real contact with their natural fathers; and were generally brought up in difficult circumstances—many were still living in barracks, housing for the unemployed, or state housing in 1960. The children of black fathers had an additional handicap: their status as offspring of women who had had affairs with the "enemy" was clearly advertised by their skin.

Both sets of children were given a German version of the Wechsler IQ test. The whites had an average score of 97.2; the blacks, 96.5.

This sort of study is not conclusive proof of the potency of environmental manipulation. Nor, on the whole, have the results of more elaborate experiments in "enriched" education been conclusive. But they need not be. The burden of proof rests on the other side.

Laws on equality of opportunity are passed on moral, humanitarian, and political grounds. Critics who argue that they will end in tears because they are wildly optimistic in their aims have yet to make their case.



### THE ASSYRIAM CHURCH OF THE EAST IN HASSEKA, KHABOUR NEEDS YOUR HELP

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#### A Colonized Person . . .

As mentioned before, the same goes for community affairs. "They are not capable of governing themselves," says the colonizer. "That is why," he explains, "I don't let them and will never let them, enter the government."

The fact is that the colonized does not govern. Being kept away from power, he ends up by losing both interest and feeling for control. How could he be interested in something from which he is so resolutely excluded? Among the colonized few men are suitable for government. How could such a long absence from autonomous government give rise to skill? Can the colonizer succeed in barring the colonized from future participation in government by cheating him from this role in the present?

Since the colonized's organizations have nationalistic claims, it is often concluded that the colonized are chauvinistic. Nothing is less true. What is involved, on the contrary, is an ambition and a form of mob psychology which appeals to passionate motives. Except among the militants of this national renaissance, the usual signs of chauvinism-aggressive love for the flag, use of patriotic songs, fervent feeling of belonging to the same national organization—are rare among the colonized. It is repeated that the colonization precipitated the awakening of national consciousness of the colonized. One could state equally well that it moderated the tempo of this awareness by keeping the colonized apart from the true conditions of contemporary citizenship. It is not a coincidence that colonized peoples are the last to awaken to national consciousness.

The colonized enjoys none of the attributes of citizenship; neither his own, which is dependent, contested and smothered, nor that of the colonizer. He can hardly adhere to one or claim the other. Not having his just place in the community, not enjoying the rights of a modern citizen, not being subject to his normal duties, not voting, not bearing the burden of community affairs, he cannot feel like a true citizen. As a result of colonization, the colonized almost

never experiences nationality and citizenship, except privately. Nationally and civically he is only what the colonizer is not.

This social and historical mutilation gives rise to the most serious consequences. It contributes to bringing out the deficiencies in the other aspects of the colonized's life and, by a countereffect which is frequent in human processes, it is itself fed by the colonized's other infirmities.

Not considering himself a citizen, the colonized likewise loses all hope of seeing his son achieve citizenship. Before long, renouncing citizenship himself, he no longer includes it in his plans, eliminates it from his paternal ambitions, and allows no place for it in his teachings. Nothing therefore suggests to the young colonized the self-assurance or pride of his citizenship. He will expect nothing more from it and will not be prepared to assume its responsibilities. (Obviously, there is likewise nothing in his school education, in which references to the community and nation are always in terms of the colonizing nation.) This educational void, a result of social inadequacy, thus perpetuates that same inadequacy, damaging one of the essential dimensions of the colonized individual.

Later, as an adolescent, it is with difficulty that he conceives vaguely, if at all, of the only way out of a disastrous family situation . . . revolt.

Albert Memmi

The Colonizer and the Colonized

Nineveh's Note:

Albert Memmi is an author and expert on the sociology and psychology of the colonized people. He now lectures at French universities. His message has much relevance to the plight of Assyrians. We highly recommend his writings.

# Western Christian Missions and Their Activities in the Middle East

A Critical Analysis of Bayard Dodge's Misleading Assertions

In the words of Christ: "Thus by their fruits you will know them. It is not every one who merely says to me, My Lord, My Lord, who will enter the kingdom of heaven, but he who does the will of my father in heaven" (Matthew 7:20-21). For many are called, but few are chosen" (Matthew 22:14).

In THE Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science issue of May, in an article titled, "American Educational and Missionary Efforts in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, by Bayard Dodge, dealing with activities of the Protestant missions in the Middle East in general and the Presbyterians in particular, the following statements were made: In 1829 Eli Smith and Harrison Dwight were sent to Iran in order to study opportunities of missionary work. Probably as the result of this visit. Ashal Grant and his wife organized a station of work with the Nestorians in Urmia, while Justin Perkins of Amhert, also accompanied by his wife, started missionary activities in Tabriz. . . .

During the nineteenth century the Ottoman Sultan did not allow the foreign missionaries to proselytize the Muslims. Accordingly, the missionaries learned that they must limit their work to Christians. Needless to say, the communities affiliated with the Church of Rome greatly resented Protestant interference. The pioneer missionaries, therefore, found themselves obliged to work among the Greek Orthodox, Armenians and Nestorians. These minority groups formed such a large part of the population of the Middle East that they offered the Americans an extensive field of work. The original policy of the pioneers was to reform the oriental churches from within. rather than to establish a Protestant sect to compete with them. But the Church ecclesiastics were so conservative that they resisted all reform.

During the nineteenth century the members of the Oriental Churches became so disgruntled with their leaders that they sought a Church which could be free from what they came to consider superstition and hypocrisy. Accordingly, just before the middle of the past century, the first Evangelical Armenian Church was established. At about the same time, the American Board adopted the policy of "forming churches from the native converts, even though this resulted in the formation of a new sect. Finally, in 1850 the Ottoman Government gave official recognition to the protestant "Millet" or sect, with the same privileges as those enjoyed by other sects in the Empire. . . . The work became so extensive that in 1870 the American Board of the Congregational Church limited the activities to the Turkish, Armenian and Greek peoples of Turkey. Activities among the Arabic-speaking peoples, as well as the Nestorians and Persians. became the responsibility of the Presbyterian Board of Missions".

These statements made by the author. Bayard Dodge, are so contradictory that the reader will see without difficulty that Dodge himself does not believe in what he says.

In the first place, he says, that these Protestant missionaries, Congregationals and Presbyterians were sent by their Boards to convert Muslims to Christianity, but then he says that they (missionaries) could not proselytise the Muslims because

the Ottoman Sultan would not permit it and, therefore, they had to proselytise local Christians. In the statements the author acknowledges the ulterior motive, the hypocrisy, and the total bankruptcy of these missions.

Christ's mandate to His Apostles and therefore to those who profess to follow them, which these missionaries did. was to quote: "Go, therefore, and convert all peoples and baptize them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit; and teach them to observe every thing that I have commanded you, and lo, I am with you always, to the end of the world" (Matthew 28: 19-20).

Christ did not say ask the permission of the Sultans, the kings and rulers of this earth. whether you can convert their subjects or not. and only then convert and baptize them; nor did the apostles ask for such permission. By the same token, when the missionaries of the Holy Apostolic Church of the East, went throughout Asia, the Persian Empire, China, India, Ceylon, etc. and even the inaccessible Tibet, and converted and baptized millions of pagans and established the mighty Church of Asia, they did not ask for the permission of the Emperors and the potentates, but to the contrary they endured unimaginable harships and thousands upon thousands gave their lives for preaching salvation through Christ crucified and risen victoriously.

As has already been stated, Dodge himself whether with or without realization of the facts professes the falsity of his statements as the following instances will show:

- 1. He asserts that in Turkey, the missionaries could not proselytize Moslems because the Sultan would not permit it. Then he says to quote: "Activities among the Arabic speaking peoples, as well as among the Nestorians and Persians, became the responsibility of the Presbyterian Board of Missions". This statement clearly indicates that while the Sultan prohibited the Missionaries from proselytizing the Turks (if he ever did) but that they were not forbidden from proselytizing the Muslim Arabs or the Persian Muslims. It would, therefore, be interesting if Dodge were to give a factual account of the success of these missions among these Muslim elements where they were active?
  - 2. The author states that "Needless to say taht

the lews and the communities affiliated with the Church of Rome greatly resented Protestant interference". Now, the resentment on the part of the Roman Catholic Church is to be understood because of the animosity existing between the two sects, namely: Roman Catholicism and Protestantism; though even then the lack of success on the part of the Protestant missionaries who believed according to the author's own statement regarding the "superstition and hypocrisy" existing in the Oriental churches, when from the point of view of these very Protestant sects the Roman Church was the very embodiment of all these unholy attributes, and yet they failed to convert any of the adherents of that Church to their lily white holiness, is a clear indication of the falsity of the said statement regarding the Eastern Churches. In fact, Dodge has purposely omitted to state the fact, that these Protestant missionaries had on their advent in the Middle East, assured these Churches that the sole purpose of their educational work among them was to save them from the "corrupt" Roman influence which that Church had supposedly been spreading among them through its long established educational centres.

It is these explicit assurances, and the promises that they would never proselytize these ancient Christians to their own sects that in the first place made them acceptable and welcome to the ecclesiastical leaders of these Eastern churches.

3. But even admitting the fact that the animosity of the Roman Catholic Church, and especially during this period, was very deeply rooted against all form of protestantism; and therefore the failure of these Protestant missions among its adherents may be attributed to the fact that "forewarned is forearmed" but this maxim cannot be applied to the case of the Jews?

The Jews are not Christians; furthermore they were not covered by the asserted edict of the Sultan in relation to the Muslims, but these missionaries proved to have been a total failure in their work even among the followers of the religion!

Interestingly enough there were also in the Middle East adherents of other non-Christian religions such as the Subhis and the Yezides, who are devil worshippers, but these missionaries never showed the slightest interest in converting these pagans to Christianity (and in some

instances; where they did, were utter failure) but instead were actively engaged in proselytizing Christians to their own brand of Christianity. Isn't this in itself indicative of an innate weakness which excludes any claim on the motivation on the part of the Holy Spirit?

4. Dodge speaking in defence of the proselytizing tactics of his sect says: "During the nineteenth century the members of the Oriental Churches became so disgruntled with their leaders that they sought a Church which could be free from what they came to consider superstition and hypocrisy". The author has not quoted any facts in defence of his extraordinary assertion, it is, therefore, not worthy of any serious comment.

Nevertheless, taking as an example the Church of the East, with which this article is primarily concerned, and which Church the author also attacks under the misnomer "Nestorian".

The Church of the East from its very foundation, which goes back to the very beginning of the Christian era, has preserved the Scriptures in their Aramaic original; likewise its pure Apostolic faith, dogma, liturgy and all the traditions of the early Apostolic Church. Furthermore, unlike the Greek and Latin Churches which after the third century were both supported and dominated by the Byzantine Emperors; and also unlike the Protestant denominations that likewise were created and dominated by the policies of the various kings and princes of Europe; the Church of the East never had any political support nor was it ever influenced by any political powers and thus was able to preserve its faith and the other attributes thereof without any change or revision. This has been amply proven by facts of history. Moreover, there has been no theological split in the Church of the East, while in the Western Christianity there have been heresies, and schisms from the very outset, and they have continually increased. The Presbyterian sect itself, during its four hundred years of history, more or less, has split into several factions theological opinions and moral norms. In fact, all the sectarian divisions which you find today among the Assyrians were introduced by these Western missionaries. It would, indeed, be interesting if the author were to tell us which of the numerous Western Churches represents the true form of Christianity and of the several branches of the Presbyterian sect which of them represents true Presbyterianism? But coming back to Dodge's assertion about the disgruntled elements in the Oriental Churches who sought a Church (no doubt meaning Presbyterianism) which they came to consider free from "superstition and hypocrisy".

For some nineteen centuries after forebears of the purported "disgruntled elements" had been devoted members of the Church of the East and during all this period had trusted intimately and followed their spiritual leaders even to martyrdom and death for their faith in Christ and His Holy Church, but now all of a sudden, under the influence of the Presbyterian missionaries, or more correct to say their political influence and the mammon of unrighteousness, they find the same leaders to have been hypocrites! Furthermore, this realization on the part of this "disgruntled" element among the Assyrian (members of the Church of the East) comes some forty years after the Presbyterians had established their educational and medical activities among the Assyrians, and after the events of the wholesale massacre of the Assyrians in Kurdistan, known as the massacre of Badrkhan-Beg (1832) and which was perpetrated as the result of activities of these very missionaries, specially Messrs. Grant and Badger, ministers of the Church of England and the Presbyterians, respectively. The Assyrians were thus decimated and weakened beyond measure as the esult of the massacre and the epidemics which broke out during the years of their destitute existence as refugees. Indeed, the British press during these horrible events congratulated these missionaries for perpetrating these horrors and stated categorically that it is the first time in their Christian history that these people (Assyrians) had been subjected to massacre. It is only now that these missionaries show their real intention and embark on their mission of proselytization.

However, all that has been said so far is merely to enlighten the reader on the facts of history and to repudiate directly the erroneous and misleading statements made by Mr. Bayard Dodge. The truth is that all these Western missions without exception were politically motivated; they were the agents of their respective governments. They

were not in the least interested in the spiritual welfare of the Middle Eastern Christians but rather as political pawns in the imperial design of their respective governments. Unfortunately, these Christians were not aware of this until it was too late. In confirmation of these facts we are herewith quoting some pertinent passages from an article by James A. Field, Jr. titled "Trade Skills and Sympathy: The First century and a half of commerce with the Near East, published in the "Annals" issue of May 1972: "Taken on as chief constructor of the Ottoman Navy, Eckford and his successor Foster Rhodes, directed a building programme . . . and while Porter, Eckford and Rhodes helped with the problem of material, the training of military personnel in writing, ciphering, and geography was assisted by the American missionaries to reach the Turkish capital" (p. 4). By mid century, then, the importance of American skills, the distant and detached situation of the United States . . . if somewhat diffuse the atmosphere of Turko-American friendship in which even the steady growth of the American near Eastern missionary effort went on without any serious difficulty" (p. 5). . . For the Americans, over and above the slight commercial connection, the main problems were those of the protection of the missionaries and of their client groups within the Ottoman Empire". (p. 6). . . . This problem, exacerbated by Turkish decadence, the importance of the missionary effort, and the growth of American power, centered on the Armenians, the community with which the missionaries had enjoyed the greatest success. In 1894-95 exaggerated Turkish fears of conspiracy among these people led to a massacre which made the Bulgarian horrors seem of small account, which resulted in extensive damage to missionary property, and which gave rise to much indignation in America". (p. 8). . . . The most visible manifestation of American interest in the region remained the missionaries and the Navy, a fact sufficiently well symbolized when missionary claims to damages to their property following the Armenian massacre were settled only by being disguised as part of the cost of an armoured cruiser that the Sultan proposed building in the United States" (p. 9).

These quotations and many others that have been made by various writers on the relations between these missionaries and their respective governments do not for a moment deny, in fact, proudly declare, the political nature of these missions. In all these tragedies which befell the Christians of the Middle East, the missionaries are primarily concerned with the effect they may have on their own activities and their properties, as is evidenced by the above Turkish destroyer deal. Even worse is the attitude shown by these same missionaries towards the massacre of the Armenians and the Greeks during the first World War. During the destruction of Smyrna in 1922, when the Turks are reported to have massacred 190,000 Greeks and Armenians while the ships of the Allied powers rode idly at anchor in the harbour, President MacLachlan of the International College reported "that the Turks not only committed no crimes but protected the college from destruction". One wonders by whom? The Greeks and the Armenians? Mr. Dodge speaks eloquently of the millions of dollars raised in the United Staes in the wake of all these horrors and of the succour given by the missionaries to the victims of these outrages, whether they be Assyrians, Armenians or Greeks; but he is dumb silent of the reasons why these horrors were perpetrated nor of equating the good acts with the irreparable harm brought upon these unfortunate Christians as the result of the activities of these missionaries?

Dodge does not mention the fact that of the nearly seven million Christians then existing in the Turkish Empire, there aren't today more than a million and a half left throughout the Middle East; with perhaps fifty thousand in Turkey proper. Nor does he mention the material, moral and spiritual losses which these Christians suffered in the loss of their homeland, their churches, monasteries, schools, properties which are beyond all material value, but which if estimated on the basis of Dodge's calculation in dollars and cents spent by these missionaries in their activities among these Christians, would run into billions of dollars. All that Dodge is apparently interested in is the several million dollars which these missionaries in the aftermath, raised from the good-hearted Americans, to feed what remained of the unfortunate victims of their policy. He does not, however, specify how much of this money was spent upon these people and how much of it went into the bank accounts of these missionaries themselves?

