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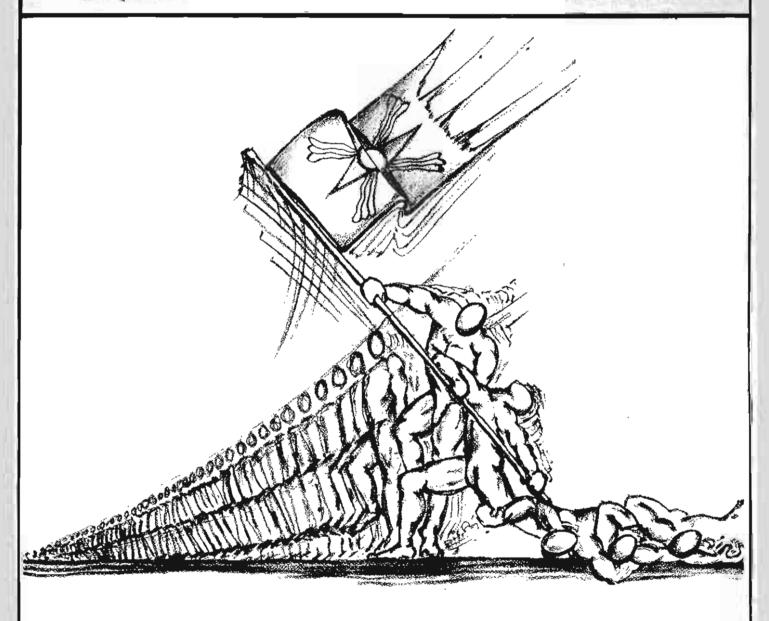
Dedicated to the

Advancement of Education
of Assyrians

First Quarter 1985



Volume 8 No. 1





First Quarter 1985

VOLUME 8

NO. 1

EDITORIAL STAFF

POLICY

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

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

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ADDRESS LETTERS TO

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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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Letters to the Editor

Dear Sir:

I write to thank you for sending me *Nineveh*, Volume 7, No. 2, containing my article on "Assyrian Prisoners of War and the Right to Live."

I was very impressed with *Nineveh* and I am fully behind its objectives. The Assyrians, both ancient and modern, have made a very great contribution to civilization, which many people do not yet sufficiently realize. Indeed, I would go so far as to say that, without the Assyrians, civilization as we know it today might not have existed. In the first half of the first millennium B.C. there were enormous prerssures upon the civilized world from savage peoples attempting to push in from the north, and if the Assyrians had not beaten them back they would have overrun the whole area and set it back for centuries.

With best wishes,

Yours,

Professor Emeritus Harry Saggs University College Cardiff, England

Dear Editor:

In the recent issue of *Nineveh* (Vol. 7, No. 3 & 4, 1984), an interesting letter written by R. Shimon of Chicago gave us much hope in the new generation of Assyria. It is indeed very reassuring to know that our youth is awakened and conscious of its national identity. However, there is one point raised by R. Shimon concerning the use of our language which we thought is worth commenting on.

As R. Shimon suggests, nobody can deny that it is possible to contribute to our national liberation by using languages other than Assyrian. It is an obvious fact that to fight for our freedom and to make our national rights known to the world, we need to know and practice foreign languages. Indeed the more learned and knowledgeable we are, in every respect, the better we can serve and help our nation. But this does not mean that we should stop urging the young to learn and use our own language.

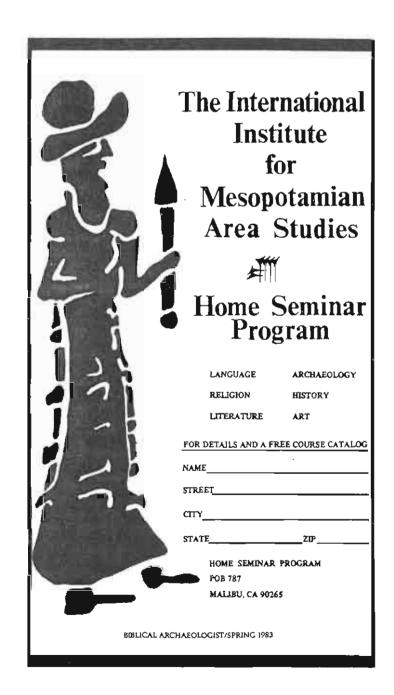
All that is left to us as a nationa is our mother tongue and customs. If we neglect them too, what hopes can we have for our future? Let's take a lesson from history, and nurse and nourish our language as best we can because, as the French historian Georges Roux puts it, "... history tells that a nation which forgets its language forgets its past and soon loses its identity."

Yours sincerely,
Madlaine & Romel Moradkhan
Paris, France

Dear Sirs:

We acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your recent donation of \$250.00 towards the David B. Perley Memorial Assyrian Fund.

Sincerely yours,
Barbara M. Henson
Administrative Assistant
Harvard University
Center for Middle Eastern Studies



THEATRE OF HISTORY

Presents:

KHA-BNEESSAN

The Assyrian New Year's Festival

Based on:

Creation of All Life & Its Annual Revival by William Daniel

ACT I

The curtain rises in the Hall of Universe to present The Assytrian Historic Play

In accordance with the title, it becomes apparent that the play is dual in significance:

(1) The unique drama of Creation of the entire Universe; (2) the annual revival of all life, from man to a blade of grass.

The season is the beginning of Spring. But why the Spring should be selected for celebration of the New Year?

Our question will be answered as we watch and see Mother Earth traveling through a period of severities, during which she has been gripped in the claws of relentless winter frost. Merciless cold has robbed her of her inherent beauty and has buried her charming figure under many folds of an immense white blanket.

The trees have been stripped of their luxurious green garments. Their bare branches are being blown back and forth by icy winds.

Shrubs, thickets, bushes and creepers of multi-colored blossoms have nothing left to show other than stacks of dry twigs that in their time used to charm the eye of the beholder.

Dry and frozen leaves that used to paint the landscape by Emerald, Azure, Jade, Pink-Yellow and Bluish-Green now lay in faded and formless heaps in the ditches made by the exposed roots of giant trees.

Migrating birds have disappeared; the local ones are in no mood to sing. In vain they poke their tiny beaks in more yielding soil in an effort to find some sustenance that would support their emaciated body. Earth in all appearance seemed to be dead.

In this cataclystic state, at the brink of unreversibility—where death is the dictator, the counter-force, the spark of life, emanating from the fountain of all Goodness announced its presence through the medium of Shamash, the Sun. Tenderly did his warm fingers touch the cheeks and caress the frozen figure of his beloved, the Earth. For a while he had traveled to other regions, but now he was back to heal and claim his ailing bride. Lovingly did he pamper her as he imprinted warm kisses on her pale cheeks bringing color into them gradually.

She begins to regain consciousness. Her joy, at the sight of her beloved, reaches such a degree of emotion as to make her cry.

Cry Beloved Cry
For the Droplets that Roll
Down Your Lovely Cheeks
And Over the Mounds
of Your White Bosom
Are the Most Priceless Jewels
In All Universe

The snow on her lovely breast cannot withstand the warm breath of Shamash, the Sun. Its spongy body is being transmuted to multi-colored jewels with which to fashion exquisite necklaces for the rejuvenated Bride.

The liquid snow is transmuted into millions of rivulets that run down the gentle slopes to mingle with others of their kind, in order to create rushing streams. These continue gushing through ravines and chasms, sweeping over pebbles and dry and crackling vegetation, in their hurried rush to reach the Wide Valley. There they are met with others like them. They all agree to cooperate in order to create mighty rivers that flow with Triumphant Majesty.

Bushes, plants, trees, creepers, birds and animals, above all man, are revived by the fresh waters of the spring.

The change, the metamorphosis is so sudden, so complete, so universal that it is almost tangible. The action of revival is happening everywhere, right there before the eyes of the beholder.

Dry, gray almost dead branches are transmuted to live green of all hues, proud of the sparkling leaves and perfume, exhaling buds they bear. Birds, plants and shrubs drinking fresh waters of spring; express their gratitude to the great supervisor of all this magnificent presentation through the costumes they wear, which are woven of yarn picked from rainbow substance. The sweet serenades ornamented with trills and staccatos

from a variety of species of winged life share voluably in the magic symphony. Joy of Joys: Earth has revived in all its splendor. LO: SPRING IS HERE. THE GRANDEST FESTIVAL OF ALL TIME. THE REJUVENATION OF ALL LIFE. What better time is there than the beginning of spring to celebrate the New Year? When rejuvenation affects everything alive even the apparent inert matter. It is the season when Heart-of-Man swells with gratitude offered to the kind creator for blessing the earth with his great gift of REVIVAL OF LIFE. Man is more than justified for celebrating the event with profound thankfullness to the Mighty Engineer who has made all the arrangements so as to make the return of this Happy Time possible.

We hope that the question in Part I of this writing has been answered. Now we also understand why the Beginning of Spring commanded such a high degree of respect; why it was festivated with such a solemn devotion and given a prominent place in Assyrian national life as to translate it religiously, symbolically and realistically. By these three soulful terms we mean: Religiously - Man praises the creator for the gift of life and its annual revival; Symbolically — The solemn reverence accorded to the event makes it a national trait, which should always be maintained as long as there are breath and lips that speak the Assyrian language; Realistically — The renewal of life should be translated into renewal of energy in all undertakings: National, Social and Personal. That — IMPROVEMENT, NOT DE-GENERATION SHOULD BE THE MOTTO.

ACT II

The Historic Theatre now Presents Act II of the Drama

The Scene: The Royal Palace Time: Early Dawn

Day: April the First, the First of the Twelve Days

Festival

It is early dawn. The Royal Palace is surrounded on three sides by many thousands of Ninevites, men and women of all ages.

The manheaded winged bulls, of whinch the head is the symbol of Man's Wisdom; the body denotes strength and abundance of nourishment; the wings signify speed and alertness. The mute sentinels are guarding the Principal Gate of the Palace. Armed human sentinels are guarding on both sides the upward sloping runway that leads to the gate and continues mounting upwards, around the building, to upper floors of the Royal Residence, of which the white alabaster and the streaked marble of many hues reflect the early light of dawn. Soon the sunlight shall turn these building materials into the sparkle of many-colored gems.

Total silence rules the entire crowd in spite of its great number. This disciplinary character is an acquired habit that has become the peoples' second nature. The entire crowd is breathlessly watching the giant Palace-Gate made of iron and bronze. Here, behind this gate, in this monumental building, have resided great Monarchs and have pondered on the destiny of Assyria. Their seat is now occupied by a young, able and very promising young man.

The guards flanking the runway become rigid like the statues nearby. Through the opening gate the melodious tone of a single horn announces the commencement of the procession, which awakens in the crowd a subdued commotion impregnated with deep expectation.

First, from inside the Palace emerges a group of two lines of armed soldiers, four in each line. They march solemnly behind two formally clad strong men bearing the symbol of Tree-of-Life on their shoulders. These are followed by a number of youths carrying golden incense fumigators hanging from long silver chains. They are swinging these devices back and forth to spread the sweet smelling smoke in the crowd.

These, in turn, are followed by musicians whose orchestras consist of animal-headed harps, flutes and a type of melodious reed-tipped instrument, not unlike our modern Zourna. They are followed by percussion instruments that are: big drums, smaller drums played by palms and fingers of both hands, a precursor of kettle-drums, an instrument held high by one hand, its flat surface of about two feet high and one and a half feet wide is covered with metal bars of different tones. It is played by striking tiny metal hammers on the bars. producing a variety of tones of bells. This is certainly the predecessor of the xylophone. The last in the line of orchestral members are the cymballs of different sizes. The last in the line of musicians are specially-clad youths and maidens of the ages sixteen to eighteen. They are in costumes of green and white. The green color seems to be conquering the white. They are singing chants to Lord Ashur and praise to the ruler of the land, the young King-Emperor Ashur-Bani-Pal. The chants and songs are supported by the orchestra harmonically and rhythmically.

Further commotion in the crowd is heard. People shift their positions and crane their necks as the emblem of Eagle-Winged Ashur, with his bow and arrow, is seen. The bowstring is drawn taut and the arrow is ready to fly. The High Priest strides solemnly behind the divine symbol. He is flanked by two incense-bearing youths swinging their fumigators.

Once more the crowd is disturbed, so totally as if invisible giant fingers were stirring the immense throng. Everybody wanted to see with his own eyes the much talked about young ruler of the land whom his enemies, in spite of his youth, had learned to respect and fear; against whom individual nations dared to stand only when making part of coalitions of many nations. Every individual of the big crowd of the National Festival wanted to behold the fabled Ashur-Bani-Pal.

First come three youths carrying in golden trays on

their outstretched arms the Royal insignia and attire. One of these has the gold-handled sword incrusted with precious stones, the magical bracelet and other insignia. The second has in his tray the magnificent, brilliant, tasseled robe that emitted a swishing sound as the Royal Personnage walked. The third was carrying in his tray the gleaming crown made of beaten and filigreed gold glistening with the most sparkling gems of the time, that had been worn by Tiglat-Pillesars, and Issar Haddouns.

The tension in the crowd reaches such a degree that the flight of a bird overhead would have been an annoying and disturbing element. The mild tone of a horn announced the coming of the Supreme Personality of the land. All the heads in the great crowd are bent with reverence. The multitude's breath, that had been suppressed, is suddenly let out. Its sound is like stalks of a vast wheat-field that has been brushed by a gentle breeze. The conqueror of many lands walks with bare feet in his sandals and a bent head. The attitude of self-denial of this great man filled the hearts of his people with such a love and devotion as no other great achievement would have the power to inspire. King-Emperor Ashur-Bani-Pal, the most erudite personage that had occupied the Assyrian throne; the collector of thousands upon thousands of literary gems of Shumer (sumer), Accad, Babylon and Assyria, who is as gentle at heart as he is mighty on the battlefield.

Today the ruler of the land has been dethroned; his sovereignty has been annulled. Instead of his rightful pomp and glory he walks bare headed and bare footed and is hungry and thirsty like all the people of the land, for they all are fasting.

This self-abasement and self-infliction constitute prayers symbolized in action and for what purpose? Not for material gain, but for the conquest of good against evil. They commemorate a time, if we may call it so, that Tiamat, the Goddess of Evil, represented by darkness, wanted chaos, whereas Lord Ashur stood for universal orderliness. The stakes were very high; the nation, according to that, was passing through a difficult period. Hence the great sacrifice of self-humiliation.

Behind the deposed King-Emperor, dignitaries of the state walked in lines according to their rank. The majestic procession moved silently through the streets of Nineveh with all the crowd following. The only sound to be heard was that of the musicians, the singers and the muffled sound of many thousands of feet.

Later, on their march through the streets of the capital, another procession bearing the statue of the principal deity and the minor spiritual entities meets them and both continue the march to the main Zigurrat where Lord Ashur's temple is located. There are no seats in the vast pavillion but an unoccupied throne. The Monarch, like everybody else, kneels on the ground, in the middle of the first row. Musicians take their places.

The High Priest stands close to the Altar from which the incense is constantly rising. On the clearance between the Altar and the first row of the audience appears a group of actors in costumes of creatures of magnificence and horror. The Epic of the War of Gods and the creation of the Universe is enacted in pantomime while the High Priest recites the Epic of Creation.

Lord Ashur is fighting the evil spirits who would rather have chaos than order in the Cosmos. The proponent of righteousness has painted his lips red ochre, to ward off the evil intentions of Tiamat and her monstrous creatures. The warrior behind Lord Ashur is carrying the stormwind enclosed in a gigantic bag of animal skin.

Tiamat and Lord Ashur face each other while the High Priest recites challenging verses. (As they are very lengthy, we have no time to tell them here in entirety. We shall recite only three quatrains.) Lord Ashur has the great bludgeon of thunder in one hand. In the other he is holding a great bunch of fragrant herbs to drown the stench of Tiamat's breath and that of her monsters.

Tiamat strode forward and said:

So, you are the chief you boast, And all must yield to your place; Well, here come gods in a host, To challenge you face-to-face.

Lord Ashur hurled his retort to her face:

Brutal and base and black-hearted, Faithless to living and dead; No sooner was Apsu departed, You took Kingu in his stead.

Come forth by yourself I say, Let your minions be banished from sight; Come forth of yourself to the fray, Hand to hand let us fight.

At these words Tiamat was stung to the frenzy and without looking to left or right she lunged blindly at her taunter, jaws agape to swallow him up. But Lord Ashur was too quick. He spread his net in her path and enmeshed her. As she was struggling furiously within it, he called the stormwind and made him charge forward and rush through Tiamat's gaping jaws, so she could not close her mouth. Lord Ashur then drew his mighty bow and his arrow sank in her deep maw.

When the host of Tiamat saw their leader slain, they broke ranks and started fleeing. But the forces of Lord Ashur bore upon them and bound them one and all and hurled them into the deep caverns of Earth.

As for Kingu, a special judgement was pronounced upon him. No more was he to be reckoned among Immortals. As other divinities recognized Lord Ashur as their chief deity, he brought new order in the Universe. He rent Tiamat's body into two halves, hurling one half above the Earth to create all that is on High, and from the other half he created the Land and all that

is upon it and the Seas with all the life in them. Of Kingu's blood he created man to serve the gods while they performed their tasks.

When the Epic had been read and enacted, Ashur-Bani-Pal was reinstated in all his Royal Splendor. All the population of Nineveh broke their fast and celebrated the greatest of all festivals, of which the dual significance embodied the creation of organized universe and annual Revival of Life.

Dear Reader:

The foregoing practices may seem naive to our sophisticated minds of today, but when we stop to think that these were beliefs and rituals of cultured man of around seven thousands of years before our time, they have served to be the foundation upon which modern civilization has been erected throughout the process of passing time. We, their children, have to admit that after the passage of 140 to 150 centuries, are still lagging behind.

Happy New Year

By William Daniel

Rediscovering Tell_Leilan

In 1846, Hormuzd Rassam, a resident of Mosul, in northern Mesopotamia, signed on with Austen Henry Layard, a young English explorer sent out by his government to retrieve antiquities for the British like those that the French had just begun to extract from the mounds of northern Mesopotamia. Two years later, Layard was being lionized by the British press as the first shipments of Assyrian bas-reliefs and statuary were unloaded at the doors of the British Museum. Layard had excavated the sculpture from the great mound of Nimrud, where in the first days of his work he found himself in the palace of king Ashur-nasirpal of Assyria. With these discoveries, and those of the French at nearby sites, the retrieval of the lost civilizations of Mesopotamia began.

In 1849 Layard published Nineveh and its Remains, an account of his discoveries and adventures in Mesopotamia that swiftly became a best-seller among the English upper classes. Two years later, at the age of thirty-four, Layard retired from Near Eastern archaeology to London, where he soon enjoyed the first of many fruits brought by his archaeological fame—election to the House of Commons. But what happened to Hormuzd Rassam?

Rassam had supervised the excavations undertaken in Layard's name for the British government, but Layard's account of the field work hardly earned for the Mosul native the fame and wealth that accrued to the dashing Londoner. Rassam remained in Mesopotamia where, as the most experienced British archaeological agent, he was soon charged by the British Museum with additional excavations at Ashur, Nineveh, and Sippar. Hoping, however, to secure some of the limelight surrounding Layard, Rassam undertook a series of mule-borne travels in search of still more spectacular ancient sites in northern Mesopotamia. On May 21, 1878, he gazed southward from a roadside mound in what is now northeastern Syria and spotted Tell Leilan rising above the horizon.

Another much larger mound could be seen standing five or six miles southward, called "Lailan," which I was told has a wall round it like most of the Assyrian sites of importance. I had a great desire to go and examine it, but could not afford the time. I hoped, however, when I should be in that neighborhood again, to be able to visit it and try it for a short time (Rassam 1897: 232 – 33).

Rassam chose to pass Leilan by. Three years later he was

absorbed in his excavation of the ancient site of Sippar, where he was knee-deep in more than 60,000 cuneiform tablets.

Knowledge of Leilan did not, however, remain a serendipitous note tucked away in Rassam's travel accounts. Shortly thereafter, that inveterate German orientalist and explorer, Max Freiherr von Oppenheim, began a series of travels across northern Mesopotamia, during which he decided to undertake excavations at Tell Halaf, near the sources of the Habur River at Ras el cAin. Oppenheim also took note of Tell Leilan and, mimicking Rassam's observation, declared Leilan to be "an Assyrian or still older site" (Oppenheim 1899: 141, 167–68). This notice was kept alive in the world of ancient Near Eastern scholarship by Emil Forrer, the German Assyriologist, whose widely read study of the history of the Assyrian provinces again suggested that Leilan may have been an Assyrian capital (Forrer 1921: 20).

The period between the two World Wars saw French and British imperial interests competing for still larger shares of the land, people, and productive resources of West Asia. In the wake of their armies and colonial bureaucrats, French and British scholars, prominently including historians and archaeologists, poured into Syria and Mesopotamia, continuing the tradition begun some fifty years earlier by Layard and his contemporaries. Startling discoveries were soon made on Syrian territory with excavations at Tell Harri (ancient Mari) and Dura-Europos. From 1925 through 1932, one unusual French investigator, André Poidebard, even took to the air with the Air Ministry of the "Haut-Commissariat en Syrie et au Liban" in his attempt to trace the frontier wall of the Roman empire through the so-called deserts of Syria. One product of Poidebard's prodigious efforts is his folio of more than two hundred aerial photographs of the mounds of ancient Syria, including Tell Leilan (Poidebard 1934: plate 160). The Tell Leilan photograph shows the outer City Wall, the Acropolis, and the ziggurat nestled between the Jarrah and Qatrani wadis. Also visible is another wall, to the north, which Poidebard took to represent the remains of a Roman camp.

One hundred years after Rassam's gaze across the horizon towards Tell Leilan, Yale University began a new archaeological project at the site.

Rights Day Observed With Mock Tribunal

細anteren Peninsula 确erald Tuesday, December 11, 1984.



MOCK SESSION OF INTERNATIONAL COURT LAST NIGHT ... judges (from left) are Gilles, Anton, Paik, Ehrman, Kakis

Dear Editor:

On December 10, 1984, the Monterey Bay Chapter of the United Nations Association, in observation of Human Rights Day, presented a two hour mock session of the International Court of Justice.

I and one other attorney presented the petition to the five judges sitting as a special chamber of the International Court. My presentation concerned the violation of Human rights of Assyrians in Iraq. I pointed out that these rights are not only based upon the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in 1948, but more specifically are based upon direct minority protection guaranties given by Iraq to the League of Nations in June of 1932. This Declaration of Human Rights was a condition precedent to the termination of the mandate for Iraq awarded to Britain. According to the decision in the Southwest Africa case, the obligations of the League of Nations, in Article 22 of the League Covenant, were not abrogated by the dissolution of the League, but were assumed by the United Nations. I went on to enumerate various human rights violations occurring from the date of Iraq's independence through the present date as reported by Amnesty International as well as other sources.

I enclose herewith a copy of the article written in the Monterey Peninsula Herald reporting the session.

If you wish to include your own report of this event in Nineveh Magazine.

Sincerely yours, Jeannine M. Ushana Monterey, California

By Joe Graziano Herald Staff Writer

Nations are obligated to observe United Nations human rights standards, although some clearly ignore the rules, resulting in increased international tensions.

These were the findings of a mock session of the International Court of Justice held last night at Seaside City Hall to dramatize the global human rights struggle.

The session was sponsored by the Monterey Bay chapter of the United Nations Association. Participants were from the faculties of the Monterey College of Law, the Monterey Institute of International Studies and the Naval Postgraduate School. Also involved were Superior Court judges Harkjoon Paik and John Anton.

