

ORIENTALIA SUECANA

VOL. L (2001)

Department of Asian and African Languages
UPPSALA UNIVERSITY
UPPSALA, SWEDEN

ORIENTALIA SUECANA. An International Journal of Indological, Iranian, Semitic and Turkic Studies. Founded 1952 by ERIK GREN.

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ORIENTALIA SUECANA

An International Journal of
Indological, Iranian, Semitic and Turkic Studies

VOL. L (2001)

Editorial board:

GUNILLA GREN-EKLUND
BO UTAS

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Department of Asian and African Languages
UPPSALA UNIVERSITY
UPPSALA, SWEDEN

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Published with aid of grants from
Vetenskapsrådet, Stockholm

Editorial communications and orders should be addressed to
The Editorial Board (Gunilla Gren-Eklund)

ORIENTALIA SUECANA

www.afro.uu.se/orientalia/oriental.html

Department of Asian and African Languages

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Box 527

SE-751 20 Uppsala

Sweden

ISSN 0078-6578

Printed in Sweden 2002
Textgruppen i Uppsala AB

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Islamic Terms in the Introduction to the Commentary on *Perek heleq* by Moses Maimonides

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Three characteristics single out Arabic texts written by Jews for Jews: the use of Hebrew script, quotations from the Bible and rabbinical writings in Hebrew or Aramaic depending on the subject of the discourse as well as the occurrence of Hebrew and Aramaic words denoting Jewish religious terms. These terms usually occur as a kind of hybrid constructions with the Arabic definite article prefixed to the unchanged Hebrew word, e.g. *al-tōrā*, *al-talmūd*, *al-mishnā* almost like the Sumerian logograms in Akkadian texts. Together with the quotations they form the basic characteristic and the main obstacle for the reader of this type of Arabic text. These Hebrew "logograms", however, should be differentiated from Hebrew loanwords in Arabic (some of them very old) that were integrated into Arabic phonetically and morphologically. These Hebrew loanwords in Jewish texts should rather be compared to the Syriac and Greek loanwords for Christian religious terms that are found in Christian texts in Arabic and that are integrated into Arabic in the same way.¹ On the whole, however, the Arabic-Hebrew hybrids far outnumber the Hebrew loanwords in Jewish texts, indicating a different strategy for expressing religious terms in Arabic.

Writing about their religion, Jewish writers thus always had the option of using an Arabic word, an Arabic-Hebrew hybrid or a Hebrew word for religious cult objects and concepts. The use of Arabic no doubt meant that the authors frequently coined expressions of their own. Quite often, however, it is obvious that they made use of *Islamic* terms.² In the present paper the introduction to the commentary on *Perek heleq* in the Mishna, finished by Moses Maimonides (1135/1138–1204) in 1168, is studied from this point of view. A number of considerations have determined this choice. Moses Maimonides was a dominating figure in medieval Jewry, and his commentary on the Mishna is a commentary on the central work of rabbinical Judaism. Like his introduction to his commentary to the tractate *Abot*, *Thamāniyat fuṣūl*, the introduction to the commentary on *Perek heleq* is more or less a separate entity within this commentary. *Thamāniyat fuṣūl*, however, is a work on Aristotelian ethics. The introduction to the commentary on *Perek heleq*, on the other hand, deals with a central issue of faith, viz. the divine reward and punishment and the world to come.

We are also in the unique position of having what is generally assumed to be

¹ For the Greek and Syriac loanwords in Arabic, see Graf, 1954. A list of Hebrew loanwords in Arabic is supplied in Blau, 1999, 162–166.

² The matter is discussed in Blau, 1999, 44–46, 146–149, 158–166, 271–273, and in Lazarus-Yafeh, 1992, 144–160.

Moses Maimonides' own autograph of the commentary at our disposal.³ For practical reasons, however, the text is quoted according to page and line of the edition of Joseph Qāfiḥ. The following parameters have been taken into account: (1) the forms used for biblical and rabbinical proper names (both names of persons and names of places) as well as eulogies; (2) the language used for biblical and rabbinical quotations and the ways introducing them; (3) designations for God as well as eulogies of God; (4) the language used for concepts of Jewish religion and for technical Jewish religious terms. Wherever possible, I have furthermore made use of the medieval translation made by Solomon ben Joseph ibn Jacob into Hebrew, as this gives insights into how the text was understood by Jewish readers of the age.

THE INTRODUCTION TO THE COMMENTARY ON *PEREQ HELEQ* BY MOSES MAIMONIDES

The passage in the Mishna discussed in the selection is M. Sanh 10:1, beginning with the words *All Israel has part in the world to come*. The subject matter of the discussion is the divine reward and punishment and the world to come. Maimonides begins his exposition by discussing what is generally meant by the good that a man will reap from the fulfilment of the commandments. After that, he goes on to discuss his own opinion, including the days of the Messiah. In the final part of the selection, Maimonides formulates the thirteen principles in which he summarises the fundamental doctrines of Judaism, which were later abridged and introduced into the prayer books in their Hebrew garb. The first five of them deal with the belief in God: that He is one, that He is the creator, that He is incorporeal and eternal, that He alone is worthy of man's worship. Principles six to nine inclusive deal with prophecy and revelation and principles ten and eleven deal with the belief in reward and punishment, while the final principles deal with redemption and resurrection.⁴

BIBLICAL AND RABBINICAL NAMES OF PLACES AND OF PERSONALITIES

In translating the Bible into Arabic, different, medieval, Jewish translators used different strategies concerning the names of persons and places. To some extent, this depended on whether there was any conventional, Arabicised form of a name or not. It is, however, obvious that the choice of form also mirrored the personality of the translator. Thus, Saadiah Gaon (dead 942) evidently preferred the conventional, Arabicised form whenever there was one, as did certain Karaite translators. Other Karaite translators, however, preferred the Hebrew forms in these cases.⁵

³ = Maimonides, 1956.

⁴ The text will be found in Maimonides, 1964, 195–217 (accompanied by a translation into Modern Hebrew), with the thirteen principles on pages 210–217. Another edition of the text is in Maimonides (1909) 1951, 1–39, with the thirteen principles on pages 27–39. The medieval translation into Hebrew is in Maimonides, 1961, 109–150. An English translation (made from the Hebrew) will be found in Maimonides, 1981, 134–188. The problem of the Hebrew translations of *Perek heleg* is discussed in Hyman, 1967, 120 (footnote 7).

⁵ For this, see the discussion in Polliack, 1997, 200–207.

Turning to *Perek heleq*, all names of persons, whether from the Bible or from the rabbinical scriptures, appear in their Hebrew forms. This means that it is likely that also the form of the name of Job in 203:8 should be understood as Hebrew, although it may be read as Arabic as well. As for the names of peoples, only one such name is found and there the Arabic form is used, viz. *al-milla al-yahūdīya* (206:39), but in 207:9 *yisrā' ēl* obviously refers to the Jewish people. As for geographical names, only *al-shām* is found in 207:9 where it is used for Palestine. Here should also be mentioned the eschatological concepts of Eden and Gehenna. As the Hebrew *gan 'eden* is always used, it is also likely that the script should be understood as the Hebrew form of Gehenna as well (e.g., 197:15).

The text mirrors an interesting use of the eulogy '*alayhim al-salām*'. As is well known, the names of the prophets in Islamic texts are usually followed by '*alayhi/ alayhim al-salām*'. This usage was transferred into Hebrew by the translations of Arabic texts into Hebrew, and thus we find '*ālāw/ 'ālēhem hash-shālōm*' in medieval Hebrew texts. In *Perek heleq*, however, Maimonides frequently uses '*alayhim al-salām*' referring to the post-biblical rabbis in a way that reminds one of the use of the Hebrew *zikrōnām livrākā*. This is also how Solomon ben Joseph ibn Jacob frequently translates '*alayhim al-salām*', although he also renders it by '*ālēhem hash-shālōm*'. Apart from that, '*alayhi al-salām*' is never used for anyone, except a few times for Moses. For the prophets, Maimonides always uses the Arabic *nabī/ anbī' ā*' without the eulogy. As for the rabbis, the hybrid *al-ḥākāmīm* is used, differentiating them from *al-hukamā'*, "the scholars", "the wise" and the like.

There is a peculiar usage in 212:34–35, where the prophethood of Moses is discussed in the seventh principle. There it is said of Moses *wa-huwa ḥafṣ Allāh*, which reminds one of the use of *ḥafṣat Allāh* for Muhammad and of *ḥafī Allāh* for Adam.⁶

BIBLICAL AND RABBINICAL QUOTATIONS

The Bible and rabbinical scriptures are always quoted in Hebrew or in Aramaic, indicating readers who were expected to be well versed in these languages. Biblical quotations are introduced by *Allāh yaqūlū [fī muḥkam al-tanzīl]* (201:17f) as well as by *qauluhu*, *qauluhu ta'ālā*, *kamā qāla*, *kamā qāla al-nabī*, *bi-qaulihi*, *fī qaulihi*, *ka-qaulihi*, *qāla al-kitāb*, *qaul [al-naṣṣ]*, i.e. in the same way as quotations from the Qur'ān are introduced among Muslims. Rabbinical quotations are frequently introduced by *wa-qālū 'alayhim al-salām* or simply *wa-qālū* depending on the context. Once *wa-naṣṣa li-l-ḥākāmīm* (207:18) is used, and once the very elaborate *wa-huwa qaul al-fāḍil al-kāmil al-mudrik al-ḥaqā'iq anṭīgōnas īsh sōkō* (199:21–22).

DESIGNATIONS FOR GOD

There is no comprehensive analysis of the rendering of the Tetragrammaton in the medieval Jewish translations into Arabic of the Bible. A perusal of three translations of Genesis 2 and 3 suggests that there was no uniform treatment. Thus the Karaite

⁶ For the references, see Lane, s.v. In Maimonides, (1909) 1951, 31, *ḥafī Allāh* is found. The reading *ḥafṣ Allāh* is, however, clear in the manuscript.

Yefet ben 'Elī always uses *al-rabb*, while the Karaite Yeshu'a ben Judah sometimes uses *al-rabb*, sometimes *Allāh*. Saadiah Gaon, finally, i.e. in the most widely used translation, always renders the Tetragrammaton by *Allāh*.⁷

As for Maimonides' exposition, he never uses the Tetragrammaton (or any of its substitutes) in his discussion, except in biblical or rabbinical quotations in Hebrew. In 210:12, however, the Tetragrammaton is spelled, and here the Hebrew names of the letters are used. The word for God commonly used by him is *Allāh*, at times followed by *ta'ālā*. He frequently also writes *ta'ālā* alone. Maimonides makes a very restricted use of eulogies. The few eulogies that are found are, however, all the current Arabic ones, viz. *jalla thanā' uhu* (196:26, 205:14), '*azza wa-jalla* (204:9), and *subḥānahu* (210:23). It is interesting also to note that the oath *la-'amru Llāh* is found twice (201:15, 202:15). More often than not, Solomon ben Joseph ibn Jacob renders *Allāh* by *hash-shēm yitbārak*, the common substitute for the Tetragrammaton, instead of the Hebrew cognate of *Allāh*. Here it is worth remembering that the eulogy *yitbārak* is a medieval loan translation of the Arabic *tabāraka*, just as the Hebrew eulogy *yit'āle* is a medieval loan translation of Arabic *ta'ālā*. The phrase *in shā'a Llāh ta'ālā* is furthermore found in 203:38, and in 217:27f, Maimonides closes his exposition with *wa-min Allāh as'alu l-tawfiq naḥwa l-ṣawāb*.

Two examples of *asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā* are used by Maimonides in his exposition, viz. *al-bārī* (196:26, 204:9, 36, 205:9, 14, 208:18, 210:23, 213:12, 14), and *al-qadīm* in 211:34, and in 210:30 we meet with *li' annahu ta'ālā ghanī*. Of these, *al-bārī* calls for little comment. As a matter of style, it may, however, be mentioned that the few examples of eulogies which Maimonides uses follow *al-bārī*. *Ghanī* in *li' annahu ta'ālā ghanī*, "for He (may He be exalted) is self-sufficient" belongs here as well and is of Qur'ānic origin. Maimonides uses it in the first principle of faith, i.e. the principle in which he discusses the existence of God. It may be significant that the sole occurrence of *subḥānahu* is found in this principle as well, as *subbūh* and its cognates like *ghanī* are used to deny God any kind of imperfection.⁸ Unfortunately Solomon ben Joseph ibn Jacob seems to have used a different version of the text here, and so it is impossible to know how he understood *ghanī*. Maimonides discusses the eternity of God (as opposed to the view that the world is created) in the fourth principle, and here he calls God *al-qadīm*, rendered *haq-qadmōn* by Solomon ben Joseph ibn Jacob. Whatever its ultimate origin, the Arabic expression is in its current form of Qur'ānic origin, but Maimonides judaises it by adducing Deut 33:27 as a proof-text.⁹

TERMS FOR JEWISH RELIGIOUS PRACTICES AND BELIEFS

Maimonides frequently uses hybrids for technical terms concerning the Jewish religion of the type mentioned above. Here, however, the principal focus is on the words, which are connected rather with Islam than with these hybrids.

⁷ The texts of these two Karaite translations are printed and translated in Polliack, 1997, 304–312. For Saadiah Gaon, see Saadiah Gaon, 1893, 7–9.

⁸ For a discussion of *subbūh* and *ghanī*, see Gimaret, 1988, 202–204 (*subbūh*), 223–224 (*ghanī*).

⁹ *Al-qadīm* is discussed in Gimaret, 1988, 164–170.

1. Biblical and rabbinical scriptures, and the divine revelation

As is only to be expected in a text like this, Maimonides frequently refers to the scriptures. Leaving his use of *sharī'a* and its cognates for a separate discussion, we find a number of words to express biblical and rabbinical scriptures, as well as the divine revelation. A few times, Maimonides uses *dīn Allāh* (199:8, 201:16) or only *dīn* (201:15, 206:39) for the (true) religion. The Bible is furthermore referred to as *al-kitāb* in 203:4, 205:28, while the plural *al-kutub* is found in 211:24, 36. Rabbinical tradition is called *al-naql* in 205:20, and in 215:29 the oral Torah is obviously intended by *al-tafsīr*.¹⁰

Of great interest is the use of words derived from *nazzala*, “send down”, which is closely related to the revelation of the Qur’ān. Saadiah Gaon already had recourse to this in his *Tafsīr*.¹¹ As for Maimonides, he calls the scriptures *al-tanzīl* in 201:17–18 [*Allāh yaqūlu*] *fī muḥkam al-tanzīl*, as well as in 203:1 *kutub al-tanzīl*. Here it is also worth noting that *muḥkam* in Islamic texts is used for the Qur’ān or for its portions, in order to stress that it is unequivocal or unambiguous.¹² In the eighth principle, where the revelation is discussed, the Pentateuch is referred to as [*al-tōrā*] *al-munazzala ‘alā Mōshe*, and further on as [*wa-annahu*] *bi-munazzilihi nāsikh yumlā ‘alayhi* (214:37).

Naṣṣ (plural *nuṣūṣ*), which is common for statements of God or Muḥammad in Islamic texts, is quite frequently used by Maimonides for biblical and rabbinical statements.¹³ *Naṣṣ* or *al-naṣṣ* for the Bible is found in 216:14, as it is in *qaul al-naṣṣ* in 207:27f (introducing a quotation from the Bible). In 215:29, *al-naṣṣ* obviously means the written Torah, as opposed to the oral Torah, which (as mentioned above) is referred to by *al-tafsīr*. We also find *nuṣūṣ* [*min al-miqrā'*] (196:32, cf. 207:15), [*fawāsiq*] *fī l-nuṣūṣ* (197:3), *nuṣūṣ al-tōrā* (197:14, 212:29, 213:6), *nuṣūṣ al-kutub* (203:2), *al-nuṣūṣ* (208:23, 216:22) and *wa-bi-nuṣūṣ anbī' āhi* (216:31), all of them referring to the Bible.¹⁴ Referring to the rabbinical scriptures, it is used in 199:33 *naṣṣ sifrē* and in 206:40 *naṣṣ bērēshīt rabbā*, while the verb is used in *wa-naṣṣa li-l-ḥākāmīm* (207:18).

In the seventh principle, Maimonides discusses the prophethood of Moses, as distinct from prophecy in general, which is discussed in the sixth principle. In this context, he frequently uses *al-wahy* (213:25, 214:3, 18, 20, 25), just as we once also find the corresponding verb in 214: 25, i.e. expressions used about the divine revelation to Muḥammad already in the Qur’ān. While Maimonides never calls Moses *rasūl Allāh*, he nevertheless once calls his message *risāla* (215:22), as the divine message is called at times in the Qur’ān.¹⁵

¹⁰ Saadiah Gaon uses *naql* in the same way, see Ratzaby, 1985, 34.

¹¹ For Saadiah Gaon, see Ratzaby, 1985, 34, 129.

¹² For *muḥkam*, see Lane, s.v.

¹³ For its use in Islamic texts, see Lane, s.v.

¹⁴ For *fawāsiq* (the plural of *fāṣiq*) as a Hebrew loanword already used by Saadiah Gaon, see Ratzaby, 1985, 109.

¹⁵ For its use in the Qur’ān, see S. 5:71, 6:124, 7:60, 66, 77, 91, 141, 33:39, 72:24, 28.

2. Maimonides' use of *sharī'a*

Sharī'a designates a prophetic religion in its totality. In the earliest writings by Jews in Arabic, *sharī'a* is used to denote the Jewish religion. It had thus become a central component of the religious vocabulary of Saadiah Gaon, both in his translation of the Bible and in his theological writings. *Sharī'a* or its plural is the most commonly used term to translate Hebrew *tōrā*. This is so when the Hebrew word designates a single rule or set of rules, as well as when it designates the law as a totality, the law as delivered to Moses. Especially in Deuteronomy, however, the Hebrew word is retained in its Arabic form *al-tawrāt*. A similar reliance on *sharī'a*, *shar'* and the verb *sharra'a* is evident in his theological work *Kitāb al-amānāt wa-l-i'tiqādāt*. There *al-tawrāt* is furthermore used to designate the Pentateuch.¹⁶

Maimonides uses *sharī'a* or any of its cognates quite frequently in his exposition. The verb appears once in 196:2 *sharra'nā* (about God), and in 200:13 *al-mutasharri'* should probably be understood as "he who professes religion".¹⁷ In a number of places, he uses the plural of *sharī'a*, *al-sharā'i'*, for the divine commandments, usually rendered *miṣwōt* by Solomon ben Joseph ibn Jacob. *Al-shar'* appears, in all, three times. In 199:38, it is used in an expression *per merismus*, expressing the divine law in the Bible in conjunction with the precepts of the rabbis, an interpretation of the word that is also valid for its appearance in 209:32. In another expression *per merismus* in 204:5, it is used for faith in conjunction with the views of the metaphysicians. *Shari'at Mōshe* has a few times a clearly apologetic sense, as in 212:1, where its tenets are opposed to those who maintain the eternity of the world. The same is true in 215:26–27, where it is opposed to the Muslim doctrine of the abrogation of the Torah. In 206:38, where it is stated that the belief in the resurrection is one of the most basic principles of *shari'at Mōshe*, it is as if Maimonides is defending himself against the suspicion that he did not really accept the notion by using very strong words. No apologetic sense of *shari'at Mōshe* can, however, be noticed in 208:19. The word is also qualified in 210:21 *uṣūl sharī'atīnā*, which forms the introduction to his exposition of his thirteen principles, and in 195:31 *ahl al-sharī'a*, "the theologians". Elsewhere it is used without any qualification in a way similar to its use by Saadiah Gaon. This seems to be confirmed by the use of *al-tōrā*, which is more often than not used for the Pentateuch, although other meanings can be assigned to it as well, as in 198:1 *li-yu'allimahu al-tōrā*, "(to bring a small boy to a teacher) to teach him Torah". Here the Hebrew *limmed tōrā* seems to have been in Maimonides' mind.

3. The divine retribution and the last things

The main topic of the introduction to the commentary on *Perek heleq* is the divine retribution and the last things. Here Maimonides uses a mixture of Arabic and Hebrew words. Thus he always uses *hā'ōlām hab-bā*, but for its opposite he has two Arabic expressions, viz. [fī] *hādhīhi l-dunyā* (197:17) and [fī] *hādhā l-'ālam* (203:35, 204:23, 34), which, however, rather seem to be loan translations of the Hebrew

¹⁶ Pace EI2, s.v. *sharī'a* (N Calder).

¹⁷ For this sense of this word in Maimonides' writings, see Friedländer, 1902, s.v.

hā'ōlām haz-ze. Usually he writes *yēmōt ham-māshīah*, but once he uses a hybrid, *ayyām al-māshīah* (208:12). Likewise we meet with *tēhiyyat ham-mētīm* (206:38), which is the rabbinical term, but also *ihyā' al-amawāt* (196:35). Elsewhere, however, he uses expressions also found in Islamic texts, like *al-wa'd wa-l-wa'iḍ* (205:38), *'iqāb [Allāh]* (200:12, 17, 26, 206:11, 216:16) and *thawābuḥu* (200:13, 16, 26).

SOME COMPARATIVE ASPECTS

A few investigations of the vocabulary of Christian texts have been made, and there emerges a picture similar to the one that has emerged here. *Shari'a* is thus used in Christian texts of the 10th century as a Christian self-expression, as it was used by Saadiah Gaon as a Jewish self-expression.¹⁸ The same is true of an investigation made by Marie-Thérèse Urvoy of the Arabic translation of the Psalter made in al-Andalus by Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī c. 900. To cite just a few examples, the *ḥamdala* is found in the preface to the translation, just as the first part of the *shahāda* is found *verbatim* in Ps. 105, as well as in a slightly modified form in Ps. 103. To translate “[religious] law”, *kitāb* is used several times, as are *shari'a* and *nāmūs*. *Anzala* is furthermore used for the divine revelation, and *mihrāb* is used to translate *altar*, as well as *templum*. Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī frequently makes use of divine names denoting “might” and “strength” as *al-qādir*, *al-qahhār*, *al-muqtadir* and *al-jabbār*, just as he uses *al-qadīm al-bāqī* and an eulogy like *azza wa-jalla*.¹⁹

The same holds true of apologetic and polemical Christian texts. In a study, Paul Khoury has culled examples from such texts from the 8th to the 12th centuries. Apart from *shari'a* and its cognates, we find there examples of the use of *sunna*, *nazzala/anzala*, *wahy*, and *milla* as Christian self-expression.²⁰ There is, on the other hand, also evidence of the importance of individual attitudes, as well as inconsistencies. In a study of Christian Bible translations from al-Andalus, Hanna Kassis discusses two prose translations of the Psalms, as well as two translations of the Gospels. One of the translations of the Psalms is introduced by the typical Christian invocation “In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit”—only to be ended by the Islamic formula *wa-Llāh a'lam wa-ahkam wahdahu lā sharīka lahu rabb al-'arsh al-'azīm*, “God alone is All-Knowledgeable, All Wise, having no associate, Lord of the Great Throne”. The two Gospel translations mirror, to some extent, different attitudes. One of them is thus introduced by the Muslim *basmala*. Among the vocabulary, one notes *Yahyā* (instead of *Yūḥannā*) for “John”—but *Hannā* for the High Priest Ananias. The other translation also uses *Yahyā* for “John the Baptist” and the writer of the fourth Gospel but refers to the son of Zebedee as *Yūḥannā* and the High Priest as *Hannā*. In this translation, the Jewish priest and High Priest are also “Christened” by being referred to by *qissīs* and *usquf*.²¹

Returning to Maimonides, there is no reason to assume that his usage was unique or innovative. The examples from Saadiah Gaon quoted above rather argue that the

¹⁸ For this, see *EI2*, s.v. *shari'a*.

¹⁹ = Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī, 1994, and Urvoy, 1994.

²⁰ Khoury, 2000, 118–127, 133–135 (*shari'a* and its cognates), 130–132, 136–138 (*sunna*), 164–167 (*milla*), 210–214 (*wahy*), 214–223 (*nazzala/anzala*).

²¹ Kassis, 1997, 151–155.

Jews took part in the same process as is witnessed in Christian writings. They also suggest that this was a process in full sway in the earliest Jewish text in Arabic. The gleanings from the early Jewish Bible translations also suggest that there was room for variations that may be ascribed to the personality of the translator. Yet there are no systematic investigations of the earliest Jewish texts in Arabic, including the writings of Saadiah Gaon, as well as those of David al-Muqammaş, whose *'Ishrūn Maqāla* of c. 850 is now available. Thus the examples culled by Joshua Blau in his *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judeo-Arabic* are more or less picked at random and represent a wide chronological ambience. Nor are there any investigations focussing on the use of Arabic-Hebrew hybrids. Just as there was obviously room for individual variations in the use of Islamic terms for Jewish self-expression, it is justified to assume the same for the use of such hybrids.

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Reading the Book of Ruth

Review article

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A thesis on the Hebrew verb was submitted at Lund University in 2001 by Bo-Krister Ljungberg, entitled *Verbal meaning. A linguistic, literary and theological framework for the interpretive categories of the Hebrew verb as elaborated in the book of Ruth* (Lund: Dept. of Theology, Lund University, 2001, pp. 396.) It was written in the vein of the literary and text-linguistic theory of Harald Weinrich, as introduced into Biblical Hebrew by Wolfgang Schneider; it was carried out by means of a computer method, suited for this theory, namely that of Eep Talstra. Literary and theological readings of the Book of Ruth have been combined with the computerized, text-linguistic method. The thesis contains a broad discussion of the Hebrew verb from the linguistic and literary points of view.¹

INTRODUCTION AND METHOD

In the introductory chapter (pp. 1–38) of his PhD dissertation at Lund University, the author describes his educational path and what led him to his topic. After a presentation of the Hebrew text of Ruth, together with some technicalities, the chapter ends with “meta-reflexions” on the whole investigation.

What is endeavoured is nothing less than the establishment of a framework for the understanding of verbal meaning in Biblical Hebrew, as applied to the Book of Ruth, and this is to be done from a linguistic, literary and theological angle. The principal means of achieving this aim is a computer-assisted analysis, as elaborated on the text of Ruth. This analysis sorts out clause hierarchies and clause types and also indicates paragraph division on the basis of consistent subject matters. In the next step, the analysis is interpreted in terms of aspect, grounding, time and modality. However, the communicative dimensions of semantics and pragmatics are not easily captured in such an analysis. Consequently, the discussion of the text-theoretical, communicative and literary framework in Chapter 2 goes beyond the investigation proper and is thus picked up in the final chapter entitled “Results, Conclusion and Discussion”.

The point of departure is that aspect, tense and modality are essential to the Biblical Hebrew verbal system and should not be limited to sentence only. Rather, they should be treated in the context of overarching, text-linguistic categories, such as narrative/discursive, grounding and perspective—categories that border upon stylistic devices, such as plot structure and point of view.

¹ The reviewer, Mats Eskhult, acted as opponent at the public defence of the thesis in October 2001 and is Associate Professor of Semitic languages at the Department of Asian and African Languages, Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden

The disadvantage of traditional sentence linguistics is underlined by pointing to its neglect of the text as a coherent whole, not realizing that the whole influences the parts. In contrast, the thesis aims at exploring the *multiple dimensions* of meaning, which are simultaneously present in verbal forms and which can be detected by looking into syntax, semantics and pragmatics at the same time (pp. 37, 207 and 305). The upper level of the investigation is to be confined only by the literary work, as a whole, in this case the Book of Ruth (pp. 25 and 36). In order to reach his goal, the author urges upon the reader the necessity of not focusing on *one* interpretative category (such as finished vs. unfinished), nor depending on a diachronic approach, nor on translation, as a means of grammatical description (pp. 16–21).

Chapter two “A Text-theoretical, Communicative, and Literary Poetic Framework for the Study of Verbal Meaning”, describes the theory. Encouraged by Robert Binnick, *Time and the Verb. A Guide to Tense and Aspect* (1991)—who states that verbs bring about grounding, give logical structure, indicate genre, glue events together or indicate their independence, indicate perspectives etc. (p. 39)—the author wishes to enter upon new horizons beyond the sentence level. A sound method in this project, accordingly, is to go from *form* via *function* towards the description of specific categories (p. 45).

First, “levels of meaning” are discussed (pp. 41–56), then “the communicative dimensions: features of relevance to verbal meaning” (pp. 57–93), and finally “literary poetic devices” (pp. 94–128). Weinrich’s text-linguistic method, as put forward in his *Tempus. Besprochene und erzählte Welt*, is duly presented. In this method, *Sprechhaltung*, *Reliefgebung* and *Tempusperspektiv* are essential. A text is said to move between the narrative and the discursive world, between what is told and what is shown. Within a text, *Reliefgebung* (grounding) and *Tempusperspektiv* (perspective) provide the spatial and temporal frames, respectively (pp. 47–49). The first step taken is to analyse *Sprechhaltung* (roughly “attitude”), partly as being a fixed parameter, namely “domain” (narrative/discursive) and partly as being a literary and stylistic device, that of telling vs. showing. Whereas telling is unambiguous, showing is not; it goes beyond dialogue and stands for all kinds of comments, made by the narrator. For the last observation, see “Genre as orientational domain” (pp. 118–127). Beside text-linguistics, literary criticism is considered essential, but it must not strip the text of its “referentiality”. A text has a message that must be judged from the author’s intention—how much more, then, the text of Scripture (pp. 53f.).

Concerning the *communicative* dimensions of syntax, semantics and pragmatics, it is shown that syntax, as a signal system, is part of the Hebrew text; semantics relates to the biblical world; and pragmatics is something shared by the writer and his reader, through the text as medium. Syntax, first, is sensitively described as a “steering process”. It tells how certain elements in a text influence the understanding of other elements in the same text (pp. 63 and 65). The Weinrich-Schneider model is considered the most accurate. Accordingly, the various uses of the forms *qatal* and *yiqtol* should be considered of less weight, in view of the fact that the main form in narrative parts is *wayyiqtol*, and in the discursive parts *yiqtol*. What is more, *qatal* is a secondary form, used for anteriority in both narrative and discursive parts. Important, to the author, is also the division into verbal and (simple and compound) nomi-

nal clauses, being the main means of distinguishing between foreground and background (pp. 68–69).

The semantic dimension, though broadly accounted for, is primarily needed for the description of the variable, named “situation type”, i.e. a verb’s inherent mode of action in a given situation. The discussion of the pragmatic dimension deals with sociolinguistic matters, as who speaks first, who gives directives and so on. If viewed as a theoretical foundation for the investigation made in Chapter 4, it seems that the pragmatic dimension in this context is primarily needed for the discussion of the performative utterances, described under the heading “Austin’s illocutionary force and Searle’s speech acts” (pp. 88–91).

The main purpose of including literary devices in the investigation was to see whether and how they influence linguistic variables (p. 94). Referring to Adele Berlin, *Poetics and Interpretation of Biblical Narrative* (1983), the plot structure in Ruth is presented in terms of orientation, 1:1–5; complicating action I, 1:6ff.; II, 2:1ff.; III 4:1ff.; evaluation, 4:11–12 (marriage blessing), and resolution, 4:13 (birth of a son), plus epilogue, 4:18–22 (p. 102). The theme of the book is, with Robert Hubbard, in his commentary on Ruth, established as *hesed*—divine and human (p. 104). On the pages devoted to “point of view” (pp. 105ff.), it is shown that Biblical narrative is commonly carried on in the third person and, as it were, from the outside (heterodiegetic and extradiegetic). In spite of the fact that the narrator in Ruth (as always in the Bible) is omniscient, Naomi’s outlook is dominant in the story as a whole, though in Chapters 2 and 3, there is an emphasis on what Boaz and Ruth perceive.

Chapter 3, “Characterisation of Interpretive Categories for the Verbal System” (pp. 129–205), deals with situation type, aspect, grounding, temporal location, perspective and modality. As shown by Carlota Smith, *The Parameter of Aspect* (1991), a situation may be of different kinds. Somewhat simplified one may say that a situation is static or dynamic; if dynamic, it may be telic or atelic, durative or punctual. Aspect itself is—as shown by Bernard Comrie, *Aspect* (1976)—primarily to be taken as a communicative signal concerning how a speaker wants a situation to be viewed: either as a single whole (perfective) or as to its internal structure (imperfective).

Alertly, it is noticed that grounding in scholarly literature is defined by intuition. As suggested (p. 161), the idea of “salience” is perhaps the best description of what effects grounding. In the foreground are then the most important situations, those moving the narrative forwards; in the background are those that lack this effect. Grounding is, as rightly pointed out, close to aspect—but “bears on larger spans” (p. 162, note 10). It is furthermore marked by clause type: verbal or nominal. However, it is maintained that grounding is a *scalar* concept and that there are two kinds of foreground, primary and secondary, whereas background is undifferentiated. Also, and contrary to the view of Schneider, grounding is also taken into consideration in the discursive parts (pp. 164–165).

Time, it is stated, should be viewed from a deictic angle, namely by paying regard to the values of the interpretative category of temporal location (tense). Reference is made to (a) speech time, which is the zero point of the time line, (b) event, which is

the content of the utterance, and (c) reference time which is the vantage point of view, assumed by the speaker/narrator (pp. 172–180). Within the discussion of textual time perspectives (pp. 180–189), special attention is also given to Galia Hatav and her idea that reference time is, as it were, fixed in Biblical narrative and linked to sequentiality, the impelling force that moves the story forward.

As regards the attitudinal world of modality, its primary feature is subjectivity, which may contain an element of will (deontic), or not (epistemic). The position taken is that even a factual statement can be argued to be subjective, since it represents the speaker's point of view. This means that a declarative statement is considered "epistemic declarative", though indicative in form and hence unmarked in the epistemic system (cf. pp. 193 and 195). See further below.

So far, the presentation is informative, but there is a tendency to give very detailed accounts of various scholarly theories. Certainly, the ultimate purpose of the investigation is to create a framework for understanding verbal meaning in Biblical Hebrew in general; nevertheless the author tends to dwell at length on ideas that are of little or no importance for the analysis of the Hebrew text of Ruth in Chapter 4. As examples may be given "inferential presuppositions" (pp. 87–88), "Grice's implicatures" (pp. 91–93), "Conceptual point-of-view globalized as ideology" (pp. 115–117), and the "Excursus on grounding in French, English and German" (pp. 167–170). Also, considerable space is given to some sociolinguistic aspects that hardly affect verbal meaning.

INVESTIGATION AND RESULTS

The investigation in Chapter 4, "A Distributional Analysis of Verbal Meaning in the Book of Ruth" (pp. 207–286), is in the first place directed to the syntactic dimension. The author focuses on an overall analysis that pays heed to syntactic—but also semantic and pragmatic—interpretative categories that may affect verbal meaning. Literary and theological categories are charted as far as possible.

In the charted analysis, pp. 238–286, each "clause-atom", is represented in three rows. The first row gives the Hebrew text, transliterated according to a *graphical* system. Being graphical, the transliteration used transcribes also silent *shewa* and does not distinguish between ordinary *qameṣ* and *qameṣ ḥaṭuf*. This means that "you (fem.) stood up" is not *qamt*, but **qamete* and that "and he stood up" is not *wayyāqom*, but **wayyāqām*. This transliteration cannot possibly be meant as a rendering of the Hebrew as read aloud. Since it is misleading, a good knowledge of Hebrew is required in order to read the text correctly. It seems that the author, by adopting this solution, is playing down the importance of prosody, i.e. the connection between phonology and syntax. The second row contains a word-by-word rendering of the Hebrew text with an analysis of verbal forms and a record of nominal clauses. The third row provides an idiomatic translation, which with due permission was taken from the *God's Word Bible*. The laboriously gained translation values of each verbal form are accordingly solely described and not rendered into English by the author. True, a translation is no explanation (cf. p. 16), yet a relevant translation helps the reader to grasp the point of a linguistic discussion.

The division into "clause-atoms" or entities to be analysed is technical in nature

and based on the computer programme. For instance, at the very beginning of Ruth, the words *wayhī bīmē* are separated from *š̄fot haššōf ḥ̄t̄m*, which means that a construct phrase is broken up. The verse is discussed in the section devoted to grounding in Chapter 3. It is stated that either *wayhī bīmē* is secondary foreground and *š̄fot haššōf ḥ̄t̄m* is background, or *wayhī* is a macrosyntactic sign, “which would allow for a background reading based on the infinitive”, but this—so it is argued—would militate against the syntactic hierarchy in the chart. The solution seems to be that in a case like this “the semantic dimension overrules the syntactic dimension” (p. 163). The essential point that the computer programme, at times, breaks up a prosodic unit is not discussed.

Chapter 5, “Results, Conclusions and Discussion” (pp. 287–383), discusses the eight variables—interpretative categories—and their combination with the parameters: domain, paragraph and hierarchy of clauses. The chart of Chapter 4 and the discussion in Chapter 5 will be commented upon simultaneously. This seems appropriate, since the author himself says (p. 287) that the results are to be looked upon as a combination of the text-theoretical discussion in Chapter 2, the description of variables in Chapter 3, and the application in Chapter 4. Also, the present discussion will concentrate on a few critical points.

There are, as said above, three parameters, i.e., formal entities in the analysis.

(1) *Domain* was hitherto referred to as being either narrative (N) or discursive (D). The observation that narrative parts are dominated by *wayyiqtol-* and *qatal-*forms and discursive parts by imperative-, *yiqtol-* and *weqatal-*forms is briefly discussed on pp. 289f. In the chart, however, direct speech is singled out as a third category, indicated by Q (a subcategory of D). This means that D in the chart is confined to what is analysed as the narrator’s (rare) communication directly with the audience, in e.g., 3:14c *biṭrom yakkīr ’iš ’aṭ-rē’ēhū*, “before one could recognize one another”. Curiously enough, the remark in 4:7, made on former legal customs, is analysed as *narrative*—not as an aside—which means that it is held to be a part of the straightforward narration.

(2) *Paragraphs* are recorded as regards level. Since the indentations of the chart are relative, and not absolute (pp. 233 and 305), the various paragraph levels are not easily recognized. From p. 291 it may be gathered that *level one* comprises the opening clauses of 1:1, 2:1; 3:1; 3:8; 4:1; 4:13 and 4:14, that is to say, the preamble of five, pragmatically clearly defined sections of the Book of Ruth, followed by another two, resolution and coda (4:13 and 14).

On 1:1, it is briefly noted: “start of Book, possible canonical relationship”; and on 2:1; 3:1 and 4:1 it is noted: “start of Chapter, no mother clause, but possible relation to previous chapter” (p. 291). Is this altogether correct? Chapter 2 ends: *wattēšæb ’aṭ-h̄mōṭāh*, “but she stayed with her mother-in-law”; and Chapter 3 starts *wattō’ mær lāh No’o mī h̄mōṭāh*, “And Naomi her mother-in-law said to her”. A linguistic analysis of the Hebrew text of Ruth cannot possibly pay regard to chapter division, and, if so, this should have been pointed out very clearly. Of course, *wattō’ mær lāh No’o mī h̄mōṭāh* does not lack a “mother clause”. Also, no explanation is given for putting 4:13 and 14 on the highest level.

(3) *Hierarchy of clauses* is recorded as “mother and daughter” relations. These

relations are tagged by three-digit codes, bearing upon “mother clause”, “daughter clause” and verb of “mother clause”—the last is also given non-enciphered (which is helpful). For example, 1:1d: *wayyēlæk' iš* “a man went” is the “mother” of *lāgūr biśdē Mō' āb*, “to sojourn in the fields of Moab”.

The discussion of the literary analysis (pp. 312–335) comprises plot structure, point of view, domain as meaning, and theology. *Plot structure*, as outlined in accordance with Berlin, is essentially not contradicted by the analysis. In view of the function of 1:1, 2:1, 3:8 and 4:1 one can safely say that plot structure is enhanced by clause structure, whereas non-sequential parts of the plot, i.e. “evaluations”, are not underlined by any formal devices (cf. pp. 312–317). *Point of view*, i.e. from whose angle something is viewed, is thoroughly and duly designated. Naomi’s central position focuses the story on her perspective, her thoughts and doings, but in 1:19 *hāzō't No' mī* “is this Naomi?”, the audience is, as it were, given a catch-word, let alone with reference to Naomi. In 4:7, as rightly stated, the narrator breaks into the fiction and lets his own voice be heard. It is highly debatable, however, if one can perceive the narrator’s voice in 2:3d, “she happened to come to the part of the field that belonged to Boaz” (cf. p. 321). Point of view is, moreover, described as an indeterminate “default value” (pp. 319 and 323), which means that it is at hand, whenever the narrator tells less than his characters are likely know (and thus invites the reader to reflect). This description, however, renders it unlikely that we have to do with a well-defined concept that really affects verbal meaning. *Domain as meaning* (pp. 325–328) is sensitively illustrated from Ruth 2:6–7, where the foreman’s answer to the question: “Whose girl is this?”, continues beyond the first few words: “She is a Moabite girl”, and develops into an account of Ruth’s asking permission to glean and her doings until that moment. This “mini-narrative” represents a verbal metaphor in Weinrich’s words, since the narrative form is transferred into the discursive domain, and this, in turn, has a literary effect.

Theologically, it is stated that syntax supports the theme of *hesed* (pp. 329–331). The idea is built upon analyses and interpretations of a number of *we-x-qatal* clauses, both narrative and discursive, as stressing special tokens of *hesed*. Certainly, the syntax in 1:14d: *w'Rūt dāb^qā bāh*, in a way underlines Ruth’s *hesed*. Perhaps one can even say that the syntax in 4:1a: *ūBō'āz 'ālā haššā'ar*, “Boaz went/had gone up to the gate”, accentuates the theme of *hesed*. It is less obvious, though, to perceive the theme of *hesed* as underlined by syntax in 4:4a: *wa'ānī 'āmartī* “I formally say”. And definitely, it appears unwarranted to perceive the theme of *hesed* as enhanced by syntax in 1:21d *wYHWH 'ānā bī*, “the Lord has testified against me”, and 1:22c *w'hemmā bā'ū Bēt-læhām*, “they came to Bethlehem (at the beginning of the barley harvest)”.

The discussion of communicative functions (pp. 336–367) comprises *View of Aspect and Grounding, Time: Values of Temporal Location and Perspective* and *Modality in Context*. As can be gathered from the discussion on *aspect and grounding* (pp. 337–347), things are more complicated than anticipated. Besides, the opposition of perfectivity vs. imperfectivity ought to leave room for a neutral value of the latter term (as, e.g., 1:8d: *ya'āsē YHWH 'immākām hāsæd*, “may the Lord show

kindness to you”), but neutralisation of aspectual values is not taken into account. The reason for this is, perhaps, that a modality is not considered as an effect of syntax, but as an effect of pragmatics. Otherwise, there is a strong case for regarding modality, as formally moulded in the *yiqtol*-form, as an expression of contingency (cf. GKC, § 107m), which, in turn, may be viewed as a neutralisation of the imperfective aspect. Also, it is remarkable that the Hebrew participle is not looked upon as a form that may bear an aspectual value.

Basically, grounding in narrative parts is a matter of contents and form: temporally successive (verbal) clauses are set in the foreground, while descriptive and circumstantial (nominal) clauses are set in the background. The multidimensional approach makes things more complicated, though. In the paragraph on “Marking of Grounding in Biblical Hebrew Narrative” (pp. 164–165), 2:1a: *ūl^eN^omī m^eyuddā’ l^eišāh*, “Now Naomi had a kinsman of her husband’s”, is put forward as an example of a clause in the background, but in the chart the same clause is analysed as being in the foreground. The author himself admits that the label “foreground” in this case may seem provocative (p. 352) but maintains that it can be defended on hierarchical grounds.

Furthermore, grounding is, as was said above, considered as tripartite: primary and secondary foreground, plus background. It may here be remarked that the scene metaphor, used throughout, is not entirely compatible with the idea of different degrees of foreground. In narrative, it is stated, the combination of a dynamic, atelic situation *and* the perfective aspect indicates secondary foreground (p. 344). In discursive parts, on the other hand, grounding is marked morpho-syntactically, that is to say, an imperative, a *yiqtol*-form and a nominal clause, are all said to mark the foreground, whereas *we-x-qatal* and *weqatal* mark the background. This means that, for instance, 3:1c *h^elō’ ’a^baqqeš lāk mānōah* “Should I not seek rest for you?” is considered foreground, whereas 3:3a: (Boaz is winnowing tonight) *w^erāhaṣt wāsakt* etc. (“so wash and anoint yourself”) is considered background. But, as is admitted (p. 346), conclusions are tentative. The decision to apply grounding to direct speech does not seem altogether wise.

On *temporal location* and *perspective* (pp. 347–355), it is stated that the difference between *perspective* and *time location* is that the former is intra-textual and relates to what is posterior or anterior in the narrative itself, while the latter is logically objective and partly outside the text (p. 347). In practice, however, the difference is that *perspective* is recorded in far less cases. The simple reason for this is that in narrative *wayyiqtol* marks the *hic et nunc*, or zero-point, and needs no indication. Moreover, in 2:9 (the field) *’ašer yiqaṣorūn*, is rightly considered imperfective and present, that is, “are reaping”, whereas 2:9 *mē’^ašer yiš^abūn hānn^e’ārim* is considered imperfective, but, oddly enough, is not marked for tense (vertical bar), and is rendered as “that the young men have drawn”.

The discussion of *modality in context* (pp. 356–367) develops the choice, intimated in Chapter 3, of marking declarative clauses as “unmarked epistemic” (p. 236, cf. p. 195). Hence there are scores of “epistemic declaratives” in the chart. An example is 4:2d: *wayyēš^abū* “and they sat down” (cf. p. 356). To begin with, the term “epistemic” refers to a subjective evaluation of a proposition, however, without inference of anybody’s will. It would seem that the author has over-interpreted what

F.R. Palmer says, namely that the declarative can be regarded as the unmarked ("un-modalized") member of an epistemic system (cf., *Mood and Modality* (1986, pp. 28 and 51). True, it may be argued that the very choice of using a narrative declarative form is a subjective evaluation of what is communicated. On the other hand, what characterizes a narrative clause is that its contents are not submitted to any subjective evaluation, and hence it is not modal at all. Moreover, it seems odd that 1:11: *lämmā tēlaknā* "why will/should you go with me?" is labelled *epistemic* interrogative. The rhetorical question stresses that the utterance is not about the truth of the proposition, but about what a morally responsible agent may or may not do (cf. Lyons, *Semantics*, p. 823).

Following Stephen C. Levinson, *Pragmatics* (1983), Chapter 5 on "Speech Acts", the author takes a critical position towards current descriptions of performative clauses: "The dichotomy between statements, as truth-bearers, and performatives, as action-performers, can no longer be maintained", it is stated (p. 89). He even suggests that *wayyišlof na* "lō "he drew off his sandal", 4:8c, may be considered performative, though in narrative form. Certainly, the ideas put forward in J. L. Austin *How to do Things with Words* (1962) were subsequently modified. The term "performative was, accordingly, extended beyond the *illocutionary* to comprise non-explicit performatives; also, according to recent linguistics, a performative need not necessarily be in the first person. Important, however, is that the article "performative clauses" in *Concise Encyclopedia of Pragmatics* (1998, eds. J.M. Mey & R.E. Asher), includes *explicit performatives*. As the author of the article, K. Allen, puts it: "The subject of the performative clause is conditioned by the fact that the speaker is agent for him/herself or another, whichever takes responsibility for enforcing the illocution described by the performative verb".

Obviously, the author sees little connection between *qatal*, as standing for perfective in the present, and performative usage. This explains why 4:9c: *kī qānītī-'æt-kol-'šær læ'limælæk*, is not viewed as a performative, but rather as a declarative clause: "that I have bought etc". Instead 4:9b, '*ēdīm 'attæm hayyōm*, "today you are witnesses", is considered performative, "albeit not in the traditional form" (p. 363). The interesting case in 4:3d: *māk'erā No'omī*, "Naomi is selling", is apparently considered a performative, but is not discussed. This case is a striking example, though, of Allen's point, that the speaker may be "agent for him/herself or another, whichever takes responsibility for enforcing the illocution described by the performative verb". The author, in his endeavour to point out that performatives are not limited to what are traditionally considered as such, tends to look away from the Hebrew grammatical tradition and to neglect the opinion of other linguists than Levinson. Otherwise, in Biblical Hebrew, a performative utterance may be described as the co-incident case (the *hic et nunc*) of *qatal*.

The thesis ends with the section "Comparison of Linguistic Variables" (pp. 368–383). It is pointed out (p. 372) that the subjectivity of aspect and the subjectivity of modality refer to different things: modality to the question of reality, and aspect to how the narrator wants an event to be perceived. It is also pointed out that modality is more frequent in direct speech than narrative (p. 374), which is rather self-evident. A better point is made on 3:4h: *w'hū' yaggid lāk*, rendered "he will make it clear", namely that the word order *subject – verb – object* in direct speech indicates

future, rather than modality (p. 375). More remarkably, it is maintained (p. 378, cf. pp. 352 & chart), that clauses of the type *w-x-qatal* express the pluperfect, if narrative. Accordingly, 1:14 *w^eRūt dāb^eqā lāh* is rendered “but Ruth had clung to her”, and 1:22 *w^ehemmā bā’ū Bēt-læhāem* is translated “they had arrived at Bethlehem”. This idea is hardly correct. The point in 1:14 is not that Ruth meanwhile *had* clung to Naomi, but the fact, bearing on the whole story that Ruth, in contrast to Orpah, clung to Naomi.

