



Established 1964
Dedicated to the
Advancement of Education
of Assyrians

Second Quarter 1984



NINEVEH

Volume 7 No. 2 Tamuz 6734



Dr. Fridoun Atouraya (1891-1925)

CULTURAL — EDUCATIONAL — SOCIAL

NINEVEH

First Quarter 1984

VOLUME 7

No. 2

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ASSYRIAN FOUNDATION OF AMERICA ESTABLISHED IN JUNE 1964 AND INCORPORATED IN THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA AS A NON-PROFIT, TAX EXEMPT ORGANIZATION DEDICATED TO THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION OF ASSYRIANS.

ADDRESS LETTERS TO

THE EDITOR

NINEVEH

1920 SAN PABLO AVENUE

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94702

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION

U.S.A. & CANADA	\$17.00
OVERSEAS	\$20.00

ADVERTISEMENT RATES

	One Issue	Four Issues
FULL PAGE	\$50.00	\$40.00 ea.
HALF PAGE	35.00	25.00 ea.
ONE-QUARTER PAGE	25.00	20.00 ea.
ONE-EIGHTH PAGE	15.00	10.00 ea.

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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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of publication**

Letters to NINEVEH

Church's Role

My congratulations on such a fine magazine.

Since the church has played a vital and sometimes decisive role in the history of our people, it is very important for us to know what the church is as well as what it is not.

We often hear people say: "The church should get involved in politics or social affair," or "the church should take a stand on this or that issue," etc.

We often do hear such comments without a total comprehension of the true nature and authority of the church.

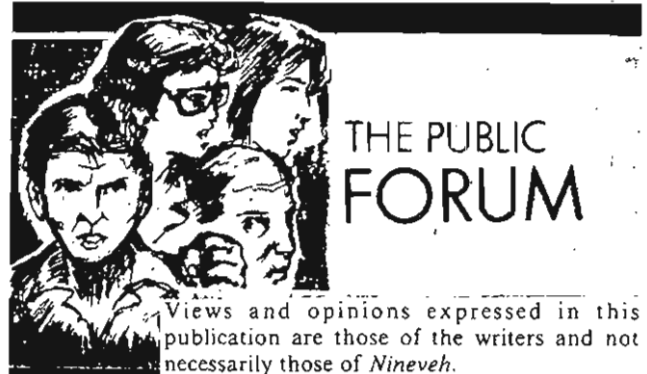
My paper tends to deal with the issue from a Biblical point of view which I hope will help the readers to rediscover some of the lost aspects of the church's function.

F. Es-Haq, Pastor of
A. E. churches of
Turlock and San Jose, CA

Nineveh Note: Rev. Es-Haq's paper will be published in our next issue.

We must do this so that one of the world's oldest cultures may not someday be only a footnote to history and so that the Assyrian identity may survive despite centuries of physical and cultural genocide. Our forefathers preserved the ancient knowledge for the world; today, let us at least gather and preserve knowledge about ourselves.

Fred Elias
Detroit, Michigan



Information Centers Needed

The establishment of an information resource center is of crucial importance if we are to preserve the Assyrian culture, one of the oldest and richest in the world, in spite of rampant oppression.

The Assyrians are colonized people in the full sense of the word, the wretched of the earth who have no alternative other than assimilation, that is to say, their disappearance as a cultural entity, or to resort to impassive resistance, which has not yet yielded positive results.

The present usurper of their homeland, knowingly maintains them in a state of cultural and political underdevelopment. They are not allowed to have cultural and educational institutions and haven't the freedom to learn about their own heritage, they have become strangers in their own homeland.

That is why those of us in diaspora who have the opportunity must establish information centers in order to provide all Assyrians with the opportunity to educate themselves by tapping their suppressed national heritage.

These centers will search for and make known the historical, cultural, national, and social dimensions relevant to the issue of the Assyrians in the Near East and throughout the world.

***YOU HAVE WANDERED TO
THE FOUR CORNERS OF THE
WORLD, but the Mystique of Assyria
has stayed with you . . .***

Keep up with the Assyrian world.

Keep up with the rest of the world

. . .

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NINEVEH

Fading Academic Delusions

After Europe has been so long in the habit of considering the Middle East as purely Arab, the struggle of the Aramaean Lebanese, Syriac and Coptic peoples disturbs the western ways of thinking and throws over the premises that they were built on and that are already a century old.

New scientific, intellectual and political assumptions are spreading over Europe and North America from the universities, research institutes and decision-making centers and in a certain measure they are reaching public opinion among committed Christians. These assumptions are based on a new picture, whose outlines are getting steadily clearer, particularly in Europe, and it is one to which people are not yet accustomed. The person thus delineated is one that nobody saw, nobody spoke to and nobody had any dialogue with. This new man is the Christian of the East.

It is now clear that in fact this new man is really the older one, belonging to the most ancient peoples and to the most ancient civilizations, not only of the Middle East, but of the entire world.

In fact, after long considering the Near East as a uniquely Arab-Muslim region, after carrying on its dialogue with other nations from certain strategic and political positions, and from certain scientific and cultural ones as well (for considerable parts of the truth about the East were left out of history as Europeans understood it), Europe is now reconsidering its past convictions.

The winds of history do not always blow in a direction favorable to present interest and profit-making. The struggle of the Lebanese, Aramaean, Assyrian, Coptic and Armenian peoples finishes by affirming their identity, by asserting their existence and their traditions, and has obliged the West to change its spectacles, if only at the purely academic level.

It is remarkable that this new phenomenon troubles the traditional western way of thinking and finally does away with these century-old assumptions based on the recognition of just one identity in the Near East, an Arab-Muslim one. The Christians of the East had become no more than scientific "problems"! The Christian East surprises the West for one simple reason — because it has proved that the Near East is not solely Arab!

Al Mashriq International

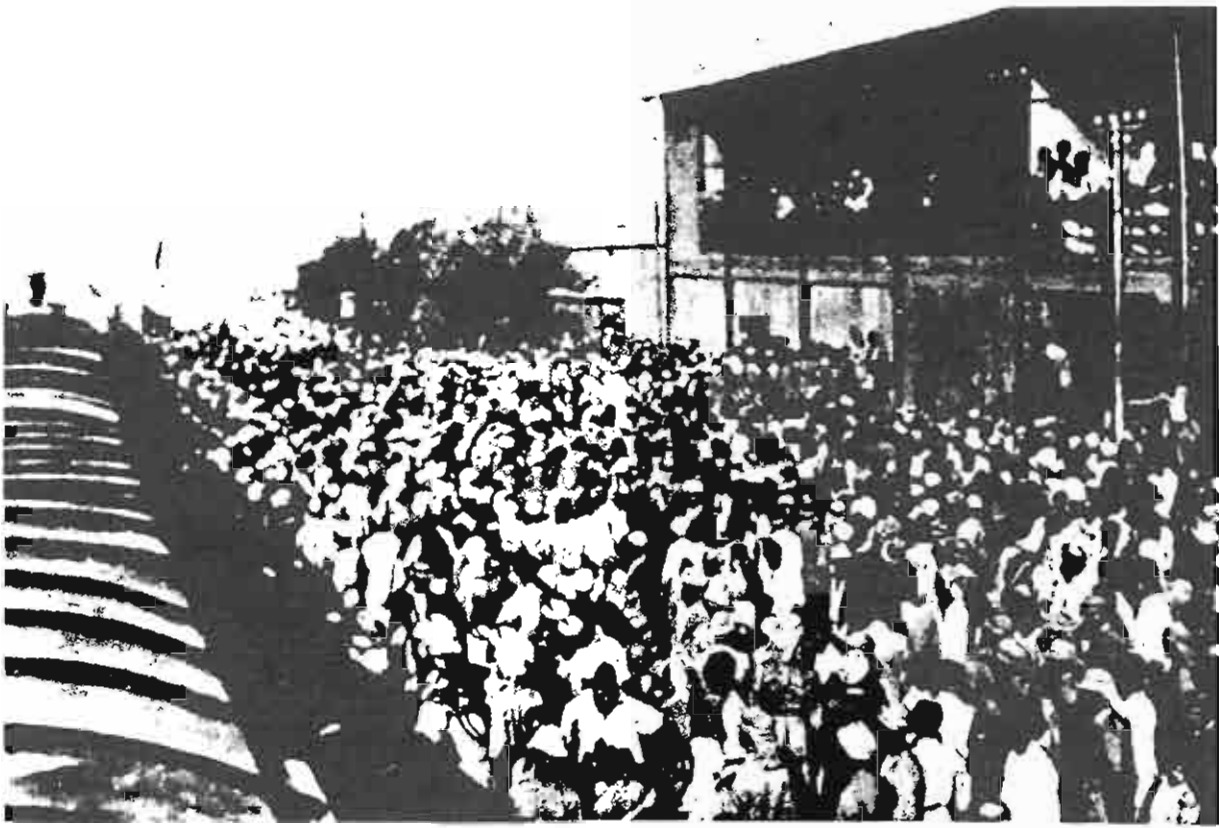


Shrara

Outliving many dynasties

Year
51
still no
study on
Simel
Massacre!

51 years ago:



Baghdadi hordes welcoming murders of
3000 Assrians in Simele Massacres.

**If you destroy a people's NATIONHOOD, it will know
NO OTHER THOUGHT BUT ITS RECONQUEST. It will listen
TO NO MODERNISER, HEAR OF NO PHILOSOPHER, LEND AN
EAR TO NO PREACHER AS LONG AS ITS NATIONAL DEMAND
IS NOT ANSWERED. NO PROBLEM—NOT EVEN THE MOST
VITAL—will win its ATTENTION EXCEPT THE MATTER OF
ITS UNITY AND NATIONAL LIBERATION.**

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW
John Bull's Other Island

Hakkim Freydon Bet Avraham, Aturaya

by Sargis Michael

The mysteries of the Universe cannot be comprehended by man.¹ The all true, and authoritative link between humanity and the God who created the Universe,² is Jesus Christ.³ The late Assyrian King, Avgar Ao Kama, in Edessa (Urhai) was in communication with Jesus Christ before He was crucified.⁴ The king understood Jesus, admired Him, and accepted His teachings. Since that time the Assyrians have understood and accepted the teachings of Jesus Christ, pure and simple, because they themselves were pure and honest people; because Jesus spoke in Aramaic, the Assyrian language.⁵ Therefore the Satanic forces have been very cruel to the Assyrian people.

From time to time there has arisen, among the Assyrians, a man with the fire of love in his heart for his people. But the Satanic forces have mercilessly destroyed him. One such a noble young man was Hakkim (Dr) Freydon Bet Avraham. He called himself Freydon Aturaya.

Dr. Freydon was born in the village of Charbaghsh, Urmia, in 1891. His father was a painter. While still young, Dr. Freydon's mother died, so his father took him to his maternal uncle's home in Tbilisi, Russia. A few years later, his father died also, leaving young Freydon an orphan in the house of his maternal uncle. The young Freydon completed his school in Tbilisi, Russia, with honors. He then applied for acceptance in the University of Saratog, Kharkov,⁶ and was accepted. He graduated from this University in 1915 as a medical doctor, with high honors, and was presented with Gold Medals. It is also stated that he studied in the military academy at Leningrad University.

There are two unquenchable celestial fires in the heart of man. One is the love for a sweetheart — God has given this love for man to seek and find the suitable mother of his future children, and his mate for life. But, alas, this divine love has now been corrupted by some rusty materialistic professors, and degraded to sex. Therefore, there are now so many divorces, so many broken homes, so many retarded children, distorted children, children without a home, in what they call civilized countries. The other love, the greatest of all, is the love for one's country, the love for one's nation. This was the love raging in the heart of young Freydon, since his childhood. The love for his noble Assyrian Nation, the innocent pure Christian people, betrayed, massacred, cheated, doublecrossed by dirty politics, the science of the devils. Young Freydon, while still a little boy, was dreaming of a day when he would grow up and save his people, save for them their original country. It is said that, while an orphan in his uncle's home, he told his uncle's wife, "You will see one day what I would do for the Assyrians." His uncle's wife laughed and said, "What can you do for the Assyrians, you son of 'kino'." Kino means drunkard. His father, after the passing away of his wife, and the separation from his only son, Freydon, took to drinking to keep away his grief.

Dr. Freydon, after graduating from the universities with high honors, was appointed as a medical doctor for the Russian Army, in the First World War; he was head of the military hospital in Georgia, then Chief Medical Officer for the Northern and Southern Caucasian Railways. At that time the Russian railways were heavily engaged in transportation of troops to various war fronts. It is stated that in 1917, he was promoted to the rank of Director General of Finance to the U.S.S.R. He was a handsome young man, a genius, highly respected and liked by all the high ranking officials, including Stalin himself.

One day he came back to Tbilisi to see his uncle's wife, who was like a mother to him. Dressed in his high rank military uniform, followed by his body guards, he paid a visit to his uncle's wife, embracing her and laughing, he said, "I told you I would do something for the Assyrians." She, with tears of joy in her eyes, crying and kissing him, said, "Son, I am so glad to see you . . . God bless you."

He was later transferred to the Russian Forces in Iran, and there he acted as a political officer also. He worked zealously for a national home for the Assyrians. Whatever he asked of the Russian Government, they granted him. He established an Assyrian Association in Tbilisi. He sacrificed much of his very valuable time as the head of Russian Assyrians, to create a United Assyrian Front. He established an Assyrian National Committee in Moscow and an Assyrian National Committee in Urmia. He sent 250 Assyrian young men to Russia for training. He asked the Russian Government to send arms and equipment for the deliverance of Bet Nahrain, for the Assyrians.

In 1917 the Russians in Iran were training about 2000 Assyrian soldiers to be the core of an Assyrian Army under the direct command of Mar Benyamin Shimun; and an eye witness said, "Mar Benyamin took Dr. Freydon to the Assyrian soldiers there, and introduced him to them. He said, "Dr. Freydon is my representative. Whatever orders he gives you, they are my orders. Obey him as you obey me."

Dr. Freydon was a powerful writer also. Among many writings he had, we know of a very few, which are Balbati Kamayi; Dianta Dkidvi; Kala Dkarna; Shari Al Tiata Nahravati Di Urm; Sluta Dmilat; Ya Nishrat Di Tkhum. He established an Assyrian library in Moscow and an Assyrian library in Tbilisi, which is still in use. He established an Assyrian Magazine, under the name of Nakusha, and used it powerfully to enhance his aim of a National Home for the Assyrians.

The Russian soldiers in Iran, after the Russian Revolution of October 1917, conspired to overthrow and kill all their officers, saying that they were Royalists. So, one day they caught and killed one of their officers. They were maddened and bloodthirsty, shouting and dragging the body of the dead officer in the streets. The other officers sensed that this danger would spread like a wild

fire throughout all the Russian army. They knew that no one could control this conflagration except Dr. Freydon. So they immediately went and brought him from his distant place. He came, confronted the maddened soldiers, raised his hand and shouted, "Halt! Bring me a table!" They hurried and brought him a table. He jumped upon the table, as he was of short stature, and harangued them so effectively that they dropped the dead officer's body. Hands in pockets, heads bent down in shame, each one went his way, never to do such a thing again.

The Assyrian magazine, "Bahra" of Chicago, stated that Dr. Freydon was killed by the British Forces in 1925.⁷ Others say that while he was very zealously working for his people, the Assyrians, Mikoyan, his friend and subordinate, who later became the president of U.S.S.R., reported him to the Russian authorities. But still other witnesses say that Rabi Mishael, who was an informer in the British Intelligence, Baghdad, Iraq, from 1923 to 1950, got together in 1924 with Rabi Yacob Di Salamast and Mar Youkhana of the Russian Orthodox Church, Baghdad, composed a letter and mailed it to Dr. Freydon in Russia. At that time Dr. Freydon was vacationing in Crimea. As was expected or intended, the letter was caught by the Russian Intelligence. So, as soon as Dr. Freydon returned home, he was grabbed by the Russian Secret Service and thrown into prison, as a British spy. He was not allowed even to step into his house. No questions asked, no court, no right to defend himself, no lawyers, no judges. This handsome, innocent man, this genius — a doctor of medicine with high honors, a minister of high rank, still young, unmarried, thirty three years of age, was unjustly flung into prison.

His only crime was that he openly and honestly worked for a National Home for his Assyrian people. "He was guiltless, but he was condemned to death." In prison, no one was allowed to see him or speak to him. This is maddening cruelty! They say that he went mad in prison. He would bite his fingernails and his fingers until they bled.

In prison he composed his famous song, "Ya Nishra Di Tkhumi." In this song one sees his noble soul desperately fluttering against the dark prison walls. Then his soul is free; he imagines he is flying on the wings of an eagle, to see, for the last time, his beloved Assyrian Nation, in Tkhuma, in Tiari, min Urmi L Mosul, Tirwai Barwari; then he is flying to Nineveh.

Nobody knows what happened to him, even to this day. But one day we will know. "for there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed; and hid that shall not be known."⁸

So, many noble, innocent, great Assyrians who loved and worked for their nation, have been murdered in this cruel way; so many more will be murdered in this cruel way, in the future, by the Satanic forces until we turn our hearts to God, kneel down and pray to God to have mercy on us; to turn his face toward us, and show us the way to our salvation; the way to our National Home.

1. And the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not. John 1:5.
2. In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. Gen. 1:1.
3. Jesus saith unto him; I am the way, the truth, and the life. John 14:6.
4. The Doctrine of Mar Addai. Ancient Syriac Documents.
5. Galilee on the Gentiles. Matt. 4:15. Talita Cumi. Mark 5:41.
6. Some say the University of Leningrad.
7. Bahra, August 1982, No. 6732 of the Assyrian Student Association.
8. Fear them not therefore; for there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed; and hid, that shall not be known. Matt. 10:26.

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Assyrian Prisoners of War and the Right to Live

by H. W. F. Saggs (Cardiff)

"The Assyrian," we are informed on the authority of an incestuous English aristocrat, "came down like the wolf on the fold."¹ An alternative appraisal, based on a neutral study of the sources rather than Bible-engendered prejudices, might be that the Assyrian was not so much a wolf as a rather savage sheepdog. **No comparative evidence has yet been adduced to establish the commonly found belief that the Assyrians were inordinately and arbitrarily brutal towards conquered peoples.** When one examines the material in detail, one finds nothing to indicate that the Assyrians were worse in kind or degree than many other peoples, ancient and more recent, who have waged war in the Near East; **they merely suffered the misfortune of running afoul of one of the world's most effective and enduring propaganda machines, the Israelite prophetic movement, with its ability still to mold the thought of many in the western world two and a half millennia later.**

There are basically two possible attitudes to conquered peoples. Either their lives are forfeit, and can only be spared by an act of clemency; or, whatever else they are deprived of, up to all they possess and their freedom, they retain a right to live, and are only killed for some specific offense.

The former and harsher attitude is well attested in the Bible, both in practice and as an enunciated principle. The biblicol evidence is used, not to make any tendentious denigration of the peoples concerned but because this provides the most readily available and opposite comparative evidence. Furthermore, it is immediately evident that within the biblical passages to be adduced, the more humane attitude is simultaneously exemplified alongside the harsher, in different cultural strata.

King Saul made war on a number of his neighbors, *inter alios* the Amalekites. From the point of view of the Israelite religious authorities, Yahweh of Hosts felt a deadly hostility towards the Amalekites, nominally because of the attitude of the tribe before the Settlement, some two centuries earlier. "Thus says the Lord of Hosts, I will punish what Amalek did to Israel in opposing them on the way, when they came up out of Egypt. Now go and smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have; do not spare them, but kill both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass."² Clearly, no living Amalekite could have borne any guilt for the alleged offense. In fact, to cut through the terminology of theological barbarism which justifies such total slaughter on the principle of the religious "ban" (*herem*), there was, in secular terms, a tribal feud on an ethno-cultural basis. **The decree of the Israelite religious authority, in the person of Samuel, that the whole tribe must be wiped out, down to the last baby and animal, gave voice to the indisputable attitude that the Amalekite prisoners ought to die, not for something they had done but for something in their very nature, namely, an ethno-cultural difference from their captors.** Saul, however, took a more enlightened view and sought

to spare the Amalekite king, Agag. This brought down the curse of Samuel, who insisted that no captured enemy should be spared, and with his own hands murdered the prisoner Agag in the name of Yahweh of Hosts.³

We move on a century and a half and come to another similar clash between the relentless religious authority and the more humane military commander. The Syrian king, Ben-Hadad, surrendered to Ahab, king of Israel, in considerable anxiety lest he be summarily executed. Ahab, however, treated him favorably and did nothing worse than make a commercial treaty with him.⁴ **But Yahwistic circles evidently held the view that not only had a captured enemy no right to live, but also even a king had no right to show clemency; and a prophet came to Ahab to raise the matter.** But by this time the executive power had sufficiently moved from the religious to the royal authority that the prophet had to come in disguise to make his denunciation effective by means of a trick, and, notwithstanding the curse put upon Ahab, the prophet was unable to reverse the king's clemency.⁵ Clearly, however, the prophetic school, even in mid-ninth century, still held that their god Yahweh demanded fulfillment of the *herem*, and that every captured enemy should be slaughtered, not for any particular fault, but because he was outside Yahweh's ethno-cultural group.

The narratives of these two incidents may, whatever the date of the final recension of the passages in which they occur, reflect only the *mores* of the periods to which they are attributed. But a principle governing the matter is clearly stated in Deuteronomy 20:10ff. This forms part of what Eissfeldt calls "the original Deuteronomy,"⁶ and the relationship of Deuteronomy to the Law Book found by Josiah in 621 B.C.⁷ indicates that, whatever the primary date of origin of the passage, it was accepted in some religious circles in Jerusalem (although not necessarily in political circles) as a valid principle as late as the late seventh century.

The passage in question lays down that if a city of an attacked enemy offers no resistance but makes immediate surrender, all the occupants are to be spared but become booty. If, however, the city offers resistance and is subsequently captured, all the men without exception are to be executed, the women and children becoming war booty. This latter concession to a developing spirit of humanitarianism had, however, strict limits; it applied only to those cities with which the Israelites were on good terms; all populations of Canaanites and their congeners were to be exterminated absolutely without squeamish exception. The historical fact that the principle was, on a wide scale, put into practice rarely if at all, in no way invalidates the conclusion that the Israelite religious principle of *herem* demanded the killing of prisoners of war, not for any specific offense, but because their ethno-cultural group was not under the protection of Yahweh.

It is against this background in the ancient Near East

that the military activities of the New Assyrian Empire, and particularly of the king with the worst reputation, Ashur-naṣir-pal, are to be viewed. **Contrary to the principle laid down in Deuteronomy and elsewhere in the Bible (though parallel to the predominant Israelite military practice), the Assyrian attitude to defeated peoples had no ethno-cultural (or racial) aspect, and basically accepted that defeated peoples had a right to live, and would only be killed for some specific offense.**

We are informed by Assyrian kings themselves about their treatment of conquered enemies from the time of Adad-narari I at the end of the fourteenth century onwards. We have no reason to suspect that their accounts of treatments of captives have been edited with a view to presenting such matters in a more favorable light, since there is no indication of any humanitarian public opinion to be pandered to, which might have led to suppression of information on genocide of the *herem* type, had such occurred.

Wherever sufficient detail is given to permit an evaluation, it almost invariably appears that treatment of conquered enemies was related to whether or not they were in revellion, harsher treatment, though not always torture or death, falling upon those who were. In view of this, there is a case for caution in the translation of certain verbs as "rebel" or "revolt." Two verbs often used in this area are *nakāru* and *nabalkutu*. *Nakāru*, properly "to engage in hostile action," does not in itself imply that the action so designated is directed to throwing off existing political control, and it usually gives a more accurate reflection of the political realities if a translation implying "revolt" is avoided. *Nabalkutu*, on the other hand, certainly often can and does specifically imply political rebellion against a suzerain. But it needs to be remembered that the more original sense of the verb was "to transgress a boundary," and there are cases in the Assyrian records in which it is used in that more general sense, of people not hitherto under Assyrian control entering outlying territories claimed by Assyria, when in political terms invasion rather than rebellion was involved, so that retribution for rebellion was not politically appropriate.

The political distinction which can exist between situations in which these two verbs are used is shown by Adad-narari I in relation to rulers of Hanigalbat. Shattuara engaged in hostilities (*nakāru*), and when defeated was taken to Ashur, put under oath, and then returned to Hanigalbat as a tributary.⁸

In the account of the subsequent action of Shattuara's son Uasashatta the verb *nabalkutu* is added,⁹ indicating the view that Uasashatta's activities contained some element that his father's did not. As from the time of Shattuara's defeat Hanigalbat had been a tributary with its ruler bound by oath, Uasashatta's action, unlike his father's, was actual rebellion, and this time severe measures were taken by Adad-narari in response. He destroyed two of the royal cities of Hanigalbat, brought Uasashatta and his family to Ashur, and made the population into a labor force.¹⁰ But the whole indication is that, although by any standards Uasashatta's action was rebellion, no atrocities were perpetrated and no one

suffered capital punishment. Although the whole population did indeed suffer the lesser penalty of being made a labor force, it will be remembered that in the Deuteronomy code the imposition of this penalty instead of death was regarded as a particular clemency applicable only to cities in a favorable relationship with Israel, and even in such circumstances to be granted only to women and children.

