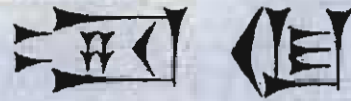




Established 1964

*Dedicated to the
Advancement of Education
of Assyrians*



NINEVEH

Second and Third Quarter 1985

Volume 8 No. 2 and 3



Youra Tamraz 1929-1985

CULTURAL — EDUCATIONAL — SOCIAL

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Second and Third Quarter 1985

VOLUME 8

NO. 2 and 3

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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.

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ADDRESS LETTERS TO

THE EDITOR

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Dear Editor:

Having become aware of the existence of your publication, I am very interested in learning more about it. I am currently working on a bibliography of Assyrian studies and would like to include the following information about your periodical:

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I would also greatly appreciate a sample copy if that is possible. Your response to this inquiry will be a great help in my research. Thank you so much for your time and trouble.

Sincerely,

David G. Malick
Madison, WI

Mr. Malick:

Nineveh Magazine is sponsored by the Assyrian Foundation of America. The beginning date of its publication is March, 1977. Its main purpose is the advancement of education of Assyrians. We have sent you a sample copy as requested.

Dear Sir:

Arian B. Ishaya of San Jose advised me to contact your office concerning the publication entitled *Nineveh*. She said in her letter that your foundation has excellent coverage of Assyrian-American life in California.


I would like to know more about your foundation. How may I obtain a copy of *Nineveh*?

I am a Congregational minister and I have served as a denominational executive with the Federation of St. Thomas Christians since 1964. I also do substitute teaching in secondary schools.


I hope to hear of your great work.

Sincerely,

Dr. Joseph L. Vredenburg
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**Express Your Views!
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DECLARATION OF THE 16TH ASSYRIAN UNIVERSAL ALLIANCE WORLDWIDE CONGRESS

The 16th Assyrian Universal Alliance Worldwide Congress convened in London, United Kingdom from 17th-24th of August 1985

Since its establishment in Nissan (April) 1968, The A.U.A has committed itself to the spreading of the Assyrian Name in the world and working to secure the sacred human and national rights of our Assyrian people in our beloved homeland, so that we can live in peace and honour with the other nations.

In April 1972, the Iraqi government granted the "so called" cultural rights to the Assyrians of Iraq, merely an act which was never implemented at all. But, on the contrary, since then the Baathist regime of Iraq has commenced a series of inhuman acts represented by closing our schools, demolishing our churches and destructing our villages.

Consequently, thousands of our Assyrian people were forced to flee Iraq and live as refugees in many Middle Eastern and European countries.

Today, our Assyrian people are bitterly suffering under the fascist regime of Iraq. They are brutally subjected to all kinds of inhuman atrocities indisputably demonstrated in the severe acts of eradicating our national identity and liquidating it in the abhorrent crucible of arabization in addition to the disastrous loss of thousands of highly educated Assyrian youths in the senseless Iraqi-Iranian "forgotten" war.

As a matter of fact, these barbaric acts have enormously escalated the national feeling of the Assyrian people, effectually forcing our youth to bear arms and take a vital part in the concurrent struggle of the Iraqi people against the Baathist regime since this is their only practical alternative presently existing.

The 16th Congress of the A.U.A after a thorough study of the status quo of our people in the Middle East reached the following resolutions:

- I- The A.U.A will utterly commit its political arm to support the Assyrian Democratic Movement in its just struggle against the Iraqi Baathist regime and will entirely direct all its political bureaus all round the world to facilitate all available measures to help our gallant brothers.
- II- The A.U.A will direct thoroughly all its endless efforts towards the unity of all the Assyrian Political Organizations, and owing to the prevalent critical situation, its absolutely necessary to drop all their differences and disputes for the sole aim of helping our brave brothers in the course of their just struggle.

On this occasion, the A.U.A extends an open and cordial invitation to all the Assyrian Political Organizations to attend the meeting which will take place sometime later on this year.

- III- The A.U.A strongly condemns the barbaric acts of executing our innocent Assyrian youths and imprisoning hundreds of our innocent brothers and sisters committed by the Baathist regime of Iraq.

The A.U.A grasps this opportunity to extend its deepest gratitude to all the countries and the humanitarian organizations of the world involved in solving the problem of our refugees.

Glory and Immortality to our brave Martyrs.

Long live the Assyrian struggle for gaining our National rights

Long live the Assyrian Universal Alliance.

**16th Assyrian Universal Alliance
Worldwide Congress
London, United Kingdom
August 1985**

The AANF and Its 52nd Convention

by Arian Ishaya

During the Labor Day weekend starting with Wednesday, August 28 through Monday, Sept. 1, 1985, there was not one, but two conventions taking place in the city of San Jose. One was hosted by the Assyrian American Association of San Jose (AAA), an affiliate of the Assyrian American National Federation (AANF). The second was sponsored by the independent Assyrian American Community Center of San Jose (AACC). Never in the history of San Jose had there been so many Assyrians gathered together from the four corners of the world!

These conventions were both joyous occasions for friends and families who had been for years separated and longed to see one another once again. In fact a number of people had undertaken the expenses of attending these conventions for this reason alone. These returned to their homes content. But the majority of visitors expected more from the AANF convention. One attendant wanted to know: "Is this convention merely a pow wow?" An older lady stopped me in the hall of the Le Baron Hotel and requested the following:

I do not know English well. Write a letter for me addressed to the delegates. Tell them that people spend so much money for the hotels, tickets, and so on. They must even pay to enter the picnic ground or the soccer fields to cheer the players. When they spend so much money, they expect the Federation to accomplish much more for this poor immigrant population.

Obviously this lady and many more people like her, were expecting the delegates to have scheduled a meeting specifically designed for the Assyrian public to inform them of the Federation's educational and humanitarian goals and activities; and to report on its

recent accomplishments. The absence of such a program indicated the aloofness of the Federation from the Assyrian public. Instead the delegates' meetings appeared as "internal affairs." Since the people cannot attend four days of day-long meetings, especially because they are scheduled to attend other activities, it appears only reasonable that AANF inform the Assyrian public of its doings in a separate program designed for the public alone.

The distance between the Federation and the Assyrian people was put to the test when a petition, signed by close to 30 people, was handed to the delegates during their last meeting. The petitioners conveyed the distress of the Assyrians with respect to the Assyrian youth who languish in prisons in the Middle East, or are stranded, penniless, in countries such as Turkey. The petitioners regarded the gathering of all the delegates in one place an opportune moment for the AANF to hold a special meeting on that issue and lay out the foundation for a concerted effort to do its share in helping the Assyrian youth caught in the war in the Middle East.

The plea was dismissed as an "international affair" and the helping of the Assyrian youth beyond the scope of the Federation!! The request of the petitioners was not brought on the floor for a vote, and the petitioners were never responded to, one way or another.

It is the duty of the Assyrian media to inform the public of the facts of these events. It must be added here that AANF, as it was designed by its founders, who were concerned and dedicated Assyrians, has a structure with the potential to deliver innumerable services to the Assyrians. It is time now for substantial reforms in this worthy organization to revive the legacy of its founding fathers.

Dr. Yacoub at the Assyrian Foundation

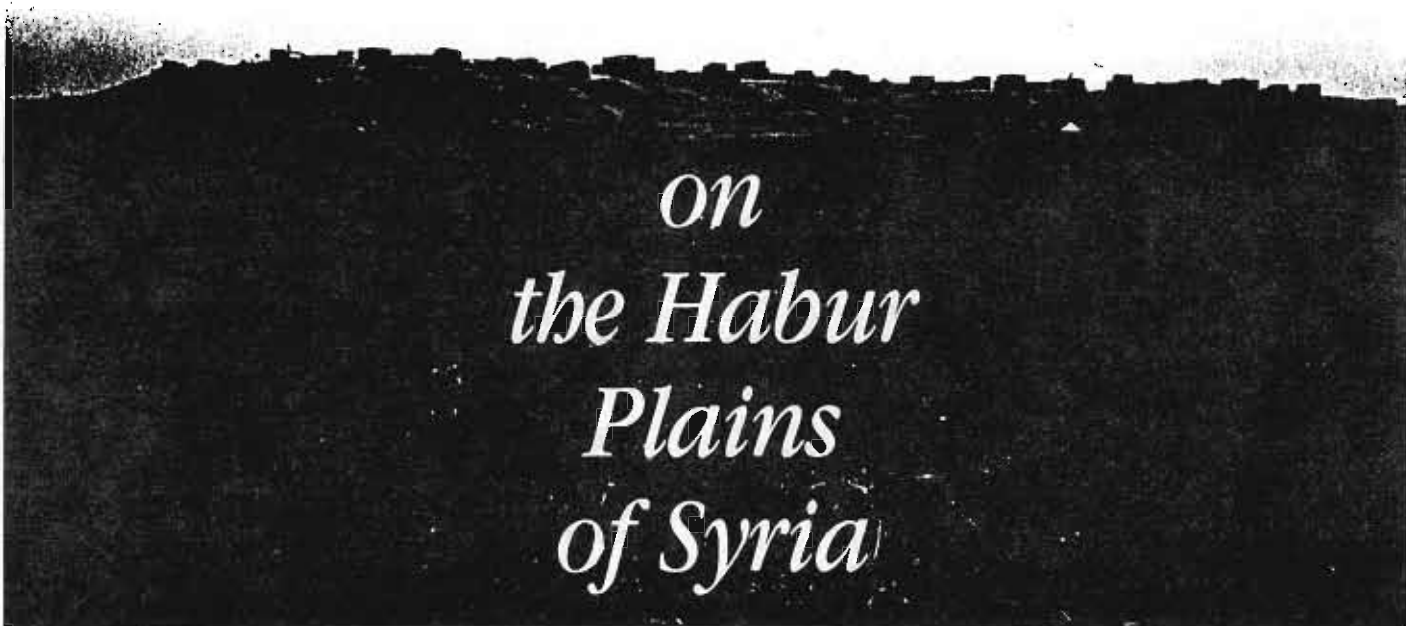
On August 25, 1985 Dr. Joseph Yacoub delivered an informative and enlightening lecture on the Assyrian modern history titled "The Assyrian Tragedy - The Forgotten People in History" at the Assyrian Foundation center in Berkeley, Ca.

Dr. Yacoub is an eminent scholar of Assyrian history. He earned his Bachelor's and Master's degrees in history at The Lebanese University, Beirut, Lebanon. In 1974 he was awarded a Ph.D. in history from the University of Lyon, France. In 1975 he be-

came a tutor of political science at the Catholic University in Lyon. In 1985 he was awarded the State Doctorate with distinction at the University of Lyon. His doctorate thesis was "The Assyro-Chaldean Question - Western Powers And The league of Nations 1908-1938."

The lecture was enjoyed by the large crowd that attended it. The Assyrian Foundation is proud to have had the opportunity to invite and listen to Dr. Yacoub.

Tell Leilan



on
the Habur
Plains
of Syria

Leilan photographed from the west. Seen from a distance the modern village, which is built on top of the Acropolis, probably looks much as the site did in antiquity.

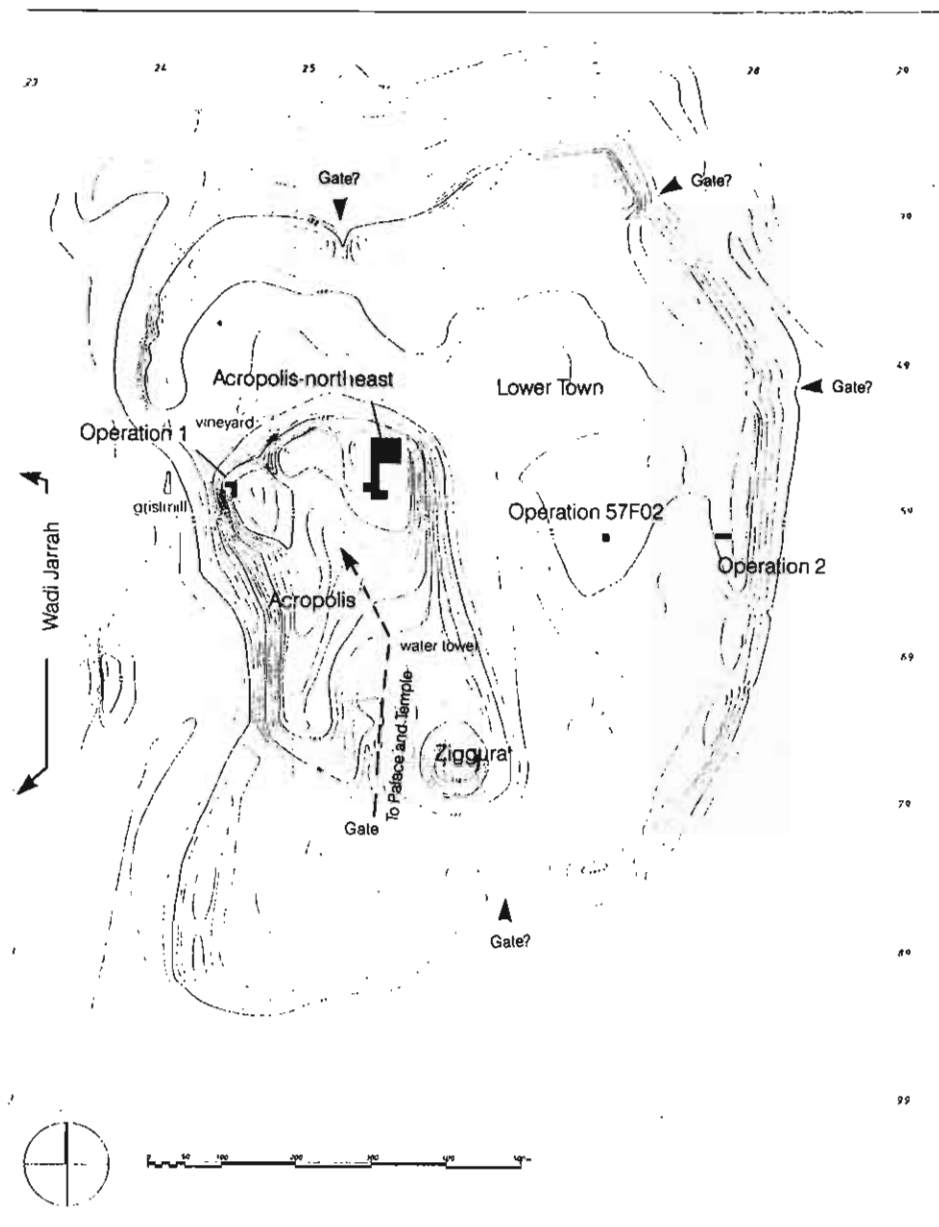
BY HARVEY WEISS

Tell Leilan is certainly one of the more imposing sites in northern Mesopotamia. Situated on the left bank of the Wadi Jarrah, in the heart of the fertile Habur Plains of northeastern Syria, the massive extant walls rise more than 15 meters above the level of the plain, and enclose an area of some 90 hectares (900,000 square meters), making it one of the largest ancient sites in northern Mesopotamia, even larger than Ebla (56 hectares), Ashur (50 hectares), and

Tell Brak (43 hectares). The gates of the city were on the north, south, and east, while on the west the ancient river probably provided a protective shoulder. The site is dominated by a 15-hectare Acropolis, which probably featured large public buildings in its northern section and a "ziggurat" to the south.

In 1978, with the cooperation of the Directorate-General of Antiquities in Damascus, Yale University began its work at Tell Leilan with a topographic survey of the

site. In association with the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, three full seasons of excavation (1979, 1980, and 1982) have since been conducted. These excavations have tested four areas of the site. The Acropolis-northeast has been the focus of horizontal excavations, while three stratigraphic soundings have also been undertaken: Operation 1, a 4.5-meter-wide step trench, now almost 16 meters deep, which goes down the northwest slope of the Acropolis; a small sounding



raphical map of Tell Leilan showing areas of excavation as of the 1982 season.

(designated 57F02) in the Lower Town; and Operation 2, a small sounding at the City Wall.

In the first part of this paper I shall briefly present some results of the excavation of the Acropolis-northeast, and then discuss what these suggest for our understanding of the site during the early second millennium B.C. In the second part I shall summarize what we have learned in the three soundings, and consider what this may tell us about northern Mesopotamia in the third millennium B.C.

Tell Leilan in the Second Millennium B.C.: Excavations on the Acropolis-northeast

Three seasons of excavation on the Leilan Acropolis now provide new data for the significance of Leilan, its ancient name, and its role on the Habur Plains of the early second millennium B.C. The topography of the Acropolis suggests that large public buildings are situated within the northeast quadrant. For the purposes of establishing the chronology of settlement within the site and its Acropolis, as well as testing loci that

might provide evidence for the site's historical role, this area has become one of the central research loci of the Tell Leilan Project.

Initial explorations in 1979, barely scratching its surface, allayed all previous fears that the Leilan Acropolis was capped by a Roman-period fortress. At 50 centimeters down, the trained excavator is able to articulate the tops of massive, sun-dried mudbrick walls erected some 4,000 years ago. Three building levels of such collapsed structures have now been identified within our excavations on the Acropolis-northeast.

Building Level I. Immediately under the surface, Building Level I comprises the remains of a mudbrick platform or paving, now only a few courses high in some places. This surface and its brickwork were set against the collapsed southern facade of an earlier building level, Building Level II (see stratigraphic section). Later surfaces related to the Building-Level-I brick platform have also been identified elsewhere within the collapsed walls of Building Level II, and associated with these surfaces are potsherds of the "Habur ware" variety that is securely dated to the nineteenth century B.C. These same kinds of ceramics also comprise the assemblages of Building Level II and Building Level III. This then is the terminal occupation on the Acropolis, perhaps representing scrappy, insubstantial habitations, possibly of squatters or temporary settlers who were seeking shelter within the ruins of large, recently collapsed buildings. These ruins are now known to be the remains of a major second-millennium-B.C. temple.

Building Level II. Thirteen hundred square meters of the Building-Level-II temple have now been retrieved, with an equivalent area probably remaining to be excavated. The northern facade of the temple presented an imposing configuration of niches and engaged columns arranged in panels, alternately spiral and plain-

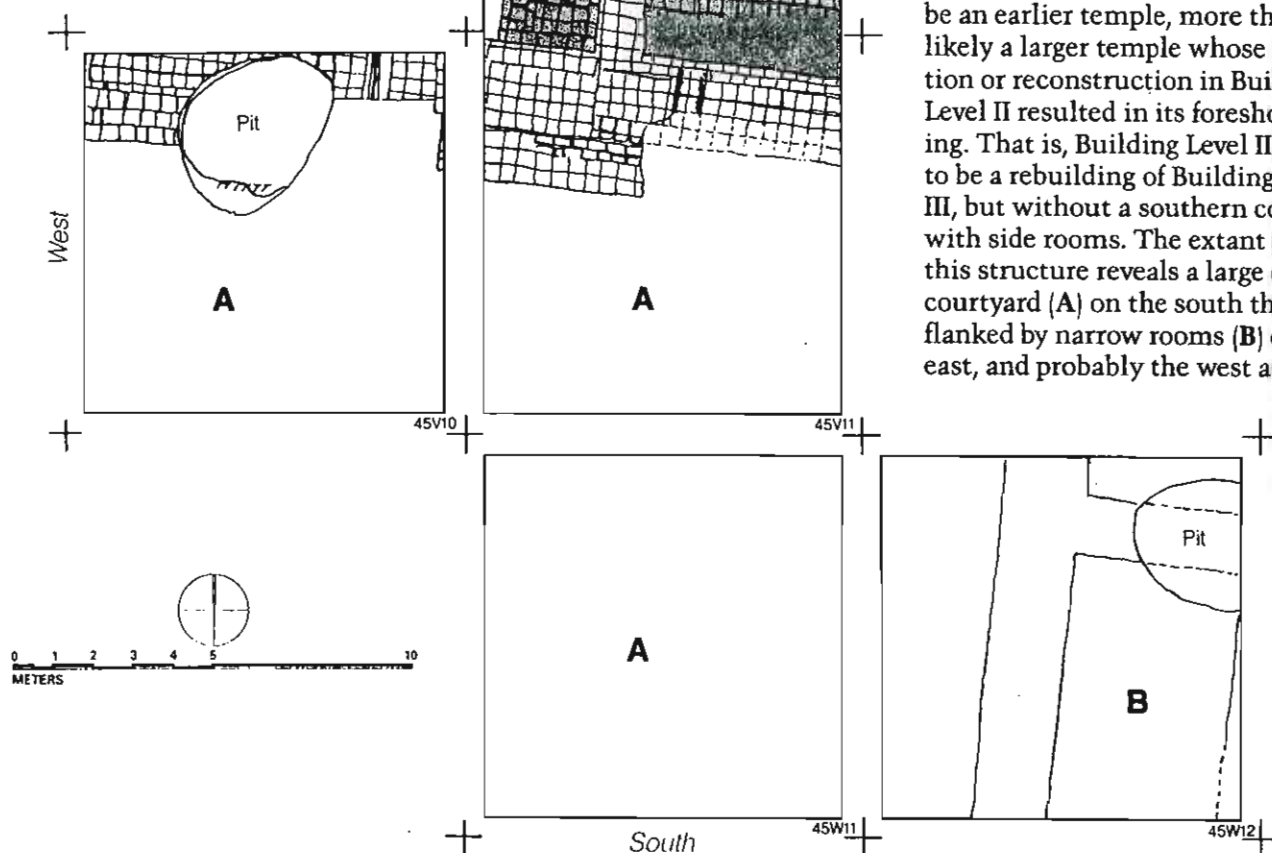
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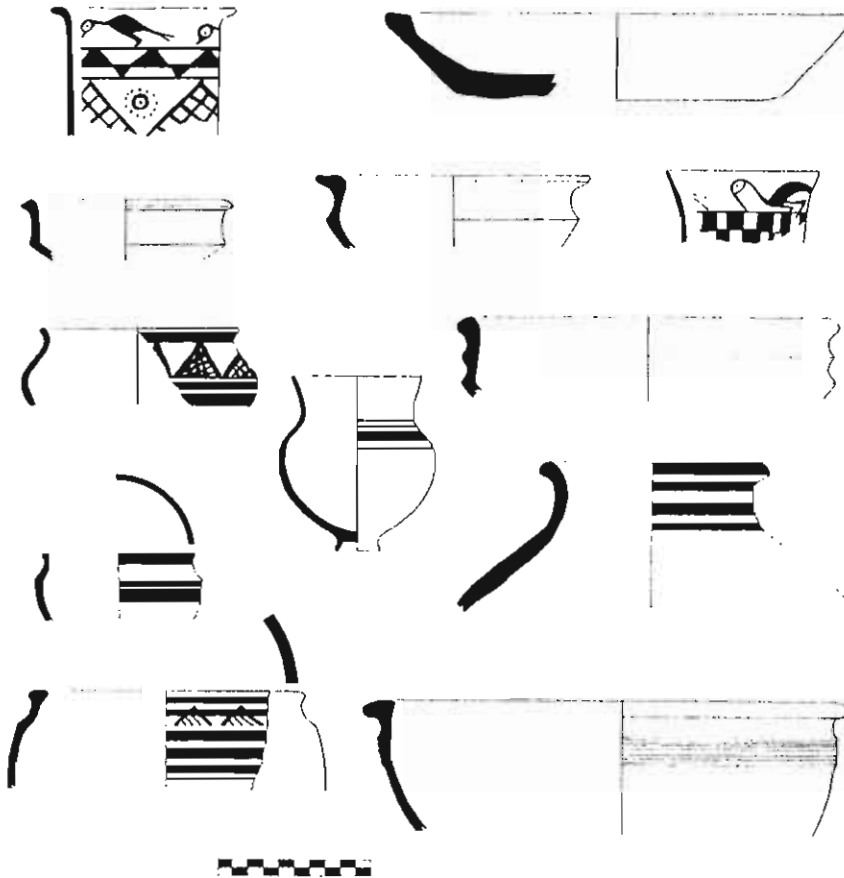
On the Acropolis interior, and looking southward toward the zigurat, the southern facade of this temple also featured niches and engaged columns. Only 9 meters of this facade have been excavated so

Building Level III. Immediately south of the south facade of Building

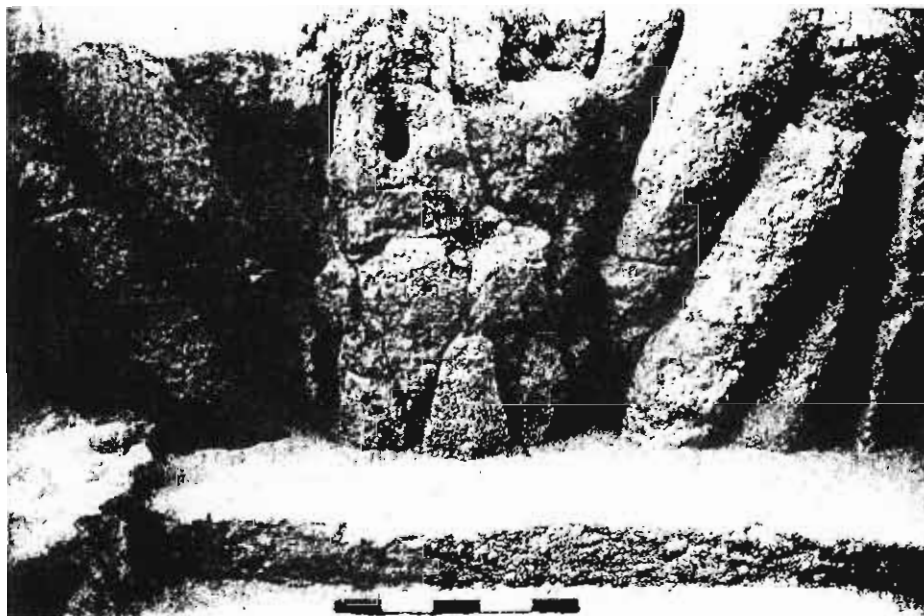
The temple in Building Level III was rebuilt in Building Level II.

