NINEVEH AND BABYLON

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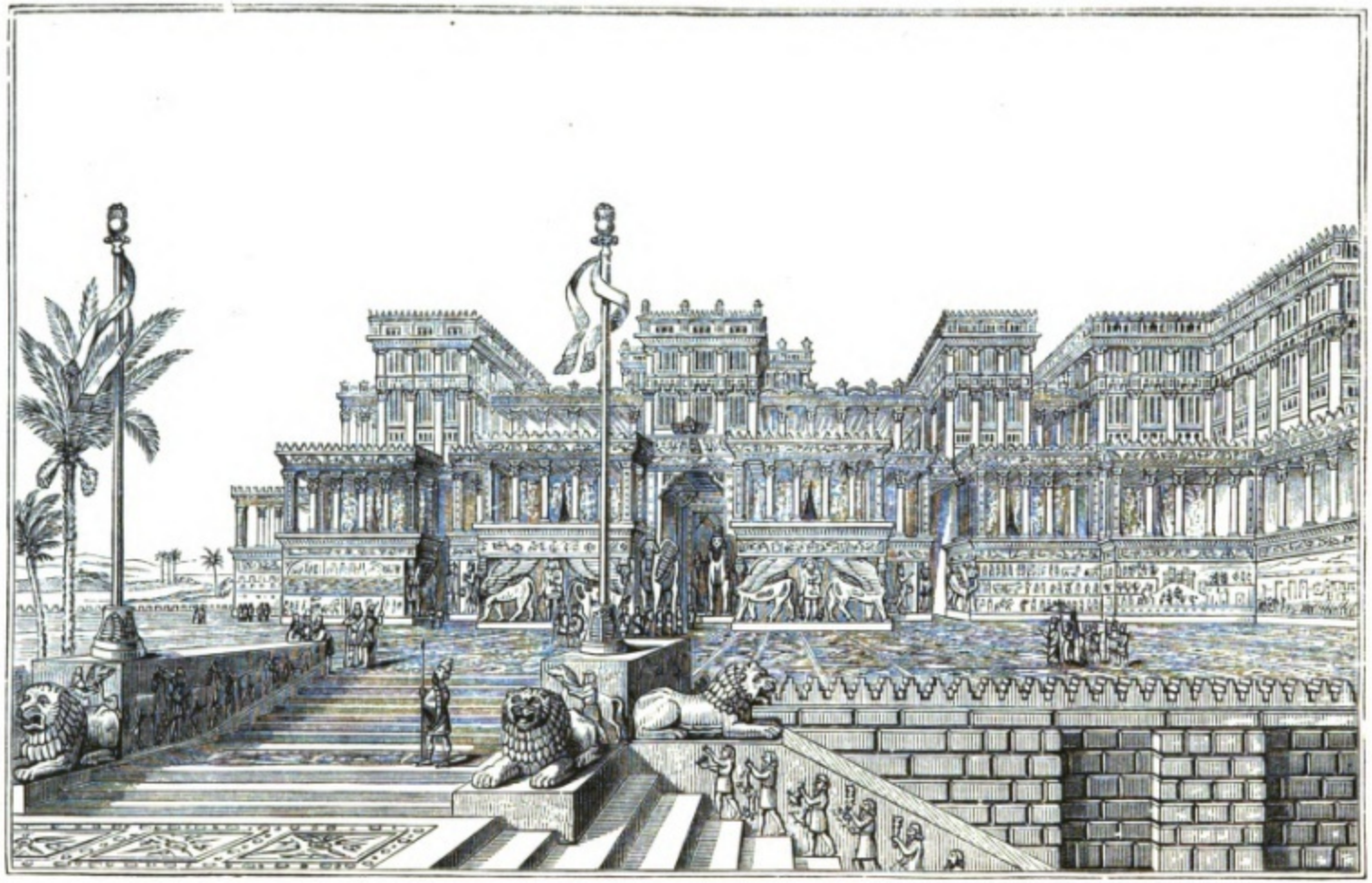

Palace of Sennacherib at Kouyunjik, restored

NINEVEH AND BABYLON

A NARRATIVE

OF

A SECOND EXPEDITION TO ASSYRIA

DURING THE YEARS 1849, 1850, & 1851

BY AUSTEN HENRY LAYARD M.P. D.C.L.

Abridged by the Author from his Larger Work

WITH NUMEROUS WOODCUTS

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET
1867

PREFACE.

THIS VOLUME contains an abridgment of the narrative of my second expedition to Assyria and Babylonia, published in 1853, under the title of 'Nineveh and Babylon.' I have described, in the Introduction, the principal discoveries on the site of Nineveh made after my return to England in the spring of 1851.

Further researches amongst the ruins after my departure from Assyria, and the contents of the cuneiform inscriptions as deciphered by English and French scholars, have added to our knowledge of the history, the language, and the arts of the ancient Assyrians and Babylonians, but they have not led me to modify, to any material extent, the views put forward in my original work. I have noticed in the following pages the most important results of the interpretation of the Assyrian inscriptions.

London: *October* 1867.

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INTRODUCTION.

AFTER THE TERMINATION of the expedition described in this volume and my return to England in the spring of 1851, the excavations at Kouyunjik were continued on a limited scale by Mr. Christian Rassam, the British Vice-consul at Mosul, their general direction having been confided by the Trustees of the British Museum to Sir Henry Rawlinson, then H.M. Consul General, and the Political Agent of the East India Company at Baghdad. Sir Henry visited the ruins in the early part of 1852. The excavations were chiefly carried on amongst the ruins of the palace of Sennacherib in the south-west corner of the mound of Kouyunjik, and at Shereef Khan, an ancient Assyrian site to the north of Nineveh.

The sculptures discovered at Kouyunjik formed for the most part a continuation of the bas-reliefs previously uncovered, representing various wars of the Assyrians. In that part of Sennacherib's palace, in which his grandson had caused to be executed the bas-reliefs representing the conquest of Elam or Susiana, discovered previously to my departure,* were found a number of clay tablets and fragments of cylinders of the same material, which form an important

* See Chap. X. Drawings of the sculptures discovered by Sir H. Rawlinson and Mr. C. Rassam were made by Mr. Hodder, and are now in the British Museum.

addition to the large collection of similar records sent by me to this country. At Shereef Khan, the ruins which I had discovered proved to be the remains of a palace built, according to Sir H. Rawlinson, by a younger brother of Esar-haddon, and of a temple dedicated to the Assyrian Neptune. No sculptures were found amongst them, but several inscriptions of interest were obtained from them, and a beautiful cylinder in chalcedony, bearing the name of a king of a dynasty tributary to Assyria, and ruling on the river Khabour.

The French Consul at Mosul, M. Place, also commenced excavations in the mound of Kouyunjik after my return to Europe. The only discovery of any interest which he made was that of an inscribed tablet bearing the name of Sardanapalus, the builder of the north-west palace at Nimroud, and apparently stating that that monarch erected a temple at Kouyunjik. If such be the case, other remains of the same period may still exist in some part of the mound hitherto unexplored, and it would be proved that, long anterior to Sennacherib, an Assyrian city stood on this site.

In the mound of Nebbi Yunus, a pair of winged, human-headed bulls were accidentally discovered by an inhabitant of the village, who was digging the foundations of his house. The Turkish authorities took possession of them, and carried on excavations for a short time, uncovering sculptured slabs and inscriptions. But these excavations were soon abandoned, as the mound is covered with the buildings surrounding the so-called tomb of Jonah and the burial-ground depending upon it, which could not, without giving offence to the people of Mosul, be disturbed. Sufficient, however, was discovered to lead to the belief that the mound covers the ruins of palaces of great interest and importance, richly adorned with sculpture, and built by three different kings—the grandson of the builder of the centre palace at Nimroud, Sennacherib, and Esar-haddon.

Mr. Vice-consul Rassam removed and packed for transport to England a collection of bas-reliefs which I had discovered in the palace of Sennacherib, but, unfortunately, the raft on which they were sent to Baghdad was plundered on the way by the Arabs, and the sculptures were destroyed.

Parliament having voted a grant of money for further researches in Assyria, Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, who had been my companion during my two expeditions, and to whose zeal, ability, and influence over the Arabs I had been so much indebted for their success, was requested by the Trustees of the British Museum to superintend the excavations. He had accompanied me to England, from whence he returned to Mosul, and was again amongst the ruins in the month of October, 1852. A general direction over the expedition was confided to Sir Henry Rawlinson.

Mr. Hormuzd Rassam's excavations proved highly successful, and to them we owe many discoveries of great interest and value. On his arrival at Mosul he placed workmen at Kouyunjik and Nimroud, and proceeded himself to the great mound of Kalah Sherghat, where, from the fragments dug up during previous explorations, ruins of great antiquity and importance might be presumed to exist. But the palaces, or temples, which may once have stood there, had been so completely destroyed, that, with the exception of the remains of a colossal human-headed bull and lion in black basalt (a material apparently very generally employed by the Assyrians at this place), and a few fragments of alabaster slabs, no traces of buildings were discovered. Mr. Hormuzd Rassam was, however, fortunate enough to find two cylinders, which, with the cylinder previously obtained by me from the same ruins, enable us to complete the annals of one of the earliest Assyrian kings of whom we have any detailed records. His name, if the cuneiform characters composing it be correctly interpreted, is Tiglath Pileser (corresponding with that of the later monarch mentioned in the

Bible), and he appears to have reigned between 1200 and 1100 years B.C.

At Kouyunjik Mr. H. Rassam discovered the entire obelisk in white limestone, and the upper part of a second, now in the British Museum. These highly important monuments are of the same shape as the black obelisk obtained from the centre palace at Nimroud,* and are covered with an inscription containing annals of the founder of the north-west palace at Nimroud, and a series of small bas-reliefs representing his exploits in war, and captives, or tributaries with their offerings brought into his presence.

At the beginning of 1854 Mr. H. Rassam commenced excavations in the northern part of the mound of Kouyunjik. He was fortunate enough to discover, deep below the surface, the remains of a palace built by the grandson of Sennacherib, and son of Esar-haddon. His name, according to Sir Henry Rawlinson, is to be read Asshur-bani-pal; to Dr. Hincks, Asshur-idanna-bal; to M. Oppert, Assur-iddanna-palla. He was one of the last of the Assyrian kings, probably the last but one; and there are grounds for conjecturing that he can be identified with the Sardanapalus of the Greek and Roman legends. The inscriptions and sculptures belonging to his reign which have been preserved, prove that he was a great conqueror, and equally renowned for his feats in war and in the chase. They are for the most part in excellent condition, not having been exposed to fire like those in the palace of Sennacherib. Of the building itself the remains of some halls and chambers were uncovered, and probably a considerable part of it yet remains to be explored.

The most important bas-reliefs discovered by Mr. H. Rassam, and sent to this country, are those representing hunting scenes, in which the king takes the principal part, now placed in the Assyrian collection in the basement floor

* Nineveh and its Remains, p. 244.

of the British Museum. For extreme delicacy and minuteness of execution, and for remarkable truth to nature and vigour of treatment in the delineation of animals, they are equal if not superior to any other sculptures brought from Assyria. In that which constitutes the highest quality of art, in variety of detail and ornament, in attempts at composition, in severity of style, and purity of outline, they are inferior to the earliest Assyrian monuments with which we

Hound held in Leash.

are acquainted—those from the north-west palace at Nimroud. They bear, indeed, the same relation to them as the later Egyptian monuments do to the earlier.

In these bas-reliefs Asshur-bani-pal is seen hunting the lion, sometimes engaged in close combat with the animal, and in pursuing the wild ass, the stag, and the gazelle. As usual in the sculptures adorning the walls of the Assyrian palaces of the later period, the sculptor has endeavoured to portray all the incidents of the events which he is recording. We have first the preparation for the chase. Huntsmen are

seen leading the dogs or hounds in leashes, and men and mules are laden with the nets, ropes, and gins which were used in the capture of deer, gazelles, and wild asses.

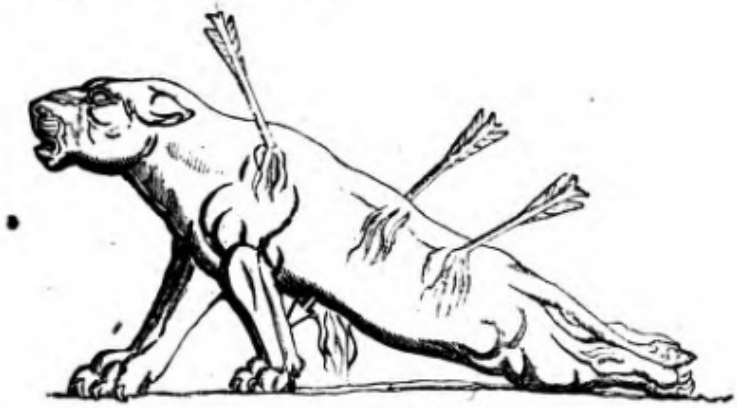
The king appears to be represented as hunting in the parks or preserves attached to the royal palaces, which were stocked with wild animals, as well as in the open country. Lions, kept in cages, are turned loose for him to kill. The cage was drawn, probably by oxen, to the spot where the beast was to be set free. A box on the top of it protects a

Lion let out of Trap.

huntsman or attendant who, by raising a trap, opens the door from whence the lion issues. The wary motions of the animal on leaving the cage are admirably portrayed in the sculptures.

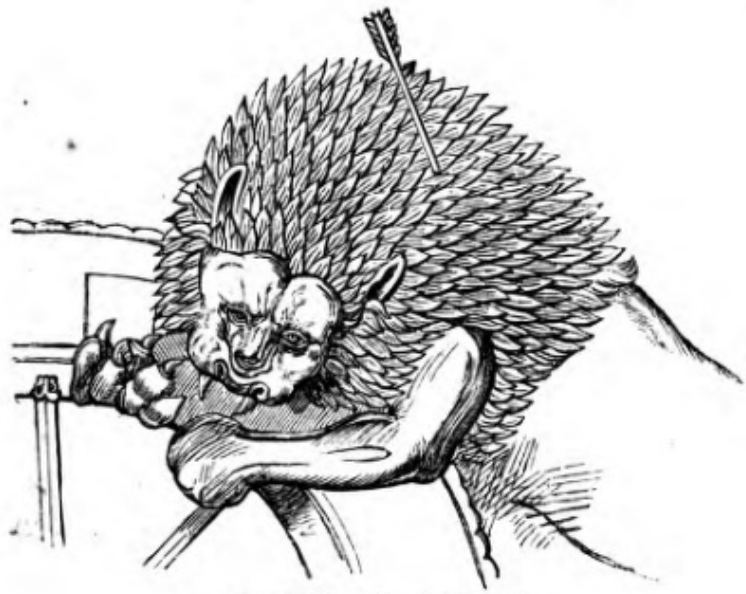
The king is seen hunting from his chariot, on horseback, and on foot. When in his chariot he is accompanied by the charioteer and two armed warriors. In some bas-reliefs he is seen transfixing a lion with arrows, and dead and dying lions lie scattered around him. The various attitudes

of the beasts, whether wounded or in the last struggle, or stretched lifeless on the ground, are portrayed with singular vigour and truth to nature.



Wounded Lioness.

Sometimes the lion is represented as springing upon the chariot, when the king receives the animal upon his spear,



Lion seizing Chariot Wheel.

or transfixes it with a short sword, whilst his attendant warriors pierce it with their spears. In one bas-relief a wounded lion is seen seizing the wheel of the king's chariot, which, in its rage and agony, it is endeavouring to crush with its

powerful jaws. The representation of the animal is full of life and artistic energy.

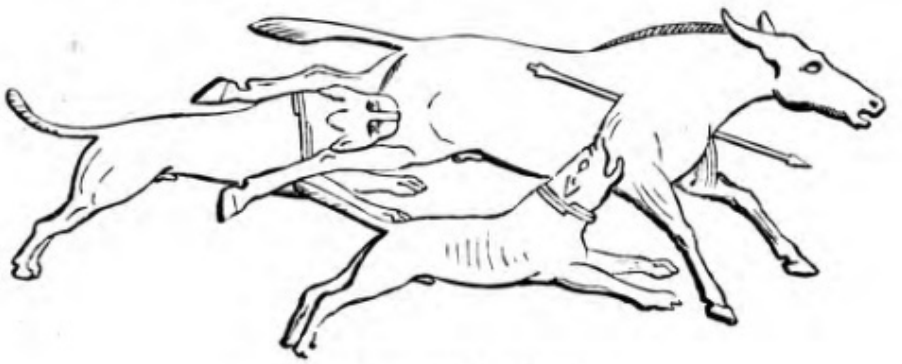
King transfixing Lion with his Spear.

King in close Combat with a Lion.

When the king is represented on horseback, he is attended by a horseman leading a second horse for his use. In some

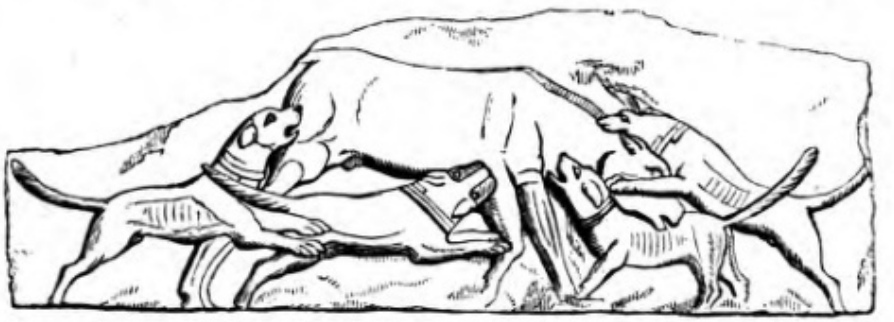
bas-reliefs the king is seen engaged on foot in close combat with the lion, and transfixing it with a spear or an arrow. Attendants standing behind are ready to supply him with fresh weapons, which they carry in their hands. He is sometimes attended and protected by a warrior who holds a shield before him.

An interesting series of bas-reliefs represents the chase of



Wild Ass captured by Hounds.

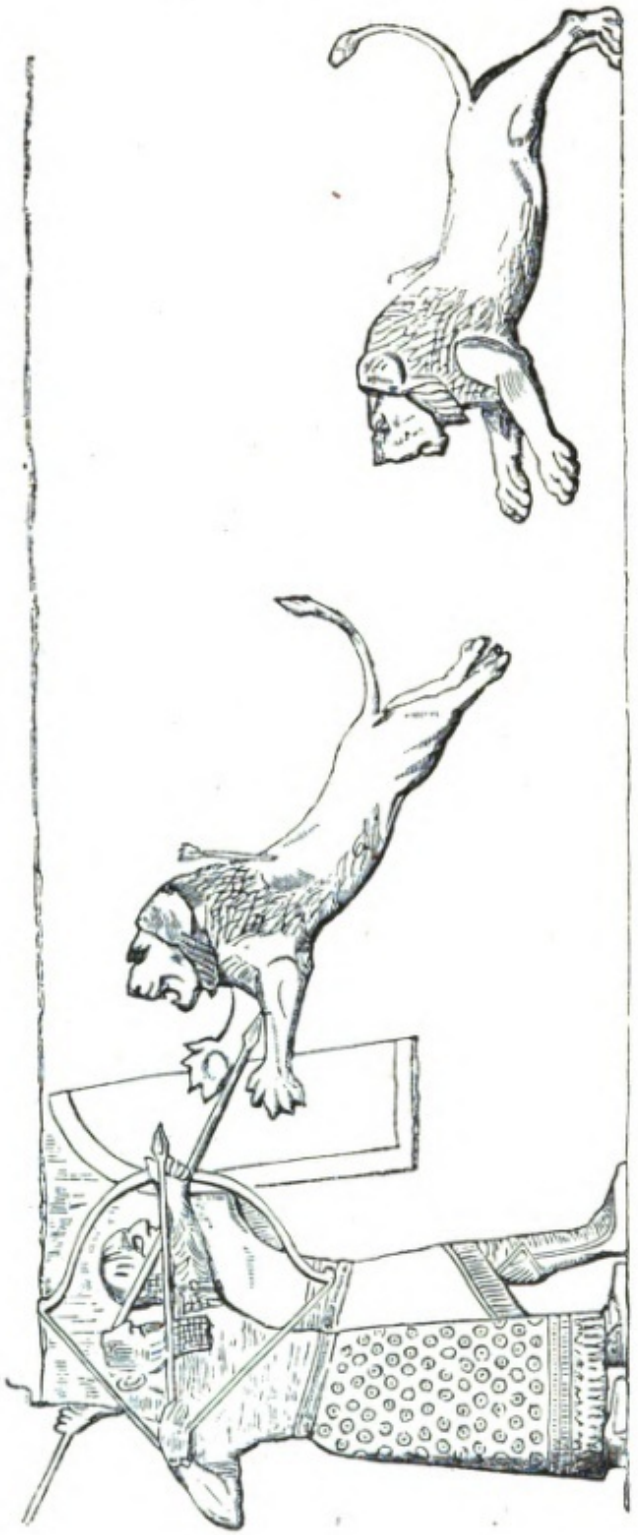
the wild ass, an animal still found in the Mesopotamian desert. It is pursued by the king on horseback. He is



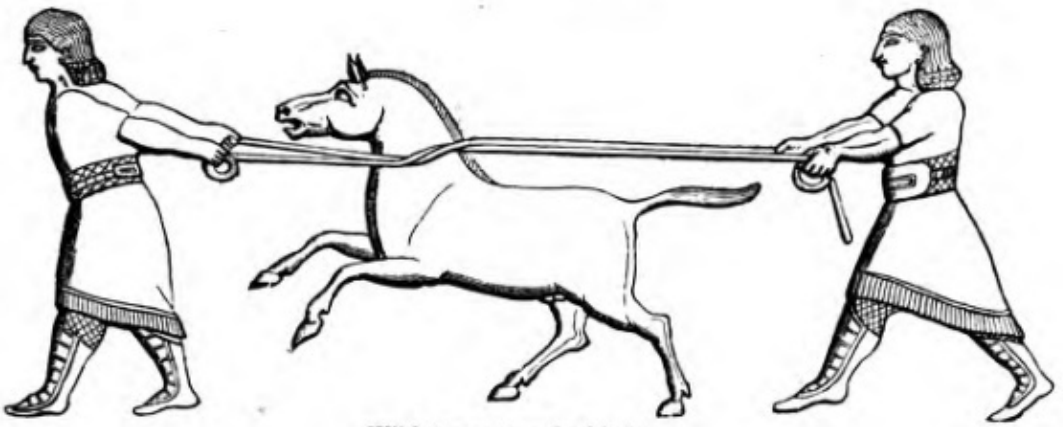
Wounded Wild Ass seized and pulled down by Hounds.

armed with bow and arrows, and followed by mounted attendants, who carry spare arrows and lead a second horse. The wild ass, when wounded, is represented as being pulled down by large and powerful hounds, apparently of the mastiff breed. The struggle between it and the dogs is portrayed with great spirit.

In one bas-relief the animal is represented as having been

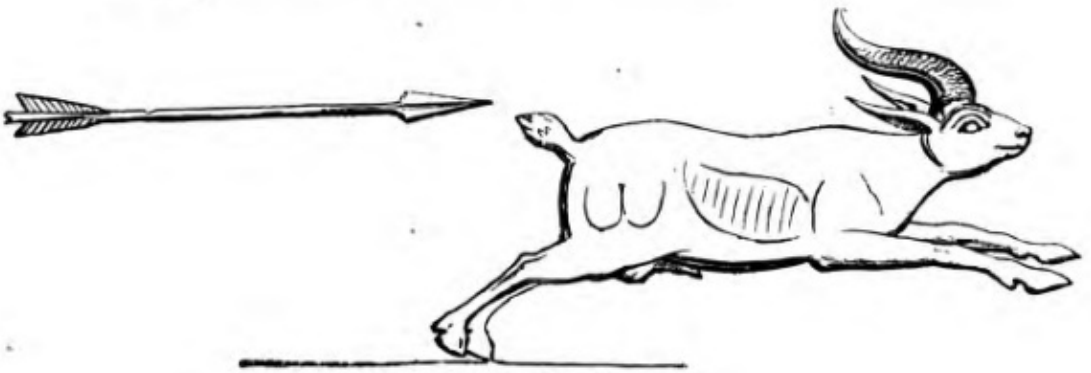


King hunting Lions.

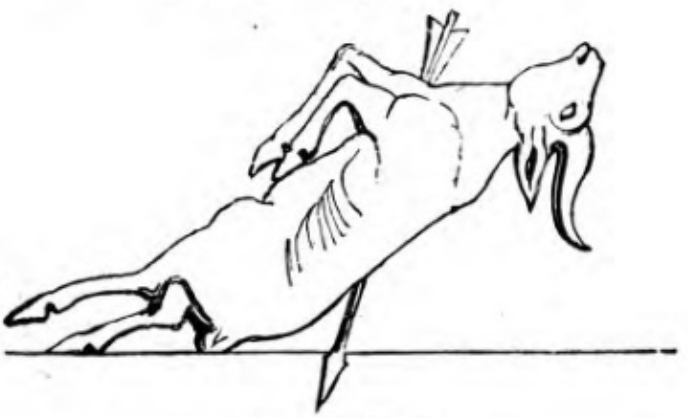


Wild Ass captured with Lasso.

caught by a kind of lasso, with which the huntsmen lead it away.



Gazelle pursued by Huntsmen.

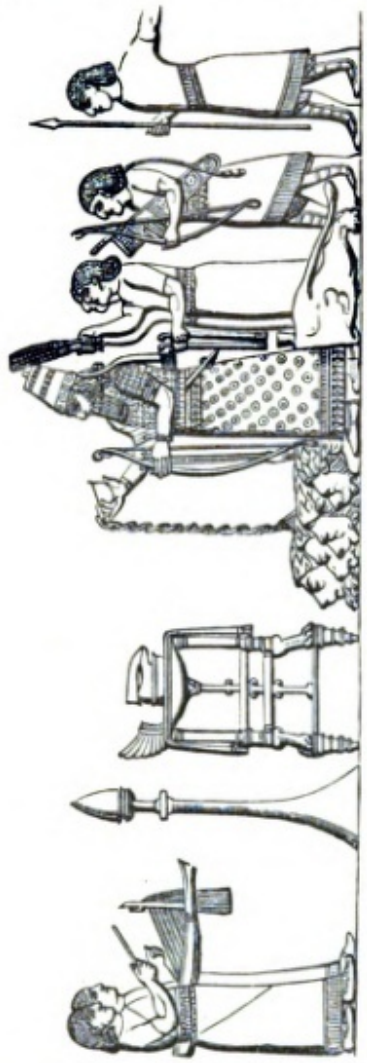


Wounded Gazelle.

The gazelles are also pursued by the king, armed with bow and arrows. They are portrayed (and always with the

same spirit and truth to nature) in every variety of attitude —endeavouring to escape, falling transfixed by arrows, and lying wounded and dead upon the ground.

The deer are represented as driven into enclosures formed by nets, and then shot down with arrows.

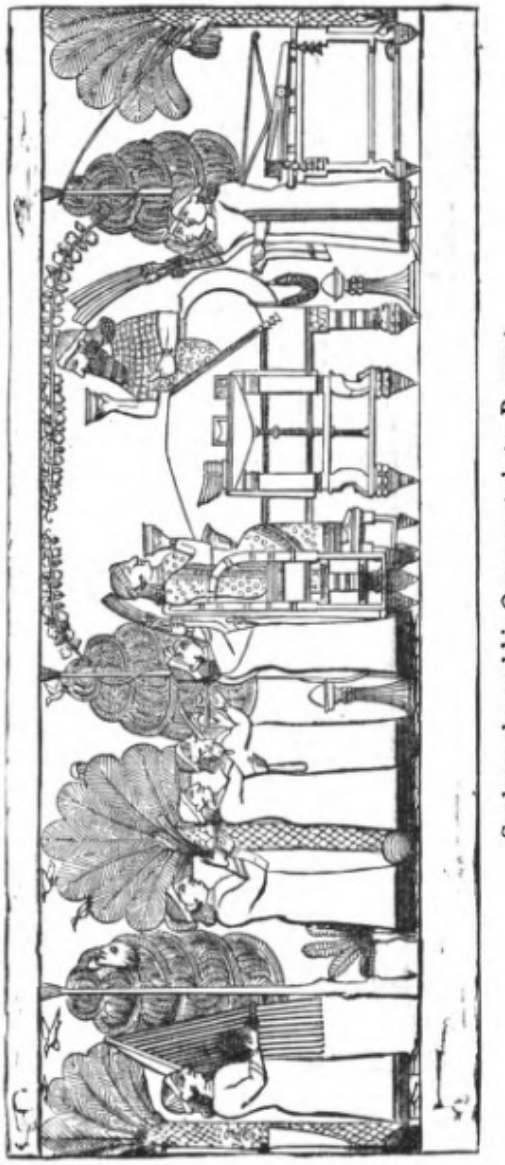


King pouring Libation over dead Lions.

A series of bas-reliefs represents the return of the huntsmen from the chase. They are seen bearing dead lions and birds, probably partridges. The slaughtered animals appear to have been placed before the king, who in one of the bas-reliefs is seen pouring a libation over them before an altar, attended by his fan and armour-bearers and by musicians who celebrate his exploits, accompanying their song on a kind of dulcimer.

Amongst the sculptures from the north-west palace of Kouyunjik which do not represent hunting scenes, the most remarkable is a highly finished and admirably preserved bas-relief, in which the king is seen lying on a couch or bed, beneath an arbour formed by vines, apparently at a banquet, as he is raising a cup in his right hand, and near him is a table on which are probably some viands. By his side, seated on a raised chair, richly attired and attended by two fan-bearers, is a woman, probably his queen. This is the only instance with which we are yet acquainted of an Assyrian lady of rank being represented in a bas-relief.

This sculpture, and one or two others from the same series now in the British Museum, especially a warrior on a horse at full speed, are carved with the sharpness, precision, and delicacy of a Greek gem. They are singularly fine examples of the perfection to which the Assyrians had attained in the technical part of the art of sculpture.



Sardanapalus and his Queen seated at a Banquet.

At Nimroud Mr. Hormuzd Rassam's researches were chiefly confined to the ruins of the south-east palace. He found that the building which I had partly explored had been erected over the remains of a more ancient edifice. Amongst the earlier ruins, which were at a considerable depth beneath the soil, were no chambers with sculptured walls, but bas-reliefs brought from the centre palace, and several detached objects of great interest were obtained from them. A large tablet, or stele, similar in form to the one obtained from the temple in the north-west corner of the mound,* was found *in situ*. It contained the effigy of a king (believed to be the grandson of Sardanapalus), and an inscrip-

* See p. 178.

Statue of the God Nebo.

tion recording the annals of his reign. It is now in the British Museum. In another part of the building, supposed to be a temple dedicated to Nebo by a king, whose name, according to Sir Henry Rawlinson, is to be read Iva-lush, or Yama-Zala-Khus; or, according to M. Oppert, Hou-likhous, and who reigned about 800 B.C., were discovered two detached statues of the god, very rudely carved. On them is an inscription, which, according to Sir Henry Rawlinson, states that they were offered to Nebo by an officer who governed certain places in the Assyrian empire for the life of the king (Iva-lush), and of his wife Sammuramit, that the god might lengthen the king's life, prolong his days, increase his years, and give peace to his house

and people, and victory to his armies.* This 'Sammuramit' has been identified, probably upon very slender grounds, with the Semiramis of classic story; and the group of cuneiform characters, supposed to represent her name upon these statues, has enabled Mr. Rawlinson to fix her place in history, to dispose of classic fables, and to show in a proper light her story, her character, her descent, and her true connection with the Assyrian monarchy.† The two statues are now in the national collection.

Whilst Mr. Hormuzd Rassam was carrying on the excavations near Mosul, the late Mr. Loftus, accompanied by Mr. Boutcher, an artist sent to the East by Messrs. Dickenson of Bond Street, had been engaged by the subscribers to the 'Assyrian Excavation Fund' to continue the examination of the mounds in Southern Mesopotamia and Babylonia, which he had commenced when attached to the mission of Sir Fenwick Williams of Kars, the British Commissioner for the determination of the boundaries between Turkey and Persia. To Mr. Loftus' skill and energy we owe many valuable discoveries in those ruins, the most important being the inscribed bricks and tablets containing the names of kings who are believed to have belonged to a dynasty that reigned at a very remote period—probably between 1900 and 1800 B.C.—in lower Chaldæa. Mr. H. Rassam having left Mosul for England early in the spring of 1854, the subscribers to the Assyrian Excavation Fund determined to continue the excavations at Kouyunjik and Nimroud, and Mr. Loftus was directed to proceed to Mosul. Mr. Vice-consul Rassam was at the same time requested by the Trustees of the British Museum to superintend the removal

* Rawlinson's Ancient Monarchies, vol. ii. p. 382, *note*.

† She was 'a Babylonian princess, the last descendant of a long line of kings, whom the Assyrian monarch wedded, to confirm through her his title to the southern provinces.' Instead of the heroine of the 'uncivilised ancients,' she was 'a very prosaic and commonplace princess,' like 'Atossa, or Elizabeth of York' ('Ancient Monarchies,' ii. 384, 385)!

and transport to England of the sculptures discovered by his brother, and to continue the excavations at Kouyunjik on a very reduced scale, chiefly for the purpose of retaining possession of the ground. Mr. Loftus discovered some new chambers in the palace of Asshur-bani-pal, on the northern side of the Kouyunjik mound, and found other bas-reliefs representing hunting scenes, which complete the series now in the British Museum. Very spirited and accurate drawings of these and other sculptures were made by Mr. Boutcher.

Excavations on a limited scale were carried on by Mr. Loftus at Nimroud—chiefly amongst the ruins of the centre palace, of the upper chambers connected with it, and of the earlier edifices beneath the south-east palace, but no discoveries of importance were made in them.

Mr. Loftus returned to Europe in 1854, and from that time no further excavations have been carried on by British agents amongst the Assyrian ruins. M. Place, the French Consul at Mosul, continued for a short period the exploration of the mounds of Khorsabad. No new sculptures were obtained from them; but a careful examination of the ruins, and the discovery of a variety of architectural details, have enabled him to restore many external features of the Assyrian palaces, and to settle several interesting questions of construction which had previously been undetermined. He also found a large inscribed clay cylinder and various tablets, several in gold, of the time of Sargon, the founder of the Khorsabad palace, whose annals by their assistance can now be almost entirely restored.

There yet remains much to be done before it can be said that the Assyrian ruins have been fully and satisfactorily explored, and that we possess all the materials which they are likely to afford for the investigation of Assyrian history. As yet owing to a variety of circumstances—to the limited means at the disposal of those who have been engaged in

these researches, to the want of that knowledge which has since been partly furnished by a careful examination of the inscriptions, and by a comparison of the monuments now collected together, and to the condition of the country in which the ruins are situated—those extensive and systematic excavations which are absolutely necessary before we can determine the exact period and nature of the numerous ruins existing in Assyria, and before we can deal with confidence with the materials at our disposal, have yet to be carried on. For instance, there are now reasons for conjecturing that the mound of Kouyunjik covers the remains of edifices erected by some of the earliest Assyrian kings. As yet, with the exception of the obelisk in white stone, and of the solitary detached tablet of the time of Sardanapalus (about 900 B.C.) found by M. Place, no remains earlier than the palace of Sennacherib have been discovered there. It would appear from the inscriptions, that palaces or temples were built at Nimroud at least two or three hundred years before the foundation of the north-west palace, the most ancient edifice yet explored in that mound. According to Sir Henry Rawlinson, Kalah Sherghat represents the primitive Assyrian capital, founded many centuries before Nineveh. With the exception of the cylinders of Tiglath Pileser the First (about 1130 B.C.) and one or two bricks inscribed with doubtful royal names, no remains which can with confidence be ascribed to an earlier period than the son of Sardanapalus, the builder of the north-west palace at Nimroud (about 850 B.C.), have been discovered in that mound. That other extensive edifices with sculptured walls will be discovered in unexplored Assyrian mounds I do not anticipate; but the remains of bas-reliefs of an earlier date than anything we yet possess, and, what is even more important, inscriptions belonging to the times of the earlier kings—to those who, there is reason to believe, reigned in Assyria more than twenty centuries before the Christian era—may still

be buried below the soil, and are probably far beneath the foundations of the edifices hitherto explored. It is evident that the arts and manufactures did not spring at once into existence at the time of the erection of the north-west palace at Nimroud, where we find them already at the highest perfection they appear to have at any time attained in Assyria. They were probably brought to that perfection by many successive ages of slow, perhaps almost imperceptible, development, unless, indeed, the Assyrians borrowed them wholesale from elsewhere, of which we have no evidence whatever. So far from this being the case, Assyrian art appears to have been original, and peculiar to the people who inhabited the northern part of Mesopotamia. Nothing has hitherto been discovered in Babylonia which would warrant us in asserting that the Assyrians derived their sculpture or their architecture from that country. The contrary, indeed, would appear to be the case. It is more probable that Babylonia owed these arts to Assyria. As regards the alphabet and literature of the Assyrians, however, this may not have been the case; but as yet we have no proof that they derived them from Babylonia, or any other country.

The researches to be hereafter made amongst the Assyrian ruins must be of a very different nature to those hitherto carried on. The explorer can no longer hope for that rich harvest of sculptures and inscribed monuments which has rewarded those who first discovered the Assyrian palaces, although there is probably still much left to be gleaned. All that we can expect is, that by patient toil and a most careful and systematic examination of all the principal mounds, we may be able to determine their relative antiquity, to add to the large collection of inscriptions already brought together for the elucidation of Assyrian history and philology, and to obtain materials for the restoration of the architecture of the Assyrians. To accomplish this will be a matter of immense labour and expense, as the vast mounds of earth

which cover the Assyrian ruins will have to be explored to their very foundations, and tunnels or trenches carried through them in every direction; for it is impossible to conjecture what may yet remain beneath the edifices hitherto explored at Nimroud, Kouyunjik, and elsewhere. In addition, these edifices themselves should be still further examined, not with the view alone of collecting sculptures and other objects of art, however great their interest, but of obtaining a complete plan of them, and of ascertaining all the architectural features and details that may still remain. This has been hitherto only partially attempted in one Assyrian ruin—that of Khorsabad, at the expense of the French Government. It is very probable that many years may elapse before such a systematic examination of the Assyrian ruins will be made. But until these mounds are explored in the manner I have indicated, it cannot be said that we have obtained the materials which are necessary to enable us to restore the history and to illustrate the arts and manners of the ancient Assyrians.

That a vast deal—far more than the most sanguine explorer could have anticipated—has been done during the last few years is indisputable. Although our knowledge is far from complete, yet the sculptures and inscriptions have enabled us to put together a part of the skeleton of Assyrian history, and to illustrate to a certain extent the manners, arts, sciences, and literature of the Assyrian people. So much unreasonable incredulity still exists as to the extent to which this has been effected through the interpretation of the cuneiform inscriptions, and the evidence upon which that interpretation rests has been so summarily rejected by English writers of great and deserved authority,* that a short account of the

* Sir George Lewis, who was one of the most incredulous of these writers, and who was wont to quiz, with his ready and kindly wit, the cuneiform decipherer, as well as the Egyptologer, admitted to me shortly before his death, that he had never seriously investigated the principles

history of cuneiform decipherment may be interesting to some of my readers, and may tend to remove those erroneous impressions which exist on the subject.

The investigation of the arrow-headed character is by no means a new study. It was first seriously attempted in the year 1802, by Grotefend, a learned German scholar. At that time the only materials accessible for this purpose, with the exception of the well-known inscribed bricks from the ruins of Babylon, were the inscriptions carved on rocks and on the remains of edifices at Persepolis and Hamadan (Ecbatana), and near other ancient sites in Persia. Copies of these inscriptions, more or less accurate, had been brought to Europe by various travellers from the time of Tavernier and Chardin. Fortunately, although short, they afforded the most important materials for breaking ground and taking the first step in the interpretation of the cuneiform character. They are trilingual—that is to say, that the same inscription is repeated three times in a different language and in a different character; but, unfortunately, unlike the trilingual inscription on the celebrated Rosetta stone, which furnishes a key for the decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, neither the languages nor the

and the evidence upon which the interpretation of the arrow-headed inscriptions rested. Lord Macaulay rejected the interpretations with undisguised contempt, and other classical scholars of scarcely less authority have contributed to form the unfavourable opinion upon the subject which prevails in England. I attribute this, in a great measure, to the fact that those who have been hitherto engaged in the work of deciphering the cuneiform inscriptions have not placed before the public, in a popular and elementary form, a history of their discoveries, and of the process which has led to them; showing how, step by step, the results have been arrived at, and explaining the contradictions and discrepancies which exist in the interpretation of names, &c., as well as those which are inevitable in the first attempts to interpret an unknown character and language. Supposed discoveries have also been announced with too much confidence, and afterwards abandoned or ignored without sufficient explanation, whilst theories, more ingenious than sound, have been put forward to reconcile apparent discrepancies between the contents of the inscriptions and accepted biblical and profane history.

Trilingual Tablet. (Persepolis.)

characters were previously known to us. The trilingual inscriptions of Persia are generally divided into three parallel columns, or arranged in three distinct tablets, each containing the same inscription expressed in a different language, and in a different modification of the cuneiform character—the letters and signs in each column being formed by the same elementary wedges arranged in different combinations or groups. That the inscriptions are the same is evident from the fact of the recurrence of the same groups of letters, or words, in each column or tablet, at the same regular intervals. I give a copy, in the preceding page, of one of these trilingual tablets from Persepolis, in order that my readers may understand their nature, and the process by which they were deciphered.

It will be perceived that the combination of wedges forming a letter or sign differs in each column. The most simple combination, and that which usually takes the place of honour in the first column of these tablets, is only found on monuments of the Persian period, and the language of the inscriptions is allied to the ancient Sanscrit. This is called the Persian cuneiform character. The characters in the second or centre column are commonly called the Median, or, more correctly, the Touranian or Scythic, because they are believed to express a Touranian or Tatar language, one of the three great families of languages spoken by the subjects of the ancient Persian kings. The inscriptions of the third column are in a character and language nearly identical with those of the monuments of Nineveh and Babylon. They have been consequently termed the Assyrian and the Babylonian, or sometimes the Assyro-Babylonian.*

It will be further observed that in the first, or Persian column, a single oblique arrow-head or wedge constantly

* It is to be observed that there is a slight difference between the Babylonian and Assyrian characters; but the difference is only graphical, like that between roman and italic type.

recurs. It first occurred to the German scholars, Tychsen and Münter, that this sign might mark the division of words. This conjecture was confirmed by the recurrence of the same group of letters forming a word, sometimes with terminal variations which might indicate case endings, marked off, as it were, by these single oblique wedges. Instances of this will be perceived in the first and second lines of the inscription which I have given. A comparison of a number of inscriptions led to the further discovery, that whilst the greater number of words or groups of signs in each were generally the same, certain groups had disappeared, and other groups which had before appeared in another part of the inscription, had taken their place. These again were succeeded by a new group. This circumstance led Grotefend to conjecture that these signs so changing position represented proper names of persons in the relation of father and son, and that when a new king had ascended the throne his name appeared in the place of his predecessor. The name of the grandfather would then disappear altogether, and be replaced by that of the father. For instance, if in one inscription Darius was called the son of Hystaspes, in a second carved after his death Xerxes would be called son of Darius, the name of Darius taking the place of that of Hystaspes, which would no longer be found in the inscription.

This ingenious conjecture led to the discovery of the clue to the decipherment of the inscriptions. Grotefend assumed that these groups of letters or signs were the names of these very Persian kings. Supposing such to be the case, and admitting that the ancient Persian forms of these names varied considerably from those handed down to us by the Greeks, yet he felt convinced that the value of certain letters in them must be the same. By various tentative processes he satisfied himself that he had hit upon the right names, and that he had determined the proper value of some, if not of all, the letters composing them. This enabled him to verify the

conjecture, based upon historical evidence, that the language of the inscription was an Indo-Germanic dialect, spoken in Persia at the time of the Macedonian conquest, and allied to the Zend or Sanscrit, and consequently in a certain degree to the modern Persian.*

Proceeding always in the same tentative way, Grotefend next attempted a translation of some of the inscriptions, and the results of his investigations, and an analysis of his method of interpretation, were given in an appendix to Heeren's work on the principal nations of antiquity, which was published in 1815.†

Lassen, Rask, Burnouf, and other eminent Sanscrit and Oriental scholars, applied themselves to the examination of Grotefend's system and of his interpretations, bringing to bear upon the inquiry a profounder knowledge of the ancient Indo-Germanic tongues than he claimed to possess, though scarcely more skill and ingenuity as decipherers. Through their labours, what had been at first the result of happy conjecture was reduced to a certainty. It was proved that Grotefend had been mistaken in the value he had assigned to several letters, but that he had been right in his method of interpretation, and in his conjectures as to the names of the kings contained in the inscriptions which he had examined.

The short trilingual inscription which I have given contains the name of Xerxes, and may be translated thus:

KHSHIYÁRSHÁ KHSHÁYATHIYA WAZAR-
Xerxes the king great,
-KA KHSHÁYATHIYA KHSHAYATHIYÁ-
The king of kings;

* The Persian names preserved by the Greek and Roman writers leave no doubt whatever that the language spoken by the ancient Persians was of this character.

† Historical Researches into the Politics, &c., of the Principal Nations of Antiquity, vol. ii. English edition of 1833. Oxford.

-NÁM DÁRYAVAHUSH KHSHÁYATH-
Of Darius the king,
-IYAHYÁ PUTRA HAKHÁMANISHIYA.
The son, the Achæmenid.

Hitherto the materials for the investigation of the cuneiform character had been comparatively limited. The inscriptions copied by travellers in Persia were short, rarely consisting of more than ten or twelve lines, and they were for the most part of nearly the same import. A trilingual inscription of great length was known to exist on the rock of Behistun, near Kermanshah, on the western frontiers of Persia; but it was in a position inaccessible to the ordinary traveller, and too high to admit of its being copied from below. Sir Henry Rawlinson was the first to obtain an imperfect transcript of it by the aid of a powerful telescope in the year 1835; but it was not until 1844 that, assisted by Captain Jones, and other gentlemen attached to the mission at Baghdad, he was able to reach the tablets, and to make copies and paper casts of the inscriptions. Like those of Persepolis and Hamadan, they consist of the same record, repeated three times in the three languages spoken by the three great races under the dominion of the Persian kings, and written in different modifications of the cuneiform character. The Persian column contains no less than 406 lines. The application to this great inscription of the key furnished by the short records previously deciphered by Grotefend and other investigators, completely corroborated the soundness of their system of interpretation. The Behistun tablets were found to contain a narrative of the principal events of the reign of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, which, in many respects, coincide with those recorded by the Greek historians. The effigy of the king himself is sculptured on the rock. Behind him stand his attendants, and in front are nine captive kings or chiefs, one of whom lies prostrate at his feet. Above each figure are short

trilingual inscriptions, recording the name of the person represented.