The event was an observance of Monday's Human Rights Day, proclaimed by President Reagan on the 36th anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The two-hour session involved a simulated complaint from 15 nations about "the failure of a significant number of member states to honor and implement the human rights provisions of the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and related international agreements."

The petitioners claimed that human rights violations are a major source of international tensions and constitute a threat to international peace and security.

They asked the five judges sitting as a special chamber of the international court to issue an advisory opinion to the other main agencies of the United Nations, including the Security Council. The case was presented by Michal Bernstein and Jeannine M. Ushana, who cited country-by-country human rights violations.

After hearing the arguments, the judges issued an "expression of concern."

They said nations that signed and ratified human rights accords are bound by them, while other nations have a "moral obligation" to obey them.

Human rights standards, they

said, have over the last 36 years "evolved into a body of international law."

There have been clear violations of human rights, they said, adding that such actions heighten existing international tensions and sometimes create tensions.

Paik was presiding judge on the panel, which also included Anton, Kenneth Ehrman, Jeffrey Gilles and Jack Kakis.

Anton, as a representative of the United States, in a separate concurring opinion said the world is still reacting to "gross and long-standing" human rights violations rather than being able to take preventive steps or to deal with a single complaint.

Gilles, as a Bolivian representative, said in a dissenting opinion the proper forums for human rights violations are the courts of each nation, which have looked to international law to base some rulings.

A key issue last night was whether the court had jurisdiction. It was raised by Ehrman, as a representative of Poland, one of the countries listed by the petitioners as ignoring human rights by outlawing trade unions.

He said the petition was a political matter and not a legal one.

Also questioning the court's jurisdiction were two respondents to the petition, Michael van Walt, representing the Netherlands, who said the U.N. Security Council was a more appropriate forum to air the issues, and Wladislaw Kransnow, representing the Soviet Union.

Kransnow brushed aside claims of Soviet violations of human rights by controlling their citizens' movements, especially keeping them from leaving the country, and said that the USSR law actually promotes citizens' rights.

His glowing accounts of life in the Soviet Union and his assertions about the high ideals of Soviet policy drew laughter from the audience, especially when he said the USSR "will not allow the United States to interfere in domestic affairs anywhere in the world" and that the human rights issue belongs in the Security Council, "where, by the way, we have veto power."

COALITION OF ASSYRIAN ORGANIZATIONS

Chicago, March 1, 1985

THIS IS A PUBLIC PETITION AND A PLEA TO ALL PEACELOVING AND DECENT-MINDED GOVERNMENTS, ORGANIZATIONS AND PEOPLE OF THE WORLD TO SAVE INNOCENT ASSYRIAN PRISONERS IN IRAQ.

In mid-August, 1984, 153 Assyrian citizens of Iraq were summarily and arbitrarily arrested and jailed by the dictatorial and fascist regime of Iraq. These Assyrian prisoners are innocent of any crime or wrongdoing. They simply wish to PRESERVE THEIR CULTURE, HERITAGE AND NATIONAL IDENTITY.

On February 6, 1985, three (3) of the Assyrian prisoners were EXECUTED BY HANGING by the same cruel and unjust regime. The executed Assyrians are:

- 1. Youseph Toma Zibari, age 32, an engineer
- Youkhana Esho Shlimon, age 38, a business consultant
- 3. Hubert Benyamin, age 29, an engineer

These three Assyrians WERE HANGED WITH-OUT THE BENEFIT OF A COURT TRIAL OR A DEFENDING ATTORNEY. The bereaved families were ordered by the Iraqi authorities NOT TO MOURN THEIR EXECUTED SONS. The families were also ordered TO PAY FOR THE COST OF THE HANGING PROCEDURE. THE FAMILIES WERE NOT ALLOWED TO EVEN VISIT THEIR SONS BEFORE THEY WERE HANGED.

The three executed Assyrians had NOT COMMITTED ANY TREASON. They did not act against the Iraqi government. They were executed at the whim of a SADISTIC, PARANOID AND MEGALOMANIAC REGIME who is AFRAID OF ITS OWN CITIZENS. The hanging is in DIRECT VIOLATION of the AGREEMENTS OF THE UNITED NATION GOVERNMENTS and the BELGRADE and HELSINKI CONFERENCES on the HUMAN AND NATIONAL RIGHTS OF MINORITIES.

The 150 Assyrian prisoners are now being subjected to various forms of TORTURE, including being beaten and given electric shocks on sensitive parts of the body while chained to a wooden beam. These prisoners are NOT INVOLVED IN ANY ILLEGAL ACT. They simply wish to live in a FREE AND DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY that will GUARANTEE EQUAL HUMAN AND NATIONAL RIGHTS TO ALL ITS CITIZENS.

The United States Department of State, in its letter dated November 19, 1984 to Senator Charles Percy, signed by Robert F. Turner, State Dept.'s Acting Assistant Secretary, CONFIRMED the arrest and imprisonment of the Assyrian prisoners and corroborated the number of the arrestees.



Youkhana Esho Shlimon



YOUBERT BENYAMEN



YOSEP T. ZIBARI

WE APPEAL TO ALL PEOPLE OF GOOD WILL AND DECENCY TO DO WHATEVER IN THEIR POWER TO DENOUNCE AND CONDEMN THE ILLEGAL IMPRISON—MENT OF THE INNOCENT ASSYRIANS AND THE INHUMAN AND BARBARIC HANGING OF INNOCENT ASSYRIAN CITIZENS OF IRAQ.

PLEASE HELP TO ENSURE FREEDOM AND SAFETY FOR THE 150 IMPRISONED ASSYRIANS IN IRAQ.

Family and Household Composition Among the Assyrians: The Past and the Present

by Arian Ishaya

Myth and Reality

What is happening to the structure of kinship and household composition in the Third World countries under the impact of urbanization, industrialization, and westernization? A popular "theory" among the contemporary scholars of comparative family studies is that growing urbanization and industrialization is accompanied by a decline of extended family and the emergence of the nuclear family. Other related changes are: greater residential mobility, weakening of extended family ties, decline in fertility rates, and the emancipation of women and their greater participation in the labor force (Goode, 1963).

That the theory is accepted at face value in social science circles is evident in recurrent statements such as: "... when societies undergo modernization, there is a corresponding change to conjugal family form" (Henon, 1978:205). In the same vein a contemporary Sociology textbook tells us, "It seems clear that when the family emerges from a traditional or archaic past, as the society urbanizes and industrializes, it is likely to adopt a structure similar to the North American nuclear family" (Forcese & Richer, 1975:265). But a survey of sociological research findings actually indicates that the association between urbanization and industrialization on the one hand, and the nuclear form of family on the other, is a spurious one. To illustrate: one of the countries which was undergoing rapid urbanization and industrialization in recent decades was Iran. Yet research testing various hypotheses based on the above theory indicates that in Iran the traditional kinship structure has stubbornly persisted. Households in Iran remain large and contain members other than the nuclear family (Paydarfar, 1975; Behnam, 1973); fertility rates remain high and there is no significant difference in the rates of fertility between rural and urban areas (Paydarfar, 1975; Momeni, 1972); and there is no significant change in sex roles: Iranian women are largely engaged in their traditional activities (Touba, 1975). In fact, compared to Latin American countries with roughly the same level of economic development as the Middle East, the Middle Eastern countries record the lowest rates of female participation in the labor force (Youssef, 1974).

Moreover, the role of urbanization in the weakening of traditional kinship ties is by no means a foregone conclusion. This is revealed in a number of studies on rural-migrants to towns (see Abu-Lughod, 1961; Sweet, 1974). In sum there is a host of material which questions the effects of industrialization and urbanization or the penetration of Western values upon kinship patterns in

developing countries, dismissing the present reductionist, and technologically determinist thesis.

This paper, besides providing descriptive material on the structure of family and household composition among the Assyrians of Iran, also attempts to analyze aspects of change and continuity in the Assyrian family within an alternative theoretical framework. A main departure in this paper is to avoid characterizing complex societies by one type of family structure alone. For example, to characterize the American family as conjugal or nuclear is an over-generalization which obscures the fact that family structures differ by class in North America. Thus while the nuclear family is more likely to be found in the middle class, the extended type of family remains strong among the upper and lower classes in the United States (Farber, 1971; Rapp, 1978). At the same time the association between social class and forms of family and household composition suggest a different type of interdependence; an interdependence between property relations and family forms. To clarify the nature of this relationship, the meaning of the terms household, family, and social class needs to be made explicit. Following Rayna Rapp (1978:280-82), a household is defined in this paper as a residential unit in which people enter into productive (earning a living, preparing food), reproductive (bearing and caring for children) and consumption relations. Households vary in their membership composition and also in their relation to resource bases particularly in class divided societies. A family refers to people who are related by blood or marriage. A nuclear or conjugal family is composed of a couple together with their children. An extended family is formed of more than one nuclear family living together. Generally the family is the legitimate means of recruiting people into households. In other words, households are composed of people related by blood and marriage although this is by no means a universal phenomenon. Social class on the other hand, refers to the process by which different social relations to the means of production are inherited and reproduced in a private enterprise system. Within such a system domestic arrangements become imbedded in the differential access of people to the means of survival. In other words two families might form one household not because they are bound by tradition, but because they cannot afford separate housing; or by the reason why a woman works outside her home might have more to do with how much her husband earns rather than whether she is "westernized" or not. This theoretical framework provides an

alternative interpretation of changes in the forms of family and household composition by relating such changes to transformations in the relations of people to sources and means of production.

With this alternative framework, if we pose the question: what is happening to the structure of kinship in the Third World countries such as Iran — during the Pahlavi rule — under the impact of increasing penetration of corporate capitalism, the answer is: Different things were happening to different families depending on the position they came to occupy in the class structure. Within this framework, a historical analysis of change and continuity in the kinship structure of the Assyrian minority in Iran is attempted in the following pages.

Background Information

The Assyrians of Iran are part of the larger Assyrian nation the nucleus of which, until World War I, was situated in a triangular area between Lake Van, Lake Urmia, and Nineveh (Mosul). This was a border zone separating northwestern Persia from the southern part of the Ottoman empire. As a Christian Aramaic speaking people, the Assyrians have constituted a distinct ethnic group in the Middle East. Until World War I the Assyrians living on the Persian side of the border inhabited the Plains of Urmia and Salmas and the uplands to the west which run parallel to the Turko-Persian border. The presence of the Assyrians in Persia dates back to the first century A.D. (Iran Almanac, 1977), or possibly earlier to the Sargonite times in the seventh century B.C., with the establishment of Assyrian colonies in the Median (present day Persian) territory (Sarmas, 1965: 50-51). Whenever their origin, this much is certain: the Assyrian population of Iran was regularly replenished by the Assyrian highlanders who migrated or were pushed down from their overpopulated mountain fastness towards the surrounding plains. A particular feature of the Islamic states (both Ottoman and Persian) which must be noted here is that the non-Muslim minorities such as the Christians were given a special status as a subject people to be governed through their own ecclesiastical representatives (millet system). The millet system gave the minorities considerable autonomy in the government of their own civil affairs; in the contracting of marriages, transfer of property through inheritance, settlement of claims and disputes and so on (Gibb & Bowen, 1957:212).

Traditional Kinship Structure

Data on the Assyrian traditional mode of life is rather sketchy. Apart from Sunhadus, the Assyrian book of civil and canon law, glimpses of Assyrian domestic life can be obtained by reading the chronicles or memoirs of Western archeologists for example. A. Layard, or Anglican and American missionaries who stationed themselves in the region during the 18th and 19th centur-

ies. The best ethnographic data however is provided by a few Russian scholars or government officials. M. Lalayan wrote a short ethnography on the Assyrian highlanders, first published in 1913, and B. Nikitine, the Russian Consul at Urmia around the 1920s wrote several articles on the mode of life and the history of the Assyrians of Iran at the turn of this century. A reading of this material reveals that the size and the composition of the Assyrian household in the 18th and 19th centuries was influenced by subsistence activities and forms of land tenure. Two distinct forms of social organization can be identified: the tribal and the peasant. The former characterized the settled pastoralists who engaged in joint stock breeding and agriculture. The Assyrian pastoralists were composed of several autonomous clans called the Ashirat who held blocks of mountain territory as private and communal property in the Zagros highlands on the Ottoman side of the border. The peasants, who were mainly tenant farmers known as Rayats, were located on the plains surrounding the Zagros highlands. They were found on the Plain of Van and Mosul (Ottoman territory) and Urmia and Salmas on the Persian side of the border. In Persia the tribal form of social organization was found on the uplands to the west of the Plain of Urmia in Targavar; Margavar; Bradost.

The tribal form of social organization was based on the principle of patrilineal descent. The minimal land holding and corporate unit was the patrilineal lineage. The lineages were localized and exogamous (marriage took place outside one's lineage — or "oujagh" —). Movement from the highlands into the plains entailed a process of detribalization, i.e., breakdown in the patrilineal descent group. The chief difference between the highland tribal and a peasant Assyrian village was that in the former the patrilineal lineage was, as mentioned earlier, also the local landholding unit, while in the latter the land was owned by absentee landlords who were not Assyrian, but members of the regional Muslim aristocracy — except for a few villages which were owned by the Assyrian maliks (tribal chiefs). It was up to the landlord, or his agent, to choose his tenants. Thus by moving into the Plains, the freehold farmer lost direct control over the means of subsistence and became subservient to the local aristocracy. Consequently the lineage became dispersed and less organized. The weakening of the patrilineal descent group had ramifications on the structure of kinship. A major effect was that with the dispersion of the descent group, locality as a basis of solidarity became as important as unity through blood. Since on the plains the village was not coterminous with the lineage, but contained remnants or segments of various lineages, village endogamy (marrying within the group) became the preferred marriage pattern as a means of reinforcing alliances between coresident families. Thus affinal ties or relations with the maternal kin-folk gained in importance, reinforcing a bilateral kinship structure.

Apart from these differences household composition in both the freeholding and tenant contexts had essentially similar features. In both contexts the household was the unit of both economic production and consumption. It was geared to subsistence rather than production for the market. The members of the household constituted the labor force, and survival activities revolved around animal husbandry, agriculture with primitive tools, and cottage industries. This householding economy led to a considerable degree of economic self-sufficiency.

The household was composed of the extended patrilineal family. A man, his wife, his married sons and unmarried sons and daughters, with possibly one or two other dependents (a widowed daughter, or orphans from the aganatic line) all constituted one household. In the mountain villages as many as fifty members per household are recorded (Lalayan, 1914:53). The size of the household in the village of the plains must have been equally large since Nikitine states that each household contained three generations of the extended family (Nikitine, 1925:362).

Division of labor was along sex-lines. The men worked in the fields; the women tended the children, prepared the meals, and looked after other household duties. During the harvest they also worked in the fields. Much of the clothing was prepared by women. The position of the members of the family was based upon sex and age. The final authority was vested in the senior male member of the family. This was the father, "the patriarch." In case of his death, his younger brother or eldest son took over. Thus the actual position of authority was passed on in the male line. Between brothers relations of super- and subordination were determined by seniority. The elder woman as the mother or the matron had considerable authority as the manager of the internal affairs of the household. The relationship between husband and wife was one of obedience and respect on the part of the wife towards her husband and his parents. In addition the husband was entitled to his wife's virginity at marriage, and her sexual and domestic services. The wife was entitled to maintenance and fair treatment. The husband-wife relationship did not involve any display of affection. It was considered unmanly for a man to show affection or otherwise use endearing words towards his wife. Lack of expressive behavior in the marital context or on the part of the men towards their women was part of a wider cultural norm, and was therefore common in the Persian family in general (for a theoretical analysis of the lack of expressive behavior in the marital context in the Middle East, see A. Fathi,

The Assyrian family was, and still is, monogamous. Marriage was a contract between two families and the marriage partners were only one of the elements in that relationship. According to Sunhadus, a person can only marry any kin who is seven steps removed geneologi-

cally, and four steps removed affinally (Lalayan, 1914:46). Maclean and Browne comment on the length of the Assyrian Table of Affinity which contains sixtytwo forbidden relationships (Maclean and Browne, 1892:146). But the Sunhadus was not always strictly adhered to, and the preference for village endogamy led to marriage between closer kin. The levirate (marrying the widow of one's brother) or the sororate (marrying the sister of a deceased wife) was not practiced among the Assyrians as it was among the Kurds. On the other hand, perhaps under the influence of the Muslim code, the Sunhadus permitted marriage between first cousins. In practice, cousin marriages among the Assyrians were unheard of (Maclean & Browne, 1892:144). Since patrilineal cousins grew together in one household, they were considered "one family" and the popular sentiment against their marriage was very strong. Even today maternal and paternal cousins are said to be "like brothers and sisters" and marriage between them is reprimanded. Women were given in marriage at an early age between twelve and fourteen (Lalayan, 1914:46; Maclean & Browne, 1892:143). Often newborn babies were promised in marriage by the parents. It was customary for a young man who did not already have a prospective bride in mind to go on a tour of the Assyrian villages to "select a bride." The best place to get a good glimpse at the maidens was the village spring where women came in groups to fill their earthen jars and wash clothes. The intentions of the young men were not hidden from the maidens although the etiquette did not permit socializing between the sexes. On such occasions communication took place through the silent language of looks and smiles. Once the choice was made, the young man sought the approval of his parents and sent his elders to "ask for the hand" of the "bride-to-be."

The marriage contract entailed the payment of a bride price among the Assyrian highlanders. The bride price was paid both in kind (in the form of livestock) and in gold coins (Lalayan, 1914:49). It was handed to the mother of the bride-to-be as "milk" or "nursing" compensation. The bride took a dowry in the form of bedding and handicrafts made by herself. It is interesting to note that among the Assyrians of the plains the payment of bride price had ceased by the turn of this century; but the bride still had to provide a dowry.

Although divorce was permitted and could be initiated by both the husband and wife in case of adultery, insanity, or incompatibility, in fact divorce cases among the Assyrians were very rare, and were looked upon as a cause for shame. The strong sentiment against divorce could have been caused by its implications: break of alliance among several related households.

The Assyrian civil law is identical to the Islamic code with respect to the rules of inheritance. The code specifies that only the blood relatives of a deceased person are entitled to inherit. Property descends from parents to children, the sons' share being twice that of daughters.

This rule is still in operation. Upon her death, a married woman's property goes to her children and if she has no children, to her husband. Thus whatever property a woman brings to her marriage becomes part of the common pool of her husband's family. In the 19th century the parents' death did not involve the breakup of the household. Brothers stayed together and carried on as one economic unit to keep the land intact. Thus in the traditional setting the nuclear family was submerged in the larger kin group. That is, it did not exist as an independent property-holding and decision-making unit.

The patriarchal structure of the Assyrian household and the laws of inheritance are indicative of the inferior position of women vis-a-vis the men. Other indications are evident in that the birth of a son was an occasion for rejoicing while the birth of a daughter brought remarks of sympathy. It was the general belief that women are inferior to men, that they lack in logic and correct judgment, and that they are emotional and fickle. Social distance between the sexes was maintained through various mechanisms. Young wives were not to speak or sit in the presence of their male in-laws. They were to take their meals apart and after the men had finished eating. They were also to cover the lower half of their face with a veil in the presence of male in-laws. The status of a young wife improved with the birth of a son, and authority in the management of the household came with age. A widow was entitled to stay in her deceased husband's family under the care of her father or brothers in-law. But if she was young and had a chance to remarry, she was sent back to her parents' home. The children belonged to the patrilineage. In spite of their inferior status, women exercised political power indirectly, through uninstitutionalized channels. One such channel was the acquisition and exchange of information not directly available to men — information which is popularly referred to as "gossip." Among the Assyrians, village endogamy preserved women's already established information networks. But those women who married outside their own village had to move to an alien environment (patrilocal residence was the rule). Such women suffered the consequences of their marginality. Partly for this reason mothers felt their daughters would be better protected if they married "one of our own," meaning a distant relative from the same village.

Comparison Between Traditional Assyrian Kinship Structure and That of Their Muslim Neighbors

Apart from linguistic and religious differences, the Assyrian minority in Iran was different from the neighboring Muslim population in other cultural characteristics as well. With respect to kinship, what set the Assyrians apart was their emphasis on monogamy, aversion to parallel cousin marriage, and strong sanctions against a man divorcing his wife; while in the Muslim family polygyny, parallel cousin marriage, and leniency towards

men who divorced their wives were considered the norm. But a closer analysis indicates that the Assyrian social organization was fundamentally similar to that prevailing in the region in general. This similarity was rooted in the peasant mode of production common to both Muslim and non-Muslim population in the area, and similar landlord-tenant property relations. The household composition and the principles determining division of labor and relations of super- and subordination among the family members were essentially identical in both groups. What is still more basic is the factional character of the rural "lineage" in Iran with its horizontal rather than vertical expansion: features applicable to both Assyrian and Muslim peasantry.

The Contemporary Assyrian Family

According to official statistics of 1976, there were 30,000 Assyrians living in Iran (the total population of Iran was 34 million people). Fifty percent of the Assyrians lived in the city of Teheran. Forty percent lived in the town of Urmia, and surrounding districts (Iran Almanac, 1977:394-395). In the year 1900 all of the Assyrian population, excepting a hundred families who lived in the town of Urmia, was rural (Minorsky, 1934:1034). In the 1970s there were only twelve villages left with an Assyrian population ranging from 20 to 100 families per village. The exodus of the Assyrians from their rural base in Urmia started around the turn of this century as a result of the penetration of the imperial powers — Great Britain and Russia — in the area. The Russian expansion into the northern part of Iran had direct effects upon the economy and the social organization of the region. As early as 1828 Russia separated Georgia (north of Urmia) from Iran in the treaty of Turkman-Chai, and to establish trade with Iran, it built a railway connecting two port towns in Iran and Russia: Julfa to Alexandropol. The Russians encouraged the cultivation of cash crops such as cotton in the Plain of Urmia. By the end of the 19th century the massive introduction of Western industrial products had already ruined the native handicraft industries. Growing dependence on cash forced the migration of peasants to towns in search of seasonal work. But since the imperial powers controlled the financial capital in Iran, and prevented the growth of indigenous industries in the country, few jobs were available in the Persian towns (Issawi, 1971:14-19). Therefore masses of peasants in north-western Persia found seasonal jobs on the Russian side of the border. Nikitine observed the breakdown in the Assyrian large extended family as a residential unit in the pre-World War I period when young men left the village to work on the railway or traveled to the nearby Russian towns as migrant laborers. The Iranian migrant labor flowed back into the country as foreign investment in Iran took momentum under the Phalavi rule. The population figures cited above indicate that among the Assyrians of Iran a massive movement from the rural regions to the urban centers, particularly a concentration in the capital of Teheran, has gradually taken place. Systematic data on the standard of living, types of occupations, fertility rates, and so on are not available on the contemporary Assyrian minority but it is possible to make some general points.

In the 1970s the Assyrian population of Teheran was concentrated in two distinct parts of the city. Those who belonged to the professional and more affluent class lived in the northern part of the city; those who were laborers and had newly migrated to the city lived in the southern part. Generally there are few if any Assyrians in the upper class in Iran. The more affluent belong to the middle class of professionals, a few large businessmen, clerks, and skilled artisans. The rest belong to the working class. These are mostly semi-skilled factory workers and truck or taxi drivers. Some work as migrant laborers in Kuwait, Yemen, and Qatar.