Level II our excavations have retrieved portions of what appears to be an earlier temple, more than likely a larger temple whose restoration or reconstruction in Building Level II resulted in its foreshortening. That is, Building Level II seems to be a rebuilding of Building Level III, but without a southern courtyard with side rooms. The extant plan of this structure reveals a large central courtyard (A) on the south that is flanked by narrow rooms (B) on the east, and probably the west as well.





Examples of Habur ware dating to the nineteenth century B.C. from Building Levels II and III of the Acropolis-northeast.



Detail of the northern facade of the Building-Level-III temple on the Acropolis-northeast. An engaged, mudbrick column that is sculpted to resemble the trunk of a palm tree is the focal point of this section of the facade. (Its location is indicated by the letter "C" on the accompanying plan.)



Left-edge fragment of an inscribed stele in a fine-grained black stone. With parts of three lines of Old Babylonian-style "monumental" script, this fragment, which is obviously only a small portion of a very large stone monument, was retrieved within wall-collapse strata of room 3 of the Building-Level-II temple.

The northern face of the east-west wall that closes the northern rooms was decorated with stepped niches symmetrically set against a central, engaged mudbrick column (C). The face of this column was heavily coated with mudplaster, and then sculpted to resemble the trunk of a palm tree. (See sidebar.) The floors that are set against this facade were relaid three times; their extension to the north underlies the slightly later constructions of Building Level II (see the stratigraphic section).

Second-millennium-temple artifacts.

The floors of the Building-Level-II temple were littered with thousands of potsherds, as well as animal bones and carbonized wheat, barley, and other seeds—the refuse of daily cooking and eating, from which we hope to reconstruct not only the range of comestibles consumed within the temple but also the crops and agricultural practices that characterized the Habur Plains during the second millennium B.C.

Cuneiform tablets were also retrieved within several rooms; most are economic documents, recording the receipt of various commodities

Cities, by definition, are functional centers serving a dependent hinterland. When cities first emerged in southern Mesopotamia, a means of recording the transactions that maintained this new social and economic system became a necessity. The transactions were complex and involved a multitude of groups, individuals, and institutions: cities and villages, classes of administrators and laborers, and officials regulating and recording the transfer of goods and services. Two devices evolved and were regularly employed to facilitate these exchanges. One was writing, and the second was cylinder sealing. Writing was, of course, used to record the details of transactions, but some means was needed to insure the veracity of the inscription, or in cases where only the goods were to be transported or received, the integrity of the shipment. Ancient Near Eastern officials, therefore, sealed tablets as well as containers and even storerooms with cylinders bearing their names and titles, much the way post offices stamp telegrams, or customs officials bind and seal international shipments.

Above: Cylinder seal impression (L82-105) found on the floor in the southern part of room 13 of the Building-Level-II temple. Its inscription reads, "Šuri-Adad, son of Zidriya, servant of Shamshi-Adad."

Middle: Thirteen cylinder seal impressions found in the Building-Level-II temple bore the second Šuri-Adad inscription: "Adad . . . canal inspector of the god . . . , and the god . . . , Šuri-Adad, the" Seven were found on the floor of room 12 (L80-176, -180, -186, -190, -191, -194, and -195); three were found on the floor of room 13 (L82-118, -119, and -120); and three were discovered in the secondary blockage between rooms 8 and 12 (L82-123, -126, -127). The scene depicted on this seal is a standard, Old Babylonian representation of the "god with mace" in front of the "suppliant goddess."

Below: Also scattered among the rubbish of room 8 were 227 seal impressions in various stages of preservation bearing this inscription: "Bēli-emuqi, servant of Khaya-abum, servant of the god Adad." The standard Old Babylonian-style glyptic design, the "god with mace" and "suppliant goddess," is here supplemented with a "winged-lamassu" demon standing behind the goddess. A crescent-star and a monkey are used as filler between the god and goddess.



important for the temple economy.

Systematic sieving of the temple floors also made it possible to retrieve numerous inscribed cylinder seal impressions. From the southern part of room 13, one seal impression bears the inscription of

Šuri-Adad, son of Zidriya, servant of Shamshi-Adad,

thereby conclusively proving the occupation and use of this temple during Shamshi-Adad's reign. Seven impressions of another seal of (the same?) "Šuri-Adad" were also found on the floor of room 12 and three more were found on the floor of room 13:

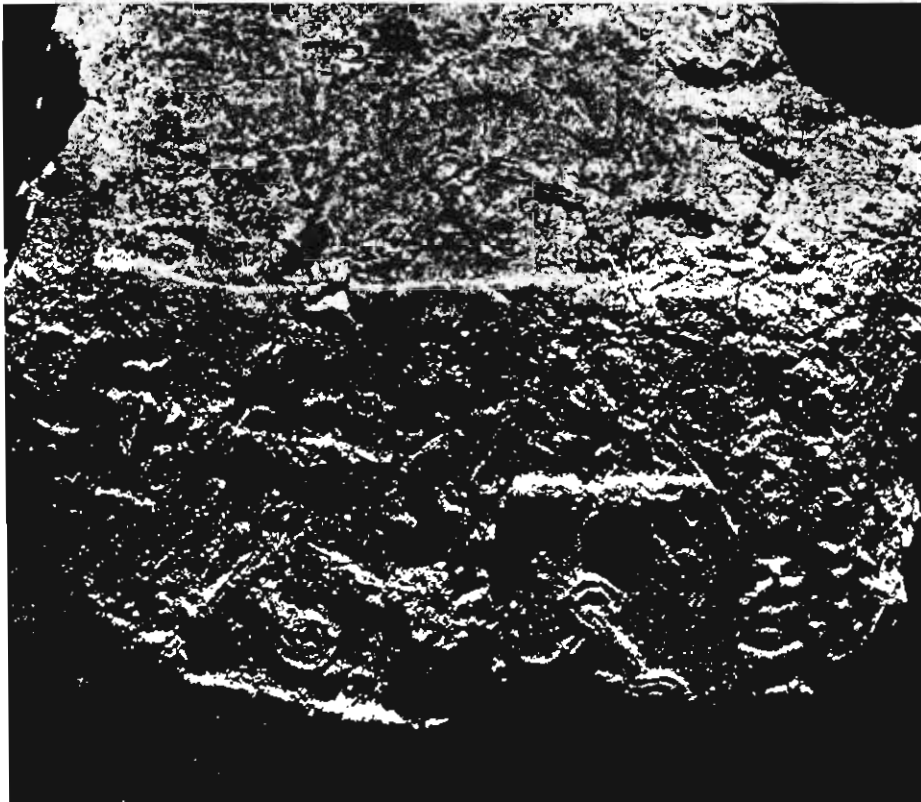
Adad . . . canal inspector of the god . . . , and the god . . . , Šuri-Adad, the . . .

But sometime, probably not too long after the initial use of these floors, three alterations were made to this building, each utilizing a characteristic mudbrick that was whiter, coarser, and more fragile than that of the structure's original walls. The relationship of the alterations to the temple's original walls can be observed in the plan of Building Level II, where the alterations are indicated in dark shading. A portion of room 12 was walled off to become a doorless room 13, with a north-facing window; the long central cella, which probably had a mudbrick altar set squarely in front of its northern wall, would have then ceased to serve as the carefully planned focus of cultic activity. The floor of room 13 is the last living surface in this room. This floor passes under the enclosure wall; a similar situation obtains to the west of the enclosure in room 12. The face of the eastern wall of room 13 extends below this last floor. The two sets of rooms 15-16 and 8-9, which are essentially parallel arrangements, each had one of their two entrances sealed with a curtain wall.

Removing the secondary blockage of the doorway between rooms 8 and 12, three additional clay seal



Above: Two impressions from a cylinder seal (L82-74 and -75) were found among the organic rubbish of room 8 in the Building-Level-II temple. Their inscription reads as follows: "Apil-ilishu, son of Ali-banishu, servant of Turum-natki." These cylinder seal impressions are derived from a cylinder seal with an apparently unique design. A "hero" holds the tails of a cow and a lion. Other "heroes" appear to jump over the backs of these animals. On each side of a mythological bird, in the lower register, there is a guilloche. Some parallels for this seal's designs occur in contemporary Anatolia and in southern Mesopotamia during the third millennium B.C.
Below: This macrophotograph of a jar stopper (measuring approximately 40 millimeters wide) found in room 8 shows the seal impression of "Apil-ilishu, son of Ali-banishu, servant of Turum-natki."



impressions of the second Šuri-Adad inscription were retrieved from the interstices of the brickwork. These were probably lying on the floor when a mason swept them up to fill cracks in his sloppy construction of the secondary wall. After the construction of this wall, a deposit of ash and trash built up against it upon the floor of room 8. Within this organic rubbish 229 additional seal impressions were tossed as jars of commodities were opened. Two of these bore the inscription of:

Apil-ilishu, son of Ali-banishu, servant of Turum-natki,
 while 227 (complete and fragmentary) bore the inscription of:

Bēli-emuqi, servant of Khaya-abum, servant of the god Adad.

Comparison with other temples.

The Building-Level-II temple at Tell Leilan, apart from its historically fascinating floor debris, remains an artifact, an expression of personal and social styles identifiable in space and time. As such, it is worthy of comparison to other, similar, monumental architecture, even though its plan is not yet complete. We have speculated that the original plan of the temple will be available in Building Level III, with Building Level II only representing a partial rebuild of that temple. If this suggestion proves correct, the Leilan temple may have been one of the largest constructed during this period, for it would then be approximately 6,000 square meters, or about twice the size of the Sin-Shamash temple at Ashur and the temple at Tell al-Rimah, and the equal of the Ischali temple and the Ashur Temple at Ashur. This, however, is not too surprising because there does seem to be a gross correlation between the size of a city and the size of its public buildings.

A "langraum"-temple? The specific plan of this building is, however, rather surprising. (Note that the isometric plan of the Building-Level-II temple does not include the building's secondary wall construc-



Two Leilan village workmen sieve floor debris of the Building-Level-II temple with millimeter-screens. Supervising the work is Farouk Ismail, then a graduate student and now a professor of ancient Near Eastern languages at the University of Aleppo.

Excavation is not for the faint of heart. There is a daring kind of brinkmanship, a continuous tension, between the need to excavate and remove, and the need to preserve and isolate, while the clock ticks away, workmen stand by waiting, and precious research funds dwindle. In a building such as the Leilan temple, massive brick collapse is first removed, and wall faces of mudplaster are then carefully picked with hand tools so as not to "create" walls but to define them against the matrix of virtually identical mudbrick collapse.

Following wall faces down to their floors can be nerve-racking. There is the ever-present danger of missing the floor, following the wall-face down to its subfloor foundations or to an earlier floor, and thereby mixing the stratigraphic deposition that provides the temporal framework for archaeological reconstruction. Delicately tracing with handpicks the "break" between collapse and wall-face down to the first centimeter-sized patch of "break," which indicates the stamped, sometimes lightly plastered floor, is an anxiety-filled process. There is no second chance. Unique among research disciplines, archaeology destroys part of its data, the archaeological context, as that data is retrieved and then removed in the excavation of still earlier deposits.

When floors are located, student supervisors and pickmen call out for fine one-millimeter screens. The floor deposits provide the crucial evidence for activities that can be securely dated, as opposed to postoccupation collapse deposits. Sieving assures uniform retrieval: No artifacts, however small, will be passed over as the debris resting immediately upon the floor surfaces is cleared.

tions.) Here it is possible to see the almost symmetric arrangement of side rooms (rooms 4, 5, 8, 14, 15, and 16) around a long central cella (room 12), which itself is, apparently, preceded by a wide antecella (room 10), only fragmentarily defined in the areas excavated to date. With the addition of the secondary blockage walls, access to the cella would have been impossible except through the antecella and, presumably, a doorway to the south through the south facade. Have we then a "langraum"- or long-room, temple, the classic Assyrian temple-form of the first millennium B.C., which always features the lineal arrangement of "doorway" - "wide-room" antecella - "long-room" cella? If the Building-Level-II temple at Leilan is "langraum" it may be the earliest temple of this type.

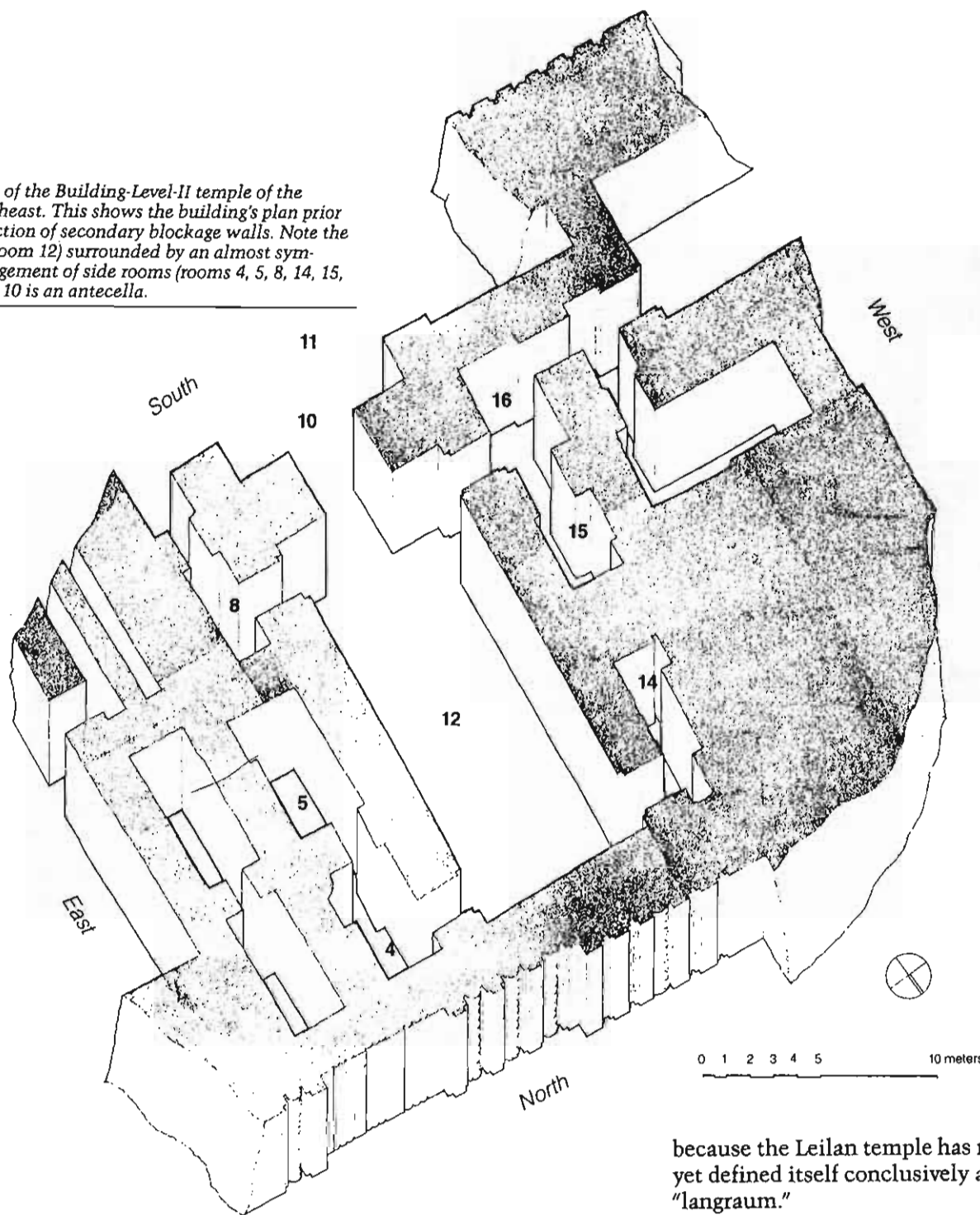
Some archaeologists have argued that "langraum"-temples do appear in the early second millennium B.C. at Ischali and Tell Harmal (Strommenger 1962: 416; Amiet

1980: 535; J. Oates 1979: 79). These temples, however, do not really have the room arrangement characteristic of "langraum"-temples, and seem to be examples of the period's characteristic "Babylonian" temple with a "breitraum" ("wide-room") cella (Hrouda 1971: 152; Heinrich 1982: 189). The earliest "langraum" known at present is that of the Sin-Shamash temple at the Assyrian capital of Ashur, constructed by Ashur-nirari I in the sixteenth century B.C. The next oldest is the famous Innin Temple of Karaindash at Warka, which dates to the fifteenth century B.C. (Heinrich 1982).

If the Leilan temple is of the "langraum"-type it is no longer necessary to hypothesize extra-Mesopotamian, possibly "Kassite," origins for this temple-type as was argued in the past (Martiny 1936; Jaritz 1960; Matthiae 1975). Concurrently, however, the Leilan temple raises new questions: Why is this temple-form appearing at Leilan at this time, and what are its origins?

One hypothesis that might now be entertained is that the "Assyrian langraum" temple-plan actually was a Shamshi-Adad, or Shamshi-Adad-period, innovation subsequently adopted or copied by later Assyrian royalty. In much the same way that Shamshi-Adad mimicked the royal titulature of the Akkadian dynasts, so later Assyrian monarchs perpetuated many Shamshi-Adad innovations. Two outstanding examples of this are his name, which was subsequently adopted by four other Assyrian kings, and his Ashur inscriptions, whose style and dialect were imitated by Middle Assyrian kings in their royal annals (Laessle 1963: 95). Is the "langraum"-temple then an innovation of Shamshi-Adad? If this were the case, we would expect the temple constructed by Shamshi-Adad at Ashur to be "langraum." Unfortunately, the excavation of this structure does not allow us to make definitive statements about the temple's plan in the

Isometric plan of the Building-Level-II temple of the Acropolis-northeast. This shows the building's plan prior to the construction of secondary blockage walls. Note the central cella (room 12) surrounded by an almost symmetrical arrangement of side rooms (rooms 4, 5, 8, 14, 15, and 16). Room 10 is an antecella.



because the Leilan temple has not yet defined itself conclusively as "langraum."

days of Shamshi-Adad but, as Anton Moortgat noted, the foundations of this structure leave open the possibility that the temple's cella was originally "langraum" (Moortgat 1969: 76). Very intriguing, as well, are the engaged columns that once decorated the exterior of this temple (Haller 1955: 33, figure 8; Heinrich 1982: 198–99). We do not know how they were decorated. They might have been spirals or have been

decorated with one of the other palm-frond motifs.

For the moment, however, we must refrain from absolute statements about origins and explanations, for definitive evidence is not available—nor, in the archaeological world, is it ever likely to be. The typology of temple-plans seems to allow for the categorization of the Building-Level-II temple, but only in so far as it has been excavated until now. This last caveat is necessary

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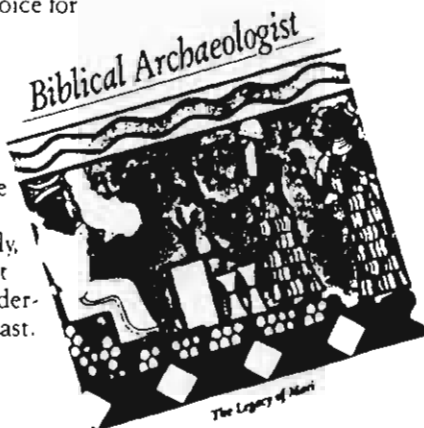
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THE MIGHT THAT WAS ASSYRIA

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University College, Cardiff*



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Preface

It is customary to offer a prefatory justification for a book of this kind. The reason for the writing of this one is simple. Over more than half my life I have studied the Assyrians, and I should like the privilege of sharing with others some of the interest I myself have found in that people.

The reader will soon notice that I actually like the Assyrians, warts and all: I make no apology for this. Though the Assyrians, like the people of every other nation ancient and modern, were sometimes less than kind to their fellow humans, I feel no compulsion to be continually advertising my own rightmindedness by offering judgement upon their every action or attitude in terms of current liberal orthodoxy.

I am well aware that there are many topics omitted which might have been discussed. I have notebooks of material which would make up a book more than twice the size of this one, but there had to be a limit. In my selection of what to discuss, I have concentrated upon matters for which the evidence is clearest, areas which touch the modern world most nearly, and topics which seem the most interesting. Obviously, these three criteria do not always coincide, and I have sometimes had to sacrifice one or other.

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

by Vladimir S. Tuman

Astronomical Dating of Kudurrus

So far, we have been able to date the sky depicted on the Kudurrus, on three different occasions. In the case of Kudurru Susa #2, known as the Nazi-Marutash Kudurru, we are in slight conflict regarding the date. Astronomically, it is dated December 1293 B.C., yet some historians maintain that this particular Kudurru was carved during the reign of King Marduk Apla-Iddina (11-73-1161 B.C.), and according to a brief inscription on the Kudurru, states that this Kudurru is a copy from a clay tablet from the time of King Nazi-Marutash.¹⁶ If the astral symbols on the Kudurru were also copied and carved during the time of King Marduk Apla Iddina, from the tablet of Nazi-Marutash's time, then there will be conflict.

We have very good dating agreement between the next two Kudurrus, BM #90835 and the Berlin Museum #VA 208.

It must be emphasized that identification of Nusku, the lamp, as the sign of the sunset has been an important key in solving the riddle of Kudurrus.

Symbols on the Kudurru Susa #2, from the Louvre Museum, "Fig. 1 A & B"

(The reader should also refer to Table 1, 2A & 2B.)

FIG. 1A

1. Eight-corner star, Istar, planet Venus (on the top of the Kudurru).
2. The sickle of the Moon, Sin, the Moon.
3. The four-corner star, with four emanating rays, Samas, the Sun.
4. The Scorpion, Ishara, representing the constellation of Scorpion.
5. The lamp, Nusku, the sign of sunset?
6. Lady sitting in the chair and her dog, goddess Gula, the constellation of Aquarius.

FIG. 1B

First Row:

7. Two horned headdress on the shrine, the sign of Anu and Enlil.

Second Row:

8. A partially erased shrine, unknown.

Third Row:

9. A spear, the sign of Marduk, the planet Jupiter.

10. A double-headed Lion Mace, sign of Ninib, the planet Saturn.

11. An Eagle-head Mace, sign of Zamama, constellation of Aquila.

12. A single-headed Lion Mace, sign of Nergal, the planet Mars.

Fourth Row:

13. A bird upon a perch: Suquamuna or Sumalia, the constellation of Corvus.

14. A bull with a fork of lightning on its back, representing Ramman or Adad, the constellation of Taurus.

a. Locating the Sun

The tail of the Scorpion points to the Sun, hence RA, Sun = 18 ± 1 hour. With the help of the lamp Nusku, the sunset is related to Gula. When the Sun sets, Gula culminates. For more refinement, from the size of the Gula and position of Nusku, we predict that at sunset, Gula is about 0.6 hours beyond culmination. We have confirmed the position of the Sun's RA $\cong 18 \pm 1$ hour = $270^\circ \pm 15^\circ$.

b. Locating the Planet Venus

Venus has to be within $\pm 48^\circ$ from the Sun. We also have Venus about $\frac{1}{2}$ the size of the constellation of Scorpion, away from the Sun, thus about an hour beyond Scorpion's boundary; hence Venus' RA $\cong 19 \pm 1$ hour $\cong 285^\circ \pm 15^\circ$.

c. Locating the Planet Mercury

The planet Mercury is not carved on the Kudurru. This may be interpreted that it is too close to the Sun, thus it cannot be seen. However, we know that it can be within $\pm 28^\circ$ of the Sun. Thus, Mercury's RA $\cong 270^\circ \pm 28^\circ$.

d. Locating the Planet Jupiter

The sign of the planet Jupiter is located on the third row, Fig. 1B. Jupiter is facing the constellation of Scorpion on one side, thus RA < 16 hours. From the first row, Fig. 1B, Jupiter is related to the constellation of Corvus RA > 13 hours. Thus, Jupiter has to be between 13 and 16 hours; we estimate Jupiter's RA $\cong 14.5 \pm 1$ hour $\cong 218^\circ \pm 15^\circ$.

e. Locating the Planet Mars

Mars is located towards the head of the constellation

of Taurus, thus it is estimated that Mars' RA -4.5 ± 1 hour $\rightarrow 67^\circ \pm 15^\circ$. This interpretation, however, puts Mars eight hours away from the constellation of Aquila, which is located between Mars and Saturn. It is also difficult to see any type of relationship between the constellation of Taurus and the constellation of Aquila. Consequently, the constellation of Aquila is ignored, since it provides no clue or any coherent information.

f. Locating the Planet Saturn

If we accept the position of Mars and Jupiter, then the interval between Mars and Jupiter is $14.5 - 4.5 = 10$ hours $= 150^\circ$.

The interval between Jupiter and Saturn is $1/3$ of this, or 50° . Hence, Saturn's RA $= (218^\circ - 50^\circ) \pm 15^\circ$, Saturn's RA $= 168^\circ \pm 15^\circ$.

g. Summary of the Results

In order to compare the right ascension of the planets, Sun and the Moon, with those in Stahlman and Gingerich, we have to precess these data by about three thousand years. This is about 42° . No correction will be applied to convert from right ascension to longitude, since this is only about $2-3^\circ$, and our estimates are within $\pm 15^\circ$.