To conclude: the arrangement of the thesis, as a whole, follows a logical outline and shows a great mental effort, but the style lacks economical strategy and is therefore sometimes straggling. Chapter 5 could perhaps have shown more stringency and concern with the author’s findings and less engagement with methodology and references to other scholars. Also, the final reflections are not as stringent as many of the observations earlier made. It must not be forgotten, however, that behind this work lies a tremendous labour in examining all the verbal forms in the Book of Ruth and this from all possible angles. In a personal note (p. 9), the author tells how he—when he first engaged in text-linguistics—“skyrocketed, not only through the ceiling of the sentence as upper syntactical limit of linguistic analysis, but probably went through the clouds as well into the realm of literary theories”; but careful consideration and the impact of a sound thinker—E. D. Hirsch—finally showed a way through. In the opinion of the present reviewer, some of the categories investigated have little relevance for verbal meaning; some analyses are highly debatable; and the question of what factors restrict and promote what factors is never properly answered. Nonetheless, the study is a valuable effort to establish an integrated method for dealing with the Biblical Hebrew verb. For this, the author is worthy of all credit.



On threefold compounds in Turkish

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SUMMARY

This article deals with the morphology and semantics of Turkish nominal compounds that have more than two noun constituents. Attention is focused on threefold compounds, but compounds with more than three noun constituents are also discussed. The investigation is centred on the observation that, while some Turkish threefold, nominal compounds show morphological marking on the second element, others do not. A general rule for the application of the possessive suffixes on the central noun in threefold nominal compounds is formulated. It is claimed that there are no clearly attested exceptions to this rule and that the seemingly deviating examples can probably be explained by other interferences. At the end of the article, some examples are given that illustrate how the above-mentioned law governing the possessive marking of threefold, nominal compounds operate within compounds of more than three nouns.

INTRODUCTION

The starting-point of the present investigation is Turkish, nominal compounds of the type N¹ N² N³. N stands for noun, and the small numbers indicate the linear sequence of the first, second and third noun in such a compound, respectively. One of the basic rules of Turkish nominal syntax is that whenever two nouns form a compound, the second has a special marker, the possessive suffix of the third person -(s)ı.¹ The symbol -(s)ı⁴ is a conventional abbreviation for all eight allomorphs of this morpheme. Since the allomorphs play no role in my investigation, I shall simply use the letter P (for possessive) to represent all the allomorphs of -(s)ı⁴. (1) is an example of the standard type of Turkish, twofold compounds.

- (1) *Türkiye Cumhuriyet-i* (RB² 767)
[Turkey Republic-P]
“the Turkish Republic”

There are exceptions to the general rule that P is added to N² if N¹ and N² form a nominal compound. Compounds with an element denoting a material³ and some street names are among the exceptions without P marking. For instance, one can find a *Dalgıç Sokak-ı* “Diver’s Street” (YI 42) beside *Yıldız Sokak* “Star Street” (YI 42) in Istanbul. Both are compounds of the N¹ N² type. But whereas *Sokak* “street”

¹ On Turkish possessive compounds in general, see [Lewis 1987]: 41–44.

² A list of the abbreviations for the quoted examples can be found at the end of this article.

³ See [Lewis 1987]: 42.

has a P marking in the first, it lacks it in the second example. Of course, if another noun were added to a street name ending in *Sokak*, the resulting threefold compound would also have to be regarded as an exception, at least potentially. Therefore none of the threefold compounds discussed below contains a single noun or be obligatory. However, in reality, things are not quite so easy. Firstly, there seems to be no rule determining which Turkish street names receive a possessive suffix and which do not.⁴ Secondly, there seem to be cases in which one and the same street has both syntactical forms, as *Etiler Sokak* (YI 58) besides *Etiler Sokağı* (YI 38) and *Şalcı Sokak* beside *Şalcı Sokağı* (YI 21). I shall come back to the street names again below.

A GENERAL RULE FOR THREEFOLD COMPOUNDS

There are two morphological types of threefold compounds in Turkish: N¹ N²-P N³-P and N¹ N² N³-P. That is, the only place where variation in the morphological marking is possible is the second element, which may or may not be marked [+P]. On the other hand, the morphological shape of the first and last element is invariable. Of course, this unchanging morphological shape of the first and third noun is no surprise. Since there is no other noun before the first noun, it cannot have the P compound marker, which, as we have seen, is added to the second element of compounds only. And the possessive marking of the third element is also in accordance with the basic rule of Turkish noun composition, since the last noun can be seen as the second element of a compound by virtue of its following another noun (N²) or even another nominal compound (N¹ N²-P or N¹ N², respectively). Given this rule, the threefold, nominal compounds with a P marking on the second noun are not to be wondered about either. The only real surprises are those instances in which the second noun does not have a P marking. As the following examples show, these instances are by no means rare.

⁴ Consider the following, randomly selected collection of street names in Istanbul, taken from YI. The numbers in brackets indicate the pages on which the names were found.

Street names without possessive morpheme:

Ağaderesi Sokak (p. 39), *Akarsu Sokak* (p. 27), *Aydınlar Sokak* (p. 39), *Ayışığı Sokak* (p. 29), *Aytekin Sokak* (p. 42), *Bağış Sokak* (p. 42), *Bebek Yolu Sokak* (p. 58), *Beşik Sokak* (p. 42), *Canfes Sokak* (p. 17), *Çamservi Sokak* (p. 27), *Cuma Sokak* (p. 60), *Çınarlı Sokak* (p. 42), *Dolunay Sokak* (p. 42), *Donanma Sokak* (p. 42), *Ergin Sokak* (p. 58), *Eski Fabrika Sokak* (p. 38), *Fenerli Türbe Sokak* (p. 59), *Fidan Sokak* (p. 57), *Gazi Sokak* (p. 42), *Göktürk Sokak* (p. 25), *Gürkan Sokak* (p. 19), *Hacıveli Sokak* (p. 19), *Hasdal Sokak* (p. 40), *Hekim Sokak* (p. 22), *Hudut Sokak* (p. 62), *İstinye Deresi Sokak* (p. 36), *Kale Bahçesi Sokak* (p. 59), *Kalender Sokak* (p. 29), *Kalkancı Sokak* (p. 21), *Kars Sokak* (p. 62), *Kışlak Sokak* (p. 59), *Kormaç Sokak* (p. 29), *Küçüktepe Sokak* (p. 29), *Kültür Sokak* (p. 27), *Mamureler Sokak* (p. 61), *Mehmet Paşa Sokak* (p. 58), *Mescit Sokak* (p. 56), *Mezarlık Sokak* (p. 46), *Nafî Baba Sokak* (p. 59), *Nalbent Çeşmesi Sokak* (p. 12), *Okul Sokak* (p. 42), *Papatya Sokak* (p. 62), *Sefir Sokak* (p. 12), *Sırmacılar Sokak* (p. 16), *Sivas Sokak* (p. 56), *Su Deposu Sokak* (p. 19), *Su Şehirliler Sokak* (p. 27), *Şahinler Sokak* (p. 42), *Tuna Sokak* (p. 39), *Yalıköy Çayırlı Sokak* (p. 24), *Yıldız Sokak* (p. 42).

Street names with possessive morpheme:

Amiral Fahri Ergin Sokağı (p. 59), *Dalgıç Sokağı* (p. 42), *Girne Sokağı* (p. 40), *Hacı Muhittin Sokağı* (p. 46), *Mithatpaşa Sokağı* (p. 47), *Pembe Hanım Sokağı* (p. 61), *Sakarya Sokağı* (p. 42), *Sezai Bey Sokağı* (p. 45), *Turan Sokağı* (p. 46), *Yunus Emre Sokağı* (p. 42).

- (2) *İdevlet televizyon-u* (NH 21, May 2001)
 [Israel state television-P]
 “Israeli state television”
- (3) *ABD Savunma Bakan-i* (NH 21, May 2001)
 [USA Defence Secretary-P]
 “the American Secretary of Defence”
- (4) *İstanbul Menkul Kıymetler Borsa-sı* (AH 19 (1998), p. 41)
 [Istanbul movable values stock exchange-P]
 “Istanbul Movable Values Stock Exchange”
- (5) *Türkiye Ulusal Uzay Ajans-i* (RO 7, May 2001)
 [Turkey national space agency-P]
 “the Turkish National Space Agency”
- (6) *Devlet İstatistik Enstitü-sü* (ÖP 4, April 2001, p. 6)
 [state statistics institute-P]
 “the State Institute for Statistics”
- (7) *Londra Moda Hafta-sı* (T 617 (1999), p. 36)
 [London Fashion Week-P]
 “the London Fashion Week”
- (8) *Kadıköy Haldun Taner Sahne-sı* (AH 16(1998), p. 73)
 [Kadıköy Haldun Taner theatre-P]
 “the Haldun Taner Theatre at Kadıköy”

On the other hand, examples of the N¹ N²-P N³-P type can be provided just as easily:

- (9) *Hepatit B aşı-sı üretim-i* (BÜ 59 (1999), p. 78)
 [hepatitis B vaccination-P production]
 “the production of hepatitis B vaccines”
- (10) *Sermaye Piyasa-sı Kurul-u* (AH 10(1998), p. 40)
 [capital market-P committee-P]
 “the Committee for (the Control of) the Capital Market”
- (11) *yasadışı suç örgüt-ü mensub-u* (NH 18, May 2001)
 [illegal crime organization-P member-P]
 “member of an illegal criminal organization”
- (12) *Türkiye masa-sı şef-i* (NH 18, May 2001)
 [Turkey table-P chief-P]
 “Chief of the Turkey Table [=Carlo Cottarelli]”

- (13) *enerji açığ-I bahane-si* (T 617 (1999), p. 36)
 [energy deficit-P pretext-P]
 “the pretext of an energy deficit”
- (14) *kan hücre-si yıkım-I* (H 2 February 2001, p. 25)
 [blood cell-P destruction-P]
 “the destruction of blood cells”
- (15) *Akkuyu nükleer santral-I proje-si* (T 617 (1999), p. 36)
 [Akkuyu nuclear power station-P project-P]
 “the project of the Akkuyu nuclear power station”
- (16) *akaryakit dağıtım-I ağ-I* (AH 19(1998), p. 41)
 [fuel oil distribution-P network-P]
 “a network for the distribution of fuel oil”
- (17) *İnsan Haklar-I Komisyon-u* (AH 19(1998), p. 25)
 [man rights-P commission-P]
 “the Commission on Human Rights“.
- (18) *uyuşturucu kaçakçılığı-I operasyon-u* (T 617 (1999), p. 36)
 [narcotic smuggling-P operation-P]
 “an operation against narcotic trafficking”
- (19) *İngiliz Edebiyat-I tarih-i* (AH 19(1998), p. 41)
 [English literature-P history-P]
 “the history of English literature”

The above examples show that both the $N^1 N^2 N^3\text{-}P$ and the $N^1 N^2\text{-}P N^3\text{-}P$ type of threefold, nominal compounds are fully productive in present-day, standard Turkish.

In the example series (2)–(8) and (9)–(19) the distribution of the P marking can be interpreted as reflecting the semantic structure of the whole compound. In compounds of the $N^1 N^2 N^3\text{-}P$ type (examples (2)–(8)), that is, those without a possessive marker on the second noun, the first two nouns (N^1 and N^2) do not form a close semantic unit. But in the examples of the $N^1 N^2\text{-}P N^3\text{-}P$ type, i.e., in which there is possessive marking on the second noun, the first two nouns clearly form such a semantic unit. In some of the examples, the validity of this hypothesis can immediately be observed. For instance, in examples (5), (6), (7) and (8) there is clearly no tight, semantic connection between N^1 and N^2 . For, (5) is not about an “*Agency for the National Space of Turkey”, the institute mentioned in (6) is not occupied only with “*state statistics” but also with other kind of statistics, and the London Week of Fashion ((7)) is not a “*Week of London Fashion”. Example (8) is still more evident. In theory, one might argue for a semantic relation between the first two elements of the compounds in examples (2)–(4), but a closer look at what is meant

renders this possibility quite unlikely and shows that the first element in each case is a qualifier of a subordinate compound that is formed by the two remaining nouns of the compound. As regards the N¹ N²-P N³-P examples (numbers (9)–(19)), the first two nouns, without any exception, form one single semantic concept together. *Hepatit B aşısı*, *sermaye piyasası*, *yasadışı suç örgütü*, *Türkiye masası*, *enerji açığı*, *kan hücresi*, *Akkuyu nükleer santrali*, *akaryakıt dağıtım*, *insan hakları*, *uyuşturucu kaçakçılığı* and *İngiliz edebiyatı* are common Turkish expressions.

The examples that have been discussed so far seem to indicate that the usage of the possessive suffix in threefold noun compounds is determined by the semantic structure of these compounds.

SPECIAL CASES OF THREEFOLD COMPOUNDS

However, there are exceptions to the general rule that has been formulated in the preceding section. These are compounds that do not have a possessive marker on the second element although the first two nouns of the compound really seem to form a semantic unit. Examples are:

- (20) *ay çiçek yağı* ([Hayasi 1996]: 124)
 [moon flower oil-P]
 “sunflower oil”
- (21) *anti-virus yazılım şirketi* (BvT 366 (1998), p. 37; HÜ 8, June 2001; MI, 30 May 2001)
 [anti-virus software company-P]
 “company for anti-virus software”

(20) contains the twofold compound *ayçiçek* “sunflower” (literally, “moon flower”). (Incidentally, the difference between *ay çiçek* and *ayçiçek* is purely orthographical and thus need not occupy us any further; the difference between separate and connected spelling will be ignored throughout this article.) Hayasi claims that *ay çiçek yağı* is the only grammatically acceptable form, refusing *ay çiceği yağı* as being incorrect ([Hayasi 1996]: 124). However, the form *ayçiçeği yağı* is very well documented. For instance, this version of the threefold compound is listed by [Eren et al. 1988]: 112, [Püsküllüoğlu 1995]: 169 and RB: 62. A word search on the Internet also showed that both forms exist, albeit with a clear, numerical dominance of the zero-marked form preferred by Hayasi. There were 57 search results for *ayçiçekyağı*, 380 for *ayçiçek yağı* and 15 for *ay çiçek yağı*. On the other hand, *ayçiçeği yağı* had 93 hits, while *ayçiçeğiyağı* was found only twice and *ay çiceği yağı* even only once.⁵ Thus, according to these results, the ratio is about 4.7:1 in favour of the zero-marked version *ay çiçek yağı/ayçiçek yağı/ayçiçekyağı*. The only important point here is, however, that the form without possessive marking exists at all.

⁵ The results were obtained by entering the above keywords in the search engine www.google.com on 6 June 2001. I am indebted to Mr. Gregor Vetter M.A., who provided the technical know-how for the realisation of the search operation.

As regards (21), it must be stressed that in Turkish *anti-virus* is a noun. This is proved by numerous other current compounds, such as, for instance, *anti-virus yazılım-i* (BvT 366 (1998), p. 37 and p. 38) "software against viruses", *anti-virus ürün ve servisler-i* (BvT 366 (1998), p. 37) "products and services against viruses", *anti-virus şirket-i* "anti-virus company (i.e., company distributing anti-virus products)" (MI 30, 5 May 2001) and *antivirüs uyarı-sı* "warning against viruses" (MI 30, 5 May 2001). All these examples are twofold, nominal compounds, the final P marking on the last element of which unambiguously reveals the noun status of the first element *anti-virus*.

In (21), *anti-virus* and *yazılım* seem to form a more coherent semantic unit than *anti-virus* and *yazılım şirketi*. For, as our world-knowledge tells us, it is usually the software provided by a certain company that is operating against viruses, but it would be a rather unlikely expression to speak of "a software-company against viruses", that is, to attribute the attribute "anti-virus" to the whole company rather than to its software alone. This seems to be true for such companies as McAfee, to which one of the occurrences of *anti-virus yazılım şirketi* (the one from HÜ) refers. However, the morphological marking on *anti-virus yazılım şirketi* is not congruent with this obvious, semantic interpretation. For, if it were, we would rather expect a possessive marking on the second element, giving **anti-virus yazılım şirketi*. This would be in accordance with what has been stated as a general rule in the previous section. Interestingly, a word search on the Internet yielded nine *anti-virus yazılım şirketi* hits but not a single result for **anti-virus yazılım şirketi*.⁶ This result distinguishes the Turkish compound for "anti-virus company" from the Turkish equivalent of "sunflower oil". For "anti-virus company" can apparently be rendered by only one structural pattern, namely the N¹ N² N³-P one, while for "sunflower oil" two patterns are attested, as we have seen.

There are several more threefold compounds with the word *yazılım* as central element that belong to the same structural type of compound as (21). Let us look at some of them before we proceed.

- (22) *anti-virus yazılım güncelleme-si*⁷ (N 8, June 2001; BT 8, June 2001)
 [anti-virus software update-P]
 "update for anti-virus software"

A search carried out on the Internet⁸ yielded zero results for **anti-virus yazılım güncellemesi*.

- (23) *anti-virus yazılım pazar-i* (BH 8, June 2001)
 [anti-virus software market-P]
 "the market for anti-virus software"

⁶ Searched with www.google.com on 8 June 2001.

⁷ The original text has the word in the accusative plural (...*güncemelerini*). For reasons of uniformity, I have given this and all other quoted compounds in the nominative singular.

⁸ Via www.google.com on 8 June 2001.

There were no clear search results for **anti-viriüs yazılımı pazarı*.⁹

- (24) *anti-viriüs yazılım uzman-ı* (HÜ 8, June 2001; HÜ2 8, June 2001)
 [anti-virus software expert-P]
 “an expert on anti-virus software”

Again, there were no Internet search results¹⁰ for the corresponding N¹ N² N³-P version.

- (25) *anti-viriüs yazılım üretici-si* (BT2, June 8 2001; D 8, June 2001)
 [anti-virus software producer-P]
 “a producer of anti-virus software”

- (26) *anti-viriüs yazılım araç-ı* (M 8, June 2001)
 [anti-virus software tool-P]
 “anti-virus software tool”

- (27) *anti-viriüs yazılım firma-sı* (A 8, June 2001; B 8, June 2001; TI 8, June 2001)
 [anti-virus software firm-P]
 “anti-virus software firm”

A concluding Internet search operation with the keyword *anti-viriüs yazılım*¹¹ produced 171 occurrences of this word string. But among them there was no single instance in which *anti-viriüs yazılım* formed the front part of a threefold nominal compound. Of course, the entering of the keyword *anti-viriüs yazılım* should also have shown entries for *anti-viriüs yazılımı*, if there had been any. That there was none seems to indicate that *anti-viriüs yazılım* does not usually appear as the first element in threefold, nominal compounds in Turkish. Therefore, one may conclude that the corresponding N¹ N²-P N³-P types for (26) and (27) probably do not exist.

POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS FOR THE SPECIAL CASES

To sum up the state of the investigation, we have encountered two exceptions to the general rule of the first section. All the examples with *yazılım* as their second noun (examples (21)–(27)) can be subsumed in one group. It seems to be adequate to do this since there is no basis for the assumption that the exceptional syntactical behaviour of *yazılım* compounds has a distinctive reason in each and every special case. The second group contains only one member, *ayçiçek yağı*. There may be more exceptions, but for the time being only these two groups are known and therefore they have to form the basis of our investigations.

⁹ Although the search operated with www.google.com on 8 June 2001 showed one result as “*anti-viriüs yazılımları pazarı*”, the Internet address belonging to this entry had suffered permanent failure when I tried to reach it. Therefore, unfortunately, this entry could not be taken into consideration. The syntactical construction *anti-viriüs yazılımları pazarı* might not have been a possessive compound at all.

¹⁰ Again via www.google.com on 8 June 2001.

¹¹ Using once more www.google.com on 8 June 2001.

In the search for a possible explanation of the special behaviour of these two groups, let us first look at another example:

- (28) *boot sektör virüsler-i* (BvT 366 (1998), p. 38)

[boot sector viruses-P]

“boot sector viruses”

The threefold compound *boot sektör virüsü* is an extension of the basic twofold compound *boot sektör* or *boot sektörü* “boot sector”. It is a crucial detail that there are two ways of rendering “boot sector” in Turkish, one with and the other without P marking on the second element. Numerous examples of both versions can be found. For instance, *boot sektör* is used in BvT 366 (1998), p. 36, while one page later the same magazine mentions a *boot sektörü* (BvT 366 (1998), p. 37). Any routine search on the Internet will give many examples for both syntactical versions.¹² Thus, while (28) at first sight seems to be structurally equivalent to the above exceptions, in reality it is not. For, while the zero P form *boot sektör* is attested as an independent lexeme, the analogous, zero P forms **ayçiçek* and *anti-virüs yazılım* (*anti-virus şirket*, etc.) are not attested. From this, it follows that we do not need to consider (28) as a case of an exceptional, threefold compound at all. For *boot sektör virüsü* can be analysed as a twofold compound, made up of the two separate lexemes *boot sektör* and *virüs*, there being no compulsory reason to regard it as being composed of three separate words, namely *boot*, *sektör*, and *virüs*.

What makes (28) particularly interesting is not the syntactical structure of the whole syntagm *boot sektör virüsleri*, but the simultaneous existence of *boot sektör* and *boot sektörü*. *Boot sektör* is apparently a foreign borrowing in Turkish. What has been borrowed is not only the graphical shape of the English word *boot* and the phonetical correspondence of the French word *secteur* (which is a quite precise equivalent of the English *sector*). What is more, since the word sequence *boot sector* exists as such already in English, it can be suggested that the Turkish *boot sektör* was a global copy of the English equivalent.¹³ Global, structural copying would offer an explanation for the absence of the possessive marker on *boot sektör*. On the other hand, the form *boot sektörü* would have to be interpreted as more Turkified, in which, as a result of the classification of *boot* and *sektör* as nouns, the basic rule of Turkish word-building was regularly applied. Thus, *boot sektör* and *boot sektörü* would be interpreted as the results of two different ways of copying foreign word material. Note that Turkish *boot* must be a quite recent borrowing. Firstly, of course, the concept itself that it denotes is relatively young, not preceding the few decades, at most, for which computer technology has been infiltrating global vocabularies. Secondly, the comparatively young age of *boot* in Turkish also becomes evident from the spelling. For it shows that the adaptation of the English spelling *boot* to Turkish orthographic rules has not yet been made as, for instance, in the case of *zoom* > Turkish *zum* ([Püsküllüoğlu 1995]: 1695) or *shoot* > *sut* ([Steuerwald 1988]: 879). Maybe this recentness is part of the reason for the unclear, grammatical

¹² This was checked once more, using www.google.com on 8 June 2001.

¹³ On the notion of global copying, see [Johanson 1992]: 177–179.

classification of *boot*, which appears, from the viewpoint of Turkish grammar, as a noun in *boot sektörü*, but possibly as a non-noun in *boot sektör*. What makes *boot sektör virüsü* (without the possessive morpheme on *sektör*) comparable to *anti-virus yazılım şirketi* (*uzmanı*, etc.), are the following properties. Firstly, the denotations of both *anti-virus yazılım şirketi* and *boot sektör virüsü* are of very recent origin, which indicates that these compounds themselves can only have been introduced into the Turkish language quite recently. Secondly, both belong to the vocabulary of computers and data processing. Thirdly, both go back, at least partially, to English source syntagms, and therefore the syntactical structure of the Turkish compounds may reflect the structure of English compounds such as *anti-virus software company* and *boot sector virus*, with their absence of compound marking. According to this interpretation, the absence of the possessive suffix in *anti-virus yazılım şirketi* would be the consequence of foreign (English) interference. This interference would make *anti-virus yazılım* appear as one inseparable, syntactical block comparable to *boot sektör*.

Similar to the syntactical behaviour of *boot sektör(ii)* seems to be that of the Turkish rendering of “rollover effect”, another term from the computational sciences. Consider the following examples:

- (29) *rollover efekt-i* (PCM 86 (2001), downloaded on 10 June 2001)

[rollover effect-P]

“the rollover effect”

- (30) *rollover efekt-pencere-si* (PCM 86 (2001), downloaded on 10 June 2001)

[rollover effect window-P]

“a window with rollover effect”

While in *rollover efekti* in (29) the standard Turkish rule for possessive marking of compounds operates, we find no possessive marker on *rollover efekt* in (30), where it is part of the larger compound *rollover efekt-penceresi*. Again, instead of assuming a breach of the possessive rule in (30), the seemingly deviating, syntactical structure of this example can be interpreted as the result of a global copying process. This means, that in fitting the word *rollover efekt* into Turkish, the natural absence of possessive marking in the English original (which is presumably “rollover effect”) would also have been copied into Turkish.

There is further support for the above interpretations of examples (28)–(30), in which the general ([+P]) rule for threefold compounds can be suspended because the first two elements of the compounds are in each case understood as inseparable, structural (and semantic) blocks by Turkish speakers. As support for “block” copies in Turkish, one can point to twofold, nominal compounds in which the rule of possessive marking is equally lifted and in which there is a borrowing background as well, as in (31), (33), and (35)–(37).

- (31) *müzik şirket* (RO 7 May, 2001)

[music company]

“music company”

Note that *müzik* occurs as a noun only in Turkish. For evidence, see [Püsküllüoğlu 1995]: 1132) and (32).

- (32) *müzik topluluğ-u* (HD, April 4 2001, p. 10)
 [music group-P]
 “music group, music band”
- (33) *robot helikopter* (MI, 28 May 2001)
 [robot helicopter]
 “unmanned (literally, robot) helicopter”
- (34) *robot sineğ-i* (NH, 12 April 2001)
 [robot mosquito-P]
 “‘robot mosquito’ (very small, military, unmanned aircraft)”
- (35) *video kamera* (AH 16 (1998), p. 3)
 [video camera]
 “video camera”
- (36) *video kaset* (RO, 10 April 2001)
 [video cassette]
 “video cassette”
- (37) *video konferans* (BvT 366 (1998), p. 13)
 [video conference]
 “video conference”
- (38) *video oyun-u* (MI, 28 May 2001)
 [video game-P]
 “video game”

(31)–(38) show that the syntactical classification of a word as a noun in certain cases (namely, (32), (34) and (38)) by no means precludes its potentially being classified otherwise in other circumstances.

Given this, the existence of the twofold compound *anti-virüs yazılımı* (not **anti-virüs yazılım*) for “anti-virus software” (see p. 00) is probably no drawback to the explanation put forward in this section. It is true that, according to this hypothesis, **anti-virüs yazılım* would have been the more likely form. But (29)–(32) prove that multiple, syntactic classification as noun and non-noun does occur in Turkish. The fact that the English language does not use possessive markers to form compounds may have influenced the structure of *anti-virüs yazılım şirketi* in another way than by adding *şirket* to *anti-virüs yazılım*, perhaps by a more direct borrowing from *anti-virus software company*.

Of course, the tentative explanation put forward for *anti-virüs yazılım şirketi* is invalid for *ayçiçek yağı*, for this is no doubt an old word with no palpable, foreign background and no special limitedness to computer vocabulary or the like. There

may, however, be an explanation for the special structure of *ayçiçek yağı* if one reconsiders the lexical background of this threefold compound.

Let us recall that we have up to now tacitly followed the assumption that *ayçiçek yağı* contains the semantic elements “sunflower” and “oil”. This semantic interpretation seems to be quite obvious if one refuses the possibility of splitting up the two constituents of *ayçiçek* (*ay*, *çiçek*) and assigning separate, semantic referents (“moon”, “flower”) to them. For *ayçiçek yağı* definitely does not refer to the moon in connection with flowers and oil. This semantic line of argumentation also implicitly underlies the way in which [Hayasi 1999]: 124 translates *ayçiçek yağı*.

However, there is lexical evidence that *ayçiçek yağı* may also be segmented alternatively as *ay + çiçek yağı* without semantic hazards. There is evidence for *çiçek yağı* denoting a “kitchen oil gained from sunflower oil”¹⁴ or even just “sunflower oil”.¹⁵ Against the background of these data, the above objection that the assumption of a semantic cut after *ay* in *ayçiçek yağı* would lead to the unacceptable disruption of the semantic unit “sunflower”/ *ayçiçeği* seems to lose ground. For the quoted dictionary definitions of *çiçek yağı* show that, even without the word *ay* prefixed, *çiçek yağı* can refer to “sunflower oil” and not just “flower oil”. If we accept this interpretation, the seemingly irregular form *ayçiçekyağı* could easily be semantically related to *çiçek yağı*. It would be a perfectly regular formation, namely an extension of the twofold *çiçek yağı* by the fronted *ay*, showing exactly the same structural and semantic properties as, for instance, examples (2)–(8) (page 25). Even if we take into consideration that *çiçek yağı* may not only refer to sunflower oil but also to various kinds of perfume oil produced from flower blossoms, such as orange-flower oil or neroli oil,¹⁶ this does not undermine our alternative interpretation. On the contrary, it renders the existence of the semantic doublets *ay çiçek yağı* and *çiçek yağı* with the common denotation “sunflower oil” even more easily understandable. For now the addition of the element *ay* to *çiçek yağı* can be interpreted as a way of distinguishing the “sunflower” meaning from the other meanings that *çiçek yağı* potentially can have.

If we summarize the structural and semantic versions for the notion “sunflower oil” in Turkish, we see that there are two versions in each case. Structurally, there may or may not be P marking on the second element. And semantically, *ayçiçekyağı* can be understood either as relating to *ay + çiçek yağı* or to *ayçiçeği + yağ*. It speaks for the correctness of this interpretation that both structural patterns are well attested (see p. 00) and the semantic interpretations are plausible in every case.

MORE COMPLEX COMPOUNDS

The Turkish language allows not only compounds of two or three nouns but also of more than three nouns. The largest number of nouns that I have found to constitute a nominal compound is seven. However, it is highly probable that even larger com-

¹⁴ “Ay çiçeğinden elde edilen mutfaklık yağı” ([Akyüz et al. 1995]: 587, s.v. *çiçek yağı*).

¹⁵ RB 165.

¹⁶ This is what *çiçek yağı* means, according to the Steuerwald dictionary (see Steuerwald 1988]: 184, s.v. *çiçek*).

pounds can be formed in Turkish if the necessity and the opportunity arise. Despite the complexity that can arise whenever more than three noun referents are involved, the general rule that P marking parallels semantic amalgamation seems to be still in place. Note that, with the exception of a very few pronominal expressions, such as *birisi* and in a certain sense *hepsi* (etymologically = < **hep-i-si*), Turkish does not allow more than one possessive marker on the same noun.¹⁷ From this, it follows that a single P marker can be used to stand for several semantic connections at the same time. The following are some examples of more complex Turkish, possessive compounds. The semantic structure of the examples is indicated in additional lines, using brackets to show which nouns form a semantic unit. Different kinds of brackets indicate different semantic connections. Nouns are shown repeatedly if they belong to more than one semantic unit at the same time. In some cases, there may be more semantic connections than are indicated. The indications serve only to offer a survey of the possibilities of semantic correlation and they are given to show that all these correlations conform to the rules explained in the preceding part of this article.

Compounds with four elements:

- (39) *Bavyera Eyalet-i Bilim Bakan-i* (HD, 4 April 2001, p. 21)
 [Bavaria state-P science minister-P]
 “the Bavarian Minister of Science”
 (*Bavyera Eyaleti*), (*Bilim Bakani*), <(*Bavyera Eyaleti*) (*Bilim Bakani*)>
- (40) *Devlet Meteoroloji İşler-i Genel Müdürlüğü* (NH 4, April 2001)
 [state meteorology affairs-P general direction-P]
 “the National General Direction of Meteorology [Affairs]”
 (*Meteoroloji İşleri*), <(*Meteoroloji İşleri*) (*Genel Müdürlüğü*)>, {*Devlet*
 <(*Meteoroloji İşleri*) (*Genel Müdürlüğü*)>}

Compounds with five elements:

- (41) *İstanbul Emniyet Müdürlüğü Organize Suçlar şube-si* (T 617 (1999), p. 42)
 [Istanbul security direction-P organised crimes department-P]
 “the Department for Organised Crime of the [Security=] Police Direction of
 Istanbul”
 (*Emniyet Müdürlüğü*), <(*İstanbul*) (*Emniyet Müdürlüğü*)>, <(*Organize Suçlar*)
 (*şube-si*)>, {<(*İstanbul*) (*Emniyet Müdürlüğü*)> <(*Organize Suçlar*)
 (*şube-si*)>}
- (42) *Microsoft platform grubu başkan yardımcısı* (MI 30, May 2001)
 [Microsoft platform group-P president deputy-P]
 “the vice-president of the Microsoft platform group”
 (*platform grubu*), <(*Microsoft*) (*platform grubu*)>, (*başkan yardımcısı*),
 {<(*Microsoft*) (*platform grubu*)> (*başkan yardımcısı*)}

¹⁷ [Lewis 1987]: 49.

Compounds with six elements:

- (43) *Jandarma Genel Komutanlığı-i Kaçakçılık ve Organize Suçlar Daire-si*
 [Gendarmerie general command-P trafficking and organized crimes office-P
Başkanı
 head-P]
 “the Head of the Office against Trafficking and Organized Crime of the General Command of the Gendarmerie”
 <(Jandarma) (Genel Komutanlığı)>, <(Kaçakçılık ve Organize Suçlar) (Dairesi)>, {<(Kaçakçılık ve Organize Suçlar) (Dairesi)> *Başkanı*}, [<(Jandarma) (Genel Komutanlığı)> {<(Kaçakçılık ve Organize Suçlar) (Dairesi)> *Başkanı*}]
 (NH 12, May 2001)
- (44) *Fransa Devlet Bilimsel Araştırmalar Merkez-i (CNRS) Biyolojik Çalışmalar*
 [France state scientific research center-P CNRS biological work]
Direktör-ü
 director-P]
 “the Director of Biological Projects of the French State Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS)”
 (*Bilimsel Araştırma Merkezi (CNRS)*), <*Devlet (Bilimsel Araştırmalar Merkezi (CNRS))*>, {*Fransa <Devlet (Bilimsel Araştırmalar Merkezi (CNRS))>*},
 <(Biyolojik Çalışmalar) (Direktörü)>, [{*Fransa <Devlet (Bilimsel Araştırmalar Merkezi (CNRS))>*} <(Biyolojik Çalışmalar) (Direktörü)>]
 (BvT 366 (1998), p. 12)

The following is the only example of a nominal compound with seven elements that I have found.

- (45) *Case Western Reserve Üniversite-si İşletme Fakülte-si ÖrgütSEL*
 [Case Western Reserve university-P management faculty-P organizational
Davranış Departman Başkan-i
 behaviour department president-P]
 “the President of the Department of Organizational Behaviour of the Faculty of Management of Case Western Reserve University”
 <(Case Western Reserve) (Üniversitesi)>, (*İşletme Fakültesi*), {<(Case Western Reserve) (Üniversitesi)>, (*İşletme Fakültesi*)}, <(ÖrgütSEL Davranış) (Departman Başkanı)>, [{<(Case Western Reserve) (Üniversitesi)>, (*İşletme Fakültesi*)} <(ÖrgütSEL Davranış) (Departman Başkanı)>]
 (BvT 366 (1998), p. 19)

The absence of P marking on *Departman* can be explained by assuming that *ÖrgütSEL Davranış Departman Başkanı* is a compound made up by adding *Departman* *Başkanı* to *ÖrgütSEL Davranış*, instead of assuming that *Başkan* has been added to **ÖrgütSEL Davranış Departmanı*.

CONCLUSION

In Turkish nominal compounds with more than two constituent nouns, the possessive suffix of the third person, -(s)ı, indicates semantic amalgamation. There is no clear exception to this rule. Even for the tiny number of examples that may seem potentially contradictory to this rule, such as *ay çiçek yağı* and *anti-virus yazılım şirketi*, alternative explanations can be provided that bring them into harmony with the basic rule. The general rule is valid both for threefold compound and for compounds with a higher number of constituents, up to at least seven.

- Sources A www.amele.org/2001/virus.htm [page on the Internet site of Internet Amele Birliği ("Union of Internet Workers")]
- AH *ArtiHaber* [magazine].
- B www.bidb.odtu.edu.tr/servisler/ol/virus [page on the site of the Department of Data Processing of the Middle East Technical University, Ankara]
- BH www.bthaber.net/260/menu_isdunyasi.htm [page on the Internet site of BTHaber].
- BT www.btnet.com.tr/dhs/dhs_konu_ayrinti.asp [page on the Internet site BT.net]
- BT2 www.bt-net.com/isteknoloji/2000/02/2000.asp [another page on the Internet site BT.net]
- BÜ *Bilim ve Ütopya* [magazine].
- BvT *Bilim ve Teknik* [magazine].
- D www.dikkatvirus.com [Turkish anti-virus site]
- H *Hürriyet* [newspaper, Turkey edition].
- HD *Hürriyet* [newspaper, European edition].
- HÜ www.hurriyet.com.tr/teknoloji/01/02/02/2subat2.htm [page on the site of the Internet version of the *Hürriyet* newspaper].
- HÜ2 www.hurriyet.com.tr/teknoloji/01/02/13/2teknonet.htm [another page on the Internet site of the Internet version of the *Hürriyet* newspaper].
- M www.microsoft.com/turkiye/girisimci/ipuclari/virusler.htm [page on the Turkish site of Microsoft company]
- MI *Milliyet-Internet* [Internet site of the *Milliyet* newspaper]. www.milliyet.com.tr.
- N www.marjinjal.com.tr/basin/novell_basin.htm [site of the Novell software company].
- NH *NetHaber* [Turkish Internet newspaper]. www.nethaber.com.
- PCM *PC Magazine Türkiye* [Turkish online computer magazine] www.pcmagazine.com.tr.
- RB Redhouse Büyük Elsözlüğü. İstanbul *1998. Redhouse. (Page numbers refer to the Turkish-English section).
- RO *Radikal-online* [Turkish Internet newspaper]. www.radikal.com.tr.
- T *TEMPO* [magazine].
- TI www.tikla.com/avrupa_haber/ah20010214.htm. [page on the Turkish news and lifestyle site Tikla.com]
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The Arabic Dialect of Tello: Some Phonological Remarks

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INTRODUCTION

Tello, in the region of Siirt in southeastern Turkey, is only mentioned in Otto Jastrow's well-known survey over the Mesopotamian qəltu-Dialects. In his survey, Jastrow presents material from the town Siirt and from three villages in its surroundings, namely: Ḥalanze, Feskən and Snēb, but nothing from Tello.

After the foundation of the republic of Turkey, in the early twenties of last century, a process of "Turkification" started. Two elements in this process are of a certain interest in this connection and should be mentioned:

1. According to the Surname act, *soyadı kanunu*, of 21 June 1934, all people living in Turkey must have Turkish surnames.¹
2. All names of cities, towns and villages must be derived from Turkish words. However, this was not done by law but by recommendations from officials such as the local government commissioner, the local municipal council, etc.

Tello, a name that is derived from Arabic *tall*, "hill, elevation", was named Aydinlar, "the enlightened ones". Why it was given such a name is clear. According to my informants, the name of the village reflects the status of its inhabitants. The village is known as *markaz əl-awliyā*, "centre of the holy ones", and was the home of əBrahīm Haqqī and Šayx Muğāħad, two well-known saints. The people of Tello have for centuries dedicated their lives to education, above all, to theology and Arabic. The following text relates a well-known legend among the *təlləwēniyye*, "inhabitants of Tello":

sayyədi Faqīru llāh rāhīma llāhu ‘anh kāän ēke zat.² fī waqt əl-‘uṣmāniyya ʂūlṭān bringī³ Maḥmūt kəl-ba‘afli farmān əy’əllu: yā Faqīru llāh, ənt u zurriyətak məd-dawle mō təħħi vergi,⁴ mō tsayy ‘askariyye, ši š-šāne mō tsayy, əy’əllu. w kəs-sane d-d., mən xazinat dawlat əl-‘uṣmāniyya fəl-miyye xamse iyye šā sulālətak, əy’əllu. čünki⁵ nəħne kənna ‘al-‘ələm. sulālətna, kəttna⁶ kənna ‘al-‘ələm nəħne. tabiki⁷ ba‘ət lay ġətt əg-ġəmħūriyye qata‘ūwa mən ‘alayna nəħne, ba‘ət lay ġəmħūriyye.

¹ Balli, 1991. p. 65.

² Cf. Tur. *zat* "personality".

³ Cf. Tur. *birinci* "the first".

⁴ Cf. Tur. *vergi* "tax".

⁵ Cf. Tur. *čünkü* "because".

⁶ Cf. Tur. *kəllətna* "all of us".

⁷ Cf. Tur. *tabii + ki* "a filling word that has no particular meaning".

anma l-farmānāt⁸ mawgūdīn ənne. əl-farmānāt ənn mawgūdīn əs-sah, lay şultān biringi Maḥmūt ha..., bi-Təllo ənnen. ənn ənədna.

TRANSLATION

My great grandfather Faqiru llah, may God have mercy upon him, was such a personality [continuation from an earlier text in the corpus]. During the Ottoman empire, Sultan Mahmut I sent him an imperial edict, saying: O Faqiru llah, you and all your offspring will not pay taxes to the empire, you are excused from the military service, you are excused from all duties (that have to do with the empire). Every year your family will receive five per cent from the public treasury of the Ottoman empire. This was because we dedicated ourselves to education. The whole of our family dedicated themselves to education. But after the building of the republic they stopped sending us that, but the imperial edicts still exist. The imperial edicts that Sultan Mahmut I sent (to my great grandfather) still exist today, they are in Təllo. We have them.

What is mentioned above and adding to it the impressions from a visit to Təllo and observing the strict religious way of living there explain the most common profession in the village, namely *məṭahhər*, “circumciser”. Until the beginning of the eighties, the majority of the men had this profession. They used to travel all over the country and to Iraq and to Syria for this work. The inhabitants of Təllo told me, proudly that Saddam Husain was circumcised by a man from Təllo. The circumcisers believed that this profession was one of the pious ones and that it served the nation of Islam. When the PKK started its struggle, travelling over international borders became difficult and hence the number of circumcisers decreased. The few who have continued the profession until today have only the region of Siirt as their working place. Circumcisers are described as real vagabonds. They went through a lot of difficulties in their travels and hence gained much experience. These experiences that the men from Təllo gained were related, according to tradition, in gatherings in a corner in front of a mosque in Təllo. Everyone I met could tell me at least a couple of stories about a *məṭahhər*. One of these stories is given at the end of this article.

The village has today about 1500 Arabic-speaking inhabitants. At present, there are two different peoples living in Təllo: Kurds who speak the north Kurdish dialect, (Kırmancı) and Arabs. The Arabs belong to two families, *‘ā’ila Xālidiyya* and *‘ā’ila ‘Abbasiyya*, as a mullah described them. The Xālidi tribe claim that their ancestors came to Təllo from Həmş in Syria about 400 years ago, and the ‘Abbasi tribe say that their ancestors came to Təllo from Saudi Arabia about 700 years ago. Both families are Sunni Moslems and belong to the Shāfi‘i school.

The Arabs of Təllo are proud of their origin. It is of great importance to belong to a family with a lineage. This deeply rooted feeling has created two social classes in the community: Arabs who belong to the first social class and Kurds who belong to the second. This was the reason why intermarriage between Kurds and Arabs was considered impossible when the girl was Arab. The Arabs never agreed to give their

⁸ Cf. Tur. *ferman* “imperial edict”.

daughters to Kurds. It was considered to be shameful. But, on the other hand, young men with Arab parentage could choose any young Kurdish girl they wanted. Today the situation is different. Kurds constitute the vast majority and intermarriage between Kurds and Arabs is becoming more and more common.

In spite of the fact that there is this social classification, the majority of the Arabs, if not all, speak Kirmancı. Kirmancı is necessary to manage one's daily life, because this language is used everywhere in southeastern Turkey. People in the streets speak Kirmancı, in dolmushes, in buses, in taxis, at tea-houses, in the stores where one buys one's food supplies and elsewhere.

Because of the political and economic situation in the mid eighties, people started to emigrate to the large cities in the western part of the country. They left for Konya, Izmir, Antalya, Ankara and Istanbul. The community in Istanbul is concentrated in two areas: Şirinevler and Fatih. The latter is known by Turks to be very religious. The emigration from Tello is occurring so rapidly that the Arabs are worried that soon no Arabs will remain in their home village and that both language and culture will vanish.

THE MATERIAL

Today we have about 12 hours of tape-recording. About 8 hours were recorded in Tello and 4 hours were recorded in Istanbul with people who had left Tello about 10 years ago. Less than 1 hour of the material originates from female informants. Because of the strict, religious lifestyle, it was almost impossible to interview women. After close contact over a year with one informant, he understood the importance of such material and he suggested that he should interview the women in his family, which has been a great help. This material from female informants shows an odd phonological peculiarity, as we shall see below under the phoneme /q/.

PHONOLOGY

In this dialect, we encounter immediately one striking feature, namely the devoicing of voiced phonemes in the final position in a word. The examples below illustrate this feature:

- /b/ is devoiced to /p/: ‘ənəp “grape(s)”; cf. OA *inab*.
- /d/ is devoiced to /t/: *bərət* “hail”; cf. OA *barad*.
- /z/ is devoiced to /s/: *lawz* “almond”; cf. OA *lawz*.
- /ɣ/ is devoiced to /č/: *sahrič* “cistern, tank”.
- /ʕ/ is devoiced to /ħ/: *mawqəħ* “place, spot”; cf. OA *mawqič*.

The phenomenon of devoicing in the final position is a known phonological feature in Turkish.⁹ It is obvious that it has affected the Arabic speakers of this region. Nevertheless, devoicing is not restricted to the final position. The gathered material contains examples of devoicing, for instance, in contact position before a voiceless phoneme, so-called regressive assimilation. The examples below show how /b/ is

⁹ Lewis, 1975. pp. 10 ff.

pronounced voiceless, /p/, in contact position before a voiceless sibilant /s/ and how /g/ is devoiced to /č/ before /h/:

dəps “syrup”; cf. *dibs*; *čhääs* “dowry”; cf. *ğahāz/ğihāz*.¹⁰

Moreover, the voiced, laryngeal fricative /ɣ/ is devoiced to /h/, for example:
säh̄tayn “two hours”; *xaməstahš* “fifteen”; *htaw-ni* “give me!”

THE INTERDENTALS

The OA, voiceless, interdental fricative /t/ has two reflexes in this dialect:

1. /t/ shifts to a voiceless, labio-dental fricative /f/, for example:
falğ “snow”; cf. OA *talğ*; *fēfin* “thirty”; cf. OA *talātūn*; *akfar* “more”; cf. OA *aktar*.
2. /t/ shifts to a voiceless, dental sibilant /s/ in loan words from Koran Arabic,¹¹ for example:
kasīr “much”; cf. OA *katīr*.¹²

Nevertheless, this second reflex is puzzling, because the same word is pronounced in two different ways by two different informants, for example:

smən qaşā'əd “eight poems” and *fmēne* “eight”.

The OA, voiced, interdental fricative /d/ shifts as a rule to a voiced, velarized, labio-dental fricative /y/, for example:

āyār “Mars”; cf. OA *ādār*; *yāxəy* “he takes”; cf. OA *axada*; *yib* “jackal, wolf”; cf. OA *di'b*.

In secondary borrowings¹³ from Turkish, /d/ shifts to a voiced, dental sibilant /z/, for example:

əzan “permission”; cf. Tur. *izin* and cf. AO *idn*.

The OA, voiced, velarized, interdental fricative /d/ shifts as a rule to a voiced, velarized, labio-dental fricative /y/, for example:

¹⁰ *čhääs* can mean “trousseau, package, fittings, outfit”. The term is used exclusively about the bride’s trousseau, which she takes with her when she gets married. Money is not included.

¹¹ The reason for using the description “Koran Arabic” is that the language of the Koran is the only form of Arabic that these people come into contact with. The question: “Why do they use words or phrases from the Koran?” can have many answers. The religious aspect can play a certain role. By using these words or phrases one can show that one is acquainted with the Koran and thus is pious. Another suggestion is that by showing that one is acquainted with the Koran one can show that one is educated and thus has a certain social status.

¹² Normally the term used for “much” is *boş*; cf. Kur. *boş* “plentiful, abundant”.

¹³ Secondary borrowing means that an Arabic word was first taken into Turkish and secondly from Turkish back into this Arabic dialect.

yəħər “noon, midday”; cf. OA *duhr*; *yahri* “my back”; cf. OA *dahr*.

In secondary borrowings, we find another reflex of /d/, namely, the voiced, velarized, dental sibilant /z/, for example:

zalām “you treated unjustly, oppressed”; cf. Tur. *zulmetmek*; cf. also OA *dalama*.

In loan words from Koran Arabic, /d/ is retained, for example :

ḍāləm “oppressor”; cf. OA *ḍālim*.

It is worth mentioning here that this kind of borrowing from Koran Arabic is more frequent when the speaker is an imam or a mullah.

The OA, voiced, dental, velarized plosive /d/ is also realized as a voiced, velarized, labio-dental fricative /y/, for example:

ayrās “teeth”; cf. OA *adrās*; *kə-xyarrat* “became green”; cf. OA *ixdarrat*; *yhayrūn* “they prepare”; cf. OA *haddara*.