In spite of massive urbanization, the Assyrian extended family has maintained its corporateness in the sense that strong bonds of loyalty and mutual obligation still persist among its members. To maintain close contact, often relatives, such as married brothers, rent two floors in one apartment building or in a house so that their families will not have to be neighbors with strangers and can provide mutual help to each other. Spatial separation due to the unavailability of joint accommodation does not stop the members from frequent interaction and from the attempt to move closer together as soon as an opportunity arises. The more affluent couples who can pay higher rents or those who own their family home appear to be physically and sentimentally more detached from the larger kinship unit. In fact considerable strain which sometimes results in open conflict is evident among the members of such families. This situation indicates the ambivalent position of the upwardly mobile nuclear family which is caught between its own ambitions and its traditional obligations to share resources with the members of the larger kin group.

Since the State or private institutions have not set up homes for the elderly in sufficient numbers or at affordable prices, elderly parents still live with their sons and daughters. Even if such homes were in abundance it is unlikely that they would be used because there is a strong sentiment against "putting one's parents away." The "proper" procedure is to house the old parents with the eldest son. But the actual practice is elastic and depends on circumstances.

Daughters are encouraged to finish at least elementary school. However, the sons's education is more important. Among the more affluent families young women finish college and work as teachers, nurses, and clerks. After marriage, however, a woman is expected to give priority to her own "proper sphere" — tending the house and the children — so the majority leave the job

market. Among the poorer class women work at home as seamstresses or send their daughters to work in small stores: hair-dresser, pastry store, etc., for the needed extra cash.

Conclusion:

It is argued in this paper that changes in family and household composition are not related to urbanization and industrialization as such, but to the relations of people to the means of survival. In spite of massive urbanization, the extended family remains strong among the Assyrians, particularly in the working class. The economically precarious position of the urban wage earners forces the members of the family to look to each other for financial and moral help. Moreover, many of the social services available to the North American or European workers are not yet available to the workers in the Third World countries. Another peculiarity of the Third World countries such as Iran is political instability or turmoil. With the precarious political situation of the Middle East, there is usually the atmosphere of "you never know what tomorrow will bring." Therefore, kinship loyalties are looked upon as a major insurance against the vagaries of the time. As members of an ethnic minority, the Assyrians have other handicaps. Their minority status which blocks access to the positions of power and privilege is effective in activating and preserving the ethnic and kinship resource pool.

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A Short Biography of the Late Patriarch Mar Ignatius Yacoub III

Mar Ignatius Yacoub III, Assyrian Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch and all the East, was born on 12 October 1912 in Bartelli, a large village lying twelve miles from Nineveh (Iraq), almost entirely populated by Assyrian Orthodox and Assyrian Catholics, and having a long and venerable history in the annals of the Assyrian Church. His given family name was Saba, and he was the son of Toma, in turn the son of Gabriel. It is perhaps particularly appropriate that the patriarch who was so deeply steeped in the traditions of his people. Mar Ignatius Yacoub was later to refer to Bartelli as "the capital of the Assyrian Orthodox Christianity."

At the age of eleven Saba was sent to study at the seminary school attached to the nearby ancient monastery of Mar Mattai. There he showed a natural inclination towards a monastic and priestly vocation. His years at Mar Mattai were formative, providing him with a deep knowledge of the language, culture and ecclesiastical traditions of Assyrian Christianity. Years later, in 1961, he was to publish a history of this monastery which has particular association with the name of Barhebraeus, the great polymath of the thirteenth century.

After spending eight years at Mar Mattai, the future patriarch was sent, in 1931, to Beirut to the Assyrian Orthodox orphanage which had been established there in the aftermath of the massacres of the Assyrian and Armenian people. Here he was appointed to teach the Assyrian catechism. Two years later he took his monastic vows in Homs (Syria), taking the name in religion 'Abd al-Ahad. This was early in the patriarchate of Mar Ignatius Ephrem I Barsom, who had recently moved the official seat of the patriarchate to Homs. A close relationship between the patriarch and the new monk was begun and was to continue for many years, even though 'Abd al-Ahad was sent to India in the year he took his vows. In India he was to serve as secretary to the patriarchal legate.

He remained in India for thirteen years. He was made deacon and ordained priest in 1934. He was appointed professor and later dean at the theological seminary of St. Ignatius in Kerala.

After returning to the Middle East in 1945 he became a member of the faculty of the patriarchal seminary of St. Ephrem in Mosul, where he was also responsible for initiating the publication of a journal devoted to Assyrian studies. In 1950 he was appointed patriarchal vicar for the diocese of Beirut and Damascus, and several months later he was consecrated as bishop for his diocese (12 December 1950). As bishop he took the name of Severios Yacoub bar Shakko, bishop and writer of the thirteenth century.

On the death of Patriarch Mar Ignatius Ephrem I in 1957 he was elected by the Holy Synod as patriarch on 14 October 1957, and he was enthroned on 27 October. He took the name Ignatius Yacoub III. One of his first acts (1959) was to move the patriarchal residence from Homs to Damascus in view of the increasing importance of the Syrian capital, and among his earliest concerns was the healing of the schism in the Assyrian Orthodox Church in India. Largely as a result of his effort this breach, which had opened up in 1911, was healed in December 1958. In 1964 he was to journey to India to install a new catholicos, Mar Basil Augen I.

Throughout his patriarchate Mar Ignatius Yacoub traveled widely. His purpose was two-fold, establishing and renewing ecumenical contacts, and ministering to his increasingly scattered people.

Among the most important of the Patriarch's journeys were two visits to Rome. In October 1971 he met Pope Paul VI: this was the first meeting of its kind since the division between the churches arising from the Council of Chalcedon (451). In 1980, only a few weeks before his death, he met with Pope John Paul II, and the two leaders prayed together for the unity of the churches. He also took the opportunity to meet Patriarch Demetrios during a visit to the Assyrian community in Istanbul (October 1973). He visited the World Council of Churches at Geneva on various occasions. Indeed it was during his patriarchate that the Assyrian Orthodox Church became, in 1960, a member of the WCC. He was actively involved in the Synod of the Oriental Orthodox Churches which at Addis Ababa in 1965 began its work of determining the common position of these churches in order to facilitate their rapprochment with other churches. In 1979 he visited England, meeting both the Queen and the Archbishop of Canterbury. He had been particularly anxious to make this visit, since it was in some sense a centennial commemoration of a visit made to England in 1875 by the Assyrian Orthodox Patriach Ignatius Peter IV. On a visit to Gottingen in West Germany (1971) he addressed a Congress of orientalists on the history of his church.

Pastoral ministrations to the growing Assyrian Orthodox diaspora in Europe took him in 1970 to Holland, where he consecrated Mar Yulios as metropolitan of the new Assyrian Orthodox archdiocese of Europe. He had previously established a new diocese for Scandinavia and Great Britain (1977).

The Patriarch was an accomplished linguist and writer, and his knowledge of languages included English and Malayalam. He was the author of over forty works in Assyrian and Arabic. He was the recipient of two honorary doctorates.

His own early career in theological education led him to an appreciation of its importance in the life and renewal of the Church. He was responsible for transferring the patriarch seminary of St. Ephrem to new and purpose-designed buildings at Atchaneh outside Beirut in Lebanon (1968).

He was an ecumenist both on the official and unoffi-

cial level. As well as leading his Church into the WCC and encouraging it to take part in various bi-lateral dialogues, it was under his guidance that the Assyrian Orthodox Church became the first of the Eastern Churches to join the Near East Council of Churches (now the MECC).

At heart Mar Ignatius Yacoub III was a man of Athur. He had to wrestle with the troubles that his nation faced as a Christian community confronted with the problem of emigration, a community trying hard to survive as an entity in the Middle East today. It is a particular problem for the two million Christians of the Assyrian tradition, since their identity and their destiny is completely separate from that of the present governments in the Middle East.

In recent years as the Assyrian National Consciousness began to rise and spread, the Orthodox Church became increasingly aware of its national identity. In face of this new situation, the Iraqi government, not wanting to see a mass Assyrian National Movement, pressured Mar Ignatius (1979) to stay away from politics. But, at heart, the Patriarch remained convinced that the growth of Assyrian Nationalism was inevitable as the Middle East Drama continues to unfold.

Mar Ignatius lived through a difficult period in the history of his church. As a child he witnessed the persecution of his people in Turkey, and the uprooting of many of those who survived the massacres. As a young man he lived through the tumultuous years that saw the birth of nationalist Arab states, with such important consequences for the Christians of the Middle East. He faced the problems posed by the increasing emigration of the Assyrian people from the Middle East. It is a measure of the man that he was ready to face the problems that these new times presented. He did not always find the solutions for his Assyrian people, but, at least, he was very conscious of the questions. Mar Ignatius died in Damascus on 26 June 1980.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR: BAT YEOR, born in Egypt and now living in Switzerland, has written numerous articles on non-Muslim minorities. She is also the author of a historical study of Egyptian Jewry, published in French (1971), and in a Hebrew edition (1974) with a preface by the late Prof. H. Z. Hirschberg.

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Application of Computers to the Astronomical Dating of the Ancient Babylonian Boundary Stones, Known as "Kudurrus"

by Vladimir S. Tuman

SUMMARY

This article is dedicated to my wife, Turan Tuman, who has introduced me to the ancient Babylonian and Assyrian culture. For the last few years, I have been studying astronomical evolution, development and achievement of that culture. In this paper, we have unfolded, from the iconographical symbols on the Kudurrus that the evolution of astronomy continued even during the Kassite period. We have found that the concept of Zigpu stars and simultaneous rising and setting was used as early as 1293 B.C. and 1092 B.C., respectively. The utilization of planetary alignment is recorded back in 840 B.C. Some information and glossy pictures for these Kudurrus were provided by the Louvre Museum, Paris, the Statliche Museum, Berlin and the British Museum, London; for which the author is very grateful.

Introduction

"Kudurru is a Babylonian term used for boundary stones. These boundary stones are the documents of ownership of land and property that Babylonian kings gave to their sons, faithful officers, ministers or others.

There are also documents in which Babylonian kings offered lands and property to a temple and its priest. When the ownership of land property was transferred with dispute, the king would act as a final judge for settling the dispute and transfer of ownership. All these events are recorded in cuneiform script on Kudurrus.

There are about 110 Kudurrus scattered around the world, housed in different museums.² Many are in the Louvre Museum, Paris; the British Museum, London; and the Statliche Museum, Berlin, Capital of D.D.R. Numerous Kudurrus are carved from the black limestone, usually from large river boulders, and they are roughly dated from 1450 B.C. to about 700 B.C.³

The documents often contain the size of the land, its geographical location, the name of the king, the names of the recipients and the names of witnesses. They also contain the names of deities invoked to protect the owner and his family, and curses upon those who interfere with the rights of the owners.

These Kudurrus contain: a) the legal records, b) religious practices of the time, c) occasional unique historical events. The legal documents and some other information were frequently also recorded on a clay or a stone tablet. These tablets were kept in safe places; the temple documents were kept in the archive of the temple⁴

Aside from the aforementioned categories, the Kudurrus also contain an astral portion, in which iconographic symbols represented the abode of the deities and their attributes. On some Kudurrus, such as Susa #1, the names of the astral symbols are inscribed. For the last hundred years or so, these symbols and their astronomical representations have been deciphered. It is now evident that through iconographic symbols, the scribes have recorded the position of the planets with respect to the known constellations, primarily in the vicinity of the plane of the ecliptic.

The astral portion of the Kudurrus, which is a reflection of the astral religion of the time, normally was not copied on the stone or the clay tablets. There are few exceptions.

In this paper, we are only concerned with the astronomical interpretation of the symbols carved on the Kudurrus. Such a knowledge is used to date three different Kudurrus. In what follows, we shall briefly discuss the iconography of the astral symbol, and present a sample of the iconography representing the identified planets and constellations. The list will include only those discussed in this paper.

The Astral Symbols and Their Meaning on Kudurrus

A number of Kudurrus are conical in shape, where the upper portion is smoothed to a semi-spherical body. This hemisphere is depicted as an early celestial hemisphere (see Fig. 1). On the central top, a star with four rays emanating from it is the symbol of the Sun, the representation of the god Shamash; a five, eight or sixteen-corner star as the planet Venus, representing the goddess Ishtar; and the sickle of the Moon, representing the god Sin. These three bright objects in the sky — the Sun, the Moon, and Venus — are commonly situated on the top of the Kudurru. Other planets, bright stars and constellations which are presumably the attributes of some of the deities invoked, are displayed symbolically. The number of symbols usually do not correlate with the deities invoked.7 Since the beginning of this century, the majority of these symbols and their astronomical representation has been identified. The symbols used in this paper, their astronomical names, and the deities they represent, are given in Table 1, Sun, Moon and Planets; Table 2A and 2B, the bright stars and constellations. 8,9

On a Kudurru, when we translate the astral symbols into planets and constellations, the planets are corre-

lated to different but well-known constellations. As an example, see Fig. 1, the so-called Susa #2 Kudurru of King Nazi-Marutash. In this boundary stone, the tail of Scorpius points to the Sun. The position of the Sun is estimated to be at RA 18 \pm 1 hour, which suggests a direct relationship between the Sun and the constellation of Scorpius. However, the Sun, Moon and Venus are also related to the Lady sitting in the chair, known as the goddess Gula, which astronomically is represented by the constellation of Aquarius. Below the Sun, we also observe a lamp which is known as Nusku, a kind of lamp which was probably used by the scribes. At sunset the scribes would have to use Nusku, the lamp in order to record their astronomical observations. For this reason, I believe Nusku, as an astral symbol, represents the sunset. Gula (Aquarius) would then be related to the sunset. We note that Gula culminates when the Sun sets. Hence, we get a cross-check on the coordinates of the Sun and Venus. Of course, simultaneous setting-culmination or rising-culmination is known to us from mul Apin, the astronomical tablets, which we shall discuss later, very briefly.9

The culminating objects, in this case Gula, were known to be called the Ziqpu stars. Here we find on the Kudurru Susa #2, the concept of "Ziqpu star," according to our interpretation, was used back in 1293 B.C. In the British Museum Kudurru #90835, Mush, the head of Hydra (which at the Babylonian time was near the star Procyon) is located near the planet Venus (see Fig. 2). This coordinate is also confirmed by an arrow, in the third row, which was known as KAK-SI-DI, representing the bright star Sirius. From Venus, we set a boundary to the coordinates of the Sun, RA ~ 8 ± 3 hours.

The position of the Lamp, Nusku, indicates Aquarius (Gula) is related to the sunset (Fig. 2). This indirectly confirms the position of the Sun at $RA \sim 11 \pm 1$ hour; when the sun sets in Virgo, Gula rises. We are already familiar with concurrent rising and setting which was used by the Babylonian and Assyrian astronomers through the mul Apin tablets. The astronomical tablets. The astronomical dating of B.M. Kudurru #90835 indicates that simultaneous rising and setting was practiced back in 1092 B.C.

A Brief Discussion of mul Apin, the Astronomical Tablets

The Babylonian and Assyrian astronomers have left us with a summary of astronomical knowledge and practice of the ancient time in at least three different sets of astronomical tablets. The most comprehensive sets are known as the series "mul Apin," comprising of three tablets. One of the copies of the first tablets, BM 86-378, was translated and published by L. W. King in cuneiform texts 33, plate 1-8 in 1913. It was presumed to be about the third century B.C. The text has been completely

restored with the aid of five other copies, two of which are from Assurbanipal's Library, which are dated before 612 B.C. There are seven copies from the second mul Apin tablet. One of the copies is VAT 9412 from Assur, dated 687 B.C. There are two other copies from Assur, three from Assurbanipal's Library and one Neo-Babylonian. Although VAT 9412 is dated 687 B.C. on the back of another copy it is remarked "copy from Babylon." Of the third tablet, very little has been published.

The first tablet, according to Van der Waerden, Science Awakening II, the Birth of Astronomy, contains eight sections.*

- 1. List of 33 stars of Enlil, 23 stars of Anu and 15 stars of Ea.
- Dates of Morning-Rising of 36 fixed stars and constellations.
- 3. Stars that are rising while others are setting.
- 4. Differences between the Morning-Rising dates of some selected stars.
- 5. Visibility of fixed stars in East and West.
- 6. List of 14 Ziqpu stars.
- 7. Relation between the culmination of Ziqpu stars and their Morning Rising.
- 8. The stars in the path of the Moon.

In this paper, we shall briefly discuss section 3 and sections 6 and 7 of the mul Apin table #1, and briefly relate them to symbolic representations of Kudurrus. In the British Museum Kudurru #90835, we mentioned concurrent ascending of Gula, Aquarius, and the setting of the Sun in the region of Virgo and Leo. As examples, in section 3 of mul Apin, we have concurrent: mul ZIBA-ZI-AN-NA (Orion) rises and mul PA-BIL-SAG (Saggitarius) sets; also mul KAK-SI-DA (Sirius) rises and mul Amushen (Aquila) sets, etc. 10 In this manner, if the eastern horizon was obscured, the western horizon would be used to indicate the rising of an object (see also Tables 2A and 2B).

In sections 6 and 7 of mul Apin, a second group of stars and constellations were called the "Ziqpu" stars. This correlates the rise of one constellation is correlated with a culminating constellation. Naturally, whenever possible, a distinct and bright star within these constellations was used for correlation purposes.

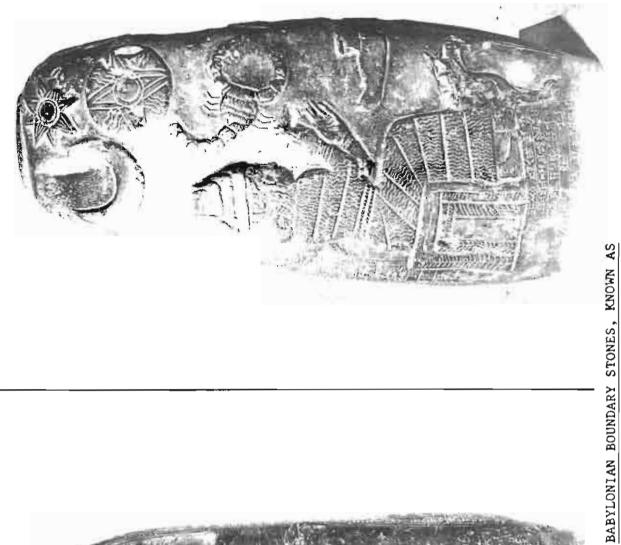
From the list of mul Apin stars, we have selected four stars that act as rising and culminating stars concurrently (see also Table 3).

mul SU-PA (Arcturus) rises, mul AL-LUL (Procyon) culminates.

mul ERU (Altair) rises, mul SUPA (Arcturus) culminates.

^{*}For a detailed discussion of these eight sections of the first tablet of mule one should consult the excellent book, The Birth of Astronomy, by Van der Waerden.

"KUDURRUS"





mul AL-LUL (Procyon) sets, mul AB-SIN (Spica) culminates.

In Kudurru Susa #2, we note that Gula (Aquarius) culminates when the sun sets.

We also read that in the morning of 20 Nisannu, before the sunrise, when the shoulder of mul UD-KA-DU-HA (Cygni) culminates, mul GAM (Capella) is rising.

The Ziqpu stars were also used to tell the time at night. According to Schaumberger, the Babylonians and Assyrians could tell time by an accuracy of 4 to 8 minutes. This was indeed a remarkable astronomical achievement! A list of the bright stars found in mul Apin tablets is given in Table 3. Some of these stars and their constellations are also found on Kudurrus.

A General Approach and Technique of Dating the Kudurrus

In this study, we are using a basic principle of astronomy, namely the angular elongation between Sun-Mercury has to be 28° and Sun-Venus = 48°. Hence, absurd speculations are ruled out immediately.

If we make a reasonable assumption that astronomical features on these boundary stones represent the sky of the time, then with the aid of a computer or ancient astronomical tablets calculated by a digital computer (such as those published by William D. Stahlman and Owen Gingerich)¹³ we can estimate the time when the monuments were carved. This is only possible if the coordinates of the planets are determined within certain boundaries. At this stage, we are not certain whether the symbol represents the true groups of stars associated with a constellation, or a theoretical 30 degrees on the plain of the ecliptic, associated with the position of the Sun during a particular month of the year, the Vernal Equinox being the beginning of the year, first of Nisanu. Hence, we are using $\pm 15^{\circ}$ as a limit for the positions of the planets; this seems to be a reasonable choice. The relations between the symbols frequently confirm the right choice of coordinates of the planets, and rule out the wrong choices most of the time.

In this paper, three Kudurrus have been tentatively dated. The oldest of the three is known as the Nazi Marutash Kudurru, Susa #2; the date is December, 1293 B.C. This Kudurru is in the Louvre Museum, Paris. The second is the Kudurru #90835 of the British Museum in London; it is dated August, 1092 B.C. The third Kudurru, VA-208, is in the Statliche Museum, Berlin, the capital of D.D.R.; we believe this Kudurru represents a planetary alignment between the constellations of Taurus and Hercules; it is dated May-June, 840 B.C.

The dating procedure is founded upon the assumption that the iconography carbed on Kudurrus correspond to astronomical phenomena of the Kassite Period. The methodological approach used here involves the following steps:

- 1. Identifying icons and symbols on Kudurrus, and possible constellations, planets, stars and moons which they may represent.
- 2. Identify such constellations and/or planets. Estimate the location of the Sun, the Moon, and other planets of the Solar System with reference to the constellations and/or planets depicted on the Kudurrus.
- 3. Check data for Mercury by establishing a maximum east/west elongation, to make sure it falls within \pm 28° from the Sun.
- 4. A similar data check is done for Venus, to establish that it falls within \pm 48° from the coordinates of the Sun.
- 5. Correction of data for the Earth's precession which occurs at 50.37 seconds per year. This step is necessary because the data in the tables are precessed back to history. For comparison purposes, we also have to precess our estimates.
- 6. Assuming that present dating techniques of Kudurrus are accurate within ± 300 years, a cross-reference is made with Stahlman-Gingerich Astronomical Tables until the majority or all of the planets (on the Kudurrus) correspond closely to the estimated locations. The positions of Saturn, Jupiter and the Sun are of key importance, as those three coordinates help bypass redundant coordinates. Although tabular data are in longitude, no conversion from right ascension to longitude is performed, as a correction of 2-3° to data with accuracy of ± 15° is not justified.
- 7. To confirm estimates in step 6., a final computer check is made at either the Simsonian Observatory, Harvard University, by Dr. Owen Gingerich, ¹⁴ or at the Jet Propulsion Lab at Cal Tech, by Dr. Myles Standish. ¹⁵ This final step also confirms the coordinates of the Moon, which are missing from the Tables, yielding further accuracy to the estimates to ± 1 day.

Although the technique is quite scientific, one still has to put the facts together to solve the puzzle. No single hint is normally accepted by itself unless it is validated directly or indirectly by one or two other sources. Next we shall study the techniques used to date three different Kudurrus.

To be continued

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Assyrian Studies

Fifty Neo-Assyrian Legal Documents, by J. N. Postgate. Warminster, England: Aris and Phillips, Ltd., 1976. Distributed by ISBS, Inc., Forest Grove, Oregon. Pp. x + 221. £4.00 (paper).

Revived interest in the study of Neo-Assyrian texts has supplemented the political history of the Assyrian Empire with analyses of its social and administrative institutions. Recently discovered texts have provided both an occasion and an improved frame of reference for reappraisal of older documents and scholarship. Postgate's new volume continues this trend with the first general treatment of Neo-Assyrian legal texts since Kohler and Ungnad (1913). The presentation addresses an audience of informed nonspecialists, including general readers in ancient history as well as cuneiformists who are not adept in the Neo-Assyrian dialect. It gives an analytical survey of the character of the documents and the terms of discussion, a fastidious edition of illustrative texts, and a concise philological apparatus.