When we come to Shalmaneser I, we find usages of *nabalkutu* which appear to be in the more original sense of "to transgress a boundary" rather than to convey the particular political nuance "to rebel." He uses the verb both of Uruaṭri¹¹ and of the Quti, neither of whom had, so far as we know, previously been under Assyrian political control, but both of whom were in mountainous areas where Assyria was now beginning to claim authority. Shalmaneser in one case took conscripts and in the other prisoners, but in neither case refers to any killing, apart from casualties in battle, although cities were burned. We do, however, meet under Shalmaneser I the first reference to large-scale atrocities, in the mention of blinding of prisoners.¹² This is, not unreasonably, a highly emotive matter to the modern reader, for there are many who would rather be killed than left blind. It is necessary, however, to consider this atrocity in the ancient Near Eastern rather than the modern context. Firstly, if one may extrapolate from conditions in modern Iraq up to the 1950's, impaired sight from disease was extremely common, possibly affecting a majority of the population,¹³ so that loss of sight did not cut off a man from the experience of his fellow-men to the same extent that it does in the modern world. Secondly, it has been plausibly argued that the blinding was in one eye only,¹⁴ so that the victim was not totally handicapped visually. Disagreeable as we may find this atrocity, its practice has to be accepted as in itself an indication of unreadiness to kill prisoners out of hand, irrespective of whether the constraint was humanitarian or economic. It may also be recalled that total blindness is amongst the punishments wished by the Deuteronomist school upon those who are not good Yahwists.¹⁶

There may be a reference to a holocaust of prisoners in the inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta I, where he says, after referring to his conquest of Purulimzu, *bal-tu-su-nu i-na iṣāti aq-lu*, "I consumed them alive in a fire."¹⁷ If this was indeed a deliberate holocaust, it was not arbitrary but a punishment for a situation in which the area, regarded as tributary, had not only withheld tribute from Shalmaneser I but had gone further to form an anti-Assyrian coalition, *pa-a iṣīēnēn mi-it-ha-ri-iṣ iṣ-sā-ak-nu*.¹⁸ But since Tukulti-Ninurta goes on to say *ṣi-ta-at um-ma-na-ti-[ṣu-nu] and ṣal-[la-ti] lu am-nu*, "the rest of their forces I counted as spoil,"¹⁹ there is the alternative possibility that the burning alive may only refer to defenders trapped when he fired the city in the course of its capture. Apart from this, the first indisputable recorded mass murder of prisoners seems to have been under Ashur-dan (934-912 B.C.). Here there can be no question mark, since there is both mention of a holocaust and the statement that the king "finished off the rest of them."²⁰ We have no other data on the people

concerned, the Yausa, but mention of *māt A-ri-mi* at the end of the section makes it likely that they were an Aramaean tribe. Weidner suggested placing the Yausa near Carchemish,²¹ but only because of the indication that they were an Aramaean tribe, apparently combined with the false assumption that at this time Aramaeans in north Mesopotamia were limited to the Carchemish area. That the Yausa were a pastoral people is indicated by reference to their *maškanāte* (encampments, not walled cities) and their numerous flocks and herds.²² The verb describing their clash with the Assyrians is *e-li-u*,²³ "they came up," suggesting an approach towards Assyria, and they are said to have "trusted in their own strength,"²⁴ implying defiance of Assyria. The place named in connection with Ashur-dan's attack on the Yausi was Ekal-pī-nārāti,²⁵ "Palace at the mouth of the rivers," which offers a geographical similarity with the area *pi-a-te ša nār Tar-ta-ra*, "the mouths of the Tartar," near which Tukulti-Ninurta II later clashed with another Aramaean tribe, the Itu a.²⁶ All this suggests (against Weidner's placing of them near Carchemish) that the Yausa were an Aramaean tribe who had reached the Jazirah and were attempting to move up into central Assyrian territory. If this was in fact a tribal raid or migration into metropolitan Assyrian territory, it would explain the unusual severity of Assyrian action against a people not in the category of a rebelling vassal.

We meet another massacre when Adad-nerari II reports the mass killing of the kinsmen of the king of (U)qumani.²⁷ As the Qumani royal family had, however, been placed under treaty oath as long before as the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I.²⁸ and there are no indications that Assyria had subsequently abandoned its claim to that area, the king of Qumani was technically in rebellion, which would explain the massacre of the royal family. It is to be noted that the mass killing did not extend beyond the royal family; and Adad-nerari explicitly states that he resettled in peaceable dwellings those Qumani troops who returned after defeat.²⁹

Tukulti-Ninurta II makes the customary claims about bloody victories, but says nothing that may be interpreted as speaking of atrocities against prisoners of war. So we come to Ashur-naṣir-pal II, for many modern readers the prime Assyrian villain. Some insight into the principles which Assyrians applied to the treatment of captives may be obtained by a brief survey of some of his activities.

We note first that even with Ashur-naṣir-pal there was no inevitability about atrocities upon conquered peoples. At the beginning of his reign, with eight cities of Ḫabhu stated as conquered, the only action which could be regarded as an atrocity was the flaying of one prince of the chief city, in circumstances which are not stated.³⁰ All the defeated troops who made submission were spared, subject to payment of tax and corvée.³¹ In the same year, attacks on the Judi Dagh area mention only the taking of prisoners, not executions or atrocities.³² But simultaneously a city on the Ḫabur rebelled, killed its governor, and appointed an Aramaean as king, and in this case — not conquest but suppression of rebellion — Ashur-naṣir-pal acted with the utmost severity,

though not indiscriminately.³³ The nobles and elders made submission and Ashur-naṣir-pal says, not that he executed all of them, but that he flayed as many as had rebelled.³⁴ Clearly, there was some form of court-martial to establish innocence or guilt.

Some of the worst atrocities reported by Ashur-naṣir-pal reports burning 3000 of the people taken as booty and specifically says he did not leave a single one as hostage. Later, he again cruelly executed prisoners at Damdammusa. However, a meaningful examination of these events requires that they be viewed in the context of ancient warfare, not on the basis of modern humanitarian principles. In neither case was it an attack by Ashur-naṣir-pal on people innocently going about their business. On the first occasion there was an insurrection by Assyrian settlers, who rebelled within their own territory and then made an attempt to capture Damdammusa, described as a royal city,³⁶ which Ashur-naṣir-pal seemed to be using as a garrison and store city of the type of which the most successful example was Tushan. The slaughter of prisoners after Ashur-naṣir-pal had overcome the revolt extended to non-Assyrians of the area who had allied themselves with the Assyrian rebels.³⁷

Sixteen years later we find Ashur-naṣir-pal attacking Damdammusa, now held by an Aramaean from Bit-Zamani.³⁸ Clearly, in the interim period the city, regarded by Ashur-naṣir-pal as an Assyrian royal city, had been attacked and captured by anti-Assyrian forces. Thus, from the point of view of Ashur-naṣir-pal when he recaptured the city, the defenders were not merely people being conquered; they were enemies who had directly initiated a military attack against Assyria.

Immediately succeeding the account of Ashur-naṣir-pal's second action at Damdammusa is a passage telling how Ashur-naṣir-pal impaled soldiers from a captured city where, he says, "none of the kings my fathers had ever set foot."³⁹ This might appear to be a direct disproof of the argument that Ashur-naṣir-pal only executed persons who had previously been subjects or tributaries of Assyria and were now rebels. However, it can be shown that even if there was literal truth in Ashur-naṣir-pal's statement that none of his predecessors had ever visited the area, the people concerned had certainly previously been Assyrian tributaries. The city concerned was Udu, and Ashur-naṣir-pal's father Tukulti-Ninurta II had mentioned a city with the same name and in the same area.⁴⁰ The Tukulti-Ninurta passage is damaged and obscure, but it is clear that in Tukulti-Ninurta's time Udu was a hostile base and that Assyrian forces, though not Tukulti-Ninurta in person, were somehow involved with it. Moreover, Ashur-naṣir-pal himself states that near the beginning of his reign he received tribute from Lab-ṭuru,⁴¹ the man later named as ruler of Udu, and also had clashes with the same ruler in cities north of the Ṭur Abdin.⁴² Thus, when Ashur-naṣir-pal eventually took Udu and impaled its soldiers, he was actually dealing with the capital of a ruler who had previously been accepted as a vassal of Assyria and yet had, on the assumption that his base was sufficiently far to the north to be safe from Assyria, persistently engaged in attacks on Assyrian positions in the Ṭur Abdin area. The fact

that Ashur-naṣir-pal's attack on Labturu of Udu was directly linked in his account with his recapture of Damdam-musa is consistent with the hypothesis that Labturu was behind the earlier capture of Damdam-musa from Assyria.

A detailed analysis of all passages touching upon the treatment of prisoners by Ashur-naṣir-pal and his successors would require a work of book length. So far as I have been able to trace, there is no certain instance of mass execution of prisoners other than in cases of an enemy which had initiated an attack against Assyria, or of a vassal which had rebelled and not made immediate submission at the approach of the Assyrian army. Assyrian atrocities have to be seen in this perspective. In fact, the Assyrian practices and principles were very close to those of the late Middle Ages in Europe, of which the following has been written, in the context of the capture of Calais by Edward III of England:

"In the fourteenth century, storming a well-built and strongly garrisoned town was an immensely costly operation, which could easily end in complete failure. This fact helps to explain the extraordinary ferocity with which the inhabitants of towns taken by assault were sometimes treated. A walled city was a military as well as a commercial unit; men were encouraged by the Crown to settle there for precisely this purpose, and could not expect to be regarded solely as civilians. . . . It was considered fair that a town which had been effectively invested by a superior army should surrender; if it failed to do so, and forced the besiegers to risk assault, its citizens exposed themselves to whatever punishment the victor felt desirable, when and if the town was taken."⁴³

Something may be said briefly on the positive side of the Assyrian treatment of war prisoners. In the royal inscriptions, even of Ashur-naṣir-pal, it is not infrequently specified that the king showed captive peoples mercy, and in the royal epithets the basic statements about the king are that he, as the Shepherd, has brought enemy kings and peoples under the authority of Ashur, not that he has killed or tortured them. The biblical evidence of the speech of the Assyrian *rab saqeḥ* at the siege of Jerusalem is also relevant; executions are not even considered, the basic assumption being deportation into acceptable, even favorable, conditions.⁴⁴ Letters show the concern of the Assyrian government for war captives. We find such details as an official reporting that he has gone to meet a contingent and has placed the people under his protection.⁴⁵ In the Nimrud letters we hear of arrangements for providing prisoners with footwear⁴⁶ and even with wives.⁴⁷ An instructive relevant unpublished Nimrud letter is an *abat šarri*, instructions from the king to an administrator about the treatment of *hubtu*, war prisoners. He is to provision them from his cattle and sheep, and the king threatens *la tašiatu ina muhḥi tamūat*, "You shall not be negligent. In such a case you shall die."⁴⁸ While this certainly does not suggest any abstract concern for the sanctity of human life, it does indicate a complete lack of racialism; senior Assyrian administrators and foreign war-prisoners were not thought of as beings in different categories, and the life of the Assyrian administrator might be required if

any of the prisoners came to harm by his negligence. While there were certainly no abstract Assyrian principles about rights of prisoners, it was equally the case that there was no principle that a prisoner, by the mere fact of being an enemy, deserved to die. **Prisoners of war were at the disposal of the Assyrian state, but the universal dominion claimed by Ashur implied that the Assyrian king should make no distinction between peoples on ethno-religious grounds, and in consequence that, except for those guilty of some specific offense against the state, the king's duty was to shepherd all peoples equally. Prisoners taken by the Assyrians were fortunate in that the god Ashur, unlike Yahweh, had no prophetic school to urge perpetration of the *herem* upon those outside a limited ethno-religious group which he had chosen.**

¹⁾ Lord Byron, "The Destruction of Sennacherib", canto I, line 1.

²⁾ 1 Sam. 15:2-3, RSV.

³⁾ 1 Sam. 15:33.

⁴⁾ 1 Kings 20:32-34.

⁵⁾ 1 Kings 20:38-42.

⁶⁾ O. Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament; an Introduction* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1965), 175.

⁷⁾ 2 Kings 22:10-13.

⁸⁾ E.F. Weidner, AfO 5 (1928-9), 90, Vs.7-17.

⁹⁾ Op.cit., 90, Vs.19-20, *ib-bal-ki-ta-ma it-ti-ia ik-ki-ir u za-e-ru-ti e-pu-uš*.

¹⁰⁾ Op.cit., 90, U.Rd.29-Rs.54.

¹¹⁾ IAK, 112, col.1, lines 27-8.

¹²⁾ IAK, 118, col.3, lines 8-10.

¹³⁾ IAK, 118, col.2, line 34.

¹⁴⁾ British Admiralty, *Iraq and the Persian Gulf* (1944), 416-7.

¹⁵⁾ A.K. Grayson, ARI, I, 82, n.177.

¹⁶⁾ Deut. 28:28-9.

¹⁷⁾ E.F. Weidner, ITN, 3, col.III, line 44.

¹⁸⁾ Op.cit., 3, col.III, lines 36-7.

¹⁹⁾ Op.cit., 3, col.III, line 45 - col.IV, line 1.

²⁰⁾ E.F. Weidner, AfO 3 (1926), 156, lines 12-15.

²¹⁾ Op.cit., 153, n.10.

²²⁾ Op.cit., 152, line 11 - 156, line 13.

²³⁾ Op.cit., 152, line 7.

²⁴⁾ Op.cit., 152, line 8.

²⁵⁾ W. Schramm, EAK, 2. Teil, I, b, Z. 10.

²⁶⁾ W. Schramm, BiOr 27 (1970), 150, lines 46-50.

²⁷⁾ J. Seidmann, MAOG IX/3, 36, lines 13-4.

²⁸⁾ E.F. Weidner, ITN, 2, col.III, lines 2-7.

²⁹⁾ J. Seidmann, MAOG IX/3, 36, lines 17-19.

³⁰⁾ AKA, 274, col.I, line 59 - 275, col.I, line 61 and 277, col.I, lines 67-8.

³¹⁾ AKA, 277, col.I, lines 66-7.

³²⁾ AKA, 278, col.I, line 70 - 279, col.I, line 73.

³³⁾ AKA, 280, col.I, line 75 - 286, line 93.

³⁴⁾ AKA, 285, col.I, lines 89-90.

35) For doubts (shared by the present writer) on the placing of Tušhan at the site Kerh, see K. Kessler, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens* (1980), passim.

36) AKA, 290, col.I, lines 102-3.

37) AKA, 291, col.I, line 107 - 293, line 113.

38) AKA, 378, col.III, line 105 - 379, col.III, line 109.

39) AKA, 379, col.III, line 109 - 380, col.III, line 113.

40) W. Schramm, *BiOr* 27 (1970), 148, line 6.

41) AKA, 299, col.II, lines 12-13.

42) AKA, 322, col.II, lines 98-9.

43) Paul Johnson, *The Life and times of Edward III* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1973), 96.

44) 2 Kings 18:31-2.

45) ABL 167, obv.7-12.

46) *Iraq* 18 (1956), 41, XXV, lines obv.5-rev.16.

47) *Iraq* 18 (1956), 42, XXVI, lines 4-8.

48) ND unpublished.

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Assyrian Contribution to Islamic World

The Syriac-speaking Christians of Syria and Mesopotamia made one of the most important contributions to the intellectual efflorescence centred in 'Abbāsid Baghdad which became the chief glory of mediaeval Islam. The first century and a half of the 'Abbāsid dynasty saw the momentous movement of translation of Greek, Syriac and Persian works into Arabic and the transference of Hellenistic lore to the followers of the Arabian Prophet. In the years following the founding of Baghdad the major philosophical works of Aristotle and the neo-Platonic commentators, the chief medical writings of Hippocrates and Galen, the mathematical works of Euclid and the geographical work of Ptolemy became available to readers of Arabic. In this movement it was the Syrians who were the chief mediators.

* * *

Arab contact with the Syrians goes back to the days of the Arab kingdoms of the Lakhmids of al-Hīrah in Iraq and the Ghassānids in southern Syria. Syrian physicians practised medicine in Arabia before Islam and Syrian missionaries converted many Arabs to Christianity. The first Bishop of Beth 'Arbāyā (between Nisibis and Sinjār), Aḥūdeme (d. 575), was a successful preacher of the Gospel among the Bedouins and ended by earning the crown of martyrdom at Chosroes' hands for converting a youthful member of the Persian royal family, whom he baptized by the name of George.¹ A later churchman, George, Bishop of the Arab tribes (consecrated 724), whose diocese included the Tanūkh, Tha'lab and Taghlib, was well-known for his translation into Syriac of Aristotle's *Organon*.² In the course of time Christian communities grew up in the Yemen, particularly Najrān, and in Yathrib in the Hījāz, where the first church in the city was dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

Words of Syriac or Aramaic origin in the Qur'ān (e.g. *furqān*, *sifr*, *zakāt*, *ṣalāt*, *qissis*)³ demonstrate the cultural influence which the Syrians were already exerting on the very beginnings of Islamic civilization. Many other ecclesiastical terms were borrowed from Syriac, and through the translated works, the Arabic language adopted many scientific and philosophical terms previously unknown. Several Greek words were Arabized through Syriac (e.g. *khūrī*, *iskīm*, *baṭriyark*). Furthermore, Arabic borrowed many words from Syriac, and in particular, words pertaining to agriculture, industry, navigation, commerce, science, etc. Arab linguists brought these 'loan' words into accord with the Arabic language (both in form and assonance) and entered them into their dictionaries and linguistic books. Mar Ignatius Afrām Baršūm was the first scholar who attempted to make a 'scientific' list of 'loan' words in Arabic, which was published in the 1950's in the *Revue de l'Académie Arabe de Damas*.⁴

Syriac also made a significant contribution to the writing of Arabic and the influence of the Syriac handwriting on the Arabic script is well-known. The Arabic alphabet descends from the Nabataean script (a sister of Syriac) and the diacritical points and vowel pointing in Arabic follow the East Syrian system.⁵

Syriac also left its mark on Arabic grammar. It is generally accepted that Abū al-Aswad al-Du'ālī (d. 69 A.H.) is regarded as the founder of Arabic grammar. Most scholars believe that Abū al-Aswad adopted the fundamentals of Arabic grammar from the Syriac language.

The Syriac language has also influenced the Arabic vernacular, and in particular in Syria, Lebanon and Mosul in Iraq. In these regions many words begin with a vowelless consonant, as in Syriac. Furthermore, dozens of cities and villages in these areas still bear 'Syriac' names.⁶

* * *

When we turn to examine the interaction between Syriac literature and the literature of the Arabs, we find that it is the ascetic-mystical books of the Golden Age of Syriac literature which represent the first important influence of Syriac on Arabic. It is in the field of the ascetic mystical that the Syriac parallelism to Arabic Sūfī literature is striking.⁷ This parallelism may be seen in the recently discovered manuscript sources for Athanasius abū Ghālīb (d. 1177).⁸ As Vööbus rightly points out the dynamic stream of Syrian mysticism, which was ini-

tiated by Pseudo-Macarius and others, "had a very important role in bringing to fruition the mystical movement in Islam, in Mesopotamia and Persia, namely Sufism".⁹

The evidence for this influence is based on parallel ideas only, but with the Syrian translators of the eighth and ninth centuries we come to abundant documentary evidence of the Syriac influence on Arabic. The Syrians' transmission of the knowledge of the Greeks into Arabic was undoubtedly vital to the preservation of ancient Greek learning.

For two centuries before Islam the Syrians had been translating Greek works into Syriac. This activity was based on the great schools of Nisibis, Edessa, Harrān and Jundi-Shāpūr. The Persian school at Edessa was the chief centre for the study of Syriac and Greek during the early phase of Syriac literature. In addition to translations of a large number of the Early Church Fathers' theological and doctrinal works, there were translations made in the fields of philosophy, medicine, ethics and physics. Outstanding in this field, especially in translating the writings of Aristotle, was the Jacobite figure of Sergius of Rās 'Ayn (d. ca. 536),¹⁰ who was well-known among the Eastern and Western Syrians as a physician and for his knowledge of Greek, and particularly for his knowledge of Aristotelian philosophy. Among the Jacobite scholars, Sergius was "unanimously called the one who first brought Aristotle into the Syriac language".¹¹

The first recorded translation from Syriac into Arabic was a version of the four Gospels which was made by a number of translators in 643 during the patriarchate of John of the Sedras, Patriarch of Antioch. According to Bar-Hebraeus this was made by translators from the Arab tribes of the Banū Tayyi and Tanūkh, at the command of 'Amr ibn Sa'd ibn abī Waqqāṣ al-Anṣārī, the Muslim Governor of al-Jazīrah.¹² This translation, however, has not survived, and it is over a century later, in the caliphate of al-Manṣūr (753-775), that the activity of translation from Syriac to Arabic began in full force.

With the Islamic intellectual awakening of the eighth and ninth centuries the translation work of the Syrians from Greek into Syriac entered a new phase: the re-translation of Syriac versions of the Greek works into the new imperial language, Arabic. The importance of this work of translation overshadows that of original works of Syriac literature in the second phase of its history. The Syrians, although they added virtually nothing to Greek science, medicine and philosophy, were zealous preservers and propagators of this lore as they found it in the original texts, and when the intellectual curiosity of the Arabs was aroused, the local conservators of Hellenic knowledge in Iraq and Syria, the Syriac-speaking Christians, were the natural candidates for the role of transmission of Greek thought to the Muslims. Without the translations made by the Syrians, Muslim scholars from the ninth to the twelfth centuries would not have had access to Greek philosophy and sciences. This dependence may be illustrated by examples as illustrious as those of al-Kindī, who relied exclusively on translations in his studies, and al-Fārābī, who owed his education in Greek philosophy to two Syrian teachers, Abū Yaḥyā al-Marwazī and Yūḥannā ibn Ḥaylān.

The first of the 'foreign sciences' (*ʿulūm al-ajam*) which claimed the attention of the Muslims, and particularly Muslim rulers, was the practical art of medicine. The Caliphs early availed themselves of the services of Christian, Syriac-speaking physicians; the family of Bakhtishū' which produced eminent medical men through seven generations, is particularly celebrated for its services to al-Manṣūr and later Caliphs.

Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh (d. 857), an early Christian medical writer, was associated with the Bakhtishū' family, and was charged by Hārūn al-Rashīd with the translation of Greek books, mainly medical, found at Ankara and Amorium.¹³ The name of Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh stands out among the eminent Syrian Christian physicians. He was the head of the *Bayt al-Hikmah*, which was established by al-Ma'mūn in 832 as a centre where scholars could pursue their translations.¹⁴ Yūḥannā is credited with the authorship of some fifty works, including the *Medical Axioms (Al-Nawādir al-Tibbiyyah)* which was twice translated into Latin in the Middle Ages.¹⁵

To sum up, the above analysis is a sketchy survey of the impact of Syriac on the Arabic language and literature (par-

ticularly the latter), which was a natural result of the close contact between the Syriac-speaking Christians and the Arabs since pre-Islamic times. A more detailed study of this subject will perhaps have to await the forthcoming publication of the comprehensive treatment of the History of Syriac Literature by Professor A. Vööbus.

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¹ See A. S. ATIYA, *A History of Eastern Christianity*, London 1968, 186; WRIGHT Lit 97-98.

² DUVAL Lit 377-378; WRIGHT Lit 156-157.

³ For other words see Arthur JEFFERY, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938.

⁴ Al-Ālfāz al-Suryāniyyah fī al-Ma'ājim al-'Arabiyyah, *Revue de l'Académie Arabe de Damas*, vols. 23-25 (1948-1950).

⁵ See P. K. HITT, *History of Syria*, London 1951, 526.

⁶ Baršūm Yūsuf AYYŪB, *Al-Lughah al-Suryāniyyah*, Aleppo 1974/5, 64.

⁷ The parallels between the writings of Isaac of Nineveh, who flourished in the late sixth century, and Simon of Taybūtheh (d. ca. 680) and the later writings of the Šōffs are striking. For a survey of the important Syriac ascetic and mystical books, see Ignatius Afrām BARŠŪM, *Kitāb al-Lu'lu' al-Manthūr fī Ta'rīkh al-'Ulūm wal-'Adāb al-Suryāniyyah*, 1956, 149-157; A. VÖÖBUS, *A History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient*, 2 vols., CSCO, 184, 197 (1958-1960); DUVAL (cf. note 2) 217-233.

⁸ See A. VÖÖBUS, Important Discoveries for the History of Syrian Mysticism: New Manuscript Sources for Athanasius Abū Ghālib, *JNES* 35 (1976) 269-270.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 269.

¹⁰ Ignatius Afrām BARŠŪM (cf. note 7) 292-294.

¹¹ Ernest RENAN, *De Philosophia Peripatetica apud Syros*, Paris 1852, 118.

¹² BAR-HEBRAEUS, *Chronicum Ecclesiasticum*, ed. J. B. ABBELOOS and T. J. LAMY, vol. I, Louvain 1872, 275; cf. M. I. MOOSA, *Studies in Syriac Literature, The Muslim World*, 58 (1968) 327, who gives the name of the governor as 'Umayr.

¹³ See D. M. DUNLOP, *Arab Civilization to A.D. 1500*, London 1971, 220.

¹⁴ See MOOSA (cf. note 12) 328.

¹⁵ For a summary of this important medical work, see DUNLOP (cf. note 13) 221-222.