/d/, however, had another reflex, namely, the voiced, dental sibilant /z/, for example: *zarap* “to hit, strike”; cf. OA *daraba*.

In secondary borrowings from Turkish, /d/ is realized as the voiced, velarized, dental sibilant /z/, for example:

fazla “abundance”; cf. Tur. *fazla*; cf. also OA *fadla*.

In borrowings from Koran Arabic, /d/ is preserved, for example:

raḍiya “to be satisfied, be content”; cf. OA *raḍiya*; *ḥadūr* “presence, attendance”; cf. OA *ḥudūr*.

The OA, voiceless, uvular, plosive /q/ is realized as the voiceless, glottal plosive /ʔ/. This realization appears only in all forms of the OA verb *qāla* “he said”, for example:

'ēl “he said”; *ay'ūl* “he says”; *tūl* “you (2 m. sg.) or she say(s)”.

But it seems that the male speakers of this dialect alternate facultatively between /q/ and /ʔ/ in this verb, because my material contains forms of the same verb but with /q/ unchanged, for example:

qal-la “he said to her”.

During one session, an informant commented that the men's variety had been subjected to changes, due to their contacts with other people. They change now, optionally, between *a'ūl* and *aqūl* “I say”, while the women consistently say *a'ūl* and hence preserve the dialect. This remark from our male informant proved to be totally correct. When, at last, I received tape-recorded material from female informants,

I immediately noticed the consistent shift of /q/ to /χ/. This shift is not restricted to the verb *qāla*, though it is general. The following example is a dialogue taken from a session in which the male informant M. was interviewing his mother H. and his sister S., for example:

M- *fī haqq aŞtanbūl fī haqq Təllo aşş tūli?*

“What do you say concerning Istanbul, concerning Təllo?”

S- *fī ha*” *aŞtanbūl, fī ha*” *Təllo aşş aūl?*

“What do I say concerning Istanbul, concerning Təllo?”

M- *aş-sah yəqrāw?* “They study now?”

H- *aş-sah yərāw. nəħne mää rəħna mää ɻarayna. mō nə'raf nə'rī w nəktēp.*

“They study now. We did not go (to school) and did not study. We do not know how to read and write.”

Note that, although M. pronounces /q/, his mother and sister pronounce /χ/ when they reply. Nevertheless, in Turkish loanwords women pronounce an original Turkish /k/ as a voiceless, uvular plosive /q/, for example:

luqūm “Turkish delight”; cf. Tur. *lukum*.

fabriqa “factory”; cf. Tur. *fabrika*.

To shift between /q/ and /χ/ obviously creates problems for women and the result may be that they often cannot distinguish the loanwords from original Arabic words, which in its turn results in a shift of Turkish /k/ to /χ/, since they unconsciously believe that it is the same as /q/, for example:

bāš'a “different”; cf. Tur. *başka*.

'imā “minced meat”; cf. Tur. *kiyma*.

Furthermore, /q/ shows, in a few examples, a tendency to shift to a voiceless, velar, fricative /χ/ in final position, for example:

yṣaddax “he believes”; cf. OA *saddaqa*.

Also in contact position before a voiceless phoneme, /q/ shifts to /χ/, for example:

waxt, “time; then, at that time”; cf. OA *waqt*.

Apart from the above-mentioned cases, /q/ is preserved, for example:

qām “he stood up”; *saqaw* “they gave to drink”; *fəṣṭaq* “pistachio”.

In the Arabic dialects on the Syrian seacoast, the voiced, palato-alveolar affricate /g/ is realized as a voiced, palato-alveolar sibilant /z/. But this realization is not a common feature in the Arabic dialect of Təllo, although a few examples are attested:

żbayne “cheese”; cf. OA *ȝubn/ȝubna*.

b-yižmad “it becomes cold”; cf. OA *ȝamada*.

Apart from these examples, /g/ is preserved as a voiced, palato-alveolar affricate, for example:

ğā “he came”; cf. OA ğā'a; əğr-ək “your foot”; cf. OA riğl; hağar “stone, rock”; cf. OA hağar.

In a few cases, the OA, voiceless, glottal plosive /ʔ/ in initial position, when followed by the back vowel /a/, tends to shift to a voiced, pharyngeal fricative /ɣ/, for example:

‘aşal “origin”; cf. OA ʔaşl; ‘aqārəb “relatives”; cf. OA aqribā’.

In medial position and in the CiCC pattern, /ʔ/ is elided and as a result the preceding short vowel is lengthened, for example:

bīr “well”; cf. OA bi'r; vīb “jackal, wolf”; cf. OA di'b.

But in the CaCaC pattern /ʔ/ is retained in medial position, for example:

saʔalt “you (m. sg.) asked”; cf. OA sa'ala.

In loanwords from Koran Arabic, /ʔ/ is retained in medial and final position, for example:

mas'ale¹⁴ “matter, issue”; cf. OA mas'ala; qaḍā’ “district, province”; cf. OA qaḍā’

In addition to the consonant system used in OA, some other phonemes have slipped into this dialect via borrowings from the other languages in the region, for instance, /p/, /v/, /č/ and /g/. The examples below show in what kinds of words these phonemes are attested:

/p/: pāṛāt “money”; cf. Tur. para, and qāpi “door, gate”; cf. Tur. kapi.

/v/: naviyyət (in const.) “grandchild”; cf. Kur. navî, and sāvar “berghel, boiled wheat”; cf. Kur. savar/sawar.

/č/: čāx “when, at the time when”; cf. Tur. çag “time, age, period”, and čōbān “shepherd”; cf. Tur. çoban.

/g/: gari¹⁵ “talk, speech”, and zanagīn “rich (pl.)”; cf. Tur. zengin.

Text, lə-Mṭahrīn

1. qabəl qw l-lə-mṭahrīn ka-yrōḥu 'al-‘ərāq. ē dīn mṭahrīn n‘ənnəna kēnu şa'bīn. ē dīn ka-fī ka-yassamu ḥusayn. kään bawš şā'ap. əyqūm əyrō əl-‘ərāq. əysīr məsāafər¹⁶ fī baytin wēħat. əšš ḥālkan? əħnu? gariyən kään 'ayn kama gari l-‘ərāq.

¹⁴ Note that the Turkish word, *mesele*, is not used here.

¹⁵ This is most probably an onomatopoeic word that has developed this meaning locally. A similar pronunciation of the word is common in many Arabic dialects but has another meaning, namely “to babble, talk too much”. Cf. also Per. *giryā* “to weep”.

¹⁶ Cf. Tur. *misafir* “guest”.

2. *ət'ellu: yā axi Həsayn āy 'eşšīn sane nəħne mzawgīn walat mō ysīrli. awoh bowš rāha. eħħ ħəlżam? yətxammən āk əl-layle fəl-bayt mā fi 'aša. əy'ūl trōhi 'għibili ġeġe. aħma mō də-ysir fi-ya lakke¹⁷ s-sawda. ħayya. ē xa-ysir ət'ellu.*
3. *w tə-tħibili żanabir ən-əllan, mā fi? qaw la-yħəttūwan, kama lay tsayy 'asal, naħəl, fi quwwaratan¹⁸ wħħde, b-əzən allā lla ta'ħala d-yħħiġi əħben. lā ħawla wa la..., əyrōħu, l-zawġ w əl-mara əyġibulu ġeġe. yəvbaħuwa. y'ūl tət-shabbu damma fəl-bardaq¹⁹ u bəl-layl hēš mā kəd-daxaltən l-ōdđatkən də-āġi l-laykən ana. w əz-żanābir əmme xa-yəbqaw hayya ma āġi.*
4. *walla ysawawlu 'aša, ġāġa w rəss w laħem. yət'aššaw. ba'ad la-yət'aššaw əy'ūl šā l-mara: šafšakki²⁰ təš..., təyrəbi fi-yu lastiġ²¹ da-mā də-y'abħar hawa. w šā r-raġal am 'ayni š-ſi. walla əysir bəl-layl. əyrō yəltəqqəm daqqat rğl əl-ħayy, əl-damm 'al-mara wħħde. yəvrəħa əwnake dann w əwn dann laġ-ġeġe w šā r-raġal am 'ayni š-ſi.*
5. *w əyqūm əy-ħarrap ən-naħəl fi lbās ər-raġal w əy'ellu šətt waṣṭak b-ma'nak w əyħrap əyxalliyu. ääva əgħru fəl-ary w əgħor fəs-sama kəl-hār eħħ ċeċ-ċi. əħġi də-ysayy. qabal baytu āk, kəl-mawqaħ kən-ntaram, ʃar ēke. əy'ellu awwəl mā..., əħġi ma 'anek. lā tfallat rōħak!*
6. *walla ääva əyħrap əyrō, ääv Həsayn. yətħar fi-ya sane şala w āk. 'ām əy'ellu: Həsayn əsaqqən lā trō flān yay'a, wēħed mtaħħħarči l-oxxi. y'ellu: xayr uww? də-yəqtəlūk. əy'ellu: mā 'alayk ənta.*
7. *wulla yədxal əy-yay'a ääv zawč əl-mara yżəss rōħu 'alayu ybūs iħdu. xayr uww? y'ūl alla ta'ħala 'aħħana əħben. talla, qadaye qədrat!²² əy'ellu: allā ta'ħala 'aħħana əħben, uww ka-yəbz. u dī 'ala āk əl-lə-zyefat w əl-mō 'raf ayš.*
8. *əyqūm mən āk əl-yay'a yrō yay'at l-oxxi. tabiki kəll mən-lu ka-lu yay'a ääv lə-mħaṛin. aħħat mā ka-yəstarġi yədxel fi-ya. əyqūm yrō yay'atan wħħde. as-salāmu 'alaykum w 'al..., y'ellu: yā Həsayn, yā sayt.., sayyat əy'elūlan, sayyat nəħħne, nəħħne s-s..., Ahmat, sayyat Ahmat ayy sapp u...?*
9. *əy'ūl: sayyat Ahmat rāskan tħayyap kəl-mäǟt. ana ġitu fi āfāru. a'me (l'ama i Syr, Lib) eħħ tkūn? hāl w əl-ħawāl ēke. fi awnak arbīn walat. də-yħħħar rəħbu. walla āk-ka-da²³ l-yawm xafif də-yħħħar. əyħħar l-arbīn walat.*
10. *əyqūm feni yawm məs-ħaħħi 'ala, 'aħ-ħarġi yətmaħħa yəgi yitħəss āv əz-żalame, ääv lay də-yrō l-ay-yay'a, Ahmet. əy'ellu ayy sapp trō? əy'ellu a'mi lā trō! rəħbu l-yay'a guye²⁴ kəl-qasṣayt zəpp wēħed mən lay ysayy qanama²⁵ də-ymūt al-walet. də-ymūt āk, kəl-mēt āk əl-walēt. əydawru 'alayk də-yədbahūk.*

¹⁷ Cf. Tur. *leke* “spot of dirt, mark”.

¹⁸ Cf. Tur. *kovani* “beehive”.

¹⁹ Cf. Tur. *bardak* “glass, cup”.

²⁰ The string that holds the slacks up.

²¹ Cf. Tur. *lastik* “rubber”.

²² Cf. *qaḍaq w qadar* “by fate and divine decree”.

²³ Cf. Tur. *da, de* “too, also, and”.

²⁴ Cf. Tur. *güya* “as though, as if”.

²⁵ Cf. Tur. *kanama* “bleeding”.

11. *a'mi əšš tūl? əy'əllu: ġbi rōħak! yə'daw xalfək. ayy sapp aġbi rōħi? əy'əllu zəšš rōħak fī äävi əl-, mää fī əfār hāša m-ħzūrak lay lal-xala, əy'əllu: zəšš rōħak awnak. əyzəšš rōħu awnak. əy'əllu a'mi rāsak əybāyyən. ġat̄ti rāsak amme! əyġaṭti rāsu hāša m-ħzūrak fī ək əšš səmma w yəħrap. əyrō dāv.*
12. *ba'ad la-yətlaħ yə'rāf də-nbala, ääva ɻ-żalame kəs-sawa ma'u əq rə-hqāra, ē dī yğawk məl-yəħk. ē dīn 'ala Təllo qabəl 'əššin sane əl-lə-mṭahrin kāānu bowš ʂə'bīn. kəl-ċabar bowš ēke fə-rāsan māġārāt.²⁶*
13. *ka-yrōħu l-ċərāq, əs-Sūriyya. Šī lay kəg-ġā r-rāsan ka-yəgħaw əwnak, awwəl mā trō l-baytna fī Təllo, fī baqqāl əwnak, ənd əl-qəbbe, ē dī ġwnak kənna qēdīn nəħne. əw lə-xtayrīn kəlla ka-yəq'ədu əwnak w ysawaw bahs²⁷ əl-ċərāq.*

lə-Mṭahrīn (*translation*)

1. In the early days these circumcisers, *mṭahrīn*, used to go to Iraq. The circumcisers from Təllo used to be very smart. One of them was named Husayn. He was very smart. He went to Iraq. He stayed as a guest in a house. "How are you?" (he asked). Their dialect was exactly like the dialect of Iraq.
2. She says to him: "O brother Husayn, we have now been married for 20 years and I cannot have a child". "That is very easy" (he answers). "What is needed?" (she asks). He suspects that there is no dinner in the house this evening. He says: "You go and bring me a chicken! But it must be without any spot of black colour on it. It must be white". "So shall it be", she answers.
3. "And you shall also bring to me what we call a hornet, do you know it? Those that you normally put, as when you make honey, bees, beehives (they say:)". There is one power and no .., they leave, the husband and the woman go and bring a chicken. They butcher it. He says to them: "You drain its blood into a glass and in the night before you go to your room, I will come to you".
4. So they prepare dinner for him, chicken, rice and meat. He eats dinner. After they have had dinner, he says to the woman: "Put rubber on your ʃəfʃək so that air cannot come in there, and the same thing for the man". It becomes night. He goes and sprinkles drops of the water, blood on the woman. He sprinkles blood from the chicken here and there and also on the man.
5. Then he puts the hornet in the man's cloth and says to him: "Tighten your waist with your string-belt!" And he flees. He leaves him. This man starts to jump, having one foot on the earth and the other in the sky, not knowing what to do. He [?] his house, all his body was swollen and became like this. The man says to the circumciser: "As soon as you did not ..." The circumciser answers: "Hold your belt! Do not let go your belt!"
6. Husayn leaves them and flees. The couple pray for about a year. One day, another circumciser says to Husayn: "Stop, do not go to that village!" Husayn

²⁶ Cf. Tur. *macera* "adventure".

²⁷ Cf. Tur. *bahis* and Kur. *behs* "subject, topic".

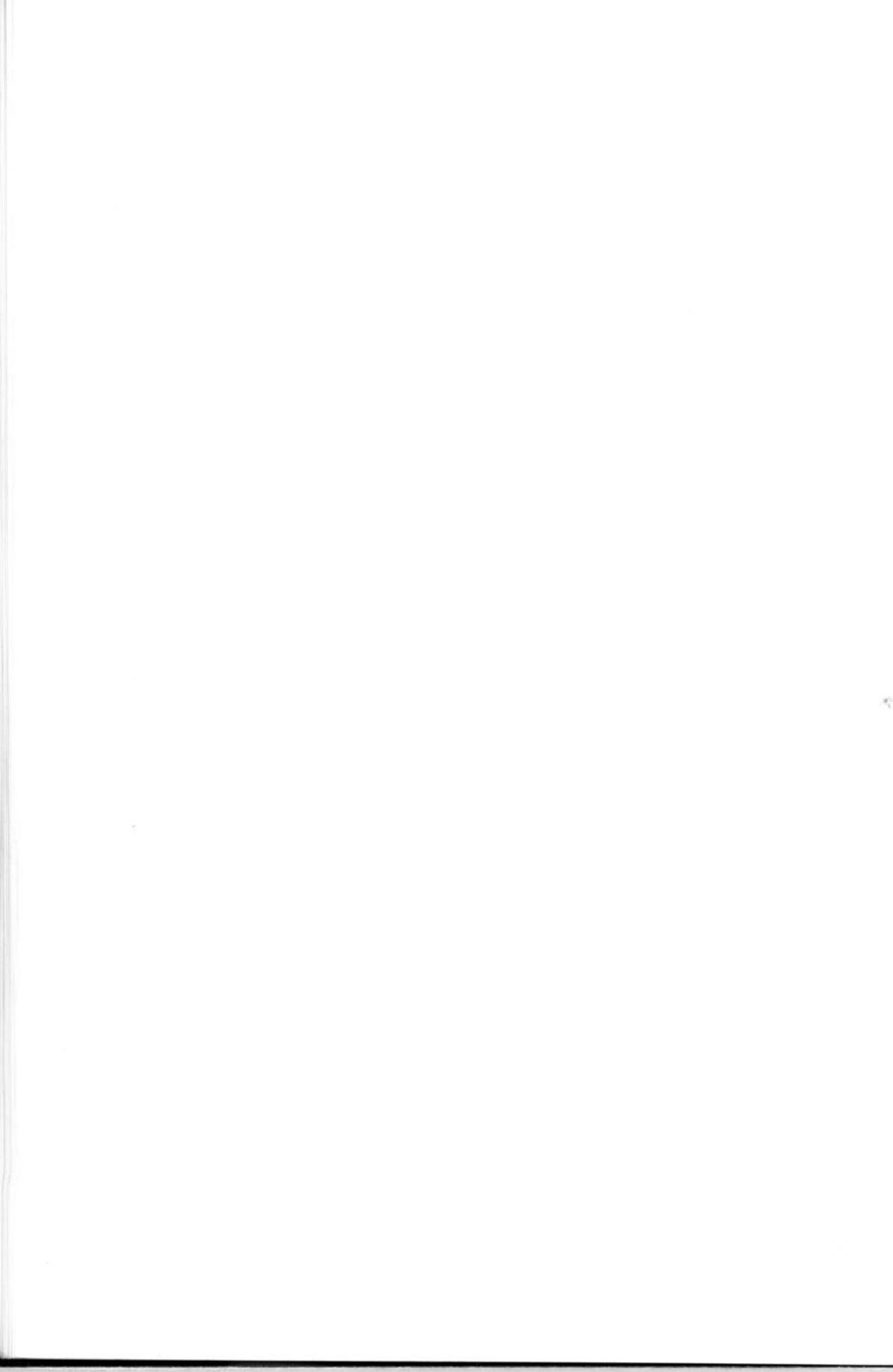
says: "What is it?" "They will kill you". Husayn says: "Don't worry about that!"

7. So he comes to the village and the husband of the woman throws himself over him and kisses his hand. Husayn asks: "What is the matter?" The man answers: "God the Sublime gave us a son. Behold the destiny!" He says: "God the Sublime gave us a son", while Husayn was afraid. They started to show him generosity in abundance.
8. Husayn leaves this village to another. These circumcisers had, of course, each a different village. None of the others dared to go to it. So he goes to another village. He and the people of the village greet each other, while one of them says: "O grandfather Husayn, (they used to call the circumciser grandfather), our grandfather is Ahmat, where is grandfather Ahmat?"
9. He answers: "Grandfather Ahmat has died, may you be safe. I came in his place". "What are you saying? How did it happen?" (He answers:) "This is what happened". Anyhow, there are 40 children there. He will circumcise all of them. So this circumciser hurries up that day and circumcises them. He circumcises all the 40 children.
10. The day after, while walking on the road on his way from the village he meets the man who is going to that village, Ahmat. He asks Ahmat: "Where are you going?" He goes on: "Do not go there! I went to that village and it looks as if you cut the penis of a child and because of bleeding, he will die. The child will die. He died, that child. They are looking for you to kill you".
11. "What the hell are you saying?" Husayn answers: "Hide yourself! They are running after you". "Where can I hide myself?" Husayn says: "Throw yourself in this", you know where, excuse me, where they do their natural needs. Husayn says: "Throw yourself there". He throws himself there. Husayn says: "Your head is still visible. Cover your head also!" The man covers his head with whatever it is called and Husayn flees. He leaves him.
12. When this man comes out and realizes that this was a trick, that Husayn has fooled him in such a vulgar way, imagine the laughing then. So, in Tello, 20 years ago these circumcisers were very smart. They had experienced many adventures.
13. They used to go to Iraq and Syria. What they experienced, they used to relate there, on the way to our house in Tello, beside the greengrocer, there near the *qəbbe*. There we used to sit. All these old men used to sit there and talk about Iraq.

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Missionare, Bibliophile und Forscher in den koptischen Klöstern des Wadi 'n-Natrun

OTTO F.A. MEINARDUS, Ellerau

1. EINLEITUNG: DAS WADI 'N-NATRUN EINST UND HEUTE

Wohl nirgendswo in Ägypten hat sich die Landschaft innerhalb der letzten 50 Jahre so grundlegend und dramatisch verändert wie in der westlichen Wüste. Fährt man heute auf der vierspurigen Wüsten-Schnellstraße von Kairo nach Alexandrien sieht man auf beiden Seiten der Trasse landwirtschaftliche Nutzung und kleine und mittlere Industrien. Die weiten Wüsten, die einst Beduinen, Einsiedler und Asketen in ungetrübter Einsamkeit bewohnten, gehören der Vergangenheit an. Das Wadi 'n-Natrun, die rapide wachsende Ortschaft Wadi 'n-Natrun und die ausgedehnte Urbarmachung der Wüste haben das Gebiet auf halben Wege zwischen den beiden Millionenstädten zu einem neuen wirtschaftlichen Zentrum verwandelt, durch das ein Netz von asphaltierten Straßen führt.

Die geistlichen Söhne des hl. Antonius (250–356), die sich in den Wüsten südwestlich von Alexandrien niederliessen, hatten ursprünglich drei Gebiete zu ihrer Auswahl. Vom hl. Makarius dem Alexandriener (4. Jh.) wird berichtet, daß er vier Zellen in der westlichen Wüste bewohnte. Eine in der inneren Wüste, der Sketis, eine in Libyen, eine in Kellia und eine in Nitria. Nitria lag am Wüstenrand, 50 km nördlich vom Wadi 'n-Natrun und 15 km südwestlich von Damanhur. Kellia oder „die Zellen“ lag südwestlich von Nitria auf dem Wege zur inneren Wüste, der Sketis. Die Sketis, auch bekannt als Shihet, Wadi Habib oder Wadi 'n-Natrun, wurde schon im 4. Jh. zu jenem geistlichen Zentrum des koptischen Mönchtums, das durch die Altväter Sts. Makarius dem Großen, Paphnutius, Bishoi, Johannes dem Kleinen, Johannes Kame, Maximus und Domitius, Isidor und Moses dem Schwarzen in die Kirchengeschichte einging. Es ist bemerkenswert, daß die beiden Kloster-Siedlungen in Nitria und in Kellia, die unweit der „Welt“ – dem Zustand der Sünde und des Todes – angelegt waren, schon im 5. Jh. aufgegeben worden. Nur die „Zellen“ in der inneren Wüste, der Sketis, überlebten für 1500 Jahre dem Ansturm und Druck der „Welt“.

Schon einmal, zur Zeit des koptischen Patriarchen Shenuda I. (859–880) als fast 1000 Mönche die Wüste der Sketis bevölkerten, hatte man dort „ein göttliches Paradies“ mit herrlichen Gemüse- und Weingärten, Getreidemühlen und Ölpressen und „vielen anderen nützlichen und dienlichen Installationen“ angelegt (HPCC, PO X, 538). Elfhundert Jahre später sollten diese mondänen Leistungen durch die zivilisatorischen Anstrengungen des 21. Jhs. noch weit übertroffen werden. Hatte nicht der hl. Makarius der Große einst gewarnt, daß wenn du hier Sträucher und Bäume wachsen siehst, dann nehme dein Gewand und fliehe, – Vorboten der Endzeit?

2. ÜBER KATHOLISCHE MISSIONS- UND UNIONSZIELE IN DEN KOPTISCHEN KLÖSTERN DES WADI 'N-NATRUN

Seit dem von Papst Eugenius IV. (1431–1447) einberufenen Konzil von Florenz (1439–1445) strebte die römisch-katholische Kirche immer wieder nach Einigung mit den orthodoxen Kirchen des Orients. Obwohl der koptische Patriarch Johannes XI. (1427–1452) den Abt Johannes des St. Antoniusklosters am Roten Meer nach Florenz entsandte, der auch das Unions-Dekret unterschrieb, blieb die kirchliche Union doch ein unerfüllter Traum. Im 16. Jh. versuchten vier katholische Päpste, Pius IV. (1559–65), Gregor XIII. (1572–85), Sixtus V. (1585–90) und Clemens VIII. (1592–1605) die koptische Kirche zum Einlenken in der Unionsfrage zu bewegen. Am 13. März 1592 entsandte Papst Clemens VIII. seinen Legaten Girolamo Vecchietti zum koptischen Patriarchen Gabriel VIII. (1587–1602) und wies auf die Notwendigkeit einer kirchlichen Verbindung mit dem Papst in Rom hin. Im Juni 1594 trafen dann auch zwei koptische Mönche des St. Makariusklosters und ein Diakon aus Alexandrien in Rom ein, die dem Papst das geforderte Obedienzschreiben des koptischen Patriarchen Gabriel VIII. überbrachten. Am 15. Januar 1595 legten die koptischen Wüstenväter Abuna Yusuf ibn Mikhail und Abuna 'Abd al-Masih al-Makini ibn Butrus vor dem Papst und dem Kardinalskollegium ihr Bekennen zum katholischen Glauben und ihren Gehorsam zu den Anweisungen des Papstes ab. Zwei Jahre später, 1597, bekannte sich der koptische Patriarch Gabriel VIII. zum katholischen Glauben und zur Vereinigung seiner Kirche mit Rom. Vier Abgesandte des Patriarchen übergaben dem Papst das Dokument, das Gabriel VIII. im oberägyptischen Kloster des hl. Victor bei Abnub geschrieben hatte¹. Jedoch nach dem Tod des Patriarchen wurde offensichtlich der *status quo ante* wieder hergestellt.

Der Gedanke eine Gesellschaft zur Wiedervereinigung der „schismatischen“ Brüder mit der römisch-katholischen Kirche zu gründen geht auf den Reform-Papst Gregor XIII. (1572–85) zurück. Aber erst 1622 wurde der Plan von Papst Gregor XV. (1621–23) verwirklicht und die *Sancta Congregatio de propaganda fide* ins Leben gerufen². Die Kapuziner (OFM Cap), die neben den Franziskanern und Konventualen der dritte selbständige Zweig des ersten Ordens des hl. Franz von Assisi ist, wurden von dem Barberini Papst Urban VIII. (1623–44) beauftragt die Kopten in den Schoß der römischen Kirche zurückzuführen.

Schon 1623 erreichten die ersten Franziskanerobervantanten Ägypten und begaben sich in das St. Antoniuskloster am Roten Meer. Von den vier koptischen Klöstern im Wadi 'n-Natrun hatte das St. Makariuskloster seit fast 1000 Jahren eine führende Rolle in der koptischen Kirche gespielt. Nicht nur überlieferten die Makariusmönche durch den hl. Makarius das Erbe des Gründers des christlichen Mönchtums in der Sketis, für viele Jahrhunderte diente das Wüstenkloster als Amtssitz den koptischen Päpsten, die sich in Zeiten politischer Bedrängnis in die Wüste zurückzogen. Außerdem hatte sich das Kloster über die Jahrhunderte zu der bedeutendsten koptischen Nekropole entwickelt. Im 11. Jh. wurde das Haupt des Evangelisten Markus

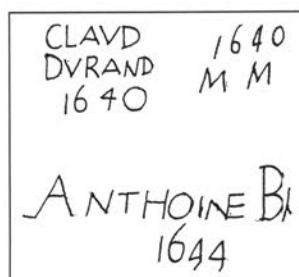
¹ Graf, G., *GCAL* IV, 1944, 120.

² Heute: *Congregatio pro Ecclesiis Orientalibus*.

im Makariuskloster verehrt, dort lagen die Gebeine des Täufers Johannes, die des Propheten Elisha und die von 10 koptischen Päpsten vom 9.–17. Jhs. Vom 6.–16. Jh. besaß das Kloster die Führungsrolle der Wadi 'n-Natrun Klöster. Für viele Jahrhunderte bestimmten die Makariusmönche die Nominierungen und Wahlen der koptischen Hierarchen.

Demnach war es für die Kapuzinerväter der *Propaganda fide* einleuchtend ihre Aufmerksamkeit auf die Mönche des St. Makariusklosters zu richten. Nachdem die führenden katholischen Missionare die vier koptischen Klöster der westlichen Wüste besucht und begutachtet hatten, entschied man sich das Makariuskloster als „Missions-Schule“ zur Erlernung der arabischen Sprache zu benutzen, so daß einige Jahre später sogar die Kapuziner die Arabisch-Lehrer für die Missionare in Jerusalem und der Kustodie des Heiligen Landes wurden³.

Den Beschreibungen von P.J. Coppin (1638) zufolge, segelten die Missionare im allgemeinen von Alexandrien oder von Bulaq nördlich von Kairo kommend auf dem Rosetta-Arm des Nils bis at-Tarrana⁴, nördlich von al-Khatatba, oder bis al-Atris⁵, wo die Mönche des Makariusklosters ihre landwirtschaftliche Niederlassung unterhielten. Dort mieteten sie Pferde oder Esel mit Begleitern, die sie innerhalb von zwei Tagen zum Kloster führten. Man bezahlte für die Reise durch die Wüste 2 Piaster pro Tier und 4 Piaster pro Begleiter⁶. Die Kapuziner Agathangelus de Vendôme, Cassian von Nantes, Franziskus von Como, Markus von Lucca, Aegidius Lochiensis (Gilles de Loche) und Antonius de Virgoletta waren nur einige der bekannteren Patres die versuchten die koptische Kirche in den Schoß der katholischen Kirche zu führen. Franziskus Maria von Salem, der sich 1677 der Ägypten-Mission anschloß, hatte noch vergebens versucht den koptischen Patriarchen Johannes XVI. (1676–1718) für die Union zu gewinnen. Zu jener Zeit war Arcangelo da Malta (Michael Zammit) Superior des Franziskaner-Hospizes in Alt-Kairo⁷. In der St. Michaeliskapelle im Wehrturm (*qasr*) des Makariusklosters befinden sich mehrere Graffiti, darunter die Inschriften von drei Missionaren, Claude Durand 1640, MM 1640 und Anthoine Ba 1644, der möglicherweise P. Antonius de Virgoletta war.



Graffiti im Makariuskloster.

³ Golubovich, G., *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica*, 1927, III, i, 92.

⁴ Meinardus, O., „Terenuthis-Tarrana“, *BSGE* 39, 1966, 161f.

⁵ De Thévenot besuchte at-Atris in 1657.

⁶ Coppin, J., *Relation des Voyages, etc.*, 1720, 343.

⁷ Rocco da Cesinale, *Storia della missioni*, 1873, III, 399.

Für die Missionare waren die Kopten schlechtweg Eutychianische Häretiker, obwohl sich die Kopten von der Irrlehre des Archimandriten Eutyches schon seit dem 5. Jh. selbst distanziert hatten. Die theologischen Probleme zwischen den Kopten und den Katholiken, nämlich die des Petrus-Primats, des 'Filioque' (der Progression des hl. Geistes vom Vater und vom Sohn), der Gebrauch von ungesäuerten Abendmahlbroten, des Fegefeuers und des Ablasses waren Themen die nicht zufriedenstellend gelöst werden konnten.

Die Missionsarbeit der Kapuzinerväter unter den koptischen Mönchen wurde ernsthaft gestört durch die Ankunft des evangelisch-lutherischen Laien-Missionars Peter Heyling, Sohn eines Goldschmiedemeisters aus Lübeck (1607–52), in den Wadi 'n-Natrun Klöstern. Während seines Studiums in Paris gehörte Heyling einem Freundeskreis an, der sich zum Ziel gesetzt hatte, die Lehren Martin Luthers in den alten orthodoxen Kirchen des Orients zu verbreiten. Im Frühjahr 1633 erreichte Heyling Alexandrien. Auf Anraten eines französischen Kaufmanns, den er während seiner Reise nach Kairo getroffen hatte, begab er sich im April 1633 „geleitet vom Herrn“ in das Makariuskloster, um dort die arabische Sprache zu erlernen. Die Kapuziner forderten Heyling nach Alexandrien zu bringen und ihn auszuweisen. Zur Zeit seines Aufenthalts war das Kloster von 10 bis 14 koptischen Mönchen bewohnt. Eines Tages brachen arabische Söldner in den klösterlichen Frieden ein und versuchten Heyling gefangen zu nehmen. Er widerstande sich ihren Forderungen und es gelang ihm die Soldaten abzuweisen. Nach dreimonatigem Aufenthalt im Makariuskloster kehrte er nach Kairo zurück. Dort lernte er den syrischen Erzbischof kennen, der ihn in das Syerkloster einlud. So reiste er 1634 zum zweiten Male in die Wüste und verblieb dort fünf Monate um die syrische Sprache zu erlernen. Peter Heyling war der letzte Zeuge einer syrischen Anwesenheit im Syerkloster. P. Agathangelus, der Hauptgegner Heylings, hatte am 15. Oktober 1634 die katholischen Missionare an Bord der portugiesischen Schiffe (*navibus lusitanis*) vor dem gefährlichen Häretiker Peter Heyling gewarnt. Heylings Kampf gegen die Kapuziner-Missionare bestimmte weitgehend sein missionarisches Wirken in Ägypten und auch später in Äthiopien. Hatte doch P. Agathangelus sogar behauptet, daß Heyling von den koptischen Mönchen im Makariuskloster getauft und beschnitten worden sei und als koptischer Mönch den neuen Abuna Murqus nach Äthiopien begleitete⁸.

Um 1638 diente das Makariuskloster als Zufluchtsort für P. Franziskus von Como, der gemeinsam mit P. Markus von Lucca für die Unionsbestrebungen der katholischen Kirche wirkte. P. Markus hatte 1680 acht Monate im Makariuskloster verbracht, um die koptischen Mönche in der Frage der Union zum Einlenken zu bewegen. Die Mönche aber bestanden auf ihre Unabhängigkeit von Rom.

Nachdem die italienischen Kapuziner für über 100 Jahre versucht hatten die Kopten zur Union mit der katholischen Kirche zu bewegen, bemühten sich im 18. Jh. die französischen Jesuiten darum. Der Jesuitenpater Claude Sicard (1677–1726) wurde 1712 von Aleppo nach Kairo transferiert wo sein Hauptanliegen darin bestand die abtrünnigen Kopten wieder in den Schoß der katholischen Kirche zu führen. Als archäologisch interessanter Vertreter seiner Kirche hatte ihn Philipp von Orléans be-

⁸ Meinardus, O., „Peter Heyling“, *Okst* 14, 1965, 305–26; 18, 1969, 16–22.

auftragt Pläne und Zeichnungen historischer Objekte zu machen. Zweimal besuchte P. Sicard die vier Wadi 'n-Natrun Klöster im Dezember 1712 und drei Jahre später in Begleitung des Maronitenpeters Joseph S. Assemani. P. Sicard begann seine Reise in der klösterlichen Niederlassung der Makariusmönche in al-Atris am Rosetta-Arm des Nils, wo schon 1657 Jean de Thénaud (1633–1667) eingekehrt war. Der Abt des Makariusklosters begleitete den Jesuiten-Missionar auf seinem Weg zu den übrigen drei Klöstern. Wo es sich ergab debattierte er mit den Mönchen über die Vorteile und die Überlegenheit des katholischen Glaubens. Seine zweite Reise diente ausschließlich dem Erwerb von koptischen Manuskripten für die Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana⁹.

Um 1880 wurde P. Michel Jullien, s.j., Provinzial der Ordensprovinz der Jesuiten in Ägypten. Im August 1881 besuchte er, begleitet von zwei Jesuitenpatres und einem Laien, die vier koptischen Klöster. Sie begannen ihren Ausflug in Kafra Daud, 4 km nördlich von at-Tarrana am Rosetta-Arm des Nils, wo seit dem Anfang des 19. Jhs. das Bishoikloster seine Niederlassung unterhielt. In den koptischen Klöstern versuchten die Jesuiten immer wieder die theologischen Vorzüge der katholischen Kirche zu erklären, wobei die Frage des Petrus-Primats offenbar für die Kopten das Hauptproblem darstellte¹⁰.

In der Mitte des 18. Jhs. ernannte Papst Benedikt XIV. (1740–58) den koptischen Bischof Athanasius von Jerusalem, der zum katholischen Glauben konvertiert war, zum katholischen Bischof von Ägypten. Im 18. Jh. übersetzte und veröffentlichte Raphael Tukhi aus Girga die ganze Bibel und liturgische Texte in Rom und wurde Titular-Bischof von Antinoë. Das koptisch-katholische Patriarchat wurde von Papst Leo XIII. (1878–1903) durch *Christi domini* 1895 etabliert, aber eigentlich erst 1947 durch den Patriarchen Markus Khuzam besetzt.

3. ÜBER DEN ERWERB BIBLIOPHILER SCHÄTZE IN DEN KOPTISCHEN KLÖSTERN DES WADI 'N-NATRUN

Insbesondere waren es drei europäische Sammlungen, die an den koptischen, syrischen und arabischen Manuskripten aus den Wüstenklöstern des Wadi 'n-Natrun interessiert waren. Von den französischen Bibliophilen und Antiquaren Nicholas Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637), Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683) und Henri Charles Coislin (1664–1732) gelangten viele wertvolle Manuskripte in die französische Nationalbibliothek in Paris. Ungefähr 200 Jahre später begannen die Engländer Interesse an den Schätzen der Wüstenklöster zu zeigen, so besonders William Cureton (1808–1864) als Bibliothekar der Bodleiana der Universität Oxford und Robert Curzon (1810–1873), der seine Sammlung dem Britischen Museum in London übergab. Zu Beginn des 18. Jhs. erwarben die maronitischen Geistlichen Joseph Simon Assemani (1687–1768) und sein Vetter Elias Assemani kostbare und unschätzbare Handschriften für die Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. 1804 erhielt die *Propaganda fide* den Fondo Borgiano des Kardinals Stefano Borgia (1731–1804), der 1902 der Vaticana übergeben wurde. Zur gleichen Zeit kam der bedeutende

⁹ Sicard, C., *Description de l'Egypte*, 1845.

¹⁰ Jullien, M., *L'Egypte, Souvenirs etc.*, 1891, 50f.

Fondo Barbariniano, dessen Bestände sich in Rom seit dem Seicento nachweisen lassen, in den Besitz der Vaticana.

Die erste westliche Beschreibung über das Ausmaß des bibliographischen Bestandes in den koptischen Klöstern des Wadi 'n-Natrun ist in der Korrespondenz der Kapuzinerpatres Cassian von Nantes und Apollinaris von Valence mit dem Antiquaren Nicholas C.F. de Peiresc, 1631–1637 erhalten¹¹. P. Cassien hatte von den vier Klöstern nur drei Bibliotheken besuchen können, da der Schlüssel für die vierte Klosterbibliothek unauffindbar war. Von den Handschriften die er sah stellte er ein Inventar auf. Peiresc, der 1618 zum Abt des Klosters von Guistres ernannt worden war, bediente sich für seine bibliophilen Interessen der Dienste der Kapuziner-Missionare der *Propaganda fide*. Sein Wissensdurst wurde befriedigt nachdem P. Aegidius Lochiensis OFMCap (Gilles de Loche) berichtete, daß er 8 000 Manuskripte im Makariuskloster gesehen habe. Daraufhin schrieb P. Agathangelus von Vendôme an Peiresc, daß er einen wertvollen Psalter dort erwerben würde. Es handelte sich um den fünf-sprachigen Polyglotten Psalter (ge'ez, syrisch, koptisch, arabisch und armenisch). Dieser Kodex, bestehend aus 235 Folien, (14. Jh.), wurde zweimal während des Seetransportes geraubt und schließlich von Giovanni P. Lascaris vom Malteserorden gerettet, der das Ms. dem Kardinal Francesco Barberini schenkte¹².

Ebenfalls erhielten der französische Staatsmann unter Louis XIV. Jean B. Colbert und H. Coislin beachtliche syrische und koptische Manuskripte aus dem Makarius-



Codex Barberianus Orientalis (14. Jh.).

¹¹ Gravit, F.W., „Peiresc et les études coptes“, *BSAC* IV, 1938, 1–21.

¹² Katalog, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, 1985, 32.

und Syerkloster. 1679 und wiederum zwei Jahre später besuchte Robert Huntington (1637–1701), der als anglikanischer Kaplan der Levant Company in Aleppo diente, die vier Wüstenklöster. Seine Eindrücke vermittelten den zahlenmässigen und geistlichen Stand der Wüstenväter. Im Syerkloster sah er ein syrisches Altes Testament. Manuskripte die er in den Klöstern erworben hatte, übergab er der Bodleian Bibliothek zu Oxford, wofür er 1683 die Ehrendoktorwürde erhielt¹³. In den Jahren von 1692–1708 war der französische Diplomat Benoit de Mallet (1656–1738) Generalkonsul in Ägypten¹⁴. Als Antiquar und Bibliophile belieferte er u.a. die Sammlungen der Grafen Jerôme Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain (1674–1747), Anne Claude Philippe de Tubières Caylus (1692–1765) und J.P. Rigord mit koptischen und syrischen MSS.

Die bedeutendsten koptischen und syrischen Handschriften der Apostolica Vaticana stammten aus dem Makarius- und Syerkloster, die von den Maronitenpriestern Elias und Joseph S. Assemani erworben wurden. 1707 hatte Papst Clemens XI. (1700–1721) seinen Vatikansbibliothekar Elias Assemani in das Syerkloster entsandt, wo er vierzig Bände mitnahm. Sieben Jahre später besuchte Joseph S. Assemani als Vertreter der Apostolica Vaticana das Makariuskloster wo er über 150 koptische Handschriften erwarb. 1735 konnte Assemani weitere wertvolle Manuskripte in den koptischen Klöstern für die Apostolica Vaticana mitnehmen¹⁵. Aufgrund seiner erfolgreichen Errungenschaften wurde ihm vom Papst die Würde des Titular-Erzbischofs von Tyrus zugesprochen.

Am 18. September 1729 schrieb P. François Sevin an den französischen Staatssekretär Jean F. Phélypeaux Maurepas (1701–81), Sohn des Grafen Jerôme Phélypeaux, und unterstrich die Dringlichkeit Manuskripte aus dem Makariuskloster zu erwerben. Er empfahl, daß der französische Konsul geeigneter für diese Aufgabe sei als die gelehrten Wissenschaftler.

Um die Jahrhundertwende, nachdem 1801 die Engländer Napoleons Armee in Ägypten besiegt hatten, übernahm der englische Oberst Tomkyns Hilgrove Turner die Aufgabe die französischen Archaeologica mit dem Rosetta-Stein nach England zu transportieren. Unter diesen Gegenständen war eine Kiste mit 62 orientalischen Handschriften, von denen einige aus dem Bishoikloster stammten¹⁶. Um 1837 besuchte Robert Curzon, 14. Baron Zouche (1810–73), die koptischen Klöster um Manuskripte für das Britische Museum zu erwerben. Im Syerkloster wurde er fündig. Einige Handschriften die auf dem Boden im Wehrturm lagen durfte er kaufen. Jedoch unzufrieden mit seinem Erwerb, wandte er sich an den blinden Abt in der Erwartung den Ölkeller inspizieren zu dürfen, wo die wertvollsten Manuskripte lagen. Zuerst zögerte der Abt, nachdem aber der englische Lord ihm genügend Wein eingeschenkt hatte, erhielt er schließlich den Schlüssel zum Keller, wo er dann auch viele syrische und koptische Manuskripte entdeckte, die er in seinen Satteltaschen mitnahm¹⁷. Zwei Jahre später, im Januar 1839, folgte Dr. Henry Tattam, Hofpredi-

¹³ Ray, J., *Curious Travels & Voyages*, 1693, II, 151.

¹⁴ De Maillet, B., *Description de l'Egypte*, 1735, 296.

¹⁵ Simaika, M., *Catalogue of the Coptic & Arabic MSS.*, 1939, xxi.

¹⁶ Emmel, St., „Dismembered Coptic Library“, *Fschr. J. Robinson*, 1990, 147.

¹⁷ Curzon, R., *Visits to the Monasteries, etc.*, 1847, 84f.

ger der Königin Viktoria und Pionier der englische Koptologie (1788–1868), den Spuren Lord Curzons. Im Makarius- und Bishoikloster konnte er mehrere hundert koptische Fragmente mitnehmen, während er im Syrerkloster viele alte syrische Pergament-Manuskripte kaufen konnte. Im folgenden Monat handelte Tattam die „übrigen Manuskripte“ ein, obwohl er tatsächlich nur einen Teil der von ihm bezahlten Ware erhielt. 1842 besuchte er wiederum mit seiner Stieftochter Eliza Platt das Syrerkloster, wo er noch 314 syrische Manuskripte für das Britische Museum kaufen konnte¹⁸. In einem unabhängigen Bericht über den Erwerb der koptischen Manuskripte in den Klöstern schildert der englische Ägyptologe Sir John Gardner Wilkinson (1797–1875) die Arbeiten seines Kollegen Dr. Tattam. Mehr als 50 Bände, darunter einen bisher unbekannten Text des Historikers Eusebius, waren die Erwerbungen Tattams¹⁹.

Im April 1844 begab sich der deutsche evangelische Theologe Konstantin von Tischendorf (1815–74) zu den Wadi 'n-Natrun Klöster. Im Wehrturm des Makariusklosters entdeckte er viele Körbe mit Fragmenten von koptischen und arabischen Manuskripten. Im Syrerkloster erlaubten die Mönche ihm die Pergament-Fragmente aus dem 6./7. Jh. mitzunehmen. Offensichtlich waren inzwischen die Wüstenväter am Gold der Engländer so gewöhnt, daß sein „Bakshish“ keinen besonderen Eindruck hinterließ. Seine Erwerbungen befinden sich in der Leipziger Universitätsbibliothek²⁰.

Ein Jahr nach von Tischendorfs Besuch im Syrerkloster wandte sich der aus Alexandrien stammende Auguste Pacho an Dr. William Cureton (1808–64), dem Bibliothekar der Bodleiana in Oxford und Verwalter der Handschriften Abteilung im Britischen Museum. Er berichtete, daß ein großer Teil der von Dr. Tattam bezahlten Manuskripte noch im Syrerkloster seien, er aber im Besitz von über 200 Bänden und vielen Fragmenten sei. Von ihm erhielt das Britische Museum mehr als 170 Titel. Als A. Pacho dem Museum 1851 weitere zehn Bände anbot lag das Mißtrauen und der Verdacht auf der Hand, daß auch Pacho nicht alle MSS. dem Britischen Museum übergeben hatte, da er 1852 weitere Handschriften aus dem Syrerkloster an die kaiserliche Bibliothek in St. Petersburg verkaufte²¹.

Im November 1840 ritten der amerikanische Konsul in Ägypten George R. Gliddon (1809–1857) mit seinen Begleitern zum Bishoikloster wo sie mehrere Handschriften erwerben konnten, die sich heute in der Manuscript Library der Yale University in New Haven befinden. Seit 1834 war Anton Laurin österreichischer Generalkonsul in Alexandrien. 1847 sandte er mehrere koptische Handschriften aus den Wadi 'n-Natrun Klöstern an die Wiener Hofbibliothek²².

Als Greville John Chester (1830–92) 1873 als Ankäufer von Handschriften für das Britische Museum das Makariuskloster aufsuchte wurde ihm vom Abt der Zutritt zum Wehrturm verweigert, da kurze Zeit zuvor ein gewisser Fortune Ame nicht nur wertvolle Manuskripte sondern auch eine silberne Schale entwendet hatte. Im

¹⁸ Platt, E., *Journal of a Tour, etc.*, 1843, I, 273.

¹⁹ Wilkinson, G., *Modern Egypt, etc.*, 1843, I, 387.

²⁰ Tischendorf, K., *Travels in the East*, 1847, 52.

²¹ Cureton, W., *Quarterly Review* 77, 153, 1845, 39f.

²² Emmel, St., *op. cit.*, 154, 149.

Bishoikloster erfuhr er, daß alle alten Handschriften schon verkauft worden waren. Im Syrerkloster entdeckte er einen alten arabischen Kronleuchter der ihn an die Lampen in der Sultan Hassan Moschee erinnerte²³.

Im Februar 1923 reisten die amerikanischen Theologen und Orientalisten Dr. J. Rendel Harris, Herbert G. Wood and Dr. William H.P. Hatch zu den vier Wadi 'n-Natrun Klöstern, die seiner Zeit von 83 Mönchen bewohnt waren. Im Makariuskloster zeigte man ihnen 20 mumifizierte Heilige. In einer Holzkiste erblickte er mehrere Manuskripte, die er mitnehmen durfte. Im Bishoikloster war ihm erlaubt worden mehrere Seiten der Evangelien und auch liturgische Fragmente zu nehmen, da die alten Handschriften schon verkauft worden waren²⁴. Im Winter 1938/39 besuchte der Orientalist L.Th. Lefort die koptischen Klöster wo er mehrere Handschriften noch erwerben konnte, die er der Bibliothek der Universität Louvain (Löwen) übergab. Während des Zweiten Weltkriegs wurde die ganze Sammlung im Rahmen der Bombardierung der Universitätsbibliothek zerstört²⁵.