S & G Tables
Dec. 1, 1293 B.C.

| | | | |
|---------|---|----|-------------|
| Sun | $=270^\circ \pm 15^\circ - 42^\circ = 228^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ | RA | 239° |
| Mercury | $=270^\circ \pm 28^\circ - 42^\circ = 228^\circ \pm 28^\circ$ | RA | 239° |
| Venus | $=285^\circ \pm 15^\circ - 42^\circ = 243^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ | RA | 260° |
| Mars | $= 70^\circ \pm 15^\circ - 42^\circ = 25^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ | RA | 19° |
| Jupiter | $=218^\circ \pm 15^\circ - 42^\circ = 176^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ | RA | 193° |
| Saturn | $=168^\circ \pm 15^\circ - 42^\circ = 126^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ | RA | 118° |

h. Computer Calculation by Myles Standish, Jet Propulsion Laboratory, for November 30th and December 2nd, 1293 B.C.

| Estimates | S & G Tables: | | |
|--------------------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| | Nov. 30 | Dec. 2 | Dec. 11 |
| $228^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ | 235° | 237.1° | 250° |
| ? | 358° | 23.3° | — |
| $228^\circ \pm 28^\circ$ | 249.3° | 248.0° | 238° |
| $243^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ | 256.0° | 258.7° | 272° |
| $25^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ | 16.9° | 15.6° | 18° |
| $176^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ | 191.7° | 192.0° | 195° |
| $126^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ | 119.8° | 119.8° | 117° |

Note that by December 11, 1293 B.C., Venus and Jupiter are already in disagreement with the estimated data. Hence, we may conclude that the position of the sky on this Kudurru reflects a time from about the 21st of November until December 7th; about a two-week period.

It is important to realize that concurrent sun-setting and Aquarius culmination is used in this Kudurru. Thus, according to our interpretation, the concept of Ziqupu stars goes back at least to 1293 B.C.

Symbols on Kudurru BM #90835* (Fig. 2)¹⁷

Top row, left to right:

1. The sickle of the Moon, the god Sin, the Moon
2. The four-corner star and four emanating beams of light, the god Samas, the Sun.
3. Eight-corner star, the goddess Istar, the planet Venus.
4. Two-horned headdress upon shrine: two supreme gods, Anu and Enlil.
6. Turtle upon shrine, god EA, "Capricorn"?
7. Twin spiral upon the shrine inverted, goddess Nin Hur-sag? "Libra"?

Second row:

8. The spearhead on shrine and horned dragon, god Marduk, the planet Jupiter.
9. Wedge upon a shrine beside a horned dragon, god Ninib, the planet Mercury.

Third row:

10. The goddess Gula seated upon a shrine with a dog beside her, "the constellation of Aquarius."
11. Nusku, the Lamp (indicating sunset, presumed by V.S.T., this seems to agree with the content of the mul Apin tablets).
12. Bird upon a perch, Suqamuna or Sumalia, probably UGA mushen (Raven), the constellation of "Corvus."
13. Arrow, KAK-SI-DI or Gag-si-sa, "Sirius" bright star of Canis Major.

Fourth row:

14. Lion-headed mace, the god Nergal, the planet "Mars."
15. Eagle-head mace, Zababa or Zamama; A mushen eagle, "the constellation of Aquila."
16. Lightning fork, Adad, GUD-AN-NA, bull of heaven, "the constellation of Taurus."
17. Walking bird, big bird, ^dBau, SHIM-MAH, Shinitum, Susonoita, big swallow, the old constellation of "Shim-mah," "Pisces and Pegasus."
18. Scorpion, Ishara, Girtab, "the constellation of Scorpionus."
19. Serpent, Siru, Much, "the constellation of Hydra." The head of Hydra was close to the star Procyon (of Canis Minor).

*The Kudurru BM #90835 was transliterated and translated by L. W. King, and was published in 1912.

Attempt to Interpret B.M. Kudurru #90835

a. Locating Venus

1. Consider the head of Hydra in the vicinity of Venus. Estimated unprecessed RA ≈ 7.5 hours.

2. This coordinate is roughly confirmed by KAK-SIDI, the arrow representing the star Sirius . . . Hence, Venus is estimated to be at 12 hours RA unprecessed, or $\varphi \approx 12 \pm 1$ hrs. $\Rightarrow 180^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ RA.

Locating the Sun

1. Astronomically, Venus can be within maximum of $\pm 48^\circ$ from the Sun (maximum elongation). Thus, the Sun's RA must be $180^\circ \pm 48^\circ$ or 12 hrs. ± 3 hrs.

2. If we consider Nusku, "the lamp," represents the sunset, then we can find relationships between Gula and Shamash, the Sun and the Aquarius.

Sun sets in Virgo, Gula, Aquarius rises. Hence the Sun must be at 11 hours, or $165^\circ \pm 15^\circ$. Aquarius indirectly confirms the location of the Sun $\odot = 165^\circ \pm 15^\circ$.

c. Locating the Planet Mercury, "Nabu," in the Second Row

1. Astronomically, Mercury should be within $\pm 28^\circ$ from the Sun. Thus, $165^\circ \pm 28^\circ$.

2. Using the Scorpion, we find that Mercury must set when Scorpion culminates. (The concept of Ziqpu.) It seems $\varphi \approx 175^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ (although $155^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ is also possible, however geometrically RA $175^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ seems more appropriate!).

d. Locating the Planet Jupiter, "Marduk," in the Second Row

1. In the same fashion as c., Jupiter sets when Aquila culminates, "thus the use of Ziqpu." $\varphi = 210^\circ \pm 15^\circ$.

e. Locating the Planet Mars, "Nergal," in the Fourth Row

1. Mars next to Aquila, Altair - 20 hours RA = 300° . Thus, Mars $322^\circ \pm 15^\circ$, $\varphi = 322^\circ \pm 15^\circ$.

Summary

The precession for 1000 B.C. is estimated at about 40° . Thus

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| $\odot = 165^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ | $125^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ corrected. |
| $\varphi = 175^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ | $135^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ corrected. |
| $\varphi = 185^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ | $145^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ corrected. |
| $\varphi = 322^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ | $282^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ corrected. |
| $\varphi = 210^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ | $170^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ corrected. |

The Moon is close to the Sun and must set when Gula rises, thus

$$\text{D} = 170^\circ \pm 15^\circ \quad 130^\circ \pm 15^\circ.$$

From the tables and calculations, we estimate

Aug. 17, 949 B.C.

Estimated from the Kudurru

| | |
|-------------|------------------------------------|
| 135° | $\odot = 125^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ |
| 123° | $\varphi = 135^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ |
| 156° | $\varphi = 145^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ |
| 297° | $\varphi = 282^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ |
| 175° | $\varphi = 170^\circ \pm 15^\circ$ |
| 347° | $h_2 = ?$ |

Note that the concept of Ziqpu stars and constellations is used again in this Kudurru BM #90835, on the fourth row, to identify the location of planets Mercury and Jupiter. This concept was in practice by August, 949 B.C.

The Kudurru VA 208 from the Statliche Museen zu Berlin, Hauptstadt der D.D.R. (see Figs. 3 & 4)

This Kudurru is quite unique and different from the two Kudurru discussed already in this report. It is of the Neo-Babylonian time, found about 1889 in the vicinity of Babylon, and later on it was carried to Berlin. The Kudurru, according to the inscription, was carved at the time of King Marduk Zakir Sumi I, who reigned from 852 to 828 B.C. We also note that the Kudurru was prepared during the 11th year of King Marduk Zakir Sumi I, namely 840-41 B.C.

The astrodating of this Kudurru is May-June, 840 B.C., which is in excellent agreement with the historical dating. This Kudurru represents an exciting event in the sky, namely the planetary alignment between the constellation of Taurus and that of the constellation of Hercules. Because most likely it was interpreted as the meeting of the gods, and a good omen, the constellation of Hercules was substituted for the constellation of Scorpius (see Fig. 5).

Symbols on the Kudurru

Top left row facing Kudurru:

1. The sickle of the Moon, the god Sin, the Moon.
2. Four-cornered star with four emanating rays, the god Samas, the Sun.
3. The eight-corner star, the symbol of goddess Istar, the planet Venus.

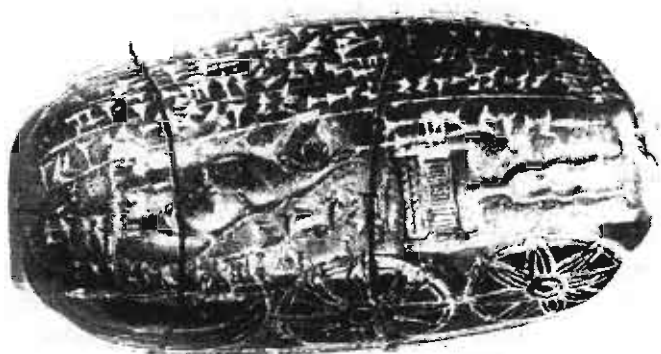
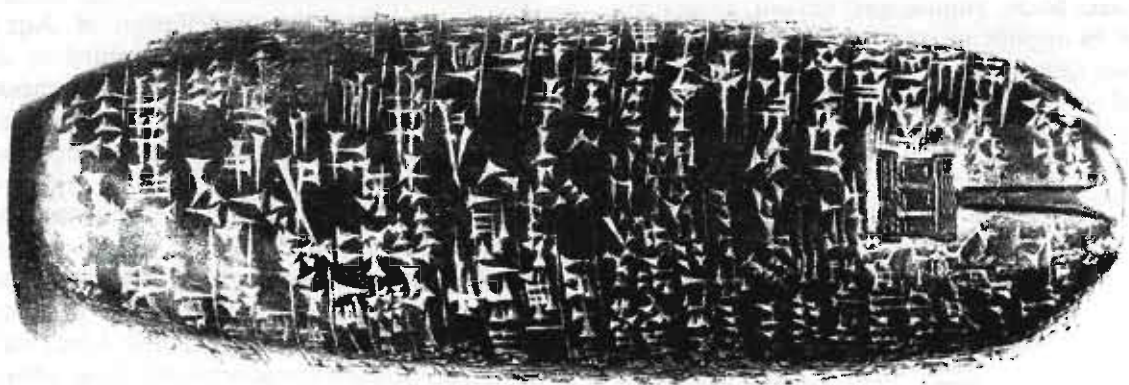
Top row:

4. The monument of the dog, UR-KU, the constellation of Hercules.¹⁹
5. The sign of GUD-AN-NA, the god Hadad, the constellation of Taurus.

Right-hand side of Kudurru:

6. A shrine bearing a wedge, mul Lubad-GUD-UD, god Nabu, the planet Mercury.

Left-hand side of Kudurru:



BABYLONIAN BOUNDARY STONES, KNOWN AS

"KUDURRUS"

7. The spearhead of Marduk mul Sag-Mi-Gar, god Marduk, the planet Jupiter.

8. The double lion head mace: mul Lubad-Sag-Us, god Ninib, the planet Saturn.

9. Single lion headed mace: mul Mustabaru, god Nergal, the planet Mars.

The Astrodating of VA 208

The Kudurru VA 208 has two interesting features:

a. There are only two constellations depicted on the Kudurru, the constellation of Taurus, represented by the lightning fork of Hadad, and the dog, which represents the constellation of Hercules.

b. These two constellations are at about 180° apart. If no astrology was attached to the Kudurru, the constellation of Scorpius probably would have been used in place of Hercules.

The seven known planets must be roughly lined up as indicated on the Kudurru, between Taurus and Hercules. Note also that Mercury and Venus are beyond the Sun pointing to Taurus, being in conjunction with Taurus; their position is most likely calculated. On the other hand, the planets Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, as well as the Moon, are in opposition and thus in the constellation of Hercules (Scorpius).

With the aid of the Strahlman and Gingerich Tables, we find:

| May 27, 840 B.C. | June 7, 840 B.C. | Estimated |
|------------------|------------------|------------|
| 57° | 66° | 73° ± 20° |
| 36° | 46° | 73° ± 20° |
| 83° | 95° | 73° ± 20° |
| 249° | 245° | 257° ± 20° |
| 244° | 242° | 257° ± 20° |
| 238° | 237° | 257° ± 20° |

The planetary alignment of May-June, 840 B.C. is depicted on Figs. 3, 4 and 5.

For the use of planetary alignment in 55 B.C. and 44 A.D. and their implications to the astral religion, see "The Cerberus Slab of Hatra May Represent Important Astronomical Events," and "The Tomb of King Antiochus Revisited," by V. S. Tuman.^{19,20}

Concluding Remarks

The study of Kudurru, and astrodating of these documents have opened a new avenue of investigation, which will provide us with information leading into the evolution of observational astronomy. It is very fortunate that Babylonian and Assyrian astronomers with all their modesty, had the foresight to leave us with the mul Apin tablets that summarize their astronomical knowledge up to the time of the king Assurbanipal. Apparently, some of the versions of mul Apin which are found were copied during the Seleucid time from the older versions.

The astral investigation of Kudurru will enhance our "ready-made summary knowledge" in the mul Apin tablets. As an example, the concept of concurrent rising and setting of stars is discussed as an observational technique; in sections 6 and 7 of mul Apin tablet #1, they also discuss simultaneous rising and culminating stars, or simultaneous setting and culminating stars, the "Ziqpu" stars. Such observational methods, which were developed to enhance their observational techniques, were probably used over centuries, but as far as we know, the time of evolution of such techniques is neither known nor discussed anywhere. If we can accept the astrodating of the Kudurru, then these concepts were used as early as 1293 B.C. and 1092 B.C. This means the technique was in use some 500-600 years before the reign of king Assurbanipal.

We are also learning from the Kudurru, which constellations were used in different periods. There are good iconographical features for GUD-AN-NA, the constellation of Taurus, but no indications for the constellation Mas-Ta-Ba Gal-Gal, the Gemini, in spite of its two bright stars. The constellation of Capricorn, which is the symbolic representation of Ea, is quite prolific. It is also interesting that the constellation of Aquarius in a number of iconography is represented by the goddess Gula and her dog, but on a couple of occasions at other periods, the constellation of Aquarius is suddenly represented by a male deity. The constellation of Mush, Hydra, is a dominant feature on numerous Kudurru, yet we are uncertain about the constellation of Serpens, UR-I-DIM (the mad dog . . .). Although the double lion-headed mace (Saturn) and single lion-headed mace, Nergal (Mars) are prevalent, so far the only clear-cut UR-GU-LA, constellation of the Lion, has been observed among the astronomical tablets, where the lion is riding on the back of Hydra (see Figs. 3 and 4).

As we continue with our investigation of Kudurru, I am sure our knowledge regarding the number of constellations, their forms and shapes, the ultimate Zodiac constellations will be enhanced.

The astrodating also will provide us with slightly more improved and accurate dating of kings, their reigns, and events that took place in those days.

We had already noticed in a former paper that the concept of planetary alignment was used in the first century B.C. and first century A.D. It was interesting to note that Kudurru #208 zu Statliche Museen Berlin Hauptstadt der D.D.R., also represents a planetary alignment of 840 B.C. This is significant, since planets such as Mercury and Venus at that time were beyond the Sun, hence their positions were calculated, indicating the ability of Babylonian and Assyrian astronomers to have confidence in their calculations. Secondly, the event probably has astral religious implications, and thus we may have to look if important historical and religious steps were taken in that period.

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Acknowledgements

This paper is the byproduct of the information which was made available to me at the British Museum in London, Louvre Museum in Paris, and Statliche Museum in Berlin. I was introduced to some of the most beautiful and fascinating Kudurrus that are present in these three Museums. I am grateful to Mr. C. B. F. Parker, Assyriology Department of the British Museum, who introduced me to the work done by Dr. L. W. King. Madam de Caudine of the Department of Oriental Antiquities of the Louvre Museum, Paris, who was gracious with her time in showing us some of the recent literature and the file of Kudurru pictures. I am grateful for receiving some photographs from the Louvre Museum, including the original photograph of Nazi-Marutash Kudurru, which is discussed in this paper. In Berlin, The Deutsches Archäologische Institut was very hospitable, and I spent some interesting hours in the Library of the Institute, where I finally met Dr. Ursula Calmeyer-Seidl, the author of the Baghdad Mitteilungen Band 4. Frau Dr. Calmeyer was very kind and we discussed many interesting topics regarding Kudurrus. She also provided me with a very useful list of references. In Statliche Museum zu Berlin, Director Frau Doctor Lian Jakob-Röst and Frau Doctor Klengal showed us some of their Kudurrus, and encouraged us to pursue the subject of astrodating of Kudurrus. I have received a collection of pictures of Kudurrus and some astronomical tablets, including Kudurru #VA-208 and tablet

#VAT-7847 from the Statliche Museum zu Berlin, Hauptstadt der D.D.R., for which I am very grateful. The Kudurru #VA-208, and the Lion's model on the tablet VAT-7847 are used in this paper.

I would like to thank many of my friends and colleagues with whom I have freely discussed the content of this paper; they have been all very encouraging. In particular, I would like to thank Professor Owen Gingerich of Harvard, who has been a constant source of encouragement. I am specially grateful to him for providing me with his digital computer, instantaneous coordinate data of the planets in antiquity. I received similar kindness, calculations of planetary coordinates from my friend, Dr. Myles Standish of the Jet Propulsion Laboratory, California Institute of Technology, for which I am very appreciative. Special thanks are due to Professor Ann Kilmar of U.C. Berkeley, for her enthusiasm and encouragement, and support of this study. I have had many interesting discussions with Professor Wilbur Knorr and Francis Everitt of Stanford University; I am also grateful to Dr. Wilbur Knorr, for his technical and editorial comments. Special thanks are also due to Professor Gary Karshner of California State University, for providing me with Stahlman-Gingerich tables and some interesting technical discussions; to Mrs. Paula Crawford and Bob Santos, for providing me with all the books and articles that I have requested; to my sons John and Joseph Tuman for editorial comments; to Ms. Vicki Eden for her beautiful art work, and to Mrs. Charlene Sanford for patiently typing many versions of this paper.

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Finally, my special thanks to my wife, Turan Tuman, who has been a friendly critic which provided me with a great deal of useful information. The author, however, takes full responsibility for the content of this article.

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

Dr. David B. Perley

MASS MIGRATION OF REFUGEES—LAW AND POLICY

The panel convened at 9:00 a.m., April 22, 1982, Frank E. Loy* presiding.

Mr. Loy began the discussion by noting the distinction between a refugee and an applicant for asylum. A refugee was a person who had fled his homeland to seek refuge in another place and who, after obtaining refugee status, received certain rights, including the right of resettlement. An applicant for asylum was a person who, after fleeing his homeland, sought permanent settlement in a country of first asylum. Accordingly, from the U.S. perspective, a refugee was a person living abroad in a country of first asylum who sought resettlement in the United States. An applicant for asylum, on the other hand, was a person already in the United States who sought asylum.

REMARKS BY DAVID A. MARTIN†

Our topic, as set forth in the program, is "Mass Migration of Refugees." In a way, however, that phrasing may put the cart before the horse, for it can be enormously important whether or not the migrants are, in fact, refugees. Or to phrase it differently but with the same operational significance, it matters greatly whether the world response is to be premised on the notion that this is a refugee situation we are dealing with or, instead, something else, some other kind of migration situation.

Usually, the term "refugee" is a label of approval. It evokes support and sympathy; it invites people to roll up their sleeves and pitch in to help out. For that reason, if a government decides that it must try to avoid obligations to people who have migrated in large numbers, or that it will treat them harshly, deter them, or incarcerate them, it probably will work hard to have them characterized as something other than refugees—perhaps as illegal immigrants or economic migrants or some other label. And maybe I am being unfair in phrasing it that way. The effect may work in the opposite direction. If government officials conclude, in good faith, for good reasons, that the people are not refugees and instead are illegal immigrants or economic migrants, they may feel it is incumbent upon them—maybe not welcome but necessary—to respond by deterring, or deporting, or incarcerating the people who come in.

What I want to do here is to discuss what we mean by the term "refugee"—not because the definition itself solves the problems spawned by mass migrations, but because the labels may go a long way toward identifying the type of solution that the world community will try to put together. And I am also convinced that the debates become deeply confused when different sides are using different conceptions of "refugee." I would like to see some of that confusion dispelled.

Our starting point, of course, is the rather familiar definition that comes from the basic charter of modern refugee law, the 1951 U.N. Convention relating to the Status of Refugees. Probably most people here are acquainted with the formula: in general, a refugee is someone who is outside his home country and who has a "well-founded fear of persecution" based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion, if he were to return.¹ It is a common reaction on the part of people who look at that definition for the first time to conclude that people who come from any country with a substantial level of human rights abuses are likely to be refugees. Indeed, recently Ambassador Kirkpatrick drew criticism in the press on this basis. Just at the time the U.S. State Department announced that it would end a blanket recommendation shielding all Ethiopians from involuntary return to that country (a decision later rescinded), she delivered a hard-hitting speech in the United Nations condemning Ethiopia for extensive human rights abuses. I am not accustomed to defending Ambassador Kirkpatrick, but in this case I want to say that she took a bum rap. It's not necessarily inconsistent under the U.N. definition of "refugee" to be quite aware of the human rights violations of a country, to be denouncing them in appropriate forums, and at the same time to be denying at least some asylum applications from the nationals of that country and to be preparing to send those people back home.

The standard, in other words, under the U.N. Convention is a narrow and individualized standard. The applicant for asylum under that definition must show not only that human rights abuses exist in the home country but also that he or she probably would be singled out or targeted to become the victim of those abuses. There is ample room for disagreement as to just how much of a showing of likely targeting the applicant has to make. The courts in this country and the agencies responsible for applying that definition in asylum cases as opposed to the overseas refugee programs have tended to apply a narrow conception of the U.N. definition and to require a rather high threshold showing that the person is likely to be singled out. And I am persuaded that this narrow conception is fully justified, insofar as our asylum programs are concerned.

Leaving aside the disagreement over what threshold must be reached to establish refugee status, there is current dissatisfaction with the U.N. definition itself—and it comes from two quite different directions. The first thread of dissatisfaction stems from the concern that a country's obligations can get quite out of hand in extending benefits to all people who may meet that particular definition. The concern is not simply that the definition by its nature does not allow you to impose a numerical ceiling. The Convention doesn't say, for example: "The first 10,000 people who get here this year with a well-founded fear of persecution are refugees and the rest are somebody else's problem." Obviously, in the nature of it, the definition cannot be applied in that fashion.

This thread of concern comes from a different perception, a different focus, on the definition. The definition does not say that one is a refugee if he left because

of a well-founded fear of persecution. It says a refugee is someone outside his country and now unwilling to return or seek the protection of that country because of a well-founded fear of persecution. Senator Huddleston and others in the U.S. Congress looked at that definition, chewed over the implications, and considered the cause of that phrasing, we are much too vulnerable to what you might call "bootstrap refugees." Bootstrap refugees are people who had no problem in the home country before they left, but left anyway, came here and decided they wanted to stay. In most blatant form, bootstrap refugees are those who, having decided they want to stay here, then issue a statement denouncing the home government, which they promptly use as the basis of their asylum application. Surely, they argue, if the government hears about this, it will persecute us when we get home. But there is also a less blatant and more troublesome type of bootstrap refugee—one who, quite without public fuss, fears that the government may treat him as a deep-dyed opponent merely because of his sojourn in the United States, even though he was in no danger before he left.

Worried that vast numbers of people might make use of bootstrapping in one or the other form, Senator Huddleston introduced a bill last year that would change the definition that governs asylum processing in this country. It would make political asylum here available only to those for whom the fear of persecution existed before they left the home country. Implementing that proposal would put us in clear violation of our treaty obligations under the U.N. Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees. Nevertheless, the bill had seven cosponsors and received considerable attention in the early stages of our current consideration of immigration reform proposals.

I certainly do not demean the concern that lies behind that sort of a proposal. It is quite possible for asylum to be abused or debased by blatant and not-so-blatant bootstrapping attempts. And there is cause for legitimate concern about the numbers of people who could come here and make a plausible claim for asylum, especially if they do not have to show that they were in danger before they left. Nevertheless, I think there are substantial flaws in the Huddleston proposal.

To illustrate, consider first a situation where there is a sharp change in circumstances in the home country. A person is outside the country when a coup occurs, for example, and because of the coup, because a different faction has taken power, may now have quite a clear and unmistakable and legitimate fear of persecution if he were to return. Under the Huddleston proposal, that person would not qualify for asylum. Perhaps even Senator Huddleston would agree that there is a problem with that particular outcome, and it may be possible to amend his proposal to take account of situations where there is a dramatic change of circumstances in the home country.

But even if we make that kind of an amendment, there is a second set of applicants who would be left out of asylum protection, with unfortunate consequences. Consider the situation of a student—it doesn't have to be a student, but that may be a useful example—a student who comes here from a repressive country, who may never have paid much attention to political developments there or may never have had an opportunity to think seriously or to speak out about the political situation in that country. The student comes here, indulges in the First Amendment freedoms of which we are justly proud, and awakens to the political repression, the problems that exist in the home country, and now begins to speak out. Whether the student did that consciously, knowing of the risk that she may be generating if she ever were to return, or not, we probably would agree that this country stands for encouraging that sort of awakening—at least as long as it reflects a real personal change and not a blatant attempt to affect immigration status. If that speaking out leads to a strong showing that she will be persecuted on return, I submit that most of us would not vote to send the student back to the home country. I am hard-pressed to see how any tinkering with the Huddleston proposal would leave the asylum door open to such a student.