THE OLDEST KNOWN SYRIAC MANUSCRIPT OF HUNAYN B. ISHĀQ

My paper about Hunayn b. Ishāq may perhaps look for some of you a little bit outdated because the great festivals in commemoration of the 1100th year of death of Hunayn were held in 1973 (in Paris)¹ and in 1974 (in Baghdad). But in my opinion it is still possible to say a little bit more about the works — and especially the Syriac works — of this great Nestorian translator and physician of the caliph al-Mutawakkil whom A. Baumstark once classified as "der größte aller syrischen Gelehrten des Mittelalters".² Not a single paper about his Syriac works was read in Paris and also in Baghdad, where various aspects of Hunayn's life and works were treated by the learned speakers, the Syriac part of his works played only a minor role. Of the papers read in Baghdad I should mention here two, that of Professor A. Vööbus "Discoveries of New Syriac Manuscripts on Hunayn"³ and that of Professor W. F. Macomber "The Literary Activity of Hunayn b. Ishāq in Syriac"⁴, as they are of special importance. They have also given me the idea to prepare this short paper, when I got from Baghdad last month (i. e. August 1976) the volume entitled "Ephraim Hunayn Festival, Baghdad 4-7/2/1974",⁵ where the papers read during the festival are printed. My paper intends to be a supplement to the two mentioned ones and to give some corrections to them.

When speaking about the other Greek medical and scientific authors — "other" means besides Galen and Hippocrates — Professor Macomber says: "The same (namely, that Hunayn translated their works into Syriac) seems to be true for Paul of Aegina's *Syntagma medicum*, but the evidence for the Syriac translation is not perfectly clear".⁶ In note 34⁷ he states that Ibn al-Qifti speaks only of an Arabic translation of this work and that Barhebraeus does not specify the language of the translation. Then he continues: "According to S. E. and J. S. Assemani, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus*, partis Iae t. 3, *complectens, reliquos codices chaldaicos sive syriacos*, Rome 1759, p. 409, *Vatican Syriac* 192 (no date) is a translation of this work of Paul, but the editors, while recognizing its attribution to Hunayn as possible consider it to be more probably the work of the Patriarch Theodosius". As far as I know the only one who mentioned this manuscript after its description by the two Assemanis was W. Wright in his "Short History of Syriac Literature",⁸ where he declares "Cod. Vat. CXCLII (Catal., III. 409), *Syntagma Medicum Syr. et Arab.*, is not likely to be his (i. e. Hunayn's) but requires closer examination."⁹

This "closer examination" was done by me in 1971 when I first started to collect all the available information about the remains of Syriac medical texts for the planned *Corpus Medicorum Syriacorum*.¹⁰ When I got the microfilm from the Vatican Library I soon found out, that the Assemanis had not carefully

looked at the manuscript. Their description of the content of the manuscript and the misleading title "*Syntagma medicum*" given to it by them are totally wrong! The book is neither a "*Syntagma medicum*" nor is it a translation from a Greek original, but the oldest Arabic manuscript¹¹ of the famous "*Book of Medical Questions for the Beginners*" of Hunayn b. Ishāq. This work is widely known under its Arabic title: *Kitāb al-Masā'il fī ṭ-ṭibb* or *Kitāb al-Masā'il al-ṭibbiyyah*¹² or in its Latin translation *Isagoge Johannis*.¹³ It was used still in the 16th century as the best introductory work in the medicine.

As the beginning and the end of the manuscript Vatican Syriac 193 — this number is written on the manuscript itself (against No. 192 in the Catalogue) — are missing, only a reading of the manuscript disclosed its content.

From the Arabic biographers and bibliographers do we know that Hunayn did not finish this book. His pupil and nephew Hubaysh b. al-Ḥasan al-A'sam ad-Dimishqī completed it by his own additions. In the Arabic manuscript tradition of this book we find this distinction between the part of Hunayn and that of Hubaysh.¹⁴ The same is true for the text of the manuscript Vatican Syriac 193. On fol. 129 b we read: *Tammāt maṣā'il Hunayn. Raḥmat Allāh 'alayh!* or in Syriac: *ܬܡܬܡܬ ܡܥܬܝܠ ܗܘܢܝܢ ܪܚܡܬ ܐܠܠܗܐ ܐܠܝܗܝܗ*. "The 'Questions' of Rabban Hunayn — may his soul rest (in peace) — for the beginners are finished". It follows: *Wa-min hā-hunā nabtadi' fī zawā'id Hubaysh al-A'sam* "And from here we start with the 'Additions' of Hubaysh al-A'sam". *ܐܡܬܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܗܝܬܐ ܢܒܬܕܝܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܕܗܘܒܝܫ ܐܠܥܝܬܐ* "Additions that Hubaysh 'the Crippled' added."

From this colophon already the two Assemanis could have known the title and the author.

The work is also to be found under the title *ܬܡܬܡܬ ܡܥܬܝܠ ܗܘܢܝܢ ܪܚܡܬ ܐܠܠܗܐ ܐܠܝܗܝܗ* in the manuscript Mingana Syriac 589.¹⁵

But there was once one more manuscript in Europe, namely in the private library of Jean-Baptiste Chabot. This manuscript apparently disappeared after his death, so that I could not trace its whereabouts. But fortunately Chabot was so interested in Syriac medicine that he still in his seventieth or/and eightieth¹⁶ started to read the manuscript and to edit a great part of it (together with a Latin translation) under the equally misleading title: *Versio syriaca de tractatibus medicis dont l'original arabe n'a pas été retrouvé*.¹⁷ We know thus of three Syriac manuscripts of this work.

But let us return to the manuscript Vatican Syriac 193. This manuscript consists of 152 folios. One folio — the one between 95 and 96 — is unnumbered. Each page is written with a column in Syriac (it is the right one) and one in Arabic. Whereas the

[illegible]

in his possession. He found amongst them a manuscript with the label "Livre de médecine" which he brought with him to the Symposium Syriacum in Chantilly. I could identify there the content as being partly identical to the MS Mingana Syr. 594. (Only the third part of it differs from the Mingana manuscript.)

Through the kindness of Professor Graffin I got in the meantime a microfilm of the whole manuscript and can use it when I prepare the edition of Hunayn's work. The manuscript is written by Elia Homo in Alqosh. It is dated 24th Tammuz 1901 A.D. It is thus 30 years older than the MS Mingana Syr. 594 and seems to be of a higher quality.

¹ The papers are published in *Arabica* XXI/3 (1975) pp. 229-330 and also separately under the title *Hunayn ibn Ishāq. Collection d'articles publiés à l'occasion du onzième centenaire de sa mort*. Leiden 1975.

² ANTON BAGMSTARK. *Aristoteles bei den Syrern vom V.-VIII. Jahrhundert. Syrische Texte. 1. Band: Syrisch-arabische Biographien des Aristoteles* (Leipzig 1900) p. 5.

³ English: pp. 525-528; Arabic: pp. 353-356.

⁴ English: pp. 545-580; Arabic: pp. 519-524. (The Arabic version does not include the references and notes which are printed in the English version on pp. 559-580.)

⁵ Baghdad: Al-Ma'arif Press, 1974.

⁶ P. 567.

⁷ P. 558.

⁸ London 1894, reprinted Amsterdam 1966.

⁹ P. 213 n. 2.

¹⁰ Cf. my paper "Ein Corpus Medicorum Syriacorum", in *Medizin-historisches Journal* 7 (1972) pp. 114-122. — A second paper with information about further material is in print in the same journal.

¹¹ The oldest dated Arabic manuscript is preserved in Cairo. It is dated 526 A.H. = 1131 A.D.

¹² Cf. MANFRED ULLMANN, *Die Medizin im Islam. (Handbuch der Orientalistik 1. Abteilung: Der nahe und mittlere Osten. Ergänzungsband VI, 1. Abschnitt)* Leiden/Köln 1970, pp. 117-118 and additions in M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geisteswissenschaften im Islam (Handbuch ..., Ergänzungsband VI, 2. Abschnitt)* Leiden 1972, pp. 458-459 and also FUAT SEZGIN, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums, Band 3: Medizin-Pharmazie-Zoologie-Tierheilkunde bis ca. 430 H.* (Leiden 1970) pp. 249-251.

¹³ Cf. MORITZ STEINSCHNEIDER, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher* (Berlin 1893, repr. Graz 1956) pp. 709-711.

¹⁴ It should however be noted that there exist two different traditions within the manuscripts concerning the beginning of Hubaysh's part.

¹⁵ It corresponds to p. 14/(90) of Chabot's edition. Cf. n. 18.

¹⁶ Cf. A. MINOANA, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts, Vol. I: Syriac and Garshūni Manuscripts* (Cambridge 1933) cols. 1126-1127.

¹⁷ Cf. J.-B. CHABOT, "Notice sur deux manuscrits contenant les œuvres du moine Isaac de Rabban Isho et du Métropolitain Aphodemeh", in *No-*

uices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques, publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, tome 43 (Paris 1943 (= date of the offprint)) pp. 51-53.

¹⁸ In *Notices et extraits* (cf. n. 17), Paris 1854 (= date of the offprint), pp. (77)-(143) = pp. 1-67 in the offprint. — For curiosity I mention that S. HAMARNEH, "Origins of Arabic Drug Diet Therapy", in *Physis* 11 (1969) p. 28 n. 49 wrote about this work: "J.B. Chabot in 'Version Syriacque de traités médicaux ...', edited with French (sic R. D.) translation a medical treatise in Syriac but supposedly translated from a lost Arabic version. The treatise is attributed to Hunayn and Hubaysh. This, I believe, is not a translation of Hunayn's Mas'āl but seems to contain selections and abstracted information comparable to it, but inferior in organization and originality". — The edition of J.-B. Chabot appeared 6 years after his death — he died January 7th, 1948 — so that it may be that the title of this book is not his choice.

¹⁹ Ff. 54a and 55a.

²⁰ Ff. 34a, 50a, 137b and 139a.

²¹ In the histories of Syriac literature of W. WRIGHT (*A Short History of Syriac Literature*, p. 272), R. DUVAL (*La littérature syriacque*, 3ème édition, Paris 1907, p. 274) and A. BAGMSTARK (*Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 318) we read that Gregory Barhebraeus published Hunayn's "Questions" in an abridged Syriac translation. The source of these reports is to be found in ASSEMANI, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, II, p. 270 No. 16: ܡܠܬܐ ܕܩܘܨܬܝܢ ܕܗܘܢܐܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܗܘܒܝܝܫ. (Besides this Barhebraeus wrote a commentary on a part of the "Questions" of Hunayn. It is not known whether this commentary was written in Arabic or in Syriac.) I think, we cannot conclude from the quoted report that Barhebraeus was the author of the Syriac version of the "Questions", because this version is not an abridgement and it seems also to be written in the 11th or 12th century that means it is older than Barhebraeus.

²² Cf. A. MINOANA, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts, Vol. III: Additional Christian Arabic and Syriac Manuscripts* (Cambridge 1939) pp. 94-95.

²³ P. 95.

²⁴ Cf. "A Further Note on Some Syriac Manuscripts in the Mingana Collection", in *Journal of Semitic Studies* 17 (1972) pp. 213-217.

²⁵ Cf. A. MINOANA, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts, Vol. I*, cols. 1132-1133.

²⁶ Formerly "Bankipore No. 2", cf. on it MAULANĀ 'Azīmu'd-Dīn Ahmad, *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore. Vol. IV: Arabic Medical Works* (Calcutta 1910) pp. 6-8.

²⁷ Such as Hippocrates, Dioscorides, Mnesitheos of Athens, Mnesitheos of Cyzicos, Antyllus, Dieuches, Phylotimos, Diocles, Athenaios, Rufus of Ephesos and Xenocrates.

²⁸ Edited by G. BERGSTRÄSSER, *Hunayn ibn Ishāq. Über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen (= Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Band XVII/2)*, Leipzig 1925, repr. Neudeln 1966, p. 36 No. 74.

²⁹ These leaves are older than the valuable manuscript in the Church of St. Mary in Harput which A. Vööbus discovered and which he described in his already mentioned paper read in Baghdad.

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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

Ignoring all the other evidence at the tomb but utilizing only the slab relief of lion with the moon and three planets depicted on it, two attempts have been made to use this slab as a horoscope.

In the first attempt by Humann, Puchstein and their astronomical advisers, Professors Tietjen and Paul Lehmann of Berlin, assumed a real conjunction of three planets in the constellation of Leo, and they came with the most likely date of July 17th, 98 B.C. (1) However, as Professor Neugebauer has pointed out, on July 17th, 98 B.C. Jupiter, Mercury, and Mars are within 3° from the sun, and they are outside of the constellation of Leo (10). Since these planets could not have been observed at sunrise or sunset, their position must have been calculated. Most important, the moon is some 8 degrees beyond the tail star, β Leonis and it is almost 35 degrees away from the star Regulus, α Leonis. Furthermore, if we use Bryant Tuckerman's tables, the order of the planets on July 17, 98 B.C., is Mars, Jupiter and Mercury rather than Jupiter, Mercury, and Mars. Some sixty years later when Professor Neugebauer re-examined the slab relief of the Lion, like Humann and Puchstien, he also ignored all the other evidences on the tomb. He assumed that the planets Jupiter, Mercury and Mars are in conjunction in the constellation of Leo. After a lengthy discussion and several alternative interpretations, he settled for July 7th 62 B.C. (10)

If we refer to the tables of Bryant Tuckerman, we find that Neugebauer's interpretation suffers in three respects: First, the order of planets should be Jupiter - Mercury and Mars, according to the slab. Professor Neugebauer has calculated Jupiter - Mars and Mercury. We have calculated the longitude and Right Ascension of the sun, the moon, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, Venus and Saturn, as well as three important stars κ , Leo, α Leo and β Leo of the constellation of Lion. These are given in the table below for July 7th, 62 B.C. Saturn and Venus will appear in the Eastern horizon way before the sunrise (11).

From this table it is evident, that after sunrise it would be difficult to identify the order of Jupiter, Mercury and Mars, as Neugebauer has claimed. However, at sunset, on the Western horizon, Jupiter should sink below horizon some 54 minutes after sunset, this should follow with the bright star Regulus, α Leo, almost 86 minutes after the sunset, and then Mars should appear over 102 minutes after sunset, and finally Mercury should appear some 114 minutes after sunset. Since Mercury will be at

"longest elongation" it would probably be seen as an evening star. Surely for experienced observational astronomers, it would have been difficult to confuse the planets Mercury and Mars. Thus, Neugebauer's argument is probably not valid.

Secondly, according to Neugebauer, the Moon is located some 10° away toward the tail of the Lion from α Leonis, the bright star Regulus. Much further away from the chest of the Lion, three planets are ahead of the moon rather than behind the moon as depicted on the slab. Thus, the order of planets relative to the moon, as argued by Neugebauer does not correspond to the order of the planets depicted on the slab (see figure 6).

Finally Neugebauer uses the calendar of the Ephesus, and he finds July 7th in close agreement with LOOS, 10th, the date of Antiochos's coronation. (Actually, LOOS 10th, is equivalent to 3rd of July and not the 7th, see *Mathematischen und Technischen Chronologies*, by F. K. Ginzel, Leipzig, 1911); (Table 1) (12).

The City of Samosat, probably of Hitite origin, was incorporated into the Assyrian Empire 708 B.C. Later it came under Hellenistic kingdom of Commagene, according to the inscriptions of his tomb. The Society was using the Macedonian calendar, and this practice continued at least until 72 A.D., when the Commagene region was reduced to a Roman Province under Vespasian. Thus, if we utilize the calendar from Antioch, *a city of some 100 miles* south of Samosat, then July 7th *does not* represent Loos 10th, but falls in the month of Daisios. In Antioch, Loos 10th is equivalent to August 30th, which does not correspond to Neugebauer's interpretation of July 7th (see Table 1).

The City of Samosat, probably had a mixed population of Assyrians, Aramaens, Greeks, Parthian with Iranian names, Jews and recently-settled nomad Arabs. These inhabitants, similar to the inhabitants of Edessa most likely spoke Syriac. (13) It would seem odd that such a community with close ethnic ties with communities of Edessa and Antioch, would use the calendar of Ephesus located about 800 miles away, in preference to a calendar from the City of Antioch only within 100 miles distance.

The difficulty with the aforementioned interpretations of Puchstein and Neugebauer lies in the fact that four other slabs of different deities visiting with Antiochos, and the colossal monuments of deities sitting on the east and west terraces, have been completely ignored. For a society that practiced the modified and

evolved astral religion, where astronomy and religion were closely tied together, one must not ignore such interesting and challenging information made available for us at the Tomb of Antiochos "I". In the next section an attempt will be made to study the information available to us to postulate another possible interpretation.

IV. A New Interpretation of the Lion Slab from the Tomb of King Antiochos "I". "The Planetary Alignment on February 4, 55 B.C."

About the middle of this Century, a painted carved limestone slab was discovered in one of the rooms of the shrines of the Temple of Hatra. In a former paper (14), on this slab of Hatra, two special features called Semeion were associated with the Planetary alignments. One Semeion was placed in the hand of Cassiopeia. This Semeion appears to represent a six Planetary alignment of Feb. 4-5, 55 B.C. The alignment extends on a line of α Leo Regulus, RA 151.8° to α PsA Fomalhut RA 344.1°. (If we convert these coordinates for 2000 years ago we get 123° RA for α Leo, and 315° RA for α PsA (see table below).

In the paper (on the slab of Hatra) it was emphasized that the Semeion was used for its religious implications, and that it could represent a meeting of the gods associated with the Planets. Recently, the author came across studies (18) on the Tomb of King Antiochos "I" and those of the Lion horoscope. On the western terrace of the tomb, there exists large imposing seated monuments of the gods and goddesses representing the Pantheon of the Parthian Era (see figure 1). Could this also represent the Planetary alignment of the Feb. 55 B.C.?

On 55 B.C. February 4½-5, Mercury, Venus, the Sun and Jupiter are at about 316° RA, facing the constellations of Aquarius, Pisces Astranus, while Saturn and the Moon are at about 134° RA facing the constellations of Leo the Lion. On the Tomb of Antiochos I of Commagene, it is evident that the King, by sitting among the gods on the Western terrace (see figure 3), and on the slabs visiting the gods on a one to one basis, has been deified.

Let us consider the sunrise on Feb. 5, 55 B.C.; at that morning the deities and the King Antiochos would observe the following at the Eastern horizon.

1. The Planet Jupiter, (Zeus-Oromazdes) appears in the horizon about 8 minutes before the sunrise (see figure 9).

2. Next comes Mercury (Apollo) appearing in the horizon about four minutes after Jupiter and about four minutes before the sunrise.

3. Venus and Sun (Commagene and Mithra) appear in the Eastern horizon (sunrise) almost simultaneously, some eight minutes after Jupiter and four minutes after Mercury (Feb. 5, 55 B.C.). At sunrise Jupiter is about ½ degree above the Eastern horizon, while Mercury is only about ¼ degree above the horizon. Thus Jupiter, Mercury, Venus and Sun, from the Eastern Terrace, will appear as a group, traveling along the ecliptic. Naturally, because of the scattered light from the Sun after the sunrise, these planets, as well as Mars, will not be

seen by the observer.

4. From calculations we can predict that the planet Mars (Heracles), appears at the Eastern horizon some 50 minutes later when Jupiter, Mercury, Venus and Sun are 3½ degrees above the horizon and some 14° away on their ecliptic path.

In summary, on February 4 and 5, 55 B.C. when the Sun rises in the Eastern horizon at Nimrud Dagħ, the Planets — Jupiter, Mercury, Venus, and Sun appear as a group on the ecliptic just above the horizon, with Mercury about 14° behind them.

At the same date, Feb. 4-5, 55 B.C., the constellation of Leo is visible most of the night, and the Moon and the planet Saturn are located within the constellation of Leo. The deities, including the King Antiochos, sitting on the Western Terrace of the Tomb, would observe that Saturn disappears very slowly below the Western horizon at dawn some 28 minutes before the sunrise, while the Moon ascends very slowly below the horizon only eight minutes before the sunrise. When Jupiter appears on the Eastern horizon, the Moon appears on the Western horizon simultaneously. In fact, due to the refraction of light at the Eastern and Western horizon, it seems that sunrise and moonset will also be observed almost simultaneously. The constellation of Leo, along with planet Saturn and the Moon are visible most of the night. At the time of sunrise a large portion of the constellation will still be seen by the observers at the Western Terrace.

If Antiochos, a deified King, is placed in the region of the constellation of Aquarius, he would observe Mars (Artagares-Herakles-Ares) in the vicinity of the star β Leo, the tail star of Leo. Mercury, the Sun, and Venus, are so close together that they will be observed as one bright spot (Apollo), some 14° behind Mars. Finally, Jupiter (Zeus-Oromazdes) will appear in the vicinity of the Moon a few degrees away from the bright star α Leo, the Regulus. In this manner, Jupiter will appear close to the head; the Apollo (Mercury-Sun, Venus) combination will appear at the center, and Mars at the tail. Looking on the slab of Lion depicting the horoscope, the Moon is located on the chest of the Lion. In calculated declinations of Jupiter (Zeus), Mercury-Sun, Venus (Apollo), and Mars (Herakles), are all less than 2°, and do not correspond to the declination of stars β , δ , γ and ζ in the constellation of Leo. Yet these three planets Zeus, Apollo and Herakles are placed outside above the back of the Lion roughly at 25, 24 and 23 degrees declination, respectively. This has been done presumably because they have been projected on the constellation of Leo, to indicate the planetary alignment.

The fact that Antiochos appears on a one-to-one basis with Commagene (Venus), Mithra (the Sun), Zeus-Oromazdes, (the Jupiter) and finally with Herakle (Mars), is probably welcoming them to have a deity "portrait" in the constellation of Leo, the abode of Antiochos. This may explain why Antiochos does not appear with the Moon god "Sin" and the Saturn god "Ninib-Zervan-Kronos," because they are already there at the constellation of Leo, the sky abode of the King Antiochos.

If we use the calendar from Antioch, table 244 Ginzel, 16th of Aydanaiois is equivalent to the 3rd of Feb. a close proximity to the planetary alignment of Feb. 4-5, 55 B.C. (Table 3). Thus it may be presumed that slab #5 is the Portrait Horoscope of Lion where Antiochos is celebrating with all the known gods, the day of his deification on his birthday 16th Aydanaiois (Feb. 4-5) 55 B.C.

On Feb. 4-05, 55 B.C., Saturn is located at 129° RA and about 12° declination. There exists an object on the slab very close to these coordinates with 123.0° RA and about 12° declination. The only other star in this region is ρ Leo with 129.2° RA, and about 9.2° declination. This star ρ Leo, has a magnitude of 3.85 which is considerably dimmer than α Leo Regulus with magnitude 1.36. (According to Ptolemy this is the star in the left armpit with magnitude 4.) Yet on the Lion's horoscope the two objects have been given the same dimensions implying good visibility. Note that Saturn, with a magnitude of -0.4, would appear much brighter than the star ρ Leo. Is it reasonable to assume that the object depicted next to Leo Regulus, and almost directly below Zeus (Jupiter), is the planet Saturn? This assumption is also supported by the astrological features on the horoscope which hitherto have been completely ignored. A very large number of Western Mithraic Slabs, after the second Century A.D., depict two torch bearers known as Cauti and Cauto Pati. It was also customary to end the tail of the bull in one to three corn-ears on some of the mithraic slabs. The god associated with Saturn was known as Kronos and Zervan. In one of the Western Mithraic Monuments, Kronos-Zervan is holding two torches in his hand (7).

The former authors of the horoscope of the Lion have ignored the ear of the corn and the upward and downward torches present on the belly and frontal left leg and the more visible upward torch with its flames extended toward the star Regulus, may be compared to the torches in the hand of Zervan-Kronos and consequently represent the planet Saturn? (see figure 4). (See also (7) Mysteries of Mithra, page 110.)

Concluding Remarks

In this study attempts have been made to utilize the information provided to us on the Tomb of King Antiochos "I". In former studies, out of five slabs depicting King Antiochos visiting with Commagene, Mithra, Ahuramazda and Herackles were not utilized in the interpretation. The five deities as colossal monuments, sitting on East and West terraces were completely ignored. The interpretation was confined to a slab of Lion, with three planets, Jupiter, Mercury and Mars depicted on it, and their names were carved on the slab. The crescent of the Moon is also placed on the chest of the Lion. In both of the former interpretations, the planets Jupiter, Mercury and Mars and the Moon were assumed to be in conjunction with the constellation of Leo. Both interpretations by Karl Humann and Otto Puchstein, et al, 1890, as well as interpretation of Pro-

fessor Otto Neugebauer, 1953, run into some difficulties that cannot be brushed aside easily. However, the planetary alignment of Feb. 4-5, 55 B.C. seems to yield more interesting results. Let us consider the event on Feb. 4-5, 55 B.C.

1. Sun, Mercury, Venus, Mars, and Jupiter are in line of sight from Earth to Sun and to a bright star Fomalhut, of southern fish α PsA. It is interesting to observe that the deities, Apollo-Helios (Sun-Mercury), Commagene (Fenus), Herackles (Mars) and Ahuramazda (Jupiter) are sitting on Eastern and Western terraces observing Eastern and Western horizon.

2. If an observer on Earth turns his back to the Sun at dawn, he would observe the Moon and the Saturn in conjunction with the constellation of Leo. This represents the planetary alignment that extends from bright star Regulus, α Leo, to the bright star fomalhut α PsA.

3. The deities sitting on the Eastern terrace would observe their attributes, the Sun, Mercury, Venus, Mars and Jupiter, at sunrise and shortly after to be in opposition to the constellation of Leo.

4. The same deities sitting on the Western terrace at pre-dawn would observe the constellation of Leo with Saturn and the Moon in conjunction gradually descending into the Western horizon. At dawn the Moon will almost be observed simultaneously with the sunrise in Eastern horizon.