Diese Aufstellung schließt natürlich nicht alle Bibliophile und Antiquare ein die in den letzten 300 Jahren von 1650 bis 1950 koptische, syrische und arabische Manuskripte in den Wadi 'n-Natrun Klöstern erworben, gekauft oder gestohlen hatten. Zweifellos waren auch viele Mönche unsicher wenn ihnen für gutes Geld etc. der „Verkauf“ ihrer Handschriften angeboten wurde, Schriften mit denen viele von ihnen vielleicht wenig oder nichts anfangen konnten. Auf der einen Seite praktizierten sie in aller Demut christliche Gastfreundschaft, gleichzeitig aber war ihnen auch bewußt, daß diese Bücher „ewiger Besitz“ ihres Klosters darstellten. Diese Tatsache findet denn auch Ausdruck in den Warnungen die am Ende vieler koptischer Kodizes zugefügt worden waren, wie z.B. der folgende Text:

„Dieses Buch ist ein ewiges Erbe für einen unvergänglichen, dauerhaften Erhalt in dieser Kirche und niemand hat das Recht dieses Erbe von dem Kloster für irgendeinen wichtigen Grund zu entfernen. Jeder der gegen diese Anordnung verstößt und es entfernt, der wird das Schicksal und Verderben des ungläubigen Diokletian, des Apostaten Herodes, des Magiers Simon und des Verräters Judas teilen. Dem Gehorsamen dagegen werden für immer Segen und die Belohnung Gottes zuteil kommen“²⁶.

4. ÜBER PILGER, FORSCHER UND ABENTEURER IN DEN KOPTISCHEN KLÖSTERN DES WADI 'N-NATRUN

Unter der dritten Gruppe von Besuchern der koptischen Wüstenklöster befanden sich Pilger, Wissenschaftler, Offiziere, Adelige und Diplomaten die aus einer Vielzahl von Gründen und Motivationen das Risiko und die Strapazen auf sich nahmen um ihren Wissensdurst zu befriedigen.

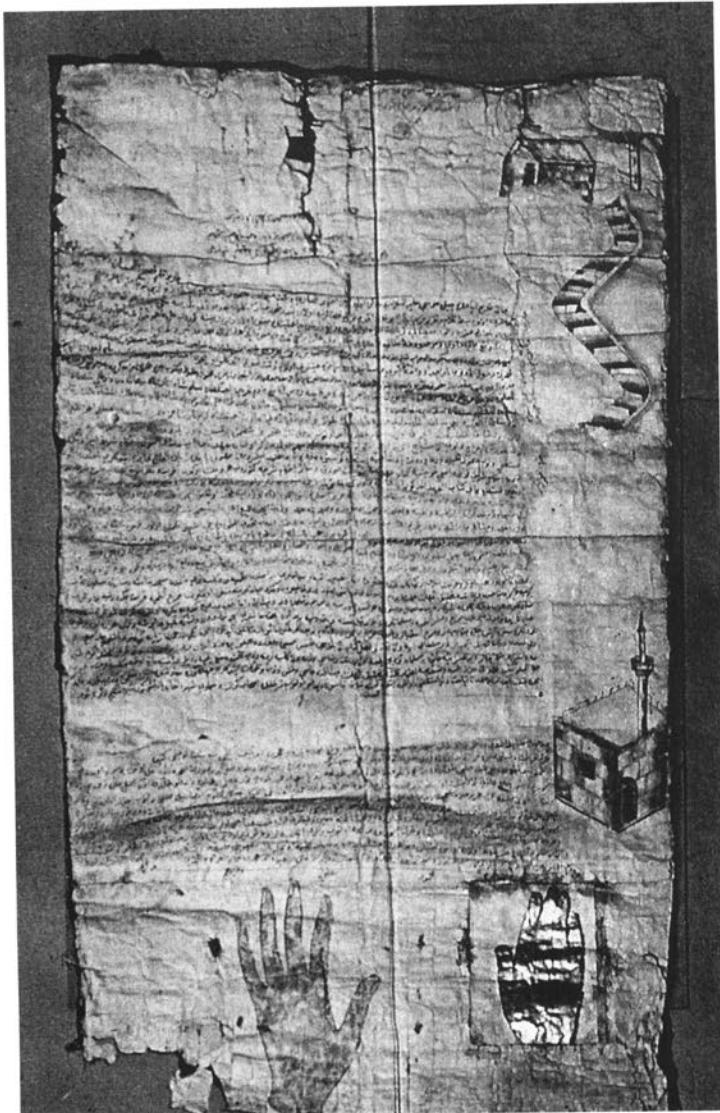
Einer der ersten westlichen Pilger zum Makariuskloster war der Flame Josse van Ghistele aus Gent, der Ägypten zwischen 1481 und 1484 aufsuchte. In at-Tarrana,

²³ Chester, Greville J., *Archeological Journal* 30, 1873, 105–16.

²⁴ Hatch, H.P., *Annual ASOR* 6, 1925, 93–107; *Annual ASOR* 7, 1926, 94f.

²⁵ Lefort, L.Th., *Le Muséon* 50, 1937, 5–52.

²⁶ Falls, E., *Three Years in the Libyan Desert*, 1913, 93.



Schutzbrief des Propheten Muhammad für das St. Katharinenkloster.

ca. 55 km vom Makariuskloster entfernt, unterhielten die Wüstenväter nicht nur eine Niederlassung sondern offensichtlich auch ein Hospiz für Gäste und Besucher. Der Patriarch Benjamin II. (1327–39) hatte in at-Tarrana verweilt bevor er sich zu den Wüstenklöstern begab. Ausserdem residierte der Abt des Syrerklosters bis 1774 in at-Tarrana, anschliessend zog er nach Atris um. Es waren van Ghisteles örtliche Diener die den Flamen bewogen das interessante Makariuskloster zu besuchen, das sogar beim Sultan in grossem Ansehen stand. Van Ghistele verglich das Makariuskloster mit dem Kloster von Bandeloo in seiner flämischen Heimat, wo auch die Reliquien des Klosterpatrons St. Makarius ruhten. Die Mönche zeigten ihm einen Ferman, ein Schutzbrief der es ihnen erlaubte die Glocken zu läuten. Es handelte sich

um ein mit Teig überzogenes Pergament mit dem Handabdruck des Propheten Muhammad, der zuvor seine Hand in Tinte getaucht hatte²⁷.

Jean de Thévenot (1633–67) verbrachte zwei Jahre in Ägypten, von 1657–1659, in denen er 1657 die Wüstenklöster besuchte. Im Makariuskloster war er von den vielen Reliquien und den marmornen Altarplatten beeindruckt. Die Handschriften lagerten im Wehrturm. Jedoch der Verkauf dieser Bücher wurde mit dem Kirchenbann bestraft. Für de Thévenot war al-Baramus trotz des brackigen Wassers das größte und reichste Kloster. Im Bishoikloster zeigte man ihm die „neuen“ Reliquien. Im Palm-Sonntag-Feuer von 1656 waren auch alle Reliquien verbrannt. Die Mönche beschuldigten für den „Reliquien Verlust“ die Franzosen. Inzwischen wurde neue Gebeine gefunden und man verkündete, daß die Heiligen aus einem französischen Schiff entwichen und in die Kirche zurückgekehrt seien! Im Syrerkloster berichtete er noch über zwei Kirchen, eine für die Kopten, die andere für die Syrer²⁸.

Im Makariuskloster angekommen, zeigten die Mönche dem Herrn Goujon (1670) sogleich mit Stolz ihre Reliquien in einem Steingrab, das von einem Gitter umgeben war. Wahrscheinlich handelte es sich hierbei um die Gebeine der 49 Märtyrer des dritten Berber-Überfalls von 444, die in der Kirche der 49 Märtyrer ruhten²⁹. Im Laufe seiner Ägypten-Reise 1730 besuchte der französische Arzt Tourtechot N. de Granger († 1733) auch alle vier Wüstenklöster. Sein Interesse lag in der Beschaffenheit der Natur, besonders der Salz-Seen. Im Makariuskloster verweigerten die Mönche wohl aus gutem Grund dem Besucher die Bibliothek zu sehen, denn die Anwesenheit der Patres Claude Sicard und Joseph S. Assemanni 1715 hatten die Väter bestimmt noch nicht vergessen. Das Bishoikloster nannte er als erster „Dair Labiat“ oder das „Weiße Kloster“, ein Name den 90 Jahre später auch Heinrich Freiherr von Minutoli gebrauchte³⁰.

Im Januar 1778 durchquerte der französische Marineoffizier C.S. Sonnini das Wadi 'n-Natrun. Nachdem er schon in der Wüste von Beduinen ausgeplündert worden war, mußte er vor Eintritt in das Baramuskloster den Mönchen beweisen, daß er ein Europäer und unbeschnitten sei, für den Offizier eine peinliche Situation. Im Bishoikloster warteten die Mönche vor dem Klosterstor auf ihn um ihn zum Eintritt zu ermutigen. Sie versprachen ihm den Körper eines Heiligen zu zeigen, der „so frisch und blühend aussieht als sei er noch lebend“. Jedoch war der Versuch vergeblich was sie traurig stimmte, da ihnen dadurch ein langersehnter ‘Bakshish’ entging³¹.

Um 1778 sandte der Baron de Saint Priest, der französische Botschafter an der Hohen Pforte zu Konstantinopel, seinen Neffen den Grafen von Entraigues zu den Wüstenvätern Ägyptens um ihn somit aus dem sündhaften Klima der „libidinösen Nächte“ Peras, dem europäischen Viertel der osmanischen Hauptstadt, zu entfernen. Begleitet von einem Dragoman, zwei Janitscharen und einem Dutzend Araber

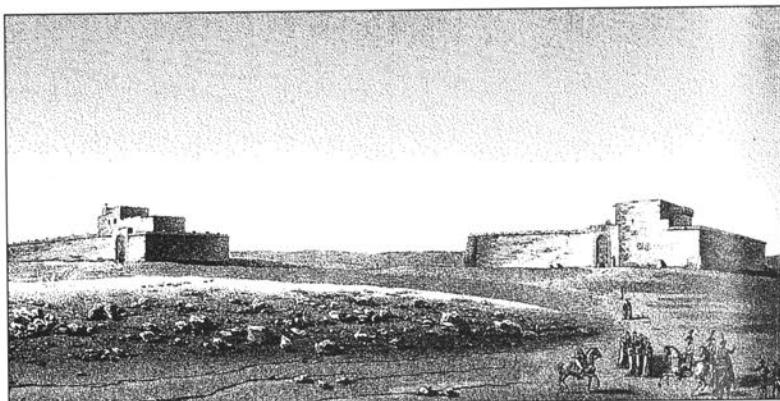
²⁷ Saint-Génois, *Les Voyageurs Belges, etc.*, n.d., 169f.

²⁸ De Thévenot, *The Travels, etc.*, 1673, I, 244f.

²⁹ Goujon, *Histoire et Voyage, etc.*, 320.

³⁰ De Granger, T.N., *Relation d'un voyage, etc.*, 1745, 179.

³¹ Sonnini, C.S., *Travels, etc.*, 1799, 368.



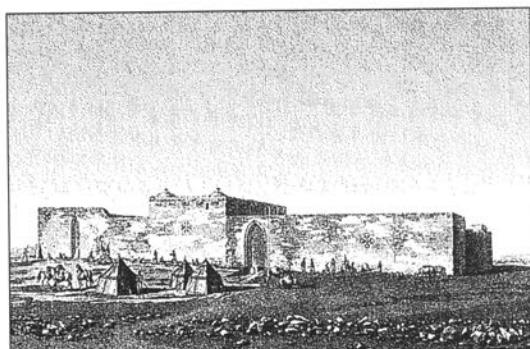
Syrer und
Biskoikloster
1798.

begab er sich zu den Wüstenvätern, um dort für sein sündhaftes Leben zu büßen³².

Im Rahmen der militärischen Aufklärung stattete der französische General der Artillerie Graf Antoine-François Andréossy den koptischen Wüstenklöstern 1799 einen Besuch ab. Sein Interesse bestand in der Erkundung der Qualität der Brunnen und der Entferungen zwischen den Klöstern. Seine Erkenntnisse und Erfahrungen vermittelte er als Mitglied der „Mathematischen Kommission“ des napoleonischen „Institut d’Egypte“ in Kairo dieser erlesenen Gesellschaft von Wissenschaftlern³³.

Im 19. Jh. war es für den europäischen Adel standesgemäß sich der antiken und christlichen Geisteskultur des Orients zu widmen. In diesem Geiste begab sich 1828 Lord Algernon Percy, Baron Prudhoe und Vierter Herzog von Northumberland (1792–1865), zu den Klöstern, wo er wie viele seiner Standesgenossen auch einige koptische Handschriften mitnahm³⁴. Im gleichen Jahr folgte Baron Louis Reybaud Taylor den Spuren des Grafen Andréossy. Auch er beschreibt würdigend die Gastfreundschaft und Freigebigkeit der koptischen Mönche, die ihr wenig Brot mit den Beduinen teilten³⁵.

Auf seinem Weg zum Jupiter-Ammon-Tempel in der Oase Siwa streifte Johann



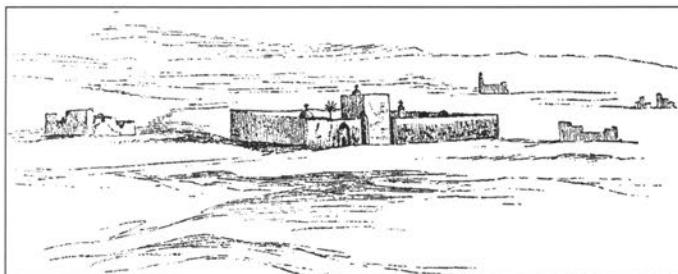
Makariuskloster 1798.

³² Carré, J.M., *Voyageurs et Ecrivains, etc.*, 1932, 106.

³³ Andréossy, A.F., *Description de l’Egypte*, I, 279f.

³⁴ *Quarterly Review* LXXVII, 51.

³⁵ Taylor, L.R., *La Syrie, l’Egypte, etc.*, 1839, 107f.



Makariuskloster, 1883.



Baramuskloster, 1883.

Heinrich Freiherr von Minutoli (1772–1846), im November 1820 die Wüstenklöster, ohne jedoch sie zu besuchen, da seiner Meinung nach die Mönche „ohne Geisteskultur“ seien. Auf seinem Weg durch die Wüste begegnete er mehreren Gruppen von 10 bis 15 Straussen³⁶. Um 1818 erhielt der italienische Diplomat und französische Generalkonsul und begeisterter Antiquar Bernardino Drovetti (1776–1852) Teile einer bohairischen Psalter-Handschrift aus dem Makariuskloster. Dieses Manuskript übergab er dem italienischen Koptologen Amadeo Angelo Maria Peyron (1785–1870), der einen Lehrstuhl an der Universität von Turin hatte und der es wiederum dem bekannten Antiquitäten-Sammler und Koptologen Graf Balbo vermachte³⁷.

Auf Anraten von König Friedrich Wilhelm IV. von Preussen begab sich der Göttinger Ägyptologe Heinrich Ferdinand Karl Brugsch (1827–1894) nach Ägypten. Im Februar 1852 erreichte er das Syrerkloster wo die Mönche erleichtert über den Besuch eines Europäers anstatt der Beduinen waren. In der Bibliothek lagen über 40 Bände von koptischen und arabischen Handschriften verstreut herum, von denen einige möglicherweise aus dem 5. Jh. stammten. Aufgrund der Warnung, daß den Verkäufern der MSS. die ewige Seligkeit abgesprochen werden würde, war es ihm auch nicht möglich Handschriften zu erwerben. Ausserdem hätten die Engländer mehrere hundert Manuskripte vor einiger Zeit von den Mönchen im Baramuskloster für viel Geld gekauft³⁸. Die von Brugsch dennoch erworbenen MSS. befinden sich in der Göttinger Universitätsbibliothek.

Im Winter 1883 reiste Alfred J. Butler mit einem Empfehlungsschreiben des Patriarchen Kyrillus V. über Wardan nach at-Atris in Minufiya, wo er als Guest der

³⁶ Minutoli, J.H., *Reise zum Tempel Jupiter Ammon*, 1824, 195.

³⁷ Evelyn-White, *The Monasteries, etc.*, I, xi.

³⁸ Brugsch, H.F.K., *Wanderung nach den Natron Klöstern, etc.*, 1855, 25.

Mönche übernachtete. Mit Pferden und Kamelen ritten sie den folgenden Tag zum Makariuskloster, das sie im Dunkeln erreichten. In seinen genauen architektonischen Beschreibungen erwähnt er u.a. in der Abiskhirun-Kirche jenes Dankschreiben für den Einmarsch der Engländer in Kairo 1882³⁹. In der Michaeliskirche im Wehrturm zeigte man ihm die Reliquien von 16 Patriarchen⁴⁰. Nach einem 4-stündigen Ritt entlang des sog. „Weges der Engel“ erreichten sie das Bishoikloster mit dem unverwesten Leichnam des Klosterpatrons. Auch hier bedeckten koptische Manuskripte wahllos den Boden der Kapellen im Wehrturm. Für seinen Besuch im benachbarten Syerkloster hatte Butler genug Gold in seinem Gürtel verstaut, um eventuell die von Curzon und Pacho übersehenden Handschriften erwerben zu können. Einen überaus festlichen Empfang erlebte Butler im Baramuskloster. Dort lehrten ihn die Mönche, daß sie die alten Handschriften zum Binden und Reparieren ihrer Bücher benutzten⁴¹.

Am 16. März 1896 unterbrach Arthur Silva White seinen Ritt von den Pyramiden von Giseh zum Jupiter-Ammon-Tempel in Siwa beim Makariuskloster. Dort wurde er vom Abt empfangen der ihm berichtete, daß die 30 Mönche am Tage arbeiteten und nachts beteten. Einen Monat später besuchte er auf seiner Rückreise die Bishoi- und Syrerklöster. Im Bishoikloster unterhielten die Mönche für ihren 100 Fuß tiefen Brunnen einen Ochsen der an eine *Sakhia* gespannt war⁴².

Für den deutschen Ägyptologen Georg Steindorff (1861–1951) lag das Makariuskloster ebenfalls auf seinem Weg zur Oase Siwa. Im Dezember 1899 kehrte er bei den Mönchen ein und hinterließ eine genaue Schilderung der Klosterbauten. Die Bibliothek im Wehrturm beschreibt er als chaotisch. Für ihn interessant war eine französisch-arabische Grammatik, zweifelsohne wohl eine Hinterlassenschaft der katholischen Missionare⁴³. Einen weiteren Einblick in die klösterlichen Baustrukturen der Wüstenklöster lieferte 1902 der Koptologe Albert Jean Marie Philippe Gayet (1856–1916), der schon 1881 mit der französischen archäologischen Mission nach Ägypten kam⁴⁴. Zur gleichen Zeit studierte der Wiener Kunsthistoriker Josef Strzygowski (1862–1941) die Architektur und das Zierwerk in der alten Marienkirche im Syerkloster und stellte die charakteristischen Gemeinsamkeiten der Stuckornamente im Altarraum (9. Jh.) mit jenen in der Kairener Ibn Tulun Moschee heraus⁴⁵. Die Koptologin Dr. Agnes Smith-Lewis und ihre Schwester Margaret Dunlop Gibson waren die ersten Frauen die im März 1904, auf Dromedaren von Kairo reitend, die Wüstenklöster erreichten. Da die Frauen in den Klöstern nicht übernachten konnten, schlügen sie ihre Zelte vor den Klöstern auf. Im Makariuskloster trafen sie einen Einsiedler der seit sechs Jahren in der Wüste lebte und nur zur Eucharistie das Kloster aufsuchte. Die Handschriften im Wehrturm schienen ihr von unbedeutendem Wert zu sein. Dennoch weigerten sich die Mönche ihr einige Seiten

³⁹ Zur Zeit des al-Arabi Aufstandes.

⁴⁰ Ich weiß nur von 10 Patriarchen, cf. MMED 1992, 100.

⁴¹ Butler, A.J., *Ancient Coptic Churches*, 1884, I, 287f.

⁴² White, A.S., *From Sphinx to Oracle*, 1899, 28, 266.

⁴³ Steindorff, G., *Durch die Libysche Wüste, etc.*, 1904, 23.

⁴⁴ Gayet, A., *L'Art Copte*, 1902, 168f.

⁴⁵ Strzygowski, J., *Oriens Christianus* I, 1901, 356f.

zu verkaufen. Im Syrerkloster sahen sie eine beachtliche Sammlung von losen Seiten, darunter ein koptisches Neues Testament datiert 1220 und 1256⁴⁶.

Im Juni 1905 erreichte die deutsche Kaufmann-Expedition das Baramuskloster. Nachdem die Mitglieder ihre Waffen den Mönchen übergeben hatten wurden sie freundlichst empfangen. Sie waren beeindruckt von dem Bildungsgrad des Abtes Ghobrial der sie durch die verschiedenen Gebäude des Klosters führte. Aus einer Amphore mit einem über 50 Jahre alten Wein wurde den Gästen ein Willkommenstrunk angeboten. Vom Baramuskloster ritten sie erst zum Syrerkloster und dann zum Bishoikloster. Im Syrerkloster bedauerten sie die Zerstörungen der frühmittelalterlichen Intarsienarbeiten an den Altar- und Chorschranken durch Besucher, die Intarsia als Souvenir herausgebrochen hatten⁴⁷.

Für mehrere Jahre von 1909–1911 und wiederum von 1920 und 1921 studierte und publizierte das Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York mit dem Koptologen Hugh Gerard Evelyn White (1874–1924), dem Archäologen und Architekten Walter Hauser (1893–1960) und dem Photographen Harry Burton (1879–1940) die Bau- und Kirchengeschichte der vier Wadi 'n-Natrun-Klöster. Die drei Bände der Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition stellen die unübertroffenen Standardwerke über die Wadi 'n-Natrun-Klöster dar⁴⁸.

Im Hotel 'Victoria' in Kairo traf der Maler Walter Tyndale den Architekten Palmer-Jones, um mit ihm 1910 die Wüstenklöster zu besuchen. Am Bahnhof von al-Khatatba wurden die Gäste von dem Vertreter der englischen Salt and Soda Company empfangen. Mit der Company-Kleinbahn, die zweimal wöchentlich von al-Khatatba in das Natrontal fuhr, erreichten sie das Rasthaus Wadi 'n-Natrun. Während der Abt des Bishoiklosters dem Künstler und den Architekten jede Art von Skizzieren untersagt hatte, hatten sie im benachbarten Syrerkloster wesentlich mehr Glück⁴⁹. Zwei Jahre später war Jean Brémond Gast des Herrn Debourg, des Direktors der Salt and Soda Company. Für Brémond, der alle vier Klöster besuchte waren die klösterlichen Gästehäuser den orientalischen Bürgerhäusern angegli- chen⁵⁰.

Einer der schillerndsten Reisenden zu den koptischen Klöstern war zweifellos der Sachsenherzog Johann Georg (1869–1938), Sohn des Herzogs Georg und Maria von Portugal. Mindestens viermal besuchte er die Klöster und hinterließ drei äußerst informative Aufzeichnungen seiner Erlebnisse⁵¹. Im Oktober 1913 erreichte die fürstliche Gesellschaft, bestehend aus dem Herzog, Markus Simaika Pascha und dem Pfarrer Dr. Karge, al-Khatatba, wo sie mit einem Sonderzug der Salt and Soda Company nach Bir Hooker im Natrontal fuhren. Dort begutachteten sie jene pom- pös verzierte Kutsche mit der die Kaiserin Eugénie 1868 zur Eröffnung des Suez- Kanals fuhr und die der englische Geschäftsmann Hooker vom Khediven erworben hatte, um seine ehrenwerten Gäste zu transportieren. In allen Klöstern wurden die

⁴⁶ Lewis, A. Smith, *Century Magazine* 68, 1904, 745f.

⁴⁷ Falls, E., *Three Years in the Libyan Desert*, 1913, 74f.

⁴⁸ Evelyn-White, H.G., *The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n-Natrun*, 1926–33.

⁴⁹ Tyndale, W., *An Artist in Egypt*, 1912, 90, 117.

⁵⁰ Brémond, J., *Pèlerinage au Ouadi Natroun*, n.d., 14f.

⁵¹ Streifzüge 1914, Neue Streifzüge 1930, Neueste Streifzüge 1931.

erlauchten Gäste mit feierlichen Prozessionen empfangen. Im Makariuskloster erhielten die Besucher als Souvenir einige koptische Manuskripte. In der Klosterbibliothek schenkte Markus Simaika Pascha dem herzöglichen Gast einige Pergamenthandschriften, die er aus einem Kodex herausgerissen hatte. Mit Kamelen ritten sie zum Bir Hooker zurück wo der Sonderzug sie nach al-Khatatba brachte⁵². Fünfzehn Jahre später besuchte der Sachsenherzog die Klöster wieder. Im Syerkloster hörte er von der wundertätigen Ikone mit der der Abt feindselige Beduinen in die Flucht jagen konnte. Bei seinem Abschied erhielt er von den Mönchen einen Korb mit Manuskripten aus dem 12./13. Jh. Auch im Baramuskloster beschenkten die Wüstenväter den Herzog mit einer Handschrift aus dem 15. Jh.⁵³.

Um 1925 ritt auf seinem Dromedar der an der Architektur der Klöster interessierte Direktor der Staatsschulden-Verwaltung M.A. Kammerer ins Wadi 'n-Natrun. Dort verglich er die Kirchenarchitektur mit dem Bau der frühen Moscheen (?)⁵⁴. Im Frühjahr 1930 und wiederum 1931 unternahm der Prinz Omar Toussoun mit dem italienischen Archäologen Evaristo A. Breccia (1876–1967), dem Direktor des Griechisch-Römischen Museums in Alexandrien von 1904–31, und Dr. Puy-Haubert eine Inspektions- und Studienreise zu den vier Wüstenklöstern. Viele der Ruinen der verlassenen Klöster identifizierte und markierte er mit Zementpfeilern und Kupferschildern, die jedoch leider schon nach kurzer Zeit von den Beduinen abmontiert worden waren⁵⁵.

Für viele Engländer sind die spannenden Reise-Erzählungen über den biblischen und christlichen Orient von H.V. Morton eine unerschöpfliche Quelle zur Unterhaltung, Inspiration und Information. In seinem Bericht über das koptische Ägypten beschreibt Morton seine Besuche 1937 zu den Klöstern. Im Baramuskloster verglich er den äusseren Zugang für Riesen, jedoch die Größe des Klosterorts für Zwerge geeignet. Im Makariuskloster wurde er auf einen Einsiedler aufmerksam der seine Zelle lediglich zum Kirchgang verließ und von harten Brotresten lebte⁵⁶. Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg stieg mit jedem Jahr die Zahl der Besucher der Wüstenklöster. Der Bau der Wüsten-Schnellstraße von Kairo nach Alexandrien hat es Ägyptern und Ausländern ermöglicht die historischen Stätten der Einsamkeit in wenigen Stunden zu erreichen. In den Jahren von 1950–57 wurde das Syerkloster allein von über 400 Ausländern aufgesucht. Viele hundert koptische Pilger besuchen heutzutage allwöchentlich die Klöster. Für die Väter hat eine neue Ära begonnen. Siehst du hier Sträucher und Bäume wachsen, dann nehme dein Gewand und fliehe!

⁵² Johann Georg, *Streifzüge, etc.*, 1914, 30f.

⁵³ Johann Georg, *Neue Streifzüge, etc.*, 1930, 44f.

⁵⁴ Kammerer, M.A., *L'Illustration*, 21.3.1925, 264f.

⁵⁵ Toussoun, O., *Étude sur le Wadi Natroun*, 1931, 50f.

⁵⁶ Morton, H.V., *Through Lands of the Bible*, 1938, 248.

Peuplement, territoire et agriculture dans l'Algérie médiévale : L'exemple de la palmeraie de Tolga (Biskra)

MOHAMED MEOUAK, Cádiz

APPROXIMATION A LA GÉOGRAPHIE HISTORIQUE DE L'ALGÉRIE

L'une des premières constatations qui s'impose lorsque l'on se penche sur les contours de la géographie et des terroirs dans l'Algérie médiévale, c'est l'emprunte de l'héritage laissé par l'Empire byzantin. Ce dernier avait, en effet, mis en place des divisions géo-administratives en Afrique du Nord, et plus particulièrement en Algérie. Le pouvoir byzantin s'était, en réalité, limité au versant septentrional qui donne sur la Méditerranée, notamment autour des centres urbains. Cet espace géographique septentrional, que l'on appellera « autochtone », était désigné par le nom de *Aurasion* par Procope et plus génériquement d'*Africa/Lybie* par Corippe¹.

Les géographes arabes ont à leur tour donné une définition, ou du moins quelques descriptions détaillées des limites géographiques de l'Afrique du Nord. Le nom générique de cette partie est bien connu. Il s'agit du nom de *Mağrib* correspondant aux régions situées à l'ouest de l'ancienne *Africa/Ifrīqiya*². Il y a certes quelques sources latines et arabes, surtout littéraires, qui permettent une approche globale de la géographie et l'histoire du peuplement du Maghreb central. L'archéologie a également donné quelques informations de grande importance. L'on en veut pour exemple les fouilles archéologiques qui ont été faites dans le bassin d'Ašīr et qui pourraient révéler une meilleure connaissance de l'histoire du développement socio-économique de l'Algérie post-romaine³. L'ensemble de ces matériaux de base, tant textuels qu'archéologiques, sont autant de documents qui permettent de reposer la problématique du peuplement, des territoires et des pouvoirs politiques éclatés dans l'Algérie médiévale, surtout durant la période II^e–V^e/VIII^e–XI^e siècles⁴.

¹ Sur ces deux auteurs, voir Ch. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, Paris, 1896, *passim*; S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, rééd. Osnabrueck, 1972, vols. 5 & 6, *passim*.

² S. Dahmani, « Pouvoirs tribaux autochtones dans le Maghrib central aux VI^e et VII^e siècles », dans *VI^e Colloque international sur l'histoire et l'archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord. L'Afrique du Nord antique et médiévale*, textes réunis par P. Troussel : *Monuments funéraires. Institutions autochtones*, Paris, 1995, p. 317–326, 318–320.

³ Capitaine Rodet, « Les ruines d'Achir », *Revue africaine*, 52 (1908), p. 86–104; M. Carver & D. Souidi, « Archaeological Reconnaissance and Evaluation in the Achir basin (Algeria) », *Archéologie islamique*, 6 (1996), p. 7–44.

⁴ Sur la question des territoires et pouvoirs politiques dispersés d'une région à l'autre de l'Algérie médiévale, voir D. Souidi, « Les Berbères Kutāma et la stratégie du pouvoir », dans *Les Assises du pouvoir. Temps médiévaux, territoires africains*, textes réunis par O. Redon & B. Rosenberger pour Jean Devisse, Saint-Denis, 1994, p. 175–184; J. Thiry, « L'Égypte et le déclin de l'Afrique du Nord (XI^e–XII^e

Cependant, notre propos restera, pour l'heure, plus modeste puisqu'il s'agit seulement d'une première mise à jour d'informations textuelles. Cette investigation est la première pierre de touche d'un projet de recherche plus ambitieux. Dans ce sens, indiquons qu'il n'est pas question de reprendre l'ensemble du dossier relatif à la géographie maghrébine du haut Moyen Age mais d'offrir les résultats provisoires d'une étude de cas qui concerne la palmeraie de Tolga (région de Biskra), zone du piémont sud-occidental du massif des Aurès (*ğabal al-Awrās*)⁵. Pour ce dernier nom de région, nous croyons utile de signaler que le doublet (al)-Awrās/(al-)Awāris a fait l'objet de nombreuses discussions très érudites quant à son origine linguistique et sa signification. S'agit-il d'un toponyme dont la genèse pourrait s'expliquer par le berbère ou bien alors un mot simplement tiré du lexique sémitique? Il n'est pas dans notre propos d'entrer dans ce débat scientifique mettant en scène les diverses langues utilisées autour de la Méditerranée dans l'Antiquité⁶.

Mais au fait pourquoi, comment et sur quelles bases avons-nous choisi d'appeler cette formation géographique par le terme de « palmeraie » et non « oasis » qui semblerait, à priori, plus juste⁷. Précisons rapidement à l'aide des textes géographiques arabes. Chez les écrivains arabes classiques, et en particulier chez les géographes, le mot *al-wāḥ* (pluriel : *al-wāḥāt*) désigne seulement l'« oasis » du désert lybique en général. Il semblerait, au contraire, que dans certains écrits géographiques arabes, le substantif approprié pour parler d'« oasis » serait celui de *wādī* qui possède, outre la signification de « cours d'eau », ceux de « vallées », « cultures » et enfin « palmeraie » (*nahīl*) qui s'applique parfaitement au site de Tolga faisant l'objet de cette étude⁸.

Si l'on se reporte aux travaux de S. Gsell, on apprend que Tolga aurait été bâtie, avec toutes les précautions de rigueur, sur le site de l'ancienne *Mesarfelta* romaine. Toujours d'après le savant français, qui se basait sur les reconnaissances archéologiques et les études de M. Guyon, il y avait encore, à la fin du XIX^e siècle les restes d'une forteresse de 30 mètres sur 22, avec des tourelles, et bâtie en pierre de taille. Selon M. Guyon, toutes les bases inférieures étaient d'une bien meilleure construc-

siècles », dans U. Vermeulen & D. de Smet (éds.) : *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras II*, Louvain, 1998, p. 237–248; V.W. Matveyev, « États périphériques de l'Afrique du Nord du VIII^e au IX^e siècles », dans W. Madelung, Y. Petrosyan, H. Waardenburg-Kilpatrick, A. Khalidov & E. Rezvan (eds.) : *Proceedings of the 17th Congress of the UAEI*, Saint-Petersbourg, 1997, p. 125–133.

⁵ Sur l'histoire et la géographie du massif des Aurès, voir C. Latruffe, « Les monts Aurès. Notice historique et géographique », *Bulletin de la société de géographie*, XX/4, 2 (1880), p. 245–281; G. Yver, « Awrās », dans *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, nouvelle édition, Leyde-Paris, 1960, I, p. 793–794; J.-L. Balais, « Aurès », dans *Encyclopédie berbère*, Aix-en-Provence, 1989, VII, p. 1066–1095.

⁶ Voir J. Desanges, « Abaritana ou Avaritana Provincia » & S. Chaker, « Abaritana/Abaris – Awaris/Awras? », dans *Encyclopédie berbère*, Aix-en-Provence, 1984, I, p. 57–59 & 59; F. Vattioni, « Abaritanus », *Antiquités africaines*, 32 (1996), p. 9–12.

⁷ Sur les vicissitudes du mot « oasis », voir J. Leclant, « *Oasis*, histoire d'un mot », dans J. Drouin & A. Roth (éds.) : *A la croisée des études lybico-berbères. Mélanges offerts à Paulette Galand-Pernet et Lionel Galand*, Paris, 1993, p. 55–60.

⁸ J. Maspéro & G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, Le Caire, 1919, p. 219–225 pour les mentions de *wāḥ/wāḥāt* équivalent à contrée désertique en milieu lybique. En revanche, pour le cas de l'Occident musulman médiéval, voir al-Muqaddasī, *Description*, p. 12/13, 26/27 & 42/43 où le terme *nahīl* est donné à certains toponymes et semble correspondre à des sites possédant cours d'eau et palmiers en abondance.

tion que les parties supérieures⁹. Il semblerait que cette fortification serait une reconstruction faite par les Byzantins sur un ancien *castellum* romain. Nous en restons au stade de l'hypothèse car malheureusement au cours d'une très récente reconnaissance globale de la palmeraie, nous n'avons encore rien repéré de significatif quant aux restes d'une fortification antérieure au X^e siècle¹⁰.

LA PALMERAIE DE TOLGA CHEZ QUELQUES GÉOGRAPHES ARABES MÉDIÉVAUX

Nous nous proposons, dans les pages qui suivent, de donner les résultats du dépouillement systématique de sept géographes susceptibles d'éclairer notre vision de la palmeraie de Tolga au Moyen Age. Il s'agit tout simplement de mettre en relief les mentions relatives au peuplement, au territoire et aux types de produits agricoles cultivés dans la zone¹¹. Il nous faut également préciser que les écrivains utilisés dans cette étude vécurent à des époques différentes et il est évident que certains d'entre eux, d'époque tardive (Ibn ^cAbd al-Mun^cim al-Himyarī et Yāqūt) ont certainement eu à leur disposition des informations, plus ou moins similaires, provenant d'auteurs plus anciens (Ibn Hawqal, al-Muqaddasī et al-Bakrī). Sur ce point, il serait bon de rappeler que quelques historiens et arabisants avaient déjà utilisé, dans la seconde moitié du XX^e siècle et à d'autres fins, les principaux textes géographiques relatifs au Maghreb central, et plus particulièrement les fragments relatifs à la zone de Biskra médiévale¹².

Al-Muqaddasī (*circa* 378/988)¹³ :

texte arabe : *wa-l-Zāb madīnatuhā al-Masīla wa-lahā Maqqara, Ṭubna, Biskra, Bādis, Tahūdā, Ṭawlaqā, Ġamīlā, Bantyūs, Adnā, Ašīr.*

traduction : « Le Zāb dont le centre urbain est Masīla se compose de Maqqara, Ṭubna, Biskra, Bādis, Tahūdā, Ṭawlaqā, Ġamīlā, Bantyūs, Adnā, Ašīr ».

⁹ S. Gsell, *Atlas archéologique de l'Algérie*, tome I : *Texte*, Alger, 1997², feuille n° 48, p. 2–3.

¹⁰ Nous avons effectué, à titre individuel, une reconnaissance de trois secteurs anciens du territoire de Tolga au cours de l'été 1999. On ne peut évidemment tirer aucune conclusion car il nous reste deux zones importantes à étudier (« Zaouia » et « Vieux-Tolga »).

¹¹ P. Cressier & M. Meouak, « L'apport des géographes arabes (IX^e–XI^e s.) à la connaissance de l'irrigation et de l'hydraulique agraire dans le Maroc du Haut Moyen Age », dans C. Alvarez de Morales (ed.) : *Ciencias de la naturaleza en al-Andalus. Textos y estudios V*, Grenade, 1998, p. 321–362 pourrait servir de modèle méthodologique pour l'étude des structures agricoles et thèmes connexes au Maghreb central.

¹² M. Vonderheyden, *La Berbérie orientale sous la dynastie des Benou'l-Arlab, 800–909*, Paris, 1927, p. 56–57; R. Brunschwig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafṣides des origines à la fin du XV^e siècle*, 2 vols., Paris, 1940 & 1947, I, p. 296, note 2 & II, p. 220; L. Golvin, *Le Magrib central à l'époque des Zirides. Recherches d'archéologie et d'histoire*, Paris, 1957, p. 86; H.R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zirides, X^e–XII^e siècles*, Paris, 1962, 2 vols., II, p. 481, note 644; M. Brett, « Ibn Khaldūn and the dynastic approach to local history : the case of Biskra », *Al-Qanṭara*, XII/1 (1991), p. 157–180 étudie l'apport d'Ibn Haldūn pour la connaissance de l'histoire et la géographie de la région de Biskra.

¹³ Al-Muqaddasī, *Kitāb aḥsan al-taqāṣīm fi ma'rīfat al-aqālīm*, 2^e édition de M.J. de Goeje, Leyde, 1906, p. 57; traduction des fragments relatifs à l'Occident musulman par Ch. Pellat, *Description de l'Occident musulman au IV^e=X^e siècle*, Alger, 1950, p. 9/8.

Ibn Ḥawqal (*circa fin IV^e/X^e siècle*)¹⁴:

texte arabe : *wa-qad aqāma min ḥalafihim ‘alā minhāq salafihim bihi; wa-mimmā qāribuhu min mudun al-Ḥawāriġ wa-hiya Nafzāwa wa-Lawġa wa-Bādis wa-Biskra; wa-ya‘taqidūna ārā’ ahum wa-yamšūna ‘alā sunanihim.*

traduction : « Leurs descendants, ainsi que leurs aieux, ont subsisté proche des centres urbains des Ḥawāriġ tels que Nafzāwa, Lauġa, Bādis et Biskra où ils professent leur foi et pratiquent leurs rites religieux ».

Al-Bakrī (*ob. 487/1094*)¹⁵:

texte arabe : *wa-min mudunihā madīna Ġamūna wa-madīna Ṭawlaqa wa-madīna Maṭlā wa-madīna Bantyūs.*

traduction : « Parmi ses villes, il y a la ville de Ġamūna, la ville de Tolga, la ville de Maṭlā et la ville de Bantyūs ».

texte arabe : *wa-bi-ğawfi Bantyūs Ṭawlaqa; wa-hiya ṭalāṭ mudun kulluhā ‘alayhā aswār tūb wa-hanādiq wa-ḥawlahā anhār; wa-hiya kaṭīrat al-basātīn bi-l-zaytūn wa-l-a‘nāb wa-l-naḥl wa-l-ṣaḡar wa-ğamīr al-timār; wa-iḥdāhā yaskunuhā al-muwalladūn wa-l-tāniya yaskunuhā al-Yaman wa-l-ṭāliṭa yaskunuhā al-Qays.*
 traduction : « Tolga se situe au nord de Bantyūs; elle est composée de trois villes, entourées chacune de murailles de brique et de fossées; aux alentours, il y a des ruisseaux; il y a de nombreux jardins d'oliviers, de vignes, de dattiers, d'arbres et de tous les fruits; la première d'entre elles est habitée par des « muwalladūn », la deuxième par des Yéménites et la troisième par des Qaysites »¹⁶.

Al-Idrīsī (*ob. 560/1165*)¹⁷:

texte arabe : *wa-min madīna Qafṣa ilā madīna Safāqus ṭalāṭa ayyām; wa-fīmā bayna ḡabal Nafūsa wa-madīna Nafzāwa Lawhaqa [Ṭawlaqa]; wa-yattaṣilu bihā ḡarb^{an} madīna Biskra wa-Bādis; wa-kull hādihi al-bilād tataqārabu fī maqādīrihā wa-ṣifātihā wa-matāğirihā¹⁸ wa-aswāqihā.*

traduction : « De la ville de Gafsa à la ville de Sfax, il y a trois journées; entre le mont Nafūsa et la ville de Nafzāwa, il y a la ville de Lawhaqa [Ṭawlaqa]; elle est rattachée à la ville de Biskra et Bādis à l'ouest; toutes ces cités se ressemblent par leur importance, leur aspect, leur commerce et leurs marchés ».

¹⁴ Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb šūrat al-ard*, édition de J.H. Kramers, Leyde, 1938, p. 90/ traduction de J.H. Kramers et G. Wiet, *Configuration de la terre (Kitāb šūrat al-ard)*, Paris-Beyrouth, 1964, 2 vols., I, p. 93.

¹⁵ Al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-muğrib fī ḏikr bilād Ifrīqiya wa-l-Maġrib* [*Kitāb*], édition et traduction de M.G. de Slane, Paris, 1911-1913, p. 52/112; idem, *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik* [*al-Masālik*], édition de A.P. Van Leeuwen & A. Ferré, Tunis, 1992, 2 vols., II, p. 714.

¹⁶ Al-Bakrī, *Kitāb*, p. 72/148 & *al-Masālik*, II, p. 740.

¹⁷ Al-Idrīsī, *Kitāb nuzhat al-muštāq fī iḥtirāq al-āfāq*, édition et traduction de R.P. Dozy et M.J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1866, p. 106/124; idem, *Le Magrib au 12^e siècle de l'Hégire (6^e après J.-C.)*, texte établi et traduit en français par M. Hadj-Sadok, Paris, 1983, p. 140/128.

¹⁸ L'édition du texte d'al-Idrīsī établie par R. Dozy & M.J. de Goeje, p. 106/124 donne : *wa-fī matāğirihā.*

Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (*ob.* 626/1229)¹⁹:

texte arabe : *Tawlaqa : madīna bi-l-Maġrib min nāhiyat al-Zāb al-kabīr min ṣuq^c al-Čarīd; yansabu ilayhā ^cAbd Allāh b. Ka^cb b. Rabī'a.*

traduction : « Tolga, ville du Maghreb dans le district du Grand Zāb de la région du Jérid; le nom de relation a été porté par ^cAbd Allāh b. Ka^cb b. Rabī'a ».

Ibn ^cAbd al-Mun^cim al-Ḥimyārī (*ob.* 710/1310)²⁰:

texte arabe : *Tawlaqa min bilād al-Čarīd bi-ğawfī Bantiyūs; wa-hiya talāṭ mudun kulluhā ^calayhā aswār wa-hanādiq; wa-ḥawlahā anhār; wa-hiya kaṭīrat al-basātīn bi-l-zaytūn wa-l-a^cnāb wa-l-nahīl wa-l-ṣaḡar wa-ğamīc al-timār; tumma min Bantiyūs ilā Biskra.*

traduction : « Tolga est dans la région du Jérid à l'intérieur de Bantiyūs; elle se compose de trois villes dont chacune d'elle possède des murailles et fossés; autour d'elle [Tolga], il y a des cours d'eau; il y a de nombreux jardins avec des oliviers, des raisins, des palmiers, des arbres et tous les fruits; puis de Bantiyūs jusqu'à Biskra ».

Quel bilan provisoire peut-on faire à l'issue de la présentation des notices. Il est bien connu que les géographes arabes nous apportent de très intéressantes informations sur la situation de l'Afrique du Nord au Moyen Age et plus précisément sur l'Algérie médiévale. Il faut cependant nuancer ce premier constat, à priori enthousiaste quant aux résultats. En effet, le problème pour l'historien est que, assez souvent, ces mêmes géographes négligent l'essentiel qui n'attire pas leur attention. Devant ce fait, il est nécessaire d'utiliser tous les éléments textuels tirés des sources étudiées et donc susceptibles de nous apporter quelques données sur le peuplement et la structuration du territoire²¹.

Certains écrivains étudiés offrent des données sur la physionomie historique ainsi que sur les tribus présentes dans la palmeraie de Tolga. A partir d'une grande région qu'est le Zāb, al-Muqaddasī nous renseigne sur le nom des *mudun* qui la composent. Puis, l'information semble s'orienter vers des questions d'ordre religieux qui intéresse Ibn Ḥawqal et dans lesquelles il est question de la présence des Hawāriq à Tolga. Cette évocation nous emmenerait au moins vers le III^e/IX^e siècle et outre l'indication du phénomène hāriqite dans la zone de Tolga, on remarque que cette école juridico-religieuse est, semble-t-il, basée proche des milieux urbains²².

Al-Bakrī est sans nul doute le plus prolifique des auteurs utilisés. Il nous donne,

¹⁹ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muğam al-buldān*, édition de Beyrouth, Dār Ṣādir, s.d., 5 vols., IV, p. 50.

²⁰ Ibn ^cAbd al-Mun^cim al-Ḥimyārī, *Kitāb al-rāwḍ al-mīṭār fi ḥabar al-aqṭār*, édition de I. ^cAbbās, Beyrouth, 1975, p. 400.

²¹ Sur cette problématique, voir à titre comparatif M. Meouak, « Observations sur la géographie historique et la toponymie luso-arabes », *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, 30 (1999), p. 73–81.

²² Il existe une abondante littérature sur la hāriqyya et la ibādiyya au Maghreb médiéval. Voir, entre autres études, T. Lewicki, « La répartition géographique des groupements ibādites dans l'Afrique du Nord au Moyen Age », *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, XXXI (1957), p. 301–343; M. Talbi, « La conversion des Berbères au hāriqisme ibādīto-ṣūfrite et la nouvelle carte politique du Maghreb au II^e/VIII^e siècle », dans M. Talbi, *Études d'histoire ifriquienne et de civilisation musulmane médiévale*, Tunis, 1982, p. 13–80; M. Vehkavaara, « Entering the exiting : the distinctive features of al-Ibādiya », *Studia Orientalia*, 82 (1997), p. 129–144.

en effet, une description de la configuration topographique, des principales activités agricoles et des tribus qui peuplent Tolga. Ce qui frappe au premier abord, c'est la présence des « trois villes », ou peut-être « quartiers », qui constitueraient Tolga dans son ensemble. Ces trois éléments sont amuraillés, entourés de fossés et de cours d'eau. L'agriculture irriguée par un réseau de *sāqiya-s* était, de toute évidence, un facteur sans doute décisif dans le développement économique de Tolga médiévale : production de dattes, d'olives et de cultures maraîchères²³. Enfin, une dernière information, non sans intérêt, doit être commentée. Il s'agit du peuplement des « trois villes/quartiers » de Tolga. Les *muwalladūn* pourraient être ici considérés comme étant, avec toute précaution, les populations autochtones, c'est-à-dire les Berbères? Le terme *muwallad* possède un contenu sémantique de difficile interprétation. Il signifierait, à partir du sentiment de pureté ethnique que les Arabes ont commencé à sentir pour leurs origines, l'individu qui vit parmi les Arabes sans être arabe, et qui en outre parlerait une autre langue. Si l'on poursuit la réflexion dans cette direction, on se doit également de faire référence à la composante religieuse puisque dans le cas du Maghreb médiéval, il y a eu une islamisation, acceptée ou refusée par des populations, accompagnée par une arabisation²⁴. Quant aux informations relatives aux deux groupes tribaux arabes, elles nous rappellent que la présence des Yéménites, Arabes du Sud de la péninsule Arabique et des Qaysites, Arabes du Nord (Croissant Fertile et région syro-palestinienne).