As it happens, both the courts and the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) have been quite sensitive to the dangers of bootstrapping, and have applied the existing definitions with a healthy dose of skepticism toward claims based solely on conditions that developed after the applicant left the home country. Those claims rarely succeed, although they are not foreclosed. In my view, we should keep the current U.N. definition and rely on its prudent application to restrain bootstrapping abuses—without precluding protection for people really endangered by later developments.

The second thread in the dissatisfaction with the U.N. definition comes from the other direction, from the feeling that the definition itself is too narrow. The U.N. definition clearly does not cover certain people who are commonly thought of as refugees and who, most would agree, deserve some measure of sympathy and protection and assistance—for example, those who are fleeing wars or invasions, riots or civil disturbances in the home country. And since our topic here is mass migrations, then certainly we must recognize that wars and civil strife are more likely sources of sudden mass movements across borders than are persecution situations. The Organization of African Unity acted on this insight and added a second paragraph to the definition of refugee that it employs in its basic refugee treaty, the 1969 OAU Convention governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa.² The first paragraph tracks the traditional U.N. definition. The second paragraph embraces as "refugees" people who are compelled to seek refuge outside their home country because of "external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order."

The trend toward a broader definition is evident at the United Nations as well.

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The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has enjoyed an expansion of his mandate and responsibility and authority under successive resolutions of the General Assembly, until now that responsibility extends far beyond the classic U.N. Convention definition of "refugee" to include a great many other "displaced persons."

This broadening trend is also borne out by the practice of many nations around the world, including perhaps the United States—at least in the management of refugee resettlement programs if not in asylum programs. Perhaps I should digress for a moment to clarify that distinction, since the concept of "refugee" applies in both settings.

For this country, our refugee resettlement programs are those that select people overseas, in fairly deliberate fashion, usually from camps in countries of first asylum, and bring them here for permanent resettlement. We might or might not insist on taking only those who meet the U.N. definition in its narrowest conceptions—but anyway it is clear that we are not required to take all those who meet the U.N. definition. We can be selective using other screening criteria, such as past U.S. employment, or family in this country. As a result, we have less incentive to apply the definition of refugee in a narrow fashion. Asylum is quite different. Asylum deals not with people we have selected but with those who reach our borders on their own and then say: "Hey, I'm a refugee. I face persecution. Under your treaties, you can't send me back." In these circumstances, a narrow application of the U.N. definition is our only handle on keeping the numbers within manageable limits.

Canada provides a good example of the trend toward broader refugee definitions applicable in overseas resettlement programs. Its immigration legislation expressly allows resettlement both of "Convention refugees" and of others belonging to classes designated by the Governor in Council based on a decision that their admission "would be in accordance with Canada's humanitarian tradition with respect to the displaced and the persecuted." For such a class, designation dispenses with difficult individualized adjudications of "refugee" claims.

Now this broader approach may seem alien to recent U.S. practice and experience. Most of us are familiar, at least since the Cuban influx of a couple of years ago, with a great momentum to try to impose limits, narrow our obligations, restrict the range of people to whom we must respond. But if we look a little bit more deeply, our practice, even with people who reach our borders on their own, has allowed for this normal human impulse not to return people to a situation where there is a violent, blazing war going on or where there is a wildly uncertain and dangerous internal struggle underway. Unlike the OAU, we have not tended to call these people refugees; instead, we have granted them what is called "extended voluntary departure" on a blanket basis. In 1977, for example, Ethiopians were granted blanket voluntary departure. As a matter of policy, the INS, on the recommendation of the Department of State, decided not to enforce departure of any Ethiopian national back to Ethiopia. This foreclosure of involuntary return was later applied to Ugandans, Iranians, and Nicaraguans for varying periods of time. There is a current proposal that has been pressed in many circles to extend that same blanket policy of voluntary departure to people from El Salvador. Certainly, a war is underway there, although people dispute whether it is quite as violent and intense right now as the Nicaraguan war was when voluntary departure was implemented there. The current Administration, however, has resisted those proposals for Salvadorans.

Having been in the State Department when some of the later decisions were made to adopt voluntary departure for certain countries, including Nicaragua, I can say that the main decisionmakers in the Department under the Carter Administration were also growing noticeably more resistant by 1979 to adding new groups to the list. We were beginning to see that there are an awful lot of situations where a solid case can be made for blanket voluntary departure. People began to ask: "Where will this end?" In addition, it became clear that extending voluntary departure on a blanket basis is not just a neutral act that protects people who are here now; it also has repercussions in the home country or in refugee areas nearby, inducing other people to come to this country in order to take advantage of that policy. We do, after all, have a porous southern border. In any event, despite the greater current resistance, blanket voluntary departure remains a device this country has available to give some protection to displaced people who don't meet the U.N. definition.

Because of the developments I have outlined, there is a growing body of opinion internationally asserting that the world has outgrown the narrow U.N. definition, and that the OAU definition ought to replace it. Proponents argue both that humanitarian response requires the wider definition and that, anyway, in a mass migration situation one cannot do the kind of careful case-by-case individual screening that the U.N. definition calls for.

My reaction to those proposals is—wait a minute, not so fast. The U.N. definition figures not only in questions about immediate emergency responses and UNHCR involvement; the definition ultimately also controls, in the final analysis, the *nonrefoulement* obligation that's elaborated in Article 33 of the Convention—the obligation not to return people who are "refugees" to a country where they face a threat of persecution. After the emergency response phase, there looms the difficult question of ultimate resettlement of those displaced. Nations are not likely to accept, for these later purposes, a definition that obligates them permanently to accept people uprooted by invasion or internal strife. Some assistance and protection? Yes. A binding obligation for permanent residence? Probably not.

What we need is a greater awareness of the important dimension of time in dealing with mass migration situations. There are different phases of the massive influx problem that may call for quite different responses. We do not need to rush into a quick either-or choice and label the new arrivals either as refugees or

as something else. It's quite true that we cannot do the individual screening at the moment when a large number of people are coming across the border. It is almost inevitable, whatever the official policy may be, that the people in that circumstance will be let in, camps will be set up, a certain level of immediate and emergency assistance will be provided.

From that point on, it is certainly best if political and diplomatic efforts can then create a solution to the problem without the need of fine-grained individualized determinations to decide which people meet the U.N. definition. That solution might be third-country resettlement to a country that is not going to be finicky about the definition. Canada explicitly can do that. And although U.S. practice seems to fluctuate, a good case can be made that this country too is not terribly finicky about the refugee definition in our overseas refugee programs, where we know we have other controls on the number that we are going to take in. The solution could also be a political effort that succeeds in removing the threat in the home country so that voluntary repatriation can be arranged. Or, finally, the immediate receiving state may decide that local integration is tolerable without regard to the definition. That third option turns out to be, essentially, the ultimate U.S. response to the Cubans and Haitians who got here before a certain date in late 1980.

Nevertheless, if none of these solutions can be created by political efforts and if the massive influx situation remains a festering political problem, then perforce the receiving country has the time that's needed to do the individual screening the U.N. definition calls for. And, indeed, the application of that refugee definition may figure in the ultimate international solution. For this country, at least, I expect that the narrow U.N. definition will continue to play an important role in our long-term response to future mass influxes. I am sure there will be an immediate emergency phase; if things drag on for awhile, we probably will be applying the U.N. definition. It's important then—very important—to have in place some well-crafted procedures that are capable of accomplishing a high-volume, but fair, review of the applications with a minimum of delay. I understand that my colleagues on the panel here will address some of those administrative issues.

REMARKS BY MICHAEL H. POSNER*

Refugee and asylum law and policy in the United States have developed rapidly over the last 30 years. These areas of law and policy have evolved from an earlier stage under the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, which simply defined a refugee as someone fleeing a communist or communist-dominated country.¹ The present law, based on the Refugee Act of 1980,² contains a definition of refugee which conforms to the language used in the 1951 U.N. Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 U.N. Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees, to which the U.S. subscribed in 1968.³ Indeed, just within the last two years, the United States has developed a refugee policy built around the 1980 Refugee Act, a policy that establishes a worldwide definition of refugee parallel to the United Nations definition. The admissions policy of the United States in any given refugee situation is usually consistent with the Government's overall political concerns at that time. While the State Department, together with other government agencies and private organizations, administers admissions programs, the Congress ultimately assumes control of the number of refugees to be admitted in any given year. Therefore, because political concerns often override humanitarian considerations, within the admissions process the number and composition of refugee admissions are commonly out of line with world needs.

The answer to the question of whom to admit in any given situation is to some extent also dictated by political concerns. However, asylees, unlike refugees, do not have the benefit of a formal admissions program. Nonetheless, through ratification of the Refugee Protocol of 1967 and passage of the Refugee Act of 1980, the United States has reaffirmed its policy of not returning anyone to a country where he or she would face certain persecution, based on the principle of *nonrefoulement*, as described in Article 33 of the 1951 U.N. Convention. Thus the United States has an affirmative legal obligation not to send people, regardless of their status—legal or illegal—back to persecution.

For many years the U.S. refugee program, its policies and procedures, effectively served the needs of refugees and other migrants in almost every case. However, in several recent cases, for example the Marie boat lift and the Haitian migration of 1980, the numbers of migrants have exceeded the administrative capabilities of the refugee program. In addressing these cases, and in particular the Haitian situation, the U.S. Government has initiated several actions. By January 1981, when the Reagan Administration took office, the Cuban refugee crisis had almost completely subsided. The Carter Administration had dealt with the Cuban problem by establishing the so-called Cuban-Haitian Entry Program, under which most of the Cuban refugees, excluding the criminals and the mentally ill, were granted official temporary status to remain in the United States. Faced with the Haitian mass migration situation, the Reagan Administration felt compelled to take additional action. Specifically, the Reagan Administration has implemented a program built around three key policies. The first policy calls for the detention of every Haitian entering the United States illegally. This policy authorizes the detention of any such person to continue until that person's asylum claim is finally adjudicated. Today about 2,100 Haitians continue to be held in detention. Indeed, almost every Haitian who has entered the United States over the last year has been detained, despite the protests of church groups and other concerned parties. Moreover, all efforts by church groups and others to provide sponsorship and release for Haitians have been uniformly rejected by the Justice Department. There have, however, been some legal challenges to the detention policy which have resulted in the release of some Haitians. In addition to its immediate effects on the Haitians, the

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¹66 Stat. 163.

²Pub. L. No. 96-212, 89 Stat. 1079.

³19 U.S.T. 6225, T.I.A.S. No. 6577, 606 U.N.T.S. 265.

detention policy holds grave implications for other groups. The Reagan Administration has decided that detention is to continue in any migration situation until the situation is resolved. The Administration has not placed any time limits on detention. And, indeed, the detention policy is the basis of the Administration's initiative to establish a permanent detention facility for asylum seekers.

The second policy authorizes the U.S. Coast Guard to board vessels carrying Haitians in the Caribbean Sea and to interview, and in most cases, return the Haitians to their home country. This policy, known as interdiction, is aimed at preventing those Haitians who do not have a well-founded fear of persecution from reaching the shores of the United States.

After several months this policy clearly has been effective in controlling the influx of Haitians. However, in its effort to control the numbers of Haitians coming to the United States, the Reagan Administration must not discard the rights of these or future asylum seekers. The Administration must ensure that, under the policy of interdiction, every Haitian receives a fair interview, free of prejudice and intimidation, to determine the legitimacy of his fear.

The third policy is aimed at making the asylum procedures more efficient and uniform in their application. In line with this policy, the Reagan Administration has presented to Congress a proposal for an asylum program which would employ expedited and streamlined procedures. In addition, Congress is currently considering a bill, called the Immigration Reform and Control Act, which contains recommendations for some very valuable and useful changes of the asylum procedures, including the use of administrative law judges who are trained in asylum matters to review applications. These proposals seek to professionalize and improve the overall administrative process for handling asylum claims by eliminating those levels of appeal that have been responsible for major delays. These proposals, however, also contain severe and, in my opinion, dangerous limitations on judicial review and establish summary exclusions procedures which violate basic due process rights of asylum applications. These provisions should be revised when Congress considers the immigration bill.

In conclusion, there are several general problems which affect the asylum process in the United States. First, regardless of the types of procedures it employs, the asylum process is, and always has been, a highly political decision-making process. In 1981 only two people from El Salvador and only five from Haiti were granted asylum in the United States. As these numbers indicate, the asylum process does not always give fair consideration to the merits of an individual's claim. Moreover, decisionmaking in the asylum process is often influenced more by the political concerns and interests of the State Department and the Immigration and Naturalization Service than by the individual claims and needs of those people seeking asylum. Second, the asylum process today is deeply affected by the general malaise within the Immigration Service. Underfunded and overworked, the Service finds itself today in a terrible state. The Reagan Administration has tried to shake the Service out of this troubled state and to get control of the overall refugee and asylum situation by implementing more restrictive entry policies in selected cases. In particular, the Administration today holds up its policy for the Haitians as a symbol of its control—a symbol of the closing of the floodgate on the sea of refugees. Third, the asylum process lacks input from informed international experts. The process needs to be internationalized. The United States has traditionally been willing to share responsibility with international organizations and foreign countries for the large numbers of migrants, but has not been willing to grant international organizations, such as the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the authority necessary to administer and coordinate the asylum process effectively at the international level. In reforming the asylum process, the United States should formally incorporate the UNHCR, together with the new, expedited procedures, into the process.

REMARKS BY P. MICHAEL MOUSSALLI*

On a universal scale, the chief source of assistance to refugees is the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). UNHCR provides international

protection for refugees and assists in the creation of durable solutions to their plight. In providing protection in mass migration situations, the U.N. agency promotes application of the 1951 U.N. Convention definition of refugee and adoption, in law and practice, of the principle of asylum, which bans forcible return.

UNHCR does promote universal application of the definition of refugee established by the 1951 U.N. Convention relating to the Status of Refugees. Recognizing that countries with adequate administrative resources in their refugee programs have been able to deal effectively with mass influx problems on the basis of the U.N. definition, UNHCR considers that the U.N. definition does not need to be revised, but rather that the refugee programs and administrative procedures in certain countries need to be upgraded. Austria and West Germany are two countries which, on the basis of the U.N. definition of refugee, have been effective in dealing with mass influx situations.

In addition, as directed by successive resolutions of the U.N. General Assembly, UNHCR supports application of objective standards, as opposed to subjective, individual standards used in interviewing, to determine the legitimacy of asylum claims. Objective standards refer to conditions within a country which are immediately observable by outside parties or countries, such as the presence of a foreign occupation force. This approach to the mass migration problem in general is outlined in the definition, or concept, of refugee which was formulated by the Organization of African Unity.

In conclusion, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees works to maintain the protections for refugees which have already been achieved, particularly those achieved under the 1951 Convention. Furthermore, UNHCR is active in pursuing durable solutions to new and unique problems which concern refugees. UNHCR asks the world community to uphold the humanitarian rights of refugees by applying the prescribed standards for treatment and protection, but also asks that these standards not be applied rigidly, but rather with concern for the needs of those people who have left their homes fleeing persecution and civil disorder. For example, in large-scale influx situations, countries of first asylum which are unable to admit asylum seekers on a durable basis should always admit them on at least a temporary basis. In all of its work, UNHCR, recognizing that refugee situations are always loaded with political concerns, reminds countries of the humanitarian considerations involved or, in many situations, the lives at stake.

Discussion

Mr. LOY opened the discussion by asking Mr. POSNER to respond to the statement that the U.S. Congress would not support an asylum process which, on one hand, included judicial review and, on the other hand, did not include the policies of interdiction and detention. Mr. POSNER said that an unlimited number of appeals should not be available to asylum seekers. He emphasized, however, that review in some type of judicial process should be preserved for those cases in which there existed a pattern of violations all of the same type. Professor MARTIN added that while steps should continue to be taken to make the review procedures fair, efforts should also get underway to streamline the asylum process.

Asked whether the U.N. definition of refugee should be redefined or clarified, Mr. POSNER responded that any efforts to revise the definition would jeopardize the international consensus achieved with this definition.

Responding to a question about the standards used in evaluating individual refugee claims, Professor MARTIN stressed that the legitimacy of each claim should be assessed on the basis of whether the applicant had a legitimate fear of being singled out for persecution in his home country.

When asked about the problem of "bootstrapping," Professor MARTIN commented that even the most abusive cases of "bootstrapping" could be dealt with under the existing U.N. definition of refugee.

CHESTER L. SUMPTER*
Reporter

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Sennacherib's Canal: Oldest in the World

by Asia- Al-Turahi

"I have dug a canal to the meadows of Nineveh. Over a deep ravine I have thrown a bridge of blocks of white stone. I have made the waters pass over it."

Thus spoke the Assyrian king Sennacherib in 690 B.C. in an inscription to mark the beginning of a work of which a hydraulic engineer of any age could well be proud.

More than 80 kilometers long, with a paved bed ten meters wide at the outset and twenty at the terminal (to take the water of many tributaries), embracing a complete system of sluices and barrages and the oldest aqueduct in the world whose remains exist, enhanced by great Assyrian sculptured panels carved in the rock of its banks, the whole canal system to which are attached the names of the villages of Khinis (or, less exactly, Bavian) and Jerwan, is to be counted among the most imposing and the most interesting of the ancient sites of Iraq.

How to Reach There:

Khinis and Jerwan are reached from the little town of Ain Sifni, 53 kilometers to the north of Mosul, which is served by a tarred road.

On the way, 18 kilometers from Mosul, the road passes the ruins of Khorsabad, the city of Sargon II, and notably the temple of Sibitti (the Pleiades) which is beside the road on the right.

Jerwan is 5 kilometers southeast of Ain Sifni and reached by an unmade road.

For Khinis, which is 12 kilometers to the northeast, you take first of all the graded road to the north, towards Atrush, and turn off after about 5 kilometers, along a track to the right.

Clearance and Study:

Since the last century travellers had noted the "bridge" of Jerwan and the bas-reliefs of Khinis. To the latter place they had given the name of the village of Bavian, which is situated in fact 3 kilometers to the south of Khinis on the River Gomel.

It was the Danish archaeologist, Thirkild Jacobsen, attached to the American expedition at Khorsabad who recognized the "bridge" for what it was in 1932 and cleared it the following year with the aid of the British archaeologist Seton Lloyd. Its true nature of an aqueduct was then established and the foundation inscriptions discovered and deciphered.

In 1984 Jacobsen and Lloyd explored the course of the canal and proved its connection with the site of Khinis, whose actual character as the beginning of the canal was then recognized. The result of their work was published by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in 1935.

The path from the village of Khinis follows the course of the Gomel along the west bank. To the left, in the almost vertical face of the hill overhanging the road, 14 bas-reliefs and 3 inscriptions have been carved in the rock to commemorate the enterprise.

First of all, almost at the entry to the valley, 10 meters above the path, is the figure of Sennacherib, over 2 meters high. Fifty-six lines of inscription celebrate his victorious expedition into Chaldea and the taking of Babylon. Both this and the following bas-reliefs are contained in shallow recesses which protect them from the weather.

Sculptured panels follow. One of them represents a king on horseback, with other personages, in a frame of some 8 by 6.5 meters.

Above all, dominating the actual start of the canal is to be seen the largest panel of all, in a frame of 9 meters by 8.5. Four colossal figures represent the king Sennacherib (figured both on the right and the left), worshipping two gods, probably Assur and Enlil, mounted on their symbolic animals. Over the panel are to be seen traces of three lion pedestals which probably supported statues, now disappeared.

Other small panels are scattered on the side of the cliff as it continues towards the north.

The inscriptions which accompany the sculptures recall the work achieved by Sennacherib: the extension of Nineveh and construction of two walls . . . "but Nineveh had no fertile fields, until I caused them to be irrigated by the waters of the rivers . . . I dug for them eighteen canals by which I led the water to the Khosar . . . The work took a year and three months." Then the king enumerated the thank offerings which he made to the gods and the gifts distributed amongst the workmen.

In the bed itself of the Gomel is a fallen monolith which marked the entrance of the canal, a stone of some 9 by 6 meters, broken in two by its fall. On it Sennacherib is to be seen between the gods Assur and Enlil, and two human-headed winged bulls flanking Gilgamesh and the lion. To the north of this carving are to be seen in the Gomel bed the remains of the first stone barrage.

The canal itself leaves by the side of a little slope, following the course of the river towards the south. Reaching a narrower part of the valley, the waters are stopped by a second barrage which forces them into a basin, formed by a tunnel 2 meters high by 6 wide, cut in the rock and ending in sluices. Beside the lock, a small carved stone in the side of the slope probably marks the spot from where a watch was kept on the work or the lock, perhaps for the king himself visiting the construction.

Continued on page 48

Assyrian Studies

Umma in the Sargonic Period. By BENJAMIN R. FOSTER. Pp. 228; 9 figures; 42 plates. [Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. XX.] Hamden, Connecticut: ARCHON BOOKS. 1982. \$39.50.

This work is the core of the author's 1975 Yale PhD dissertation, much revised. The author has identified a group of 487 related documents, 392 of which are assigned to the group on the basis of the mu-iti dating system and the remainder on the basis of other criteria. The study confirms the generally assumed provenance of the Umma area for these documents and dates them to a period ranging roughly from the time of Lugalzagesi to Šar-kali-šarri.

The work has enduring value as a bibliographical tool. The identification of almost five hundred related tablets deriving from irregular or illegal excavation and scattered to the four winds via the antiquities' market is a significant achievement in and of itself. The author is keenly aware of the significance of tablet format and related features that are obscured or entirely lost in conventional hand copies and has therefore made extra efforts to see as many of the tablets as possible with his own eyes. An important part of this collection of material is the 75 hand copies of previously unpublished texts from a number of collections in the United States and Britain.

The author classifies the texts into an early group (A), a later group (B), identified by one of the principal figures as "the Ur-Šara Archive," and a still later group (C). Within each group the texts are subdivided according to content, an overview of which is provided in the table of contents. To what extent this pioneering attempt at chronological and typological classification will stand up when subjected to detailed analysis remains to be seen, nevertheless, for all these labors his professional colleagues are and will continue to be indebted.

The chief weaknesses of the book—as perceived by the reviewer—are traceable to the author's belief that one can take a corpus of documents like this, proceed to analyze it, and understand not only individual texts but also their original function and relationships to others. It is the reviewer's opinion that this book has demonstrated precisely the contrary, and, in so doing, the book makes another important contribution.

Professional colleagues familiar with third millennium documents will find cause for both chagrin and *Schadenfreude* as the author doffs his cap politely to this difficulty, nods to another, and passes others by without stopping to ascertain their character or even look them in the eye. Those not familiar with such documents at first hand will do well not to base any crucial arguments on the author's translations or historical inferences without first consulting other specialists.

The interpretive sections of the book would not have turned out so badly, had the author exercised a little more care. The reviewer has in mind things like the discussion of *zid za-al-tum* on p. 12, where the author comments that "one may connect this word with *s/šaltum*, a kind of flour, *AHW* s.v." Under this word, however, *AHW* (p. 1016) says

only "eine Getreideart," whereas in the "Nachträge" (p. 1587) the reading *raqtu* (used by E. Reiner & M. Civil in their edition of HAR-ra = *hubullu* XXIV 130, *MSL* II (1974) 81) is considered and the meaning "eine Hülsenfrucht" is offered (this interpretation is uncertain). Flour is nowhere mentioned; the passages cited by *AHW* provide no basis for such an interpretation; and the only attestations of the word that can be associated with seed of any kind are written with the ambiguous sign SAL, posing sufficiently serious problems for identification with *za-al-tum* to at least require a bit of discussion, space for which could have been found by deleting some of the commentary that is useless to the professional (who will discover these easily enough by working through the "Index of Words Discussed" on pp. 225–226) and irrelevant to the novice.

This lack of attention to detail is compounded by preconceived notions that lead to tendentious translations. Perhaps the best example of this is the author's idea that ZA-bum, written ZA.BALAG, is a work camp and to be identified with the place names written sa-bum^{ki} and sa-bu-um^{ki}. Sweeping aside with a characteristic flourish the orthographic/phonetic difficulties involved in identifying ZA-bum with Sabum, the author organizes the evidence to fit the theory. Omitting discussion of the obvious problems (no geographical determinative with ZA-bum, the construction ka-ZA-bum-ma-ka, ugula a-ZA-bum-ma-gé in CT 50 47:5), the author regales us with choice items like: "the énsi sent the work troops to Sabum" (a mistranslation of *Nik* II 49 rev. 1f.); "the cupbearers were presumably the people responsible for serving food at the site" (excogitated out of ugula SILA₃-ŠU-DU₈-ne lugal-ra in *Nik* II 49:5, who is probably, in spite of the obvious grammatical difficulties, a high royal official, "head of the cupbears of the king," like the later *rab šāqē*; conventions of punctuation by line argue against the interpretation of lugal-ra as a personal name or as "to the king"), "huge masses of reeds" being transported to Sabum to be used by smiths for melting down copper tools and reworking them (conjured out of *Nik* II 57, 66(!), and other circumstantial evidence), stone quarrying (based on the occurrence of lú na₄ in a mu-iti text and the author's, partly ingenious, partly fantastic interpretation of *Nik* II 64, 65, and *USP* 16; the reviewer freely confesses to an egregious blunder in his own interpretation of *Nik* II 64 (*RA* 70:101–102), which, however, was not discovered by the author but pointed out to the reviewer by Jöran Friberg, who has also proposed other arithmetical solutions based on recollections by the reviewer; the reviewer does not understand the meaning of SU.KUR.RU and SU.RU; the author's interpretation of PAD.DU is attractive, but he has not examined the passages cited by *SL* 469, 17, because the onions are being *planted*, not *pulled*, and the phrase in *DP* 396 v 3 is É.MÍ-a e-pad, which cannot refer to pulling onions), and so on.