5. The planetary alignment on the birthday of the King was considered as a good signal from the Pantheons, thus King Antiochos deifies himself and then visits with the deities which are in opposition with the constellation of Leo. He probably invites the deities to join him to celebrate his deification on his birthday. Note that the Pantheons in opposition of constellation of Leo are represented in the first four slabs. This idea also explains why King Antiochus does not appear with the Moon god or with Saturn-Zervan god. These deities are already present at the constellation of Leo. (They are in conjunction.) In effect the fifth slab the Lion Horoscope, is a portrait with all the Pantheons celebrating deification of King Antiochus on his birthday.

6. Utilizing the calendar of the City of Antiochus Feb. 4, 55 B.C. agrees very well with the birthdate of the King Antiochus.

7. Our prediction in the former paper on the Slab of Hatra, has been realized. The planetary alignments could have religious implications of gods sitting together, as we find them in eastern terrace watching the Eastern horizon and in western terrace watching the Western horizon.

8. The Carving of Lion on the throne of Antiochus and Existence of Lion all over the Commagene country, indicate that the constellation of Leo was chosen as the constellation of the deified King Antiochus.

9. Collectively the entire documents at the Tomb of King Antiochus, represent his deification on the 4-5 Feb., 55 B.C. on his birthday.

Acknowledgement

I would like to express my appreciation to many colleagues and friends for their support and encouragement and free discussions of the content of this paper.

The author appreciates the opportunity to present these ideas in a seminar arranged by the History of Science and the Near Eastern Studies at UC Berkeley. The same talk was given in the form of a public address to the Assyrian Foundation of America, in Berkeley, and Assyrian American Association.

I thank my wife Turan Tuman, and my two sons, Ludwig Tuman and John Tuman, for many stimulating discussions, and editorial work. John Tuman has pointed out the possibility of downward torch on the front foot of the Lion. Special thanks are due to Dr. Myles Standish of J.P.L. for the precession calculations of α , β and κ Leonis.

I also thank Professors John Heilbaun, Ann Kilmar, Kitty Azarpay, of UC Berkeley, Professor Wilburn Knorr of Stanford University, for many discussions and encouragement. Finally, I thank Mrs. Paula Crawford and Mr. Robert Santos and others of CSCS Library for being extremely helpful in securing old books and manuscripts, Ms. Vicky Eden for her art work, Professor Gerhard Mack and Ms. Jennifer Taylor for some German translation and Mrs. Florence Finney for typing many versions of this article. The author takes full responsibility for the content of this paper.

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Table 1

Kal. d. Asiadon.			Kal. v. Ephesos.		
1. KAIZAPIOΣ	Kaisarios	24. Sept. 80 Tage	Dios	21. Sept. 80 Tage	
2. TIBEPIOΣ	Tiberios	24. Okt. 31	Apellaios	24. Okt. 31	
3. APATOPYIOΣ	Apaturios	24. Nov. 31	Audynaiois	24. Nov. 31	
4. ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑΩΝ	Poseidon	25. Dez. 30	Peritios	25. Dez. 30	
5. ΑΗΝΑΙΟΣ	Lentios	24. Jan. 29	Dystros	24. Jan. 29	
6. ΗΕΡΟΣΕΒΑΣ	Hierosebastos	22. Febr. 30	Xanthikos	22. Febr. 30	
7. ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΟΣ	Artemisios	24. März 31	Artemisios	24. März 31	
8. ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΣ	Euangelios	24. April 30	Daios (Daisios)	24. April 30	
9. ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΟΣ	Stratonikos	24. Mai 31	Panemos	24. Mai 31	
10. ΕΚΑΤΟΜΒΑΙΟΣ	Hekatombaiois	24. Juni 31	Loos	24. Juni 31	
11. ΑΝΤΕΟΣ	Anteos	25. Juli 31	Gorpiaios	25. Juli 30	
12. ΛΑΟΔΙΚΙΟΣ	Laodikios	25. Aug. 30	Hyperberetaios	24. Aug. 31	

Die Kalender von Tyros, Griechisch-Antiochia und Seleukia.

Für den Kalender von Tyros macht das Florentiner Hemerologium folgende Angaben:

1. Hyperberetaios	19. Okt. 30 Tage	7. Xanthikos	18. April 31 Tage
2. Dios	18. Nov. 30	8. Artemisios	19. Mai 31
3. Apellaios	18. Dez. 30	9. Daisios	19. Juni 31
4. Audynaiois	17. Jan. 30	10. Panemos	20. Juli 31
5. Peritios	16. Febr. 30	11. Loos	20. Aug. 30
6. Dystros	18. März 31	12. Gorpiaios	19. Sept. 30

Der lykische und kappadokische Kalender.

Den Kalender von Lykien führt das Florentiner Hemerologium folgenderweise auf:

Dios	= 1. Jan. 31 Tage	Artemisios	= 2. Juli 30 Tage
Lentios	= 1. Febr. 29	Daisios	= 1. Aug. 31
Audynaiois	= 2. März 30	Panemos	= 1. Sept. 30
Peritios	= 1. April 31	Loos	= 1. Okt. 31
Dystros	= 2. Mai 30	Gorpiaios	= 1. Nov. 30
Xanthikos	= 1. Juni 31	Hyperberetaios	= 1. Dez. 31

Figure 5

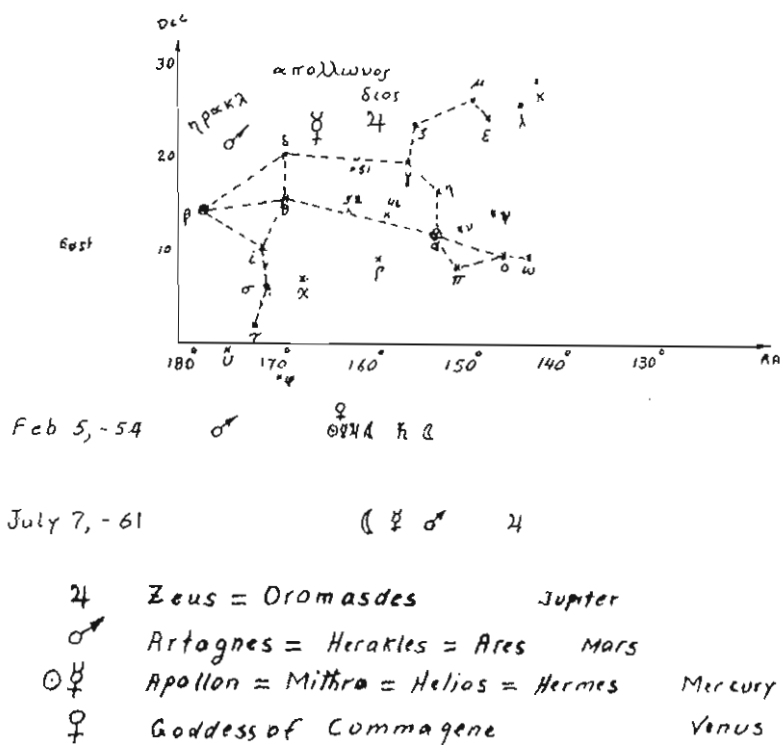


Table 2. July 7th, 62 B.C.

	Sun	Leo	Jupiter	Leo	Mars	Mercury	Moon	Leo
R.A.	102.40	108.9°	115.4°	123.8°	128°	131°	134.4°	150.2°
Long	100	107.4	113.5	121.5	125.6	128.6	131.9	148.2

Planetary alignment from Bryant Tuckerman tables in degrees longitude.

Table 3. Feb. 5, 55 B.C.

Date	Mercury	Venus	Sun	Mars	Jupiter	Saturn	Moon
-54 Feb. 5.0	313.8	314.9	314.8	327.7	311.4	125.7	142.7

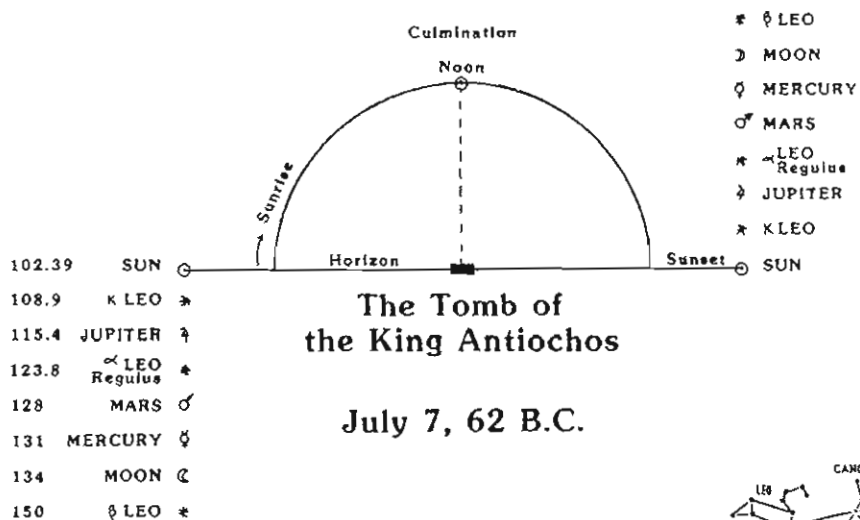


Figure 6

Figure 8

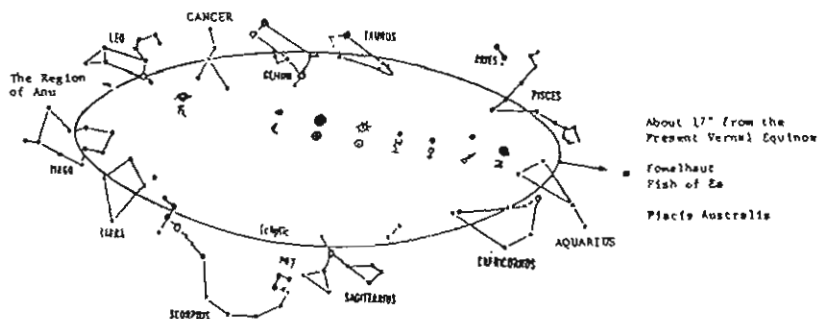
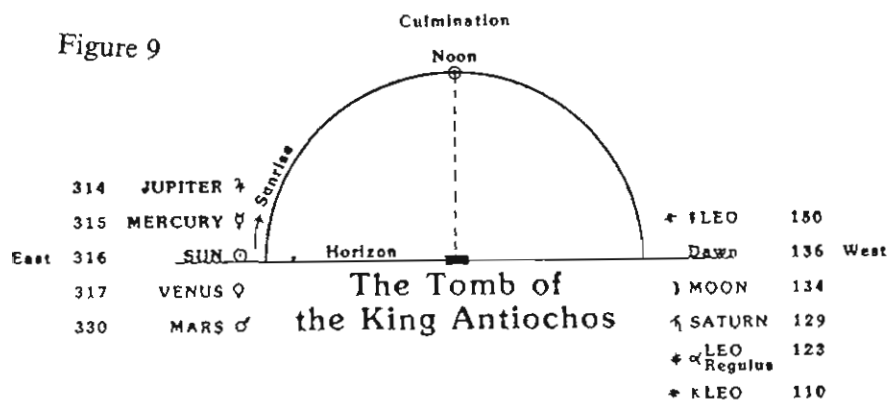


Figure 9



Rescuing The Language Of Eden

The first dictionary of the first written words

BY COLIN CAMPBELL

Philadelphia

They were tireless writers, as every school-boy knows. Setting to work 5000 years ago in the lower Tigris and Euphrates valleys of what is now Iraq, the Sumerians applied their reedy writing instruments to countless tablets of moist clay, created the world's first written language, wrote the first history books, the first epics, the first medical prescriptions, the first receipts — and the first tales of creation.

Indeed, among the few words in English derived from Sumerian are "abyss," the primordial sea that the Sumerians called the Abzu, and "Eden," our lost paradise.

What is less well known is that modern scholars, who discovered a century ago that Sumerian was a separate language from later Babylonian and Assyrian, have never had a Sumerian dictionary.

Modern scholars are about to get one from the University of Pennsylvania. A team of specialists in the cuneiform or "wedge-shaped" writings of ancient Mesopotamia this month will issue the first volume of the world's first Sumerian dictionary. The project has been under way since 1976. When completed, the Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary is expected to revolutionize the study of the world's first great civilization.

The lack of a dictionary has meant that every aspiring Sumerologist has had to compile his or her own personal dictionary before moving on to study more subtle or substantive fields, such as the development of ancient Sumerian tech-

nology or the precursors of the biblical story of the flood.

The prospect of avoiding that arduous route and of making vast numbers of little-studied clay tablets comprehensible to a much wider audience has caused considerable excitement among the world's 250 or so professional Sumerologists and among scholars in related fields.

The numbers of Sumerian tablets that have been unearthed are huge, and keep growing rapidly, according to the dictionary's editor, Ake W. Sjöberg, and his co-editor, Professor Erle Leichty.

"Can you imagine what it would be like," Leichty asked the other day at the project's cluttered offices in the University Museum, "if all the receipts written in Philadelphia for a week were saved? That's what you get from the Sumerians. They wrote down everything. Our documentation for them is infinitely greater than for the Romans or the Chinese. We have more from the Sumerians than from any culture in history before the invention of the printing press."

Sociologists, anthropologists, economic historians and scholars of comparative literature and religion often consult with Sumerologists concerning disclosures from the ancient tablets that shed light on their own specialties, according to Professor Miguel Civil, a leading Sumerologist at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

From Harvard, Sumerologist Piotr Steinkeller, said of the Pennsylvania project, "It's marvelous, we're extremely enthusiastic, and my students are waiting."

They will have to wait a bit longer. "I'll probably be dead before it's finished," Sjöberg said with a cheerful sigh. The 59-year-old Swedish-born philologist, who came to the United States in 1962, learned Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, German, English and French before graduating from Sweden's University of Uppsala and studied Babylonian, Assyrian and Sumerian at the

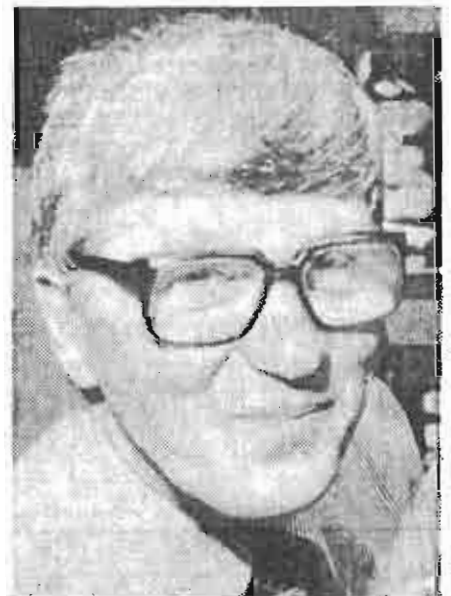
University of Heidelberg.

He patted an oaken wall of card catalogs. "I wrote my first card in 1949," he said. "After we got our grant in 1976 from the National Endowment for the Humanities, I sat here, planted, stuck to my seat, for five years. I did these. There are 400,000 cards."

The project is supported primarily by the federal humanities endowment, which has contributed \$810,000 over nine years through 1986.

Private donors have included the William Penn Foundation, the American Oriental Society and the American Schools of Oriental Research.

Sjöberg and his staff, consisting of three full-time researchers, Leichty and another faculty member, consult every available Sumerian inscription, keeping track of their findings on index cards, before they write a dictionary entry.



Editor Ake W. Sjöberg

The University of Pennsylvania's own collection of inscriptions includes 30,000 Mesopotamian tablets, and there are other collections, some of them larger, in Baghdad, Istanbul, Paris, London and elsewhere.

Archeologists from the University of Pennsylvania launched their first Sumerian studies at the buried Sumerian city of Nippur in 1887, and Penn has remained a center of Sumerology since.

The dictionary will cover the period from 3000 B.C. to the dawn of the Christian era.

The Sumerian language itself has no known relatives, scholars say, and the origin of the Sumerian people before their rise in Mesopotamia remains obscure. The handful of modern words that derive from Sumerian often passed first through the Semitic languages, including Hebrew and Babylonian.

No one seems quite sure how large the completed dictionary will be, but the finished product, formally entitled "The Sumerian Dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania," will be at least 22 volumes and contain some 16,000 entries.

The first volume, 270 pages, will be one of the shortest, with 380 entries beginning with the letter B. The original cuneiform in the dictionary is being transliterated into Roman letters.

As Sjöberg was discussing these matters, a researcher, Hermann Behrens, suddenly entered the office waving books and page proofs. A Sumerian word meaning "to rush about" had been entered in a previously published word list as *bu-bu-gin*. But Behrens had consulted a

photograph of the original cuneiform, and the word was *pu-tu-gin*. Sjöberg agreed.

The dictionary's entries are composed on a small computer that lets the staff keep revising the text before a page is photographed and printed.

Entire scholarly articles could be written, the editors said, about their new translations of key words and about the discoveries they have made regarding Sumerian trees, drugs, trade, legal institutions, techniques of irrigation and countless other topics. There are also poems to be read, and love songs, proverbs and classics of Sumerian literature such as the epic of Gilgamesh. Yet

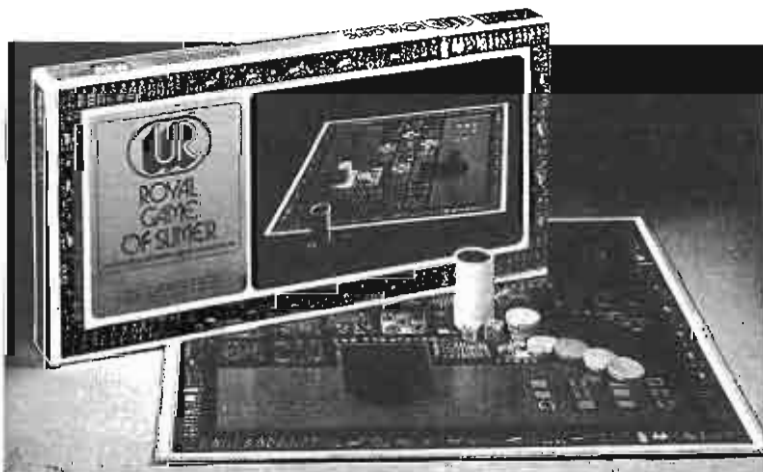
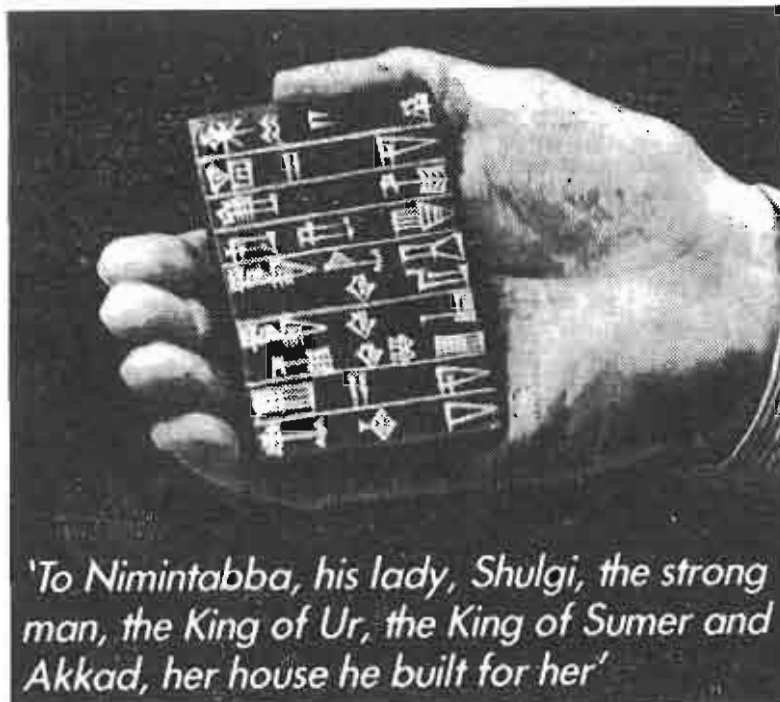
the mission is always to finish the dictionary, and the job can be drudgery.

"After six weeks of work and you don't know the difference between 'window' and 'door,' you feel very frustrated," Behrens said.

Everyone, however, seems remarkably jolly, and Sjöberg, the Clark research professor of Assyriology, thinks nothing of grabbing a priceless clay tablet — the world's oldest written tale of paradise, for instance — and pretending to toss it at a visitor.

"Hallelujah," Sjöberg said. "That's another Sumerian word."

New York Times



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The Socio-Political Organization of the Assyrian Highlanders

Introductory Note

Only 80 years ago the Assyrians had a way of life totally different from the one we lead today. If you are curious and interested in learning about how your grandparents lived, read the following which is a translation of a chapter in *Atourayeh-d-Mahal-d-Van* (the Assyrians of Van District). This book is an ethnography on the Assyrians living in the Hakkiari highlands before 1914. Mr. F. Babella translated the book from Russian into Assyrian, and it was published in 1968 by the Assyrian Youth Cultural Society; Teheran, Iran. The following chapter was translated by Arian Ishaya from Assyrian into English.

Chapter 7: The Socio-political Organization

The Assyrians of the district of Van are divided into two large units: the "Ashirateh" (federation of freeholding clans) and the "Rayateh" (subject clans). The Ashirateh live in the highlands, the Rayats live on the lowlands of Hakkiari. Some are also found in the Plain of Van. The Shirats have kept their political freedom as well as their traditional way of life. But the Rayats, having lost their freedom, have endured much cruelty in the hands of the Turkish "Beks" (landlords) and have fallen entirely under the Turkish rule.

The Highlanders are politically and religiously united under the leadership of Mar Shimun, their religious and temporal leader, who is in turn subject to the rule of the Turkish Sultan. The federation of mountain Assyrians is divided into several clans, led by their nobles — maliks — and governed according to their own traditions. Each clan is in turn divided into several lineages. Each lineage is composed of several households (extended families). The most elderly or distinguished member of a lineage has the position of "kokha" (headman); also referred to as "the white beard elder." The federation of highlanders has its own territory which includes the following areas: Qudchanis, Major and Minor Tyari, Tkhume, Baz, Jilu, and Ishtaz where, in addition to Assyrians, there is a five percent Kurdish population. These Kurds know the Assyrian language, are greatly influenced by the Assyrians, and are entirely under the Assyrian local rule.

The Highland Assyrians have not only kept their territory, but have also preserved their language, their church, and their traditions. The Assyrian religious and temporal leader is known by the name of Mar Shimun who resolves all religious issues, governs the affairs of the church, solves the problems of the local chiefs, ordains the bishops, and assigns them to their clerical posts. He also collects taxes for the Turkish government. In time of civil strife or war with the enemy — as happened in the time of Badr-Khan — he heads the Assyrian army of devoted fighters, guides the course of war; he negotiates with the enemy in the making of peace treaties. In addition, he appoints the Maliks (clan chiefs) or removes them from their office when necessary. He also arbitrates all the serious criminal cases involving murder.

The first Mar Shimun was Mar Mari. He was followed by Abrakhis, Avraham, Yaccu, and others, all of whom were elected to this office. In the 15th century the seat of Mar Shimun was occupied in the "Moma" lineage, and up to 1889 Mar Shimuns were selected from the "Hormuz" family which belonged to this lineage. But after that date and up till now — since the Hormuz line ended — Mar Shimuns have been and are being elected from the "Shahmir" line. Customarily, upon the death of Mar Shimun, his successor is selected from among his most capable nephews* (bro.-si.).

The first seat of Mar Shimun was located in Ctesiphon south of Baghdad on the Tigris River. Afterwards it was transferred to Mosul, that is, to the village of Alqosh (northeast of Mosul). But in the second half of the 17th century it was moved to Qudchanis.

Next to Mar Shimun the highest position in the hierarchy goes to the man who consecrates Mar Shimun (Mar Shimun's substitute dignitary). He has the position of a Metropolitan and lives in a monastery near the village of "Nowchia," in the district of Gavar. The Metropolitan, too, is always selected from one house of the "Khnanishu" lineage; the successor being his senior nephew (bro.-so.).

The Metropolitan is considered as the substitute-dignitary to Mar Shimun, and in case of prolonged illness or during a long absence, the Metropolitan takes his place and carries out his duties. The Metropolitan has an important mission in the selection and ordination of Mar Shimun. He is the one who consecrates him, puts him in the seat of Mar Shimun, and when he hands him the patriarchal staff, he blesses him on behalf of both church and congregation. Thus the Metropolitan is to Mar Shimun what Saint John the Baptist was to Jesus.

Metropolitan's authority extends over the archbishops, bishops, and lower levels of clergy (priests and deacons). These, too, are selected from distinguished families or on many occasions by hereditary succession. In all of Turkey there are only four bishops.

The bishop has authority over the priests who can get married and establish posterity from generation to generation. Priests are elected by the general consent of the people and ordained by the bishop. To subsidize the lower orders of clergy, every man is required to pay one "qiran" (1 qiran would be equivalent to two cents. *Translator*) and every woman half a qiran. In addition, people pay tithes from the products of their farms and orchards. To support the higher orders of clergy, an annual head tax is collected.

The highlanders are divided into the following clans: Upper Tyari, Lower Tyari, Tkhuma, Dal, Baz, Jilu, Zaran Zir, and Deezin. Each clan has its own territory, which is called after the name of the clan, and comprises a number of villages. Each clan has a share in the communal grazing pasture, it has its own winter grounds, hunting grounds, woody areas, and farmland. The farmland is not communally owned. It is privately owned by the different families.