Yāqūt est quant à lui discret pour nous renseigner sur Tolga. Il se contente, sans doute sur la base de géographes antérieurs, de la situer dans le *Zāb*, et plus précisément dans le *Garīd*. Pour Ibn ‘Abd al-Mun‘im al-Himyārī, on a une information un peu plus détaillée mais vraisemblablement reprise d'autres ouvrages géographiques antérieurs comme celui d'al-Bakrī. Il dit, en effet, que Tolga était composée de « trois villes » amuraillées et avec des fossés. Puis, il évoque l'existence de jardins, arbres fruitiers, palmiers, oliviers et de nombreux cours d'eau.

Al-Idrīsī est, malgré la petite notice qu'il écrivit sur Tolga, intéressant. Il indique, en effet, qu'il y avait des marchés et du commerce. Ce dernier aspect est le témoin, plus ou moins fidèle, d'une activité économique qui a pu se développer autour de produits tels que les dattes et les olives. Fidèle à son habitude, on n'oubliera pas de signaler qu'al-Idrīsī, en donnant les distances entre le *ğabal Nafūsa* et la ville de *Nafzāwa*, inclut Tolga dans cette étape du « routier ».

²³ Il s'agit d'un autre problème auquel nous sommes confrontés : mise à jour, reconstitution et datation des nombreuses *sāqiya-s*. Au cours de l'été 2000, nous avons pu reconstituer, décrire et documenter deux d'entre elles.

²⁴ Sur ces phénomènes complexes, voir, à titre purement indicatif, W.F. Heinrichs, « Muwallad », dans *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, nouvelle édition, Leyde-New York-Paris, VII, 1993, p. 809. L'étude de P. Cressier, « Urbanisation, arabisation, islamisation au Maroc du Nord : quelques remarques depuis l'archéologie », dans J. Aguadé, P. Cressier & A. Vincente (éds.) : *Peuplement et arabisation au Maghreb occidental. Dialectologie et histoire*, Madrid-Saragosse, 1998, p. 27-38 est intéressante pour la question des contacts, ou non, entre les caractères autochtones et islamiques au Maghreb occidental des restes archéologiques.

TAWLAQA/TOLGA, UN EXEMPLE POUR L'ÉTUDE DES RAPPORTS « VILLE-CAMPAGNE » AU MAGHREB CENTRAL?

Au milieu du XX^e siècle, quelques historiens, principalement des spécialistes en géographie historique, avaient recherché dans la problématique de l'opposition de la plaine et de la montagne, une hypothèse pour tenter de mieux comprendre l'histoire du Maghreb antique. C'est dans cette dynamique que Ch. Courtois proposait de la substituer à l'opposition « ville-campagne ». La montagne aurait alors constitué une sorte de bastion indigène resté à l'écart des mouvements de romanisation. Cet ensemble géomorphologique aurait représenté ce que l'on désigne par le nom d'« Afrique oubliée », l'Afrique aux marges et en dehors des contacts. Dans un courant scientifique similaire, le géographe J. Despoix décrivait le montagnard et le nomade au Maghreb comme étant des individus qui avaient pris le dessus, tant sur le plan agricole que territorial, sur le paysan des plaines méditerranéennes²⁵. Ces idées, de toute évidence issues de l'époque coloniale, connurent un grand succès en géographie historique. Il nous faut cependant les nuancer car la réalité des choses est autrement différente.

L'opposition montagne-plaine peut nous aider à mieux cerner les possibles rapports « ville-campagne » que Tolga a pu entretenir avec un site plus grand, une véritable *madīna* comme ce fut le cas de Biskra. Les remarques qui vont suivre ne sont qu'hypothèses de travail et rien, en l'état actuel de nos connaissances sur la zone étudiée, ne nous permet de tirer des conclusions pour l'heure valables²⁶. En quels termes pourrions-nous poser la question des relations « ville-campagne »? Deux voies théoriques et documentées nous paraissent susceptibles d'éclairer notre compréhension du sujet : l'approche économique et la perspective archéo-historique. La première méthode est, sans nul doute, celle qui a suscité de nombreux débats autour notamment de l'application des idées de l'écrivain tunisien Ibn Haldūn (*ob.* 808/1406). Ce dernier avait élaboré ses théories sur la base d'observations et avait surtout mis en relief le fait que la ville, ou plus généralement le monde urbain, dépossédait le monde rural de ses propres ressources et surtout des produits agricoles. A partir du moment où l'autorité politique était concentrée en ville, il semble que la campagne ne pouvait que souffrir du « pillage » organisé par les représentants des institutions de la *madīna*²⁷. Les choses sont bien plus complexes et nous n'avons pas la prétention, ici, de participer à un débat théorique obligeant au recours à la pluridisciplinarité.

La deuxième approche est celle que nous préconisons car elle a déjà apporté son lot d'informations. Grâce à l'alliance de l'étude des sources et du travail d'archéologie, il serait possible d'étudier le rôle de Tolga dans la dynamique ville-campagne

²⁵ Ch. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique*, Paris, 1955, *passim*; J. Despoix, *L'Afrique du Nord*, Paris, 1964³, *passim*.

²⁶ Cette problématique est vaste et dotée d'une abondante littérature. Voir, par exemple, N. Marouf, « Les rapports ville-campagne au Maghreb : applications au domaine saharien », dans *L'évolution des rapports villes-campagnes au Maghreb*, Rabat, 1988, p. 115–130.

²⁷ Sur ces questions, voir par exemple, Y. Lacoste, *Ibn Khaldoun, naissance de l'histoire, passé du tiers-monde*, Paris, 1965, *passim*; D. Sari, « L'apport d'Ibn Khaldoun à l'analyse des rapports ville-campagne » dans *Actes du colloque international sur Ibn Khaldoun (Alger, 1978)*, Alger, 1982, p. 85–95.

au Moyen Age. Le volume de textes arabes capables de nous renseigner est relativement important pour ce qui est du cas Tolga-Biskra et zones limitrophes. En ce qui concerne l'archéologie, il s'agirait, d'abord, d'épuiser la lecture, la traduction et l'étude des sources puis établir une liste de questions auxquelles celles-ci ne répondraient pas. C'est alors que l'étude de terrain pourrait confirmer, infirmer ou contredire telle ou telle mention rencontrée dans les textes²⁸. Mais comment recomposer la réalité historique si tant est qu'elle existe? Nous sommes tout à fait conscients que les sources écrites arabes ignorent parfois les campagnes mais cela ne veut pas dire qu'elles n'existent pas. Dès lors, l'insertion de l'archéologie dans une problématique historique serait peut-être la solution. Cette incorporation de l'archéologie à une plus ample perspective historique permettrait, par exemple, de mieux comprendre les structures tribales du piémont de l'Aurès (Tolga-Biskra) en relation avec les réseaux de fortifications et au-delà, nous aurions la possibilité de situer les pouvoirs politiques qui présidèrent à l'histoire médiévale du Maghreb central, et notamment celle de la région des Zibān (Tolga-Biskra).

²⁸ D'un point de vue méthodologique et en guise de comparaison avec al-Andalus, voir M. Meouak, «Toponymie, peuplement et division du territoire dans la province d'Almérie à l'époque médiévale : l'apport des textes arabes», *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, XXXI/1 (1995), p. 173–222, 183–186.

Cuneiform Texts from Neo-Babylonian Sippar in the Gothenburg City Museum

SVERRIR ÓLAFSSON and OLOF PEDERSÉN, Uppsala

The Gothenburg City Museum (Göteborgs Stadsmuseum) owns an interesting collection of 32 clay tablets written in the Neo-Babylonian cuneiform script. The tablets are a fairly representative selection of the large archives for the administration of the temple of the sun-god Šamaš in the city of Sippar during the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods. These archives are the largest Neo-Babylonian archives ever excavated in Mesopotamia, with most of the texts dating to the reigns of the Neo-Babylonian kings Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar II and Nabonid, as well as the Achaemenid kings Cyrus, Cambyses and Darius I and the early years of Xerxes I (c. 625–486 BC).

MODERN HISTORY OF THE CLAY TABLETS IN THE GOTHENBURG CITY MUSEUM

The yearly report of the year 1887 from what was previously called the Gothenburg Museum (Göteborgs museum), printed in *Göteborgs Stadsfullmäktiges Handlingar* 1888, no. 21, pp. 1–3, records the acquisitions for what was at that time called the “Historical Section (Historiska afdelningen)” of the “Historical and Ethnographical Department of the Gothenburg Museum (Historiska och Etnografiska afdelningen af Göteborgs museum)”. The relevant section of this department was in 1912 organized as an archaeological department. In 1946, this department was re-organized as a separate museum with the name “Gothenburg Archaeological Museum (Göteborgs Arkeologiska Museum, abbreviated GAM)”. In 1993, this museum was included as a section in the “Gothenburg City Museum” (cf. Jan Eric Sjöberg, *Tusentals fynd från hundratusentals år: en resa i tid och rum genom Stadsmuseets arkeologiska samlingar*, 1998, 3–26).

The list of acquisitions of 1887 starts with a list of the “28 numbers” of Neo-Babylonian clay tablets acquired from an auction by a “well-known company” in London. The whole collection on sale was referred to as consisting of 337 numbers. The tablets are said to have been inspected by “a well-known Assyriologist, Dr. W. St. Chad Boscawen, a former employee at the British Museum”, who guaranteed their genuineness and read 14 of them. This preliminary reading provided the basis for the immediate catalogization of the tablets in the museum. The yearly report of 1887 stated that Nos. 2381–2394 in the museum were allotted to the 14 tablets with a known preliminary reading, and the remaining “14” undeciphered tablets are said to have received Nos. 2395–2409. This would, however, give 29, not 28, clay tablets as stated in the yearly report. In fact, the following three Nos. 2410–2412 are also clay tablets, making a total of 32 clay tablets. Remains of an even older num-

bering system can be found on several of the clay tablets. According to that system, Nos. 722–735 correspond to Nos. 2381–2394, and No. 735b was used for all of Nos. 2395–2409.

In connection with the re-organization of the appropriate collection as part of the Gothenburg Archaeological Museum, the clay tablets received new museum numbers in addition to the older ones. These new numbers were assigned in two groups GAM 21778–21791 and GAM 21850–21867, without the former, partly chronological order of the tablets.

When C.B.F. Walker at the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities in the British Museum kindly supplied information concerning the *Catalogue of a Collection of Inscribed Babylonian Terra-cotta Tablets, which will be sold by auction by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, auctioneers of literary property and works illustrative of the fine arts, at their house, No. 13 Wellington Street, Strand, W.C., on Monday, the 14th day of February, 1887, at one o'clock precisely*, it was immediately clear from the descriptions of some of the lots there that this auction was the source of the clay tablets in Gothenburg.

According to this catalogue, the collection consisted of 96 lots of one clay tablet each with a description by Boscowen, i.e. lots Nos. 1–97, with eight lots missing (Nos. 4, 9, 18, 21, 52, 64, 73, and 82), but with seven additional lots (Nos. 3A, 7a, 31A, 46A, 47a, 90a, and 91a; both a and A were used!). The remaining lots, Nos. 98–177, each consisted of three undescribed clay tablets, i.e. 240 clay tablets. This gives a total of 336 clay tablets sold or, following the numbering in the catalogue, 337 as stated in the yearly report of 1887 from the Gothenburg Museum.

The following lots from Sotheby's catalogue agree with the described tablets in the list from Gothenburg: 1, 3A, 15, 22, 32, 39, 48, 60, 62, 66, 67, 70, 74 and 81. All, except lots 3A and 66, were followed in Sotheby's catalogue by the same name of the buyer. As lots 98, 101, 103, 117 and 118 (all three tablets without description) were purchased by the same man, they were probably also acquired by the Museum in Gothenburg. This would give a total of 29 clay tablets. Perhaps one more lot of three undeciphered tablets was also acquired, but this guess can not be verified in any way.

Very few persons outside the museum knew about the existence of the clay tablets when Olof Pedersén visited the museum in January 1981 and Jan Eric Sjöberg, in charge of the documentation of the museum, showed them. In 1981–2, Pedersén cleaned the tablets, was permitted to start work on their decipherment and wrote an unpublished paper with copies, transliterations, and translations of a selection of the texts. In 1999–2000, Sverrir Ólafsson made new copies of all the texts and prepared transliterations, translations and lists of names. Pedersén re-arranged and reworked the material and made the final editions ready for publication. The museum, and especially J.E. Sjöberg and Barbro Ilvemo, are thanked for providing the good conditions under which the whole work was done. M. Jursa kindly commented on a preliminary version of the manuscript.

SIPPAR EXCAVATIONS AND THE PROVENIENCE OF THE TABLETS IN THE GOTHENBURG CITY MUSEUM

H. Rassam directed the early British excavations in Sippar in 1881 and 1882, and they were followed by French excavations led by V. Scheil in 1894. In more recent times, there were Belgian explorations in 1972 and 1973, and since 1978 there have been Iraqi excavations on the site (cf., for example, O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East 1500–300 B.C.*, 1998, 193–197). The cuneiform clay tablets from Sippar at the auction in February 1887 seem to have been the result of continued, local, excavation activity after the end of the British expedition.

The correctness of the ascription of the tablets in the City Museum of Gothenburg to archives in the Šamaš temple in Sippar can be seen in the presentations of the individual texts with short commentaries. The persons in the texts, the institutions mentioned and the types of texts and their cultural and socio-economic settings all have close parallels in the large number of published texts known to have been excavated in Sippar. The ascription of the individual tablets to specific findspots in Sippar and therefore to different archives is not possible for the Gothenburg texts, as is unfortunately the situation also for the official excavations, owing to the pre-scientific circumstances during those early days of archaeological activity.

PUBLICATIONS AND STUDIES OF THE TEXTS FROM SIPPAR

The first main step in dealing with the many thousands of cuneiform tablets from Sippar consisted essentially in preparing cuneiform copies of large groups of selected texts. The first large groups of cuneiform texts from Sippar were copied and published only a few years after their excavation in J.N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabonidus, König von Babylon (555–538 v. Chr.)*, 1889 (= *Nbn*), *Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor, König von Babylon (604–561 v. Chr.)*, 1889 (= *Nbk*), *Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon (538–529 v. Chr.)*, 1890 (= *Cyr*), *Inschriften von Cambyses, König von Babylon (529–521 v. Chr.)*, 1890 (= *Camb*), and *Inschriften von Darius, König von Babylon (521–485 v. Chr.)*, 1893 (= *Dar*). A large number of additional copies of clay tablets from Sippar were already prepared in the years 1892–1894 but were published as late as some 90 years thereafter; cf. T.G. Pinches, *Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Economic Texts, Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum 55–57*, 1982 (= *CT 55–57*), a publication prepared for the press by I.L. Finkel.

As a second step, a complete catalogue of all the c. 32,000 Neo-Babylonian clay tablets from Sippar now in the British Museum was published in three volumes (E. Leichty, et al., *Tablets from Sippar 1–3, Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum VI–VIII*, 1986–1988). In the first volume of this catalogue, there is also detailed information about the findings and collections of these texts (J.E. Reade, “Introduction: Rassam’s Babylonian Collection: The Excavations and the Archives”).

The third step is a result of the publication of this catalogue. The work on the catalogue has initiated a number of new studies based on a more complete coverage of all the texts from Sippar. Now not only the cuneiform copies are published, but

work is progressing on the interpretation of different aspects of all the cuneiform texts. Beside a large number of articles, the following monographs dealing with the interpretation of the texts have recently been published, M. Jursa, *Die Landwirtschaft in Sippar in neubabylonischer Zeit*, AfO Beiheft 25, 1995 (= *Landwirtschaft*), M. Jursa, *Der Tempelzehnt in Babylonien vom siebenten bis zum dritten Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, AOAT 254, 1998 (= *Tempelzehnt*), M. Jursa, *Das Archiv des Bēl-Rēmanni*, PIHANS 86, 1999 (= *Bēl-Rēmanni*), A.C.V.M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar: Its Administration and Its Prosopography*, PIHANS 90, 1997 (= *Prosopography*), and J. MacGinnis, *Letter Orders from Sippar and the Administration of the Ebabbara in the Late-Babylonian Period*, 1995 (= *Letter Orders*). Several monographic studies dealing with the Sippar archives are at present in progress.

The publication below of the Sippar texts in the Gothenburg City Museum would not have been possible in its present form without all these detailed studies from recent years.

SIPPAR ARCHIVES AND THE TYPES OF TEXTS IN THE GOTHENBURG CITY MUSEUM

About half of the clay tablets from Sippar excavated by the British were reported to have been unearthed in a room beside a courtyard in the southeastern precinct of the Šamaš temple complex. Beside these large remains of an archive, other texts may have formed separate archives in other rooms of the temple complex or in (private) houses in other parts of the city. From the catalogue of Sippar texts in the British Museum, the main groups of texts in the archives can be surveyed: administrative documents dealing with deliveries and issues in the form of lists, accounts and receipts, furthermore ledgers, contracts, especially loan and purchase documents, as well as letters and school texts.

The economically most important aspects of the temple's large-scale agricultural economy in Sippar was the cultivation of barley and dates and the production of wool. A number of other products are also attested, as has been studied by M. Jursa (*Landwirtschaft*).

The largest group of clay tablets in the Gothenburg City Museum consists of the administrative records. They are often a documentation about deliveries of goods to the temple or issues of goods from the temple. The main types of such texts may take the form either of short notes or of longer lists of more or less similar items of either delivery or issue. Sometimes both the delivery and the issue are referred to in the same text. All these texts may in one way or another be related to administrative procedures or may in some way refer to persons involved in such activities in the temple.

Another important group of texts is the legal records. They are legally binding documents, written in the presence of a group of named witnesses; the last witness is the scribe writing the document. Often impressions of seals or fingernails of the main persons mentioned in the texts can be seen on such tablets. The persons in these texts are related to the temple in Sippar.

Other texts include a letter and a kind of request. Such texts are far less frequently

attested than the two main groups of documents. The persons of importance in these texts are the two most prominent persons in the temple hierarchy in Sippar.

The following simplified listing of the texts gives a general idea of what the administrative records, the legal records, the letter and the request deal with. In reality, the complicated, socio-economic situation in the large temple of Šamaš in Sippar provides us with a number of yet to be answered, philological, sociological, and historical questions in many of the documents, as can be seen below in the presentation of the individual texts.

No. GAM	Date	Content
<i>Administrative records</i>		
1	21788 Npl 22-III-12	Delivery of <i>imittu</i> of barley, and its partial issues(?)
2	21784 Npl 25-IV-17	Deliveries of (goat) hair(?)
3	21854 Npl [xx-xx-xx]	Deliveries probably of dates
4	21783 Nbk xx-III-02	Deliveries of sheep as <i>sibtu</i> -tax
5	21790 Nbn 16-III-06	Delivery of sesame as tithe and an issue of barley
6	21867 Nbn 23-V-10	Delivery(?) of an ox and of <i>abattu</i>
7	21786 (xx) 02-IX-(xx)	Deliveries of bitumen
8	21853 (xx) 02-XI-(xx)	Deliveries of iron spades and baskets
9	21850 Npl 14-V-06	Issues of wool for ceremony
10	21789 (NbK) 21-II-41	Issue(?) of wool
11	21855 Nbn 30-II-01?	Issues of sheep for offerings
12	21861 Nbn 22?-V-06	Issues of wool(?) to craftsmen
13	21859 Nbn 18-VIII-07	Issues of wool to weavers(?)
14	21864 Nbn 23-VIII-09	Issue of dates for making beer
15	21782 Nbn 21-IX-09	Issues of barley to bakers
16	21858 Nbn 14-XII-11	Issues of silver for salt, etc.
17	21781 (Cyr?) 11-I-01	Issues of dates to various persons
18	21852 Dar 12-XII-01	Issues of barley for offerings and fodder
19	21778 Dar 06-I-15	Issues of flour for ceremony
20	21787 (xx) (xx)-X-02	Issue of wool to a weaver(?)
21	21856 (xx) 23-IX-[xx]	Issues of barley for fodder, etc.
22	21785 Dar 29-V-21	Receipts and issues of emmer
23	21780 (NbK?)	Description of fields
<i>Legal records</i>		
24	21860 NbK 01-I-01	Loan of barley, property of Šamaš. Witnesses
25	21779 [Nbn] 14-[xx]-11	Contract for an inheritance and maintenance. Witnesses. Nail impressions
26	21857 Cyr 10[+x]-XII-03	Contract for dates and the digging of a canal. Witnesses. Nail impressions
27	21865 Camb 04-III-07	Loan of silver. Witnesses

28	21851	Dar 24-I-03	Rent of a large cooking pot. Witnesses. Impressed, crossed lines
29	21791	Dar 29-V-24	Loan of barley. Witnesses
<i>Letter and request</i>			
30	21862	–	Letter to the <i>qīpu</i> -resident
31	21863	–	Request for an interrogation by the <i>šangū Sippar</i>
32	21866	–	Traces of writing

MAIN PERSONS AND DATES OF THE TABLETS IN THE GOTHENBURG CITY MUSEUM

As is clear from Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, especially p. 425, the Šamaš temple in Sippar was placed under the leadership of the *šangū Sippar*, “the temple administrator of Sippar”, and the *qīpu*, “the resident”, of the Ebabbar temple. A large number of prebendaries, craftsmen and other personnel are attested in Sippar texts, and the texts from the Gothenburg City Museum show a fairly representative selection of many of these persons as can be seen in the presentation of the individual texts. Besides the scribes, the best attested professions in the texts in the Gothenburg City Museum are gardeners, shepherds and weavers.

The tablets in the Gothenburg City Museum also give a good chronological sample of texts from most of the periods of the archives in the Šamaš temple. In addition to the Babylonian date-formulas written on the clay tablets, Julian dates are given in the treatment of the individual tablets according to R.A. Parker and W.H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.–A.D. 75*, 1956.

The following listing of the clay tablets according to their dates shows the distribution over the Neo-Babylonian and early Achaemenid periods. The abbreviated royal names (Npl, Nbk, etc.) in the list and elsewhere in this work are used as short references to the king and his reign; however, when in italics, the same abbreviations (*Npl*, *Nbk*, etc.) are used as references to Strassmaier’s publications, as indicated above.

Date	No.	GAM	Content
<i>Neo-Babylonian period</i>			
<i>Nabopolassar, 625–605 BC</i>			
Npl 14-V-06	9	21850	Issues of wool for ceremony
Npl 22-III-12	1	21788	Delivery of <i>imittu</i> of barley, and its partial issues(?)
Npl 25-IV-17	2	21784	Deliveries of (goat) hair(?)
Npl [xx-xx-xx]	3	21854	Deliveries probably of dates
<i>Nebuchadnezzar II, 604–562 BC</i>			
Nbk 01-I-01	24	21860	Loan of barley, property of Šamaš. Witnesses
Nbk xx-III-02	4	21783	Deliveries of sheep as <i>sibtu</i> -tax
(Nbk) 21-II-41	10	21789	Issue(?) of wool
(Nbk?)	23	21780	Description of fields

Nabonidus, 555–539 BC

Nbn 30-II-01?	11	21855	Issues of sheep for offerings
Nbn 16-III-06	5	21790	Delivery of sesame as tithe and an issue of barley
Nbn 22?-V-06	12	21861	Issues of wool(?) to craftsmen
Nbn 18-VIII-07	13	21859	Issues of wool to weavers(?)
Nbn 23-VIII-09	14	21864	Issue of dates for making beer
Nbn 21-IX-09	15	21782	Issues of barley to bakers
Nbn 23-V-10	6	21867	Delivery(?) of an ox and limestone
Nbn 14-XII-11	16	21858	Issues of silver for salt, etc.
[Nbn] 14-[xx]-11	25	21779	Contract for an inheritance and maintenance. Witnesses. Nail impressions

*Achaemenid Empire**Cyrus II, 538–530 BC*

(Cyr?) 11-I-01	17	21781	Issues of dates to various persons
Cyr 10[+x]-XII-03	26	21857	Contract for dates and the digging of a canal. Witnesses. Nail impressions

Cambyses II, 529–522 BC

Camb 04-III-07	27	21865	Loan of silver. Witnesses
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Darius I, 521–486 BC

Dar 12-XII-01	18	21852	Issues of barley for offerings and fodder
Dar 24-I-03	28	21851	Rent of a large cooking pot. Witnesses. Impressed, crossed lines
Dar 06-I-15	19	21778	Issues of flour for ceremony
Dar 29-V-21	22	21785	Receipts and issues of emmer
Dar 29-V-24	29	21791	Loan of barley. Witnesses

No king

(xx) (xx)-X-02	20	21787	Issue of wool to a weaver(?)
(xx) 02-IX-(xx)	7	21786	Deliveries of bitumen
(xx) 23-IX-[xx]	21	21856	Issues of barley for fodder, etc.
(xx) 02-XI-(xx)	8	21853	Deliveries of iron spades and baskets

No date

—	30	21862	Letter to the <i>q̄ipu</i> -resident
—	31	21863	Request for an interrogation by the <i>šangū Sippar</i>
—	32	21866	Traces of writing

CONCORDANCE OF THE CLAY TABLETS IN THE GOTHENBURG CITY MUSEUM

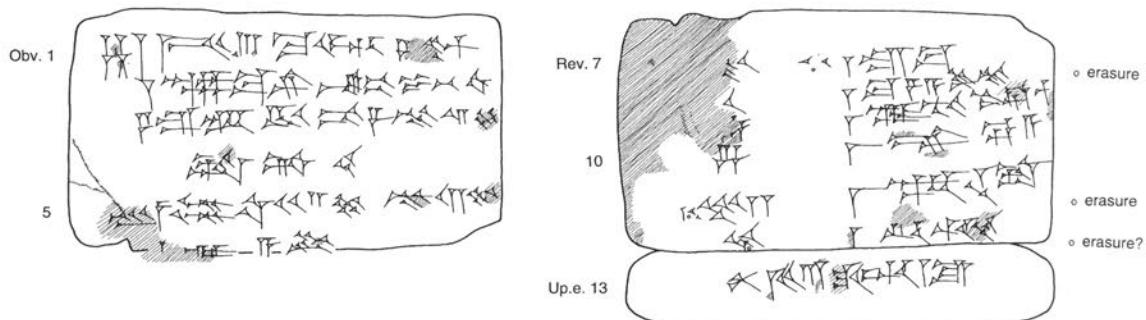
New GAM museum numbers, old museum numbers, and numbers in the present publication.

GAM	Old No.	Publication No.	GAM	Old No.	Publication No.
21778	2402	19	21852	2386	18
21779	2390	25	21853	2394	8
21780	2391	23	21854	2395	3
21781	2392	17	21855	2396	11
21782	2385	15	21856	2398	21
21783	2384	4	21857	2399	26
21784	2382	2	21858	2400	16
21785	2388	22	21859	2403	13
21786	2393	7	21860	2405	24
21787	2397	20	21861	2406	12
21788	2383	1	21862	2407	30
21789	2401	10	21863	2408	31
21790	2404	5	21864	2409	14
21791	2389	29	21865	2410	27
21850	2381	9	21866	2411	32
21851	2387	28	21867	2412	6

Text no. 1 (GAM 21788)

Delivery of *imittu* of barley, from the town of Bēl-iqbi, and its partial issues(?). Dated Npl 22-III-12, i.e. 11/6 614 B.C.

Light brown, smooth surface. Dimensions: Height 31 mm, width 56 mm, thickness 16 mm. Unsealed.



Transliteration

Obv. 1 5° ME 23 *ma-ši-hu šá [Š]E.BAR*

m̄nà-ba-ni ina l̄ib-bi i-mit-tú

šá uru d̄en-iq-bi šá mu.12.k[á]m

it-ta-din

5 *sig₄ ud.22.kám mu.12.kám*

m[d]nà-a-ùru

Rev.	7	[x x]x x	^m eri-ba
	10		^m ba-šá-a ^{lú} muḥaldim
	6 ⁷		^{md} nà-numun ^{lú} uš.bar
	10	5	^m tab-né-e-a
		42	^{md} en-tin- <i>iṭ</i>
		20	^m ri-mut
Up.e.	13	pap 83	ma-ši- <i>ḥu</i> ^m su

Translation

(1–6) 18,828 litres of barley, given by Nabû-bâni, from the *imittu* due from the town of Bêl-iqbi for the 12th year. The 22nd of the month of Simanu, the 12th year of Nabopolassar.

(7)	[xx]xx	Erība:
(8)	360	Iqiša, the baker,
(9)	216(?)	Nabû-zēru, the weaver,
(10)	180	Tabnēa,
(11)	1,512	Bêl-uballit̄,
(12)	720	Rīmūt.
(13)	Total: 2,988	litres Erība.

Commentary

1. In Sippar, the value of the *mašiḥu* seems to have been equal to one *pānu*, i.e. c. 36 litres, unless something else is specified in the texts; a value of 45 litres (a “large” *mašiḥu*) is always specified; cf. Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 146, with reference to MacGinnis, *Letter Orders*, 24f., and Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 151f.

2. Probably the gardener Nabû-bâni of the town of Bêl-iqbi, mentioned in Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 211 (Npl 08 (619)). For *imittu*, the estimated yield of a garden to be delivered as a fee to the owner; cf. Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 160ff.

3. For the town of Bêl-iqbi, its relation to Ebabar and its localisation, see Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 209ff.

7–13. This addition consists of an entry section (line 7), a list (lines 8–12), and the sum of the list. It may represent partial issues to Erība’s men, i.e. the use of some of the deliveries given above. Alternatively, but less probably these may be details about deliveries from them; the possible association with Bêl-iqbi is uncertain, cf. below.

8. This is presumably the same person as the one listed in Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 190 amongst the bakers of Šamaš (Abp 11 & Npl 19 (637/608)), but there seems to be no association with Bêl-iqbi.

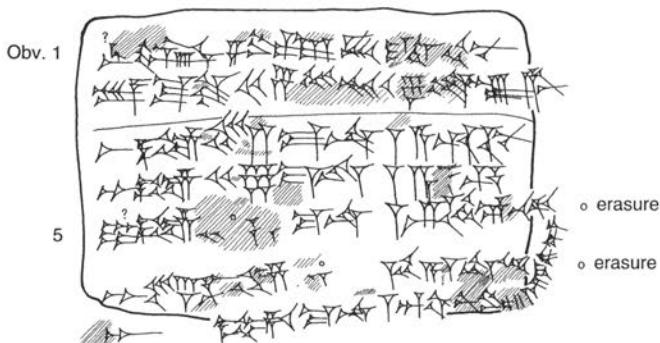
9. This weaver may be the Nabû-zér-ibni in Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 338 (Npl 05 & 11 (622/616)); no association with Bêl-iqbi is mentioned, though.

10–12. There is a gardener named Bêl-uballit̄ from the time of Npl (Npl 14 (613)) in Bêl-iqbi (cf. Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 210); but he may be another man.

Text no. 2 (GAM 21784)

Deliveries of goat hair from five shepherds. Dated Npl 25-IV-17, i.e. 19/7 609 B.C.

Medium brown, smooth surface. Dimensions: Height 42 mm, width 60 mm, thickness 22,5 mm. Unsealed. Incribed on obverse only.



Transliteration

Obv. 1	munsub? šá lú sipa.meš id-din-nu
	itíšu ud.25.kám mu.17.kám ^{md} nà-a-PAB
	1 gun 52 ma.na ^m a-hu-šu-nu
	2 gun 28 ma.na ^m a-a-hu
5	7? gun [xx] ma.na ^m ri-he-e-ti
	2 44 gun ^m tin a ^m na-[s]ir
7	2 gun 10 ma.na ^{md} utu-PAB lú s[ip]a gi-né-e

Translation

- (1) (Goat) hair that the shepherds delivered,
- (2) (on) the 25th of Du^ouzu, the 17th year of Nabopolassar:
- (3) 56 kg Ahūšunu.
- (4) 74 kg Ajjabu.
- (5) 210+(x?) kg Rihēti.
- (6) 82 kg Balātu, son of Nāṣir.
- (7) 65 kg Šamaš-nāṣir, the herdsman of the regular offerings.

Commentary

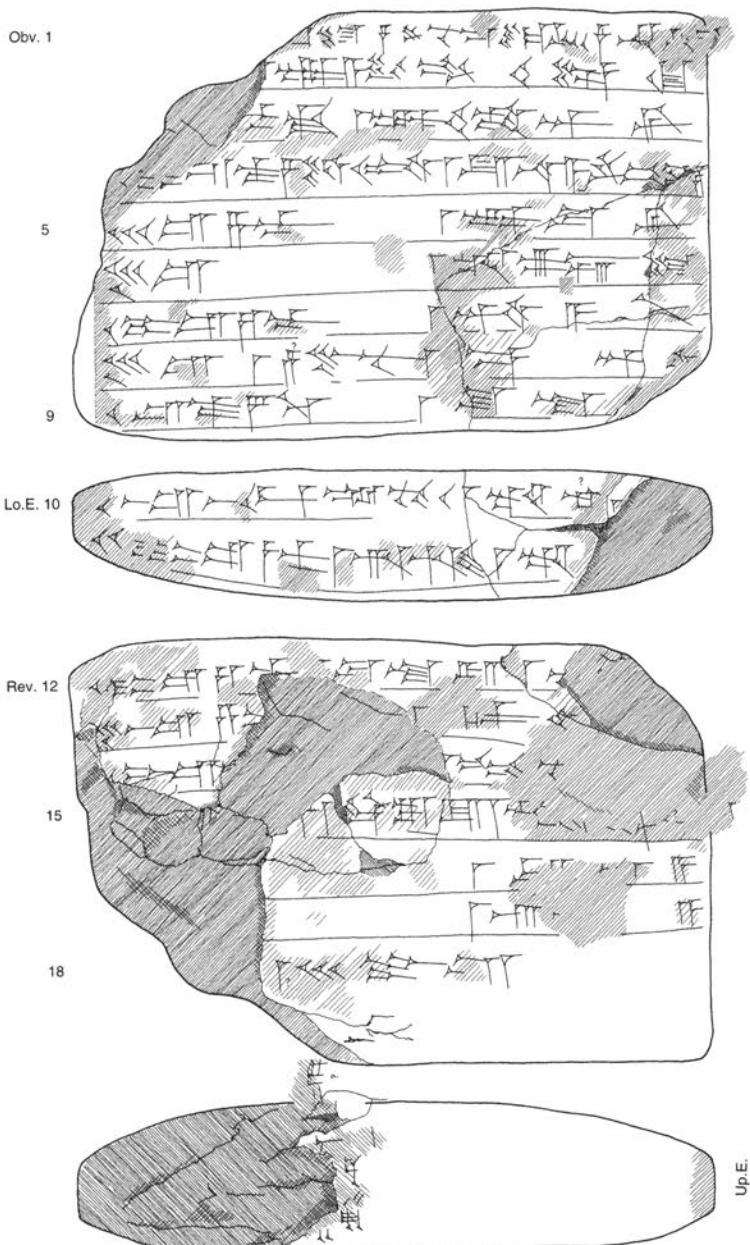
Some of the shepherds are also listed in text no. 4.

3. For this shepherd, cf. text no. 4, line 4.
5. This is presumably the Rihēti of text no. 4, lines 2 and 18. If so, the amount of goat hair delivered would be in accordance with his being the largest deliverer of sheep in text no. 4. The figure for the minas seems to be an erasure. Or is the ma.na to be read in line 6?
6. The intended amount seems to be 2 gun 44 ma.na. Balātu/Nāṣir is also mentioned in text no. 4, line 6.
7. For this person, see Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 417. Most of the texts mentioning this herdsman of the regular offerings list sheep handed over to him for sacrifice.

Text no. 3 (GAM 21854)

Deliveries probably of dates from the gardeners in the town of Bēl-iqbi. Perhaps seal note on upper edge. Dated Npl [xx-xx-xx].

Brown, smooth surface. Dimensions: Height 56 mm, width 85 mm, thickness 30 mm.



Transliteration

Obv.	1	[x x x x] x-tu šá ^{lú} nu. ^{giš} kiri ₆ . meš šá en-[i]q-[b]i [x x x] ^{md} nà-a-ùru lugal tin.tir ^{ki}
		[x gur x] PI 4(b) ^{md} nà-tin-iṭ-an-ni
		[1]5? gur 3(b) šá li-mi-tú ^m ib-na-a ^{lú} lunga
	5	30 gur 4 PI ^{md} nà-ba-ni
		40 gur ^{md} en-ú-sa-tu
		15 gur 3 PI ^{md} utu-a-PAB
		40 gur ^m za-bu-nu ^m zálag- ^d utu?
		10 gur 3(b) 4 sìla ^m šu-la-[a]
Lo.E.	10	11 gur ina igi ^m dub-numun u ^{md} en-x-x[-x]
		28 gur 2(n) 2(b) ^m ri-mut ^{md} en-[x-x]
Rev.	12	15 [?] gur 3 P[I ^m]ba-la-ṭu ^m x[-x-x]
		51 gur 4 P[I ^m]nà-x[-x-x]
		14 gur[^m qu-nu-[x-x]
	15	[x gur x x] x ^m lib-lu-ṭu ^{md} am[ar.ut]u-[mu ² -d]ù ² x [x] x
		[x gur] ^m i[b-n]a-a
		[x gur] ^m sil-[la]-a
	18	[pap 3 [?] ME]97 gur
Up.E.	1	x[x x] ^m [x]-x-x
	2	ú-še-r[i-bu ²]

Translation

- (1) [xxx xx]x of the gardeners of (the town of) Bēl-iqbi.
- (2) [Month xx, the xxth year of] Nabopolassar, king of Babylon.
- (3) [xxx]+60 litres Nabû-bullitanni.
- (4) [2,J]715 litres of the garden (of) Ibnā, the brewer.
- (5) 5,544 litres Nabû-bāni.
- (6) 7,200 litres Bēl-usatu.
- (7) 2,808 litres Šamaš-apla-uşur.
- (8) 7,200 litres Zabunu Nûr-Šamaš.
- (9) 1,822 litres Šulā.
- (10) 1,980 litres before(?) Šāpik-zēri and Bēl-xx[xx].
- (11) 5,124 litres Rīmūt Bēl-[xxx].
- (12) 2,808 litres Balāṭu x[xxx].
- (13) 9,324 [+x?] litres[] Nabû-[xxx].
- (14) 2,520 [+x?] litres[] Qunu(?)-[xxx].
- (15) [xxx litres] Libluṭu Mar[duk-šum-ib]ni x[x]x.
- (16) [xxx litres] Ibnā.
- (17) [xxx litres] Šillā.
- (18) [Total: 54,000(?) +]17,460 litres.

(Edge note:) xxx brought it (into the storehouse).

Commentary

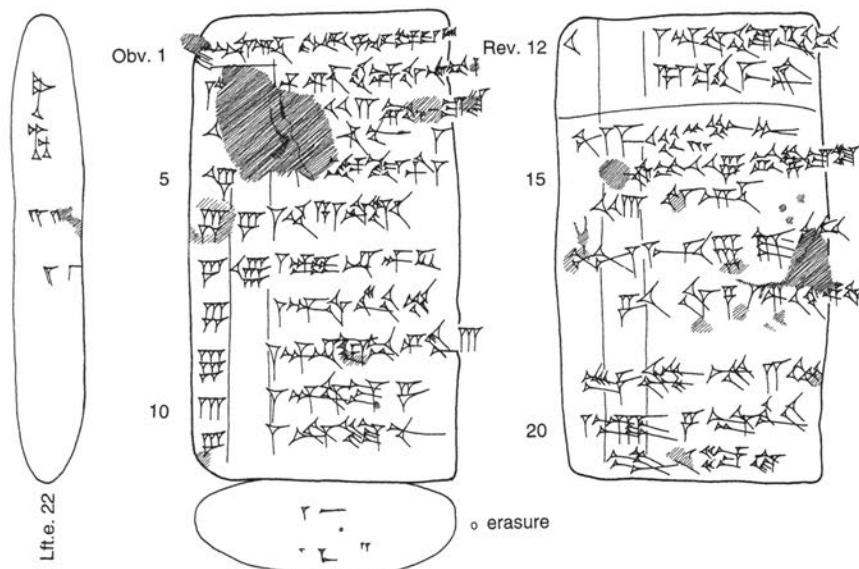
For the town of Bēl-iqbi, from the gardens of which mostly dates were delivered, see Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 209ff. Cf. also text no. 1:3. For parallels, cf. for example, CT 56, 257 (*makašu*-dates, amounts varying from 55 to 310+x *mašihu* (1,980 to 11,160+ litres), no sum total).

1. Possibly [zú.lum.ma (or *ma-ak-ka-su*) *ri*] *ḥ*²-*tu*?
2. There is not enough space for a full date at the beginning of this line. Perhaps only month and year?
3. Cf. Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 211 (attested Npl 08).
4. For the brewer, see Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 190, 216 (attested Npl 05 & 16). No connection with Bēl-iqbi. For the translation of *limitū* as garden, see Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 130.
5. Cf. Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 211 (attested Npl 08).
6. Cf. Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 210f. (both the text, in which he is described as the most prominent person in Bēl-iqbi under Nabopolassar, and the prosopography; attested Npl 08 & 11).
7. Cf. Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 211 (attested Npl 08).
9. Cf. Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 212 (attested Npl 14).
12. Cf. Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 210 (attested Nbk 02), probably the same person.
15. For the person at the end, cf. Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 211 (attested Npl 08 + Npl []).
17. Cf. Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 211 (attested [Npl] 14).

Text no. 4 (GAM 21783)

Deliveries of sheep as *sibtu*-tax from shepherds. Paid. Dated Nbk xx-III-02, i.e. May/June 603 B.C.

Light brown, Smooth surface. Dimensions: Height 62 mm, width 36 mm, thickness 20 mm. Unsealed.



Transliteration

Obv.	1	<u>[p]u'-hal</u>	<i>par-ri</i>	<i>šib'-ti šá ina igi ^{lu}sipa'.meš</i>
		80[+x]		^{m?} <i>ri-he-e-tú ina lib-bi <<1>></i>
				[] 22 <i>ga-a[z]-zu-[t]u</i>
	5	10[+y]		[^m a- <i>hu</i>]- <i>šú-nu</i> 1
	14			[^{md} <i>bu</i>]- <i>ne-ne-dù</i> 1
	5	4		^m <i>tin a na-ṣir</i>
	4	19		^{md} <i>ná-en-dingir.meš</i>
	5			^{md} <i>utu-šeš-mu</i>
	8			^{md} <i>en-ṣar-bi-gi</i> 3
	10	3		^{md} <i>utu-ba-šá</i>
		4		^m <i>na-tu-nu</i>
Rev.	12	10		^{md} <i>utu-tin-su-iq-bi</i>
				a ^m <i>am-mì-ni</i>
				pap 1 ME 55' <i>pu-hal</i>
	15			[i]na lib-bi 27 <i>ga-az-zu-tu</i>
				23 <i>par-ri</i>
				pap.pap 1 ME 78 udu <i>ṣi[b-t]i</i>
				šá 10-tú šá ^m <i>ri-he-e-tú</i>
				^{iti} <i>sig₄ mu.2.kám</i>
	20			^{md} <i>ná-níg.du-ùru</i>
				<i>lugal [ti]n.tir^{ki}</i>
Lft.e.	22			<i>e-SUR</i>

Translation

(1)	Fattened; Lambs; <i>sibtu</i> -tax from the shepherds:
(2-3)	80[+ x] Rihētu, amongst them 22 shorn
(4)	10[+ y] Aḥū]šunu, 1
(5)	14 Bunene-ibni, 1
(6)	5 4 Balātu, son of Nāṣir
(7)	4 19 Nabū-bēl-ilāni
(8)	5 Šamaš-ah-iddin
(9)	8 Bēl-ṣarbi-(m)ušallim, 3
(10)	3 Šamaš-iqīša
(11)	4 Natūnu
(12-13)	10 Šamaš-balāssu-iqbi, son of Ammīni

(14-16) (Sub)total: 155 fattened sheep, amongst them 27 shorn,
(in addition) 23 lambs.

(17-18) Sum total: 178 sheep, *sibtu*-tax of the (group of) ten, by Rihētu.

(19-21) The month of Simanu, the second year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

(22) Paid.

Commentary

The sheep are listed in three separate “columns”, the first listing the fattened sheep (sheep for breeding), the second the lambs, and the third (after the shepherds) listing separately the number of shorn sheep, included in the figures in the first column. The reason for the separation of the shorn sheep, according to information from a sheep-farmer, is that their skin is of an inferior quality. Some of the shepherds are also listed in text no. 2.

2 & 4. $x + y = 12$ (both x and y can have values from 3 to 9; cf. below, for the totals).

2–3. Nothing seems to be missing from these lines, except for the figures. The personal marker in line 2 is somewhat oddly written, and the vertical wedge at the end of the line is presumably a careless erasure. Rihētu, who delivers the largest number of sheep, seems to be responsible for the delivery of all sheep in this text (line 18). He is also mentioned in text no. 2, line 5.

4. The name is restored from text no. 2, line 3. The 1 at the end is for a shorn sheep.

6. Also mentioned in text no. 2, line 6.

9. For a similar name, cf. Bēl-ṣarbi-ah-iddin, in Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 254, 222.

11. The name is West Semitic, see Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia*, 1977, 128, Zadok, *The Jews in Babylonia*, 1979, 28, 56. He is also mentioned, for example in CT 55, 617:2, together with Šamaš-ah-iddin and Šamaš-balāssu-iqbi (lines 8 and 12 in the present text).

Lower edge: There are two lines with remains of signs on the edge, presumably after an erasure, and possibly not belonging to the main text.

12–13. There is a person of this name, with the same patronym, in *Nbk* 20:3 (Tallqvist, NN, 189), dated 12-XI-01. This must be the same person, since the text lists ^{udū}*pu-hal* from him and from Nabū-bēl-ilāni, who would then seem to be the same person as Nabū-bēl-ilāni in line 7 of the present text.

14–17. The totals are as follows (with the shorn sheep as a third column):

155 fattened sheep, 23 lambs, 27 shorn (included in first figure)

Altogether: $155 + 23 = 178$.

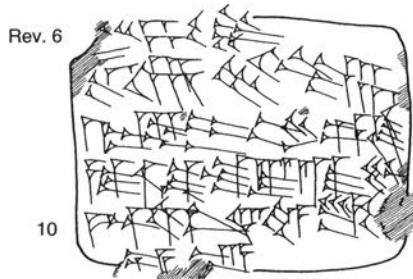
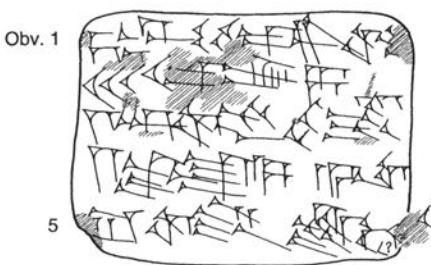
14. The figure 5 is oddly written.

22. This may be a later addition, by another hand. There are some additional wedges on the left edge.

Text no. 5 (GAM 21790)

Delivery of white sesame as tithe and an issue of barley. Paid. Dated Nbn 16-III-06, i.e. 18/6 550 B.C.

Light to dark brown, smooth surface. Dimensions: Height 34 mm, width 45 mm, thickness 18 mm. Unsealed. The text was written with a defective stylus, or, possibly, the scribe wrote many of the signs with a 180° turn of the stylus, thus creating an extra wedge, parallel with the one that should be there. This effect creates strange-looking signs.



Transliteration

Obv. 1	2 PI še.giš.ì babbar- <i>t</i> [<i>u</i> ₄] <i>eš-ru-ú šá</i> ^{md} <i>utu-lugal-tin-iṭ</i> ^m <i>šu-la-a a-na</i>
5	é.babbar.ra <i>it-ta-[di]n</i>
Rev. 6	ⁱ <i>ti</i> <i>sig</i> ₄ ud.16.kám mu.6 ^{md} <i>nà-i lugal e^{ki}</i> 2(n) 4(b) [?] ^m <i>ba-la-tu</i> 1(n) 3(b) ŠE.BAR
10	^{md} <i>utu-dù šuk.há i^{ti}s[ig₄]</i> <i>e-ṭir</i>

Translation

(1–8) 72 litres of white sesame, tithe from Šamaš-šar-bulli, Šulā has given to (the temple) Ebabar. The 16th of Simanu, the 6th year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon.

(9–10) 96 litres (for?) Balatū, 54 litres of barley (for?) Šamaš-ibni, rations for the month of Simanu.

(11) Paid.

Commentary

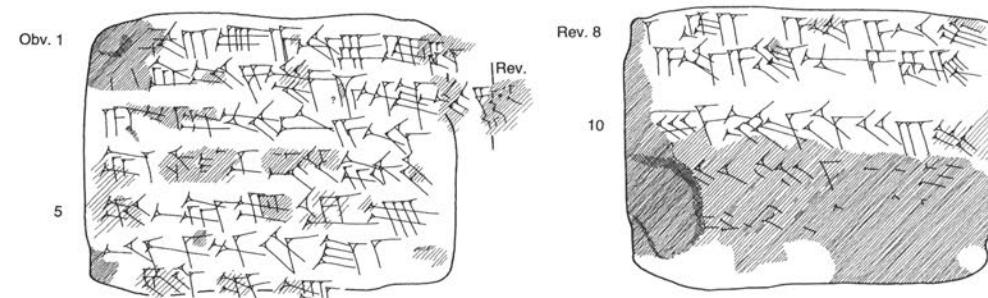
For parallels, see Jursa, *Tempelzehnt*.