By the aid of the Behistun inscription, which has furnished the most ample and reliable materials we yet possess for the investigation of the cuneiform character, Sir Henry Rawlinson has been able to add largely to the results obtained by Grotefend, Lassen, Burnouf, and others, from the scanty records in their possession. He published the text of the Persian column, with a complete translation of it, in the 'Journal' of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1846. This translation has been subjected to the most rigorous examination and criticism by Sanscrit scholars; and those who have taken the trouble to acquaint themselves with the subject, and are competent to form an opinion upon it, do not hesitate to admit that the interpretation of the Persian cuneiform is placed beyond a doubt.

The Persian column of the trilingual inscription having thus been deciphered, a key was afforded to the interpretation of the two other inscriptions, supposing always that their contents were the same, and that the language was one which either still existed, or was allied to one still spoken or written. That the contents of the three inscriptions were the same was evident from the corresponding recurrence of certain groups in each column. But the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions offered far greater difficulties than the Persian. The letters or signs used in the Persian were limited in number, not exceeding thirty-six; and, as we have seen, each word was separated, and marked by an oblique wedge. In the Assyrian inscription there was no division between the words, the letters and signs seemed not only to be unlimited in number, but to be used in the most arbitrary manner. As, however, the inscriptions contained names of persons, countries, cities, &c.,* many of which could

* A list, in the three cuneiform characters, of the various satrapies included within the dominions of the King of Persia, had previously been

be identified with those preserved in classical or biblical literature, the value of many letters could be determined with sufficient confidence; and thus a clue was afforded to a few words of constant recurrence, and proof afforded that the language of the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions, as might have been expected, was a Semitic dialect, allied to the Chaldee, Hebrew, Arab, and other cognate languages, either still existing, or of which written remains have been preserved.

Whilst European scholars were thus occupied in deciphering the trilingual tablets, the discoveries at Nimroud, Khorsabad and Kouyunjik, and amongst other Assyrian ruins, furnished a vast number of inscriptions which will afford materials for years to come for the study of the cuneiform character. During the excavations in Assyria I was too much occupied to be able to devote much time to the decipherment of the inscriptions; but whilst copying them, I was able to compare them and to classify to a certain extent the various signs and letters which they contain. One fact soon became evident to me, that the Assyrians, unlike the Persians, rarely, if ever, divided a word at the end of a line, preferring to finish it by cutting letters on the sculpture itself, or on the side or even back of a slab. As the 'Standard inscription' of the north-west palace of Nimroud, containing the names, titles, and part of the annals of the founder of the edifice, was repeated upon almost every slab discovered in the ruins, and in every variety of space, sometimes only one or two letters forming a line, I was able, by a careful comparison of the endings, to determine and mark off almost every word in the inscription. I soon also found, by the relative position of certain groups, the signs or letters marking the names of the kings, their titles, and the names of their fathers, and, in many instances, of their grandfathers.

discovered at Persepolis, and had enabled Burnouf and Lassen to determine the value of several letters of the Persian cuneiform alphabet.

On my return to England from my first expedition I edited, for the Trustees of the British Museum, a volume containing transcripts of inscriptions from Nimroud, Kouyunjik, Kalah Sherghat, and other Assyrian ruins. Their publication, and that of the cuneiform inscriptions discovered by M. Botta at Khorsabad, afforded fresh materials for investigation, and several eminent scholars took up the subject: amongst whom were the late Dr. Hincks,* Mr. Norris, Mr. Fox Talbot, and M. Oppert. Sir Henry Rawlinson, in 1850, announced that he had succeeded in reading the inscription on the black obelisk discovered in the centre palace at Nimroud, and shortly after communicated his version of its contents at a meeting of the members of the Royal Institution. On my return to England in 1851, after my second expedition, I spent some time with Dr. Hincks

* By the death of Dr. Hincks we have lost one of the ablest and most successful investigators of the cuneiform inscriptions. To profound scholarship in the Semitic tongues, and to the most extensive literary and scientific acquirements, he added a wonderful ingenuity, acuteness, and sagacity, and a singularly retentive memory, which peculiarly fitted him for a decipherer. His power of dealing with the most complicated and difficult cipher was exhibited at a very early age. After making many discoveries in Egyptology, he applied his great talents to the investigation of the cuneiform inscriptions, and with marvellous success, when it is remembered that he was the incumbent of a small living in Ireland, far from any public library, without the books and materials necessary for the prosecution of his studies, and so circumscribed in means that at one time he was, I believe, obliged to dispose of a part of his library. In any other country but England, a man of such attainments, and so eminently calculated to confer honour upon the nation to which he belonged, would have received some reward, or would have been placed in a position of independence, to enable him to pursue his studies. But, in spite of numerous representations to government by one or two of his friends in his behalf, and of the European reputation which he had established for himself by his discoveries, he was allowed to remain at Killyleagh with a decreasing income, and without any public recognition whatever of his literary and scientific acquirements. He died there at the commencement of this year. It is not detracting from the deserved reputation of Sir H. Rawlinson to say, that we owe to Dr. Hincks some of the most important discoveries in cuneiform literature, the present advanced state of our knowledge of the subject. and more especially the progress that has been made in placing upon firm ground the grammatical construction of the Assyrian language.

in Ireland in examining the cuneiform inscriptions which I had brought from Assyria and Armenia, and I am indebted to him for the translation of those inscriptions which I published in the work of which this book is an abridgment. Dr. Hincks had already deciphered the names of Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esar-haddon, and had thus proved that which I had been led to conjecture from a comparison of the monuments and from other evidence, that the palaces at Kouyunjik and Khorsabad, and in the south-west corner of the mound of Nimroud, owed their foundation to those kings. He also determined the Assyrian numerals from the Wan inscriptions. He had previously (in June, 1846) discovered the names of Nebuchadnezzar and Babylon on the well-known Babylonian bricks from the ruins near Hillah. On August 23, 1851, Sir Henry Rawlinson announced in the 'Athenæum' that he had found in the inscriptions from Kouyunjik notices of the reign of Sennacherib, 'which placed beyond the reach of dispute his historic identity;' and he gave a recapitulation of the principal events recorded on the monuments, including the war with Hezekiah and the siege and capture of Lachish.

Constant additions were made to our knowledge of the contents of the cuneiform inscriptions in communications from Dr. Hincks, Sir H. Rawlinson, Mr. Fox Talbot, and Mr. Norris, to the 'Journals' of the Royal Asiatic Society, to the 'Transactions' of the Royal Irish Academy, to the 'Athenæum,' and to other literary and scientific periodicals. But scholars in this country, whose learning was limited to the classics, were little inclined to accept these interpretations, and were rather disposed to reject them altogether as ingenious fictions. In the year 1857 Sir H. Rawlinson had superintended for the Trustees of the British Museum the publication of a transcript of the inscription upon the clay cylinders discovered at Kalah Sherghat. A copy of this inscription had been sent to Mr. Fox Talbot before its publication,

and before Sir H. Rawlinson had placed before the public any account of its contents. In March, Mr. Fox Talbot forwarded a sealed packet to the late Professor Wilson, then President of the Royal Asiatic Society, enclosing his translation of the inscription, with a request that it might not be opened until Sir Henry Rawlinson, with whom he had had no communication on the subject, had published the translation of the same inscription which he had announced—adding his opinion, that 'all candid inquirers must acknowledge, that if any special agreement should appear between such independent versions, it must indicate that they have truth for their basis.'

The Council of the Royal Asiatic Society considered that this was a favourable occasion for testing the general accuracy of the interpretation of the cuneiform writing, and they requested not only Sir Henry Rawlinson, but Dr. Hincks and M. Oppert also, to furnish them with translations of the same inscription, under sealed covers, and without any previous communication with each other. A committee of gentlemen of the highest literary attainments, and of entirely independent opinions upon such matters, including Dr. Milman (the Dean of St. Paul's), Dr. Whewell, Sir Gardner Wilkinson, Mr. Grote, the Rev. Mr. Cureton, and Professor Wilson, were named to open the packets, and to examine and report upon the translations. Mr. Cureton, Dr. Whewell, and Professor Wilson were absent when the packets were opened; but the other three members of the committee, after having carefully examined and compared their contents, reported their opinions to the Council of the Asiatic Society. Dr. Milman and Mr. Grote certified that 'the coincidences between the translations, both as to the general sense and verbal rendering, were very remarkable. In most parts there was a strong correspondence in the meaning assigned, and occasionally a curious identity of expression as to particular words. When the versions differed very materially, each

translator had, in many cases, marked the passage as one of doubtful or unascertained signification. In the interpretation of numbers there was throughout a singular correspondence.' Sir Gardner Wilkinson, in a separate report, expressed himself somewhat more strongly in favour of the decipherers, and declared that 'the resemblance (very often exactly the same, word for word) was so great, as to render it unreasonable to suppose that the interpretation could be arbitrary, or based on uncertain grounds.' Professor Wilson declares in his report to the Society that, 'upon the whole, the result of this experiment—than which a fairer test could scarcely be desired—may be considered as establishing almost definitively the correctness of the valuation of the characters of these inscriptions.'*

Since the period of the publication of the translations of this inscription, much has been added to our knowledge of the cuneiform character. Other scholars have entered into the field of investigation, and many remarkable instances of independent evidence confirming the general accuracy of the interpretation of the inscription could be cited. I may mention the short trilingual inscriptions containing the name of Artaxerxes, in the three forms of cuneiform writing, the Persian, Touranian, and Babylonian, accompanied by an Egyptian cartouche with the same royal name, upon an alabaster vase in the treasury of St. Mark's at Venice, of which, singularly enough, a duplicate was discovered by Mr. Newton amongst the ruins of the mausoleum at Halicarnassus. These inscriptions furnish a test of the accuracy of the decipherment of both the cuneiform character and the hieroglyphics.

The first literary and scientific body in the world, the French Academy, has publicly recognised the progress made,

* Inscription of Tiglath Pileser I., king of Assyria, B.C. 1150, as translated by Sir H. Rawlinson, Fox Talbot, Esq., Dr. Hincks, and Dr. Oppert. Published by the Royal Asiatic Society, 1857.

the accuracy of the principles upon which the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions is based, and the importance of the results already obtained, by recommending Dr. Oppert to the French government for the great prize of 20,000 francs, conferred periodically upon the author who has rendered the greatest service to literature or science. In England, however, the same doubts and misgivings still prevail with regard to the interpretation of the arrow-headed character, and the writer of a recent article in a leading periodical criticises with the utmost severity the labours of the decipherer, and seems to reject altogether the additions to our knowledge of the history and language of the Assyrians, which the inscriptions are believed to afford.* But the critic in this case had no special knowledge of the subject, and he somewhat unfairly keeps out of view the evidence that can be adduced in support of the system of interpretation which has now been accepted by so many distinguished scholars, and the explanations which can be afforded of contradictions and inconsistencies that undoubtedly occur in the versions given at different times by the same decipherer of the same inscription. For instance, the fact that the same proper name has been rendered in various ways, and that no certainty exists with regard to the value of the signs and letters composing it, although put forward as a conclusive argument against the progress alleged to have been made in the interpretation of the cuneiform character, admits of a satisfactory explanation. The names of places and persons, and especially those of Assyrian and Babylonian kings, are frequently composed of the name of a god,† usually represented by one sign, of which we do not know the phonetic reading, and the sound or value of which, consequently, must be more or less a matter of conjecture.

* See 'Edinburgh Review' for January, 1867 (No. 255), article on 'Rawlinson's Ancient Monarchies.'

† The names of foreign kings, which are not Assyrian, are written phonetically, and are consequently deciphered with more certainty.

In some instances the equivalent of this sign in letters has been ascertained, and then the name of which it forms a part can be determined with confidence, as for example that of Sennacherib. But it must be admitted that, owing to the fact I have mentioned, the reading of many of the royal names which occur in the Assyrian inscriptions is more or less doubtful, and must be received with caution. This, however, does not prove that they are not royal names, or that their places in the Assyrian dynastic lists cannot be fixed with accuracy.*

A more weighty argument is furnished to the adverse critic by the attempts which, it appears to me, have been somewhat injudiciously made to reconcile the contents of the inscriptions with the very vague and doubtful notices of ancient Assyria contained in the fragments of ancient writers, most of which are of little or no authority, and to the tendency which some interpreters of the inscriptions have shown to build up theories altogether opposed to authentic history, upon the slightest possible foundation. An instance of this is furnished by the author of a learned work in which all the available information with regard to Babylonia and Assyria has been collected together with much industry—'The History of the Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World.' A primitive empire of Chaldæa is called into existence, and the history, arts, manners, and religion of an imaginary people described, upon no better foundation than a few bricks dug out of Babylonian mounds and believed

* I have not thought it necessary to point out in the text the various reasons why the interpretation of the cuneiform character is liable to so much uncertainty, as far as the literal reading, though not always of the meaning, of words is concerned. As for instance, the fact that the number of the characters seems to be almost unlimited, and that some only of them are phonetic, the remainder being syllabic and ideographic. The exact value of many of these signs has however been satisfactorily determined by the aid of the very curious and important lists of signs with their equivalents in letters, discovered amongst the clay tablets in the British Museum.

to bear royal names which cannot be said to have been yet satisfactorily deciphered, and some pottery and other remains of doubtful antiquity. Although very great progress has undoubtedly been made in the interpretation of the cuneiform inscriptions, the time is not yet come for the historian to accept their presumed contents as authentic and well-established materials for the reconstruction of a history of the ancient Assyrian empire, mixing with them the scattered and semi-fabulous notices of ancient authors of no authority. Any such attempt must inevitably expose its author to severe criticism, and must rather tend to throw a doubt upon, than to establish, the soundness of the principles upon which the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions has been carried on.

The study of the writing and language of the ancient Assyrians and Babylonians is still too much in its infancy to warrant the acceptance, without questioning, of the literal interpretation of any one considerable inscription. As yet the number of scholars who have seriously and independently turned their attention to the decipherment of the cuneiform character is very limited. An immense mass of materials for the investigation has been accumulated in the British Museum, in the collection of clay tablets and of the monuments brought from Assyria and Babylonia. These materials will gradually be made accessible to foreign scholars through their publication by the Trustees, under the able editorship of Sir Henry Rawlinson. A most important aid to the student will be furnished by a dictionary, or vocabulary of all known Assyrian words, now in the course of compilation by that eminent and most industrious scholar, Mr. Edwin Norris. What is now principally required is the independent examination of the inscriptions by learned Orientalists of different countries. As yet little has been done in Germany, and yet the accurate and penetrating intellect and patient analysis of the German scholar are peculiarly fitted for

investigations of this nature. I have little doubt that, in a few years, such progress will have been made in our knowledge of the contents of the inscriptions, and in our acquaintance with the comparative dates of the monuments, that we shall be able to restore much of the history of the ancient Assyrian empire, and to obtain a considerable insight into the religion, arts, sciences, literature, and political institutions of its people.

Some doubts exist as to the dates which are assigned to the various Assyrian monuments and inscriptions that have been discovered; and it has been asked, upon what evidence we are able to restore Assyrian chronology. Although we may not be able to assign a place with confidence to any event, such as the accession of a king to the throne, in our system of chronology, yet the inscriptions have furnished the means for ascertaining with certainty the year of his reign in which any event of importance occurred. It would appear that each Assyrian year was known by the name of a highpriest or some great dignitary, as the Athenian year was connected with the name of an Archon; the first year of a king's reign being frequently identified with the royal name itself. Fragments of clay tablets containing lists of these 'eponyms,' as they are termed, have been discovered amongst the collections in the British Museum. Although as yet a complete list has not been restored, a sufficient number of names has already been found to enable us to fix the relative dates of most of the events mentioned in the annals of the later Assyrian kings, as those annals are usually marked, year by year, by the name of the eponym.* These kings filled the Assyrian throne at a time when we approach authentic history, and the epoch of their reigns can be determined with some degree of certainty from sources independent of the Assyrian monuments and inscriptions.

* This important discovery was announced by Sir H. Rawlinson, in the 'Athenæum' for May 31 and July 19, 1862.

Although, therefore, it may be impossible as yet to ascertain the very year before Christ of any particular event, we can get near enough to it for all useful purposes.* The dates of the accession of the very early kings, and of the principal events of their reigns, have been doubtfully determined by references to them in the inscriptions themselves. But when we endeavour to deal with them we tread upon very uncertain ground. As yet it cannot be asserted that they can be fixed otherwise than approximately. It would seem, however, that the Assyrians kept a very accurate computation of time, and future discoveries may enable us to restore a great part of Assyrian chronology.

Sir Henry Rawlinson has put forward a theory, that the ancient capital of Assyria was a city called Asshur, of which the great mound of Kalah Sherghat marks the site, and that Nineveh was a comparatively recent capital to which the seat of government was only transferred about seven centuries B.C., and whose foundation does not date beyond the 10th or 12th century. But it appears to me that this view cannot be supported by sufficient evidence. It is undoubtedly opposed to sacred and profane history, and to the testimony afforded by Egyptian monuments, on which the name of Nineveh is found as far back as the 15th century B.C., whilst no mention of such a city as Asshur occurs.†

It has been remarked that, after all, the contents of the Assyrian inscriptions, admitting them to have been deciphered, have afforded us no useful information, and have added but little to our knowledge of the ancient world, as they only contain a dry record of the wars and conquests of

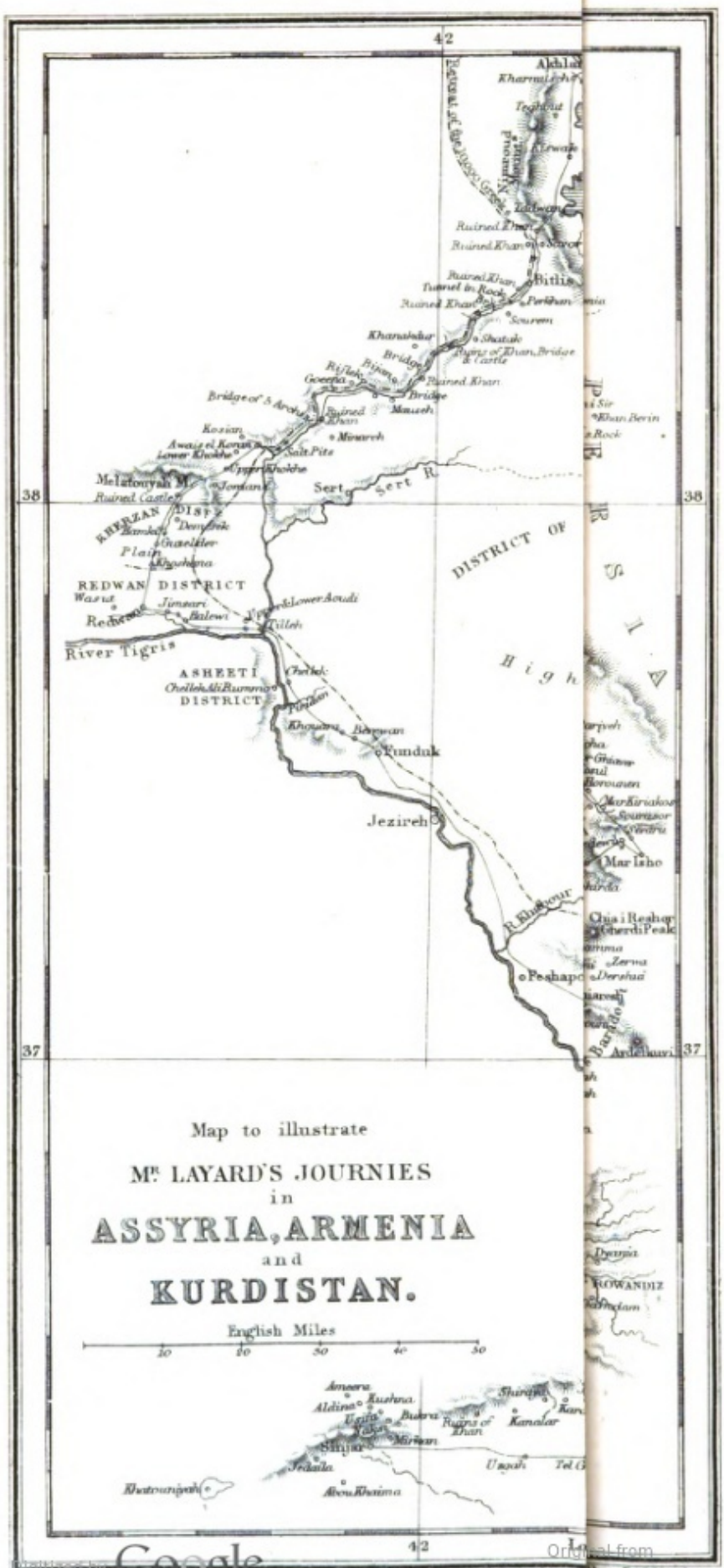
* If the discovery of the notice of an eclipse of the sun upon an Assyrian tablet be confirmed, we should then be able to determine with complete certainty the date of the principal events mentioned in the Assyrian annals.

† The Rev. G. Rawlinson ('Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 303) gets over the difficulty of the mention of Nineveh in Genesis by suggesting that the 11th and 12th verses of the 10th chapter 'were possibly an addition made by Ezra on the return from the captivity.'

eastern tyrants, and of a barbarous people. What, it might be asked, should we know of the Greeks if only their monumental records had been preserved to us? Fortunately, however, the Assyrian inscriptions contain more than mere royal annals; and although we cannot ascertain the intellectual advancement which the Assyrian people may have made, as we have no written literature belonging to them, such as happily has been preserved to us from ancient Greece, yet we have in the vast collection of inscriptions on marble and baked clay, dug up from the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, and in the monuments themselves, ample materials to prove that the Assyrians had made great progress in those arts and sciences which distinguish a civilised people. The discoveries in Assyria and Babylonia have enabled us to reach one of the remotest sources of that mighty stream of human progress which has developed, through Greece and Rome, into our present civilisation. It is in this that their great interest and importance consist.

Erratum.

Page 292, note ‡, line 3 from foot, *for* Appian *read* Apion.



NINEVEH AND BABYLON.

CHAPTER I.

Renewal of excavations in Assyria—Return to Mosul—Discoveries at Kouyunjik—Visit to Nimroud—Excavations in the Mound—Mr. H. Rassam—Sculptures representing transport of winged bulls discovered at Kouyunjik—Fresh sculptures—Discovery of gateway—High Mound at Nimroud explored.

In the summer of 1849 I had returned to my post at Constantinople as an attaché to her Majesty's Embassy. The general interest expressed in England at the result of the discoveries on the site of Nineveh, during my first expedition to Assyria, induced the Trustees of the British Museum to continue the excavations, and, having obtained a grant of money for that purpose from the Government, they requested me to undertake their direction. I cheerfully consented to return to Mosul, and to carry on further researches amongst the Assyrian ruins. My preparations having been soon completed, I left the Turkish capital at the end of August. I was accompanied by Mr. F. Cooper, an artist sent out by the Trustees to make drawings of such objects as might be discovered; by Dr. Sandwith, an English physician on a visit to the East; and by my faithful friend and former companion, Mr. Hormuzd Rassam. Cawal Yusuf, a priest and chief of the sect of the Yezidis, availed himself of my escort to return to his native mountains. He was the bearer of a Firman, which he had obtained through the mediation of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, releasing his people from various

unjust and oppressive burdens and laws to which they had previously been subject.

I chose for our route to Mosul the little-known districts of Eastern Armenia, and the Kurdish mountains between the lake of Wan and Jezirah. I was thus able to follow and determine the track of the ten thousand Greeks in their memorable retreat under Xenophon, to trace the head waters of the Tigris, and to visit the two important Turkish towns of Erzeroom and Bitlis. We travelled through a highly interesting and picturesque country without accident, although not without risk from Kurdish and Arab marauders, and at the end of September I again found myself in the Assyrian plains.*

The first stage of my journey homewards, on leaving Mosul two years before, had been at the Chaldæan village of Tel Kef It was the last on my return. As we rode wearily towards the village, on a hot and sultry afternoon at the end of September, I left the high road with Hormuzd to quench my thirst at some Arab tents. As we drew near, we were greeted with exclamations of joy, and were soon in the midst of a crowd of men and women, kissing our knees, and giving us other marks of welcome. They were Arabs of the Jebour tribe, who had been formerly employed in the excavations. They eagerly enquired whether we were again going to dig for old stones, and hearing that such was the object of my journey, they at once set about striking their tents, to be ready to join us at Mosul or Nimroud.

As we neared Tel Kef we found groups of my old superintendents and workmen by the road side. There were fat Toma, Mansour, Behnan, and Hannah, joyful at meeting me once more, and at the prospect of fresh service. In the village were Mr. Rassam (the English vice-consul) and Khodja Toma, his dragoman, who had made ready the feast for us at the house of the Chaldæan bishop. Next morning, as we rode the last three hours of our journey, we met fresh groups of old friends :—Merjan, with my groom holding the stirrup

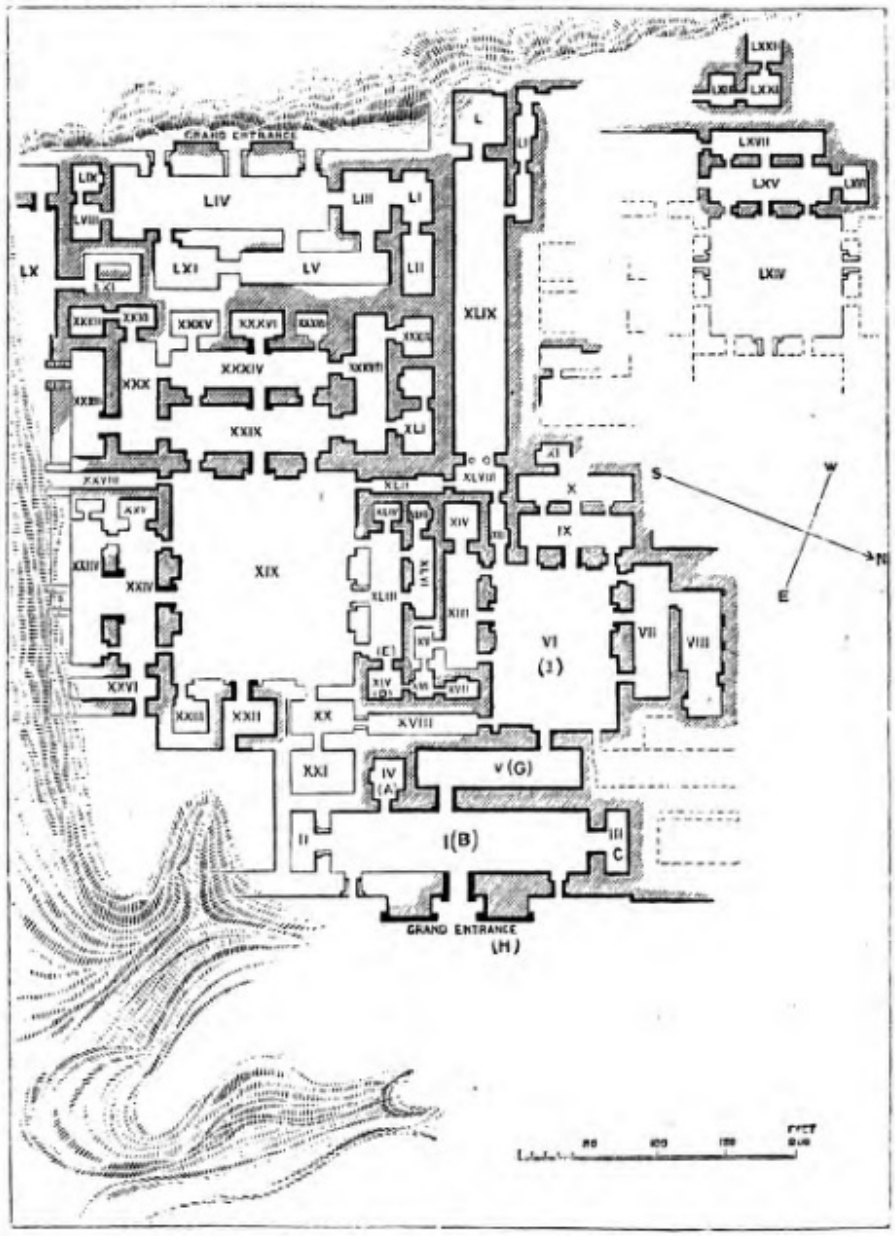
* A full narrative of my journey will be found in the first three chapters of my larger edition of 'Nineveh and Babylon.'

ready for me to mount, the noble animal looking as beautiful, as fresh, and as sleek as when I last saw him, although two long years had passed; former servants, Awad and the Sheikhs of the Jebours, even the very greyhounds who had been brought up under my roof. Then as we ascend an eminence midway, walls, towers, minarets, and domes rise boldly from the margin of the broad river, cheating us into the belief, too soon to be dispelled, that Mosul is still a not unworthy representative of the great Nineveh. As we draw near, the long line of lofty mounds, the only remains of mighty bulwarks and spacious gates, detach themselves from the low undulating hills: now the vast mound of Kouyunjik overtops the surrounding heaps; then above it peers the white cone of the tomb of the prophet Jonah; many other well-remembered spots follow in rapid succession; but we cannot linger. Hastening over the creaking bridge of boats, we force our way through the crowded bazars, and alight at the house I had left two years ago. Old servants take their places as a matter of course, and, uninvited, pursue their regular occupations as if they had never been interrupted. Indeed it seemed as if we had but returned from a summer's ride; two years had passed away like a dream.

On the morning after our arrival in Mosul, I rode at sunrise to Kouyunjik. On my return to Europe in 1847, Mr. Ross had continued the excavations in the palace of Sennacherib, where I had left off, and had uncovered several interesting bas-reliefs. That gentleman had, to my great regret, left Mosul. Since his departure the excavations had been placed under the charge of Mr. Rassam, who was directed by the Trustees of the British Museum to employ a small number of men, rather to retain possession of the spot, and to prevent interference on the part of others, than to carry on extensive operations. Toma Shishman, or 'the Fat,' was still the overseer of the workmen, and accompanied me on my first visit to the ruins.

But little change had taken place in the great mound since I had last seen it. It was yellow and bare, as it always is at this time of the year. Heaps of earth marked the site of former excavations, the chambers first discovered having

been again completely buried with rubbish. Of the sculptured walls laid bare two years before no traces now remained.



PLAN I.—Palace of Sennacherib.

The trenches dug under Mr. Ross's directions, in the southern corner, opposite the town of Mosul, were still open. The two chambers he had explored formed part of the great

palace standing on this angle of the mound, already partly explored.* The bas-reliefs, however, were much defaced.

They recorded the conquest by Sennacherib of a nation inhabiting the banks of a river. The captive women were distinguished by long embroidered robes fringed with tassels. The walls of the castles had a peculiar wedge-shaped ornament, and stood on the bank of a river or marsh, indicated by canes or reeds, and in a district producing the palm tree. The Assyrians having captured the strong places by escalade, were carrying the inhabitants into captivity, and driving away cattle, camels, and carts drawn by oxen. Some of the men bore large baskets of osier work, and the women vases or cauldrons. The king, standing in his chariot, attended by his warriors, and preceded by an eunuch registering the number of prisoners and the amount of the spoil, received the captive chiefs. We may conjecture, from the marsh or river and the palm trees, that the conquered people inhabited some district in southern Mesopotamia. They were, probably, one of the numerous tribes who lived in the marshes formed by the Euphrates and Tigris, and whose subjection is recorded in the inscriptions of Sennacherib. In the southern wall of this chamber was a doorway formed by plain, upright slabs of close-grained magnesian limestone, almost as hard as flint; between them were two small, crouching lions, in the usual alabaster. This entrance led into a further room, of which only a small part had been explored.† The walls were panelled with unsculptured slabs of the same compact limestone.

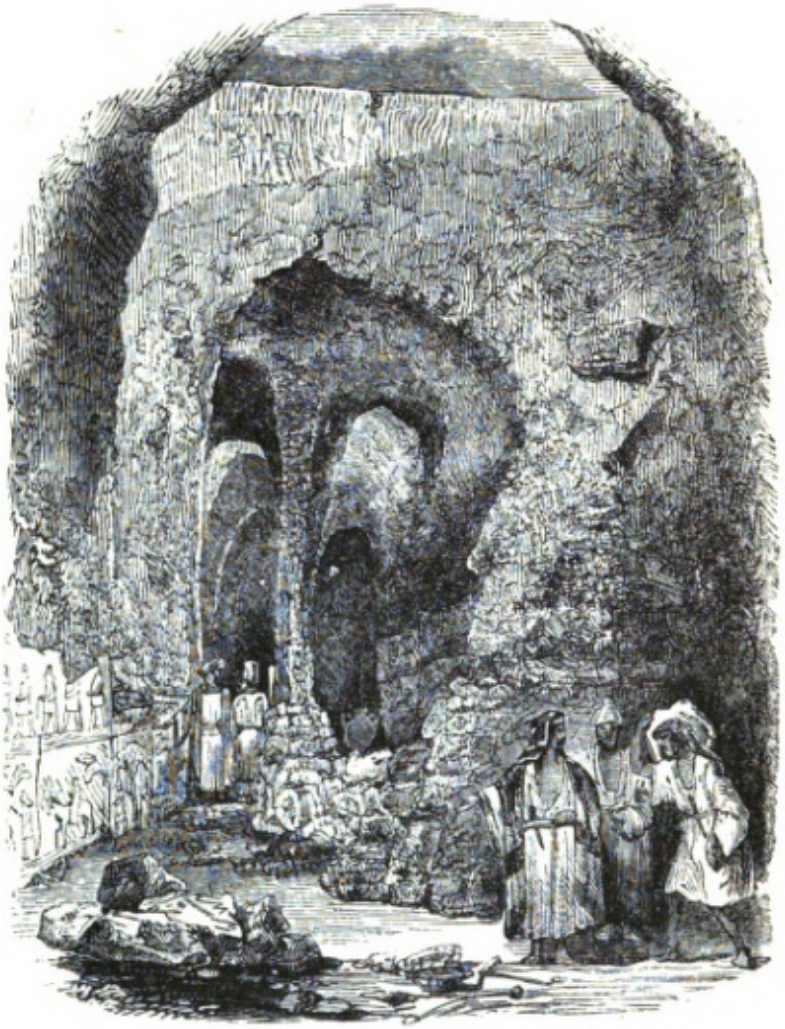
The sculptured remains hitherto discovered in the mound of Kouyunjik had been reached by digging down to them from the surface. The accumulation of rubbish was, however, so considerable in this part of the ruins, frequently exceeding thirty feet, that the workmen, to avoid the labour of clearing it away, began to tunnel along the buried walls, sinking shafts at intervals to admit light and air. The underground passages were narrow, and were propped up when necessary either by leaving columns of soil, as in mines, or by wooden

* No. LI. Plan I.

† No. LIII. Plan I.

beams. These long galleries, dimly lighted, and lined with the remains of ancient art—the wild Arabs and Nestorians wandering through their intricacies, or working in their dark recesses—were singularly picturesque.

Toma Shishman had removed the workmen from the



Underground Excavations at Kouyunjik.

southern corner of the mound, where the sculptures were much injured, and had opened tunnels in a part of the building previously explored, commencing where I had left off in 1847.* I descended into the underground passages by an inclined way, through which the workmen issued with the rubbish

* No. VI. Plan I. p. 4.

dug out from the ruins. At the bottom I found myself before a wall forming the southern side of the great hall, discovered, though only partly explored, during my former researches.* The sculptured slabs faintly seen through the gloom, although almost reduced to lime by the fire which had destroyed the palace, were still fairly preserved. They had been entirely covered with figures, varying from three inches to one foot in height, carefully finished, and designed with great spirit.

In this series of bas-reliefs the history of an Assyrian conquest was more fully portrayed than in any other yet discovered, from the going out of the monarch to battle to his triumphal return after victory. Sennacherib, accompanied by his chariots and horsemen, was seen passing through a mountainous and wooded district and entering the high country. The mountains, valleys, and streams, the vines and dwarf oaks, indicated a region north of Assyria, either Armenia, Media, or Kurdistan, countries we know to have been invaded by this monarch. His troops, cavalry and infantry, were represented in close combat with the enemy, pursuing them over hills and through valleys, beside streams, and in the midst of vineyards. The vanquished turned to ask for quarter; or, wounded, fell under the feet of the advancing horses, raising their hands imploringly to ward off the impending death-blow. The triumph followed. The king standing in his chariot, beneath the royal parasol, attended by long lines of dismounted warriors leading richly caparisoned horses, and by foot soldiers variously armed and accoutred, was receiving the captives and spoil taken from the conquered people. First approached the spearmen throwing the heads of the slain into heaps before the officers appointed to number them. Then came other soldiers, leading, and urging onwards with staves, the prisoners—men chained together, or bound singly in fetters, and women, some on foot, carrying their children on their shoulders, or leading them by the hand, others riding on mules. Asses, mules, and flocks of sheep, formed the spoil. The dress of the men consisted of a short tunic; that of the women, of a shirt falling to the ankles, and cut low in front of the neck.†

* No. VI. Plan I. p. 4.

† Two plates from these spirited sculptures are given in the 2nd series

In the side of the hall or court sculptured with these bas-reliefs was a wide portal, formed by a pair of colossal human-headed bulls. They had suffered, like all those previously discovered, from the fire, and the upper part—the wings and human head—had been completely destroyed. The lower half had, however, escaped, and the inscriptions were consequently nearly entire. By the side of each bull were two small figures, one above the other. They had long hair, falling in large and massive curls on their shoulders, wore short tunics descending to the knee, and held in one hand a pole topped by a kind of cone, and raised the other in act of adoration.* At right angles with the slabs bearing these sculptures were colossal figures carrying the oft-repeated cone and basket.

In this entrance a well, cut through the large pavement slab between the bulls, was afterwards discovered. It contained fragments of pottery, human bones, and some pieces of calcined sculptured alabaster, evidently detached from the bas-reliefs on the walls. Like many other wells discovered during the excavations, it had probably been sunk by those who had built on the mound above the Assyrian ruins.

A small doorway to the right of the portal formed by the winged bulls, led into a further chamber,† in which an entrance had been found into another room,‡ whose walls had been completely uncovered. The dimensions of this third room were 26 feet by 23, and it had but one door, flanked on either side by two colossal figures, whose lower extremities alone remained, the upper part of the slabs having been destroyed: one appeared to have been eagle-headed, with the body of a man, and the other a monster, with human head and the feet of a lion. The bas-reliefs represented the siege of a castle standing on an artificial mound, and surrounded by houses. The besieged defended themselves on the walls and turrets with bows, spears, and stones. As-

of the 'Monuments of Nineveh,' Plates 37, 38. They represent the battle, and part of the triumph.

* One such figure has been placed in the British Museum, and see 2nd series of the 'Monuments of Nineveh,' Plate 6.

† No. XIII. Plan I. p. 4. ‡ No. XIV. same Plan.

syrian spearmen, slingers, and bowmen had already gained the housetops. Male and female captives had been taken and heads cut off—the victorious warriors, according to custom and probably to claim a reward,* bringing them to the registrars. The led horses and body-guard of the king were still preserved, but the figure of the monarch himself had been destroyed. The country was indicated by wooded mountains, vines, and various trees, and a river. The dress of the male prisoners consisted either of a long robe falling to the ankles, or of a tunic reaching to the knees, over which was an outer garment, apparently made of the skins of animals, and they wore greaves laced up in front. The women were clothed in a robe descending to the feet, with an outer fringed garment thrown over the shoulders; a kind of hood or veil covered the back of the head, and fell over the neck. Above the castle was the fragment of an inscription in two lines, containing the name of the city, of which unfortunately the first character is wanting, and which cannot, therefore, be satisfactorily determined. We may infer, however, from the nature of the country represented, that it stood in a mountainous district to the north of Assyria.† In this chamber, as in others afterwards explored, some of the slabs (those adjoining the entrance) had been purposely defaced, every vestige of sculpture having been carefully removed by a sharp instrument.

Returning to the great hall, I found that a third entrance had been discovered, opening to the west. It had been guarded by six colossal figures, three on each side. The upper part of all of them had been destroyed. They had been eagle-headed and lion-headed monsters.

This doorway led into a narrow passage, only one side of which had been excavated;‡ on it was represented the siege of a walled city, divided into two parts by a river. One-half of the place had been captured by the Assyrians, who had

* It is still the custom in Persia, and was so until lately in Turkey, for soldiers to bring the heads of the slain to their officers after a battle, for the purpose of claiming a reward.

† Such parts of the bas-reliefs as could be moved are now in the British Museum; see also 2nd series of the 'Monuments of Nineveh,' Plate 39.

‡ No. XII. Plan I. p. 4.

gained possession of the towers and battlements; the other, on the opposite bank of the stream, was still defended by slingers and bowmen. Against its walls had been thrown banks or mounds, built of stones, bricks, and branches of trees. The battering-rams, covered with skins or hides, had been rolled up these inclined ways, and had already made a breach in the fortifications. Archers and spearmen were hurrying to the assault, whilst others were driving off the captives, and carrying away their gods or idols. The dress of the male prisoners consisted of a plain under-shirt, an upper garment falling below the knees, divided in the front and buttoned at the neck, and laced greaves. Their hair and beards were shorter and less elaborately curled than those of the Assyrians. The women were distinguished by high rounded turbans, ornamented with plaits or folds. A veil fell from the back of this headdress over their shoulders.* No inscription remained to record the name of the vanquished nation.

The opposite side of this narrow chamber, or passage, was shortly afterwards uncovered. The bas-reliefs on its walls represented Sennacherib in his chariot, preceded and followed by his warriors. The only remarkable feature in the sculptures was the highly decorated trappings of the horses, whose bits were in the form of a horse at full speed.

Such were the discoveries that had been made during my absence. There could be no doubt whatever that all the chambers hitherto excavated belonged to one great edifice, built by one and the same king. I have already shown how the bas-reliefs of Kouyunjik differed from those of the older palaces of Nimroud, but closely resembled those of Khorsabad in the general treatment, in the costumes of the Assyrian warriors, as well as of the nations with whom they warred, and in the character of the ornaments, inscriptions, and details.† Those newly uncovered were, in all these respects, like the bas-reliefs found before my departure, and upon which I

* Such is the costume of the women in ships in a bas-relief discovered during my former researches (see 'Monuments of Nineveh,' Plate 71), which, there is reason to believe, represents the capture of Tyre or Sidon.

† See 'Nineveh and its Remains,' chap. xiii.

had ventured to form an opinion as to the respective antiquity and origin of the various ruins hitherto explored in Assyria. The bas-reliefs of Nimroud, the reader may remember, were divided into two bands or friezes by inscriptions; the subject being frequently confined to one tablet, or slab, and arranged with some attempt at composition, so as to form a separate picture. At Kouyunjik the four walls of a chamber were generally occupied by one series of sculptures, representing a consecutive history, uninterrupted by inscriptions, or by the divisions in the alabaster panelling. Figures, smaller in size than those of Nimroud, covered from top to bottom the face of slabs eight or nine feet high, and sometimes of equal breadth.

The sculptor could thus introduce more action, and far more detail, into his subject. He aimed even at conveying, by rude representations of trees, valleys, mountains, and rivers, a general idea of the natural features of the country in which the events recorded took place. Thus a chamber generally contained the whole story of one campaign, from the going out of the king to his triumphal return. We are thus able to identify, in many instances, the sculptured records with the descriptive accounts contained in the great inscriptions carved upon the bulls, at the various entrances to the palace, which relate the principal events of the reign of the king. At Kouyunjik there were probably few bas-reliefs, particularly those containing representations of castles and cities, that were not accompanied by a short epigraph, or label, giving the name of the conquered king and country, and even the names of the principal prisoners, especially if royal personages. Unfortunately these inscriptions having been usually placed on the upper part of the slabs, which has very rarely escaped destruction, but few of them remain.

I lost no time in making arrangements for continuing the excavations. Toma Shishman was placed over Kouyunjik; Mansour, Behnan (the marble cutter), and Hannah (the carpenter), again entered my service. Ali Rahal, a sheikh of the Jebours, who, hearing of my return, had hastened to Mosul, was sent to the desert to collect such of my old workmen from his tribe as were inclined to re-enter my service.

He was appointed 'sheikh of the mound,' and duly invested with the customary robe of honour on the occasion.

The accumulation of soil above the ruins was so great, that I determined to continue the tunnelling, removing only as much earth as was necessary to show the sculptured walls. The rubbish was carried away through shafts sunk at intervals for this purpose, and to admit light and air, and was raised in baskets by rude wooden pulleys.

Many of the Nestorians formerly in my service as diggers, having heard of my expected return, had left their mountains and had joined me a day or two after my arrival. There were Jebours enough in the immediate neighbourhood of the town to make up four or five gangs of workmen, and I placed parties at once in the galleries already opened, and also in different parts of Kouyunjik not previously explored, and at a high mound in the north-west walls, forming one side of the great inclosure opposite Mosul—a ruin which I had only partially examined during my previous visit.

After a short visit to the Yezidi shrine at Sheikh Adi, I was again at Mosul on the 12th October. By this time all my preparations were completed. The Jebours had pitched their tents over the excavations at Kouyunjik. About one hundred workmen, divided into twelve or fourteen parties, were employed at the mound. The Arabs, as before, removed the earth and rubbish, whilst the more difficult labour with the pick was left entirely to the hardy Nestorian mountaineers. My old friend, Yakoub, the Rais of Asheetha, made his appearance one morning, declaring that things were going on ill in the mountains; and that, although the head of a village, he hoped to spend the winter more profitably and more pleasantly in my service than at home. He was accordingly named superintendent of the Nestorian workmen, for whom I built mud huts near the foot of the mound.

The work having been thus began at Kouyunjik, I rode with Hormuzd to Nimroud for the first time on the 18th of October. It seemed but yesterday that we had followed the same track. We stopped at each village, and found in each old acquaintances ready to welcome us. From the crest of the hill half way, the first view of Nimroud opened upon

us; the great mound, on which I had gazed so often from this spot, and with which so many happy recollections were bound up, rising boldly above the Jaif, the river winding through the plain, the distant wreaths of smoke marking the villages of Naifa and Nimroud. At Selamiyah we sought the house of the Kiayah, where I had passed the first winter whilst excavating at Nimroud; but it was now a house of mourning. The good old man had died two days before, and the wails of the women, telling of a death within, met our ears as we approached the hovel. Turning from the scene of woe, we galloped over the plain, and reached Nimroud as the sun went down. Saleh Shahir, with the elders of the village, was there to receive us. I dismounted at my old house, which was still standing, though somewhat in ruins, for it had been the habitation of the Kiayah during my absence. To avoid the vermin swarming in the rooms, my tent was pitched in the courtyard, and I dwelt entirely in it.

The village had still, comparatively speaking, a flourishing appearance, and had not diminished in size since my last visit. The *tanzimat*, or reformed system of local administration, had been introduced into the pashalic of Mosul, and although many of its regulations were evaded, and arbitrary acts were still occasionally committed, yet on the whole a marked improvement had taken place in the dealings of the authorities with the subjects of the Sultan. The great cause of complaint was the want of security. The troops under the command of the Pasha were not sufficient in number to keep the Bedouins in check, and there was scarcely a village in the low country which had not suffered more or less from their depredations. Nimroud was particularly exposed to their incursions, and the inhabitants lived in continual agitation and alarm.