Each clan has its own administrative organization, and is entirely self-sufficient in internal matters. It has its own judge, war chief, "malik," church building, congregation, even its own priests. Every clan has its own burial grounds where all the clan members are to be buried even those who die elsewhere. Every member of the clan knows where the grave of the clan ancestor is located. That grave is considered sacred, and people swear by it.

The malik of each clan is selected from the aristocratic and distinguished families. But to be honest, elections are just a formality. Usually when the congregation gathers together in time of the death of a malik, either his eldest son or his own brother is acclaimed as the successor. Later the candidate is taken to Mar Shimun with a gift. Mar Shimun offers him a mantle of dignity in return, and validates his post as that of the new malik.

As a chief, the malik looks after the well being of his people, and maintains peace in his territory. He defends his territory against Kurdish raids, and has the authority to declare war upon the enemy. He has also the responsibility of collecting and delivering the annual head tax to Mar Shimun. In addition, he arbitrates the light criminal cases, but refers the more serious ones, involving homicide to Mar Shimun.

Clans are divided into lineages. Thus the Upper Tyari clan has five: Banimata, Lakina, Rounta, Galleta, and Biyalta. The Lower Tyari clan is divided into seven lineages: village of Leezan, Lgibta, Village of Ashita, Salbag, Bervoul, Mnaneesh, and Zaveeta. Every village carries the name of the lineage residing in it. Each lineage considers itself to be descended from one ancestor. It has traditional rights over a section of clan territory. It has a share of the general burial grounds, and its internal affairs are regulated either by common consent or by the village elders under the supervision of kokha (village headman).

According to traditional custom the kokha is selected from the members of a distinguished family and his position is validated by the malik of the clan to which the lineage belongs. The responsibilities of kokha include: collecting and delivering the village tax to malik, selecting volunteers to form a war party, arbitrating local disputes while seeking his malik's help in more serious cases.

**This is because Mar Shimun — the Patriarch — and the other members of the top hierarchy do not marry (translator).*

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Ashurbel Pirayou
Ashurbel, an eighth grader, is the son of Vayodia and Mibel Pirayou.

Last fall, Ashurbel was elected student body treasurer and he is a guard on the basketball team.

He speaks Persian, Assyrian, English and is currently taking Spanish classes. His ambition is to be a lawyer.



Discover Your Suppressed Heritage

Our Religious Institutions and the Importance of Their Unbiased Attitudes

It has been established as a fact that in the year 33 A.D., the Assyrian king Abgar Okama V sent a messenger accompanied by a painter to allure Jesus Christ to come and share his small Kingdom in Northern Bet-Nahrain (between Iraq, Syria and Turkey). Jesus declined the offer saying that he had come to help all mankind, and later on dispatched two of his apostles, Adai and Mari or Thomas and Thaddaeus, to go and preach in that part of the world.

Thus the Assyrians of that era were converted to Christianity by the year 43 A.D.

The Assyrian Church of the East has deep roots in Christianity dating back to the above incident. It underwent two big splits in the years 431 and 1551, resulting in the division of the once unified church into the Nestorian, Jacobite (Syrian) and Chaldean denominations.

While many attempts to bring the three churches together have been made over the past and still are, other incidents have actually added to the widening of the gaps that have managed to separate the sons and the daughters of the one and same nation.

Among those events which may be considered rightly to be contentious are the frequently made remarks that only members of the Assyrian Church of the East are true Assyrians. Then what about Agha Patrus, Yusuf Malek, Hurmuzd Rassam, Freidon Atouraya, etc.? What about all other Assyrians who were and still are Presbyterians or Catholics or Evangelists, etc.?

Yet lately there has been another contentious issue raised by, among other, some of our parishioners in Sydney, who have done their best (or worst) to open a new gap between members of the same church namely the Assyrian Church of the East in Sydney.

The church council for the last few years has managed to divide its parishioners into two — if not more — categories; its favorite ones and those despised by its members to the limit that some council members in fact physically attacked those hated ones.

What is really adding fuel to the fire is the stand of the parish priest, who is — least to say — noting all this but doing nothing about it.

Who can accept the ridiculous situation of having people paying their membership dues and acting properly as the constitution requires, but are in fact being denied service and are treated like less than third class members.

Those favorites of the council can come and go, use the hall, arrange many meetings there, and in fact feel as free there as home. However, those others — and they are on the increase continually — can not even attend church services without harassment or being looked upon as unwelcome guests, and sometimes even attacked by the council mobs.

A few members have stopped attending church services, while others have ceased being members. Still others — and they are many — are arguing amongst themselves whether to quit and join another church.

The council would not even hear of a request by those (second or third class) members to use the church hall for some gatherings like their favorite ones use it continually for political rallies and similar purposes.

The irony of the matter is that with all this going on under the auspices of the parish priest, yet not a word of protest is being uttered by his honor. On the other hand, everyone has heard the cliché that our church and nation are one and the same. Furthermore, the priest and possibly some of the church council members should at least know that they are there to serve the community and membership in a true Christian way, and not to be like masters and security personnel.

It is a truly sad and disheartening situation when persons with some authority, and elected to serve their members, tend to exploit and damage the very same institution that they had offered themselves, to work for its betterment.

The omen should be on how to work out ways and means to try and bring the different denominations together, leading the way to the unification of our nation once again to be strong and capable of self-rule in its own autonomous state in Bet-Nahrain, where the church will flourish and take its place among the other churches, just as it was in the first few centuries after Christ.

Anything less than this does not serve the best interests of our Assyrian Church of the East, or our Assyrian Nation.

The Progressive Assyrian, June 1984.

"Religion is a faith acquired and is changeable. Nationality is one's flesh and blood; it is his total nature. Even death cannot undo it."

Dr. David B. Perley

BECAUSE I AM A CHRISTIAN I AM IN POLITICS

BY REV. DR. JOH, WATSON

We have been told that almost all Egyptian immigrants who are eligible do become Canadians. There are good reasons to believe that this is true of Egyptian immigrants in Germany, Great Britain, Australia and the United States.

North America has a better record than Great Britain in immigration policy and this is especially evident in a crisis like that of the East African Asians. The poetic dream of Emma Lazarus has often been realised: «Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me. I lift my lamp beside the golden door.»

It is unusual for immigrants to begin their new life with an active interest in politics. They have enough to think about. But it is important that all Egyptian immigrants who become Canadians should also study the structures and working methods of their law makers. This is the only way for democracy to work.

The Coptic Christian has a specific Christian duty as a citizen. Writing, as I do, from an isolated study in rural England, why do I want to impress this message on the pages of the Truth? The immediate answer is this: For me a religion of spiritual consolation without challenge is not a true religion. There are not two realities — my life as a citizen concerned with social and worldwide justice on one side and the world of Jesus on the other.

Jesus is the movement for social and world-wide justice, and the movement for social and worldwide justice is Jesus in the heart of the real world. Think of Mother Teresa, Sister Emmanuelle, Martin Luther King and the beloved father confined to the monastery at Wadi Natroun! Jesus felt himself sent to the poor and the lowly; that is one of the most certain facts we encounter in the gospel story. Following Him is never easy but it is done in the real, hard world of politics, as it is at home, school or work.

It has been said about Karl Barth, who is generally recognised as the greatest Protestant theologian of the last four hundred years, that he «turned to theology in order to seek the organic connection between the Bible and the newspaper.»³ Barth concluded that Christian faith was concerned with simple, concrete situations. He thought that a true Christian must be a true citizen, using his vote, joining a political party and acting for the community; he also thought that a true, active citizen should be a Christian!

In the Divine Liturgy of St. Basil the Great we are accustomed to the words: «Indeed, I believe that His Divinity and His Humanity never parted, not even a single moment, nor the twinkling of an eye.»⁴ It is the Incarnation of God, the Son of God, the Second Person of the Holy and Undivided Trinity that has confirmed our citizenship in this world which he loved. Let me be the first to affirm that «Man shall not live by bread alone» (Matthew 4:4) but without bread man does not live. To renounce the earthly, workaday, political vocation is to renounce the divine vocation. This is the world of God Incarnate. It is interesting that both in Hebrew and in Greek, the Bible uses the word «service» (work, fulfilling a duty) to refer to the «worship» of God.⁵ In short, to realise my duty as a citizen and to do it joyfully is to do honour to God through his plan for my life.

On rare occasions the State assumes the attributes of God and is a satanic force which we must fight. An example was Nazi Germany. In general, whilst taking a full role in politics, it is better for the Christian to look at other politicians with compassion, seeing them not as aliens to himself, not as peculiar or deluded strangers, but as identified with his own humanity. It was not a Christian but another Great Soul, the Mahatma Gandhi, who expressed the matter so perfectly: «To see the

universal and all-pervading Spirit of Truth face to face, one must be able to love the meanest creature as oneself. Whoever aspires after that cannot keep out of any field of life... those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means.»

1 — Nabil Mikhail, *The Truth*, Vol. 1, N° 2, p. 6.

2 — *Ibid.*, p. 5.

3 — George Hunsinger, Ed., *Karl Barth and Radical Politics* (Westminster PA, 1976).

4 — *The Liturgy of St. Basil*, Trans. Fayek Ishak (Toronto, 1973), p. 112.

5 — Jose Miguez Bonino, *Room to be people* (Geneva, WCC, 1979).

1 — Nabil Mikhail, *The Truth*, Vol. 1, N° 2, p. 6.

Al-Mashrek — C 9 et 8 Because I am — 2106

«MASHREK INTERNATIONAL»..

You have received the first number of «Mashrek International». It is going to be a twice-weekly publication written in three languages and distributed in Europe and North America. It is the first time that such a magazine will circulate although its objectives correspond to a very ancient situation in the Middle East: the precarious conditions of survival experienced by the Christian populations of the Arab countries, Turkey and Iran.

What are the goals of the magazine?

First, it is to tell the story of the Christian nations of the East who struggled through the centuries to preserve their identity: Copts, Maronites, Assyrians, Armenians, Syrians, Greek orthodox and Catholics, each one of them on its territory, in its cities has fought against the slow suffocation that empires in the name of the supremacy of Islam and modern totalitarian regimes has tried to impose on them.

Second, these nations are still suffering.

It is a matter of informing you on their actual living conditions, their development and silent aspirations.

These people are facing every day the most blatant human rights abuses in the countries they are living in: Imprisonment, exactions against Christians committed by an hostile environment, complicity of the states and their police forces, prohibition of practicing their language, humiliation of clergy members, church desecration, discrimination in public functions, impossibility for them to promote their own cultural organs.

It is not in our purpose to indulge into a primary anti-Islamic feeling, but at the contrary to try to understand. Express the problems, ask the right questions, this in itself will be an enormous task when one knows the unconscious fear, the self-censorship that most Christians of the Middle East operate when it comes to tell something about their situation.

Third, we would like to become an efficient organ for the cultural renaissance of the Christian people of the East. The desire of «Mashrek International» is to become a link between those who live in the Middle East and those who have deserted it, by informing both groups of what is happening in the Middle East and in the emigration circles.

Our goal finally will be to inform the West. It is just starting to rediscover Islamic fundamentalism. It is to us to explain from which disillusionments it proceeds, what are its mechanisms, and how the Christians of the concerned countries are facing it. It is to us to make him know that we exist.

«M.I.»

«Mashrek International»
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Detroit Michigan 48214 USA

Coptic leaders still under house arrest

CHRISTIANITY in some of its most ancient centres is in danger of dying out. Western Syrian villages where Jesus' language of Aramaic is still spoken have few young men left to continue the Syrian Orthodox faith. Professor Garth Fowden of Peterhouse, Cambridge, reported recently to *The Times* that Syriac Christianity was "now so weak in the lands where it was born that it was probably past generating a monastic revival." Such revivals rescued the faith from near-extinction in the past.

Small Syriac-speaking Christian communities in Eastern Turkey which have withstood Mongol invasions and Kurdish raids over a 1500-year history are now fighting for survival. Spokesmen of the communities complain that the Government is not honouring its constitutional pledge to protect religious minorities. In the past few years Islamic fundamentalist parties have brought pressure to bear in Ankara for "a pure Muslim state."

Iraqi Christians forced to flee to Rome report a similar difficulty. The ruling Ba'ath Party's efforts to unite the Iraqi citizenry include an erasure of ethnic differences.

Crack-down

Until fairly recently the largest Christian minority in any Near Eastern country, the Copts in Egypt, appeared to be in a comparably better situation. Conditions for the Church, however, have continued to deteriorate ever since the late President Sadat cracked down on a number of "religious militants" in September, 1981. Arrested along with Islamic fundamentalists were a number of Coptic leaders—including their Pope, Shenouda III. They remain under house-arrest.

Last autumn Egyptian Government officials stated to a committee of Amnesty International visiting Egypt to plead for the Pope's freedom that he "was in the monastery for meditation by his free will and free to return to Cairo." Not mentioned was the armed guard through which the Pope would have to pass if he decided to leave—or the fact that, on several occasions, the monks have warned the guards that they would enter the monastery only over their dead bodies.

The situation concerning the Pope's banishment is a complicated matter. In the beginning there appeared to be some support for the action by a number of influential Coptic leaders. Men like Bishop Samuel (close to Sadat, and killed with him on October 6, 1981) and Fr. Matta-el Meskin feared that Shenouda had gone too far in resisting the State's efforts at Islamisation. The Pope's banishment was the price paid for communal peace.

These two, and those who supported them, are now viewed as traitors by the vast majority of Copts. Support for the Pope has grown; and, as Fr. Antonious Farag of London's Coptic church told me, "The Government knew what it was doing. Taking away the head was the most effective act it could make to try to destroy the Church . . . How would Roman Catholics feel if John Paul II were held prisoner in a monastery by the Republic of Italy?"

British and American Copts complain that little has been reported of these conditions—even in the religious Press. Most irritating to Coptic leaders was the failure of the World Council of Churches to discuss the problems of the persecuted Churches at its Vancouver Assembly last year. The American Coptic Association feels that the reason why is that the World Council is "afraid to irritate Islamic governments."

The situation is depressing to Copts, who remember that their Church was a founding member of

the Council in 1948; and one leader has reminded Council executives of its past admirable efforts to combat religious persecution. "It is shocking that these days one must turn from ecumenical agencies to secular ones like Amnesty International to get anything done," he said to a group of clergy who visited Egypt last December.

'Pure' Arabs

The dialogue between Christians and Muslims—especially that fostered by the Vatican—is viewed as something of a farce by most Coptic leaders in Egypt. One told us: "Fruitful dialogue can only occur between equals. Christians are not accepted as equals by Muslims—and never will be unless there is a radical change in their attitude."

He reminded us that the conquering Arabs organised society into three main social classes: (1) "pure" Arabs who could trace their ancestry back to Mecca and Medina; (2) the *mawali*—non-Arab Muslims; and (3) the *dhimmi*s (one step up from slaves) who were the Koran's "people of the book"—Jews, Christians and "Sabians" (probably the Mandaeans). The *dhimmi*s were allowed to maintain their churches and temples and had their own religious courts; and, living in their own communities, they could practise their faith generally unmolested. We were quickly reminded that, in some respects, things are worse now than those early days.



Flashback to January, 1979: Pope Shenouda III with Mr. Patrick Gilbert, General Secretary of SPCK. The Pope was visiting London in order to consecrate Britain's first Coptic church

The Copts continue to press the Egyptian Government on six points: (1) the release of Pope Shenouda III and six other bishops, as well as twenty priests who are still detained; (2) the removal of restrictions on their Sunday schools (the movement has given much vitality to the Church in recent years); (3) the renewal of publication of two Coptic weekly magazines; (4) the return of Church property illegally seized by the Government; (5) the removal of restrictions regarding building new churches and repairs to old ones; and (6) a true census of their numbers (Copts maintain that they comprise twice the three-to-four-million adherents the Government reports).

The American Coptic Association, which has been criticised by

some Copts for being excessively militant, insists that it has come across copies of secret decisions made by the Islamic Conference at Lahore in 1980 and that "Item 6" states: "The Muslim countries should take the required steps to crush the Christian and other non-Muslim peoples in the Near East and convert them to Islam before the close of the century." "Item 7" supposedly says: "The steps to liquidate Christianity in the Near East should begin in the Lebanon by purchasing land and property from Christians in an effort to pressure them to emigrate to Western countries."

More moderate-minded Copts are seeking less polemical approaches in drawing attention to their situation. Some would like to begin by making themselves better known to the numerous tourists who annually visit Egypt. The group of clergy with whom I travelled was surprised how little is said of the Coptic presence in the tourist publications prepared by British and American firms. One reads of the Coptic Museum in Cairo, but the "Coptic tradition" is referred to in a rather past-tense manner.

Few tourists to Egypt are made aware of its Christian tradition; even fewer realise that the Coptic Church is among the oldest in Christendom, and that from its roots monasticism was born. Those who do make the trek to the museum in Old Cairo this year may be sorry they did. The area around the old city has been torn up for sewer-repair; and visitors have to crawl over debris to enter the museum, which itself is undergoing major renovation.

Old icons

For those who do persevere, however, the atmosphere of Old Cairo is an unexpected delight. Mazes of inner courts and gardens surround dozens of Coptic churches which are hardly distinguishable on the outside from the adjoining houses.

Inside one encounters elaborately carved wooden iconostases and primitive icons of great charm. One church claims to be Egypt's oldest—Abu Serga, the crypt of which is said to have been a resting-place for the Holy Family during its exile.

It was in Old Cairo that the Romans built a fortress called Babylon. Some insist that it was the Babylon of I Peter v. 13: "The church that is at Babylon saluteth you, and so doth Marcus (Mark) my son." Mark, of course, is revered as the founder of the Egyptian Church; and Shenouda III is his 117th successor.

The Copts remain a proud Christian people, and love to re-

mind visitors that they are the true descendants of the ancient Egyptians. "Copt" is simply the Westernised form of the Arabic *qubt*—from the Greek *aigyptios*, which signified the language and people of Egypt before the Arab conquest in the seventh century. In later times the Muslims of Egypt ceased to call themselves *aigyptioi*, and the word came to be the distinctive name of the Christian minority. Copts rely on Egypt's unique heritage to keep it from going the way of Iran or Libya.

Fr. Farag, however, is under no illusions. He admits that "Egypt is different," but equally insists: "Militant Islam, no matter where it is found, isn't." He invited the clergy who visited Egypt at Christmas, 1983, to celebrate the Coptic Christmas on January 6-7, 1984, at his church in Allen Street, Kensington. It is an effective refurbishment of a redundant Victorian Presbyterian church. The incense was sweet and heavy, the chants exotic and reminiscent of the land we had enjoyed; and Fr. Farag seemed delighted at our presence.

Stolen skull

In June, 1968, the Vatican made an "ecumenical gesture" towards

the Copts by returning the skull of St. Mark, which had been stolen in the early Middle Ages by two Italian seamen and taken to Venice. These days the Copts need more than relics to assure their future stability. An awareness of their plight by fellow-Christians in the West is long overdue; the silence on their behalf by Christian leaders is deafening.

Ever since the Muslim invasion, Christianity has been on the retreat in the Near East. The difference today is the frightening acceleration of the process. One fact exemplifies how things have changed.

Not so long ago, Iran, Iraq and the Lebanon were the traditional places of retreat for Christian minorities like the Assyrians, Armenians and Jacobites. Those days vanished quickly, and today there are no sanctuaries left in the Near East. A scriptural passage used as a motto by one of the now-silenced Coptic periodicals has increasing poignancy: "One night in a vision the Lord said to Paul, 'Have no fear: go on with your preaching and do not be silenced for I am with you . . .'" (Acts xviii. 9).

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by
**DAVID
SOX**

§ 4.2.3. Another procedure by which the administration tried to reduce the burden it shouldered was the *iškāru* system. Details of its working are still inadequate, but it was used to convert raw materials under the direct control of the government into the finished products needed by it. Instead of maintaining a large body of ration-drawing personnel, requiring considerable supervision, the policy seems to have been to allocate quantities of raw material to the craftsmen, and to define their obligation to supply the finished products with a commercial-style debt-note. This was certainly the procedure with independent craftsmen who were working as it were under 'government contract', but even for those who were more closely dependent on the government and were organized along military lines into 'cohorts' (see § 5), it is clear that supervision was minimal and that the system worked more on the principle of commercial, or rather fiscal, obligations.

§ 4.3. Private sector

§ 4.3.0. In the private sector of the economy the movement of commodities is much harder to document because of the scarcity of written evidence. There is of course some evidence for government taxation of the private sector, especially from administrative correspondence and the taxation exemption clauses which accompany royal grants of land. The evidence concerns the taxes on agriculture and trade, and is briefly discussed here.

§ 4.3.1. Direct taxation of the private sector was principally in kind, on agricultural produce, and these taxes probably furnished a large proportion of the reserves of grain required by the civil and especially the military administration. Evidence for the precise rates of tax is scanty, but it was usually if not invariably a fraction of the crop, and the attested rates are 10% for corn and 25% for straw, which no doubt reflects the relatively high demand for straw by the government. These rates do not seem oppressive, nor is there much evidence for arrears of tax, and in fact such correspondence as we do have on the topic rather suggests tax avoidance by the large landowner, not failure to pay by the small farmer. There is only very slight evidence for tax-farming,²¹ a practice attested in Babylonia, and as a general rule it appears that the tax-collection structure was an arm of the provincial governments.

§ 4.3.2. Nothing is known of the taxation of town-dwellers without any agricultural lands, except that they were almost certainly liable to some form of *ilku* obligation (cf. § 4.2.2 and below, § 5). The royal land grants do however mention exemption from 'harbour, ferry and gate dues' (*mīksē kāri nēbiri abulli* . . .) as well as other impositions lost by damaged texts,²² and thus demonstrate in negative the existence of taxes on private trade. It could of course be objected that 'ferry dues' may apply to the passage of persons only, although this is unlikely, but the only people liable to pay 'harbour dues' must have been those engaged in trade. The existence of substantial private trade during the Assyrian Empire is a point of controversy;²³ and we must admit at the outset that there is a most emphatic silence on this subject in the sources. No unequivocal reference to privately organized trade is known to me from the Neo-Assyrian letters, and although merchants are not infrequently mentioned, it is usually impossible to be certain whether they are in some way state-employed or independent agents. An unpublished slave-sale document from the house of an officer in the town at Nineveh (to be published soon by Dr. Bahijah Khalil Ismail) records his purchase of some slaves brought from Kummuh (Commagene) by a merchant, of whom there is no reason to suspect any involvement with the government, and other sources mention merchants from Carchemish, Tema, and elsewhere. Merchants (*tamkāru*) also figure not infrequently as witnesses at the end of sale documents, in a context which rather implies that they had some commercial rôle in the transaction — often, no doubt, the removal of the purchase price from the seller who was indebted to them — but of course the merchant need only have been a local businessman or money-lender, and was not necessarily involved in short or long-distance trade. Hence I can only make appeal to general considerations in an attempt to deny the existence of a government trade monopoly. Three or four passages seem to show that Assyrian kings actively encouraged private trade under their aegis: Tiglath-pileser's official in charge of the Phoenician coast writes to him to say that he was permitting the people of Sidon to 'bring down the timber' (from Mt. Lebanon) 'and do their work with it, but not to sell it to the Palestinians or Egyptians'²⁴ — implying that they might trade freely in the timber as long as they did

not sell it to Assyria's potential enemies. A decade or two later Sargon describes how he tried to make the population of Samaria re-open trade with Egypt: 'I opened the sealed harbour(?) of Egypt, and I mixed the people of Assyria with the people of Egypt and made them engage in trade together'.²⁵ After describing how he restored Babylonia to normality and sent the citizens of Babylon back to their homes, Esarhaddon says that he 'opened the roads for them to the four winds'.²⁶ The phrasing of all these texts implies that the kings expected the merchants of the Levant and of Babylonia to carry on with their own mercantile activities without further interference from the government. They would of course have been liable to customs and other state dues (unless exempted), but there is no hint here of government monopoly. And if this applies to recently conquered lands, it must apply even more to the Assyrian homeland, where the tradition of private enterprise was surely too solidly established to have been superseded by state control of trade. It may be objected that the cities of the Levantine seaboard and of Babylonia were major centres of near eastern trade, but the Assyrian merchant was certainly active in the Middle Assyrian period, and it seems reasonable to surmise that during the later empire the inhabitants of the old Assyrian cities would have profited from their favoured position at the centre to expand, not reduce, their trading operations. They could not have viewed with equanimity the efforts of their kings to promote the commercial life of other parts of the empire unless they themselves were also prospering. Despite the suggestion of Dr. Jankowska,²⁷ that the Assyrian Empire had created a sort of trade vacuum, diverting routes round her frontiers and killing the regular exchange within them, I am very reluctant to admit that either of these was the case, or that the economic realities behind the age-old east-west routes up the Euphrates and across northern Mesopotamia had been annulled by the existence of the empire.

It would be superfluous in this context to try to reconstruct the actual items traded. The evidence from Assyrian sources is very scanty, although to some extent the major centres of production and crafts can be reconstructed by studying the tribute and similar payments recorded in the royal annals (as has been very thoroughly done by Dr. Jankowska). One or two administrative texts and letters do supply disjointed scraps of evidence, but since they belong to palace archives their value is hard to assess. Perhaps the most illuminating single source is the pair of Neo-Babylonian texts dating to the reign of Nabonidus, which record luxury and semi-luxury items imported to Babylonia from the west. As analysed by Prof. Oppenheim, the consignments consisted of: metals (copper, iron and tin), chemicals (dyes and alum), foodstuffs (wine, honey and other unidentified), fibres (dyed wool and linen), juniper resin and lapis lazuli.²⁸ Although these texts date from after the downfall of Assyria, the pattern of trade need not have changed much in the meanwhile, and we are justified in expecting that a similar type of consignment would have been finding its way to the Assyrian capitals and to Babylonia during the empire. Whether there was a parallel trade in coarser commodities is much less certain; all we can say for sure is that evidence exists in the Neo-Assyrian texts for trade in slaves and horses, two of the commodities most urgently needed to support the structure of empire.