Indeed the greatest sin or hypocrisy of these missionaries was the fact that they deceived even the members of their own churches in giving them to understand that the millions of dollars they raised were being used to convert the non-Christian people, while in reality they were proselytizing Christians of the first century.

Islam, or in this instant more correctly to say, the Kurds and the Turks, had never before in their centuries long Islamic history, massacred the Christians of the Middle East; to the contrary they had been granted special protection and favours by various charters issued by successive Khalifs of Islam, one of which has been published in this magazine.

The horrors perpetrated upon the Assyrians and the Armenians during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were the direct result of the political activities of these missions as has already been pointed out in the narrative of these events and which also have been confirmed by other quotations appearing in this article.

Both the Assyrians and the Armenians were encouraged by these missionaries in their political aspirations and were assured of support from both England and the United States, and to a lesser degree that of France. In analyzing these extraordinary unchristian activities of these missionaries, it is clear that these were motivated, firstly, by the imperial policies and the antagonism between their respective governments, and secondly, spiritually they had nothing to offer to these Christians, as they had nothing to offer to the Moslems either, according to their own admission; thus the only way left to recruit proselytes from among the native Christians, were the material benefits and political aspirations which they gave so generously, especially the latter which cost nothing. Indeed these proselytes were so much influenced by the material and political advantages which temporarily they gained from these missions that they were constantly changing their loyalties to which ever mission would promise them more benefits. To quote Longrigg: "Many Chaldeans, it was said, would gladly have joined this old community under Mar Shimun if only foreign protection were forthcoming equal to that of the Papal Delegate (Iraq 1900 to 1950 P. 52 published by Royal Institute of International Affairs, Oxford, England).

Finally, to quote Bayard Dodge himself: "During the nineteenth century the Ottoman Sultans did not allow the foreign missionaries to proselytize Muslims". Accordingly, the missionaries learned that they had to limit their work to Christians and Jews. If these missionaries were inspired and led by the power of the Holy Spirit, as they professed to be, then they should not have been deterred by the Sultan's prohibition? Indeed, the Holy Apostles and the missionaries of the Church of the East were never deterred by similar orders of the Caesars, the Emperors of China, the Indian Rajahs or the Mogul Khans. But since these latter day missionaries placed the Sultan above the command of Christ "go and convert all the peoples etc.", they were clearly not led by the power of the Holy Spirit. The question then is by what power?

These facts which we have thus presented have proven beyond a shadow of doubt that the leaders of these native Christians who had kept their holy faith and preserved their communities throughout the centuries of the stormy history of Asia, could not be accused of hypocrisy as Dodge had implied; it is therefore evident that the reverse is the case.

The energy of these missionaries could indeed have been used more honestly and profitably in Europe and the Americas where numerous events of great moral, social and spiritual importance have literally throughout the Western history been crying out for an honest Christian endeavour and outspokeness; not the least among them is the religious and sectarian cruel struggle which has been waged for so long between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants in Northern Ireland, and which has cost so-many innocent lives and has literally torn that unfortunate island nation in two. Alongside with this even a greater challenge has been hurled at these missionaries by the thousands upon millions of Americans in the United States, supposedly converted by these missionaries to their respective forms of Christianity and who are now embracing strange faiths!

In the words of Christ: "Thus by their fruits you will know them. It is not every one who merely

says to me, My Lord, My Lord, who will enter the kingdom of heaven, but he who does the will of my father in heaven" (Matthew 7:20-21). For many are called, but few are chosen" (Matthew 22:14).



Above Dr. V. Tuman at the Assyrian Foundation where on March 10, 1984 he gave a lecture on the astronomic significance of the Tomb of King Antiochus. (See article on the next page.) Dr. Tuman has been researching into the ancient astronomy as depicted in the Middle Eastern, and in particular the Mesopotamian, art.

Bayard Dodge was born in New York in 1888 and educated at Princeton and Columbia universities and Union Theological Seminary. He taught for thirty-five years at the American University of Beirut and served as its President for twenty-five. He later taught at Columbia. Princeton, and the American University at Cairo. His publications include Al-Azhar, A Millenium of Muslim Learning (1961) and The Fibrist of al-Nadim (1970).



### An Appeal for Books

At last the long awaited and past overdue Church of the East Library has been completed. A large room on the third floor of Mar Gewargis Church in Chicago was beautifully redecorated and equipped with elegant but partially filled bookcases. It is a shame that we do not have a wide selection of books in Aramaic, modern Assyrian (Syriac) and English on Church subjects of importance to our readers.

Through this column we are appealing to all those who envision the restoration of our glorious heritage to come forward and donate whatever books they might have which would enrich our meager collection. Some of these may be gathering dust in a basement corner and the owner may not be aware of their existence, whereas if donated would benefit our Church tremendously. Some may be reprinted and be bound into attractive volumes for preservation for future generations, others may be republished for use as textbooks in our classes. In any case once they find their place on the shelves of our library many uses could be thought of.

We are looking forward to your generous help in building up this library which has been a constant wish of our beloved Patriarch who has often admonished us for not having inaugurated this vital institution much earlier. If Ashurbanipal built the first and greatest library in the world in Nineveh it must not be difficult for us, his descendants, to start a miniature one in comparison.

-Library Committee

#### The Tomb of King Antiochos Revisited

Planetary Alignment February 4-5, 55 B.C.

#### and

#### Deification of King Antiochos I on His Birthday

by

\* V. S. Tuman, California State College, Stanislaus

#### Summary

The tomb of the King Antiochos "I" of Commagene discussed in this paper was explored and investigated by Humann and Puchstein and Luschan in 1882-83. They reported their results in great detail in Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrian (Berlin 1890). The tomb of King Antiochos is adorned with colossal monuments of the Parthian deities sitting on the eastern terrace watching the eastern horizon. The same deities are sitting also on the western terrace watching the western horizon. The King Antiochos is sitting among these gods. There are also five slabs where King Antiochos is visiting with four different deities in the first four slabs. The fifth is the Lion's slab representing the constellation of Leo with the crescent of the Moon on Lion's chest; and three planets, Jupiter, Mars and Mercury depicted on its back. The name of these planets is carved on the slab. Both Puchstein, et al (1890) and Professor Otto Neugebauer (1959) completely ignored, all the colossal monuments of deities watching the eastern and western horizon and the first four slabs. Both of these investigators considered real conjunction of the three planets in the constellation of Leo for horoscopic purposes.

In both interpretations, the order and the position of the planets with reference to the crescent of the moon, is in conflict with what has been depicted on the slab. Furthermore, Neugebauer had to consider the calendar from Ephesus, to obtain a date close to the date of coronation. Samosat, the capital of the King Antiochos, is within 100 miles from the City of Antioch, compared to 1000 miles from the City of Ephesus and therefore it is more likely that the Antioch calendar was used.

A planetary alignment comprised of Sun, Mercury, Venus, Mars and Jupiter being in opposition to the constellation of Leo, while the Moon and Saturn being in real conjunction with the constellation of Leo, offers an alternative interpretation; such an alignment took place on 4-5 Feb. 55 B.C. extending from bright star of Regulus in Leo, towards the bright star Fomalhut,  $\alpha$  PsA. This alignment is again recorded some hundred years later on the slab of Hatra, investigated by the author in 1983. The date Feb. 4-5 is in excellent agreement with the birthday of King Antiochus, the Aydanaios 16, if we use the calendar from the City of Antioch. There are also present on the Lion slab two

important Mithraic features, namely the upward and downward torches and the ear of corn; these features were also ignored in the former investigations. A tentative plausible interpretation is offered.

The planetary alignment from the astral religion point of view probably reflects the meeting of the gods. The fact that deities are sitting together at eastern and western terraces is a reasonable indication of that concept. It seems that gods have consented to deify the King Antiochus "I" on his birthday Aydanois 16, 55 B.C. when planetary alignment took place.

#### I. Introduction

About 7000 feet above sea level, on the summit of Nimrud Dagh, in the Taurus mountains presently in Turkey, facing eastward of the Euphrates River, Antiochos I the King of Commagene built his monumental Tomb which overlooks the entire countryside of Commagene. (1, 2) Greek by education, Antiochos I claimed to be a descendant of Darius the Achaemenid and of Alexander the Great. On the west terrace of his tomb there are a number of Parthian gods seated on the throne. The deified King Antiochos I is also seated on his throne among these colossal monuments. Additionally one observes the same gods and goddesses along with Antiochos seated at the eastern terrace of the Tomb. (See Figure I.) On the back of the monuments the Greek language is used to identify the deities of the Commagene Pantheon. On the left side of the west terrace, there are five slabs set between two guardians, a pair of Lion and Eage. In the first slab, King Antiochos is depicted alongside Goddess Commagene (probably representing the planet Venus). In the second slab, Antiochos stands alongside a deity having double representation, Apollo-Mithras, Helios-Hermes, (Figure 2), (Mercury and Sun). This double representation, and the King's association with Goddess Commagene may have astronomical significance which will be discussed below. In the third slab, Antiochos is represented together with Zeus-Oromazdas. In the Persian religion, just as in Greek and the former Babylonian-Assyrian Astral religion, the god Oromazdas. Zeus and Marduk were associated with the giant planet Jupiter. (3) The fact that this third slab is larger than the other two slabs may also indicate the importance of Zeus-Oromazdas, (Figure 3).

<sup>\*</sup>Dr. V. Tuman is an Assyrian physicist who teaches at California State College, Stanislaus in Turlock.

The same holds true for the remaining monuments. Oromazdas is the dominating figure among all the deities. In the fourth slab, Antiochos is depicted together with Artaganes-Herakles-Ares (Mars), (Figure 4). Finally, we have the Lion relief slab, number five, which will be discussed later on in detail. These five slabs are placed between two guardian pairs of lions and eagles. Next to this group of slabs, we come across the larger, more imposing seated monuments of the gods and goddesses, some of the deities of the Parthian era. Here again these colossal monuments are placed between two guardian lion-eagle pairs. (Figure 5). The first deity is represented by Apollo-Mithra. Helios-Hermes, (Sun, Mercury). It is noteworthy that this double deity is wearing on his headgear a series of rings — a configuration which might be the oldest and most primitive form of the later sign of the Semeion. The term Semeion, an emblem representing the known planets, stacked on a pole, was introduced by Lucian of Samosat in the Second Century A.D. Samosat was the capital of the Commagene. In our study of the slab of Hatra, which was probably carved in the middle of the first century A.D., it was postulated that the Semeion is a planetary alignment and that such an alignment might be interpreted as the meeting of the gods. Seen in this light, the tomb of Antiochos I of Commagene and the sitting of the deities together would be a fairly strong evidence for the religious significance of planetary alignments. The Goddess of Commagene, the Fortuna of the Land, the protector of the Country (Venus) is sitting between Apollo-Mithra and Zeus-Oromazdas. The Zeus-Oromazdas deity occupies the center and is the tallest and most impressive monument, which shows the rank of Oromazdas among the deities and the size and rank of Jupiter among the planets. Next to the Zeus-Oromazdas monument is the "young" Antiochos I, the King of Commagene. The fact that he is seated among the gods may indicate his deification. However, his smaller size may show humility toward the gods. Finally, we have the monument of the god Artaganes-Herakles-Ares (Mars). All these gods and goddesses are seated on thrones (and monuments are about 7-8 meters tall). Unfortunately, when Karl Humann and Otto Puchstein discovered the Tomb during the 1883 expedition, they found that the enthroned figures were missing their heads. (4) With the exception of the Goddess Commagene, the crowned heads of the remaining gods were down at the foot of the Tomb. A 1/3 scaled model of the western terrace was reconstructed at the site and later carried back to Germany, where it is housed in the Berlin Museum. (See Figure 5.)

In summary, Karl Humann and Otto Puchstein discovered:

1) a set of slabs with Greek inscriptions, (5) giving the name of the king, his ancestors, the date of his birth Aydanois 16, and the date of his coronation Loos 10;

- b) the Greek and Persian names of the deities on the slabs:
- c) the names of three planets and their rough location on the Lion horoscope, where the crescent of the Moon is dominant on the chest of the Lion;
- d) the names of the deities sitting on the thrones in the larger monuments.

In spite of all the writings which have been translated,\* a number of crucial questions remain to be addressed.

- 1. What is the significance of the Lion horoscope? Does it represent the birthday of Antiochos, or his coronation, or the day that he was deified, or some combination of these?
- 2. Why do we have one monument to represent Apollo-Mithra, "Mercury-Sun," Helios-Hermes when normally they were regarded as two independent gods? Independent temples were built to their names in two cities of Haran and Edessa.
- 3. What is the significance of the "rings" decorating the headgear of Apollo-Mithras?
- 4. The crescent of the moon is quite dominant in the Lion's horoscope. Why, is it that King Antiochos does not appear with the moon god in any one of the slabs? The temple of the SIN in HARRAN was well known, and is very close to the tomb of the Antiochos.
- 5. Why is King Antiochos represented repeatedly in the slabs, appearing with Goddess Commagene, with Apollo-Mithra, with Oromazdas, and finally with Herakles-Verethragana?

The search for feasible answers to these questions may throw some new light on the meaning of the monuments. It must be realized that the mystery of the Babylonian-Assyrian Astral religion, also influenced the Ahura-Mazda religion of the Persians. Thus at the time of the Parthians, the astronomer, the astrologer, and the religious priest were often one and the same person, with the result that astronomical events were given a religious interpretation and translated into religious dogma. In order to appreciate the background astronomical knowledge of these Mithraic priests at the middle of the last century B.C., during the life time of the King Antiochos, a brief review of the history of the Astronomy at the time of the Parthians is presented.

### II. A Brief Review of the History of Astronomy and Astral Religion at the Time of the Parthians

The Parthians inherited a great deal of sophisticated knowledge of astronomy already developed by the Babylonians, Assyrians and later gradually modified by Greeks. Even at the time of Hammurabi, a lunar year of twelve months totaling 354 days was used for calendar purposes. Since this is short of a solar year by 11.25 days, to adjust it for the seasons a thirteenth month was intercalated every three years and sometimes more

<sup>\*</sup>Mr. Kermit Goell applied latex to the ancient inscriptions and obtained flexible sheets bearing a mirror image of inscriptions. (National Geographic, March 1961, pages 390-405).

often. This practice was also used by the Greeks, the Romans and the Parthians (6). Thus, at the time of Antiochos I of Commagene this method of chronology was maintained. However, the introduction of the thirteenth month was left to the whim of governors, officers in charge of colonies, and local kings\* (7). Consequently, dates, calendars, and the names of the months differ from one locality to another and specific events become very difficult to date precisely. (See Table 1.) We shall see later how such differences between the calendars of Ephesus and Antioch give rise to two different interpretations of the Lion horoscope of the King Antiochos I of Commagene.

From the epic of creation at the time of Hammurabi, about 1800 B.C., we note that Marduk, "the supreme god," fixed the stars and constellations. By 800 B.C., during the Assyrian Empire, we have records indicating the motions of the planets and sun in different constellations of the zodiac. The Assyrian and Babylonian priests were able to predict the eclipses of the Moon. According to Ptolomy, 150 A.D., a complete list of eclipses was available to him from the reign of Nabonasser, 747 B.C. (8). They were also able to calculate the planetary motions and their positions in different constellations. The fact that 19 years are equivalent to 235 lunar months was well established and was used to determine a precise calendar by 380 B.C. (9).

In summary, by the time of the Parthian Era massive data of eclipses, the motion of planets, their cyclic periods, (and periods of planets) were available. The motion of the planets could be calculated many years ahead of time if necessary. The 19 year cycle was used to determine the true length of the year in terms of lunar cycles.

Astrology may be described as the superposition of the exact science of astronomy on primitive beliefs, that the daily events affecting mankind are directly related to the positions of planets among the constellation and the stars, with planets being considered as the vehicles of gods. This (Pseudo-Science) indeed gave rise to the Astral religion at the time of Babylonians.

During the Seleucid Era, Greek observers, with a passion for accuracy, developed trigonometry and spherical geometry in order to further refine the astronomical predictions and thus modified consequent astrological interpretation. Over many generations of astronomical observations, the Babylonians and the Assyrians identified the fixed character of the planetary motions. They believed that they had discovered the mechanisms of the universe, and the laws that govern the Earth and the destiny of mankind. Ancient beliefs about the influence of the planets and stars upon the Earth and its inhabitants crystalized into rigid ideologies, but such ideologies frequently gave rise to contradictions rather than confirmations. These intense beliefs, and the priests' refusal to deny the influence of the divine planets and the stars on the affairs of the mankind, gave rise to a modification

#### III. The Constellation of Leo

The constellation of Leo the Lion, extends roughly from 10 hr - 12 hrs RA, and 15° declination. This is a spring and summer constellation, culminating at midnight about March I. It is visible in the midnight sky from December to June. At the Babylonian time, the constellation was called UR - GU - LA, later on UR-A, and Assyrians called it ARYO, and presently it is known as ARYA, in the Aramaeic language (12).