The evening was spent with the principal people of the village, talking with them of their prospects, taxes, harvests, and the military conscription, now the great theme of discontent in Southern Turkey, where it had been newly introduced.

By sunrise next morning I was amongst the ruins. The

mound had undergone no change. There it rose from the plain, the same sun-burnt yellow heap that it had stood for twenty centuries. The earth and rubbish, which had been heaped over the excavated chambers and sculptured slabs, had settled, and had left uncovered, in sinking, the upper part of several bas-reliefs. A few colossal heads of winged figures rose calmly above the level of the soil, and with two pairs of winged bulls, which had not been reburied on account of their mutilated condition, was all that remained above ground of the north-west palace, that great storehouse of Assyrian history and art. Since my departure the surface of the mound had again been furrowed by the plough, and ample crops had this year rewarded the labours of the husbandman. The ruins of the south-west palace were still uncovered. The Arabs had respected the few bas-reliefs which stood against the crumbling walls, and Saleh Shahir pointed to them as a proof of the watchfulness of his people during my long absence.

Collecting together my old excavators from the Shemutti and Jehesh (the Arab tribes which inhabit Nimroud and Naifa), and from the tents of a few Jebours, I placed workmen in different parts of the mound. The north-west palace had not been fully explored. I consequently directed a party of workmen to resume the excavations where they had been formerly abandoned.* New trenches were also opened in the ruins of the centre palace, where, as yet, no sculptures had been discovered in their original position against the walls. The high conical mound at the north-west corner of Nimroud had not been examined. With the exception of a shaft, about forty feet deep, sunk nearly in its centre, and passing through a solid mass of sundried bricks, no opening had been made into this singular ruin. I now ordered a tunnel to be carried into its base on the western face, and on a level with the conglomerate rock upon which it rests.

Whilst riding among the ruins giving directions to the workmen, we had not escaped the watchful eyes of the Abou-Salman Arabs, whose tents were scattered over the Jaif. Not

* To the south of Chamber X. Plan II. p. 42, 'Nineveh and its Remains.'

having heard of my visit, and perceiving horsemen wandering over the mound, they took us for Bedouin marauders, and mounting their mares, sallied forth to reconnoitre. Seeing Arabs galloping over the plain I rode down to meet them, and soon found myself in the embrace of Schloss, the nephew of Sheikh Abd-ur-Rahman. We turned together to the tents of the chief, still pitched on the old encamping ground. The men, instead of fighting with Bedouins, now gathered round us in the *muzeef**, and a sheep was slain to celebrate my return. The Sheikh himself was absent, having been thrown into prison by the Pasha for refusing to pay some newly-imposed taxes. I was able to announce his release, at my intercession, to his wife, who received me as his guest.

As I ascended the mound next morning I perceived a group of travellers on its summit, their horses picketed in the stubble. Ere I could learn what strangers had thus wandered to this remote region, my hand was seized by the faithful Bairakdar. Beneath, in an excavated chamber, wrapped in his travelling cloak, was Rawlinson deep in sleep, wearied by a long and harassing night's ride. For the first time we met in the Assyrian ruins, and besides the greetings of old friendship there was much to be seen together, and much to be talked over. The fatigues of the journey had, however, brought on fever, and we were soon compelled, after visiting the principal excavations, to take refuge from the heat of the sun in the mud huts of the village. The attack increasing in the evening, it was deemed prudent to ride into Mosul at once, and we mounted our horses in the middle of the night. Three days afterwards he continued his journey to Constantinople.

I had now nearly all my old adherents and workmen about me. The Bairakdar, who had hastened to join me as soon as he had heard of my return, was named principal cawass, and had the general management of my household. One Latiff Agha, like the Bairakdar, a native of Scio, carried off as a slave after the massacre, and brought up as a Mussulman, was appointed an overseer over the workmen. He had been

* The *muzeef* is that part of an Arab tent in which guests are received.

strongly recommended to me by the British consul at Kaiseriyah, and fully justified in my service by his honesty and fidelity the good report I had received of him.

During the months of October and November my time was spent between Kouyunjik and Nimroud, and the excavations were carried on at both places without interruption. Mr. Cooper was occupied in drawing the bas-reliefs discovered at Kouyunjik—living in Mosul, and riding over daily to the ruins. To Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, who usually accompanied me in my journeys, were confided, as before, the general superintendence of the operations, the payment of the workmen, the settlement of disputes, and various other offices, which only one, as well acquainted as himself with the Arabs and men of various tribes and sects employed in the works, and exercising so much personal influence over them, could undertake. To his unwearied exertions, and his faithful and punctual discharge of all the duties imposed upon him, to his inexhaustible good humour, combined with necessary firmness, to his complete knowledge of the Arab character, and the attachment with which even the wildest of those with whom we were brought in contact regarded him, the Trustees of the British Museum owe not only much of the success of these researches, but the economy with which I was enabled to carry them through. Without him it would have been impossible to accomplish half what has been done with the means placed at my disposal.

The Kouyunjik workmen received their weekly pay in the subterranean galleries, some convenient space where several passages met being chosen for the purpose ; those of Nimroud generally in the village. A scene of wild confusion ensued on pay-days, from which an inexperienced observer might have argued a sad want of order and method. This was, however, but the way of doing business usual in the country. When there was a difference of opinion, he who cried the loudest gained the day, and after a desperate struggle of voices matters relapsed into their usual state, every one being perfectly satisfied. Screaming and gesticulation with Easterns by no means signify ill-will, or even serious disagreement. Without them, except of course amongst the

Turks, who are staid and dignified to a proverb, the most ordinary transactions cannot be carried on. Sometimes the Arabs employed at Kouyunjik would cross the river to Mosul to receive their pay. They would then walk through the town in martial array, brandishing their weapons and chanting their war cries in chorus, to the alarm of the authorities and the inhabitants, who generally concluded that the place had been invaded by the Bedouins. It was Mr. Hormuzd Rassam's task to keep in check these wild spirits.

By the end of November several entire chambers had been excavated at Kouyunjik, and many bas-reliefs of great interest had been discovered. The four sides of the court,* part of which has already been described, had now been explored.† In the centre of each side was a grand entrance, guarded by colossal human-headed bulls.‡ This court was 124 feet in length by 90 feet in breadth, the longest sides being those to the north and south. It appears to have formed a centre, around which the principal chambers in this part of the palace were grouped. Its walls had been completely covered with the most elaborate and highly finished sculptures. Unfortunately all the bas-reliefs, as well as the colossal figures at the entrances, had suffered more or less from the fire which had destroyed the edifice.

The narrow passage leading from the great hall at the south-west corner had been completely explored. Its sculptures have already been described.§ It opened into a chamber 24 feet by 19, from which branched two other passages.‖ The one to the west was entered by a wide doorway, in which stood two plain spherical stones about three feet high, having

* I have called this part of the palace, in the larger edition of this work, 'a hall;' it was more probably a court entirely open to the sky, like the courts of modern Mosul houses.

† No. VI. Plan I. p. 4. It will be borne in mind that it was necessary to carry tunnels round the chambers, and along the walls, leaving the centre buried in earth and rubbish, a very laborious and tedious operation with no other means at command than those afforded by the country.

‡ All these entrances were formed in the same way as that in the south-eastern side, described p. 8, namely, by a pair of human-headed bulls, flanked on each side by a winged giant, and two smaller figures one above the other.

§ P. 9.

‖ Nos. XLVIII. and XLII. Plan I. p. 4.

the appearance of the bases of columns, although no traces of the columns themselves could be found. This was the entrance into a broad and spacious gallery, about 218 feet long and 25 wide.* A tunnel at its western end, cut through the solid wall, as there was no doorway on this side of the gallery, led into the chambers excavated by Mr. Ross,† thus connecting them with the rest of the building.

I have already described the bas-reliefs on the southern side of the great hall, representing the conquest of a mountainous country.‡ The same subject was continued on the western wall, without much variety in the details. But on the northern, the sculptures differed from any others yet discovered, and were of great interest. They represented the moving of the great human-headed bulls to their places in the palaces.

The whole gallery, to the west of the great hall, had been occupied by one continuous series, representing the different processes adopted by the Assyrians in moving and placing various objects used in their buildings, and especially the human-headed bulls, from the first transport of the huge stone in the rough from the quarry, to the raising of these gigantic sculptures in the gateways of the palace. In the great hall the same subjects were repeated, and other details introduced.

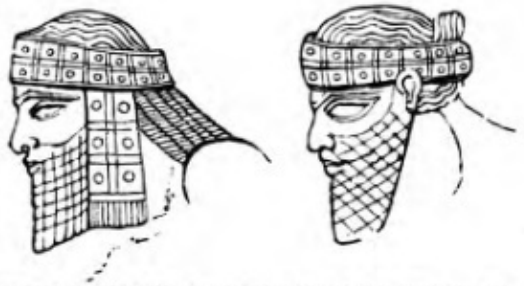
A huge block of stone (probably of the alabaster used in the Assyrian edifices), somewhat elongated in form so as to resemble an obelisk in the rough,§ was lying on a low flat-bottomed boat floating on a river. It had probably been towed down the Tigris from some distant quarry, and was to be landed near the site of the intended palace, to be carved by the sculptor into the form of a colossal bull. It exceeded the boat considerably in length, projecting beyond both the head and stern, and was held by upright beams fastened to the sides of the vessel, and kept firm in their places by

* No. XLIX. Plan I. p. 4. † Nos. LI. and LII. same Plan.

‡ P. 7. I assume the building to be due north and south, although it is not so. It faces nearly north-east and south-west.

§ It is just possible that this object really represents an obelisk; but I think it more probable, for several reasons, that it is a block in the rough from the quarry, to be sculptured into the form of a winged bull.

wooden wedges. Two cables were passed through holes cut in the stone itself, and a third was tied to a strong pin projecting from the head of the boat. Each cable was held by a large body of men, who pulled by means of small ropes fastened to it and passed round their shoulders. Some of these trackers walked in the water, others on dry land. The number altogether represented must have been nearly 300, about 100 to each cable, and they appeared to be divided into distinct bands, each distinguished by a peculiar costume. Some wore a kind of embroidered turban, through which their long hair was gathered behind; the heads of others were encircled by a fringed shawl, whose ends hung over the ears and neck, leaving the hair to fall in long curls upon the shoulders. Many were represented naked, but the greater number were dressed in short chequered tunics, with a long fringe attached to the girdle. They were urged on by taskmasters armed with swords and staves. The boat was also pushed by men wading in the stream. An overseer, who regulated the whole proceedings, was seated astride on the fore-part of the stone. His hands were stretched out in the act of giving commands. As the upper part of all the bas-reliefs had unfortunately been destroyed, it cannot be ascertained what figures were represented above the trackers; probably Assyrian warriors drawn up in martial array, or may be the king himself in his chariot, accompanied by his body-guard, and presiding over the operations.*



Head-dress of Captives employed by Assyrians in moving Bull. (Kouyunjik.)

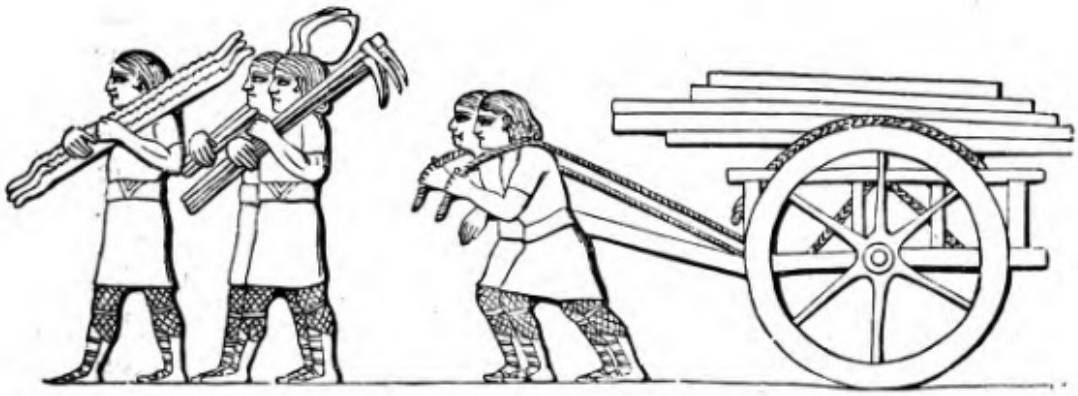
The huge stone having been landed, and carved by the Assyrian sculptor into the form of a colossal human-headed bull, was to be moved from the bank of the river to the site it was meant to occupy in the palace. This process was re-

* For the details of these interesting bas-reliefs, I must refer my readers to Plates 10 and 11, in the second series of the 'Monuments of Nineveh.'

presented on the walls of the great hall. From these bas-reliefs, as well as from discoveries to be hereafter mentioned, it is evident that the Assyrians sculptured these gigantic figures before moving them to their places, leaving only the details and the finishing touches to be put in; the smaller sculptures appear to have been executed after the slabs had been placed.

In one bas-relief the colossal bull was seen resting horizontally on a sledge similar in form to the boat containing the rough block from the quarry. It faced the spectator, and the human head rested on the fore part of the sledge, which was curved upwards and strengthened by a thick beam, apparently running completely through from side to side. The upper part, or deck, was otherwise nearly flat; the keel, being slightly curved throughout. Props, probably of wood, were placed under different parts of the sculpture to secure an equal pressure. The sledge was dragged by cables, and helped onwards by levers. The cables were four in number; two fastened to strong projecting pins in front, and two to similar pins behind. They were pulled by small ropes passing over the shoulders of the men. The workmen were distinguished by various costumes, to show that they were captives from different conquered nations, and were urged on by task-masters. The sledge moved over rollers, which, as soon as left behind, were brought again to the front by parties of men, who were under the control of overseers armed with staves. Although these rollers materially facilitated the motion, it would be almost impossible, when passing over rough ground, or if the rollers were jammed, to give the first impetus to so heavy a body by mere force applied to the cables. The Assyrians, therefore, lifted, and consequently eased, the hinder part of the sledge with huge levers of wood, and in order to obtain the necessary fulcrum they carried with them during the operations wedges of different sizes. Kneeling workmen were represented using these levers and wedges. The levers were worked by ropes, and on a detached fragment, discovered in the long gallery, men were seen seated astride upon them to add by their weight to the force applied.

On the bull were four persons, probably the superintending officers. The first was kneeling, and appeared to be clapping his hands, probably beating time, to regulate the



Cart with Ropes and Workmen carrying Saws, Picks and Shovels, for moving colossal Bull (Kouyunjik.)

motions of the workmen, who unless they applied their strength at one and the same moment would be unable to move so large a weight. Behind him stood a second officer

Workmen carrying Ropes, Saws, and other Implements for moving Bull. (Kouyunjik.)

with outstretched arm, evidently giving the word of command. The next held to his mouth an object resembling the modern

speaking-trumpet. In no bas-relief hitherto discovered does a similar object occur as an instrument of music. The fourth officer, also standing, carried a mace, and was probably stationed behind to give directions to those who worked the levers. The sledge bearing the sculpture was followed by men with coils of ropes and various implements, and drawing carts laden with cables and beams. Even the landscape was not neglected; and the country in which these operations took place was indicated by trees, and a river. In the river were seen men swimming on skins; and boats and rafts, resembling those still in use in Assyria, impelled by oars with wedge-shaped blades.

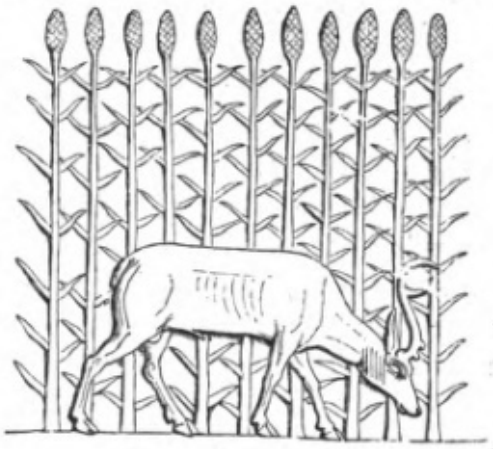
The same subject was represented in other bas-reliefs, with even fuller details. The bull was placed in the same manner on a sledge, which was also moved by cables and levers. It was accompanied by workmen with saws, hatchets, pickaxes, shovels, ropes, and props, and by carts carrying cables and beams. Upon the bull itself were three officers directing the operations, one holding the speaking trumpet in his hands; and in front walked four other overseers. Above the sledge and the workmen were rows of trees, and a river on which were circular boats resembling in shape the 'kufas,' now used on the lower part of the Tigris, and probably, like them, built of reeds and ozier twigs, covered with square pieces of hide.* They were heavily laden with the beams and implements required for moving and placing the bulls. They appeared to have been near the sledge when dragged along the bank of the river, and were impelled by four oars. Near the boats, astride on inflated skins in the water, were fishermen angling with hook and line.†

On a fallen slab, forming part of the same series, was represented the king standing in a richly-decorated chariot, the pole of which, curved upwards at the end, and ornamented with the head of a horse, was raised by two eunuchs. From the peculiar form of this chariot and the absence of a

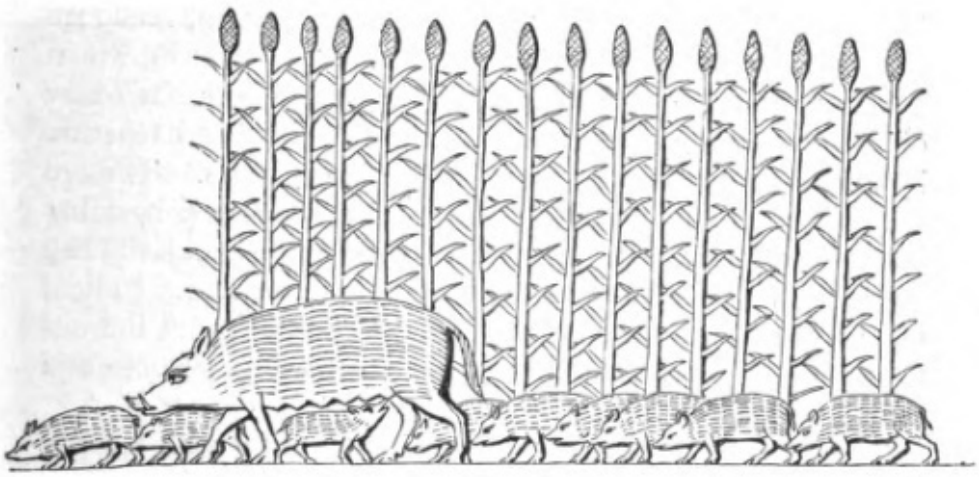
* Such appear to have been the boats described by Herodotus (lib. i. c. 194). The modern 'kufa' is covered with bitumen.

† This bas-relief is now in the British Museum, and see Plate 12, 2nd series of 'Monuments of Nineveh.'

yoke, it would seem to have been a kind of movable throne drawn by men and not by horses.* Behind the monarch, who holds in one hand a kind of flower, or ornament in the shape of a pine cone, stood two other eunuchs, one raising a parasol to shade him from the sun, the other fanning him. He appeared to have been superintending the transport of one of the colossal sculptures, and his chariot was preceded and followed by his body-guard armed with maces. In the upper part of the slab was a jungle of high reeds, or canes, in which were seen a wild sow with its young, and a stag and two hinds.†



Stag (Kouyunjik)



Wild Sow and Young, amongst Reeds. (Kouyunjik.)

The next series of bas-reliefs represented workmen building the artificial platforms on which the palaces were erected,

* A throne on wheels, with a yoke, carried by two eunuchs, is represented in a bas-relief at Khorsabad. Botta, Plate 17.

† See Plate 12, 2nd series of 'Monuments of Nineveh.'

and moving to their summit the colossal bulls.* The king, attended by his guards, and seated in his chariot drawn by eunuchs, with an attendant raising the parasol above his head, superintended the operations. Above him were low hills covered with various trees, amongst which could be distinguished by their fruit the vine, the fig, and the pomegranate. At the bottom of the slab was represented either a river divided into two branches and forming an island, as the Tigris does to this day opposite Kouyunjik, or the confluence of that stream and the Khauser, which once probably took place at the very foot of the mound. On the banks were seen men raising water by a simple machine, still generally used for irrigation in the East, as well as in Southern Europe—a pole, balanced on a shaft of masonry, with a stone at one end and a bucket at the other.

The building of the artificial mound was then represented.† Men, apparently engaged in making bricks, were crouching round the clay pit. These brickmakers were between two mounds, on which were gangs of workmen, carrying up large stones and baskets filled with bricks, earth, and rubbish, and returning for fresh materials.

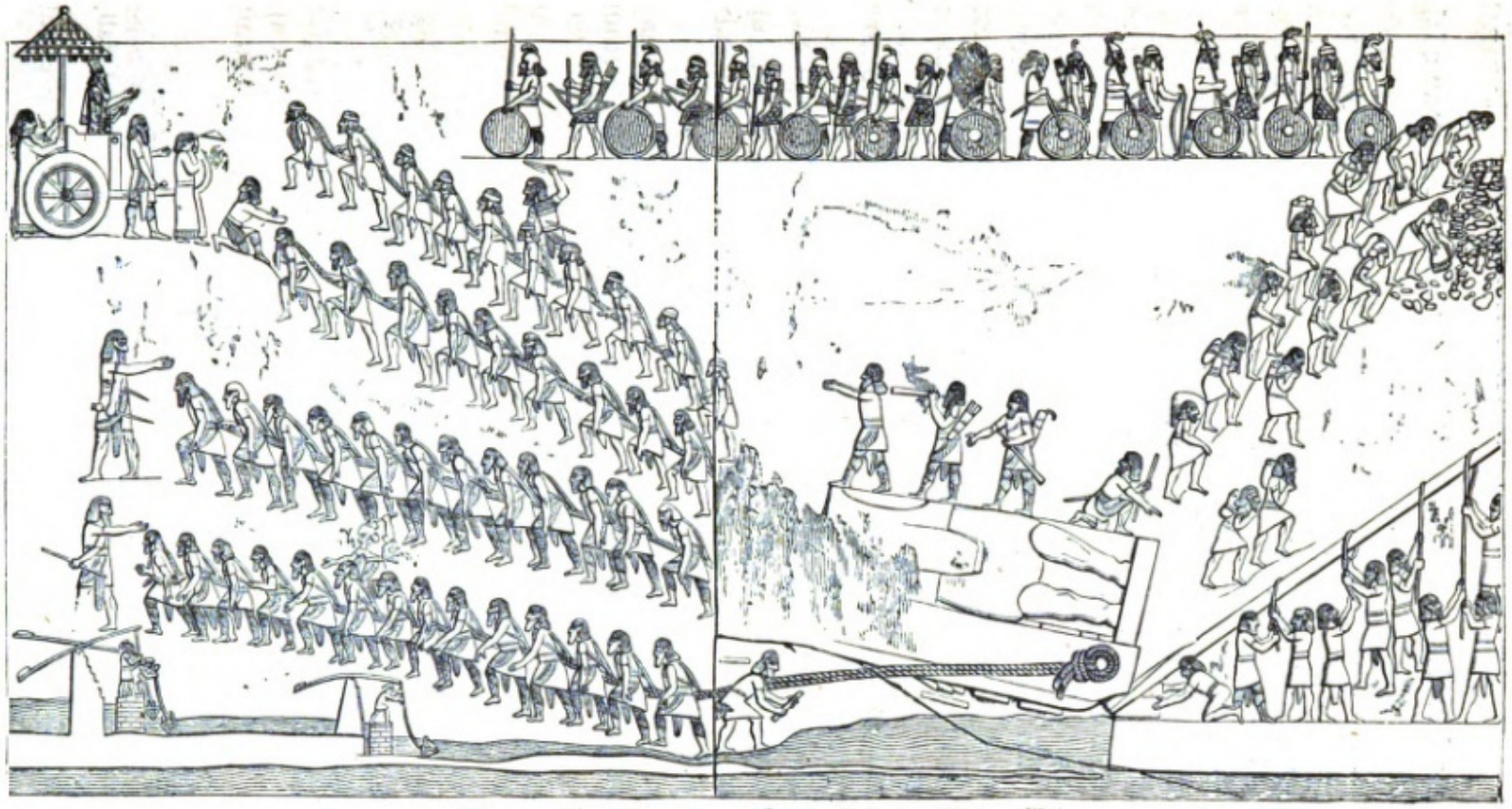
They appeared to be captives and malefactors, for many of them were in chains, some singly, others bound together by an iron rod attached to rings in their girdles. The fetters either confined the legs, and were supported by a bar fastened to the waist, or consisted of simple shackles round the ankles. The workmen wore a short tunic, and a conical cap somewhat resembling the Phrygian bonnet, with the top turned backwards. Each gang was attended by task-masters armed with staves.

The mound, having been thus built, partly with regular layers of sundried bricks and partly with mere heaped-up earth and rubbish,‡ the next step was to drag to its summit

* See Plates 14 and 15, 2nd series of 'Monuments of Nineveh.'

† Part of this bas-relief is in the British Museum. The whole series occupied about twenty-five slabs in the N.E. walls of the great hall. Unfortunately some of the slabs had been entirely destroyed.

‡ Subsequent excavations at Kouyunjik and Nimroud fully verified this fact.



King superintending removal of colossal Bull. (Kouyunjik.)

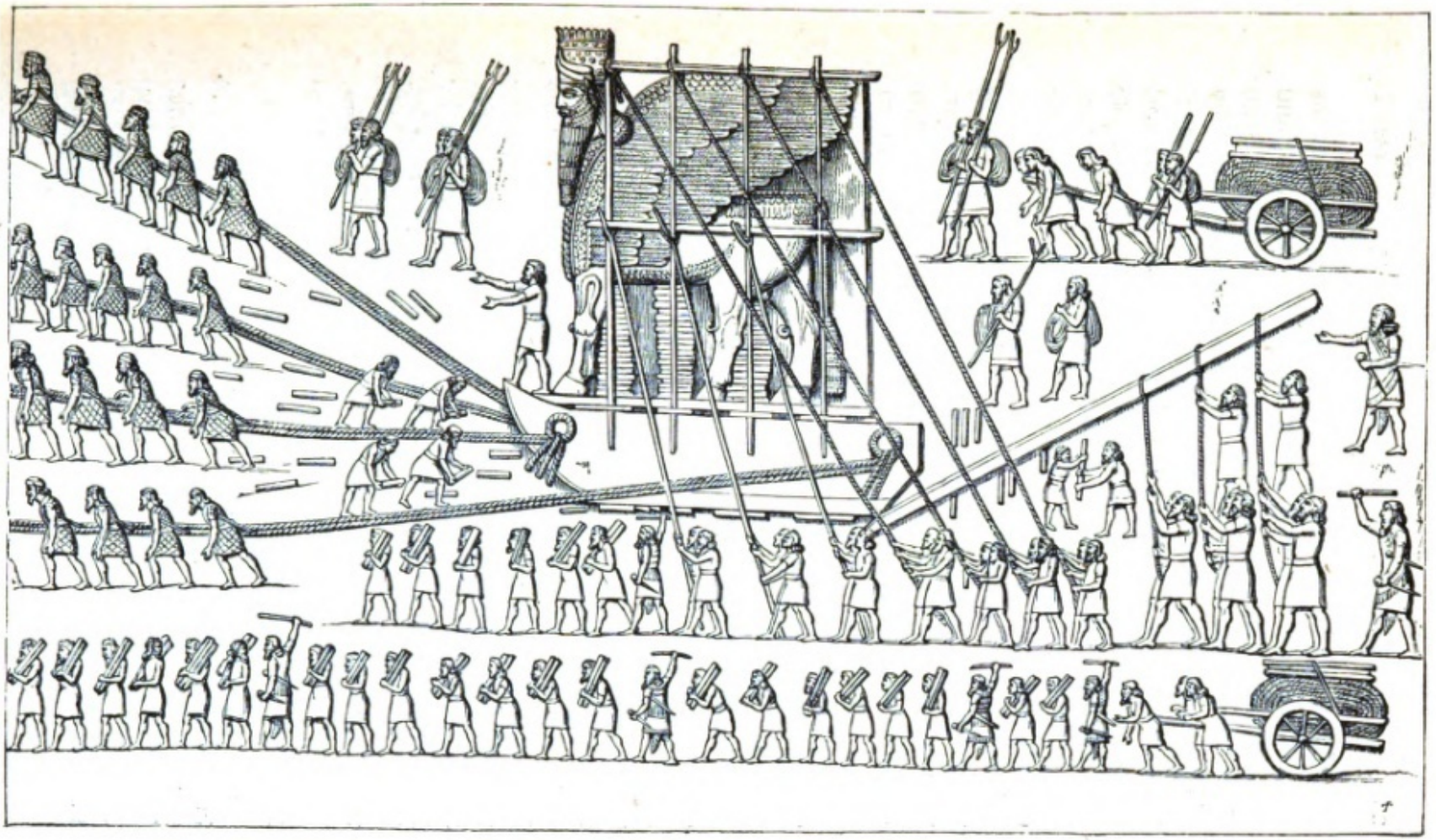
the colossal figures prepared for the palace. As some of the largest of these sculptures were full twenty feet square, and must have weighed between forty and fifty tons, this was no easy task when the only mechanical powers possessed by the Assyrians appear to have been the roller and the lever. A sledge was used similar to that already described, and drawn in the same way. In the bas-relief representing the operation, four officers were seen on the bull, the first apparently clapping his hands to make the drawers keep time, the second using the speaking trumpet, the third directing the men who had the care of the rollers, and the fourth kneeling down behind to give orders to those who worked the lever. Two of the groups were preceded by overseers, who turned back to encourage the workmen in their exertions; and in front of the royal chariot, on the edge of the mound, knelt an officer, probably the chief superintendent, looking towards the king to receive orders direct from him.

Behind the monarch were carts bearing the cables, wedges, and implements required in moving the sculpture. A long beam or lever was slung by ropes from the shoulders of three men, and one of the great wedges was carried in the same way. In the upper compartment of this slab was a stream issuing from the foot of hills wooded with vines, fig-trees,

Village with conical Roofs, near Aleppo.

and pomegranates. Beneath stood a town or village, the houses of which had domes and high conical roofs, probably built of mud, as in parts of Northern Syria.

This interesting series was completed by a bas-relief, showing, it would seem, the final placing of the colossal bull.



Assyrians placing a human-headed Bull. (Kouyunjik.)

The figure no longer lay on its side on the sledge, but was held upright by men with ropes and forked wooden props. It was kept in its erect position by beams, held together by cross bars and wedges*, and was further supported by blocks of stone or wood. On the sledge, in front of the bull, stood an officer giving directions with outstretched hands to the workmen. Cables, ropes, rollers, and levers were used by the workmen. Unfortunately the upper part of all the slabs had been destroyed, and much of the subject was consequently wanting.

Thus was represented with remarkable fidelity and spirit the several processes employed to place these colossi where they still stand—from the transport down the river of the rough block to the final removal of the sculptured figure to the palace. When moving the winged bulls and lions now in the British Museum from the ruins to the banks of the Tigris, I used almost the same means as the ancient Assyrians, employing, however, a cart instead of a sledge.

No traces whatever, notwithstanding the most careful search, have yet been found of the quarries from whence the builders of the Assyrian palaces obtained their large slabs of alabaster. They were probably not far from Nineveh, as strata of this material abound in Assyria.

We learn from short inscriptions cut upon the slabs that the king represented as superintending the construction of the mounds, and the placing of the colossal bulls, is Sennacherib, and that the sculptures record the building at Nineveh by that monarch of his great palace and its adjacent temples. The inscriptions on the winged bulls at Kouyunjik describe the manner in which the edifice itself was erected, its general plan, and the various materials employed in decorating the halls, chambers, and roofs.†

* It may be remarked, that precisely the same framework was used in the British Museum for moving and placing the great sculptures.

† In a fragment of an epigraph upon one of the slabs mention appears to be made of wood 'brought from Mount Lebanon and taken up (to the top of the mound) from the Tigris.' This may refer to cedar-wood, of which beams have been found in the ruins of Nineveh. We thus find that the Assyrians brought this precious wood from Lebanon,

That captives from foreign countries were employed in the great public works undertaken by the Assyrian kings, may be inferred from the variety of costume represented in the bas-reliefs, and from the fetters on the legs of some of the workmen. The Jews themselves, after their captivity, may have been thus condemned to labour, as their forefathers had been in Egypt, in erecting the monuments of their conquerors; and we may, perhaps, recognise them amongst the workmen portrayed in the sculptures.

I have mentioned that the long gallery containing the bas-reliefs representing the moving of the great stone, led out of a chamber whose walls had been completely uncovered.* The sculptures upon them were partly preserved, and recorded the conquest of a city standing on a broad river, in the midst of mountains and forests. The Assyrians appear to have entered the enemy's country by a valley, to have forded the stream frequently, and to have continued during their march along its banks. Warriors on foot led their horses, and dragged chariots over precipitous rocks. On each side of the river were wooded hills, with small streams flowing amongst vineyards. As they drew near to the city, the Assyrians cut down the woods to clear the approaches. Amongst the branches of a tree exceeding the others in size, and standing immediately beneath the walls, were birds and two nests containing their young. The sculptor probably introduced these accessories to denote the season of the year. The river appeared to flow through or behind the city. Long low walls and equidistant towers, surmounted by cornices and angular battlements, stood on one side of the stream. Within the walls were large square buildings, curiously ornamented, and whose windows, immediately beneath the roof, were flanked by small pillars with capitals having the Ionic volute. The doors, except the entrance to the castle which was arched, were square, and, in some instances, surmounted by a plain cornice. Part of the city seemed to consist of a

as did Solomon for the choicest wood-work of the Temple and of his own palaces.

* No. XLVIII. Plan I. p. 4. See 'Monuments of Nineveh,' 2nd series, Plate 40.

number of detached forts and houses, some of which had open balustrades to admit the light. Flames issued from the dwellings, and on the towers were men apparently cutting down trees growing within the walls. Assyrian warriors, marching in a long line, carried away the spoil from the burning city. Some were laden with arms; others with furniture, such as chairs, stools, couches, and tables of various forms.

The last bas-relief of the series represented the king seated within a fortified camp, on a throne of elaborate workmanship. He was receiving the captives, who wore long robes falling to their ankles. Unfortunately no inscription remained by which we might identify the conquered people. It is probable, from the nature of the country represented, that they inhabited some district in the western part of Asia Minor, or in Armenia, in which direction Sennacherib more than once carried his victorious arms.

Excavations had been resumed in a lofty mound in the north-west line of walls forming the square inclosure in which stands Kouyunjik. It was apparently the remains of a gate leading into this quarter of the city, and part of a building, with fragments of two colossal winged figures, had already been discovered in it. By the end of November the whole had been explored, and the results were of considerable interest. As the mound rises nearly fifty feet above the plain, I was obliged to tunnel along the walls of the building within it, through a compact mass of rubbish, consisting almost entirely of loose bricks. Following the rows of low limestone slabs, from the south side of the mound, and passing through two halls or chambers, we came at length to the opposite side of the gateway. It faced the open country, and was formed by a pair of majestic human-headed winged bulls, fourteen feet in length, still entire, though cracked and injured by fire. They were similar in form to those of Khorsabad and Kouyunjik, wearing the lofty head-dress, richly ornamented with rosettes, and surmounted by a crest of feathers. Behind them were colossal winged figures of the same height, bearing the pine cone and basket. Their faces were in full, and the relief was high and bold. More knowledge of art was shown in the outline of

the limbs and in the delineation of the muscles, than in any sculpture I have seen of this period. The naked leg and foot were designed with a spirit and truthfulness not unworthy of a Greek artist.* It is, however, remarkable that the four figures were unfinished, none of the details having been put in. They stood as if the sculptors had been interrupted by some public calamity, and had left their work incomplete. Perhaps the murder of Sennacherib by his sons, as he worshipped in the house of Nisroch his god, put a sudden stop to the great undertakings he had commenced in the beginning of his reign.

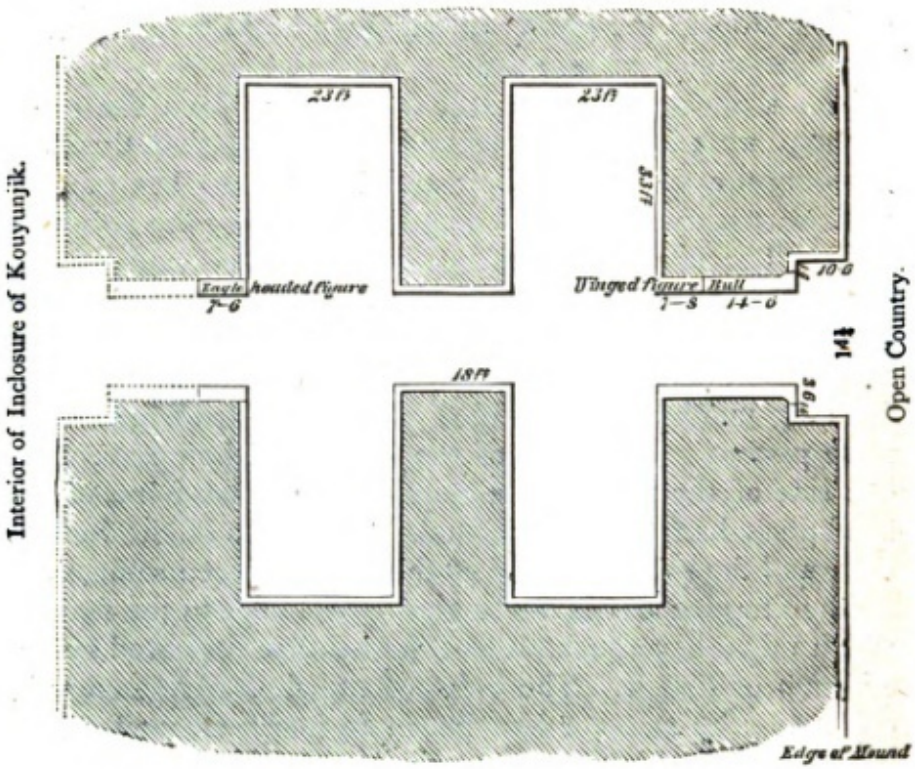
The sculptures to the left, on entering from the open country, were in a far more unfinished state than those on the opposite side. The hair and beard were but roughly marked out, square bosses being left for carving the elaborate curls. The horned cap of the human-headed bull was, as yet, unornamented, and the wings merely outlined. The limbs and features were hard and angular, still requiring to be rounded off, and to have expression given to them by the finishing touches of the artist. The other two figures were more perfect. The curls of the beard and hair (except on one side of the head of the giant) and the ornaments of the head-dress had been completed. The limbs of the winged deity and the body and legs of the bull had been sufficiently finished to give a bold and majestic character to the figures, which might have been rather lessened than improved by the addition of details. The wings of the giant were merely in outline. The sculptor had begun to mark out the feathers in those of the bull, but had been interrupted after finishing one row and commencing a second.† No inscription had yet been carved on either sculpture.

The entrance formed by these colossal bulls was fourteen

* The bulls and winged figures resembled in form those from Khorsabad, now in the great hall at the British Museum, but exceeded them in the beauty of the sculpture and in grandeur, as well as in preservation. As nearly similar figures had thus already been sent to England, I did not think it advisable to remove them.

† See Plate 3, of the 2nd series of the 'Monuments of Nineveh.' The giant is correctly represented in its unfinished state in this plate, but the artist by mistake has filled up the details in the wings of the bulls.

feet and a quarter wide. It was paved with large slabs of limestone, on which could be seen the grooves worn by the wheels of the chariots, which in the days of the Assyrians had passed through the city gates. The sculptures were buried in a mass of brick and earth, mingled with charcoal and charred wood. They were lighted from above by a deep shaft sunk from the top of the mound. It would be difficult to describe the effect produced by these solemn and



Plan of Northern Gateway to Inclosure of Kouyunjik.

majestic figures, dimly visible amidst the gloom, when, after winding through the dark, underground passages, you suddenly came into their presence. Between them Sennacherib with his hosts had gone forth in all his might and glory to the conquest of distant lands, and had returned rich with spoils and captives, amongst whom may have been the handmaidens and youths of Israel. Through them, too, the Assyrian monarch had entered his capital in shame, after his fatal defeat. Then the lofty walls, now but long lines of

low, wave-like mounds, had stretched far to the right and to the left—a basement of stone supporting a curtain of solid brick masonry, crowned with battlements and studded with frowning towers.

This entrance may have been arched like the castle gates represented in the bas-reliefs, and the mass of burnt bricks around the sculptures may be the remains of the vault. A high tower evidently rose above this gate, which formed the principal northern access to this quarter of Nineveh.

Behind the colossal figures, and between the outer and inner face of the gateway, were two chambers, nearly 70 feet in length by 23 in breadth. Of that part of the entrance which was within the city walls, only the fragments of winged figures, discovered during my previous researches, now remained.* It is probable, however, that a second pair of human-headed bulls once stood there. They may have been 'the figures of animals,' described to Mr. Rich as having been casually uncovered in this mound, and which were broken up nearly fifty years ago to furnish materials for the repair of a bridge.†

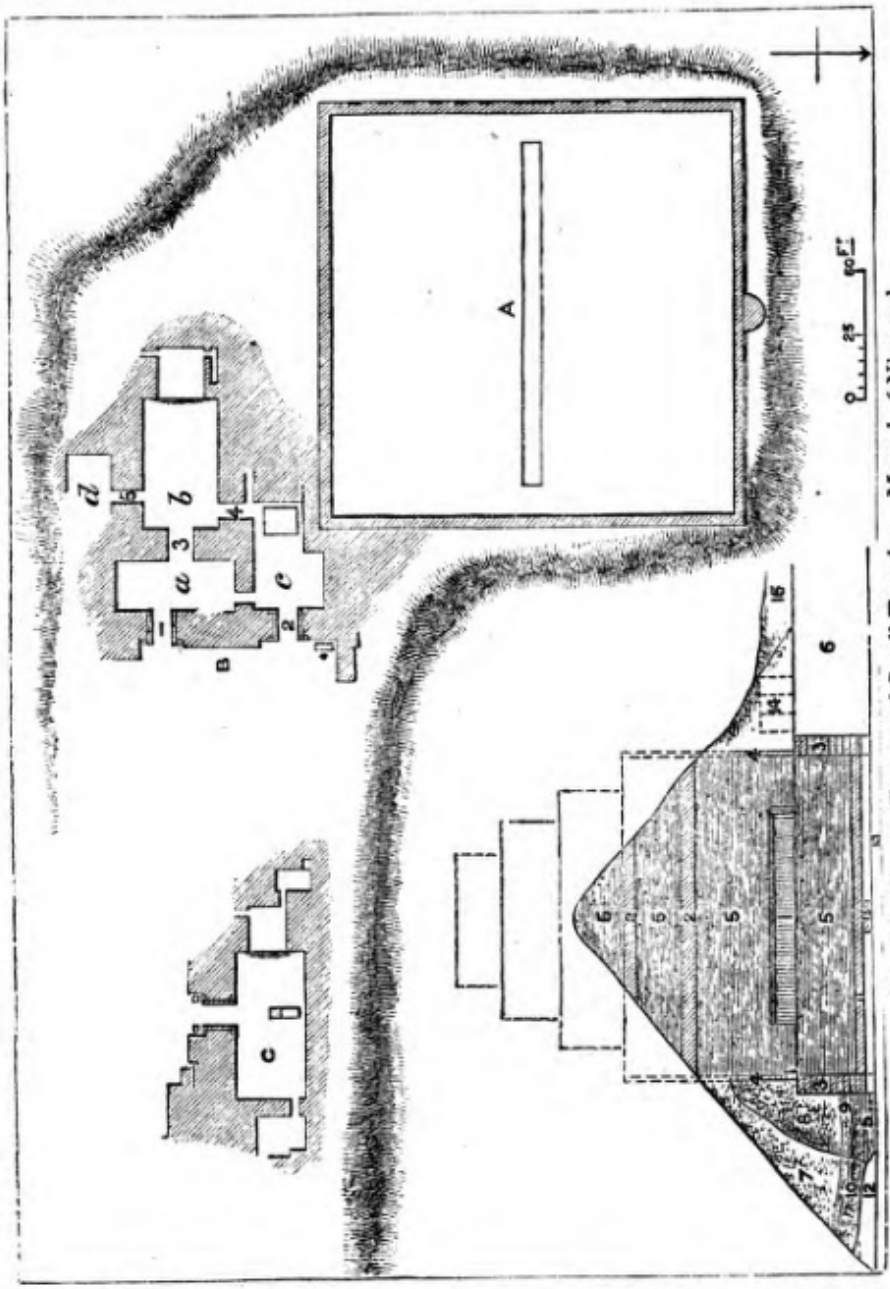
The city gate thus consisted of two distinct chambers and three doors, two flanked by human-headed bulls, and a third between them simply panelled with low limestone slabs like the chambers. Its original height, including the tower, must have been full one hundred feet. Most of the baked bricks found amongst the rubbish bore the name of Sennacherib. A similar gateway, but without any remains of sculptured figures, and panelled with plain alabaster slabs, was subsequently discovered in the inner line of walls forming the eastern side of the quadrangle, where the road to Baashiekhah and Baazani leaves the ruins.

At Nimroud discoveries of considerable importance were made in the high conical mound at the north-west corner. Desirous of fully exploring that remarkable ruin, I had employed nearly all the workmen in opening a tunnel into its western base. After penetrating for no less than eighty-four feet through a compact mass of rubbish, composed of loose

* See 'Nineveh and its Remains,' p. 104.

† See Rich's 'Residence in Kurdistan and Nineveh,' vol. ii. p. 39.

gravel, earth, burnt bricks, and fragments of stone, the excavators came to a wall of solid stone masonry. The man-



Plan II.—Square Tower and Small Temples.