Part 1 is an extended "Introduction to Neo-Assyrian Legal Documents," articulated into ranked paragraphs for later cross-reference. After a brief survey of Assyrian words for tablets (§1.1), it turns first to discussion of those physical characteristics that reflect ancient distinctions of purpose (§1.2), and then to summary of formal properties common to most document types (§§1.3-7). The balance of the introduction classifies the texts and expounds the legal and philological issues of their constituent clauses. The classification discriminates four main types on mixed criteria of operational effect, textual structure, and/or physical characteristics. The first two types, conveyances (§2) and contracts (§3), are largely consistent in structure and appearance. The other two, receipts (§4) and judicial records (§5), show greater variety of construction, corresponding to variations in ancient procedure and effect. Hence, they are not susceptible to easy subclassification: three subtypes of receipts are identified, but one of these, receipts for judicial fines, is treated as one of four subtypes of judicial records (§§4.2.2, 5.2.3).

The classificatory labels and the grounds for their choice are clear, but the labels are not entirely congruent with strict modern legal usage: e.g., sales are classed as conveyances rather than contracts. In fact, the author disavows the aim of systematic legal reconstruction, and his presentation is largely free of technical usage. The introduction nevertheless cites and evaluates the main earlier legal-historical studies. Occasional interpretive summaries of such older statements are a welcome service to English-speaking readers who are apt to be unpracticed in the descriptive idiom of European jurists; the summary of Koschaker on pledge (§3.7.7) is especially useful.

Features of NA* grammar and orthography receive only incidental attention. The burden of such matters is left to the companion volume of NA letters forthcoming from Parpola; there is no suggestion in the present volume of significant difference between the language of NA legal texts and that of contemporary letters. Lexical issues are of course crucial to exposition of individual clauses, and they receive extended treatment.

An appendix on NA metrology (§6) provides a tool for economic study of legal texts, applicable to larger or better bounded samples of texts than those edited in this book.

Part II presents the fifty texts in transliteration. Each is accompanied by philological notes, summary comments, and section-by-section cross-references to the introduction. Con-

tinuous translations are omitted, requiring basic knowledge of Akkadian for use of the complete volume. Though it may dismay the general reader, this omission is a strong feature of the format. Ostensibly, it serves two purposes: to make the volume shorter and cheaper, and to make it useful as a language instruction text. In fact, it serves a further general aim, the faithful representation of the texts' contents.

Legal texts are nothing if not formal. Verbatim translations are hypnotically conventional; unless they are given in large numbers, they gloss over distinctions between regular and exceptional features. If they are faithful to the order of the original, they are false to English syntax. If they are liberal, they are tantamount to summaries. Postgate's cross-references, on the other hand, direct the reader to short discussions which analyze the texts' constituents, interpret the sense of each, identify their textual and historical variations, and define areas of obscurity. They transform individually banal clauses into recognizable units of an interlocking system of legal expression. The introduction thus does a second duty as a surrogate for translation. The resulting economy of format' is a model for works of this genre.

The texts are chosen to illustrate an optimum variety of transaction types. Most exemplify larger sets; some represent poorly documented areas of legal activity, and several of these are accompanied by topical surveys which supplement the analytical discussions of the introduction (cf. p. 75); at least one text (no. 49) is formally unique. The documents range in date from 783 s.c. (no. 1) through the postcanonical eponymies after 648 s.c., by which more than half are dated (cf. p. 10. §1.6). Most are from Nineveh and Calah (Nimrud); two are from Balawat (ancient Imgur-Enlil), and one from Tell Halaf (ancient Guzana).

The quality of the transliterations deserves emphasis: they rank as principal editions. Three texts are previously unpublished (nos. 8, 37, 41). All but two texts have been collated fully; the collations give a large number of improvements over published copies and editions, particularly evident in texts first published in ADD.

Part III includes a glossary of logograms, a glossary of words written syllabically and numerals, a list of logograms used in the spelling of proper names, and a list of texts quoted. The glossaries are arranged for consistency with Parpola's forthcoming volume of letters. The lemmas of the syllabic glossary are Assyrian dialect forms, rather than Standard Babylonian. Glosses are short; citations and cross-references are complete.

There is little redundancy among the book's three parts. The prose style is generally spare, sometimes informal, occasionally marred by infelicities. The presentation avoids cumbersome apparatus and academic ornament. There are no footnotes, no doubt an advantage in preparation of the typescript from which the book is reproduced. Bibliography supplied and evaluated in the body of the text is nevertheless ample; bibliographic lists are confined to a supplement to the list of NA sources in Parpola 1970: xxiii (p. 2, §1.3), and a survey of recent publication on the Aramaic notes on NA and NB tablets (p. 1), §1.7).

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Death in Mesopotamia. Edited by BENDT ALSTER. Pp. 302 + 16 plates. (Mesopotamia, Copenhagen Studies in Assyriology, Volume 8) Copenhagen: AKADEMISK FORLAG. 1980.

This substantial volume represents the bulk of the papers from the July, 1979 Rencontre assyriologique held in Copenhagen. It has been elegantly produced, with commendable speed and with relatively few errors-the only serious ones, are on pp. 282-284, where figures 1, 3, and 4 are too small to show what the accompanying text says is on them. Indeed, so rapidly did the volume go to press after the conference that several papers relevant to its overall theme could not be included; and despite plans to put them in another Copenhagen Assyriology publication (see p. 16), most have since appeared elsewhere: in ZA 70/II (1981) for the studies of D. Owen on "Widow's Rights" (pp. 170-184), J. Oelsner on "Bestattungssitten" (pp. 246-257), and V. Afanasieva on "Vom Gleichgewicht der Toten" (pp. 161-169); and in SEb 1/7-8 (1979) for the enlarged Italian version of G. Scandone Matthiae's "Un temoignage pharaonique" (pp. 119-128 + Fig. 36-40).

"Death in Mesopotamia" has long needed concerted study; and the present effort comes at a time when interest as a whole has revived in how ancient societies confronted death: note, for example, the recent Sather Lectures of Emily Vermeule, Aspects of Death in Early Greek Arı and Poetry (Berkeley, 1979) and the Naples symposium, edited by G. Gnoli and J.-P. Vernant as La mort. les morts dans les sociétés anciennes (Cambridge-Paris-Naples, 1982). In our volume "Mesopotamia" is understood broadly, consistent with earlier Rencontres assyriologiques; and thus the twenty-eight contributions range not only over the culture of the Tigris-Euphrates region, but over other ancient Near Eastern cultures influenced by it. Editor Alster has grouped them into six categories.

The first comprises three General Statements by T. Jacobsen, J. Bottéro, and W. G. Lambert, which survey Mesopotamian views of death and the nether world and the gamut of attitudes toward them, from resignation to resistance. The most comprehensive piece is Bottéro's, typically cultivated and subtle; that by Jacobsen, marked, in turn, by the customary felicity of his translations, is a shortened version of a paper to appear in another forum; while Lambert's contribution centers around a re-edition, with new material, of Utnapištim's speech on the finality of death in Gilgameš X vi.

A section on Sumerian Sources follows, with publications by D. A. Foxvog and B. Perlov, respectively, of a rather complicated land-sale from pre-Sargonic Adab, involving a list of goods to be buried with a temple official and his wife, and of an Ur III-period list of offerings to certain gods, deceased ensis-among them Gudea-and the ensis' wives, all of Lagas. Here also is placed an essay by H. Sauren on the geography of the nether world and the divine guardians of its entrances, as portrayed in Sumerian texts. And H. Vanstiphout proposes the provocative thesis that the city laments of the turn of the second millennium B.C. refer to an actual epidemic of bubonic plague which helped to bring down the Ur III state. In this last paper, several of the references discussed are indeed striking; and certainly, as a general proposition, the importance of epidemics in history, however hard to examine, cannot be denied (see W. H. McNeill, Plagues and Peoples [New York, 1977]). Still, the suspicion lingers that the images of destruction in the laments could come from a traditional literary vocabulary, with a varied historical base, rather than from one particular historical episode—all the more so, because Vanstiphout has not been able to cite any clear, nonliterary evidence for plague, as against, simply, famine, at the end of Ur III. One awaits his major study for possible answers.

The largest and most diverse section in the volume concerns Akkadian Sources. It opens with two papers on the treatment of death in the omen tradition: by U. Jeyes, who carefully collates all Old Babylonian death omens and tries to establish some of the rules of their composition; and by J. S. Cooper, who concentrates on the so-called "historical" omens (the latter also briefly in Jeyes), and concisely and persuasively questions their reliability as historical sources. As part of his case, Cooper makes the significant observation that when Mesopotamians affirmed that omen x "predicts" event y, they did not do so, as widely thought, from a belief that in the universe x was always linked to y, independent of divine will. It was, to paraphrase him, that omen x was a kind of lexeme in a divinely ordained language, where it referred to the class of y events, and that once the gods had decided to bring y about, they might then select x to communicate their decision to a diviner, the human specialist in their language, who would, in turn, translate it for his clients.

Besides omens, there are three papers on the ancestor cult in Mesopotamia. A. Skaist insightfully examines the connections of the cult to various inheritance practices. However, his statement, made in agreement with M. Bayliss, that "Mesopotamia had no lineages" (p. 128: n. 24) needs some explanation in the face of research which points to large, multi-generational kin-based groups in Mesopotamia, including the cities, over a number of periods: see, for example, I. M. Diakonoff (ed.), Ancient Mesopotamia (Moscow, 1969); I. J. Gelb, as in E. Lipiński (ed.), State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East (Leuven, 1979) I, especially 81-95; N. Yoffee, The Economic Role of the Crown in the Old Babylonian Period (Malibu, 1977), and, with V. Donbaz, Old Babylonian Texts from Kish Conserved in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums (Malibu, forthcoming), chap. V; and E. Stone, "The History of a Neighborhood: Area TA at Nippur," Abstract of paper read at the American Oriental Society, 193rd Meeting, Baltimore, March, 1983. A second paper on ancestors is by A. Tsukimoto, who describes aspects of the kispu offerings in the Old Babylonian period. And for the third, M. Birot publishes an important kispu ritual from Mari, which he plausibly ascribes to Samši-Adad I, and which dramatically confirms the Assyrian's ideological ties to the Agade dynasty, since it prominently features offerings to the spirits of Sargon and Naram-Sin. (The possibility raised by Birot on p. 150: n. 19 that Amorite rulers like Samši-Adad practiced "un double patronage" of legitimation, i.e., in "tribal" terms before other Amorites and in "dynastic" terms before the older, urban populations of Mesopotamia, is now explored at greater length by P. Michalowski, JAOS 103 [1983], especially

Late Bronze Akkadian sources are treated in the studies of P. Artzi and H. Klengel, both discussing the letter of Hattusili III to Kadašman-Enlil II (KBo I 10 + KUB III 72), but from different perspectives. Artzi looks at it in the context of official mourning behavior among heads of state; Klengel, as a prime datum for the legal issues at stake in the murder of Babylonian merchants in Hittite-controlled Syria. One of these issues was the recognition by the Hittites of local community responsibility for unsolved murders; and to the evidence collected by Klengel, one should add Hittie Laws § 6, particularly the later version (J. Friedrich, Die hethitischen Gesetze [Leiden, 1971], 16-17 § 6; 50-51 § IV). It is also noteworthy that troubles with foreign merchants in Syria were not confined to the Late Bronze Age, as A. Malamat has shown recently in his publication of a letter from Old Babylonian Mari, though this does not mention murder (JJS 33 [1982], 71-79 and BiAr 46 [1983], 169-174).

On the Neo-Assyrian period, we are given two contributions: by S. Parpola, who aims to clarify the background of the assassination of Sennacherib (see ahead); and by P. Xella, who discovers in the Biblical account of the Assyrian rabšaqeh speeches an allusion to the fate of the dead "eat(ing) their own dung and drink(ing) their own urine" (2 Kings 18:27/Isaiah 36:12). Xella, probably correctly, understands this allusion as a piece of authentic Mesopotamiana preserved in the speeches, although, as he concedes, it was common not only to Mesopotamian tradition, but to other Near Eastern traditions as well.

Finally, there are two papers on life expectancy. That by P. B. Adamson, in abstract only, studies the possible role of epidemics in the second millennium B.C. (cf. the essay of Vanstiphout above). And M. Dandamayev's is a report on a prosopographical analysis of Neo-Babylonian records (7th-4th centuries B.C.), which reveals long lifespans for groups as varied as scribes and privately owned slaves.

Hittite Sources are represented by a paper of V. Korošec on the history of the treatment of capital crimes in Hittite law (which incidentally touches on the affair of the murdered Babylonian merchants discussed by Klengel). In addition, J. D. Hawkins studies the character of Neo-Hittite funerary monuments, editing three of the better preserved inscriptions from them.

All three contributions in Ugaritic Sources focus largely on the myths and epics. M. Astour surveys the views and attitudes in Ugarit on the nether world. J. F. Healey examines the underworld traits of the sun-goddess Šapšu, and compares her to the Mesopotamian Samas. In describing, however, the wisdom and justice of Samas as "somewhat abstract (in) form," as against Sapšu's, which are said to be "in mythological and ritual contexts" (p. 239), Healey makes a distinction that is not immediately clear, and, in any case, ignores the many "practical" contexts in which Samas' wisdom comes into play: presiding over treaties, contracts, and ordeals; guiding omens; and, just as Healey claims for Šapšu, participating in rituals for the dead (cf. the Mari kispu published by Birot elsewhere in this volume). In the third Ugaritic study, B. Margalit attempts to elucidate the major themes in the Bacal-Mot story, along with those aspects of the Aqhat poem pertaining to death; but a certain adventurousness characterizes his philology and ideas, which does not always inspire confidence: for example, his view of Mot as a snake who fells Bacal with a bite (on this cf. M. H. Pope's review, in UF 13 [1981], 318-319, of A Matter of 'Life' and 'Death' [AOAT 206, 1980], the larger volume by Margalit which underlies his present paper).

The last section of the volume covers Archaeology and Art, and begins with three papers on Mesopotamia proper. F. Rashid tries to argue for regular female infanticide in the prehistoric Mesopotamian north and a resulting polyandry practiced in both northern and southern Mesopotamia until early historic times (see ahead). E. Porada examines the iconographic expressions of death in Mesopotamian art, especially glyptic, of the first half of the second millennium B.C., suggesting, acutely, that "the relative paucity" (p. 259) of such expressions reflects the fear in which death was held. And C. Nylander, in a summary of his work (the full version in AJA 84 [1980], 329-333 + Pls. 43-45), makes an attractive case for attributing the damage on the famous copper head perhaps of Sargon to a ritual mutilation by the Median conquerors of Nineveh. Two other archaeological papers conclude the volume. K. Frifelt summarizes the work of herself and colleagues on a large number of graves in Oman. most of whose contents, though not their architecture, show the presence of the Jemdat Nasr culture of southern Mesopotamia, (For a recent study placing these finds in broader chronological and geographical perspective, see D. Potts, Journal of Oman Studies 4 [1978], 29-51, who on p. 43 underlines the specific connections with Ur.) And S. Hodiasch describes the grave goods, particularly jewelry and seals, from the necropolis of the Urartian city of Erebuni and their connections to the art found in the citadel of Erebuni itself, as well as in other Urartian sites.

As the preceding remarks should make clear, the papers in Death in Mesopotamia offer a wide and yet overlapping range of approaches, topics, and data within their common theme. Inevitably, given the many contributors and their general freedom to decide their own contributions, the coverage could not be systematic nor comprehensive; and each reader will miss something: for example, a discussion of capital crimes in Mesopotamia to complement Korošec's on the Hittites, or a study of human sacrifice, otherwise considered only in a tantalizing remark of Astour on a Ugaritic offerings list (p. 235: n. 6). (Note, however, from the 1974 Rencontre assyriologique, P. Xella's paper on human sacrifice in Mesopotamia, Orien. NS 45 [1976], 185-196.) It is inevitable also that the various contributions show a certain unevenness. At one end of the scale lies the essay of Rashid on female infanticide and polyandry. It really does not belong in a scholarly collection, for it is not much more than a concatenation of undemonstrated conjectures, which become increasingly unrestrained until they reach the level of suggesting that slaves were doubtless very young when they entered slavery in Sumerian times, since, after all, the Sumerian word for manumission, ama-ar-gi, means "to return to the mother" (p. 258)!

By contrast, a number of papers, as indicated above, are of real importance; and if a reviewer may be allowed his prejudice, the most fascinating among them is S. Parpola's quest for "The Murderer of Sennacherib." This is a tightly constructed piece of detective work, centering on a long known, but completely misunderstood Neo-Assyrian court letter, ABL 1091. Under Parpola's persistence, the letter is made to yield up the culprit, and the intrigue that it reveals in the process would do honor to Agatha Christie. Most inter-

esting, the name of the murderer, Arda-Mulissi, turns out to be the one actually preserved, in variant and sometimes corrupt form, in the Bible and Berossus—something proposed by certain earlier Assyriologists, as Parpola observes, but without any convincing demonstration until his present work.

If there is a question to be raised here, it is that in reconstructing the background and motives of the murder, on the basis of ABL 1091 and other evidence, Parpola perhaps too narrowly focuses on court jealousies and personal ambitions. Larger factors are not considered, one of which seems crucial: Sennacherib's attitude toward and violent treatment of Babylonia, especially Babylon. Two points about the king's attitude can be made. First, that it was not simply a psychopathic aberration, but had roots in a long-standing conflict in the Assyrian court over Babylonia is evident from the remarkable similarities it bears to the Babylonian preoccupations of a Middle Assyrian predecessor, Tukulti-Ninurta I, who was also assassinated in a conspiracy involving one of his sons. Second, that a reaction to Sennacherib's Babylonian policy did, in fact, play a role in his murder is strongly suggested, inter alia, by the letter ABL 1216, which Parpola himself cites (pp. 179-180: n. 41). For this letter, sent to Sennacherib's successor. Esarhaddon, soon after the latter's assumption of power, seeks to remind and urge upon him "the omen of kingship", i.e., the omen which had announced that Esarhaddon would be the successful heir. And critical to that omen, the letter specifies, had been the assertion that he who succeeded to the throne would be the one to "rebuild Babylon and reconstruct Esangil."

The foregoing remarks notwithstanding, Parpola's piece remains a stunning performance; and its appearance in *Death* in *Mesopotamia* only highlights the overall value of that volume, for which Bendt Alster and his associates may be warmly thanked.

PETER MACHINIST UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

Grammatik der modernen assyrischen Sprache (Neuostaramäische), by Konstantin Tsereteli. Tr. by Peter Nagel. Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1978. Pp. 188. DM 22.

The Modern Assyrian Language, by K. G. Tsereteli. Tr. from the Russian by B. A. Zhebelev. Languages of Asia and Africa Series. Moscow: Nauka Publishing House, 1978. Pp. 104. 95 rubles.

Ever since Neo-Aramaic materials became accessible to Western scholars in the middle of the 19th century, these late vestiges of one of the most widespread languages of antiquity have aroused the interest of Semitists. By the end of that century, however, with the publication of grammars by Nöldeke and Maclean and of Maclean's dictionary, a temporary culmination point in the investigation of this language was reached, and publications continued only on a small scale during the following half century.

It was only after the end of the Second World War that various factors led to an intensification of research in the field of Neo-Aramaic, and one of its pioneers was Professor Konstantin Tsereteli in Tbilisi, who wrote over a dozen books and articles on the subject. Among these books was a concise grammar of the literary language, which is based on the dialect of Urmia, published in Russian as a volume in the series "Languages of Asia and Africa" (Moscow, 1964). The two books under review are translations of this grammar; an Italian translation was published in Naples in 1970.

In spite of the long interval between the original publication and these translations, the text has not been subjected to any revision except for a minor point concerning the classification of Neo-Aramaic dialects. This is somewhat unfortunate, since in the past 15 years various new insights have been gained, the consideration of which would have greatly enhanced the value even of such a concise grammar.

Perhaps the most disturbing methodological drawback of this book is the constant mixing of synchronic and diachronic statements, to the point of obscuring the facts. Thus, speaking of gemination (German, p. 54, English, p. 36), the author makes the assertion that gemination of consonants has not survived, leaving the reader with the impression that there are no geminated consonants in Neo-Aramaic. This statement, however, is valid only diachronically with regard to the survival of old geminates, as the profusion of geminated consonants in recently published texts in transliteration proves.

Another weak area is the rather confusing treatment of the verb. Verbal forms are explained only etymologically as the result of historical transformations, but their functions as parts of a synchronic structure are rarely shown. For example, a preterite I and a preterite II are named (German, p. 92f., English, p. 58f.), but their correlation in the system of tenses is never discussed.

In spite of these shortcomings, the grammar does convey an idea of the structure of modern Aramaic, and compared with the bulky works of Nöldeke and Maclean it has the advantage of brevity and the use of transliteration. The latter feature makes it accessible to the general linguist.

A single revision was introduced in the translations with regard to the classification of Neo-Aramaic dialects. The dialect of Tur Abdin, which had previously been classified as Eastern Aramaic, now forms the Central Aramaic group. Adjustments to this change, however, were not carried out in the body of the book.

The German translation contains two errors: On p. 14, 1. 13, westlich should read nördlich; and on p. 96, 1. 14, Part. pass. should read Part. act. At the same time, it has a number of advantages over the English translation. It contains a fuller bibliography, an index (absent in both Russian and English editions), and in addition to the verbal paradigms in transliteration also one in Nestorian script. There is also reason to believe that it may be more easily available, since Soviet books, once published, are notoriously hard to obtain. The considerably larger number of pages in the German edition is due merely to the fact that it is reproduced from type script. This, together with a hard cover, gives it the appearance of a much larger book than the English edition.

George Krotkoff The Johns Hopkins University

Mari and Karana: two old Babylonian cities by Stephanie Dalley

Longman, London and New York 1984, £12.50

Mari is in Syria, on the west bank of the upper Euphrates, at the eastern end of a caravan route to the Mediterranean via Tadmur (Palmyra). Karana is in northern Iraq, south of Telafar, on a trade route linking Anatolia with the Tigris valley and the Indian ocean. Excavation and study of both sites, at Mari beginning in 1933, and at Karana since 1964, have made possible the reconstruction of two of the highly sophisticated complex polities of Mesopotamia in the early second millenium BC.

At both sites the most spectacular finds are huge deposits of written documents (over 20,000 at Mari). They are mostly small pillows of unfired clay, inscribed in a cuneiform script of about 200 signs, reading from left to right. The language is Akkadian, the Semitic tongue which became the lingua franca of international affairs between Egyptians and their eastern neighbours in the mid-14th century BC. This rich store of official documents, royal decrees, treaties, personal trivia, recipes, trade figures and bills of lading, have been brilliantly assembled by a scholar who combines command of her subject with delightful enthusiasm for Mesopotamia past and present.