There are 81 stars that form the constellation of Leo. On a clear night in Turlock, California, during the months of February and March, ten of these stars are visible to the naked eye during the culmination. The number of visible stars increases considerably when one uses binoculars. Evidently the skies were brighter and much less polluted in the Taurus mountains in Turkey some 2000 years ago.

On the photograph of the original Lion slab, found at the tomb of Antiochos, one can differentiate 12 stars and three specified planets on the back of the Lion. A repreduction from the original Lion slab, however, shows 17 stars and three planets (Figs. 6, 7).

The oldest recorded coordinates of the stars in this constellation are recorded in a table in the Almagests written by Claudius Ptolomy, 150 A.D. (13). Ptolomy remeasured the coordinates of these stars which were formerly collected and recorded by Hipparchas at about 130 B.C. (13). Altogether some 27 visible stars with magnitude one to six are quoted as the main stars of the constellation of Leo. With the help of the tables of Yales catalog of stars for Leo, and Ptolomy's table of about 150 A.D., it is possible to identify the stars which are placed on the slab of the Lion found at the tomb of King Antiochus. By adjusting the scale we obtain a reason-

Continued on page 21.

of the theories and the ideologies, rather than a realization of their futilities. The kings, the ministers and the officers of state would make no move without the approval of the astrologer priests, who had to evaluate first the events leading to the fortune of the country. In spite of dubiousness of astrological claims, the astral religion was a royal religion, with mass as an audience, rather than true participants in ceremonies. It is evident that King Antiochos "I" did not only deify himself, but he also built a collosal tomb to commemorate the "occasion." The tomb, the monuments, and all the writings left behind as a result of such astrological interpretations of planetary motions has left us with important information on the history of the time, just before the birth of Christ. The existence of the tomb and religious ceremonies conducted in the area, were not known to ancient historians until 1880, when Karl Humann and Otto Puchstein discovered the remains of the Tomb at Nimrud Dagh (10, 11).

<sup>\*</sup>A History of Astronomy by A. Pannekoek, Chapter 10, Interscience Publishers, New York, 1961.

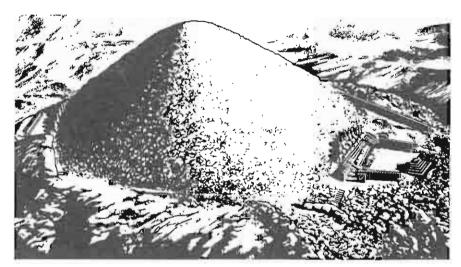


Figure 1.
The Tomb of the King Antiochus "I" of Commagene. The artist's version from the original documents.



Figure 2. Nimrud Dagh. Antiochus and Apollo-Mithras (69-34 B.C.) — In Situ



Figure 3.
Nimrud Dagh. Antiochus and
Ahura & Mazda (69-34 B.C.)

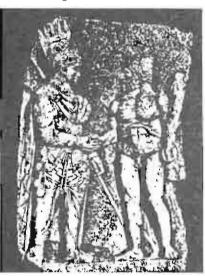


Figure 4. Nimrud Dagh. Antiochus and Herakles-Verethragna (69-34 B.C.) In Situ

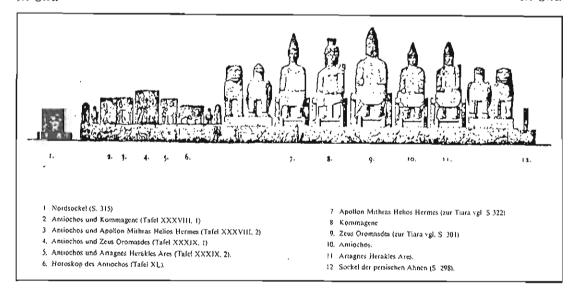


Figure 5. West Terrace

#### J. N. Postgate THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

#### § 0. Introduction

With one exception this paper is a fairly exact reproduction of that read at Copenhagen, combined with charts and some comments which were included in the preliminary abstract. The exception is the section on hisru (§§ 5.3-4), which has been expanded to supply background details which are not presented elsewhere. Throughout the paper footnotes have been included to give some basic references,1 but it is very important that this should not lend it a spurious appearance of authority: it is conceived and presented as a speculative essay, not as a statement of accepted fact based on detailed research (which would have been impossible, as explained in § 2). It must therefore be read in a critical frame of mind, and the charts treated as reconstructions, not as exhaustive presentations of the evidence.

In view of the frequent misunderstandings which arise over terminology, we wish to clarify a few points at the outset, with special reference to words which might be given a more exact connotation than I have intended.

Although I believe it is justifiable to write about a 'government' in Neo-Assyrian times, it must not be forgotten that there is no Akkadian equivalent to our word. By 'government' we mean the body of royal employees or officials engaged in the king's business when it concerns the state as a whole and not the domestic affairs of his household. Although it may never have been formulated so clearly, it is our belief that in the later Assyrian Empire there did exist the concept of 'state business' as distinct from the king's private affairs.

Occasionally we have used the phrase 'central government' or 'central military administration'. The administration of the empire was based on the provincial system but there must have been some co-ordination from the centre, directly under the king, and this is especially true for the army, which no doubt came under the turtanu (cf. § 4.2.1). We have avoided discussing the exact links between the central government and the provinces because there is not enough evidence on this subject.

Following Diakonoff we have used the term 'helot' for the well-known tied cultivators.2 The words 'free man' and 'citizen' are used interchangeably for subjects of the empire not so tied, and neither is intended to have any specific legal connotation beyond that.

For the purposes of this paper we are considering the Assyrian Empire only in its last and most extreme incarnation. At Rome Prof. Finley has distinguished between a 'conquest phase' and and 'imperial phase', and although the time scale is much shorter, this is a useful distinction in Assyria too. One might be tempted to consider the expansion of the Assyrian kingdom under Assur-nasir-apli II and Shalmaneser III as the 'conquest phase' of the Assyrian Empire; but in fact their achievements differed little from those of their Middle Assyrian ancestors, and we should not have been surprised, as distant observers of the scene, if after the reign of Adad-nirari III the Assyrian state had succumbed entirely to gradual attrition and a period of obscurity, and fallen prey to some new force in the north or east. Then we should probably have seen no cause to speak of an 'Assyrian Empire', or to place it alongside Macedon or Rome. Put another way, Assyria, unlike Rome, made several attempts, of which only the last was successful, at establishing and retaining an empire. For us, therefore, the true 'conquest phase' of the empire lasts from the accession of Tiglath-pileser III into the reign of Sargon, while broadly the 'impenal phase' spans the 7th century, under Sennacherib, Esarhaddon and Assurban-apli. It is true that in administrative terms there is no clear break between 745 BC and the reign of Assur-ban-apti - it seems accepted that Tiglath-pileser reorganized the provincial system and it is likely that the framework of the military and civil administrations was laid down in his reign as well - but in economic terms we must obviously draw a clear distinction between the decades during which the empire was regularly pushing its borders outwards and consolidating its conquests with an essentially military administration, and the later years when the main tracts of the empire had been under Assyrian rule long enough to have acquired a certain stability and to have adjusted their economic and civil life to the new conditions.

#### § 2. Sources

There is a further reason for restricting ourselves to the latest phase of Assyria, and that concerns the source material. Our attitude towards the sources is illustrated in Chart 1, which is intended to show the non-Assyriologist (and remind the Assyriologist) what our statements have to depend on, and how much is lacking. The chart itself is self-explanatory, but there are two main points I wish to stress before plunging into the main part of the paper. One concerns the bias in our attitudes which resuits inevitably from the nature of the documents available to us: running the eye along the top of the chart, you will see that we are working from

Chart 1		2				3000		,	<i>3</i> ×
	ROYA UNG	Royal de	Legal,	Legal - 1	Roy M. Co.	Palace 2	Doomed.	Archaeolon	Redaline assessmen
Palace sector	×	0			x	×		×	good
Army	×				×	×	ĺ	o	fair
State labour	٥	,	]		×	x			fair
Administration	0			۰	×	×			fair
Tribute	×				٥	۰	,	0	fair
Taxation	٥	×	۰		x	0			lait
Social structure			×				0		poor
City economy	٥		۰	r					poor
Village economy				٥	1		×		роот
Land holding		×	x				×		fair
Non-state labour				0					bad
Crafts & industries				0	0	0			bad
Trade	۰	'		0				1	bad
Prices & currency	۵		x	0	٥				P001

- x = substantial evidence available
- o = some alight evidence available

Chart 1: to show availability of source material

royal inscriptions, royal decrees, legal texts, royal correspondence, palace archives, a land census, and archaeological data. The monotonous recurrence of the word 'royal' merely reflects the archaeologists' concentration on royal palaces (and to a lesser degree, temples). Even the legal documents are predominantly - in the case of Nineveh virtually exclusively - from royal palaces, and the best private archive, from Nimrud, belonged to a man living on the citadel and obviously in close touch with the palace sector.3 Private documents and letters have been found at Assur, but remain unpublished, and the only temple archive to speak of comes from the Nabu Temple at Nimrud. As will emerge below, we have split the economy into a palace, a government, and a private sector. Clearly the palace and government sectors are likely to be well represented in our

sources, but the private sector must be under-represented, and we must accordingly do all we can to correct this imbalance.

My second point is perhaps more of an apology than anything else. When Dr. Larsen asked me to participate in the Symposium, the title The есолотис basis of the Assyrian Empire' was proposed. This I have deliberately replaced with the phase 'economic structure' as a token of the fact that I have made no serious attempt to assess the quantitative side of the evidence. This is for a variety of reasons. As Assyriologists will be aware, no detailed work exists on the economy of the Assyrian Empire as a whole: the best recent survey is that of Prof. Garelli, and there are various specialist studies of topics such as land tenure, tribute, and taxation. Probably the best overall work, and even it is not all-embracing, is the book of I. M. Diakonoff,5 but this is by now nearly 30 years old, and the Neo-Assyrian section is unfortunately not accessible to me, being in its original Russian. Since it was impossible for me to review all the primary sources for the benefit of this paper, it will therefore be obvious that any statements on the quantitative side are perforce fairly subjective, without the detailed study needed to back them up.

### Express Your Views! Write A Letter To NINEVEH

Moreover, the time for such a study is not yet ripe: the very important texts from Assur have still to be published, and the administrative documents from the palace at Nineveh, published by Johns, require total recollation before they can be safely used for quantitative purposes; some very interesting texts from the Arsenal at Nimrud are awaiting publication at the hands of the writer. Nevertheless, even when these deficiencies in modern publication are made good, I shall still be sceptical of our chances of reaching quantitative results: so many of our documents served ephemeral purposes which were not explained for us by their scribes, and even where a heading or a summary would have given us a clue, it is all too often lost because the most vulnerable parts of a cuneiform tablet are the beginning and end. Only for a very small percentage of the Nineveh documents in ADD II can their administrative context be described with any confidence, and the same is true of the Nimrud texts. The problem is epitomized in the 'Assyrian Doomsday Book': this is clearly some kind of census of rural estates, and it is unquestionably our main source for Assyrian rural conditions; but since those lines which would have told us the exact purpose for which the list was drawn up are missing, modern scholars are free to reconstruct the purpose for themselves, which they have indeed done, each with a different result.6 It is of course true that the royal inscriptions may give us a generalized estimate of numbers of men and animals, or the quantities of precious metals etc. which came into Assyria as booty or tribute, and an excellent study based on such data has been made by Dr. Jankowska;7 but my point here is rather that we do not have sufficiently explicit statements elsewhere in the documentation to enable us to determine how these quantities relate to the internal production or consumption of the empire. In other words, we can point to the existence of these imports, without being able to assess their significance.

It is true that we do have the occasional text which throws light on the internal sectors of the economy. There is a letter from the province of Zamua (the Shehrizor plain) listing its entire military establishment, and one of the unpublished texts from the Nimrud Arsenal appears to record the disposition of cavalry-commanders throughout the separate provinces of Sargon's empire; but in each case we have the problem of weighing the undoubted authenticity of the statement against any number of temporary or local factors which may undermine its general validity. The same must apply to legal documents: for example, statistics on fluctuating slave prices in 7th century sales must have some meaning, but there is very little with which to compare them and we cannot use them by themselves as an indicator of inflation. Evidence for the prices of everyday items is still exceedingly scarce in Neo-Assyrian times, and there are considerable problems about the relative value of silver and copper at different dates (see below, § 8.2).

#### § 3. Economic resources

#### § 3.1. The cultivated plains

It is too obvious to need stressing that the mainstay of the Assyrian Empire was its swath of corn-growing lands across northern Mesopotamia, which may be termed the 'cultivated plains'. 10 Only the existence of a healthy surplus of corn could supply the needs of the armies and secure the survival of the large cities. Of course the harvests varied in quality with the weather, and as we shall see below, the kings were keenly interested in the state of the crops (see § 7.4); but during the later empire their corn lands ranged from the real Jezirah in the south-west to the mountain fringes, so that a climatically disastrous year in one area could usually be compensated for to some degree elsewhere.

Although cereals were by far the most important component of the economy in the cultivated plains, the rural settlements (and nomadic population of the area) produced much that was of importance besides, both for the cities as such and for the administration with its problems of military and civilian supply. Chart 2 is designed to summarize the relationship of supply and demand between city, village and nomad; in particular we may underline the continual demand for straw, for both animal fodder and brick-making, which is reflected in numerous letters and other texts, while the production of leather and wool was also important.<sup>11</sup>

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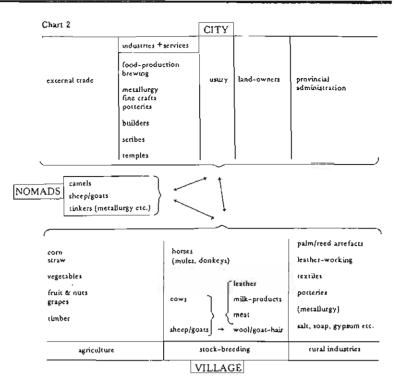


Chart 2: to illustrate economic resources & intercourse between city and village in the cultivated plains.

#### § 3.2. The coastal strip

Even though local variations should not be forgotten, the basis of the economy was the same from the provinces of Arrapha and Lahiru (the Kerkuk plains) across the Euphrates and beyond to the Syrian saddle, down to Hamath and as far north-west as Sam'al: a strong village economy based on agriculture, and superimposed on this a fluctuating but probably always important long-distance trade. It was only with the incorporation of the Levantine seaboard and the Taurus states that the empire embraced any really different type of economy. The coastal towns, led by Tyre and Sidon, did have a different climate and therefore different agricultural produce to offer, but it was their rôle as trade centres that made the real difference: for the first time Assyria directly controlled the Mediterranean commerce, and although there is no reason to suppose that she tried to intervene in the traditional patterns, there must have been a healthy income from harbour dues. Whether or not this would have exceeded the annual tribute which had been forthcoming from Phoenicia in the past we have no means of knowing, but some changes must have resulted from having this income directed into normal government (provincial) channels rather than as an external contribution to the royal exchequer. Nor must we forget the North Syrian, Palestinian, Cilician and even on occasion the Cypriote ports which also participated in the same trade, and to which the same applies. It could of course be argued that the luxury goods available from these sources were irrelevant to the empire's economic needs, but that is to miss a crucial point. The dignity of the Assyrian king demanded that his capitals, his temples and his palaces should display his wealth, and the latest luxury items from the west, if not forthcoming as booty or tribute (which diminished inevitably with the growth of the empire), had to be provided in other ways, while the incorporation of these cities in the empire provided a new source of skilled craftsmen for the royal court to draw on.