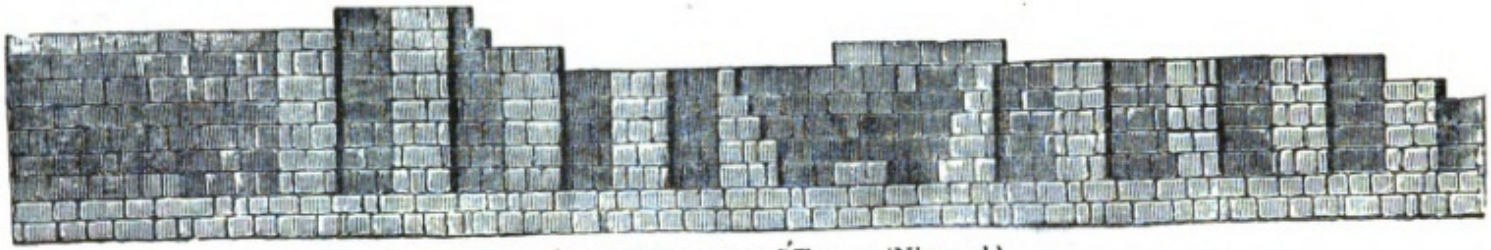
1. Vaulted chamber or tomb.
2. Excavated tunnel.
3. Basement stone wall.
4. Brick outside wall.
5. Mass of sun-dried bricks.
6. Artificial platform or mound.
7. Earth mixed with a few fragments of bricks.
8. Earth mixed with fragments of brick, stone, and bones.
9. Line of deposit of broken brick.
10. The line of pebble deposit.
11. Cutting.
12. Loose gravel.
13. Natural conglomerate.
14. Temple B. of Plan.
15. Level of Nimrod mound.

ner in which this structure had been buried is so curious, that I have given a section of the different strata through which the tunnel passed.* I have already observed that the edifice covered by this high mound was originally built upon the natural rock—a mass of hard conglomerate rising about

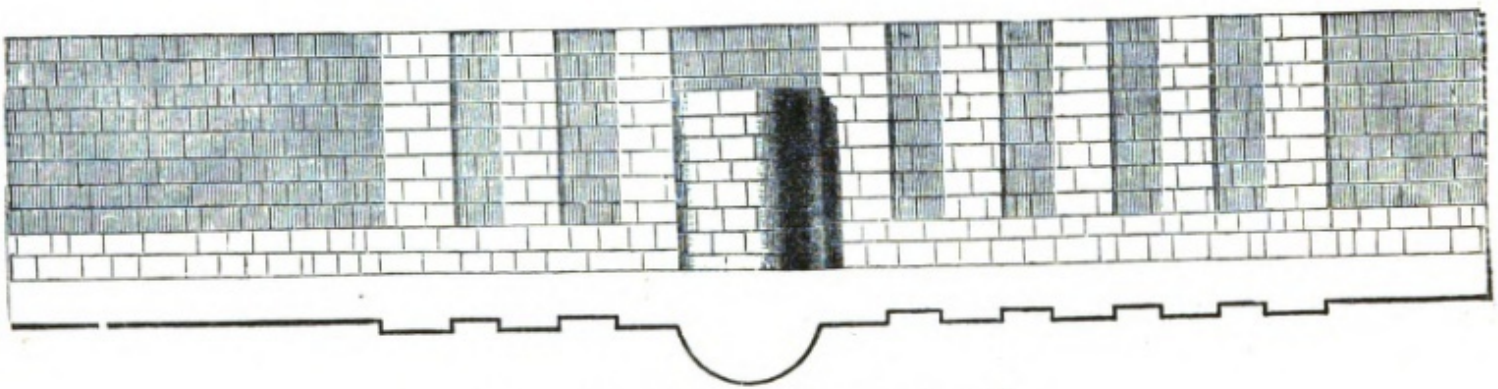
Tunnel along Eastern Basement Wall of Tower. (Nimroud.)

fifteen feet above the plain, and washed in days of yore by the waters of the Tigris. The tunnel was carried for thirty-four feet on a level with this rock, which appears to have been covered by a kind of flooring of sun-dried bricks, probably forming a platform in front of the building. It

* See section of conical mound, Plan II. p. 34.



Western Face of Basement of Tower. (Nimroud.)



Northern Face of Basement of Tower. (Nimroud.)

was buried to the distance of thirty feet from the wall, by baked bricks broken and entire, and by fragments of stone, remains of the superstructure once resting upon the basement of still existing stone masonry. This mass of rubbish was about thirty feet high, and in it were found bones apparently human, and a yellow earthen jar rudely coloured with simple black designs.* The rest of this part of the mound consisted of earth, through which ran two thin lines of extraneous deposit, one *of pebbles*, the other of fragments of brick and pottery.

I carried tunnels along the basement wall, hoping to reach an entrance, but it was found to consist of solid masonry, extending nearly the whole length of the mound. Its height was twenty feet, which exactly coincides with that assigned by Xenophon to the stone basement of the wall of Larissa, as he calls the city of which Nimroud marks the site.† It was finished at the top by an ornamental battlement in gradines, similar to those represented on castles in the sculptures. These gradines had fallen, and some were discovered in the rubbish. The stones in this structure were bevelled and carefully fitted together, though not united with mortar. In the face of the wall were eight recesses.

The northern side of the basement was of the same height as, and resembled in its masonry, the western. It had a semicircular projection in the centre, sixteen feet in diameter, on the east side of which were two recesses, and on the west four. That part of the basement against which the great artificial mound or platform abutted, and which was consequently concealed by it, that is, the eastern and southern sides, was of simple stone masonry without recesses or ornament. The upper part of the edifice, resting on the stone substructure, consisted of compact masonry of burnt bricks, which were mostly inscribed with the name of the founder of the centre palace (the son of Sardanapalus), the inscription being in many instances turned outwards.

It was thus evident that the high conical mound is the ruin of a square tower, and not of a pyramid, as had previously

* These relics may have belonged to tombs made in the mound after the edifice had fallen into ruins.

† Anab. lib. iii. c. 4.

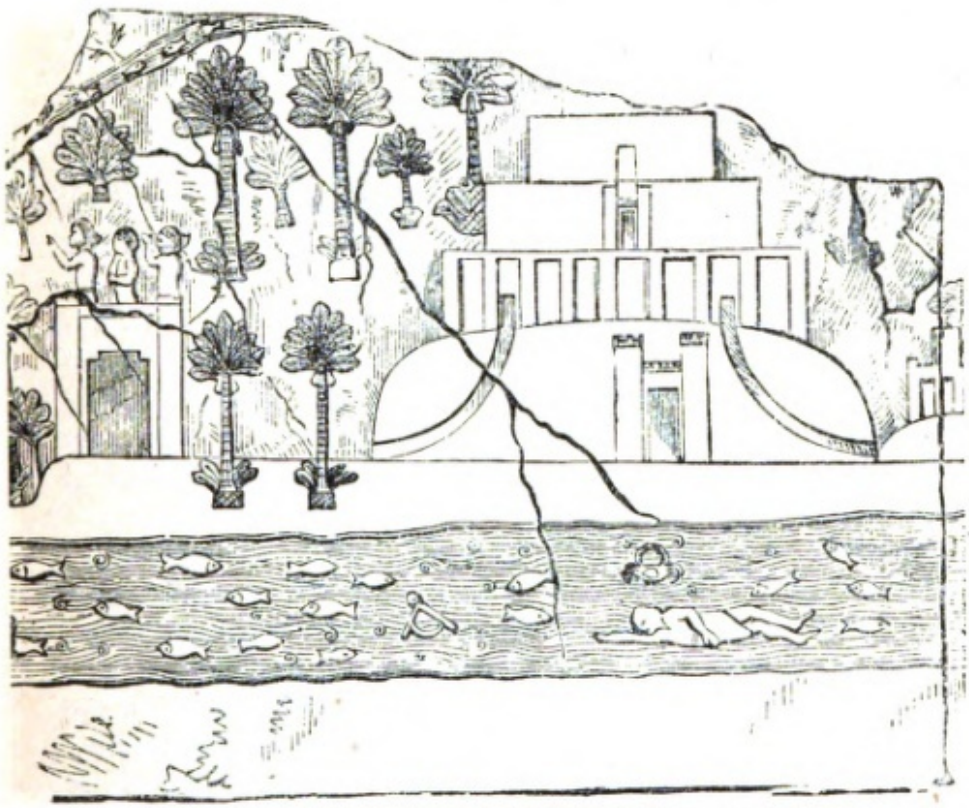
been conjectured; and it may be the tomb of Sardanapalus, which, according to the Greek geographers, stood at the entrance of the city of Nineveh. Subsequent discoveries proved that a king supposed to bear this name raised the stone substructure, although his son may have completed the building. It was, of course, natural to conjecture that some traces of the chamber in which the royal remains were deposited, were to be found in the ruin, and I determined to examine it as fully as I was able.

After searching in vain for a sepulchral chamber at the base of the mound, I opened a tunnel on a level with the top of the stone basement wall, which was also the level of the platform of the north-west palace. The workmen soon came to a narrow gallery, about 100 feet long, 12 feet high, and 6 feet broad, blocked up at the two ends. It was vaulted with sun-dried bricks, a further proof of the use of the arch at a very early period, and the vault had in one or two places fallen in.* No remains whatever were found in it—neither fragments of sculpture nor inscription. There were evident signs that this chamber had been broken into at some remote period, and the remains which it may have contained, perhaps the embalmed body of the king, with vessels of precious metals and other objects of value buried with it, had been, no doubt, then carried away. I explored, with feelings of great disappointment, the empty chamber, and then opened other tunnels, without further results, in the upper parts of the mound. They only exposed a compact and solid mass of sun-dried brick masonry. I much doubt, for many reasons, whether any sepulchral chamber exists in the rock beneath the foundations of the tower, though, of course, it is not impossible that such may be the case.

As the ruin is 140 feet high, the building could scarcely have been much less than 200, whilst the immense mass of rubbish surrounding and covering the base shows that it

* The walls, as well as the vault, were of sun-dried bricks. It is curious that between one row of bricks was a layer of reeds, as in the Babylonian ruins; the only instance of this mode of construction yet met with in Assyria.

might have been considerably higher. It is probable that its original shape was that of a square tower, formed by a series of stages or platforms, on the top of which may have been placed an altar with the sacred fire. A bas-relief with the representation of a tower of this precise shape, with recesses in the basement, and built upon an artificial mound, was subsequently discovered at Kouyunjik. It is not a little curious that a door, with a kind of portcullis, is seen in this



Tower on a Mound. (From a Bas-relief, Kouyunjik.)

sculpture, on the level of the top of the basement wall, exactly where the entrance to the vaulted gallery, which I have conjectured to be the sepulchral chamber, may be supposed to have been placed. A river washes the foot of the mound, as the Tigris formerly washed that of Nimroud. Can this bas-relief represent the very tower the remains of which I have been describing, and with which it appears to correspond so nearly in form?

CHAPTER II.

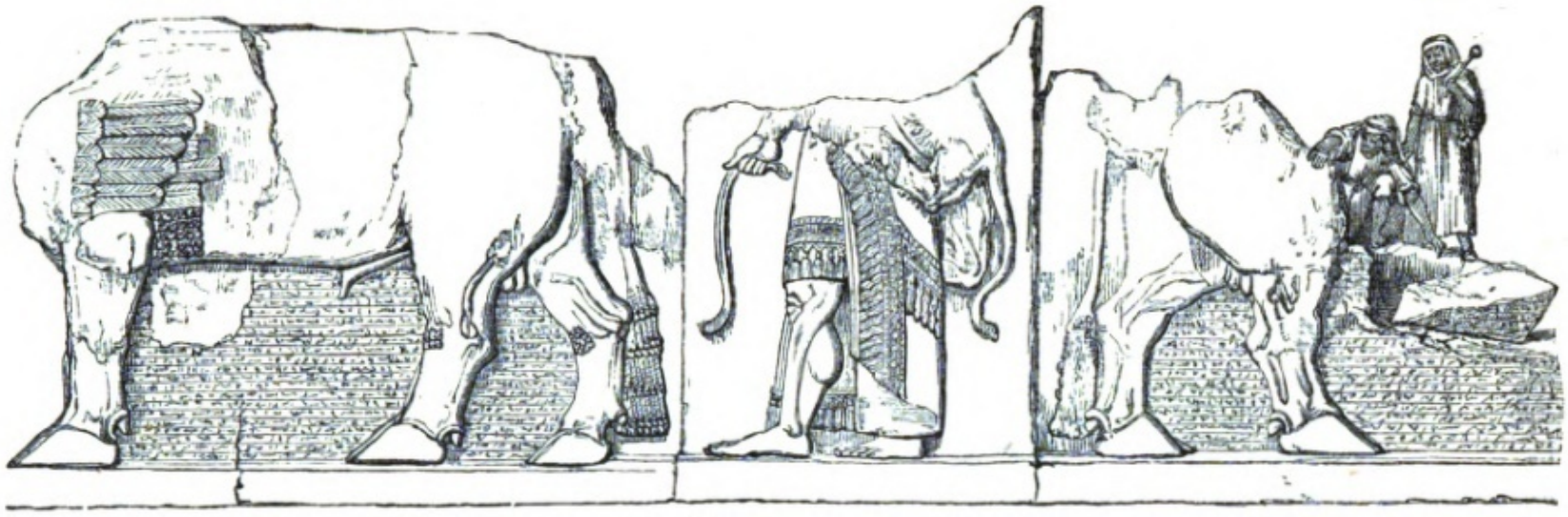
Discovery of the grand entrance to Sennacherib's palace—The inscriptions containing the annals of his reign—Account of his war with Hezekiah—Sculptures representing siege of Lachish—Jewish captives—Discovery of arched vault at Nimroud—Of painted bricks—Attack of the Tai on village of Nimroud—Discovery of chamber containing bronze bowls, glass, and other relics.

DURING the month of December, several discoveries of the greatest interest and importance were made, both at Kouyunjik and Nimroud. I will first describe the results of the excavations in the ruins opposite Mosul.

Shortly before my departure for Europe in 1848, the forepart of a human-headed bull of colossal dimensions had been uncovered on the east side of the Kouyunjik Palace.* This sculpture then appeared to form one side of an entrance or doorway. The excavations had, however, been abandoned before any attempt could be made to ascertain the fact. On my return, a tunnel, nearly 100 feet in length, was opened at right angles to the winged bull, but without coming upon any other remains but a pavement of square limestone slabs, which continued as far as the excavation was carried.

On uncovering the bull which was still partly buried in the rubbish, it was found that adjoining it were other sculptures, and that it formed part of an exterior façade. The upper half of the next slab had been destroyed, upon the lower was part of the figure of the Assyrian Hercules strangling the lion, similar to that discovered between the bulls in the propylæa of Khorsabad, and now in the Louvre. The hinder part of the lion was still preserved. The legs, feet, and drapery of the god were in the boldest relief, and designed with great truth and vigour. Beyond this figure, in the same line, was a second bull. Then came a wide portal, guarded

* Plan I. Chamber H, p. 4.



Remains of Façade and Grand Entrance of the Palace of Sennacherib. (Kouyunjik.)

by a pair of winged bulls, twenty feet long, and probably, when entire, more than twenty feet high, and two gigantic winged figures in low relief.* Flanking them were two smaller figures, one above the other. Beyond this entrance the façade was continued by a group similar to that on the opposite side, by a smaller entrance into the palace, and by a wall of sculptured slabs; then all traces of building and sculpture ceased near the edge of a water-worn ravine.

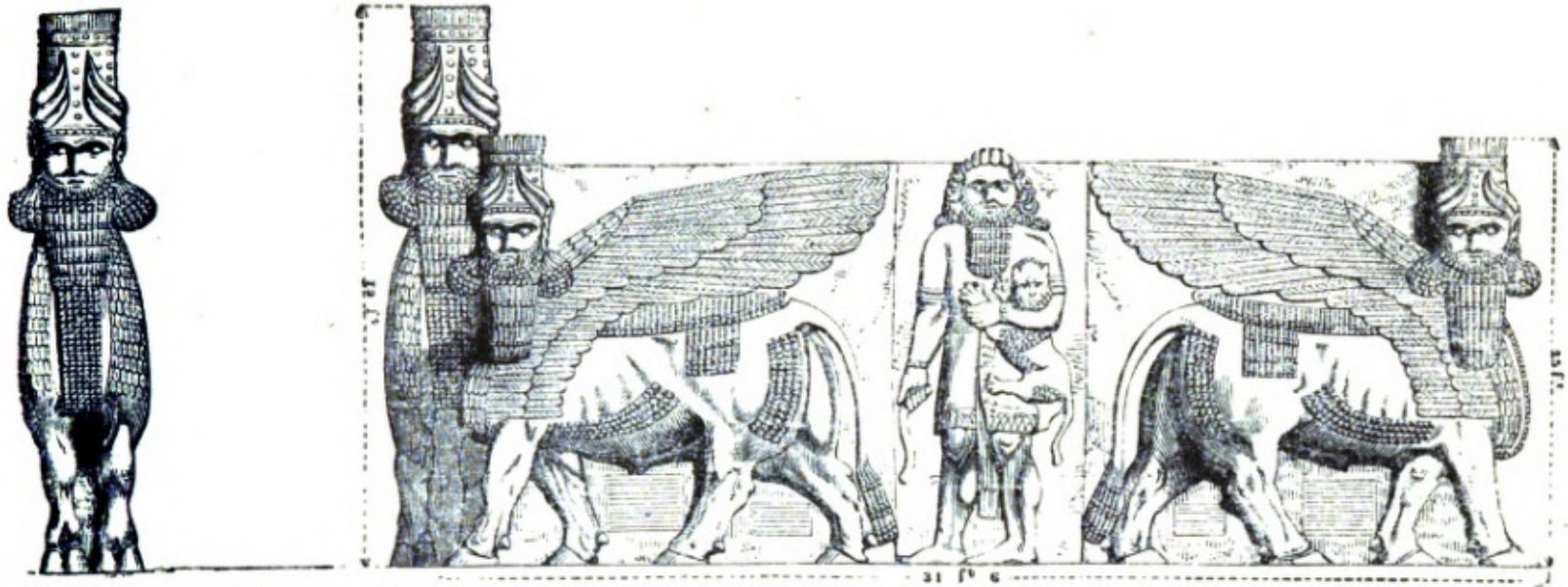
Thus, part of the façade of the south-east side of the palace, forming apparently the grand entrance to the edifice, had been discovered. Ten colossal bulls, with six human figures of gigantic proportions, altogether 180 feet in length, were here grouped together.† Although the bas-reliefs to the right of the entrance had apparently been purposely destroyed with a sharp instrument, enough remained to allow me to trace their subject. They had represented the conquest of a district, probably part of Babylonia, watered by a broad river and wooded with palms, spearmen on foot in combat with Assyrian horsemen, castles besieged, long lines of prisoners, and beasts of burden carrying away the spoil. Amongst various animals brought as tribute to the conquerors, could be distinguished a lion led by a chain. There were no remains whatever of the superstructure which once rose above the colossi, guarding this magnificent entrance.

Although the upper part of the winged bulls was destroyed, fortunately the lower part, and, consequently, the inscriptions, had been more or less preserved. To this fact we owe the recovery of some of the most precious records of the ancient world.

On the two great bulls forming the centre entrance, was one continuous inscription, injured in parts, but still so far preserved as to be legible almost throughout. It contained 152 lines. On the four bulls of the façade were two inscrip-

* Grand entrance, S.E. side, Plan I. p. 4. These figures were those of winged priests, or deities, carrying the fir-cone and basket.

† The frontispiece to this volume will convey to the reader some idea of this magnificent façade when entire. This restoration, for which I am mainly indebted to Mr. Ferguson, has been made with a careful regard to the exact proportions.



Existing Remains at Khorsabad, showing original State of Grand Entrance at Kouyunjik.

tions, one inscription being carried over each pair, and the two being precisely of the same import. These two different inscriptions complete the annals of six years of the reign of Sennacherib, and contain numerous particulars connected with the religion of the Assyrians, their gods, their temples, and the erection of their palaces. We gather from them that, in the third year of his reign, Sennacherib turned his arms against Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon, whom he entirely defeated, capturing his cities and a large amount of spoil. The fourth year appears to have been chiefly taken up with expeditions against the inhabitants of the mountainous regions to the north and east of Assyria. In the fifth he crossed the Euphrates into Syria, the inhabitants of which country are called by their familiar Biblical name of Hittites. He first took possession of Phœnicia, which was abandoned by its King Luliya (the Eululæus of the Greeks). He then restored to his throne Padiya, or Padi, king of Ekron, and a tributary of Assyria, who had been deposed by his subjects and given over to Hezekiah, king of Jerusalem. The king of Ethiopia and Egypt sent a powerful army to the assistance of the people of Ekron, but it was entirely defeated by Sennacherib, who afterwards marched against Hezekiah, probably to punish him for having imprisoned Padiyah. The inscriptions record this expedition, according to the translation of the late Dr. Hincks, in the following terms :—'Hezekiah, king of Judah, who had not submitted to my authority, forty-six of his principal cities, and fortresses and villages depending upon them, of which I took no account, I captured and carried away their spoil. I *shut up* (?) himself within Jerusalem, his capital city. The fortified towns, and the rest of his towns, which I spoiled, I severed from his country, and gave to the kings of Ascalon, Ekron, and Gaza, so as to make his country small. In addition to the former tribute imposed upon their countries, I added a tribute, the nature of which I fixed.' The next passage is somewhat illegible, but the substance of it appears to be, that he took from Hezekiah the treasure he had collected in Jerusalem, 30 talents of gold and 800 talents of silver, the treasures of his palace, besides his sons and his daughters, and his male and female servants or slaves,

and brought them all to Nineveh.* The city itself, however, he does not pretend to have taken.

There can be no doubt that the campaign against the cities of Palestine, recorded in the inscriptions of Sennacherib in his palace, is that described in the Old Testament; and it is of great interest, therefore, to compare the two accounts, which will be found to agree in the principal incidents mentioned to a very remarkable extent. In the Second Book of Kings† it is said—'Now, in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah‡ did Sennacherib, king of Assyria, come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them. And Hezekiah, king of Judah, sent to the king of Asssyria, to Lachish, saying, I have offended: return from me: that which thou puttest on me will I bear. And the king of Assyria appointed unto Hezekiah 300 talents of silver and 30 talents of gold. And Hezekiah gave him all the silver that was found in the house of the Lord and in the treasures of the king's house. At that time did Hezekiah cut off [*the gold from*] the doors of the temple of the Lord, and [*from*] the pillars which Hezekiah, king of Judah, had overlaid, and gave it to the king of Assyria.'

The coincidence of the amount paid in gold by Hezekiah

* The translation of this passage by Sir H. Rawlinson varies in some particulars from that given in the text: it is as follows:—'Because Hezekiah, king of Judah, would not submit to my yoke, I came up against him, and by force of arms, and by the might of my power, I took forty-six of his fenced cities; and of the smaller towns which were scattered about I took and plundered a countless number. And from these places I captured and carried off as spoil 200,150 people, old and young, male and female, together with horses and mares, asses and camels, oxen and sheep, a countless multitude. And Hezekiah himself I shut up in Jerusalem, his capital city, like a bird in a cage, building towers round the city to hem him in, and raising banks of earth against the gates, so as to prevent escape. . . . . Then upon this Hezekiah there fell the fear of the power of my arms, and he sent out to me the chiefs and the elders of Jerusalem with 30 talents of gold and 800 talents of silver, and divers treasures, a rich and immense booty. . . . . All these things were brought to me at Nineveh, the seat of my government, Hezekiah having sent them by way of tribute, and as a token of his submission to my power. (Rawlinson's 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. p. 435.)

† Chap. xviii.

‡ There is a chronological discrepancy in this date which I shall not attempt to explain. Dr. Hincks proposed to read 'twenty-fifth' year for the 'fourteenth.'

to Sennacherib in the Assyrian and Jewish records, is certainly very curious. The discrepancy between the amount of silver may perhaps be attributed to the fact, that the Assyrian account included the silver ornaments stripped from the temple, as well as the metal in bars or rings which formed the currency of the Jews.

Having thus compelled Hezekiah to consent to the payment of what was probably a yearly tribute, Sennacherib returned to Nineveh*, and in the following year made another successful expedition into Babylonia and Chaldæa. In the

Bulls with historical Inscriptions of Sennacherib. (Kouyunjik.)

sixth year of the records on the bulls, he conquered a country to the north of Assyria, probably Armenia, or some part of Asia Minor; and, in the last year mentioned in these annals, he invaded Elam or Susiana, and some tribes probably living on the Persian Gulf, as, according to the inscriptions, he was compelled, in order to reach them, to construct a fleet

* Sennacherib appears to have undertaken a second expedition against Hezekiah, when he was defeated by the Egyptians; but this campaign is not alluded to in the inscriptions on the bulls.

of ships, and to man them with mariners from Tyre, Sidon, and *Yavan* (conjectured to be some island in the Mediterranean).

Such are the principal historical facts recorded in the inscriptions carved by Sennacherib on the great commemorative bulls which he placed in his palace at Nineveh.*

As, unfortunately, the upper parts of nearly all the slabs at Kouyunjik have been destroyed, the short inscriptions or epigraphs which were usually placed above the bas-reliefs, and which indicated the events, persons, or places portrayed by the sculptor, were wanting. We are thus unable to identify the greater part of the sculptures with the events recorded in the inscriptions on the bulls. However, one chamber was discovered, in which some of the slabs were almost entire, though cracked and otherwise injured by fire, and the epigraph explaining the sculptures was complete.† These bas-reliefs represent the siege and capture by the Assyrians of a city evidently of great extent and importance. It appears to have been defended by double walls, with battlements and towers, and by fortified outworks. The country around it was hilly and wooded, producing the fig and the vine. The whole power of the great king seems to have been called forth to take this stronghold. In no other sculptures are so many armed warriors seen drawn up in array before a besieged city. In the first rank are the kneeling archers, those in the second are bending forward, whilst those in the third discharge their arrows standing upright, and are mingled with spearmen and slingers, the whole forming a compact and organised phalanx. The reserve consists of large bodies of horsemen and charioteers. Against the fortifications have been thrown up as many as ten banks or mounts, built of stones, bricks, earth, and branches of trees, and seven battering-rams have already been rolled up to the walls. The besieged defend themselves with great determination. Spear-

* Many other of the principal events of this reign, extending over sixteen years, are found recorded on clay cylinders and tablets preserved in the British Museum. They have been translated by those who have deciphered the cuneiform character, and the substance of them will be found in Rawlinson's 'Ancient Monarchies,' vol. ii. chap. ix.

† No. XXXVI. Plan I. p. 4.

men, archers, and slingers throng the battlements and towers, showering arrows, javelins, stones, and blazing torches upon their assailants. On the battering-rams are bowmen, discharging their arrows, and men with large ladles, pouring water upon the flaming brands, which, hurled from above, threatened to destroy the engines. Ladders, probably used for escalade, are falling from the walls upon the soldiers who mount the inclined ways to the assault. Part of the city has, however, been taken. Beneath its walls are seen Assyrian warriors impaling their prisoners, and from the gateway of an advanced tower, or fort, issues a procession of captives, reaching to the presence of Sennacherib himself, who, gorgeously arrayed, receives them seated on his throne. Amongst the spoil are furniture, arms, shields, chariots, vases of metal of various forms, camels, carts drawn by oxen, and laden with women and children, and many objects the nature of which cannot be determined. The vanquished people are distinguished from the conquerors by their dress. Those who defend the battlements wear a pointed helmet, differing from that of the Assyrian warriors in having a fringed lappet falling over the ears. Some of the captives have a kind of turban with one end hanging down to the shoulder, not unlike that worn by the modern Arabs of the Hedjaz. Others have no head-dress, and short hair and beards. Their garments consist either of a robe reaching to the ankles, or of a tunic scarcely falling lower than the thigh, and confined at the waist by a girdle. The latter appears to be the dress of the fighting-men. The women wear long shirts, with an outer garment thrown, like the veil of modern Eastern ladies, over the back of the head and falling to the feet.

Several prisoners are already in the hands of the torturers. Two are stretched naked on the ground to be flayed alive, others are being slain by the sword before the throne of the king. The haughty monarch is receiving the chiefs of the conquered nation, who crouch and kneel humbly before him. They are brought into the royal presence by the Tartan or general of the Assyrian forces, probably the Rabshakeh, or chief cup-bearer, himself,* followed by his principal officers.

* Isaiah, ch. xxxvi.

He is clothed in embroidered robes, and wears on his head a fillet adorned with rosettes and long tasseled bands.

The throne of the king stands upon an elevated platform. Its arms and sides are supported by three rows of figures one above the other. The wood is richly carved, or encased in embossed metal, and the legs end in pine-shaped ornaments, probably of bronze. Over the high back is thrown an embroidered cloth, doubtless of some rare and beautiful material.

Sennacherib on his Throne before Lachish.

The royal feet rest upon a high footstool of elegant form, fashioned like the throne, and cased with embossed metal, the legs ending in lion's paws. Behind the king are two attendant eunuchs raising fans above his head, and holding embroidered napkins.

The monarch himself is attired in long loose robes richly ornamented, and edged with tassels and fringes. In his right hand he raises two arrows, and his left rests upon a bow; an attitude, probably, denoting triumph over his enemies, and in which he is usually portrayed when receiving prisoners after a victory.

Behind the king is the royal tent;* and beneath him are his led horses, and an attendant on foot carrying the parasol, the emblem of royalty. His two chariots, with their charioteers, are waiting for him. One has a peculiar semi-

* Above it is an inscription, to the effect, that it is 'the *tent* (?) of Sennacherib, king of Assyria.'

circular ornament of considerable size, rising from the pole between the horses, and spreading over their heads. It may originally have contained the figure of a deity, or some mythic symbol. Two quivers, holding a bow, a hatchet, and arrows, are fixed to the side of the chariot. The trappings of the horses are richly decorated.

On the last bas-relief* is the ground-plan of a castle, or of a fortified camp containing tents and houses. Within the walls is seen a fire-altar with two beardless priests, wearing high conical caps, standing before it. In front of the altar, on which burned the sacred flame, is a table bearing various sacrificial objects, and beyond it two sacred chariots, probably such as accompanied the Persian kings in their wars.† The horses have been taken out, and the yokes rest upon stands. Each chariot carries a lofty pole surmounted by a globe, and long tassels or streamers.

Above the head of the king is an inscription, which may be translated, 'Sennacherib, the mighty king, king of the country of Assyria, sitting on the throne of judgment, before (or at the entrance of) the city of Lachish (Lakhisha). I give permission for its slaughter.'

This highly interesting series of bas-reliefs, which has now been placed in a lower chamber in the British Museum, consequently represents the siege and capture of Lachish, as described in the Second Book of Kings, and in the inscriptions on the human-headed bulls. Sennacherib himself is seen seated on his throne and receiving the submission of the inhabitants of the city, whilst he had sent his generals to demand the payment of tribute from Hezekiah.‡ The defenders of the castle walls and the prisoners tortured and crouching at the conqueror's feet are Jews, and the sculptor has evidently endeavoured to indicate the peculiar physiognomy of the race, and the dress of the people.

The value of this discovery can scarcely be overrated. Whilst we have thus the representation of an event recorded

* For detailed drawings of these bas-reliefs, see 2nd series of the 'Monuments of Nineveh,' Plates 20 to 24.

† Xenophon, Cyrop. lvii. c. 3. Quintus Curtius, liii. c. 3.

‡ 2 Kings xviii. 14; Isaiah xxxvi. 2. From 2 Kings xix. 8 and Isaiah xxxvii. 8, we may infer that the city of Lachish soon yielded to the arms of Sennacherib.

in the Old Testament, of which consequently these bas-reliefs furnish a most interesting and important illustration, they serve to a certain extent to test the accuracy of the interpretation of the cuneiform inscriptions, and to remove any doubt that might still exist as to the identification of the King, who built the palace on the mound of Kouyunjik, with the Sennacherib of Scripture. Had these bas-reliefs been the only remains dug up from the ruins of Nineveh, the labour of the explorer would have been amply rewarded, and the sum expended by the nation on the excavations more than justified. They furnish, together with

Jewish Captives from Lachish. (Kouyunjik.)

the inscriptions which they illustrate, and which are also now deposited in the national collection, the most valuable cotemporary historical record possessed by any museum in the world. They may be said to be the actual manuscript, caused to be written or carved by the principal actor in the events which it relates. Who would have believed it probable or possible, before these discoveries were made, that beneath the heap of earth and rubbish which marked the site of Nineveh, there would be found the history of the wars between Hezekiah and Sennacherib, written at the very time when they took place by Sennacherib himself, and con-

firming even in minute details the Biblical record? He who would have ventured to predict such a discovery would have been treated as a dreamer or an impostor. Had it been known that such a monument really existed, what sum would have been considered too great for the precious record?

The gigantic human-headed lions, first discovered in the north-west palace at Nimroud*, were still standing in their original position. Having been carefully covered up with earth previous to my departure in 1848, they had been preserved from exposure to the effects of the weather, and to wanton injury from the Arabs. The Trustees of the British Museum wishing to add these fine sculptures to the national collection, I was directed to remove them entire. A road through the ruins, for their transport to the edge of the mound, was in the first place necessary, and it was commenced early in December. They would thus be ready for embarkation as soon as the waters of the river were sufficiently high to bear a raft so heavily laden, over the rapids and shallows between Nimroud and Baghdad. Whilst cutting the road I found some carved fragments of ivory similar to those already placed in the British Museum; and two massive sockets in bronze, in which turned the hinges of a gate of the palace. No remains of the door-posts, or other parts of the gate, were discovered, and it is uncertain whether these rings were fixed in stone or wood.

Bronze Socket of the Palace Gate. (Nimroud.)

In the south-eastern corner of the mound tunnels carried beneath the ruined edifice, which is of the seventh century B. C., showed the remains of an earlier building.† A

* Nineveh and its Remains, p. 52.

† This building was afterwards explored by Mr. Loftus, and would appear to have been founded, according to some inscriptions discovered amongst the ruins, by Tiglath Pileser.

vaulted drain, about five feet in width, was also discovered. The arch was turned with large kiln-burnt bricks, and rested upon side walls of the same material. The bricks being square, and not expressly made for vaulting, a space was left above the centre of the arch, which was filled up by bricks laid longitudinally.

Other examples were not wanting in the ruins to prove

Vaulted Drain beneath South-east Palace. (Nimroud.)

that the Assyrians were well acquainted at an early period with the true principle of the arch. The earth falling away from the sides of the deep trench opened in the north-west palace for the removal of the bull and lion during the former excavations, left uncovered the entrance to a vaulted drain or

passage built of sun-dried bricks. Beneath was a small water-course, inclosed by square slabs of alabaster.* A third arch was found beneath the ruins of the south-east edifice almost at the very foot of the mound.

In the south-east corner of the quadrangle, formed by the low mounds marking the walls once surrounding this quarter

Vaulted Drain beneath the North-west Palace at Nimroud.

of the city of Nineveh, or the park attached to the royal residence, the level of the soil is considerably higher than in any other part of the inclosed space. This sudden inequality evidently indicates the site of some ancient edifice. Con-

* This drain was beneath chambers S and T of the north-west palace. (See Plan II. 'Nineveh and its Remains,' p. 42.)

nected with it, rising abruptly, and almost perpendicularly, from the plain, and forming one of the corners of the walls, is a lofty, irregular mound, known to the Arabs by the name of the Tel (mound) of Athur, the Lieutenant of Nimrod.* Several tunnels and trenches opened in it showed nothing but earth, unmingled with bricks or fragments of stone. Remains of walls and a pavement of baked bricks were, however, discovered at the foot of the high mound. The bricks had evidently been taken from some other building, for upon them were traces of coloured figures and patterns, of the same character and style as those on the sculptured walls of the palaces. Their painted faces were placed downwards, as if purposely to conceal them, and the designs upon them were in most instances injured or destroyed. A few fragments were collected, and are now in the British Museum. The colours have faded, but were probably once as bright as the enamels of Khorsabad. The outlines are white, on a pale blue or olive green ground. The only other colour used is a dull yellow.†

All these fragments probably belong to the same subject, the conquest of some distant nation by the Assyrians. They may have been taken from the same building as the detached bas-reliefs in the south-west palace, and may consequently be attributed to the same king.‡

During the greater part of the month of December I resided at Nimroud. One morning, I was disturbed by the reports of firearms, mingled with the shouts of men and the shrieks of women. Issuing immediately from the house, I found the open space behind it a scene of wild excitement and confusion. Horsemen, galloping in all directions and singing their war song, were driving before them with their long spears the cattle and sheep of the inhabitants of the village. The men were firing at the invaders; the women, armed with tent poles and pitchforks, and filling the air with their

* 'Out of that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh.' (Gen. x. 11.)

† For facsimiles of these coloured fragments, see 2nd series of 'Monuments of Nineveh,' Plates 53, 54, 55.

‡ That is, as will be hereafter shown, to Tiglath Pileser.

shrill screams, were trying to rescue the animals. The horsemen of the Arab tribe of Tai had taken advantage of a thick mist hanging over the Jaif, to cross the Zab early in the morning, and to fall upon us before we were aware of their approach. No time was to be lost to prevent bloodshed, and all its disagreeable consequences. My horse was soon ready, and I rode towards the one who appeared to be the chief of the attacking party. Although his features were concealed by the *keffieh* closely drawn over the lower part of his face, after the Bedouin fashion in war, he had been recognised as Saleh, the brother of the Howar, the Sheikh of the Tai. He saluted me as I drew near, and we rode along side by side, whilst his followers were driving before them the cattle of the villagers. Directing Hormuzd to keep back the Shemutti, I asked the chief to restore the plundered property. Fortunately, hitherto, only one man of the attacking Arabs had been seriously wounded. The expedition was chiefly directed against the Jebours, who some days before had carried off a large number of the camels of the Tai. I promised to do my best to recover them. At length Saleh, for my sake, as he said, consented to restore all that had been taken, and the inhabitants of Nimroud were called upon to claim each his own property. As we approached the ruins, for the discussion had been carried on as we rode from the village, my Jebour workmen, who had by this time heard of the affray, were preparing to meet the enemy. Some had ascended to the top of the high conical mound, where they had collected stones and bricks ready to hurl against the Tai should they attempt to follow them. Others advanced towards us, stripped to their waists, brandishing their swords and short spears in defiance, and shouting their war-cry. It was with difficulty that, with the assistance of Hormuzd, I was able to check this display of valour, and prevent them from renewing the engagement. The men and women of the village were still following the retreating horsemen, clamouring for various articles, such as cloaks and handkerchiefs, not yet restored. In the midst of the crowd of wranglers, a hare suddenly sprang from her form and darted over the plain. My greyhounds, who had followed me from the house, immediately

pursued her. This was too much for the Arabs ; their love of the chase overcame even their propensity for appropriating other people's property ; cattle, cloaks, swords, and *keffiehs* were abandoned to their respective claimants, and the whole band of marauders joined wildly in the pursuit. Before we had reached the game we were far distant from Nimroud. I seized the opportunity to conclude the truce, and Saleh with his followers rode slowly back towards the ford of the Zab

Excavated Chamber in which the Bronzes were discovered. (Nimroud.)

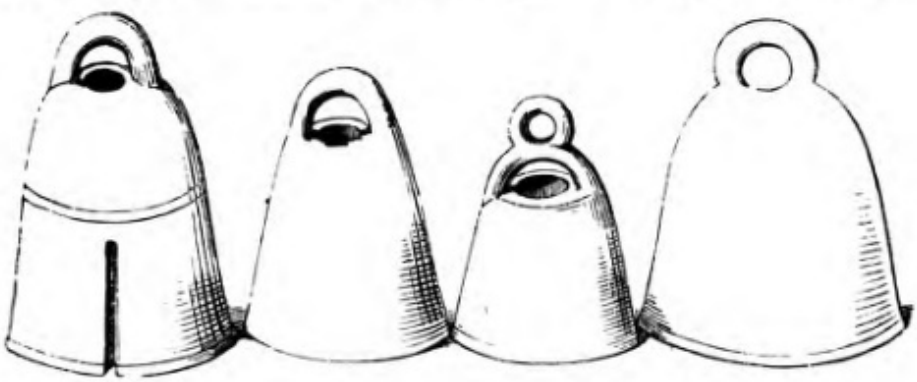
to seek his brother's tents. I promised to visit the Howar in two or three days, and we parted with mutual assurances of friendship.

Two days after the attack upon Nimroud, I paid my promised visit to the Howar. During my absence a new chamber had been discovered in the north-west palace.* Its walls were

* It was parallel to, and to the south of, the chamber marked AA, in the plan of the north-west palace. (Nineveh and its Remains, p. 42.)

of sun-dried brick, panelled round the bottom with large burnt bricks, about three feet high. They were coated with bitumen, and, like those forming the pavement, were inscribed with the name and usual titles of the royal founder of the building. In one corner was a well, the circular mouth of which was formed by brickwork. Its sides were also bricked down to the conglomerate rock, and holes had been left at regular intervals for descent. When first discovered it was filled with earth. The workmen emptied it until they came, at the depth of nearly sixty feet, to brackish water.*

The first objects found in this chamber were two plain copper cauldrons, about 2½ feet in diameter and 3 feet deep, resting upon a stand of brickwork, with their mouths closed



Bronze Bells found in a Cauldron. (Nimroud.)

by large tiles. Near them was a copper jar, which fell to pieces almost as soon as uncovered. In the cauldrons were a number of small bronze bells† with iron tongues, and various small copper ornaments, some suspended to wires. With them were a quantity of tapering bronze rods, bent into a hook, and ending in a kind of lip. Beneath were several bronze cups and dishes, which I succeeded in removing entire. Scattered in the earth, amongst these objects, were several hundred studs and buttons in mother of pearl and ivory, with many small rosettes in metal.

* Few wells in the plains bordering on the Tigris yield sweet water.

† The cauldrons contained about eighty bells. They are now in the British Museum with the other objects found in this chamber.

All the objects contained in these cauldrons, with the exception of the cups and dishes, were probably ornaments of horse and chariot furniture. The horses of the Assyrian cavalry, as well as those harnessed to chariots, are continually represented in the sculptures with bells round their necks, and in the Bible we find allusion to such ornaments.*

Beneath the cauldrons were heaped lions' and bulls' feet of bronze; and the remains of iron rings and bars, probably parts of tripods, or stands, for supporting vessels and bowls;† which, as the iron had rusted away, had fallen to pieces, leaving such parts entire as were in the more durable metal.

Two other cauldrons, found further within the chamber, contained, besides several plates and dishes, four crown shaped bronze ornaments, perhaps belonging to a throne or couch; two long ornamented bands of copper, rounded at both ends, apparently belts, such as were worn by warriors in armour;‡ a grotesque head in bronze, probably the top of a mace; a metal wine strainer of elegant shape; various metal vessels of peculiar form, and a bronze ornament, probably the handle of a dish or vase.

Eight more cauldrons and jars were found in other parts of the chamber. One contained ashes and bones, the rest were empty. Some of the larger vessels were crushed almost flat, probably by the falling in of the roof. With the cauldrons were discovered two circular metal vessels, nearly six feet in diameter, and about two feet deep, which I can only compare with the brazen sea that stood in the temple of Solomon.§

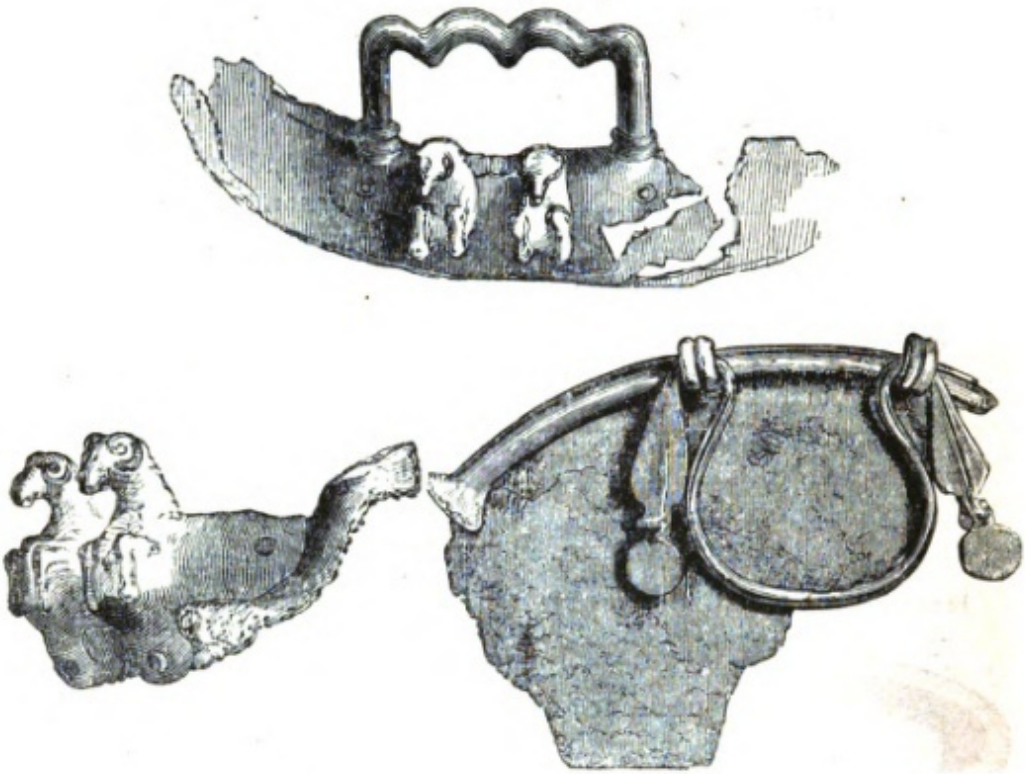
Behind the cauldrons was a heap of curious and interesting objects. In one place were piled, one above the other, bronze cups, bowls, and dishes of various sizes and shapes.

* Zech. xiv. 20.

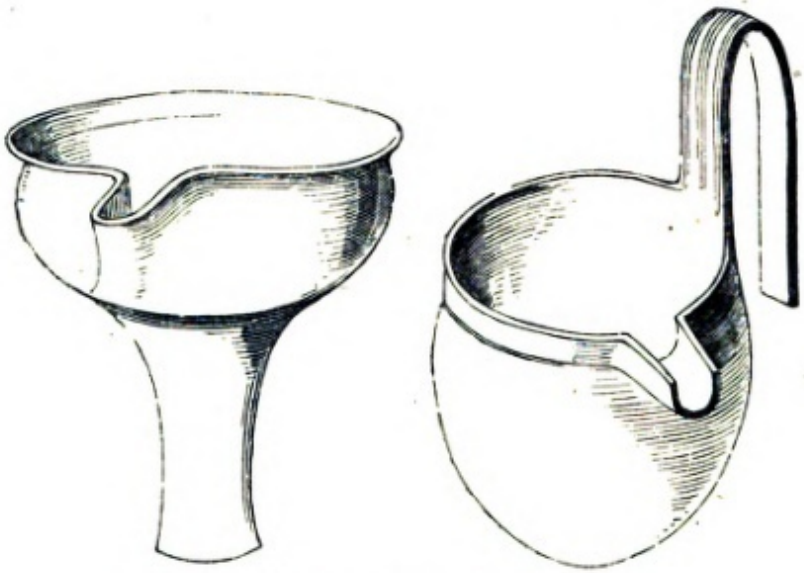
† Tripod-stands, consisting of a circular ring raised upon feet, to hold jars and vases, are frequently represented in the bas-reliefs. (See particularly Botta's large work, Plate 141.) The rings were of iron, bound in some places with copper, and the feet of iron cased in bronze.

‡ Resembling those of the eunuch warriors in Plate 28 of the 1st series of the 'Monuments of Nineveh.'

§ 2 Chron. iv. 2. The dimensions, however, of this vessel were far greater. It is singular that, in some of the bas-reliefs, large metal cauldrons supported on brazen oxen, like those in Solomon's temple, are represented.



Handles of Bronze Dishes, from Nimroud.



Bronze Vessels taken from the Interior of a Cauldron.

The upper vessels having been most exposed to damp, the metal had been eaten away by rust, and was crumbling into fragments, or into a green powder. As they were cleared away, more perfect specimens were taken out, until, near the pavement of the chamber, some were found almost entire.