The reader is introduced to the international setting of Mari and Karana and to their interrelated rulers, men and women. Their personal authority, backed by local rather than universal gods, stimulated and maintained all activity, from palace-controlled industries to external trade and diplomatic relations. Almost every aspect of the daily life of exceedingly busy cities is recounted. Food and drink loom large among those on the royal list or who were paid in kind. Fish, meat, many varieties of bread or porridge sweetened with date syrup or wild honey were washed down with beer and wines, cooled by ice stored in specially built ice-houses. Consumers were very particular about the quality and cleanliness of their ice. Spices were important, and some were traded from afar (cloves can only have arrived from Indonesia at that date). Women were impressive participants at all levels from ruler downwards; they could, for instance, be scribes. Women's clothes followed fashionable trends, and we learn that hats, a notable feature of Mesopotamia, had detachable trimmings. The chapter on transport and communication gives firm evidence for the domesticated horse, controlled by a nose-ring, not a bit, ridden long before Egyptians or Aegeans knew much about the potential power of a stable.

The small kingdoms were delicately balanced, and when more aggressive groups attacked and destroyed their cities, new power patterns replaced the old. Flexible trade routes disappeared, some never to be renewed. Hammurabi, known to Western students as the great law-giver, put paid to Mari and Karana.

In her chronological table the author places the linear scripts of Crete and the Mycenaean world too early. Linear A, the undecyphered script of the second Minoan palaces, is unlikely to have been used before the 15th century BC, and the later Linear B script is associated with

Mycenaean domination, and is dated at earliest to the 14th century. The identification of Alashiya with Cyprus and Kaptara with Crete cannot be taken as certain. Qatna was not on the site of modern Home but 29 kilometres to the north-east. These points, however, in no way lessen the excellence of a well-written, beautifully produced book, which should be a pleasure for those who treasure the debt of the modern world to the Near East and look beyond the realities which today lie heavily upon its inhabitants.

Vronwy Hankey

A STUDY OF ANATOLIAN WEATHERGODS OF THE OLD ASSYRIAN COLONY PERIOD

Order No. DA8419986

LEINWAND, NANCY WESTNEAT, Ph.D. Bryn Mawr College, 1984, 431pp.

The glyptic of the Old Assyrian Colony period in Anatolia offers the first view of an elaborate native Anatolian religious imagery. The largest portion of the Cappadocian glyptic occurs as cylinder seal impressions on clay envelopes of documents concerned with the business and trade conducted in the colony of Kanesh.

This thesis has taken the glyptic repertoire of the Old Assyrian Colonies as the basic material for examination of early Anatolian deities. Representations of weathergods were selected as the primary focus of the study. Anatolian weathergods have been recognized and all known examples collected. The figures have been differentiated into five main types and several sub-types on the basis of details of the iconography such as pose, adjunct animal and attributes.

Each iconographical type was then considered in terms of the symbolism inherent in the compositions. The native glyptic types are separated into local and regional forms of a god associated with a bull. The native compositions provide evidence for the cult of the native weathergods, including statues, equipment and ritual. The well-defined figural types suggest prototypes in non-glyptic media. The originality and complexity of the renderings of the gods made manifest in the glyptic seem to indicate a highly developed artistic tradition in Anatolia. This artistic tradition would seem to continue into the Hittite period.

The second millennium colonial enterprise provided a context for the exchange of Mesopotamian glyptic style and iconography and native artistic concepts and forms. In the study native glyptic figures were compared with related visual and material evidence from Anatolia, Mesopotamia and Syria in order to set the native figures in their broader context and to sort out the mutual influences resulting from the Old Assyrian and Anatolian interaction.

Artistic conventions associated with the Anatolian weathergod seem to influence Mesopotamian tradition as early as the Akkadian period. A reflection of the iconography of a Hurrian weathergod seems to occur in Anatolia, Syria and Mesopotamia also in the Akkadian period. Old Assyrian glyptic adopts several iconographical types from Anatolian art but makes use of imagery drawn independently from the Mesopotamian tradition.

Thank You For Your Contributions

Book Reviews

Assyrian Royal Inscriptions. Volume 2: From Tiglath-pileser I to Ashur-nasir-apli II, by Albert Kirk Grayson. Records of the Ancient Near East 2, ed. by Hans Goedicke. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1976. Pp. xix + 213, DM 84 (paper).

For 50 years we have depended on Luckenbill's two volumes of Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia (1926-27) for a comprehensive translation of Assyrian royal inscriptions. Inevitably, as the knowledge of grammar and lexicon advanced and discoveries in field and museum added either new inscriptions or duplicates restoring broken passages, the old standby became more and more dated, less and less comprehensive. An ever more urgent need was a new ARAB.

This is what Professor Grayson began to give us in 1972, with the publication of the first volume of Assyrian Royal Inscriptions, and the present work brings him halfway through the projected four volumes. Like its predecessor, it is a model of clear organization, but something more than a replacement of ARAB. The bibliographies, often extensive, for each inscription, the copious philological notes, the citations of the relevant sections of the Assyrian King List and passages in the various chronicles, remarks on the development of form, etc.—all this makes ARI a great contribution to the study of Assyrian history and historiography. We may hope, therefore, that, along with the invaluable Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften (R. Borger, vol. 1, 1961; W. Schramm, vol. 2, 1973), to which Grayson gratefully acknowledges his debt, it will soon be brought to completion.

In ARI I, p. xxii, Grayson wrote that he intended to use "meaningful idiomatic English." With this decision no one, I suppose, would disagree, and certainly, on the whole, he has succeeded admirably. If "(he) was frightened of my...attack" (II. p. 15.§39) must still be considered a colloquialism, it is only a Schönheitsfehler. However, somewhere he might have informed the reader that the language of the original, in its ancient context, read quite differently. Written in an elevated style, it often archaizes and, as it grows more and more remote from the spoken language, it becomes increasingly archaic. In Assyria, the language of most of the inscriptions, Babylonian, was still more alien. This Mandarin-like or hieratic character of the language is of great importance for the social historian. To say that Grayson's translation has not preserved it is no criticism; it points only to what is probably an insuperable difficulty.

However, in a few places criticism does seem possible. The avoidance of the "literal" translation in favor of "meaningful idiomatic English" should not produce language less specific or less concrete than the original. Accordingly, I do not believe that "to submit" is an adequate translation of \$\vec{sepi}\$ sab\vec{aiu}\$ (for example, p. 7, \vec{\$12}, \vec{sa}, \ldots \vec{sepi}ya i\vec{sbatu}\$, "who submitted to me"; also p. 10. \vec{\$22}; p. 15, \vec{\$39}\$). Only "to grasp the feet," or the like, properly renders the expression, for it alone preserves the image of the customary gesture of humility and submission. As a matter of fact, on p. 124 we do find "they seized my feet," but why here and not elsewhere is not clear.

Similarly, ana sēpi šuknušu, in my opinion, is not adequately turned by "to subdue at the feet" (p. 8, §14; p. 15, §39—an expression that strikes me as unidiomatic), still less by simply "to subdue" (p. 121, §43). Again, one should not lose the image of bowing, so familiar from the reliefs. Spot-checking, I find that in ARI, p. 58, §381. Grayson does translate "at whose feet (the gods...) made all rulers and princes bow down" (ša... ana šēpišu ušeknišū), but shifts to "to subdue at the fect" I, p. 81, §526 for reasons that elude me.

The "literal" translation which I would urge in these instances I find out of place with the verb nasāḥu as said of moving

populations. On p. 15, §39, issuha is translated by "he deported," but on p. 20, §66, "to uproot" takes over {anticipated in ARI 1, p. 118, §773). Which is better, the "non-literal" or the more "literal" and therefore metaphorical, translation? (I think "uproot" as said of people, though not unfamiliar, is still not a cliché and is felt by English speakers as metaphorical. As used now, it no longer implies extirpation, but simply violent displacement.)

The problem is one of determining dead metaphor. Crucial in the study of literary expression, it can be particularly difficult when the language in question is dead (see the brilliant discussion by M. S. Silk, Interaction in Poetic Imagery, With Special Reference to Early Greek Poetry [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974], pp. 27-56). In the present instance, however, I think the answer is obvious: dead metaphor, It is true that nasahu frequently refers literally to tearing or pulling out, often plants and vegetation (Akkadisches Handwörterbuch 750a), but one must accept the non-metaphorical "herausnehmen, versetzen, deportieren" (Akkadisches Handwörterbuch 750b), as is clear from the frequent use of the verb in prose (e.g., letters) going back to Old Babylonian; cf. Silk, p. 36, "The greater the frequency of a usage and, in particular, the larger the number of different authors represented in the evidence, and the larger the number of different genres they represent, the more likely that the usage is normal." Though nasāhu, "to deport." begins only in MA. MB, this may be due only to the accidents of discovery and at most reflects a specialization of a more general meaning ("to move from the normal place"; cf. J. J. Finkelstein. Journal of Cuneiform Studies 21 [1967] p. 47).

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Die Ziegeleien im Allen Mesopotamien. By Armas Salonen. Pp. 206, 52 plates. Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Vol. 171. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia. 1972. Fmk. 52.00.

This is another of Armas Salonen's monographs on Mesopotamian material culture. In a country where clay is abundant and other building materials are rare, the production of bricks will be a most important industry. In an introduction (pp. 7-14) the author gives the earliest occurrences of bricks and speculates on Pre-Sumerian words for professions and tools. It seems doubtful whether the reason for most Babylonian temples to be built of unbaked bricks was to avoid the robbing of baked bricks.—Teil I (pp. 15-32) contains a summary of the archaeological evidence until OB times. Types and formats of bricks from different places all over Mesopotamia are described, as well as the ways of building with them.-Teil II (pp. 33-69) gives a systematic description of the raw materials used in the preparation of bricks and buildings made of bricks. To give an impression of how bricks were probably manufactured, descriptions of methods used in Iran in modern times are extensively quoted. Then, Sumerian and Akkadian words probably denoting the materials mentioned, are discussed. In the same way mortars and glazings are treated.—Teil III (pp. 70-118) describes the tools employed in the production, storage and transportation of bricks. On p. 94ff., s.v. nalbanu, a long discussion from Neugebauer and Sachs, Mathematical Cuneiform Texts, is reproduced. -Teil IV is on the different types of kilns used to bake

rejoined us I concluded that this was a pro-Kurdish village and so would not molest us. A very ugly ditch lay in our way just to the entrance to the village and we suggested the possibility of having it filled up to allow the cars to pass over. The Kurdish guard ordered it and I don't believe I ever saw a bridge built so fast in all my life. The villagers needed no second exhortation but found shovels faster than you could say "Jack Robinson," and filled up the ditch for us in no time. They were probably pretty well acquainted with the Kurds and knew better than to ask "Why."

About one o'clock in the afternoon we entered the city of Dilman and drove right to the governor's house; we unloaded our cars preparatory to spending at least one night with the governor and parked our cars in a nearby caravansari, Ismael Agha was in the "Old City" about four miles distant and Mr. Paddock sent a letter to inquire whether he might call on the honorable chief or whether the chief was going to call on him. We had not been in Dilman more than two hours before a letter came to the governor from Abdulfaz Khan's Persian horsemen in Karagishlack, saying they thought we were making a Kurdish attack and that was the reason for their firing on us; to show their good will still further they offered to accompany us to Urumia. What strange logic — first to mistake two automobiles flying the American Flag and fleeing like the very mischief for a Kurdish attack, and second to suggest the possibility of escorting us thru a Kurd infested country! But that is the Persian way of pleading guilty and asking clemency.

Ismael Agha's answer came promptly saying that he was indisposed and could not call but would be very glad to receive his Excellency, the American Consul.

For five whole days, from Monday noon, we ate palauv and stew at the expense of the governor of Dilman, calling on Ismael Agha and receiving his calls, tele-graphing late at night and waiting answers, getting up at five in the morning, going to bed at twelve, one. and one-thirty, eating bread, cheese and tea at eight, a full dinner at one, and another full dinner at about eleven p.m. Ismael Agha showed friendship from the start, but demanded as his right that the arrested suspects held in Khoi on the charge of complicity in the murder of his brother be tried in Dilman and brought to justice. Twice during the five days the Big Chief made all-day calls, the first time coming at ten a.m. and staying until seven-thirty p.m., and the second time coming at ten-thirty and remaining until five-thirty p.m. Mr. Paddock's patience in sitting still through these long calls was nothing short of marvelous. Dr. Dodd and I did not attempt to sit through the calls, but retired to another room to take a nap or do something else a part of the time. It seemed a bigger joke to me than it did to Mr. Paddock, when we told him after dinner on the day of the second long call when Ismael Ahgar retired from the room during the rather prolonged absence — when we

told him that evening that the Big Chief had come out into the adjoining room after dinner and rested his head on the same pillow with me and had a nice nap while Mr. Paddock was awaiting his return.

Dilman is Kurd infested — and you know what that means after having lived in Urumia during a Kurdish occupation. Kurds go through the streets in twos and threes with lowered rifles, shops are closed and locked, most people keep off the streets, foreigners and officials move about with a guard, men constantly wait on the governor with complaints cs what the Kurds are doing and ask for redress, and the governor puts them off with some kind of diplomatic answer. The Kyargyusar (government representative for foreign interests) was robbed of his clothes and became the butt of many jokes, but there was no way to get back his stolen goods nor to apprehend the robber.

All of Salamas is in the midst of dirth and famine. There are many deaths daily from famine and emaciated bodies lie in the streets, too weak to move. Some seventy-five children, orphans, were gathered into an unsanitary building - children who had no homes but the streets — and there were given a bit of bread every day by one of our relief agents. They were wretchedly cared for and some were sick and dying. The presence of Kurds makes relief work difficult, but we authorized limited relief to 1,000 Moslems of the City and gave the Kurds an outright sum for distribution among their own poor. The villages around are a picture of desolation. In the village of Khoorava enough houses are intact to accommodate the 184 Christians left in Salamas. Through our relief funds these have been fairly well taken care of but their minds are disturbed lest the fate of the Urumia Christians might befall them through some political change or other; 143 refugee Kurds and 149 Jews in this village and others are also getting regular help from our committee. Of the 184 Christians there, how many do you suppose are men? Three, the rest are all women and children.

To be continued

The Early Islamic Conquests

Fred McGraw Donner

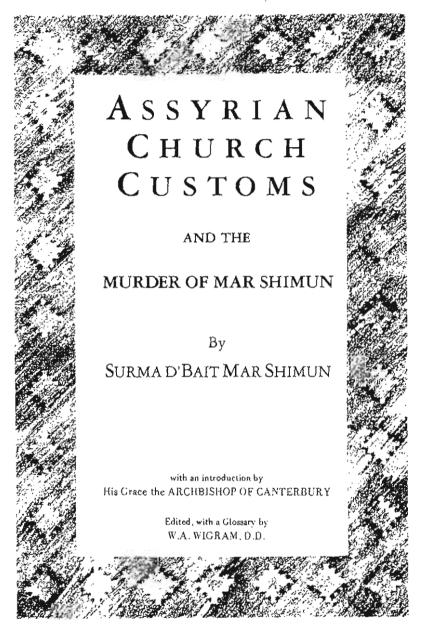
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Rev. Hugo A. Muller's Letter to His Wife

Tabriz, Persia, June 22, 1919

My own dearest wife,

It seems about time that I should be writing you another letter, especially in view of the fact that I found three very fat and very loving letters awaiting me here on my return the other day.

On Thursday night, June 5, a little before midnight, I sent by the Indo-European telegraph the following message: "President Wilson, Paris. Fresh massacre of Christians. American Mission Urumia Persia besieged. Remnant lost unless immediately relieved. American Missionary Packard and family with remnant Urumia. (Signed) American Presbyterian Mission." Day before yesterday we sent to the Presbyterian Board in New York the following cable thru the American Consul and the State Department: "Over two hundred defenseless Christians chiefly women and children massacred in American Mission compound by Persians May 24 and one hundred wounded. Women shamefully treated. Properties stripped and demolition continues. American Consul rescue party with difficulty brought Tabriz Packard family six hundred Christians leaving some unrecovered women. No Christian life in Urumia. (Signed) Jessup." The subject of my letter is the interval between these two telegrams.

We had all of us for some time been very anxious about the situation in Urumia and gradually began to realize that not only the native Christians, left in Urumia in danger of their lives, but that the Packard family themselves might be picked off at any time. There had been no regular post for some weeks and the telegraph line out of Urumia had been out for a long time. From the brief messages we had received just before the severing of the line, the later telegrams from Salmas and Suldus that reported the state of affairs in Urumia and the few urgent messages that came thru by special messengers from Dr. Packard, Kasha Yacob and Rabbi Judith in Urumia, and other relief and missionary agents both north and south of Urumia, we gathered that Kurds had over run the Urumia Plain toward the end of May, that a battle had ensued in our compound in Urumia had been killed or scattered and that the remainder with Dr. Packard and his family and Kasha Yacob and his family were being held at the governor's either as fugitives or as prisoners — at any rate that their lives were not worth much unless assistance came promptly. One telegram definitely stated that Hubert Packard needed a surgical operation and the Tabriz bazaar was full of all kinds of reports about Dr. Packard himself. When, therefore, Mr. Paddock at four o'clock Friday afternoon sent for Mr. Jessup and me to come to the consulate we hurried over at once to see if some more recent word had come from Urumia.

Mr. Paddock was in his riding breeches. He took his seat and told us to do likewise. He looked a bit tired but quiet and determined as he lighted a cigarette and said. "I've been thinking a good deal about Urumia and the Packards and I decided last night that I could not sit still and wait for the powers to act, but that I must do something myself. I have consulted with my colleagues, the British and French consuls, and I have called on Sipar-Salar, governor of Azerbaijan, and have formulated a plan which I should like to present to you." He then gave the details of his plan, to take two automobiles, Mr. Ferguson, a British subject, to drive one and a native driver for the other; to take with him Sardar-i-Fatch, ex-governor of Urumia; but not to take any Americans with him; to proceed around the northern end of the lake, get in touch with the Kurds and secure from them safe conduct as far as their lines went; in some way with Sardar-i-Fatch's help to get in touch with the governor of Urumia and secure the release of the Christians; to have a boat cross the lake at an appointed time and be prepared to transport 200 or 300 Christians thought to be with the governor. We heartily applauded his plan except some of us begged to be included in the party. Mr. Paddock, however, was firm until evening, when he admitted Dr. Dodd into the circle of the elite, on the ground of his acquaintance with the big chief Ismael Agha (nicknamed Simko), his ease with the language, and his professional ability. The next morning he altered his plan a bit further to include me in the coveted membership on the grounds that he wanted a motor driver whom he could trust better than the native driver he had in mind.

Things moved along livery for Mr. Paddock's plan was to start the very next day, Saturday. What we had not been able to do in the previous three weeks in the line of securing petrol for our cars I did with Mr. Ferguson's help that very day before returning to the Mission.

Our conference at the consulate lasted from four to seven o'clock; at seven I took a carriage and by dint of much perseverence, before eleven o'clock that night I had a quantity of petrol bought, paid for and locked in the cellar of the consulate, and a promise of more on the morrow.

Mr. Jessup was sent to the governor on an important errand, connected with the plan, and he also returned only a little before midnight. That very night some very important and urgent messages came in to us from Urumia, some in cipher, some open, indicating more than any previous messages the imperative need of immediate action, if the Packards and Christians with them were to be rescued. The next morning motors had to be gotten into shape, food and kits had to be gotten together, money had to be secured, the train had to be

arranged for Sheriff Khana, and etcetera. Everything was ready by noon except the necessary papers from Sipar-Salar, he was moving with characteristic Persian slowness, while all of the plan was going according to an Occidental schedule. The consuls acted together and brought the necessary pressure to bear and at four o'clock Saturday afternoon Mr. Paddock gave the order to prepare to move at once.

Permit a parenthesis here, lest I may forget to say it later. Mr. Paddock was the man who conceived this plan of this expedition and he was the man who put it through. He did not consult much with anyone else but he kept his objective in mind and moved rapidly toward it. The credit for the success of the expedition is altogether due to him. But in saying this I do not mean to say that he could have done it alone, for he could not. He was wise in choosing the Persian that he did, Sardar-i-Fatch, a remarkable man for courage, insight, diplomacy and gentlemanliness as well as for "roughing it" and hard work. I have never seen his equal in a Persian and one of the pleasures of the trip was making the acquaintance of this man. The Sardar's part in the plan was a very delicate and important one and attended with no small personal risk, but his courage never failed or wavered. I do not hesitate in saying that without the Sardar's cheerful and courageous cooperation the expedition would not have succeeded.

It was raining a little at four-thirty when the missionaries gathered at the Dispensary gate and saw the two Fords start, my van leading and Mr. Ferguson following with the consul's touring car. It was but a short run to the railroad station, only three or four miles of good road. The reason for going by rail from Tabriz to Sheriff Khann was to save as much petrol as possible, for we paid on an average of about twenty tomans a peed for our petrol (which comes to somewhere between eight and ten dollars a gallon!). The "near accident" in getting the motors on a platform car at the station may be passed over, for at seven p.m. the train — our special train — was pulling out of the station and we experienced all the exhilarations of soldiers starting out on a dangerous and uncertain mission. It was dark when we reached Sofian and as the track from there on is in poor repair and "wobbly" the train stopped for the night. We had some supper from our lunch basket and went to bed. The rest of the party chose to sleep inside the "special" third class car; I made up my bed beside my motor on the platform car. The stars seemed peculiarly close that night and the moon friendly, the air was invigorating and I needed no further soporific.

The air was still too fresh to entice one out of bed at 5:30 the next morning when the train pulled out of the station. I imagined myself on a Pullman sleeper and rolled over for another snooze until the porter should turn the heat on. I had not long to wait, for the sun was the porter, and he soon heated my room and my bed up

so I had to get out from under the covers in self-defense.

By the middle of the morning our motors were on the ground at Sheriff Khana, loaded and ready to proceed. but it was necessary for Mr. Paddock to communicate by telegraph with the governor in Tabriz. On account of the upsetting effect of the Moslem Fast this was a long process and it was not until four o'clock in the afternoon that Mr. Paddock received his answer and gave the order to crank up and be ready to start. We were about to enter "No Man's Land," for not far from here the Kurds had had a fight with Persians only a few days before and defeated them and as a result there was no movement either of pedestrians or animals on the road. We felt that from here on everything was more or less uncertain and much of our way would be through wilderness and desolation. We had therefore, begged a good meal from a Russian woman who was living there and took the precaution to hunt around in the debris left by the Bolshevik movement until we found a good staff for our American Flag, which we expected to fly over the touring car before crossing over into Kurdish occupation. From the time we left Sheriff Khana until just before we reached Urumia the consul's car driven by Mr. Ferguson, and carrying beside the consul. Sardar-i-Fatch and one personal servant each for the Consul and the Sardar, was always in the lead, and my car, with Dr. Dodd as a passenger and a very heavy load of petrol, food, medical supplies and personal kit, followed. During the hours of daylight that Sunday afternoon and evening we went along without any particular difficulty. but at eight o'clock we came to the realization that we had lost our way and there was no one of whom to inquire. We retraced our steps, with some difficulty got back in to the right road, but only to have difficulty with my car an hour later in the pitch dark. Soon Ferguson realized that I was left behind and came back to my assistance. We reached the tumbled-down remains of the Caravansary of Gizil Diza and happened to come across two peasants who told us that we could not sleep under the caravansary walls because there had been a battle there three days before and there were dead horses lying around. Dr. Dodd and I prowled around in the ruins and finding no trace of dead horses advised lying down there to sleep, for we were tired, but the peasants said there was a village about two miles off and Mr. Paddock ordered that we proceed to that village. We took the two peasants as our guides and after considerable difficulty reached the deserted village of Alma Seria about ten thirty at night. We parked our cars in front of a mosque and camped for the night on its porch. By the time we had prepared our supper and eaten it and laid out on our blankets to sleep it was midnight.