#### § 3.3. The Taurus

If we turn to the north-western mountains we meet a different situation. Mountain villages as such probably had little to contribute to the economic pattern of the empire, but in the Taurus were several mines which gave Assyria virtually her only direct access to metals. Once again it is not possible to suggest what quantitative effect this may have had, and the problem is not helped by the inadequacy of modern data on the mineral resources of the area. As far as we are aware, Neo-Assyrian texts make no reference to the Ergani mines, which were close to the provincial capital of Amida (Diyarbakir) and could have been a major copper source; and although the existence of iron ores has recently been demonstrated close to the Iraqi-Turkish frontier north of Amadiyah, it is virtually certain that this region fell within Urartian territory. There is however a very interesting, though tantalizingly fragmentary, section of Sargon's

annals which describes how 'at that time the secret of the mountains of Hatti was revealed . . . '. ' Unfortunately, except for Ba'il-sapuna (classical Mons Casius) the names of the mountains in the text are either too broken or too obscure for identification, but reference is clearly made to copper, iron, and lead; while at the close of the same passage Sargon says that he discovered how to smelt ores, and that he accumulated the metal in Dur-Šarrukin such that 'the purchase-price of copper was like (that of)

silver in Assyria', implying perhaps that his discoveries had included silver deposits. This passage may reflect on the immense amount of iron discovered by Place in Sargon's palace, but for us the important point is that the discovery of these sources was of sufficient importance to merit mention in the annals, and that direct access to them may well have had a radical effect on the empire's economy and, in particular, on its currency system. Equally, the loss of direct control of these areas may have had the reverse effect, and have been seriously disruptive, in a way that the loss of a predominantly agricultural province would not.

#### § 4.0. Movement of commodities

It is evident that the economy of the empire must have been closely restrained by its social and administrative structure. Owing to the character of our sources, most of our evidence on this score bears on the administrative channels through which the government controlled commodity supplies, and for the purposes of this paper it seems convenient to divide the empire into a palace sector, a government sector (including the army), and a private sector, with particular reference to the consumption, rather than the production, of commodities. This division seems specially valuable when considering the channels through which commodities moved, because of the different character of each sector; nevertheless there are great differences in their basic economy which makes the distinction useful in a wider context. It must be obvious that the borderline between palace sector and either government or private sectors will often be hard to define, and there is certainly an area of overlap, but I believe that in the following paragraphs it should be possible to justify the distinction.

#### § 4.1. Palace sector

The components of the palace sector are set out in Chart 3, which is largely self-explanatory. The palace economy must include not only the king's various establishments and families in the different cities, but similar households belonging to his near relatives, such as the queen mother or the crown prince, and to those highly placed officials and courtiers whose remuneration was in the nature of domestic expenditure from the royal purse. To a certain degree, we may even count within the palace sector the household economies of highly placed officials whose position was not immediately dependent on the palace: they drew their income from similar sources, and were involved in similar expenses, although on a much smaller scale (at least in the 7th century). It would be misleading, however, to pretend that the palace sector was nothing more than a greatly enlarged household. On the income side we have the immense inflow of wealth

Chart 3	PALACE SECTOR			
Income		Expenditure		
	Royal palaces			
Booty	Nineveh Kalhu	Subsistence of palace residents and staff		
Tribute (maddattu)	(Dur-Sasrukin)	"		
'Gifts' (nāmurtu)	Assur Kilizi	Equipment of military staff		
Land ownership	Tarbīşu			
Credit activities	Harran (?)	Luxuries		
Stave sales	Royal family	foods wine and beer		
Appropriations & confiscations	king first queen crown prince other relatives	jewellery furnishings clothing		
	l .	Gifts to		
	harem concubines' sons	high officers visiting dignitaries		
	Domestic staff	temples		
	eunuchs musicians	Regular temple offerings		
	religious/medical cooks etc. porters	Building operations		

Admin. & military
ushers
guards
bodyguards
grooms etc.
messengers
scribes
interpreters
admin. officials
craftsmen
agents for crown lands
in provinces

Court
courtiers (ša qurbūti)
high officers of stare

Chart 3: components and economy of palace sector

foreign hostages

from tribute, booty, and gifts: it could of course be argued that these are rather government income than private profit to the palace, but undoubtedly the gifts (nāmurtu), the booty, and some at least of the tribute (mad-

dattu) were the property of the king to dispose of as he chose. Even though he may generally have redistributed his profits outside the palace sector, this was the channel through which they entered the economy, and the preponderance of the profits of domination in the income of the palace sector gave it a structure quite different from the private sector. Precious metals and slaves in particular must have come into the palaces in considerable quantities, and although the slaves were frequently distributed elsewhere, the royal reserves in gold and silver surely constituted a significant component of the economy as a whole. Nor does it seem likely that much of this wealth found its way into the private sector even indirectly: royal building schemes were carried out largely with deported or conscripted labour, the many palace employees seem to have been on a rations and not a wages basis, and their subsistence was probably met from the palace estates and would not have needed to be purchased against currency.<sup>15</sup>

In this paper we have not considered the rôle of the temples within the economy, since mutatis mutandis it is very similar to that of the palaces, although quantitatively less important. There were inevitably great differences of behaviour between the temple and the palace, but viewed as part of the economic structure of the empire it seems permissible to include them in the same sector.

Source: Mesopotamia 7, edited by Mogens Trolle Larsen, 1979.

To be continued in next issue.

able level of coherency between the stars carved on the slab and those recorded in the two tables of Ptolomy and Yale (Fig. 10). Now that we are reasonably convinced that the Lion slab represents the constellation of Leo, let us study the slab in more detail.

Aside from the deities sitting on the East and West terraces watching the eastern and western horizons, there also exist five slabs. In the first four of these slabs the King Antiochus appears with Goddess Commagene, Apollo-Mithra, Zeus-Oromazdes and Artaganes-Herakles-Ares. The fifth slab is a Lion relief covered with stars and show the Moon and the three planets:

- 1. Jupiter (Ø∝ ∈ θων) Phaiton nearest to the head.
- 2. Mercury (2002) Stilban-Apollo at the center,
- 3. Mars  $(\eta \nearrow \times k \nearrow)$  Pyroeis-Herakle near the tail; all three planets are displayed on the outside of the Lion's body. The crescent of the moon is displayed on the chest of the Lion. This slab relief is considered to represent the constellation of Leo, with the moon and three planets, Jupiter, Mercury and Mars present in that constellation. Antiochus also offers two clues: a) 16th of the month of Aydanaios, as his birthday; and b) 10th of the month Loos as the day of his coronation.

#### **Books In Review**

The Role of the Military in Politics: A Case Study of Iraq to 1941, by Mohammad A. Tarbush. Foreword by A. H. Hourani. London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982. xvii + 187 pages. Appends. to p. 222. Notes to p. 268. Bibl. to p. 275. Index to p. 285. \$28.95.

#### Reviewed by Peter Sluglest

Dr. Tarbush has written a thorough and perceptive account of the politics of the newly independent state of Iraq, based on British archival materials, Arabic memoirs and interviews with former politicians of the period. The main focus of the book is the first nine years of the state's life, and in particular the significance and consequences of the seizure of political power by a succession of groups within the armed forces, beginning in 1936.

Although nominally independent in 1932, Iraq stayed firmly under British tutelage until 1958, except for Rashid 'Ali's brief and rather quixotic attempt to stage a revolt in 1941. In the course of the 1930s, largely as a result of the wider availability of education and the general growth in political awareness, dissatisfaction with the excessively narrow base and apparent irrelevance of political life gradually increased. As Dr. Tarbush correctly emphasizes, the sudden death of King Fayşal in 1933 was a particularly important factor in the erosion of public confidence in the political system. While he lived, Fayşal managed to hold the balance by maneuvering adroitly between the British and the various parties and factions, but his death left a vacuum which neither his playboy son nor any of the courtier/politicians who surrounded him were able to fill.

Instead, power passed to the army, or more correctly to a small group of officers. The army had established its nationalist/patriotic credentials in the hearts of most of the urban population of Iraq by its successful campaign against the Assyrians in 1933 (perhaps Dr. Tarbush could have provided more details of this highly discreditable episode), and its role in the suppression of the tribal revolts of 1935-36. However, although a succession of army commanders managed to acquire influence and supra-military authority for a time, the reality of continuing British control always lay behind the apparently volatile surface of Iraqi politics. Nuri al-Sa'id's long career is proof of the enduring force of the British connection.

Dr. Tarbush tells a complex story with skill and verve, and his narrative is a pleasure to read. The chapters which actually deal with the 1936-41 period, notably Chapter 8 on the Rashīd 'Alī coup, are especially valuable. Almost inevitably, a number of questions remain unanswered; in particular, the reader is left in some confusion about the ideological

stances of some of the chief actors, and the extent to which their views were shared by that part of the population which was in a position to articulate its political views. It would have been useful to have more details on the background and contacts of the officers of the Golden Square; the information provided (pp. 154, 261) seems rather meager. Again, perhaps some of his interviewees could have provided the author with more insight into some of their contemporariesparticularly Yāsīn al-Hāshimī and Ja'far Abū'l-Timman-than the rather dismissive judgments of British advisers and officials. Finally, the circumstances surrounding King Ghazî's death in 1939 may well have been somewhat "mysterious," but the contention that the British were in some way involved would deserve more serious consideration if Zayd, whom the Foreign Office seems to have favored, had actually been made Regent. But these criticisms should not detract from the merit of this careful and well-researched contribution to the historiography of modern Iraq.

Peter Sluglett is Lecturer in Modern Middle Eastern History at the University of Durham.

Muslim-Christian Relations and Inter-Christian Rivairies in the Middle East: The Case of the Jacobites in an Age of Transition, by John Joseph. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1983. xviii + 132 pages. Map. Appends. to p. 146. Notes to p. 205. Abbrev. to p. 206. Bibl. to p. 236. Index to p. 240. \$44.50 cloth. \$14.95 paper.

#### Reviewed by Jacob M. Landau

John Joseph, who teaches at Franklin and Marshall College, has invested more than a dozen years in researching and writing a history of the Syrian Orthodox and Syrian Catholic communities (sometimes referred to as Jacobites) in the Middle East. His book is, to this reviewer's knowledge, the only available study of the Jacobites in the last two centuries which does not focus on their religious history or on their Syriac language. It is based on a large number of primary and secondary sources, of which the archives of various missionary (largely non-Jacobite) groups deserve special mention. In addition, Mr. Joseph has also interviewed a number of Jacobites.

Of the book's seven chapters, two and a half serve as background, while the others discuss the changing fortunes of the Jacobites in Turkey, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon up to 1981. Of the four appendices which follow, two are translations of Ottoman firmans referring to the Jacobites and Protestants, respectively; another is an original essay on

Jacobites in India; the last one is a general table of Christian churches in the Middle East.

Joseph's work contains numerous details concerning events in which the Jacobites or other Eastern Christians were concerned. Thus one learns a great deal about others (e.g., the Armenians), but this is at the expense of the focus on the Jacobites. Although the narrative is based on painstaking research (as the extensive bibliography also indicates) and is sometimes dramatic in presentation, it is only infrequently supplemented by a thorough analysis. For instance, the author writes about how the Jacobites became speakers of Syriac (at Tur Abdin alone), Turkish, Arabic or Kurdish-according to their place of residence. He fails, however, to assess the significance of these developments, in terms of their probable impact on the weakening of internal community bonds.

This reviewer feels also that the book is somewhat unbalanced, by including 59 pages of notes to 146 pages of text and appendices. Furthermore, Joseph is rather fond (too fond, perhaps) of such chapter headings as "Catholics, Consuls and Conversion," "Protestants, Piety and Politics," or "Russia, Rebellion and Refuge." While alliteration may have some merits, it should not interfere with clarity. Clarity is also needed in such bits of information as the following: "In Istanbul (in 1918], sugar, an item typical of other commodities, was retailed at three hundred instead of twenty-five plastres" (p. 99). The reader would certainly appreciate knowing to what weight this price refers. Lastly, although generally attempting to be meticulous in transliteration, the author has frequently omitted some of the required diacritical symbols, while using others-sometimes in one word (for examples, footnotes 32 and 34 on p. 199). Also, German orthography does not permit the use of lower-case letters at the beginning of nouns (e.g., page 231, the title of the periodical in which Xavier Jacob's article was published).

Dr. Landau is Professor of political science at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He is currently a Fellow at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study, Wassenaar.

#### Nineveh's Note:

We wish to remind our readers that in the past John Joseph, an Assyrian from Mesopotamia, has shown much bias against our struggle for nationhood. Therefore, all his writings should be read critically.

### **Assyrian Studies**

#### A HISTORY OF CILICIA DURING THE ASSYRIAN PERIOD

(Order No. 69-14,698)

John Daniel Bing, Ph.D. Indiana University, 1969

Cilicia was a significant district within the Assyrian Empire. The peculiar geographic features of Cilicia were largely responsible for this fact. Both Cilicia Tracheia and Cilicia Pedias were rich in natural resources. The plain was a crossroads between Anatolia and Syria to which it was linked by the Cilician Gates to the north, the Calycadnus Valley to the west and the Bahçe and Beilan passes to the east.

When the Assyrian rulers began to think in terms of a permanent empire in the west, they soon realized that Cilicia was a necessary part of their empire. This occurred in the reign of Shalmaneser III. The kingdom of Que in Cilicia joined coalitions in North Syria which resisted Assyrian expansion.

Cilicia between 728 and 705 B. C. was the scene of considerable diplomatic, political and economic activity. It was the focal point of the conflict between the Urartian-Phrygian alliance and the Assyrian Empire. Phrygia gained a footbold on the Mediterranean Sea in western Que. Urartu maintained her contact with Greeks in this region after having lost access to Al Mina in North Syria.

Sargon used Cilicia as a military base from which Assyria took the offensive against Phrygia. The governor of Que campaigned against Phrygia resulting in the latter's submission to Sargon in 709.

The Greeks in Cilicia complicated Assyria's problem of controlling southeast Anatolia. The Greeks assisted the Cilician revolt against Assyria following the death of Sargon which has been illuminated by the Kāratepe inscriptions. Greeks colonized the Cilician plain between 705 and 696 when the Cilician revolt ended. The colonists not only competed with Assyria for the resources of Cilicia, but they also represented an unmanageable factor in an area already noted for its potential difficulty.

Cilicia became an important part of Assyria's attempt to organize the commercial ports of the eastern Mediterranean. The commerce and resources of Phoenicia, Cyprus and Cilicia were mobilized to assist Assyria's planned conquest of Egypt. The intense economic exploitation of these areas resulted in bitter resistance during the reigns of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal.

The nature of Neo-Babylonian interest in Cilicia was basically the same as that of Assyria. Metals from Cilicia were of particular significance to the Babylonian prosperity and power. Babylon's designs against Egypt also compelled her to adopt Assyria's policy of organizing the commercial activity of Phoenicia and Cilicia. M \$3.25; X \$11.25. 250 pages.

### AMERICAN ASSYRIOLOGY: ITS GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

(Order No. 70-10,835)

Carroll Wade MEADE Ph.D. The University of Texas at Austin, 1969

Supervisor: D. D. Van Tassel

American Assyriology began in 1880 when Francis Brown commenced teaching Akkadian at Union Theological Seminary. Two years later David G. Lyon introduced Akkadian at Harvard University. Paul Haupt, a German scholar, came to Johns Hopkins University in 1883, beginning the study of Assyriology at that institution. In 1885 both the University of Missouri and Princeton University added Assyriological courses to their curriculum. Hermann Hilprecht, another German scholar, joined the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania in 1886 as an Assyriologist. Hilprecht and others quickly built up the reputation of the school, as it quickly forged ahead in this new sphere of studies. Between 1888 and 1900 Pennsylvania sent out four expeditions to the site of the ancient city of Nippur. By 1900 at least fourteen major colleges and universities in the U.S. were offering cuneiform studies as part of their curriculum.

At the beginning of the twentieth century American Assyriology had come of age, no longer did it lag behind Europe. Thanks to the four Pennsylvania expeditions to Nippur there were sufficient cuneiform tablets in this country to fill museums, allow scholars to carry out research, and to train students as competent philologists. American savants no longer had to go to the British Museum to study the cuneiform script. The dominant figure of the period between 1900 and 1914 was Robert F. Harper, professor at the University of Chicago, who was responsible for that school sending out an expedition to the ancient city of Adab in 1903. Harper also published numerous scholarly books and articles. During this era Yale joined the ranks of those institutions offering Assyriological courses. The outbreak of World War I in 1914 put a temporary damper on Assyriology, as well as other scholarly pursuits.

During the war years no field work was carried out, instead scholars made use of the time to publish the results of the expeditions to Nippur and Adab. In 1919 the Oriental Institute was founded at the University of Chicago, an event that would

greatly influence American Assyriology.

The last era of American Assyriology, beginning in 1920, saw the professional replacing the amateur archeologist. Cuneiform studies really began to expand in the United States with the Oriental Institute of Chicago taking the lead. Not only did the Institute inaugurate the Assyrian Dictionary Project, but it sent numerous expeditions to the field in Iraq and Iran, as well as other areas of the Near East. Albert T. Olmstead of the University of Chicago stands out as one of the dominant figures in this new era of Assyriology. Another figure who stands out is H.F. Lutz the initiator of cuneiform studies at the University of California in 1921. Besides Chicago, Pennsylvania, Harvard, American Schools of Oriental Research at Baghdad, plus many other U.S. institutions also engaged in field activity in Iraq and Iran. Archeological activity in the Near East began to slow down in 1936 as a result of the depression, and finally came to halt in 1939 at the beginning of World War II.