1. For the translation “sesame”, cf., for example, Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 176.
4. For Šulā, probably a *ša muḥhi ešrī*, collector of tithes, cf. Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 433, and Jursa, *Tempelzehnt*, 59.

Text no. 6 (GAM 21867)

Delivery(?) of a 3-year-old ox and of *abattu*, intended for the gold-furnace. Silver paid. Dated Nbn 23-V-10, i.e. 9/8 546 B.C.

Light to medium brown, rough surface, with salt crystals. Dimensions: Height 36,5 mm, width 48 mm, thickness 19 mm. Unsealed.



Transliteration

Obv. 1	[1 [?] g]u ₄ 3-ú <i>a-na</i> 9 gín kù.[ba]bbar [a'-na'] <i>ir-bi šá</i> ká ^{md} <i>gal-mu-gar-[u]n</i> [?]
--------	---

a ^{md}n[à]-numun-dù a-na
é.[ba]bbar.[r]a [i]t-ta-din
5 gu₄ ina é ú-ru-ú
ina igi ^{md}utu-su
kù.babbar e-tir
Rev. 8 1 gín a-na a-bat-tu₄
a-na a-tu-nu šá guškin
10 ⁱⁱNE ud.23.kám
[m]Ju.10.kám ^m[dnà]-i
lug[al ti]n.[tir^k]

Translation

- (1–7) [1 o]x, three years old, for 75 g silver, [for?] the income of the gate, Ištaran-šum-iškun, son of Nabû-zér-ibni, has given to (the temple) Ebabbar. The ox (is) in the fattening house, cared for by Šamaš-erība. The silver is paid.
(8–9) 8,3 g (silver) for *abattu* for the gold-furnace.
(10–12) The month of Abu, the 23rd day, the 10th year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon.

Commentary

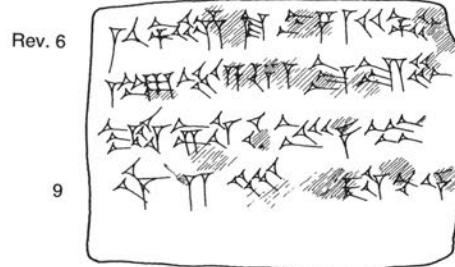
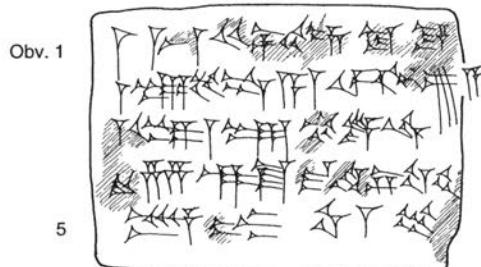
For the term “the incoming silver of the gate”, cf. Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 108 (and e.g. CT 56, 187).

1. Presumably only one ox is intended.
2. For *abattu*, as a mixture of “Strauchwerk und Rohr” for heating the furnace, cf. Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 123.

Text no. 7 (GAM 21786)

Deliveries of bitumen. Silver not paid. Not dated, but the last mentioned date is 2-IX, during Npl or early Nbk.

Yellowish to light brown, smooth and partly rough surface. Dimensions: Height 36 mm, width 49 mm, thickness 19 mm. Unsealed. Photo: J.E. Sjöberg, *Tusentals fynd från hundratusentals år*, 1998, 147.



Transliteration

Obv. 1 1 ME 80 gun *ku-pur*
^{md}nà-numun-gin a ^mši-*gu-ú-a*
ana ugu ^{md}nà-mu-sum.na

	l[ā]za-za-ak-ku it-ta-din
5	īgan ud.1.kám
Rev. 6	70 gun ku-[p]ur 80 gu[n] mā-nā-mu a-šū šá mšu-zu-bu
	it-ta-di[n] īgan
9	ud.2.kám [k]ù.babbar úl SU[R]

Translation

- (1–5) 5,400 kg bitumen were given to Nabû-šum-iddin, the *zazakku*, by Nabû-zér-ukîn, of the Šigûa family, (on) the 1st of Kislimu.
- (6–9) 2,100 kg bitumen, 2,400 kg were been given by Nabû-iddin, son of Šūzubu, (on) the 2nd of Kislimu.
- (9) The silver is not paid.

Commentary

For parallels, see, for example, CT 55, 335 (137 *biltu* = 4.11 tons); 337 (420 *biltu* = 12.6 tons); 338 (120 *biltu* = 3.6 tons); 342 (1,405 *biltu* = 42.15 tons!). The amounts of bitumen in the present text do not seem to be out of the ordinary. For a text with two deliveries of bitumen (50 and 224 *biltu*) on the same day, both deliveries with full dates, see *Nbk* 28. The date is Npl or early Nbk according to many unpublished parallels to be published by S. Zawadski (reference M. Jursa).

4. On the title *zazakku*, see Kümmel, *Familie*, 138; he seems to have been an official of the Babylonian state, and not of Sippar.

Text no. 8 (GAM 21853)

Deliveries of iron spades and baskets from a bronze-smith. Dated 02-XI.

Brown, smooth surface. Dimensions: Height 33 mm, width 51 mm, thickness 21 mm. Unsealed.



Transliteration

Obv. 1	10 mar-ri.meš AN.BAR
20	zab-bil-la-nu
	mā-di.kud-KAM lāsimug zabar
5	it-ta-ši īzíz
	ud.2.kám

Translation

(1-5) 10 spades of iron (and) 20 baskets, Ma(n)dānu-ēreš, the bronze-smith, has delivered (in) the month of Šabatū (on) the 2nd day.

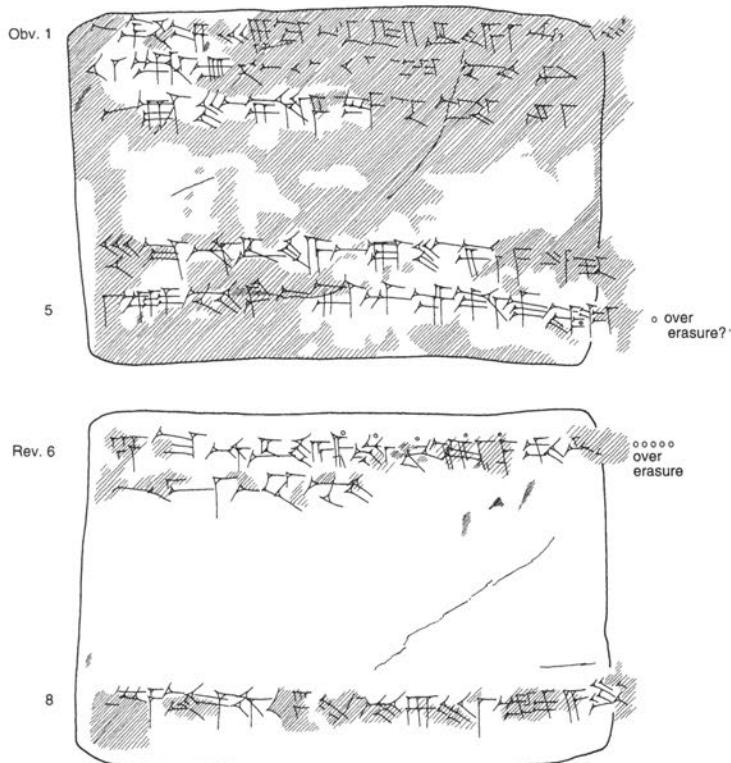
Commentary

3. For this bronze-smith, see Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 378 (attested during Npl and Nbk).

Text no. 9 (GAM 21850)

Issues of wool for the clothing ceremony. Dated Npl 14-V-06, i.e. 7/8 620 B.C.

Ochre to dark brown, smooth surface. Dimensions: Height 47 mm, width <72 mm, thickness 24 mm. Unsealed.



Transliteration

- | | |
|--------|--|
| Obv. 1 | 1 gun 38 ⁷ ma.na ⁷ 1/3 ⁷ gín sik.há ^{md?} x[-x-m]u ⁷
u ^{md} en-ú-ša[l-l]im u [^{md} n]à-numun-dù
ina lu-bu-uš-tú šá ⁱⁱ kin it-t[a?-din?]
40 ma.na sik.há ina lu-bu-uš-<tú> š[á ⁱⁱ]kin |
| 5 | ^{md} nà-numun-dù ina é dingir un-da-áš-šír |
| Rev. 6 | 5 ma.na sik.há a-na x x ^{[it]i?} gu ₄ x
ina igi ^m en-numun |
| 8 | ^{[i]ti} NE ud.14.kám mu.6.kám ^{md} nà-a-ùru |

Translation

- (1-3) 49 kg wool (to?) xxx and Bēl-ušallim and Nabû-zēr-ibni given(?) for the clothing ceremony of the month of Elulu.
- (4-5) 20 kg of wool for the clothing ceremony of the month of Elulu Nabû-zēr-ibni has handed over (or: left behind) in the temple.
- (6-7) 2.5 kg of wool for xxx (for) the month of Ajjaru, before(?) Bēl-zēru.
- (8) The month of Abu, the 14th day, the 6th year of Nabopolassar.

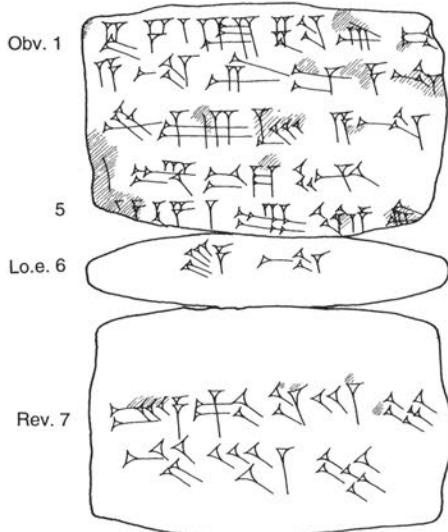
Commentary

- For the name that is not transliterated, cf. two *išparu* with the name Šamaš-aḥa-iddina in Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 342, attested Npl 14-Nbk.
- & 5. For Nabû-zēr-ibni, cf. Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 338, an *išparu*, attested Npl 05 & 11.
- 3f. For the clothing ceremony, see Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 305ff. (texts from Nbn-Camb, no older texts).

Text no. 10 (GAM 21789)

Issue(?) of wool, for silver, in exchange for oil. Dated (NbK) 21-II-41, i.e. 29/4 564.

Yellowish-brown, rough surface. Dimensions: Height 31 mm, width 48 mm, thickness 20 mm. Unsealed.



Transliteration

Obv. 1	sík šá 1 gín kù.babbar er-bi a-na ì.giš a [?] -na lú.sipa.meš a-na m nd en-ka-śir
5	a-śú šá m nd nà-kar-ir
Lo.e. 6	sum.na
Rev. 7	ii ^g u ₄ ud.21.kám mu.41.kám

Translation

- (1–6) Wool for 8 g of silver, income in exchange for oil for the shepherds, has been given for Bēl-kāšir, son of Nabū-ētīr.
 (7–8) The 21st of Ajjaru, year 41.

Commentary

For a partly related text, cf. *Nbk* 294. The date should be in the reign of Nbk because of the high year number and the text referred to.

4. The same person probably also in *Nbk* 294.
2. Is GCCI I, 213, a possible parallel? Cf. also *Nbk* 14 (sesame).

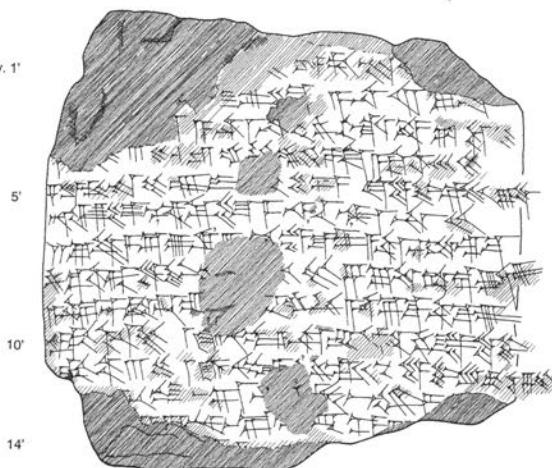
Text no. 11 (GAM 21855)

Issues of sheep for the regular offering and the *guqqû*-offerings for the period Ngl [01?-xx-]03 to Nbn 30-II?-01 (?/? 557-29/5 555), and xxx. Date probably broken off.

Brown, “grainy” surface. Dimensions: Height >67 mm, width 72 mm, thickness 29 mm. Unsealed(?)



Rev. 1'



Transliteration

Obv.	(Possibly as many as 12 lines missing)
1'	[x x x x x]-na ² šá ² md ³ ut[u-x x x x x x x x]
	[pap ⁴] x IGI]8 ME 21 udu.níta ul-tu [u-x ud.x.kám]
	[m]lu.3.kám ⁴ U.GUR-lugal-ùru lugal tin.tir ^{ki} a[-d]i ⁵ g[u ₄ ?]
	ud.30.kám mu.1.kám ⁴ nà-i lugal tin.tir ^{ki} a-na sat-[tu]k
5'	⁶ gu-uq-qu-ni-e sum-in
	1 udu.níta ina igi ku-lu-lu guškin šá ⁷ a-a ki ² .min ⁷ ⁸ gu ₄ ud.9.[ká]m
	mu.sag nam.lugal.la
	⁹ la-ba-ši- ¹⁰ amar.utu lugal tin.t[i]r ^{ki} <<min>>
	1 ki.min a-na ¹¹ um-man-nu ¹² gu ₄ ud.10.kám
	1 ki.min a-na ¹³ pir- ² u šeš-šú šá [¹⁴ z]a-zak-ku ¹⁵ gu ₄ ud.11.ká[m]
10'	1 ki.min a-na ¹⁶ um-man-nu ¹⁷ gu ₄ ud.11.kám

[x k]i.min a-na i-sin-nu *gu-nu-tū* ⁱⁱgu₄ ud.18.[k]ám
 [x k]i.min úš-tu₄ a-na 3(n)? 4(b) LI' SA NI-tu₄ ^mtin a ^mnà-numun-dù
 [x ki.m]in a-na é dingir *it-tal-lak* ina šu^{II} ^mden-lugal-ùru šá šuk.ḥ[á
 luga]]

- 14' [a[?]-na[?]]tin.tir^{ki} n[a-š]u-ú ⁱⁱsig₄ ud.20.ká[m x x]
 (Possibly 2 lines missing)

Rev. (Possibly 2 lines missing)

- 1' [x x x x x ud.x.ká]m ⁱⁱgu₄ mu.1.k[ám x x]
 [x x x x x]x-ú²-t[u] a-na 12 udu.ní[ta]
 [x x x x]x a-na ^mna-din ^{lā}dam.gàr ta ud.1.ká[m]
 š[á ⁱⁱgu₄? m]u.3.ká[m] ^dU.GUR-lugal-ùr[u] lugal [ti]n[?].tir^{ki} a-di
 ud.30.kám
 5' šá ⁱⁱgu₄ mu.1.kám ^dnà-i [lugal t]in.[t]ir^{ki} sum-in e-lat 10 udu.níta
bal-tu-tu il[?]-di[?]-tu šá ina[?] igi-šú[?] ina igi[?] ^mna-din
 2 udu.níta šá é ú-ru-ú x ká gal-ú a-na ^mamar.utu-eri-ba
^{lā}se-pir-ri sum-in ⁱ[n]x ud.(10^o+) 20.kám 5 udu.níta ta é ú-ru-ú
 a-na é dingir *it-tal-lak* [ina šu^{II} ^mde]n-lugal-ùru a-na é.gal na-šu-ú
 10' ⁱⁱgu₄ ud.11.kám 1 ki.min úš-tu₄ a-na ^mden-ti[n-i]t ^{lā}simug sum-in
 [ⁱⁱg]u₄ ud.3.kám 1 ki.min úš-tu₄ a-[na] ^{lā}um-man-nu sum-in ⁱⁱgu₄
 ud.6.kám
 [1[?] ki.min]úš-tu₄ ina é x[x].meš ina mun šá [x x x]
 [x x x]x x x ina é k[a[?]-]re-e x[x x x x x]
 14' [x x x x x]x x[x x x x x x x]
 (Possibly as many as 12 lines missing)

Translation

Obv. (Possibly as many as 12 lines missing)

(1') [xxx xxx] of Šamaš-[xxx xxx xxx]

(2'-5') [xxx 1,000+]821 sheep from [the month xx, the xxth day, the]3rd year of Neriglissar, king of Babylon, until the month of Ajjaru, the 30th day, the 1st year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, given for the regular offering and the *guqqû*-offerings.

(6'-7') 1 sheep before the golden headdress of Aja ditto(?) (=given), the month of Ajjaru, the 9th day, the year of ascension of Labāši-Marduk, king of Babylon.

(8') 1 ditto, for the craftsman, the month of Ajjaru, the 10th day.

(9') 1 ditto, (for?) Pir^ou, the brother of the *zazakku*, the month of Ajjaru, the 11th day.

(10') 1 ditto, for the craftsman, the month of Ajjaru, the 11th day.

(11') [x] ditto, for the festival of *hunṭu*, the month of Ajjaru, the 18th day.

(12') [x] ditto, dead, for 132 litres(?) of xxx, Balāṭu, son of Nabû-zēr-ibni.

(13'-14') [x di]tto, have come to the temple (and) has been received in the hands of Bēl-śar-uṣur, ša kurummat ṣarri, [for?] Babylon, the month of Simanu, the 20th day [xxx].

(Possibly 2 lines missing)

Rev. (Possibly 2 lines missing)

- (1') [xxx xxx xxx xxx the xxth d]ay, the month of Ajjaru, the 1st year [xxx]
- (2'-6') [xxx xxx] xxx for 12 sheep [xxx] is given to Nādin, the merchant, from the 1st day of the month [xxx], the 3rd year of Neriglissar, king of Babylon, until the 30th day of the month of Ajjaru, the 1st year of Nabonidus, [king of B]abylon, except for 10 sheep alive, lambs, which are before him(?), before(?) Nādin.
- (7'-8a') 2 sheep from the fattening house xxx the large gate, are given to Marduk-eriba, the alphabetic scribe, t[he month of xx, the (10?+)]20th day.
- (8b'-10a') 5 sheep have come from the fattening house to the temple (and) have been received [in the hands of B]ēl-šar-uṣur for the palace, the month of Ajjaru, the 11th day.
- (10b'-11a') 1 ditto, dead, was given to Bēl-(m)u[balli]t, the smith, [the m]onth of Ajjaru, the 3rd day.
- (11b') 1 ditto, dead, was given to the craftsman, the month of Ajjaru, the 6th day,
- (12') [1 ditto,] dead, in the house of xxx, for salt for [xxx]
- (13') [xxx] xxx in the storehouse x[xxx xxx]
- (14') [xxx xxx] xxx [xxx xxx xxx]

(Possibly as many as 12 lines missing)

Commentary

Obv. 2'. For comparison, see CT 55, 594, with a total of 2,797 sheep (*epeš nikkassu šá udu.níta*). Cf. also obv. 6'ff. For the fattening house, see Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 299.

3'f. For the period of two years, cf. again CT 55, 594, with a period from Nbn 26-xx-01 to xx-II-03. Cf. also rev. 4'f.; the same period?

5'. For the *guqqū*-offerings, see Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 145: "The purpose of these offerings is not clear".

6'f. This is a particular date, LaM 09-II-00, i.e. 19/5 556 B.C. Are the following dates (on the obverse) all in the same year?

8' & 10'. Cf. the "specialized craftsmen" in Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 367-9.

12'. The person mentioned here may be the overseer of the bakers, in Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 172f., 176f., 187, in office Nbn 02-09, attested Ngl 03-Nbn 11.

13'. According to Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 118, *bit ili* was a designation for Ebabar during Nebuchadnezzar's reign (CT 56, 118 & 123). For Bēl-šar-uṣur, *ša kurummat šarri*, cf. CT 55, 607:8, CT 56, 420:6, and CT 57, 314:4 (references M. Jursa).

14'. For the reading of this line, cf. Rev., line 9'.

Rev. 3'. Presumably the same person is intended in line 6'.

7'f. This alphabetic scribe is not listed among those in Bongenaar, *Prosopography*.

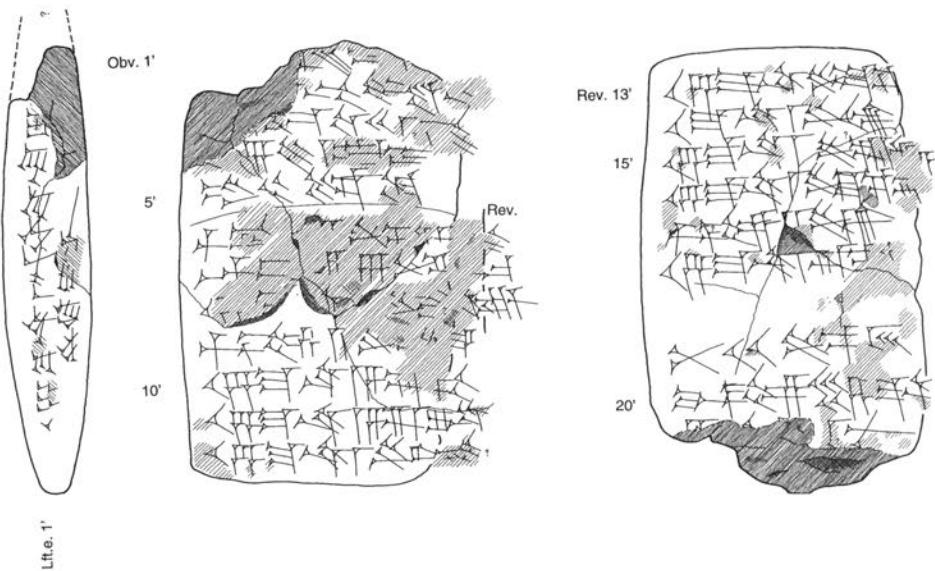
10'. This smith is probably the one mentioned in Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 372f. (attested LaM 00-Nbn 14). Note that he gets 1 sheep issued to him in CT 55, 594 rev:6'.

12'. Possibly é g[uur₇].meš, in spite of its mention in the next line?

Text no. 12 (GAM 21861)

Issues of wool(?), to 20 craftsmen. Dated Nbn 22?-V-06?, i.e. 22/8 550 B.C.

Light to medium brown, smooth surface on reverse, coarse on obverse. Dimensions: Height 59 mm, width 37.5 mm, thickness <21 mm. Unsealed.



Transliteration

Obv.		(Possibly 2 lines missing)
	1'	[x lúérin?].meš x x[x x] [x x x]BI? IN? sum.n[a?] [iti]NE ud 22?.kám
	5'	[mu].6.kám ^{md} n[à]-i lugal tin.tir ^{ki}
	10'	1/2 g[un] 2? ^{lú} u[š.b]ar [bir-m]u 1 1/2 g[u]n 6 ^{lú} u[š.bar] gad 15 m[a.n]a [1 ^{lú} si[mug] zabar 1/2 gun 2 ^{lú} [báh]ar
	15'	15 ma.na 1 šá é[g]u ₄ 15 ma.na 1 šá é udu.nítā 15 ma.na 1 ^{lú} NI.GA[B]
Rev.	13'	15 ma.na ^{lú} ad.KID? 10 ma.na 1 ^{lú} U.MUG
	15'	15 ma.na 1 ^{lú} šaq-qa-a 15 ma.na 1 ^{lú} TÚG.KAL.KA[L?] 1/2 gun 2 ^{lú} ašgab
	20'	15 ma.na šá é is-[su]r ² pap 20 lúérin.meš 4 gun 55 ma.na' sí[k? .há?]-šú?-nu
Lft.E.	1'	(Possibly 2 lines missing) 15 ma.na ^{md} utu-ba-la-t[u x x x]
	2'	^{lú} qí-i-[p]i

Translation

(Possibly 2 lines missing)

- (1') [xxx x]x[x xxx]
 (2') [xxx] xxx given.
 (3') [The month of] Abu, the 22nd(?) day,
 (4'-5') [the] 6th year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon.
-
- (6') 15 kg 2 weavers of multicoloured fabrics.
 (7') 45 kg 6 linen weavers.
 (8') 7.5 kg 1 bronze-smith.
 (9') 15 kg 2 potters.
 (10') 7.5 kg 1 of the cowshed.
 (11') 7.5 kg 1 of the sheepshed.
 (12') 7.5 kg 1 doorkeeper.
 (13') 7.5 kg reed worker.
 (14') 5 kg 1 bow-maker.
 (15') 7.5 kg 1 sack-maker
 (16') 7.5 kg 1 clothes-mender.
 (17') 15 kg 2 leather workers.
 (18') 7.5 kg for the fowl run.
 (19') Total: 20 craftsmen,
 (20'-21') 147.5 kg, their wo[ol]
- (Possibly 2 lines missing)
- (1') 7.5 kg Šamaš-balāt[u xxx of(?)]
 (2') the *qīpu*-resident.

Commentary

14'. For the reading of this title, cf. Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 414, with references.

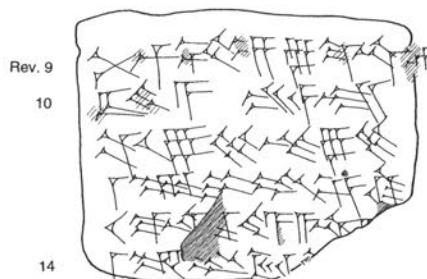
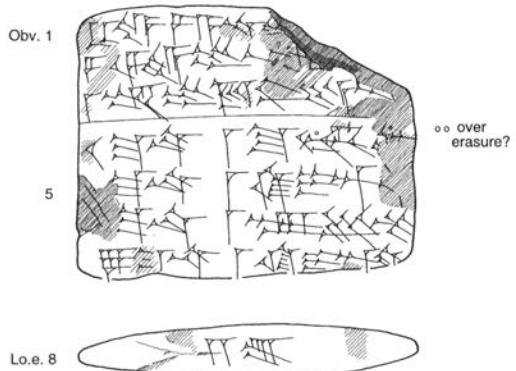
19'. The number of craftsmen and the total weight are correct only if an entry with 15 ma.na is not accounted for. Could this unaccounted entry be line 18'?

Lft.E. 1'f. A separate entry. A person, somehow connected with the *qīpu*-resident.

Text no. 13 (GAM 21859)

Issue of wool to weavers(?). Dated Nbn 18-VIII-07, i.e. 3/12 549 B.C.

Light to dark brown, smooth surface. Dimensions: Height 36 mm, width 45 mm, thickness 17 mm. Unsealed.



Transliteration

Obv. 1	sík.ḥá šá a-na ^[^uš.bar.meš]
	šá šuk.ḥá lugal <i>ina?</i> x[x x x]
	^{md} en-lugal-bul-liṭ sum.n[a]
	10 ma.na ^m šu-u ² -ti ² -i ²
5	[10] ma.na ^m ki-i- ^d u[tu]
	[10] ma.na ^{md} nà-šeš-mu
	7 ma.na ^m ki-i- ^d utu!
Lo.E. 8	2-ú
Rev. 9	pap 1/2 gun 7 ma.na-e
10	sík.ḥá ⁱ apin
	ud.18.kám mu.7.kám
	^{md} nà-i lugal e ^{ki}
	10 ma.na [s]ík.ḥá a-na ^{m?} [x x]
14	^{md} en-lugal-bul-l[i]t sum.na]

Translation

- (1–3) Wool that is for [the weavers], of the “royal rations” in [xxx], has Bēl-ṣar-bulliṭ given.
- (4) 5 kg Šūti².
- (5) [5 kg] Kī-Šamaš.
- (6) [5 kg] Nabû-ah-iddin.
- (7–8) 3.5 kg Kī-Šamaš, second issue.
- (9–12) Total: 18.5 kg (10) wool. The month of Arahsamna, the 18th day, the 7th year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon.
- (13–14) 5 kg of wool for [xxx], Bēl-ṣar-bull[i]t has given].

Commentary

1. Judging from the prosopography (below), the missing text presumably said “weavers”.
2. In a storehouse of some kind?
- 3 & 14. This is presumably the same person as the ša kurummat šarri with the same name in *Nbn* 401:7 (*Nbn* 09-I-10) and *Nbn* 1043:4 (*Nbn* 05-V-17); both texts are from Sippar.
- 5 & 7. For Kī-Šamaš, cf. Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 329, with the title *išpar birmi*, as well as (another person?) *išpar kitē* (attested *Nbn-Cyr*).
- 13f. An additional issue of wool.

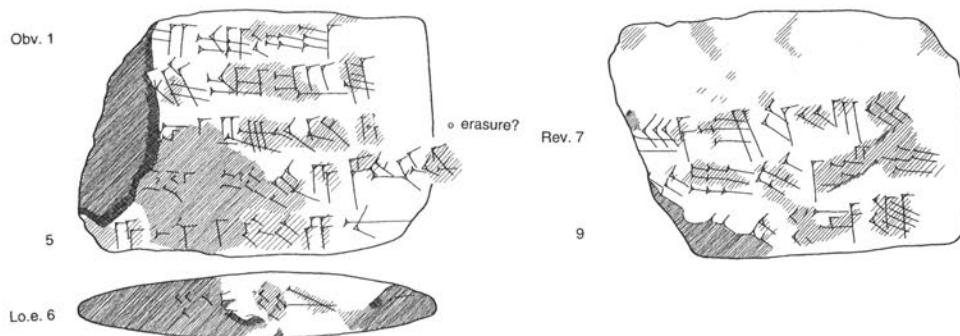
Text no. 14 (GAM 21864)

Issue of dates for the making of beer. Dated *Nbn* 23-VIII-09, i.e. 16/11 547 B.C.

Light to medium brown, smooth, partly “grainy” surface. Dimensions: Height <33 mm, width 47 mm, thickness 18 mm. Unsealed.

Transliteration

Obv. 1	[x g]ur zú.lum.ma
	[il ² -]di ka-lak-ku
	[šd ²] é gur ₇ .meš
	[a ² -n]a ² [k]aš ² .ḥá šá ¹⁰ nagar.me[š]
5	a-[n]a ^m gu-za-nu



Lo.E. 6 su[m-i]n
 Rev. 7 [i]apin ud.23.kám
 [m]ju.9.kám ^{md}n[à]-i
 [luga]l tin.t[i]r^{ki}

Translation

- (1–6) [x lit]res of dates, (from) the bottom of the storeroom [of] the storehouse, [fo]r
 (the making of) beer for the carpenters, has been given to Guzānu.
 (7–9) The month of Arahsamna, the 23rd day, the 9th year of Nabonidus, king of
 Babylon.

Commentary

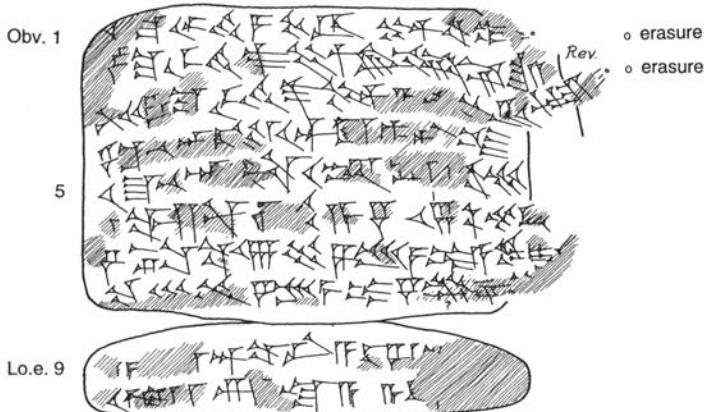
For parallels, cf. the texts referred to in Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 216, esp. Nbn 851, Speleers, RIAA, 290, and cf. CT 56, 187, 292.

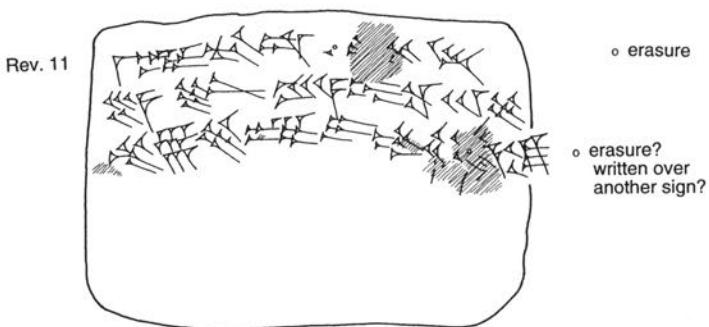
2. For this reading, cf. Nbn 871:2.
4. The most likely reading of the broken signs, in the light of the parallel texts.
5. This is almost certainly the *ša bīt qāti* in Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 216 (attested Nbn 04-15).

Text no. 15 (GAM 21782)

Issues of barley to the overseers of the bakers, for two sanctuaries, for a period of 15 days. Dated Nbn 21-IX-09, i.e. 14/12 547 B.C.

Yellowish-brown to light brown, partly rough surface. Dimensions: Height 42 mm, width 59 mm, thickness 22 mm. Unsealed.





Transliteration

Obv.	1	10 <i>ma-ši-hi</i> šá <i>sat-tuk</i> ŠE.BAR <i>babbar-tu</i> ₄
	[10+7]	<i>ma-ši-hi</i> 3(b) ŠE.BAR <i>er-bi</i> ta é <i>šu</i> ^{II}
	pap 27	<i>ma-ši-hi</i> 3(b) ŠE.BAR <i>a-[n]a</i> [s] <i>at-tuk u pap-pa-su</i>
	šá	<i>š[u-b]at</i> ^d amar.uti <i>u dša[r]-pa-ni-tu</i> ₄
	5	<i>u šu-bat</i> ^d [a-]nim' <i>u d-en-l[1]</i> <i>u</i> ₄ -mu
	1° PI 2	<i>sila šu[k.b]á</i> šá 15 <i>u</i> ₄ -mu.meš
	šá ta ud.16.kám	šá ⁱ gan <i>a-di-i</i>
	ud.30.ká[m]	šá ⁱ gan šá ² x x [x x x]
Lo.e.	9	<i>a-[na?]</i> ^{md} utu-dù <i>a-šú</i> šá ^{md} [en-tin-if]
	10	ù ^m si[l]-la-a <i>a-šú</i> [šá]
Rev.	11	^{md} nà-numun-gin <i>u?</i> [u]haldim.meš
		sum-in ⁱ gan ud.21.kám
		mu.9.kám ^d nà-i lugal tin.ti[r] ^{ki}

Translation

- (1) 360 litres for the regular offering of white barley,
- (2) 630 litres of barley, receipts from the temple storehouse.
- (3–12a) Total: 990 litres of barley for the regular offering and the prebendary income for the “pedestal” of Marduk and Šarpanitu, and the “pedestal” of Anu and Ellil, per day 38(?) litres, provisions for 15 days, that are from the 16th of Kislimu until the 30th of Kislimu, for xxx, have been given to Šamaš-ibni, the son of Bēl-(m)uballit, and Šillā, the son of Nabû-zēr-ukīn, the bakers.
- (12b–13) The 21st of Kislimu, the 9th year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon.

Commentary

- 1–2. The most probable readings of the figures at the beginning of the lines seems to be 10 in line 1, and 17 in line 2. Another possibility, although less likely, is 20 and 7.
2. For the term *erbi*, cf. Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 156f.
3. For a discussion of the terms *sattukku* and *pappasu*, and their translation here, see Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 142–4.
- 4f. The translation of the term *šubtu* follows that of Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 230.
- 5f. A period of service for the bakers was either 15 days (= *šapattu*) or 7 1/2 days; cf. Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 169. If correctly understood, and the figure at the beginning of line 6 is the daily provision, the sum will not add up: 15 days x 38 litres = 570 litres, and 990 litres / 15 days = 66 litres per day.

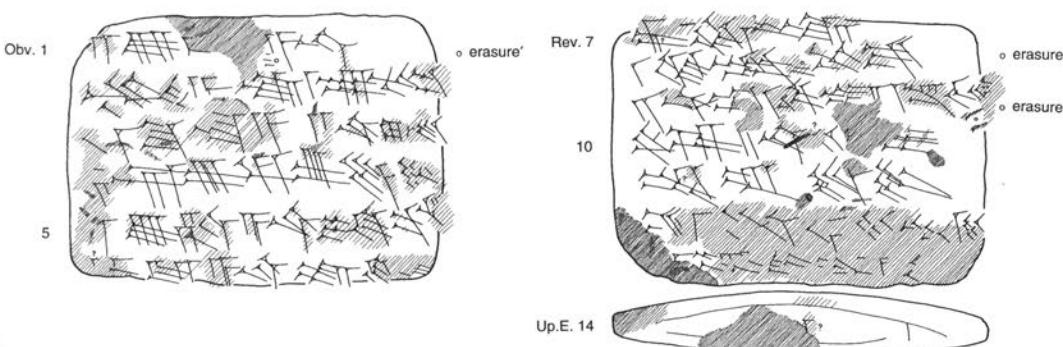
9–11. The two persons listed here were overseers of the bakers of Ebabar, cf. Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 177f., (195), 196, 197 (cf. also the text, BM 60485, p. 167f.), attested (as overseers) from Nbn 09 to Nbn 15 (547–541).

11. Is the small wedge between Nabû-zér-ukîn and [nu]hatimmî an erasure, or should it be read as *u*, “and”? Cf. the texts cited in Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 167f., 177f., most with *u/ū*, “and”.

Text no. 16 (GAM 21858)

Issues of silver for salt for sheep, for the rent of *xxx* and for (travel) provisions.
Dated Nbn 14-XII?–11, i.e. 14/3 544 B.C.

Light brown to brown, smooth surface, but with salt crystals. Dimensions: Height 36 mm, width 49.5 mm, thickness 18 mm. Unsealed.



Transliteration

Obv. 1	2 ² gín k[ù.babbar] <i>a-na</i> mun.ḥá <i>ina šu^{II}</i> ^{md} nà-numun-gin <i>u</i> ^m šu-la-a <i>a-na</i> udu.nítâ šá <i>ina</i> é ú-ru-ú sum-in
5	1 ² gín kù.babbar <i>a-na</i> <i>i-di</i> <i>giš-ri</i> 1 1/2 ² gín <i>a-na</i> <i>ši-di-[tu]₄</i>
Rev. 7	x-DI-x <i>ina šu^{II}</i> ^m ki- ^d nà-gu-zu <i>a'-na'</i> <i>ši-di-tu₄</i> <i>š[á]</i> ^{md} en- <i>ši-man-n[i]</i>
10	LÚ sag <i>a'-na'</i> <i>man-[d]i'-tu₄?</i> <i>il'-lak²</i> sum-in ⁱ [<i>š</i>]e ² ud.14 ² .kám mu.11.kám ^{md} nà-i <i>ugal e^{?ki}</i>
Up.E. 14	[xx]x ²

Translation

- (1–4) 16 g of silver for salt, in the hands of Nabû-zér-ukîn and Šulâ, have been given for the sheep, that are in the fattening house.
- (5–11) 8? g of silver for the rent of *gišru*, 12 g for (travel) provisions *xxx* in the hands of Itti-Nabû-guzu have been given for the (travel) provisions of Bél-šimanni, *ša-rēši*, *xxx* *xxx* *xxx*.

- (12–13) The month of Addaru, the 14th day, the 11th year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon.
 (14) xxx?

Commentary

5. The word *gišru*, or possibly *gištallu* or *tallu*(^{giš}dal), is some kind of object of wood, for example, bar, bridge, carrying pole for statues of deities; cf. for *tallu*, Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 58, and Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 21⁴⁷, 267²⁴³, 268²⁴⁶.

7. Could the first word be utensils for travels (*udû*, i.e. ú-de.meš)?

8. Could this be “the chief of the prison” in Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 125 (attested Nbn 05-13)?

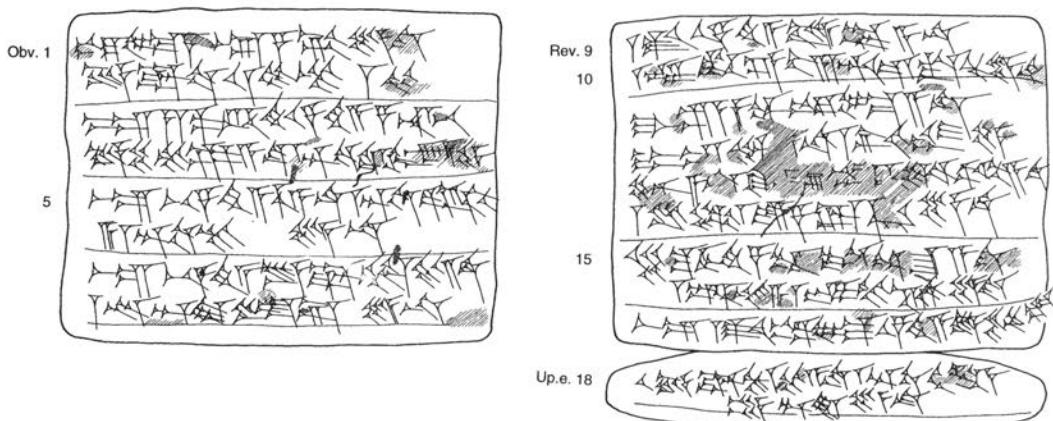
9f. A man with the same name and the same title (cf. Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 109) is attested in CT 55, 442:6, during Nbn 12 (dated 27-IX-12) in connection with *mandītu*.

14. There are two lines drawn on the upper edge, and there was possibly something written between them.

Text no. 17 (GAM 21781)

Issues of dates to a number of individuals, only one of whom has a title. Dated (Cyr?) 11-I-01.

Light to medium-dark brown, smooth surface. Dimensions: Height 45 mm, width 58 mm, thickness 23 mm. Unsealed.



Transliteration

Obv. 1	zú.lum.ma šá <i>ina</i> é níg.GA sum.na <u>ⁱⁱbár ud.11.kám mu.1.kám</u>
	2 gur 3(n) 2(b) <i>re-ji</i> šuk.há šá en til <u>ⁱⁱše mu.sag a-na ^{md}utu-ru-<i>su-ú-a</i> [s]um</u>
5	1 gur <i>ina</i> šuk.há-šú a-na ^{md} utu-sipa-šú-nu a ^{md} utu-mu sum.na
	1 gur <i>ina</i> šuk.há <u>ⁱⁱbár mu.1.kám a-na</u> <u>^{mr-}^dHAR ^{lú}ad.KID sum.na</u>

Rev.	9	1(n) 4(b) šuk.há ^{itt} bár a-na
	10	^{md} nà-it-tan-nu a ^{md} U.GUR-da-nu sum.na
		4 gur 4 PI zú.lum.ma a-na
		5 gur ŠE.BAR [a]-na ^m ni-di[n?]-tu ₄ sum
		ŠE.BAR a-n[a] ki-is-sa-tu ₄ ? ^{mušen} li-da-nu a-na
		^m šeš-li-ia šá sipa ² .m[e]š sum.na
	15	50 ma-ši-hi šá sat-tuk i-n[a?] pa[p?]-pa ² -su a-na
		^{md} en-mu a ^{md} nà-mu-si.sá sum.na
Up.e.	18	1 gur 1(n) 4(b) zú.lum.ma šuk.há ^{itt} še mu.sag
		u ^{itt} bár mu.1.kám a-na ^{md} utu-tin-iṭ šá
		ká.dingir.ra ²¹ sum.na

Translation

- (1–2) Dates that were given from the storehouse. The 11th of the month of Nisannu, year 1.
- (3–4) 480 litres, what remains of the provisions up to the end of the month of Addaru, year of accession, given to Šamaš-rūšūa.
- (5–6) 180 litres of his(?) provisions, given to Šamaš-rē²ūšunu, the son of Šamaš-iddin.
- (7–8) 180 litres of the provisions for the month of Nisannu, year 1, given to Arad-Bunene, the reed worker.
- (9–10) 60 litres, provisions of the month of Nisannu, given to Nabû-ittannu, the son of Nergal-dânu.
- (11–14) 864 litres of dates, for(?) the 900 litres of barley, given to Nidintu. Barley given as fodder for young birds, (and) to Ahlijia, of the shepherds.
- (15–16) 50 offering-measures (=1,800 litres) for prebendary income xxx, given to Bēl-iddin, son of Nabû-šum-līšir.
- (17–19) 240 litres of dates, provisions for the month of Addaru, year of accession, and the ninth of Nisannu, year 1, given to Šamaš-(m)uballit of Babylon.

Commentary

Parallels to this text are *Camb* 225, 359.

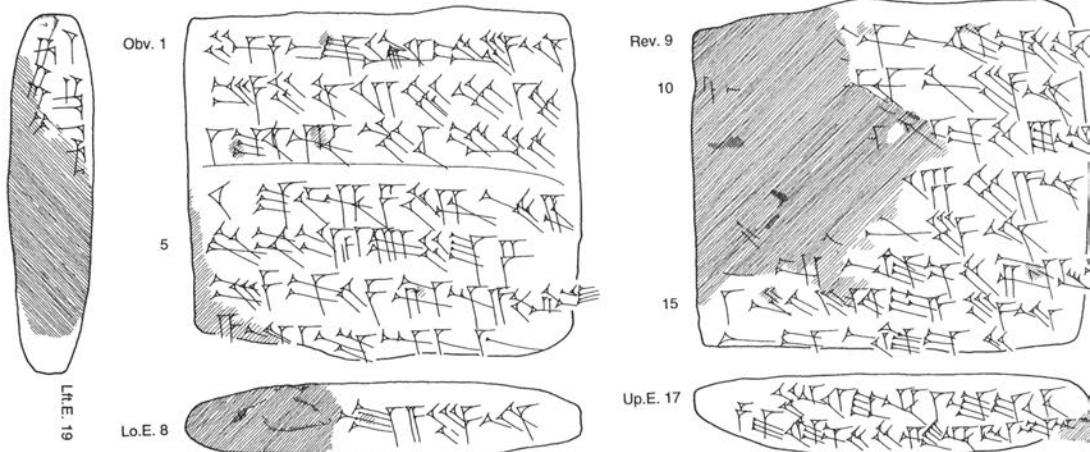
1. The storehouse is not further specified (there was more than one, cf. Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 92f.).
2. Possibly the reign of Cyrus, cf. line 8.
4. If the reading of the name is correct, he may be identified with at least the second character with the same name in Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 126f. (a chief of the prison, Dar 02-08), 384 (a bronze-smith, Nbk ?-Nbn 11+), 406 (a carpenter, Nbk ?-31). The bronze-smith occurs together with the reed worker in line 8 in one text, BM 64124 (Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 384 & 408), dated Nbn 09-VIII-[11]. There is a Šamaš-rūšūa in *Camb* 87:22, with no title, in a text in which the aforementioned reed worker and his brother are mentioned. The same person? According to Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 408, *Camb* 87 is dated *Camb* (=Cyr)-IX-01.
- 5f. If this person is the brother (attested *Camb* 87 only) of the man in line 8, we are here given the name of their father, which is never mentioned in the texts in Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 408. But this must remain uncertain.
8. This reed worker is mentioned in Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 408, in texts dating from Nbn 06 to Cyr 01 (550–538 B.C. even down to *Camb*.).
15. For the reading *ina pappasu*, cf. *Camb* 274:19.

16. Bēl-iddin may perhaps be identified with Bēl-iddin, son of a Nabû-šum-lîšir in Bon-genaar, *Prosopography*, 435f., attested Nbn 05-Dar 28 (551–494); he was a scribe of Ebabar and held a prebend of the sanctuaries of Gula and Šarrat-Sippar.

Text no. 18 (GAM 21852)

Issues of barley from the king's granary for offerings and fodder. Dated Dar 12-XII-01, i.e. 15/3 520 B.C.

Brown, smooth surface. Dimensions: Height 47 mm, width 52.5 mm, thickness 22 mm. Unsealed.