The sun rose on the deserted village in No-Man's Land and awakened us; in fact the two remaining cats of the village had taken refuge in the mosque and intermittently awakened us in the night as they crawled over our

bodies in search of the bread and cheese that they smelled but could not reach, but the sun awakened us for the day's work. Persian politics are a curious thing, too deep for me, and I would not venture an attempt at explanation, but before leaving No-Man's Land a statement of a few facts may help to create in your mind the muddle that exists in this part of Persia, Sipar-Salar, who took office as governor of Azerbaijan less than two months ago was in the popular mind regarded as a man who would cooperate with the British; one of his official acts was to recall Sardar-i-Fatch, whose governorship of Urumia had been successful in maintaining order, securing a degree of protection for Christians and not antagonizing the Kurds; the newly appointed governor of Urumia had hardly taken his office when Ismael Agha, the biggest Kurdish chief on this side of the border. received a concealed bomb which exploded as he was opening it, killing his brother and two others and wounding many, but not seriously injuring him; the day after the news of this affair reached Urumia the Kurds, already in force in and around the City, attacked the City, and after a severe battle withdrew, cutting off the City's water supply and closely besieging it on all sides; soon after the outbreak of the battle, the Persians forcibly entered the American Presbyterian Mission Compound, where some 800 Christians had been living as refugees for months past, and started a wholesale massacre and looting in the very presence of Dr. Packard, who was attempting to protect the Christians; the government soldiers had their share with the Moslems of the City in the loot and in the massacre of 200 Christians and wounding of 100 more; the Kurds are in occupation of Dole and the whole Plain from the Branduz all the way thru Salamas to the pass dividing the Salamas Plain from the Khoi Plain, and from the mountains on the west to the Lake, except the City of Urumia itself, the village of Kutchi on the pass between the Plains of Urumia and Salamas now held by Kazin, a Persian bandit, and the village on the northern lake shore in the Gyunai region where government horsemen sent out from Tabriz against the Kurds have taken shelter; in the popular mind the Kurds have made common cause with the allies and indeed they openly espouse the cause of the Christians; on Sulduz Plain the Kurds are supreme but the Persian authorities are allowed to remain in nominal control; the Khoi region is also as yet undisturbed by Kurds but itself a den of lions; telegraph communications are uninterrupted between Tabriz and Khoi and between Khoi and Salamas and also between Tabriz and Sulduz via Soujbulak; but the Salamas-Urumia line and the Suldus-Urumia line and the Tabriz Salamas line are interrupted; the particular Kurds occupying these regions are Persian subjects as their homes are on Persian soil, and they are demanding, as Persian subjects, that the Persian government bring to justice those responsible for the bomb incident;

Ismael Agha, the acknowledged head of the Kurds, is the same man who was the Persian tool last year in the treacherous murder of Mar Shimon and his men. No-Man's Land seemed a safe place in comparison with this maze ahead of us; but our work was not in No-Man's Land and we had to be up and doing.

Our road laid between the lakeshore and the nearby mountain range and we expected to come into contact with the Kurds sometime during the day before we should reach Dilman, for the Sardar had sent a letter on ahead to Tamel Agha and we hoped that the latter would send out to meet us. A little while after leaving Alma Serai, the Consul put the American Flag over his car and it fluttered proudly in the breeze. It had hardly been up a quarter of an hour before five horsemen appeared on the road ahead of us; they were coming toward us, but whether as friend or foe was still uncertain; we stopped our cars and got out and waited; five specimens of picturesque freebootery reined in their horses, dismounted and advanced to meet us. They seemed friendly though they were only patrolling the road, and, as a matter of fact, had intercepted our messenger and had taken from him the letter addressed to Ismael Agha. One of the five men was detailed to take word to a minor chief of our arrival and he dashed across the Plain to a village at the foot of a range of hills. He had hardly been gone ten minutes before he returned with the chief and thirty horsemen, who dismounted at a respectable distance and advanced to meet us. After a short "palayer" we were given a guard of four horsemen and continued our journey with them, the rest of the thirty horsemen cantering back to Chobonlu, the village where they were stationed.

After getting stuck in the sand and working our way out, we were driving along toward Salamas at an easy rate with two of the horsemen ahead and two behind us on a good stretch of road. The Consul's car started to speed up and I followed suit without knowing the reason why. Three of the Kurds galloped full tilt off toward the mountains to the north and soon were silhouetted on the top of the ridge far to the right; the fourth Kurd galloped along on the north side of the consul's car, and all the while the Sardar, sitting on the left side of the car, waved a white handkerchief toward the village of Karagishlack from where the government's horsemen were firing on us and the American Flag.

One bullet struck just a few feet short of the consul's car and another hit just beyond, but none of the shots did any harm. We sped on until safely out of reach of that village only to find that they were firing on us from the next village as well. This time my overloaded car refused to keep up the pace and Dr. Dodd and I were left behind for a time, but we came out of this safely, too, and soon found ourselves approaching a village right on the road. Many people were on the roofs and many more in the streets, but as our Kurdish guard had

bricks and to produce the materials for mortars, etc. For the texts on glassmaking, see now Oppenheim. Glass and Glassmaking in Ancient Mesopolamio, p. III.-Teil V (pp. 135-167) treats the types of bricks and the terminology for measuring bricks and brickwork. I do not believe that the Akkadian word for "mud brick," libitlu, is a loan from a chalcolithic *libin, which is supposed to mean "baked brick," especially since this *libin was not taken over into Sumerian (p. 135). Similarly, the speculations about the phonetic prehistory of agurru (p. 147f.) are open to doubt. The translation "zufälligerweise gebrannter Luftziegel" instead of "Brandziegel" or the like is based not on context but on Salonen's theory that words ending in -ur have to be "spätneolithisch"; since however baked bricks came in use in late chalcolithic times only, he has to adjust the translation! But of course I agree that the word is foreign to both Akkadian and Sumerian.-After a short Teil VI on the workmen participating in producing and using bricks, there follows under "Teil VII: Termini" an alphabetically arranged discussion of the verbs occurring in connection with bricks. 52 photographic plates illustrate the book, for which we thank the author who has again produced a valuable guide to a section of the life of Ancient Mesopotamia. HERMANN HUNGER

University of Vienna

THE FOLK LITERATURE OF THE KURDISTANI JEWS: AN ANTHOLOGY

translated, edited, and introduced by Yona Sabar

The Aramaic-speaking Kurdistani Jews are members of an ancient Jewish community which, until its emigration to Israel, was one of the most isolated in the world. Throughout their long and turbulent history, these Jews maintained in oral form a wealth of Jewish literary traditions embellished with local folklore. This volume is the first translation and anthology of their richly imaginative literature. Yona Sabar, himself a Kurdistani Jew, offers representative selections from the types of Kurdistant literature: epic re-creations of biblical stories, midrashic legends, folktales about local rabbis, moralistic anecdotes, folk songs, nursery rhymes, sayings, and proverbs. Sabar's introduction and notes are a storehouse of informatica on the history and spiritual life of the Kurdistani Jews and on their relationship to the Land of Israel.

Because almost all the Kurdistani Jews now live in Israel and speak Hebrew, there is very little new literary activity in their Neo-Aramaic dialects. This delightful anthology captures the essence of Kurdistani Jewish literature, presenting it for public enjoyment and preserving it for the future.

Yona Sabar is associate professor of Hebrew at the University of California at Los Angeles.

THE FOLK LITERATURE OF THE KURDISTANI JEWS: AN ANTHOLOGY. Ed. and trans. Yona Sabar. Yale Judaica Studies, no. 23. Pp. xli + 250. New Haven: Yale University, 1982. Cloth. \$30.00.

Folktales and midrashic narratives are known for their extreme variability and susceptibility to modification and reformulation in structure, text and message. They tend to expand, compress, merge and blend in response to specific needs, circumstances and cultural influences. A study of regional variants is highly significant, since it not only affords us a deep insight into the soul and essence of a tribe or a community, but also enables us to trace both their continuity and innovations. The work under review is very valuable because it was written with these features in mind.

The author of this book provides us with a well-structured and well-bal-anced miscellaneous collection of pieces from the literary and folkloristic heritage of Kurdistani Jewry. Each chapter of the book is preceded by a synopsis, a critical analysis of its style, general character, sources, and specific local flavor. The twenty chapters of this book provide a representative selection from the various genres of the Kurdistani Jews' literary heritage. Twelve of these chapters contain midrashic narratives, homilies and recreation of popular biblical stories. Among these are the well-familiar Joseph and Zulikhaye, The Death of Moses, King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and the Prophet Elijah. The remaining eight chapters are comprised of Kurdistani Jewish legends, folktales, nursery rhymes, folksongs, proverbs and sayings.

This work, it should be stressed, is a pioneering endeavor to bring a comprehensive study of this unique Jewish oriental community to the purview of English-speaking scholarly circles. Therefore, one regrets that such a commendable work is limited in scope, confined mainly to the presentation of a literary anthology. The literary creativity of Kurdistani Jewry, significant as it is, is only one facet in the rich cultural heritage of this community, which lived for perhaps thousands of years in almot total isolation in the rugged and impregnable Kurdistani chains of mountains. They developed a rich culture of customs, crafts, folk music, rites and beliefs. Indeed, the contribution of this community, transplanted almost in its entirety to Israel in the 1950's, to the creation of modern Israeli culture and folklore lies mainly in these very areas. These developments, however, are barely touched upon in the book. Moreover, a comparative historical and cultural study of Kurdistani Jewry would have been very helpful in placing this community within the proper context of world Jewry and in underscoring its uniqueness. The striking similarities between this Jewish community and that of Yemen certainly calls for such a comparative analysis.

Despite these limitations, which may well have been imposed upon the author by the editors of the Yale Judaica Series, the work is of obvious importance to folklorists, sociologists, ethnologists, anthropologists, historians, and studies of midrash. One certainly remains thankful to the author for his significant contribution to scholarship.

Reuben Aharoni Columbus, OH

The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq

A Study of Iraq's Old Landed and Commercial Classes and of Its Communists, Ba'thists, and Free Officers Hanna Batatu

Princeton Studies on the Near East

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LE PEUPLE ASSYRO - CHALDÉEN

UNE TROISIÈME COMPOSANTE DANS LA TURQUIE ORIENTALE

UNE INTERVIEW EXCLUSIVE DE J.YACOUB

Désormais, la communauté assYro-chaldéenne possède un document de poids pour porter à la lumière de l'opinion internationale un problème totalement ignoré et même, pour ainsi dire, mal perçu par les responsables de ce peuple oublié. La thèse de doctorat d'Etat traitant ce sujet, soutenue à Lyon II le 18 janvier dernier, est le résultat d'un formida ble et magnifique travail, qui a nécessité six ans de recherchus, compilées dans quatros volumes (900 pages). Joseph Yacoub, qui a pris pour thème "La Question assyro chaldéenne : les Puissances européennes et la Société des Nations 1908-1938", voit avec optimisme le combat politique de son peuple, mené jusqu'îci avec incohérence et sans structure particulière.

Les descendants de la Mésopotamie antique auront à leur disposition un excellent outil de travail, le seul ouvrage de référence qui leur permettra de démarrer véritablement l'action diplomatique pour la reconnaissance des massacres de 1915-1918 et 1933 et d'une autonomie d'un territoire situé entre le lac de Van au nord et celui d'Ourmiah au sud.

La thèse comprend trois parties: les deux premiers volumes abordent directement la Question assyro chaldéenne entre l'arrivée au pouvoir des Jeunes-Turcs en 1908 et la veille de la Seconde guerre en 1938, la deuxième partie recense plus de 1200 références bibliographiques accompagnées pour chacune d'elles d'une courte description, et la dernière partie publie des documents d'archives.

Joseph Yacoub, conscient de la difficulté d'accès d'un tel document, publiera dans les mois à venir un unique ouvrage de synthèse.

Agé de la quarantaine et natif de Hassake (en Syrie), il passe sa licence à Beyrouth et son doctorat en histoire à Lyon en 1974 (sa thèse a pour titre : "Le parti populaire syrien et fascisme"). Docteur ès lettres, Joseph Yacoub est actuellement professeur de sciences politiques et de relations internationales à l'Université catholique de Lyon (depuis 1975). C'est avec la mention très honorable qu'il a obtenu le titre de docteur d'Etat; bien que peu tendre, le jury : dont faisaient parti les prof. Nikita Elissééff, Maxime Rodinson et Dominique Chevallier - a récompensé un travail sérieux et un sujet totalement méconnu.

Joseph Yacoub n'en restera pas là. Il va prendre son bâten de pélerin pour effectuer une tournée de conferences aux U.S.A. en particulier dès le mois prochain, et organisera des colloques sur le proplème assyro-chaldéen.

GAMK: Quelle est l'origine du peuple assyro-chaldéen? Où est-il aujourd'hui implanté?

Joseph YACOUB : Les Assyrochaldéens d'aujourd'hul seraient-ils les descendants des Assyriens et des Chaldéens de l'Antiquité? Sur
cette question, les avis des spécialistes sont partagés et les données
diversement appréciées. Disons
toutefois, que la tradition est telle
que les Assyro-chaldéens penchent
en faveur de la filietion historique,
leurs témoignages et leurs récits
allant dans ce sens et ceci" n'est
nullement impossible en soi".

L'idéa c'est qu'après la chute de l'empire assyrien en 606 evant J.C. et la soumission de Babylone à la domination des Perses achéménides avec Cyrus II en 539 avent J.C., ie pius important groupement de la population assyrienne et chaldéenne se réfugia au nord de la Mésopotamie, sur les hauteurs reculées du Kurdistan qui devint par la sulte leur fover national.

A l'avènement du christianisme, les Assyro-chaldéens furent parmi les premiers peuples à embrasser cette religion.

Entre le VIIème et le XIIème siècle, l'expansion de cette Eglise fut très importante; elle s'est étendue de l'Egypte jusqu'eux confins de la Chine. Les historiens évaluent le nombre des fidèles de l'Eglise d'Orient, à cette époque, à plus de 60 millions. Mais l'invasion mongole du XIIIème siècle mit fin à l'expansion et au rayonnement de la nation essyro-chaldéenne et de l'Eglise d'Orient.

Sous les persécutions de Tamerlan (Timourleng) en 1388, des Assyro-chaldéens se réfugient et s'Installent dans les régions montagneuses du Kurdistan central et les hautes vallées du Grand-Zab, le Hakkarl. Les montagnes, d'accès difficile où ils se réfugient, leur procurent un abri relativement sûr. Après les conquêtes de Suleiman II (1516-1531), les Assyro-chaldéens commencent à sortir de leurs refuges des montagnes et se répandent des deux côtés de la chaîne frontière:

- -- apparition sur les plateaux d'Ourmiah et de Salamas au nord-ouest de la Perse (l'Azerbaïdjan occidental):
- établissement au sud-ouest dans la région de Mossoul où ils renforcèrent une communauté déjà existante.

La population assyrochaldéenne aujourd'hui est évaluée à un million de membres environ. Les Chaldéens catholiques sont de loin les plus nombreux, dont 80% habitent en Irak dans les muhafazat (régions) sulvants : Bagdad,Bassorah, Al-Tamim, Ninive, Arbil et Dohak. Le reste est réparti dans un certain nombre de pays : Iran (Téhéran, Ourmiah, Ahwaz), Turquie (Mardin, Midyat, Kharpout, Bohtan...). Syrie (Alep, Djézireh). Liban (Beyrouth, Zallé), Egypte (Le Caire), Etats-Unis (principalement à Détroit qui en compte 30.000). France (Paris, Montluçon, Marseille...), Australie, Suède, Italia.

Quant aux Assyriens, adeptes du nestorianisme, au nombre de 400.000, ils sont très dispersés, dont le tiers au Moyen-Orient (Irak: 70.000, Iran: 20.000, Syrie: 30.000, Liban: 10.000, Turquie: 1.0001, le reste étant disséminé dans une quinzaine de pays: Etats-Unis: 100.000, Australie: 12.000, U.R.S.S (essentiellement dans le Caucase): 30.000, Suède, Canada, Grèce, Grande-Bretagne, Allemagne fédérale, Argentine, Cuba, France.

Ces immigrants furent contraints d'abandonner leur patrie, le nord de l'Irak, le sud-est de la Turquie et le nord-ouest de l'Iran, à la suite des massacres de 1915-1918, du drame d'août 1933 et des politiques répressives suivies, res pectivement par les gouvernements turc, iranien at Irakien.

GAMK: Quelle est la motivation qui vous a emmené à choisir ce thème?

J. YACOUB: Tout a commencé en juillet 1979. A cette date, fors d'une visite à mes compatriotes de Toulouse, je me suis posé la question à savoir pourquol cette chape de silence qui les entoure? Cela devenait d'autant plus impérieux qu'à mon retour du XI° Congrès mondial

de l'organisation Assyrian Universal Alliance (A.U.A.), tenu à Détroit, en octobre 1979, auquel je participais, à titre d'invité (guest), je me suis rendu compte que les Assyrochaldéens, eux-mênies, ne connaissaient pas leur propre histoire.

Par conséquent, un travail d'investigation scientifique se faisait urgent, à un moment où le discours, minoritaire est à l'ordre du jour et falt son entrée dans les sciences sociacles, où les droits des peuples deviennent matière de Droit international.

GAMK: Victimes d'un génocide, spoliés de leurs terres, les Assyro chaldéens ont-ils des revendications précises? Et quelles sont les démarches jusqu'ici entreprises pour obtenir gain de cause?

J. YACOUB: Le peuple assyrochaldéen connut une grande tragédie identique à celle du peuple arménien, en 1915-1918, et presque dans le même espace et temps. Les Assyro-chaldéens virent périr, durant la Grande guerre, des dizaines de milliers de leurs compatriotes, massacrés, déportés, morts de faim et de misère par les Turcs. "Le petit peuple nestorien à souffert des mains des assassins Jeunes-Turcs, un martyr approchant à celui des Arméniens", dit André-N. Mandelstam dans son livre "Le sort de l'Empire ottoman", page 335.

Le 7 août 1933, un drame les

attrista. Deiux à trois mille d'entre eux trouveront la mort à la suite d'atrocités perpétrées par le gouvernement irakien du roi Fayçal 1 er.(*)

Le 7 mai 1945, au fendemain de la guerre, les autorités ecclésiastiques et politiques assyriennes et nestoriennes adressèrent une pétition à la Conférence de San-Francisco, réclament une place pour leur peuple dans le concert des Nations; en vain. De 1946 1949, le problème des massacras est de nouveau à l'ordre du jour, cette fois-ci à Ourmish, en Iran; protestations auprès de l'ONU, mais sans suite.

Depuis quelques années, cette communauté et , en particulier, les Nestoriens, vivant dans la diaspora, s'est réorganisée. En avril 1968, se tint à Pau, le Congrès constitutif de l'Assyrian Universal Alliance, orgaassyrien prit sur lui, à un moment critique et grave, lorsque les troupes bolchéviques russes abandonnèrent le Caucase, la défense du secteur du front qui était précédemment occupé par le 7ème Corps d'armée russe". (±55)

GAMK: Quelles sont les organisations internationales ou nationales ou nations qui vous sont les plus sympathiques, les plus favorables ?

J. YACOUB : Les Assyro-chaldéens espèrent que les Nations démocratiques et les forces éprises de paix et de justice se pencheront un jour sur leur drame et le porteront devant l'ONU, accomplissant ainsI un acte de justice à l'égard d'un peuple qui fut leur allié lors de la Grande guerre, certes petit mais efficace, et qui contribua à la victoire de 1918.

GAMK : En raison de la place stratégi

(*) Depuis, le 7 soût est annuelle-ment célébré comme le " Jour des Martyrs ". Ce jour est aux Assyrochaldéens ce que le 24 avril est aux Armánians

(* /) Plus de 30 périodiques assyrochaldéans sont autourd'hui édités et reflètent les diverses sensibilités politiques et culturelles qui partagant ce peuple. Quelques uns méritent d'être signalés : "Assyrien Star ". " Assyrian Quest " à Chicago, "Niniveh " + trimestriel édité par l'Assyrian Foundation of America, à Berkeley - "Assyrian Sentinel " porte-parole de l'AUA, à Hartford.

(*55) Cf. Archives diglomatiques françaises - Quai d'Orsay - Série E , Lavant sous-série : Irak ; juilletdécembre, 1919, Vol.50, Paris, pp79-

Bibliographie : "Syriens et Chaldéens. Leurs martyrs, leurs espérances, 1914-1917 , par l'Abbé Eugène Griselle, (Peris: Bloud et Gey, 1917)

"Les Assyro-Chaldéens et les Arméniens massacrés par les Turcs", par Nasyem Jean. (Paris : Bloud et Gay, 1920)

Les Chrétiens d'Orient ", par Pierre Rondot. (Paris : J. Peyronnet et Cie, 1955)

The Treatment of Arménians in the Ottoman Empire " (Blue Book Londres, 1916. Ce document, référence des plus autorisées, ne contient pas, dans sa traduction française. les pages relatives aux massacres des Assyro-chaldèens

> Propos recueillis par Edouard MARDIROSSIAN



nisme mondial représentant des Assyro-chaléens de par le monde. En outre, d'autres associations culturelles (±5) et organisations sociopolitiques se sont constituées, comme le Beth-Nahrain (Mésopotamle) Democratic Party, qui prône une autonomie, pour les Assyrochaldéens, en Irak.

Mais, dans l'immédiat, l'attention se focalise sur une reconnaissance du génocide assyro-chaldéen de 1915 par les instances internationales, an premier lieu par l'ONU. A ce sujet, les démarches sont à leur début.

GAMK: Quelles sont les relations de vos organisations politiques ou "combattantes" avec les dirigeants arméniens ou kurdes?

J. YACOUB: Les associations culturelies et les organisations sociopolitiques assyro-chaldéenhes entrationnent des relations amicales átroites aves les organisations arméniennes et kurdes.

Des Assyro-chaldéens avaient participé à la Révolution kurde en Irak (1961-1975) et les liens aves le peuple arménien sont particulièrement forts aux Etats-Unis. A cet égard, il est important de signaler que le président de la Délégation de la République arménienne à la Conférence de la Paix, A. Aharonian, avalt envoyé le 7 juillet 1919, au Secrétaire de la dite conférence, un certificat attestant que "le peuple

que occupée par la Turquie, comment voyez-vous la solution du triple pro blème arménien, kurde et assyrochaldden sur leur territoire repectif ?

J. YACOUB : Au nom du nationalisme majoritaire et des intérêts supérieurs d'Etat, la Turquis a constamment bafoué les droits minoritaires des Kurdes, Arméniens et Assyro-chaldéens. Plus est, les pouvoirs en place menèrent une politique systématique de répression et d'assimilation forcée, de caractère ultra-nationaliste et étatique. Au nom de la raison d'Etat, de la prétendue unité de la nation et de la position géo-politique, les autorités turques arrêtérent, persécutèrent, bannirent et interdirent toute manifestation d'existence et d'autonomie non-turque.

Décidemment, ce pouvoir a du mal à imaginer comment pourraiton être Assyro-chaidéen, Arménien et Kurde dans un espace et une aire ture ?

C'est une question fondamentale car tant que la Turquie d'aufourd'hui sera aussi intransigeants et nationaliste que celle des Jeunes-Turcs, les risques de tension iront en s'accroissant. Moins de nationalisme ne ferait pas de mal à la Turquie car ne s'honnorerait-elle pas à reconnaître des crimes commis par un régime contre lequel elle s'était insurgée ?