Would the reviewer want to do without the book? Not at all. In addition to its importance as a collection and organization of material, it also contains valuable insights (such as those derived from the work records analyzed in Table A.3, p. 24). These features make it indispensable to everyone who works with third millennium texts; but precisely these fea-

tures, which rub elbows with not infrequent mistranslations, dubious interpretations laid out in a manner of cool self-assurance, and the almost perverse way in which the book is organized, indexed, and cross-referenced, will also make it a frustrating experience to use.

MARVIN A. POWELL

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Assyrische Tempel. BRIGITTE MENZEL. Band I: *Untersuchungen zu Kult, Administration und Personal*. Pp. xv + 322. Band II: *Anmerkungen, Textbuch, Tabellen und Indices*. Pp. viii + 514. [Studia Pohl: Series Maior, Bd. 10/1 + II] Rome: BIBLICAL INSTITUTE PRESS 1981. US \$25.00.

One of the most important, though often neglected, tasks in the study of Mesopotamian religion has always been to examine cultic practices in their actual setting. Brigitte Menzel's voluminous book—altogether 860 pages—has this as its aim, at least for Assyria. In her introduction the author characterizes her work as "Aufarbeitung und Auswertung des überlieferten assyrischen Textmaterials zum offiziellen Tempelkult und zu dem für das Funktionieren eines Tempelbetriebes (in all seinen Aspekten) erforderlichen Personals".

Volume one, which contains the actual study, falls into two parts. The first describes the cultic situation in the individual Assyrian cities. Naturally the focus of the investigation lies on the ancient cult centres Ashur, Erbil and Nineveh and on the important first millennium royal city Kalhu. One would have also expected to find a section on Tell al-Rimah since the Middle Assyrian texts from that site contain quite an amount of information on the religious life of the city.

The second part lists and discusses the various occupational groups associated with temples. Menzel tries to establish their administrative and cultic functions and the relationships between them. In her analysis she includes not only priests and secular servants such as craftsmen or merchants but also those connected with temples for various reasons, either as individuals or as representatives of the public administration. She succeeds in giving a detailed picture of the functions and social positions of many of those occupational groups in the Neo Assyrian period.

Six separate philological and prosopographical discussions are also included in this volume.

The first part of volume two contains the 4010 footnotes to the first volume, many of which are unnecessary. This makes an uninterrupted reading of the book very difficult if not impossible. The footnotes are followed by an edition of most of the important texts or text passages relevant to the study. It is here, that the real strength and importance of the book lies. The editions are usually based on collations by K. Deller or S. Parpola and in many cases on new transliterations by K. Deller. A number of texts are published here for the first time. Others have not been studied since the early part of this century, and the extensive philological commentaries accompanying these new editions add significantly to our understanding of this text material.

Basically the book is carefully planned, and the author's efforts for completeness and accuracy in the preparation of the material have to be recognized. However, the work suffers

from one major flaw. Having emerged from a Heidelberg thesis on the Neo Assyrian official cult it generalizes and extends the results obtained by detailed work on this period for the earlier periods as well. Menzel defends this procedure on page 130 in connection with the *šangû*. There she argues that the earlier text material is too fragmentary for a complete picture, but at least does not contradict this generalization.

The reviewer cannot agree with this argument, if only because of the number of texts dealing with matters of the cult from the reigns of Tukulti-Ninurta I (e.g., *KAJ* 291, *MARV* 50, 67, *MARV* II 29) or Tiglathpileser I (e.g., *MARV* 21, 23, 62, 73, *MARV* II 14, 21, 22, 24). It would definitely have been wiser to maintain the Neo Assyrian time limit and to present a complete and detailed study rather than to make the unfortunate attempt to cover all Assyrian periods.

In addition to the following few notes see the review of G. J. P. McEwan in *WdO* XIII (1982), pp. 142ff.

For further remarks on the Ishtar of Erbil (p. 6) and the Ishtar of Nineveh (pp. 116ff.) see now I. Wegner, *Gestalt und Kult der Ištar-Sawuška in Kleinasien* (= *AOAT* 36), especially pp. 11ff., 89ff. and 157ff. The Middle Assyrian references to Erbil are now collected by Kh. Nashef in *RGTC* 5, p. 36.

Ilku in Middle Assyrian texts (p. 13 and fn. 120) was dealt with last by J. N. Postgate in *FS Diakonoff* (1982), pp. 304ff.

For Middle Assyrian texts from Tell Billa (p. 124) see J. Finkelstein, *JCS* 7 (1953), pp. 114ff. Texts 7 and 8 are especially interesting because they are connected with *tā-kultu*-offerings.

To the Middle Assyrian references for the *šangû* (pp. 130ff.) add *MARV* II 22: 4, a receipt for oil for various cultic purposes.

In going through the functions of the *šangû* listed on pp. 142ff. and pp. 154ff., one realizes that their character is mostly ritual and not liturgical. It is a pity that the very important analyses on pp. 154–172 remain incomprehensible to historians of religion not familiar with the Akkadian language, because the author fails, as on several other occasions, to provide translations in addition to her transcriptions. This is all the more regrettable, because such an attitude further severs the already loose contact between our field and neighboring disciplines, which will necessarily lead to even stronger scholarly inbreeding.

For *iqatinnu* (pp. 236f.) see H. Freydank, *AOF* IV (1976), pp. 124ff. and now CAD Q, pp. 172f.

Parallels for the affiliation of shepherds with temples can be found in Late Babylonian Uruk. Compare H. M. Kümmel, *Familie, Beruf und Amt im späthabylonischen Uruk*, pp. 84ff. and G. J. P. McEwan, *Priest and Temple in Hellenistic Babylonia*, pp. 57ff.

It was twenty years ago that Leo Oppenheim expressed his justified scepticism about our ability to understand the various forms of religious life in Ancient Mesopotamia. In spite of the increasing amount of material this scepticism is still valid today. As Brigitte Menzel observes on page 3 of her book, the majority of the texts relate to exceptions in the religious daily routine. The present book seems, nevertheless, to represent a further step toward an understanding, however limited it may be.

HANNES D. GALTER

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**THE LITERARY STRUCTURE OF ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN
PRAYERS TO ISHTAR** Order No. 7916849

WRIGHT, Charlotte Ann, Ph.D. The University of Michigan,
1979. 384pp. Chairman: Gernot L. Windfuhr

This thesis investigates the literary structure of Assyro-Babylonian prayers addressed to the goddess Ishtar. Previous scholarship has tended to concentrate on the parts which may be included in an Assyro-Babylonian prayer and on the prayers' relevance to comparative studies of the biblical Psalms. In contrast, the present study emphasizes the structure of the individual prayer and the relationships among the prayers within the corpus analyzed.

The conceptual approach adopted here, which derives mainly from structural linguistics, focuses on a determination of the parts of a prayer, the sequences of these parts, and their interrelationships.

The analytical strategy concentrates on four levels: patterns of lexicon (particularly divine names), patterns of grammar (the distribution of certain verb forms and expressed personal pronouns), patterns of form (parallelism, chiasm, balance, progression), and patterns of thought.

The analyses reported in the thesis reveal that the 14 prayers studied share two features, an invocation of the deity and a request in a ritual setting. Further, if the invocation is elaborated, the prayer contains two major parts, otherwise, one. The investigation concludes in opposition to certain critical judgments concerning the prayers that they are literary compositions, that is, they are tightly structured, coherent, and poetic.

**THE MASS OF THE APOSTLES ADDAI AND MARI:
A TRANSLATION FROM THE SYRIAC WITH INTRO-
DUCTION AND NOTES**

HADDAD, George Ibrahim, Ph.D.
New York University, 1974

Adviser: Baruch A. Levine

The purpose of this study is to provide a new translation into English from the Syriac of the Mass of the Apostles Addai and Mari and to consider the historical and literary factors which have helped to form it. The edition translated is that printed in Mosul in 1901 under the auspices of the Dominican Fathers. Notes are provided to the translation as an aid to understanding the meaning of particular Syriac words, to point out the source of expressions used in the Mass, and to provide background material. In addition, the introduction describes the historical setting, traces its literary origins to the Jewish meal berakoth, describes attempts to reconstruct the Mass in its primitive form and traces the history of its development, and compares the Anaphora with the critical edition of the text. Theological doctrines which relate to the historical and literary background of the Mass are also treated.

The primary thrust of the study is philological, involving the study of the text and a translation into English which is literal and yet within the confines of proper modern English usage. Certain Syriac words appearing in the Mass have been studied in relation to similar or equivalent terms in Hebrew, Arabic, and Greek; for the Mass developed in a Semitic culture and was apparently influenced in the course of its development by Greek liturgies.

The historical background of the Mass may be traced in the history of the Persian, Nestorian, and Chaldean churches. There are scholars who hold that this Mass is not of ancient origin and that it did not originate in that ancient center of Semitic culture, the city of Edessa. However, a study of the

language of the Mass combined with a study of its historical and literary background tends to support the view of those who hold that the Mass is of ancient origin, with its roots in Semitic culture.

The basic threefold structure of the Anaphora has a striking resemblance to the three Jewish berakoth. The common elements are: (1) Praise for creation, (2) Praise for redemption, (3) Supplication or intercessions and Invocation or epiclesis. Two additional elements in the Mass are solidly based in Jewish literary tradition: the mention of the memorial (anamnesis) and the recounting of the event being commemorated (words of institution).

Order No. 76-10,245, 446 pages.

**A GREEK-ARAMAIC GLOSSARY OF THE VOCABULARY OF
JESUS IN THE GOSPEL OF MARK. (ACCORDING TO THE
SEPTUAGINT, TARGUMS, AND THE SYRIAC GOSPELS.)**

Order No. 8106922

SMITH, CHARLES LAVAUGHN, Ph.D. Yale University, 1947. 108pp.

This glossary is the result of the growing demand in the scholarly world for a work which would permit the ready retranslation of the words of Jesus back into their original tongue. This need has increased steadily with the growing recognition that the language of Jesus was Aramaic and not Greek. The writings of Torrey, Burney, and others on the Aramaic origins of the Gospels and other portions of the New Testament have further demonstrated the need for such a glossary.

The exegete would be assisted in his exposition of the Scriptures by a reference work which would provide quick access to the original words which Jesus is likely to have used. The scholar interested in literary criticism and the problem of Aramaic origins will be able to revert the Greek words more readily into Aramaic. Students of Semitic languages may find the glossary of value in comparative studies.

The four columns of the glossary give in order: the Greek of Mark, the Biblical Aramaic parallel if any, the Syriac equivalents (from both the Peshitta and Old Syriac), and the Targumic Aramaic.

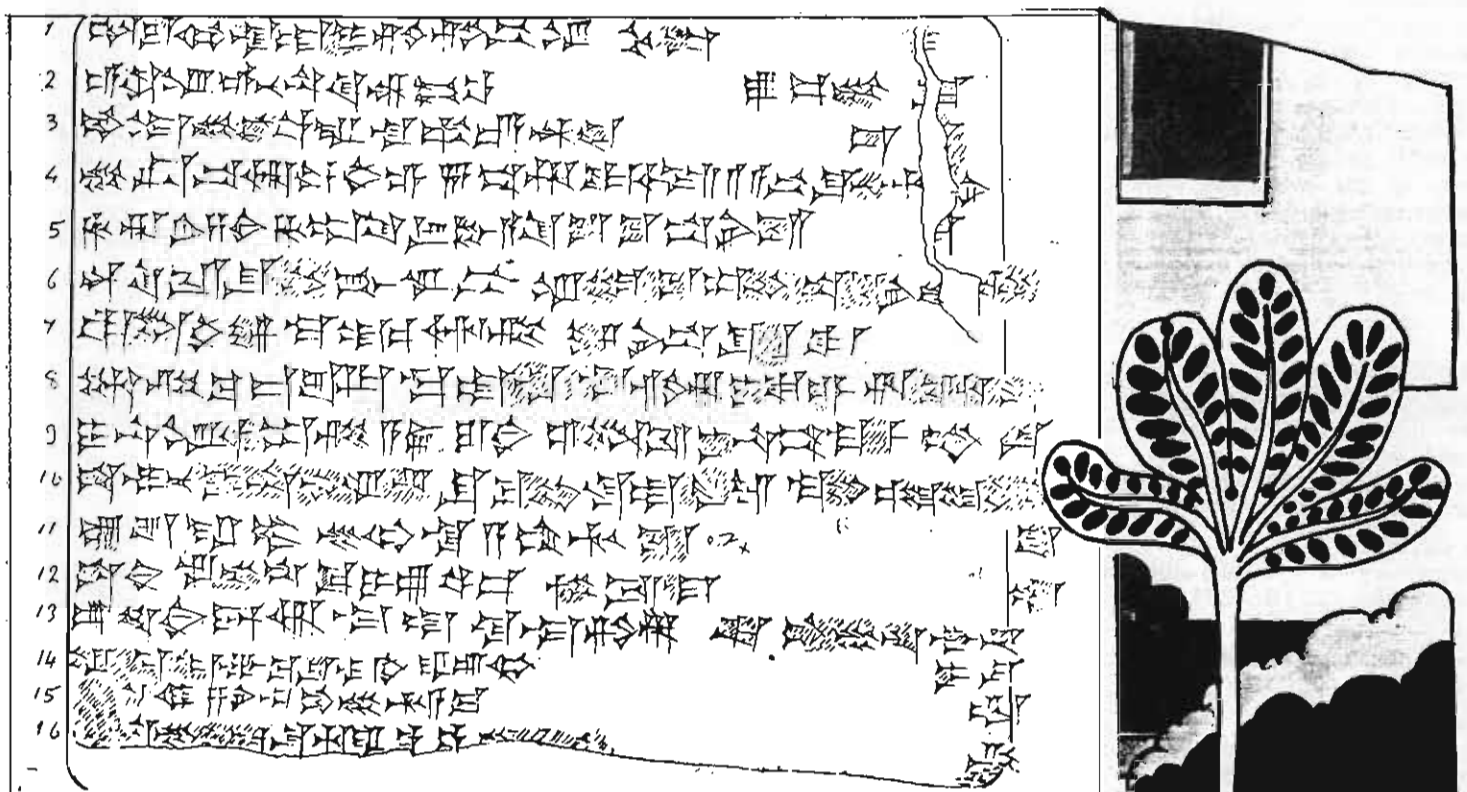
The procedure used in the compiling and recording of this glossary consisted of listing in alphabetical order all the "words of Jesus" as found in the Gospel of Mark. The next step was to locate occurrences of these same Greek words in the Septuagint and to determine the Hebrew or Aramaic word they translated. The Biblical Aramaic words from Ezra and Daniel were entered in the column marked B.A. These words provide a direct Aramaic-Greek translation. The words in the Syriac column represent two concurring sources whenever no note is made. Syriac words translated from the Gospel by the Peshitta only are noted by a P, while those used solely in the Old Syriac are designated by S. The Targumic Aramaic words were determined by locating the Aramaic word which was used in the Targums to translate the same Hebrew word which is rendered in the Septuagint by one of the Greek "words of Jesus." Sufficient references were then consulted in the Targums until an adequate number of usages were accumulated to establish the normal word used to translate the Hebrew original. These words appear in the last column of the glossary.

The procedure just discussed produces a glossary in which the results achieved are as objective as it is possible to make them. In a few instances the word which is given in the glossary is not one which experience would normally lead us to expect. In such cases, note is made of the unusual circumstances.

Much additional work remains to be done in expanding this glossary to include all the Gospels and other portions of the New Testament and Apocrypha which have marked Aramaic affinities. Similarly, additional study can be carried out in comparing results gained here with Palmyrene and Nabatean sources as well as the Aramaic Papyri.

In view of the variety of scripts required, it was necessary to copy the glossary by hand.

Missing tablet from Gilgamesh Epic discovered



Copy of the missing clay tablet

The Baghdad Observer has learned that a missing clay tablet from the "Epic of Gilgamesh" has been excavated by the Baghdad University Expedition in the old Babylonian city of Sippar (Abu-Habba).

The tablet constitutes a significant part of the prologue or to be exact the opening lines (1-16), says Dr Khalid Al-A'dami from the Archaeology Department,

University of Baghdad.

The last tablet on the epic came from Nimrud (Kahu). The tablet, excavated by the British Expedition, contains 36 lines (17-52). The lines were deciphered by Prof. D.J. Weisman and published in "Iraq" (published in London by the British School of Archaeology in Iraq.)

It is worth noting that there is no repetition of lines in the new tablet. Also, the

lines are characterized by their eloquent style and proper grammatical rules.

The lines describe how Gilgamesh captured a strong wild ox and led the uncultivated for seven generations to conquer their enemies.

They also speak of Enki, the god of destruction, who carried to Gilgamesh the news of calamity, of destructive floodings.



Confidential U.S. Diplomatic Post Records

THE MIDDLE EAST

The five parts of *Confidential U.S. Diplomatic Post Records: The Middle East* cover a large area of the Middle East during a period (1925-1941) when many of the political, religious, economic, and military conflicts which now rage in that area were just beginning to be sources of trouble not only within and between Middle Eastern nations, but also between those nations and the West. In the 40,000 pages of the part entitled *Iran*, some of the events which are documented include the founding of the Pahlevi dynasty and the assumption of the role of hereditary shah in 1925 by Reza Khan, an army officer who had led a successful coup in 1921; Reza Shah Pahlevi's cancellation of treaties with Britain and other powers; uprisings by the Kurds and agitation by the Bolsheviks; the increased importance of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company; the shah's attempts to reform industry and education; the occupation of Iran by British and Soviet forces in August 1941; and the transfer of power to the shah's son, Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlevi, in September 1941. In the part entitled *Iraq*, reporting from that country covers termination of the British mandate; establishment of the Iraqi parliament; the granting of the first oil concessions; and, as domestic politics became turbulent in the late 1930s, a

series of seven military coups between 1936 and 1941, culminating in the defeat of Rashid Ali al Ghailani's pro-Axis government by the British in May 1941. The part entitled *Beirut* provides over 20,000 pages of records on Syria and Lebanon: the Druse rebellion of 1925 against rule under the French mandate; the formation of Lebanon as a separate state; suspension of the Syrian constitution in 1939; occupation by British and Free French forces in June 1941; and creation of the independent republics of Syria and Lebanon in September and November 1941. The part entitled *Jerusalem* contains extensive reporting on problems between Jews and Arabs in Palestine under the British mandate in the 1920s and 1930s, and on developments in the state of Transjordan. In the part entitled *Aden*, much of the reporting focuses on neighboring Arabia, where Ibn Saud was the leading figure: he defeated rival tribes and proclaimed himself king in 1925, consolidated power and formed the nation of Saudi Arabia in 1932, and was instrumental in starting commercial production of oil in his nation in 1938. The following list of titles is just a sampling of the thousands of documents in these five parts.

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Philip J. Baram.

The Department of State in the Middle East 1919-1945

Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

1978. Pp. xxiv, 343. \$27.50.

From the author's "bottom line" conclusion:

In the context of the Middle East, it opposed the political-territorial aspirations of Jews, Maronite Christian, Kurds and Assyrians for fears of "balkanizing," creating power vacuums, and alienating the Sunni Arabs, the putative majority. It thus preferred to conceive of the Middle East as a monolithic "Arab Moslem world," realities to the contrary notwithstanding.

Museum for Mesopotamia relics



By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A collection of ancient artefacts that had been housed in the back rooms of carpet dealers in Paris and London and the salons of the wealthy in Switzerland since World War II is to be shown in a new Jerusalem museum.

Groundbreaking for the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem, which is to become the permanent home of the Elie Borowski collection of ancient Near Eastern artefacts was held last week. Most of the pieces, which date back to the Age of the Patriarchs and beyond, are from the Mesopotamian region.

Israeli archaeologists say the collection represents historical areas hardly covered in the country's museums today. Although the bulk of the artefacts are small items such as seals, there are also monumental pieces, including Assyrian reliefs.

The museum will be located on a five-dunam tract between the Israel Museum and Ruppin Road leased to the Jerusalem Foundation by the Lands Authority. Borowski, who lives in Toronto, has undertaken to raise the money for construction.

In an evaluation by a professor of Assyriology at the University of Birmingham, the Borowski collection was said to have "more in quantity and of distinction than the national museums of certain western countries which take an interest in Near Eastern antiquities and have



Collector Elie Borowski

full-time scholars professionally concerned with them." An Israeli archaeologist familiar with the collection termed it "fabulous."

Borowski, 72, was born in Warsaw into a wealthy Orthodox Jewish family. He shifted from rabbinical studies in Berlin and Florence to secular studies, spending over two years at the Pontifical Biblical Institute in the Vatican working towards a doctoral degree in Assyriology.

He was continuing his studies in Paris when the war broke out and joined a Jewish unit in the French army. He was transferred to a Polish

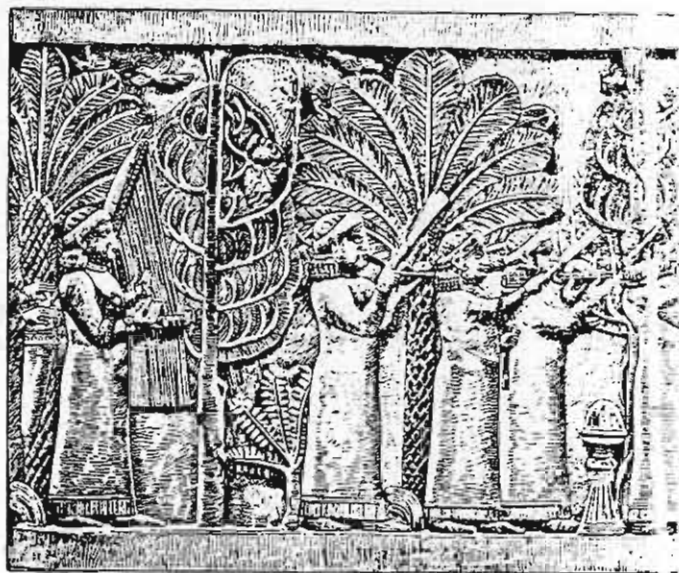
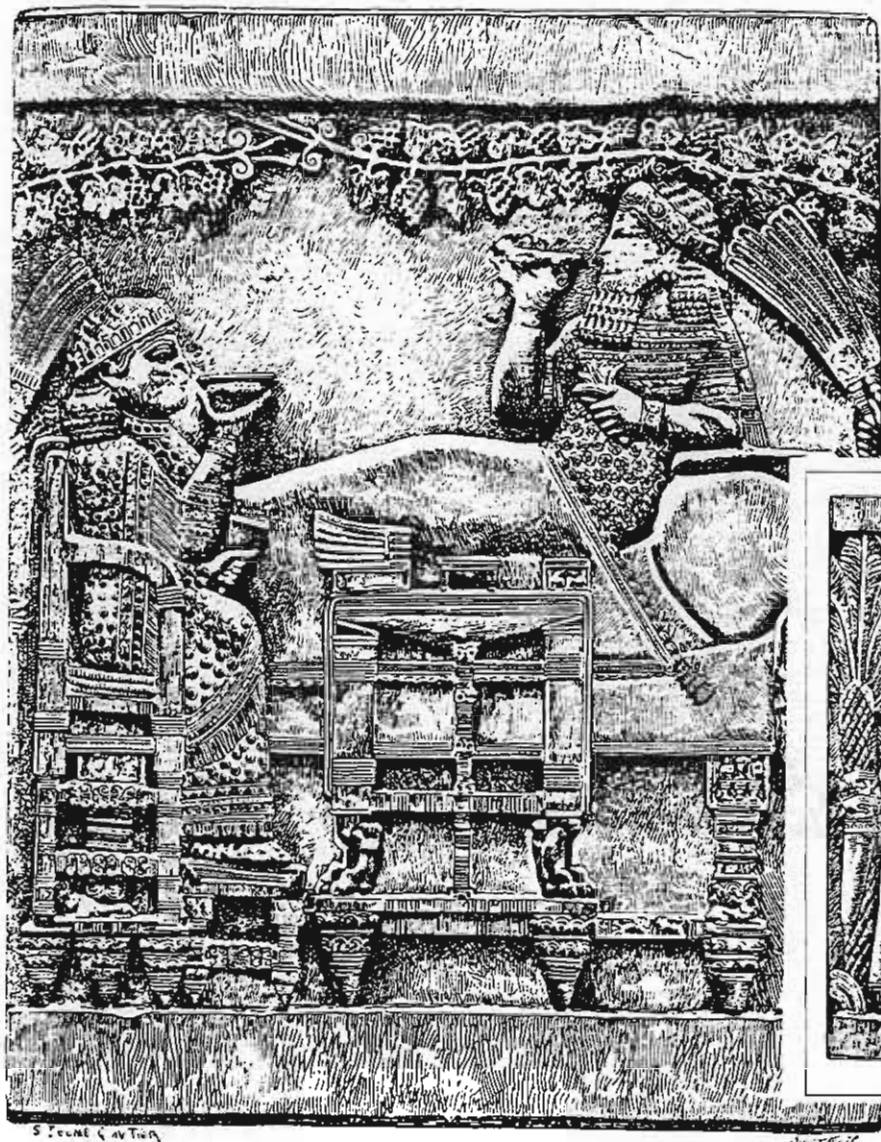


unit which reached the Swiss border when the German army overran France. Interned by the Swiss, he was used by them as a translator and eventually permitted regular visits to the Geneva Museum of Art and History near his place of detention. There he studied the ancient Mesopotamian seals and began working as an ancient-art historian, receiving his PhD from the University of Geneva in 1946.