Bronze Vessel, taken from the Interior of a Cauldron.

Bronze Wine Strainer.

Bronze Dish, from Nimroud.

Bronze Cup, 6¼ in. diameter, and 1⅝ in. deep.

Although a green crystalline deposit, arising from the decomposition of the metal, encrusted all the vessels, I could distinguish upon many of them traces of embossed and engraved ornaments. They have since been carefully and skilfully cleaned by the late Mr. Doubleday, of the British Museum, and the very beautiful and elaborate designs upon them brought to light.*

* Engravings of the most interesting of these vessels will be found in the 2nd series of my 'Monuments of Nineveh.'

The bronze objects thus discovered may be classed under four heads—dishes with handles, plates, deep bowls, and cups. Some are plain, others have a simple rosette, scarab, or star in the centre, and many are most elaborately ornamented with the figures of men and animals, and with elegant designs, either embossed or incised. The inside, and not the outside, of these vessels is ornamented. The embossed figures have been raised in the metal by a blunt instrument.* Even those ornaments which are not embossed but incised, appear to have been formed by a similar process, except that the punch was applied on the inside. The tool of the graver has been sparingly used.†

About 150 bronze vessels discovered in this chamber are now in the British Museum. The metal of the dishes, bowls, and rings contain one part of tin to ten of copper, being exactly the relative proportions of the best ancient and modern bronze. The bells, however, have fourteen per cent. of tin, showing that the Assyrians were well aware of the effect produced by changing the proportions of the metals. These two facts show the advance made by them in the metallurgic art.

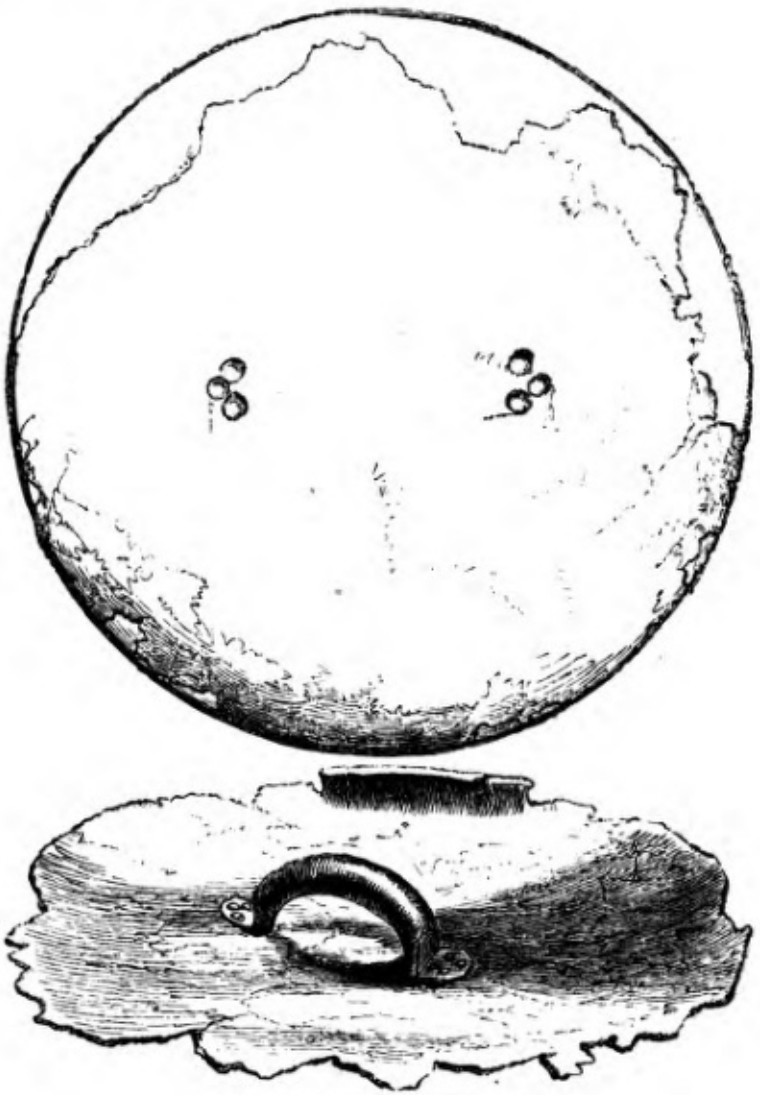
The tin was probably obtained from Phœnicia, whose vessels, it has been conjectured, brought this metal from the coasts of Cornwall; and consequently that used in the bronzes in the British Museum may actually have been exported, nearly three thousand years ago, from the British Isles!

The embossed and engraved vessels from Nimroud afford many interesting illustrations of the progress made by the ancients in metallurgy. From the Egyptian character of the designs, and especially of the drapery of the figures, in several of the specimens, it may be inferred that some of them were not Assyrian, but had been brought from a foreign people. As in the ivories, however, the workmanship, subjects, and

* The embossing appears to have been produced by a process still practised by silversmiths. The metal was laid upon a bed of mixed clay and bitumen, and then punched from the outside.

† For a full description of the bronzes and other objects found in this chamber, see the unabridged edition of my 'Nineveh and Babylon,' chap. viii.

mode of treatment are more Assyrian than Egyptian, and seem to show that the artist either copied from Egyptian models, or was a native of a country, perhaps Phœnicia, under the influence of Egypt.



Bronze Shields from Nimroud.

Around the vessels I have described were heaped arms, remains of armour, iron instruments, glass bowls, and various objects in ivory and bronze. The arms consisted of swords, daggers, shields, and the heads of spears and arrows, which being chiefly of iron fell to pieces almost as soon as exposed

to the air. A few specimens have alone been preserved. The shields stood upright, one against the other, supported by a square piece of brick work, and were so much decayed that only two could be sent to England. They are of bronze, and circular, the rim bending inwards, and forming a groove round the edge. The handles are of iron, and fastened by six bosses or nails, the heads of which form an ornament on the outer face of the shield.* The diameter of the largest and most perfect is 2 feet 6 inches.

The armour consisted of parts of breast-plates (?) and of other fragments, embossed with figures and ornaments.

Amongst the iron instruments were the head of a pick, a double-handled saw (about 3 feet 6 inches in length), several objects resembling the heads of sledge-hammers, and a large blunt spear-head, such as we find from the sculptures were used during sieges to force stones from the walls of besieged cities.†

The most interesting of the ivory relics were, a carved staff, perhaps a royal sceptre, part of which has been preserved; and several entire elephants' tusks, the largest being about 2 feet 5 inches long. Amongst the smaller objects were several figures and rosettes, and four oval bosses, with the nails of copper still remaining, by which they were fastened to wood or some other material.

Bronze Cube inlaid with Gold. (Original Size.)

Amongst various small objects in bronze were two cubes, each having on one face the figure of a scarab with outstretched wings, inlaid in gold; very interesting specimens of *niello*, and probably amongst the earliest known of an art carried in modern times to great perfection in the East.

* Such may have been the 'bosses of the **bucklers**' mentioned in Job, xv. 26.

† **Monuments of Nineveh, 1st series, Plate 66.**

Two entire glass bowls, with fragments of others, were also found in this chamber;* the glass is covered with pearly scales, which, on being removed, leave prismatic opal-like colours of the greatest brilliancy, showing, under different lights, the most varied and beautiful tints. This is a well known effect of age, arising from the decomposition of certain component parts of the glass. These bowls are probably of the same period as the small bottle found in the ruins of the north-west palace during the previous excavations, and now in the British Museum.†

With the glass bowls was discovered a rock-crystal lens, with opposite convex and plane faces. Its properties could scarcely have been unknown to the Assyrians, and we have consequently the earliest specimen of a magnifying and burning glass. The extreme minuteness of some of the inscriptions on the clay tablets, and of the engravings on the gems discovered in the Assyrian ruins, must lead to the conviction that the Assyrians possessed a magnifying power.‡ It was found under fragments of blue opaque glass, apparently the enamel of some object in ivory or wood, which had perished.

In the further corner of the chamber stood the royal throne. Although it was impossible, from its complete state of decay, to move it entire, I was able to ascertain that it resembled in shape the chair of state of the king, as seen in the sculptures of Kouyunjik and Khorsabad, and particularly that represented in the bas-relief of Sennacherib before the city of Lachish.§ With the exception of the legs, which appear to have been partly of ivory, it was of wood, cased or overlaid with bronze.‖ The metal was elaborately engraved and embossed with symbolical figures and ornaments, like those em-

* The larger, 5 inches in diameter, and 2¾ inches deep; the other, 4 inches in diameter, and 2½ deep.

† See 'Nineveh and its Remains' (abridged), p. 242.

‡ For a description of this lens, by Sir David Brewster, see unabridged edition of 'Nineveh and Babylon,' note, p. 197.

§ See p. 49.

‖ This is a highly interesting illustration of the work in Solomon's palaces. The earliest use of metal amongst the Greeks appears also to have been as a casing to wooden objects. The throne of Solomon was of ivory overlaid with gold. (1 Kings, x. 18.)

broidered on the robes of the early Nimroud king, such as winged deities struggling with griffins, mythic animals, the sacred tree, and the winged lion and bull. In front of the throne was the footstool, also of wood overlaid with embossed metal, and adorned with the heads of bulls. The feet ended in lion's paws and pine cones, like those of the throne. The metal fragments sent to England have been skilfully put together, so that the Assyrian king's throne upon which Sennacherib himself sat, and the footstool which he used, may now be seen in the British Museum. A rod with loose rings, to which was once hung an embroidered curtain, appears to have belonged to the back of the chair, or to a framework raised above or behind it.

Near the throne, and leaning against the mouth of the well, was a circular band of bronze, 2 feet, 4 inches in diameter, studded with nails. It appears to have been the metal casing of a wheel, or of some object of wood.

Such, with an alabaster jar, and a few other objects in metal, were the relics found in the newly-opened room. This accidental discovery, after the examination I had made of the building during my former excavations, proves that other treasures may still exist in the mound of Nimroud, and increases my regret that means were not at my command to remove the rubbish from the centre of the other chambers in the palace.

CHAPTER III.

Visit to the winged lions by night—The bitumen springs—Removal of the winged lions to the river—Loss and recovery of lion—Visit to Bavian—Description of rock sculptures—Inscriptions—Sculptures at Kouyunjik.

By the 28th of January, the colossal lions forming the portal to the great hall in the north-west palace of Nimroud were ready to be dragged to the river-bank. The walls and their sculptured panelling had been removed from around them, and they stood isolated in the midst of the ruins. I rode one calm cloudless night to the mound, to look on them for the last time before they were taken from their old resting-places. The moon was at her full, and as I drew nigh to the edge of the deep trench in which they stood, her soft light was creeping over the stern features of the human heads, and driving before it the dark shadows which still clothed the lion forms. One by one the limbs of the gigantic sphinxes emerged from the gloom, until the monsters were unveiled before me. I shall never forget that night, or the emotions which those venerable figures caused within me. A few hours more and they were to stand no longer where they had stood for ages, unscathed amidst the wreck of man and his works. It seemed almost sacrilege to tear them from their old haunts to make them a mere wonder-stock to the busy crowd of a new world. They were better suited to the desolation around them; for they had guarded the palace in its glory, and it was for them to watch over it in its ruin. Sheikh Abd-ur-Rahman, who had ridden with me to the mound, was troubled with no such reflections. He gazed listlessly at the grim images, wondered at the folly of the Franks, thought the night cold, and turned his mare towards his tents. I scarcely heeded his

going, but stood speechless in the deserted portal, until the shadows again began to creep over its hoary guardians.

Beyond the ruined palaces a scene scarcely less solemn awaited me. I had sent a party of Jebours to the bitumen springs, outside the walls to the east of the inclosure. The Arabs having lighted a small fire with brushwood awaited my coming to throw the burning sticks upon the pitchy pools. A thick heavy smoke rolled upwards in curling volumes, hiding the light of the moon, and spreading wide over the sky. Tongues of flame and jets of gas, driven from the burning pit, shot through the murky canopy. As the fire brightened, a thousand fantastic forms of light played amidst the smoke. To break the cindered crust, and to bring fresh slime to the surface, the Arabs threw large stones into the springs; a new volume of fire then burst forth, throwing a deep red glare upon the figures and upon the landscape. The Jebours danced round the burning pools, like demons in some midnight orgie, shouting their war-cry, and brandishing their glittering arms. In an hour the bitumen was exhausted for the time,* the dense smoke gradually died away, and the pale light of the moon again shone over the black slime pits.

The colossal lions were moved by still simpler and ruder means than those adopted on my first expedition. They were tilted over upon loose earth heaped behind them. They were then lowered upon the cart by gradually removing the soil. A road paved with flat stones had been made to the edge of the mound, and the sculptures were, without difficulty, dragged from the trenches.

Beneath the lions, embedded in earth and bitumen, were a few bones, which, on exposure to the air, fell to dust before I could ascertain whether they were human or not. The sculptures rested simply upon the platform of sun-dried bricks without any other substructure, a mere layer of bitumen, about an inch thick, having been placed under the plinth.

Owing to recent heavy rains, which had left in many places deep swamps, we experienced much difficulty in dragging the

* In a few hours the pits are sufficiently filled to take fire again.

cart over the plain to the river side. Three days were spent in transporting each lion. The men of Naifa and Nimroud again came to our help, and the Abou-Salman horsemen, with Sheikh Abd-ur-Rahman at their head, encouraged us by their presence. The unwieldy mass was propelled from behind by enormous levers of poplar wood; and in the costumes of those who worked, as well as in the means adopted to move the colossal sculptures, except that we used a wheeled cart instead of a sledge, the procession closely resembled that which in days of yore moved the same great figures to the palace, and which had been so graphically represented on the walls of Kouyunjik.* As they had been brought so were they taken away.

It was necessary to humour and excite the Arabs to induce them to persevere in the arduous work of dragging the cart through the deep soft soil into which it continually sank. At one time, after many vain efforts to move the buried wheels, it was unanimously declared that Mr. Cooper, the artist, brought ill luck, and no one would work until he retired. The cumbrous machine crept onwards for a few more yards, but again all exertions were fruitless. Then the Frank lady would bring good fortune if she sat on the sculpture. The wheels rolled heavily along, but were soon clogged once more in the yielding soil. An evil eye surely lurked among the workmen or the bystanders. Search was quickly made, and a man having been detected upon whom this curse had alighted, he was ignominiously driven away with shouts and execrations. This impediment having been removed, the cart drew nearer to the village, but soon again came to a standstill. All the Sheikhs were now summarily degraded from their rank and honours, and a weakly ragged boy having been dressed up in tawdry kerchiefs, and invested with a cloak, was pronounced by Hormuzd to be the only fit chief for such puny men. The cart moved forwards, until the ropes gave way, under the new excitement caused by this reflection upon the character of the Arabs. When that had subsided, and the presence of the youthful Sheikh no longer encouraged

* See woodcut, p. 25.

his subjects, he was as summarily deposed as he had been elected, and a greybeard of ninety was raised to the dignity in his stead. He had his turn; then the most unpopular of the Sheikhs were compelled to lie down on the ground, as if the groaning wheels were to pass over them, like the car of Juggernaut over its votaries. With yells, shrieks, and wild antics the cart was drawn within a few inches of the prostrate men. As a last resource I seized a rope myself, and with shouts of defiance between the different tribes, who were divided into separate parties and pulled against each other, and amidst the deafening *tahlel* of the women, the lion was at length fairly brought to the water's edge.

It was not until the month of April, after I had left Mosul on my journey to the Khabour, that the floods caused by the melting of the snows in the mountains of Kurdistan enabled me to send these sculptures by rafts to Baghdad. After receiving the necessary repairs they floated onwards to Busrah. The waters of the Tigris throughout its course had risen far above their usual level. The embankments, long neglected by the Turkish government, had given way, and the river, bursting from its bed, spread itself over the surrounding country in vast lakes and marshes. One of the rafts, notwithstanding the exertions of the raftmen, aided by the crew of a boat that accompanied them, was left in the middle of a swamp, about a mile from the stream. The other raft fortunately escaped, and reached Busrah without accident.

For some time the stranded raft was given up for lost. But Captain Jones, the commander of the British flotilla on the Mesopotamian rivers, with his usual skill and intrepidity, took a steamer over the ruined embankment, and into the unexplored morass. After great exertion, under a burning sun in the middle of summer, he succeeded in conveying the sculpture to its destination.

During a hasty visit in the autumn to the remarkable rock-sculptures of Bavian, I had been unable to make drawings, or to copy the inscriptions. The winged lions having been removed from the Nimroud mound, I found time to revisit these important monuments. Our road thither from Mosul ran across the rocky range of the Gebel Makloub. The

ascent was difficult and precipitous, scarcely practicable for heavily laden beasts. On the eastern side, the hills sink gradually into a broad plain. The small Kurdish hamlet of Bavian is situated at the foot of the next and higher limestone range. The sculptures are carved on the face of the rock, near the entrance to a narrow ravine, from whence issues a brawling mountain torrent, called the Gomel, one of the confluents of the Ghazir, the Bumadus of the Greeks, upon the banks of which was fought the great battle of Arbela. They consist of a number of tablets cut on the smoothed face of the cliff. The principal one is twenty-eight feet high, and contains two Assyrian deities standing on mythic animals, with two kings, one on each side, apparently in the act of adoration. It would seem that these two royal figures represent one and the same monarch, and the inscriptions identify him with Sennacherib. This colossal bas-relief has not only suffered from the effect of time, but has been further defaced by the entrances to tombs excavated in the rock. I succeeded in entering these tombs, having been lowered from above by ropes, but found them empty. They had, no doubt, been rifled at a remote period.

In a second tablet is represented an Assyrian horseman, of colossal proportions, riding at full speed with couched lance. In front of him stands Sennacherib, behind him an Assyrian deity, and above a row of gods standing on animals. On other parts of the cliff are eleven smaller tablets in arched recesses, each containing a figure of Sennacherib. Across three of them are inscriptions in the cuneiform character, and of precisely the same import. They appear to record certain extensive works for irrigation undertaken by that monarch, and his expedition against Merodach Baladan, and the capture and plunder of Babylon, mentioned in the records on the bulls at Nineveh. A very remarkable passage, if rightly interpreted, states that Sennacherib brought back to Assyria certain images of the gods which had been carried away 418 years before by a king of Mesopotamia. If this be the true interpretation, it shows that at that remote period the Assyrians kept an exact computation of time. Sennacherib declares that, on his return

from Babylon, he had caused these tablets to be carved in the rock.

Beneath the sculptured tablets, and in the bed of the Gomel, are two enormous fragments of rock, which have fallen from the overhanging cliff into the torrent below. The pent-up waters eddy round them in deep and dangerous whirlpools, and when swollen by the winter rains sweep com-

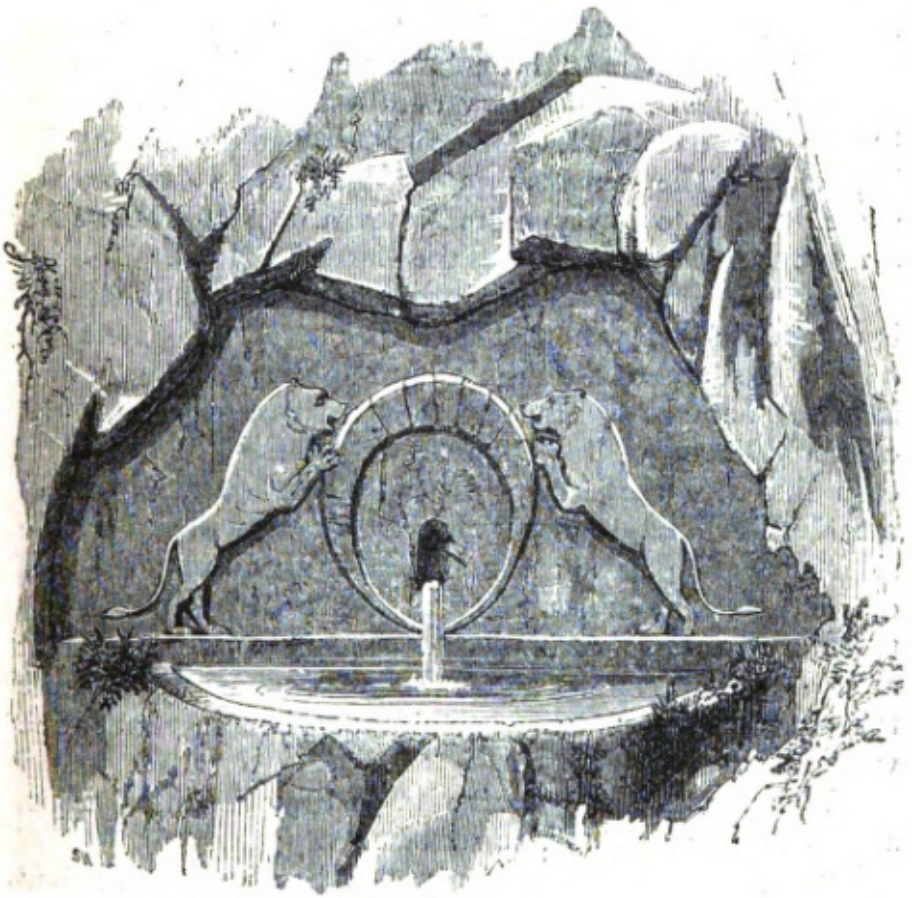
Fallen Rock-Sculptures. (Bavian.)

pletely over them.* They still bear the remains of sculpture. One has been broken by the fall into two pieces. On it is the Assyrian Hercules strangling the lion between two winged human-headed bulls, back to back, as at the grand entrances of the palaces of Kouyunjik and Khorsabad.

* It was at this spot that Mr. Bell, the youthful artist sent out by the Trustees of the British Museum, was unfortunately drowned when bathing, in the month of July, 1851, shortly after my departure from Mosul.

Above this group is the king, worshipping between two deities, who stand on mythic animals with the heads of eagles, the bodies and fore feet of lions, and hind legs armed with the talons of a bird of prey.

Near the entrance to the ravine the face of the cliff has been scarped for some yards to the level of the bed of the



Assyrian Fountain. (Bavian.)

torrent. A party of Kurds were hired to excavate at this spot, as well as in other parts of the narrow valley. Remains and foundations of buildings in hewn stone were discovered. Higher up the gorge, on removing the earth, I found a series of basins cut in the rock, and descending in steps to the stream. The water had originally been led from one to the other through small conduits, the lowest of which was orna-

mented at its mouth with two rampant lions in relief. These outlets were choked up, but we cleared them, and by pouring water into the upper basin restored the fountain as it had been in the time of the Assyrians.

From the nature and number of the monuments at Bavian, it would seem that this ravine was a sacred spot, devoted to religious ceremonies and to national sacrifices. When the buildings, whose remains still exist, were used for these purposes, the waters must have been pent up between quays or embankments. They now occasionally spread over the bottom of the valley, leaving no pathway at the foot of the lofty cliffs. The remains of a well-built raised causeway of stone, leading to Bavian from Nineveh, may still be traced across the plain to the east of the Gebel Makloub.

The place, from its picturesque beauty and its cool refreshing shade even in the hottest days of summer, is a grateful retreat, well suited to devotion and to holy rites. The brawling stream almost fills the bed of the narrow ravine with its clear and limpid waters. The beetling cliffs rise abruptly on each side, and above them tower the wooded declivities of the Kurdish hills. As the valley opens into the plain, the sides of the limestone mountains are broken into a series of distinct strata, and resemble a vast flight of steps leading up to the high lands of central Asia. The banks of the torrent are clothed with shrubs and dwarf trees, amongst which are the green myrtle and the gay oleander, bending under the weight of its rosy blossoms.

I remained two days at Bavian to copy the inscriptions, and to explore the Assyrian remains.

During my absence, several new chambers had been opened at Kouyunjik. The western portal of the great hall, whose four sides were now completely uncovered,* led into a long narrow chamber (eighty-two feet by twenty-six), the walls of which had unfortunately been almost entirely destroyed.† On such fragments, however, as remained were traces of the usual subjects,—battles and victories. There was nothing remarkable in the dresses of the captives, or in the details,

* No. VI. Plan I. p. 4. † No. IX. same Plan.

to give any clue to the conquered people, whose country was represented by wooded mountains and a broad river.

In the chamber beyond* a few slabs were still standing in their original places. In length this room was the same as that parallel to it, but in breadth it was only eighteen feet. The bas-reliefs represented the siege and sack of one of the many cities taken by Sennacherib, and the transfer of the captives to some distant province of Assyria. The prisoners were dressed in garments falling to the calves of their legs, and the women wore a kind of turban. Although the country was mountainous, its inhabitants used the camel as a beast of burden, and in the sculptures it was represented laden with the spoil. The Assyrians, as was their custom, carried away in triumph the images of the gods of the conquered nation, which were placed on poles and borne in procession on men's shoulders. 'Hath any god of the nations delivered his land out of the hand of the king of Assyria?' exclaimed the Assyrian general to the Jews. 'Where are the gods of Hamath and Arphad? where are the gods of Sepharvaim?'† They had been carried away with the captives, and the very idols that were represented in this bas-relief may have been amongst those to which Rabshakeh made this boasting allusion. The captured gods were three, a human figure with outstretched arms, a lion-headed man carrying a long staff in one hand, and an image enclosed by a square frame. Within a fortified camp, defended by towers and battlements, the priests were offering up the sacrifices usual upon a victory; the pontiff was distinguished by a high conical cap, and, as is always the case in the Assyrian sculptures, was beardless. By his side stood an assistant. Before the altar, on which were some sacrificial utensils, was the sacred chariot, with its elaborate yoke. On a raised band, across the centre of the castle, were inscribed the name and titles of Sennacherib.‡

On the northern side of the great hall the portal formed by the winged bulls, and the two smaller doorways guarded by colossal winged figures, led into a chamber one hundred

* No. x. Plan. I. p. 4. † Isaiah, xxxvi. 18, 19.
‡ Plate 50, 2d series of 'Monuments of Nineveh.'

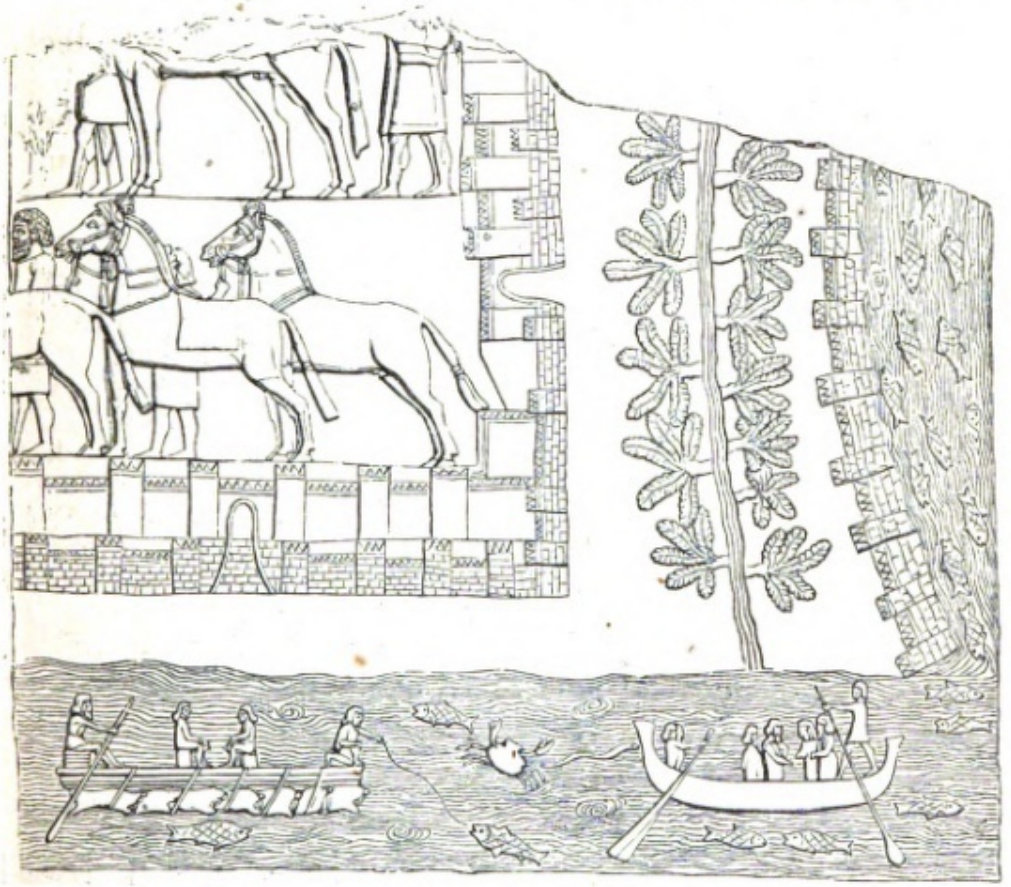
feet by twenty-four, which opened into a further room of somewhat smaller dimensions.* In the first were a few slabs, representing some warlike expedition of the Assyrian king, and, as usual, the triumphant issue of the campaign. The monarch, in his chariot, and surrounded by his body-guard, was seen receiving the captives and the spoil in a hilly country, whilst his warriors were dragging their horses up a steep mountain near a fortified town, driving their chariots along the banks of a river, and slaying with the spear the flying enemy.†

The bas-reliefs of the second chamber had recorded the wars of the Assyrians with a maritime people, represented in other sculptures, and who may probably be identified with some nation on the Phœnician coast. Their galleys, rowed by double banks of oarsmen, and the high conical head-dress of their women, have already been described.‡ On the best preserved slab was the interior of a fortified camp, amidst mountains. Within the walls were tents whose owners were engaged in various domestic occupations, cooking in pots placed on stones over the fire, receiving the blood of a slaughtered sheep in a jar, and making ready the couches. Warriors were seated before a table, with their shields hung to the tent-pole above them.

A Captive. (Kouyunjik.)

* Nos. VII. and VIII. Plan I. p. 4.
† Plate 29, of 2nd series of 'Monuments of Nineveh.'
‡ Nineveh and its Remains, chap. xiii.

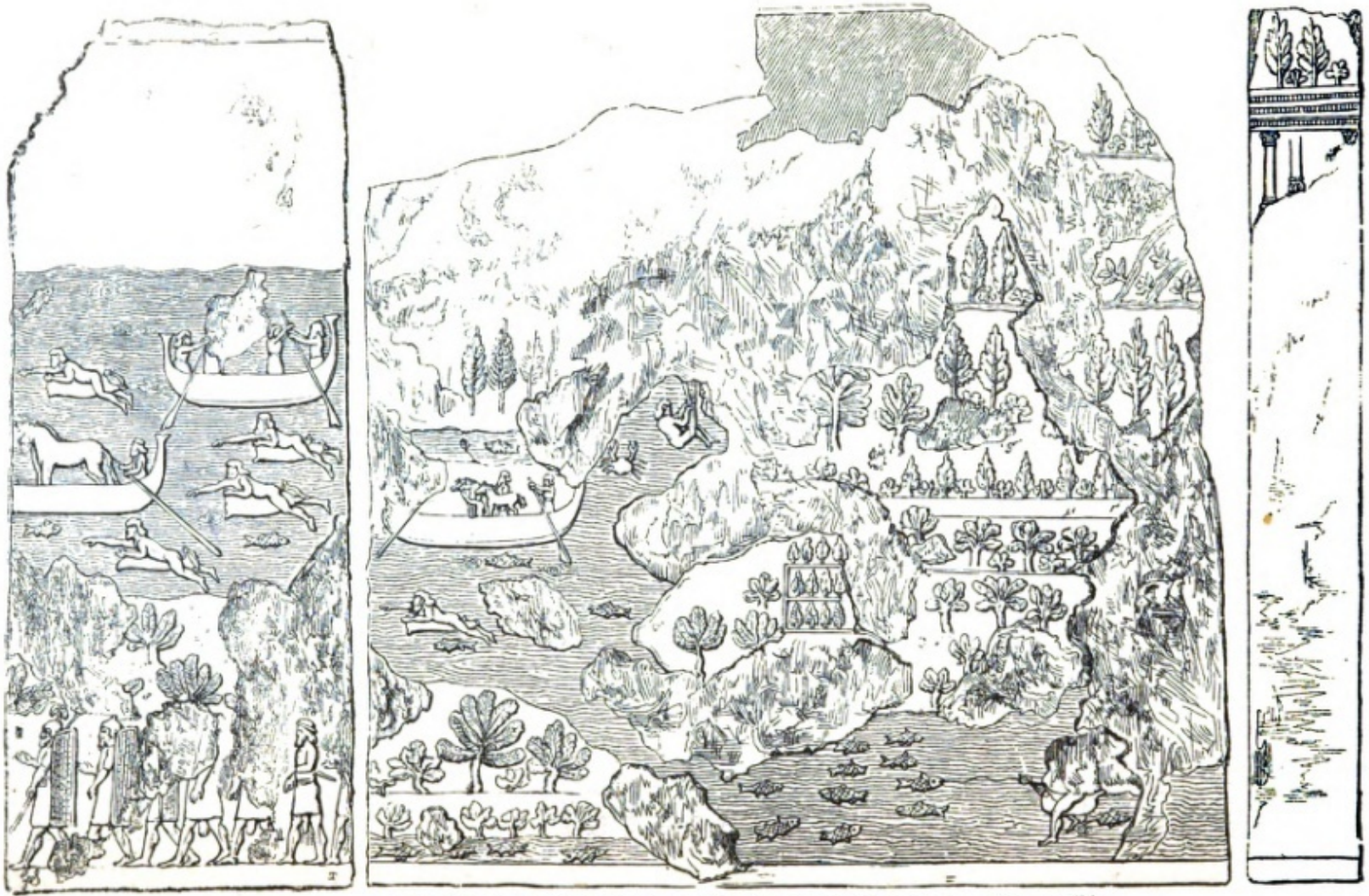
In the southern part of the palace a chamber had been opened, in which several bas-reliefs of considerable interest had been discovered.* Its principal entrance, facing the west, was formed by a pair of colossal human-headed lions, carved in coarse limestone, so much injured that even the inscriptions on the lower part of them were nearly illegible. Unfortunately the bas-reliefs were equally mutilated, four



Bas-relief from Kouyunjik, representing fortified City, a River with a Boat and Raft, and a Canal.

slabs only retaining any traces of sculpture. One of them represented Assyrian warriors leading captives, wearing a head-dress of high feathers, forming a kind of tiara like that of an Indian chief, and a robe confined at the waist by an ornamented girdle. Some of them carried an object resembling a torch.

* No. XXII. Plan I. p. 4.



Bas-relief representing a River, and Gardens watered by Canals. (Kouyunjik).

On a second slab, preserved in this chamber, was represented a double-walled city with arched gateways, and inclined approaches leading to them from the outer walls. Within were warriors with horses; outside the fortifications was a narrow stream or canal, planted on both sides with trees, and flowing into a broad river, on which were large boats, holding several persons, and a raft of skins, bearing a man fishing, and two others seated before a pot or cauldron. Along the banks, and apparently washed by the stream, was a wall with equidistant towers and battlements. On another part of the same river were men ferrying horses across the river in boats, whilst others were swimming over on inflated skins. The water swarmed with fish and crabs. Gardens and orchards, with various kinds of trees, appeared to be watered by canals similar to those which once spread fertility over the plains of Babylonia, and of which the choked-up beds still remain. A man, suspended by a rope, was being lowered into the water. Upon the corner of a slab, almost destroyed, was a hanging-garden, supported upon columns, whose capitals were not unlike those of the Corinthian order. This representation of ornamental gardens was highly curious. It is much to be regretted that only fragments of these interesting bas-reliefs have been preserved.

CHAPTER IV.

Preparations for a journey to the Khabour—Sheikh Suttum—His rediff—Departure from Mosul—First encampment—Abou Khameera—A storm—Tel Ermah—A stranger—Tel Jemal—A sunset in the desert—A Jebour encampment—The Belled Sinjar—The Sinjar hill—The dress of the Yezidis—The Shomal—Return to the Belled—A snake-charmer—Journey continued in the desert—Rishwan—Encampment of the Boraij—Dress of Arab women—Rathaiyah—Hawking—A deputation from the Yezidis—The Khabour—Arrival at Arban.

I HAD long wished to visit the banks of the Khabour. This river, the Chaboras of the Greek geographers, and the Habor, or Chebar, of the Samaritan captivity*, rises in the north of Mesopotamia, and flowing to the west of the Sinjar hill, falls into the Euphrates near the site of the ancient city of Carchemish† or Circesium, still known to the Bedouins by the name of Carkeseea. As it winds through the midst of the desert, and its rich pastures are the resort of wandering tribes of Arabs, it is always difficult of access to the traveller. It was examined, for a short distance from its mouth, by the expedition under Colonel Chesney; but the general course of the river was imperfectly known, and several geographical questions of interest connected with it were undetermined previous to my visit.

With the Bedouins, who were occasionally my guests at Mosul or Nimroud, as well as with the Jebours, whose encamping grounds were originally on its banks, the Khabour was a constant theme of exaggerated praise. The richness of its pastures, the beauty of its flowers, its jungles teeming with game of all kinds, and the leafy thickness of its trees yielding an agreeable shade during the hottest days of sum-

* 2 Kings, xviii. 11; Ezek. i. 1. † 2 Chron. xxxv. 20.

mer, formed a terrestrial paradise to which the wandering Arab eagerly turned his steps when he could lead his flocks thither in safety. Ruins, too, as an additional attraction, were declared to abound on its banks, and formed the principal inducement for me to undertake a long and somewhat hazardous journey. During the winter my old friend Mohammed Emin, Sheikh of one of the principal branches of the Jebour tribe, had pitched his tents on the river. Arabs from his encampment would occasionally wander to Mosul. They generally bore an invitation from their chief, urging me to visit him when the spring rendered a march through the desert both easy and pleasant. But when a note arrived from the Sheikh, announcing that two colossal idols, similar to those of Nimroud, had suddenly appeared in a mound by the river side, I hesitated no longer, and determined to start at once for the Khabour.

As the Shammar Bedouins were scattered over the desert between Mosul and the Khabour, and their horsemen continually scoured the plains in search of plunder, it was necessary that we should be protected and accompanied by an influential chief of the tribe. I accordingly sent to Suttum, a Sheikh of the Boraij, one of the principal branches of the Shammar, whose tents were at that time pitched between the river and the ruins of El Hather. Suttum was well known to me, and had already given proofs of his trustworthiness and intelligence on more than one similar occasion. He lost no time in obeying the summons. Arrangements were soon made with him. He agreed to furnish camels for our baggage, and to remain with me himself until he had seen my caravan in safety again within the gates of Mosul. He returned to the desert to fetch the camels, and to make other preparations for our journey, promising to be with me in a few days.

Punctual to his appointment, Sheikh Suttum brought his camels to Mosul on the 19th of March. He was accompanied by Khoraif, his *rediff*, as the person who sits on the dromedary* behind the owner is called by the Bedouins.

* I use the word 'dromedary' for a swift riding camel, the *Deloul* of the Arabs, and *Hejin* of the Turks: it is so applied generally, although incorrectly, by Europeans in the East.

In the two great nomade tribes of the Shammar and Aneyza, the word 'rediff' frequently infers a more intimate connection than mere companionship on a camel. It is customary with them for a warrior to swear a kind of brotherhood with a person not only not related to him by blood, but frequently even of a different tribe. Two men connected by this tie are inseparable. They go together to war, they live in the same tent, and are allowed to see each other's wives. They become, indeed, more than brothers. Khoraif was of the tribe of the Aneyza, who have a deadly feud with the Shammar. Having left his own kith and kin on account of some petty quarrel, he had joined their enemies, and had become the rediff of Suttum, dwelling under his canvass, accompanying him in his expeditions, and riding with him on his deloul. Although he had deserted his tribe, Khoraif had not renounced all connection with his kindred, nor had he been cut off by them. Being thus allied to two powerful clans, he was able to render equal services to any of his old or new friends, who might fall into each other's hands. It is on this account that a warrior generally chooses his rediff from a tribe with which he is at enmity, for if taken in war he would then be *dakheel*, that is, protected, by the family, or rather particular sept, of his companion. On the other hand, should one of the rediff's friends become the prisoner of the sept into which his kinsman has been adopted, he would be under its protection, and could not be molested. Thus Khoraif would have been an important addition to our party had we fallen in, during our journey, with Aneyza Arabs, against whom, of course, Suttum could not protect us. On warlike expeditions the rediff generally leads the mare which is to be ridden by his companion in the fight. When in face of the enemy he is left in charge of the dromedary, and takes part in the battle from its back. He rides, when travelling, on the naked back of the animal, clinging to the hinder part of the saddle, his legs crouched up almost to his chin—a very uncomfortable position for one not accustomed from childhood to a hard seat and a rough motion.

As our desert trip would probably last for more than two months, during which time we should meet with no villages,

or permanent settlements, we were obliged to take with us supplies of all kinds, both for ourselves and the workmen; consequently flour, rice, burghoul (prepared wheat, to be used as a substitute for rice), and biscuits, formed a large portion of our baggage. Two enormous boxes held various luxuries, such as sugar, coffee, tea, and spices, with robes of silk and cotton, and red and yellow boots, presents for the various chiefs whom we might meet in the desert. Baskets, tools for excavating, tents, and working utensils, formed the rest of our baggage.

I knew that I should have no difficulty in finding workmen when once in Mohammed Emin's encampment. As, however, it was my intention to explore any ruins of importance that we might see on our way, I chose about fifty of my best Arab excavators, and twelve Tiyari, or Nestorians, to accompany us. They were to follow on foot, but one or two extra camels were provided in case any were unable from fatigue to keep up with the caravan. The camels were driven into the small Mussulman burial-ground, adjoining my house in Mosul. The whole morning was spent in dividing and arranging the loads, always the most difficult part of the preparations for a journey in the East. The pack-saddles of the Bedouins, mere bags of rough canvass stuffed with straw, were ill-adapted to carry anything but sacks of wheat and flour. As soon as a load was adjusted, it was sure to slip over the tail, or to turn over on one side. When this difficulty was overcome, the animals would suddenly kneel and shake off their burdens. Their owners were equally hard to please: this camel was galled, another vicious, a third weak. Suttum and Khoraif exerted themselves to the utmost, and the inhabitants of the quarter, together with stray passers-by, joined in the proceedings, adding to the din and confusion, and of course considerably to our difficulties. At length, as the muezzin called to midday prayer, the last camel issued from the Sinjar gate. A place of general rendezvous had been appointed outside the walls, that our party might be collected together for a proper start, and that those who were good Mussulmans might go through their prayers before commencing a perilous journey.

When we had all assembled, our party had swollen into a little army. The Doctor, Mr. Cooper, and Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, of course, accompanied me. Mr. and Mrs. Rolland with their servants had joined our expedition. My Yezidi fellow-traveller from Constantinople, Cawal Yusuf, with three companions, was to escort me to the Sinjar, and to accompany us in our tour through that district. Several Jebour families, whose tribe was encamped at Abou-Psera, near the mouth of the Khabour, seized this opportunity to join their friends, taking with them their tents and cattle. Thirteen or fourteen Bedouins had charge of the camels, so that, with the workmen and servants, our caravan consisted of nearly one hundred well-armed men; a force sufficient to defy almost any hostile party with which we were likely to fall in during our journey. We had about five and twenty camels, and as many horses, some of which were led. As it was spring time and the pastures were good, it was not necessary to carry much provender for our animals.

Suttum, with his rediff, rode on a light fleet dromedary, which had been taken in a plundering expedition from the Aneyza. Its name was Dhwaila. Its high and picturesque saddle was profusely ornamented with brass bosses and nails; over the seat was thrown the Baghdad double bags adorned with long tassels and fringes of many-coloured wools, so much coveted by the Bedouin. The Sheikh had the general direction and superintendence of our march. The Mesopotamian desert had been his home from his birth, and he knew every spring and pasture. He was of the Saadi, one of the most illustrious families of the Shammar*, and he possessed great personal influence in the tribe. His intelligence was of a very high order, and he was as well known for his skill in Bedouin intrigue, as for his courage and daring in war. In person he was of middle height, of spare habit, but well made, and of noble and dignified carriage; although a musket wound in the thigh, from which the ball had not been extracted, gave

* An Arab tribe is divided into septs, and each sept is composed of certain families. Thus Suttum was a Shammar, of the branch called the Boraij, and of the family of Saadi, besides being a member of a peculiar division of the great tribe called the Khorusseh.

him a slight lameness in his gait. His features were regular and well-proportioned, and of that delicate character so frequently found amongst the nomades of the desert. A restless and sparkling eye of the deepest black seemed to scan and

Sheikh Suttum.

penetrate everything within its ken. His dark hair was platted into many long tails; his beard, like that of the Arabs in general, was scanty. He wore the usual Arab shirt, and over it a cloak of blue cloth trimmed with red silk and lined with fur, a present from some pasha as he pretended, but more

probably a part of some great man's wardrobe that had been appropriated without its owner's consent. A coloured kerchief, or keffieh, was thrown loosely over his head, and confined above the temples by a rope of twisted camel's hair. At his side hung a scimitar, an antique horse-pistol was held by a rope, tied as a girdle round his waist, and a long spear, tufted with black ostrich feathers, and ornamented with scarlet streamers, rested on his shoulder. He was the very picture of a true Bedouin Sheikh, and his liveliness, his wit, and his singular powers of conversation, which made him the most agreeable of companions, did not belie his race.

As we wound slowly over the low rocky hills to the west of the town of Mosul, in a long straggling line, our caravan had a strange and motley appearance; Europeans, Turks, Bedouins, town-Arabs, Tiyari, and Yezidis, adding, by difference of costume and a profusion of bright colours, to the general picturesqueness and gaiety of the scene.

The Tigris, from its entrance into the low country at the foot of the Kurdish mountains near Jezirah, to the ruined town of Tekrit, is separated from the Mesopotamian plains by a range of low limestone hills. We rode over this undulating ground for about an hour and a half, and then descended into the plain of Zerga, encamping for the night near the ruins of a small village, with a falling castle, called Sahaghi, about twelve miles from Mosul. The place had been left by its inhabitants, like all others on the desert side of the town, on account of the depredations of the Bedouins. There is now scarcely one permanent settlement on the banks of the Tigris from Jezirah to the immediate vicinity of Baghdad, with the exception of Mosul and Tekrit. One of the most fertile countries in the world, watered by a river navigable for nearly six hundred miles, has been turned into a desert and a wilderness, by continued misgovernment, oppression, and neglect.

Our tents were pitched near a pool of rain water, which, although muddy and scant, sufficed for our wants. There are no springs in this part of the plain, and the Bedouins are entirely dependent upon such temporary supplies. The remains of ancient villages show, however, that water is not

concealed far beneath the surface, and that wells once yielded all that was required for irrigation and human consumption.

The loads had not yet been fairly divided amongst the camels, and the sun had risen above the horizon, before the Bedouins had arranged them to their satisfaction, and were ready to depart. The plain of Zerga was carpeted with tender grass, scarcely yet forward enough to afford pasture for our animals. Scattered here and there were tulips of a bright scarlet hue, the earliest flower of the spring.