LE MONDE - Samedi 16 mars 1985

 Trois militants assyriens ont été pendus en Irak. - Selon un communiqué que vient de publier à Chicago le Collectif des organisations assyriennes, trois détenus assyriens, apparemment accusés de « séparatisme » par le régime de Bagdad, ont été pendus « sans jugement » en février en Irak. Il s'agit de Youkha Esho Chlimon, un cadre d'entreprise de trente-huit ans, Joseph Thomas Zibari, un ingénieur de trente-deux ans, et Hubert Benyamine, également ingénieur, vingt-neuf ans.

D'après le même document, confirmé par des exilés irakiens en Europe, les trois suppliciés appartenaient à un groupe de 153 chrétiens d'Irak « arbitrairement arrêtés à Kirkouk, Bagdad et Ninive à la miaoût 1984, et soumis depuis lors, en prison, à plusieurs formes de torture »

Forthcoming

by H. W. Saggs

The Might That Was Assyria (Sidgwick & Jackson, Great Civilizations Ser.) (illus.). 224 p. 1984, \$29.95.

(ISBN 0-283-98961-0, Pub. by Sidgwick & Jackson)

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Obituaries: 70-year New Britain resident.

Beatrice (Georges) Yonan of 54 Harrison St., died last night at New



BEATRICE YONAN

Britain General Hospital after a short illness. She was the widow of David Yonan.

Born in Iran, Mrs. Yonan lived in New Britain for more than 70 years and was a member of South Congregational-First Baptist Church.

Surviving are a son, David Yonan of Newington; two daughters, Miss Alice Yonan and Miss Mary Yonan, with whom she lived, and several nieces. She was predeceased by a son, John Yonan.

Funeral services will be held Thursday at 10 a.m. in the Erwin Chapel of South Congregational-First Baptist Church. Burial will be in Fairview Cemetery.

There are no calling hours. Donations may be made to the South Congregational Church Memorial Fund, 90 Main St. The Carlson Funeral Home, 45 Franklin Sq., has charge of arrangements.

Mrs. Yonan is the aunt of Florance Sargis and her daughter Donna. On behalf of the A.F.A. we express our deepest sympathy to them.



Tuesday, March 12, 1985 The Herald

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* تجالفت المنظمات والنوادى الاشورية فيي ترتيب مصيرة سلمية في ١٤/١٤بيفويورك وذلك احتجاجا على العمل الاجراملي الذي أقترفله الحكم الفاشلي فلي العراق بحلن شلاشة من أعلال مشاركتهم فلي الحركة القومية الاشوريله وقد شارك فلي المسيرة منظمات من كندا وجميلع الولايات الامريكية ، فالكل يعلم أن المسيرة لم تحقق الدوى المطلوب لان كل المساعييي المبذولة كانت ضحية الفروف الوضع الراهلن * حاولت الشوادي والمشظمات الاشتورية لحبيي مودستول كاليفورنيا ترتيب محاشيرة او قداس على روح الشهدا الاشوربين الذين اعدمتهم الحكومة العراقية ، ولكن الجهود المبذولة بائت بالفشل ، و ان دل ذلك على شبي فأنيه يدل علي ان ابنا ًامتنا هنا لا يعرفوا معنى المحصرية ، والشهادة لنصل المصرصة ، صميا نفهم من ذلك ان المصالح الشخصية هيي اهيم من المصلحة العامية،

The Assyrian (Akkadian) Influence on Aramaic

ASSYRIOLOGICAL STUDIES, 19.
University of Chicago
196 pages
by Kaufman, S.
Available from:
EISENBRAUNS
P.O. Box 275
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الواحدة وتشجيع العمل التخريبي ودور المغبر الذي يقوم به بعض المأجوريين وعملا السلطة والمحسوبين على امتنا الاشورية لتقصي الاخبار والمعلومات عن المنافلين المخلصين ومنظماتنا القومية الامينة على مصالي شعبنا ومحاولاتها الدنيئة في البيطش بهليا وتصفيتها سواءً كان ذلك داخل الوطن او في المهجر ، ان مثل هذه الممارسات باتيت علامات فارقة ومشيئة للنظام ونكر انها الملف لابسيط شكل من اشكال الديمقر اطيعة والمهاواة بين ابياً السنوات عديدة ،

ان منظماتنا الأسورية كلها والتي حلي على على على على على على على على المسؤولية الأمانية القومية في رفيع راية شعبنا ، والدفاع عن جميع المخلصين من الناء امتنا لتقف اليوم سبوية وبدافي من شعورها بهذه المسؤولية في التصدى لكل من يسلى التي قفيتنا المركزية العادلة وسلب حربتنا في تقرير مصيرنا وحمايية وجبودنا القومي التأريخي وفضح كليل الممارسات والسياسيات الشوفينية الدمويية فيد شعبنا في المحافل الدولية لادالتها

ان من حتق شعبنا الاشتورى نيل ابسلط حقوقته القوملية في العمل القومليي و المحافضة على منظماتنا ونشاطاتها القوملة المختلفة والعمل الصادق من اجل خلق تحالف (التحاد) اختوى متين وأمين بين جميع ابنساء الشعب الالهنوري من ارض الجندادنا ،

المجد والخلود لشهدائنا الابرار ولتحيا أمتنا الاثوربية الى الايد

الاستاذ ايليا ايليا

سحصدا والكيمة الكيرية

مرة اخرى يكشفُ النظام الفاشي في العراق عن هويته الحقيقة وطبيعة حاكمته الدمــوي الارهابي شد الشعب العراقلي عامة والقوميليات الاخرى المناضلة في سبيل نيل حقوقها الشرعيبة فلي السياسة، والثقافية القومية خاصللية لحقيد اقترفت السلطة الدكتاتورية في بغيداد فيي اوائل شهر (شباط) ، جريمة اعبـــــدام المناصلين ، المهندس روميل بنيامين شليمون ويوسف ريباري ، ويوخنا شلمعون ، وتهجيللر البعض الاخر مشهم الى حدود ايسران بشهمية العمل وحمل مطبوعات سياسية تدعسوا الى تأكيد وحنق قوميتنا فني ممارسة حقوقتها الاستاسينة فحي العمل والتنظيم السياسي والثقافحججة القومية في الوطن ، وايغالا في البربرينية وهمجية الحكم، فقد منعت اجهزته البوليسيسة والحزبية الحاقبة ذوى الشهداءمن حقهـــا الطبيعلي بممارسة طقوسها النينية وتقاليدها الاجتماعية المتعارفة عليها عشد مجتمعن فيي دفن موتاهم مؤكدة بذلك استهتارهـــا بالقيم الروحيحة والاخلاقيسة المتوارثة بيسن الناء شاهينا ،

لقد هنوى هؤلاء الشهداء الخالدون قربانيا من أجل قضية شعبهم العادلة وحقه المطلبق بالتمتع بالحرية القومية والمحافظة عليي كياننا المتميز كشعب ذات خصائص قومبية مستقلة ضمن اطار وحدة الشعب العراقييي كله في الوطن •

ان شعبنا الاشورى بجميع منظمات السياسية والاجتماعياة ، إذا يستنكر هذه الجريمة البشعة ، يقف في الوقت ذات البسيرار أبسقوط شبهدائنا الابسيرار في صاحة الحيرية ليؤكند، مرة اخيرى لشنهوب العالم ، ان امتنا الاشتورية امنة حينة ذات جذور تاريخياة في عمليق ترية وطننا العزيز ومن حقها الجازم في التمتع

بالحريبة الانسانية والحقوق القومينية الانستأسية والمعترف بها دوليا فني لاقحنة حقبوق الانسان،

فقيل سننوأت قليلة ، أعلنت السيلطة الدكتاتوريسة ذاتها منحها الحقيسنسوق القومية للناطقيان بالسريانية الللي جانب منحها الحكم الذاتيني المزيف لاخبوتنا ا لاكراد ، لقد كان, ذلك ادعاء أ كاذبــــا وخبيشا ، جندت له كل وسنائلها الأعلامينة الرسمية لتضليل الشحب العراقلي والشعوب المجاورة له والمنظمات الانسبانية الاخبيرى فللى العالم لاظهار هلذا النظام مظهللل التقدميحة والحكم الديمقراطيي الشعبليين المستند على ارادة الشعب العراقـــــــــي كليه ، فيني حين ان سلوكها ومواقفه...ا الارهابية في البطيش بكل من يدعيو باخلاص الى مصارحية هذه الحقوق الشيبي ادعت وتظاهرت السلطة بمنحها استسلاهم يتشاقض تماما الاعائها الاجلوف ذاك • ان هضاك الان عشارات من المضاضلين الاشاوريين المخلصيين قابعين فبي زنزانات وسنجلون السلطة لا لشبئ اقترفوه سبوى الدعباوة المخلصة للعمل الجاد والدؤوب فلي سللليل تثبيت هويتهم القومية ، سياحيا وثقافيا واجتماعيا لابناء امتنا شائنهم شان ملالت من اختوتهم الاكراد والاقليبات الاخترى في في رهين الاعتقال ، فأين هيي تلك المقسوق الممتوحسة لهم دستوريا؟ واين اولئـــك المأجنوريين الذين طبلوا وزمروا شمجيسدا للنظام الخادع ؟ واي شبكل من الحبريبيية كاشت اجهزته الاعلامية تتحدث عنها ليلل وشهار ؟

لقد مارس النظام ، ولایزال ، مستمرا علی ممارسیة سیاسة شیطانیة خبیثیة ورثها علن أسیاده المستعمرین ، سیاسیة ((فحرق تسد)) بین ابنا القو میلة

هذا ندا؛ عام والنماس لكافة العكومات المنحضرة والمحبث للسلام وحمدي منظمات وشعوب العالم لايفاذ السجنا؛ الآشوريين الأبريا؛ في العــــــــــــراف

يي مستمف شهر آب (أغسطس) ١٩٨٤ ، تمّ توقيف ١٥٣ مواطنا آشوريا وسجنهم بعد محاكمات عوريه وعشوائية من قبل السطام الفاشتي الدكتابورى العراقي، وهولا، السجنسا، الآخوريين أبرسا، من كل حريمة أو عمل حاطي، ، وكل جنايتهم هي محاولتهم المحفاظ على ترائهم وثفافتهم وكيانهم الفومي ،

ولى السادس من شهر ضباط (فسراير) ١٩٨٥ ، تمّ أعدام ثلاثة من الصحنا؟ الاشوربين شنقا من فيل نفس النظام الفاشي والمجفف ، وهم الشهداء :_

> یوسف شوما زبیاری ،مهندس وعمره ۳۲ سنة یوخنا أیشو شمعون ،مستشار تداری وعمره ۳۸ سنة یوبرت بنیامین ، مهندس وعمره ۲۹ سنة

لعد تمّ أعدام هولاً الثلاثة دون محاكمة رحمية وبدون معام دفاع · أما عوائلهم المنكوبة فعد أجبرتهم الصلطات للامتناع من أقامة أية مراحيم دينية خاصة بالدفن لعلذات أكبادهم · كما ثمّ أجبار عوائلهم على تغطية نفقات الأعدام · والأنكى من ذلك أن عوائلهم منعت مصد زصارة أبنائها قبل أعدامهم ·

ار المعدومين الثلاثة لم يقترفوا أية خيانة ولم يقوموا بأى عملمضاد للحكومة العرافية . انصا أعدموا نتيجة نزوة سادية وحنون أرتياب وغطرحة السلطة التي تخشى حتى مواطنبها . ونعلية الاعدام هذه هي حرق مبائر لاتفاقيات هيئة الأمم المتحدة ومو عمرى بلغراد وهلسنكى الخاصين بالحقوق الأنسانية والقومية للأقليسات .

والديوم بتعرض ١٥٠ سجينا آنوريا لكافة أسالب التعذيب بضمنها الفرب والرجات الكهربائية الموجهة لمناطق حساسة من أجمامهم وهم رهن القيد بالسلاسل، وهولا، السجناء لم يشاركوا هو أى عمل نحير شرعي ، وكل ما أبتفوه هو العيش في وطن تصوده الحرية والديمقراطية وبفمن لهم ولكافة المواطنين الحقوق القومية والانسانية ،

أن وزارة خمارجية الولايات المتحدة قد أكدت صدق أعتقال هولاء السجناء والتأكد من عددهـم في رسالة مؤرخة في ١٩ تشرين الثاني (نوفمبر) من السنة الماضية موقعة من قبل روسرت ف تسرنر القائم بأعمال مساعد وزير خارجية الولايات المتحدة، والموجهة الى السناتور تشارلس لبرسي،

أننا نناشد كافة الشعوب الخبرة والمتحضرة أن يفعلوا كل ما في استطاعتهم لاحتنكار وأدان؟ الاعتقالات غير الشرعية والاعدامات العربرية للمواطنين الآشوريين الأبرياء ·

نناشدكم بالعمل لفمان حرية وسلامة ١٥٠ من السجناء الآئوريين ٠

أئنلاف المنظمات الوطنية الآشورية

كافة المجلات والجرائد السياسية في العالم .

المرفقات / (x) قائمة بأسماء السجناء الاشوريين في بغداد -



في ربسالية من الحكم الدبمقل طبية الاتوريية /العراق جاءتنا عنه المقائمة باسماء المعتقلين في السجون العراضية.

السجناء من أهالي مدينة بغداد

السجناء من أهالي مدينة كركوك

	فني عسسكري	۳۰ سنة	ولیم ایشو رشو	مهندس رسيام	۲۷ سنة	ولنتين بنيامين القس خوشابا
	کاتــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــ	٣٨ سنة	اسحق ایشو اوراهم	عسکر ي		هرمز أندريوس البازي
	مهدسكومبيوتر	٣٧ سنة	رعد ایشابا اسحق	مهندس أجهزة	۳۰ سنة	ريمون يونان تامي البازي
	مهندس بنب		مارد ایشایا اسحق	طالب جامعتي	۲۳ سنة	سامي عزيز
		۲۹ سنة	روميل بنيامين شليمون	مهندس مدني	٣٣ سنة	رمسین ابرم بت بنیامین
	مهندس زر اعلي	۲۷ سنة	أمير اوراهم شليمون	مهندس مدنــي	۳۰ سنة	عمانوئيل بادل وليم
	كا	٣٨ سنة	انويا ميخائيل ابريم	مه <i>ندسفيزياو</i> ي	٣٣ سنة	يوسف توما هرمز زيباري
	مهندس كهربساء	۲۸ سنة	اندريوس اوديشو سعدينو	طالب جامعيي	۲۳ سنة	روفائيل انويا البرواري
	مهندسمكانيك	۲۸ سنة	بوسف خوشابا شليمون	عسكري فنسي		ارمزي ايشو زيباري
	عاجزة /رهينة	ه ۱ سنة	خَنّة كورّيال ياقو	فيبث تلفزيون		كليت مرقس يوسف
	عاجزة/رهينة	٩٣ سنة	ليه كوريال ياقو		۳۰ سنة	يلدا مرقس يوسف
-	عاجزة /رهيئة	٠١٠ سنة	جوجو كوريال ياقو	طالب جامعسي		فريدون ايشو اوراهم
				فنــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــ	٣٧ سنة	فرانسوا دانيال ماما
	نينوي	<u>مدينه</u>	السجناء من أهالي	مهندس بنسباء	۳۰ سنة	فردريك متي اوراها
	فني کهربا۶	۲۲ سنة	ادوار كوريال ياقو	ءســـگ ري	٣٥ سنة	آشور خوشابا انویا
	كهربائي /رهيــة		جرجيس كوريال ياقو	تم اعدامــه	٣٣ سنة	ایشو یوخانس گورکیس
	عَاجْزة رُهِينَـة		اسمر والده بطرس كوريال	صدرحكم اعدامه	۲۱ سنة	کورکیس یوخانس کورکیس
	مقلول انشاء ات		يوخنا ايشو شليمون	مهندس مدني	٣١ سنة	جون صليوة برخو
	کهرّبائـــي		هرمز قرياقوس/ تلكيف	عســــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــ	۲۱ سنة	يوسف يلدا يوضنة
		٣٢ سنة	زيا بثيو ججو بيلاتي	مهندسميكانيك		بوبرت بنيامين شليمون
			**	•	٣٢ سنة	هنري داود تموز
	l ' .	٣١ سنة	أوديشو شمشة بوداغ		۲۸ سنة	انوية اوديشو لازار
	مهندس مدنس	۲۳ سنة	سامي مملوك كليانآ سرسنك	عامل كهربساء	٥٩ سنة	الشماس اوراهم من دبس
		۲۱ سنة	لية بيليوس يو م	متقاعد/رهية	٧٠ سنة	يلدا يوخنا بيلاتي
	عسكري فنسي		بولوس بيلببوس بهرم	عسكري فىلي	۲۸ سنة	شموئيل تومه هرمز
- 1						

نیسان ، مبارك باد

کموبیش همه ٔ ما میدانیمکهبلندترین شب سال ۲۱ کانون اول (دسا مبر) است کهبدان شب یلدا هممی گویندو بلندترین روزسال ۲۱ خفیران (ژوئن)، بسیسن ایسین دو ناریخ ، دوروزهستند که شب وروزبا همبرایرند که عبارتند از: ۲۱ آدار (مارس) و ۲۱تشرین (سپتا مبر)که این دو روز اخیراعیا دآشوریان باستان راتشکیل می دهد.

۲۱ آدارکهبرابراستبا اول فروردین درتقبویسم آشوریان برابرنیسان است و آغاز جشن ۱۲ روزه ٔ نیسان و ۲۱ تشرین به معنی س آغازعیددیگری بودکمهبتدریسیم اهمیت خودرانزد آشوریان ازدست دا دوا مروزه کلیمیان با اندک تغییری آنرا جشن میگیرند.

مراسم مخصوص نیسا ن ازشب عید آغا زمیشدوکا هست بزرگ مراسم دعا ونیایش ویژه این شب را بعمل می آورد. در موردمرا سمروزیکما طلاع دقیقی در دست نیست ولی روز دوم بعدا ز آنکه کا هن بزرگ دعای مخصوص این روز را بجا می آورد درهای معبدبرروی سایرکا هنا ن گشوده میشدو آنهسا نسیسز بنوبه خودمشغول دعا ونیایش میشدندواین مراسم درروز سوم هم تکرا رمیشد. روزچها رما زمهمترین روزهای جشن بود.در این روزسه ساعت و ۲۰ دقیقه قبل از طلوع آفتا بشروع میکردند به دعا ونیایش ودرهمین روز حماسه آفرینش یا انوما الیش به دعا ونیایش ودرهمین روز حماسه آفرینش یا انوما الیش به در ما نورازها) را می سرودند. حماسه آفرینش در میسان برخوردا ربودو حاوی مطالب بسیا رجالی است ، روز پنجسم برخوردا ربودو حاوی مطالب بسیا رجالی است ، روز پنجسم برخوردا ربودو حاوی مطالب بسیا رجالی است ، روز پنجسم

همه تدارکا تلازمجهت استقبال ازنبوفرزندما ردوک بعمل می آمد . دراین روزحا دشه سیاسی بسیا رمهمی نیزا تخصاق می افتا دوآن اینکه دراین روزموقعیکه شاه نزدگاهن بزرگ می رفت ، تمام البسه شاها نه ونشان های خودرا بکنال می گذاشت و مثل یک شهروندمعمولی در مقابل خدای خدایان (دربابل ، ماردوک و درنینوا ، آشور) سوگندبعمل می آورد که هیچ نوع ستموبدی در حق شهروندان انجامنداده اسلت و این نشان دهنده اا همیت قانون و حقوق مدنی افسلسراددر جامعه آشوروبا بل بوده است .

روزششمتایا زدهمنیزمراسمخاص خودرا داشته و درروز دو ازدهمبعدا زگرداندن بت خدایان درشهر ، هیریسک از بت ها به معبدمربوطهبرگردانده میشد.

اینها مراسمی است که درجشن نیسا ن در ۱۲روزانجا م

میشد، ولیکن ضروری است بخا طرداشته باشیم کسه دراحیا و

مراسموسنن نیسا ن نباید دراین فکربود که هما ن سنتها ی

چندهزا رساله را عینا "پیا ده کرد، بلکه بایدنیسا ن رادر

خدمت به زندگی اجتماعی امروزی بکارگرفت، نیسا ن را

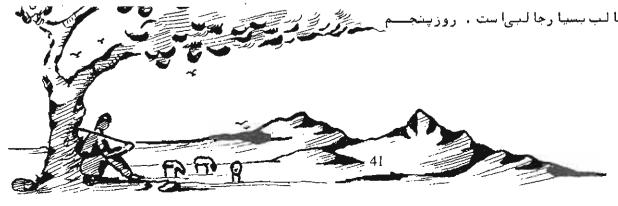
می باید به عاملی که افزاینده و زیبائی درزندگی امسروزی

باشد تبدیل کنیم، نه اینکه آنرا بهانه ای بسرای رجعت به

دنیای چندهزا رساله پیش قرارداد، گذشتگان را بحالخود

بگذارید، بیائیدسنن نیسان راسب سازگست رش تجسدد،

نوگرائی، تحرک وزیبائی درزندگی امروزی خود بکنیسم،



حى به جاء مه تىلى :

عدوست مجود دهسته هدوهه دهده المدود المالية الماله الماله

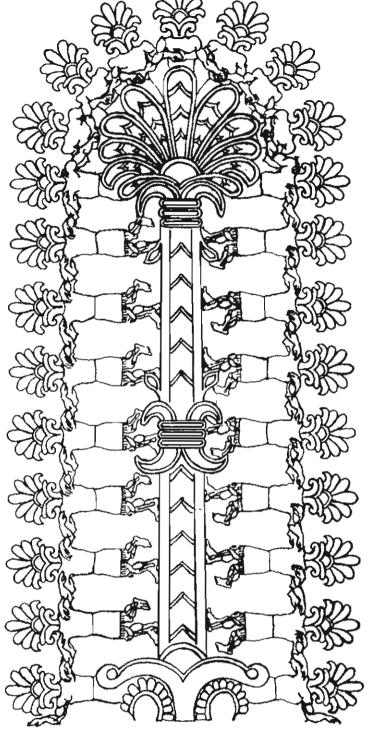
فسخنه به خدیمه فدلبه ده می بادیمه فدرسی به بادیمه



مع حتب عوهم

واغنية

واشرطة



K----7 K-1-K



Michael Mani

Michael Mano au Mrain MOORO D'MDYAN TOTA TOTAL TOWER OF BARYLOS MANO

MICHAEL, NANO ESHAYA NANO SAMUR DANIFL ROMEO NANO MONFER SOMO Vocale
First Guitar
Secund Guitar
Key Boards
Base Guitar

٤٠ له توه خدم د مردد د عدده مص معند فدوه ؟ ٤ من عددن در فرحيه : مسخبد عبالمن فلم ؟ ٤ جمعه د معبطا عبه لهم قرميد : حودها خداليف هده ؟ ٤٠ حمه هسبان جه مسعيه : هسكمهنه مشبهند غامه ؟ ي لي حوم شك هومجمودي : هميه د منسئن منك ي

عي لبم لبور جمدة دوف دع ، عوفد منه وف د عد عد وم عُي لِنُعَدِيمُ مِعَدِيمُ عَدِدُ عَنَى المِعَدِ مُذَخَّنَا هَلُورُ ؟

٤ برع شديه يروفعه و يركبونه : همونا د موففت فلوم ؟ عُي لَغِيدِ حَمَّى ذِي وَعَمْعَ لِي ذَحِيمَ ؛ هَدِ جَمَّى ذُحِمَّى خُلِيهِ ؟ ي لا تخدم به عمدة من عب سد عددد لا فل مر عي ليسم لهو سيود من دي لا : مدجدد بندند مداره كى لسم له و سح حدم عبده مد د مدد د بد لند م مدد ؟ عي منجوم سعنه ولية بني : هه مالد و دننه ه ماه ؟ ٤ لسوند لي سعيد ، مسعوم نبذن قلور؟ نْ معونَ لَهُم حَفْم لِم خَلْم عَمْ خِلْحِ أَ ثَمْ عَلَمُ وَ ؟ المعونفي لي مسعده : حر مسعدت مداوع عد ودسمب لمه لور شدفه : عفدته و مُدِنف عَد مِ عي لسيد ذوره المن المرا في جدُّه ؛ عفيد ذُع فذ نُـ نَع فد لم ؟ عي وَدَدْع مَدَدُدْع لِي قَدْيه : منهمة عقسفته مُلهو؟ عي لي توه عويث د در بوقع : ده بوه لفائد فالموم ؟ ع حد لَمْ ع حد و م ع حد و ع حد ف حد ف ع حد د م ع حد و ع حد عيد معبد حدد المحرف ، حرف و ف ف ف معبد محرد ع عُي لِيهُ شَيِّهُ مَنْ فِي مَدْمُ عَدْ مِنْ مَا مِنْ وَ فِيكُورُ ؟ عى حدم حِدَمه مرا مرسيم : هي شح دَحمني هلم ع عي السم لمور سفيلمة فلمودَّف : هم عبمت منه فعلم ؟ ٤٠ برنسوم لبم لمور حوز دع : دعسده لعمه من مسلم ؟ ؟ بوه شد مالبدبه: ٤ عدة منه منه منه علمه ؟ ير ملعبد، جموعد كومانيه : جا غسيه نا علام ؟ ٤ برمان موم ليعد د درسور : مدولت د دلنه ما در ٤٠ بده لجيج حجمه عيم : جمعه علي كالمرتب فلي ٤٠



3/Ka~

وَلَهُمُ وَهُمُّ مِن لَمُ مُنْ مُنْ مُن وَمُوهُمُ إِن كُل مُنْ مُن اللَّهُ مُنا اللَّهُ مُنا اللَّهُ مُنا اللّ وُلافا الْكَمُنَا وَمُواهِ مُعَلِّي .