M \$4.95 X \$17.55 386 pages

THE C.M.S. MISSION OF HELP TO THE SYRIAN CHURCH IN MALABAR, 1816-1840: A STUDY IN PROTESTANT-EASTERN ORTHODOX ENCOUNTER.

(Order No. Mic 60-6772)

Eugene Lester Ten Brink, Ph.D. The Hartford Seminary Foundation, 1960

The first Chapter is an introductory historical survey of the main lines of development of the Syrian Church in Malabar. It seeks to provide a summary of the extraordinary history of a Church the details of whose origins are lost in the obscurity of the first centuries of this era, but is commonly ascribed by tradition to the Apostle Thomas. It has been under the direct influence of the undivided Church, the East Syrian tradition of the 'Nestorian' Church, the Latin tradition of the Roman Church, the 'Monophysite' influence of the West Syrian Church, the Protestant influence of the Anglican Evangelicals, and is now seeking to rediscover its heritage in the ancient Patriarchate of Antioch in the light of its uniquely varied experience.

To the ecclesiastical history of Chapter I, Chapter II seeks to add the political context of the life of that Church in Malabar, and to provide the setting in the Anglican Evangelical Revival in England for the ecumenical encounter of the Church Missionary Society's Mission of Help to the Syrian Church.

Chapter III seeks to study in some detail that Mission itself, its origin and methods, the influences in India and in England that shaped its destiny, and the course of its work in terms of the personalities involved in encounter and in conflict. Since there were many changes in the personnel of the Mission, the leadership of the Church and the State, and in the forces operating on their work, this period of twenty-five years is divided into four phases for the analytical study of the complex personal and historical factors that determined the outcome of this experiment in inter-church aid.

Chapter IV continues the history of the direct and indirect consequences of the work of the C.M.S. in Malabar. It summarizes the developments that led to the formation of the Travancore Diocese of the Anglican Church and its eventual union with the Church of South India. It also summarizes the development of a reformed party within the Syrian Church and the history of its separation resulting in the Mar Thoma Syrian Church of Malabar, as an embodiment of many of the hopes and convictions of the C.M.S. Mission of Help. It also shows how some of the unanswered questions in the outlook of the C.M.S. in the early 19th century still operate in the life of the Mar Thoma Church, and are the source of unresolved conflicts in its present development. This historical epilogue is followed by an attempt to evaluate the permanent contributions of the work of the C.M.S. in the Syrian Church, as well as the unfortunate consequences of its failure to achieve its original objective of reviving that Church from within while preserving its unity and integrity.

Chapter V attempts a critical evaluation of the various factors that hindered the fulfilment of the original objectives of the C.M.S. This is followed by a summary of findings of this study and suggests some of the conditions for a more fruitful encounter between Protestantism and Eastern Orthodoxy which benefits from the experience of both the achievements and failure of this significant experiment in inter-church aid early in the last century when the Evangelical Anglicans initiated what has become so

vital a concept in contemporary thinking about the life and mission of the Church. The Appendices provide valuable but not easily available documentary evidence regarding three of the critical periods of the long history of the Syrian Church in Malabar.

Microfilm \$4.60; Xerox \$16.20, 357 pages.

THE BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN OF TELLA (d. A.D. 537) BY ELIAS TRANSLATED FROM THE SYRIAC WITH A HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC COMMENTARIES

Joseph Renée GHANEM, Ph.D. The University of Wisconsin, 1970

Supervisor: Professor Menahem Mansoor

This study consists of three parts: A Historical Introduction, an English translation made from the original Syriac text and a number of historical, linguistic and theological notes.

John of Tella was an outstanding figure among the Monophysite bishops. His contemporary followers saw in him a hero and a saint and two of them, his companion Elias and John of Ephesus (d. A.D. 586), were his biographers. Of the biography written by Ehas there are the following manuscripts

British Museum Adds, 12, 174 and 14, 622 and the Berlin Manuscript Sachau 321.

Hendrik G. Kleyn studied the two manuscripts of the British Museum and in 1882 edited the first one with a Dutch translation. In 1907 Ernest W. Brooks collated the Berlin manuscript with those of the British Museum and edited it with a Latin translation. Because of its quality and antiquity (ca. A.D. 741), the Berlin Manuscript was chosen as the preferred text for this study.

The biography was written about 542 according to Anion Baumstark. Geschichte der strischen Literatur (Bonn, 1922), p.480

The other biography, which was written by John of Ephesus, although very different, shows that the author made use of the biography written by Elias. This work of John of Ephesus was not used as an integral part of this study.

The biography of Elias is in many respects a valuable source of information. It reports about John's parents, his youth and Greco-Syrian education, the worldly wishes of his widowed mother and the yearning of his heart for an austere monastic life which he finally embraced. In 519 the bishops of the Osrohene District elected him Bishop of Tella. But his Monophysitism put him into serious conflict with the official religious policy of the State, which had adopted again the Dyophysitism of the Council of Chalcedon (451): Justin the First (518-27) issued an edict in 519 requiring that all his Christian subjects adhere to the Chalcedonian creed: The Emperor menaced any rebels with severe punishments. Upon the publication in 521 of this edict in the Osrohene District, John of Tella was forced to resign his office and flee.

In spite of Empress Theodora's protection, Justinian's religious policy with the Monophysites continued to follow the hard line of his uncle and predecessor. Justin the First, this was particularly so after the Nika revolt (A.D. 532). Consequently there was an extreme lack of elergymen, a matter that threatened the very existence of Monophysitism. It was then that, John of Tella saved the situation by ordaining a good number of elergymen, at the request of the communities. While in the process of this and other endeavors, the Persian Governor of Nisibis, instigated by Patriarch Ephraimus of Antioch, arrested Bishop John and extradited him to the Romans who then forcibly took him to Antioch where he died in juil in 538.

In describing the interaction between John of Tella and the followers of his creed the biography becomes "history as human behavior," as Samuel Hays says, for it describes how Monophysitism developed as a hostile social rather than theological force within the Empire, because of its alienation.

The Imgust can observe in the biography the degree of perfection Syriae had reached in the sixth century. The impact of Greek culture on the Syriae-speaking world is also noticeable. The number of chiches that are found in the biography and which are also in Armeman, Greek and Coptic sources show the widespread use of a literary style pecuhar to the hagiographic bierature.

Finally, a number of biblical quotations in the biography differ from the Peshifta text and seem to agree with the Hebrew Masoretic text. This fact should invite the biblical student to look more seriously into this matter.

Order No. 70-24,795, 164 pages.

24

## Beware the Wiles of the Wanton Woman

### DEAD SEA SCROLL FRAGMENT REFLECTS ESSENE FEAR OF, AND CONTEMPT FOR, WOMEN

#### By Magen Broshi

NEARLY 35 YEARS AGO, Bedouin tribesmen searching for more scrolls near the original find on the northwestern shore of the Dead Sea discovered the now-famous Qumran cave 4. Cave 4 proved to be the richest of all the Qumran caves, containing fragments of over 500 scrolls.

One of the scroll fragments from cave 4 is known as the "Wiles of the Wanton Woman" and reflects the Essene fear of, as well as contempt for, women. The text on this fragment is remarkably similar to certain passages from Proverbs; indeed, the Qumran fragment was apparently modeled after chapters 5 through 7 of Proverbs.

While we are comparing, we should also look at a passage from the Wisdom of Ben Sirach (Ecclesiasticus). Ben Sirach was roughly an elder contemporary of the Qumranites. His book is part of the canon in the Roman Catholic Bible. For Jews and Protestants, it is part of the Apocrypha.

The passage from the Qumran cave 4 fragment is a warning against falling into the traps of the seductive woman. It reads in part as follows:

... She lies in wait in secret places

At every corner she will sit.

In the city's squares she displays herself,

And in the town gates she sets herself,

And there is none to stop her from [whoring].

Her eyes glance hither and thither,

And she wantonly raises her eyelids

To seek out a righteous man and lead him astray

And a perfect man to make him stumble . . .

Some scholars regard the poem as an allegory, but they do not agree on what or whom this woman personifies. Is she Rome? Or the adversaries of the Essene sect? Or perhaps Folly herself?

It seems far more plausible to conclude that what we have here is simply a strongly worded exhortation to beware of the seductive wanton woman.

The Dead Sea sect's attitude toward women is described by some as misogynic—characterized by hatred of women. But it is also accurate to describe it as gynephobic—that is, characterized by fear of women. Gynephobia was, I believe, the source of the sect's extreme purity, its harsh matrimo-

nial laws and the monastic, celibate nature of the Qumran community where the most extreme adherents of the sect spent their lives.

A parallel passage from the book of Proverbs (chapters 5 through 7) shows a clear model for the Qumran poem. Like the Qumran text, it cautions against the dangers of getting involved with corrupt women, but the nature of the warning is quite different from that of the cave 4 fragment.<sup>2</sup>

In the dusk of evening,

In the dark hours of night,

A woman comes toward him

Dressed like a harlot with a set purpose.

She is bustling and restive;

She is never at home.

Now in the street, now in the square,

She lurks at every corner.

She lays hold of him and kisses him.

(Proverbs 7:9-13, New Jewish Publication Society [NJPS]) The author of Proverbs indeed regards the danger as a grave one, but the danger that confronts the seduced young man is mainly practical.

If he succumbs, "strangers [will] be filled with your wealth" (Proverbs 5:10); "he will meet with disease and disgrace" (Proverbs 6:33). And then of course there is the jealous husband who "will not show pity on his day of vengeance" (Proverbs 6:34). In short, the foolish young man may be harmed financially, socially and corporeally.

With all their seriousness, the exhortations in Proverbs also contain a touch of humor. The description of the adulterous woman in chapter 7 and, especially, her speech to her lover reveal some dry Biblical humor.

"I had to make a sacrifice of well-being;

Today I fulfilled my vows.

Therefore I have come out to you,

Seeking you, and have found you.

I have decked my couch with covers

Of dyed Egyptian linen;

I have sprinkled my bed

With myrrh, aloes, and cinnamon.

Let us drink our fill of love till morning;



Let us delight in amorous embrace.
For the man of the house is away;
He is off on a distant journey.
He took his bag of money with him
And will return only at mid-month."
She sways him with her eloquence,
Turns him aside with her smooth talk.
Thoughtlessly he follows her,
Like an ox going to the slaughter,
Like a fool to the stocks for punishment—
Until the arrow pierces his liver.

(Proverbs 7:14-23, NJPS)

In the Dead Sea Scrolls, as befits literature of fanatical extremists, there is not a hint of humor. The Qumran poem is deadly serious because it regards the tempting woman as a

Scroll fragments from Qumran cave 4 describe the "Wiles of the Wanton Woman": "She lies in wait in secret places, at every corner she will sit ... to seek out a righteous man and lead him astray, and a perfect man to make him stumble ..." The author cites the text on these fragments as an example of the Qumran sect's fear of, and contempt for, women.

veritable satan.

The book of Proverbs is neither misogynic nor gynephobic. After all, chapter 31 contains the famous panegyric to the virtuous woman which the traditional Jewish husband reads to his wife each Sabbath evening:

What a rare find is a capable wife!

Her worth is far beyond that of rubies. Her husband puts his confidence in her, And lacks no good thing. She is good to him, never bad, All the days of her life.

. . .

She is clothed with strength and splendor; She looks to the future cheerfully. Her mouth is full of wisdom, Her tongue with kindly teaching.

. . .

Her children declare her happy; Her husband praises her, "Many women have done well, But you surpass them all."

. . .

Extol her for the fruit of her hand. And let her works praise her in the gates.

(Proverbs 31:10-12,25-26,28-29,31, NIPS)

Although in chapter 31, we are also told that "beauty is vain" (v.30), elsewhere in Proverbs the husband is instructed to delight in the love and beauty of his wife:

Find joy in the wife of your youth—
A loving doe, a graceful mountain goat.
Let her breasts satisfy you at all times.
Be infatuated with love of her always.

(Proverbs 5:18-19, NJPS)

Somewhat before the Qumran poem was composed, in about 170 B.C., Joshua Ben Sirach wrote his Wisdom of Ben Sirach. Ben Sirach, a typical scion of the Jerusalem bourgeoisie, was plainly a male chauvinist:

From the garment issueth the moth; and from a woman, a woman's wickedness.

Better the wickedness of a man than the good

Better the wickedness of a man than the goodness of a woman.

(Ben Sirach 42:13-14—Masada version IV:24-25) Ben Sirach also has a number of things to say about the wanton woman:

Keep watch over a roving eye,
And do not be surprised if it offends against you.
Like a thirsty traveler who opens his mouth
And drinks of any water that is near,
She will sit down before every tent peg,
And open her quiver to the arrow.

(Ben Sirach 26:11-12, Goodspeed)

Ben Sirach does have some kind things to say about the good wife, but some of his ideas about the good wife would hardly find favor with modern women—and rightly so. For example, he tells us that "A silent wife is a gift from the Lord" (26:14). But he also tells us: "A wife's charm is the delight of her husband; and her womanly skill puts flesh on his bones." (Ben Sirach 26:13, New English Bible [NEB])

Ben Sirach also appreciates the beauty of women: A good wife's "attractions are worth more than gold" (7:19). And again:

"As beautiful as the sunrise in the Lord's heavens is a good wife in a well-ordered home. As bright as the light on the sacred lampstand is a beautiful face in the settled prime of life. Like a golden pillar on a silver base is a shapely leg with a firm foot.

(Ben Sirach 26:16-18, NEB)

By contrast, the Dead Sea sect had nothing good to say in praise of women. They had only a rather poor opinion of the opposite sex. Josephus gives this view of the Essenes' attitude toward marriage. (And remember, the celibate Dead Sea community that lived in Qumran was the extreme faction of the Essenes; there were Essenes who lived in other parts of the country and married.)

Not that they wish to do away with marriage as a means of continuing the race, but they are afraid of the promiscuity of women and convinced that none of the sex remains faithful to one man.

(The lewish War II, 120-121)

This is a typical misogynic attitude, but equally important was their gynephobia. To the Essene sect the term "flesh" denoted human nature at its basest, whatever was contemptible in man. And female flesh was more so. Certain metaphors recur frequently in the Dead Sea Scrolls, indicating Essene abhorrence of sexuality. Sometimes the full impact is lost in translation. For example, in one translation of the Thanksgiving Scroll man is described as "a creature of clay, kneaded in water, a fundament of shame and a source of pollution" (1,21-22). Actually, the word erwah, translated as "shame," is really "pudenda," and nidah, translated as "pollution," is really "menstruation." These terms occur dozens of times in the scrolls.

Some scholars believe that certain verses in Paul's letter to the Romans reflect a distinction between spirit and flesh in which Paul scorns the flesh. Others find in his first letter to the Corinthians an uncomplimentary attitude toward women and marriage. The source of these attitudes may perhaps be found in a stream of thought of which our Essene fragment is a tributary. This, however, is a subject for another article.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>The scientific siglum is 4Q184. This fragment was first published by J. Allegro in *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 1964, pp. 53-55, and later in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert V* (1968), pp. 82-85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>This has been shown by J. Richt in an exhaustive study of this poem, combining both insight and erudition, with ample bibliography. Licht's study is to be found in B. Uffenheimer (ed.), *Bible and Jewish History*, Tel Aviv 1971, pp.289-296 (J. Liver Memorial Volume) (in Hebrew).

#### In Sports

Era Osibe was born and raised in an Assyrian family in Iran. She graduated from high school and taught elementary school for seven years.

She came to the United States (San Francisco) in August of 1976, and she has been working as a beautician ever since.

As a youngster Era always admired sports especially swimming. The desire to improve her swimming skills made her join the Dolphin Club of San Francisco in 1977. Dolphin Club has been established since 1870 and is known for the water sport activities. The swimming season of the club starts in February of each year and ends around October of the same year. During this period the 600 members get a chance to swim in the natural and rough waters of San Francisco Bay. In winter Era swims the waters half a mile every day and in summer she averages one mile daily.

Since 1977 Era has swum eight times from the Island of Alcatraz to San Francisco (Fisherman's Wharf) and seven times beneath the Golden Gate Bridge. Among her many swimming awards, Era received a special one in September of 1982. She challenged the rough tides between Alcatraz and San Francisco Bay for a period of 81 minutes and three seconds.