§ 5. Man-power

§ 5.1. The army

Labour or the work-force can be treated in four major categories: the army, public works, crafts and skills, and agricultural labour. As for the army we must cut a long story short by noting merely that there is evidence that the chariotry and cavalry was drawn from full-blooded 'Assyrians' (the implications of this term are not known to us), who were probably in part full-time soldiers and in part men performing their periodic *ilku* service. The foot-soldiers were formed on a nucleus of permanent Aramaean mercenaries, in particular the *Itu'āyu* and the *Gurṛāyu*. These were often used as a 'police-force' in the outer parts of the empire, and we simply do not know whether, and if so where, it was possible to use locally conscripted soldiers in the provinces. It is true that on several occasions the kings (Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal) state that they incorporated units from a conquered state into the Assyrian standing army, but this was certainly not the case for ordinary citizens of annexed territories.

§ 5.2. Public works

The ordinary citizen was either deported or – presumably more often – left to till his own fields, in which case he was certainly liable to 'corvée service like the people of Assyria'. If deported, prisoners-of-war were either employed directly on public works, such as the construction of Dur-Šarrukin or Sennacherib's irrigation schemes, or distributed among the population. The historical texts are quite explicit on this point: Assurbanipal states that 'the remainder I distributed like sheep between the cities, residences of the great gods, among my governors, my nobles, and all my camp',²⁹ while Esarhaddon writes 'the remainder of them I distributed like sheep to my palaces, my nobles, the entourage of my palace, and the populace of Nineveh, Kalhu, Kilizi and Arbail'.³⁰ The formulaic quality of this phrase shows that this was a regular and accepted procedure; it differs entirely from the policy of deportation, which was certainly used by Sargon, whereby dissident elements might be exchanged across from opposite ends of the empire, a political, not an economic, move. The continual channelling of conquered populations into the palace and the private sectors of the four great cities of Assyria was clearly a deliberate move to meet a labour shortage at the centre of the empire, a shortage which was probably most serious on agricultural estates.

§ 5.3. Craftsmen and the *kišru* system

§ 5.3.0. Occasionally royal inscriptions mention their treatment of the craftsmen among a conquered people. The most explicit statement is that of Esarhaddon, who says that, in addition to various military specialists,

'I added craftsmen, scribes, shield-bearers, scouts, farmers, shepherds and gardeners to the mighty forces of Assur and greatly increased the royal contingent of the kings my fathers before me' (R. Borger, *Asarhaddon* § 68)³¹

The phrase 'royal contingent' (*kišir šarrūti*) generally applies to the standing force directly under the king's command. It was thus the nucleus of the Assyrian army, and from the phrasing it is clear that people of a variety of skills were also incorporated within the permanent military establishment, which was divided into smaller contingents (also *kišru*) or, as I shall call them, cohorts. The purely military cohort is a well-established fact which does not require discussion here (although queries do persist), but the organization of craftsmen in the same system is of interest to us and requires a more detailed presentation.

§ 5.3.1. In his study of the Assyrian army, which has still not been superseded, Maniatus discusses the 'specialist' cohorts, calling them *Handwerkerabteilungen* (ZA 24 (1910) 134). In addition to the royal inscriptions he was able to quote evidence for the existence of these cohorts from legal texts, but since then such evidence has increased and the following crafts and professions are represented: scribes, weavers, 'victualers' (*karkadinnu*), shepherds, oil-pressers and leather-workers.³²

Membership of the *kišru* does not seem to have been confined to any one social class. The scribes are not likely to have been slaves or 'helots', while the oil-pressers from Assur bear genuine Assyrian names suggesting that they too were, at least originally, free citizens. On the other hand we know from the royal inscriptions that conquered populations could be formed without delay into cohorts, and they can hardly have had better than 'helot' status; like the army, there was a single administrative system linking people working under different compulsions. It is possible that cohorts were formed of craftsmen fulfilling their *ilku* service (and so only available for a restricted period), but there may also have been free men committed to a lifetime of government service. The *kišru* system was not restricted to the towns; this is obvious in the case of the shepherds, and the penetration of villages is illustrated by the Carchemish text showing that the entire village of Elumu fell under the single captain (*rab kišri*) Šarri-taklak.

§ 5.3.2. Some at least of the cohorts were created from conquered peoples at the same time as purely military units were incorporated in the army, and all fall under the captain (*rab kišri*) which is a military rank. If there was a distinction between the military and civilian sides of the central and provincial governments (and this is uncertain) the cohorts of craftsmen will have come under the military side. However, their purpose was the production of materials or the provision of specialist services, and their organization must have differed from that of the army proper. The hall-mark of the system was the *iškāru*, which describes both the raw materials given to the craftsman and the finished product which he pays back: found at its simplest with wool or metal to be converted into textiles or weapons, the term was also applied to sheep, from which leather and wool could be rendered as the *iškāru*, or even horses.³³ The connection between the cohort and the payment of *iškāru* is best illustrated by the complex situation in ABL 1432: the author of this letter to the king, who

was the governor of Našibina province, protests: 'About Ilu-uznēya-ušur the shepherd, of whom the king wrote to me saying "You have demoted him from a captaincy. Why did you tell him to raise 1 talent of silver?", indeed I have not demoted him! He is still a captain! . . . When Dugul-pān-ili [perhaps a royal agent] came to the shearing, that man withheld his *iškāru*; he did not come in to the shearing, but fled and took refuge in a temple. I sent and they brought him down, and I said "Let your *iškāru* be remitted you, but get your men and come, and do your work at Dur-Šarrukin"'. The position is clear: Ilu-uznēya-ušur (who is known from ABL 639 to have been a 'captain of shepherds') is in charge of a cohort of shepherds and responsible for handing in their *iškāru* at the annual shearing. At the time of writing the governor has obviously been ordered to send contingents to help with the construction of Dur-Šarrukin, and the captain is therefore required to collect his cohort and lead them off to join in this work, regardless of their specialist employment.

A contract found at Carchemish provides another instance in which the captain is responsible for collecting the *iškāru* from his cohort, and KAV 197 is probably a complaint by a cohort of oil-pressers about the malpractices of their captain(s), since their *iškāru* payments are mentioned twice (11. 19, 62) and 1.14 must be understood to mean '(why do you allow this behaviour) in a good cohort?' (ina ŠA ki-šir SLC₄). This last text also illustrates very clearly the fact that a large proportion of *iškāru* payments were made in silver, at fixed times of year. Why this system had developed is not clear, but as observed above (§ 4.2.3) the tendency of the administration was to reduce bureaucracy by replacing personal supervision with commercial-style written obligations, and the commuting of payments in kind into silver may well have been a further stage of the same process.

§ 5.4. *kišru* and *pirru*

§ 5.4.0. Although the word *kišru* 'a knot' or 'contingent (of men)' is known in Middle Assyrian texts,³⁴ we suspect that the very specific usage of the word in Neo-Assyrian times³⁵ dates only from the reign of Tiglath-pileser III.³⁶ The closest parallel in the Middle Assyrian texts seems to be the *pirru*, discussed below; but this does not hold good for Neo-Assyrian texts. In a recent survey of the known occurrences we concluded that they 'strongly favour the translation "(tax-)collection"'.³⁷ The word could refer to the assembly and review of horses for the army, but KAV 197 shows that the transaction in which a cohort of craftsmen delivered its produce (*iškāru*) was also called a *pirru*; passages from the Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon and from liver omen queries refer to men 'coming in' (*erābu*) to the *pirru*, no doubt to deliver tribute or similar contributions. With one exception, the meaning 'tax-collection' is preferable to 'contingent' or 'cohort' in all Neo-Assyrian contexts, and must I believe be accepted, whatever the word meant in Middle Assyrian.³⁸

§ 5.4.1. In *AHW* 855b s.v. W. von Soden offers the translation 'ein (Arbeits-)kommando' for the word *pirru*. As I have said, this does not agree well with the Neo-Assyrian usage, and I believe that it may also be unsatisfactory for the earlier occurrences. In the Middle Assyrian texts the word was not attested until the recent publication of administrative documents from Kar-Tukulti-ninurta.³⁹ These reveal two distinct usages: adjectival, in the phrase ERÍN.MEŠ *pir-ru-te*, and substantival in *bēl pirri* (only found in the plural, ERÍN.MEŠ EN.MEŠ *pir-ri*).⁴⁰ Unfortunately there is not sufficient variety in the contexts published to enable us to determine whether there is any significant difference between these two phrases. Although one might consider the possibility that *bēl pirri* 'master of a *pirru*' was equivalent to the later *rab kišri*, it does seem more likely that *pirrite* and *bēl pirri* are in fact interchangeable variants and both mean 'called-up' or 'conscripted'.

§ 5.4.2. The texts in which these phrases occur are lists of men (ERÍN.MEŠ) passing through the military administration at Kar-Tukulti-ninurta. Numbers are considerable, and most of them are doubtless destined to be ordinary soldiers. However, they do include builders, doctors, an incantation-priest, a seer, a scribe, an *aluzinnu* (cheer-leader), door-keepers, interpreters and runners.⁴¹ Although we no longer believe that their presence in these texts as *bēl pirri* means that they were formed into contingents (*pirru*, Arbeitskommando), which would have provided a close parallel with the Sargonid *kišru*, these 'specialists' were obviously conscripted under the same procedure as the ordinary soldier, and no doubt came under the same discipline. They do not include craftsmen, shepherds, or other purely civilian employees, such as we encountered in Neo-Assyrian times, and they were presumably enrolled specifically for work in or with the army.

To be continued in next issue

Multilingual Word Processing

by Joseph D. Becker

The personal computer has become a familiar fixture in the office and even in the home. It is useful in many ways, and yet for all its novel applications it is probably most useful to the greatest number of people when it serves the function of a typewriter. In that role it enables the user to see text displayed on a screen, so that words can be reviewed and revised before they are ever committed to paper. The kind of computer program underlying such an ability is known as word-processing software.

So far computers have largely been limited to the processing of words in the English language. That is not surprising: most computers have been developed in English-speaking countries, and English is the principal language of international commerce. Yet there is no technical reason for word processing to be confined to English. Indeed, it is possible for word-processing software to handle not only French, German, Italian, Russian, Spanish and other European languages but also more complex scripts such as Arabic, Chinese, Hebrew, Japanese and Korean. My colleagues and I at the Xerox Corporation have been developing multilingual word-processing software for a personal computer work station called Star, which is manufactured by Xerox. Our basic idea is that the computer should deal with a universal notion of "text" broad enough to include any of the world's living languages in any combination.

In effect, therefore, the fascinating diversity of mankind's written symbols must be made to coexist in the computer. At first it hardly seems possible. Arabic script, for example, flows from right to left in curlicues. Thai and other scripts, originally from ancient India, have letters that sometimes step around their neighbors and thus get out of phonetic order. Occasionally a letter even surrounds its neighbors. Korean groups its letters in syllabic clusters. (The Korean alphabet was designed from scratch by a group of scholars in 1443.) Chinese, the most ancient of living writing systems, consists of tens of thousands of ideographic characters. Each character is a miniature calligraphic composition inside its own square frame. It seems the developers of the computer and of word-processing software were coddled by the English language, which hap-

pens to have the simplest writing system of all: unadorned alphabetic letters laid out one after the other.

How can computer software originally designed to handle only English text be broadened to encompass the full diversity of the world's writing systems? The many challenges of the task can be divided into three basic realms. There must be a way for text to be represented in the memory of a computer; there must be a way for text to be typed at the keyboard of the computer; there must be a way for the computer to present text to the typist. I shall refer to these realms as encoding, typing and rendering. By rendering I mean both the display of text on the screen of a computer and the printing of text on paper.

Encoding is governed by a single, basic fact: the computer can store only numbers. Indeed, it can store only binary numbers, consisting of strings of 0's and 1's. Hence text is represented in a computer by storing a binary code number for each letter. In the case of the English language the American Standard Code for Information Interchange, abbreviated ASCII, assigns the binary code number 01000001 to the letter A, 01000010 to B, 01000011 to C and so on. Thus when you type an A on a computer keyboard, the computer is really being instructed to store the code number 01000001. When the computer comes to display or print a letter encoded as 01000001, its instructions cause it to draw a symbol you recognize as an A. As long as the input and output instructions are consistent, you have the illusion that the letter A itself was stored.

Computers generally store information in units of bytes, where each byte is a group of eight bits. It therefore seems a sensible strategy to store text as one byte per character. The trouble is, there are only 2^8 , or 256, ways in which eight 0's and 1's can be combined in a byte. The living scripts of the world have far more letters than that. A two-byte coding scheme, in which each letter would be identified by two successive bytes, would yield 2^{16} , or 65,536, possible codes; a three-byte scheme would yield 2^{24} , or well over 16 million, codes. But employing two or three bytes per letter where only one byte is needed would waste space in the computer's memory. The answer is to arrange for the encod-

ing to expand to two or three bytes per letter only when necessary. This can be done by setting aside a few bytes as signals to the computer and putting those signals into encoded text.

The first step in establishing a scheme for multilingual text encoding is to assign a binary code number to each of the alphabets of the world. The Roman alphabet is assigned 00000000, Greek 00100110, Russian 00100111, Arabic 11100000 and so on. (The particular choices, like the choices for individual letters, are based on international standards.) Next the code 11111111 is designated the shift-alphabet signal. The computer is to start by assuming the text is in alphabet 00000000—that is, in Roman script—but whenever it encounters 11111111, it is to interpret the next byte as the code specifying a new alphabet and the succeeding bytes as codes for letters in that alphabet.

That solves the text-encoding problem for the world's phonetic alphabets. The Chinese ideographs remain: they push the total number of letters above the 65,536 the scheme can encompass. To accommodate all the ideographs one must create another level in the encoding hierarchy. One can consider a group of 65,536 letters to be a "superalphabet" and specify two bytes of 11111111 in succession to be a shift-superalphabet signal. The signal causes the computer to interpret the following byte as the code number of a new superalphabet and succeeding pairs of bytes as codes specifying symbols in that superalphabet. The main superalphabet, designated 00000000, is all one needs except for very rare Chinese characters.

This strategy of "flexible encoding," which was devised by Gael Curry of Xerox's Office Systems Division, opens the computer to a range of more than 16 million characters, including all Chinese ideographs. At the same time it optimizes the storage of text by encoding ordinary (that is, phonetic) alphabets with a single byte per letter. It allows text in any mixture of living languages to be represented economically in the computer as a sequence of bytes.

The sequence of bytes is stored in the linear order in which the text would be spoken, and as such it is isolated from graphical complexities such as the variant forms of letters and the mixing of

the directions in which multilingual text might have to be written. This accounts for a fact that may seem surprising: the internal computer processing of multilingual text is not affected by the presence of exotic scripts. Word-processing operations such as the editing of text, the search of text for particular characters or words and the electronic transmission of text depend not on the graphical form of the text but on the internal sequence of bytes that represents its information content. The only real complexities in multilingual word-processing software involve the typing and rendering of text.

I turn next to typing. For most languages the process can be quite simple, since almost any living alphabet will fit comfortably on a standard typewriter keyboard. Indeed, in computerized typing it is easy for the software to change the computer's "interpretation" of the keys so that the typing is in another alphabet. For example, pressing the *A* key can cause the computer to store the Russian letter *А* or the Arabic letter *ش*, depending on the keyboard interpretation. The computer can even display on its screen a small diagram called a virtual keyboard, which reminds the typist what alphabet is currently assigned to the keyboard and which keys correspond to which letters.

For some languages the computer can simplify typing itself. Arabic script, for example, includes a special combination character that replaces the letters *lam* and *alif* whenever the two appear in sequence. On an Arabic typewriter the special character occupies its own key. The computer can automatically render all *lam-alif* combinations as the special character, making the extra key superfluous. The computer can also handle letters that change their appearance depending on their context. With word-processing software for such a script the

typist need only enter a natural (that is, phonetic) sequence of characters; the computer will take over the burden of handling the complexities of the script.

I have described how multilingual text can be typed into a computer and stored in its memory. I turn now to the third aspect of multilingual word processing: the rendering of text that is stored in the computer. For word processing in the English language there is a simple one-to-one correspondence between code numbers in computer storage and rendered characters on a display screen or a printed page. In fully multilingual software, however, that correspondence must be abandoned and replaced by a much richer scheme. When the computer processes a sequence of text codes for rendering, it must be empowered to examine any number of consecutive codes at a time, and it must be allowed to make any computation in order to choose the graphical forms and positions for the characters. In particular, the computer must be provided with variant character forms that it can use to represent the changeable letter shapes characteristic of many writing systems.

An example of the application of these ideas is provided by the handling of the Greek letter *sigma* (σ), which takes on a special shape (ς) when it appears at the end of a word. In the computer every *sigma* is stored as the code for an ordinary *sigma*, even if it comes at the end of a word. Whenever the computer is called on to render a *sigma*, however, it examines the character that follows the *sigma*. If the *sigma* is found to be at the end of a word, the computer renders the variant form instead of the ordinary form of the letter.

Arabic offers a more complex example: most Arabic letters have four forms, depending on whether the letter

stands alone or is at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of a word. In addition the rules for joining Arabic letters to their neighbors must accommodate the presence of small markings placed above or below the letters. Nevertheless, the solution is much the same: the computer can be instructed to consider each letter's context before choosing its rendered shape. All the contingencies can be taken into account, given that the computer can make any computation in determining the final appearance of the text.

An important element in rendering is the ligature, in which two or more letters fuse to form a single rendered character. In most English typefaces (including the one in which this article has been typeset) there are ligatures for a few common letter combinations, chiefly *ff*, *ffi*, *fi*, *fl* and *ffi*. Software that takes each letter's context into account can instruct the computer to render the word *office* in four characters—*o*, *ff*, *c* and *e*—while retaining in its memory the six-letter sequence *office* required to process the word correctly.

A similar approach can be adopted for accents, or diacritical marks, such as the German umlaut (*ü*) or the French accent grave (*è*). The International Organization for Standards requires such marks to be represented in the computer as separate codes preceding the code for the letter to which the mark is applied. Hence a letter such as *ü* is represented by two bytes. The computer can render the two bytes *u* and *u* as the single character *ü* by the same process that renders the two bytes *f* and *i* as the ligature *fi*. Some scripts require the application of multiple marks above or below a base character; the computer can handle this problem by a somewhat more complex rendering procedure.

Even the unique syllabic clumps that characterize the Korean *hangul* script

a	CODE NUMBERS	01000001	01000010	01000011	01000100				
	MEANING TO COMPUTER	A	B	C	D				
b	CODE NUMBERS	11111111	00100111	00100001	00100010	00100011	00100100		
	MEANING TO COMPUTER	SHIFT ALPHABET	RUSSIAN ALPHABET	A	Б	В	Г		
c	CODE NUMBERS	11111111	11111111	00000000	01000110	01111100	01001011	01011100	00111000 01101100
	MEANING TO COMPUTER	SHIFT ALPHABET	SHIFT SUPER-ALPHABET	MAIN SUPER-ALPHABET	日		本		語

FLEXIBLE ENCODING accommodates all the world's writing systems while minimizing the length of the string of bits, or binary digits (0's and 1's), that represents a multilingual text in the memory of a computer. For English (a) a standard scheme, the American Standard Code for Information Interchange, is available. It assigns one byte, or eight bits of code, to each character. For other languages, such as Russian (b), the byte 11111111 is designated a "shift alpha-

bet" signal: it instructs the computer to interpret the following byte as the code specifying a new alphabet, and the bytes after that as codes specifying characters in that alphabet. For Chinese and Japanese (c) a still more complex scheme is required. Two successive bytes of 11111111 are a "shift superalphabet" signal, the following byte specifies a particular superalphabet and the subsequent bytes, taken in pairs, specify characters in the superalphabet (here ideographs).

can be rendered if the computer is given appropriate software and rendering variants of the Korean letters, which it can build into square groupings. Similarly, the slanting descent to a baseline characteristic of many Arabic fonts can be rendered, freeing Arabic typography from the stricture of a flat horizontal baseline. In the Hindi language the word *hindi* itself has the first vowel (*i*) written out of phonetic order: it is placed before the initial consonant (*h*). When the rule for placing the vowel *i* is incorporated into the computer's instructions, however, the typist can enter the word in its normal phonetic order and the computer will automatically place the *i* before the *h* when it renders the word. The same approach can even rationalize the handling of scripts such as Thai, in which vowels can actually split into fragments that surround a neighboring letter.

Equipped with enough flexibility in the rendering process, the computer can handle any instance in which the letters of a script have a contextual effect on one another. The only remaining rendering problem is a broader one: How is the computer to mix scripts that run in different directions?

A computer cannot do the impossible: there is simply no sensible way to mix vertical text and horizontal text in a single paragraph. Chinese, Japanese and Korean are vertical by tradition. Asian printers, however, have developed the practice of printing these languages horizontally from left to right. Mongolian too is vertical by tradition. Mongolian printers rotate text by 90 degrees when it is necessary to combine it with horizontal text.

In sum, typographical usage calls for all languages to be typeset horizontally at need. The one circumstance that remains for the computer to handle is the mixing of a horizontal left-to-right script such as English with a horizontal right-to-left script such as Arabic. The typist wants to type Arabic in its proper phonetic order and have it appear in its proper right-to-left sequence, even if it is typed into the midst of English text. Conversely, the typist wants an English passage to appear in left-to-right sequence even in the midst of Arabic text.

The problem may seem perplexing, but it looks simpler from the standpoint of the computer. The computer works much faster than the typist; thus the computer spends most of its time waiting for the typist to enter the next character. Between keystrokes the text is simply displayed without change on the screen; the computer has done no more than produce a static text layout. The static arranging of mixed-direction text is handled routinely by printers of books and magazines in which Arabic or Hebrew script appears.

Mixed-direction text can go through

remarkable transformations as it is entered into a computer. In most word processors the place on the screen where the next typed letter will appear is indicated by a blinking marker. The marker moves along as the text continues to grow. When a line fills up with type and the marker reaches a margin, the marker automatically drops to the beginning of the next line. For the typing of all-English text the marker moves from left to right. For the typing of all-Arabic text it moves from right to left. For mixed-direction text its activity is novel. Throughout the typing of English text embedded in Arabic the marker must stay put and the newly entered text must slide away from it. The stationary marker cannot, of course, reach a margin. All the same, the filling of a line means that the marker and subsequent words must drop to the next line. The typist has the strange impression that text is falling from the middle of a line. Yet the drop creates the correct layout of the mixed-direction text.

The encoding, typing and rendering of text are the basic elements of multilingual word processing, but they do not exhaust the challenges that must be faced in designing a multilingual word-processing system. Suppose an oil company's Texas offices are made part of a worldwide network of word-processing computer work stations. An Arabic document arrives electronically from the Middle East, but the computers in Texas do not have the software needed to render Arabic text. The Texas computers must nonetheless handle the text as best they can without "crashing" and without mistaking the Arabic codes for English ones. They must at least render the English portions of a multilingual document. Furthermore, the computers in Texas should be capable of accepting an Arabic-software module, which would add Arabic rendering instructions to the repertory they already have.

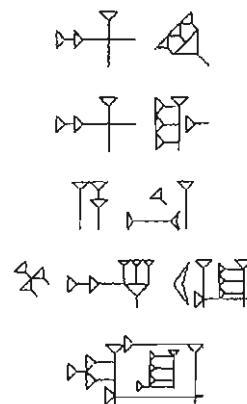
The oil company's situation suggests the broad-scale design goals for a multilingual word-processing system. They are compatibility (all the computers in the system must be able to exchange documents in any combination of scripts); open-endedness (each computer must be able to deal sensibly with scripts unknown to it), and modularity (it must be possible to add the capacity for new languages one by one). These goals are difficult, but they can be achieved. The solutions derive in large part from the treatment of text in ways that are broad enough to include any mixture of the world's living languages.

The initial applications of multilingual word processing surely lie in the creation of multilingual documents. After all, as worldwide commerce and politics grow, all kinds of multilingual documents become essential. In addition

software that can manipulate multilingual text is certain to bring benefits to language teachers and translators. The automatic translation of documents from one language into another is a far more distant goal. Indeed, at the moment there is little cause to imagine that high-quality machine translation can be achieved. The faithful translation of a passage requires that the translator understand the passage both in its explicit content and in its implications. In a quarter century of intensive research there has been no significant progress in supplying a computer with such an ability. Low-quality translation of texts with circumscribed meaning (such as instruction manuals) is already a reality. Even there, however, the success of machine translation depends heavily on editing by a human proofreader.

The questionable prospects for high-quality machine translation are balanced, I think, by the brilliant outlook for electronic mail: the near-instantaneous transmission of messages or documents by way of private electronic networks or public communication lines. International electronic-mail systems are already in everyday use. They are similar to telephone and postal systems in that their usefulness increases with the extent of the network. It seems inevitable, therefore, that electronic mail services will eventually expand and join to form a single worldwide electronic-mail utility. If this is to come about, one prerequisite is inescapable. The telephone does not require its users to speak only English, nor does a postal system require its users to write only English. Electronic mail will not succeed as a global communication medium unless the text it carries is fully multilingual. To my mind that is the ultimate application for multilingual word processing.

Scientific America, July 1984.