Transliteration

Obv. 1	ŠE.BAR šá ina šu-tùm lugal sum.na išé ud.12.kám mu.1.kám <u>m̄da-ri-mu-šú lugal kur.kur</u>
	10 ma-ši-ḥu šá sat-tuk ina sat-tuk
5	lúnga-ú-tu šá gu ₄ šá é a-nu-ni-tu ₄ a-na m̄ir- ^d ME.ME
Lo.E. 8	[a? m̄šu?] -la-a sum.na
Rev. 9	[x gur Š] E.BAR ina ki-is-sat gu ₄
10	a-n[a m̄x-]x-PAB sum.na [x gur ina? k] i-is-sat udu.nítā! [iX? ud].15.kám a-na [m̄x-x]-PAB sum.na
	[1? g]ur ina ki-is-sat ama.meš ^{mušen}
15	šeš?-li?-ia sum.na 1 gur ^r ina ki-is-sat
Up.E. 17	UZ.TUR ^{mušen} m̄la-ba-ši 2(n) 3(b) ki-is-sat kur.gi ^{mušen} .meš ^r m̄ir- ^d [x]
Lft.E. 19	1 gur 1(n) 1(b) x[x x x x] x x x [x x x x x]

Translation

- (1) Barley which was issued from the king's granary.
- (2–3) The month of Addaru, the 12th day, the first year of Darius, king of the lands.
- (4–8) 10 offering measures (=360 litres), according to the offerings of the brewers' prebendary of the month of Ajjaru, for the sanctuary of Anunītu, have been given to Arad-Gula, [son of Šu]lā.
- (9–10) [x litres of b]arley for the fodder of the oxen, has been given [to P]N.
- (11–13) [x litres for the] sheeps' fodder, [in the month of xx, on the]15th day, have been given to [P]N.
- (14–15) 180 litres for the female birds' (?) fodder have been given (to) Ahlijā.
- (16–17) 180 litres for the fodder of the ducks (have been given to) Labāši.
- (18) 90 litres, the fodder of the geese, (have been given to) Arad-[xxx].
- (19) 202 litres x[xx xxx]
- (20) xxx [xxx xxx]

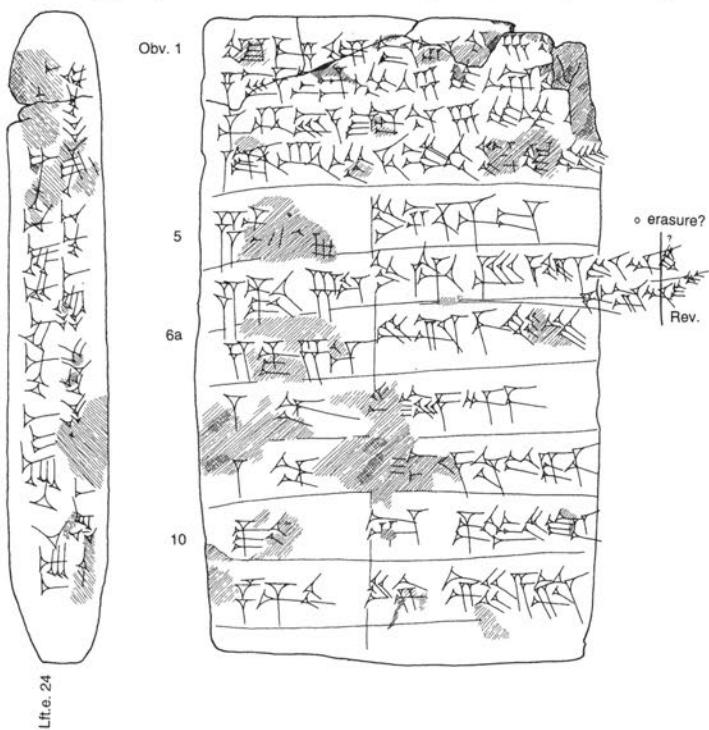
Commentary

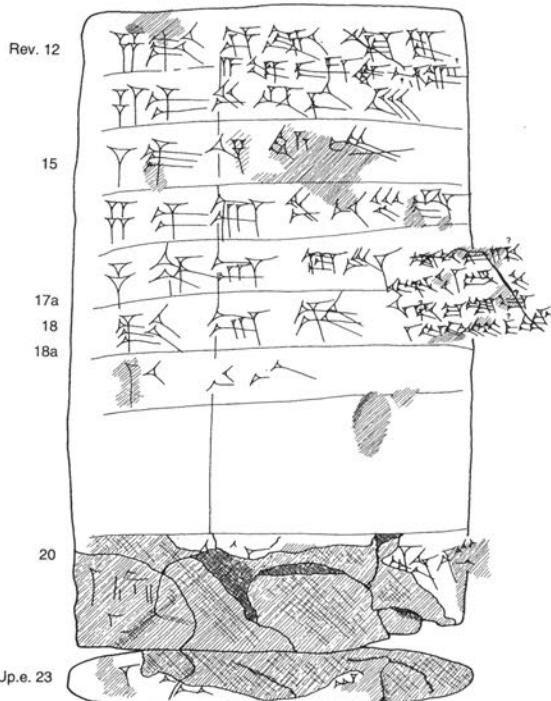
1. On the *šutum šarri*, see Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 93.
8. Cf. the Arad-Gula, son of Šulā <ša bit Anunnītu>, in Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 243f. (attested Cyr xx-Dar [00]) Probably the same person.
14. The reading at the end is uncertain. Cf. *Dar* 8:4, 54:10, with *ama^{mušer}.meš*.

Text no. 19 (GAM 21778)

Issues of flour for "the ceremony of greeting the temple" to various professionals and households(?), on the 6th of Nisan, Dar 15. Dated the same day (most probably), i.e. 14/4 507 B.C.

Ochre to light brown, smooth surface, glued together from several pieces. Dimensions: Height 86 mm, width 54 mm, thickness 31 mm. Unsealed. Photo: J.E. Sjöberg, *Tusentals fynd från hundratusentals år*, 1998, 147 (turned upside down).





Transliteration

Obv.	1	<i>qé-me šá silim.ma é ud.6.k[ám]</i>
		<i>šá ⁱⁱbá[r] mu.15.kám ina é g[ur₇]</i>
		<i>maš-ⁱⁱhu ⁱⁱbár ud.6.kám mu.1[5'.kám]</i>
		<i>^mda-ri-mu-šú lugal tin.ti[r^k] lugal kur</i>
5	4(n) x	<i>¹⁰uš.bar gad</i>
	3(n) 5(b) 5 sìla	<i>¹⁰nagar.meš šá? ki? ^mir-^dHAR?/</i>
6a		<i>sá ina é ^dgašan-ia?</i>
	3(n) 3(b) 5 sìla	<i>¹⁰uš.bar bir-mu</i>
	1 PI	<i>[¹⁰s]imug AN.BAR</i>
	1 PI	<i>[¹⁰s]i[mug zabar]</i>
10	5(b)	<i>é anše.kur.ra</i>
	2(n) 1(b) x	<i>¹⁰NI.GAB-a-ta</i>
Rev.	12	<i>e-piš dul-lu</i>
		<i>a-di 2(b) šá ^mhar-hu-ú</i>
	3(n) 2(b)	<i>¹⁰mušen.dù.meš</i>
15	1(n) 3(b)	<i>suk.h[á l]ugal</i>
	4(n) 2(b)	<i>é ¹⁰til.gíd.da</i>
	2 PI	<i>é udu.níta ina lib-b[i] 2(b)? 2 sìla?</i>
17a		<i>^{muh}-¹⁰h[í] ^men-tin</i>
18	5(b)	<i>é gu₄ u ^mha-ba-si-ru?</i>
18a		<i>^men-mu? ¹⁰gú?.gal?</i>
		<i>(line erased)</i>

20	[x x x] x [x x] ^a utu-x [x x x x x x]
	[x x x x x]
Up.e 23	1 ^o x[x x x]x[x x]
Lft.e. 24	1(n) 4(b) <i>ina šu</i> ^{II} ^{md} utu-sipa-šú-n[u] šá ² [x x]
	x DI ³ ^{m?} [x]mu-x-tu ² ^{md} ŠÚ-ri-man ^{an} -ni

Translation

- (1–3a) Flour for the ceremony of greeting the temple, measured in the storehouse, on the 6th of the month of Nisannu, year 15.
- (3b–4) The 6th of Nisannu, the 1[5]th year of Darius, king of Babylon, king of the land.
- (5) 144+x litres the linen weaver(s).
- (6) 143 litres the carpenters, who do service with(?) Arad-Bunene
- (6a) who is in the house of Bēltā
- (7) 131 litres the weaver(s) of multicoloured fabrics.
- (8) 36 litres the iron-smiths.
- (9) 36 litres the bronze-smiths.
- (10) 30 litres the stable.
- (11) 78+x litres the doorkeepers(?)
- (12) 174 litres the workers
- (13) together with 12 litres of Ḥarḥu(?).
- (14) 120 litres the bird-catchers.
- (15) 54 litres the royal kurummatu-ration(s).
- (16) 156 litres the house of the qīpu-resident.
- (17) 72 litres the sheepshed, amongst it 14 litres
- (17a) upon(?), Bēl-uballīt,
- (18) 30 litres the cowshed. and Ḥabaśīru,
- (18a) Bēl-iddin(?), canal inspector(s).
- (19) (erased)
- (20–22)[xxx xxx xxx xxx]
- (23) [xxx xxx xxx xxx]
- (24) 60 litres in the hands of Šamaš-re³ūšunu.
- (25) xxx [x]xx Marduk-rimanni.

Commentary

For parallels to this text, see Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 120ff. The best parallel is *Nbn* 951 (possibly *Dar* 06-I-16, cf. Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 120¹²⁸, 121). On the ceremony, of which we know next to nothing, cf. Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 120¹³⁰: “the ceremony probably was performed not to “greet” the temple, but to ensure the temple’s well-being or well-functioning”.

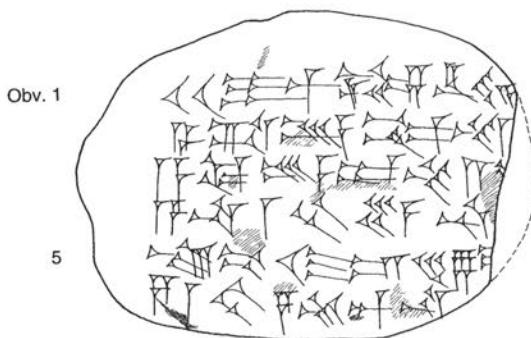
6. The line seems to have been added to; cf. line 17. Difficult to read, written over right edge on to the reverse of the tablet. For Arad-Bunene, who was presumably a carpenter, cf. a carpenter with the same name in Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 399 (attested *Nbn* 08); but they are hardly one and the same (there are 40 years between *Nbn* 08 and *Dar* 15). The *bīt Bēltā* at the end, if it is the correct reading, would be the only example of a “temple” in Sippar for this goddess; Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 230¹²⁴, knows only of a *šabtu* (“pedestal”, cf. text no. 15) for this goddess, and then only in clothing texts.

11. The figure may be written over a rather careless erasure. Alternatively 1 PI was intended. The *-a-ta* after the doorkeeper is enigmatic; female doorkeepers?
12. *ēpiš dullu*, short for *šābū ēpiš dulli*.
13. An addition to line 12, similar to line 6? Difficult to read, personal name not certain.
- 17, 17a, end of 18, 18a. Like the “additions” above, lines 6 and 13, these are also difficult to read; all or some of them were canal inspectors, cf. the persons listed in Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 53–55.
- 20–23. Was the total amount listed here?
- 24–25. An addition to the tablet or a continuation of lines 20–23.

Text no. 20 (GAM 21787)

Issue of wool to a weaver(?). Not dated, but the last-mentioned date is X-02, possibly AwM, Ngl or Nbn.

Dark brown, smooth surface. Dimensions: Height 44 mm, width 58 mm, thickness 24 mm. Unsealed. Inscribed on obverse only.



Transliteration

Obv. 1	26 1/2 gun sīk.há <i>šá ta</i> ⁱⁱ NE mu.1.[kám] <i>a-di</i> ⁱⁱ ab mu.2.k[ám] <i>a-na</i> ^m tin sum.na
5	<i>ina lib-bi</i> 13 gur 48 m[a.na] <i>šá</i> ^m tin <i>šá</i> mu.an.na

Translation

(1–6) 795 kg of wool, that is (for the period) from the month of Abu, year 1, to the month of Tebetu, year 2, has been given to Balātu; including 414 kg belonging to(?) Balātu, per year.

Commentary

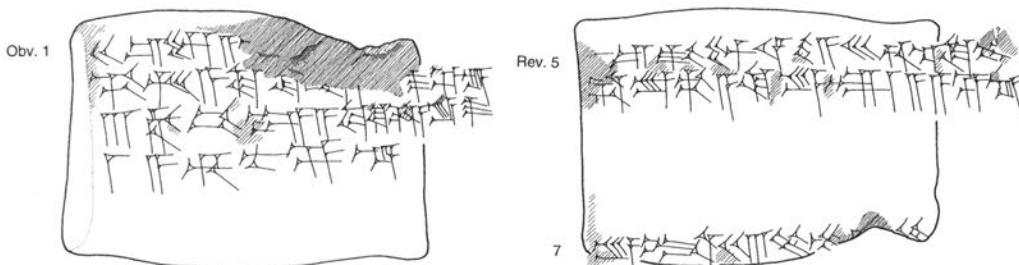
For parallels, see, for example, CT 57, 453.

4, 6. If Balātu is the weaver attested in Nbk 42–Nbn 03 (563–553) (Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 311, 320f.), and if the years 1 and 2 in the text refer to years in a king’s reign, they may refer to any of AwM, Ngl or Nbn, i.e. 561–554.

Text no. 21 (GAM 21856)

Issues of barley for fodder, etc. Dated (Camb?) 23-IX-[xx].

Brown, smooth surface. Dimensions: Height 34 mm, width 48 mm, thickness 20 mm. Unsealed.



Transliteration

- | | |
|--------|--|
| Obv. 1 | 20 gur ŠE.BAR ^m a- <i>ḥ</i> [<i>u-nu ina ki-is-sat</i>]
gu ₄ .meš <i>a-di q[ī]-i[t ř]á [i]zíz e-ṭir</i>
<i>3 ha-bi-ia a-di qí-it šá [i]zíz</i>
<i>^ma-ḥu-nu e-ṭir</i> |
| Rev. 5 | 1 gur 5(b) ŠE.BAR šuk.ḥá 30 ^{mušen} <i>si-ki-nu-n[u]</i>
ta ⁱ gu ₄ <i>a-di ⁱapin ^ma-a e-ṭir</i>
7 <i>ⁱgan ud.23.kám mu.[x].kám</i> |

Translation

- (1–2) 3,600 litres of barley, [as fodder for] the oxen, until the en[d of the month] of Šabatū, Ahūnu paid.
- (3–4) 3 jars, until the end of the month of Šabatū, Ahūnu paid.
- (5–6) 210 litres of barley, food rations for 30 turtledoves from the month of Ajjaru to the month of Arahsamna, Aplā paid.
- (7) The month of Kislimu, the 23rd day, the [xxth] year.

Commentary

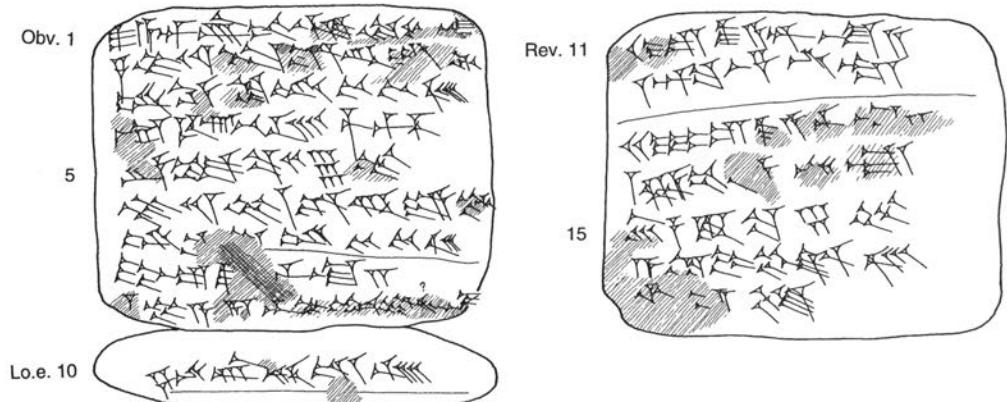
3. The word *ḥābū*, attested only in late Akkadian dialects and sometimes referred to as a possible loan from Aramaic, is here attested as *ḥābijā*, an Aramaic plural or another West Semitic form showing a stronger connection with these languages than the examples available to S.A. Kaufman in, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*, 1974, 53.

5–6. This gives a monthly ration of 1 litre of barley for a turtledove (or perhaps a better translation would be “wild dove”). Barley was given as fodder for birds to a person called Aplā during the reign of Cambyses, cf., for example, *Camb* 236. If this is the same man, the text is approximately dated.

Text no. 22 (GAM 21785)

Receipts and issues of emmer. Dated Dar 29-V-21, i.e. 28/8 501 B.C.

Yellowish to light brown, smooth and rough surface. Dimensions: Height 43 mm, width 53 mm, thickness 22 mm. Unsealed.



Transliteration

Obv. 1	ZÍZ.A.AN er-bi ù te-lit-tu ₄ šá mu.21.kám ^m da-ri-ia-[m]uš ugal e ^{ki} lugal kur.kur.meš ina é gur ₇ .meš maš-ḥu
5	^{i i n} NE ud.29.kám mu.21.kám ^m da-ri-ia-muš ugal e ^[kj] lugal kur.kur.meš
	7 gur ZÍZ.[A.A]N ina šu ^{II}
	^m mu-a a ^{md} bu-ne-ne ² -ri ² -man ² -ni
Lo.e. 10	šá ¹⁶ er-ri-iš.meš
Rev. 11	13 gur ZÍZ.A.AN ina šu ^{II} ^{md} utu-SUR ¹⁶ engar
	28 gur ZÍZ.A.[A]N ina š[u] ^{II}
	^{md} kal ² -bi-[d ²]ká ¹⁶ engar
15	^{i i} kin ud.5.kám a-[k]i-i gíd.da.meš igi-ú-tu

Translation

- (1–7) Emmer, receipts and issues of the 21st year of Darius, king of Babylon, king of the lands, measured in the storehouse. The 29th of Abu, the 21st year of Darius, king of Babylon, king of the lands.
- (8–10) 1,260 litres of emmer, in the hands of Iddinā, son of Bunene-rimanni(?), the overseer of the *errēšī*.
- (11–12) 2,340 litres of emmer, in the hands of Šamaš-ēṭir, a temple farmer.
- (13–15) 5,040 litres of emmer, in the hands of Kalbi-Ba³u(?), a temple farmer, on the 5th of Elulu.
- (16–17) According to the former tablets.

Commentary

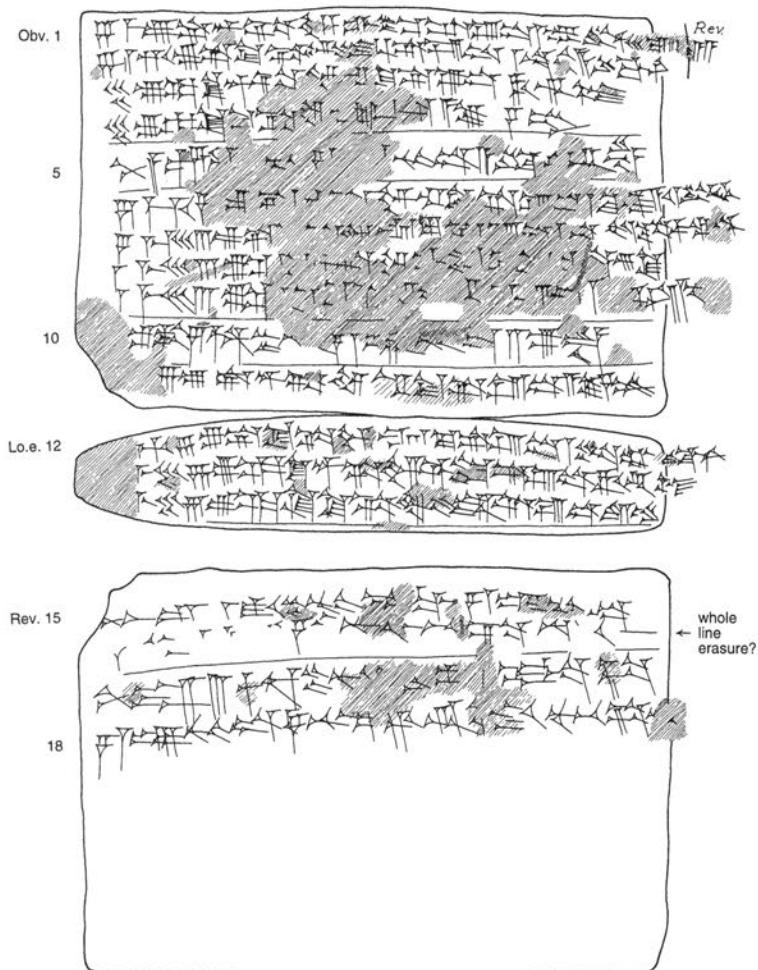
Is this a kind of summary of the net receipts and the issues (as wages or rations) of emmer during the year 21 of Darius, up to the 29th of the month of Abu?

1. For the terms *erbu* and *tēlittu*, cf. Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 156f.
9. This Iddinā is otherwise not attested by a patronymic; he may, according to M. Jursa, be the *gugallu* (cf. Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 54).
10. On the *errešti* ("part-time tenants"), see Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 81ff.
- 13–15. This section is dated 7 days later than the main transaction.
14. If the reading of this name is correct, we are probably dealing with the same person as in Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 29, 111 (time of Dar), one of the farmers of the *rab sūti Bunau*.
- 16f. The texts referred to here, are they the tablets containing the individual receipts and issues of emmer, earlier in the year?

Text no. 23 (GAM 21780)

Description (dimensions and locations) of three lots, all belonging to Nabū-zēr-ukīn. No date formula, but probably Nbk; cf. below.

Light to medium brown, smooth surface. Dimensions: Height 54 mm, width 79 mm, thickness 27 mm. Unsealed.



Transliteration

Obv.	1	5 ME kùš uš an.ta IM.mar.tu ús.sa.DU ^{m̄d} en-šeš.meš-su [?] a [num]un ² -a-a
	5	5 ME 70° kùš uš ki.ta IM.kur.ra ús.sa.DU ^{m̄} na-di[n] a ^{l̄} gal-dù 50 kùš sag.ki an.ta IM.si.sá ús.sa.DU <i>ha-ri-su</i> 50 kùš sag.ki k[i].ta IM.u _[18] lu ú[s]<.sa.DU> a.šà šá lugal
	5	pap 2'(n) 2(b) 5 sìla [še.nu]mun šá ^{m̄} [^d nà]-numun-gin a ^{l̄} gal-dù 1-en ká
	4	4 ME 74 kù[š] uš a[n.t]a IM.si.sá ús.sa.DU ^{m̄} šu-la-a u << ^m >>šeš.meš-šú
	4	4 ME 93 kùš uš [ki.t]a I[M].u ₁₈ .lu ú[s.s]a.DU ^{m̄} na-din u ^{m̄} li-ši-ru [š]eš-šú
	1	1 ME 33 kùš sa[g.k]i a[n.t]a IM.m[ar.t]u g[ú ^{id} bur]anum ^{ki}
	10	1 ME 33 kùš sag.k[i k]i.t[a I]M.ku[r.r]a ú[s.s]a.DU ^{m̄} [^d U.G]UR-dù a [nu[mun-a-a]
	10	[pap 1] gur 5(b) 4 1/2 sìla še.num[un] šá ^{m̄d} n[à-nu]mun-gin 2-ú ká [4 ME 5]6 kùš uš an.ta IM.si.sá ús.sa.DU a.šà šá lugal
Lo.e.	12	[4] ME 76 kùš uš ki.ta IM.u ₁₈ .lu ús.sa.DU ^{m̄} li-ši[r a [?]] ^{l̄} gal.dù [1] ME 55° kùš sag.ki an.ta IM.mar.tu ús.sa.DU <i>ha-ri-su</i> [1] ME 55 kùš sag.ki ki.ta IM.kur.ra ús.sa.DU kaskal ^{III} lugal
Rev.	15	pap 1 gur 1(n) 4(b) še.numun ša[l̄-šú? k]á [?] šá ^{m̄d} nà-numun-gin (whole line (carelessly or accidentally?) erased)
	18	pap 3 gur 3 1/2 sìla še.numu[n x] x [x] gan-na-ta šá ^{m̄d} nà-numun-gin šá <i>ina ug[u]</i> [<i>y</i>]a-ri-ṣ[u] u nu-bat-ta-t[u ₄ ?

Translation

- (1) 500 cubits the upper long side on the west, beside Bēl-ahhē-erība, of the Zērijja family,
- (2) 570 cubits the lower long side on the east, beside Nādin, of the Rab-bānî family,
- (3) 50 cubits the upper short side on the north, beside the Ḥarīṣu-canal,
- (4) 50 cubits the lower short side on the south, beside the field of the king.
- (5) Total: 26,700 square cubits of arable land, belonging to Nabû-zēr-ukīn, of the Rab-bānî family, first item.
- (6) 474 cubits the upper long side on the north, beside Šulā and his brothers,
- (7) 493 cubits the lower long side on the south, beside Nādin and Līšir, his brother,
- (8) 133 cubits the upper short side on the west, on the bank of the Euphrates,
- (9) 133 cubits the lower short side on the east, beside Nergal-ibni, of the Zērijja family.
- (10) Total: 64,350 square cubits of arable land, belonging to Nabû-zēr-ukīn, second item.
- (11) 456 cubits the upper long side on the north, beside the field of the king,
- (12) 476 cubits the lower long side on the south, beside Līšir, of the Rab-bānî family
- (13) 155 cubits the upper short side on the west, beside the Ḥarīṣu canal,
- (14) 155 cubits the lower short side on the east, beside the king's highway.
- (15) Total: 72,000 square cubits of arable land, third(?) item(?), belonging to Nabû-zēr-ukīn.

- (16) (whole line erased)
 (17) Total: 163,050 square cubits of arable land, xxx, gardens,
 (18) belonging to Nabû-zér-ukîn, which(?) are at(?) the Ḥarîṣu canal and Nubattâtu.

Commentary

The only well-preserved example so far of this type of text was BM 50505, cf. Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 60ff. Judging from that text, and the persons mentioned in the present text, a date in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar seems most likely. The Neo-Babylonian cubit (*ammatu*) was c. 50 cm, cf. M.A. Powell, RLA 7, 1987–1990, 462.

1. For Bél-abhē-eriba, cf. Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 75. He is mentioned in several texts, all from the time of Nbk. In BM 50505:2, he is the westerly “neighbour” of Šulā, the son of Šapik-zéri, and his brothers, of the Rab-bânî family, with a field beside the Ḥarîṣu canal.

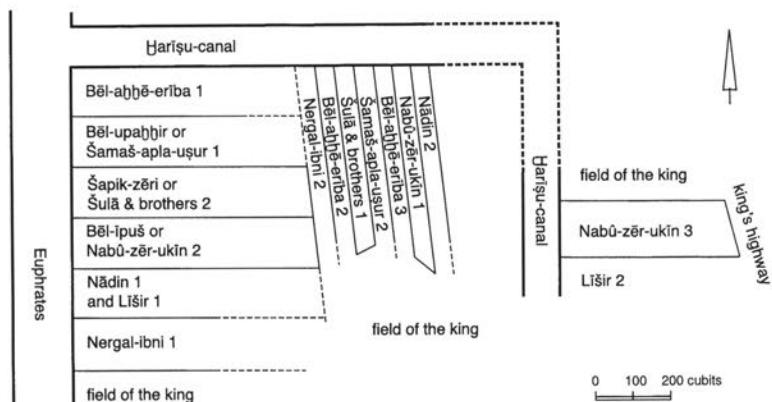
2. There seems to be an extra, vertical wedge in the figure at the beginning of the line. A Nâdin is listed in Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 77f. (time of Nbk; same person? In Jursa, not of the Rab-bânî family). This text may make it possible to situate the field of Nâdin at the Ḥarîṣu canal, which was not possible for Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 62, map (cf. map below).

5. Nabû-zér-ukîn, of the Rab-bânî family, is mentioned in Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 77 (text BM 50505:9, as a southerly “neighbour”, to Šulā, who has a field on the bank of the Euphrates).

5, 10, 15, 17. It is difficult to figure out the exact, probably trapezoid, form of the fields so the areas seem to be only approximate (cf. Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 60⁶, “Die Ergebnisse stimmen in keinem Fall ganz genau, sind aber den rechnerischen ... sehr nahe”). The missing figures in lines 11–14 can be figured out from the area in line 15. The sum total in line 17 is a correct sum of the figures in lines 5, 10, and 15. Below are the areas of three trapezoid “lots”, all with one short side at right angles to the long sides, compared with the areas given in the text:

	Area of trapezoid	Area of lot in text
Lot 1 (lines 1–5):	Area: 26,750 square cubits	Line 5: 26,700 square cubits
Lot 2 (lines 6–10):	Area: 64,305.5 square cubits	Line 10: 64,350 square cubits
Lot 3 (lines 11–15):	Area: 72,230 square cubits	Line 15: 72,000 square cubits
Total:	Area: 163,285.5 square cubits	Line 17: 163,050 square cubits

6. In BM 50505:6–7 (Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 60), Šulā is mentioned together with “his brothers” (šeš.meš-šû). Is the same intended here, and the personal marker simply a mistake of the scribe? Note the length of the northern side of this lot, 474 cubits, which is the same length as the southern side of the neighbouring lot of Šulā, in BM 50505:9 (Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 60; cf. map, below).



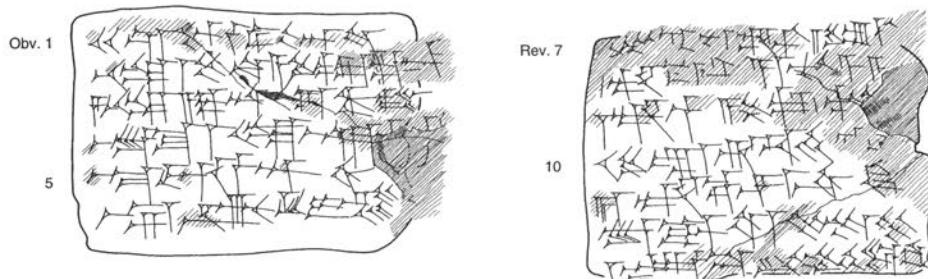
Map showing lots of arable land according to text no. 23 and related documents. The lots along the Euphrates are fairly certain, whereas the ones along the Ḥarîṣu canal may need some adjustment when additional evidence becomes available.

7. Another Nādin or the same person as in line 2?
9. Cf. Nergal-ibni in Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 78 (time of Npl and Nbk), who seems to be the most likely candidate here.
12. For Līšir, cf. Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 77, for two persons from the time of Nbk and later.
17. Perhaps the line should read ... še.numun ^{lu}gal.dū-ú-tu ... ? Or is there a šá before the last word, *gannāta*? (Cf. BM 49950:12, in Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 61).
18. For Nubattātu, cf. Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 70f.

Text no. 24 (GAM 21860)

Loan of barley, the property of Šamaš, to Nadnā, the herdsman. Witnesses. The scribe is Rīmūt-Nabū, son of Bēl-eṭēru. Dated Nb 01-I-01, i.e. 2/4 604 B.C.

Light brown to brown, smooth surface. Dimensions: Height 33 mm, width >46 mm, thickness 19 mm. Unsealed.



Transliteration

Obv. 1	20 gur ŠE.BAR ní[g].ga ^d utu ina ugu ^m nad-na-a ^{lu} sipa? x x x šá ina ugu id pal-lu-kát áš-bu ina ⁱⁱ šu ana ugu 1 gur 1 [p]i š[e.b]a[r]
5	ina ma-ši-ḥu šá ^d utu ina é gur ₇ .meš i-nam-d[in]
Rev. 7	[^{lu}]mu-[k]in-[nu] ^{md} en-dù a ^{lu} sanga-sip-p[ar ^{ki}] ^{md} en-x-x a ^m numun-a-a ^{md} en-SUR a ^{lu} sipa-an[še.kur.ra]
10	u ^{lu} umbisag ^m ri-mut- ^d [nà] a ^{md} en-e-SUR sip-par ^{ki} ii bár ud.1.kám mu.1.kám
13	^{md} nà-níg.du-ùru lugal tin.tir ^{ki}

Translation

- (1–6) 3,600 litres of barley, the property of Šamaš, for Nadnā, the herdsman of the xxx, who is living in När-Pallukkat. In the month of Du³uzu, with an interest of 36 litres on 180 litres, (it) is to be given, in the *mašiḥu* of Šamaš, into the storehouse.
- (7–11a) Witnesses: Bēl-ibni, of the Šangū-Sippar family; Bēl-xxx of the Zērajja family; Bēl-eṭir, of the Rē³ū-s[īsī] family, and the scribe, Rīmūt-N[abū], son of Bēl-eṭēru.
- (11b–13) Sippar, the month of Nisannu, the first day, the first year of Nebuchadnez-zar, king of Babylon.

Commentary

3. For the canal, see Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 201ff. He has no attestation of it from the time of Nbk.
 7. Cf. Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 449 for this person (attested Sši 02–Nb 09).
 10f. For the scribe, cf. Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 495 (attested Npl 12–Nb 01 (or 06?)).

Text no. 25 (GAM 21779)

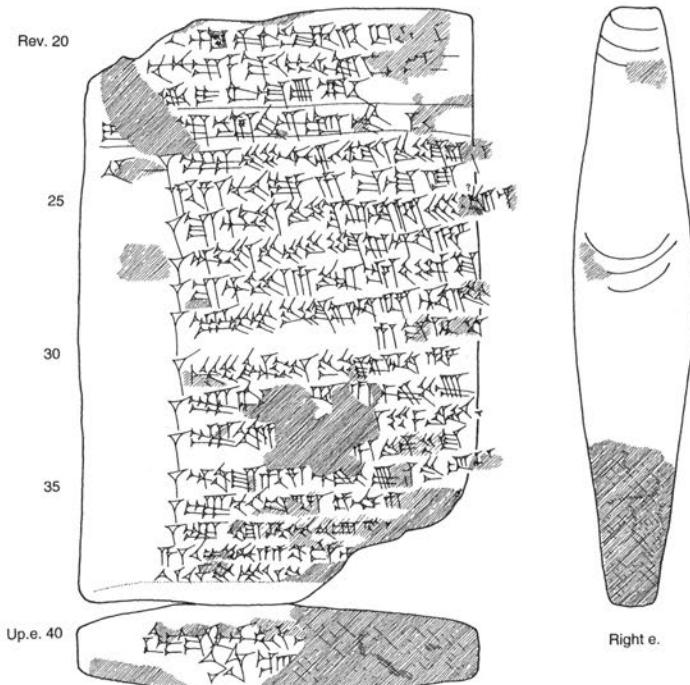
Contract for the inheritance and maintenance of her husband arranged by the woman Ba'u-bēl-bīti, of the Šangū-Ea family. Witnesses. The scribe is Nabū-balāssu-iqbi, of the Miširajja family. Dated [Nbn] 14-xx-11, i.e. 545/4 B.C.

Ochre to light brown, smooth/rough surface, carefully fashioned, rectangular. Dimensions: Height 79 mm, width 53 mm, thickness 27 mm. Nail-impressions (instead of a seal, cf. lines 40f.) of Ba'u-bēl-bīti on the left and right edges. Photo: J.E. Sjöberg, *Tusentals fynd från hundratusentals år*, 1998, 147 (turned upside down).



Transliteration

Obv. 1	^{mīd} ba-ú-en-é[dumu.munus-su šá x x x x] a ^{mlā} sanga- ^d é-a[i-na ^{lu} ud lib-bi-šú x x x] šá u ₄ -mu.meš ^{lu} lúnga.me[š x x x x x] ina é.babbar.ra é ^d utu šá sip-pa[r] ^{ki} ù mi-šil [u] ₄ -mu
5	^{lu} muḥaldim-ú-tu šá é.sag.ila-lu é ^d amar.utu a.šà š[á tin.t]jr ^{ki} ù šá urukīš ^{ki} ù mim-ma-šú ma-la ba-šu-ú šá ^{md} nà-kar-zí.meš [?] dam šá ^{mīd} ká-en-é ik-k-[a-n]u-<uk>-ma pa-ni ^{mīd} ká-en-é ku-u[m'] 8 ma.[n]a kù.babbar nu-dun-na-šú



- 10 ú-šad-gil ták-ka-nu-u[k]-ma pa-ni
 ^{md}nà-na-šir ù ^mla-ba-a-ši-^damar.utu
 a-šú šá ^{md}nà-PAB dumu dumu.munus-ti-šú tu-š[ad]-g[i]
 [u₄-m]u ma-la ^{md}nà-kar-zi.meš dam² ^{mid}k[á-en-é]
 bal-tu'-ú ^{md}nà-PAB u ^mla-ba-a-ši-^damar.utu dumu-š[ú]
 ip-ri piš-<<u>>-šá-tu₄ ù <l[u]>-bu-uš-tu₄ i-nam-din/di²-nu²-niš²-šú
 ár-ki a-na šim¹-tu₄ it-tal-ku-ú pa-ni ^mnà-PAB
 [u ^mla-b]a-a-ši-^dam[ar.u]tu dumu-šú id-dag-gal šá 8 ma.na
 k[ù.babbar]
 [a-na ^{md}nà-PAB u ^mla-ba-a]-ši-^dSÚ i-nam-din níg.ka, ma-nu-tu
 [x x x x x x x ^mšá d]a-ba-[b]u an-na-a bal
 Rev. 20 [^damar.utu] u ^dšar-pa-ni-tu₄ záḥ-šú liq-b[u-ú]
 [x]nu x x x x x ù x x x
 [x x] x i ni la ú-šab²-šú
 i[-na k]a-nak ^{im}dub mu.me[š]
-
- 25 igi ^{md}nà-mu-še-ti-iq-ud.da ^{lu}ku₄-é [^dutu²]
 a-šú šá ^mnumun-ia a ^mba-la-tu
 ^msu-^damar.utu ^{lu}ku₄-é ^dutu a-šú šá ^m<ina->sùḥ-sur a
 ^m<aš->sur
 ^{md}amar.utu-mu-mu ^{lu}ku₄-é ^dutu a-šú šá
 ^msu-^damar.utu a ^{mlú}sanga-^dinnin-tin.tir^{ki}
 ^{md}nà-mu-mu ^{lu}ku₄-é ^dutu a-šú šá ^{md}utu-a-ùru
 30 a ^mda-^d[ama]r.utu

	^m mu-še-zib- ^d amar.utu ^{lū} ku ₄ -é ^d utu a-šú šá ^{md} nà-ni-i[^p -šá-r]i a ^{md} kaskal.kur-ú ^{md} nà-kar[-zi.meš? a-šú šá] ^m sum.na-šeš a ^{mlū} PA.ŠE ^{?ki?}
35	^{md} utu-su a-šú šá ^{md} kaskal.[k]jur-ú a ^{mlū} sanga- ^d u[tu [?]] ^{md} nà-numun-gin a-šú šá ^m e-tel-pi [?] a ^m [^{lū} sanga- ^d e-a] ^{md} nà-tin-su-iq-bi ^{lū} dub [?] .sar [?] a[-šú šá x x x x] a ^m mi- ^{šir-a-a} zimb[ir ^{ki} itx] [u]d.14 ^o .kám mu.11.k[ám ^{md} nà-i lugal e ^{ki}]
Up.e. 40	^{su-pur} ^{mid} ká-e[n-é ku-um] ^{na} ₄ kiši[b-šú]

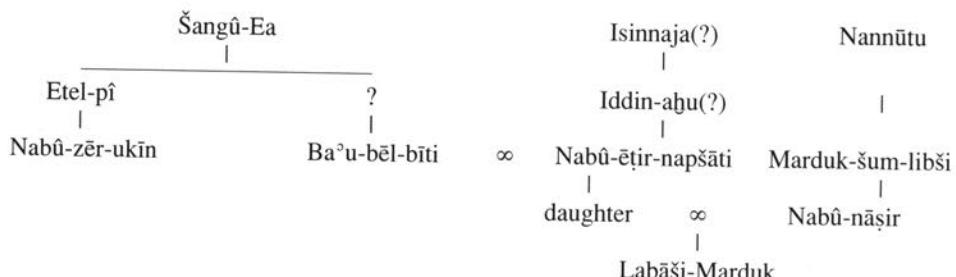
Translation

- (1–12) Ba^u-bēl-bīti, [daughter of xxx], of the Šangū-Ea family, [of her free will], has with the sealing of the document handed over to Nabū-nāṣir and Labāši-Marduk, the son of Nabū-nāṣir, her(?) daughter's son, [the xxx xxx,] the “days” of the brewers, [xxx xxx] in Ebabbar, the temple of Šamaš in Sippar, and half of the “days” of the cook's prebend of Esagila, i.e. the temple of Marduk, a field in(?) Babylon and in(?) Kiš, and whatever of hers(?), as much as it is, which Nabū-ēṭir-napšāti, the husband of Ba^u-bēl-bīti, with the sealing of a document, handed over to Ba^u-bēl-bīti, instead of 8 minas of silver, her dowry.
- (13–15) For as long as Nabū-ēṭir-napšāti, the husband of Ba^u-bēl-bīti, lives, Nabū-nāṣir and Labāši-Marduk, his son, are to provide him with food, oil, and clothing.
- (16–19a) After he has gone to his destiny, (it) belongs to Nabū-nāṣir and Labāši-Marduk, his son. As for the 8 minas of silver, he shall give (it) [to Nabū-nāṣir and Labāši-Marduk. The counted property [xxx].
- (19b–22) [Who]ever changes this document, Marduk and Šarpanītu may order his annihilation, xxx xxx xxx, and may not xxx xxx.
- (23–38a) The sealing of this tablet (took place) before (the following witnesses): Nabū-mušētiq-uddē, a temple-enterer of Šamaš, son of Zērijja, of the Balātu family; Erība-Marduk, a temple-enterer of Šamaš, son of Ina-tēši-ēṭir, of the Ēda-ēṭir family; Marduk-šum-iddin, a temple-enterer of Šamaš, son of Erība-Marduk, of the Šangū-Ištar-Bābili family; Nabū-šum-iddin, a temple-enterer of Šamaš, son of Šamaš-apla-uṣur, of the Ileⁱ-Marduk family; Mušēzib-Marduk, a temple-enterer of Šamaš, son of Nabū-nipšāri, of the Balīhu family; Nabū-ēṭir-[napšāti(?)] son of Iddin-ahū, of the Isinajja family; Šamaš-erība, son of Balīhu, of the Šangū-Šamaš family; Nabū-zēr-ukīn, son of Etel-pī, of the [Šangū-Ea] family; Nabū-balāssu-iqbi, the scribe so[n of xxx], of the Miširajja family.
- (38b–39) Sippar, the 14th of [the month of xxx], the 11th year of [Nabonidus, king of Babylon].
- (40–41) The nail-impression(s) of Ba^u-b[ēl-bīti, instead of] her seal.

Commentary

This text, about a “gift” or an inheritance, and at the same time a contract for a son-in-law and a grandson to take care of their father-in-law and grandfather, as long as he lives, has, structurally and syntactically, parallels in VS 5, 43/44 (NRV 19) and VS 5, 54/143 (NRV 23). The

"family tree" should look like this, including the persons in line 11 and the witnesses in lines 33 and 36:



2. Perhaps at the end we should read [*x*(figure) *u₄-mu*]? Cf. VS 5, 37 (NRV 16).

7. The affiliation of the husband, Nabû-êtir-napšâti, is not mentioned in this line; the reason may be that he also acts as a witness in line 33.

9. Perhaps the reading *ku-ú* is better than the *ku-u[m]* in the text. Both are certainly possible.

11. Labâši-Marduk is identical with Labâši, "prebendary brewer", later "overseer of the brewers", son of Nabû-nâšîr, of the Nannûtu family, attested Dar 01-35 (521-487), cf. Jursa, *Bêl-rêmanni*, 281f., with references, and Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 210, 218. For Nabû-nâšîr, cf. Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 223.

15. The scribe has made two errors in a single line! Are some of the difficulties in reading parts of this text due to more errors of this kind (cf. line 8)?

21f. One would expect this to be part of the curses against anyone who changes the text.

24-32. For the temple-enterers as witnesses (which seems to have been common, and they are always the first to be listed), and arguments for their (high) status ("the most prominent prebendaries of Ebabbar", Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 157) and function, see Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 153, 157ff.

24f. The status as temple-enterer assumed by Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 164, is confirmed by this text. He is attested in AwM 01-Cyr 09 (561-530). In Cyr 341:7-8, he is, as in the present text, the first witness.

26. Ina-têšî-êtir, the father, of the Éda-êtir family may be found in Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 162, attested in Nbp 07 (20-III-07).

27f. Cf. Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 29f., 438, where this person is "temple administrator", šangû *Sippar*, and not a temple-enterer ("which was probably a prerequisite for holding that position", Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 157), attested in Nbn 15-Cyr 07 (541-532). This must be before he was made temple administrator; his earliest attestation as šangû *Sippar* is in Nbn 897:5, dated Nbn [xx]-VII-15.

29f. Cf. Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 164. As a temple-enterer only in Nbn 958:7 (Nbn 16 (540)). But he was also a rent collector, and he held a brewer's prebend of Šamaš. Attested in Nbn 06-Cyr 04 (550-535).

31f. Cf. Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 163, 466. Attested in Ner 02-Dar 05 (558-517; with a number of titles). As a temple-enterer attested only c. Camb-Dar, but "at the beginning of Nabonidus' reign he occurs in the upper echelon of Ebabbar, either in his capacity as a "temple enterer" or as a kind of College scribe" (Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 163). This text confirms him as a temple-enterer in the reign of Nbn. For the reconstruction of the name of the father, cf. CT 55, 300:4, where it is written *ni-ip-š[á-r]i*. For the reading of the family name, see the discussion in Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 464f.

33f. There is a baker's prebendary, Nabû-êtir-napšâti, probably of the Isinajja family, attested in Nbn 09-15 (547-541), cf. Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 193. Possibly identical with the husband of Ba^u-bêl-bîti in line 7.

35. Cf. Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 159¹⁸⁶, 225, 455f. Attested in Nbn 00-Camb 03 (556-527). He was a brewer's prebendary. The same person?

36. There is a scribe, Nabû-zér-ukîn/Etel-pî/Šangû-Ea, in Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 493, attested in Nbk 23–Cyr 05 (582–534; same person?). If the name of the father can be read as suggested above, perhaps this is the same person?

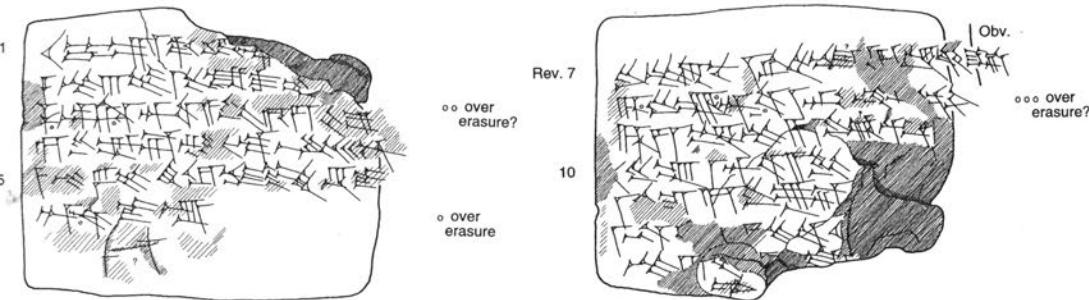
39. Judging from the persons mentioned in the list of witnesses and the space in the tablet, the most likely king is Nbn; perhaps even the only possibility, if we assume that Marduk-šum-iddin, line 27, was a temple-enterer before he became a temple administrator, for which he is attested from the year Nbn 15. Besides, none of the above is attested as late as Dar 11. This allows us to date the text to Nbn 11, i.e. 545/4.

40f. The nail-marks are only those of Ba³u-bél-bîti; there is not enough space for an extra name in line 40.

Text no. 26 (GAM 21857)

Contract for dates and for the digging of a canal. Witnesses. The scribe is Šamaš-apla-uşur, son of Balâssu, of the Šangû-Enamtila family. Dated Cyr 10+x-XII-03, i.e. March 535 B.C.

Light to dark brown, smooth surface. Dimensions: Height 39 mm, width 48 mm, thickness 20 mm. Unsealed, but has, it seems, two nail impressions on the obverse.



Transliteration

Obv. 1	15 gur 1(n) 4(b) zú.lu[m.m]a [sis-sin-nu] šá mu.3.kám ^m kur-ra-áš luga[l e ^{ki}] šá ina pa-ni ^{md} utu-a-ùru a-šú šá ^m tin-su a ^{ml} sanga-é-nam.[t]il.la ina sis-sin-nu-šú
5	šá mu.4.kám ^l hi-ru-tu ₄ i'-he-ri-i' ^d utu i'-tir
Rev. 7	^l mu-kin-nu ^m ni-din-tu ₄ a-šú šá ^{md} en-na-din-ibila a ^{ml} sanga ^d utu ^{md} bu-ne-ne-dù a-šú šá ^{md} en-mu a ^{ml} báhar
10	^l u ^l umbisag ^{md} utu-a-ùru [a-šú šá] ^m ti[n-s]u a ^{ml} sanga-é-[nam.til.la] sip-par ^{k[i iti]} še ud.10[+x.kám] mu.3.k[ám] ^m [kur]-ra-[áš lugal e ^{ki}]
14	lugal [kur.kur]

Translation

(1–6) 2,760 litres of dates, [*sissinnu*-payment(?)], of the 3rd year of Cyrus, king of [Babylon], which is for Šamaš-apla-uşur, son of Balâssu, of the Šangû-Enamtila

family. As his *sissinnu*-payment of the 4th year, he will dig the canal. Šamaš has paid.

(7–11) Witnesses: Nidintu, son of Bēl-nādin-aplu, of the Šangū-Šamaš family; Bunene-ibni, son of Bēl-iddin, of the Pahāru family; and the scribe, Šamaš-apla-uṣur, [son of] Ba[lās]su, of the Šangū-E[namtila] family.