Nineveh Magazine congratulates Era for her accomplishments and wishes her the best in life.

#### Miss Assyria 1983

Miss Jackline Yelda, 20 year old daughter of Sargon and Nanajan Yelda of San Francisco, was recently named Miss Assyria 1983.

Miss Yelda was born in Tehran, Iran, and has been in the United States for 7 years. She works as a global processing controller at Wells Fargo Bank, and is also a full-time student at San Francisco State University, majoring in Fashion Designing and Merchandising. She is 5'9" tall and weighs 135 lbs., has brown hair and eyes. Her favorite sports are swimming and jogging, and she has special talents of drawing, jazz dancing and sewing.

Her plans for the future are to receive her Bachelor of Arts in Fashion Designing, and to pursue a career in that field. She plans to find out all she can about life and living and use this as a tool to teach herself and to show her people what it means to be an Assyrian woman.

The pageant was held at War Memorial Auditorium, Turlock, on November 24, 1983. The winner received \$400 cash, a trophy, a sash, and the title of Miss Assyria 1983. Judging was based on poise, personality, appearance, and an oral essay.



### Track roundup

Independent Journal Saturday, March 3

#### Two wins for Trojans

SANTA ROSA — The Terra Linda High boys and girls track teams each came away with victories in a tri-meet Thursday at Santa Rosa Junior College.

The Trojans boys downed Piner and Cardinal Newman. Terra Linda scored 84 points to Piner's 54 and Cardinal Newman's 30.

Terra Linda was led by Billy Powell, who won the 100-meter dash in 11.09 and the 200 in 23.18. Ron Knighten won the 120 high hurdles in 15.5 and Rameil Baaba took the triple jump with a leap of 42.2 to also spark the Trojans.

The Terra Linda girls, who scored 71 points to Piner's 62 and Ursuline's 25, were led by Mary Alice Erickson and Emily Ethington. Erickson won the 440 in 62.0 and Ethington took the discus with a throw of 100-11.



Rameil Baaba





#### يَجِمُهُمْ عَكْمِسْمَهُمْ شَهُوكَ بِعِب وَفِدِدِسْمُ وَلَهُوَيَّمُ عَمِعِنْهُ وَشَخِب دُوفِهِم

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DATE	SERVICE	TIME	FEAST & COMMENORATIONS
4-15-84 4-19-84 4-19-84 4-20-84 4-21-84 4-22-84	Qurbana Qurbana Service Service Service Service & Qurbana	7:00 p.m.	Friday of Sorrow Holy Saturday Laster Sunday Easter Sunday
5-13-84 6-3-84 6-10-84	Qurbana Qurbana	9:00 a.m. 9:00 a.m.	Pentecost
6-24-84	Qurbana	9:00 a.m.	(Picnic Followed By Gurbana) Mar Narsai(Dokhrana) Breakfast & Seminar
7-1-84 7-22-84 5-5-84 8-12-84	Qurbana Qurbana Qurbana	9:00 a.m. 9:00 a.m. 9:00 a.m.	St. Thomas the Apostle Picnic Transfiguration
8-26-84 9-9-84 9-23-84	Qurbana Qurbana	9:00 a.m.	(Dokhrana) <u>Picnic</u>
10-6-84 10-14-84 11-4-84	Qurbana	9:00 a.m.	(Dokhrana) Church Building 25th Anniversay His Holiness Consecration Day
12-2-84 12-15-84	Qurbana Qurbana	9:00 a.m. 9:00 a.m.	MAR GEWARGIS (Dokhrana) The advent Christmas Party-Church Hall
12-25-84	Qurbana	9:00 a.m.	Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ Christmas Breakfast

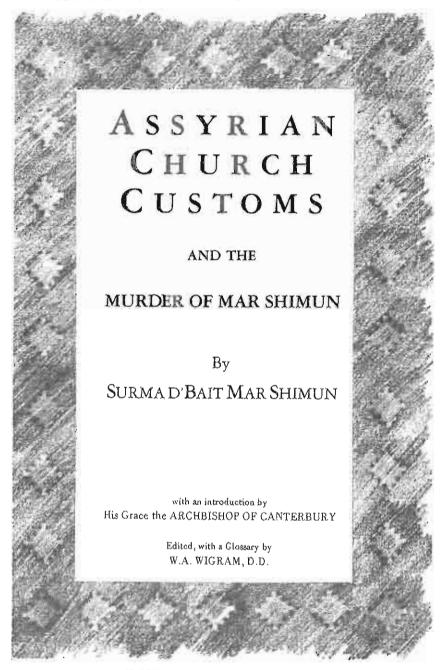
Note: All Sundays of the year not mentioned are the morning service and begin promptly at 11:00 a.m.

Due to circumstances beyond our control, changes do occur sometimes. Therefore, please call Archdeacon Micheal for confirmation.

THANK YOU FOR SUPPORTING YOUR CHURCH AND MAY GOD BLESS YOU. AMEN.

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Chicago Tribune

Wednesday, February 22, 1984

#### Of fashion and history

The Assyrian-American Club of Chicago gathered for a heritage lesson Sunday, using fashion as a learning device. At a luncheon in the North Shore Hilton in Skokie, members and guests viewed fashions researched, designed and made by **Shamiram Bedrio**, a Chicago dressmaker who came to the United States from Iraq in 1965.

Modern Assyrians are descended from citizens of an ancient Middle Eastern city-state who were among the first to become Christians. "Each country knows its heritage through its food, its culture," Bedrio said. "But we have no country now. So I decided to design clothes with an ethnic flavor that an Assyrian could wear to display our culture. I received my ideas from history."

In the show, club members portrayed Assyrian kings and queens and religious and judicial figures. The men's and women's jewel-toned silk and satin tunics and shawls were richly embroidered and trimmed with gold and silver braid. The headpiece of "gold leaves" **Maureen Yalda** modeled with her purple and silver chiffon gown is a replica of the original in the Iraqui Museum in Baghdad. Narrator **Sarah Paz** offered notes on Assyrian history with her fashion commentary.

M.C.





At the Assyrian-American fashion show: attentive Mark Nazarof, 6, and Grace De Kelaita modeling a tunic.

#### KATEENY THE GREAT

In the darkened skies of our literature, William Daniel completes another Masterpiece.

~ Nineveh Magazine

Dear Reader:

William Daniel once more has completed a literary work of eminence. As I have had the honor to type his manuscript, I have appreciated its high value. This work of 300 pages of sparkling poetry is rich in the following attributes: a constantly changing meter, that eliminates any possibility of boredom; unexpected rhymes that hold the reader in pleasant surprise; soulful word pictures that stir the emotion to the point of tears; unforgetable romantic moments; descriptions of folkloric customs; richness of terminology and above all, the true meaning of national devotion. These and other qualities are the tools in the hands of the author with which to create IMMORTAL POETRY.

This literary masterpiece of KATEENY The Great With KARAMI The Elkushite, not only completes incidents that took place in Book II, but also brings with it spiritual satisfaction by drawing a meaningful picture of national expectations.

For copies, please communicate with the author,

George Bet-Shlimon President of the Assyrian Foundation of America

1665 Blossom Hill Road, San Jose, California 95124, or with

Nineveh Magazine.

مدنت سمید:

خبواننسدگان گرامی،

چك سال از انتشار دوره جدید *مجـل*ـه میگیدرد درسیم است که پس از انقضیای چنیس مدتی می نشینند و نتائج کیار رابررستی می شمایشند،مانیسز در يحى چنين اقدامي اينك مايليم آنچحه را کیم می شوان اشدوخته راه و ذست آوردهای ناشنی از یك سخال فعمالیت نامیمحد با هندفهنائسی کنه در ابتدای فعنالیت براى خودمان تعيين نمسوده بسبوديستم مقايسته تماثيم موفقيتها والحجاجة موفقیتها رابا هم در رابطه قراربدهیم و شناسيشسان را مشخيص شماشيم • خيلاصـه يك سال فعاليت فرصت بسيار خلوبيسلت جهت انجام دادن مروزی بنر گندشتنده و بررسي آنچه که بدان نمايمل وهممه آشچیه را که می شد زودشیر و بشخیسوی مطلبويشر بدست آورده

در اینجما محوالی که به پیشمی آید این میهاشد که معیمار این ارزشیایی چیست؟مجلکی کمه مرز بین مصوفقیت و عدم مصوفقیت را تعییمان می نصباید کدام است؟ آیما اصولا در دنیمائمی کمه ظاهرا تمام روزنهای امیمد صدود بنظر میرسند و مردم بمائدازه یممازن نیز کمه شده باشد اصرجمامی در کمارشمان نممی بیننمد) مذن ازمعیار بردن بی مناسبت نیست؟

جبواب منفی است/چبون می شبود و بساید درست در همسان لحنظاتی کنه پیاس و نیا امیسدی حیاکم مظلبقند/در زمانی که مردم بیش از همیشه روحیسه خسبود را باخت انسچ و احساس ضعف و نساتبوانی منی نمسایند/همه آنهائی که جستجوی پر از وسواس را بکناری نگذاشته انسد و نسبت به آیننده و دورنمای آن بسی تفاوت و بی اعتنا و نیستند، وظیفه دورند آنیی از جستجو باز نیاستند، این معیار دوران ظلمت است،

پر گردیم باصل مطلبمان اطلبی ایلی ارزشیابیی دو مسئله را نبایباد از خیاطر سیپرد ایکی این کنه بنا وجلود

گذشت یك سال از عیمر فعسالیتمیان متاسقانه در عیرض این میدت به علیا مختلف قادر نشدیم که بیش از چهسار شدماره این مجله را بزیر چاپ ببریم، این خود محیدودیتی ببوده است، دوم از مانیی که صحبت از موفقیت و یلیلی عیدم موفقیت می داریم بنه خیلیا میاشیم که خطت این مجیله دانته باشیم که خطت این مجیله دانا در این وابستگی کیفیت آن سرتبایسیع قوانین معمول در بازارنیست،

آنهائی که کم و بیش با مجله آشنائی دارند واقفنسد که ما شا به حضیسال و بنویه خود و شا بدانجائی که امکانات مجله به ما اجازه میدهنـــــه دو هندف را دنيال نمنوهه ايم يك حبر كتمنان در جهت شکستن توطئه سکوتنی می ساشسد که قرنهاست تلاش دارد تا ما رایعنوا ن يك طبت به فراملوشفانه تاريخ روانسه دارد فحصون اعتقاد راحفمان بسمسر این میساشد تا روزی که مردم فعالانه در شعیین سیرنوشت خبود شبرکت نشمایشد شا روزی که امیال و آرزوهای ملللیلی خسود را از موضعی فعسال دنیـــال نتماینست طریقسی به هیچ سمت نکواهیم بستاه لذا دومین حرکت را در جهت آبیجاد تحولی گذاردیم که در ورا ٔ شنگا نظریها و محمدودیتهای شاشسی از چند دستگللی/ تبادل افکار را برانگیزد و فرمتححی ساشلد سراىهمه آشهمائيكه امكان ايلن رانمی پاینسد تنا بانگشنان را بند گسوش مردمشسان برسسانشسده

می بینیبد کنه هندههای سادهای نیستند و ما یه نیکنی بر این نکته وقوف داریم که طی چهسار شخماره که سهبل می باشد! شلاشتهای بس عظیمتری می بنایند نمبود تا که شاید در کوتاه مندت بخشنینی از آنها رابه تجلق پیونند داد،

در خاتمه مایلیم از دمام دوستانیی که در طول این مصنت به همر وسیله ا ی که میصدانستنصد و مقصدورشمان بمصود ما را تشصویق نمصودنصد/سپاس داشمتمه باشیم متشویقشان قوت قلب ما گشت،

### ام آنوریة و جلجامش علی اشرطة فیدیــو ملونــة



اصدرت اللجنة المركبزية للاتحاد الاتسوري في السويد شريطي فيديب لمسرحيتي "كلكامش" و"إسو أثوريتو" والمسرحيتان من تمثيل فرقة نيسون للمسرح الاتشوري في السويسد ومن اخراج عزيز سعيد السويسد

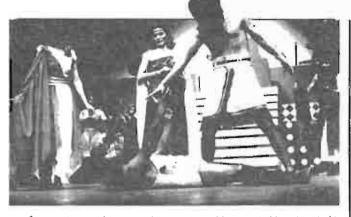
### أماثورية

وهي مسرحية لمؤلفها ومخرجها عزيز سعيد يدور موضوعها حول واقع شعبنا المشتت في جميع انحاء العالم بشخص ام آشورية فقدت زوجها بسبب المظالي والهجرات يرفسض اولادها هذا الواقع المرير ويعملون جاهديت لتحويله الى الافضل،

ويستغرق عرض المسرحية مسدة ساعتين، وبالطبع على شريط متازوبالالسوان الزاهية وثبنه ( 250) كرونا سويسديا،

### هِلمامش

واشهر المسرحيات في التاريخ، وقعت احداثها فسي واشهر المسرحيات في التاريخ، وقعت احداثها فسي مابين النهريسن في مدينة اوروك لصاحبها الملك والبطل كلكامش، وهي من اعداد واخراج المخرج المسرحيي المعروف عزيز سعيد وتمثيل اعضاء فرقة نيسون للمسرح الاتصوري، ويستغرق عرضها ساعتين ونصف الساعيسة



بالالسوان الزاهية الجعيلة وعلى شريط معتاز و تحكي لنا قصدة بطل وشعب ينشدان الحريدة والتحرر مدن تاثيرات واوهام الالهدة وتعتبر المسرحية بالفعل قطعة جمالية وتعثيلية وتأريخية وتعبيرية رائعة جددا لايستخني عنها اي بهت لمسا تحتويه من عبر وتوجيهات ومواقف تاريخية تعيد للاذ هان حياة شعبنا في ارضد التاريخية قبل خمسة الاف سنة و

#### ملاحظية

لما كان العدد من المسرحيتيسن الشههرتيسن محدودا فيطلب مسن يرغبون في الحصول على اشرطتهم بسرفة ارسال شيكا:

بعبلغ / 300/ كرونا سويديا لمسرحية كلكامش وبعبلغ / 250/كرونا سويديا لمسرحية إمو اوثوريتو وعلى العنسوان التسالسي :

Postadress:

HUJÅDÅ Box 6019 151 06 SÖDERTÄLJE/SWEDEN

Tel: 0755 - 105 81 Postgironr, 432 23 92 - 4

انتهزوا الغرصة واقبلسوا على شسرا الاشسرطة قبسل نغاذ هـــا



### بقية تلكيف وباعوث نينوى

سوا في تلكيف او المقيمين خارجا عنها فالجميع يحافظون عليه بدقة حسب وصايا الكنيسة حتى أن الذين لايتمسكون ببعض فروص الكنيسة شهديدا يحافظون على صوم الباعوث كان المسألة هي قومية مثلما هي دينية •

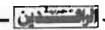
ومع دقات الناقوس الاولى ترى الموامنيــــن متوجهين الى بيت الرب جماعات جماعات لتشارك بالذبيحة الالهية ومن بعدها في الصلوات والتضرعات التي تبدأ من الصباح وحتى الظهـــر اذ تختم بالذبيحة الالهية ايضًا ، وكذلك تقسام عصرا صلوات مكاهي ومنذ الصباح الباكر وحتسى المسا عبقي ابواب الكيسة مفتوحة على مصراعيها تستقبل المئات من المؤمنين والتائبين اذا انهه بالاضافة الى كهنة خورنة كنيسة تلكيف يأتي كاهن او كاهنان في هذا الموسم من دير مار كوركيـــس الكهنة للاستماع الى اعترافات التائبين الذيين يندر من لايعترف من كل اهالي البلدة في هــذه الايام المقدسة وبعد الاعتراف يتناولوا جسدالرب المخلص • فكنيسة تلكيف على سعتها والتي تبلسغ مساحتها (۱۲۸۰م) تكون غاصة بالمومنيان في يومي الاثنين والثلاثاء وفي يوم الارمعاءواضافة الَّى مساحتها توجد كاغولتا في مو خرتها هــــــي الاخرى لايكون فيها موضع قدم لان في هذا اليهم بالذات لايخرج احدا الى العمل خاصة للمشاركة في القداس الألهي الذي يقام بأبهة عظيمة اذ يكون قداسا احتفاليا ثالثا وبعد الانتهاء مسن تناول جسد الرب وصلاة ختام الذبيحة الالهيسة يذهبكل الى بيته لتناول طعام الغذاء ٠