MAY ASHUR,
THE GREAT GOD,
BLESS ASSYRIA.

The Iran-Iraq War: Underlying Conflicts

R.K. RAMAZANI

The war between Iraq and Iran will enter its fifth year in September with no end in sight. It is already the longest, the bloodiest, and the costliest war in the contemporary history of the Middle East. Its causes, functions, and consequences will be debated for many years to come, but enough time has already elapsed to consider alternative ways of viewing the more salient conflicts that seem to underly this brutal and seemingly interminable war.

I

It would be best to start this analysis from the perspective of power politics, the most common and familiar of all schools of thought. With or without the Iranian Revolution, conflict over power between Iran and Iraq would have continued, despite the brief respite after the signing of the Algiers agreement in 1975. I warned at that time that "The Shatt al-Arab dispute was settled, but the conflict will continue," realizing that the Iraqi acceptance of the *thalweg* line (deep navigable channel) in the river in return for the Iranian withdrawal of support from the Kurdish insurgents reflected a momentary *quid pro quo* without adequate safeguards against future spillover effects of the underlying power rivalry on border relations. The Iraqis have claimed that it was the Shah's government that first failed to return Iraqi territories under the terms of the agreement, and that the revolutionary regime followed suite.

The more important point, however, is that

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never before this war had mutual ambitions for power between the two countries resulted in an "all-out" war of any kind, let alone one that is marked, as the current war is, with such massive bloodshed, untold destructiveness, and stubborn persistence. Past power struggles had always resulted in border skirmishes, and once in 1974 when these threatened a full-scale war both parties backed off from brinkmanship. Even the eruption of the revolution did not embitter their relations overnight; Prime Minister Bazargan got along rather well with Hussein of Iraq. But after the seizure of power by the more doctrinaire revolutionaries (November 6, 1979), the old power contest returned with renewed vengeance. The revolutionaries, to be sure, rejected Iran's role as "the American policeman" in the Gulf, but by no means did they scoff at Iran's ancient claim to political primacy in the region. As a matter of fact, that claim was intensified by Iran's new crusade for ideological superiority.

Saddam Hussein, on the Iraqi side, saw in the fall of the Shah and Bazargan both an unprecedented opportunity for and a threat to his regime: An opportunity to project power into the perceived vacuum in the Gulf, purportedly on behalf of the "Arab Nation" at a time when Egypt happened to be isolated because of the peace treaty with Israel; a threat because of the fear of potential contagion of Khomeini's Islamic Revolution in Iraq itself, most particularly among the Shia majority of the population.

There has been much talk about the use of the war for power consolidation within Iran, but the point has been exaggerated. First, the revolutionary government did not start the war in order to cynically use it to consolidate its political control. It has used it subsequently, to be sure, but

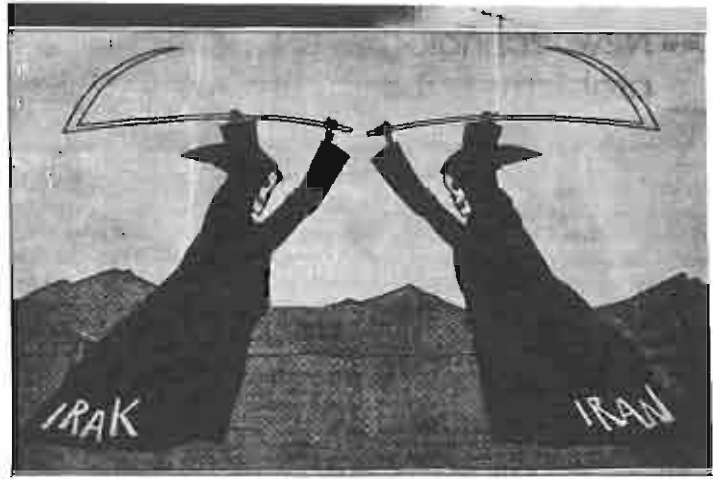


The war between Iraq and Iran "... is already the longest, bloodiest, and the costliest war in the contemporary history of The Middle East." A view from a residential area of Abadan in southern Iran. (AP)

not so simply as many seem to believe; any desire to keep the military busy on the war fronts must be balanced against the increasing unpopularity of the war. Second, this notion of sheer instrumentality of the war can hardly begin to explain the extremely complex reasons for its obduracy. Besides the mutually exclusive ambitions for power just outlined, there are other far more complicated reasons for the start and the stubborn continuation of the war, including mutually antagonistic ideological orientations between the two regimes.

II

Khomeini says he believes Iran is fighting "in the defense of Islam." In Iran alone, he claims, a "government of God" has been established under the rule of a *faqih* (Islamic jurisprudent), a unique government that is paving the way for the ultimate establishment of "the Islamic world order" (my coinage) by the *Mahdi* (Messiah) who shall appear (*zuhur*) to create perfect justice (*adl*) throughout the world. As such, Iran is so far the only state in the world whose boundaries truly coincide with those of "the abode of Islam" (*dar al-Islam*) and hence its defensive war (*jang-e defa'i*) is a defense of Islam. Furthermore, since Iraq "imposed the war" (*jang-e tahmili*) on Iran, Iran must fight to the finish (*fath-e naha'i*). All other Muslim states—had they been good enough—should have joined Iran against Saddam Hussein in order to punish him until he obeyed God. The Holy Qur'an, Khomeini says, prescribes that "if one tribe invades the other than all others are obliged to defend the latter



in war, until they obey God. Once they obey God, then make peace with him" (*wa in ta'afatin min al-mu'minin'iqtilu, fa'iqtilu tabqhi hata taf'i ila 'amr allah*).

Iraq has been waging the war "in the defense of the Arab Nation," says Hussein, although except for him, the world seems to believe that he started the war. The controversy aside, Hussein was *ideologically* on the defensive long before the war broke out. As an heir to Michel 'Aflaq's Ba'athism, he, like other Ba'athists, places "Arabism" at the center of his nationalist socialists, and secularist ideology, but as a son of Iraq, unlike other Ba'athists, his version of that ideology is saturated with antagonism toward Khomeini's Islam; he asserts flatly that since the Islamic Revolution seems to contradict "Arabism" it is not an Islamic revolution at all. Second, Hussein also regards his "Arabism" as antithetical to Iranian nationalism, which he repeatedly characterizes as both "racist" and "imperialist." No wonder he terms his war the second battle of Qaddisiya, the first one having been fought by the Arabs against the Persians in 637 A.D. And third, to Hussein the Arab claim to Islam is far superior to Iran's, a view that is paraded today not merely as a means of placating the Arab Shi'a as well as Sunni dissident opposition to his regime, but one that is historically shared among the Arabs.

Mutual ideological hostility goes deeper than the clash between Khomeini's Islam and Hussein's Arabism; it is essentially a collision between two diverse conceptions of life, one religious and the other secular. Hussein is as dogmatic in his insistence on secularism as is Khomeini on

religion. To be sure, Khomeini has insisted inflexibly on the removal of Hussein as the principal condition for peace, in keeping with his doctrinal tenets mentioned above, but Hussein has no monopoly on ideological flexibility, even though he now says he wants a negotiated settlement. He started the war in the first place, and there was no real sign of flexibility before the tide of war turned against him, about one and a half years after the start of the war. The interjection of mutually rigid and antagonistic ideologies into the armed conflict may partly explain the persistence, the brutality and the destructiveness of this war, as each side seems to believe that it is fighting for a sacred mission whether it is essentially religious or secular in nature. As if this is not serious enough an obstacle in the way of ending the war, each regime has also done its level best to use the people of the other side to subvert its adversary.

III

Iran and Iraq also clash sociopolitically. Iraq has tried to incite the Arabic-speaking Iranians of Khuzistan, and Iran has tried to do the same with the Iraqi Shi'as. The latter has proved to be a more durable phenomenon. Ideologically, Khomeini's Islam is for all Muslims; it is "ecumenical" as well as universal, and hence the division between the Sunni and Shi'a Muslims is the artificial creation of the superpowers as a means of weakening Islamic solidarity. The same is true about Hussein's Arabism, that too is an all-encompassing ideology that downplays the Sunni-Shi'a division for the sake of "Arab unity," but it plays up the cause of the Arabic-speaking Iranians. The combination of the fact that Khomeini's Islam is that of a Shi'a Muslim, is backed officially by the power of a Shi'a state, and is militantly committed to the export of the Islamic Revolution, with the fact that Hussein's Ba'athism is the official ideology of a Sunni-dominated Arab state in a predominantly Shi'a-populated country (60%), makes the Shi'a question a matter of serious contestation between the two countries. The fact that the Shi'as of Iraq did not rise up *en masse* in response to Khomeini's call on all Iraqi masses to revolt against Hussein does not make the Shi'a dissidents any less of a perceived threat to Hussein's regime, or any less of a useful tool in the hands of his Iranian foes.

Shia dissidence is as old as Iraq's history, and long before that it had often been a major political problem in the predominantly Sunni Arab and Ottoman societies, but historically whenever that fact has been combined with the adoption of Shiism as the official creed of Iran the entire region has been convulsed. Such a combination first shocked the area at the turn of the sixteenth century when the Safavid dynasty took up the banner of Shiism. Not only did the Sunni Sultan declare war (1514) on the Shia Shah as the region's "perjurer and blasphemer . . . in the defense of religion," but also, the historian tells us, 4,000 Shias "were slain, and the rest were condemned to perpetual imprisonment." Now, as then, the Shia "fifth columnists" are feared as a dangerous threat to the region's Sunni rulers, and now, as then, Iran uses Shia dissidents against its perceived adversaries.

Iran today not only gives refuge to hundreds of thousands of Iraqi Shia dissidents, but also trains, equips, and dispatches many of these *mujahidin* (warriors) to the war front with Iraq. Iran does not, of course, manufacture Iraqi Shia dissidents, but it uses them, just as they use Iran's support for their ends. *Al-Dawa*, the leading Iraqi Shia dissident party, was created by the Iraqis themselves after the Iraqi Revolution in 1958, according to Mehdi al-Hakim, one of the sons of the founder of the party, but Iran today is the principal supporter of this underground party. Hojatalislam Muhammad Baqir al-Hakim, another son of the founder of *al-Dawa*, leads the Iran-based "Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq" (SAIRI), and if the opportunity comes this group will be the one to try to establish an Islamic Republic in Iraq similar to Iran's. SAIRI enjoys Khomeini's unreserved support; he told its members in 1983, for example, "you should aim to form an Islamic government and to implement God's commands. God willing, you will be successful . . . you will return to Iraq, where we too will join you in the shrine of Imam Husayn, peace upon him . . ."

IV

Finally, one may examine the underlying conflicts of the war from yet another perspective, that of the political culture. One of the most frequently observed traits within Middle Eastern political cultures, including Arab and Iranian, is the propensity of leaders to set unattainable

goals and adopt inappropriate means. From such a perspective Hussein's decision to start the war in September 1980—whether for projecting the Iraqi power into the Gulf region, or containing the Iranian Revolution, or defending the "Arab Revolution"—was in keeping with that historically demonstrated predisposition. The Syrian fellow-Baathists and the Egyptian Nasserites, for example, had done the same in 1967. They also "blundered" into what proved to be a "disastrous" war, reflecting what my Arab colleague Constantine Zurayk suggested at the time—an underlying "cultural crisis" (*marakat al-hadarah*).

The same could be said about the Iranian decision to carry the war into Iraqi territory in July 1982; the Iranian leaders also set an unrealistic goal, whether they aimed at "defending Islam," "pursuing the aggressor" (*taqib-i mute javez*), or exporting the revolution. They were following the cultural pattern that has bedeviled Iranian foreign policy-makers over the past half a millenium, including the Shah whose "Great Civilization" aimed at making Iran, within years, one of the great economic and military powers of the entire world.

What lies beneath such a propensity, one may speculate, is a deep-rooted psychocultural frustration, a frustration arising from repeated and accumulated past failures in actual historical circumstances. In other words, the tendency to set unrealistic goals is a way to escape from reality, whether the goal is said to be an "Arab Revolution" or an "Islamic Revolution." From such a perspective, the war really reflects something other than the mutual power, ideological and sociopolitical conflicts discussed so far. It reflects a deep-felt mutual sense of frustration with the failure of Arab and Iranian leaders to cope with reality, including the abiding popular Arab and Iranian demand for justice (*al-adl*). In psychological terms, then, the war may be said to reflect mutual "displaced aggression," "displaced" because each combatant is in fact unhappy with itself, but is taking it out on the other side.

V

Whichever of these perspectives on the underlying conflicts may lead us closer to the "truth," none suggests that the war was either inevitable in the first place or is interminable now. Mutual power strife, ideological enmity, or

any other kind of conflict, do not condemn the combatants to perpetual war; those who make wars can end them. At the moment, some observers find the so-called "nature of the Khomeini regime" impossible, while others blame the unnegotiability of the war on the regime's "fanaticism." Given this analysis, both these views are extremely simplistic. Furthermore, not long ago, for 444 days similar stereotypes were in vogue about the seeming interminability of the hostage crisis. It was, however, the Iranian initiative that led to a negotiated settlement, one that is to date considered by the hardliners in Iran as a complete "sellout" to the Americans. At the time, one of the Iranian leaders averred

Whatever its causes and functions, the war is not very popular today in either Iraq or Iran.

that the hostage crisis, "like an orange," had been squeezed dry and should be thrown away. Whatever its causes and functions, the war is not very popular today in either Iraq or Iran. Both regimes are long overdue in delivering what they seem to have repeatedly promised their people—a better Arab or Islamic way of life. The "government of the oppressed," Khomeini keeps promising, will help the poor masses to "inherit the earth." The continuation of the war is not the road to that end; it is, rather, slaughtering most numerous the "disinherited" (*musta zafin*) poor urban and rural masses.

Whatever may explain the war, it must end; if not terminated by the combatants themselves, then by that euphemistic, neglectful entity called the "international community," a community that failed to behave impartially and effectively in the first days of the war, and even worse, a community that still fails to act by hiding behind sanctimonious resolutions without sanctions. It should try to compel the warring parties—if it continues to fail to persuade them to negotiate a peaceful settlement—by imposing real sanctions. And no less important, it should take imaginative leadership in aiding both combatants in the formidable and urgent task of postwar reconstruction and development in the interest of humanity as well as international peace and security.

Assyrian Studies

ANALYSIS OF MILITARY TITLES AND FUNCTIONS IN PUBLISHED TEXTS OF THE OLD BABYLONIAN PERIOD

Order No. DA8222517

VOTH, STEVEN MARK, PH.D. *Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion (Ohio)*, 1982. 260pp.

This study analyzes the military titles and functions in the documents of the Old Babylonian period (1900-1600 B.C.E.). As such it represents a systematic study of the Old Babylonian military structure in Babylonia proper. Peripheral areas such as Mari, Elam and the Diyala are considered only for purposes of comparison and contrast.

The titles that have been treated most extensively are AGA.UŠ, ŠU.ĤA, NU.BANDA, PA.PA, UGULA MAR.TU, DUMU.Ē.DUB.BA, and ERĪN. The following are some of the conclusions that emerged as a result of this study.

The Old Babylonian documents containing the title AGA.UŠ reveal that the bearer of this title was involved in a wide range of activities. He was not merely a common soldier. The AGA.UŠ performs policeman type activities, is involved in legal proceedings, and many times acts as the king's representative. Moreover, it has been determined that the AGA.UŠ is always in one way or another employed or responsible to the military.

Regarding the SU.ĤA it has become evident that their role as soldiers is not well attested. The ŠU.ĤA appear to be primarily fishermen who have certain military responsibilities. The NU.BANDA on the other hand, operates in two spheres. He appears as a military officer who commands groups of AGA.UŠ and ŠU.ĤA, but also acts as an overseer in the agricultural sphere. In both areas the NU.BANDA is a lower-echelon overseer.

Regarding the PA.PA, the documentary evidence reveals that he was quite an important military official. He participates in decision making processes within the military sphere and is seen to hold the office for life. As such the PA.PA represents the stable element within the military structure. Moreover, it appears that the title itself is restricted to the military sphere. The UGULA MAR.TU represents the highest ranking military official. The office was held by several men at the same time and for periods of one year or more.

The final chapter presents an extensive analysis of the military hierarchy that incorporates other titles such as PA/šāpir AGA.UŠ and PA ŠU.ĤA. In addition, the author suggests that there may be a level of rank higher than the UGULA MAR.TU.

STUDIES IN LEGAL SYMBOLIC ACTS IN MESOPOTAMIAN LAW

Order No. DA8406694

MALUL, MEIR, PH.D. *University of Pennsylvania*, 1983. 649pp.

Supervisor: Barry L. Eichler

There has been until now no major and comprehensive study of the phenomenon of legal symbolism in ancient Mesopotamian law. The available studies have been unsystematic and lack clear and defined methodology in the study of legal symbolism.

The present study is a preliminary step toward a comprehensive study of legal symbolism in Mesopotamian law. It offers a model of analysis of symbolic acts which includes definitions and criteria for isolating and identifying symbolic acts on three levels: Morphology (the form of the symbolic act), Semantics (the legal meaning of the symbolic act), and Etymology (the symbolic meaning of the symbolic act). This model of analysis has been applied to a large sample of Mesopotamian symbolic acts from four legal categories: Law of Person, Law of Obligation, Law of Conveyance, and Law of Procedure.

Following this model of analysis it has been possible to identify symbolic acts as such and to delineate them from other written modes of expression such as technical expressions, legal figures of speech, and remarks alluding to technical acts.

The sample of symbolic acts analyzed in this study exhibits some general patterns pertaining to the phenomenon of legal symbolism in general, such as the type of relation between the symbol and symbolized, the source of the constitutive legal power of symbolic acts, the relative importance of symbolic acts and written documents, and the symbolic conceptualization of legal relationship by the Mesopotamians. These general patterns have been presented in a summary fashion in the final chapter of the study together with some suggestions for future research.

STUDIES IN AKKADIAN INFLUENCES IN THE BOOK OF EZEKIEL

Order No. DA8406496

GARFINKEL, STEPHEN PAUL, PH.D. *Columbia University*, 1983. 221pp.

This dissertation attempts to advance an understanding of the book of Ezekiel, with the added possibility of shedding light on the provenience of authorship. The work begins with an introduction, outlining previous work on the topic of Akkadian influences in Ezekiel.

Since most of the earlier studies merely provide lists of presumed Akkadianisms in the book, Chapter 1 evaluates over seventy of the Akkadian etymologies which have been proposed in the past; it deals only with words or phrases unique to Ezekiel. Based on the biblical and Akkadian contexts, each etymological entry is rated as being in one of the following categories: (1) Definite; (2) Probable; (3) Possible; (4) Improbable; (5) Impossible. The chapter includes a chart summarizing the findings of the discussion section.

The following two chapters analyze Akkadian influence of a different type. Both chapters consider examples of a broader impact, deriving from the likelihood of Ezekiel's familiarity with Akkadian literature, given his prophetic and priestly roles. Chapter 2 suggests that in his commission (2:6), the prophet used the image of "briers and scorpions" as a sign indicating security, not danger. This interpretation is based upon a comparison of the biblical text with the Akkadian *Maqlû*. Chapter 3 suggests that the pericope of the prophet's dumbness (3:22-27) need not be taken as a reflection of his physical or psychological state, but that it may be modeled after Akkadian incantation texts.

The Conclusion outlines the implications of the individual word studies in conjunction with the examples of literary influence which were examined. The results support the probability of an exilic provenience. The Conclusion also offers other prospects for further research on the topic of Akkadian influences in Ezekiel.

AKKADIAN AND UGARITIC LEXICOGRAPHY: A COMPARATIVE INQUIRY

Order No. DA8405018

MERLIS, MARK AARON, PH.D. *Yeshiva University*, 1983. 109pp.

The purpose of this work will be to elucidate problematical Ugaritic vocables through the use of the Akkadian lexicon. Although scholars have utilized other Semitic tongues in attempts to explain difficult Ugaritic words, the two most popular languages for this exercise have been Hebrew and Arabic. I feel that Akkadian should be used to at least the same degree, if not to a greater one, than the above mentioned languages. The temporal element alone is enough to justify this assertion. Akkadian was the "lingua franca" of the Near East at the time the Ugaritic texts were written, i.e., the 14th and 13th centuries B.C.E. As is well known, texts in the Akkadian language have been found at Ugarit. There obviously must have been significant intercourse between speakers of Ugaritic and Akkadian.

The first step is to identify Ugaritic words of obscure or unclear meaning. There follows an analysis of the uncertainty surrounding the word and a discussion of previous suggestions made by scholars in the field. A search is then made of the Akkadian lexicon to find a cognate word related etymologically and perhaps with parallel semantic development. The meaning of this Akkadian word should be well established and several passages illustrating the meaning will be cited. Preferably, the word should be attested in Akkadian texts dating from the era of the Ugaritic texts, i.e. OB, SB, MA, MB, Amarna and be found in a context similar to that of the Ugaritic. We are not necessarily positing a direct Akkadian-Ugaritic connection, wherefore other Semitic languages such as Hebrew and Aramaic will be examined for cognates to elucidate the history of the word and its position among the Semitic tongues. The acid test of our suggested meaning will come when we go back to the Ugaritic text or texts and see if it fits the context. The following Ugaritic words formed the core of this study: ḥswn, t'n, ḏrqm, ḥpšt, ḥrs, ḥr.

Books In Review

Walter SELB, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht. Band 1, Die Geschichte des Kirchenrechts der Nestorianer (von den Anfängen bis zur Mongolenzeit)*. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, Band 1; Wien, 1981). Pp. 234. Price: DM 46.

The extensive literature on ecclesiastical law produced by the various oriental Christian churches has tended to be neglected by all but a select number of specialists in canon law whose linguistic competence is equal to the demands of these intricate, and usually interrelated, bodies of literature. This is unfortunate since these—to the outsider, forbidding—texts have much of interest to offer to the historian (social and economic, as well as ecclesiastical) and even to the anthropologist.

In contrast to that of some other oriental churches, the relevant literature produced by the Church of the East (the so-called Nestorian Church) has been comparatively well served by modern scholars, and, prior to the present work, a good overall survey of the material was available in J. Dauvillier's long article 'chaldéen (droit)' in the *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*. Since the publication of this in 1942, however, a considerable amount of further work has been done on the subject, notably by H. Kaufhold and by Selb himself.

The first part of the book deals with introductory questions and a survey of the sources; most important among the latter is the vast Synodicon compiled in the first half of the eleventh century by the patriarch Elias. This is a work which incorporates not only the 'western' (i.e. Greek) and 'eastern' (i.e. Persian) synods (the latter familiar from Chabot's edition in *Synodicon Orientale*), but also three recensions of the Syro-Roman Law Book (the texts edited by Sachau in *Syrische Rechtsbücher*), and various treatises, mainly on marriage and inheritance, from the Islamic period, not to mention various miscellaneous texts such as the famous Chronicle on the end of the Sasanids edited by Guidi (CSCO, Ser. Syri 1-2). Besides Elias' Synodicon the early tenth to late thirteenth centuries witnessed the production of various compendia of canon law by Elias al-Jauhari, Gabriel of Basra (the extant fragments of whose work have recently been published by Kaufhold), Ibn al-Taiyib (whose Arabic *Fiqh an-Najrāniya* was edited by Hoernerbach and Spies in CSCO, Ser. Arabici 16-19), and 'Abdīsho' bar Brika whose *Nomocanon* or *Collectio Canonum-Synodiconum* was edited and translated by Mai, and *Ordo Iudiciorum Ecclesiasticorum* translated by Vosté).

In the much longer second half, entitled 'Äussere Rechtsgeschichte und Institutionengeschichte', Selb discusses the contents of these works, treating them diachronically, with separate chapters devoted to the Sasanid and Arab periods. There is much that is of wider interest here, in particular the chronology given for the incorporation of the 'western' (Greek) synods into the Synodicon of the Persian Church. A tantalizing passing remark attributes the Syriac translation of the Didascalia (never incorporated in the Eastern Synodicon) to Jacob of Edessa: Selb simply follows Hage's entry in the *Kleines Wörterbuch des christlichen Orients* for this late dating, which conflicts badly with the fourth century date recently re-asserted by Vööbus in his new edition of this important work (CSCO, Ser. Syri 173-6, 179-80); clearly a thorough examination of this question, which has some wider implications, needs to be undertaken.

Selb is perhaps at his weakest in this otherwise excellent book when dealing with the historical background to the synods of the Persian Church, and one misses references to various relevant works by Fiey, notably his *Jalons pour une histoire de l'église en Iraq* (CSCO, Subs. 310), and to Young's *Patriarch Shab and Caliph*, which, though a little uncritical, is a helpful work for English readers. Mention too might have been made of recent studies (notably by de Halleux in *Göttinger Orientalforschungen*, I. Reihe: Syriaca, Bd. 17) on the text of the Symbol in the Synod of 410, showing that the text of the East Syrian recension of this has undergone subsequent alteration, the original being preserved in the West Syrian tradition of this synod.

It is various aspects of the hierarchy that take up most of the discussion in this second part of the book. In passing it might be noted that the division of the clergy into three triads (pp. 203, 223), inspired by Ps. Dionysius' *Heavenly Hierarchy*, is still widely current, and features, for example, in *Assyrian Church Customs and the Murder of Mar Shimun* by that remarkable lady Surma d'Bair Mar Shimun (1920). Other main topics include marriage and property; works dealing with the administration of baptism and the eucharist are, however, not included, though Elias' Synodicon in fact contains one such text, in the form of questions and answers.