Our first Encampment in the Desert.

A ride of three hours and a quarter brought us to a second line of limestone hills, the continuation of the Tel Afer and Sinjar range, dividing the small plain of Zerga from the true Mesopotamian desert. From a peak which I ascended to take bearings, the vast level country, stretching to the Euphrates, lay like a map beneath me, dotted with mounds, but otherwise unbroken by a single eminence. The nearest and

most remarkable group of ruins was called Abou Khameera, and consisted of a lofty, conical mound surrounded by a square inclosure, or ridge of earth, marking, as at Kouyunjik and Nimroud, the remains of ancient walls. From the foot of the hill on which I stood there issued a small rivulet, winding amongst rushes, and losing itself in the plain. This running water had drawn together the black tents of the Jehesh, a half sedentary tribe of Arabs, who cultivate the lands around the ruined village of Abou Maria. Their flocks grazing on the plain, and the shepherds who watched them, were the only living objects in that boundless expanse.

As the caravan issued from the defile leading from the hills into the plain, the Arabs brought out bowls of sour milk and fresh water, inviting us to spend the night in their encampment. Eight or ten of my workmen, under a Christian superintendent, had been for some days excavating in the Assyrian ruins of Abou Khameera. I therefore ordered the tents to be pitched near the reedy stream, and galloped to the mounds, which were rather more than a mile distant.

A broad and lofty mound shows the traces of several distinct platforms or terraces rising one above the other. It is almost perpendicular on its four sides, except where, on the south-eastern, there appears to have been an inclined ascent, or a flight of steps, leading to the summit, and it stands nearly in the centre of an inclosure of earthen walls forming a regular quadrangle about 660 paces square. The workmen had opened deep trenches and tunnels in several parts of the principal ruin, and had found walls of sun-dried brick, unsculptured alabaster slabs, and some circular stone sockets for the hinges of gates, similar to those discovered at Nimroud. The baked bricks and the pieces of gypsum and pottery scattered amongst the rubbish bore no inscriptions; nor could I, after the most careful search, find the smallest fragment of sculpture.

One of those furious and sudden storms, which frequently sweep over the plains of Mesopotamia during the spring season, burst over us in the night. Whilst incessant lightnings broke the gloom, a raging wind almost drowned the deep roll of the thunder. The united strength of the Arabs

could scarcely hold the flapping canvass of the tents. Rain descended in torrents, sparing us no place of shelter. Towards dawn the hurricane had passed away, leaving a still and cloudless sky. When the sun rose from the broad expanse of the desert, as out of the sea, a most delightful calm and freshness pervaded the air.

During the day's journey we trod on a carpet of the brightest verdure, mingled with gaudy flowers. Men and animals rejoiced equally in these luxuriant pastures, and leaving the line of march strayed over the meadows. On all sides of us rose Assyrian mounds, now covered with soft herbage. I rode with Suttum from ruin to ruin, examining each, but finding no other remains than fragments of pottery and baked bricks. The Bedouin chief had names for them all, but they were mere Arab names, derived generally from some local peculiarity; the more ancient had been long lost. From his childhood his father's tents had been pitched amongst them nearly every year; when in the spring the tribe journeyed towards the banks of the Khabour, and again when in autumn they re-sought their winter camping-grounds around Babylon. These lofty mounds, seen from a great distance, are the best of landmarks in a vast plain, and guide the Bedouin in his wanderings.

Tel Ermah, 'the mound of the spears,' had been visible from our tents, rising far above the surrounding ruins. As it was a little out of the direct line of march, Suttum mounted one of our led horses, and leaving Khoraif to protect the caravan, rode with me to the spot. The mound is precisely similar in character to Abou Khameera and Mokhamour, and, like them, stands within a quadrangle of earthen walls. On its south-eastern side a ravine marks the remains of the ascent to the several terraces of the building. The principal ruin has assumed a conical form, like the high mound at Nimroud, and from the same cause. It was, I presume, originally square. Within the inclosure are traces of ancient dwellings, but I was unable to find any inscribed fragments of stone or brick.

Whilst I was examining the ruins, Suttum, from the highest mound, had been scanning the plain with his eagle eye. At

length it rested upon a distant moving object. Although with a telescope I could scarcely distinguish that to which he pointed, the Sheikh saw that it was a rider on a dromedary. He now, therefore, began to watch the stranger with that eager curiosity and suspicion always shown by a Bedouin when the solitude of the desert is broken by a human being of whose condition and business he is ignorant. Suttum soon satisfied himself as to the character of the solitary wanderer. He declared him to be a messenger from his own tribe, who had been sent to lead us to his father's tents. Mounting his horse, he galloped towards him. The Arab soon perceived the approaching horseman, and then commenced on both sides a series of manœuvres practised by those who meet in the desert, and are as yet distrustful of each other. I marked them from the ruin as they cautiously approached, now halting, now drawing nigh, and then pretending to ride away in an opposite direction. At length, recognising one another, they met, and, having first dismounted to embrace, came together towards me. As Suttum had conjectured, a messenger had been sent to him from his father's tribe. The Boraij were now moving towards the north in search of the spring pastures, and their tents would be pitched in three or four days beneath the Sinjar hill. Suttum at once understood the order of their march, and made arrangements to meet them accordingly.

Leaving the ruins of Tel Ermah, we found the caravan halting near some wells of sweet water, called Marzib. From this spot the old castle of Tel Afer, standing boldly on an eminence about ten miles distant, was plainly visible. Continuing our march we reached, towards evening, a group of mounds known as Tel Jemal, and pitched our tents in the midst of them on a green lawn, enamelled with flowers, that furnished a carpet unequalled in softness of texture, or in richness of colour, by the looms of Cashmere. A sluggish stream, called by the Arabs El Abra, and by the Turcomans of Tel Afer, Kharala, crept through the ruins.

The tents had scarcely been raised when a party of horsemen were seen coming towards us. As they approached our

encampment they played the Jerid with their long spears, galloping to and fro on their well-trained mares. They were the principal inhabitants of Tel Afer with Ozair Agha, their chief, who brought us a present of lambs, flour, and fresh vegetables. The Agha rode on a light chestnut mare of beautiful proportions and rare breed. His dress, as well as that of his followers, was singularly picturesque. His people are Turcomans, a solitary colony in the midst of the desert; and although their connection with the Bedouins has taught them the tongue and the habits of the wandering tribes, yet they still wear the turban of many folds, and the gay flowing robes of their ancestors. They allow their hair to grow long, and to fall in curls on their shoulders.

As the evening crept on, I watched from the highest mound the sun as it gradually sank in unclouded splendour below the sea-like expanse before me. On all sides, as far as the eye could reach, rose the grass-covered heaps marking the sites of ancient habitations. The great tide of civilisation had long since ebbed, leaving these scattered wrecks on the solitary shore. Are those waters to flow again, bearing back the seeds of knowledge and of wealth that they have wafted to the West? We wanderers were seeking what they had left behind, as children gather up the coloured shells on the deserted sands. At my feet there was a busy scene, making more lonely the unbroken solitude which reigned in the vast plain around, where the only moving thing were the shadows of the lofty mounds as they lengthened before the declining sun. Above three years before, when, watching the approach of night from the old castle of Tel Afer, I had counted nearly one hundred ruins, now, when in the midst of them, no less than double that number were seen from Tel Jemal. Our tents crowning the lip of a natural amphitheatre bright with flowers, Ozair Agha and his Turcomans seated on the greensward in earnest talk with the Arab chief, the horses picketed in the long grass, the Bedouins driving home their camels for their night's rest, the servants and grooms busied with their various labours; such was the foreground of a picture of perfect calm and stillness. In the distance was the long range

of the Sinjar hills, furrowed with countless ravines, each marked by a dark purple shadow, gradually melting into the evening haze.

We had a long day's march before us to the village of Sinjar. The wilderness appeared still more beautiful than it had done the day before. The recent storm had given new life to a vegetation which, concealed beneath a crust of apparently unfruitful earth, only waits for a spring shower to burst, as if by enchantment, through the thirsty soil. Here and there grew patches of a shrub-like plant with an edible root, having a sharp pungent taste like mustard, eaten raw and much relished by the Bedouins. Among them lurked game of various kind. Troops of gazelles sprang from the low cover, and bounded over the plain. The greyhounds coursed hares; the horsemen followed a wild boar of enormous size, and nearly white from age; and the Doctor, who was the sportsman of the party, shot a bustard, with a beautiful speckled plumage, and a ruff of long feathers round its neck. This bird was larger than the common small bustard, but apparently of the same species. Other bustards, the great and the middle-sized (the Houbron and Houbara of the Arabs*), and the lesser, besides many birds of the plover kind†, rose from these tufts, which seemed to afford food and shelter to a variety of living creatures. We scanned the horizon in vain for the wild ass, which is but thinly scattered over the plains. The Arabs found many eggs of the Houbara. They were laid in the grass without any regular nest, the bird simply making a form somewhat like that of a hare, and sitting very close, frequently not rising until it was nearly trodden under foot. One or two eggs of the great bustard were also brought to me during the day.

We still wandered amongst innumerable mounds. The largest I examined were called Hathail and Usgah. They resembled those of Abou Khameera and Tel Ermah, with

* The Houbron is the *Otis tarda*, or great bustard; the Houbara, the *Otis Houbara*. I believe that more than one species of the lesser bustard (*Otis tetrax*) is found in the Mesopotamian plains.

† The most abundant was a large grey plover, called by the Bedouins 'Smoug.'

the remains of terraces, the ascent to them being on the south-eastern side, and the inclosure of earthen walls.

We rode in a direct line to the Belled Sinjar, the residence of the governor of the district. There was no beaten track, and the camels wandered along as they listed, cropping as they went the young grass. The horsemen and footmen, too, scattered themselves over the plain in search of game. Suttum rode from group to group on his swift deloul, urging them to keep together, as the Aneyza *gazous** occasionally swept this part of the desert. But to little purpose; the feeling of liberty and independence which these boundless meadows produced was too complete and too pleasing to be controlled by any fear of danger, or by the Sheikh's prudent counsel. All shared in the exhilarating effects of the air and scene. Hormuzd would occasionally place himself at the head of the Jebours, and chant their war songs, improvising words suited to the occasion. The men answered in chorus, dancing as they went, brandishing their weapons, and raising their bright-coloured kerchiefs, as flags, on the end of their spears. The more sedate Bedouins smiled in contempt at these noisy effusions of joy, only worthy of tribes who have touched the plough; but they indulged in no less keen, though more suppressed, emotions of delight. Even the Nestorians caught the general enthusiasm, and sung their mountain songs as they walked along.

As we drew near to the foot of the hills we found a large encampment, formed partly by Jebours belonging to Sheikh Abd-ul-Azeez, and partly by a Sinjar tribe called Mendka, under a chief known as the 'Effendi,' who enjoys considerable influence in this district. I dismounted at a short distance, to avoid a breach of good manners, as to refuse to eat bread, or to spend the night, after alighting near a tent, would be thought a grave slight upon its owner.

It was with difficulty that I resisted the entreaties of the Effendi to partake of his hospitality. We did not reach the Belled Sinjar until after the sun had gone down, the caravan having been ten hours in unceasing march. The tents were

* A plundering party, the *chappou* of the Persian tribes.

pitched on a small plot of ground, watered by numerous rills, and in the centre of the ruins. Although almost a swamp, it was the only spot free from stones and rubbish. In front of the tent door rose a leaning minaret, part of a mosque, and other ruins of Arab edifices. To the right was an old wall with a falling archway, from beneath which gushed a most abundant stream of clear sweet water, still filling the ancient fountains and reservoirs of the city.

My tent was soon filled with the people of the Belled, and they remained in animated discussion until the night was far spent.

The ruins amongst which we had encamped are those of the town of Sinjar, the capital of an Arab principality in the time of the Caliphs. Its princes frequently asserted their independence, coined money, and ruled from the Khabour and Euphrates to the neighbourhood of Mosul. The province was included within the dominions of the celebrated Saleh-ed-din (the Saladin of the Crusades), and was more than once visited by him.

Wishing to visit the villages of the *Shomal*, or northern side of the mountain, and at the same time to put an end, if possible, to the bloodshed between their inhabitants, and to induce them to submit to the governor, I quitted the Belled in the afternoon of the following day, accompanied by Cawal Yusuf, leaving the tents, baggage, and workmen under the charge of the Bairakdar. We followed a precipitous pathway along the hill-side to Mirkan, the village destroyed by Tahyar Pasha on my first visit to the Sinjar.* This part of the mountain is coated with thin strata of a white fossiliferous limestone, which detach themselves in enormous flakes, and fall into the ravines, leaving an endless variety of singular forms in the rocks above. In some places the declivities are broken into stupendous flights of steps, in others they have the columnar appearance of basalt. This limestone produces scarcely a blade of vegetation, and its milk-white colour, throwing back the intense glare of the sun's rays, is both painful and hurtful to the eyes.

* Nineveh and its Remains, p. 214, 215.

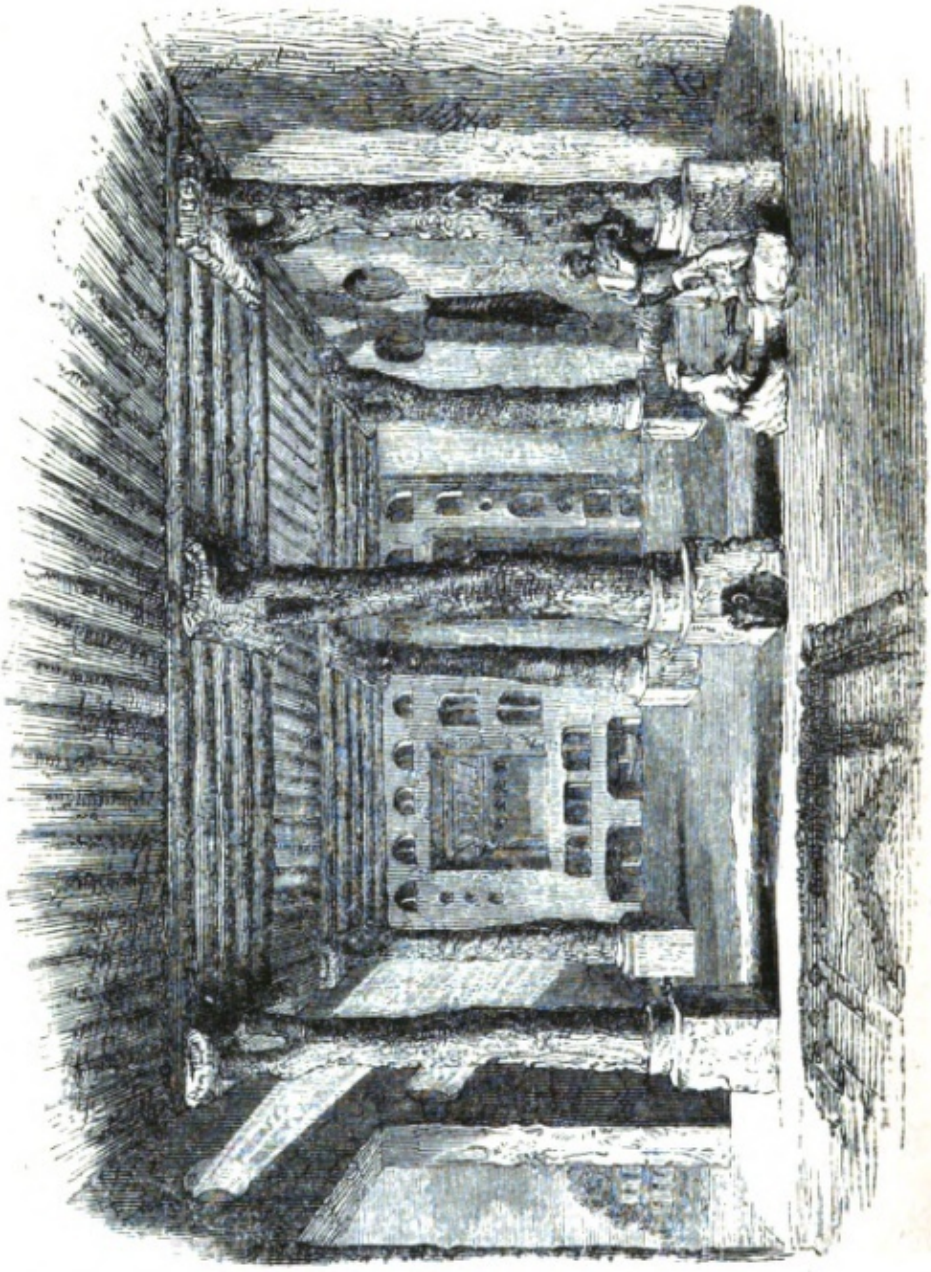
Mirkan was in open rebellion, and had refused to pay taxes and to receive the officer of the Pasha of Mosul. I was, at first, somewhat doubtful of our reception. Esau, the chief, came out, however, to meet me, and led us to his house. We were soon surrounded by the principal men of the village. They were also at war with the tribes of the 'Shomal.' A few days before they had fought with the loss of several men on both sides. Seconded by Cawal Yusuf, I endeavoured to make them feel that peace and union amongst themselves was not only essential to their own welfare, but to that of the Yezidis of Kurdistan and Armenia, who had, at length, received a promise of protection from the Turkish government. After a lengthened discussion the chief consented to accompany me to the neighbouring village of Bukra, with whose inhabitants his people had been for some time at war.

There are two pathways from Mirkan to the Shomal, one winding through narrow valleys, the other crossing the shoulder of the mountain. I chose the latter, as it enabled me to obtain an extensive view of the surrounding country, and to take bearings of many points of interest. The slopes around the villages are most industriously and carefully cultivated. Earth, collected with great labour, is spread over terraces, supported by walls of loose stones, as on the declivities of Mount Lebanon. These stages, rising one above the other, are planted with fig-trees, between which is occasionally raised a scanty crop of wheat or barley. The neatness of these terraced plots conveys a very favourable impression of the industry of the Yezidis.

Near the crest of the hill we passed a white conical building, shaded by a grove of trees. It was the tomb of the father of Murad, one of Yusuf's companions, a Cawal of note, who had died of the plague near the spot some years before. The walls were hung with the horns of sheep, slain in sacrifice, by occasional pilgrims.

I had little anticipated the beauty and extent of the view which opened round us on the top of the pass. The Sinjar hill is a solitary ridge rising abruptly in the midst of the desert; from its summit, therefore, the eye ranges on one side over the vast level wilderness stretching to the Euphrates,

and on the other over the plain bounded by the Tigris and the lofty mountains of Kurdistan. Nisibin and Mardin were both visible in the distance. I could distinguish the hills



Interior of a Yezidi House at Bukra, in the Sinjar.

of Baadri and Sheikh Adi, and many well-known peaks of the Kurdish Alps. Behind the lower ranges, each distinctly marked by its sharp, serrated outline, were the snow-covered

heights of Tiyari and Bohtan. Whilst to the south of the Sinjar artificial mounds appeared to abound, to the north I could distinguish but few such remains. We dismounted to gaze upon this truly magnificent scene lighted up by the setting sun. I have rarely seen any prospect more impressive than these boundless plains viewed from a considerable elevation. Besides the idea of vastness they convey, the light and shade of passing clouds flitting over the face of the land, and the shadows as they lengthen towards the close of day, produce constantly changing effects of singular variety and beauty.*

It was night before we reached Bukra, where we were welcomed with great hospitality. The best house in the village had been made ready for us, and was scrupulously neat and clean, as the houses of the Yezidis usually are. It was curiously built, being divided into three principal rooms, opening one into the other. They were separated by a wall about six feet high, upon which were placed wooden pillars supporting the ceiling. The roof rested on trunks of trees, raised on rude stone pedestals at regular intervals in the centre chamber, which was open on one side to the air, like a Persian Iwan. The sides of the rooms were honeycombed with small recesses like pigeon-holes, tastefully arranged. The whole was plastered with the whitest plaster, fancy designs in bright red being introduced here and there, and giving the interior of the house a very quaint and original appearance.

The elders of Bukra came to me after we had dined, and seated themselves respectfully and decorously round the room. They were not averse to the reconciliation I proposed, received the hostile chiefs without hesitation, and promised to accompany me on the morrow to the adjoining village of Ossofa, with which they were also at war.

In the morning we visited several houses in the village. They were all built on the same plan, and were equally neat and clean. The women received us without concealing their

* The traveller who has looked down from Mardin, for the first time, upon the plains of Mesopotamia, can never forget the impression which that singular scene must have made upon him. The view from the Sinjar hill is far more beautiful and varied.

faces, which are, however, far from pleasing, their features being irregular, and their complexion sallow. Those who are married dress entirely in white, with a white kerchief under their chins, and another over their heads held by the *agal*, or woollen cord, of the Bedouins. The girls wear white shirts and drawers, but over them coloured *zabouns*, or long silk dresses, open in front, and confined at the waist by a girdle ornamented with pieces of silver. They twist gay kerchiefs round their heads, and adorn themselves with coins, and glass and amber beads, when their parents are able to procure them. But the Yezidis of the Sinjar are now very poor, and nearly all the trinkets of the women have long since fallen into the hands of the Turkish soldiery, or have been sold to pay taxes and arbitrary fines. The men have a dark complexion, black and piercing eyes, and frequently a fierce and forbidding countenance. They are of small stature, but have well-proportioned limbs strongly knit together, and are muscular, active, and capable of bearing great fatigue. Their dress consists of a shirt, loose trowsers and cloak, all white, and a black turban, from beneath which their hair falls in ringlets. Their long rifles are rarely out of their hands, and they carry pistols in their girdle, a sword at their side, and a row of cartouche cases, generally made of cut reeds, on their breast. These additions to their costume, and their swarthy features, give them a peculiar look of ferocity, which, according to some, is not belied by their characters.

The Yezidis are, by one of their religious laws, forbidden to wear the common Eastern shirt open in front, and this article of their dress is always closed up to the neck. This is a distinctive mark of the sect by which its members may be recognised at a glance. The language of the people of Sinjar is Kurdish, and few speak Arabic. According to their traditions they are the descendants of a colony from the north of Syria, which settled in Mesopotamia at a comparatively recent period, but I could obtain no positive information on the subject. It is probable, however, that they did not migrate to their present seats before the fall of the Arab principality, and the invasion of Timourleng, towards the end of the fourteenth century.

The north side of the mountain is thickly inhabited, and well cultivated as far as the scanty soil will permit. Scarcely three-quarters of a mile to the west of Bukra is the village of Naksi, the interval between the two being occupied by terraces planted with fig-trees. We did not stop there, although the inhabitants came out to meet us, but rode on to Ossofa, or Usifa, only separated from Naksi by a rocky valley. The people of this village were at war with their neighbours, and as this was one of the principal seats of rebellion and discontent, I was anxious to have an interview with its chief.

A Group of Yezidis.

The position of Ossofa is very picturesque. It stands on the edge of a deep ravine; behind it are lofty crags and narrow gorges, whose sides are filled with natural caverns. On overhanging rocks, towering above the village, are two *ziarehs*, or holy places, of the Yezidis, distinguished from afar by their white fluted spires.

Pulo, the chief, met us at the head of the principal inhabitants, and led me to his house, where a large assembly was soon collected to discuss the principal object of my visit.

The chiefs of Mirkan and Bukra were induced to make offers of peace, which were accepted, and, after much discussion, the terms of an amicable arrangement were agreed to and ratified by general consent. Sheep were slain to celebrate the event. The meat, after the Yezidi fashion, was boiled with onions and a kind of parched pea, and afterwards served up, like porridge, in large wooden bowls. The mess is not unsavoury, and is the principal dish of the Sinjar. Dried figs, strung in rows and made up into grotesque figures, were brought to us as presents. After the political questions had been settled, the young men adjourned to an open spot outside the village to practise with their rifles. They proved excellent shots, seldom missing the very centre of the mark.

The villages of Bouran (now deserted), Gundi-Gayli, Kushna, and Aldina, follow to the west of Ossofa, scarcely half a mile intervening between each. They are grouped together on the mountain side, which, above and below them, is divided into terraces and planted with fig-trees. The loose stones are most carefully removed from every plot of earth, however small, and built up into walls; on the higher slopes are a few vineyards. We passed the night at Aldina. Below the village is a remarkable *ziareh*, inclosed by a wall of cyclopean dimensions. In the plain beneath, in the midst of a grove of trees, is the tomb of Cawal Hussein, the father of Cawal Yusuf, who died in the Sinjar during one of his periodical visitations. He was a priest of sanctity and influence, and his grave is still visited as a place of pilgrimage. Sacrifices of sheep are made there, but they are merely in remembrance of the deceased, and have no particular religious meaning attached to them. The flesh is distributed amongst the poor, and a sum of money is frequently added. Approving the ceremony as one tending to promote charity and kindly feeling, I gave a sheep to be sacrificed at the tomb of the Cawal, and one of my fellow travellers added a second, the carcases being afterwards divided among the needy.

All the villages we had passed during our short day's journey stand high on the mountain side, where they have been built for security against the Bedouins, and command

extensive views of the plain, the snowy range of Kurdistan forming a magnificent back-ground. The springs, rising in the hill, are either entirely absorbed in irrigation, or are soon lost in the thirsty plain beneath. Parallel to the Sinjar range is a long narrow valley, scarcely half a mile in width, formed by a bold ridge of white limestone rocks, so friable that the plain for some distance is covered with their fragments.

I returned to the Belled by a direct and precipitous pass, and we were nearly two hours in reaching the summit. We then found ourselves on a broad green platform thickly wooded with dwarf oak. I was surprised to see snow still lying in the sheltered nooks. On both sides of us stretched the great Mesopotamian plains. To the south, glittering in the sun, was a small salt lake about fifteen miles distant from the Sinjar, called by the Arabs, Munaif. From it the Bedouins, when in their northern pastures, obtain their supplies of salt.

We descended to the Belled through a narrow valley thick with oak and various shrubs. Game appeared to abound. A Yezidi, who had accompanied us from Aldina, shot three wild boars, and we put up several coveys of the large red partridge. The ibex is also found amongst the rocks. We were nearly five hours in crossing the mountain.

Suttum and his Bedouin companions, whom he had fetched from his father's tents during my absence, were waiting for us, but were not anxious to start before the following morning. A Yezidi snake-charmer, with his son, a boy of seven or eight years old, came to my tents in the afternoon, and exhibited his tricks in the midst of a circle of astonished beholders. He first pulled from a bag a number of snakes knotted together, which the bystanders declared to be of the most venomous kind. The child took the reptiles fearlessly from his father, and placing them in his bosom allowed them to twine themselves round his neck and arms. The Bedouins gazed in mute wonder at these proceedings, but when the Sheikh, feigning rage against one of the snakes which had drawn blood from his son, seized it, and biting off its head with his teeth threw the writhing body amongst them, they

could no longer restrain their horror and indignation. They uttered loud curses on the infidel snake-charmer and his kindred to the remotest generations. Suttum did not regain his composure during the whole evening, frequently relapsing into profound thought, then suddenly breaking out in a fresh curse upon the Sheikh, who, he declared, had a very close and unholy connection with the evil one. Many days passed before he had completely got over the horror the poor Yezidi's feats had caused him.

Suttum had changed his deloul for a white mare of great beauty, named Athaiba. She was of the race of Kohaila, of exquisite symmetry, in temper docile as a lamb, yet with an eye of fire, and of a proud and noble carriage when excited in war or in the chase. His saddle was the simple stuffed pad generally used by the Bedouins, without stirrups. A halter alone served to guide the gentle animal. Suttum had brought with him several of the principal members of his family, all of whom were mounted on high-bred mares. One youth rode a bay filly, for which, I was assured, one hundred camels had been offered.

We followed a pathway over the broken ground at the foot of the Sinjar, crossing deep watercourses worn by the small streams, which lose themselves in the desert. The villages, as on the opposite slope, or 'Shomal,' are high up on the hill-side. The first we passed was Gabara, inhabited by Yezidis and Mussulmans. Its chief, Ruffo, with a party of horsemen, came to us, and intreated me to show him how to open a spring called *Soulak*, which, he said, had suddenly been choked up, leaving the village almost without water. Unfortunately, being ignorant of the arts for which he gave me credit, I was unable to afford him any help. We encamped, after a short ride, upon a pleasant stream beneath the village of Jedaila.

We remained here a whole day in order to visit Suttum's tribe, which was now migrating towards the Sinjar. Early in the morning a vast crowd of moving objects could be faintly perceived on the horizon. These were the camels and sheep of the Boraij, followed by the usual crowd of men, women, children, and beasts of burden. We watched them

as they scattered themselves over the plain, and gradually settled in different pastures. By midday the encampment had been formed and all the stragglers collected. We could scarcely distinguish the black tents, and their site was only marked by curling wreaths of white smoke.

In the afternoon Suttum's father, Rishwan, came to us, accompanied by several Sheikhs of the Boraij. He rode on a white deloul, celebrated for her beauty and swiftness. His saddle and the neck of the animal were profusely adorned with woollen tassels of many colours, glass beads, and small shells, after the manner of the Arabs of Nejd. The well-trained dromedary having knelt at the door of my tent, the old man alighted, and throwing his arms around my neck kissed me on both shoulders. He was tall, and of noble carriage. His beard was white with age, but his form was still erect and his footsteps firm. Rishwan was one of the bravest warriors of the Shammar. He had come, when a child, with his father from the original seat of the tribe in northern Arabia. As the leader of a large branch of the Boraij he had taken a prominent part in the wars of the tribe, and the young men still sought him to head their distant forays. But he had long renounced the toils of the *gazou*, and left his three sons, of whom Suttum was the second, to maintain the honour of the Saadi. He was a noble specimen of the true Bedouin, both in character and appearance. With the skill and daring of the Arab warrior he united the hospitality, generosity, and good faith of a hero of Arab romance. He spoke in the rich dialect of the desert tongue, with the eloquence peculiar to his race. He sat with me during the greater part of the afternoon, and having eaten bread returned to his tent.

The Yezidi chiefs of Kerraniyah or Sekkiniyah (the village is known by both names) came to our encampment soon after Rishwan's arrival. As they had a feud with the Bedouins, I took advantage of their visit to effect a reconciliation, both parties swearing on my hospitality to abstain from plundering one another hereafter.

Being anxious to reach the end of our journey I declined Suttum's invitation to sleep in his tent, but sending the caravan

to the place appointed for our night's encampment, I made a detour to visit his father, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. R., the Doctor, Mr. C., and Hormuzd. Although the Boraij were above six miles from the small rivulet of Jedaila, they were obliged to send to it for water.* As we rode towards their tents we passed their camels and sheep slowly wandering towards the stream. The camels, spreading far and wide over the plain, were divided according to their colours; some herds being entirely white, some yellow, and others brown or black. Each animal bore the well-known mark of the tribe branded on his side. The Arabs, who drove them, were mounted on dromedaries carrying the capacious *rouwis*, or buckets made of bullock skins, in which water is brought to the encampment for domestic purposes.

A Bedouin warrior, armed with his long tufted spear, and urging his fleet deloul, occasionally passed rapidly by us leading his high-bred mare to water, followed by her colt gambolling unrestrained over the greensward. In the throng we met Sahiman, the elder brother of Suttum. He was riding on a bay horse, whose fame had spread far and wide amongst the tribes, and whose exploits were a constant theme of praise and wonder with the Shammar. It was of the race of Obeyan Sherakh, a breed now almost extinct, and perhaps more highly prized than any other of the desert.

Near the encampment of the Boraij was a group of mounds resembling in every respect those I have already described. The Bedouins call them Abou-Khaima. Their similarity of form,—a centre mound divided into a series of terraces, ascended by an inclined way or steps, and surrounded by equilateral walls,—would lead to the conjecture that these mounds are the remains of fire temples, or vast altars, destined for the worship of the heavenly bodies. It will be seen hereafter that the well-known ruin of the Birs Nimroud, on or near the site of ancient Babylon, is very nearly the same in shape.

* In the spring months, when the pastures are good, the sheep and camels of the Bedouins require but little water, and the tents are seldom pitched near a well or stream; frequently as much as half a day's journey distant.

The Bedouins who accompanied us galloped to and fro, engaging in mimic war with their long quivering spears, until we reached the encampment of the Boraij. The tents were scattered far and wide over the plain; for so they are pitched during this season of the year when the pastures are abundant, and no immediate danger is apprehended from hostile tribes. At other times they are ranged in parallel lines close together, the Sheikh always occupying the foremost place, facing the side from which the guest, as well as the enemy, is expected, that he may be the first to exercise hospitality, and the first to meet the foe. This position, however, varies in winter, when the tent must be closed completely on one side, according to the direction of the wind, so that when the wind changes, the whole camp suddenly, as it were, turns round, the last tent becoming the foremost. It is thought unmannerly to approach by the back, to step over tent-ropes, or to ride towards the women's compartment, which is almost always on the right. During warm weather the whole canvass is raised on poles to allow the air to circulate freely, a curtain being used in the morning and evening to ward off the rays of the sun. The Bedouin can tell at once, when drawing near to an encampment, the tent of the Sheikh. It is generally distinguished by its size, and frequently by the spears stuck in the ground in front of it. If the stranger be not advancing directly towards it, and wishes to be the guest of the chief, he goes out of his way, that on approaching he may ride at once to it without passing any other, as it is considered uncourteous and almost an insult to go by a man's tent without stopping and eating his bread. The owner of a tent has even the right to claim any one as his guest who passes in front of it on entering an encampment.

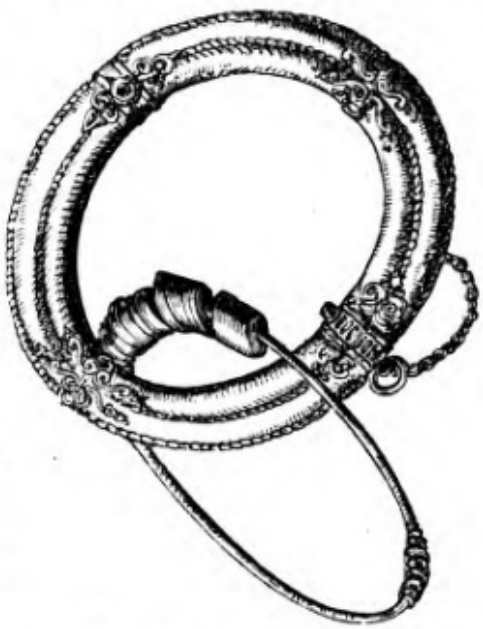
Rishwan, Suttum, Mijwell his younger brother, and the elders of the tribe, were standing before the tent ready to receive us. All the old carpets and coverlets of the family, and ragged enough they were, had been spread out for their guests. As we seated ourselves two sheep were slain before us for the feast; a ceremony it would not have been considered sufficiently hospitable to perform previous to our

arrival, as it might have been doubtful whether the animals had been slain wholly for us. The chief men of the encampment collected round us, crouching in a wide circle on the grass. We talked of Arab politics and Arab war, *ghazous*, and Aneyza mares stolen or carried off in battle by the Shammar. Huge wooden platters, heavy with the steaming messes of rice and boiled meat, were soon brought in and placed on the ground before us. Immense lumps of fresh butter were then heaped upon them, and allowed to melt, the chief occasionally mixing and kneading the whole up together with his hands. When the dishes had cooled* the venerable Rishwan stood up in the centre of the tent, and called in a loud voice upon each person by name and in his turn to come to the feast. We fared first with a few of the principal Sheikhs. The most influential men were next summoned, each however resisting the honour, and allowing himself to be dragged by Suttum and Mijwell to his place. The children, as is usual, were admitted last, and wound up the entertainment by a general scramble for the fragments and the bones. Neither Rishwan nor his sons would eat of the repast they had prepared, the laws of hospitality requiring that it should be left entirely to their guests.

After we had eaten, I accompanied Mrs. R. to the harem, where we found assembled the wives and daughters of Rishwan, of his sons, and of the elders of the tribe, who had met together to see the Frank lady. Amongst them were several of considerable beauty. The wife of Sahiman, the eldest of the three brothers, was most distinguished for her good looks. They were all dressed in the usual long blue shirt, and striped or black abba, with a black headkerchief, or keffieh, confined round the temple by a band

* It is considered exceedingly inhospitable amongst the Shammar to place a hot dish before guests, as they are obliged to eat quickly out of consideration for others, who are awaiting their turn, which they cannot do, unless the mess be cool, without burning their mouths, or wasting half their time picking out the colder bits. On one occasion, Ferhan, the great chief of the Shammar, and a large number of horsemen having alighted at my tent, I prepared a dinner for them. The Sheikh was afterwards heard to say that the Bey's feast was sumptuous, but that he had not treated his guests with proper hospitality, as the dishes were so hot nobody could eat his fill.

of spun camel's wool. Massive rings of silver, adorned with gems and coral, hung from their noses,* and bracelets in the same metal, and also set with precious stones, encircled their wrists and ankles. Some wore necklaces of coins, coarse amber, agate, cornelian beads and cylinders, mostly Assyrian relics picked up amongst ruins after rain. These ornaments were confined to the unmarried girls, and to the youngest and prettiest wives, who on waxing old are obliged to transfer them to a more favoured successor.



Arab Nose Ring and Bracelet of Silver.

When Bedouin ladies leave their tents, or are on a march, they sometimes wear a black kerchief over the lower part of the face, showing only their sparkling eyes. Like the men they also use the keffieh, or head-kerchief, to cover their features. Their complexion is of a dark rich olive. Their eyes are large, almond-shaped, expressive, and of extraordinary brilliancy and fire. They suffer their black and luxuriant hair to fall in clusters of curls. Their carriage in youth is erect and graceful. They are able to bear much fatigue, and show great courage and spirit in moments of difficulty and danger. But their beauty is only the companion of extreme youth. With few exceptions, soon after twenty, and the birth of one or two children, they rapidly change into the most hideous of old hags, the lightning-like brightness of the eye alone surviving the general wreck. When young, the daughters and wives of the chiefs are well cared for; they

* These are 'the rings and nose jewels,' which Isaiah (iii. 21.) describes as worn by the Jewish women. It is curious that no representation of them has hitherto been found in the Assyrian sculptures.

move with the tribe in the covered camel-saddle, shaded by carpets from the rays of the sun. Daughters are looked upon in the desert* as a source of strength and advantage, from the alliances they enable the father to make with powerful and influential chiefs, being frequently the means of healing feuds which have existed for many years. The children of Rishwan's family were naked, and, of course, dirty.

Before we left the encampment Suttum led before me as a present a handsome grey colt, which was as usual returned with a request to take care of it until it was required, the polite way of declining a gift of this nature.

Suttum having saddled his deloul was ready to accompany us on my journey. As he was to be for some time absent from his tents, he asked my leave to take his wife with him, and I willingly consented. Rathaiyah was the sister of Suttām el Meekh, chief of the powerful tribe of the Abde, one of the principal divisions of the Shammar. Although no longer young she still retained much of her early beauty. There was more than the usual Bedouin fire in her large black eyes, and her hair fell in many ringlets on her shoulders. Her temper was haughty and imperious, and she evidently held more sway over Suttum than he liked to acknowledge, or was quite consistent with his character as a warrior. He had married her from motives of policy, as cementing an useful alliance with a powerful tribe. She soon carried matters with a high hand, for poor Suttum had been compelled, almost immediately after his marriage, to send back a young and beautiful wife to her father's tent. This prior claimant upon his affections was now on the Khabour with her tribe, and it was probably on this account that Rathaiyah, knowing the direction he was about to take, was so anxious to accompany her husband. She rode on the dromedary behind her lord, a comfortable seat having been made for her with a rug and a coverlet. The Sheikh carried his hawk, Hattab, on his wrist, guiding the deloul by a short hooked stick held in the right hand. Khoraif, his rediff, rode

* Amongst the inhabitants of towns, a daughter is considered a kind of flaw in the family, and the death of a girl, too frequently purposely brought about, is rarely a cause of grief.

on this occasion a second dromedary named Sheiala, with a Shammar Bedouin.

The true Sinjar mountain ends about nine miles from Jedaila, the high ridge suddenly subsiding into low broken hills. From all parts of the plain it is a very beautiful object. Its limestone rocks, wooded here and there with dwarf oak, are of a rich golden colour; and the numberless ravines which

Suttum, with his Wife, on his Dromedary.

furrow its sides, form ribs of deep purple shadow. The western part of the Sinjar is inhabited by the Yezidi tribe of Kherraniyah. We rode over the plain in a line parallel to the mountain, and about seven or eight miles from it. Towards nightfall we skirted a ridge of very low hills rising to our left. They are called Alouvi and Yusuf Beg.

The desert abounded in the houbara, or middle-sized bustard, the bird usually hawked by the Arabs, and esteemed by them a great delicacy. Hattab, the falcon, had been principally trained to this game, and sat on the raised wrist of Suttum, scanning the plain with his piercing eye. He saw the crouching quarry long before we could distinguish it, and spreading his wings struggled to release himself from the tresses. Once free he made one straight, steady swoop towards the bustard, which rose to meet the coming foe, but was soon borne down in his sharp talons. A combat ensued, which was ended by a horseman riding up, substituting the lure for the game, and hooding the hawk, which was again placed on his master's wrist.

Thus we rode joyously over the plain, night setting in before we could see the tents. No sound except the mournful note of the small desert-owl, which has often misled the weary wanderer,* broke the deep silence, nor could we distinguish the distant fires usually marking the site of an encampment. Suttum, however, well knew where the Bedouins would halt, and about an hour after dark we heard the well-known voice of Dervish, and others of my workmen, who, anxious at our delay, had come out to seek us. The tents stood near a muddy pool of salt water, thick with loathsome living things and camels' dung. The Arabs call the place Om-el-Dhiban, 'the mother of flies,' from the insects which swarm around it, and madden by their sting the camels and horses that drink at the stagnant water.

Our encampment was full of Yezidis of the Kherraniyah tribe, who had ridden from the tents to see me, bringing presents of sheep, flour, and figs. They were at war, both with the Bedouins and the inhabitants of the northern side of the mountain. My large tent was soon crowded with guests. They squatted down on the ground in double ranks. For the last time I spoke on the advantage of peace and union amongst themselves, and I exacted from them a solemn promise that they would meet the assembled tribes at the next great festival in the valley of Sheikh Adi, referring their dif-

* Its note resembles the cry of the camel-driver, when leading the herds home at night.

ferences in future to the decision of Hussein Bey, Sheikh Nasr, and the Cawals, instead of appealing to arms. I also reconciled them with the Bedouins, Suttum entering into an engagement for his tribe, and both parties agreeing to abstain from lifting each other's flocks when they should again meet in the pastures at the foot of the hills. The inhabitants of the Sinjar are too powerful and independent to pay *kowee**, or black mail, to the Shammar, who, indeed, stand in much awe of their Yezidi enemies. They frequently raise their annual revenues, and enrich themselves almost entirely at the expense of the Arabs. They watch their opportunity, when the tribes are migrating in the spring and autumn, and falling by night on their encampments, plunder their tents and drive off their cattle. Returning to the hills, they can defy in their fastnesses the revenge of the Bedouins.

The Yezidis returned to their encampment late at night, but about a hundred of their horsemen were again with me before the tents were struck in the morning. They promised to fulfil the engagements entered into on the previous evening, and accompanied me for some miles on our day's journey. Cawal Yusuf returned with them on his way back to Mosul.

After leaving Om-el-Dhiban we entered an undulating country crossed by deep ravines, worn by the winter torrents. Veins of Mosul marble, the alabaster used by the Assyrian sculptors, occasionally appeared above the soil, interrupting the carpet of flowers spread over the face of the country. We drew near to the low hills into which the Sinjar subsides to the west. They are called Jeraiba, are well wooded with the ilex and dwarf oak, and abound in springs, near which the Shammar Bedouins encamp during the summer. Skirting them we found a beaten path, the first we had seen since entering the desert, leading to the

* Literally, 'strength-money:' the small tribes, who wander in the desert, and who inhabit the villages upon its edge, are obliged to place themselves under the protection of some powerful tribe to avoid being utterly destroyed. Each great division of the Shammar receives a present of money, sheep, camels, corn, or barley, from some tribe or another for this protection, which is always respected by the other branches of the tribe. Should another branch of the Shammar plunder, or injure, tribes thus paying kowee, their protectors are bound to make good, or revenge, their losses.

Jebour encampments on the Khabour, and we followed it for the rest of the day. It seemed irksome after wandering, as we had listed, over the boundless untrodden plain, to be again confined to the narrow track of the footsteps of man. However, the Bedouins declared that this pathway led to the best water, and we had committed ourselves to their guidance. Four hours' ride brought us to a scanty spring; half an hour beyond we passed a second; and in five and a half hours pitched the tents, for the rest of the day, near a small stream. All these springs are called Maalaga, and, rising in the gypsum or Mosul marble, have a brackish and disagreeable taste. The Bedouins declare that, although unpalatable, they are exceedingly wholesome, and that even their mares fatten on the waters of Jeraiba.

Near our tents were the ruins of an ancient village surrounded by a wall. The spring once issued from the midst of them, but its source had been choked by rubbish, which, as some hours of daylight still remained, Hormuzd employed the Jebours and Nestorians in removing. Before sunset the supply and quality of the water had much improved. Suttum, who could not remain idle, wandered over the plain on his deloul with his hawk in search of game, and returned in the evening with a bag of bustards. He came to me before nightfall, somewhat downcast in look, as if a heavy weight were on his mind. At length, after various circumlocutions, he said that his wife would not sleep under the white tent which I had lent her, such luxuries being, she declared, only worthy of city ladies, and altogether unbecoming the wife and daughter of a Bedouin. 'So determined is she,' said Suttum, 'in the matter, that, Billah! she deserted my bed last night and slept on the grass in the open air; and now she swears she will leave me and return on foot to her kindred, unless I save her from the indignity of sleeping under a white tent.' It was inconvenient to humour the fancies of the Arab lady, but as she was inexorable, I gave her a black Arab tent, used by the servants for a kitchen. Under this sheet of goat-hair canvass, open on all sides to the air, she said she could breathe freely, and feel again that she was a Bedouin.

As the sun went down we could distinguish, in the extreme distance, a black line marking the wooded banks of the Khabour, beyond which rose the dark hills of Abd-ul-Azeez. Columns of thin curling smoke showed that there were encampments of Bedouins between us and the river, but we could neither see their tents nor their cattle. The plains to the south of our encampment were bounded by a range of low hills, called Rhoua and Haweeza.

We crossed, during the following day, a beautiful plain covered with sweet smelling flowers and aromatic herbs, and abounding in gazelles, hares, and bustards. We reached in about two hours the encampments, whose smoke we had seen during the preceding evening. They belonged to Bedouins of the Hamoud branch of the Shammar. The tents were pitched closely together in groups, as if the owners feared danger. We alighted at some distance from them to avoid entering them as guests. The chiefs soon came out to us, bringing camels' milk and bread. From them we learnt that they had lately plundered, on the high road between Mosul and Mardin, a caravan conveying, amongst other valuable loads, a large amount of government treasure. The Turkish authorities had called upon Ferhan, as responsible chief of the Shammar, to restore the money, threatening, in case of refusal, an expedition against the whole tribe. The Hamoud, unwilling to part with their booty, and fearing lest the rest of the Shammar might compel them to do so in order to avoid a war, were now retreating towards the north, and, being strong in horsemen, had openly defied Ferhan. They had been joined by many families from the Assaiyah, who had crossed the Euphrates, and united with the Aneyza on account of a blood feud with the Nejm. The Hamoud are notorious for treachery and cruelty, and certainly the looks of those who gathered round us, many of them grotesquely attired in the plundered garments of the slaughtered Turkish soldiery, did not belie their reputation. They fingered every article of dress we had on, to learn its texture and value.