منذ شرعقانون صم الباعوث في كنيستنا جعل الصم حتى الظهر والانقطاع عن الزفرين فتري ما هي المأكولات الشعبية خلال ايام صم الباعوث في تلكيف ؟

ان الاهالي قبل ان يعرف السمن النباتسي طريقه الى مطابخهم كانوا يأكلون (سلقا شليقا ود قختا بطاحن )والبطاطا والمخللات والزيتون والراشي والدولمة الخالية من اللحم اذ تحشي

بطاطا شرومة عوضا عن اللحم والعدس والباقلا ف البصل والحبية التي توضع فيها رواوسمن البصل اليابس عوضاعن قطع اللحم وكذلك السمك المغلسي بزيت الراشي وغيرها من الاكلات التي لاوجــــود للسمن فيها ومع ذلك فقد اعتادت جماعة مسن الموامنين أن لاتذوق طعم الأكل خلال أيــــام الباعوث الثلاثة اكراما للثالوث الاقدس او من آجل نيات وطلبات يطلبونها من العزة الالهية او ندر الخميس الذي يسمونه في تلكيف خميس البلعيسي اذ فيه يأكلون كل مالذ وطاب وبالاخص أقسراص الخبز المحشوة باللحم وحلاوة خضر الياس والاكسل الذى يبقونه قبل ايام الباعوث ليأكلوه يوم الخميس اعتقادا منهم بان الذي يغعل ذلك لايشعر بألسم او بصداعفي رأسه ومن المعتقدات الاخرى بــــأن الاهالي وبالاخص الكبارمنهم يحذرون الذيسسن يودون الاستحمام خلال ايام الصوم الد ان رقابهم سترجف وكذلك الذي يمشط شعره سيصاب بصداع والم شديدين كما وانهم يحذرون من لا يرغبب الصيام بالويلات مذكرين اياهم بان البعلة رفضت الانصياع لاوامر الرب بعدم ارضاع مهرها خللال الصم هي الاخرى اسوة بالبشر فقطعت لجامها وعبرت الماء الى الناحية الثانية وارضعت مهرها فما كان من الله الا وان لعنها وعاقبها أقصيى العقوبات بقوله لها منذ هذا اليم سينقط المسع نسلك والى الابد ولذلك نرى بان البغلة لاتلد •





# تلكيف وباعوث نينوى

## خيري فوميه/تلكيف

ان الكنيسة المقدسة تفرض او ترفع عيدا أو احتفالا او صوما بسنها قانونا أو بتعديل آخـــر حسبما يراه المجمع المقد سولو تتبعنا تاريخ الكنيسة وبمراحله المختلفة تلاحظ بان هناك اعيسادا أو تذكارات قد ادخلت الى طقسنا الزاخر وعلى فتسرات متباينة واخرى حذفت او اعيادا اصبحت تذكسارات اواصواما فرضت ثم الغيت او اجريت عليها تعديلات مثل الصبح الكبير وصبح العدرا ، ومنها لا تزال على حالها وبالاخصفي مناطق معينة مثل الصو المذى الصع من مكانة في قلوب المؤمنين أذ أن هــــذا الصم فرض لسببين أولهما كان يم أرسل السمرب الاله يونان النبي الى مدينة نينوى العظيمة حيسن تفاقمت خطايا شعبها منذرا اياهم بأن مدينتهم ستهدم فوق رو وسهم بعد اربعين يوما ٠٠٠ فأسر ملك نينوى حين بلوغه الخبر بأن يصوم كل شعب نينوى وبهائمها و فسمع الرب دعائهم وأبعد عنهم غضبه والسبب الثاني والاهم والذي يعتبر السبب الرئيسي : هو بان وبا عظيما انتشمر فسي مقاطعة باجرمي واثور ونينوي وكان هذا الوبسساء راحة يده ثلاث نقاط سودا وما أن يبصرها حتسى يلقى حتفه وكان هذا الوباء يدعى بالشرعوط فأخلذ الموت الذي سبيه هذا الوباء الخبيث يحصصد البشرحتي فرغت قرى ومدن عديدة من أهاليه\_ وحين كانوا يصلون ويتضرعون الى الله سمع مسلاك

#### صوموا واعملوا الباعوث فسيبطل الموتعنكم ٠

فأمر مار سوريشوع مطران باجرمي ونينوى بأن تقام صلوات وتضرعات وطلبات لمدة اسبوع وخلال تلك الايام بطل عنهم الموت ومن ذلك الحين اصبحت الباعوث تقام كل سنة ولمدة ثلاثة ايام

فاذا هناك حدثان مهمان حدثا في مقاطعة نينوى واثور وبالاثنين عفا الله عن خليقته كما وسرى بانه بالرغ من فارق الزمن بينهما فان طقسينا المجيد قد وحدهما وجعل ذكراهما في موسيم واحد وجمع بين الحدثين وكأنهما واحدا لايفسرق بينهما الزمن ولا الصلوات ولا التضرعات التي ترفع بلعزة الالهية خلال ايام الصوم الثلاثة والتي تكون دائما وفي كل ستة ايام الاثنين والثلاثا والاربعا والثلاثا والاربعا

فاذا نستخلصهما سبق ذكره بان الكيســة المقدسة لم تسن قانونا اعتباطا او ارتجاليا بـــل لكل قانون علته وماعلينا الا احترام تلك القوانيــن وتطبيقها لانها لم تكن فوق طاقتنا ٠

لابد وان لاحظ الكثيرون بان صوم الباعوث هذا قد يتأخر في سنوات وفي اخرى يتقدم وذلك يعود الى مصادفة يوم عيد القيامة المجيد البذى يتغير من سنة الى اخرى اذان في الحود وذرا ملاحظة تقول:

وتكون (أى الباعوث) في كل سنين العالم من قبل الصوم بثلاثا سابيعاذ تكون من بدايتها وحتى الاحد الذى هو مدخل الصوم الكبيسسر عشرون يوما •

ان صوم الباعوث لم مكانته في قلوب الموامنيس كما اسلفنا وبالاخص في نفوس اهالي تلكيف التي هي بحكم موقعها الجغرافي متاخمة لنينوى العظيمة اذ انها مسيدة بجانب التل الذي كان حصناً أقيم ايام الامبراطورية الاشورية كباقي الحصون التي كانت قد شيدت في الجهة الشمالية من المدينة للدفاعين عاصمتهم نينوى ويمضي السيديوسف جمو في كتابه اثار نينوى او تاريخ تلكيف بقوله:

ان تلكيف كانت جزامن نينوى العظيمسسة ووريثة لها كما وان الذين سكنوها من القديم هم احفاد لسكان نينوى القدامى وكما رأينا سابقا الاسباب التي من أجلها فرض صم الباعوث نرى بان معظم اهالي تلكيف وعلى مختلف أعمارهم مسن الطفل وحتى الشيخ رجالا ونساء يصومون هسنذا الصم ويلتزمون بفرائضه اكثر حتى من الصم الكبير لان الاهالي يعتبرون هذا الصم اكثر من سواهم

ومن المعروف تاريخيا ان الاقليات القومية والدينيسة تبقى خائفة حذرة غير مطمئنة عن نفسها وعن مستقبلها، لكون النظام القائم المستند على الاستثمار انما هو نظام قائم على القهر والذلا والتفرقة العنصريسة ، فالحروب



والتعديات وعدم المساواة قد الزمت جانبا كبيرا مسن شعبنا ليهاجر فوجا تلو الاخر ليصبح عرضة للتنست والضياع، وبالتالي ليفقد هويته التاريخية وسهات القومية ليندمج في اخر الامر بالشعوب والامسم الستي يتعايش معها وهكذا فان حبل الهجرة لايزال على الجرار الى البلدان الصناعية التي هي بحاجة للايدى العاملة الرخيصة ، المطيعة ، المستعدة للعمل في ايد مهنة وباجور مخفصة لا يرضاها المواطنون الاصليسون.

والاوطان التي يهاجر منها شعبنا هي واقعة تحست احكام شبه اقطاعية وراسمالية دكتا تورية ، فان مثل هسده الاوطان لا تهمها بالطبع هذه الهجرة ، بل هسي تغض النظر عنها وتشجعها بمختلف الاساليب الخفيسة منها

والظاهرة ، وتعتبر هذه الاقليات كعامل فعال وواع في المساهمة بالحركة التحرية التي قد تنقل البلد المجلا الم عاجلا الى اقاق جديدة هي اقاق نظام الحكم العادل الذي تنتغي فيه اشكال الاستثمار والقمع، نظام تتفتح فيه الافاق المشرقة المم المواطنين جميعا بمسلفيم الاقليات القومية والدينية تحت رايسة الوطن للجميع بكل ما فيه من حقوق وواجبات،

والمشاكل التي يعاني منها المهاجرون الى البلدان الاخرى كثيرة ومتنوعة ، فالمهاجر يشعر بنوع من التعييز العنصري، وبعدم المساواة في الحقيدوق والواجبات، وبالنظر اليهم نظرة الدرجة الثانية . فابنيا المهاجرين قد اصبحوا ويُصبحون حسب المخطط المرسم لهيل شغيلة للمدن ، فلا هم قد التقنوا استسرار الصناعيات الثقيلة ولا الصناعات الخفيفة ولا تمكنوا من التحصيل الجامعي باعداد مرموقة في فروع الطب والهندسة وغيسر ذلك من المهن والدرجات الثقافية . لذا فانهم قد تحولوا الى اصحاب حوانيت صغيرة والى ضغار التجار والسماسرة والى مستخدمي الشؤون العامة فسي الفنادق والمستشفيات وغيرها .

ومع ذلك فان هذا الحبل ، اي حبل الهجرة ، لا يزال على الجرار ، وان الا وضاع المتردية بالنسبة للمهاجرين ستدفع بما تبقى من هذا الحبل غير المجرور السلى الانجرار ، لتقتلع جذور الا قليات الا قومية من ترابه التاريخي ولتدخل في دوامة الضياع والانصهار .

ويمكن التأكيد بهذا الخصوص ان اقامة الاتصلات وجعل العلاقات اكثر اتساعا وشمولية مع بعضنا البعض في مختلف الاماكن المتواجد فيها شعبنا ، انما تلعب دورا كبيرا في تعريفنا على مشاكلنا واوضاعنا، وذلك عن طريق صحافتنا ونشراتنا الدورية لانديتنا واتحاداتنا ومنظماتنا وكائسنا ، ونشر مقومات الغولكلور الشعبي بين صغوف الاجيال الصاعدة واقامة العباريات الرياضية المشتركة وعقد المؤتمرات وتبادل الارآ وتدريس اللغية القومية وتاريخها والتعلون المتبادل في الشؤ ون الثقافية والاجتماعية الاساسية، ان كل هذه الفعاليات تساهم ولي الحفاظ على وحد تنا القومية والثقافية والاجتماعية الاساسية ،

من جديد حول الهجرة، حول هجرتنا الثالثة الخطرة التي بدائت من حيث الاساس قبل وبعد منتصف هذا القرن. وا تخذت لها بعد الستينات طابعا جما هيريا 'مقلقا جدا ، فقد شملت هذه الهجرة عشرات الالاف من العائلات التي أقتلعت اقتلاعا من جذورها من ارضها التاريخية، وقد فاقت هذه الهجرة بنتائجها الهجرات التي سبقتها من حيث ابعاد ها القومية والسياسية والاجتماعية، وليسمن قبيل الصدفة ان يترك الكبار والصغار من جميع الاعمار وجميع المهسن والمستويات مواطنهم ليهيموا على وجوههم الى اماكسن متباعدة ومتفاوتة جغرافيا واقتصاديا وثقافيا، السي ان بلغ عدد البلدان التي هاجر اليها قسم كبير من شعبنا بلغ عدد البلدان التي هاجر اليها قسم كبير من شعبنا

لمختلف القارات اكثر من عشرين بلدا بكل ما فيها من

اختلافات جذرية في اللغات والمقومات المعاشية

والتطورات الاجتماعية.

وبالرغم من ان الهجرة الثانية التي بدائت تشكل في اواسط القرن الثامن عشر، عندما نزج جانب كبير هـام من تركيا وسورية وايران والعراق ولبنان الى الامريكيتين وفرنسا ، فان الهجرة الثالثة التي نحن الان بصد دها والتي بدائت قبل وبعد الحرب العالمية الاولى واستعرت لفترات متفاوتة حتى بعد الحرب العالمية الثانية، فتحت لها افاقا اوسع، فبلغت استراليا والعديد من بلسدان الماميريكا اللاتينية ومعظم البلدان الاوروبية، السي جانب عشرات الالاف من المهاجرين الى لبنان وبشكل خاص بعد الخمسينات.

ويتالف معظم المهاجرين كما كان في السابق مسن الفلاحين وشبه المتعلمين والحرفيين وصغار التجسار والعمال غيرالموصوفين ربالا ونساء يتكلمون الى جانب لغتهم النومية لعات مختلف البدان التي عاشوا فيهامي سائر المواطنين، بسبب ان الاقليات تخضع للاكثريات بكل ما لديها من لغات وعادات اجتماعية، اسا الرساميل التي حملوها معهم بعد ان باعوا ممتلكاتهم غير المنقولة، فانها لا تعتبر رساميل حقيقية بالمعنى الصحيح للواسمال يل انها تعتبر بعض النقود يتدّبرون فيها امورهم الى ان يحصلوا على عمل ما لتامين لقمة العيش.

وهكذا فانهم ذهبوا لتلك البلدان لبيع قوى العمسل

لديهم، اي انهم يعتمدون اولا واخيرا على رنودهم في حياتهم في اوطانهم الجديدة، لذا، فانهم قد انغمسوا حتى الذقون بالعمل المضني لتأسيس مستقبلهم وتعلّم اللغات والاخلاق والتقاليد والعادات الجديدة بكل ما فيها من عجيب وغريب بالنسبة لما تعلمه وألفوه فسي اوطانهم القديمة،



والهجرات، كما هو معروف، هي من نصيب الاقليات القومية والدينية لانها معرضة اكثر من غيرها للهزات السياسية والقومية والاجتماعية بتوجيه مباشر مسن رجمال الحكم. فابنا وبنات هذه الاقليات قسد ضمنوا لانفسهم مستوى معاشي افضل من جانب كبير من افراد الاكثرية بسبب نشاطاتهم واتعابهم وتركيزهم الشديد على كل ما يؤمن لهم الحياة الاكثر تقدما ، والانكباب على العمل المنتج والتفوق في انواع الحرفيات واوجد على النقافة الاخرى والتمسك بقوانين وانظمة البلاد ...

ان كل ذلك قد اتى عليهم باوخم العواقب بسيب النظر نظرة حاسدة حاقدة لهذه الاقلية ولعستوى معيشتها المرتفع، فبقدر ارتفاع المستوى المعاشيي والثقافي، لتبرز كقوى ثانية متماسكة وضعت يد هما علي

## أوقفوا النزف السرياني في سوريا بدل المزايدة في طلب المساواة في لبنان

#### «نرفض مباركة اليد التي تذبح شعبنا»

#### بيروت ــ الأربعاء ٢٩ شباط

رد رئيس الاتحاد السرياني في لبنان السيد حبيب أفرام على بيان «المجمع الانطاكي للسريان الأرثوذكس في دمشق» رافضا «المزايدة في طلب المساواة والعدالة والحديث عن اتفاق ١٧ أيار بمنظار سوري والتعلق بالعروبة».

وأكد «إن ما صدر عن مجمع دمشق لا يغير مطلقاً من رأي شعبنا السرياني» و«إن الخراف السريانية في لبنان ليست مستعدة أن يكون راعيها مباركاً اليد التي تذبحها».

وقد عقد الاتحاد السرياني جلسة استثنائية صباح اليوم تدارس فيها النبأ الوارد من دمشق حول بيان المجمع الانطاكي المقدس للسريان الأرثوذكس، وأذاع في نهايته رئيس الاتحاد السيد أفرام البيان الآتي:

أولا: إن مجرد انعقاد الجمع المقدس في دمشق ومجرد بقاء مركز البطريركية الدائم في دمشق، يعرض أصحاب النيافة لضغوط عملية حقيقية تمنعهم من إبداء رأي حر في قضايا شعينا السرياني.

ثانيا: كنا تتمنى من أصحاب. النيافة بدل المزايدة في طلب المساواة والسعدالة في لبنان، أن يعالجوا مشكلة النزيف السرياني من سوريا أو غيرها من الدول العربية، هذا النزيف الذي يهدد باقتلاع جذورنا من المنطقة.

وكننا نتمنى أن يصدر طلب واحد حـول الحـق السرياني والمسيحي في أي دولة مجاورة.