Selb ends his valuable survey with 'Abdīsho', and for subsequent developments in the history of this church Dauvillier's article remains probably the best guide. Everyone with an interest in the Eastern Churches will welcome the appearance of this fine book (two maps and good indices are also provided), and will eagerly await future volumes in the series.

SEBASTIAN BROCK

Grammatik der modernen assyrischen Sprache (Neuostaramäisch). By KONSTANTIN TSERETELI. Pp. 188. Leipzig: VEB VERLAG ENZYKLOPÄDIE. 1978.

The author of this work is one of the pioneers in the renewed interest in modern Syriac, with important studies to his credit in both Russian and Georgian as well as articles in English and German. His work includes grammatical studies, collections of materials for various dialects and a chrestomathy of the "modern Assyrian language." This is the name that Tsereteli has been using in his studies for this language, since it accords, as he says, with the usage widespread among its speakers. Others have preferred using such terms as modern or neo-Syriac, or neo-Aramaic for these and related dialects. The designation Neuostaramäisch in parenthesis is exact for Modern West Aramaic is the language used in Ma'lula and neighboring villages in Syria, where a dialect of Western Aramaic has maintained itself over the centuries. The use of Aramaic, rather than Syriac, has merit, since it is far from sure that these dialects are the descendants of Syriac as known to us from the literary language of the Syriac texts.

The book under review appeared first in 1964 in Russian as part of the useful series of language handbooks *Yazyki narodov Azii i Afriki*; it was then published in Italian translation in 1970 as *Grammatica di Assiro Moderno* (Napoli, 1970). As part of the series in which it first appeared the *Grammatik* does not pretend to be more than a sketch of the language dealt with, but the author has made use of the occasion of the German edition to introduce corrections and additions into the text and to take into consideration the expanded interest of recent years in these studies and to draw attention to them in his introduction. Thus the book is more useful than a simple sketch of the language would of necessity be.

The dialect dealt with is not the spoken dialect that the author has variously recorded and studied: the dialect of refugees from the Urmia area now residing in Georgia and Soviet Azerbaidjan. It is rather the literary dialect which emerged in the Urmia area in the last century and which achieved to a great extent general use. The journals and books published in Teheran (at least until the advent of Khomeini—I have not seen any journals which have appeared there subsequently) and in the "diaspora" communities—in the United States, and at present in Sweden and the Netherlands—are in this dialect. The Introduction outlines the present (as of 1975) disposition of the "Assyrians" in the Near East and refers to their presence in various cities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States. It also deals, briefly, with the history of the study of the modern Eastern Aramaic dialects and surveys what has been written up to 1976 about these dialects. The author was thus able to include in his note on p. 28 a reference to the translation into French, by Olga Kapeliuk of Q. J. Margulov's grammar written originally in modern "Assyrian" for the use of adult schools: *Grammaire néosyriaque pour écoles d'adultes* (Paris, 1976). One is surprised to find that the late Helmut Ritter's work on the Turoyo dialect (*Turoyo. Die Volksprache der syrischen Christen des Tur Abdin I-III*, Beirut, 1967-1971) is not mentioned in the text or the notes, or in the bibliography. The recent works of Yona Sabar on the Jewish dialects (*PeSA T WA YaHI BaSALLAH: A Neo-Aramaic Midrash on BeSallah. (Exodus)*, Wiesbaden, 1976) appeared too late for notice. It is a pity that the long promised grammar of the dialect spoken by the Jews of Zakho by H. J. Polotsky is not yet published.



The *Grammatik* is quite traditional in its structure: an introduction to the alphabet (pp. 29-33); phonetics (pp. 34-56); morphology (pp. 57-130); syntax (pp. 130-146); and lexicon (pp. 147-149—this deals with the varied nature of the vocabulary). The exposition is clear, and is supplemented by detailed paradigms. In an appendix (pp. 150-156) a fable is given as a "Textprobe." It is presented in a) unvocalized Nestorian Syriac script; b) vocalized text; c) transliteration; d) phonetic transcription; and e) translation followed by notes on the text. It is a pity that a few more pages were not devoted to additional texts. The final three elements of this work are: the bibliography (pp. 157-162); paradigms in Nestorian script (pp. 163-175) similar to those presented in Latin letters in the text; and detailed indexes (pp. 177-188).

It may not be amiss to mention here that the English reader will still find the *Grammar of the Modern Syriac Language* by D. T. Stoddard published in Vol. 5 of this journal (1855) useful; but Prof. Tsereteli's work will serve as an excellent introduction both for the student who wishes to pursue "modern Assyrian" more thoroughly and for the Semitist who wishes to acquaint himself with this still vital survival of the once widespread Aramaic language.

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The Old Testament in Syriac According to the Peshitta Version. Part IV, fascicle 3: Apocalypse of Baruch, —4 Esdras (Edited on behalf of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament by the Peshitta Institute, Leiden). Pp. iv+50; iv+50. Leiden: E. J. BRILL. 1973. Fl. 96.00.

The reviewer had not yet read proof of his review of the first volume of the Leiden Peshitta edition (Part IV, 6, cf. *JAOS* 94 (1974), 512f.) when this Part arrived. The editors are to be congratulated for their promptness and their appreciation of the basic need for proper Peshitta texts. With the growing interest in apocryphal and pseudepigraphic literature the importance of these texts cannot be exaggerated. The two texts published here have in common the important fact that the edition is based primarily on the sole extant manuscript—Milan, Ambrosian Lib., MS B 21 Inf. The two texts are found together in that MS. They have been available for a hundred years now in A. M. Ceriani's edition in *Monumenta sacra et profana*, Vol. V, fasc. 2 (Milan, 1871) and a photographic reproduction of the manuscript was issued by Ceriani in *Translatio Syra Pescillo Veteris Testamenti* (Milan, 1876-1881).

The editors of these texts, S. Dederling and R. J. Bidawid respectively, have restudied the MS at Milan and were able to determine such matters as erasures and corrections. The Apocalypse of Baruch has been subject to intensive study recently as part of the revival of interest in such texts and P. Bogaert has devoted two volumes to the *Apocalypse de Baruch* (Sources Chrétiennes, vols. 144-145, Paris, 1969). Scholars have relied in recent years on Kinosh's 1907 edition of the text in the *Patrologia Syriaca* (I ii). Dederling informs us that this edition is "of less authority than generally assumed." Dederling, beside reviewing the text directly, has also used a few Jacobite lectionaries for portions of the text. The editor has included in the text some of the emendations proposed over the years by various scholars because of the difficulty of the Syriac version, essentially the sole witness to this Apocalypse. The emendations are properly marked while others not included are collected on pp. 46-50 of this edition.

Bishop Bidawid, in the "sample edition" published in 1966, has already presented 4 Esdras in a preliminary edition. It may be best to quote the editor as to the differences between the two editions: "a) a fresh revision of the basic text; b) a more consistent and concise presentation of the evidence in the first critical apparatus; c) the inclusion of the evidence of MS 1515; d) the adoption of a greater number of emendations suggested by previous scholars in accordance with the wish to provide a Syriac text that make sense—which does not necessarily mean 'good' or 'excellent' sense. For the same reason several of the emendations incorporated in the first edition have now been discarded." It is good that textual orthodoxy has not spread to Syriac texts and that sensible contextual emendation is treated seriously. Here too a collection of proposed emendations are offered (pp. 48-50). The editors have acquitted themselves well and deserve our thanks.

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Neusyrische Chrestomathie. By R. MACUCH AND E. PANOUSSI. Pp. xxix + 244. (Porta Linguarum Orientalium, N.S. XIII). Wiesbaden: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ. 1974. DM 36.00.

Neo-Aramaic, as well as other vernacular Semitic dialects, has been considered until very recently a step child of Semitic studies. The main interest has been in the ancient classical Semitic languages, i.e., Biblical Hebrew, Old Aramaic, Akkadian, Old Ethiopic (Ge'ez) and Classical Arabic. However, recently the study of the colloquial Semitic dialects, such as the various dialects of Arabic, Ethiopic (Amharic, Tigré, etc.), Neo-Aramaic and Modern Israeli Hebrew, has gained a serious impetus resulting in quite a few publications. These include texts (recorded speech, tales, folksongs, proverbs, etc.) as well as linguistic descriptions of various individual dialects. Some of the dialects have developed a literary or semi-literary style of their own, which has been used in writing for various purposes, such as Bible translations, newspapers, personal and communal correspondence. This is especially true regarding Jewish and Christian Neo-Aramaic. Since the former will be handled in my forthcoming book, *A Neo-Aramaic Homily on Bašallah (Exodus)*, I will not dwell on it here. As for the latter, texts, mainly in the Christian dialect of Urmi, have been appearing in print since ca. 1850 (thanks to the pioneering work of American and British missionaries, such as Stoddard and Maclean) to the present day in Iran, the USSR and the USA.

The present chrestomathy has been preceded by two other recent chrestomathies, all three mainly on the Urmi dialect, one by K. G. Cereteli (1958), with a glossary in Russian, and the other by E. Cerulli and F. A. Pennachietti (1971), with a glossary in Italian. R. Macuch, who is well known for his pioneering thorough studies on Old and Modern Mandaic, aptly joined here with a native speaker of Neo-Syriac, E. Panoussi, in preparation of this chrestomathy.

As Macuch indicates in the preface, the texts are literary or semi-literary selections from Neo-Syriac periodicals, appearing in Iran and America between 1848-1970 (pp. 141-214), giving more space to the more recent times. While most of the texts are in the Urmi (Iran) dialect, a very few are in the Alqoš (Iraq) dialect. They all have been reprinted from copies of the very neat handwriting of E. Panoussi, whose mother tongue is the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Sanandağ (Iran, south of Urmi).



In the glossary (pp. 1-137), in contrast to the texts which are in the Syriac script, the words appear, for practical reasons, in Latin transliteration, often followed by a wide phonetic transcription in square brackets. The lexical items are arranged according to the Syriac alphabet. The listing of verbs according to their root, e.g., DGL, DUR, rather than the active participle, i.e., *mdāgil* (Macleon) or the infinitive, i.e., *(m)daḡūle* (Oraham), is most desirable and quite efficient. The difficult forms of the weak verbs with prefixes are taken care of by a cross-reference, e.g., *kūden* "s. 'VD u. k-." Also, reference to philological literature, as well as the original language (Old Syriac, Arabic, Persian, etc.) of each item, is given.

The glossary is preceded by an introduction which includes: (a) A sketch of the peculiarities of the Syriac script and its phonetic value, (b) rules and guidelines for the transliteration and the phonetic transcription (as well as two pages of parallel text samples in both), (c) a brief sketch of the verbal morphology and the tense-aspect system, (d) an almost complete and up-dated bibliography of Neo-Aramaic dialects in European languages. Missing are some recent publications on Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialects, especially those by Akio Nakano (Tokyo), books and articles in English and one in Japanese) and J. J. Rivlin (Jerusalem, in Hebrew). Also, the indication of one reference or two is inaccurate. The reference to Friedrich's article "Das Neusyrische als Typus..." should specify *Sez. Linguistica*.

It is hoped that similar chrestomathies for the other Jewish and Christian Neo-Aramaic dialects, especially the hitherto little known dialects of Iraqi Kurdistan, will be published. For, while the Iranian-Turkish Eastern Neo-Aramaic dialects (Urmī, Tūrōyo groups) and the Syrian Western Neo-Aramaic dialects (Ma'lūla group) have been quite fortunate regarding published material, the various Jewish and Christian Neo-Aramaic dialects of Iraqi Kurdistan have been only scantily studied.

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LOS ANGELES

Aspects of Old Assyrian Trade and its Terminology. By K. R. VEENHOF. Pp. xxvii + 487. *Studia et Documenta ad Iura orientis antiqui pertinentia*. Vol. X. Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1972. Fl. 80.00.

As indicated by the title it is especially the terminology of the Old Assyrian merchants with which the author deals in order to gain insights into the working of their business. The intricacies of this terminology have confused scholars in many instances as can be seen from the numerous cases where the author is able to correct translations given by the new dictionaries *CAD* and *AH*. The necessity to discuss the termini at length made it difficult to organize the book so as to be easily readable; for the patient reader, however, it proves fascinating to follow the careful and imaginative investigations of the author. From the many precisely analysed details emerges in fact a coherent picture of the Old Assyrian trade.

The author begins with "the donkeys and their loads" where he discusses the way a load was made up, normally of tin and textiles, and the standard measures for these two types of merchandise shipped from Aššur to Anatolia. In an appendix he gives a table showing the composition of caravans. The second part concentrates on textiles which were in most cases produced in Aššur by the wives of the merchants, but also imported from other countries, mainly Babylonia. In addition, the merchants participated in the trade with Anatolian textiles and locally produc-

ed wool inside Anatolia. It is shown that the textile trade was probably the most profitable part of the business of the Old Assyrian merchants (p. 87). The many names of textiles are then treated and possible meanings proposed though many uncertainties have to remain here due to lack of information. After the discussion of the "scale of qualities" of textiles comparison is made with the terminology of other periods, especially Ur III. Then follows an investigation of the taxes and payments described by the difficult word *dātum* and of other taxes connected with it. By careful observations the author arrives at the conclusion (p. 289), that *dātum* has two different meanings: "a) a tax or toll, met by caravans travelling from Aššur to Anatolia, and paid *en route* by the leader of the caravan from his loose tin; its rate fluctuated around roughly 10% of the value of the load for the whole trip; and b) a deposit or investment in the *bit kārīm* securing those who made it a share in the collective commercial undertakings of the *kārum*; the amount was expressed in silver, but not necessarily paid in that valuta, and fluctuated without observable pattern." Having shown the heavy burden that taxes and tolls must have constituted for the Old Assyrian merchants, the author turns to the way used to avoid these taxes, smuggling. Obviously this was quite a normal way to save money, and there is even a text which could be called a smuggling contract (p. 313f.). The concluding part deals with the terminology of buying and selling and thereby with the problem of the existence of "markets" and "money" in Old Assyrian times. Both have been denied by historians of economics who however had only limited material at their disposal. As the author shows by his study of the expressions involved, there were markets in existence (p. 355ff.), and silver did function as money (p. 349ff.). A chapter on "some verbs with technical meanings" and one on the way to note prices, etc., conclude the text of the book. Very welcome finally are the indices, which include all those points of grammar and lexicon where the author offers additions and corrections to the dictionaries and to the recent study of Old Assyrian grammar by K. Hecker.

We congratulate K. R. Veenhof for this excellent piece of work.

HERMANN HUNGER
UNIVERSITY OF VIENNA

MESA

The Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association will be held November 28-December 1, 1984 at the Sheraton-Palace in San Francisco, California. The deadline for abstracts is April 16. Forms for the submission of papers may be obtained from the MESA secretariat: Middle East Studies Association; Department of Oriental Studies; University of Arizona; Tucson, Arizona 85721. (602) 621-5850.

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War Without Shooting

"CHICAGO," A VERY WELL-KNOWN magazine, wrote a six-page article in its April, 1984 issue about soccer in the city of Chicago and its metropolitan area. At the top of the teams, "CHICAGO" magazine wrote, is the ASSYRIAN WINGED BULLS. The article also contains spectacular color photos of the popular Assyrian team. A few highlights from this article and a photo:

"It is a crisp September afternoon and Winnemac Stadium, near Foster and Damen, is alive and buzzing with people. The old arena is packed to its 2,000-seat capacity. Kids dangle from the scoreboard, perch on walls and fences, crane for a better view. Laughter, scraps of chants, and a muffled drumbeat fill the air. The excited crowd has gathered to watch what for them is the biggest sporting event of the year. The World Series? No. The Super Bowl? Oh, No. The Assyrian Winged Bulls are playing Croats for the amateur National Soccer League's championship of Chicago.

The founding members of the NSL represented the city's earliest immigrants: the German Schwaben Club, the Italian Maroons (sponsored by Gonnella bread), the Jewish Maccabees, along with Swedes and others. Later, the league was filled out by Eastern European teams: Croats, Serbs, Poles, and Bohemians. In the 1960s, following the flood of Latin immigration, eight Mexican teams joined. And now The Assyrians.

The Winged Bulls, in bright-red uniforms, warm up on their half of the field. They speak in Aramaic, the language of Christ. The Assyrians are a non-Arab, Christian people who come from Iraq and parts of Iran, Syria, Turkey and Lebanon. The community in Chicago numbers around 38,000, the bulk of whom have come here since the early 1970s, when persecutions in Iraq forced many to flee.



Behind the players stand a group of Assyrian supporters. They all have jet-black hair and eyes. They, too, speak in Aramaic. More dark-haired men fill the stands. A group of strikingly beautiful women huddle along the front two rows of benches, explaining everything to one another. Daughters and grandmothers squeeze into the throng. We have never seen so many Assyrians in one place.

As the game ends, fans of both teams join the players on the field, shaking hands and offering congratulations. This is the essence of amateur sport. Everyone is involved; the community is part of the team. "It is a matter of pride, really. That's why the whole community supports us," said Steve Younan. "Back home in Iraq, we were discriminated against. We were pushed around. We could not prove our identity. Here we have freedom, it's a beautiful country. Soccer is one way

of telling people we are alive."

On March 24, 1984 a dance party was attended by hundreds of people to cheer the players and the team staff for their tremendous effort to make this team so successful. THE QUEST has learned that an exhibition game will be played this spring between the Assyrian Winged Bulls and the Chicago Sting (Chicago's professional soccer team) in a rematch of the first indoor game played between the two teams this winter.

The QUEST has learned that an exhibition match between the Assyrian Winged Bull and the Chicago Sting on April 27 resulted in a 2-1 victory for the Sting. The Assyrians exhibited brilliant teamwork and astounding defense strategy. The Sting is Chicago's only professional soccer team and is the 1981 All-American Champion of National Soccer League of U.S.A. and Canada.

THE ASSYRIAN QUEST

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8-12-84	Qurbana	9:00 a.m.	St. Mary's Departure (Dokhrana)
8-26-84			<u>Picnic</u>
9-9-84	Qurbana	9:00 a.m.	Feast of the Cross
9-23-84	Qurbana	9:00 a.m.	Mar Zia & Mar Bisho (Dokhrana)
10-6-84			<u>Church Building 25th Anniversary</u>
10-14-84	Qurbana	9:00 a.m.	His Holiness Consecration Day
11-14-84	Qurbana	9:00 a.m.	MAR GEWARGIS (Dokhrana)
12-2-84	Qurbana	9:00 a.m.	The advent
12-15-84			<u>Christmas Party-Church Hall</u>
12-25-84	Qurbana	9:00 a.m.	Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ Christmas Breakfast

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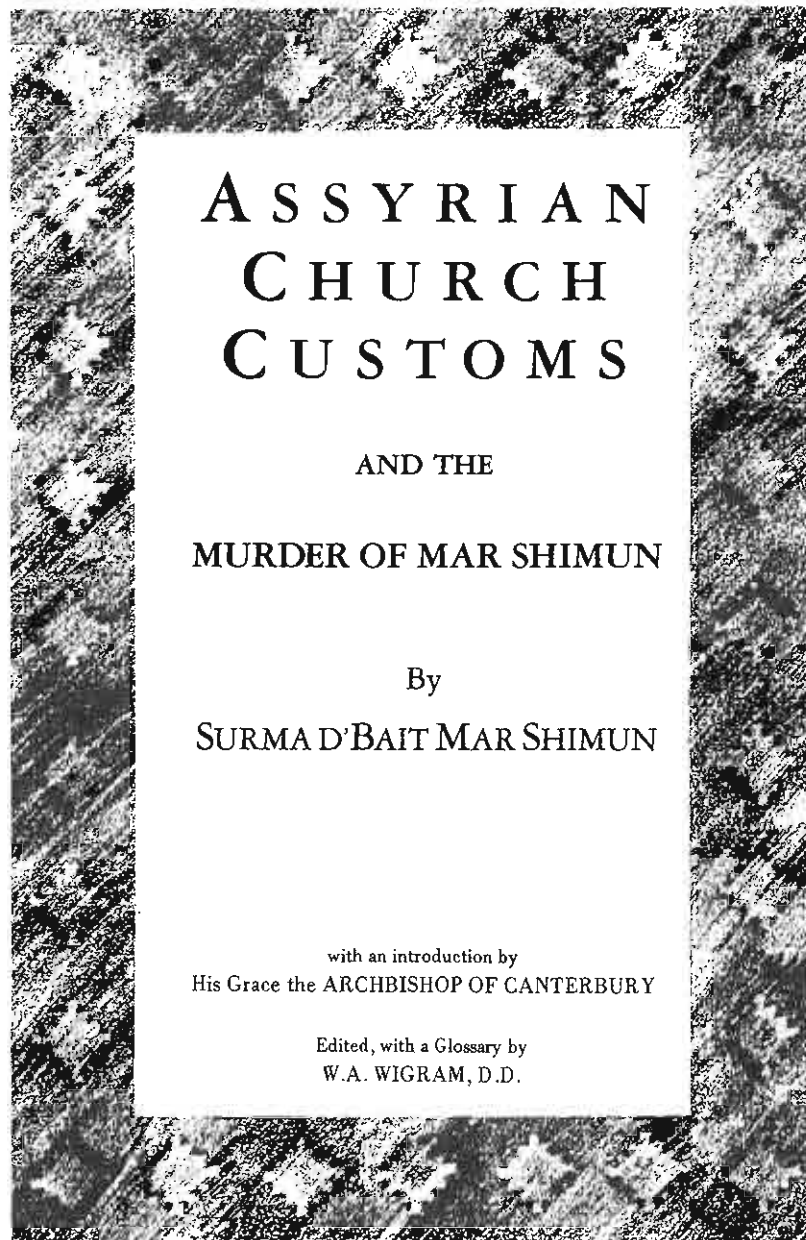
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الى متى لانشور

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فالى متى يبقى الانسان الاشوري في عقلية هذه ؟ الى متى التنافس الغريزي في جو من التقاليد و المفاهيم العفنة ؟ كفانا بكاء على مآسينا. كفانا قناعة بحكم القدر و القادر. السى متى سيظل هذا الشعب مشردا يتيما يعمى تحت رحمة القدر ؟ متخلفا تقتله أمراض نفسية تتضاعف و تنشط كل يوم الى متى سنظل غير مدركين أن هنالك ايدولوجية علمية تحول الخراف السى شور ؟

ان عيشنا كشعب تحت أنظمة سياسية رجعية ديكتاتورية قاسية جعلت من الفرد الاشوري انسانا فارغا ذو تفكير سطحي يرسخ للعبودية. ويخاف من أخيه الانسان. يؤمن بحكم القادر و يعتبر الثورة على المفاهيم العتيبة و التقاليد البالية كفرا و زندقه.

ها اولاد الافاعي الى متى سنكون فنوعين ؟ الى متى لا نشور على كل عتيق نصح أخطانا و نهبذ حكامنا الظالمين ؟ كفانا عجره بأموالنا و مجوهراتنا المزيفة. حتى اطفالنا اشما زوا من انانيتنا و من زنا عقليتنا الخرفة.

من فرديتنا و حتى من راشتنا العفنة حرام أن نفرس في عقول اولادنا كسل خرافتنا.

لننظر. للنظر الى عالم اليوم والمستقبل بعقلية علمية و لننشئ جيلا آشوريا شائرا ليستعيد ما سلب منا. عما نوئل هيناور

حَلِمْتُ يَوْمًا

في ليلة السابع من الشهر الماضي حلمت حلمًا جميلًا لذيذاً، استيقظت على أثره فرحاً جذاً متفائلاً. وأخذت أنظر حولي وأنا مذمور ومتحفظ من أن يكون هذا الحلم كنيره من الأحلام يذهب فوراً مع اليقظة وكأنه لم يكن.

حلمت بأن هذه الأمواج من الهجرة والتشرد والتفتت للعائلات والشعب قد توقفت نهائياً، وأن الأمور قد اصطلحت في أوطاننا وتم الاعتراف بنا، وتوفرت الأعمال لجميعنا وتواجدت الحريات والمساواة للجميع بدون أي تمييز للقومية والدين، وانفتحت الأبواب على مصاريعها أمام المهاجرين للعودة من جديد إلى ديارهم وهم أكثر حزمًا وتفاؤلاً وحباً بتمعيم البلاد في جو من التأخي بين الجميع.

وقد سألت وأنا أحلم من الذي يتم بالتصديق لمثل هذا العمل الانساني والوطني الكبير، بحيث توفرت الأعمال والحريات والمساواة للجميع، وانعدمت النعرات الدينية ولم يبق محتاج ولا مظلوم لأن الظلام قد انتهبوا والحيوانات المفترسة قد هلك، وحل محل التآحر القومي والديني-الوطن والخبز والعمل والحريّة للجميع. فلا قومية كبيرة ولا صغيرة ولا مُستثنى ولا مُستثنى، واختار أن الناس من جميع الفئات في الوطن قد حصلوا جميعاً على حقوقهم.

الا اني في تلك اللحظة كنت قد استلمت كتاباً من اهلي يريدون التقدم اليها، لان شيئاً من الحريات لم يتحقق، وأن المظلم بقي مظلوماً وأن حبل الهجرة على الجرار.

نعدت الى حقيقتي وأنا لا اعرف ماذا اعمل. وتركت الامر الى حلم آخر لعله يصيح واقعا. فنظرت من حولي وأنا وحدي لا اعرف من اين ابدأ والى اين انتهي.

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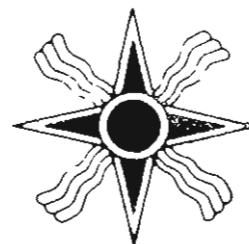
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The above addresses are from Hujada, Sep. 1, 1983

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