Leaving their encampments, we rode through vast herds of camels and flocks of sheep belonging to the tribe, and at

length came in sight of the river. The Khabour flows through the richest pastures and meadows. Its banks were now covered with flowers of every hue, and its windings through the green plain were like the coils of a mighty serpent. I never beheld a more lovely scene. An uncontrollable emotion of joy seized all our party when they saw the end of their journey before them. The horsemen urged their horses to full speed: the Jebours dancing in a circle, raised their coloured kerchiefs on their spears, and shouted their war cry, Hormuzd leading the chorus; the Nestorians sang their mountain songs and fired their muskets in the air. Trees in full leaf lined the water's edge. From amongst them issued a body of mounted Arabs. As they drew nigh we recognised at their head Mohammed Emin, the Jebour Sheikh, and his sons, who had come out from their tents to welcome us. We dismounted to embrace, and to exchange the usual salutations, and then rode onwards, through a mass of flowers, reaching high above the horses' knees, and such as I had never before seen, even in the most fertile parts of the Mesopotamian wilderness.

The tents of the chief were pitched under the ruins of Arban, and on the right or northern bank of the river, which was not at this time fordable. As we drew near to them, after a ride of nearly two hours, Mohammed Emin pointed in triumph to the sculptures, which were the principal object of my visit. They stood a little above the water's edge, at the base of a mound of considerable size. We had passed several *tels* and the banks of ancient canals, showing that we were still amidst the remains of former civilisation. Flocks of sheep and herds of camels were spread over the meadows on both sides of the river. They belonged to the Jebours, and to a part of the Boraij tribe under Moghamis, a distinguished Arab warrior, and the uncle of Suttum. Buffaloes and cattle tended by the Sherabbeen and Buggara, small clans pasturing under the protection of Mohammed Emin, stood lazily in the long grass, or sought refuge in the stream from the flies and noonday heat.

At length we stopped opposite to the encampment of the Jebour Sheikh, but it was too late to cross the river, some

time being required to make ready the rafts. We raised our tents, therefore, for the night on the southern bank. They were soon filled by a motley group of Boraij, Hamoud, Assaiyah, and Jebour Arabs. Moghamis himself came shortly after our arrival, bringing me as a present a well-trained hawk and some bustards, the fruits of his morning's sport. The falcon was duly placed on his stand in the centre of the spacious tent, and remained during the rest of my sojourn in the East a member of my establishment. A Sheikh of the Hamoud also brought me a wild-ass colt, scarcely two months old, which had been caught whilst following its dam, and had been since fed upon camel's milk.* Indeed, nearly all those who came to my tent had some offering, either sheep, milk, curds, or butter; even the Arab boys had caught for us the graceful jerboa, which burrows in vast numbers on the banks of the river. Suitable presents were made in return. Dinner was cooked for all our guests, and we celebrated our first night on the Khabour by general festivities.

A trained Falcon.

* The Arabs of Mesopotamia frequently capture this beautiful animal when young, and generally kill it at once for food. It is almost impossible to take it when full grown. The colt mentioned in the text died before we returned to Mosul. A second, after living eight or nine months, also died; and a third met with the same fate. I was desirous of sending a live specimen to England, but failed in all my attempts to rear one. They became very playful and docile. That which I had at Mosul followed like a dog.

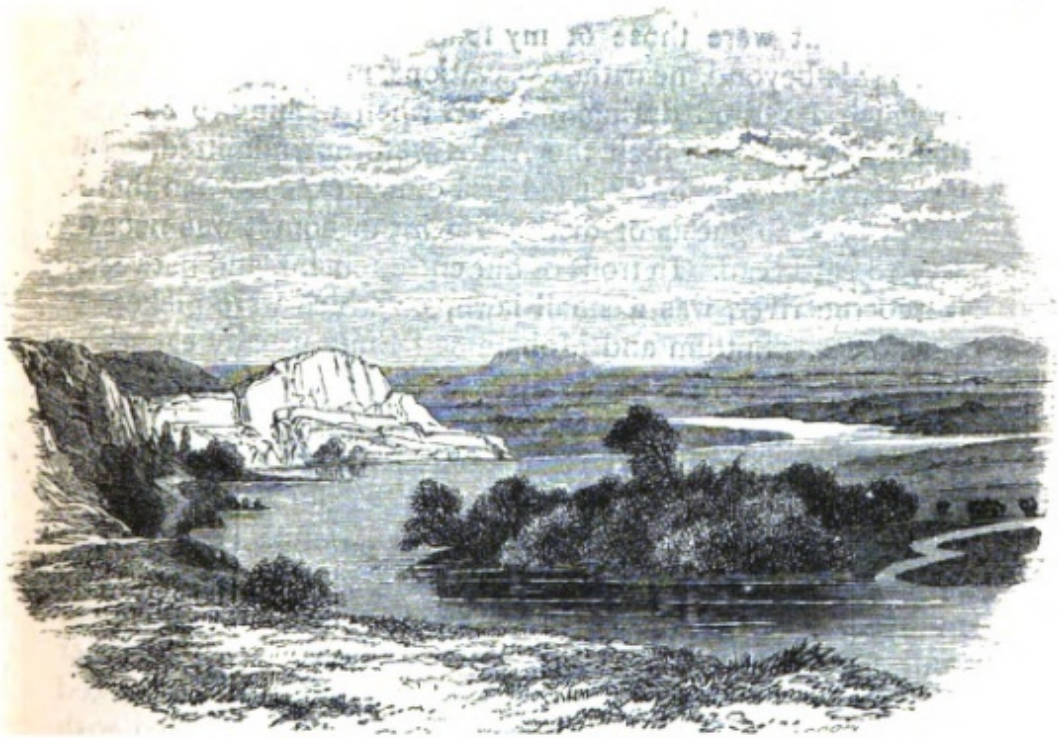
CHAPTER V.

Encampment on the Khabour—Sheikh Suttum—Mohammed Emin—Discovery of winged bulls—of Assyrian relics—of lions—of human figure—of various objects of antiquity—The Chebar of the Captivity—Our tents—Bread of the Arabs—Their food—Their knowledge of medicine—The Deloul, or Dromedary—Adla—A storm—Animals on the Khabour—Visit to Moghamis.

ON the morning after our arrival in front of the encampment of Sheikh Mohammed Emin we crossed the Khabour on a small raft, and pitched our tents on its right, or northern bank. I found the ruins to consist of a large artificial mound of irregular shape, washed, and indeed partly carried away by the river, which was gradually undermining the perpendicular cliff left by the falling earth. The Jebours were encamped to the west of it. I chose for our tents a recess, like an amphitheatre, facing the stream. We were thus surrounded and protected on all sides. Behind us and to the east rose the mound, and to the west were the family and dependents of Mohammed Emin. In the desert, beyond the ruins, were scattered far and wide the tents of the Jebours, and of several Arab tribes who had placed themselves under their protection. From the top of the mound the eye ranged over a level country bright with flowers, and spotted with black tents, and innumerable flocks of sheep and camels. During our stay at Arban the colour of these great plains was undergoing a continual change. After being for some days of a golden yellow, a new family of flowers would spring up, and it would turn almost in a night to a bright scarlet, which would again as suddenly give way to the deepest blue. Then the meadows would be mottled with various hues, or would put on the emerald green of the most luxuriant of pastures. The glowing descriptions I had so frequently received from the Bedouins of the beauty and fertility of the

banks of the Khabour were more than realised. The Arabs boast that its meadows bear three crops of grass during the year, and the wandering tribes look upon its wooded banks and constant greensward as a paradise during the summer months, where man can enjoy a cool shade, and beast can find fresh and tender herbs, whilst all around is yellow, parched, and sapless.

In the extreme distance, to the east of us, rose a solitary



Artificial Mounds on the Khabour.

conical elevation, called by the Arabs, Koukab. In front, to the south, was the beautiful hill of the Sinjar, ever varying in colour and in outline as the declining sun left fresh shadows on its furrowed sides. Behind us, and not far distant, was the low, wooded range of Abd-ul-Azeez. Artificial mounds, smaller in size than Arban, rose here and there above the thin belt of trees and shrubs skirting the river bank.

I had brought with me a tent large enough to hold full

two hundred persons, and intended as a 'museef,' or place of reception, always open to the wayfarer and the Arab visitor; for the first duty of a traveller wishing to mix with true Bedouins, and to gain an influence over them, is the exercise of hospitality. This great pavilion was pitched in the centre of my encampment, with its entrance facing the river. To the right were the tents of the Cawass and servants; one fitted up expressly for the Doctor to receive patients, of whom there was no lack at all times, and the black Arab tent of Rathaiyah, who would not mix with the Jebours. To the left were those of my fellow travellers, and about 200 yards beyond, near the excavations, my own private tent, to which I retired during the day, when wishing to be undisturbed, and to which the Arabs were not admitted. In it, also, we usually breakfasted and dined, except when there were any Arab guests of distinction with whom it was necessary to eat bread. In front of our encampment, and between it and the river, was a small lawn, on which were picketed our horses. Suttum and Mohammed Emin usually eat with us, and soon became perfectly reconciled to knives and forks, and the other restraints of civilised life. Suttum's tact and intelligence were indeed remarkable. Nothing escaped his hawk-like eye. A few hours had enabled him to form a correct estimate of the character of each one of the party, and he had detected peculiarities which might have escaped the notice of the most observant European. The most polished Turk would have been scarcely less at home in the society of ladies, and during the whole of our journey he never committed a breach of good manners. As a companion he was delightful,—full of anecdote, of unclouded spirits, acquainted with the history of every Bedouin tribe, their politics and their wars, and intimate with every part of the desert, its productions and its inhabitants. Many happy hours I spent with him, seated, after the sun went down, on a mound overlooking the great plain and the winding river, listening to the rich flow of his graceful Bedouin dialect, to his eloquent stories of Arab life, and to his animated descriptions of forays, wars, and single combats.

Mohammed Emin, the Sheikh of the Jebours, was a good

natured portly Arab, in intelligence greatly inferior to Suttum, and wanting many of the qualities of the pure Bedouin. During our intercourse I had every reason to be satisfied with his hospitality and the cordial aid he afforded me. His chief fault was a habit of begging for everything. Always

Sheikh Mohammed Emin.

willing to give he was equally ready to receive. In this respect, however, all Arabs are alike; and, when the habit is understood, it is no longer a source of inconvenience, as on a refusal no offence is taken. The Jebour chief was a complete patriarch in his tribe, having no less than sixteen chil-

dren, of whom six sons were horsemen and the owners of mares. The youngest, a boy of four years old, named Sultan, was his favourite. His usual costume consisted simply of a red Turkish skull cap, or fez. He scarcely ever left his father, who always brought the child with him when he came to our tent. He was as handsome and dirty as the best of Arab children. His mother, who had recently died, was the beautiful sister of Abd'rubbou. I chanced to be her brother's guest when the news of her death was brought to him. An Arab of the tribe, weary and wayworn, entered the tent and seated himself without giving the usual salutation; all present knew that he had come from the Khabour and from distant friends. His silence argued evil tidings. By an indirect remark, immediately understood, he told his errand to one who sat next him, and who in turn whispered it to Sheikh Ibrahim, the chief's uncle. The old man said aloud, with a sigh, 'It is the will and mercy of God; she is not dead but released!' Abd'rubbou at once understood of whom he spake. He arose and went forth, and the wailing of the mother and of the women soon issued from the inner recesses of the tent.

We were for a day or two objects of curiosity to the Arabs who assembled in crowds around our tents. Having never before seen an European, it was natural that they should hasten to examine the strangers. They soon, however, became used to us, and things went on as usual. It is a circumstance well worthy of mention, and most strongly in favour of the natural integrity of the Arab when his guests are concerned, that during the whole of our journey and our residence on the Khabour, although we lived in open tents, and property of all kinds was scattered about, we had not to complain of a single loss from theft.

My first care, after crossing to Arban, was to examine the sculptures described by the Arabs. The river having gradually worn away the mound had, during the recent floods, left uncovered a pair of winged human-headed bulls, some six feet above the water's edge, and full fifty beneath the level of the ruin. Only the forepart of these figures had been exposed to view, and Mohammed Emin would not al-

low any of the soil to be removed before my arrival. The earth was soon cleared away, and I found them to be of a coarse limestone, not exceeding $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in length. Between them was a pavement slab of the same material. They resembled in general form the well-known

Winged Bull discovered at Arban.

winged bulls of Nineveh, but in the style of art they differed considerably from them. The outline and treatment was bold and angular, with an archaic feeling conveying the impression of great antiquity. The human features were unfortunately much injured, but such parts as remained were

sufficient to show that the countenance had a peculiar character, differing from the usual Assyrian type. The sockets of the eyes were deeply sunk, probably to receive the white and the ball of the eye in ivory or glass. The nose was flat and large, and the lips thick like those of a negro. Human ears were attached to the head, and bull's ears to the horned cap, which was low and square at the top. The wings were small, and had not the majestic spread of those of the bulls that adorned the palaces of Nineveh. Upon the slab was a short inscription in Assyrian cuneiform characters.*

The great accumulation of earth above these sculptures proves that, since the destruction of the edifice in which they stood, other habitations had been raised upon its ruins. Arban, indeed, is mentioned by the Arab geographers as a flourishing city, in a singularly fertile district of the Khabour. Part of a minaret, whose walls were cased with coloured tiles, and ornamented with cufic inscriptions in relief, like that of the Sinjar, and the foundations of buildings, are still seen on the mound; and at its foot, on the western side, are the remains of a bridge which once spanned the stream. But the river has changed its course. The piers, adorned with elegantly shaped arabesque characters, are now on the dry land.

Tunnels were opened behind the bulls, and in various parts of the ruins on the same level. Trenches were also dug into the surface of the mound. Behind the bulls were found various Assyrian relics; amongst them a copper bell, like those from Nimroud, and fragments of bricks with arrow-headed characters painted yellow with white outlines, upon a pale green ground. In other parts of the mound were discovered glass and pottery, some Assyrian, others of a more doubtful character. Several fragments of earthenware, ornamented with flowers and scroll-work, and highly

* This inscription contains a name which Sir Henry Rawlinson reads, 'Mushis-Bar,' and believes to be that of a sacerdotal tributary of Assyria, belonging to a family which founded the city of Sidikan, of which Arban marks the site. The name of this personage, with those of his father and grandfather, has been found on a cylinder from Sheriff Khan, now in the British Museum. The grandfather paid tribute to Sardanapalus, the Nimroud king. The date of the monuments at Arban would be about 820 B.C. according to Sir H. Rawlinson.

glazed, had assumed the brilliant and varied iridescence of ancient glass.*

It was natural to conclude, from the usual architectural arrangement of Assyrian edifices, that the two bulls described stood at an entrance to a hall or chamber. We searched in

Lion discovered at Arban.

vain for the remains of walls, although digging for three days to the right and left of the sculptures, a work of considerable difficulty in consequence of the immense heap of superincumbent earth. I then directed a tunnel to be carried towards the centre of the mound, hoping to find a corresponding doorway opposite. I was not disappointed. On

* These relics are now in the British Museum.

the fifth day a similar pair of winged bulls were discovered. They were of the same size, and inscribed with the same characters. A part of one having been originally broken off, either in carving the sculpture or in moving it, a fresh piece of stone had been carefully fitted into its place. I also dug to the right and left of these sculptures for remains of walls, but without success, and then resumed the tunnelling towards the centre of the mound. In a few days a lion, with extended jaws, sculptured in the same coarse limestone, and in the same bold archaic style as the bulls, was discovered. It had five legs, and the tail had the claw at the end, as in the Nineveh bas-reliefs. In height it was nearly the same as the bulls. I searched in vain for the one which must have formed the opposite side of the doorway.

Bas-relief discovered at Arban.

With the exception of these sculptures, no remains of building were found in this part of the mound. In another tunnel, opened at some distance from the bulls, half of a human figure in relief was discovered.* The face was in full. One hand grasped a sword or dagger; the other held some object to the breast. The hair and beard were long and flowing, and ornamented with a profusion of curls as in the Assyrian bas-reliefs. The head-dress appeared to consist of a kind of circular helmet, ending in a sharp point. The treatment and style marked the sculpture to be of the same period as the bull and lion.

Such were the sculptures discovered in the mound of Arban.

* The height of this fragment was 5 ft. 8 in.

Amongst smaller objects of different periods were some of considerable interest, jars, vases, funeral urns, highly-glazed pottery, fragments of glass, a large copper ring, apparently Assyrian; an ornament in earthenware, resembling the pine-cone of the Assyrian sculptures; a bull's head in terracotta; fragments of painted bricks, probably of the same period; a small bottle with Chinese characters, of doubtful date; and several Egyptian scarabæi. It is singular that engraved stones and scarabs bearing Egyptian devices, and in some instances even royal cartouches, should have been found on the banks of the Khabour. Similar objects were subsequently dug up at Nimroud, and were brought to me by the Arabs from various ruins in Assyria.* They are mostly of the time of the 18th Egyptian dynasty, or of the 15th century before Christ; a period when, as we learn from Egyptian monuments, there was a close connection between Assyria and Egypt.

Several tombs were also found in the ruins, consisting principally of sarcophagi of earthenware, like those existing above the Assyrian palaces near Mosul. Some, however, were formed by two large earthen jars, like the common Eastern vessel for holding oil, laid horizontally, and joined mouth to mouth. These terracotta coffins appear to be of the same period as those found in all the great ruins on the banks of the rivers of Mesopotamia, and are not Assyrian. They contained human remains turned to dust, with the exception of the skull and a few of the larger bones, and generally three or four urns of highly glazed blue pottery.†

Fewer remains and objects of antiquity were discovered in the mounds on the Khabour than I had anticipated. They were sufficient, however, to prove that the ruins are of the same character as those on the banks of the Tigris. A deep interest, at the same time, attaches to the site they occupy. To the Chebar, or Khabour, were transported by the Assyrian king, after the destruction of Samaria, the captive children of Israel, and on its banks 'the heavens were

* A description of the most important of the Egyptian scarabs discovered at Arban will be found in the larger edition of this work, p. 281.

† Most of the small objects described in the text are now in the British Museum.

opened' to Ezekiel, and 'he saw visions of God,' and spake his prophecies to his brother exiles.* Around Arban may have been pitched the tents of the sorrowing Jews, as those of the Arabs were during my visit. To the same pastures they led their sheep, and they drank of the same waters. Then the banks of the river were covered with towns and villages, and a palace-temple still stood on the mound, reflected in the transparent stream. We have, however, but one name connected with the Khabour recorded in Scripture, that of Tel-Abib, 'the mound of Abib, or, of the heaps of ears of corn,'† but whether it applies to a town, or to one of those artificial mounds, such as still abound, and are still called 'tels,' is a matter of doubt. I sought in vain for some trace of the word amongst the names now given by the wandering Arab to the various ruins on the Khabour and its confluents.

We know that Jews still lingered in the cities of the Khabour until long after the Arab invasion; and we may perhaps recognise in the Jewish communities of Ras-al-Ain, at the sources of the river, and of Carkeseea, or Carchemish, at its confluence with the Euphrates, visited and described by Benjamin of Tudela in the latter end of the twelfth century of the Christian æra, the descendants of the captive Israelites.

But the hand of time has long since swept even this remnant away, with the busy crowds which once thronged the banks of the river. From its mouth to its source, from Carchemish to Ras-al-Ain, there is now no single permanent human habitation on the Khabour.‡ Its rich meadows and

* 2 Kings, xvii. 6, Ezek. i. 1. In the Hebrew text the name of this river is spelt in two different ways. In Kings we have Khabour, answering exactly to the Chaboras of the Greeks and Romans, and the Khabour of the Arabs. In Ezekiel it is written Kebar. There is no reason, however, to doubt that the same river is meant.

† Ezekiel, iii. 15. 'Then I came to them of the captivity at *Tel-Abib*, that dwelt by the river of Chebar.' To the west of Arban and on the Khabour there are many artificial mounds. The principal which I visited were Tel Hamer, Shedadi, Ledjmiyat, Fedghami, and Shemshani. Remains of the early Arab occupation, such as ruined castles, bridges, &c., are also frequent.

‡ Since my visit to the Khabour, the Turkish Government has placed a colony of Circassians at Ras-al-Ain, and has built a small town there.

its deserted ruins are alike become the encamping places of the wandering Arab.

During the time we dwelt at Arban, we were the guests and under the protection of Mohammed Emin, the Sheikh of the Jebours. On the day we crossed the river, he celebrated our arrival by a feast after the Arab fashion, to which the notables of the tribe were invited. Sheep, as usual, were boiled and served up piecemeal in large wooden bowls, with a mass of butter and bread soaked in the gravy. The chief's tent was spacious, though poorly furnished. It was the general resort of those who chanced to wander, either on business or for pleasure to the Khabour, and was, consequently, never without a goodly array of guests; from a company of Shammar horsemen out on a foray to the solitary Bedouin who was seeking to become a warrior in his tribe, by first stealing a mare from some hostile encampment.

My own large tent was no less a place of resort than that of Mohammed Emin, and as we were objects of curiosity, Bedouins from all parts flocked to see us. With some of them I was already acquainted, having either received them as my guests at Mosul, or met them during excursions in the desert. They generally passed one night with us, and then returned to their own tents. A sheep was always slain for them, and boiled with rice, or prepared wheat, in the Arab way: if there were not strangers enough to consume the whole, the rest was given to the workmen or to the needy, as it is considered derogatory to the character of a truly hospitable man to keep meat until the following day, or to serve it up a second time when cold. Even the poorest Bedouin who kills a sheep, invites all his friends and neighbours to the repast, and if there be still any remnants, distributes them amongst the poor and the hungry, although he should himself want on the morrow.

We had brought a supply of flour with us, and the Jebours had a little wheat raised on the banks of the river. The wandering Arabs have no other means of grinding their corn than by handmills, which they carry with them wherever they go. They are always worked by the women, for it is

considered unworthy of a man to engage in any domestic occupation.

These handmills are simply two circular flat stones, generally about eighteen inches in diameter, the upper turning loosely upon a wooden pivot, and moved quickly round by a wooden handle. The grain is passed through the hole of the pivot, and the flour is collected in a cloth spread under the mill. It is then mixed with water, kneaded in a wooden bowl, and pressed by the hand into round balls ready for baking. During these processes, the women are usually seated on the bare ground: hence, in Isaiah,* is the daughter

Arab Women grinding Corn with a Hand-mill, rolling out the Dough, and baking the Bread.

of Babylon told to sit in the dust and on the ground, and 'to take the millstones to grind meal.'

The tribes, who are always moving from place to place, bake their bread on a slightly convex iron plate, called a *sadj*, moderately heated over a low fire of brushwood or camels' dung. The lumps of dough are rolled, on a wooden platter, into thin cakes, a foot or more in diameter, and laid by means of the roller upon the iron. They are baked in a

* Chap. xlvii. 1, 2.

very short time, and should be eaten hot.* The Kurds, whose flour is far whiter and more carefully prepared than that of the Arabs, roll the dough into larger cakes, scarcely thicker than a sheet of paper. When carefully baked by the same process, it becomes crisp, and is exceedingly agreeable to the taste. The Arab tribes that remain for many days in one place, make rude ovens by digging a hole in the ground about three feet deep, shaping it like a reversed funnel, and plastering it with mud. They heat it by burning brushwood within, and then stick the lumps of dough, pressed into small cakes about half an inch thick, to the sides with the hand. The bread is ready in two or three minutes. When horsemen go on an expedition, they either carry with them the thin bread first described, or a bag of flour, which, when they come to water, they moisten and knead on their cloaks, and then bake by covering the balls of dough with hot ashes. All Arab bread is unleavened.

If a Bedouin tribe be moving in great haste before an enemy, the women sometimes prepare bread whilst riding on camels. The fire is then lighted in an earthen vessel. One woman kneads the flour, a second rolls out the dough, and a third bakes, boys or women on foot passing the materials, as required, from one to the other.

The fuel used by the Arabs consists chiefly of dwarf shrubs, growing in the desert, of dry grass, and of camels' dung. They frequently carry bags of the latter with them when in summer they march over very arid tracts. On the banks of the great rivers of Mesopotamia, the tamarisk and other trees furnish them with abundant firewood. They are entirely dependent for their supplies of wheat upon the villages on the borders of the desert, or on the sedentary Arabs, who, whilst living in tents, cultivate the soil. Sometimes a tribe is fortunate enough to plunder a caravan laden with corn, or to

* Such was probably the process of making bread mentioned in 2 Sam. xiii. 8, 9. 'So Tamar went to her brother Amnon's house; and he was laid down. And she took flour and kneaded it, and made cakes *in his sight*, and did bake the cakes. And she took a pan and poured them out before him.' It will be observed that the bread was made at once, without leaven; such also was probably the bread that Abraham commanded Sarah to make for the three angels. (Gen. xviii. 6.)

sack the granaries of a village; they have then enough to satisfy their wants for some months. But the Bedouins usually draw near to the towns and cultivated districts soon after the harvest, to lay in their stock of grain. A party of men and women, chosen by their companions, then take with them money, or objects for sale or exchange, and drive the camels to the villages, where they load them and then return to their tents. Latterly a new and extensive trade has been opened with the Bedouins for sheep's wool, much prized for its superior quality in European markets. As the time for shearing is soon after the harvest, the Arabs have ready means of obtaining their supplies, as well as of making a little money, and buying finery and arms.

Nearly the whole revenue of an Arab Sheikh, whatever it may be, is laid out in corn, rice, and other provisions. The quantity of food consumed in the tents of some of the great chiefs of the Bedouins is very considerable. Almost every traveller who passes the encampment eats bread with the Sheikh, and there are generally many guests dwelling under his canvass. In times of difficulty or scarcity, moreover, the whole tribe frequently expects to be fed by him; and he considers himself bound, even under such circumstances, by the duties of hospitality, to give all that he has to the needy. The extraordinary generosity displayed on such occasions by their chiefs forms some of the most favourite stories of the Arabs.

The common Bedouin can rarely get meat. His food consists almost exclusively of wheaten bread with truffles, which are found in great abundance during the spring, a few wild herbs, such as asparagus, onions, and garlic, fresh butter, curds, and sour milk. But, at certain seasons, even these luxuries cannot be obtained; for months together he often eats bread alone. The Sheikhs usually slay a sheep every day, of which their guests, a few of their relatives, and their immediate adherents partake. The women prepare the food, and always eat after the men, who rarely leave them much wherewith to satisfy their hunger.

The dish usually placed before a guest in the tent of a Bedouin chief is a mess of boiled meat, sometimes mixed

with onions, upon which a lump of fresh butter is placed and allowed to melt. The broad tail of the Mesopotamian sheep is used for grease when there is no butter. Sometimes cakes of bread are laid under the meat, and the entertainer tearing up the thin loaves into small pieces, soaks them in the gravy with his hands. The Aneyza make very savoury dishes of chopped meat and bread mixed with sour curds, over which, when the huge platter is placed before the guest, is poured a flood of melted butter. Roasted meat is very rarely seen in a Bedouin tent. Rice is only eaten by the Sheikhs, except amongst the tribes who encamp in the marshes of Southern Mesopotamia, where rice of an inferior quality is very largely cultivated. There it is boiled with meat and made into pillaus.

The Bedouins do not make cheese. The milk of their sheep and goats is shaken into butter or turned into curds: it is rarely drank fresh, new milk being thought very unwholesome, as by experience I soon found it to be, in the desert. I have frequently had occasion to describe the process of making butter by shaking the milk in skins. This is also an employment confined to the women, and one of a very laborious nature. The curds, or 'leben,' are formed by boiling the milk, and then putting some of the curds made on the previous day into it, and allowing it to stand. When the sheep no longer give milk, some curds are dried, to be kept for leaven. Leben is thick and acid, but very agreeable and grateful to the taste in a hot climate. The sour milk, or sheneena, an universal beverage amongst the Arabs, is either butter-milk pure and diluted, or curds mixed with water. Camel's milk is drank fresh. It is pleasant to the taste, rich, and exceedingly nourishing. It is given in large quantities to the horses. The Shammar and Aneyza Bedouins have no cows nor oxen, those animals being looked upon as the peculiar property of tribes who have forgotten their independence, and degraded themselves by the cultivation of land. The sheep are milked at dawn, or even before daybreak, and again in the evening on their return from the pastures. The milk is immediately turned into leben, or boiled to be shaken into butter. Amongst the

Bedouins and Jebours it is considered derogatory to the character of a man to milk a cow or a sheep, but not to milk a camel. The Sheikhs occasionally obtain dates from the cities. They are either eaten dry with bread and leben, or fried in butter, a very favourite dish of the Bedouin.

To this spare and simple diet the Bedouins owe their freedom from sickness, and their extraordinary power of bearing fatigue. Diseases are rare amongst them; and the epidemics, which rage in the cities, seldom reach their tents. The cholera, which visited Mosul and Baghdad with fearful severity, has not yet struck the Bedouins, and they have frequently escaped the plague, when the settlements on the borders of the desert have been nearly depopulated by it. The small pox, however, occasionally makes great havoc amongst them, vaccination being still unknown to the Shammar, and intermittent fever prevails in the autumn, particularly when the tribes encamp near the marshes in Southern Mesopotamia. Rheumatism is not uncommon, and is treated, like most local complaints, with the actual cautery, a red hot iron being applied very freely to the part affected. Another cure for rheumatism consists in killing a sheep and placing the patient in the hot reeking skin, Ophthalmia is common in the desert as well as in all other parts of the East, and may be attributed as much to dirt and neglect as to any other cause.

The Bedouins are acquainted with few medicines. The desert yields some valuable simples, which are, however, rarely used. Dr. Sandwith hearing from Suttum that the Arabs had no opiates, asked what they did with one who could not sleep. "Do!" answered the Sheikh, "why, we make use of him, and set him to watch the camels." If a Bedouin be ill, or have received a wound, he sometimes comes to the nearest town to consult the barbers, who are frequently not unskilful surgeons. Hadjir, one of the great chiefs of the Shammar, having been struck by a musket ball which lodged beneath the shoulder-blade, visited the Pasha of Mosul to obtain the aid of the European surgeons attached to the Turkish troops. They declared an operation to be impossible, and refused to undertake it. The Sheikh

applied to a barber, who in his shop, in the open bazaar, quietly cut down to the ball, and taking it out brought it to the Pasha in a plate, to claim a reward for his skill. It is true that the European surgeons in the service of the Porte are not very eminent in their profession. The Bedouins set broken limbs by means of rude splints.

The women suffer little in labour, which often takes place during a march, or when they are far from the encampment watering the flocks or collecting fuel. They allow their children to remain at the breast until they are nearly two and even three years old, and, consequently, have rarely many offspring.

Soon after our arrival at the Khabour I bought a deloul, or dromedary, as more convenient than a horse for making excursions in the desert. Her name was Sahaima, and she belonged to Moghamis, the uncle of Suttum, having been

Saddling a Deloul, or Dromedary.

taken by him from the Aneyza; she was well trained, and swift and easy in her paces. The best delouls come from Nedjd and the Gebel Shammar. They are small and lightly made, the difference between them and a common camel

being as great as that between a high-bred Arab mare and an English cart-horse. Their powers of endurance are very great.* The deloul is much prized, and the race is carefully preserved. The Arabs breed from them once in two years, and are very particular in the choice of the male. An ordinary animal can work for twenty years. Suttum assured me that they could travel in the spring as many as six days without water. Their colour is generally light brown and white, darker colours and black are more uncommon. Their pace is a light trot kept up for many hours together without fatigue; they can increase it to an unwieldy gallop, a speed they cannot long maintain. A good deloul is worth at the most 10*l.*, the common price is about 5*l.*

The grass around Arban having been eaten by the flocks, the Jebours struck their tents at dawn on the 4th of April, and wandered down the Khabour in search of fresh pastures. The Boraij, too, moved further inland from the river. During the whole morning the desert around the ruins was a busy scene; sheep, camels, cattle, beasts of burden, men, women, and children being scattered far and wide over the plain. By midday the crowd had disappeared, and the meadows, which a few hours before had been teeming with living things, were now again left lonely and bare. I know no feeling more melancholy than that caused by the sudden breaking up of a large tribe, and by the sight of the spent fires and rubbish-heaps of a recent encampment; the silence and solitude which have suddenly succeeded to the busy scene of an Arab community. Mohammed Emin alone, with a few Sherabeen Arabs, remained to protect us.

Soon after our arrival at the Khabour, Adla, Suttum's first wife, came to us with her child. After the Sheikh's marriage

* Burckhardt ('Notes on the Bedouins,' &c. p. 262.) mentions as the best authenticated instance of the wonderful speed and endurance of a deloul which had come to his knowledge, a journey for a wager, of 115 miles in eleven hours, including twenty minutes in crossing the Nile twice in a ferry-boat. As that traveller, however, justly remarks, it is by the ease with which they can carry their rider during an uninterrupted journey of several days and nights at a kind of easy amble of five, or five and a half miles, an hour, that they are unequalled by any other animal.

with Rathaiyah, she had been driven from her husband's tent by the imperious temper of his new bride, and had returned to Moghamis her father. Her eldest sister was the wife of Suttum's eldest brother, Sahiman, and her youngest, Maizi, was betrothed to Suttum's youngest brother, Mijwell. The three were remarkable for their beauty; their dark eyes had the true Bedouin fire, and their long black hair fell in clusters on their shoulders. Their cousins, the three brothers, had claimed them as their brides according to Bedouin law.* Adla now sought to be reconciled through me to her husband. Rathaiyah, the new wife, whose beauty was already on the wane, dreaded her young rival's share in the affections of her lord, over whom she had established more influence than a lady might be supposed to exercise over her spouse amongst independent Arabs. The Sheikh was afraid to meet Adla, until, after much negotiation, Hormuzd acting as ambassador, the proud Rathaiyah consented to receive her in her tent. Then the injured lady refused to accept these terms, and the matter was only finished by Hormuzd taking her by the arm and dragging her by force over the grass to her rival. There all the outward forms of perfect reconciliation were satisfactorily gone through, although Suttum evidently saw that there was a different reception in store for himself when there were no European eye-witnesses. Such are the trials of married life in the desert!

I may here mention that polygamy is very common amongst the Bedouins. It is considered disgraceful for a man to accept money for his daughter, according to the custom in towns and amongst the cultivating tribes; and a girl cannot be forced against her will to marry a man unless he be her cousin, and legally entitled to demand her hand.

On the 6th of April we witnessed a remarkable electrical phenomenon. During the day heavy clouds had been hanging on the horizon, foreboding one of those furious storms which at this time of the year occasionally visit the desert. Late in the afternoon these clouds had gathered into one vast circle, which moved slowly round like an enormous

* Amongst the Bedouins a man has a right to demand his cousin in marriage, and she cannot refuse him.

wheel, presenting one of the most extraordinary and awful appearances I ever saw. From its sides leaped, without ceasing, forked flames of lightning. Clouds springing up from all sides of the heavens, were dragged hurriedly into the vortex, which advanced gradually towards us, and threatened soon to break over our encampment. Fortunately, however, we only felt the very edge of the storm,—a deluge of rain and hail of the size of pigeon's eggs. The great rolling cloud, attracted by the Sinjar hill, soon passed away, leaving in undiminished splendour the setting sun.

On the 8th of April, the Mogdessi, one of my servants, caught a turtle in the river measuring three feet in length. The Arabs have many stories of the voracity of these animals, which attain, I am assured, to even a larger size, and Suttum declared that a man had been pulled under water and devoured by one, probably an Arab exaggeration.

A Bedouin, who had been attacked by a lion whilst resting, about five hours lower down on the banks of the river, came to our encampment. He had escaped with the loss of his mare. Lions are not uncommon in the jungles of the Khabour, and the Bedouins and Jebours frequently find their cubs in the spring season.

The waters of the river had been rising rapidly since the recent storm, and had now spread over the meadows. We moved our tents on the 11th April, and the Arabs took refuge on the mound, which stood like an island in the midst of the flood. The Jebours killed four beavers, and brought three of their young to us alive. They had been driven from their holes by the swollen stream. Mohammed Emin eagerly accepted the musk bags, which are much valued as *majouns* by the Turks, and, consequently, fetch a large price in the towns. The Arabs eat the flesh, and it was cooked for us, but proved coarse and tough. The young we kept for some days on milk, but they eventually died. Their cry resembled that of a newborn infant. The Khabour beavers appeared to me to differ in several respects from the American. The tail, instead of being large and broad, was short and pointed. They do not build huts, but burrow in the banks, taking care

to make the entrance to their holes below the surface of the stream to avoid detection, and the chambers above, out of reach of ordinary floods.

Beavers were formerly found in large numbers on the Khabour, but in consequence of the value attached to the musk bag, they have been hunted almost to extermination by the Arabs.

On April 18th we visited the tents of Moghamis and his tribe; they were pitched about five miles from the river. The face of the desert was as burnished gold. Its last change was to flowers of the brightest yellow hue,* and the whole plain was dressed with them. Suttum rioted in the luxuriant herbage and scented air. I never saw him so exhilarated. 'What kef (delight) has God given us equal to this?' he continually exclaimed, as his mare waded through the flowers. 'It is the only thing worth living for. Ya Bej! what do the dwellers in cities know of true happiness, they have never seen grass nor flowers? May God have pity on them!'

The tents were scattered far and wide over the plain. The mares wandered loose in the midst of them, cropping the rich grass. We were most hospitably received by Moghamis, who wore a shirt of chain armour. Such luxuries, in the way of a ragged carpet and an old coverlet, as his tent could afford, had been spread for Mrs. R., whose reputation had extended far and wide amongst the Arabs, and who was looked upon as a wonder, but always treated with the greatest consideration and respect. The wild Bedouin would bring a present of camel's milk or truffles, and the boys caught jerboas and other small animals for the Frank lady. During the whole of our journey she was never exposed to annoyance, although wearing, with the exception of the red Turkish cap and an Arab cloak, the European dress.

After we had enjoyed all the luxuries of an Arab feast,

* I have already mentioned the changes in the colours of the desert. Almost in as many days white had succeeded to a pale straw colour, red to white, blue to red, lilac to blue, and now the face of the country was as described in the text.

visited the women's compartments, where most of the ladies of the tribe had assembled to greet us, examined the 'chetab,' or camel saddle, used by the wives of the chiefs, and inquired into various details of the harem, we returned as we came, through the flowers and long grass, to our tents at Arban.

CHAPTER VI.

Leave Arban—The banks of the Khabour—Artificial mounds—Mijwell—The cadi of the Bedouins—The 'thar,' or blood revenge—Caution of Arabs—A natural cavern—An extinct volcano—The confluents of the Khabour—Suleiman Agha—Encampment at Um-Jerjeh—Mohammed Emin leaves us—Visit to the Milli Kurds—Arab love-making—The Dakheel—Bedouin poets and poetry—Leave the Khabour—Arab sagacity—The Hol—Khatouniyah—Return of Suttum—Ferhan—Sinjar villages—Eski Mosul—Departure of Suttum.

THE hot weather was rapidly drawing near. The discoveries in the mound of Arban, and the ruins near the river, were not of sufficient importance to induce me to remain much longer on the Khabour. I wished, however, to explore the stream, as far as I was able, towards its principal source, and to visit Suleiman Agha, the Turkish commander, who was now encamped on its banks. He had urged me to bring Mohammed Emin with me, pledging himself to place no restraint whatever on the perfect liberty of the Arab chief. With such a guarantee, I ventured to invite the Sheikh to accompany me. After much hesitation, arising from a very natural fear of treachery, he consented to do so.

On the 19th of April we crossed the Khabour, and encamped for the night on its southern bank. On the following morning we commenced our journey to the eastward. Mohammed Emin was still in doubt as to whether he should go with me or not; but at last, after more than once turning back, he took a desperate resolution, and pushed his mare boldly forward. His children commended him, with tears, to my protection, and then left our caravan for their tents.

We rode from bend to bend of the river, without following its tortuous course. Its banks are belted with poplars,

tamarisks, and brushwood, the retreat of wild boars, francolins, and other game, and studded with artificial mounds, the remains of ancient settlements. This deserted, though rich and fertile, district must, at one time, have been the seat of a dense population. It is only under such a government as that of Turkey that it could remain a wilderness.

After a short day's journey of four hours and a half we raised our tents for the night amongst luxuriant herbage, which afforded abundant pasture for our horses and camels. The spot was called Nahab. The river, divided into two branches by a string of small wooded islands, is fordable except during the freshes. Near our encampment was a large mound named Mehlaibiyah, and in the stream I observed fragments of stone masonry, probably the remains of ancient dams for irrigation.

Next morning Suttum returned to his tents with Rathaiyah, leaving us under the care of his younger brother, Mijwell. After I had visited the Turkish commander, whom he did not appear over anxious to meet, he was to join us in the desert, and accompany me to Mosul. Mijwell was even of a more amiable disposition than his brother; was less given to diplomacy, and troubled himself little with the politics of the tribes. A pleasant smile lighted up his features, and a fund of quaint and original humour made him at all times an agreeable companion. Although he could neither read nor write, he was one of the cadis or judges of the Shammar, an office hereditary in the family of the Saadi. Disputes of all kinds are referred to these recognised judges. Their decrees are obeyed with readiness, and the other members of the tribe are rarely called upon to enforce them. They administer rude justice; and, although pretending to follow the words of the Prophet, are rather guided by ancient custom than by the law of the Koran, which binds the rest of the Mohammedan world. The most common source of litigation is, of course, stolen property. They receive for their decrees, payment in money or in kind; and he who gains the suit has to pay the fee. Amongst the Shammar, if the dispute relates to a deloul, the cądi gets two gazees, about eight shillings; if to a mare, a deloul; if to a man, a mare.

Various ordeals, such as licking a red-hot iron, are in use, to prove a man's innocence. If the accused's tongue is burnt, no doubt exists as to his guilt.

One of the most remarkable laws in force amongst the wandering Arabs, and one probably of the highest antiquity, is the law of blood, called the Thar, prescribing the degrees of consanguinity within which it is lawful to revenge a murder or homicide. Although a law, rendering a man responsible for blood shed by any one related to him within the fifth degree, may appear to members of a civilised community one of extraordinary rigour, and involving manifest injustice, it must nevertheless be admitted, that no power vested in any one individual, and no punishment however severe, could tend more to the maintenance of order and the prevention of bloodshed amongst the wild tribes of the desert. As Burckhardt has justly remarked, 'this salutary institution has contributed in a greater degree than any other circumstance, to prevent the warlike tribes of Arabia from exterminating one another.'

If a man commit a murder or accidental homicide, the cadi endeavours to prevail upon the family of the victim to accept a compensation for the blood in money or in kind, the amount being regulated according to custom in different tribes. Should the offer of 'blood-money' be refused, the 'Thar' comes into operation, and any person within the 'khomse,' or the fifth degree of blood of the homicide, may be legally killed by any one within the same degree of consanguinity to the victim.

This law is enforced between tribes remote from each other, as well as between families, and to the blood revenge may be attributed many of the bitter feuds which exist amongst the Arab clans. It affects, in many respects, their social condition, and has a marked influence upon their habits, and even upon their manners. Thus an Arab will never tell his name, especially if it be an uncommon one, to a stranger, nor mention that of his father, or of his tribe, if his own name be ascertained, lest there should be Thar between them. Even children are taught to observe this custom, that they may not fall victims to the blood revenge.

Hence the suspicion with which a Bedouin regards a stranger, and his caution in disclosing anything relating to the movements, or dwelling-place, of his friends. In most encampments are found refugees, sometimes whole families, who have left their tribe on account of a homicide for which they are amenable. In case, after a murder, persons within the 'Thar' take to flight, three days and four hours are by immemorial custom allowed to the fugitives before they can be pursued. Frequently they never return to their friends, but remain with those who give them protection, and become incorporated into the tribe by which they are adopted. Frequently the homicide himself will wander from tent to tent over the desert, or even rove through the towns and villages on its borders, with a chain round his neck and in rags, begging contributions from the charitable to enable him to pay the apportioned blood-money. I have frequently met such unfortunate persons who have spent years in collecting a small sum.

Leaving the caravan to pursue the direct road, I struck across the country to the hill of Koukab, accompanied by Mohammed Emin and Mijwell. This remarkable cone, rising in the midst of the plain, had been visible from our furthest point on the Khabour. As we drew near to it, the plain was covered with angular fragments of black basalt, and crossed by dykes of the same volcanic rock. Mohammed Emin led us first to the mouth of a cave in a rocky ravine not far from the foot of the hill. It was so choked with stones that we could scarcely squeeze ourselves through the opening, but it became wider, and led to a descending passage, the bottom of which was lost in the gloom. We advanced cautiously, but not without setting in motion an avalanche of loose stones, which, increasing as it rolled onwards, by its loud noise disturbed swarms of bats that hung to the sides and ceiling of the cavern. Flying towards the light, these noisome beasts almost compelled us to retreat. They clung to our clothes, and our hands could scarcely prevent them settling on our faces. The rustling of their wings was like the noise of a great wind, and an abominable stench arose from the recesses of the cave. At length

they settled again to their daily sleep, and we were able to go forward.

After descending some fifty feet, we found ourselves on the margin of a pond of fresh water. The pitchy darkness prevented our ascertaining its size, which could not have been very great. The cave is frequently a place of refuge for the wandering Arabs, and the Bedouins encamp near it in summer to drink the cool water of this natural reservoir. Mohammed Emin told me that, in the previous year, he had found a lion in it, who, on being disturbed, merely rushed out and fled across the plain.

Volcanic Cone of Koukab.

Leaving the cavern and issuing from the ravine, we came to the edge of a wide crater, in the centre of which rose the remarkable cone of Koukab. To the left of us was a second crater, whose lips were formed by the jagged edges of basaltic rocks, and in the plain around were several others smaller in size. They were all evidently the remains of an extinct volcano, which had been active within a comparatively recent geological period, even perhaps within the time

of history or tradition, as the name of the mound, Koukab, means in Arabic a star and a jet of flame.

I ascended the cone, which is about 300 feet high, and composed entirely of loose lava, scoria, and ashes, thus resembling the cone rising in the crater of Vesuvius. It is steep and difficult of ascent, except on one side, where the summit is easily reached even by horses. Within, for it is hollow, it resembles an enormous funnel, broken away at one edge, as if a stream of molten lava had burst through it. Anemonies and poppies, of the brighest scarlet hue, covered its side; although the dry lava and loose ashes scarcely seemed to have collected sufficient soil to nourish their roots. It would be difficult to describe the richness and brilliancy of this mass of flowers, the cone from a distance having the appearance of a huge inverted cup of burnished copper, over which poured streams of blood.