ثالثاً: كنا نتمنى بدل الحديث عن



عندما نقراء التاريخ بامعان وتعمق ، وعندما نفسر احداثه ومبلابساته تفسيرا علميا منطقيا تتضح امامنطاق مقائق مذهلة كانت خافية علينا . فمن مطالعتنا لهسلدا التاريخ ، اي تاريخ الحضارة الإنسانية نضع ايدينا علسل الاخطاء الرئيسية التي اتت للوجود في المسيرة الانسانية نحو غاياتها واهدافها النبيلة . ومن هذا التاريخ يمكنا اناً معرفة تجنب ما قد يصدر عنسا من هفوات .

فالتاريخ عبارة عن قصة طويلة طول عمر الانسانية تحكيي لنا تعلسل التطورات والاحداث الكبرى التي لعبت دورأ رئيسا في قيادة وتوجيه الخطوات الكبرى التي خطتها الانسانية في كفاحها المرير من اجل تحقيق حلم البشرية في عالم افضل تسوده رايات السلام والعيش الكويم. فمسسن نظام المشاعية البدائية الى نظام الرق فنظام الاقط\_اع وحتى ايامنا هذه ، فان جميع الاقلام قد كتبت وادَّعت بانها تعمل من اجل السلام وفي سبيل العدالة الاجتماعيــــة والمساواة بين البشر، كما أن أصحاب السيف من قـــادة ورؤسا معوب وامسم العالم قد شنوا حروبهم بحجة انهسم انما يعلنون حربا وقائية لتخليص شعبهم وشعوب المنطقة من عبودية واستبدادية هذا الملك او ذاك، وهكذا يتضع بان اصحاب الفكر واصحاب السيف يدعون بالعمل من اجل السلام لا من اجل الحرب، ومن اجل خير الانسان لا من اجل شره. ويظهر من هذه الادعاءات بان قسسوة السلام والحق والعدالة والمساواة اقسوى نظريا من قسوة البطش والدمار والخراب، فهل تحققت هذه الا دعاءات حتى ايامنا هذه يا ترى؟ ام هل انها في طريق التحقيق في المستقبل أوأن , البعض قد تحقق فسبقا

وبالرفم من تلبد اجواء الكرة الارضية بغيم احتسالات انفجارات جديدة ، فان البشرية كلها تقف اليم بحن ضد اشعال نيران حرائق جديدة قد تمتد الى ان تشسسل عالمنا بجميع قاراته ومدنه وقراه . وهنا تتضح اهمية مطالعة التاريخ وما اتت به الكوارث العسكرية من خراب ودمسار على الاجسداد نرجوان تنتفسي من حيساة الاحفساد . اتفاقية ١٧ أيار من منظار سوري أن تصدر صرخة مسيحية حقيقية تبشر وتدعو الى سلام بين كل شعوب المنطقة يكون من روح رسالتنا السحدة.

رابعا: نستغرب تعلق المجمع المقدس بالعروبة، لأن فرادتنا كشعب دينا وتاريخا وحضارة ولغة وتراثأ، لا تقبل بدعة إلصاق صفة العروبة بنا.

فنحن مسيحيون شرقيون بقينا نعاند كل الغزوات ولنبقى مسيحيين ولن نسكت اليوم تحت أي ترهيب. خامسا: نحن مع التعايش في لبنان، لكن التعايش يستوجب وجود مجموعتين حرتين آمنتين. إذ أن محاولة إلغاء الوجود المسيحي الحر فنحن نريد أن نعيش أولا لنتعايش. مع غيرنا ثانية. ومن هنا نسأل هل أن صيغة التعايش بين المسيحيين في الدول المجاورة هي ما ويتمنونه لنا؟

نحن نعتبر القبول بأن نحيي أهل ذمة ليس تعايشاً بل استسلاماً.

سادسا: يهمنا أن نؤكد على أن كل ما صدر عن مجمع دمشق لا يعبر مطلقاً عن رأي شعبنا السرياني في لبنان الذي يعتبر نفسه شريانا في قلب المقاومة المسيحية اللبنانية، وهو لم يدفع على مذبح لبنان أر بعمئة شهيداً إلا ليؤكد حقه كشعب مسيحي في الحرية والأمن.

...وإن الخراف السرياتية في البنان ليست مستعدة أن يكون راعيها مباركا اليد التي تذبحها».

4. RUE GREUZE - 75116 PARIS TÉL. 553.23.09

ونسه و دبعا دم عدل المحود

MONSEIGNEUR FRANCIS ALICHORAN

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دخرهو في دخبي حرجه ومسهد حضرهوفنه في دخبي فعرت لافيه مدهوه به يهونه حده به يهونه حومه محبه به يهونه دومي المحبه به يهونه دومي المحبه به يهونه دومي المحبه ال

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سقم ممده شؤ شدولاند المتامة ماعتماه المعالمة ماعتماد حجر دودكر وحجر بجديك ححموم حميد كقبك وكمعن حتقت فإهود فحجود فقطح مدده فد بحدومت بر ليده دوسه: Aurobia 1267 1267 apor azoa حكب فمومب رجده كوجشد: وه کو مخدر ددومد وهدور حبية معاددية وه تجربية: حدوجه هكنوه دقعه فعبيج المجدف الخددائة وسوخد معوشد وغد وسبطع عدها والافود פֿבלַט שמסנבַן מָן יסֹיֵייוֹן الله المراجع عبدة و وجدار وجاء المراجع فيهكذه لمبقد شد سودجد: عرسده مخدجة: سيريه عددهد بوهمكلا بتركة لحمل مونشه: پدودکه دهمهٔ مستکههم ψέια ολέζι: ζειζι οἔοπι: دخيره دهبي مح جدهي 11230 X 250 X 2511 X 4211 حك ابكتا فيعيم معيم وهسرور ووقا ممخرور قسيا: تعلي وشعره وتعني سعة πεέδ Ελοδ: ετζοδ ελοπι: فيته دسيها سوم سدوم دوط حفقها محمها دعوسا: उद्देश्य अर्ट्य स्वेर् الجويها ججة فعم سداء

اوف أجير فيدهر دوووه

حضنه حضنه وغد ديهم

بسب بكذور ود جعددد

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حوم مركزه ديبقع حكمته

وجيا حيث مرفيا حذوعا

محرجه حودقيا دوه سجيد

يحومس بكب وحد بددةميد.

ويعد وبجها فيد وسيها

المخ فتحدد فأقا هدياء

هدهده كديش ببخر دنيخ

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تمح كنمده محمده عكمه

الحدة و المُحرِّد المُحرِّد المُحرِّد المُحرِّد المَّ

سعوذساء جسخساء طرند فتؤذيسي تحـــــ مـــــــ م به حسنت ساده سينتذب خصنتها فتتلب فتعتبيها نامه حدد عد والمستحدث مست سوب للنفوذنسا منسب خسودنسي لجةجعي ويعلمنه دمامل سنعد دمله وللسليت جسجسوهة ولنعن يعتن ديبمدهم وسعسوس خصفت ه لبنت به حبد دخند به خست سیاسه مستما 2 3002 00 مجديه لشتبشك منوخت حيمتني عوسلسقي دسنسي حضيم حضيض تنخشاء حسحت حاذبوه لعبودنيد تبديناسيه ده جعب مستشقيسة سمه سوشه سفسهد نهمنا جدع عسسها

حددد عند معبده به بخسب بستع جسستمع حجودتما حسمسدا منتخب بمنتب هسوه چندسته به به بعد ت طبلته وطبغت مَا مِن عندودُنسا حضبت جعبتها جعده خساسه له عليه وسنتث وسميسة حمسايره مسلح جسته سعتب دحلافعمهم حننج بحملهمي حسوفوت فمخت دخت سجه حجنت حسنة بموبد حست جمل خيلية فيتمسمه موع ليسه فيسخسيع لجبكه دفيسته للجوسيدة وسمولك نه د خند د مخند فصحبه مستخوع فمجتمعة غنفسته المتب وةجب المتالك مع خالف دالمال سددها حاة فالساء مع سعجت ددع مه خمیسی جهدسیها

حسجمت سيتم *جنجت فلي*توبيست م منتما حيملات حية بحنب فيستهمه سحدةسته عبلت فلتسمد حية مضبله سے اُما سخت موء ئے کے کہ کے کہ جُعجب كنف ملحب حضيت موغييت وللغيلية كجمليه دعضم عسد مشمدع مستومساه يغضبه دل، من دغندس كمينياميا جا ئيمذبه جفيتها خثاء جذب جه خمن بخصب بنخ ب جه خون حسست كبها المنجندة لخميموسي جسينيهم ضا كَنْعَبَا دِيْدَنْـــا جسالمت سامت المام بخب محدمالت سجمدليت جسست عجسف ما سفسم جنجب ليستتسد دع عسم، دسمسره حلب المحودثيث

ب حنث للخبيد

به سیمین حديد ه فيمسه بيد. لعندي جه عندي حجبت حسبت سسب جدودب نەشساھى جة سجھبلە، مستوهد للجسسعهد سين نُما فيستوها. سنضاء دستخسسه صعبوديا كنث جلياء حجفه دذسغسهم لسء صعمت مذ بــه لنعنضوه بسننجث مسخنت حقاماه دما المرساية الجامات منسبته ب سمعتماه الم حمد مناسب فعسست فدموت حخنت وعنفت م سوعصبه نسونس فينسله شذ بد بمستب مخبدت عنفتم فيمجنني بم سنبت سلب تظلمنفذ بسجعب جنتسا وبموشي سد جويد مجمره موعده حبجسسي فيا جيب فيستسيب

#### مسلب سند دسمسمسم

جمعن بين الناما عبيه الموسجدان جنوسا جهد المن جمعيا من جسورالانا ندا فلا حديث حيداً المناه فلا المناه المناء المناه المن

جشجنه فوشجت فسسب فيضبث فل غيله

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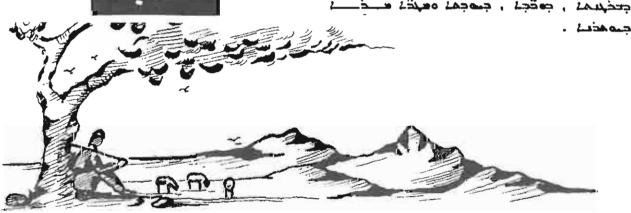
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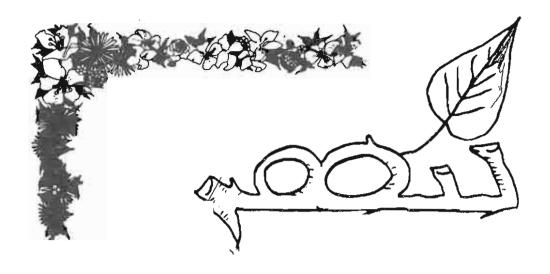
آعذ : بلاما ديم وعلى على مولا لدو ر محدد لل معدد لل معدد لله ديل عليه : بلاما دو دموم لل معدد المراد ومدد المراد المراد المراد ومدد المراد الم

المن حمد المن والمن والمن والمن حاليا منتها والمن وا

سوسا دسد تسمر جنسم سد بهذما علم سي عددهما جسنا حجيمت بالماحد ماجالك دفيعل علم بخبعه هر لحم جسمة معم لسم عموض خيد موخيا مع وخودها والمخوها وهديه ده موه عمله مخب فليد: مج جعمه مسل مسومه ودلقه دونعه سد مجنده ممحقسمه مجمعت حمد للمجمد ومسلمه ومسلمه المدا سَمه مخت خلاع لمدع له سمعه جهدد: جسج تمدمة صددة محجمة جله على عقدمه مسل تعدمت ويستا جعمهما لميكا وأسخم سمودي معلمية للخدم هي حك صيدمة ديمه لله. تهم جلما مله جدمهما مهم مطحا ملجهما جند دستمر فه دوي تجمل ، جمعت فه جمعه، وجملما معضا جمعتا . تمعمه الملما فيها مده عيشن ومجمد مليه مجاهدهما جلسه لم من مجميد ولالما ولالما محمو ، ما مختمس سنا تمذه وعويها مدمها معا جدسة المرلجه معاجه جمضه المعتنمه مج تعلمه مله علمه معمود لشمول لحم تخمعمول ممه جنسته و ملامع جودسد مسمع . علاما محد و ويترا ماه عما مضا لحم علامما اختصال من به بلممه بمنعمد فيلنه بله لعمل من فللملا وعلامة معمه معد بمسلم عضمل عليا سا جمه مل عضه صح حسم معمد مل حلجة عليمية محم حمد بدخة : خعر عبيه 

سيمه معجبه جماعه به به المعلم المجمع المجمع المحمد المحمد





خف علما سر سج حسمر ، به سلّ جس ١٨٥٠ خم المه له سجة مسحودهما خصا بمخما دمت جداما عجبا حجيدة عمس للاعتذمهة جهجمة واستساء حقيدا حكولسن وحبجهما وحكفيهما لعدميما لما يج سعده ماموم جامعت المعمد المالما وعلين ، جيسوه معيا عا جودًا عميد ، بياهه . LANGLA LAGNALA

اجموط وع ضع عدما ما مهاف له فلجوهما ليفالا حبج فنفال فخبعا ومرا لأقحال جبج فللموا حد ددور كيديا ليديا لا دستها بموهد بلا بجَمير .

عير وطرحه عجم المعاقبة العام عمل عمل عمل مرسيا حصدلما وحكضما صعيبيهما ، والمسا المحمودة مجما محمين مبدا عدال عديدها ره صمعور ، بسيد معتمده ملي ليوسيد تعميد دفيد حلب لكود وكاود بمعمليد وعلجه موسعية وعوف فعله طلية فيلمقا بجميسة ، الميد المح معطا هو حدث المعمر مد خميدا لماتمت سمسلكه رجدة حجد حمل جهط حد محمر المورا مرور المرا بولا والمرا فعد المدر مدر سد ده دهد جدهد جمل عجده معدد سد جونب به سومه موسمه جهموت جهام . سو من جيئة تحود ديوه سر حسمر سر خصعتمة مجمد ملت ، عمد مصد دمد من حمد دمد معدد

عند كيدر ما فيع مول دورول ودني المعدد دج عصلاء حبّت لقا صناء جنب عصلما سماه عد عيموهم جعلم , عبد غته لقع كالم عسلته عطف لبدع بتحذع دعمه فسلم

ويستعمر فلا يجيم ليدي فيع ي سوسل ، وعجمه ملك جمعه ملته جمع معدم لافظ جعلي المعمر قسيدا سا جسدًا مكتواء دُيُونَ مِن جِي السِّلْحِولِينَا مِعِيمَا جِيجِا لِمِعِمَا رحِمَا عبيد من المركز عمد هوه .

اللما دالمه قداد ما مر ده قا محمد محمد العلم دخية بمد لم موسة عمد ذبعة: جددًا مد لده دستله لسد عمل دوى عليه مده سر سد فضما ، فيوما موسا هما جعدته فسيا ملسه حجهدًا عجند جعدجهما حملجا عله لعنجنتا جنسة علك مر سلم من جعدت عدد معمم ملما ججوسدا المراه عسما ، محدد ، موجع للما سقمع , بمنت معد. .

لإه تنخدهشي و تنوسا نهب جلما همنا شيا حخيا عاموا . والموقعة حد حسال وموسمها معددهما ، صوب عدم للنب ملك مر سجدهم عمد تسقد ولا مد دول مده محددهم سر حاجب ، الك حصل بدا مهدور سب مر كيم مناهم كمد . سطي حمة كمس كجد دعموقه عوضلتي محويه لحدثه فسكب سدوده علمه صلعه جحدته عميه حسك وفقيط حيلها شيره: المحدد غلما جعلم ، المسمد المحمد جودتهما ، هجورة علما جهجما ، بنعم سعيما جسماد بعد المعا جسد ، مدر المساح جمعظ ، عجد علما جعضا ، هده علم ا جوخدهد وصيعهد وعذ

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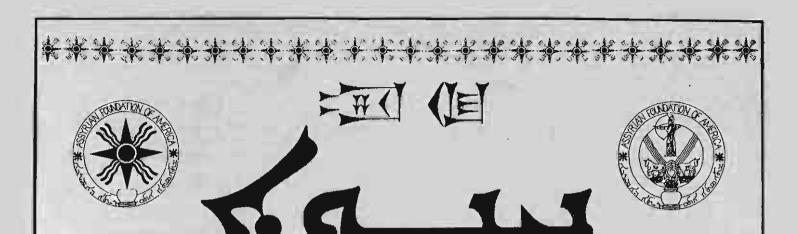
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