(مَعْمَ أَدِهِ وَاوَوْهُ)

اعها حمسا در ۱۵۲۰

(40-44)

٤ الم د د و حمد حول فرد : معلمه د مغلفن معلم ؟ عُ الله لم لم منت و دنسته و معمل و دنشه م ما رد ٤ مِم لهٰ دننجمت مومع : مومن علم دغبه مم دل رد عَى السم له و مولفنه وخوجت : عسودد عضفنه هل م عي مناع للم له و مناحد : معمول د دد فله م د عي مدخمه مد خمه الله خدم : محدد بمع مداخمه مداخه فالموع ؟ ع المختمور الم مس حدم : مسمد عمود مراه عمود المحادم عمود المحادم عمود المحادم ٤ م له له له مولفت دود قد د هم والد دونت المعلم و ٤ ع ي مسوع عند مُع لا نجده : عنه و عند في عند ما ع عي لسم لهم شدد عر دوسه : معمسلفه دوجت فسلهم ؟ عي ينده من الله تجديم : معالت دمنند مدور ؟ عي هم عهد غي لمسم له و شدخه : هم مع مع لله عدم د ع حند حدمه در موسید ، مر بد حدوم در مدند عده ؟ ٤ جمعن ع مد الله المعمود معمل ع مد مد معمل ع عُي هِم جُدّي حِب جِديدِه : هعمؤنَّ هَمَدُنْ عَلَي وَ ي حضيم نيم سوت بجني : عفد، جيمنف فد مي عي حمْسيعيم لغُدُوهِهِ ، بعم سَجَ هَدُفِعُهُ مُ عِي ع به حدم فرجنه درمه د عدونيه دفعه فد به د د ٤ جم حبت در بسروه : مودن دغوب د مده د ٤ جمعه و المعلق عي مسيلة حوم حسيل جفيدة : مدد دده مستفع ما مرا ٤ ٢٠٠٤ كم من المنافعة ي لي موه مجددً عد قلبع : عدية ع ذفك عد موه ؟ ك ني لفرون در فمليد ، عجف له مونف علمور ؟ عر للدر وعدد در در الله : معمد معلان فدو ؟ ع حب ك حوه معافد ح وفدور : مصيف مفينة م فلور ؟ ي برسه لمبر عبد عسم المسام على على المسام على على المسام على المسا

بُونِدُ دِبِصِهِ تَذَيْنَا دِلْمَوْدُيْ



المُركة الدِيمة المِنْ الإِسْ رِية الأفرار بالوجود النومي الآثوري

مستمعة التاريخ..20<u>. 1985</u>

عـــــراق ديمقراطـــي حـــــر صنعـــد زنـرتم 155/ کــد

حر دَفِرس عا ومعموم وها دعم المحدد المحدد عدد دخوم من دورا مدورا.

عل: حكمت جنب إوضهر ـ لهوديل ـ حليزم .

تحريما ومعميا :

in expense essent to rotal enden example 1.01.4861 trophit tait the trip to the country to the sold in the country to the sold in the control of the country to the sold in the country to the sold in the control in the country of th

ددمت المسلام وسيده تحصر دو حمويه وسلادمه والمحمر عبدته ، واقبه ومتل وسلاد كمسلام معرف المركة على المركة ومسلام مستحمل وسلادمه والمركة المركة المركة

- 2. همده المنحدة: الدودل معدد عسم على على المدار المدار المدور ا
- 3. معدد المنتفي المنتم المنتم المنتفي المنتفي

حلما طيميا ملابعذا داند همة الدومم حد محل هونديا مديدا حدما دميدا حمدا دمد عديد عديد المديد المديد

לויה לעלישמשות לגהף שליט / לינים לינטל

حمد من عرده المتحدد الله علم علم ولت ديدمه دخصودل دوستمه. تمده غلاقه مسته سلم دردهاع و محموما علم دعوع دهاه معمد وه كله محيل . حمد جمع الم تمود حدود غذذه معفنه علاء ستده محولتك معنا جلاء منفع. بنعم وعده جليه جهم و منفع.

علاقه لأسود وبنعم علوماء وجولكا حملت عنه فمه فجم فمه خوم لموذله سد جمعت ممسعتميم ليسب جدودك ددمي حمد نده.

عركم كالمحاد فسجع عليوست وجيعوست سيلت دودوومت شيكتع جعبومت فلهب ددوع حدود ومضعدهم وم يستم المستماع المام حدمان دبلاد حصيعة علم فسيسمس في ليلاده حسومت عر سعفة جينه جهشعته

حمودً على سُجَ فسمه و معدف معلى عدي دع طب فدر دسلب مل مسمد شد بدهده؟

عي المحدد الملاقع أول معالم على على المحدد ا

عنامًا كاعمة خوفيده سحدوهم به فكوه الم حوقمة عممك وفححمة ذفع حميد ممموع لع عدمت محمومه لأسل لمعمد مك كسيد ع حفد زلجه ديموه خد وه نجت لهم سهه هي، لحيدة عمللحا بعة قوما خذ و فرجه لمؤند. چختمجت بومبوع ذفب لمور سوعانه كبا ،

منده نُعَم بندت مع لف دفع دولت ع: ده فسونجت لمنفه عنجب جنينجت شوجب , دمت دسلجک مصلب کلم حمد کامه دودیکی.

(ذُونَا عِنْ مِنْ عِنْ عِنْ عِنْ اللهِ اللهِ عِنْ مِنْ عِنْ اللهِ اللهِ اللهِ عِنْ عِنْ اللهِ اللهُ اللهِ المِلْمِ عبد الم فحسب فحثثه هجر)

ستدد دغذه لأحدود مددع بيولمور لمشعب مجع جك كعمل لنعبن ومعلا بع حده

دنسينه شد فلسوما فوهوه لدلسوما. عند تر تروده حقلوله عدم عدر الم للددومت به عودسه، وهموعدله، خبد مت مَدْدوبِي عَمَد لَفِي مِنْ كِينَه ، مَذِلِهِ لَسِيلًا جتوذب معوججده لا دحوب لافع جه وه مه في المرابع و مرابع ماره كراب المربعة ما مواجد المربعة معموسه ع دوسمه جمعت معموسة دريه دعدوها خل علمه وداله دعد د خُلِيهِ خَلِيْ هِيهِ مِنْهُمَ مِنْهُمَ مِنْهُمَ سوئلمور خسلتم هيمدنى ذوقيل موس حضرامه .. يند مناهم د محود بولموم نلنمت جيشيلمو ، وذه فيالمو ، إذ موسيا

عند فع جده ، لمه جلمه عميله مع عمد حتفق دلحدة من علم المعامد عمد ممل المعامدة سَدِّع مُعلَمَعُ عَبِدَمُعُ: مَعْدِبُع لَحُمْدِه جِدلُكَ كَسَوْمَ لِمُنْ الْمُومُومِي . وحم فُلِهِ مَوْلٍ بِلِيدِيدُ ده حدم غميد خل وجد دلوهده منه.

حبيع خونمع موجلامو حفظن دونس ، مو مومدله دعون حديه ما مومنع محائك ، ومو حامده لفلد دينعم لمدت مُعري للله عليم دووله ليل لحادث لحل جيم حضيتن وهي فللنا مختنا نخذا عدله حديث ملحله سيون دلاهه، مع جمع جحبكه فخنته فعله فجبه لمخجه سلفه كلفي حد يعت موت دليد دولتمتوت ، دولشنيم غلمي.

حده مُعْدَ جعدد كتخدي ها جدفيته يمه الم عضمن حدود جدميه مهدلات بعميهم شدر عوليسمة بمعود خيفيل فعله سامجمية. الحنية ومعربه فعله معتقدة حسموسي جو فحدي فعوميموجي ممني جحمعي.

جنجع حوجه جودع جنهودو تجلبع موخطوهم حقيقة تبديم فحتيومت هؤب تموي, فعالم و وسننه فسفدت مذوعدتنه فحلته تعديه جالا موسد. خلعنا فعله موعجان مموعما فعمت فحرست ه محمد موسَّد م المراع حصر والم المحمد المحمد المحمد المراكب ا حَمَدَهُونِيْ جَهُوهِيَّا. هَدِدْ يَحَدَّبُ عَلَمَ عَلِمَ عَلَمَ عَلِمَ عَلَمَ عَلَمَ عَلَمَ عَلَمَ عَلَمَ عَلَم لاهُ عَلَيْهُ عَلَيْهُ عَلَيْهِ يَدُونِيْ عَنْ لِيهُ مِنْ حَمَد عِقْبَ هِمْ خُمَدْ دَفِيْتِهِ دِمْدِ حَمْدِهُ عَلَيْدُ نَهِ.

وودهٔ دِبُلُهٔ مُتود فَحَتَه حُله صَوِحهُ مُتود هُذِه دُولُقُب، وهُذِه دِهِمْه. فِلَاهِ صَعِدُهُ وَلِللّهُ الْمُدُهِ فَحَدِهُ مُولِكُمْ فَعَدُهُ اللّه الْمُدُوه. فَحَدَهُ عَلْمَ لَمُرْجَعُهُ وَصَحِيدُهُ لَمُ وَمِكْمُ لُهُ لِمُدْوَهِ. عَلِمَ عَلَمُ فَتَخَذُهُ عَلِمٍ.

مَعْ جَيْدِ رَبِي دِوسَمِع مَدِسَع حَقَلَهِ عِلْم لِـم دِعْ جدمين المدومات جعيم مليعين جهدهودوست سنع جمعيمت علفع مسحوجهم عله لاموم لسف موم فظيوه فع جلت جعوليننا عُموذني. ملكم عليميا ج 20 ـ 18 عدا فيعد عث حوال لحولومت الجوعد فلمنا خل دَوْسَنِيمِي مَجَ مِنْهِ لِحَوْلِهِ عِلِم لِــه مَــد فلعند لفعه فلننه نح جبعد جبولكني الموديع جودع جديع معوملا حهوجيع -بيميد وحجدد ك معمونيد. لمن مُح ف م علم وحديدة موت علم دومت لدعي دولالما فلنشذع عصدمدوسي مسجت عدو حاسم (صديه) مخنف مخف بعدد تسجيد علمه جمودهٔ محجم کله که جاهد جالد جا تعوفه جحخبجوها عنه ضيخه همكة بتحدوها جاوف فخيمًا جنَّدَ كَحدُا في صُوع فَكَ ١ خدو ئے .

نفحد هحدود حن البلاد دوه آه المناه دخلما داه المناه دخلما دخلما المناه والمناه والمن

جهود من الم المراب المجاهد المناه ا

حيه و المحلاء دله حيوه على حيد و دورة عيد المحلاء المحلف المحلف المحلفة المحل

ده حدم فدجه دلولتنا لده دودهیا دهنید خلامت عجوی می دودهنا طلخنا، ۵۰ دغینا مقیما بله، مُدِی دِدلام دِفلان قبایا بله حدمالنا،

حلِه بلغه بتدخي عله، هوف هجمًا فعلم غيده يعددهمود. لموفع جدمي جلند عليه تجوفي جيده وهجدتك، عليه عدده معالم عددهم معامله في المناه عددهم وهام على المناه وتحمير وهوفته لا أونه دوسته جاله المناه والمنه والمن

دِل بَدَخُهُ لِلْمَهُ عَدِيدَهُ هَلِ فَلَكُمُ عَلِيهُ مَلْ فَلَكُمُ عَدِيدًا هَلِ فَلَكُمُ عَلَيْهُ مِنْ فَعَ مَلِيهُ مُوفِيهُ مَنْ فَوَحَمُهُ عَلَيْهُ مِنْ فَوَحَمُهُ عَلَيْهُ مِنْ فَوَحَمُ عَلَيْهُ مِنْ فَوَحَمُ عَلَيْهُ مَنْ فَوَحَمُ عَلَيْهُ مَنْ فَوَحَمُ عَلَيْهُ مَنْ فَعَ مَنْ فَعَلَمُ عَلَيْهُ مَنْ عَلَيْهُ مَنْ فَعَلَمُ عَلَيْهُ مَنْ عَلَيْهُ مِنْ عَلِيهُ مِنْ عَلَيْهُ مِنْ عِلَاكُمُ مِنْ عَلَيْهُ مِنْ عَلَيْ عَلَيْهُ مِنْ عَلَيْكُمُ مِنْ عَلَيْكُمُ مِي عَلَيْكُمُ مِنْ عَلِي مُعْلِقُولُكُمُ مِنْ عَلَيْكُمُ مِنْ عَلِي مُعِلَمُ مِنْ عَلَيْكُمُ مِنْ عَلَيْكُمُ مِنْ مُعُلِكُمُ مِنْ

قَلْتُ لِلَّذَةِ دِهُلُمُ وَحَدْمِهُ وَحِلْهُ مَتِلَا فِمِ فَيْ وَوَمِي مُولِ قَمِي فَولِ فَمِي فِي فَمِي فِي فَمِي فِي فَمِي فِي فَمِي فِي فَمِي فِي فَمِي فِي فَمِي فِي فَمِي فِي فَمِي فِي فَمِي فِي فَمِي فِي فَمِي فِمِي فَمِي فَمِي فَمِي فَمِي فَمِي فَمِي فَمِي فَمِي فَمِي فَمِي

جدنتا هلسوهه على دوهب داهد و وتشاع المحدد ا

هام حدث في الم مُثَمَّة م

عبطاله مع عدومت حدوله علم به خلط ١٠٥٠ جحجفت علم لعلن جهمت لمه فحمد علب جهدانه. حلمه جهم عجمعته علم وكمسكه سينهم للمخملوذة جنيزة. بالموذة جدل عودية بسبة، مد جددبابه صفقه عله تعلل - بد، المُخَمَّعُ جِلْتُهُ، صِحِدَّهُ مِنْ لَصُعِمْمِ المُحَمِّدِ المُخَمِّدِ المُحَمِّدِ المُعَالِمِ المُعَالِمِ الم جِدِيفَة. علم مُخدِودُه جِعلَهُمْ حتْه مُخَد لِجِدْه دلجوش دوعشش أعب جهبيوها عشا جلب دُوتُنس ـ دُوتِعُ دِيمِلنَ دِنبِي، عَدُ لَهُ ذَ عِنهم جهنه منه مِنه جديم حبا عيد د 16 ـ 15 ديميم جنعين ي لَمُورِ حُمْدُ مُوجِو فَيْ سَعِيلُ مِنْ دُمَثِي، هِلِينَ حجعلُم، وصح، هم همعًا، لَهُ، دَبُعِ، خُهُ مَهُ مُدمونِهُ عِلِهِ جِمعُهُ. يَعَمَّعُ عَنِهُ غَبِهُ لُعَجَمَّهُ وَلْفَهَدُاء عَلَ يَعَلَمُونَ عُجْدِع , مُدِّع جَوِسُعُ عَ موعدًا خل الموحدة جيودًا، مِيوَمَا فَاصِاحُاء حودها علم به خلفا.

قَى جَمَدَ قِيْسَمَى جَهُمْنَا عِنْهُ عَلَيْهِا مَدَلِيقَهِا أَعْدَا , حَبِلَ عِنِهَ دَ 18 ـ 16. إِنِهِ لَجَبَعِهِ عَنْهُ لَجَمِعُهُ مَـ فَذُهُ مَعِيثَةً ; عَبِيهِ مِنْهُ حِدِقُنْهُ مِلْلَ مِدْذَهُ مِنْهُ مِنْهُ مِنْهُ مِنْهُ مِذَهُ مِنْهُ مِنْهُمُ مِنْهُ مِنْهُ مِنْهُ مِنْهُ مِنْهُ مِنْهُ مِنْهُمُ مِنْهُمُ مِنْهُ مِنِهُ مِنْهُمُ مِن

سبح: وليع دسيك

جِهِمْمَا عِلِم فَدَدْ دِمِهْلِدُورِ مَعْمَامُهُمْ يُمُودُمِهُ. سوة في وجهنت مد موت عله وونش مصمدي دِدِي عَيْمَ دِيْمُودُكِ. حَمَوْنَا كَوْسَ دِفْكُنْكَ عُ جيالما عورف كله مجد محد عده عما عدم ليحلُّه لَهُ مِعَمْهُ عَنْهُ , دِلْهُ تَخْتَدُهُ مُهُ جَدَدَ عَنْهُ جَمْلُه مِحِلُ ; مَخْنَتْهُ بِلِه سَوَجُهُ مِنْ بِي حَدْنُهُ مِنْ بِي حَدْنُهُ مِلْ بِلَدُ فُ لِهِ جهدنناه عبنا فهوجب جسمين وبناء سراء وخيث في دِيْهُ ، ويشيع في يومين جيهفيد فنن بله دند فق وفحد تعمن وندي جمهة على عميعدية، حلَّه جويد في علمه تمون مموردما ده جسده دناي خده دم مهاد . شُذُمِع دِلْع فِيعِ عِلْمِلُومِ مَصَوْع عِيهِ دَهُم، منوه نَدِ سَلُولُ سَوْدُ وَعُدَدُ لِا مِعْ مِعْمُ مِعْمُ مِنْ اللَّهُ اللَّا اللَّهُ اللَّاللَّاللَّا اللَّالِي اللَّا اللَّا اللَّالِي اللَّالِمُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللَّهُ الل حلِه فِلِدَهُ لُمُومَا عَبِيهُ الْعِيمَا وَبِعَمُا مَا مُنْ مَا مُنْ مَا ملتمة بر غيلية فدهنيمت عولسه وتدووه فنتن تمون عديد حوميا فلدليا . دومُهـا, خلوب، وضعيد ديجيد مُمَديد دوسيد ليم عمدُ ع لَمَورِ تِعَنَيْهُ حِنْ مِنجِب لَفِيوْ وَبِهُ عَبِيْنِ وَمِنْ منجَدهُم منذ قووع تخبوع ومولجلع, غيسي دددندست دع سوم عرض مصدلع صسيمع بخوع وودديه وهولدلع جتوجنس جع فسوب سة الم الم الموافقة المنافقة المنافقة المعالمة ا عُجِبِ حصوصَبِ جلب يعين عمن لحم د ع جدُلُونِهِ، يُحِدِّهُ فِعِيكُنِهِ حَمِيدٍ عَمَمُ وَصَبِعِهِ، غُنب فِتُدِع لَيم حَسَمُ لَي مُصَدِّع لِي فَسَدُع . مُخم به بله م بالمحد المحد المحد المحدد المح وموعيسلمور سُدَّ جَوَدْع يِصِدْعِهِ حَامِعَا ذُ مِجْعٍ, خِم بِدُوجِي لِفِيدوبِي نُبَدِّ عِيدِبِ لِهِذِكُ. عَدَمُني، جودية و محمد المعالم ا

دوست المسلم المسلم المام الما

وسويدي بول ددد دريم مكون عليه دول له فمؤموه عودله بيشا حسشا لدنشا با عدموه جعده هُن عُنج مُجِدُع عمد عُنجوهم و حسب الله على جمويدة ك ميله لجنمة كنه ما ت خند. موسحة مربع جعيفه حدله مدليتمن الاستام علين عدليد عب جموملهم بينيده مسخد سهه. خلحوباء محمة ديم ديد محمد عجيب دج حدِدْنَاءُ مِي عَلَى دُومِنُمهُ جَيْدِدُونُ سَوْدُهُ. مُلدِّنَا تهويو كُه تو مخبخ و ه جُه كه هيابه لِمنْجُه فِلَحِم سَكُ جِيهِ ثُنِي جِيهُ فَي يَمَوْع وَجِنْ جِيهِ لَهُوه موسى فَدُمْ عُمَا مِمْ فِي مِرْجِعِمُومِ . موقيلِه لدومي ، جعومت سَوْدُغُ مُع صِرِكُنْ هَذَكُ عَصَدِع جَدُوهِنُمِع ، مَنِكَ عَبِهُ وَلِمُمْدَعُ حِلْهُ ذَٰتِهِ لِتَعْدِعُ لِدَ خَلَكُ عَ حنصنی عدد به مدلنی حبود ودا لِذَيْسِهِ مُل جِلْهِ دُومِلُم لَمَوْنَ يُعَرِّمُ لِهُ لَكُ وو مودِد. أَمِينُ بِي لَهِدُنَّهُ عِبِلَنْكُ ، يِسِنَّهُ وَفِلْصِمِبَ جذفت فيسام فيسلمو لعمند هجذه عسنا سجمت حصمت هده.

صفيد من في فنورد ومدن وودرد مردور من معرود معرود من معرو

مَعْ عَدْمُهُ لَجَبِعَهُمَ مَعْمُ جَدُوذُوهُ مَعَ جَعِلْمُ عَمْعِلُمُهُ حَهْمِ جَذْتُهُ لِعِيمُ مَدَمَّتِهُ خَلَجَيْدِهِ جَدِمُثِهُ مَعْمُعُهُ. يَعْمُ مُعَمَّهُ بَلِيْفِهُ عَنْجُوذِهِمَّعَ مَنْ يُعَدِّهُ جَوْعِدْهِ لَهُ مِي عَمِينَهُمَا عَذَلَيْهُ.

من جبه تنفيا نهيا، حين حوت بودا: جيد به جديد و حديم مين مسود مين مين مين مين مين و حديث و حديث مين مين مين مين و حديث و

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