From the summit of Koukab I gazed upon a scene as varied as extensive. Beneath me the two principal branches of the Khabour united their waters. I could trace them for many miles by the dark line of their wooded banks, as they wound through the golden plains. To the left, or the west, was the true Khabour, the Chaboras of the ancients; a name it bears from its source at Ras-al-Ain (*i. e.* the head of the spring). The second stream, that to the east, is called by the Arabs the Jerujer (a name, as uttered by the Bedouins, equally difficult to pronounce and to write), and is the ancient Mygdonius, flowing through Nisibin. The lake of Khatouniyah was just visible, backed by the solitary hill of the Sinjar. The Kurdish mountains bounded the view to the east. In the plain, and on the banks of the rivers, rose many artificial mounds; whilst, in the extreme distance to the north, could be distinguished the flocks and black tents of a large wandering tribe. They were those of the Chichi and Milli Kurds, encamped with the Turkish commander, Suleiman Agha.

On some fragments of basaltic rock projecting from the summit of the cone, were numerous rudely-cut signs, the devices of the Shammar, carved there on the visit of different Sheikhs. Each tribe, and, indeed, each subdivision and

family, has its peculiar mark, to be placed upon its property and burnt upon its camels. In little recesses, carefully sheltered by heaped-up stones, were hung miniature cradles, like those commonly suspended to the poles of a Bedouin tent. They had been placed there as ex-votos by Shammar women who wished to become mothers.

After I had examined the second large crater, we rode towards the Jerujer, on whose banks the caravan was to await us. The plain was still covered with innumerable fragments of basalt embedded in scarlet poppies. We found our companions near the junction of the rivers, where a raft had been constructed to enable us to cross the smaller stream.

We had scarcely crossed the river before a large body of horsemen were seen approaching us. As they drew nigh I recognised in the Turkish commander an old friend, 'the Topal,' or lame, Suleiman Agha, as he was generally called in the country. He had been Kiayah, or lieutenant-governor, to the celebrated Injeh Bairakdar Mohammed Pasha, and, like his former master, possessed considerable intelligence, energy, and activity. From his long connection with the tribes of the desert, his knowledge of their manners, and his skill in detecting and devising treacheries and stratagems, he was generally chosen to lead expeditions against the Arabs. He was now endeavouring to recover the government treasure plundered by the Hamoud Bedouins.

He was surrounded by Hyta-Bashis, or commanders of irregular cavalry, glittering with gold and silver-mounted arms, and rich in embroidered jackets and silken robes, by Aghas of the Chichi and Milli Kurds, and by several Arab chiefs. About five hundred horsemen, preceded by their small kettle-drums, crowded behind him. His tents were about six miles distant; and, after exchanging the usual salutations, we turned towards them. Many fair speeches could scarcely calm the fears of the timid Jebour Sheikh. Mijwell, on the other hand, rode boldly along, casting contemptuous glances at the irregular cavalry, as they galloped to and fro in mimic combat.

The delta, formed by the two streams, was covered with tents. We wended our way through crowds of sheep, horses,

cattle, and camels. The Chichi and Milli Kurds, who encamp during the spring at the foot of the mountains of Mardin, had now sought, under the protection of the Turkish soldiery, the rich pastures of the Khabour.

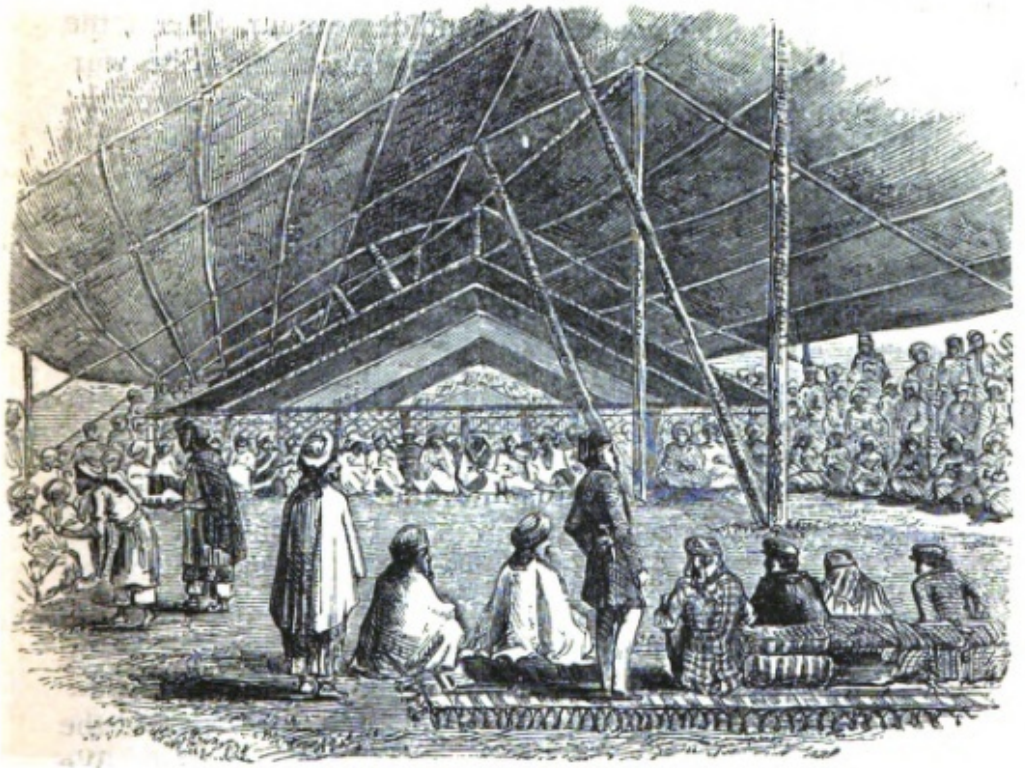
Suleiman Agha lived under the spacious canvas of the Chichi chief. The tents of the Kurdish tribes are remarkable for their size and the richness of their carpets and furniture. They are often divided into as many as four or five distinct compartments, by screens of light cane or reeds, bound together with many-coloured woollen threads, disposed in elegant patterns and devices. Carpets hung above these screens complete the divisions. In that set aside for the women a smaller partition encloses a kind of private room for the head of the family and his wives. The rest of the harem is filled with piles of carpets, cushions, domestic furniture, cooking utensils, skins for making butter, and all the necessaries of a wandering life. Here the handmaidens prepare the dinner for their master and his guests. In the tents of the great chiefs there is a separate compartment for the servants, and one for the mares and colts.

I sat a short time with Suleiman Agha, drank coffee, smoked, and then adjourned to my own tents, which had been pitched upon the banks of the river opposite a well-wooded island, and near a ledge of rocks forming one of those beautiful falls of water so frequent in this part of the Khabour. Around us were the pavilions of the Hytas, those of the chiefs marked by their scarlet standards. At a short distance from the stream the tents of the Kurds were pitched in parallel lines forming regular streets, and not scattered, like those of the Bedouins, without order over the plain. Between us and them were picketed the horses of the cavalry, and as far as the eye could reach beyond, grazed the innumerable flocks and herds of the assembled tribes. We were encamped near the foot of a large artificial Tel called Umjerjeh; and on the opposite side of the Khabour were other mounds of the same name. My Jebour workmen began at once to excavate in these ruins.

Two days after my arrival Mohammed Emin left us. Suleiman Agha had already invested him with a robe of honour,

and had prevailed upon him to join with Ferhan in taking measures for the recovery of the plundered treasure. The scarlet cloak and civil treatment had conciliated the Jebour chief, and when he parted with the Turkish commander in my tent there was an unusual display of mutual compliments and pledges of eternal friendship. Mijwell looked on with indignant contempt, swearing between his teeth that all Jebours were but degenerate, ploughing Arabs, and cursing the whole order of *temminahs*.*

We were detained at Umjerjeh several days by the severe illness of Mr. Hormuzd Rassam. I took the opportunity to visit the tents of the Milli, whose chief, Mousa Agha, had



The Tent of the Milli Chief.

invited us to a feast. On our way thither we passed several encampments of the tribes of Chichi, Sherrabeen, and Harb, the men and women running out and pressing us to stop and eat bread. The spacious tent of Mousa Agha was divided by

* The form of salutation used by the Turks, consisting of raising the hand from the breast, or sometimes from the ground, to the forehead.

partitions of reeds tastefully interwoven with coloured wool. The coolest part of the salamlik had been prepared for our reception, and was spread with fine carpets and silken cushions. The men of the tribe, amongst whom were many tall and handsome youths, were dressed in clean and becoming garments. They assembled in great numbers, but left the top of the tent entirely to us, seating themselves, or standing at the sides and bottom, which was wide enough to admit twenty-four men crouched together in a row. The chief and his brothers, followed by their servants bearing trays loaded with cups, presented the coffee to their guests.

After some conversation we went to the harem, and were received by his mother, a venerable lady, with long silvery locks and a dignified countenance and demeanour. Her dress was of the purest white and scrupulously clean. She was almost the only comely old woman I had seen amongst Eastern tribes. The wives and daughters of the chiefs, with a crowd of women, were collected in the tent. Amongst them were many distinguished by their handsome features. They had not the rich olive complexion or graceful carriage of the Bedouin girls, nor their piercing eyes and long black eyelashes. Their beauty was more European, some having even light hair and blue eyes. It was evident, at a glance, that they were of a different race from the wandering tribes of the desert.

The principal ladies led us into the private compartment, divided by coloured screens from the rest of the tent. It was furnished with more than usual luxury. The cushions were of the choicest silk, and the carpets (in the manufacture of which the Milli excel) of the finest fabric. Sweetmeats and coffee had been prepared for us, and the women did not object to partake of them at the same time. Mousa Agha's mother described the various marriage ceremonies of the tribe. Our account of similar matters in Europe excited great amusement amongst the ladies. The Milli girls are highly prized by the Kurds. Twenty purses, nearly 100*l.*, we were boastingly told, had been given for one of unusual attractions. The chief pointed out one of his own wives who had cost him that sum. Other members of the same

establishment had deserved a less extravagant investiture of money. The prettiest girls were called before us, and the old lady appraised each, amidst the loud laughter of their companions, who no doubt rejoiced to see their friends valued at their true worth. They were all tatooed on the arms, and on other parts of the body, but less so than the Bedouin ladies. The operation is performed by Arab women, who wander from tent to tent for the purpose. Several were present, and wished to give us an immediate proof of their skill upon ourselves. We declined, however. It is usually

Women of the Milli Tribe.

done at the age of six or seven: the punctures are made by a needle, and the blue colour is produced by a mixture of gunpowder and indigo rubbed into the wounds. The process is tedious and painful, as the designs are frequently most elaborate, covering the whole body. The Kurdish ladies do not, like the Mussulman women of the towns, conceal their faces; nor do they object to mingle, or even eat, with the men. During my stay at Umjerjeh I invited the harem of the Chichi chief, and their friends, to a feast in my

tent—an invitation they accepted with every sign of satisfaction.

We had an excellent dinner in the salamlik, varied by many savoury dishes and delicacies sent from the harem: such as truffles, dressed in different ways, several preparations of milk and cream, honey, curds, &c. After we had retired, the other guests were called to the feast by relays. The chief, however, always remained seated before the dishes, eating a little with all, and leaving his brothers to summon those who were invited, such being the custom amongst these Kurds.

Mijwell, during our visit, had been seated in a corner, his eyes wandering from the tent and its furniture to the horses and mares picketed without, and to the flocks pasturing around. He cast, every now and then, significant glances towards me, which said plainly enough, 'All this ought to belong to the Bedouins. These people and their property were made for *ghazous*.' As we rode away I accused him of evil intentions. 'Billah, ya Bej!' said he, 'there is, indeed, enough to make a man's heart grow white with envy; but I have now eaten his bread under your shadow, and should even his stick, wherewith he drives his camel, fall into my hand, I would send it to him.' He entertained me, as we returned home, with an account of his domestic affairs. Although already married to one wife, and betrothed to Maizi, whom he would soon be able to claim, he was projecting a third marriage. His heart had been stolen by an unseen damsel, whose beauties and virtues had been the theme of some wandering Arab rhymers, and she was of the Fedhan Aneyza, the mortal enemies of the Shammar. Her father was the Sheikh of the tribe, and his tents were on the other side of the Euphrates. The difficulties and dangers of the courtship served only to excite still more the ardent mind of the Bedouin. His romantic imagination had pictured a perfection of loveliness; his whole thoughts were now occupied in devising the means of possessing this treasure.* He had already apprised the girl of his love by a trusty messenger, one of her own tribe, living with the Shammar. His con-

* Burckhardt remarks that 'Bedouins are, perhaps, the only people of the East that can be entitled true lovers.' (Notes on Bedouins, p. 155.)

fidant had extolled the graces, prowess, and wealth of the young Sheikh, with all the eloquence of a Bedouin poet, and had elicited a favourable reply. More than one interchange of sentiments had, by such means, since passed between them. The damsel had, at last, promised him her hand, if he could claim her in her own tent. Mijwell had now planned a scheme which he was eager to put into execution. Waiting until the Fedhan were so encamped that he could approach them without being previously seen, he would mount his deloul, and leading his best mare, ride to the tent of the girl's father. Bread would, of course, be laid before him, and having eaten he would be the guest, and under the protection, of the Sheikh. On the following morning he would present his mare, describing her race and qualities, to his host, and ask his daughter; offering, at the same time, to add any other gift that might be thought worthy of her. The father, who would probably not be ignorant of what had passed between the lovers, would at once consent to their union, and give back the mare to his future son-in-law. The marriage would shortly afterwards be solemnised, and an alliance would thus be formed between the two tribes. Such was Mijwell's plan, and it was one not unfrequently adopted by Bedouins under similar circumstances.

A Bedouin will never ask money or value in kind for his daughter, as fathers do amongst the sedentary tribes and in towns, where girls are literally sold to their husbands, but he will consult her wishes, and she may, as she thinks fit, accept or reject a suitor, so long as he be not her cousin. Presents are frequently made by the lover to the damsel herself before marriage, but rarely to the parents.

I talked with Mijwell about the peculiar customs of the Arab tribes. None are more religiously respected by the true Bedouin than those regulating the mutual relations of the protected and protector, called the Dakheel. A violation of Dakheel would be considered a disgrace not only upon the individual but upon his family, and even upon his tribe, which never could be wiped out. No greater insult can be offered to a man, or to his clan, than to say that he has broken the Dakheel. A disregard of this sacred obligation

is the first symptom of degeneracy in an Arab tribe; and when once it exists, the treachery and vices of the Turk rapidly succeed to the honesty and fidelity of the true Arab character. The relations between the Dakheel and the Dakhal (or the protector and protected), arise from a variety of circumstances, the principal of which are, eating a man's bread and salt, and claiming his protection by doing certain acts, or repeating a certain formula of words. Amongst the Shammar, if a man can seize the end of a string or thread, the other end of which is held by his enemy, he immediately becomes his Dakheel.* If he touch the canvas of a tent, or can even throw his mace towards it, he is the Dakheel of its owner. If he can spit upon a man, or touch any article belonging to him with his teeth, he is Dakhal, unless, of course, in case of theft, it be the person who caught him. A woman can protect any number of persons, or even of tents. If a horseman ride into a tent, he and his horse are Dakhal. A stranger who has eaten with a Shammar, can give Dakheel to his enemy; for instance, I could protect an Aneyza, though there is blood between his tribe and the Shammar. According to Mijwell, any person, by previously calling out 'Nuffa' (I renounce), may reject an application for Dakheel.

The Shammar never plunder a caravan within sight of their encampment, for as long as a stranger can see their tents they consider him their Dakhal. If a man who has eaten bread and slept in a tent, steal his host's horse, he is dishonoured, and his tribe also, unless they send back the stolen animal. Should the horse die, the thief himself should be delivered up, to be treated as the owner of the stolen property thinks fit. If two enemies meet and exchange the

* For the very singular customs as to the confinement and liberation of a *haramy*, or robber, and of the relation between a *rabat* and his *rabiet*, or the captor and the captive, see Burckhardt's 'Notes on the Bedouins,' p. 89. I can bear witness to the truth and accuracy of his account, having, during my early wanderings amongst the Bedouins, witnessed nearly everything he describes. The English reader can have no correct idea of the habits and manners of the tribes of the desert, habits and manners probably dating from the remotest antiquity, and consequently of the highest interest, without reading the truthful descriptions of this admirable traveller.

'*Salam aleikum*' (Peace be with you) even by mistake, there is peace between them, and they will not fight. It is disgraceful to rob a woman of her clothes; and if a female be found amongst a party of plundered Arabs, even the enemy of her tribe will give her a horse to ride back to her tents. If a man be pursued by an enemy, or even be on the ground, he can save his life by calling out 'Dakheel,' unless there be blood between them. It would be considered cowardly and unworthy of a Shammar to deprive an enemy of his camel or horse where he could neither reach water nor an encampment. When Bedouins meet persons in the midst of the desert, they will frequently take them within a certain distance of tents, and, first pointing out their site, then rob them of their property.

An Arab who has given his protection to another, whether formally, or by an act which confers the privilege of Dakheel, is bound to protect his Dakhal under all circumstances, even to the risk of his own property and life. I could relate many instances of the greatest sacrifices having been made by individuals, and even of whole tribes having been involved in war with powerful enemies by whom they have been almost utterly destroyed, in defence of this most sacred obligation. Even the Turkish rulers respect a law to which they may one day owe their safety, and more than one haughty Pasha of Baghdad has found refuge and protection in the tent of a poor Arab Sheikh, whom, during the days of his prosperity, he had subjected to every injury and wrong, and yet who would then defy the government itself, and risk his very life, rather than surrender his guest. The essence of Arab virtue is a respect for the laws of hospitality, of which the Dakheel in all its various forms is but a part.

Amongst the Bedouins who watched our camels was one Saoud, a poet of renown amongst the tribes. With the exception of a few ballads that he had formerly composed in honour of Sofuk, and other celebrated Shammar Sheikhs, he chiefly recited extemporary stanzas on passing events, or on persons who were present. He would sit in my tent of an evening, and sing his verses in a wild, though plaintive, strain, to the great delight of the assembled guests, and par-

ticularly of Mijwell, who, like a true Bedouin, was easily affected by poetry, especially with such as might touch his own passion for the unknown lady. The Arab chief would sway his body to and fro, keeping time with the measure, sobbing aloud as the poet sang the death of his companions in war, breaking out into loud laughter when the burden of the ditty was a satire upon his friends, and making extraordinary noises and grimaces to show his feelings, more like a drunken man than a sober Bedouin. But when the bard improvised an amatory ditty, the young chief's excitement was almost beyond control. The other Bedouins were scarcely less moved by these rude measures, which have the same kind of effect on the wild tribes of the Persian mountains. Such verses, chanted by their self-taught poets, or by the girls of their encampment, will drive warriors to the combat, fearless of death, or prove an ample reward on their return from the dangers of the *ghazou* or the fight. The excitement they produce exceeds that of the grape. He who would understand the influence of the Homeric ballads in the heroic ages, should witness the effect which similar compositions have upon the wild nomades of the East. Amongst the Kurds and Lours I have not met with bards who chanted extemporary verses. Episodes from the great historical epics of Persia, and odes from their favourite poets, are recited during war or in the tents of their chiefs. But the art of improvising seems innate in the Bedouin. Although his metre and mode of recitation are rude to European ears, his rich and sonorous language lends itself to this species of poetry, whilst his exuberant imagination furnishes him with endless beautiful and appropriate allegories. The wars between the tribes, their *ghazous*, and their struggles with the Turks, are inexhaustible themes for verse, and in an Arab tent there is little else to afford excitement or amusement. The Bedouins have no books; even a Koran is seldom seen amongst them: it is equally rare to find a wandering Arab who can read. They have no written literature, and their traditional history consists of little more than the tales of a few storytellers, who wander from encampment to encampment, and earn their bread by chanting verses to the mono-

tonous tones of a one-stringed fiddle made of a gourd covered with sheep-skin.

The extemporary odes which Saoud sung before us were chiefly in praise of those present, or a good-natured satire upon some of our party.

We left the encampment of Suleiman Agha on the 29th of April, on our return to Mosul. We again visited the remarkable volcanic cone of Koukab. As we drew near to it, Mijwell detected, in the loose soil, the footprints of two men, which he immediately pronounced to be those of Shammar thieves returning from the Kurdish encampments. The sagacity of the Bedouin in determining from such marks, whether of man or beast, and, from similar indications, the tribe, time of passing, and business, of those who may have left them, with many other particulars, is well known. In this respect he resembles the American Indian, though the circumstances differ under which the two are called upon to exercise this peculiar faculty. The one seeks or avoids his enemy in vast plains, which, for three-fourths of the year, are without any vegetation; the other tracks his prey through thick woods and high grass. This quickness of perception is the result of continual observation and of caution encouraged from earliest youth. When the warriors of a tribe are engaged in distant forays or in war, their tents and flocks are frequently left to the care of a mere child. He must receive strangers, amongst whom may be those having claims of blood upon his family, and must guard against marauders, who may be lurking about the encampment. Every unknown sign and mark must be examined and accounted for. If he should see the track of a horseman he must ask himself why one so near the dwellings did not stop to eat bread or drink water? was he a spy; one of a party meditating an attack, or a traveller, who did not know the site of the tents? When did he pass? From whence did he come? Whilst the child in a civilised country is still under the care of its nurse, the Bedouin boy is compelled to exercise his highest faculties, and on his prudence and sagacity may sometimes depend the safety of his tribe.

The expert Bedouin can draw conclusions from the foot-

prints and dung of animals that would excite the astonishment of an European. He will tell whether the camel was loaded or unloaded, whether recently fed or suffering from hunger, whether fatigued or fresh, the time when it passed by, whether the owner was a man of the desert or the town, whether a friend or foe, and sometimes even the name of his tribe. I have frequently been cautioned by my Bedouin companions, not to dismount from my dromedary, that my footsteps might not be recognised as those of a stranger; and my deloul has even been led by my guide to prevent those who might cross our path detecting that it was ridden by one not thoroughly accustomed to the management of the animal.

We encamped for the night near the mound of Thenenir, and resumed our journey on the following morning. Bidding farewell to the pleasant banks of the Khabour, we struck into the desert in the direction of the Sinjar. Extensive strata of the gypsum, or alabaster, used in the Assyrian edifices, formed for some miles the surface of the plain.

We soon approached a dense mass of reeds and rank herbage, covering a swamp called the Hol, which extends from the Lake of Khatouniyah to within a short distance of the Khabour. This jungle is the hiding-place of many kinds of wild beasts: lions lurk in it, and in the thick cover the Bedouins find their cubs. As we drew near to the first spring that feeds the marsh, about eight miles from Thenenir, we saw a leopard stealing from the high grass. When pursued, the animal turned and entered the thickets before the horseman could approach it. When we reached the head spring of the Hol, the Jebours fired the jungle, and the flames soon spread far and wide. Long after we had left the marsh we could hear the crackling of the burning reeds, and until nightfall the sky was darkened by thick volumes of smoke.

After a six hours' ride we found ourselves upon the margin of a small lake, whose quiet surface reflected the deep blue of the cloudless sky. To the south of it rose a line of low undulating hills, and to the east the furrowed mountain of the Sinjar. On all other sides was the desert, in which this solitary sheet of water lay like a mirage. In the midst of the lake was a peninsula, joined to the mainland by a narrow causeway, and beyond it a small island. On the former were

the ruins of a town, whose falling walls and towers were doubled in the clear waters. It would be difficult to imagine a scene more calm, more fair, or more unlooked for in the midst of a wilderness. It was like fairy-land.

Town and Lake of Khatouniyah.

The small town of Khatouniyah was, until recently, inhabited by a tribe of Arabs, but had been deserted on account of a feud, arising out of the rival pretensions of two chiefs. The lake may be about six miles in circumference. The water, although brackish, like nearly all the springs in this part of the desert, is not only drinkable, but, according to the Bedouins, exceedingly wholesome for man and beast. It abounds in fish, some of which are said to be of very considerable size. As we approached, the Bairakdar seeing something struggling in a shallow rode to it, and captured a kind of barbel, weighing above twenty pounds. Waterfowl and waders, of various kinds, congregate on the shores. The stately crane and the graceful egret, with its snow-white

plumage and feathery crest, stand lazily on its margin; and thousands of ducks and teal eddy on its surface round the unwieldy pelican.

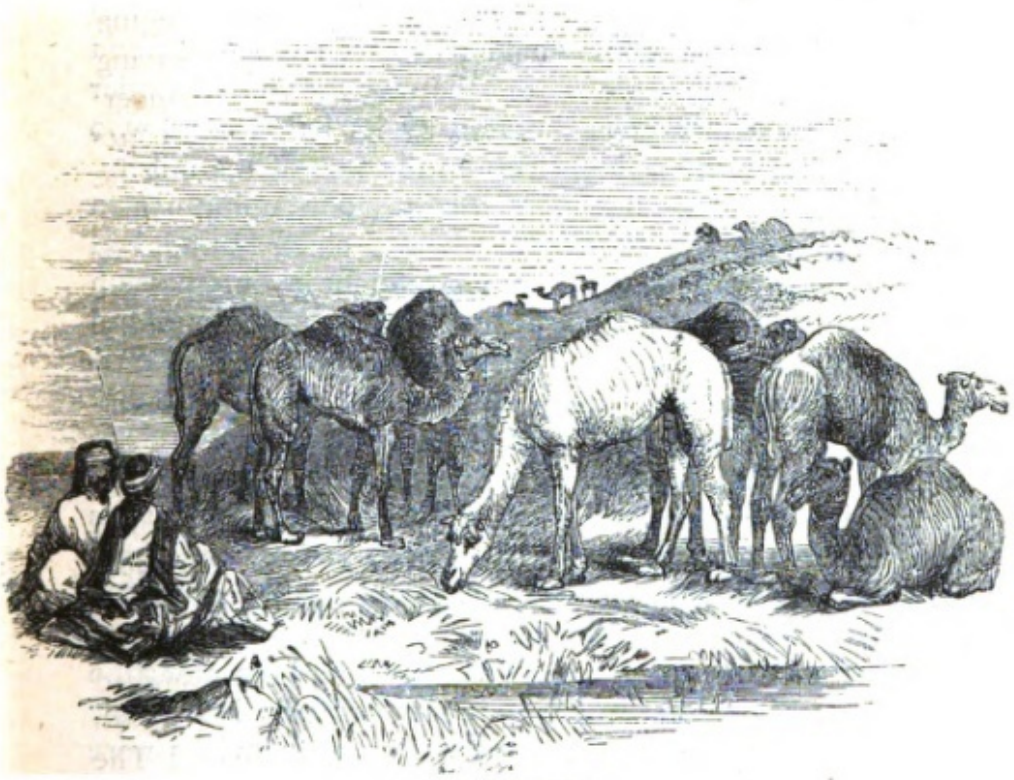
Our tents were pitched on the very water's edge. At sunset a few clouds which lingered in the western sky were touched with the golden rays of the setting sun. The glowing tints of the heavens, and the clear blue shadows of the Sinjar hills, mirrored in the motionless lake, imparted a calm to the scene which well matched the solitude around.

We had scarcely resumed our march in the morning when we spied Suttum and Khoraif coming towards us, and urging their fleet mares to the top of their speed. A Jebour, leaving our encampment at Umjerjeh, when Hormuzd was dangerously ill, had spread a report in the desert that he was actually dead. To give additional authenticity to his tale he had minutely described the process by which my companion's body had been first salted, and then sent to Frankistan (Europe) in a box on a camel. Suttum, as we met, showed the most lively signs of grief; but when he saw the dead man himself restored to life, his joy and his embraces knew no bounds.

We rode over a low undulating country, at the foot of the Sinjar hills, every dell and ravine being a bed of flowers. About five miles from Khatouniyah we passed a small reedy stream, called Suffeyra, on which the Boraij (Suttum's tribe) had been encamped on the previous day. They had now moved further into the plain, and we stopped at their watering-place, a brackish rivulet called Sayhel, their tents being about three miles distant from us in the desert. We pitched on a rising ground immediately above the stream. Beneath us was the golden plain, swarming with moving objects. The Khorusseh, and all the tribes under Ferhan, had now congregated to the north of the Sinjar previous to their summer migration to the pastures of the Khabour. Their mares, camels, and sheep came to Sayhel for water, and during the whole day there was one endless line of animals passing to and fro before our encampment. I sat watching them from my tent. As each mare and horse stopped to drink at the troubled stream, Suttum named its owner and its breed, and described its exploits. The mares were generally followed

by two or three colts, who are suffered, even in their third year, to run loose after their dams, and to gambol unrestrained over the plain. It is to their perfect freedom whilst young that the horses of the desert owe their speed and the suppleness of their limbs.

In the evening, as I was seated before my tent, I observed a large party of horsemen and riders on delouls approaching our encampment. They stopped at the entrance of the large pavilion reserved for guests, and picketing their mares, and



Arab Camels.

turning loose their dromedaries adorned with gay trappings, seated themselves on the carpets. The chiefs were our old friends, Mohammed Emin and Ferhan, the great Shammar Sheikh. We cordially embraced after the Bedouin fashion. I had not seen Ferhan since the treacherous murder of his father by Nejib Pasha of Baghdad,* to which he alluded

* Nineveh and its Remains, p. 78.

with touching expressions of grief, bewailing his own incompetency to fill Sofuk's place, and to govern the divided tribe. He was now on his way with the Jebour Sheikh to recover, if possible, the government treasure, plundered by the Hamoud, for which, as head of the Shammar, he was held responsible by the Porte. After they had eaten of the feast we were able to prepare for them, they departed about sunset for the tents of the Jebours.

On the 4th of May we made a short day's journey of five hours to a beautiful stream issuing from the Sinjar hill, beneath the village of Khersa. Leaving the plain, which was speckled as far as the eye could reach with the flocks and tents of the Bedouins, we skirted the very foot of the Sinjar range. Khersa had been deserted by its inhabitants, who had rebuilt their village higher up on the side of the hill.

Next day we made but little progress, encamping near a spring under the village of Aldina, whose chief, Murad, had now returned from his captivity. Grateful for my intercession in his behalf, he brought us sheep and other provisions, and met us with his people as we entered the valley. The Mutesellim was in his village collecting the revenues, but the inhabitants of Nogray had refused to contribute the share assigned to them, or to receive the governor. He begged me to visit the rebellious Yezidis, and the whole day was spent in devising schemes for a general peace. At length the chiefs consented to accompany me to Aldina, and, after some reduction in the salian, to pay the taxes.

We rode on the following day for about an hour along the foot of the Sinjar hill, which suddenly subsides into a low undulating country. The narrow valleys and ravines were blood-red with gigantic poppies. The Bedouins adorned the camels and horses with the scarlet flowers, and twisted them into their own head-dresses and long garments. Even the Tiyari dressed themselves up in the gaudy trappings of nature, and as we journeyed chanting an Arab war-song, we resembled the return of a festive procession from some sacrifice of old. During our weary marches under a burning sun, it required some such episodes to keep up the drooping spirits of the men, who toiled on foot by our sides. Poetry and

flowers are the wine and spirits of the Arab; a couplet is equal to a bottle, and a rose to a dram, without the evil effects of either. Would that in more civilised climes the sources of excitement were equally harmless!

About nine miles from our last encamping place we crossed a stream of sweet water named Aththenir, and stopped soon after for the day in the bosom of the hills, near some reedy ponds, called Fukka, formed by several springs. As this was a well-known place of rendezvous for the Bedouins when out on the ghazou, Suttum displayed more than usual caution in choosing the place for our tents, ascending with Khoraif a neighbouring peak to survey the country and scan the plain below.

In the afternoon the camels had wandered from the encampment in search of grass, and we were reposing in the shade of our tents, when we were roused by the cry that a large body of men were to be seen in the distance. The Bedouins immediately sought to drive back their beasts. Suttum unplatting his long hair, and shaking it in hideous disorder over his head and face, and baring his arms to the shoulder, leapt with his quivering spear into the saddle. Having first placed the camp in the best posture of defence I was able, I rode out with him to reconnoitre. But our alarm was soon quieted. The supposed enemy proved to be a party of poor Yezidis, who, taking advantage of our caravan, were going to Mosul to seek employment during the summer.

In the evening Suttum inveighed bitterly against the habit of some travellers of continually taking notes before strangers. I endeavoured to explain the object and to remove his fears. 'It is all very well,' said the Sheikh, 'and I can understand, and am willing to believe, all you tell me. But supposing the Turks, or any body else, should hereafter come against us, there are many foolish and suspicious men in the tribe, and I have enemies, who would say that I had brought them, for I have shown you everything. You know what would be the consequences to me of such a report. As for you, you are in this place to-day, and a hundred days' journey off to-morrow, but I am always here. There is not a plot of grass nor a

spring that that man (alluding to one of our party) does not write down.' Suttum's complaints were not unreasonable, and travellers cannot be too cautious in this respect, when amongst independent tribes, for even if they do not bring difficulties upon themselves, they may do so upon others.

We had a seven hours' ride on the delouls, leaving the caravan to follow, to the large ruin of Abou Maria. My workmen had excavated for some time in these remarkable mounds, and had discovered chambers and several enormous slabs of Mosul marble, but no remains whatever of sculpture. They had, however, dug out several bricks bearing the name of Sardanapalus, the founder of the north-west palace at Nimroud. A short ride of three hours brought us to Eski (old) Mosul, on the banks of the Tigris. According to tradition this is the original site of the city. There are mounds, and the remains of walls, which are probably Assyrian. Mosul was still nine caravan hours distant, and we encamped the next night at Hamaydat, where many of our friends came out to meet us. On the 10th of May we were again within the walls of the town, our desert trip having been accomplished without any mishap or accident whatever.

Suttum left us two days after for his tents, fearing lest he should be too late to join the warriors of the Khorusseh, who had planned a grand *ghazou* into Nedjd. They were to be away for thirty days, and expected to bring back a great spoil of mares, dromedaries, and camels. As for three days they would meet with no wells, they could only ride their delouls, each animal carrying a spearman and a musketeer, with their skins of water and a scanty stock of provisions. They generally contrive to return from these expeditions with considerable booty. Suttum urged me to accompany them; but I had long renounced such evil habits, and other occupations kept me in Mosul. Finding that I was not to be persuaded, and that the time was at length come for us to part, he embraced me, crammed the presents we had made to himself and his wives into his saddle-bags, and, mounting his deloul, rode off with Mijwell towards the desert.

CHAPTER VII.

Discoveries at Kouyunjik—Procession of figures bearing fruit and game—Locusts—Led horses—An Assyrian campaign—Dagon, or the fish-god—The chambers of records—Inscribed clay tablets—Return to Nimroud—Effects of the flood—Discoveries—Small temple under high mound—The Evil Spirit—Fish-god—Fine bas-relief of the king—Great inscribed monolith—Cedar beams—Second temple.

DURING my absence in the desert, the excavations at Kouyunjik had been actively carried on under the superintendence of Toma Shishman. I hastened to the ruins, crossing in a rude ferry-boat the river, now swollen by the spring rains to more than double its usual size.*

The earth had been completely removed from the sides of the long gallery, on the walls of which were sculptured the transport of the large stone and of the winged bulls.† An outlet was discovered near its western end, opening into a narrow descending passage; an entrance, it would appear, into the palace from the river side.‡ Its length was ninety-six feet, its breadth not more than thirteen. The walls were panelled with sculptured slabs about six feet high.§ Those to the right, in descending, represented a procession of servants carrying fruit, flowers, game, and supplies for a banquet, preceded by mace-bearers. The first servant bore an object which I should identify with the pineapple, unless there were every reason to believe that the Assyrians were unacquainted with that fruit. The leaves sprouting from the top proved that it was not the cone of a pine or fir tree.

The attendants who followed carried clusters of ripe dates and flat baskets of osier-work, filled with pomegranates,

* The flood nearly reached the mounds of Kouyunjik and Nebbi Yunus.

† No. XLIX. Plan I. p. 4. ‡ No. LI. same Plan.

§ The figures were about 4¼ feet in height.

Attendants carrying Pomegranates and Locusts. (Kouyunjik.)

apples, and bunches of grapes. They raised in one hand boughs to drive away the flies. Then came men bearing hares, partridges, and dried locusts fastened on rods. The locust has ever been an article of food in the East, and is still sold in the markets of many towns in Arabia.

The locust-bearers were followed by a man with strings of pomegranates; then came, two by two, attendants carrying on their shoulders low tables, such as are still used in the East at feasts, loaded with baskets of cakes and fruits of various kinds. The procession was finished by a long line of servants bearing vases full of flowers.

These figures were dressed in a short tunic, confined at the waist by a shawl or girdle. They wore no head-gear, their hair falling in curls on their shoulders.

On the opposite walls of the passage were fourteen horses without trappings, each led by a groom holding a halter twisted round the lower jaw. The animals and men were designed with considerable truth and spirit. The procession was marshalled by a staff-bearer, or chamberlain. The grooms wore a short tunic and an embroidered belt, and to this was attached that ornament of fur, or coloured fringe, peculiar to the costumes of the warriors of the later Assyrian period.*

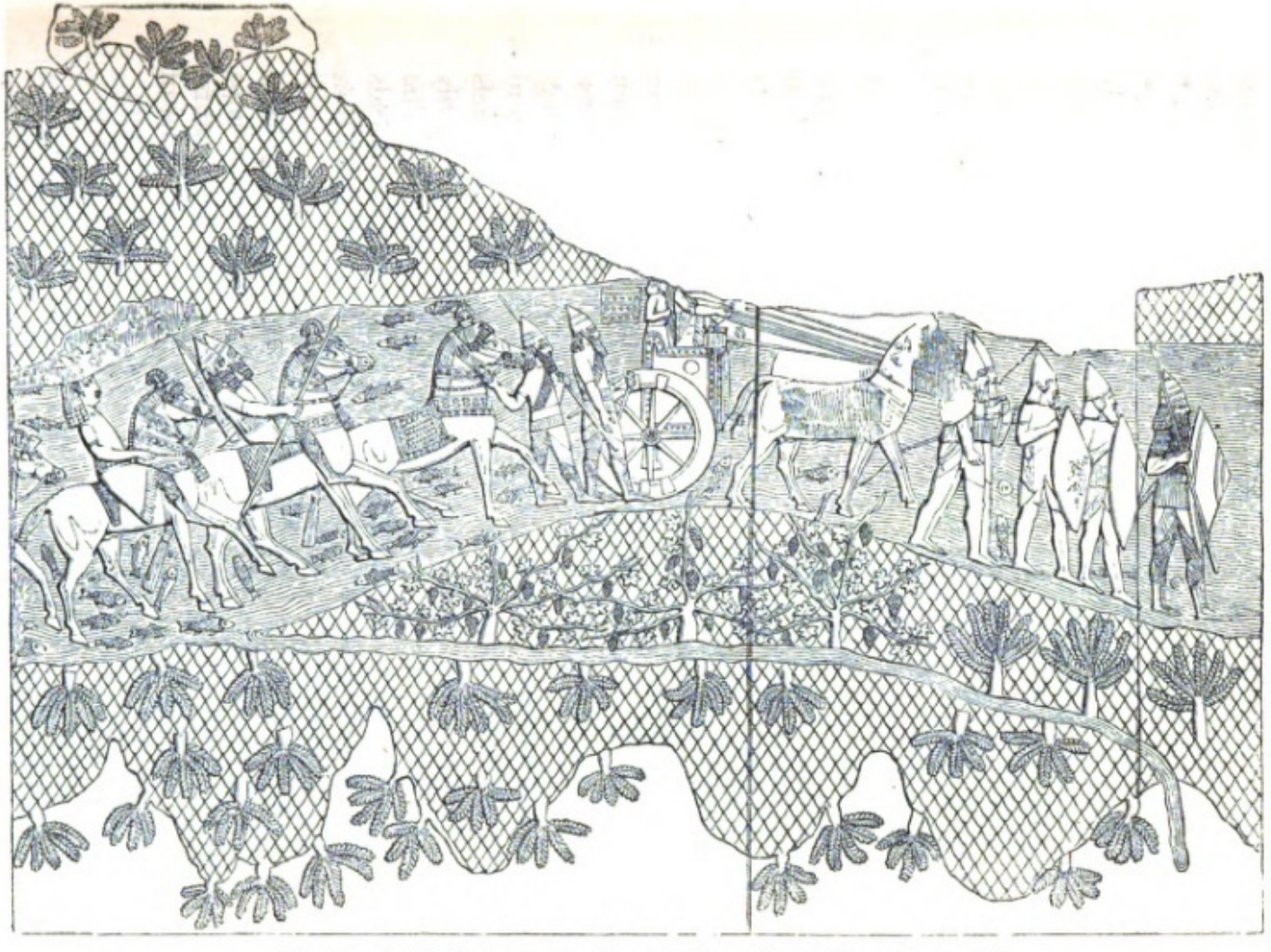
This passage may have led to the banqueting hall, where royal feasts were held, and was therefore adorned with appropriate subjects. At its western end the gallery turned abruptly to the north, its walls being there built of solid stone-masonry. I lost all further traces of it, as the workmen were unable, at that time, to carry on the tunnel beneath a mass of earth and rubbish about forty feet high. I did not, consequently, ascertain its western outlet. We had, however, nearly reached the edge of the mound; and as there was no space left for a chamber of any size beyond, this passage may have opened on a flight of steps, or on an incline leading from the river, and forming a private entrance or postern into the palace.

The workmen had returned to the chamber already de-

* Specimens of the led horses, and of the figures bearing locusts, are now in the British Museum. See Plates 7, 8, and 9 of the 2nd series of the 'Monuments of Nineveh' for the entire series.

scribed as containing bas-reliefs representing the sack of a city in the mountains, and as opening into the broad gallery on whose walls were depictured the various processes employed by the Assyrians in moving their colossal figures.* From this chamber branched to the south a narrow passage,† whose sculptured panels had been purposely destroyed. It led into a great hall or court, which the workmen did not then explore.‡ They continued for a few feet along its western side, and then turning through a doorway, discovered a chamber, from which again, always following the line of wall, they entered a spacious apartment,§ completely surrounded with bas-reliefs, representing one continuous subject. The Assyrian army was seen fording a broad stream amidst wooded mountains. Rivulets flowed from the hills to the river, irrigating in their course vineyards and orchards. The king in his chariot was followed by warriors on foot and on horses richly caparisoned, by led horses with even gayer trappings, and by men bearing on their shoulders his second chariot, which had a yoke ornamented with bosses and carvings. He was preceded by his army, the variously accoutred spearmen and the bowmen forming separate regiments or divisions. After crossing the river they attacked the enemy's strongholds, which they captured, putting to death or carrying into captivity their inhabitants. Unfortunately, the bas-reliefs describing the general result of the campaign, and probably the taking of the principal city, had been destroyed. The captives wore a kind of turban wrapped in several folds round the head, and a short tunic confined at the waist by a broad belt. From the nature of the country it may be conjectured that the sculptures represented the invasion and conquest of some part of Armenia, and the river may perhaps be identified with the Euphrates, near whose head waters, as we learn from the inscriptions, Sennacherib waged one of his most important wars.

* No. XLVIII. Plan I. p. 4.
† No. XLII. same Plan; 72 feet long, and 11 broad.
§ No. XIX. same Plan. ‡ Nos. XXIX. and XXXVIII. same Plan.



The King in his Chariot passing through a Stream in a Valley. (Kouyunjik.

On the north side of the chamber were two doorways leading into separate apartments. Each entrance was formed by two colossal bas-reliefs of the fish-god. These figures combine the human shape with that of the fish. The head of the fish forms a kind of mitre for the head of the man, whilst its scaly back and fan like tail fall behind, leaving the human limbs and feet exposed. They wear a fringed tunic, and bear the two sacred emblems, the basket and the cone.

The god Dagon of the Philistines and of the inhabitants of the Phœnician coast appears to have been worshipped under nearly the same form. When the ark of the Lord was brought into the great temple of the idol at Ashdod, and the statue fell a second time, 'the head of Dagon and both the palms of his hands were cut off upon the threshold; only the *fishy* part of Dagon was left to him.'* His worship appears to have extended over Syria, as well as Mesopotamia and Chaldæa. He had many temples, as we learn from the Bible, in the country of the Philistines, and it was under the ruins of one of them that Sampson buried the people of Gaza who had 'gathered them together for to offer a great sacrifice unto Dagon their god, and to rejoice.'†

Assyrian Cylinder, with Dagon, or the Fish-god.

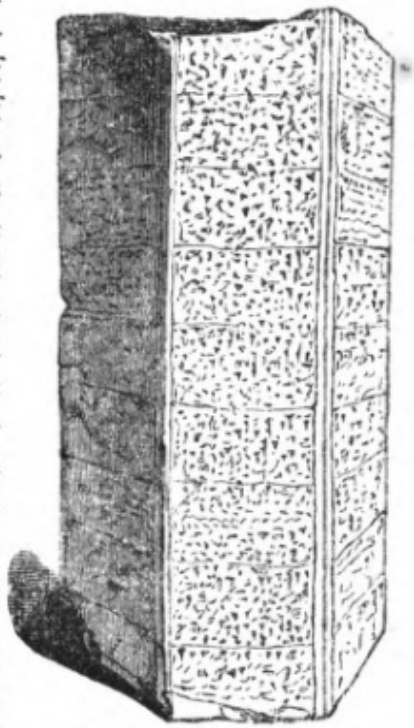
The first doorway, guarded by the fish-gods, led into two small chambers opening into each other, and once panelled with bas-reliefs, the greater part of which had been destroyed.‡ On a few fragments, still standing against the walls, could be traced a city on a sea whose waters were covered with galleys. I shall call these chambers 'the chambers of records,' for they appear to have contained the decrees of the Assyrian kings and the archives of the empire.

The historical records and public documents of the Assy-

* 1 Sam. v. 6. † Judges, xvi. 23.

‡ Nos. XL. and XLI. Plan I. p. 4.

rians were kept on tablets and cylinders of baked clay. Many specimens have been brought to this country. On a large hexagonal cylinder presented by me to the British Museum are the chronicles of Esarhaddon: on a similar cylinder discovered in the mound of Nebbi Yunus, are eight years of the annals of Sennacherib: on a barrel-shaped cylinder, known as Bellino's, we have part of the records of the same king; and other cylinders have been found with the annals of earlier and later monarchs. The importance of such relics will be readily understood. They present, in a small compass, an abridgment, or recapitulation, of the inscriptions on the great monuments and palace walls, giving in a chronological series the events of each monarch's reign. The writing is so minute, and the letters are so close one to another, that it requires considerable experience to separate and transcribe them.



Cylinder with Assyrian Records.

The chambers I am describing appear to have been a depository for such documents. To the height of a foot or more from the floor they were entirely filled with them; some entire, but the greater part broken into fragments. They were of different sizes; the largest tablets were flat, and measured about 9 inches by 6½ inches; the smaller were slightly convex, and some were not more than an inch long, with but one or two lines of writing. The cuneiform characters on most of them were singularly sharp and well-defined, but so minute in some instances as to be almost illegible without a magnifying glass. They had been impressed by an instrument on the moist clay, which had been after-