After the war, wealthy Swiss and foreign collectors began calling on Borowski for evaluations of artefacts looted from ancient Middle Eastern sites that were flooding the market. In an interview last week, Borowski noted that many of these items reached Iranian and Syrian carpet dealers in Paris and London. Borowski, who received 10 per cent of the value of items purchased, began to take his commission in kind, thus building up his own collection, which he values at \$40 million. Parts of the collection have been exhibited in Europe and in north America.

In 1949 Borowski was invited to Toronto as a research associate at the Royal Ontario Museum and acquired Canadian citizenship. But he has spent most of his years since in Basle, as an art adviser. His wife Batya was instrumental in negotiating with Mayor Kollek for the museum's establishment in Jerusalem.

The C · U · I · S · I · N · E of Ancient Mesopotamia



By JEAN BOTTÉRO

Cooking is as old as human culture. The choice of foods and their preparation have always been dependent on each society's natural resources, economy, and the likes and dislikes of its members. The merging of these factors results in an original cuisine for each society. Which culture, then, had the oldest cuisine in the world?

The earliest physical remains — cooking utensils, hearths, and foodstuffs — date to our remote prehistory. None of these artifacts, however, allows us to describe with precision how certain foods were prepared. Only written materials can give us an idea of the recipes which make up every cuisine. Since writing does not make an appearance before the third millennium B.C.E. it is only at the beginning of that era that we are able to learn about the oldest systems of changing

raw foods into dishes designed for specific tastes and for immediate consumption.

Until recently the oldest cuisine we knew in depth was that of ancient Rome. It was thought that the oldest collection of recipes extant was that of Apicius, the Roman gourmet celebrated for his

extravagance, who lived at the beginning of the common era. Apicius' work is the famous *De Re Coquinaria* (*On Culinary Art*) which probably took its present form in the fourth century C.E.

A few Greeks, most of whom lived in southern Italy, had composed culinary anthologies some time before Apicius. The first such anthologist about whom we have any information was a native of Syracuse, Mithékos, who lived around 400 B.C.E. All of these anthologies, however, are lost except for a few brief quotations preserved in the work of Athenaeus of Naucratis (second century C.E.) which is entitled *The Learned Banquet* (*Deipnosophistai*).

Little written information on ancient cuisine is known from most Near Eastern civilizations. There is no significant mention of cooking techniques in the Bible, and al-

though we know that both the Egyptians and the Hittites had developed distinctive cuisines, we do not, in either case, have a single recipe which would give us a sufficiently detailed picture of how the food was prepared.

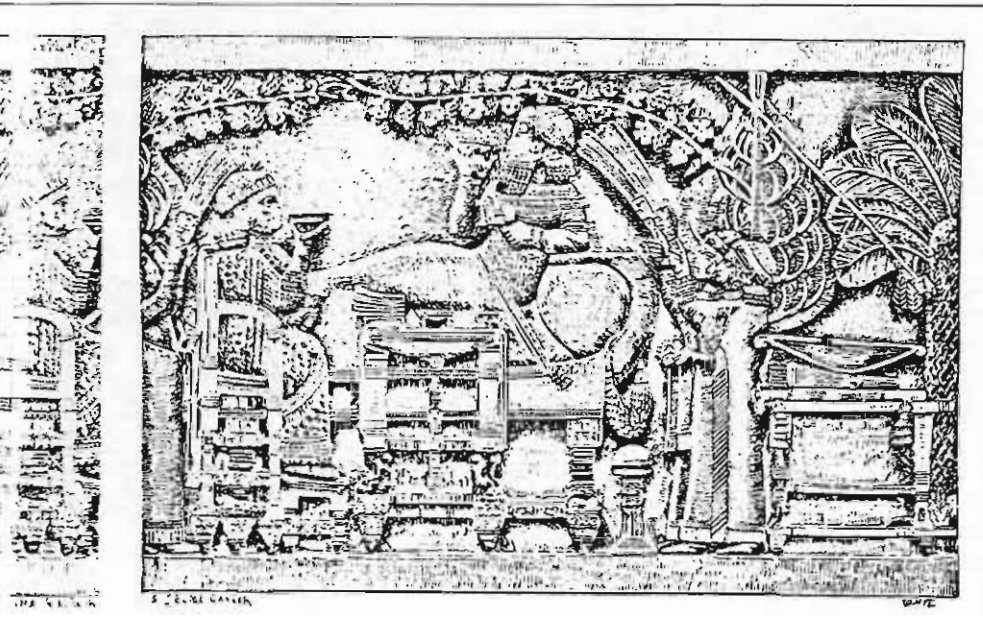
Fortunately, knowledge of the cuisine of one very original and ancient civilization, that of Mesopotamia, has been preserved. We have recovered a half-million written documents from its long cultural era and, although unequally distributed in time and place, these documents have given us enough information to know that the rich and complex culture of Mesopotamia included a discriminating choice of foodstuffs and advanced techniques for preparing them.

The Mesopotamian Diet

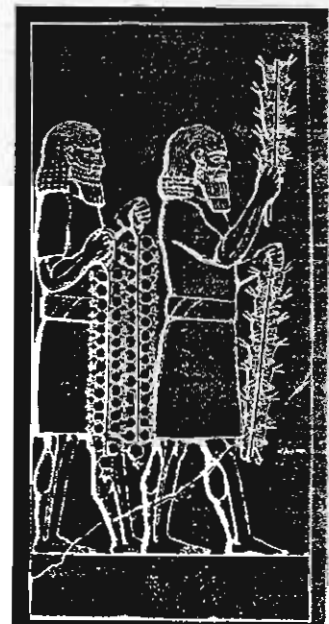
Written documents, along with art and archaeological remains, reveal

an impressive list of foods in the diet of the ancient Mesopotamians. The meats included beef, lamb, pork, deer, and fowl (with the exception of chicken which came along later). The birds provided both meat and eggs. A brief satirical text reveals that the Mesopotamians knew how to fill intestine-casings with a force-meat of some kind. Is it too much to credit these extraordinary people with the earliest form of sausage?

Salt- and freshwater fish were eaten along with turtles and shellfish. Pickled grasshoppers were considered a delicacy. Various grains, vegetables, and fruits (chiefly dates from the palm trees but also apples, pears, figs, pomegranates, and grapes) were integral to the Mesopotamian diet. Roots, bulbs, truffle-like fungi and mushrooms were harvested for the table. Mineral products (possibly salt and ashes) added flavor to the foods, as did a variety of

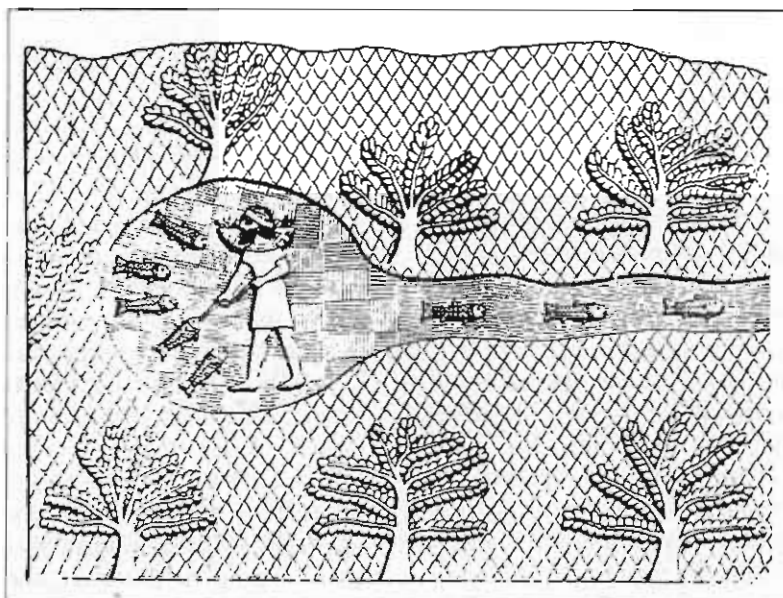


The feast of Ashurbanipal is the subject of this Assyrian bas-relief from the North Palace of Nineveh dating to the seventh century B.C. Celebrating his victory over the Elamites, the king dines in luxurious style with a favored queen at his side. Attendants carry trays of food in one hand and fly whisks in the other and a harpist provides music for the occasion.



Two attendants are shown here carrying choice delicacies for a banquet—pomegranates and grasshoppers—in this scene from Nineveh.

herbs. Tree sap and honey were used as sweeteners. Milk, a kind of butter, and fats from both animals (lard) and vegetables (sesame, linseed, and olive oils) were used to provide moisture



Fishing in Assyria was done with the use of nets or, as in this drawing of a bas-relief from Nineveh, on a line. The relief dates to the time of Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.).

and adhesiveness to a dish. All of these foods were native to the area and provided such a varied diet that the Mesopotamians never needed to import foods from other areas.

The most impressive textual evidence of the variety in the Mesopotamian diet comes from a vocabulary that lists natural and man-made things by their Sumerian and Akkadian names in two parallel columns. All entries are carefully grouped under major classifications. The entire vocabulary includes over 24 tablets with approximately 400 headings. The last two tablets are under the "food" section, and contain about 800 entries which are but a representative selection of all food and drink known to the Babylonians.

The vocabulary lists about 18 or 20 different kinds of cheese. Even if they all describe one basic type of cheese, so many varieties indicate an extremely discriminating palate and an advanced process for flavoring and differentiating the cheese. The basic cheese might well have been a fresh cream cheese.

There are over a hundred kinds of soup in the list. The soups are dishes prepared by cooking food in

water. They are known generically as *TU*, in Sumerian and *ummaru* in Akkadian.

There are 300 kinds of bread, each with a different combination of ingredients. A choice of flours, spices, and fruit fillings and the addition of oil, milk, beer, or sweetener enabled such variety. The breads ranged from "very large" to "tiny" and were given special shapes such as a heart, a head, a hand, an ear, and even a woman's breast. In the palace at Mari (circa 1780 B.C.E.) more than 50 different "molds" were discovered which some scholars believe were used for forming bread or perhaps cheese into unusual and decorative shapes (but which I think were more likely decorative serving dishes).

If one conservatively estimated the number of terms for food and drink mentioned in other such vocabulary lists plus technical and literary documents, and added these

to the terms in this work, the list would double in size. The Mesopotamians had a huge "menu"!

The Many Uses of Grains

A standard method for preparing grains existed in the ancient Near East for millennia: Grain was crushed on a grindstone to make various meals and flours, which could then be made finer by sifting. Porridges and mushes were made out of these meals and if not immediately eaten, they were preserved by drying or allowed to ferment. Beer was made out of the malted grain and was the national beverage of this region, although wine was drunk as well in the north and northwest. From before the third millennium B.C.E., the brewing of beer was as much a part of Mesopotamian haute cuisine as was breadmaking.

Cooking Techniques

The Mesopotamians used fire in very sophisticated ways. They placed their food on an open flame or on glowing coals in order to broil or roast it. To control the heat of the fire, they put hot ashes or potsherds on the coals.



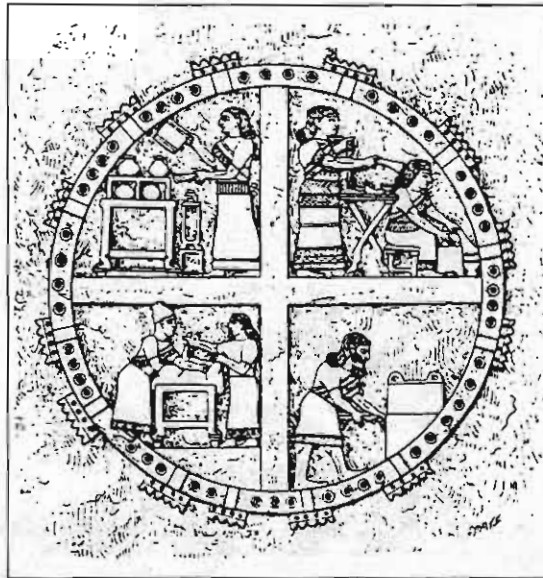
This terra-cotta "mold" depicting a lion attacking a stag was found in the palace of Mari. The photograph is used courtesy of Musées Nationaux, Paris.

Unleavened bread was baked as it is today in many parts of the Middle East. A fire was built inside an upright clay cylinder, resulting in very hot exterior walls, upon which loaves of unleavened bread were placed to bake. This breadbaking technique is still commonly used in the Middle East, where even the name *tannûr* is derived from the name used by the ancient Mesopotamians—*tinûru*.

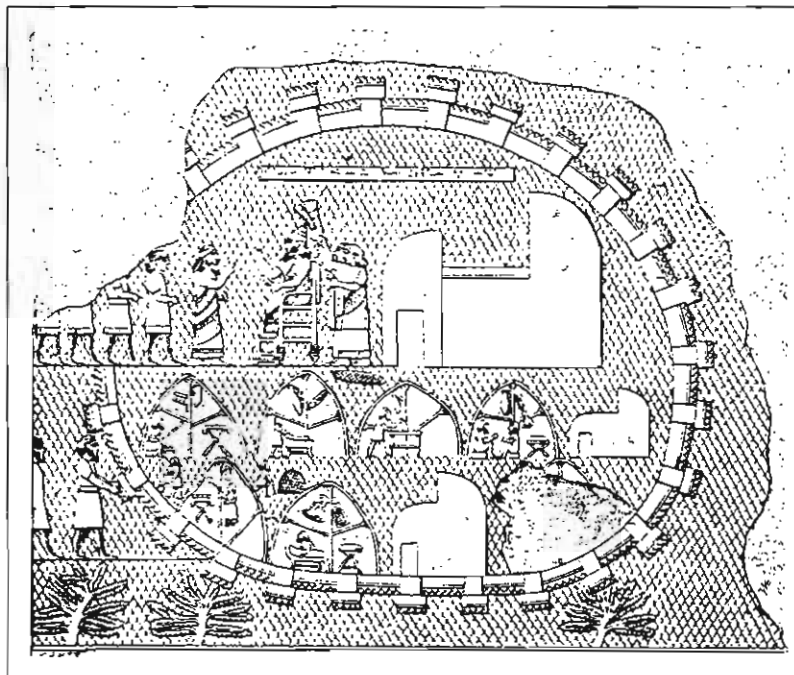
By the third millennium B.C.E., dome ovens were built to provide a less intense heat that was retained in the oven walls and floors. The steam produced by the foods being cooked in the dome ovens made a more humid cooking environment. Using this oven, the Mesopotamians were able to prepare fermented doughs and leavened breads with success.

They also appear to have brought into general use and refined the practice of cooking foods in some kind of liquid. They certainly used water at times; on other occasions they may have used various oils or fats. Two important vessels were invented in order to cook with a liquid medium. The first was the covered pot, usually made of fired clay. The second, the open kettle, was made of bronze. In Akkadian, these vessels were called *diqâru* and *ruqqu*, respectively. Each of these vessels was used for a particular cooking method, perhaps boiling in deep water for the covered pot and some kind of slow simmer-

This cuisine was meant for palace or temple.



Upper: The royal kitchen is portrayed in this seventh-century-B.C. scene from the palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh. Two views are shown simultaneously: a bird's-eye view revealing the ground plan of a fortress and a cross section showing the activity within four chambers of the building. The four scenes include (beginning at the upper left and continuing counterclockwise) a person opening wine jars to let them breathe, two people in the butcher's shop where a sheep is being dressed, a baker tending his oven, and two women preparing various foods. **Lower:** In this drawing of a Nimrud bas-relief the king is shown enthroned within a fortified city that he has just captured. His troops have erected tents in the city which the sculptor has represented in longitudinal sections in order to reveal the tent interiors. Some of the soldiers shown in the tents are preparing their meals.



ing in a smaller amount of liquid in the open kettle.

The Storage, Preservation, and Fermentation of Food

The Mesopotamians had several methods for storing and preserving food. They dried grains, legumes (beans and lentils), and some vegetables and fruits, especially dates, grapes, and figs. Meat and fish could have been dried or smoked, but they were generally preserved in salt (the texts mention "salt beef," "salt gazelle," and "salt fish"). They preserved certain fruits in honey and knew how to put up fish, most likely in oil. They prepared a fermented sauce (*šiqqu*), for both kitchen and table use, out of fish, shellfish, or grasshoppers. *Šiqqu* seems to have been

similar to Worcestershire sauce or *nuoc-mâm*, the Vietnamese fish sauce now in vogue in the West. They also had the knowledge of lactic fermentation needed to make sour milk and cream cheese.

Ancient Recipes

In a collection of cuneiform tablets at Yale University there are three Akkadian tablets, dating to approximately 1700 B.C.E., which originally were thought to have contained pharmaceutical formulas.¹ Upon closer examination, they proved to contain collections of recipes. They have revealed a cuisine of striking richness, refinement, sophistication, and artistry,



Courtesy of the Yale Babylonian Collection



Obverse and reverse of YBC 4648.

which is surprising from such an early period. Previously we would not have dared to think a cuisine four thousand years old was so advanced.

Unfortunately all of these clay tablets, to varying degrees, suffered damage. The shortest (YBC 4648), which contains 53 lines of text, is the most badly preserved. Apart from a few decipherable fragments, it is not of much use to us. There is enough of it left, however, to show that it is related to the other two. The latter are, happily, much more complete and coherent, despite the breaks in the text which interrupt its continuity.

The better preserved tablet of the two (YBC 4644) lists 25 recipes in

BEER and WINE



The Fermented Beverages of Mesopotamia

It is not known when fermentation was first discovered by the cultures of the Ancient Near East, but evidence suggests that wheat and barley, both essential to beer-making, were domesticated by the sixth millennium B.C.E. Fermentation played an integral role in ancient societies by providing a means for preserving some of the food-value of various cereals and fruits. Fermentation became more than a technique for managing agricultural surpluses as the ancient Mesopotamians developed ways to enhance their enjoyment of these beverages.

The Mesopotamian cultures made fermented beverages from a variety of agricultural products that were available to them. For example, cuneiform texts note a kind of date-wine, made from dates, raisins, and dried figs, which was sold in the streets by wandering vendors. While many such liquid refreshments were produced, none matched the popularity and importance of beer and wine.

Beer is noted in the earliest written sources from Mesopotamia. Over the centuries an elaborate vocabulary developed to describe the various aspects of the brewing process and the kinds of beers which resulted. As a consequence, many of the terms found in Sumerian and Akkadian texts are still poorly understood. Mesopotamian beer-making utilized those cereal grains which were extensively cultivated, especially barley. The basic process used to brew beer began by allowing barley grains to sprout, then crushing the sprouted grains. Often flavorings were mixed in at this stage and the mixture baked into lumps or cakes. The malted barley was then mixed with water and introduced into a special fermenting vat where it was kept for a period of time until transferred to a clarifying vat to allow the grain dregs to settle out. While the precise ways in which Mesopotamian brewers controlled the rate and extent of fermentation are not clear, it is apparent from textual evidence that many

its 75 lines of text; 21 recipes feature meat as their chief ingredient, while 4 are vegetable dishes. The recipes are brief—from 2 to 4 lines each.

Their style is extremely compressed, reminding one of the cookbooks written for professional chefs in our own era, such as the *Guide Culinaire* by Auguste Escoffier (the creator of Peach Melba). They list the chief ingredients and the basic steps of preparation in a business-like, even understated, fashion.

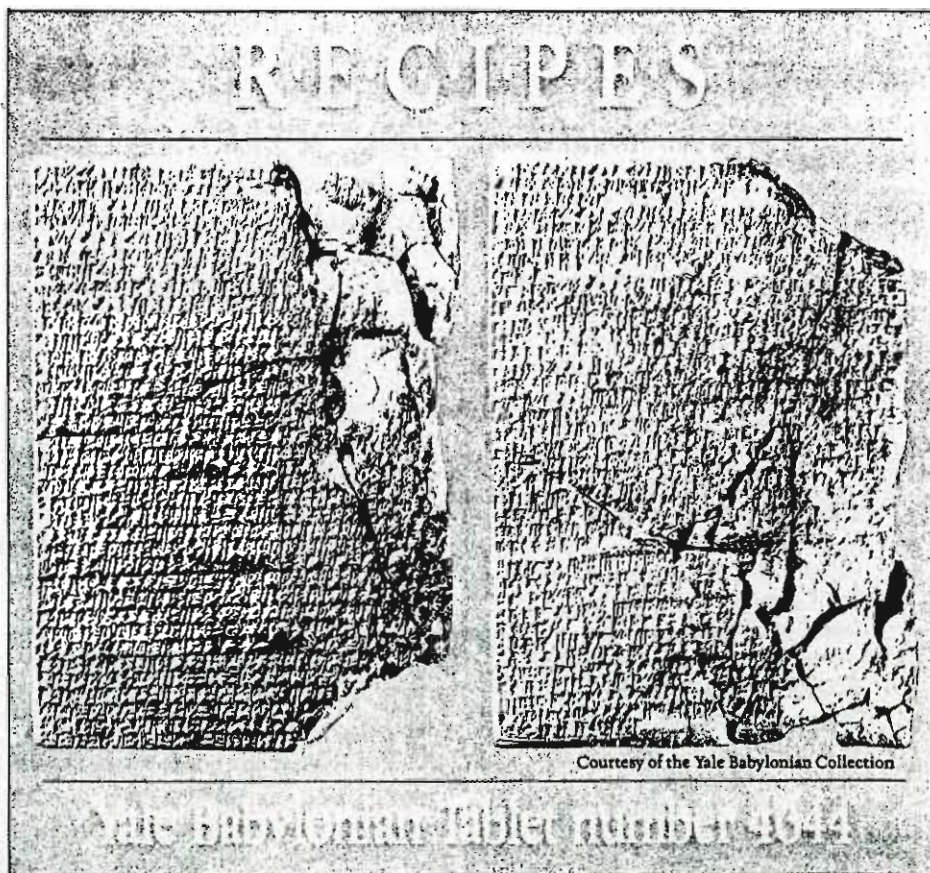
The other tablet (YBC 8958) is a good deal longer, but, unfortunately, is in poorer condition. In its original state, it contained some 200 lines of text but gave no more than 10 recipes in detail, all of which describe the preparation of various kinds of birds, both domestic and game. These recipes are outlined in infinitely greater detail than the entries in the other recipe tablets.

Yale Babylonian Collection Tablet 4644. In the tablet with 25 recipes, all of the dishes are prepared with water and fats, usually cooked by simmering for a long time in a covered pot. In two of the recipes, however, a type of braising is used in the open kettle. While meat is used in the first 21 recipes of the tablet, the last 4 add a vegetable to it. In fact the last recipe may contain no meat at all. The meat recipes vary according to the use of different cuts, dif-

variations in brewing practice existed, leading to a wide assortment of beer flavors and strengths.

Wine was also popular, though probably more expensive than beer since grapevines could be grown only in the northern regions of Mesopotamia. Compared to beer-making, little is known of the Mesopotamian vintner's craft. Wine is mentioned in cuneiform sources under a number of titles which relate to its color, strength, quality, and origin. The well-stocked Mesopotamian wine-cellar might boast "red wine," "clear (or white) wine," "sweet wine," and "sweet clear (or white) wine." Also available were "strong" wines and "early" wines. At Mari, the king always enjoyed "good quality wine," while some of his subjects made do with "second quality wine." "Bad wine" is also noted in some sources. A concern for the wine-growing region may also be indicated by the frequent identification of wines by their place of origin such as "wine of Carchemish." Wine was a standard gift nobles and other royalty presented to a king, and was often a base into which herbs and other ingredients were mixed for medicinal purposes.

Kenneth G. Hoglund



Courtesy of the Yale Babylonian Collection

Meat Stew

Take some meat. Prepare water, throw fat into it, then add _____ (the word is lost), leeks and garlic, all crushed together, and some plain šuḫutinnū.

Red Stew

You do not need meat. Prepare the water. Throw in fat. Pluck,

tripe, and belly, salt, hulled malt, onions, samīdu, cumin, coriander, leeks, and surummu, crushed together. Before placing on the fire (in the pot) the meat should be marinated in the blood which has been saved (from the animal butchered for this dish).

This is not only a complicated recipe, but the laconic tone of the text is striking. It is only concerned with the essential ingredients and never specifies quantities or cooking time. These are left to the discretion of the cook, who, we may assume, knew his business.

Stew of a Kid

In this recipe we note that the cooks knew how to combine different cooking techniques in order to enrich the food's taste.

Head, legs and tail should be singed (before being put in the pot). Take the meat. Bring water to a boil. Add fat. Onions, samīdu, leeks, garlic, some blood, some fresh cheese, the whole beaten together. Add an equal amount of plain šuḫutinnū.

Stew with Crumbs

The name of this dish may have been taken from its final step:

Before removing (the pot from the fire) sprinkle the mixture with the crumbs sifted from a round grain loaf which has been crumbled.

We may assume that the stew had been cooked prior to this procedure. The crumbs were evidently added to give the dish a pleasant consistency.