(12–14) Sippar, the month of Addaru, the 10[+xth day], the 3rd year [of Cyr]u[š, king of Babylon], king [of the lands].

Commentary

1 For *sissinnu*, payment to the gardener, cf., for example, Jursa, *Tempelwirtschaft*, 37f.

3f. Is this person identical with the scribe (line 10f.), or another namesake? The family name is attested in texts like *Nbn* 477:37 and 1070:7, both from Babylon, and BE VIII/1, 64:7, 26 (Cyr).

7f. Cf. Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 455 (attested *Nbn* 12?–Camb 00). He was overseer of the bakers from *Nbn* 15–Cyr 02.

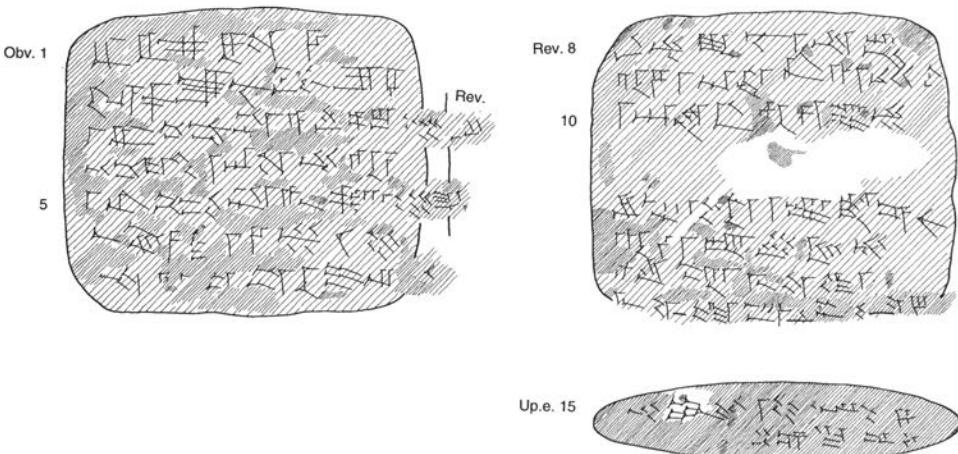
8f. Cf. Tallqvist, NN, 51: *Cyr* 28:13 (AH 303.82-9-18; dated Cyr 08-XII-01, from Babylon) and *Camb* 49:11 (AH 883. 83-1-18, dated Camb 12-V-01, from Sippar).

10f. Cf. the person in lines 3f.

Text no. 27 (GAM 21865)

Loan of a small amount of silver for three years granted by the woman Aḥāssunu, daughter of Niqūdu, of the Rē²ū-sīsī family, to Šamaš-iddin, her brother. Witnesses. The scribe is Nabū-ittannu, son of Bēl-aḥhē-iddin, of the Šangū-Sippar family. Dated Camb 04-III?-07, i.e. 7/6 523 B.C.

Light to dark brown, smooth surface. Dimensions: Height 41 mm, width >48 mm, thickness 20 mm. Unsealed. This text is very “worn”, but legible. It seems to have been written with a very blunt stylus (with the strange exception of the sign “7” on the upper edge).



Transliteration

Obv.	1	1/3 ⁷ gín kù.babbar šá ^{mi} a-hat-su-nu dum[u.mu]nus-su šá ^m ni-qu-du a ^{lu} sipa-an[še].kur.[r]a ina muḥ-ḥi ^{md} utu-m[u] a-šú šá
	5	^m ni-qu-du a ^{lu} sipa-anše.kur.ra ina ^{lu} š[u] šá mu.10.kám ina ⁷ sip ⁷ -par ^{ki?} [sa]g.du-šú i-n[am-di]n
Rev.	8	^{lu} mu-kin-nu ^{mr-d} en a-šú šá ^{md} HAR-dù a ^m numun-dù
	10	^{md} HAR-dù a-šú šá ^{md} nà-mu ^{lu} du[b.s]ar ^{md} nà-it-ta[n-n]u a-šú šá ^{md} en-šeš.meš-mu a ^{lu} sanga-sip-par ^{ki} sip-par ^{ki} ^{lu} [si]g ₄ ? ud.4.[kám]
Up.E.	15	mu.7.kám ^m kám[-b]u-[z]i-i[á] [lug]al e ^{ki} lug[al] kur[.kur ⁷]

Translation

- (1–7) 3 g silver, belonging to Aḥāssunu, daughter of Niqūdu, of the Rē³û-sīsī family, for Šamaš-iddin, son of Niqūdu, of the Rē³û-sīsī family. In the month of Nisannu, of the 10th year, in Sippar(?), he shall pay (back) her(?) capital.
- (8–13) Witnesses: Arad-Bēl, son of Bunene-ibni, of the Zēr-ibni family; Bunene-ibni, son of Nabū-iddin. The scribe is Nabū-ittannu, son of Bēl-ahhē-iddin, of the Šangū-Sippar family.
- (14–16) Sippar, the month of Simanu(?), the 4th day, the 7th year of Cambyses, king of Babylon, king of the lands.

Commentary

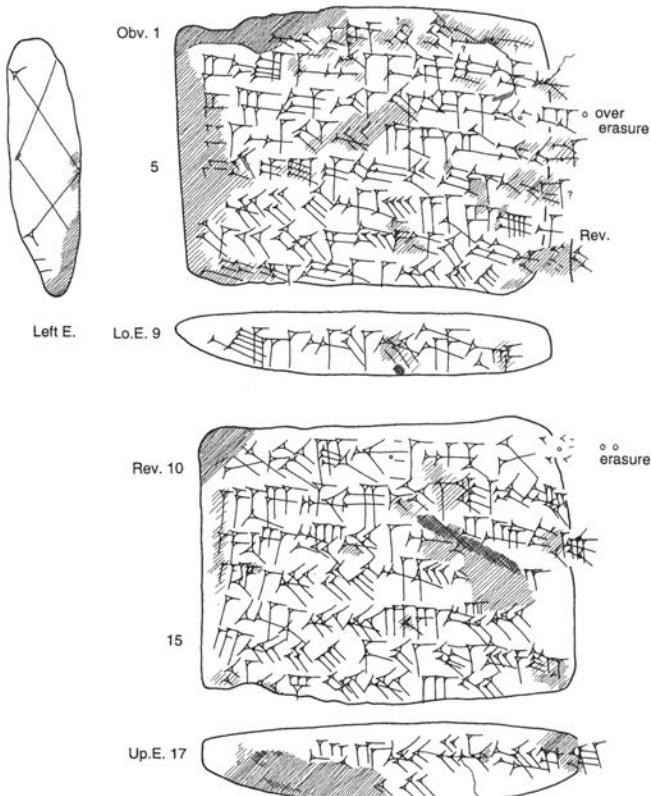
2–5. Cf. text 28 for the family. Aḥāssunu lends the money to her brother. She is also attested in BM 79508, according to M. Jursa.

11ff. No scribe of this name in Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, but he may perhaps be the son of the scribe Bēl-ahhē-iddin II (attested AwM 01–Cyr 04), in Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 448.

Text no. 28 (GAM 21851)

Rent of a cooking vessel granted by Šamaš-iddin, son of Niqūdu, of the Rē'û-sîsî family. Witnesses. The scribe is Marduk-šum-iddin, son of Bēl-iddin, of the Mušēzib family. Dated Dar 24-I-03, i.e. 15/4 519 B.C.

Light to dark brown, smooth surface. Dimensions: Height 38 mm, width <50 mm, thickness 20 mm. Unsealed, but has two "crosses" on left edge.

**Transliteration**

- | | |
|---------|--|
| Obv. 1 | [1-en] mu-šaḥ-ḥi-in-nu
šá si-mì-du me-e i-ṣab-bat
šá 5 ma-na zabar gam-ri
šá ^{md} utu-m[u] a-šú šá ^m ni-q[u-d]u |
| 5 | a ^l sipa-anše.kur.ra ina ugu
^l mu-še-zib-dingir.meš a-šú šá ^m ú-bar
ud.20.kám šá ⁿ igu ₄ i-[n]am-[d]in
i-di-i-šú ^m mu-še-zib |
| Lo.E. 9 | ina šu ^{II} ^{md} utu-mu e-ṭir |
| Rev. 10 | ^l mu-kin-nu ^{md} ŠÚ-PAB
a-šú šá ^{md} U.GUR-mu ^m qí-bi- ^d en ¹
a-šú šá ^{md} en'-mu ^{md?} iš[k]ur ² -sa-ra-aḥ |

a-šú šá ^mmu-še-zib-dingir.meš ^{l[^umbi]}sag
^{md}ŠÚ-mu-mu a-šú šá ^{md}en'-mu
 15 a ^mmu-še-zib ^{ki} sip-par ^{ki} iti'bár
 ud.24.kám mu.3.kám
 Up.E. 17 [^mda-r]i-a-^mmuš lugal e^{ki}
 [u² ku]r.kur

Translation

- (1–9) One cooking vessel that holds 108 litres of water and is (made) of 2.5 kg of bronze complete(?), belonging to Šamaš-iddin, son of Niqūdu, of the Rē³û-sīsī family, placed at the disposal of Mušēzib-ilāni, son of Ubār. He shall give (it back) on the 20th day of the month of Ajjaru. Its rent Mušēzib has paid to Šamaš-iddin.
- (10–15a) Witnesses: Marduk-nāṣir, son of Nergal-iddin; Qibi-Bēl, son of Bēl-iddin; Adad-sarāḥ, son of Mušēzib-ilāni; the scribe is Marduk-šum-iddin, son of Bēl-iddin, of the Mušēzib family.
- (15b–18) Sippar, the month of Nisanu, the 24th day, the 3rd year (of) Darius, king of Babylon [and the la]nds.

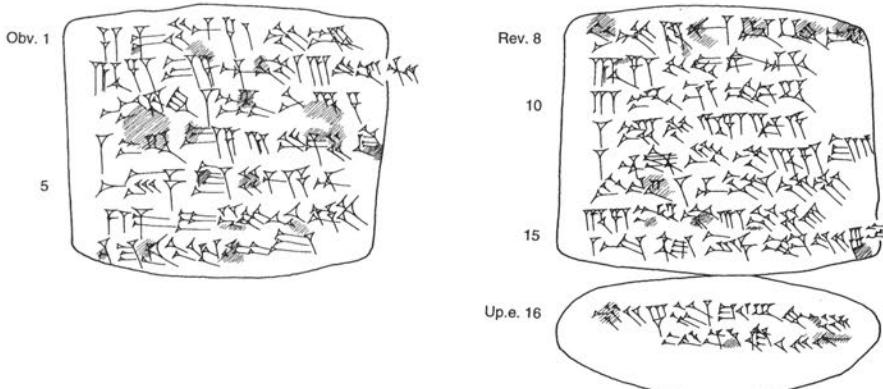
Commentary

4. For this person, cf. text no. 27. He is also mentioned in *Dar* 27:5 = *Dar* 18-I-01.
 8. Is this a shortened form of the name in line 6 or was there a -dingir.meš at the end?
 12. For Adad-sarāḥ, cf. Zadok, *West Semites*, 1977, 81.
 14. For the scribe, cf. Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 489 (attested Cyr 03–*Dar* 25).
 Lft.E. The “crosses” may be instead of a seal impression.

Text no. 29 (GAM 21791)

Loan of barley granted by Iddin-Bēl, son of Iqīša-Marduk, of the Šangū-Šamaš family. Witnesses. The scribe is Marduk-šum-iddin, son of Bēl-iddin, of the Mušēzib family. Dated *Dar* 29-V-24, i.e. 24/8 498 B.C.

Medium brown, smooth surface. Dimensions: Height 36 mm, width 43 mm, thickness 16,5 mm. Unsealed.



Transliteration

Obv.	1	3(n) 2(b) ŠE.BAR šá ^m mu- ^d en a-šú šá ^m ba-šá- ^d amar.utu a ^m lá sanga- ^d utu ina muh ^l -hi ^{md} nà-PAB a-šú šá ^{md} en-ba-šá a ^m l PA.ŠE ^{ki}
	5	ina ⁱ du ₆ ŠE.BAR-a ₄ 3(n) 2(b) i-nam-din e-lat 1 [?] (n) 4 [?] (b) zú.lum.ma
Rev.	8	^l mu-kin-nu ^m ri ^l -mut- ^d en a-šú šá ^m kur-ban-ni- ^d ŠÚ ^l
	10	a ^l ^{md} en-e- ⁱ lè-ri ^{md} en-mu a-šú šá ^m ur-a ^{md} HAR-šeš-mu a ^l -šú šá ^m su-a ^l umbisag ^{md} amar.utu-mu-mu a-šú šá ^{md} en-mu a ^l ^m mu-še-zib
	15	sip-par ^{ki} ⁱ NE ud.29.kám
Up.e.	16	mu.24.kám ^m da-ri- ³ a-muš lugal e ^{ki} u kur.ku[r].

Translation

- (1–7) 120 litres of barley, belonging to Iddin-Bēl, son of Iqīša-Marduk, of the Śangū-Śamaš family, for Nabū-nāṣir, son of Bēl-iqīša, of the Isinajja family. He shall pay the barley, 120 litres, in the month of Tašritu. (This is) apart from (another loan of) 60(?) litres of dates.
- (8–14) Witnesses: Rīmūt-Bēl, son of Kurbanni-Marduk, of the Bēl-eṭēri family; Bēl-iddin, the son of Kalbā; Bunene-ah-iddin, son of Erība; the scribe is Marduk-śum-iddin, son of Bēl-iddin, of the Mušēzib family.
- (15–17) Sippar, on the 29th of Abu, the 24th year of Darius, king of Babylon and the lands.

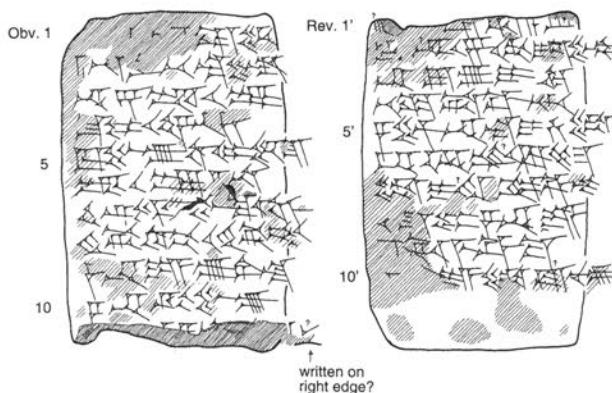
Commentary

- For Iddin-Bēl, see Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 451 (attested Dar 24–36).
- For Rīmūt-Bēl, a *gugallu*, see Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 55 (attested Dar 12, 24, and 29, the last attestation in CT 4:41:9).
- For Bēl-iddin, a *rab-banē*, see Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 75 (attested Dar 24, and possibly Dar 18, in *Dar* 473:9).
- For the scribe, see text no. 28, line 14f.

Text no. 30 (GAM 21862)

Letter from Nabū-kāṣir to the *qīpu*-resident.

Medium brown, smooth surface. Dimensions: Height 44.5 mm, width 30 mm, thickness 16 mm. Unsealed.



Transliteration

Obv.	1	[im ^{md} n]à [?] -ka-ṣir a-na ^{lil} til.la.gíd.da en-iá ^d en u ^d ná šu-lum u tin šá e[n-i]á
	5	liq-bu-ú ud ^{mī} -us-su ^d en u ^d ná a-na tin zi.meš [g]íd.da u ₄ -me dùg.ga lib-bi u dùg.gauzu š[á] en-ia ú-ṣal-la
	10	šá en iq-bu-ú [x x]x a [?] -n[a [?] x]x (1 line missing? On Lo.E.?)
Rev.	1'	[x x]x x x x i[t [?] -t]i [?] -iá ul i-da[b]-bu-ub en lu-ú i-di ina ugu ta-mar-ti
	5'	šá ŠE.BAR en la i-šel-li 1-en-šú en lil-lík-kám-ma li-i-mur tè-e-mu u šu-lum šá en-ia [l]u-uš-me-e-ma
	10'	[igi [?] en]-ia li-ib-nu-ú

Translation

- (1–9) [Letter of Na]bû-kâṣir to the *q̄ipu*-resident, my lord. May Bēl and Nabû pronounce health and life for my lord. Daily I pray to Bēl and Nabû, for the health of life, the length of days, the joy of the heart and the joy of the body for my lord.
- (10–7'a) Of that which the lord said, [xx]x xxx (one line missing) [xx]x xxx, with me he does not speak. The lord knows well that the lord must not be inattentive about the inspection of the barley. Once the lord should come here to see (for himself).

(7' b–10') I hope to hear a message (from) and (news of the) health of my lord. [May the face(?) of] my [lord] be friendly.

Commentary

For letters to the resident in Sippar, see, for example, CT 22, 2, 3, 4 (also Ebeling, NB, nos. 2, 3, 4).

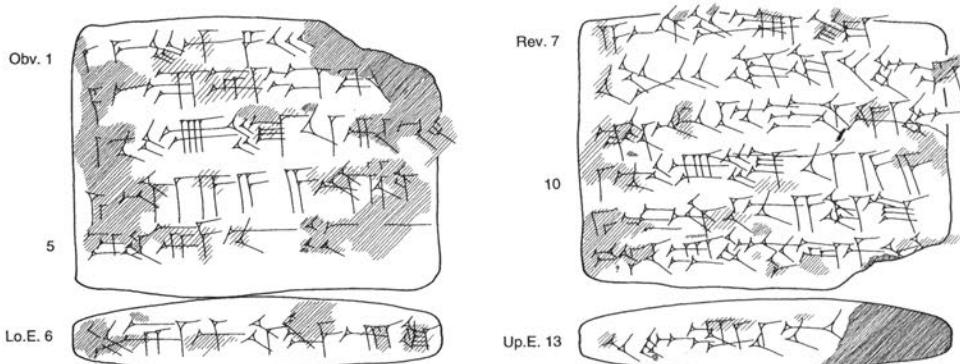
Obv. 1. There are a number of Nabû-kâšir (and Bêl-kâšir) in Bongenaar, *Prosopography*. Is one of these the sender of this letter?

11f. The rest of a sign, seemingly written on the left edge, may be the end of a line, written on the lower edge.

Text no. 31 (GAM 21863)

Request for an interrogation by the *šangû Sippar*, the temple administrator of Sippar, because of an exchange of barley for the tithe of silver(?). Not dated.

Light to medium brown, smooth surface. Dimensions: Height 37 mm, width 49 mm, thickness 19 mm. Unsealed.



Transliteration

Obv. 1	1 ME ŠE.BAR šá eš-[ru-ú] šá ina ^m nué ab-da[- ^o] ^m numun-ú-tu u ^m ri-m[u]t a-na ^m a-a a-na kù.babbar
5	it-tan-nu-u[^o]
Lo.E. 6	^l É.MAŠ z[i]mbir ^{ki}
Rev. 7	a-na ^l dub.sar' u ^l man-di-di liš- ^o a-al it-ti-šú-nu i-tam-ru-u ^o
10	^m numun-ú-tu u ^m a-a a-kan-na šú-nu a-di la il-lak-u ^o ^l É.MAŠ z[imbir ^{ki}] liš- ^o a-al-šu-nu-u[-ti]
Up.E. 13	

Translation

- (1–5) 18,000 (litres of) barley, which is a ti[the] from the town of Bit-abdā^o, Zērūtu and Rimūt have given to Aplā, (in exchange) for silver.
- (6–8) May the temple administrator of Sippar interrogate the scribe and the supervisor of the staples! One has seen (them) together with them (i.e. the persons named above). Zērūtu and Aplā, they (are) here before they go. May the temple administrator of S[ippar] interrogate th[em].

Commentary

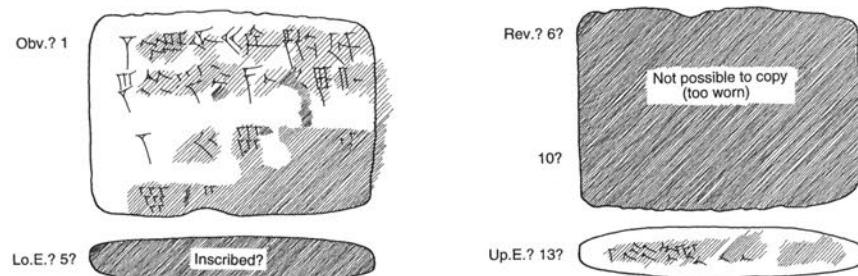
Cf. Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 16ff., for texts with temple administrators and their tasks. He mentions (p. 18) interrogations (*maš^o altu*) by this official. Is this an example of a similar kind of text?

1. There seems to be no space for more than two signs. For the figure without a unit, cf. for example, texts no. 2 and 7 in Jursa, *Tempelzehnt*.
2. Bit-abdā^o is also attested in BM 77507, according to M. Jursa.
- 3f. Are all three persons ša muḥhi ešrīs? For Aplā and Zērūtu, cf. Bongenaar, *Prosopography*, 429, 433, and Jursa, *Tempelzehnt*, 37f., 59 (attested Nbn 10 and Nbn 04, respectively).

Text no. 32 (GAM 21866)

Administrative text?

Light brown, rough surface. Dimensions: Height 27 mm, width >38 mm, thickness 12 mm. Unsealed.



Transliteration

Obv? 1	^{md} nà-ši-man-ni šā ^o x x x
	4 x x x x [x] 7 x
	1 27 ^o [] x
	8 x []
Lo.E? 5?	[]
Rev? 6?	[]
	[]
	[]
	[]
10?	[]
	[]
	[]

Up.E? 13? ^mi-^den x[]

Translation

Not meaningful to translate.

Commentary

This text is too damaged to be legible. It is even difficult to make sense of the text on the obverse, in spite of the fact that most of the signs are legible.

Book Reviews

M. Meouak, *Pouvoir souverain, administration centrale et élites politiques dans l'Espagne umayyade (IIe-Ive/VIIIe-Xe siècles)*. (Suomalaisen Tiedekatemi Toimituksia/Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicæ, Sarja-ser. Humaniora nide-tom. 297). Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica 1999. 284 pp.

During the last few decades, a series of studies of the political institutions and the political concepts of Andalusian society has appeared. Among these may be mentioned David Wasserstein's *The Rise and Fall of the Party Kings* (1985), his *The Caliphate in the West* (1993) and *Pouvoir et légitimité en Espagne musulmane* by François Clément (1997).

The present work is part of this study. The point of departure is the author's thesis in 1989 in Lyons, which he developed between 1990 and 1995 in a series of articles. After a short introduction, in which the political and administrative history of Umayyad Spain is traced, the work is divided into three parts. In the first part, *Le pouvoir souverain dans l'Espagne umayyade*, the theories and the practice in political thought of Umayyad Spain, i.e. the Muslim Spain of the 8th to early 11th centuries, are delineated. This discussion has its point of departure in an analysis of the concepts of *mulk*, *dawla*, *sulṭān* and *bay'a*, as they are found in the works of the Andalusian-Arabic historians. As for *khidma*, usually translated by "administration", it is suggested that the situation in Umayyad Spain was similar to those in the Abbasid Caliphate and in the Fāṭimid Caliphate in Ifrīqiya, viz. it was the personal service due to the sovereign.

The second part, *L'administration centrale dans l'Espagne umayyade*, is devoted to a description of the central administration of the period. However, a discussion of the legal and religious functions of the state is excluded. Here the reader is referred to the studies that are already in existence concerning these matters, all the more as the author admits his own inexperience in them. The basic pattern that evolves is that the administration in the west was modelled upon the usage in the east. To begin with, the situation in Syria provided the model for the organisation. According to the historians, it was the Emir 'Abd al-Rahmān II who was responsible for the hierarchic organisation of the state called *marātib al-khidma*, whereby it was more or less modelled upon the situation in the Abbasid east. Another re-organisation took place in 955, when the Caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III organised the administration into several sections, each of them headed by a *wazīr*. It was also during his reign that the rank of *dhū l-wizāratayn* (also called *al muthannā l-wizāra*) was introduced in the west. Whatever the precise meaning of this rank, it points to the fact that one and the same person could be invested with more than one administrative position. The three stages of the *cursus honorum* were otherwise the *kitāba*, the *wizāra*, and the *hijāba*. Although detailed information on the Andalusian *kitāba* is scarce, it appears that it was considerably smaller than the Oriental *kitāba*, no doubt mirroring the modest scope of the Andalusian Caliphate. It is well known that the *wizāra* was eclipsed by the *hijāba* in the Islamic west. There, *wazīr* more or less developed into an honorific title accorded to experienced *kuttāb*, who then became eligible for the *hijāba*. The discussion of this summit of the administrative career stops, however, at the time just before the rise of al-Manṣūr. For this—and the eventual devaluation of the *hijāba*—the reader is referred to the work by Wasserstein on the Caliphate in the west.

The third—and main part—of the work, *Les élites politiques dans l'Espagne umayyade*, is a prosopographical study of the political élites of Muslim Spain until the downfall of the Caliphate in the early 11th century. This part covers well over half the book. In its methodological introduction, prosopography is defined as consisting of "la constitution de notices individuelles regroupant les renseignements biographiques, aux origines divers et concernant des personnages ayant entre eux un lien, un point commun" (page 71). This common denominator is, in this study, government service in the Andalusian Umayyad state until the collapse of the Caliphate in the early 11th century. As a model for the study, Richard Bulliet's *The Patricians of Nishapur* (1972) is singled out. The present study differs, however, in one essential aspect from Bulliet's work, as Bulliet culled his information from current biographical dictionaries. In the present study, on the other hand, information is gathered from the works of the Andalusian historians, leaving biographical dictionaries aside. Unlike Bulliet's work, however, no information is given as to the extent (if any) which the families intermarried. This would undoubtedly have added to the interest

of this part of the work, as it would have revealed to what extent the families from the different ethnic groups—and thus the members of the administrative élite—were related by marriage or not.

This part is then divided into five sections, in which the élite is described. Three of the sections are organised according to ethnicity, viz. the first covering families of Arab-Oriental origin (the *mawāli*), the second families of Berber origin, and the third of indigenous Iberian origin (= *muwalladūn*). Of the remaining sections, one deals with families descended from clients of the Caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III, while the other deals with the *fityān* of the Umayyad state. In each section, every family is studied individually: the origin of the family is traced, and the achievements of individual members outside the administration are mentioned, after which the *cursus honorum* of each member inside the administration is discussed in detail. The striking feature emerging from the third part is the overwhelming dominance of the families of Arab-Oriental origin in the ruling élite of Umayyad Spain. It was only the Caliphate that witnessed the rise of the Berber families, the *muwalladūn* (though only to a minor extent), those descended from the clients of 'Abd al-Rahmān III and the rise of the *fityān*. This is probably rightly interpreted as a conscious attempt to balance the influence of the old élite of *mawāli* origin.

Apart from bibliographies and indices, a helpful *Glossaire des termes techniques* and *Tableaux généalogiques*, are included, covering several (but not all) of the families discussed in the third part. Here there is, however, a certain incongruity between the genealogical tables and the studies of the individual families in the third part.

Taken altogether the book presents an interesting discussion of the ruling élite in Umayyad Spain.

Karin Almbladh
Uppsala

Engelke, Thomas: *Transkaukasisches Monopoly. Der Karabach-Konflikt im geopolitischen Kontext des Krisen- und Konfliktmanagements der OSZE* (Organisation für Sicherheit und Zusammenarbeit in Europa). Frankfurt am Main, 1997, 204 S.

Nach dem Kosovo-Krieg und den amerikanischen Schlichtungsversuchen im Berg-Karabach-Konflikt hat das vorliegende Buch von Thomas Engelke gegenüber seinem Erscheinungsjahr noch weiter an Aktualität gewonnen. Denn nach seiner Lektüre wird der Leser eine differenzierte Einsicht in die kulturellen, wirtschaftlichen, politischen und geostrategischen Hintergründe nicht nur des Karabach-Konfliktes, sondern auch anderer eurasischer Konfliktherde, an denen direkt oder indirekt grosso modo dieselben Parteien beteiligt sind, gewonnen haben.

Engelke beschreibt die geopolitischen Aspekte der Auseinandersetzung um die Karabach-Enklave sehr ausführlich aus der Sicht aller daran beteiligten Parteien und unter Berücksichtigung ihrer jeweiligen Beziehungen zueinander. So wird auf die historische Bedeutung der Enklave Karabach für Aserbaidschan und die Armenier dort (von denen sie Arzach genannt wird) sowie in Armenien und Aserbaidschan eingegangen. Auch behandelt der Autor die historischen Wurzeln des türkisch- bzw. aserbaidschanisch-armenischen Konfliktes. Die historische Ebene steht jedoch nicht im Zentrum der Untersuchung. Engelke lässt sich nicht darauf ein, die mehr oder weniger schlüssig historisch untermauerten Schuldzuweisungen der beteiligten Parteien gegeneinander aufzurechnen. Dadurch streift er kaum Nationalismusdebatten, was dem Werk durchaus zum Vorteil gereicht. Statt sich schwerpunktmäßig für eine der Standarderklärungen für nationalistische Konflikte à la Karabach zu entscheiden, listet Engelke die verschiedenen Erklärungsmodelle auf (so beispielsweise sehr konzis S. 164f.), um ihnen gegenüber die historische Komplexität der Entwicklung herauszuarbeiten. So erfährt man Aufschlußreiches über das Verhältnis des Irans zu den Armeniern inner- und außerhalb seiner Staatsgrenzen, und vor allem über die Bedeutung der Erdölvorkommen am und -pipelines vom Kaspischen Meer für das Engagement der regionalen bzw. internationalen politischen Akteure. Die gesamte Arbeit Engelkes verdeutlicht eindrucksvoll, daß die Situation im Kaukasus aus einer ganzen Reihe von Gründen viel zu kompliziert ist, um sie mit mehr oder minder populistischen Schlagwörtern wie „Nationalismus“ oder „clash of cultures“ abzuhandeln. Wie die

kaukasischen Pipelinestrecken verlaufen auch die kulturellen und nationalen Trennungslinien oft quer zu den politischen Interessen. Dies verdeutlicht beispielsweise die Rolle der armenischen Gemeinden in den USA.

Gemäß dem Untertitel der Arbeit legt Engelke den Schwerpunkt seiner Ausführungen auf die Rolle der KSZE beim aserbaidschanisch-armenischen Krisenmanagement in den neunziger Jahren. Engelke bewertet die Aktivitäten der KZSE durchaus als positiv, stellt jedoch klar heraus, daß nicht die Vermittlung der KSZE der entscheidende Beitrag zum immer noch eingehaltenen Waffenstillstand zwischen Baku und den Arzach-Armeniern war, sondern vielmehr das militärische Patt zwischen den beiden Parteien. Schon aufgrund ihres völkerrechtlichen Status und ihrer begrenzten physischen Eingriffsmöglichkeiten sei die KSZE (ab 1994 OSZE) nicht zu einem direkten Krisenmanagement in der Lage. In der ausführlichen Zusammenfassung (S. 163–180), die unter Zeitdruck stehenden Lesern durchaus als Ersatz für die vollständige Lektüre des Werkes anempfohlen werden mag, stellt Engelke einen sehr interessanten Vergleich zwischen dem internationalen Krisenmanagement in Bosnien und demjenigen in Karabach an. Zu seinen Schlußfolgerungen gehört, daß nicht nur die Übertragung des Dayton-Modells auf die Karabach-Krise hinterfragbar sei, sondern auch daran gezweifelt werden dürfe, ob „Friedenslösungen ... durch internationale Organisationen“ sich überhaupt „gegen den Willen der Menschen einer Konfliktregion aufzwingen“ lassen (S. 176). Angesichts beispielsweise der heute nach wie vor bestehenden Spannungen im mazedonisch-albanischen Grenzgebiet musten derartige Aussagen als geradezu prophetisch an. Auch die in Engelkes Arbeit oft wiederholte Warnung vor den unguten Folgen der zunehmenden Entfremdung Rußlands vom Westen ist durch die Entwicklung in den letzten fünf Jahren gewissermaßen bestätigt worden. Es zeichnet Engelkes Arbeit aus, daß er über solchen Warnungen jedoch auch nicht die zynischen und brutalen Elemente der russischen Politik im Kaukasus übersieht, wie er anderseits ebenso klar die machtpolitischen Interessen der USA und der anderen Mitspieler herausstellt, die neben dem gleichzeitigen Engagement all dieser Parteien in der OSZE deren Handlungsweise determinieren. So kommt ein sehr differenziertes Bild zustande, das einseitiges Parteiergreifen vermeidet.

Zu kritisieren ist an Engelkes Arbeit lediglich eine weit über den normalen Quotienten von Druckfehlern und Unaufmerksamkeiten hinausgehende Verballhornung der deutschen Sprache, die nicht selten zur Sinnentstellung oder zum nahezu vollständigen Sinnverlust führt. Einen gelinde gesagt schwammigen Eindruck hinterlassende Satztorsi wie „Der russischen Militärintervention oblag auch der Versuch, mit militärischen Mitteln die Kontrolle über diese geopolitisch äußerst wichtige Erdölpipeline in Tschetschien zurückzugewinnen, was allerdings mißlang.“ (S. 119) sind keine Ausnahme. Hinter der Bezeichnung einer Auseinandersetzung zwischen russischen und aserbaidschanischen Einheiten 1905 als „tatarisch-russischer“ Krieg liegt wohl eine Fehlübersetzung des russischen Adjektivs *tatarskij*, das sich in der russischen Sprache der Zeit ja eben nicht nur auf Tataren im engeren Sinne, sondern per extensio nem auf jede Art von türkischem bzw. islamischem Volk, inklusive der Aserbaidschaner, beziehen konnte. Zu stärker die Tatsachen berührenden Ungenauigkeiten zählen die Titulation Bonns als deutsche Hauptstadt in postsowjetischer Zeit (S. 139) und die Erwähnung politischer Berührungspunkte Aserbaidschans mit dem Osmanschen Reich im „7./8. Jh.“ (sc. n. Chr.), zu einer Zeit also, da es weder „Aserbaidschan“ noch das Osmanische Reich gab. Auch sind Franz Werfels „Vierzig Tage des Musa Dagh“ bereits 1933 und nicht erst 1953 (S. 67) erschienen. Wer sich von gewissen handwerklichen Mängeln des Buches nicht abschrecken läßt, wird durch eine aufschlußreiche, alle bis 1997 wichtigen Aspekte des Konfliktes anschneidende Darstellung der internationalen Dimension des Karabachkonfliktes (hinzugekommen sind seither einige rezenten Entwicklungen wie etwa die „kurdische Karte“, die von Karabacharmeniern und Russen in Form der Ansiedlung kurdischer Familien in der Enklave Arzach betrieben wird) vollwertig entschädigt werden.

Michael Hess
Berlin

Barbara Michalak-Pikulska, *Zarys współczesnej nowelistyki krajów Półwyspu Arabskiego (An outline of contemporary short-story writings of the Arabian Peninsula)*. Cracow: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2000.

When the pioneer work *Opening the Gates*, a study of female Arabic authorship, introducing some 50 women authors from around the Arab world, was published in 1990, the editors, Margot Badran and Miriam Cooke, found only two woman authors worthy of inclusion, from the Arabian Peninsula, Khairiya Saqqaf from Saudi Arabia and Amatalrauf al-Sharki (known from the media as Raufa Hassan) from Yemen. Notably, this study excluded woman authors from all of the small Gulf sheikdoms, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), the Sultanate of Oman (Oman), Bahrain and Qatar, although the Kuwaiti authoress and newspaper columnist Laylā al-Uthmān, born in 1945 and renowned in the Arab world, had by this time published one poetry collection (1972) and no less than five collections of short stories between 1976 and 1989. Furthermore, there existed an anthology representing the first generation of authors in the UAE entitled *Kullu-nā, kulla-nā, kulla-nā nūḥibbu al-baḥr* and published by the Emirates Writers' and Literates' Union in Sharja in 1985. This work exhibits 26 short stories written in the 1970s and the 1980s by authors from the UAE, of whom nine are women. Since that time, a young generation of male and female writers from this region has not only made its appearance but has also established itself in the field of modern, Arabic, narrative literature.

In 1998, two anthologies of short stories from the Persian (Arabian) Gulf were published by Dār al-Fārābī in Beirut, *Aṣwāṭu-hum* and *Aṣwāṭu-hunna*, both volumes edited by the Emirati author Nāṣir az-Zāhirī and the literary scholar and critic Badr 'Abd al-Malik. In the same year, Barbara Michalak-Pikulska published a literary study on the development of modern literature in Kuwait, entitled *The contemporary Kuwaiti short story in peace-time and war, 1929–1995* (review by Gail Ramsay, *Naqd*, Nr. 1, 1999).

In her recent anthology *An outline of contemporary short-story writings of the Arabian Peninsula* (2000), Barbara Michalak-Pikulska aptly observes that the "short story writing of countries of the Arabian Peninsula is quite new and unknown in Europe" (p. 53). In an effort to respond to "the numerous questions raised by students, Polish and foreign orientalists ... whether there in fact exists literature in the Arabian Peninsula" (p. 39), Barbara Michalak-Pikulska has collected 22 short stories by male and female authors from Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, the UAE, Oman and Yemen. She has grouped these works in sections according to the respective nations that they represent and says that they "have intentionally not been translated or annotated to allow each reader the chance for independent analysis and interpretation" (p. 40). Her aim is to "present an outline of contemporary short-story writing in the region of the Arabian Peninsula" (p. 39). The fact that between the covers of her book we find samples of early attempts at a modern literature in the making is indeed one of its most important and interesting features and the biographical notes on the authors whose works are included will be useful to researchers in the field of modern Arabic literature.

The literary corpus is preceded by an introduction in both Polish and English, in which the author presents a number of literary historical and social factors making up the contextual framework of the texts. Each country's literary background is attended to albeit briefly. The drawback in the brevity of the comments on the historical backdrop is that a plethora of details which would have been enlightening to the reader and enriched the understanding of the development of modern literary expression in the region have been omitted. For example, the text devoted to the literary history of the UAE makes no mention of this nation's three most influential literary magazines: *Bayān al-kutub*, the literary weekly supplement of *al-Bayān* daily newspaper, Dubai, *Shu'ūn adabiyya*, published by *Ittiḥād kuttāb wa-'udabā' al-Imarāt* (Emirates Writers' and Literates' Union) and the women's literary journal *Ashri'a*, published under the auspices of *Rābiṭat adībāt al-Imārāt bi-andiyat al-fatayāt* in Sharja. These important vehicles for inter-cultural and literary exchange regularly publish reviews of and studies on Arabic and western literature, as well as studies on works by mainstream Arab and western intellectuals and short stories by local writers.

Barbara Michalak-Pikulska makes reference to the pivotal role of literary clubs and cultural institutions in their capacity as fora for literary and social communication, thus establishing platforms from whence the young writers may venture into the field of literary creativity. Here again, some of the prom-

inent cultural institutions which promote national literature, as well as foreign literature in translation into Arabic, such as the Cultural Foundation in Abu Dhabi, the Cultural & Scientific Association and Juma Al Majid Centre for Culture & Heritage in Dubai and the Literary Society (*al-Muntadā al-adabī*) in Oman, have been omitted.

As far as the development of a narrative tradition goes, Barbara Michalak-Pikulska discusses the themes and topics which have been central to the writers and which tend to dominate the texts. She points out the inclination to giving voice to social injustice, the problems of daily life and “the hidden drama of the members of Arab society, particularly that of women” (p. 42). As far as the women are concerned, it became clear at an early stage that writing fiction provided them with a unique forum in which to voice their views and which had been denied to them previously. In most of the Arabian Peninsula, women have been able to receive both primary and secondary education roughly since the 1960s, although Bahrain allegedly offered primary education to girls as early as 1928. Their newly found ability to write has occasioned a flood of literature by women, concludes the literary critic Anwar al-Khaṭīb in his article *Adab al-mar'a fi al-Imārāt in Abhāth al-Multaqā ath-Thānī li-al-kitābāt al-qisāsiyya wa-ar-riwā'iyya fi dawlat al-Imārāt al-'Arabiyya al-Mutahida* (III) 1989. Exponents of the female voice in Barbara Michalak-Pikulska's anthology are *al-Faṣl al-qādim* by Laylā al-'Uthmān (Kuwait) and the tragic story *Musā'ala* by Fawziyya Rashid (Bahrain). Both of them are renowned woman authors in the Arab world and several of Laylā al-'Uthmān's short stories have been translated into European languages. Fawziyya Rashid's latest novel *Taḥawwulāt al-fāris al-gharib fi-al-bilād al-'Āriba*, printed in Cairo in 1993, was given positive attention by critics around the Arab world.

Other, ubiquitous, thematic touchstones of the present Gulf literature to which the editor makes reference are addressing the reality of the large number of guest labourers in the region and a nostalgia on pre-oil times. The last-mentioned is referred to as “a desire to continue tradition” which is exposed inasmuch as “contemporariness is characterised by a fierce conflict between riches and the access to luxuries ... and traditional culture ...” (p. 45). The small Gulf states gained independence only in the early 1970s. Since then these nations have lived through great social and historical transformations. In roughly thirty years this region has covered a range of societal changes through technological development, industrialization and urbanization which it has taken western Europe 200 years to cover. It is hardly strange, then, that the present generation of authors, some of whom were born in and have experienced pre-oil times and all of whom live and work in the oil era, should express something of concern and bewilderment in the face of the rapid transition that has taken place during their lifetimes. Unfortunately, very few of the stories exemplifying this tendency, mentioned by Barbara Michalak-Pikulska in the introductory section, are to be found in the anthology section of the book. This is a disappointment to the reader, although *ar-Rahīl* by the Saudi author Khalil Ibrāhīm al-Fazī' expresses “the problems of man and his place in the contemporary world” (p. 45) and *Masqāt tughannī* by the Omani author Khālid bin Manṣūr al-Fārisī reflects the “past and traditions of his country” (p. 46). Both stories are supplied in this book.

This brings us to the question of selection. Barbara Michalak-Pikulska is careful to point out that “The selection of authors and short stories has been extremely problematic” (p. 39). Anyone who has been involved in the gathering of literature in the region will recognize her dilemma. Some of the authors have readily presented her with their works and some have not made either themselves or their works available to her. An efficient system for the publication and distribution of literary works has yet to be established and only a very few works included in the anthology are available in Europe or even in the Arab world outside the respective story's country of origin. Therefore, while it is certainly true that “the assembled material presented in *An outline of contemporary short-story writings of the Arabian Peninsula* is unique and innovative” (p. 40), it is equally true that it has to some degree come to be included in her work randomly.

It should, however, be made clear that both sections of her book fulfil an important function in the study of modern literature, albeit independently, since they are not, in essence, connected with each other. The introduction serves as an historical outline of modern literature in the making in the Arabian Peninsula and the collection of stories presents samples of the literary creativity in the same region.

The overall conclusion reached upon reading *An outline of contemporary short-story writings of the Arabian Peninsula* is that its lack of systemization does not necessarily diminish its contribution to our knowledge and understanding of “A new, modern literature ... being developed dynamically in the countries of the Arabian Peninsula...” (p. 41). Barbara Michalak-Pikulska's book is a piece of pioneer work.

She spent years in Kuwait and travelled extensively in the Arabian Peninsula, gathering examples of the beginnings of the region's literature. Her book opens up new areas of study and research in the field of Arabic literature.

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Understanding Near Eastern Literatures: A Spectrum of Interdisciplinary Approaches.
Eds. Verena Klemm & Beatrice Gruendler (Literaturen im Kontext: arabisch-persisch-türkisch 1.) Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2000. 284 pp.

In the late 1970s, when the theoretical developments in the humanities gathered momentum in the west, the academic community expected that the new theories launched by structuralists, deconstructionists and others would generate new insights into the various fields of literary and linguistic research. During the ensuing decades, the creativity of scholars in literature and language such as Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Louis Althusser, Jacques Lacan, Stuart Hall and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, to name a few, resulted in a profusion of theories in these fields.

The discrepancy between the theoretical and methodological tools available to students of western literature and those proved valid for research in the literatures of the Near East is an important factor in the valuable work that has now been presented by Verena Klemm, of the University of Hamburg, and Beatrice Gruendler, of Yale University, jointly. They found that the comprehensive development of theories in literature and languages in the west had not left researchers in the literatures of the Near East idle. In response to the opening statement of the book, that the discipline of Arabic language and literature has never been as multifaceted as it is today (p. 1), Klemm and Gruendler have embarked on the auspicious project of launching a German-English series which is entitled *Literaturen im Kontext: arabisch-persisch-türkisch*, the first volume of which is *Understanding Near Eastern Literatures: A Spectrum of Interdisciplinary Approaches*, to introduce and apply relevant theoretical approaches to research on the literatures of the Near East.

The first volume of this series, which is being reviewed here, has its point of departure in two questions: (1) "How is the study of Near Eastern literatures to be saved from losing itself in an archipelago of emerging sub-discourses?" and (2) "How is this field to be reunified and reintegrated?" (p. 1). The historical vantage point is that of the guidelines for *Literaturwissenschaft* in modern Arabic studies given by Gustav E. von Grunebaum in 1937 in his treatise on the "concepts and tasks of the study of Arabic literature ("Begriff und Aufgaben der arabischen Literaturwissenschaft", *Archiv Orientální* 9, Nos. 1–2, pp. 146–52). Grunebaum had already at this stage recognized the need to raise the standard of research in Arabic literature to that of literary history in the west. As accurately pointed out in *Understanding Near Eastern Literatures*, much has happened in Arabic studies since the time of Grunebaum: "Since that time, modern Arabic has received increased attention from the viewpoints of structuralism, sociolinguistics and dialectology" (p. 3). In response to this present situation, the editors make clear that the purpose of the book is to offer a "glimpse into the current state of Near Eastern literary studies", through a presentation of individual approaches (p. 6).

Besides introducing new theoretical and methodological instruments of analysis to researchers of Near Eastern literature, a central goal of this work is to "establish an active dialogue between Near Eastern literary studies and other fields" (p. 4). This is also a well-timed response to the increasing interest in interdisciplinary studies and research generally and in the humanities specifically. In *Understanding Near Eastern Literatures*, the reply to the current demands for interdisciplinary approaches involves comparative research on Arabic, Iranian and Turkish literature, as representative of the Near Eastern literatures. The reasons for the exclusion of other vital literatures of the region, such as Kurdish and Hebrew, are left for the reader to surmise. This question seems especially relevant in view of the fact that one of the contributors, Hilary Kilpatrick, argues "in favor of the Eastern Mediterranean as a geographical framework for the comparative study of its classical and modern literatures, breaking them out of their commonly assumed 'Islamic' mold" (p. 10).

Introducing and editing a volume including pieces of research from various fields and disciplines with the aim of creating a coherent study focused on various questions of theory and practice is no easy task.

However, Klemm and Gruendler have succeeded with lining up relevant articles and bringing them into focus, as regards both theoretical and methodological approaches. Obviously, they have given the problem of coherency a good deal of consideration and found a solution by instructing the authors of each article "to give concise examples of their interdisciplinary work ... name their theoretical approach and critique or comment on it in terms of its compatibility and range of application" (p. 5). The contributors have also been given "the greatest possible creative range, regarding the structure and 'depth of field' of their selected texts" (p. 5). Directions such as these have helped the contributors to provide the reader with a volume which is coherent in its presentation yet avoids a streamlined over-simplification and offers a variety of topics.

Following the comprehensive introduction, "Part One—Broad Theoretical Directions and Their Applications" (pp. 15–154) presents the reader with a panorama of theoretical approaches currently taking form and being applied to Near Eastern literatures. Contributions in this section range from questions on orality and literacy, intertextuality, comparativism and de-centring through post-colonial theory, discourse analysis and reception theory. The contributors here are Claudia Ott, Roxane Haag-Higuchi, Birgit Embaló, Andreas Pflitsch, Arnim Heinemann, Hilary Kilpatrick, Stephan Guth, Friederike Pannewick, Börte Sagaster, Stephan Conermann and Verena Klemm.

"Part Two—Interpretative Models for Selected Genres" (pp. 155–253) includes studies applied to selected texts, ("case-studies") in an effort to put into practice some of what has been learned in Part One. The topics of Part Two may be summarized as follows. Speech-act theory is put to work in the study of dramatic discourse in 'Abbāsid poetry by Beatrice Gruendler, Sebastian Günther applies modern literary theory to classical Arabic texts, Michael Cooperson approaches classical Arabic biography from a literary-historical perspective, Susanne Enderwitz poses the question whether the European definition and interpretation of autobiography can be applied to Arabic autobiography, Ulrike Stehli-Werbeck offers an analysis of Ṣun'allāh Ibrāhīm's novel *Tilka ar-rā'iha* on the basis of a semiotic, author-reader model of communication, Christian Szyska applies theories from cultural studies involving liminality, structure and anti-structure to the Cairo trilogy by Najib Mahfūz, Priska Furrer explores ways of applying analytical models of historiographical metafiction from German and English literature to the modern, Turkish, historical novel, and Antje Ziegler discusses the socio-literary influences of the literary salons at the turn of the 20th century on modern, Arabic, literary creativity.

The sense of direction and systematization is retained throughout in the structure and layout of *Understanding Near Eastern Literatures*. The articles included shed light on and increase our understanding of both the text and the context of literary works from the language region of the Near East and this region's literary cultures. In short, *Literaturen im Kontext: arabisch-persisch-türkisch* is commended.

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