Pigeon Stew

Split the pigeon in two. There must also be meat. Prepare water. Throw in the fat. Salt, hulled malt, onions, samidu, leeks, and garlic: all the herbs should be softened in some milk (before adding them to the pot). To be presented for carving.

Tarru Stew

This is one of the longest recipes. It may have been made with wild pigeons, quail, or partridge—in any event, a small bird. Besides the birds,

there has to be fresh leg of lamb. Prepare the water. Add fat. Restrain (truss) the tarrus, salt, hulled malt, onions, samidu, leeks, and garlic, which are crushed together with milk. (Having cooked the tarrus once in the) water of the pot, (next) crack them and place them (to braise) in a vessel with the broth taken from the pot, before returning the whole lot to the pot (for a final boiling, we may assume). To be presented for carving.

Tuh'u Stew

Here, at last is a vegetable recipe. The main ingredient, *tuh'u*, is unidentifiable.

*There must (also) be the flesh from a leg of lamb. Prepare the water. Add fat, [. . .], salt, beer, onions, (an herb called) spiney, coriander, samidu, cumin, and beetroot to throw into the pot. Then, crush garlic and leeks, and add them. Let the whole cook into a stew, onto which you sprinkle coriander and *šuhutinnū*.*

ferent cooking methods, and various garnishes. Above all, variety was assured through the many seasonings that flavored the food. Among the aromatics, the most frequently used were the members of the onion family—garlic, onions, and leeks seem to have been the special favorites of these ancient gourmets. Other seasonings, however, are more difficult to identify with certainty: mint; juniper berries; *šuhutinnū* and *samidu* which were probably in the onion family; possibly mustard, cumin and coriander; and *surummu* about which we know nothing. Various grain products, meals, flours, and perhaps malted barley, which had been pressed into cakes, were used to thicken the liquids and give them some consistency. Milk, beer, or blood were used occasionally for the same purpose. Salt was added, but not as a matter of course. Certain dishes appear to have gained their rich flavor simply from their ingredients and aromatic herbs.

Like modern recipes, each recipe begins with its name, derived from its chief ingredient or its appearance at serving time. The name of each dish is preceded by the generic term *mê* which literally means water but in this context signifies something similar to bouillon, stew, or possibly a sauce. The entire dish, not just its liquid part, was intended to be eaten. If we knew the strength and consistency of the liquid in its final form we would better understand what *mê* means.

The meat stews include stag, gazelle, kid, lamb, mutton, squab, and a bird called *tarru*. There is also a boiled leg of lamb and spleen stew. We read of "mustard(?) stew," "a stew with salt," "a red stew," "a clear stew," and "a tart stew." In two instances the name of the dish seems to be derived from its foreign place of origin. An "Assyrian stew" comes from the northern part of the country, and an "Elamite stew" is borrowed from neighbors who had settled in the southwest corner of Iran. The El-

amite stew preserves its original name at the end of the recipe. It was called *zūkanda*. The last four recipes are named according to their principal vegetable ingredient. Three of these cannot be defined with any certainty; only the stew with turnips is definitely translated correctly.

The meat stews could be cooked with a whole carcass (as in the pigeon or *tarru* stews). They also could be cooked with a cut of meat, which often was not specified, but occasionally a leg of lamb and organ meats, including the spleen, were mentioned. The Mesopotamians almost always added another cut of meat (possibly mutton) to vegetable dishes and, on occasion, to meat dishes. The Akkadian verb (*izzaz*) which notes the presence of the other cut of meat is ambiguous. *Izzaz* has two possible meanings: 1) "should be present in the dish," or 2) "should be divided or cut into pieces." Regarding these recipes, I prefer the first meaning because one recipe which begins with *izzaz* (referring in some way to meat), ends with the directions "to be presented for carving." In this case the other meaning would be redundant.

Yale Babylonian Collection Tablet 8958. This tablet is longer than tablet YBC 4644 and its recipes are more complete and detailed. The recipes have a syntactical complexity which never bothered the ancient cooks but which makes the translator's work very difficult. It is challenging for the decipherer and translator to re-create the ancient culinary method and to try to follow the successive steps of each recipe. The syntactical problems are compounded by the number of words and technical terms whose meanings are lost to us. There are also frustrating breaks and gaps in the text. Therefore, for any one recipe, my version of the text and my translation are only provisional (see accompanying sidebar).

RECIPES

The shortest recipe in this tablet is eleven lines long and is not too different from the ones we have already encountered. It is for *kippu* or *qeppu*, which cannot be identified positively but appear to be a type of bird with which the recipe assumes familiarity. They are also mentioned elsewhere in this tablet.

Kippu Stew

If you want to cook kippu in a stew, then prepare them as you would agarukku. First, clean them and rinse them in cold water and place them in an open pot. (Is this done to braise them in water?) Then put the pot back on the flame (after the initial braising) and add some cold water to it and flavor it with vinegar. Next, crush (together) mint and salt and rub the kippu with the mixture. After this, strain (!) the liquid in the kettle and add mint to this sauce. Place the kippu back into it. (We assume they will cook for a moment.) Finally, add a bit more cold water and turn the entire mixture into a pot (in order to complete the cooking). To be presented and then dished out.

The next recipe is a good deal longer for it has 49 lines of text. Due to breaks in the text and the lack of punctuation, I have paraphrased it instead of making a direct translation. The name of the recipe is lost, but we gather that it is concerned with a dish of small birds, and that it was called by their name. It apparently took some time to prepare. First, the birds had to be prepared for cooking:

Remove the head and feet. Open the body in order to remove (along with everything else) the gizzards and the pluck. Split the gizzards, then peel them. Next, rinse the birds and flatten (!) them. Prepare a pot, in which you place all together the birds, gizzards, and pluck, then place it on the fire.

It is unknown whether water or fat was added. The basic method, no doubt, was so familiar to those who prepared the dish that no amplification was necessary. After the initial boiling or braising had taken place, the instructions call for a second stage of cooking:

Put the pot back on the fire. Rinse out a pot with fresh water. Place beaten milk into it and place it on the fire. Take the pot (containing the birds, gizzards, and pluck) and drain the lot. Cut off the inedible parts, then salt the rest, and add them to the vessel with the milk, to which you must add some fat. Also add some rue, which has already been scrubbed. When it has come to a boil, add a mince(!) of leek, garlic, samīdu, and onion.

But as the texts warns, "hold the onion!" While the birds cook, the preparations for the serving of the dish must be made.

Rinse crushed grain, then soften it in milk and add to it, as you knead it, the salty condiment (siqqu, we assume), samīdu, leeks, and garlic, along with enough milk and oil so that a soft dough will result, which you will expose to the heat of the fire (!) for a moment. Then cut it into two pieces.

The text suffers here from a number of small gaps, which makes my restoration very tentative. We may suppose that one of the pieces of dough was used to make unleavened bread. Before it was used, it was placed in a pot with milk, possibly in order to become soft and puffy. (This interpretation pre-



Courtesy of the Yale Babylonian Collection

supposes that leavened bread was already known by the Mesopotamians since the unleavened bread used in this recipe was made to imitate its texture.) Next, the serving dish was prepared, with an eye to its appearance at table:

Take a platter large enough to hold (all) the birds. Place the prepared dough on the bottom of the plate. Be careful that it hangs over the rim of the platter only a little [...]. Place it, in order to cook it, on top of the cooker. (This refers to one of the clay cylinders already mentioned.) When the dough has finished cooking, it is sprinkled with seasonings, among which are the inevitable onion and garlic.

On the dough, which has already been seasoned, place the pieces of the birds. Stew the gizzards and pluck among them. Moisten it all with the sauce. Cover it with a lid and send to table.

There are many steps taken in the above recipe in order to produce one dainty. If the goal had been simply to cook them, it would have sufficed to have thrown the birds on the fire. Instead we see a cooking method which has been adapted to different techniques of preparation, numerous utensils used, each with its own purpose, and complex combinations of foods, especially seasonings. Even though the seasonings combined are complementary, some dishes call for as many as ten of them. The Mesopotamian taste does not seek unseasoned food, nor does it savor each flavor separately. A different goal, in my opinion a superior goal, is sought — the savor of the combination of all the ingredients' flavors.

Finally, we note the great attention paid to the garnishes. All of the features of Mesopotamian cookery point to a serious interest in food on the part of the guests, which we are surely entitled to call gastronomy. They reveal a level of technical skill, a professional dedication, actually a complex and detailed art practiced by the cooks and other kitchen workers.

Mesopotamian Cuisine and Modern Cooking

Thousands of years separate our culture and world from that of Mesopotamia. We are vastly different from them in our perceptions, self-awareness, and outlook on life. An unfortunate anachronism would result if we were to evaluate these recipe tablets with the same standards that we use to judge our own cookbooks. In theory, today's cookbooks are intended to be read by everyone. Each of them is the work of a master who wishes to share his knowledge. Their orientation is totally didactic. Today, almost everyone can read. Even in the days of Mithékos of Syracuse and Apicius, learning to read was easier than in Mesopotamia. In ancient Mesopotamia, the writing system was very complicated. It was not alphabetic, but both ideographic and syllabic, and it contained several hundred





Wild game supplemented the domestic meats used in Mesopotamian cuisine. In this scene from Nineveh, dating to the seventh century B.C., gazelles are shown fleeing hunters. The drawing is by Wallet.



These recipe tablets are a record of culinary ritual, not a cookbook.



Because of the expense of producing it, the Mesopotamian cuisine examined in this article was available only to the elite of the society. This group also enjoyed staging elaborate hunting expeditions, an activity that provided many of the wild meats used in their cuisine. The drawing to the left is by Saint-Elme Gautier of a bas-relief from the palace of Ashurbanipal which shows the dogs being used in such a hunt.

signs that possessed a number of possible meanings or values. Long years of practice and study were demanded of those who sought its mastery. Such leisure was only available to the elite or the members of a professional class. The ability to write and, consequently, the ability to read was in itself a profession. It was the work of a few scribes who were responsible for reading everything. A cook—who, along with almost everyone else, was illiterate—would not have had the slightest idea of writing books for other cooks, who were as unlettered as he. Nor would a cook write a cookbook for an audience of scribes who had no other desire than to learn how to create these dishes. A general reading audience did not exist.

It is best not to evaluate these recipe tablets as didactic pieces.

They were written for administrative, normative purposes, so that what was done in cooking might be set down and codified by means of recipes. Similarly, court procedure was established by means of protocol, temple activity was regularized by means of a liturgy, the dispensaries of doctors and apothecaries were normalized by formulas, and some crafts were governed by rules and traditional procedures. These recipe tablets form a culinary *codex* or, if you will, a culinary *ritual*, rather than a culinary *manual*, that is, a cookbook. They set down the practices of the day, which had developed from everyday habits, enhanced by constant changes and improvements.

This cuisine, ritualized and codified in its written form, was essentially the cuisine of the palace or the temple. Such unparalleled care in cooking and complex culinary technique required spacious facilities and a wide range of equipment, plus many of the ingredients needed were hard to come by and, therefore, were costly. This cuisine could only have been carried out by real experts, the *nuhatimmu*, and it existed for the benefit of and under the patronage of the elite. Those peasants and laborers who made up the bulk of the population could not have had the time to prepare or the means to afford the elaborate stews or platters of birds which we have found in these tablets. Haute cuisine in Mesopotamia was reserved for the upper class and the gods, while the masses had a popular form of cookery. It is the haute cuisine which we have been examining and which impresses us so.

In any society and culture, however, imagination and taste are contagious. I am convinced that the

women who cooked in modest homes knew how to turn out dishes which were just as tasty and imaginative as those which the *nuhatimmu* of the palace created, though they were probably simpler and not so varied. Notice that I say that the domestic cooks were women. The haute cuisine was the preserve of the male *nuhatimmu*, who functioned somewhat along the lines of our own



This basalt bas-relief from the palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad may depict Sennacherib, then the crown prince, hunting birds.

chefs who work in the great restaurants or private homes. On the other hand, the mainstream, popular cooking among the Sumerians and Babylonians was "woman's work."

I have never agreed, by the way, with the grim picture of Mesopotamian proletariats reduced to chewing dull pottages like a herd of depressed cows for century upon century. This would be misrepres-

senting the daily life of the lower class, including its culinary practices and recipes, because of the lack of documentation.

Let me conclude with the caution that these recipes from the Mesopotamian haute cuisine are virtually impossible for us to cook today. Since we do not know the exact meaning of many terms, which appear to be technical, we cannot understand the series of steps for each recipe that were apparent to the Mesopotamians who used them. Complicated recipes such as these cannot be properly understood or analyzed, let alone duplicated, unless they can be seen in demonstration. Every cuisine, like every skilled craft, is made up primarily of tricks of the trade.

It is important that we remember as well that the civilization of ancient Mesopotamia, along with its language and literature, disappeared for two thousand years. Such a huge gap in the history of human culture is a terrible handicap for the historian. This is demonstrated by the number of foods, procedures, and utensils that cannot

be positively identified. We have to be content with "some dairy product," or "some kind of onion." This does not, obviously, lend itself to success in the kitchen. It would be disastrous, in any cuisine worthy of the name, to replace a mild cream cheese with a pungent Limburger, even though they are both dairy products!

Though we hail the ancient Mesopotamians as the oldest gourmets and gastronomes, it appears that their concept of good food and ours are worlds apart. For instance, they adored their food soaked in fats



the tablets. Professor Bottéro learned of the texts from Dr. van Dijk. These three tablets will soon appear in *Early Mesopotamian Incantations and Rituals*, by Jaan van Dijk, Yale Oriental Series 11, 1985.

Suggestions for Further Reading

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From the North Palace of Ashurbanipal a scene carved on gypseous alabaster depicts a very simple meal being eaten by Elamite prisoners.

and oils, they seem obsessed with every member of the onion family, and, in contrast to our tastes, salt played a rather minor role in their diet. Although I will never try to re-create their recipes, I would refer anyone interested in Mesopotamian cookery to the contemporary cuisine known as "Turco-Arabic," which, most likely, can be traced back through ages of modification

and refinement to the *nuḫatimmu*, the chefs of Sumer and Babylon.

Notes

This article is a translation and revision of a paper by Jean Bottéro that originally appeared in *L'histoire*, number 49, in October 1982. Editorial assistance in preparing it in English was provided by Jonathan T. Glass.

¹The three tablets were first copied by the late Mary Hussey. After her death Professor William Hallo of the Yale Babylonian Collection asked Jaan van Dijk to continue work on

Unless otherwise indicated, the illustrations in this article were taken from the following publications: A. H. Layard and M. Botta, *The Buried City of the East: Nineveh* [London: Office of the National Illustrated Library, n.d.]; A. H. Layard, *Discoveries Among the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1856); G. Contenau, *Everyday Life in Babylon and Assyria* (London: Edward Arnold Publishers, Ltd., 1954); and G. Perrot and C. Chipiez, *A History of Art in Chaldaea & Assyria*, 2 volumes (London: Chapman and Hall, Limited, 1884).

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

There are many things of interest connected with our five days in Dilman: Mr. Paddock flying into Khoi den of lions to endeavor to get justice for Ismael Agha, the sending of three prisoners from Khoi to Dilman and the escape of the chief offender, many interesting little side-lights on the Big Chief, his explanation of the looting of a large quantity of rice as, "You sent it over for distribution and I distributed it, etc., but we were impatient to get on with our task and I must not tarry over these minor details interesting though they were."

It was "Friday the Thirteenth"; it was the day of Ismael Agha's second visit. Occupying the lowest place in the room of the Governor's house sat three men with hands tied behind them and countenance downcast. Two of them were prisoners just arrived from Khoi with the dust of the road still on their clothes; the third was the captain of the guard that escorted the prisoners and he was now held responsible for the escape of the third prisoner. Ismael Agha seemed in good humor, his brown eyes sparkled and his dark mustache looked handsome with his Kurdish headdress, his serious expression was severe but his good natured smile lighted up his face much of the time. He was satisfied that Mr. Paddock was interested in securing justice for him and he was glad to help us on our way to Dr. Packard's rescue. He called in one of his subordinate chiefs and said, "These gentlemen are going to Urumia and I want you to send a guard with them all the way; in addition, send a detachment of horsemen to Kutchi just over the pass and surround the village. If the bandit Kaxim is there, kill him, and in any case open a road for these gentlemen to pass." He turned on his heels in obedience. Our start from Dilman was not actually made until Saturday at 1:30 p.m. due to various delays. We had not gone far before we had a blow-out and then a second blow-out. We realized that we had not brought enough inner tubes. Mr. Ferguson stuffed the tire with grass and from then on until we returned to Tabriz the car was driven in that condition.

Over the pass we went, and then down on the other side. Do you remember how Kutchi is located? It is near the lower end of the pass and the road goes right through the village as soon as you are in it at all. Afternoon was about to turn to evening as we came spinning down the slope with a few horsemen beside us. We came into the sight of Kutchi, and then one of the horsemen cantered on ahead. I wondered why nothing had been said about the condition of Kutchi, but still we drove on until within 50 yards of the village — two or three horsemen appeared from somewhere and then a dozen or more came galloping around the edge of the village. They stopped us and informed us that there was a battle on in Kutchi and that they would have to try to find another road for us. We turned and started back up the pass with an escort of some 20 or 30 horsemen by this time sur-

rounding us. My first thought was "treachery," and what a good opportunity for treachery our "friends" had, and how absolutely helpless we would have been — our supply of petrol was limited, our load was heavy and we were practically unarmed. We were led down a dry river bed which was no road at all, right under the shadow of the orchards of Kutchi, as the light of day gradually faded away. Who knew how many men were hidden in that orchard! And if there had been a single sharpshooter there, not one of us would be living to tell the tale, for our automobiles got stuck as we tried to pull out of the river bed and onto another road. But there was no treachery and there was no sharpshooter and we kept cool, so with difficulty we managed to get onto the road and start off in the half dark, the Kurds, all the while keeping a sharp lookout toward the village and exhorting us not to tarry. On we went over a long stretch of open country. Firing was heard, but none of it reached us. Finally, the Kurds seemed more at ease and one of them told us "Burda dushman yokhdur" (there is no enemy here) which was a very welcome sound, for it was almost dark and we were approaching another village that seemed ominously still and lifeless. (It made me think of the joy at the end of a life of hustle and bustle when our road leads right into and through the dark, still, village of Death to have the quiet assurance, "burds dushman yokhdur".) Soon a great full moon came over the horizon and made our progress easier. We passed thru several villages, all of them as still as Death, one of them the village of Gavilen, skirting the hill on which our mission property once stood, but now a desolation — in none of these did we stop more than to get out and pick our way over bad roads. And so we proceeded until, quite fatigued, we stopped at the home of Pasha Beg in the village of Kulinji at a little before 10 o'clock at night. The villagers gathered about our automobile in the moonlight and the Kurds in their picturesque costumes and with rifles slung over their backs, moving about to find places for their horses and also to make us comfortable, was a scene to conjure with. We picked our way among the horses in the yard to an ill-lighted room where we stretched our legs out on the floor and received the expressions of welcome from the Kurds and the villagers. Seven men had been wounded in the battle of Kutchi, six of whom had been carried to their homes in Somai and the other was brought to Dr. Dodd for treatment. He was a gamey young fellow and took his misfortune most bravely — and we could not forget that it was for us he had been wounded. A bullet had struck his rifle barrel and glanced off, cutting off cleanly the pointer and middle finger of his right hand and wounding the palm as well. The white ends of the severed bones showed, and it must have been quite painful, but the young fellow never whimpered nor complained and when Dr. Dodd had finished bandaging it, the patient

himself gathered up the bloody rags from the floor and without assistance, in spite of his loss of blood, went out into the darkness, and we saw him no more. A good supper was served and we tumbled in at 12:30, Ferguson and I sleeping on the roof with armed Kurds all around.

A timely start on Sunday morning brought us to Saatlu by 12:30, where we stopped for lunch. Being in Saatlu seemed like being close to home, for as you know, this is the usual stopping place for "poshwazes," dignitaries entering the City from the north.

But close though we were in distance, in reality we were still far from Urumia, for we still had to cross enemy lines to get into the city. Saatlu was absolutely deserted, no living being appearing except the Kurds who had accompanied us on the road. We had not gone far beyond this village, only a little beyond the Chunke-ralui bridge, before we saw a great number of horsemen approaching. They were Kurds and had come out to "peshwaz" us. There must have been considerably more than a hundred of them and what a sight they were, swarming about the Consul's car in Kurdish array! And so we proceeded right on down to within two miles of Urumia. The road, you recall, leads over Jew Hill where in October 1914 we watched the battle in which the Kurds, as enemies then, failed in their attempt on the City; and where, a few months later, the Turks were responsible for the massacre of about fifty innocent prisoners in the dead of night. We drove to the foot of Jew Hill, and instead of going over it and in sight of the City, we skirted around the north side of the hill, under the leadership of the Kurdish horsemen, over a bit of plowed field and onto the road that leads to the village of Cara Hassani (or Garasanlui). Several Kurdish chiefs had made their headquarters here in this desolate, demolished village. I saw only one building in the whole village that had a roof, and to this building we were taken for tea. Among our hosts were two chiefs, and the conversation hinged on the terrible atrocities committed by the Ajams of the City, the solitude of the Kurds for the welfare of Dr. Packard, the need of taking a terrible revenge on the City both for her own deeds and for the bomb outrage (of which the City may have been quite innocent). Among the Kurds was a little boy, whom I recognized as Hassan. When we came up from Kasvin to Tabriz two months ago, two little Moslem boys, Hassan and Hussein, attached themselves to our Caravan. They were little orphans trying to get back to their home, Turkoman, just south of Urumia. Reaching Tabriz, they crossed over the lake to Urumia at once, and the day after their arrival in Urumia the massacre occurred and Hussein was killed, leaving Hassan quite alone. He was trying to eke out some kind of an existence through the mercy of the Kurds in Gara Hassani. Later he followed us back to Tabriz and is here now.

We had been in this desolation of a village but a short

time when a letter was handed to the Sadar. It was the Governor's reply to a letter the Sadar had sent from Saatlu. The Governor would be glad to see his Excellency Sadar-i-Fateh and had accordingly given his soldiers instructions not to fire upon him but to permit him safe entrance into the City. About 6:50 p.m. Ferguson drove the Sadar and his orderly toward the City — the object of this visit being only to make arrangements for the Consul to enter the City. While we waited the return of the Sadar we heard more blood rousing stories of the infamous treatment accorded Dr. Packard (half of which were not true) and we received the further word that Hubert Packard was lost and no trace of him could be found. At a quarter before eight, Ferguson and the Sadar returned with their faces wreathed in smiles — the trip had been successful, the Packard family was safe and the Consul and his party were to enter at once. Due to serious engine trouble in my car, Dr. Dodd and I were obliged to remain until the next day, but the Consul's car returned to the city with the Consul and the Sadar soon after the moon had risen, about 10 o'clock. When we waved good-bye to the departing three we were not at all certain but that treachery might prevent our meeting up again, for we were dealing with people whose word is not worth much — the Governor had already proven his untrustworthiness and the city mob, its murderous hatred of things American and things Christian, and the Kurds — well, the world knows the Kurd — he had his good points, but he is a parasite and when he ceases to prey on others, he ceases to be a Kurd.

Dr. Dodd and I secured a guard of two Kurds and then made up our bed in the street right beside our automobile to safeguard it against the poor guarding of the guards. When we went to sleep there was one sign of the village thrift in a perfectly sound ox-cart that had remained untouched in the road just beside our car. When we awakened in the morning I rubbed my eyes a second time, for I could no longer see the ox-cart. The smouldering ends of heavy timbers told the tale. To protect themselves from the right chill of a June night, our two guards had sacrificed a sound tool of peaceful industry! We ate our breakfast and waited. We tried to find a cool place and the time hung heavy on our hands. Mr. Ferguson finally returned and worked for hours on my car. The idle Kurds became more and more familiar; they stole a riding whip from under my nose, a good revolver that Ferguson left under his coat in the car disappeared, one of the chief's men insistently asked for my Gillette razor strap and I persistently refused to give it. It was a relief when Ferguson announced at 4 o'clock that the car was ready. We said our good-byes to the chief and Dr. Dodd gave them a letter to be sent to the British Consul in Tabriz in case, for one reason or another, we should be detained beyond the next evening, and away we went, down a long avenue of trees and up the slope to the crest of Jew Hill.

The City lay spread out before us — Urumia, the Beautiful, once flowing with milk and honey, the destination of our long Honeymoon eight and a half years ago, home! Where our children were born, where one lies under the sod, where two years ago we expected to return to a furnished house and take up our work together, the City made sacred by a fellowship of joys and sorrows, the City that had been my destination for the last seven and a half months. It was within eight and getting closer every minute! In the field off to the right, some distance from the road, were four saddled horses, their Kurdish riders concealed somewhere on guard duty. Now we came to the mill in the hollow, where the last Kurdish outpost was and we passed it without being stopped. The road was deserted until we got right up to the City wall, where we saw two or three pedestrians. The Ballow gate was closed and made secure, and we put on speed as we turned to the left and skirted around to the east side of the city. We passed a lone Persian soldier guarding the road; he saluted us. A little later another soldier, who also showed us respect. We glanced up and saw the Sorpagh Kalin gate open, and a swarm of people ready to — well, we did not know whether to greet or to mob us, but we feared the latter, and the one thing that we agreed must be avoided at all hazards was a stop in the city streets. Our last suggestion before we reached the gate was, don't let your engine get stalled and keep on moving. We entered, and the mob stared curiously; there were enough soldiers on both sides of the street to keep the way open, but they instantly swarmed in back from both sides and tore off a strip of metal from the back of my car. Over the cobblestones and thru the winding streets, with crowds at every turn, we pushed on as fast as we dared and finally we pulled up at the Governor's door. The crowd was dense here and not in a particularly good humor. I took charge of the hasty unloading of our cars not knowing when a brick bat might land on my head. Occasionally I recognized a face of a friend in the Moslem crowd, but these did not dare show any particular friendship for the Americans. Niraa Hussein Guli Khan appeared at the Governor's gate and I asked him to assist in the unloading, but I was promptly told it would not be safe for him to step that far beyond the gate. Hubert Packard, Kasha Yacob and Ali Khan were among those who helped. At last the load was off and I took shelter. My instructions were to come to the place where the Consul was, which was by the gate directly across the street from the Governor's gate. I was led there, but was refused admittance by the Persian soldier who was guarding the gate. I feared to start a discussion in the presence of the eager crowd and so beat a hasty retreat to the Governor's gate. I went into the inner yard and took tea with the Packards and from there wrote a note to Mr. Paddock that I would obey orders, if the guard at his gate could be given proper

instructions with regard to admitting me. It was good, oh so good, to be taking tea with Mrs. Packard and the children and with the heroic Rabbi Judith and her children and with Surria and John Mooshi. Dr. Packard and Kasha Yacob, too, were there and all seemed in good health, but their quarters were so cramped, the Packards living in a room altogether, a room 9 x 12, and next to them Kasha Yacob's family and Rabbi Surria and some others. These all ate their meals together and comprised one family.

They were calm, they were unruffled, they showed the poise of a deep faith, they were not concerned for their own comfort nor their own safety, but for that of the masses huddled together in still more cramped quarters nursing the sad memories of their recent past.

We got an armed guard to take us across the street to the Consul's quarters, where Dr. Dodd and I were to spend the night. This time the soldier at the door let us in and the two soldiers inside the yard stood up and saluted us. We went upstairs and in a little room adjoining our sleeping room, we found Mr. Ferguson playing away at a beautifully tuned piano. It was Elli's piano (originally Sterrett's); I had no trouble in recognizing it for it was in our house a long time before Ellis bought it, you remember, but some of the front panels were gone and the whole bottom board was missing, some of the keys were badly battered and one or two of the hammers were missing, but it was in beautiful tune and had the same sweet tune it used to have. A guard followed us around, and, in fact, slept in the hall just outside our door all night. Before we retired we heard from the Consul's servant some of the talk that was afloat in the streets — men with knives, sickles, axes, spades, etc. were at the gate ready to set on the crowd of Christians if they attempted to leave. Five hundred men had pledged themselves to prevent our taking the Christians out, etc. Two men who had watched Dodd and me cross the street were heard to remark, "They are English officer and we dare not touch them." "No, they are not, I recognized that one, he is an American doctor, and I know the other one, too, he is an American and they are here to take the Christians out. We must kill them." These were the kind of stories we heard to encourage us to our task. Late at night, Mr. Paddock came in and reported his interview with the Governor and how the situation lay. This day in Urumia was the crucial day and Mr. Paddock covered himself with glory. He represented himself as speaking for three powers: America, Great Britain, and France — it was true that his British and French colleagues in Tabriz were in accord with him, and further, as having the authority of the government of America behind him, this he had in writing. He said he came there under orders to take the Christians out and if the Governor prevented him from carrying this out, he himself would return to Tabriz and

make a full report of the situation, with the implication that the result would not be good for the Governor. His demand was for a safe escort for the Christians out of the City. A delegation waited on him and wanted to know what the danger was from which he was trying to rescue the Christians, whether it was not true that America was no respecter of faith and was duty bound to take the Moslems out, too, if there was any danger — and such “tommioror.” Mr. Paddock insisted that he had his orders and they permitted no discussion — but he did give a few tactful reasons why the Christians there were in a different position. The Moslems would be murdered and they would be held prisoners. An hour later the Sadar came to bed and he had more of interest to report — the most significant thing, however, being that a delegation had waited on him asking that Mr. Paddock appoint an agent before he left the City with the Christians, who could hoist the American flag in case the Kurds should break thru, so that the Moslems of the City might be protected under its merciful stars and stripes! It was the first sign of weakening. When a Persian’s knees begin to tremble his arguments are not hampered by much consistency. We went to sleep — and we dreamed — and we awakened.

Ugly talk continued Tuesday morning and then was the first time that I noticed any slackening in Mr. Paddock’s pushing of his plan. He was not quite certain in his own mind that he was not incurring greater risk for the Christians in leading them through the streets of the City than in leaving the prisoners in the Governor’s yard. He definitely sought the advice of his companions, and when Dr. Packard stated as his conviction that there was greater risk in leaving the people than in attempting a rescue, the thing was settled. We must leave and we must leave that very day. Dr. Dodd was sent on a delicate errand, to take word to the Kurds that we were planning to leave that afternoon and requested safe escort to the Lake shore. When he reached the first outpost, he found the Kurds firing on some Moslems and asked them to stop. They were glad to oblige him, and further to show their friendship, they hunted around in the grass for the ears of two Moslems that they had cut off but a short time before. The miserable unfortunates were at almost the very same hour in the Governor’s yard (one a boy, the other a man), where I saw Dr. Packard bandaging their bleeding ear stumps. The night before two dying men also wounded by the Kurds, were brought and laid at the Governor’s door where they were allowed to remain well into the night. It would be hard to describe the suspense and uncertainty, the hasty preparations for a dangerous journey and yet the woeful lack of preparation that characterized that Tuesday morning and early afternoon. There was a large crowd of people outside the Governor’s gate all day and in the afternoon the number of foot soldiers and mounted men was increased. About

two hundred foot soldiers were marched into the Governor’s courtyard soon after lunch as a kind of demonstration. As I walked past them my sense of smell indicated it was the strongest Army I had ever come in contact with, but a wretched band to put our trust in, in a situation like the present. By four o’clock the animals and carts (that had been promised to move the sick and wounded, and a few possessions remaining to the refugees) had not arrived and while counsels were being freely offered against starting out for the Lake (a thirteen mile walk) so late in the afternoon Mr. Paddock firmly insisted that we must get on our way, and, animals or no animals, he was going to leave at four-fifty; the animals had not come when Mr. Paddock ordered the movement to begin. It was a tense moment, we all knew that the slightest mishap between the Governor’s gate and the outside of the City might mean a miserable end for us all. It would have required only a rifle shot, the throwing of a stone, an accidental pushing in the crowd, a hasty word, an angry look, to have started a conflagration from which the imagination turns in horror. The line of soldiers and horsemen at the Governor’s gate dispersed the crowd sufficiently for me to turn my car and lead the procession. The body of Christians were to follow me on foot and the Consul’s car was to bring up the rear. It must have been an interesting sight — it certainly was an interesting procession for those of us who composed it. We were all atingle and ready for almost anything. As four or five horsemen cleared the way through the streets and a long line of foot soldiers maintained the opening in the crowd, we crawled along slowly enough for the crowds of refugees, with their bread or quilt or whatever they were carrying, to keep up. Sardar-i-Fateh sat beside me with his rifle ready and some extra cartridges handy, two men with lowered rifles rode on my right running board and one on my left running board and several walked along beside the car. The old women, the sick and convalescent wounded, those with babies and other heavy loads all wanted “just a little lift” until my car fairly groaned under its burden. The 600 refugees made a much longer line than I thought they would and contrary to my expectation, I did not see the Consul’s car during the winding through the City streets, and not until I had gone beyond Degella, several miles from the City. Becoming anxious for fear something might have befallen the rear, I waited there until six or eight carts came along (which must have arrived at the Governor’s after the procession had begun) and finally the Consul’s car drove up with the Consul and the Packard family. I learned that Drs. Packard and Dodd had stayed behind because there was not sufficient conveyance for the more seriously wounded, and the plan was for someone to return for them the next day. to return for them the next day.

It was now time to breathe a long sigh of relief, for the

practically impossible had been accomplished, the bulk of 600 Christian prisoners had been snatched from a hostile Moslem City and were now on the road to safety. The only element of anxious uncertainty was the position of Dr. Packard and Dr. Dodd with the few wounded still in the City. Then, too, there was uncertainty of a less serious nature as to whether the boat would really be on hand at the Lake as planned. We anticipated that we would meet the Kurds soon after we left the City gates. Hashady Baghir and his horsemen accompanied us about a mile beyond the City and then said good-bye to us. From then on we scanned the road for Kurds, but saw none by daylight, nor by disk, nor by moonlight, until we had traveled the full thirteen miles and (at one o'clock in the morning) had gone into the little gully just before getting to Gyurma Khana. As we emerged, a Kurd challenged, and I stopped. We, the Sarda and I, were quite alone by this time, having left the pedestrians far behind. We had no difficulty in making ourselves known and when we reached the landing we found the place alive with Kurds. But I have gotten too far ahead. The road to the lake was very bad in places and great stretches of it were under water; I was obliged to be hard hearted in the matter of refusing to let the poor people put their babies and their loads and their sick on the car. The Sardar himself got out and walked much of the way from Degalla on, and my only passenger for most of the way was a poor little crippled boy whom I had invited to sit beside me, and another little waif who tucked himself between the tool box and the mud guard and whom I could not bring myself to throw off. The last glimmer of daylight was fading away and the moon had not yet risen when I came to another completely submerged stretch of road. Not knowing myself what the character of the road bed was and fearing that some of the little kiddies might become dazed wading through the water, and perhaps stumble and drown, I stopped my car and waited for the Consul's car to catch up and advised waiting until the moon should come up. We waited about half an hour or more, eating some supper the while and permitting thousands of famished mosquitoes to do the same, and then proceeded. Up to that point I had stopped every once in a while to give the people a chance to sit down and rest, for it was a very hard journey for most of them, but from here on I took the Sardar in and proceeded more rapidly to get down to the Lake and make some kind of preparations for those who were following. For quite a stretch the road was made quite difficult by the trolley tracks that had been partly laid, but on we went by the light of the moon, losing our way once and finding it again and at last reaching the lakeshore at one o'clock. (The end of the procession did not get in until close to two o'clock.) The Kurds assigned the top of the hill just in front of Captain Heumann's former house to the Christians for

the night and gave one of the rooms to Mrs. Packard and her family. The chief "instead of having the floor swept" kindly sent over some carpets to put over the dirt in Mrs. Packard's room. The crowds rolled over and went to sleep but I think it was three o'clock before Mrs. Packard turned in. I slept in my clothes in the seat of my car and Ferguson did the same in his car. Poor Ferguson, he was unfortunate again. He took his shoes off when he went to sleep, and put them near his head. When he awakened in the morning, he found that someone had stolen them and he had not another pair to his name. I happened to have an extra pair which I was able to loan him.

On arrival at the Lake we heard one piece of good news from the Kurds viz, that the steamer had come with a barge and had pulled in close enough to the shore to communicate with the Kurds and to be told by them that the Consul and the Sarda were in Urumia, but the captain had refused to land and had steamed away again. One of the "Sahiba" was also aboard. With the break of the new day, Wednesday, June 16, we saw a steamer and a barge anchored a mile or two away from shore. She was flying a small flag forward, which we could not make out even through the glasses; we, however, knew it was our boat and Mr. Paddock told me to take our flag and give the appointed signal. I did, and soon she came steaming in, at the same time hoisting a large American flag midship. She came close in, cast anchor, and sent a rowboard ashore with Dr. Ellis and some other men. They received a most hearty welcome as they landed and greeted the people who had been snatched from the fire. It now seemed that if only Dr. Packard and party were there, the last link of the difficult chain would have been completed.

By God's good grace no hindrances were put in the way of the departure of this little remnant and when Ferguson drove toward Urumia to meet them, he came across them about three miles from the Lake and we were a united party again by noon. It was a difficult piece of work to get the motors on the boat as the Kurds had completely burned the pier, but we picked up a small barge that was lying in the harbor and ran the car up on it directly from the shore, and by four o'clock everything was aboard the steamer and two barges and ready to sail. For some strange reason, the captain maneuvered about in the harbor for two hours and during this interval Abdullah Beg arrived at the landing and called for Dr. Packard. The doctor went astern and they shouted a few greetings back and forth; with the statement that "I will settle your debt with the City" Abdullah Beg shouted a good-bye, and soon we were under way.

The "voyage" was uneventful except that the unfathomable captain cast an anchor two hours from Sheriff Khana at eleven o'clock at night and left us there until

six o'clock the next morning, which would not have been so bad for us if it had not been for the fact that we were in the steamer and our bedding was on one of the barges with the crowds. But that was nothing serious for we were safe out of the hands of the enemy and with cheerful prospects.

The locomotive was already getting up steam as we approached the shore and a special train of cars was ready. We got into telephone communication with Tabriz, made arrangements for receiving the people there, took motors off the boat and on the train, transferred the crowd to the train and provided for watering and feeding them and soon after eleven o'clock, the special train was making its way toward Tabriz. The last scene of this interesting moving picture was the arrival at the Tabriz station. The missionaries and the foreign community in general, and the native Christians, had prepared a cordial reception. Carts, wagons, carriages, were waiting to receive the sick, wounded, and weary, the women and the children (which included almost all). Provision had been made for one good meal for all and for a continuance of rations of daily bread as well as houses to sleep in. The crowd at the station was large and of those awaiting the arrival of the train, were waiting to get news of friends or relatives who had been

in Urumia. Consequently, many of the greetings were smothered in tears of joy, but not a few who hoped for a joyful reunion turned from the train with tears of sorrow.

It was a great privilege to have even a small share in so great and successful an undertaking and now that it is all over I can say that I have never before seen so complex a plan and so large an undertaking put through in Persia with so little delay and so little "hitch" as this one was. Not one of the whole party to leave Urumia with us, neither little child nor aged woman, failed to arrive in Tabriz, and the only accident of any consequence to the whole 600 en route was that one woman fell and broke a leg.

Again I am glad to say that under God the credit for the success of this enterprise goes to the American Consul, Mr. Paddock, and the American Flag, and secondly to the Persian gentleman, my friend, the Sarda-i-Tateh.

I started this little note on June 22 and have been writing at it whenever I have had a few minutes to spare, and now, on June 29, closing it with much love and many tender thoughts for you and the kiddies,

Hugo

(Rev. Hugo A. Muller)

Sennacherib's Canal Continued from page 24

The archaeologists pointed out that the bed of the canal is levelled more carefully than the simple passage of water alone would need. They explained this by the fact that the canal served as a route for its own building. The blocks which were to serve in various parts of the construction, above all the great aqueduct of Jerwan (which required two million cut stones) were brought down from the quarry on an inclined plane and taken by cart along the bed of the future canal.

Monks' Cells:

One's first reaction to the irreparable damage caused to the bas-reliefs by the hermits is to exclaim at their vandalism. In fact, the monks regarded these sculptures as idols, as the Assyrians themselves had seen them and many people were to after, and it was necessary to rob them of their power. It was as an act of purification that they dug their cells into the most beautiful Assyrian panels both here and at Maltai near Dohuk.

The Assyrian writer of the 9th century, Thomas, bishop of Marga, who recognized the beauty of a shrine or a manuscript, brings to notice one of the inhabitants of Khinis, without bothering to mention the sculptures which served him as a home. This was one of the monks of Byzantine Syria, exiled under Valens (364-373) on account of their rejection of Arianism. The monk mentioned is called simply Hawisha, that is to say, the hermit.

This hermit and his unknown companions, preserved in the arches and columns of their cells the art of their native Syria, while on the other hand the grottos of their local brethren (at Maltai and in the rest of the cells) are simple unshaped holes.

Inside, so Victor Place describes them "the vaulted cells are all of the same dimensions: 3.68 meters long, 2.57 meters wide and 1.72 meters high. A man of average height can hardly stand upright in them. Each one contains three benches or divans, cut in the rock, to serve doubtless as beds for the anchorites."

«There is no Christian Arab Heritage...»

But a Christian participation in the Muslim Arab Heritage

Certain scholars have published a work entitled «*Le Patrimoine Arabe Chrétien*», or The Christian Arab Heritage.

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الآشوريون أول من فرض الحجاب على النساء!!

الآشوريون

في الفترة الواقعة ما بين سنتي ١٩٠٣ و ١٩١٤ عثر المتقبون الألمان أثناء حفرياتهم في مدينة آشور القديمة في شمال العراق على عدد من الألواح الطينية ، التي كانت تستخدم في بلاد ما بين النهرين ، بديلا للورق في وقتنا الحاضر وتبين فيها بعد أن الكتابات التي تتضمنها هي عبارة عن مجموعة من الأحكام القانونية . ويمل الباحثون إلى الاعتقاد بأن هذه الألواح ترجع إلى القرن الثاني عشر قبل الميلاد ، وإن كانت القواعد التي تتضمنها هذه الألواح من الممكن أن ترجع إلى القرن الخامس عشر قبل الميلاد .

الآشوريين أن المشرع جعل منه علامة خارجية تدل على المرأة المتزوجة . فالزوم الرجل الذي يريد أن يسبق على سرية صفة الزوجة أن يحجبها أمام عدد من الشهود . وعلى هذا تنص لوحة أخرى (لوحة رقم ٤١) حيث تقول : إذا رغب رجل في أن يحجب سرته فسوف يحضر خمسة أو ستة من جيرانه ، ويحجبها في حضورهم قائلا « إنها زوجتي » ، ومن ثم تصبح زوجته . أما السرية التي لم تحجب في حضور الرجال والتي لم يقل زوجها « إنها زوجتي » فليست زوجة ، إنها مازالت سرية » .

وبذلك يكون الآشوريون أقدم شعب فرض الحجاب على النساء طبقاً للمعلومات المتاحة لنا حتى الآن .

كذلك هناك من الشواهد ما يدل على أن الحجاب كان سائدا في الدولة الفارسية ، في العصر الساساني ، وهو العصر السابق مباشرة على ظهور الإسلام ، وكانت تضم في ذلك الوقت بلاد فارس وبلاد ما بين النهرين .



عليها ويحضرها إلى محكمة القصر . وإذا أدينت عوقبت بصلم أذنيها ، ويحصل من قبض عليها على عبايتها كما نصت على أنه إذا رأى رجل أمة محبجة وتركها تذهب دون القبض عليها وإحضارها إلى محكمة القصر فسوف يجلد ، عند إدانته خمسين جلدة ، وسوف يخرمون أذنيه ويحرقون بينيها خيطا يعقدونه وراء ظهره ، وسوف يأخذ من اتهمه ثوبه ، وسوف يعمل من أجل الملك شهرا كاملا .

يتضح من الأحكام التي أوردتها هذه اللوحة أن الحجاب عند الآشوريين كان مقصورا على النساء الحرائر بصورة مطلقة ، وعلى الأمة إذا خرجت مع سيدتها ، وعاهرة المعبود إذا تزوجت . أما غير هؤلاء من الأماء والعواهر فكان ممنوعات من الحجاب . وكانت عقوبتهن عند المخالفة تتسم بالشدة البالغة ، كذلك كان يتعرض للعقاب الشديد كل من يرى أمة أو عاهرة محبجة ويتركها دون أن يقبض عليها ويسوقها إلى محكمة القصر .

وقد بلغ من رسوخ الحجاب عند

د . محمود سلام زناقي

العاهرات والإماء اللاتي يتحجبن في الطريق ، وتلك التي توقع على من رأى أمة أو عاهرة محبجة ولم يقم بتقديدها إلى القصر لتلقى جزاءها .

فقد نصت هذه اللوحة على أن من رأى عاهرة محبجة عليه أن يقبض عليها وأن يقدم شهودا ، وأن يحضرها إلى محكمة القصر ، وبعد إدانتها يحصل من قبض عليها على عبايتها ، ويتمثل عقاب العاهرة في جلدها خمسين جلدة وصب القار على رأسها . أما إذا شاهد رجل عاهرة محبجة وتركها ، تمضى دون أن يحضرها إلى محكمة القصر ، فسوف يعاقب بالجلد خمسين جلدة ، وسوف يحصل من اتهمه على ثوبه ، وفضلا عن ذلك سوف يخرمون أذنيه ويحرقون بينيها خيطا يعقدونه خلف ظهره ، وسوف يعمل من أجل الملك شهرا كاملا . كذلك نصت هذه اللوحة على ضرورة امتناع الإماء عن حجاب أنفسهن . وفرضت على كل من رأى أمة محبجة أن يقبض

وتتضمن الأحكام المدونة في هذه اللوحات تنظيها للعديد من المسائل القانونية ، منها ما يتعلق بالجرائم ، ومنها ما يتصل بالعقود ، ومنها ما ينصب على الزواج والميراث .. إلخ .

وفي إحدى هذه اللوحات نجد أحكاما خاصة بحجاب النساء ، وفيها يلي نورد ترجمة للجزء الأول من هذه اللوحة . « لا زوجات الرجال ولا الأرامل ولا النساء الآشوريات اللاتي يخرجن إلى الطريق يمكنهن ترك رءوسهن مكشوفة . بنات الرجل .. سواء كان شالا أم جلبابا أم عباة ، يجب عليهن حجاب أنفسهن لا ينبغي لمن ترك رءوسهن مكشوفة .. السرية التي تخرج إلى الطريق مع سيدتها يجب أن تحجب نفسها . العاهرة المقدسة التي تزوجها رجل يجب أن تحجب نفسها في الطريق ، لكن التي لم يتزوجها يجب أن تترك رأسها مكشوفة في الطريق . يجب ألا تحجب نفسها ، العاهرة يجب ألا تحجب نفسها ، يجب أن تكون رأسها مكشوفة . »

وتتضمن الجزء الباقي من هذه اللوحة بيانا للجزاءات المختلفة التي توقع على

البيان الختامي للمؤتمر العام السادس عشر للاتحاد الاشوري العالمي

«

انعقد المؤتمر العام السادس عشر للاتحاد الاشوري العالمي في لندن - المملكة المتحدة. من ١٧ آب ١٩٨٥ ولغاية ٢٤ آب ١٩٨٥.

منذ تأسيس الاتحاد الاشوري العالمي في نيسان ١٩٦٨، اخذ على عاتقه نشر الهوية الاشورية عالمياً، مطالباً بحقوقنا القومية المشروعة على ارض اجدادنا، للعيش بشرف وسلام مع باقي الشعوب الاخرى.

في نيسان ١٩٧٢، منحت الحكومة العراقية «ما يسمى» بالحقوق الثقافية للاشوريين في العراق الذي لم يطبق اطلاقاً بل اصبح حبراً على الورق. وبالعكس منذ ذلك الحين اقدم النظام البعثي على اغلاق مدارسنا وهدم كنائسنا وتدمير قرانا. ونتيجة لهذه الاعمال الاجرامية فإن آلاف الاشوريين اضطروا للهروب واصبحوا لاجئين في بلدان الشرق الاوسطية واوروبا.

واليوم، فان شعبنا الاشوري يعاني الاضطهاد والبطش على ايدي النظام البعثي الفاشي الحاكم في بغداد، الذي يعمل بشتى اساليبه الارهابية على محو معالمنا القومية محاولاً صهرنا في بوتقة العروبة. اضافة الى زج الالاف من الاشوريين في الحرب العراقية - الايرانية، التي تؤدي الى استنزاف طاقات الشعبين الجارين.

لقد حدثت كل تلك الممارسات البربرية بشبابنا الاشوري الى الارتقاء بمستوى المسؤولية، ودعماً للنضال القومي، فقد اعلن الكفاح المسلح كخيار وحيد لامتنا للحصول على حقوقها المشروعة، وربط هذا النضال بالنضال الوطني العام للشعب العراقي ضد النظام البعثي.

بعد دراسة كاملة لواقع شعبنا، لقد توصل المؤتمر العام السادس عشر للاتحاد الاشوري العالمي الى ما يلي:-

١- يساند التنظيم السياسي للاتحاد الحركة الديمقراطية الاثورية في نضالها العادل ضد النظام البعثي الفاشي. وسوف يوجه كافة مكاتبه السياسية لتلبية حاجات اخواننا المناضلين الشجعان بكافة امكانياتهم المتاحة.

٢- سيعمل الاتحاد الاشوري العالمي لتوحيد المنظمات السياسية الاشورية. ان الظروف الحرجة التي تمر بها امتنا اليوم تدعونا لترك خلافاتنا الجانبية والعمل نحو الهدف القومي الرئيسي لمساعدة اخواننا الشجعان في نضالهم. لذا فان الاتحاد الاشوري العالمي يدعو كافة المنظمات السياسية الاشورية لحضور الاجتماع العام والذي يدعوه الاتحاد خلال اربعة اشهر.

٣- يشجب الاتحاد الاشوري العالمي الاعمال البربرية للنظام البعثي لاقدامه باعدام مجموعة من شبابنا الاشوري وسجن المئات من اخواتنا واخواننا الابرياء.

يتقدم المؤتمر العام بالشكر الجزيل لكافة الحكومات والمنظمات الانسانية والدولية التي شاركت في حل مشاكل اللاجئين الاشوريين.

المجد والخلود لشهداءنا الابرار

عاش نضال شعبنا الاشوري من اجل تحقيق اهدافه القومية العادلة

عاش الاتحاد الاشوري العالمي

المؤتمر العام السادس عشر

للاتحاد الاشوري العالمي

لندن - المملكة المتحدة

آب - ١٩٨٥

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